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Missing the trend.

Hong Kong as a latecomer in
creativity-led urban development.

Cultural and Creative Industries
(CCI) in Hong Kong.

Relatore

Prof. Fabrizio Panozzo

Laureando

Benedetta Tavecchia

Matricola 987023

Anno Accademico

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An overview of the thesis

Introduction

Summary

1° Chapter : The Discourse of Creativity in China

- 1.1) Creativity comes to China
- 1.2) The process of adoption of Western models.
 - 1.2.1) The Transliteration process
- 1.3) Cultural and Creative Industries in China and definitions of key concepts
 - 1.3.1) The Creative Industries

2° Chapter : The Discourse of Creativity in Hong Kong

- 2.1) A brief introduction of Hong Kong history
- 2.2) The Cultural Development of the city
- 2.3) The Origin of Cultural and Creative Industry (CCI) in Hong Kong
 - 2.3.1) Definitions of Cultural and Creative Industry in Hong Kong

3° Chapter : The Transformation of Hong Kong in a Creative City

- 3.1) The Creative Economy of Cities
- 3.2) The transformation of Hong Kong in a Creative Economy
- 3.3) The Creative Space and POPS in Hong Kong
 - 3.3.1) High-density Environment

4° Chapter : The making of Creative Hong Kong

- 4.1) A General Introduction
- 4.2) Cattle Depot Artist Village (CDAV) 牛棚藝術村
- 4.3) Fo Tan Industrial District 火炭
- 4.4) West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD) 西文化区: 城市中的公园

Conclusions

References

Appendix

Summary

本论文旨在研究中国，尤其是香港的“创意导向”城市发展模式并探索该模式与全球范围“创意热”的关联以及中国在空间，经济和社会发展中采用“创意城市”模式的原因。本研究将调查在“创意”的名下，中国的创意城市们实际上发生着怎样的变化。

创意城市的想法来源于西方国家但随后在21世纪初期被中国政府所采纳。

创意这一概念也包含于许多在历史上塑造了城市管理和设计想法的理念之中。于是，创意是直接从当代生产现代及其地理环境产生的且是现代文化经济体系中一个重要的社会现象。

这一现象可以从针对于不同层面的分析来理解：文化社区的行程，经济活动的组织，生产体系集聚的动量，市场竞争的本质以及中国文化的典型特征。

然而，创意的概念发展的速度和强度显得与这个越来越全球化一致化的世界不太平行。本文从不同角度出发，探索创意在大学城市，如香港，中是如何全球环境中形成，循环并进化的。

本文的灵感来自于城市空间感念和能力的进化过程。几十年前，城市发展的主要侧重点还再于实际规划，土地利用和空间重构的想法和概

念也还处于辩论之中。但最近十年间，世界范围内对于城市的看法发生了改变，城市越来越多的被看做是一个个全球市场中的经济实体并面临着越来越强的竞争压力。城市开始试图吸引各种能满足市场需求的资本和生产体系来增强自己的竞争力。而不论是那种商品，在实际的地域分布上，产品的供应仍然要依靠集聚效应来吸引消费者。

如今创意导向发展的趋势正引领着城市及其作为文化艺术中心的未来，驱动着城市的经济发展和GDP增长，并促使社会变革的发生。

各种文化产品组成了现代资本输出中一个持续增长的部分，文化产品相关的产业也代表了世界上最有活力成长型产业并成为了多个全球枢纽城市经济发展的主要引擎。当代社会中，文化和经济领域间的联系正愈发紧密和有力，这一联系对经济分析和文化理论都有着重要影响。换言之，许多种经济活动都与城市的文化经济紧密相关和联系着。

基于都市实践研究部在香港和深圳的研究项目以及我硕士学习期间所遇到的契机，我决定借本论文理解 创意园（作为创意，创新及文化教育的一种源泉）和文化创意产业作为 香港政府借国际流行观念形成高效的政府管理手段的 霸权计划 中一个关键角色以及文化创意产业在这其中被赋予的重要性和其在中国城市发展的特殊背景下的价值和功能。

本人调查研究了香港最重要的几个创意集群地区，例如火炭，牛房，创新中心，观塘，西九龙文化区，且着重并细致的分析了其中的两个：

火炭工业区和西九龙文化区。

本研究是政府资助的广泛的西九龙文化区研究项目的一部分。该项目是香港最新及最大的政府主导的公共空间开发项目，旨在将香港从单纯的金融中心升级为一个具有文化多元性的国际都市并在2017年使得香港成为亚洲的文化中心。

在研究过程中，我发现香港几乎全部的创意阶层人士对现状有一个共同的批判：尽管政府强调以文化创意产业的发展作为振兴香港的主要方向之一，现行的城市政策限制了使用公共用地来发展创意产业的可能性。

我调查了为何香港这个国际都市缺少创意空间的原因，以及香港仅存的创意空间是如何在可达性和公共资源方面被高度的边缘化的，研究发现，香港的城市政策和社会结构主要基于将香港视为一个国际金融中心的出发点。

缺少创意空间在此不仅指缺少创意的物理空间，还包括由于严格的政府管制，有些地区自由开发的公共空间缺少对创意阶层人士和普通市民的可达性。而香港的创意阶层和市民需要努有目的促使创意产业脱离政府的辖制。

我发现大量的国有企业，政府资助的非盈利组织，私有企业，机构，协会，合资企业以及当地政府在将旧工业设施改造为高质量搞技术的创意园区及其后的维护方面扮演着重要角色。

综上所述，本研究得到这样的结论。

创意产业被认为城市竞争力的主要增长点之一，中国将其视为将在2030年前后所发生的国家性的挑战之一，而将创意产业的发展提上日程可以被看做是中国政府不仅参与且要积极领导全球改革战略的重要表现。

Introduction

The thesis analyses the discourse of creativity-led urban development in China, in particular in Hong Kong and explores the connection with the global discourse of creativity and the reason of adopting the creative city model in spatial, economic and social terms. The research attempt to investigate what happened in the Chinese urban environment in the name of Creativity.

The idea of the creative city originated in the Western countries was adopted consequently by the Chinese Government at the beginning of the 21st century. Creativity belongs to the vast array of concepts and ideas that has historically shaped design and city management. Creativity in the modern cultural economy is thus in significant ways social phenomena that emerges directly out of the logic of the production system and the environment. This phenomena can be understood specifically in relation to different levels of analysis: the formation of cultural communities, the organization of economic activity, the dynamics of agglomerated production systems and the nature of competition, typical feature of the Chinese culture and mentality.

Creativity encompasses many concepts and ideas that have historically shaped theories and practices of planning, urban design and city management. The thesis develops fundamentally through different discourses. First, the Chinese idea of Creative City and the related one that supports the adoption of creativity-led planning in Chinese urban development; the definition of creativity in China in connection with the global discourses and adoption of the *creative city model* in economic terms. Consequently the research shifted to the introduction of creativity in China and in particular in Hong Kong.

The research is based on a research project which I had the opportunity to collaborate with Urbanus Architecture & Design Inc., one of the most

influential architecture firm founded in 1999 in Shenzhen, China founded by the partners Xiaodu Liu, Yan Meng and Hui Wang.

The thesis is strongly inspired by the collaboration of a great staff together with many discussions with the member of the creative class of different creative clusters in the city. This study is mainly a work of qualitative research that includes direct and indirect observation, case study, interviews, focus group and textual analysis. The purpose was to investigate the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) of Hong Kong from different angles and to understand how creativity has already transformed the urban environment.

The Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) of Hong Kong are a key factor in a successful hegemonic project that used the fashionable idea of creativity as an effective governmental device in the contemporary urban governance. The importance assigned to Cultural and Creative Industries, the added value and functions in the Chinese urban development.

I researched the most important Hong Kong creative spaces, such as *Fo Tan Industrial Building*, *Cattle Depot Artist Village*, *Innocentre*, *KwunTong* and the *West Kowloon Cultural District*. It was analyzed in detail the West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD) that is the largest government-led public space development project in Hong Kong. The aim of the government of Hong Kong is to position the city as the cultural hub of Asia in order to transform Hong Kong from a financial city to a unique global metropolis with cultural diversities by the end of 2017.

The thesis explores the economic outcomes of a creative economy in Hong Kong and it emerged that the fashionable trend of creativity-led planning has already transformed many Chinese cities into art and culture centers. The process of transformation has also affecting the economic growth of the country, increasing the gross domestic product and generating a social transformation. A strong connection occurs between the economic and the cultural spheres in the contemporary society, this with consequences for both economic analysis and cultural theories. In other words the vast array of economic activities is closely related to the cultural economy of cities.

The meaning of Creativity in the cultural economy can be summarized as: it helps people to define the notion of cultural production in general and to considerate the cultural economy as just another way of producing cultural goods and human culture. The cultural products have become a pivotal economic engine for many global cities and they constitute an increasing output of the modern capitalism. The concept of cultural economy is also related refers to different sectors such as technologies, transactional arrangements, employment profiles, cultural products which are susceptible to the market influence and sensible to place, tastes, social styles..etc.

Furthermore, the research examined to the use of public space and POPS, as a tool to understand the lack of space in Hong Kong.

During the research project it emerges that the interviewees of Hong Kong creative class share one common critique, that the current urban policy of Hong Kong restricts the use of public space for the creative industry development, even though the government emphasizes on cultural and creative industry development as one of the major restructuring directions of Hong Kong.

It also emerged that a large number of different state-owned organizations, state-subsidized private non-profit organizations, private enterprise profit-making firms, agencies, associations, foreign joint-venture are cooperating with the local government; they all have an important role in the heritage preservation of the ex-industrial buildings and factories and the following creation of high-skill and high-quality creative spaces.

1° Chapter : The Discourse of Creativity in China

1.1) Creativity comes to China

In 2004 China began following the global trend, recognizing Creativity as the new key asset for economic, social and urban development and as the source of competitive advantage in the post-industrial era (Porter, 1990; DTI, 1999; Ache, 2000; Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2002; Lavanga, 2006; Baycan-Levent, 2010). Since the concept has been imported to China from Western countries the country has started to develop its own model that over the years gave rise to a distinct model of creativity-led planning. Nowadays for many cities this model has become the driver of urban competitiveness and in a chain reaction is changing the development of urban environment in China.

The effective beginning of the creative era in China is considered 2005, when many Chinese cities started to renew urban spaces to construct a creative industry areas (Huang, Zhang and Liu, 2009).

The rapid spread of the concept of Creativity-led planning in Asia is due to the First Shanghai Creative Industries Forum¹ held from Nov. 30 to Dec. 6 2005 in Shanghai. The Chinese government together with foreign experts, researchers from universities, designers from different areas, business agencies and entrepreneurs from all sectors of creative industry participated in the first large international event reflecting creative industry in China.

¹ The First Shanghai Creative Industries Forum 第一届国际创意产业活动周 (pinyin: diyiju guoji chuangyi chanye huodongzhou) the first large international event of creative industry and it marked the opportunity to share experiences, to exhibit achievements, to build relationships, to cooperate mutually, to do business internationally.

This marked an opportunity to share experiences, to build relationships, to cooperate mutually, to exhibit achievements and to do business internationally. The issue of the concept of Creative City has been introduced in China by Liu Shifa² and Liu Wuwei³. These two important figures have played a key role in the development stage of the country, they are considered the founding fathers of the discourse of Creativity in China. Thanks to their cooperation with the Chinese government this concept has spread out all across Asia.

Liu Shifa published an article in 2004: "Implementing the creative century plan; developing the creative China campaign". In his declaration Liu said: "We are now focusing our attention on the new century: from creative industries to creative economy then to creative society. We are also focusing attention on China today: from *Made in China* to *Created in China*. We are advocating the implementation of a creative century plan, and the development of the creative China campaign".

Liu Shifa, the Vice-director of the Market Development section, established a set of guidelines for creative-led planning development in Chinese cities that have done the history of creativeness in many Chinese cities.

In 2009 Li Wuwei published the book "How creativity is changing China".

The professor, Li Wuwei explored how creativity was changing China instead of his predecessors who limited themselves to seek whether creativity was changing China or not. The author contributed to the development of the discourse of Creativity in Asia, he has been incisive to such an extent that all further authors dealing with the issue of creativity-led planning would have directly referred to him.

During these years Liu Shifa and Li Wuwei have become the two principle key actors most referenced in the discourse on creativity in China as they set guidelines for Chinese creativity-led planning that rapidly became a fashionable trend giving origin to the Chinese Creative Cities.

² Liu Shifa: Vice-director of the Market Development section within the Ministry of Culture.

³ Liu Weiwei: a senior policy advisor.

From 2005 to 2009 in just four years the spread of creative cities model has been exponential all over Asia perfectly in line with the characterizing of the Chinese development model based on efficiency. The Chinese government's campaign fostered: "*Time is money, Life is Efficiency*" and the slogan was applied to all daily life sectors, from real estate to the cultural industries.

The most famous Asian cities started following the global trend of creativity-led planning and consider Creativity as one of the most powerful driver for its urban competitiveness with other cities.

In 2004 Su Tong⁴, the Executive Director of the Creative China Industrial Alliance, invented the slogan From Made in China to Create in China. The slogan testified China's need and willingness to shift towards a post-industrial system and to become one of the leading counties. Also sir David Brewer, the Chairman of China-Britain Business Council restated in an interview: China has moved from '*Made in China*' to '*Designed in China*', this not only created many diverse opportunities for both local and foreign companies but also increasing its cultural economy and values.

Since this concept has been imported, it has become increasingly determining to the point where it has been taken by government as one of the country's targets for 2030. The adoption of this agenda by China can be interpreted as the willingness of not just taking part in the global transformation, but taking a leading role (Howkins, 2008).

For many years China has largely relied on imports of foreign ideas, models and all types of design but in this new era China empathized its need of developing own creative and cultural abilities.

⁴ Su Tong 苏童 (pinyin: SuTong): the Secretary-General of Created in China Industry Alliance.

Since 1978 when China launched the radical economic reform led by Deng Xiaoping⁵, whose aim was to transform the country from a centrally planned economy towards a market economy open to private enterprises and foreign capital, the imperial country began to play a role as leading character in the global economy.

In the years due to a variety of factors as the integration into global economy, consequent global competitiveness, exhaustion of natural resources, continuous proliferate of factories, the collapse of global financial system, all these events forced China to establish itself in the global market competition creating its own resources, new industries, human capital and strategic solutions.

In the post-industrial economy, the production of immaterial value (cognitive, social, symbolic and identity value) is privileged and is seen as an inescapable choice in the increasing competitive environment (McLuhan, 1995; Gilmore and Pine, 1999; Maione, 2001; Rullani, 2004; Sacco and Blessi, 2005).

The Chinese Government places emphasis on the importance of sustainable environment and the adaptive reuse of buildings or whole areas disintegrated over the years by atmospheric agents, negligence in cultural heritage.

Thematic upon sustainable development and preservation of cultural heritage are issues of the past decade, who's contents have been imported to China in a few years. For instance, the adaptive reuse of the industrial buildings has already become a catalyst for urban transformation and this trend has given origin to those that nowadays are considered the main examples of creative parks of Asia. The research focuses on how the growing interest for creativity-led planning had an influence on the rapid spread of these new subjects, both among policy-makers and citizens.

⁵ Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 (pinyin: Deng Xiaoping) 22/08/1904 - 19/02/1997. Representative member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and pioneer of the Four Modernizations reform relating to industry, agriculture, science, technology and military. The purpose of a socialist market economy strategy was the only key to achieve the objective of a modern nation.

Due to the strong willingness to overcoming the label of '*Made in China*' with '*Created in China*' the government rapidly pushed toward the development of creative industries accordingly with the Global discourse on creativity-led planning launched in the Western countries. In fact, the new economic growth model recommended the statement of Creative Industries as one of the key sector for the country competitiveness.

The progress stage started in 2005 during the First Shanghai Creative Industries Development Forum evinced the beginning of Creativity in China.

In 2009 there were over two hundred cultural clusters under construction all over China (Fu and Xu, 2009).

The spread generated a wave of different type of construction as cultural districts, creative parks, cultural clusters and creative hubs without distinction among these cultural spaces. The definitions are not fixed and vagueness can be interpreted as functional to the multiple aspects of creativity as a governmental device.

Creative clusters have already become the object of international research, there is still a lack not only of conceptual clarity but also of solid empirical basis (Chatterton, 2000; Martin and Sunley, 2003; Simmie, 2004; Evans, 2005; Pawson, 2006; Kong, 2009; Mommaas, 2009).

The boundaries of a typical western categorization of concepts lose ground in China, a unique definition of cultural and creative industry does not exist.

In fact, some authors may only refer to cultural industries or creative industries, or the two terms can be linked together and the notions of culture and creativity are conceived as interrelated and complementary.

An extensive research on all those activities fostered by Chinese government as the driver for urban city development is the base to understand in depth how Creativity has changed China today. It is important to try to clarify what are the activities that are promoted as the main force in the result on city future development.

By analysing researches and policies on this issue, many different ways of conceptualizing them can be traced: some works focus on the artistic-cultural activity, others extend it to the world of advertising, marketing and design, and in others still, the creative sector and the cultural one are used as interchangeable concept (Santagata, 2007; Sacco, 2006; Hartley, 2005; Henry, 2008).

Since the creative industries model has been fostered to renew urban spaces in Chinese cities the diffusion of the so called 'creative cities' has been unrestrained. The idea of creativity polarizing and thriving in abandoned factories and warehouses in big cities, has shaped China's urban landscape and the new urban planning approach has been adjusting areas that are perceived as no longer fit for the modern urban life (Dong and Haruna, 2012).

Creativity-led planning has rapidly settled in Chinese cities, some examples are: 798 Creative Park Design and 751 D-Park in Beijing, M50 in Shanghai, Guangzhou Creative Industrial Park, The Red House and Huashan in Taipei, Bupyeong Cultural District in Korea. These are considered the cities that mostly embraced the creativity-led planning urban development in China.

Adopting Creativity-led planning in urban development as a tool to foster a knowledge-based economy and to strengthen all those sectors that most highlight the role of soft capital as knowledge, culture and capitalising added immaterial values rather than material ones, the future of the economy of China will be guaranteed and the Cultural and Creative Industry (CCI) would be a solution.

1.2) The process of adoption of Western models

Since the vast array of creative concepts and expressions has been directly imported from Europe via transliteration into China, the lexicon of modern China has been affected and in particular the Modern standard Chinese otherwise called 普通话 putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) that is the official language of People's Republic of China. The adoption of new words directly into Chinese lexicon via transliteration literally means to create a neologism by matching the sounds of the original one using Mandarin syllables.

In the research process, transliteration is considered the preview to deeply understand the further development of the discourse of creativity in China.

The concept of creativity, creative city and creative industries are not typically a 'Made in China' product, rather it can be said that transnational traders together with linguists and *sinologists*⁶ are considered the co-founder of these concept in Mandarin lexicon.

When the Western idea of creativity became more and more global during the past decade, common words related to cultural and creative issue rapidly started to appear in Mandarin Chinese. The transliteration of words from English or other Western languages in Mandarin have always interested researchers and sinologist for a variety of reasons such as it promotes the country's knowledge, it opens views fostering the young to think globally, it encourages the study of other languages and neologisms, it accelerates the process of globalization of the country, and it encourages the new generations to travel and stimulates the research..etc.

⁶ Sinology: The study Chinese language, culture, history, etc.

Each country has a different history, set of institutions and guidelines that drives the future development and it is not surprising that in Asia as well the discourse of creativity has followed an alternative path developing over the years different kind models.

One side China has been a 'faithful importer' of Western models and ideas, on the other side these concepts gave origin to a own specific model of urban development led by creativity. The effective influence of creativity became tangible when developers began to transform the first Chinese cities in Creative Cities and building creative parks all over Asia.

1.2.1) The Transliteration process

Transliteration in Chinese of these concepts: Creativity, Creative City, Creative Industry, Creative Park and Creative Class.

The attempt here is to exemplify the complexity of some of the most important concepts related to the discourse of *Creativity, Creative City, Creative Industry, Creative Park and Creative Class* trying to give evidence of some peculiarities that characterize Chinese language.

Mandarin Chinese is a functional language and well-structured language arduous to learn but in a sense it can be said that the complexity of Chinese vocabulary is partially counterpoised by the simplicity of its grammatical structure. In Chinese writing for instance, the characters are *graphic units* associated with unity of meaning which are the *morphemes* together with a sound unit, which are the *syllables*.

The genesis of a new word is simply a semantic transliteration of an English word, e.g. in the character 创意 *chuangyi* (creative, innovative) the meaning remained unchanged. The two characters separately means 创 *chuang* (to create, start to do something, to launch, to achieve something for the first time) and 意 *yi* (significance, sense, purpose, meaning, idea, essence).

To the word translated from English it can be also given a suffix to hint its meaning, for instance the word 创造力 chuagzaoli (creativity) is affixed by 力 li (force, strength) a noun suffix made up for the transliteration of -ity that refers to a quality but literally it should be translated as Creative Force.

The same could be also translated with the character 创造性 chuangzaoxing (Creativity) which is affixed by 性 xing (-ity, -ness, nature, quality, character or sex). The character 创造 chuangzao if considered alone it literally means to originate, to create, to produce something new.

In fact, the concept of creativity itself implies- the production of something new which can be a tangible good or a work, a creation, an innovation and even a brainwave.

In certain cases, the neologism is not only a simple semantic representation of the English word, the transliteration can also combine the word both phonetically and semantically, but most of the times only one sense is activated. Many transliterations do not always follow a predictable pattern and many researcher and translators might be misled if they assume that a Chinese word can refer to any potential meaning in the original English word. It also has to be considered that all this sort of concepts were unconventional when they were transplanted into Chinese mentality and it took few years to become deep-seated in it.

For instance, the concept of Creative City has been translated in Chinese as 创意城市 and singularly means 创意 chuangyi (creative, innovative) and 城市 chengshi (city, town). In this case only the original meaning has been preserved without any kind of phonetic sense-translation.

The character 创意产业 chuangyi chanye (creative industry) is composed of the usual 创意 and 产业 chanye (property, industry, estate), also in this case only the semantic sense has been maintained/kept.

In other cases it may happen that the foreign word is translated but the meaning is changed, e.g. in the world 创意阶层 chuangyi jiceng (creative class) in which the two characters separately means 创意 chuangyi (creative) and 阶层 jieceng

(social stratum, hierarchy, class, level, rank). The term alludes to the new generation considered to be self-reliant, with risk-taking behavior, a creative attitude and able to positively influence future generations and the country's future.

The concept of a creative class in China was initially transliterated in a different way, that is 新新人类 xinxin renlei (neo neo group, tribe) but over the years has been changed with the modern one. These two words separately signified 新新 xinxin (most recent, newness) and 人类 renlei (human beings, humanity, tribe, cultural group, a gathering of person).

The members of the creative class were considered the central figures and leading character within the Chinese discourse on Creativity.

Subsequently, Chinese thinkers also emphasised the relevancy of giving creative class public space to express their talent.

Investigating the origin of the concept of 'class' in China it emerged that the term 工人阶级 gongren jieji (the working-class, or lower class, labor class) is composed of 工人 gongren (worker) and 阶级 jieji (class, type, genre, group).

The character 阶级 jieji utilized to translate class is not the same used in the creative class, that is 阶层 jiceng (class), and in China the term also refers to the intellectual workers. When we talk about China working classes we refer mainly to factory workers, farmers and shop workers who were paid a living wage and this has long since covered the biggest number of workers in China. The Chinese working class played a key role in the political imaginary of neoliberals. Chinese workers have been considered the competitive victor of capitalist globalization on the one hand, but they also embody the pitiable exploited victims of globalization on the other hand.

In the years between 1780 and 1832 the first author to define the concept of class was Thompson. He is responsible for the consequent creation of the term working class in England and its evolution.

The term *working class* was used rather than *classes* to emphasize the growth of a working-class consciousness.

The working-class came to feel an identity of interests as between themselves and as against other men whose interests are different from theirs (Thompson, 1991). His theories are based on the growth of a working class consciousness characterized by an extremely influential work and values of solidarity, mutuality, collectivism, political radicalism and considered as being in control of their own making. The rise of a creative class in China is closely connected to the new claims for cultural leadership of an emergent creative class, which generates new issues about the discourse of Creativity in China. This is in the terms of its relevance to Chinese economic circumstances, its flexibility and capacity to respond to strategies that boost innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship. Creativity is inherent in most people to varying degrees and not just in “creative geniuses” or exclusively of the creative class. The idea of applying occupational frame booms with the introduction of the creative class theory (Florida, 2002). The idea of a Chinese Creative Class has been well explored by Florida which started analyzing the way of thinking, lifestyle and creative productions of the Americans responsible for boosting the creativity in the 21st century global market. The key to economic growth and competitiveness revolves around one key factor: the mobilization of talents on a global scale constituting of the so-called creative class.

The best indicator of a country's economic vitality is the presence of a vibrant and well-established creative class working in the creative fields such as art, culture, innovation, technology, science, high-tech, design, advertising, entertainment, music, fashion, education, entrepreneurship and research.

According to recent statistics⁷, Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin are the three major cities in China that have accumulated a considerable mass of creative force.

As pointed out by the report, in many cities the creative class share of the workforce is similar to those percentages of creative workers found in major cities of developed countries, scoring between 20% and 25%. This can be taken as an index of the continued rise of the creative class in China.

The concept of creative class is also closely related to that of *middle class*.

In modern China the actors on a social stage are no longer peasants or working class, but middle class professionals, entrepreneurs and creative talents. As supported by Zhang⁸ in his book, Chinese society is presently dominated by consumerism and the rise of a new middle class hoping to find material comfort and social distinction, following a quest for a good life that is transforming the physical landscapes of urban China.

The emergence of a new middle class is fundamentally linked to the post-Mao market reforms and economic liberalization that set the condition for the growth of private enterprises. Initially, the term middle class was transliterated in Chinese as 一个新中产阶级 *yigexin zhongchan jieji* (a new middle class, well-off people) is composed by the characters 一个新 *yigexin* (a new one), 中产 *zhongchan* (middle, median) and 阶级 *jieji* (class). To understand this concept it is essential to comprehend the constitutive and transformative relationship among the emerging social class and the emerging urbanization led by creativity.

The author elaborated the key concept of the *spatialization of class* referred to the production of a *private paradise* 个人的天堂 *geren de tiantang* (private, personal paradise) that provides the physical ground on which the making of a new middle class becomes achievable.

⁷ Martin Prosperity Institute at Rotman School of Management at the University of Toronto

⁸ In search of paradise: Middle-Class Living in a Chinese Metropolis, Li Zhang.

The Chinese term 新中产阶级 xīn zhongchan jieceng (new middle propertied strata) is composed by 新 xīn (new) 中产 zhongchan (middle) and 阶层 jieceng (hierarchy, stratum). The choice of 阶层 jieceng rather than the previous 阶级 jieji (class) is not done at random, it refers to economic and social transformations that goes hand in hand with urban spatialization.

Furthermore, the term 阶级 jieji (class) caused great suffering under Mao, this is the reason why it has been replaced with that of 阶层 jieceng (hierarchy, stratum) that reflects these aspects: making hierarchical relationships, providing social and cultural positioning and accumulating human capital.

The concept of *urban hierarchy* is straight associated to Florida's concept of the creative class and it compares the distribution of the general population with the members of the creative class within eight European countries.

This concept will be well clarified and explained in the third chapter.

The last and most important transliteration for the research is the concept of Creative Parks because it will be considered in the development of the research in Hong Kong creative parks towards the end of the thesis.

The character 创意园 chuangyiyuan is the transliteration for the West-coined concept of Creative Park. This notion will be analysed in the following chapters. Summarizing the first phase of research about the process of adoption of Western models and the transliteration of Western concepts of Creativity, I can safely say that for the far-reaching category of concepts and ideas imported from English language, China has resisted translating them phonetically and instead opted for a sense-translation in the majority of cases.

The tendency to prefer a semantic translation rather than a phonetic one is not only concerned with the Cultural and Creative Industry (CCI) sector, however it also includes the wide range of fashion trends, lifestyles, way of thinking, new concepts..etc.. which are nowadays increasingly affecting and inspiring the Chinese society.

Succeeding a comprehensive research study on CCI's terminology, in the specific Western-coined transliterations into Mandarin Chinese, it emerged that it is arduous to provide an in depth and accurate etymology for each loan word or more specifications about the history of some of those cultural term.

1.3) Cultural and Creative Industries in China and definitions of key concepts

The transliteration of terms concerning the discourse of Creativity has played a fundamental role in the transformation of the lexicon in modern China. Since these concepts have rapidly spread across Asia and were taken for granted simply because they did not exist in traditional Chinese culture, many ideological barriers have been overthrow.

The attention here is particularly focused on the destruction of cultural barriers and the resultant spread of the Cultural and Creative Industry's paradigm.

Starting from 2006 a batch of policies were issued by Government in order to fulfill the advocated orientation and to foster a highly intensive knowledge-based market competition. The authorities mainly focused on the protection of intellectual property, brand stimulation, opening new consumer markets and creation of new hotspots of demand, aiming at increasing interaction between consumer and producers (Kong at al., 2006).

Chinese leaders align the country to what they recognize as being the international development trajectory and which they wish to replicate.

The adoption of this agenda by China can be interpreted as the willingness of not just taking part of the global transformation, but taking a leading part (Howking, 2008).

The first policies issued on the development of art and culture were based on the policies of the other countries and the motivation behind this was to boost its own regulation. For instance, one of the first global categorization on the theme of Creative Industry was edited in 2001 by the UK government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport. The creative industries are identified in the *Creative Industries Mapping Document* as “those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001).

The document classifies the leading activities for the cultural development: arts, architecture, advertising, film and video, fashion, crafts, design, performing arts, computer and videogames, music, publishing, software, television and radio.

A similar categorization on the cultural activities is also provided by the United Nations in the Document Creative Industries Development that was edited in 2004. The classification is characterized by a distinction between the upstream activities (traditional art, performing arts, visual art) and downstream activities (advertising, design, publishing and media).

Other similar categorization were presented by Eurostat in 2002, by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2006 and the European Commission (2006).

All these cultural activities categorized by the wave of international organizations are equally recognized by the Chinese Government, after the First Shanghai Creative Industries Forum held in 2005 in Shanghai. Those activities are considered as determinants for the socio-economic transformation of the country and the global competitiveness on the global discourse of Creativity.

The adoption of the global discourse of Creativity-led planning has gone hand in hand with the spread of creative cities in China and Creativity has become nowadays one of the major strategy to redevelop the urban China environment.

1.3.1) The Creative Industries

Creative industries embraces those companies that provide creative services to clients such as design, architecture and advertising; retail companies that provide a creative product, for instance newspapers, magazines, radio, TV broadcasting, galleries, museums, cinema; and also replicable creative products protected by copyright.

The Creative Industries cluster model has been used as a means for renewing urban spaces and it has become a new approach to urban planning and design (Dong and Haruna, 2012).

The policy agenda on CCI promoted by the Chinese Government includes these objectives: to nourish creative talents, to renovate the urban industrial spaces, to sustain a vibrant creative economy and to form a local creative class. In China the competition on CCI has increasingly nurture local high-skilled and talented artists while simultaneously attracting people from the creative class of Western countries. As a Consequence of the arrival of new concepts from foreign countries since 2005, with the deepening of the reform of China's creative model, a group of Chinese cities began to construct creative industry hubs, where the uses and businesses gather (Huang, Zhang and Liu, 2009).

The discourse of Creative Industries will be analyzed in-depth in the following chapter in order to define the term in connection with the city of Hong Kong.

2° Chapter : The Discourse of Creativity in Hong Kong

1.1) A brief introduction of Hong Kong history

The history of the political economy of Hong Kong was determined primarily by its geographical location. It was linked closely with both the PRC and Britain's history for many reasons such as boundaries, colonial domination, naval bases and economic factors. Due to its natural geographic position HK has been the Guangdong province's port positioned in the international economy and as a commercial warehouse for the Chinese regional and global trade.

The territory of Hong Kong includes the two main islands, Hong Kong Island and Lantau Island and also a Mainland hinterland which borders with Guangdong province in South-East China.

In 1842 under the Treaty of Nanking, Hong Kong was ceded by China to the British rule and rapidly increased its financial and commercial services led by banking, trade and merchant shipping.

Starting from 19th century Hong Kong became one of the most important international financial center in the world and in 1950s observed a rapid and successful process of industrialization. The beginning of the post-war industrialization is dated on 1945 when immigrant refugees, entrepreneurs and capital incoming from the civil war on the mainland started moving to Hong Kong. The industrialization was based primarily on textile sector and gradually diversified to electronics, plastics and labor-intensive productions for export, accompanied by small and medium-sized enterprises (SME), manufacturing establishments and factories spread all over Asia.

The rapid process of industrialization in Hong Kong was not affected by the Chinese economic model based on state-led industrialization⁹, as had happened in Singapore and South Korea. Its economic development has been driven and facilitated by the free trades and liberal employment laws, low taxes. In 1978 Deng Xiaoping announced the Open Door Policy in China and this fact marked a turning point in the economic history of Hong Kong, because he accelerated the relations between Chinese international trade and Hong Kong's commercial and financial services. In 1980s, as a consequence of the open door policy, HK's industries relocated their labor intense activities to the Mainland, specifically to PRD region, situated in the Guangdong province. This new era caused a transformation of the city's economy that shifted from solely the manufacturing industry to a service one.

In July 1997 Hong Kong returned to the Chinese administrative control, under the Basic Law One Country-Two Systems Policy which allowed for a higher degree of autonomy, including retaining its capitalist system, independent judiciary and rule of law, free trade, free speech and international trade control.

Over the years a chain of events affected both China and HK, for instance the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 prompted a breakdown in HK's property market and in share prices and the consequent beginning of a new phase of recession characterized by prices depreciation, low income, unemployment, decline of outputs and a large amount of vacant property due to the relocation of manufacturing industries, which later would become the regenerated areas for the production of art and culture.

⁹ The Industrial Era of China was marked by the program settled down by Mao Zedong based on the Theory of Productive Forces. From 1958 to 1961 PRC was transformed from a primarily agrarian economy by peasant farmers into a modern communist society through agriculture and industrialization. This phase is called 大跃进 (dayejin) that means Maoist Great Leap Forward.

2.2 The Cultural Development of the city

Since a chain of events led HK to lose its position and reputation as financial centre of Asia the government of HKSAR started to produce a batch of policies to reinforce the city's economic growth aiming to foster the development of different sectors, create employment and provide citizens with a better quality of life.

The Cultural Development process of Hong Kong officially began in 1970 when the British Government of HKSAR realized that citizens need a variety of cultural activities and art venues to be the focus of spending to position the city as financial and money making venues cultivating and enhancing local talents. Through a meticulous policy review process from 1970 to 2013 and research study on the major examples of cultural districts in Hong Kong, the result obtained is a timeline of all the major events that add to the history of the cultural development of the city.

The detailed **timeline below** reports the events pushing Hong Kong toward a creative city. The graphic includes the events characterizing the development of cultural and creative industries, the Government policy Address, the foundation of non-profit organizations, art centers, study case of revitalizing projects, international programs, cultural activities, future projects..etc.

EVENTS PROMOTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CREATIVITY IN HK

1977		Hong Kong Arts Centre (HKAC)
1980		The “Open Door Policy” of the Mainland made by Deng Xiaoping
1989		The Central Policy Unit (CPU)
1997	1 July	Established the British Consulate General
2000		The "Area Assessments for Rezoning"
		Hog Kong Art School (HKAS)
		Fotan Industrial Buildings, one of the first art district of Hong Kong Loft Stage in San Po Kong
2001		The Revitalization Policy of Industrial Building
		The “Closer Economic Partnership Agreement” provided cooperation between Hong Kong and the PRD region
		Hong Kong Design Centre
2002		the Business of Design Week (BODW)
2003		Definition of HK's Creative Industries by Desmond Hui, it is considered the baseline study on HK's Creative Industries, GCP
2004		The “creative city” theme has been entered into the policy-maker agenda in Hong Kong
	14-17 Nov	Asia Cultural Co-operation Forum 2004 “Challenges and opportunities for a Creative Asia”
2005		Public Art Hong Kong (PAHK)
		Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC) in Shek Kei Mei since 1977 Policy Address on CCI
2006		The Hong Kong Fringe Club, in Central, established in 1984
2008		60 th Anniversary of the establishment of the British Council
		Task Force on Economic Challenges, Co-operation between Government and RICS (RICS= Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors)
2009		The Policy Address: 2009 made by the Chief Executive to define the Six Industries where HK enjoys advantages for further development
		Renovation of Cattle Depot Artist Village in To Kwa Wan, built in 1908
		Cultural and Creative Industries identified as the Task Force on Economic Challenges
		Create Hong Kong (CHK) - an office dedicated to promoting the development of creative industries in Hong Kong
		Create Smart Initiatives – Revitalizing the Central School- the Former Politic Married Quarters
	since 2017	The West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD)
2010		Developing PRD Region (Guangdong Province) into a green and quality living area
2011		Policy Address: launched \$30 million of annual funding for the development of CCI in Hong Kong
2012		The Business of Design Week
	December	“HK Eye” Art Show, London, Saatchi Gallery
2013		Policy Address: development of Hung Shui Kiu New Development Area and the New Territories North in Hong Kong

2.3 The Origin of Cultural and Creative Industry (CCI) in Hong Kong

The history of Hong Kong Cultural and Creative Industries development is to a certain extent directly connected with the unique situation that characterizes Hong Kong. Only through an historical analysis it is possible to understand deeply the CCI policy issued by Government over the past ten years and also to predict the future development of cultural sector.

Since 1990s the British Colonial Government of HKSAR began to prepare a reform agenda on arts and cultural sector able to transform the city environment. The first document concerning arts institutional reform was the Arts Policy Review Report by the former Recreation and Culture Branch in 1993, followed by Review of District Organization Consultation Report by the Constitutional Affairs Bureau in 1998 and the Culture and Heritage Commission's consultation papers in 2001 and 2002.

Since origin the issue of art and cultural policy has always been a controversial subject surrounded by policy debates, research and hundreds of policy recommendations to government.

After handling a careful review of all the policy on the subject of art and cultural development in Hong Kong, the attention in this paragraph is focused in particular on the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) of Hong Kong, their evolution and definition.

In November 2004 the Home Affairs Bureau of HKSAR organized in Hong Kong the first *Asia Cultural Co-operation Forum 2004*. The first session was focused on the challenges and opportunities for a creative Asia. The symposium was convened jointly by UNESCO, the World Bank, the United Nations Industrial Development organization, the Asian Development Bank together with the support of the Asian top creators and leaders of successful cultural industries, scholars, professors, planners, economists, bankers, intellectuals from all over. The debate was mainly focused on how can Asian cultures innovate how can the Government promote a cultural knowledge-based economy that consequently would be labeled as a 'Creative Economy'.

The concentrated attention was placed upon the potential development of cultural industries as key sector of economic transformation.

2.3.1) Definitions of Cultural and Creative Industry in Hong Kong

The Cantonese term 文化及創意產業 wenhua ji chuangyi chanye (cultural and creative industries) is simply a semantic transliteration of the English word Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) and its meaning has kept unchanged. The new subject is still evolving globally and it does not exist a unique definition of CCI, sometimes it can be used 'Creative Industries', other times to 'Cultural Industries' , otherwise the two adjectives cultural and creative can be linked together. These terms are continuously used by different countries and international organizations at all times to describe CCI.

This concept refers to one of the most dynamic sectors in Hong Kong that contributes to the economic growth of the country and employment. The CCI includes a large number of knowledge based activities that deploy Creativity and Innovation as essential goods and services with cultural, artistic and creative content.

In September 2010 the Census and Statistic Department (C&SD) in Hong Kong achieved a review of the statistical framework for CCI taking into account all the international statistical guidelines and adapting them to the economic situation in HK. In two years the C&SD released detailed industry statistics of CCI from 2005 to 2009.

The classification of CCI is based on the international statistical guidelines promulgated by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The classification of CCI in Hong Kong includes 11 sectors:

- 1) *Art, antiques and crafts;*
- 2) *Cultural education and library, archive and museum services;*
- 3) *Performing arts;*
- 4) *Film, video and music;*
- 5) *Television and radio;*
- 6) *Publishing;*
- 7) *Software, computer games and interactive media;*
- 8) *Design;*
- 9) *Architecture;*
- 10) *Advertising;*
- 11) *Amusement services.*

All these sectors have one thing in common, they are the result of individuals exercising their talent, imagination and abilities. The results of culture and creative industries are creative products that are defined as an economic good or service that results from creativity and has economic value (Howkins, 2007). As the author claimed the important features of a creative product are essentially two, it is the result of creative activities and it has a recognizable economic value.

The Hong Kong Art Map: The GIS is a mapping system that reports the concentration of CCI in Hong Kong. The Map includes: Creative Spaces, Creative Clusters, Galleries, Production Studios, Museum, Performance Places, Institutions and Cultural Events.

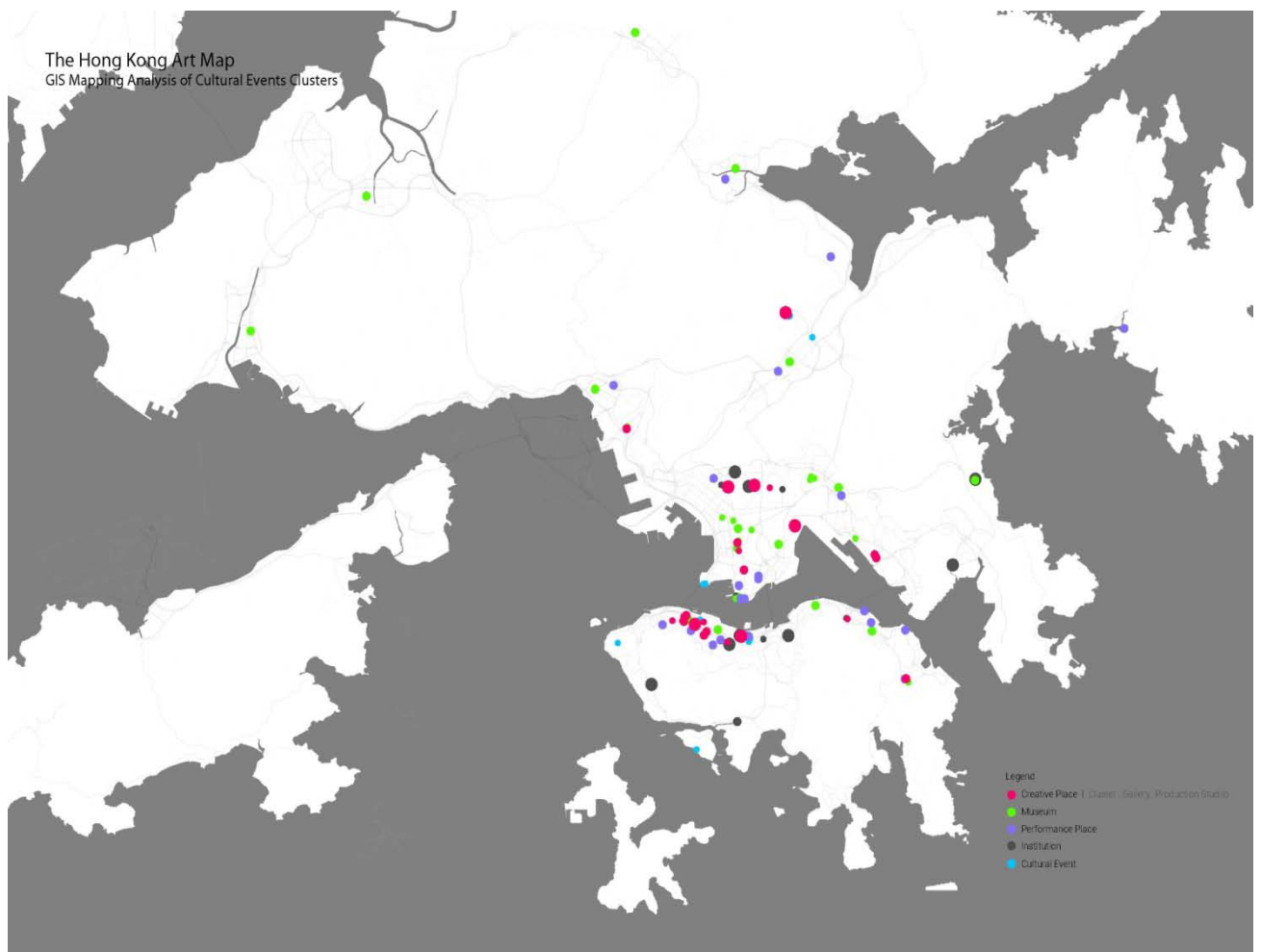


Figure 1. Mapping the CCI in Hong Kong (courtesy of URB – Urbanus Research Bureau)

Chapter 3° : The Making of Hong Kong as a Creative City

Introduction

After reviewing in detail all the government policies relating to the CCI, in this chapter the attention is focused on the economic aspects of the so-called Creative Economy and how this has already influenced for a number of years the economy of one of the most important financial service centres of Asia: Hong Kong. Here the purpose is to provide a selection of explanation, examples and defining factors of the Creative Economy in connection to the economic situation of Hong Kong carried out in the period between 2003 and 2011.

3.1) The Creative Economy of Cities

Due to the vision of cities as models for the dynamic process of urban transformation and secondly the economy as a central force to generate urban change, the discourse on Creative Cities has been introduced as the pattern for urban development strategies.

The urban competition between cities on immaterial capitals, such as the creative production and the outcome of the CCI, has required the formulation of new development strategies. Urban planning is invested with the capability of changing and determining urban spatial structure and strategies in a way that promotes urban competitiveness, and, in broad terms, sustainable urban development (Chengri, 2004; Wu and Yu, 2005). Subsequently innovative models have been formulated for city progress and among these, one has become specially famed: the “Creative City model”.

The innovative model was proposed as a means by which the urban market can re-launch cities in times of financial crisis.

In the past decade, the global discourse of creativity-led planning and creative city were introduced to enhance economic and sustainable development and in a short space of time this has reached a position of preferred choice for many Chinese cities.

The city development process based on Creativity is considered nowadays as one of the last ways to compete in the globalized market environment.

Creativity is one of the last remaining legal ways of going on unfair advantage over the competition.

By making explicit reference to John Anthony Howkins (2007), *Creativity is the ability to generate something new, the ability of generating something from nothing. It means the production by one or more people of ideas and inventions.* The term itself is actually hard to define because is the creation of 'something from nothing'.

The economic transformation we are living through in our time is much bigger than a shift from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy. Nowadays we are shifting from an older industrial style economy built around factories and manufacturing districts toward a creative economy and a creative society. The relation among creativity and economy is not is not of immediately comprehensible.

An economy is conventionally defined as system for the production, exchange and consumption of goods and services.

Economics generally deal with the problem of how individuals and societies satisfy their wants which are infinite, with resources which are finite; instead ideas are not limited in the same way as tangible goods, and as a result the nature of their economy is different.

Creativity is not necessary an economic activity but may become so when it produces an idea with economic implications or a tradable product.

The transition is from abstract to practical, from immaterial to material, from idea to product.

As defined by Howkins, a creative product, is an economic good or service and is the result of creativity and innovation and it has economic value.

The creative products that are the result of creativity, innovation of creative entrepreneurs are saleable products in the market and taken for given that, it is instinctive to ask the question: Do the creative products have the same attributes characteristics of any other saleable product in the market? And if it does, can be the creativity considered a capital?

Economists define 'capital' as something which is not, or not only, valued for current use but it is an investment for the future. The concept of capital therefore developed in tandem with the concept of interest.

Capital is stock; it is stable; it has longevity. (Howkins, 2007).

Since its origin, capital is an inevitable element of any society that has to 'grapple with the necessities and disputes of exchange, production and consumption' (Braudel, 1984; Howkins,2007).

The transformation of the nature of the economy is continually reflected by the social, economic and urban planning development. For instance, in the transformation from a farming society to an agricultural one, or trade, manufacturing, financial services, it has always been required a different type of capital. Thus, in the emerging creative society, it is reasonable to assume that the fashionable concept of Creativity will be the new capital.

3.2) The transformation of Hong Kong in a Creative Economy

In the 1980s Hong Kong became an international financial centre and joins the world's top ten economies. A big role in social and economic transformations came when China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001. Since this moment many trade barriers to Chinese goods were overturned. China's accession to the WTO was an experiment for the country to compete with other country's economies and over the years China has surpassed its goals. One of the concepts that guided the research is that the creative city growth strategy can be analysed as a successful hegemonic project that is working to strengthen the interests of transnational capital (Jessop, 2003), since it is functional to elite-driven priorities in the policy process of the wave of urban renewal projects for generating future growth and for waging a competitive struggle to attract investment capital (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). The Chinese government responded to the global competition by investing in new sectors such as human capital, new technology and by innovating design and a variety of policies and strategy which have been issued by Government in order to fulfil the advocated orientation and to foster an highly intensive knowledge-based market competition. The authorities mainly focused on the protection of intellectual property, brand stimulation, opening new consumer markets and creation of new hotspots of demand, aiming at increasing interaction between consumer and producers (Kong, 2006).

In 2004 the creative economy showed up as one of the most appealing alternatives to overcome the manufacturing crisis of the past decade and also to revitalise depressed urban areas, manufacturing industries and abandoned buildings.

It could assure the economic recovery for the economic growth of Hong Kong after that its hegemonic position as a financial centre of Asia had been taken by the large Asian financial centers¹⁰ such as Shanghai, Singapore and others.

The Creative Economy is a powerful and positive global network that connects together artists, cultural non-profit organizations and creative enterprises to produce and distribute in the global market cultural goods and services that impact the economy by generating jobs, revenue, and quality of life. The economic contribution can be calculated in terms of value added generated¹¹, employment opportunities created and trade in relevant goods and services within the sector of CCI.

The principal economic implications and characteristics of a CCI are essentially these: the increase of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the generation of more wealth and employment, art market competition, tourism, public space, nurture individual creativity talents, innovation, contribution to historical and cultural heritage preservation, the improvement of cultural capital, building upon the intellectual assets of the cultural community and fostering cultural diversities aggregation, giving rise to other new industries, stimulate consumption of cultural and creative products while related industries produce unlimited output value, enhance public understanding of how the CCI contribute to the vitality of economy, enhance quality of public culture and promote human development by generating long-term prosperity for everyone in society and enhance creative class satisfaction.

10 According to the annual reports provided by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on the economic growth, development and regional integration process and economic situation, trends and policy challenges of China, India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) that includes Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines.

11 Value added statistics for CCI includes the Annual Survey of Economic Activities (ASEA) conducted by C&SD.

Creativity has incisively affected also the metropolis of Hong Kong and its creativity-led urban development by affecting important businesses such as real estate, hotel development, manufacturing products and tourism, especially cultural tourism.

In this paragraph, the research gave evidence that the production of goods from the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) sector influenced as well the market strategies of the government.

The CCI are among the most dynamic sectors in Hong Kong contributing to economic growth and job creation. They comprise a set of knowledge-based activities that deploy creativity and intellectual capital as primary inputs and deliver goods and services with cultural, artistic and creative content.

In September 2010 the Census and Statistics Department (C&SD) first completed a review of the statistical framework for CCI in HK and 2013 were published the eleven component domains of CCI taking into account the international statistical guidelines and adapting them to the economic situation in HK. Statistics are mainly based on the international statistical guidelines published by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The measurement of the economic contribution of CCI in Hong Kong is mapped to relevant industries as classified under the HK Standard Industrial Classification¹² (HSIC) for outlining the economic activities that are involved in the cycle of creation of content, production and distribution of the cultural and creative goods and services concerned. From statistics, it can be clearly deduced that a large number of people are directly

12 Census and Statistics Department (C&SD) HSIC Version 2.0 is the latest version of HSIC modelled on the United Nations International Standard Industrial Classification of all the economic activities revision with local adaptation.

engaged in the CCI's sector, including full-time salaried employees, part-time employees, directors, partners..etc. The trade in cultural and creative goods refers to the import and export between Hong Kong and foreign countries and the statistics are based on the information contained in import and export declarations. The trade of cultural and creative services¹³ covers different kind of services, such as advertising, architectural, computer, cultural, R&D and recreational services. The creative industries have many different outcomes, for example, the economic contribution of creativity includes added value of creative industries as % of GDP, number of engaged persons in cultural and creative industries as % of total employment, share of cultural goods relative to import and export trade in good, % of business receipts from selling goods, services through electronic means (E-commerce), outcomes of other creative activities(such as films, performances, music), non-government organizations (NGOs), human capital, R&D expenditure as% of GDP (such as business sector, education, public interest), tourism, social participation, expenditure on art and culture as % of total public expenditure..etc.

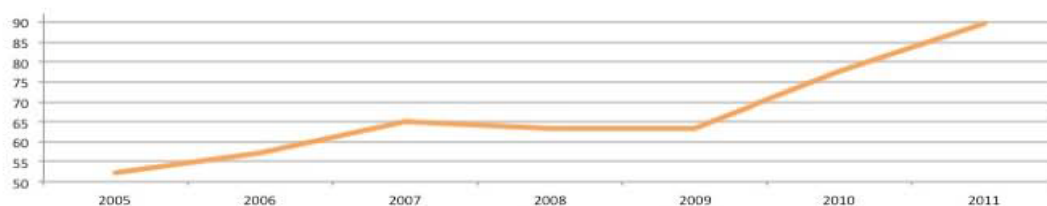
From the statistics emerges that in Hong Kong the percentage of GDP related to Cultural and Creative industries (CCI) increased from 3.8% in 2005 to 4.6% in 2010. During the period from 2005 to 2010, employment in CCI increased by 2.0% per annum. The contribution of CCI to total employment also rose progressively from 5.1% in 2005 to 5.4% in 2010.

In conclusion, from the analysis of the different outcomes of cultural and creative industries it emerges that the growth of the creative economy in Hong Kong is likely to influence also the other economic arenas.

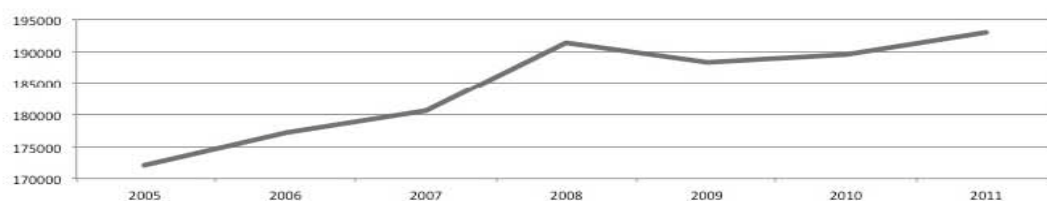
13 Statistics on import and export of cultural and creative services are based on data compiled from the Annual Survey of Imports and Exports of Services conducted by C&SD.

The tables show the data for the Value added and Employment in the Cultural and Creative Industries and the % of GDP in Hong Kong from 2005 to 2011.

	HK\$ Millions						
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Value added of the cultural and creative industries	52,258	57,309	65,117	63,275	63,266	77,573	89,553
% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	3.8%	3.9%	4.1%	3.9%	4.0%	4.5%	4.7%



	Number (rounded to the nearest ten)						
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of persons engaged in the cultural and creative industries	171990	177200	180620	191260	188250	189430	192930
% of total employment	5.1%	5.2%	5.2%	5.4%	5.4%	5.4%	5.4%

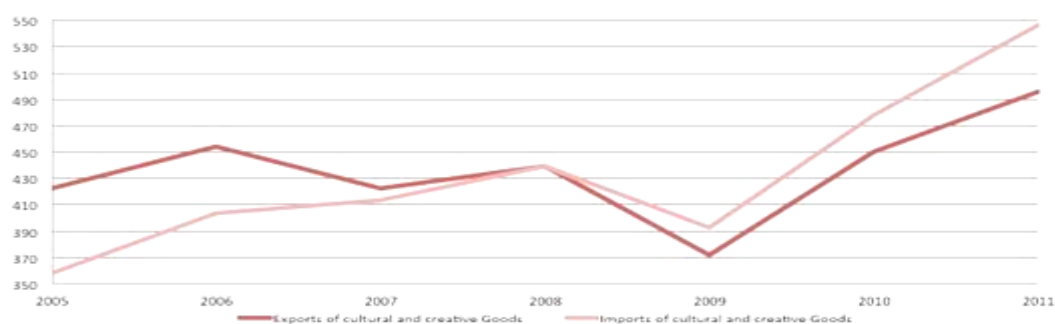


The tables show the data for the Import-Export of Cultural and Creative Goods and Services and the % of GDP in Hong Kong from 2005 to 2011.

Total exports and imports of cultural and creative Goods

HK\$ Millions

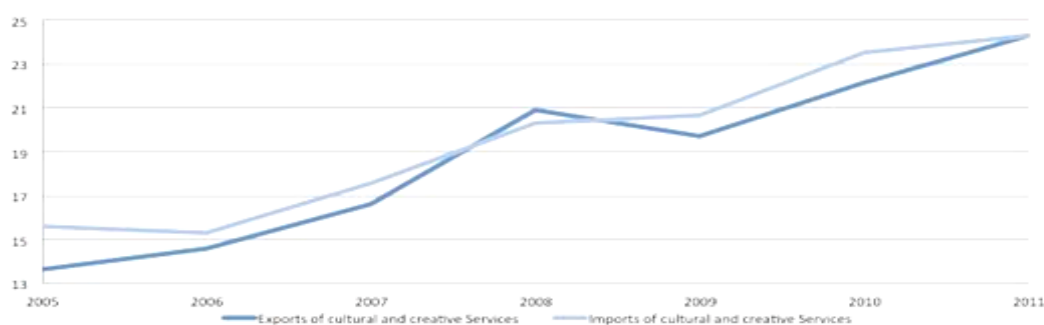
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Exports of cultural and creative Goods	422,365	453,666	422,756	439,342	371,644	449,803	495,826
% of total exports of goods	18,8%	18,4%	15,7%	15,6%	15,1%	14,8%	14,9%
Imports of cultural and creative Goods	357,412	403,146	413,691	438,975	392,782	477,698	545,928
% of total imports of goods	15,3%	15,5%	14,4%	14,5%	14,6%	14,2%	14,5%



Total exports and imports of cultural and creative Services

HK\$ Millions

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Exports of cultural and creative Services	13,632	14,628	16,602	20,921	19,707	22,185	24,276
% of total exports of services	3,7%	3,5%	3,3%	3,8%	3,9%	3,5%	3,4%
Imports of cultural and creative Services	15,595	15,291	17,548	20,297	20,674	23,544	24,316
% of total imports of services	3,6%	3,1%	3,3%	3,6%	4,4%	4,3%	4,2%



3.3) The Creative Space and POPS in Hong Kong

The way in which the economics of ideas and inventions are treated obviously affects all social, cultural, ideological, political issues and the use of space as well. In this paragraph the goal is to demonstrate how the use of public space is closely connected to the discourse of creativity. The ability of the city to protect its own culture and knowledge and therefore to sustain its capacity for creativity and innovation affects all the government policies, the rising creative economy and also the urban development led by creativity. The roles of urban planning and design are actually seen crucial in the establishment of frameworks and practices that should constitute the solid base for city facing new pressures (Bramley and Lambert, 2002; Verwijnen and Lehouvori, 2002; Healey, 2007; Sape, 2010). In recent years projects for cultural development of cities and urban regeneration projects gain a new centrality in the debate on the economic development of the territories.

These issues have given rise to new exploitation of culture and cultural policies emphasizing the competition between HK and different cities in China. In fact, city after city started to set up creative quarters within the centre of the city or in the ex-industrial buildings, like Singapore that classified one area of the city state as a creative zone and many of these creative zones are widely used in urban regeneration projects.

The government of Hong Kong as well started to focus on the relationship between the cultural vibrancy and vitality of cities and their attractive potential to new enterprises and businesses, and for the local creative class. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in Hong Kong the financial service industries are the pivotal pillar of its economy.

The industry competitiveness and sustainability matter greatly not only to the reputation of the city as a global financial center but more importantly to the livelihoods of its 8 million residents.

The attention in this paragraph is focused on Hong Kong and highlights the relationship between the cultural vibrancy of cities and their attractive potential to new enterprises and the local creative class.

The making of creative spaces has been one of the major political shifting in recent years in Hong Kong and the urban redevelopment of the city began after the relocation of manufacturing industries to the Guangdong province in 90's. Over the years the process of relocation lead to numerous vacancy spaces throughout the city that nowadays have become object of interest of the government.

The urban redevelopment strategies started characterizing the government policies with the issue of the first *Revitalization Policy of Industrial Building* in 2001. The aim of rejuvenating old underutilized buildings to create new creative spaces for the development of CCI in HK became established with the *Policy Address on Cultural and Creative Industries* issued in 2005.

In 2009 the *Chief Executive's Policy Address 2009* concerned the utilization of the land resources for the development of the so called Six Industries. The policy launched various measures to release the potential of 1.000 industrial buildings in Hong Kong in 2009 such as:

- 1) lower the threshold for compulsory sale for redevelopment for industrial buildings in non-industrial areas to facilitate the consolidation of ownership by owners;
- 2) to enable owners to pay additional premiums according to the actual development density after redevelopment based on a 'pay for what you build' approach;
- 3) allow owners who modify the lease for redevelopments to opt to pay additional premiums by installments over a period of five years at a fixed interest rate if the premiums payable exceed \$20 million;

4) exempt owners who opt for the wholesale conversion of a building instead of redevelopment from paying the waiver fee for change of land use, provided that the requirement on age of property is met and planning permission is obtained. The policy focuses on the creation of cultural and educational center with the aim of developing cultural and creative industries within the post-industrial areas. From 2001 to 2013 a batch of policies on CCI have been issued to foster the revitalization of industrial areas and this process continued without interruption to force the cultural and creative industries, to develop a local creative class, to attract talents from all over and create a creative atmosphere.

3.3.1) High-density Environment

The statistics provided in 2011 by the Department of Urban Planning and Design of the University of Hong Kong reveals that the urban area has one of the highest population and employment density in the world with 6.588 high-rise residential buildings.

Hong Kong is characterized by an high-density environment that directly affects all human spheres of local citizen, migrants, tourists and the creative class.

The French art writer Caroline Ha Thuc, during an interview at the Affordable Art Fair says: "The artists explore the complex relationships between human and urban environment, develop the understanding of the new reality of Hong Kong to let people adapting better to such environment".

The high-density environment is evident in the series of the German photographer Michael Wolf who lives in Hong Kong since 1994 and first depicted the buildings of HK as 'abstractions, never-ending repetitions of architectural patterns'. Michael Wolf during the interview said: *"In Hong Kong I had the good fortune of photographing my architecture of density series in a way which hadn't been done before. I cropped every building that there was no sky and no horizon so the result was that you had a very tight picture which could be credibly large because you had no idea where the building ended on the sides and on the top. If you looked at it from far away hanging on a wall it looked very abstract. But when you came up close you suddenly realized that this was a huge building and it had life inside. You saw the details on it so it suddenly became a statement on how we live in mega cities"*.



Figure 2. The High-density Environment of Hong Kong

From the interviews to the local creative class of Hong Kong it emerges also that the concept of high-density environment in HK is directly related to that of physical limitation of space, or better to the lack of space. High density in Hong Kong may have advantages such as creating a more efficient land use and a more cost-effective in providing public services and facilities, such as the lowest energy consumption per capita in the world in terms of transportation, this because high density maximizes the effectiveness of public transport while minimizing the distance between places, reducing energy and infrastructure costs.

The high-density environment also has negative effects such as noise, limited space, sometimes disease as claustrophobia, overcrowding.

A way to mitigate high-density environment might be the design, open public spaces, traffic, community facilities and public spaces because people will feel less crowdedness if there are more open spaces.

The attention here is focused on the lack of public space for the creative class of HK. This concern has become nowadays one of the major priorities of the government, that is the importance of providing private and public spaces for the development of art and culture.

In the research project conducted in Hong Kong, almost all interviewees from the local creative class share one common critique, that the current urban policy restricts the use of public space for creative industry development, even though the government emphasizes on cultural and creative industry development as one of the major restructuring directions of Hong Kong. The creative spaces in Hong Kong are highly marginalized in terms of their accessibility to public resources and public space because the urban policy and social structure of Hong Kong is preliminary set up for a city of service industry.

As a consequence of the lack of space the authorities in 2009 started to encourage the development of one of the largest government driven public space project, the West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD) to

provide more public space for citizens and the creative class.

The creation of cultural districts in the metropolis reflects a sort of collegiality among the traditional cultural organizations and provides the development of the creative industries, the growth of local artists, provides artist of public spaces where exhibit art works and increase the possibility of cultural exchanges. This also facilitates the development and growth of the cultural and creative industries providing a distinctive direction to the development of a cultural tourism which refers to the economic growth of Hong Kong analyzed in the previous paragraph.

The creation of cultural districts in the metropolis can be considered as the creation of new strategies able to deal with the complexity, flexibility and multidimensionality of the evolving system that is the urban market.

Another interesting concept characterizing Hong Kong and its use of space is the concept of Privately Owned Public Space(POPS).

The POPS is a public space open to the public but owned by a private entity for example a commercial property developer.

In order to promote the contribution of public spaces from the private to public sphere, Hong Kong released similar policies to those ones regulating POPS in New York. The aim was to encourage the integration of public space together with the urban environment.

During the past few years Hong Kong has been able to provide a few isolated plazas to satisfy the requirement of public space and reduce the impact on the urban condition. A careful consideration of POPS as public spaces opened to the public but owned by a private entity, is related to the creative spaces, that even they themselves are defined as public space and owned by a private entity . For instance, a creative space might be a privately owned space but given to the public to make use of it.

In conclusion, the research was initiated by the study of the public space and POPS in Hong Kong and it will continue with the analysis of three study cases of creative spaces.

The attention will be focus on the development project driven by the HKSAR government: the West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD), the

biggest project led by creativity of the city that will be completed by the end of 2017.

In the next chapter the research will shift to an in-depth empirical analysis on concrete cases within the city of Hong Kong where Creativity takes shape and three different types of creative spaces will be analyzed in detail.

4° Chapter : The making of Creative Hong Kong

4.1) A General Introduction

The study was initiated by an extensive research project about the Government policy due to creativity-led planning and a personal research on many creative spaces of the city. In 1997 a lot of factory units were vacant due to the economic downturn and the shifting of manufacturing industries to the Mainland China. In recent years many projects for the cultural development of cities and urban regeneration projects gained a new centrality in the debate on the economic development of the urban areas. This topic gave origin to a new exploitation of culture and cultural policies, emphasizing the cultural and creative competition between HK and the other Chinese cities. In particular, the government of Hong Kong highlighted the relationship between the cultural vibrancy of cities and their attractive potential to new enterprises and the local creative class.

The research in Hong Kong is grounded on the adaptive-reuse of industrial buildings located in such areas as Fo Tan, Chai Wan, Kwun Tong and West Kowloon. Consequently, the low rental prices of the factory units made artists able to lease the spaces.

During a period of six months spent doing research at the architectural firm **Urbanus Research Bureau**¹⁴ (都市实践研究部) in Shenzhen, it was given me a great opportunity to do research on the creative spaces of Hong Kong interviewing many members of the local creative class.

This chapter analyses in detail the creative spaces of the financial city with particular attention given to the first four creative spaces in the list below.

¹⁴ Urbanus Research Bureau: <http://www.urbanus.com.cn/main.html>

This is the list of the major creative spaces of Hong Kong:

1. **Cattle Depot** (in Hung Ham)
2. **Fo Tan Artist Cluster** (in Fo Tan)
3. **Kwun Tong Industrial Zone** (in Kwun Tong)
4. **West Kowloon Cultural District** (in West Kowloon)
5. Innocentre (in Kowloon Tong), an headquarter of the architectural firm Urbanus (URL)
6. Foo Tak Artist Village (in Wan Chai)
7. Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (JCCAC) (in Kowloon City)
8. Hong Kong Art Centre (in Wai Chai)
9. Fringe Club (in Central)

4.2) First Study case: Cattle Depot Artist Village (CDAV) 牛棚藝術村

History of the Artist Village

From 1908 to 1999 this site was used as a slaughterhouse¹⁵, but after many debates and concerns expressed by the citizen about having a slaughterhouse in the urban area in 1999 the site was finally closed



Figure 3. The entrance of Cattle Depot Artist Village (May 2013)

¹⁵ Ma Tau Kok Quarantine Depot (馬頭角牛畜檢疫站,又名馬頭角牛房) was built in 1908. The site was used as a slaughterhouse.

At the beginning it was a privately owned public space, owned by the government and for ninety years it served as a cattle quarantine and slaughter centre. Under the thrust of the government policy on the adaptive-reuse of buildings, in 2001 the Oil Street Artist Village and many artists moved into Cattle Depot. The Oil Street Artist Village was the first of its kind, it was the first community-driven mixed-mode Artist Village in Hong Kong.

In 1999, the government announced the restoration of land in Oil Street and informed all the tenants to move out. It began a series of campaign to fight for retaining the premises and at the end the Oil Street tenants were relocated to Cattle Depot in Mau Tau Kok. The government spent around 23 million for the renovation project but there was not any long term plan regarding the future development of the site. At the beginning Cattle Depot Artist Village was considered by the authorities only as a temporary means to promote culture. In any case, the low rental rates, vacancy spaces and convenient transportation network in the vicinity attracted artists to move in. In 2001 it has been renovated and developed into the present village for artists. The artist village is inside the ex-Ma Tau Kok Animal Quarantine Depot and is located in Ma Tau Kok Road, in To Kwa Wan, Kowloon, Hong Kong.



Figure 4. Intervention to re-adapt the slaughterhouse as art studios.

This area has become nowadays the house of at least 20 groups of artists. In the past ten years the national heritage and urban regeneration projects gained a pivotal position in the debate on the economic development of Hong Kong industrial areas. These projects gave origin to a new exploitation of culture and cultural policies and they accentuated the creative competition between Hong Kong and the other Chinese cities was on heritage preservation. According to government reports, the Architectural Services Department(ASD) invested about 23 million to renovate the site and to preserve the heritage significance of the cultural site.

It is considered national heritage because it is the only cattle depot site remained in Hong Kong built before the world War I. Over the years it has been renovated many times and it has served for different functions related to art and the huge value of Cattle Depot Artist Village from the heritage perspective is reflected adequately in the space. As a matter of fact, due to heritage preservation of the historical building there are many regulations that restricts the artists working in this space and many of them complain about the lack of freedom: "We are not even allowed to paint the walls of our studios, our creativity is bound". It emerges that Creativity in these kind of spaces is controlled covertly by Government and conditioned by rules that affect the creative class freedom.

As a consequence of the Government Policy, the Revitalization Policy of Industrial Building issued in 2001, the revitalization of Cattle Depot Artist Village has been taken into consideration. The role and effectiveness of Cattle Depot as an artist village can be understood only examining its history from both the heritage perspective and from its adaptive reuse.

In 2009 the transformation of the Artist Village was completed. The architecture of the site is characterized by Western elements clearly recognizable. It is made up of 5 blocks of distinctive red-brick buildings for a total space of 15000m².

In 2001 in Cattle Depot Artist Village there were individual artists, creative industries practitioners and art groups. They started to rent the private spaces in Cattle Depot. The art organization were supported by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC) ¹⁶ for at least one year.

Cattle Depot Artist Village has become now the house of almost 20 art groups. It is considered an important platform for local artists and art organizations pursuing their work in a wide array of art forms, from visual arts to performing arts and also other kind of art forms. The artist village has become one of the most important platform in the city for the development of the local theatre and in particular it nurtures young artists.

The activities held in the artist village include music, dance, drama, concert, small-scale fashion show, movie-showing, seminar and workshop to arouse people's interest in knowing the artistic development in Hong Kong and debates on what should be done by the HKSAR government to preserve cultures in art. Furthermore, this village voluntarily promotes interaction between local and international artists, in fact it hold many functions such as book fair and art festival also related to art in order to promote cultural exchanges. In 2003 it was held the first Cattle Depot Arts Festival and in the recent years the Cattle Depot Book Fair attracted not only the local creative class but also foreigners from all over the world. Cattle Depot artists are affected by having their studios within a cultural heritage factory building. It can be said that a Cattle Depot artists are different from the artists of other art villages.

¹⁶ The Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC), established in 1995



Figure 5. The comparison between Cattle Depot and High-density Environment.

The environment is characterized by a rich historical value that it has been re-adapted for cultural development. The red-brick houses allow easily people and foreigners to visit the site.

From a comparison with the other studios located in the high-density environment of the city, such as Fo Tan Industrial Buildings that will be analyzed in the next paragraph, it emerges that Cattle Depot Artist Village facilitates the interactions between artists and the public. This artist village is rather close to residential areas and it helps the role of introducing developments in art to people easily.

4.3) Fo Tan Industrial District 火炭 (Fo Tan)

History of the Industrial District

Since the collapse of Hong Kong's manufacturing industry in 1990's thousands of factories and industrial units were relocated to China. In the past decade it many vacant spaces were finally available because of the relocation process of industry but most of units were unaffordable for the creative class of Hong Kong, until the Government of HKSAR began to give support to the artists to rent their own space. When the manufacture sector fled to cheaper cities in Guangdong province, in Hong Kong a surplus of vacant industrial spaces emerged. This phenomena originated fundamentally for two reasons: firstly, the lack of space for the further development of the manufacturing industry and secondly, due to a very high level of the rent.



Figure 6. Fotan Industrial Buildings (April 2013)

In the research it was examined the case of Fo Tan Industrial District because it is a clear example of adaptive reuse of industrial buildings for the development of the art and culture.

The industrial neighbourhood is located in the hills of the New Territories and has over the years become the heart of Hong Kongs local art.

The rents in this area are indeed cheap when compared with the other areas of the city because here the manufacturing industry left spaces in a state of extreme decay. The creative community started appearing when a group of art graduates and lecturers from the University of Hong Kong decide to set up their studios in this district.

The founders renovated the vacant industrial buildings of this area which was originally a small former Hakka fishing village and in just few years turned into a real industrial estate.

Since 90's until today, artists and colleagues of the local creative class joined together and the community gave origin to the so called: "Fo Tan Creative Cluster".

Contemporary ssurveys conducted by the Government reveal that the renovated buildings have become the registered address of at least two hundred legitimated artists working and living in this area.

Since 2001 the cultural district has become one of the largest creative clusters characterized by '*bottom-up*' development. The expression is generally referred to define actions, policies and processes and it literally means that '*from the grass-roots people are taking actions*'. As mentioned in Arnstein's article, the authors who write about participatory planning describe the discourse on top-down and bottom-up processes beginning with the discussion of citizen participation in the planning processes since the '70s (Arnstein, 1969).

A bottom-up approach may include greater freedom and experimentation and decisions taken by the artists in order to achieve goals concerning what was needed at the bottom instead of simply accepting several rules imposed from '*above*'.

In this case decisions have been driven by a large number of artist co-working together for a common objective, that is the creation of Fo Tan's creative community. The ambition of realizing a cool community able to attract the public's interest has been achieved over the years thanks to the significant effort of local artist clustering in and around Fo Tan's Industrial Buildings.

Since 2003 many artists began to open their studios to the public during the so called "*Fotanian Open Studios*", an event that lasts for two weeks during the month of January every year. It was the first time that artists allowed the public to enter in their private studios and each year due to this event local artists from a variety of disciplines have transformed this area into the Hong Kong's most fertile plain for visual arts.

At the beginning this event was attracting only local visitors and just few foreigners because it was not a publicized or commercial event, but as time has passed local artists have gained greater exposure because many galleries came to visit them during the open-studio days and a network of connection between artist and art galleries and curators built up. Nowadays the district is considered by locals as one of the best places in the city to enjoy culture and creativity.



**Figure 7. Interior space of an art studio in Fo Tan Industrial Buildings.
Interview to the artist Damon Tong. (April 2013)**

Interviews

Throughout the interviews with a selection of the creative class working in the Fo Tan area, it emerged that artists are mainly young artists and arts graduates that would consider themselves such a group of art studios sharing same spaces, that are industrial buildings and linked by a common sense of belonging to a community, but generally they are more individualistic and reluctant to be labelled only as a "Fotan's artist.

A typical characteristic of Fo Tan's artists is that they intentionally, rather than to be marginalized, avoiding institutionalization work in a system of self-organized groups of artist and not ones controlled by the authorities. It became apparent after the interviews that it is a rare chance for common people and especially for foreigners to have an insight into what it really means to be an artist in Hong Kong.

The interviews in Fo Tan district highlighted several considerations which can be summarised in some *key points*: first, the result of the willpower of the artists to be marginalized has been a real 'explosion of Creativity', to such an extent artists there can be considered the most productive example of bottom-up creative hub of Hong Kong.

The raise of creative class in the area and its development in terms of creativity is essentially anti-institutionalism and obviously, under this condition, a creative hub is facilitated to grow in an enduring and strong manner.

Second, Hong Kong has become one of the most expensive real estate markets and the most expensive place to rent high-end property globally.

In the high density environment of Hong Kong 'public space' is severely limited and restrictive, it is considered a rare kind of good. At the beginning of the working career artists cannot afford high rents if not supported by family or government fund. Those artists who are not supported by their families have to share art studios with other co-workers or they are bound to share even the 'walls' within a studio.

As reported, during the interview with Chow Chun Fai, the Director of Fotanian Board, he said: We cannot say that the government don't do anything to support artists but the funding has 90% consumed in the rental stuff.

And also Jeff Leung, the curator of the Hong Kong Art Centre (HKAC), reported that in January 2010 the Government introduced a new policy that made it easier for the owners of old industrial buildings to convert them to other uses.

According to the Development Bureau this policy would have “released the potential of old industrial buildings” by providing cheap office space to “knowledge-based” businesses. The government pledged to revitalize the industrial buildings but these development measures actually have hindered the development of Fo Tan's community reducing its productivity.

Another artist interviewed in Fo Tan, Damon Tong said: “It's not a problem of space, what lacks in Hong Kong is not physical space, it is something else (..)”.

I perceived in his statement a vein of criticism towards the government's policies concerning the Cultural and Creative Industry development.

This is probably a reason why many local artists choose voluntarily to go abroad, joining other creative communities in cities where the cost of life is more reasonable and creativity is enhanced because the circumstances support, facilitate and allow it.

Other artists in Fo Tan said instead that within the Cultural District they are really free, productive and they are used to spend all the time in their studios and just few of them decide to take part in exhibitions or cultural events organized by the local authorities. Another interesting point is that Fo Tan artists lack in particular individuals who function as 'curators', whose functions are those of organizing exhibitions, events and activities but also of creating connections among artists. This means of course the need of creative community and the necessity to create a strong sense of community.

Fo Tan's art can be so also defined as a sort of 'private art' on request that only in January during 'Fotanian Open Studio Event' spreads out and takes pride to show to the public eyes their art and creations.



Figure 8. A view from outside the Fo Tan Industrial Buildings and a view from the inside. The art studios are located in different floors of the industrial buildings.

4.4) The West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD) 西九文化区: 城市中的公园



Figure 9. Hong Kong, an opportunity to create a unique and world class Cultural District: WKCD.

History of the Cultural District Development

Since 1996 the Hong Kong Tourism Board¹⁷ (HKTB) began to survey a selection of tourists visiting Hong Kong. Emerging from the survey results it showed that

¹⁷ 香港旅遊發展局 Hong Kong Tourism Board (HKTB): is a government body founded to replace the previous Hong Kong Tourist Association (香港旅遊協會) in charge since 1957. Since its foundation it provides statistics relating to tourism. Statistic available on the website: http://partnernet.hktb.com/tc/research_statistics/index.html

many of the tourist interviewed considered that Hong Kong effectively lacking in cultural opportunities or investments, as such the HKTB together with the Legislative Council's¹⁸ co-operation set down a criteria for the creation of a new cultural district which comprises new space for galleries, exhibitions, cultural events and any other form of art.

The first Chief Executive and President of the Executive Council of Hong Kong, Tung Chee Hwa¹⁹, in the 1988 Policy Address, proposed the establishment of the West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD) with the purpose of making Hong Kong an unique Cultural and Creative cluster of Asia.

Almost three years passed following Tung Chee Hwa's Policy Address without achieving any concrete results until the Government start to encourage developers to submit for the project so long as the cultural and residential public spaces they had planned would be constructed under required facilities.

The government's requirements reckoned on a set of specified facilities, such as a public performance venue, museums of 75,000 m² in size, three theaters with at least 2,000 - 400 seats available, an art exhibition centre, a water amphitheatre and at least three hectares of piazza areas within the area and it will perform many kind of activities providing places to live, to work, shops, galleries, restaurants, rooftop terrace, theater, museums, exhibitions..etc. In developing proposals, developers were freely allowed to sell residential and office spaces situated in the district for profit on the condition that they fulfill all government's other criteria. In April 2001 it was organized the first worldwide design competition in Hong Kong to renovate the unused land in West Kowloon.

¹⁸ The Legislative Council of Hong Kong (LegCo): is the unicameral legislature of HKSAR set up in 1843 as a colonial legislature under the British rule.

¹⁹ Tung Chee Hwa 董建華 (pinyin: Dongjinhua) born 7 July 1937, he was the first Chief Executive and President of the Executive Council of Hong Kong from 1/July/1977 to 12/March/2005.

In 2003 the Government initiated an Invitation for Proposals (IFP) to build the WKCD as a world-class arts and cultural entertainment and commercial area. The proposal, as mandatory requirements²⁰ of the project, defined as a cultural and creative cluster of museums with different themes, such as moving image, modern art, ink and design, managing a total Net Operating Floor Area (NOFA) of 75,000m² at least, an art exhibition centre.



Figure 10. Different layers of the WKCD (Source: Foster+Partners)

The first proposal valued by the judges was design by Norman Foster²¹.

Foster + Partners is the first architectural and planning firm selected to design the master plan for the West Kowloon Cultural District in March 2011. Thanks to

²⁰ Legislative Council Subcommittee Proposal on West Kowloon Cultural District Development.

²¹ Norman Foster or Lord Foster of Thames Bank: born 1/ June/1935, he is the British architect whose Company , Foster + Partners is renowned for its international design practice; Foster is the architect of the Hong Kong Airport and HSBC building in Mainland China.

the experience and knowledge gained during thirty years in Hong Kong, the firm led by Lord Norman Foster got the won but its design was quickly rejected because of intense criticism by Hong Kong's citizens.

In March 2003 the project officially began when Hong Kong Government announced that the construction and management of the West Kowloon Arts, Cultural and Entertainment District would be subcontracted to private entrepreneurs.

In September 2003, the Government announced once again an invitation for proposals to regenerate the district; great projects were submitted by the three major developers: World City Culture Park Limited, Dynamic Star International Limited and Sunny Development Limited.

In November 2004 having followed another six months of public consultation, concerning a questionnaire with open questions about the these proposals submitted; it was proposed to citizens in order to get public appreciation and to let the Government take a final decision selecting a project.

As a result of the public consultation lasted six months, it emerged that there was an influential public opinion against the single-packaged development approach, it means that the public believed it was better to have more developers working together, sharing ideas and developing different projects according to guidelines provided by the government instead of a single pre-packaged approach. The statement of the consultation report summarized the government management, the development strategy and the final vision of the project.

In 2005, after the six months public consultation the short list design company presented were: first, Norman Foster, Dynamic Star International, Henderson Land's design and Yell Lin International.

In April 2006 the Government successfully established a Consultative Committee (CC) on the core arts and cultural facilities for the development of the project and in charge of many different tasks.

In the same month, after that the Government's Invitation For Proposal (IFP) was repeatedly suspended, it established the Museums Advisory Group(MAG), under direction of the Consultative Committee (CC) on Core Arts and Cultural

Facilities to recommend on the needs of the museums previously proposed, the preferred themes (moving image, modern art, ink, design..etc.) the major public requirements, the need for an Exhibition Arte Centre.

The government also set up three advisory working groups assigned to review the need of citizens for arts, cultural facilities and furthermore public space needed to be supplied in the WKCD.

Since June 2006 it can be considered the constructive key milestones of the development project. In September 2007, the Chief Executive appointed a Consultative Committee (CC) on Core Arts and Cultural Facilities that submit recommendations to government and in the same month, for at least three months another exercise of public engagement was carried out in order to gauge public opinion and views on the project and also stimulate future public patronage. The public opinions suggestions have been considered a main part of this project since the first stages, that is why citizen and creative class have been involved since beginning with public opinion programs. From September to December a Public Engagement (PE) on Consultative Committee took place which made recommendations. The results of the Public Engagement Exercise indicated strong public support for the recommendations of the Consultative Committee and urged for the early implementation of the WKCD project. In March 2008 the West Kowloon Cultural District Authority was set up to develop the project in response to the 2007-08 Policy Address which launched by the Chief Executive Donald Tsang²² and the WKCD project was chosen among ten major infrastructure projects proposed in the same year. The final project of the West Kowloon Cultural District was proposed by the Chief Executive Donald Tsang in the Policy Address in 2007. In July 2008 another constructive key milestones of this project, the Legislative Council of Hong Kong (LegCo) passed the West Kowloon Cultural District Authority (WKCDA) Bill and LegCo Finance Committee approved provision of an endowment of \$21.6 billion to West Kowloon Cultural District Authority to implement the project.

²² Donalds Tsang: Donald Tsang Yam-kuen (曾蔭權) born on October 1944, he was the President of Hong Kong from 21/June/2005 to 30/June/2012 and he was formally appointed by the Central People's Government as the 2nd Chief Executive of Hong Kong.

Adopting the recommendations of the Consultative Committee, the Government introduced draft legislation into the Legislative Council in February 2008 for setting up a statutory body called the WKCD Authority in order to take the project forward.

The WKCD Authority Ordinance was enacted by the Legislative Council in July 2008 and the Legislative Council approved funding to the WKCD Authority to develop the project. The Chief Executive announced in October 2008 the appointment of members to the Board of the WKCD Authority for a period of two years. In October 2009 the Authority officially starts focusing the attention on the cultural and creative community and the common people aspirations and expectations for the Development Plan of the WKCD. To ensure the project success the Authority invested in research, asking people to complete questionnaires in order to gauge public views on the WKCD project.

The WKCD Authority fostered the promotional campaign deciding to organize three stages of public engagement exercises to hear the voices of both the general public and stakeholders including those from the arts and cultural sector in a structured way. The official questionnaire publicized by the Authority examined closely what should characterize the overall look of the WKCD, what ambience citizens would like to experience, which kind of facilities or activities should be provided and also any useful suggestions on future programs, such as performances, exhibitions, educational activities provided within the cultural site. The research, apart from arts and cultural facilities, also posed questions regarding the different types and modes of transport that would be provided for citizen and tourists, such as MTR, train, bus, minibus, taxi, private car, ferry; this point can be considered as a key factor as well in speeding up transfers, attracting a greater number of tourists and also contributing to a reduction of consumption, thanks to an environmentally friendly adoption of low-emission and low-carbon transport. The last part of the survey concerned itself with planning design principles, such as creativity, accessibility, connectivity, integration, vibrancy, uniqueness, and sustainability that would become the guidelines for the future development of the West Kowloon Cultural District.

In April 2009, Foster + Partners, Rem Koolhaas²³ and also Rocco Yim Sen-kee²⁴ requested to design development projects, in August 2010 for the second public consultation three models were proposed. Finally by the end of March 2011, WKCD Authority announced that *City Park Foster model* was the winner of design competition which helps West Kowloon Cultural District step into a new stage (Wong, O. & Chow, V., 2011).



Figure 11. Aerial view of the West Kowloon Cultural District. (Source: Foster+Partners)

In May 2011 after years of debates, it was nominated Michael Lynch²⁵ as CEO of West Kowloon Cultural District Authority and the development of the project has started without interruption.

²³ Remment Lucas Rem Koolhas: born in a 17/November/1944, he is the Dutch architect founding partner of OMA, an architecture firm based in Rotterdam since 1975. In Asia Koolhas is the architect of the Shenzhen Stock Exchange (Shenzhen, 2006), CCTV HQ (Beijing 2004-2009), Taipei Performing Arts Centre (Taiwan, 2013), Seoul National University Museum of Art (Seoul, 2005).

²⁴ Rocco Design Architects Limited 許李巖建築師事務所有限公司 (Xu li yi jiezhishi shi youxi gongsi): is a chinese architectural company based in Hong Kong and founded in 1982 by Rocco Yim Sen-kee. Their works include: the International Finance Centre (IFC, 2003), HKSAR Government Headquarters (HK, 2011) and HKICC Lee Shau Kee School of Creativity (2007).

²⁵ Michael Lynch: the former Chief Executive of the London's Southbank Centre.

The statutory planning process is now ended and the construction of the biggest arts and cultural project has began. The cultural Park will be completed in more phases, for instance, the arts and cultural venues located in the district will be open in 2015. The deadline of the project is scheduled by the end of 2017.

Michael Lynch, the Chief Executive Officer of the WKCD Authority said: *“It's time to move the project now from the drawing board to reality. Delivering West Kowloon won't happen overnight, but what we hope to do over the 2015 is to give you some sense of the future excitement that would be part of the West Kowloon site. West Kowloon is about people and creativity”*.

The WKCD will provide free open spaces, parks, open restaurants, rooftop gardens and it also calls for long-term sustainable development, low-density and cutting-edge information technology facilities. It will be a mix of residential, commercial, hotel developments, green spaces and a harbourfront promenade closely connected with the neighborhood. The project will have a strong impact on the environment due to some spectacular new buildings and to the great architect project. The buildings will be open, approachable and welcoming not just for high culture but also for culture in a very popular sense.

The aim of the West Kowloon Cultural District is to upgrade the image of the city and to create a vibrant cultural district for the city, a vital platform for the local arts scene to interact, develop and collaborate and major facilities to attract and produce world-class exhibitions, arts and cultural events, performances and moreover to provide citizens of more public spaces.

The cultural district will also provide cultural facilities such as a musical theatre, a centre for contemporary performance, M+ museum, Xiqu centre together with cultural facilities such as arts education, lyric, theatre and cultural education facilities. As Louis Yu, the Performing Arts Director of the WKCD Authority, said: *“ In addition to the performing arts facilities themselves, we are emphasizing two things: education and art creation. We are going to encourage audience and students to come before and after performances, on weekdays to participate in these activities. Also we are thinking, if artist are going to create in the*

District, we will need to provide spaces for resident companies, where they can rehearse, create and work. Our dream is that the Cultural District will not only be a place for art appreciation, but also for education and creation ”.

An interesting video published in October 2012 by the WKCD Authority on the official website concerns about the WKCD's final step before that the project transforms into reality. Dr. Lars Nittve , M+ Executive Director of the WKCD Authority, said: *“With M+ museum we are creating a new model for what an art museum can be in the 21st century.*

It will be a leader in its field of museum education and will be fantastic tools for everybody who comes to the museum and great programs. Not only for those who come to the museum, but the museum should also come out to the community, to the schools, to the community groups with its contents which is visual arts, visual culture, but also a platform for the cross-over with performing arts. And it will happen soon, we will start our pre-opening program already in the next year”.

During the extensive research in Hong Kong, it was visited the M+:Inflation! that is a pre-opening temporary exhibition promoted by M+ museum.

The empty huge site of 23 hectares was occupied by inflatable sculptures made by famous contemporary artists like Cao Fei (China), Choi Jeong Hwa (South Korea), Paul McCarthy(USA) and many others occupying the site with original installations.

The aim of this kind of sculpture is to consider how certain realities and preoccupations around art in public space can be modified and challenged in the context of an evolving and endless mutating cultural and urban landscape. Such an important project suitable for everyone will foster new generations to be part of a common cultural project sharing spaces and creativity. The big effort will guarantee public participation and the attraction of the local creative class.



Figure 12. Mobile M+: Inflation. A Temporary Exhibition in the WKCD.

This huge project will also nurture the cultural tourism of Hong Kong. According to the statistics of tourism²⁶ performances provided by the

²⁶ Annual Statistics on tourism provided by the Government of Hong:
http://www.tourism.gov.hk/sc_chi/statistics/statistics.html

Government in 2012 Hong Kong received about 48.6 million visitors from around the world. It is natural to wonder what will become of the financial city after that the biggest cultural park of Asia will be completed. If this project will increase the interests in art and cultural activities of the locals, it would also help to improve the standard in such areas and tourists may follow the trend as a part of Hong Kong's city lifestyle. It is essential that tourists will follow the steps of local people as they think such activities can reflect the city's culture (Chan, W.C., 2009). As the British architect Norman Foster said in an interview to the WKCD Authority: "What makes a great city? It's not the individual building, but it's the Totality". What the architect alludes might be not only public space, parks, squares and enchanting avenues but people.

In conclusion, it can be said that the driven strategic investment led by the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region is an device to satisfy the space and infrastructure needs of the arts and cultural sector. For the financial city of Hong Kong the development of the CCI and in particular the creation of a creative park has become an essential and inevitable destiny.

This WKCD will provide what is missing: free-access public spaces, creative spaces, a low-density environment characterized by a sustainable development. This project will finally provide twenty-three hectares of public space for the development of art and culture.

Conclusions

The research is grounded on the observation of a worldwide phenomenon that is the adoption of the Creative City model in spatial, social and also economic terms.

In the first chapter a short history of the beginning of Creative Industries in China which was then followed by an in depth study of creativity-led planning policy.

The concept of Creativity and Cultural and Creative Industries is widely used by the Chinese government. It includes all those traditional cultural and economic subjects of the arts and heritage along with the cultural industries. The creative industries are not only a fashionable concept of the cultural policy but it encompasses many economic features that are important for the study of cultural economics.

In paragraph 1.3 special attention was given to methodical analysis of the Chinese transliteration of the nomenclature and terminology of the global discourse of Creativity.

The investigation is based on an initial review of the relevant literature and of the municipal policies on creativity-led planning and subsequently empirical analysis has been conducted on the largest government driven public space development project, the West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD).

This project will be the first Cultural District of a city based on the discourse of creativity-led planning. In recent years the project of increasing cultural development and urban regeneration in HK became central to the debate on the economic development of urban manufacturing areas and the adaptive-reuse of industrial buildings. In particular, this process is based on the relationship between cultural vibrancy and vitality of cities and their potential attractiveness to the emerging creative class. These issues evolved into to the exploitation of culture and cultural policies increasing the competition among HK and other Chinese cities.

From a methodical study research on the most important Asian creative cities it emerges that Hong Kong is late in this trend and this is the reason why the title Hong Kong as a latecomer in creativity-led urban development was chosen for the thesis. The reason for missing the trend are numerous: firstly, HK government made the wrong and tardive policies on the theme of Creative Cities when compared to other global cities.

Hong Kong should consider the issue of creative economy as one of the key factors to develop its own economy rather than focusing only on the financial services sector because the contribution of culture to an economy can not be measured only by its trade volume and the impact on financial services.

In the second chapter the research attempts to use Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) as a tool to understand contemporary urban development in Hong Kong. Subsequently an in-depth empirical analysis has been conducted on the policies which have emerged from Hong Kong in the past few years where the authorities have recognized and adopted the strategy of supporting the development of CCI providing funds, pushing cultural and international events, exhibitions, art fairs, cultural activities and research. This huge effort will enhance Hong Kong citizens quality of life, will activate the economy, creating new jobs and an enduring society based on knowledge and also promoting itself not only as a financial services centre but also as a creative city. It will be characterized by diversity of cultures, a local cultural community and a successful creative class.

The research shows that in answering the research shows that in answering the question "Is the government really considering the creative class needs?" almost all interviewees from the local creative class share one common critique, that the current urban policy of Hong Kong restricts the use of public space for creative industry development, even though the government emphasizes on cultural and creative industry development as one of the major restructuring directions of the city.

The third chapter illustrates in detail how the creative spaces in Hong Kong are highly marginalized in terms of their accessibility to public resources and public spaces, because the urban policy and social structure of Hong Kong is preliminary set up for service industry.

The government of Hong Kong can improve the image of the city only through cooperating with policy makers, private organizations and members of the local creative class who in turn will be able to affect the development process of CCI in Hong Kong. It will gain significant results and potentially obtain the label of UNESCO's *City of Design* as other Chinese competitors like Shanghai, Beijing and Shenzhen have already been recognized as creative cities.

A careful consideration of HK as latecomer in creativity-led planning is related to the production of material goods. The evolution of the financial centre of Asia was born from a fishing village, evolved into a manufacturing industry driven place and after the relocation of these industries in 90's to Guangdong province has finally become the present financial services centre. The economy thus far has evolved from the production of tangible goods into of the production of intangible goods. Thus, the transition to a creative economy, where production is based on intangible goods, should have been more obvious and natural than other cities like Shenzhen which already have become a recognized creative city although its economy is based on manufacturing industry.

It appears obvious to ask why this path has been taken belatedly by the city of Hong Kong.

The third reason of the missing trend could be the lack of real interest in competing with the other Chinese cities where were already transformed for a long time.

Actually, for China as well the discourse of Creativity is nowadays considered the main source of innovation and progress. As a matter of fact several Chinese cities are adopting creativity-led types of urban planning trying to evolve into creative cities.

As illustrated in the third chapter, creativity has incisively affected also the

metropolis of Hong Kong and its creativity-led urban development by fostering these important businesses: real estates, hotel development, manufacturing products and tourism, especially cultural tourism.

In the last chapter, the empirical research is described on the cultural districts of Hong Kong. In particular there are three different kind of creative districts have been analyzed and which have traits in common the same concept of Creativity. Making a critical analysis of the most interesting cases of cultural districts in the city, which are Cattle Depot Artist Village, Fo Tan Art District, Kwun Tong Industrial Zone and the most challenging under construction project, the West Kowloon Cultural District, the goal is to demonstrate that Hong Kong is a Creative City.

The attempt of the city to become a creative one is testified by the vast array of normative literature, government policies and because of it attracting foreign intellectuals in large numbers who come to study the city.

Hong Kong already promotes itself as a Creative City and this marketing strategy highlights the willingness to re-brand and re-launch the city in times of financial crisis and fierce competition with other Chinese cities.

To conclude, the challenging goal of the Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region to position Hong Kong as the cultural hub of Asia, thus upgrading Hong Kong from a financial city to a global one with diversity of cultures has been reached.

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Video

WKCD: City Park by Foster + Partners/ 西九文化區：城市中的公園 YouTube:
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Appendix

Structure of the Interviews to the members of Hong Kong's Creative Class.

Hong Kong toward a Creative City

1. What is the trend of Hong Kong developing cultural and creative industry?
2. What is the government policy to be creative city?
3. How is Creativity promoted and fostered by the government of Hong Kong?

Fotan Cultural Distirct

1. After you visit their studio, what do you think about Fotanian life style? Is it a productive and why?
2. What do the Fo Tan artists say about government intervention and the general development tend of Hong Kong?
3. Are their studios easily identifiable? What are the artists doing in Fo Tan?
4. How *Fotanian Open Day* became a public event? What was the intent for the open day? How do the artists try to keep themselves away from the public?

West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD)

1. What is the position of West Kowloon Cultural District development?
2. What are the reactions of citizen and creative class toward this project?
3. Which kind of activities will be organized in this area?
4. Which are currently on going while they are building the first cultural park of the financial city?