

Multi-Level Dynamics in the
Cultural and Creative Industry Clustering -
the Case of TV Drama in Taiwan

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Table of Content

1. Introduction	9
2. Literature Review	11
2.1. Cluster theory	11
2.1.1 The Initiation of the 'Cluster' Concept	12
Marshall's Conceptualisation of the Regional Agglomeration	
2.1.2 The Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG) Thinking	15
2.1.3 The Key Breakthrough of The EEG Thinking	15
2.1.4 Path Dependence	17
2.1.5 The Multi-Levelled Perspective	20
2.1.6 Institutional Settings and Actors	22
2.1.7 Co-Evolution Mechanism of Clusters	27
2.1.8 The Life-Cycle of Clusters	30
2.2 Cultural and Creative Industry (CCI)	34
2.2.1 The Theorisation of the CCI	36
2.2.2 The Characteristics of the CCI	40
2.2.3 Regional Clustering of the CCI	41
2.2.4 Lack of Systematic Approach for CCI Cluster Analyses	43
2.2.5 The Innovation Activities in the CCI	44
2.2.6 The Project Organisation in CCI Production	45
2.2.7 Project Organisation and the TV Drama Production	46
3. Research Framework	48
3.1. Theoretical Approach	48
3.2. Assumptions	50
3.3. Theoretical Model	60
3.3.1 Research Framework	60
3.3.2 Empirical Research Focus	63
3.4. Research Value & Contribution to the existing knowledge	64
4. Methodology	66
4.1. Research Question	66
4.2. Paradigm	67
4.3. Research Design	69
4.4. Data Collection	70
4.4.1 Unit of Analysis	72
4.4.2 Context	72
4.4.3 Primary Data Collection	73
4.4.4 Participants and Recruitment	74
4.5. Trustworthiness of the Data	75
4.6. Data Analysis	76
4.6.1 Case Study Approach	76
4.6.2 Time-Series Analysis	77
4.7. Role of the Researcher	78

4.8. Ethical Considerations	79
5. Research Context	80
5.1. Introduction to the Television Production	80
5.2. Introductions to Transformations of Taiwanese TV Drama Cluster	82
5.2.1 In the Year 1960s to 1980s	82
5.2.2 In the Year 1980s to 2000	83
5.2.3 In the Year 2000 to 2010	85
5.2.4 From the Year 2010 Till Now	86
6. Findings	89
6.1. Phase 1 1960 to 1980	89
6.1.1 Key Drivers & Events	90
6.1.2 Responding Consequences Boosted the Forming of Taiwanese TV Drama Cluster	93
6.1.3 Recap of Key Pattern Developments in Phase 1	97
6.2. Phase 2 1980 to 2000	98
6.2.1 Key Drivers & Events	98
6.2.2 Responding Consequences Led the Increasing Innovations and Competitions in Taiwan's TV Drama Cluster	100
6.2.3 Recap of Key Pattern Developments in Phase 2	103
6.3. Phase 3 2000 to 2010	104
6.3.1 Key Drivers & Events	105
6.3.2 Responding Consequences Intending to Break Through The Development Bottleneck	109
6.3.3 Recap of Key Pattern Developments in Phase 3	111
6.4. Phase 4 2010 till now	113
6.4.1 Key Drivers & Events	113
6.4.2 Responding Consequences that Urges the New Collaboration Networks in Taiwanese TV Drama Cluster	117
6.4.3 Recap of Key Pattern Developments in Phase 4	120
6.5. Research Implications	121
6.6. Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research	122
7. Conclusion	124
Bibliography	126
Appendix I: Interview Questions & Invitation	132
Appendix II: List of Interviewees	136

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List of Tables

Table 1: 13 Sectors of Creative Industry under DCMS's Definition	39
Table 2: Comparison of CCI Terminologies	39
Table 3: Research Questions & Methods	71

List of Figures

Figure 1: 4-Phase 'Industrial Life Cycle Model'	31
Figure 2: EEG-Adapted Life Cycle Model	34
Figure 3: Theoretical Approach	49
Figure 4: Research Framework - A Multi-Levelled Cluster Evolution Model	60
Figure 5: Stages of TV Drama Production	81
Figure 6: Stages of Taiwanese TV Cluster's Transformation	88
Figure 7: Phase 1 multi-levelled structure of Taiwanese TV drama cluster	97
Figure 8: Phase 2 multi-levelled structure of Taiwanese TV drama cluster	104
Figure 9: Phase 3 multi-levelled structure of Taiwanese TV drama cluster	112
Figure 10: Phase 4 multi-levelled structure of Taiwanese TV drama cluster	121

List of Abbreviations

EEG	Evolutionary Economic Geography
CCI	Cultural and Creative Industry

Abstract

Since Alfred Marshall's explorations into industrial districts in England, strands of studies have developed to articulate the clustering phenomena taking place in geographical proximities. Michael Porter's theorisation on industrial clustering acting as the engine of regional growth, henceforth, has attracted both academic and public policymakers' interests in understanding the clustering mechanism. Amidst various schools' interpretation of how the cluster develops, and how it promotes regional growth, studies of 'Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG)' stresses clustering as a dynamic process that involves varying co-located actors contributing to the constant cluster evolutions.

To elaborate the complex mechanism of cluster evolutions, the Evolutionary Economic Geography approach has adapted Marshall's regional agglomeration concept into a 'multi-scaled' structure, which considers system-wide actors' behaviour and activities are relative to the transforming clustering patterns. Hence, Evolutionary Economic Geography thinking proposes cluster studies to include analyses of system-wide actors and regional contexts to configure the full picture of the clustering dynamics. This 'multi-scaled clustering framework' presents an interesting approach to understand the development of the Cultural and Creative Industrial (CCI) Cluster - which interacts with region-specific culture, value and network to produce artistic products. Hence, the multi-scaled clustering framework suggested a valuable perspective to systematically analyse the CCI cluster's developments.

Grounding on the multi-levelled framework, this research aims to understand the evolutionary process of the Taiwanese CCI cluster. The case study on the Taiwanese TV drama sector, one of the longest developed sectors in Taiwan's cultural and creative industry, indicated the co-located actors are associated with changing clustering patterns, and the aggregated activities of actors at varying scales drove multiple stages of cluster evolution. The findings of this research also showcase the valuable cluster examinations through the multi-levelled framework, which is worth future research to apply for further explorations into clusters of different contexts and industries.

Keywords: Industrial Cluster, Evolutionary Economic Geography, Multi-levelled clustering, Cultural and Creative Industry, TV drama clusters in Taiwan

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1. Introduction

The 'industrial cluster' has been a widely discussed topic of urban studies, particularly Michael Porter's work of 'The Competitive Advantage of Nations'. It has prompted interests in studying geographical clustering and the consequent regional growth. While Porter's conceptualisation suggested the new government policymaking to promote regional growth, varying paradigms of studies have developed to explain the cluster mechanism in a regional proximity (Martin and Sunley 2011). Amidst all, the evolutionary economic geography school elaborated the cluster thinking highlighting the system-wide dynamics of the regional clustering, and the interactions between co-located entities leading to constant cluster transformations. This interpretation inspired a 'multi-levelled' view to conceptualise cluster studies, and suggested the cluster analyses to include varying actors and their relevance to contexts of co-located region (Boschma and Frenken 2006; Hodgson 1999; Nelson and Winter 1982; Teece et al. 1997).

The multi-levelled clustering framework presents the critical view in understanding why and how an industrial cluster evolves throughout time (Dopfer 2005; Essletzbichler 2012; Martin and Sunley 2015). Meanwhile, it formulates new inspiration for exploring the cultural and creative industry producing locally inspired commodity and artistic ideas. By employing the multi-levelled concept, cultural and creative industry studies could account for connections between a region's cultural or socio-economic contexts, and the involved actors to configure the development of cultural and creative industry clusters. This approach also compensates for the weakness of the existing cultural and creative industry studies, which lacks a systematic framework to analyse the collaboration between the cultural and creative industry and its located geographical place (Gong and Hassink 2017; Lazzeretti et al. 2012). Moreover, seeing the cultural and creative industry relying on the project organisation to pool various talents and producers to realise the commercialisation of the artistic creations, it is worth casting the multi-levelled view to explore the trajectories of the cultural and creative industry clustering (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2007).

Therefore, this research project aims to pursue insights into the clusters' multi-levelled dynamics by exploring the case of the Taiwanese cultural and creative industry. Based on study of TV drama cluster— one of the longest developed sectors in Taiwan's cultural and creative industry— this research entailed the multi-levelled framework to identify the region-wide actors and the impactful events occurring in the past decades. Furthermore, twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore the causal relationships amidst significant events and the co-located actors, to configure the system-wide pattern transformations from time to time. The findings demonstrated the association between a geographical place and the co-located actors. Meanwhile, the aggregated actions of the physically assembled actors responding to the contextual changes are recognised as the significant factors creating the new clustering patterns. To summarise, the result of this research showed that varying actors altogether contributed to the cluster dynamics, and drove perpetual transformations in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster. Highlighting the analyses of the system-wide actors, and their decision makings related to other co-located actors, this research showcases the valuable cluster examinations through the multi-levelled framework, which worth future research to apply for further explorations into clusters of different contexts and industries.

This research is composed of seven chapters, which begins with introducing theoretical background and their relevance to the research framework. The following chapter elaborates the research framework and how it's designed to address theoretical assumptions. Chapter four covers the methodological approach, which consisted of research paradigm, research design and data collection methods. Chapter five and six cover contexts of this research subject and the data analyses findings, with chapter seven to conclude this research project.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Cluster theory

The phenomena of the 'industrial cluster' has been a hot topic in urban studies, regional economics and policymaking disciplines, ever since Michael Porter introduced the term 'cluster' in 1990 to recapitulate his thinking on the geography of economic activities. Porter's work on 'The Competitive Advantage of Nations' defines the spatial agglomeration of the interconnected suppliers, businesses and the associated institutions, and connects the presence of clusters to enhanced regional productivity and competitiveness. Cluster thinking thereby has become the popular concept for exploring the regional growth in academia or the industrial practice. Furthermore, the Porterian cluster thinking brought forward the 'cluster' concept for firms and governmental strategy planning. That is, in light of Porter's elaboration, 'cluster' has since been largely promoted as a 'tool' for policymakers or businesses in designing their regional growth and competitiveness strategies (Martin and Sunley 2011).

Nevertheless, the 'cluster' concept is not new, but can be traced back to Alfred Marshall's depiction of industrial districts in England. Therefore, in this chapter, we will firstly revisit the Marshallian idea of the regional agglomeration, to unfold the key concepts about the regional agglomeration mechanism. Secondly, I will discuss recent geography thinking - particularly the Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG) - to elaborate how the Marshallian regional agglomeration has been adapted into the 'dynamic' model to unfold the regional cluster's transformation over time. In the last section, I will then focus the discussions on the main arguments of EEG, and why a 'multi-levelled' analysis is critical to better understand the cluster evolution.

2.1.1 The Initiation of the 'Cluster' Concept -

Marshall's Conceptualisation of the Regional Agglomeration

In the late 19th century, Marshall observed different production mechanisms when comparing the US and British cases. First, a 'Fordism' model of mass-production pinpointed large firms internalising labour and production resources to increase productivity and reach economies of scale. The scenario of Fordism production, therefore, saw large firms become key growth engines of industrial regions. However, despite the growing academic focus on Fordism production, Marshall considered that small firms located in geographic proximity can generate better economic returns than under the dominance of one big firm. Based on case studies of the textile industry in the UK. in Lancashire, Sheffield and Birmingham, Marshall conceptualised the idea of the 'industrial districts' involving cooperation and competition of co-located firms (Vicente 2016).

Marshall considered that the agglomeration of small firms specialising in varying production phases could function the economics of scale and compete with the mass-production model. Marshall viewed that the industrial concentrations intimately connecting small firms could facilitate knowledge exchange and integrate production activities, outweighing the advantage of big firms' mass production. According to Marshall, co-location of small firms pools the skilled labours and triggers innovation activities, creating an 'atmosphere' that reinforces the region-based learning and the enhancement of particular skill sets. That is, Marshall highlighted that, *'When large masses of men in the same locality are engaged in similar tasks, it is found that, by associating with one another, they educate one another. To use a mode of speaking which workmen themselves use, the skill required for their work is in the air, and children breathe it as they grow up'* (Marshall 1879, p. 9).

Further to the theorisation of the 'atmosphere', Marshall stressed that such a mechanism further attracts skilled workers to join and consequently strengthens the regional labour pools. The co-located firms thus benefit from better access to skilled labourers at the lowered recruiting and training cost (Overman and Puga 2010). Moreover, Marshall also emphasised the pooled human resource as the

necessary mechanism that empowers firms to adapt to environmental 'shocks' and 'changes', as the pool contains individuals of various knowledge bases crucially supporting the transformation of firms' production in response to the changing environment. This, ultimately, leads to the evolving spatial agglomeration (Krugman 1991, Marshall 1890, Overman and Puga 2010). Moreover, Marshall observed the process of knowledge diffusion, which occurs through spinoffs, job-changing, or partnerships between firms. This hence creates channels for information, knowledge and technology flows, allowing firms to learn from co-located organisations.

Marshall thus referred to the above points as the positive 'externalities' that strengthens the regional agglomeration. (Becattini 1991; Granovetter 1985; Marshall 1920). It is highlighted by Marshall that, the local aggregations of small and medium firms intersecting with the externalities are able to compete with big firms relying on their internal resource and experience. Marshall's new perspective inspired the robust developments and debates on regional industrial agglomeration in the following century (Becattini 1990; Belussi and Caldari 2008). His conceptualisation not only depicted cases of industrial agglomeration in the UK cases, but also stimulated further explorations into relationships between geography and industrial development.

Marshall's conceptualisation signified the explorations into the regional agglomeration and the relevant economic activities. In the following century, 'economic geography study' succeeding Marshall's theorisation have stretched to multifarious elaboration of the spatial-industry interrelationship. The leading schools including the explorations into industrial districts in Italy (the 'Third Italy' Industrial District) advancing Marshall's idea of the 'atmosphere' (Belussi 1998; Belussi and Caldari 2008; Cooke et. al. 2006), the 'Institutional economic geography school' centred on the 'institutional setting' as the key driver of the regional agglomeration (Storper 1997), and 'New economic geography' studies intending to model the 'regional agglomeration' phenomena through the quantitative framework (Krugman 1991a). These are well-recognised strands present the landscape of contemporary economic geography studies.

Nevertheless, despite the flourishing developments of the economic geography

perspectives, there has been little thought exchange between different paradigms of the economic geography studies (Boschma and Frenken 2006). Seeing the emergence of varying economic geography paradigms, Boschma and Frenken (2006) noted that there still exists an unopened 'black box' of the regional economic mechanisms. More specifically, they pointed out two weaknesses in current economic geography theorisations:

Firstly, the assumptions regarding regional agglomeration are majorly from the 'utility-maximising' perspective, which perceives that the transformation of regional economies as a result of 'god-like' actors' activities (Dosi 1984). This can be seen from the regime of the Neoclassical economic geography which grounded the theorisation from the firm or consumer-based analyses (which is micro scale), and conceived them as the attributor to the regional agglomeration (Boschma and Frenken 2006; Dosi 1984). On the other hand, the mainstream economic geography accounts for regional institutions or organisations for regional agglomerations, which, however, neglects the 'human or individual decision making' essential dimensions for exploring the cluster trajectory.

In response to the theoretical weakness in economic geography studies, the 'Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG)' thinking postulated a cross-disciplined framework, with specific attention to region-wide collections of entities and the local institutions to address the mechanism of the regional cluster. It is worth noting that, based on the region-wide view, the EEG school also casts light on the 'process' of the regional clusters' pattern changing through time. In the following section, we will discuss the EEG approach, to explore how it stemmed from interfaces of geographic economic studies to propose a 'dynamic' modelling of regional clustering.

2.1.2 The Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG) Thinking

EEG built the theorisation based on the 'routines' and how they drive the changing regional economies. As specified by the EEG school, 'routines' refer to the know-how, experience, and skill sets carried by organisations and firms. The existence of heterogeneous routines amongst organisations then engendered competitions between organisations, resulting in the transformation of regional economies (Nelson and Winter 1982).

What is worth noting is that, within EEG, inter-disciplined concepts were adopted to better configure how the competition and transformation processes take place. Rooted from the biological realm, the EEG embraces the metaphor of 'selection' mechanism to articulate the link between the heterogeneous routines and the following regional changes. That is, when the regional economy is confronted with environmental shocks, the located entities with different routines have different capacities to adjust to the changing environment. Therefore, the located entities amend the routines through trial-and-error processes, innovations, gaining new knowledge and building skills to survive the environmental changes. This, consequently, contributes to the repeatedly changing routines and entities behaviour that characterised the 'dynamic' and 'evolutionary' nature of the regional economy (Boschma and Frenken 2006; Hodgson 1999; Nelson and Winter 1982; Teece et al. 1997). In other words, the regional agglomeration is understood as a 'selection mechanism' which triggers the transformation of the regional concentration. In line with the ongoing changes of routines and the entities' behaviour, the EEG study thus focuses on addressing the 'process' of how routines change in relation to the contextual environment over time in a spatial concentration.

2.1.3 The Key Breakthrough of The EEG Thinking

The EEG theorisation poses new perceptions to cluster studies in two aspects. First of all, the EEG considers clusters to be multi-scaler (micro-meso-macro). The

co-location of the multi-scaled entities and interactions amongst them forge the transforming trajectories of the regional agglomerations. Secondly, the EEG studies take the 'time' and the 'historical past' into account to understand the clustering mechanisms and how a regional cluster moves from one trajectory to another. In the section below, I will explore these two arguments from the EEG paradigm to illustrate the cluster's dynamics.

One significant contribution of EEG is that it does not restrict the analyses to institutions or micro actors (such as a firm or an organisation), but interprets the evolutionary regional agglomeration as that formed through the dynamics occurring at various scales, be it the firms of micro-scale modifying routines and subsequently changing behaviour, change at the meso level of industrial networks, or the macro-levelled institutions or socio-economic contexts (Essletzbichler 2012; Martin and Sunley 2006).

Meanwhile, EEG advanced the discussion that collections of firms carrying different routines, albeit those located in close proximity and influenced by similar institutions, could enact the routine modification when interacting with each other. It is suggested that, the firms which are weaker to survive under the contextual environment amend the routines as a causal transformation, and the new routines thereafter diffuse to the region-wide system (Essletzbichler 2012; Martin and Sunley 2006).

Simply put, EEG's analyses start from a firm's routines, and consider the different routines between firms as associated with causal changes and the system-wide evolution. Rather than assuming that regional economic development is contingent on a single actor or regulator's decision making, EEG's configuration is distinguishable in that the 'co-location' of the entities is the key to creating a new clustering pattern. Furthermore, the evolving process is linked to the new activities and routines in varying scales (Crang 1997; Essletzbichler 2012; Martin and Sunley 2006; Thrift and Olds 1996).

Another critical argument that differentiates EEG from mainstream economic geography study is that, it includes the factor of 'time' in its conceptualisation. EEG scholars see a firm's routines derived from past history and activities.

Furthermore, they address that transforming clusters is a process that takes place based on a region's past history and contexts, rather than a random occurrence. Grounded on the 'time' and the 'historical past'. EEG thus considers the regional cluster a 'dynamic' and 'evolutionary' system which transforms over time. That is, EEG presumes that the clusters' new trajectories majorly evolve based on the related industries, skills and resources that the region contains, which establishes the condition that enforces the development of new clustering patterns. The EEG school recognises such evolutionary process, or the 'path dependence' mechanism, stressed by Martin and Sunley (2006,399) as, '*the process or system is one whose outcome evolves as a consequence of the process's or system's own history*'.

To continue the discussion of the two points above, I will follow up with articulation of path dependence and the essential multi-levelled view that determines the co-evolution mechanism of the regional clusters.

2.1.4 Path Dependence

The idea of the path dependence was elaborated by Paul David and Brian Arthur to explicate the mechanism that '*...economic sequence of economic changes... one in which important influences upon the eventual outcome can be exerted... happenings dominated by chance elements...can neither be ignored...for the purpose of economic analysis; the dynamic process itself takes on an essentially historical character*' (David 1985 p.332). In simple terms, regional path-dependence captures the idea that regional economic evolution is conditioned by historical past; Meanwhile, path-dependence is the essence that shaped specific trajectories of the regional developments (Henning et al. 2013). This thus stresses the importance of regional contexts and history, in that any events will lead to the contingent trajectories of economic development (Martin and Sunley 2006).

Hence, the regional path dependence exerts influence and formulates the future course of the regional development (Martin and Sunley 2006).

To further explain the occurrence of the path dependence, the EEG studies accounted for the aggregated activities of regional social structures, organisations and institutions that function the path dependence process. The path dependence is formulated by purposive decision-making or behaviour by economic agents, which triggered new patterns of co-located institutions, entities, industries and technologies (Martin and Sunley 2006; 2012). The contingent emergence of new products, technology, organisation, then leads the system-wide new trajectory creation. In other words, when the regional system forms the particular trajectory to adapt to the shocks, the co-located entities learn and adopt new trajectories contributing to the regional economy's constant self-reinforcement (Martin and Sunley 2006; 2012).

One implication of the path dependence mechanism is the idea of 'lock-in', which occurs when the regional system inhibits particular trajectories (Garbher 1993; Henning et al. 2013). Lock-in situations are stressed as the consequence of varying factors. Grabher (1993) pointed out the 'cognitive', 'functional' and 'political' lock-ins that were led by individuals, inter-firm networks and the public policymaking respectively. This postulates that the key drivers of the locked in paths are likely to be individual ties that spreads the way of thinking and determine the 'cognitive lock-in' ; The inter-firm and supplier's relationships that builds the economic environments and the 'functional lock-in'; The governmental policymaking which orients the region's development and the 'political lock-in' (Grabher 1993). Moreover, The economic geography studies understand the lock-in to impact the regional systems both positively and negatively. In the high-tech industry, for example, the innovation dynamics locks a region into a more specialised and superior production system compared to other regions (David 1985; 2001). This type of path dependence drives branching processes of the regional industries and reinforces the opportunities for further growth of the cluster (David 1985). However, on the other hand, the lock-in hinders clusters from reacting to the changing contexts such as new technology, the availability of natural resources, or the emergence of new industries. In this sense, lock-in happens whereas specialised production activities are developed based on region-

specific resources and institutions potentially restricting the industrial clusters to match the changing market demands. This lock-ins of industrial clusters could, consequently, result in the declined industrial production (Henning et al. 2018).

Following the discussion of the 'lock-in' circumstances, EEG thinking also sheds light on the path dependence that serves to 'de-lock' the regional cluster from the inhibited trajectories. According to Martin and Sunley (2006), a region can escape from the lock-ins by developing new paths, heterogeneity and diversity, transplantation from other regions, diversifying into the related industries, or upgrading the existing industry. Whichever approach that the region de-locks from the existing trajectory, it occurs by modifying and recombining old and new institutions, technologies and resources, which consequently redirects the regional system into varying dominating new paths. In this regard, the creation of the new paths is likely to happen when it's technologically or resource-wise related to the old path. (Boschma and Frenken 2011; Henning et al, 2013; Neefke et al. 2011).

Taken together, the evolutionary view of clusters casts its attention on time and history to explain the 'process' of the changing clusters. While the focus on the path dependence' specifies the mechanism that a cluster moves from one trajectory to another, the paths created through different courses or under different 'shocks' could contribute to varying lock-in effects. The explanation from the path dependence then unfolds the regional disparity even though the regions are developing the same industry. As the local condition and the circumstance takes the crucial role that triggers the different trajectories and orients the regions towards different directions of path dependence.

To sum up, the concept of path dependence is surrounding the collaborations between the varying entities and their activities contingent to the shocks (Henning et al. 2013). In other words, to make sense of the dynamic evolutions of a regional cluster, it is essential to include the varying engaged entities and the interconnections which exert the dynamic regional clustering. Whilst our earlier paragraphs highlight that the entities could be in various scales, the following section thus will address the interrelationships of the co-located entities through the underlying multi-scaled perspective (Henning et al. 2013).

Since the discussion of the multiple-scaled view is frequently related to the 'institutional settings' and the 'actor-agency' causal relationship to complement the perspective, I will also cover the discussion of such a subject, which portrays how the region-wide dynamic is relevant to the multi-scaled entities collaboration. Meanwhile, at the end of the section, I will reiterate the terminology 'entities' as the 'actor' to precisely define their particular roles in the multi-scaled interrelationship.

2.1.5 The Multi-Levelled Perspective

To understand the full landscape of the path dependence and the lock-in mechanism, it requires careful analyses into how the causal relationship between the co-located entities occurs, and how an eventual impact can proliferate to the system-wide scale. Echoing the point stressed in the last section, the path creating process is regarded as the consequence of accumulated actions from the engaged entities. In this sense, each entity is likely to act directly and indirectly to the 'shock' passed on through other entities or constrained through the contextual transformation (Essletzbichler 2012). Besides, entities taking forms as individuals, organisations, social structure and the institution system contribute to the dynamic process of path creation, in that each entity carries different habits, customs or routines and consequently reacts differently to the shocks. Therefore, the analyses of path creation rely on the understanding of the relational connections between different forms of entities to configure such a dynamic process (Essletzbichler 2012; Glückler and Doreian 2016). To address the aggregated activities of the co-located entities and the process of trajectories' creation, Essletzbichler (2012) posed a 'multi-levelled' perspective to understand the evolutionary trajectories of a regional cluster. By means of the multi-levelled approach, the clustering analysis is more likely to identify the social interactions and the correspondent entities that configures the transformative process, instead of focusing on the sole or few entities to analyse the regional clustering from a rather general view (Essletzbichler 2012, Glückler and Doreian 2016; Martin and Sunley 2015).

The multi-levelled model illustrates the regional cluster as a system comprising of various hierarchies, which includes the crossed-boundary environment such as regulation and technological system, the state or region-based policymaking and institutional systems, the routines within organisations (such as plant, firms, university) and the habits and lifestyle of individuals (Essletzbichler 2012). In short, the multi-levelled model tends to integrate the macro to micro entities to better understand the complicated interrelationships amongst the co-located entities. Through observing the decision-making and behaviours of micro, meso and macro entities (Dopfer 2005), and how they are related to the spatial transformation, the regional analyses are to explicitly reveal the dynamic mechanism of cluster transformation (Dopfer 2005; Martin and Sunley 2015; Storper and Walker 1981). The highest-levelled entities are denoted as that drives the social interaction, environmental changes, and bound the lower levelled entities decision-making. The middle-levelled entities are subject to the environmental changes and form part of the social structure and policymaking relevant to the high-levelled entities, and as well as act correspondingly to the integrated behaviour of individual members or firms. The micro-levelled firms, organisations and individuals are embedded in the environmental system, take actions constrained by the higher-levelled entities, and according to their own routines and capacity (such as knowledge and resources) (Essletzbichler 2012; Martin and Sunley 2015). The multi-levelled perspective thus emphasises the cohesive relationships between varying entities, that is, focuses on exploring various entities' decision makings, and how they are interconnected with different scales of entities in the spatial landscape, to reveal the transforming regional cluster as the accumulation of multi-scaled entities' decision-making.

To summarise, through the lens of 'multi-levelled' view, authors of EEG thinking outlined the analyses into different scaled entities and how they contribute to the transforming regional cluster. The 'multi-levelled' framework was developed to holistically observe behaviour and relationships amongst multiple-scaled entities, so as the institutional contexts to facilitate the evolutionary process of the region-wide system. Such approach resonates with EEG's biological metaphors - that relates entities to their located environment, which in turn explains the evolutionary process occurring through their casual associations with the environmental

changes and the co-located entities.

2.1.6 Institutional Settings and Actors

The perspective of the EEG builds on routines within organisations. Dated back to the 1980s, Nelson and Winter (1982) postulated the earliest strands of evolutionary economics concepts through the explanation of the 'organisational routine', which organisations based on to develop the new routines that drove the evolutionary economics. It is worth noting that, Nelson and Winter determined the organisational routine the core element which the evolutionary economic approach was established. In the meantime, the EEG approaches emphasise how organisations inherit the 'internal routine' to survive the market competition (Nelson and Winter 1982). In other words, firms/ organisations' based on their internal routines in the past and developed new patterns of behaviour and production activities.

Further to the focus on the 'internal routines', the recent EEG approaches also explore the 'institutions' as the mechanisms exogenous to the firms. Geographers such as Storper and Walker (1989) understand 'institutions' as 'collections of socio-norms' ensembles the territorial norms, rules, customs, and conventions intertwining with the economic interventions (Storper and Walker 1989). The perspective of the institutional approach explores how the 'territorial routine' is formed through and impacts agglomerations of organisations of various internal routines.

The 'institutions' stylised by EEG approach is unlike traditional geographic economy distinctly categorised 'institutions' into the 'socio form' and the 'economic form' - which particularly grounded on economic related factors in understanding the regional changes, while separately discussing the social and cultural factors and their related regional development. EEG recognised the institution as a mechanism of intra-disciplinary joints (Crang 1997; Thrift and Olds 1996) which are formed through interlinks amongst socio-cultural and economic factors. Such

explanation is backed up by Williamson (1985), Hodgson (1988) and North (1990) that the institutions a mechanism developed from the socio-cultural form, which resulted in the consequent arrangement of the economic or market activities and the policymaking.

Therefore, the institution is the dynamic system with the joint involvement of multiple entities, or, to put it simply, the accumulation of the repeated behaviour which shapes the norm on 'how things are done' or the action of the engaged entities (Bathlet and Glu"ckler 2013).

- **The institution**

The institution is constituted as a result of the relational interactions amongst collections of actors. Put it precisely, the institution is the outcome of varying actor's decision making and their repeated interaction. The accumulation of inter-actor activities, new norms, regulations and the socio-economic environment is likely to contribute to the new institutional settings. Hence, the institution is recognised as that in both 'formal' and 'informal' forms, whilst the formal terms of institutions are indicated as public policymaking and regulations, the informal terms of the institutions are put as the non-contractual norms built through the mutual interaction and trust between the actors (Bathlet and Glu"ckler 2013; Abdelnour et al. 2017).

To articulate the above mechanism that forms the institutions, Bathlet and Glu"ckler (2013) determined that institutions are a consequence of individual behaviour, organisation policies, and regulation systems that forged the new pattern of the social or economic process practice. The institution thus is defined as *'forms of ongoing and relatively stable patterns of social practice based on mutual expectations that owe their existence to either purposeful constitution or unintentional emergence'* (Bathelt and Glu"ckler 2011). Moreover, the institution is indicated as that established through the process of actor's repeated practices and behaviour. Hence, the institution is a mechanism that constantly evolves along with varying actors' decision-making and interrelationship, rather than a fundamental setting that regulates the co-located actor's practices. In the following

paragraphs, I will further introduce roles of actor and agency propelling the new trajectories.

- **The Actor**

The development of the institution is deemed related to the actors whose purposeful behaviour or decision-making leads to the consequences or the resource distribution of regions, whether it be for the economic or non-economic goals or the outcomes (Bathlet and Glu"ckler 2013). Hence, the forming of the institutions is the accumulation of values, preferences and tastes of the actors that constitute the value system, norms or the principle of regions and influence the decisions and behaviours of the co-located entities. The institutions nevertheless take various forms, such as public policy makings, social norms, or networks between organisations and individuals.

Actors are not necessarily the creator of the institutional settings at the very beginning. Instead, their role is considered as implementers of the institution's transformation. That is, actors cope with the environmental changes through new strategies and building a new social or contractual network. The actors took such actions in response to the environmental changes thus then formulated the new institutional settings (Whittington 2006).

Grounding on such a concept, there raised the discussion on defining the actor as a single individual, or an organisation that imposes the new institutional contexts as the collective behaviour of individuals. Studies such as Weik (2011), Mutch (2007), and Garul et al. (2007) interpreted the actor more as an individual framing the strategies in response to environmental changes. Furthermore, they have conceptualised the actor particularly the purposeful 'entrepreneurs' who leverages resources or enforce new strategies to overcome environmental situations (Abdelnour et al. 2017). In other words, the actors, from the previously stated perspective, address the individuals or entrepreneurs that dominate the ruling of a new institution in accordance with their intended targets.

In the debate with the perspective much emphasising the actor as the individual that enacts the evolving institutions, Lounsbury and Crumley (2007) intended to elaborate the actor as a 'broader' and the 'collective' role of action. Lounsbury and Crumley (2007) put forth the discussion to define the actors, and regard the actors as taking the aggregated actions of groups of entities, instead of a sole individual. In this sense, the actors are more likely to be organisations that coincide with multiple individuals' demands or preferences.

Another thread of study, however, agrees with both the perspectives mentioned above and summarised the view that the actors can be in various forms. Thus the actors can be in different scales, individuals *qua* social demands that impact the institutional contexts, or the organisations enforce the new institutional contexts in relation to interests of the collective individuals (Wijen and Ansari 2007; Scott 2008a). Meanwhile, varying scales of the actors are put to constrain the different impacts towards the institutional transformation. Scott's (2008a) study, for instance, proponents the view that the actors as the 'collective form' of individuals are of the better capacity to encompass the pattern of the new institutional contexts than an individualistic actor (Scott 2008a). Scott fortified his interpretation through the observations of varying scaled actors, from which he concluded that, the actor as an organisation are more likely to constrain the societal changes and affect the broader groups the individuals or organisation; The individualistic actors, on the other hand, are seen to entail changes of behaviour or routines of the smaller group of individuals, or within organisations (Scott 2008a).

Taken together, the 'actor' is generally perceived as the 'propeller' of the institution changes which drive the shaping of new institutions. Though the definition of the actor has not yet reached an agreement amongst the institution studies, it appears that, the leveraged perspective interpreting the actors as of diverse scales impacting the institutional transformation in different scopes, makes sense in interpreting various sequences of institution changes. In this research, I would like to adopt the integrated view in constructing the research framework. Furthermore, I will further elaborate on this in the final section of the literature review chapter.

- **The Agency**

To continue the discussion of the institution process, the actors play the role in enacting the institution shaping or transformation, this then demands the 'responder' - the agency- to realise the new social patterns in correspondence to the actor's activities, or as a consequence of the new institutional contexts (Lawrence et al. 2009). That is, the establishment of the institutional contexts, or the occurrence of the institutional changes involves the causal relations amongst the actors and their agency to take place. Agency, in this sense, is considered as embedded in the institution contexts and conditioned under constraint of institutional contexts and actors' activities (Lawrence et al. 2009). The seminal work of Emirbayer and Mische (1998) addressed the agency as of the contingent relation with the societal environment, and is capable of driving the reproduction of the new institutional environment. Agency, therefore, is characterised as the 'context dependent' and formulated by actor's decision making in response to institution or society change (Lawrence et al. 2009). Agency thus is seen as that endures the new patterns of decision-making and the networks amidst the collection of actors, which configures the potential system-wide trajectory changes. That being said, whilst actors take actions forced by the institutional contexts, their decision-making leveraging the resource, rights, obligations and social position constitutes the agency (Abdelnour et al. 2017, Barley and Tolbert 1997).

Echoing the concept from the last section concluding that the actors take forms in multiple scales, the agency is also portrayed as multiple-scaled depending on the actors they respond to. Studies such as Meyer and Jepperson (2000) and Barley and Tolbert (1997) pointed out that, agency takes place at varying levels associated with different social realities, different immediacy and impacts. Agency is enforced causally to the actors purposeful behaviour, which is considered as that binds to the actors' movement and the reflective capacity contingent to actors of varying scales (Abdelnour et al. 2017). In this sense, agency is enacted by myriad actors' behaviours, and nested to the institutional settings and collections of varying social reality. Agency thus can be deemed as the phenomena constrained by the institutional environment and conditioned by coherent multi-scaled actors' activities. Therefore, the causality amongst the institution settings, actors and the agency realises the mechanism that disseminates the impact from

the institutional context or environment changes to the dynamic pattern transformations throughout varying social scales (Abdelnour et al. 2017).

Through the explorations into the institution and its association with the actor-agency mechanism, this research will apply the term 'actor' instead of the 'entities' to explicitly recognise the role of the entities and the related cluster dynamics formulating the region-wide transformation.

Further to the clustering analyses focusing on actors of different scales, the advanced studies proposed a co-evolution perspective, which relates the actors of different scales that contribute to the system-wide transformation. Borrowing the term 'co-evolution' from the biological discipline, the cluster studies indicate that the clustering processes involve the firms or industries and their 'embeddedness' in the regional institution system or environment. These institutions in forms of public policy, regulations, economic system social norms, are stressed by the cluster studies as the metaphor of 'biological environment' enforcing causal evolutions and different stages of cluster developments (Boschma and Martin 2010).

2.1.7 Co-Evolution Mechanism of Clusters

The co-evolution framework pays attention to the non-economic factors which lead to cluster evolutions. The institutions in terms of organisation, cultural contexts or regulatory systems, for instance, were articulated in the co-evolution studies as the key driver of the evolutions (Gong and Hassink 2019). Meanwhile, Gong and Hassink (2019) highlight that co-evolution perspective is crucial to unveil the developmental process of the region-based economy, given that the co-evolution focuses on the contextual factors to deploy the evolutionary process of space-based economics.

A number of scholars have used these concepts to explain how co-located firms and networks co-evolve. Moreover, the reciprocal relationship between the co-located firms has been emphasised in recent strands of EEG studies to suggest

the co-evolution perspective of cluster analyses (Broekel 2015; Gong and Hassink 2019; Ter Wal and Boschma 2011). Further to this perspective, Boschma (2017) and Martin and Sunley (2015b) commented that the regional economic as a dynamic system '*undergoes continuous modifications to adjust themselves to the changing circumstance*'. Hence, this implies the regional economy is subjective to the changing contexts and continuously develops into new trajectories during the process. In this regard, varying factors, be it internal or external, coherently impose the co-evolving regional economics.

However, despite the emerging interest in the 'co-evolution concept' in the economic geography studies, it seems there yet has consensus towards which factors, event or entity to be accounted as contributing to the co-evolutions. Numerous drivers including firms' decision-making, new market demands, advancing technologies, to take an example, have been named and analysed by works of Berg (2015), Faller (2016), Hansen and Coenen (2015) as the key actors that codified the new contextual settings for the regional economy. Nevertheless, Gong and Hassink (2019) indicated that the integrated view is essential to understand the complete picture of the regional economy, in that mutual interdependence is observed amongst these actors to forge the changing regional economics. The co-evolution concept focusing on the relevance amongst varying actors' relationships and institutional contexts, thus, worth attention to unravel the mechanism of the dynamic regional economy.

In the discipline of EEG or economic geography studies, co-evolution thinking grounded the analyses unit as the 'populated economic organisations and institutions'. Besides, the co-evolution view stressed the distinct understanding from the general economic geography or earlier EEG view in three aspects:

Firstly, it notes that the institutional contexts as the entity that both impose and react to the changing environment, rather than solely as a 'static background environment' that forges the organisations or the entities to react accordingly. Secondly, the engaged entities are seen play the 'dual role' in the regional industry's transformation (Gong and Hassink 2019), which, on one hand, are embedded in the local industry and act coincidentally with the changing industrial environment; On the other hand, they are likely to be an actor, the constructor of

new industrial practice and propel the region-wide institutions and co-located entities to react subsequently.

Meanwhile, co-evolution thinking aims to include the varying aspects of institutional contexts and entities to conduct the in-depth explorations of the regional economy. Apart from the government policymaking or firms decision making which has been frequently addressed in several EEG studies, the culture and the way of thinking of individuals or within organisations, at the same time, are remarked as of essential relevance to the changing regional system (Gong and Hassink 2019; Scott 1995). Hence, the co-evolution thinking tailored the existing EEG concepts to adopt the broader view in exploring the collaborations amidst varying entities and the local contexts. Through such an integrated view, the in-depth analyses are feasible to reveal the mechanism of a dynamic regional economy.

Furthermore, co-evolution is the mechanism stimulated by the multi-scaled dynamics. Namely, the region-wide trajectory evolution is driven by the aggregated pattern-changing of co-located entities in varying scales; The trajectory transformation in each scale, on the other hand, is considered as part of the region-wide evolution (Ter Wal and Boschma 2009). The multi-levelled system featuring the intertwined relationships between various levels of actors, thus, characterises the region-wide co-evolution which is relevant to the cohesive links between the multi-levelled entities. In line with such a perspective, Ter Wal and Boschma (2009) stressed the co-evolution mechanism involves micro entities, the inter-firm networks and the macro-scaled industrial environment. The micro-scale is composed of firms carrying heterogeneous patterns according to their different capacity, at the same time, the collections of diverse firms contribute to the evolving inter-firm networks in the regional system. Moreover, the trajectory transformation in the macro-scaled industrial environment enforces the changing patterns of the micro-levelled entities and their networks, which in turn, leads the system-wide coevolution (Ter Wal and Boschma 2009).

2.1.8 The Life-Cycle of Clusters

With the concerns towards the 'time' and the 'historical path' in creating the clustering path, and the focus on the coherence that constitutes the 'co-evolution' process, a 'life-cycle' model is thus considered as that to systematically conceptualise such key concepts (Martin and Sunley 2011).

The 'life-cycle' idea was taken up from Storper (1985) which intends to explain the phenomena of the market, production economic and the technology that transformed 'throughout the time' and 'in stages'. This statement implies the earliest conceptualisation of the 'life-cycle' model, which viewed the economic system transforms into varying trajectories. Following Storper's notion, Van de Ven and Poole (1995) theorised the 'life cycle' concept to characterise how an organisation develops from its original programme, code and logic to its imminent form (Martin and Sunly 2011; Van de Ven and Poole 1995). This inspired the modelling of the life-cycle idea, which formulates the four-phase of the cluster's development, from its emergence stage to the subsequent growing, Maturing and declining/ Transforming stages over time (Shown as **Figure 1**). Such 'aging' mechanism (Martin and Sunley 2011) of industrial clusters is depicted as a process underlying the advancement of the technology, production innovations or the maturity of the network of the co-located firms or entities. Martin and Sunley consider this stand of life-cycle discussion as the 'industrial life cycle model', in that the theorisation attributes the production or product-related factors to define the cluster's life stage.

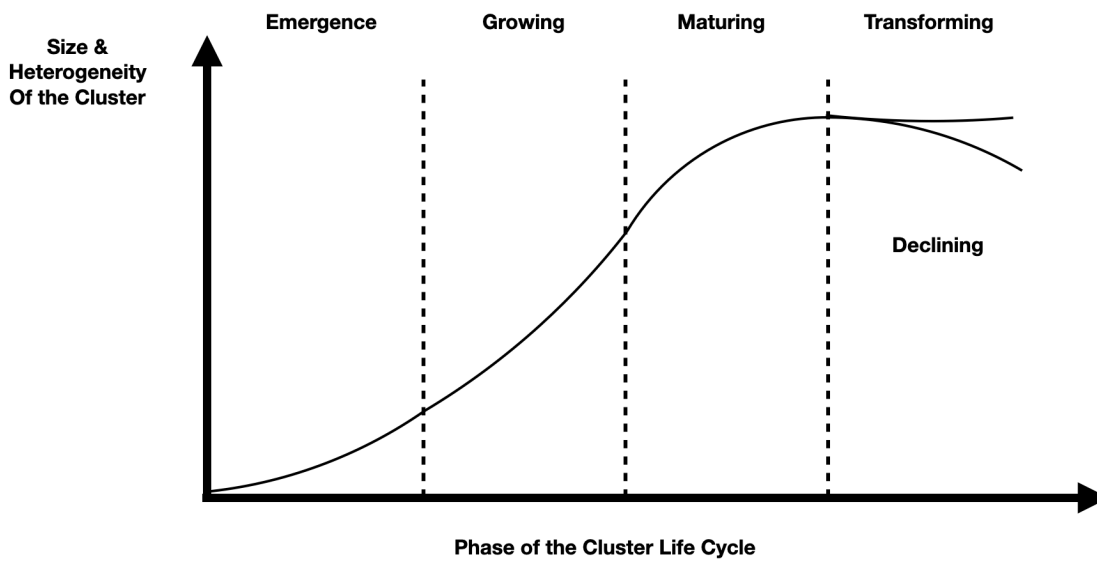


Figure 1: 4-Phase 'Industrial Life Cycle Model'

Source: Adapted from Martin and Sunley (2011); Smorodinskaya and Katukov (2019)

Another approach recognises the 'life cycle' takes place as the 'cluster specific' process. That is, the definition of the 'life cycle' and the key 'indicator' for which the life stage, is explained through the 'agglomerative advantage and disadvantage' (Iammarino and McCann 2006; Martin and Sunley 2011; Menzel and Fornahl 2010). Such an approach argues that the life cycle of an industrial cluster is not necessary to do with the stage of industrial development. The cluster's own capacity to adjust to the industrial environment determines its growth and decline. To put it clearly, Menzel and Fornahl propose the 'diversity of the cluster' is linked to evolutions into life cycle stages, which they noted as '*a cluster inherent component that has an effect on growth and decline of a cluster ... This component is the utilisation of the diverse competencies*' (Menzel and Fornahl 2006, page 9). Hence, if a cluster is specialised-prone or growing by imitating the routines from other clusters (Pouder and St John's 1996), it is likely to be trapped in the lock-in and subsequent decline. From this approach, they considered that clusters of the same industry can be prospering in certain regions while declining in others at the same time. As regardless of the maturity of the technologies, R&D

or skill sets, those clusters with the more diverse capacity are more likely to grow, and the lifecycle thus does not necessarily occur in order. It can experience the most growth whenever the cluster is equipped with the best capacity to adjust to any environmental changes; It can re-grow at any point whereas the cluster updates the routines.

In sum, the two approaches of 'life-cycle' models differ in seeing the key driver of evolutions and how clusters proceed from one stage to another. Despite the intensions from the two approaches to modelling the dynamic clustering process, Martin and Sunley (2011) suggested the modified framework based on the two is quintessential to plausibly depict the course of lifecycle from EEG view. According to our earlier discussion highlighting the 'multi-scaled' and 'co-evolved' clustering patterns featured by EEG, the dynamic changes of routines thus happen to actors of different scales in a different or the same timeframe. Hence, Martin and Sunley (2011) considered that, there could, for example, exist varying life stages of innovation activities within different actors, or different scales of the local agglomeration. Given it is a 'complex' system with the composition of micro, meso and macro life cycles that interact with each other, Martin and Sunley posit the modified lifecycle as a better fit for the EEG regime.

Martin and Sunley thereby outlined the life cycle model that is adapted to the EEG's key perspectives. Reflecting the actor-agency casual relationships, the multi-scaled dynamics and the contingent co-evolution mechanism, the adaptive life-cycle illustrates the continuous process that the regional cluster is changing the pattern to adapt to both exogenous and endogenous impacts. Therefore, the four phases of the life cycle are depicted as cluster growth, cluster stabilisation, cluster decline, cluster renewal or replacement, which are much similar to the traditional industrial life cycle. Furthermore, the EEG-specific model emphasises the extra bits of 'alternative trajectories' that take place in smaller scales or lead the disruptive/ looped paths of the clustering cycle (As shown in figure 2). The constant cluster mutation, cluster re-orientation, cluster disappearance, cluster failure are thus included to demonstrate the coexisted routes occurring during the cluster evolutions. These alternative trajectories, at the same time, depicts the life cycle does not necessarily follow any specific progression. As a matter of fact, the alternative trajectories are crucial to explain the various evolution paths. To take a

case in point, the cluster could reorient from the 'stabilised stage' to the 'renewal stage' due to innovation activities before products or technology reaches the maturation. This differentiates the adapted life-cycle per se from the typical four-stage 'life cycle' model frequently adopted in cluster studies, while offering the holistic model for analyses taking the EEG view.

This indicates that the conventional four-stage life cycle is not the 'one fits all' modelling of the cluster's evolution. Due to the heterogeneity between each cluster's composition of the multi-levelled structure, and the different interrelationships amidst the co-located entities, varying evolution trajectories in each regional cluster are more likely to occur as the consequence. Given the different resources or capacities from region to region, clusters react differently to the environmental shocks according to their capacity, which reinvents varying trajectories of transformations. Hence, the different contextual environment or resources in regions determine the multifarious paths of clusters' evolutions (Elola et al. 2012). In this regard, Elola et al. (2012) addressed the life-cycle patterns that are configured through analysing the region-specific factors and shocks that drive the cluster dynamics. Putting the difference of firms' mechanism, located entities' learning capacity, technological advancement and innovation activities into explorations of different evolution paths, Elola et al. stressed the discrepant life-cycles are shaped considering regional differences in various aspects. This thus implies the clustering patterns portrayed by region-specific dynamics to suffice the weakness of the conventional 4-stage life cycle.

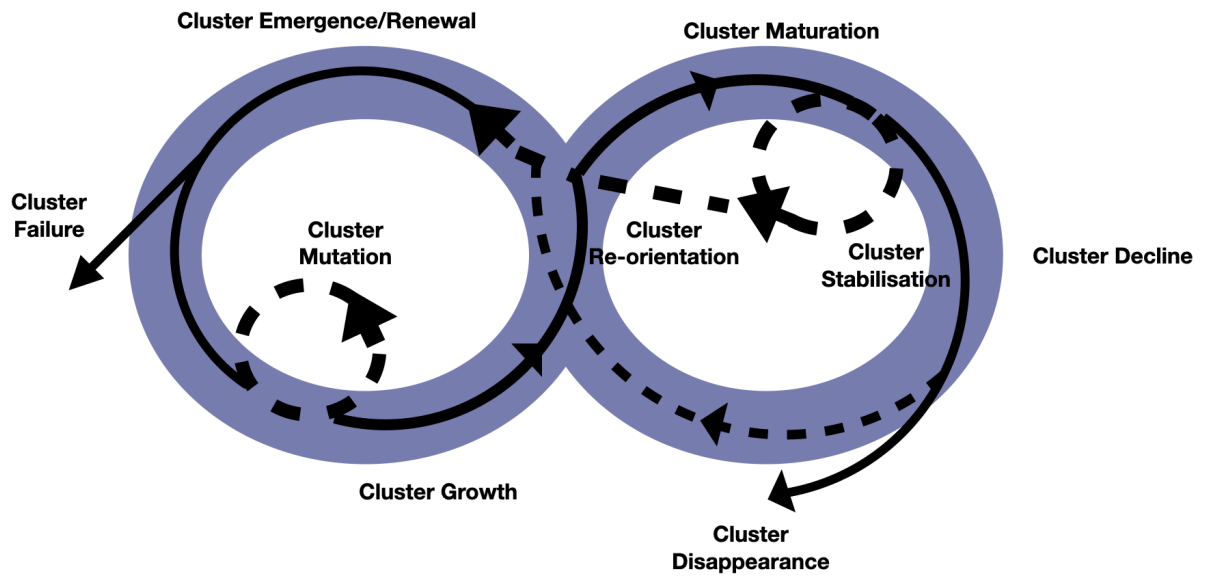


Figure 2: EEG-Adapted Life Cycle Model
 Source: Adapted from Martin and Sunley (2011)

2.2 Cultural and Creative Industry (CCI)

In the last two decades, the ‘cultural and creative industry’ study has been explored by authors of different social science disciplines. However, their different interpretations towards the phenomena of emerging ‘cultural and creative industry’, as observed by Berg and Hassink that, resulted in the lack of

consistency of definition toward the concept of the 'cultural and creative industry'.

Put it concisely, despite the growing numbers of studies in the past two decades exploring the forming of *cultural and creative industry clusters*, a systematic theorisation is still lacking that links the *cultural and creative industry* and the *cluster thinking*. That is, different strands of studies configure the association between the two from discrete perspectives. Nevertheless, the distinct nature of the cultural and creative industry, which interacts with the region-based cultural and value-system to implement the productions, calls for a better explanation through the coherence of cluster thinking and the cultural and creative research to understand the mechanism of cultural and creative cluster's formation.

As introduced in the previous chapter of the cluster theories, the cluster thinking was developed based on studying manufacturing industries. And not till the 1980s there emerged the application of cluster research in studying non-traditional manufacturing and high technology industries (Boggs 2009). The emergence of cultural and creative industry (CCI), which is the relatively 'new' type of 'industry', attracted new interests of 'CCI cluster' studies since its potential of promoting regional development was highlighted by the UK government in 1998. As a result, the 'CCI cluster' studies are seen to have developed into two main trends of interest, with the first strand shedding light on how 'cultural and creative industry' developed along with the changing social contexts. On the other hand, the other stream explores the emerging cultural and creative industry and their interactions with the regional development policy in terms of job creation and economic development.

Further to the weak elaboration between the CCI and the cluster thinking, the CCI concept is also under debate in terms of its definition and the scope. Hence, the fussy concepts in analysing the CCI and the inconsistent definition of the CCI and its scope remain the CCI research still a controversial field that requires systematic and empirical analyses to support its theorisation (Berg and Hassink 2014). Beyond this, Boggs (2009), Berg and Hassink (2014), and Rantisi et al. (2006) pointed out that, the current CCI studies lack the explanation of CCI's dynamic development relevant to their located region. In other words, the existing CCI

studies less demonstrated the CCI production and its interaction with the region-specific socio-history interactions throughout the time.

In light of the aforementioned theoretical weakness of CCI studies, Berg and Hassink (2014) stressed applying the 'EEG framework' from cluster study to unveil the 'dynamic' process of CCI development and the regional agglomeration of its production activities. Particularly, the functionality of the CCI production, which is composed of co-existing of the creators, manufacturers, marketers, content distributors and audience, suggested the essential co-evolution perspective in exploring the mechanism of the CCI clustering. In line with the needed EEG view to explore the CCI clustering, this chapter will cover the introduction of the CCI, its initiation and the recent surge following the UK government's promotion. I will subsequently discuss the characteristics of the CCI to elaborate on the crucial view from the 'EEG framework' to analyse the CCI cluster.

2.2.1 The Theorisation of the CCI

The discussion about the 'cultural term' of the economy can be traced back to 1947, when Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer firstly coined the term 'culture industry' in their book. Adorno's later work further addressed the film-making, radio, newspaper, jazz, and popular music presents the art and culture which were 'under monopoly capitalism' and 'absorbed by the economy' (Adorno 1991). Hence, under Adorno's interpretation, the cultural industry features the 'mass circulation' of the creation and, at the same time, the out of the traditional aesthetics that became a form that can attract mass population to achieve commercialisation per se (Adorno 1991). Along with the conceptualisation of the culture industry, it appeared to remark the generation of modern art as the 'commodity product'. The creation of the art piece, has also employed modern technology or machines to achieve mass production (O'Connor 2010). The rising awareness of the culture industry reflected the changing socio-economic contexts in the early 20th century, when mass education and the growing spending power of the working class presented the new social norm (Firth 1998).

Adorno's conceptualisation seduced the derived exploration which relates the government policymaking to the surging culture industry. In the 1980s, The school of 'political economy of culture' intended to complement the weakness of the 'culture industry' idea stylised by Adorno. As the 'culture industry' lacked the interpretation about the mechanism of the 'culture' to be exchanged into the capital - In that, for example, the labour requirement, the method to copy the authentic artisan to achieve the scaled production, and the unpredictable market demands required the articulation to manifest the culture commodification process. In light of such, the 'political economy of culture' school accounted the technologies of communication and the strategies of product distributions as the key to affirm the persistent commercial value of the 'symbolic products'. The re-defined term 'cultural industry' by the political economy of culture school also was proposed to explicate the commodification mechanism of the 'culture or symbolic artisan' (Hesmondhalgh 2007). The 'cultural industry' conceptualisation subsequently attracted the public policymakers interest and established the connection between the 'cultural industry' and the public policymaking in the later decades.

The re-definition of the 'cultural industry' and the relevant discussions in academia have, therefore, further drawn the government bodies' attention and the promotion of the 'cultural industry' to implement the regional development. In the UK. in the 1980s, Thatcher's economic planning appeared to have failed to meet the agenda. The ignorance of the local-based development strategy, and the lack of support from the manufacturing side were blamed for the weakness in Thatcher's economic policy. The subsequent winning of the Labour Party revised the economic policy to focus on enhancing the regional regeneration to propel the county-wide economic revival. The 'cultural industry' thus came into the sight for public policymaking, as the 'cultural or symbolic' production was gradually accepted as the economic resource under the promotion from the academia periphery. Furthermore, the 'cultural production' was particularly considered a measure to regrow the old industrial towns to attract tourist visitors (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993; Evans and Foord 2005; Landry 2000; O'Connor 2010).

In 1997, the establishment of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)

and their publication of the Creative Industries Mapping Document in the following year explicitly led to a new wave of ‘cultural industry’ policymaking and the academic research, in that the Mapping Document carried forward the ‘cultural industry’ in three folds. Firstly, the Mapping Document imposed the first-ever official definition of the ‘scope’ of the cultural industry, which specified the thirteen sectors of the cultural industry (Shown as **table 1**). Secondly, the DCMS act affirmed the tripartite connections of the cultural industry, economic development and regional growth, with the UK government purposefully placing the cultural industry as the core of the regional redevelopment strategy (DCMS 2000; 2004). Thirdly, DCMS polished the terminology ‘cultural industry’ as ‘creative industry’ to meet the strategic agenda to include the sectors capable of patent and intellectual property (IP) creation. The DCMS’ innovation of the terminology and adding the technology sectors to the scope of the culture industry (or the creative industry termed under DCMS context),subsequently, led the debates towards the adequate term and definition to be applied for the public policymaking and the academia (Garnham 2005; Hesmondhalgh 2007; O’Connor 2010). While DCMS definition was criticised as the ‘political tricks’ to enhance employment and the pursuit of quicker economic outcomes (Garnham 2005; Pratt 2005), such also lit the arguments amongst academic studies advocating varying prospects towards the cultural industry or, creative industry. The recent strands of the CCI studies have also advocated different terms to define the scope of CCI, the list of the terms and their theoretical base is shown as **table 2**.

Sector	Core Activities
Advertising	Consumer research and insights, advertisements, promotions ,PR campaigns ...
Architecture	Building design, Planning approval, Production information
Art & Antiques Market	Paintings, sculpture, works on paper, furniture
Crafts	Textiles, ceramics, Jewellery/ Silver, Metal, Glass

Sector	Core Activities
Design	Design consultancies (services include: e.g. brand identity, corporate identity, information design, new product development), Design components of industry Interior and environment design
Designer Fashion	Clothing design, Manufacture of clothes for exhibition, Consultancy and diffusion lines
Film & Video	Screenwriting, Production, Distribution, Exhibition
Interactive Leisure Software	Games development, Publishing Distribution, Retail
Music	Production, distribution and retailing of sound recordings, Administration of copyright in composition and recordings, Live performance (non-classical), Management, representation and promotion, Songwriting and composition
Performing Arts	Content origination Performance production, Live performance of ballet, contemporary dance, drama, music-theatre, and opera, touring, Costume design and making, Lighting
Publishing	Book publishing, Newspaper publishing, Magazine publishing, Digital content publishing
Software & Computer Services	Software development, Systems integration, Systems analysis and design...
Television & Radio	TV Production, Programme and packaging, Broadcasting, Transmission

Table 1: 13 Sectors of Creative Industry under DCMS's Definition

Source: DCMS (1998; 2001)

Terminology	Elaborated By	Core Argument
Cultural Industry	The school of ' political economy of culture'	To complement the theoretical weakness of Adorno's conceptualisation
Creative Industry	Australia Government & UK Government	This term is widely applied in the policymaking, with the emphasis on its economic approach (Moore 2014)
Cultural Economy	Gibson and Kong (2005) ; Scott (2000)	Emphasises the 'cultural creations' and their production activities to realised the commodification

Terminology	Elaborated By	Core Argument
Creative Economy	Howkins (2001)	Inspired by the UK and Australia Government termed 'Creative Industry', Howkins added all the patent-based and R&D industry' to the scope of the 'Cultural Economics'.
Cultural and Creative Industry	Galloway and Dunlop (2007)	Advocating the commodification of the cultural & symbolic meaning is incorporated with knowledge-based innovation and technologies .

Table 2: Comparison of CCI Terminologies

Source: Author's Own Elaboration

The surging CCI studies since DCMS promotion also raised the debates regarding the definition, scope and appropriated terming for the CCI. Perspectives clash towards whether the CCI is the '*culturalisation of economy*' or the '*economisation of the culture*' (Gong and Hassink 2017). However, in this research, I embrace the idea that the CCI in nature, is a field of the myriad sectors and the observation towards the interrelationships between the symbolic culture and the geographical economy. Meanwhile, the links between the 'cultural or symbolic creation' and the 'creative or technical sides of manufacturing and distribution' distinct the CCI from traditional industries (O'Connor 2010). It thus requires an adequate terminology to suffice the characters of the CCI. Hence, in this research, I will skip the debates regarding the perceptions and adopt the term 'the culture and creative industry (CCI) to address the subject of my research.

2.2.2 The Characteristics of the CCI

CCI's emergence is relevant to the changing socio-economic environment, when people start earning disposable income for entertainment or consuming products to add personal value. This intrigues the development of the CCI production which reflects the social-economic contexts, modes of the social display, personal

ornament (Scott 2000). Meanwhile, the CCI production aims to create the 'customer experience' through combining the aesthetics, design, and the region-based value in the end product or service (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008; Pine and Gilmore 1999).

Secondly, while the CCI product carries the region-specific value and creator's interpretation of aesthetics, it has to, at the same time, meet the mass audience tastes to enable its commercialisation. Hence, the market demands of CCI are 'unpredictable' and require a resilient production system to constantly adapt to the end customer's taste and pursue persistent profits (Lash and Urry 1987; O'Connor 2010; Scott 1988).

This implies the 'discrete act of innovation' activities for CCI production, which preconditioned the CCI production process to combine varieties of knowledge and understanding of the changing customer's tastes. In other words, CCI production involves both creators' 'idea and aesthetic interpretation' and the specialists 'manufacturing and insights of the market'. This gives rise to the temporary projects in the CCI, which allows producers and creators to work collaboratively and flexibly to implement the 'commercialisable' production (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

2.2.3 Regional Clustering of the CCI

The CCI is seen to have been established through the regional clustering in cities. Such cases have been observed in major cities including London, Tokyo, Paris and Los Angeles, which have the earliest promotion of the CCI following the DCMS wave. However, despite the growing interests in the CCI studies and its associated regional growth, there yet lacks the systematic CCI analyses through the 'cluster theory' to unfold the coherence between the CCI and its located region, and to explain why mainstream CCI studies are bonded to regions or cities development (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008). While the emergence of the CCI is observed in various regions or cities throughout the world, CCI's diverse development is seen to do with each regional's social & economic activities.

Culture is termed to explain the phenomena that, the people's interrelationships intertwining with the place, which thus characterise the differentiation between places (Scott 2000). Despite the globalisation waves and the advancing communication technology imply that, the culture could be a result more than the place-bounded explanation, a place is undeniably recognised as the source of a distinctive culture. That is, regardless of the impacts from globalisation, the 'geographical place' still carries the place-specific culture constituted from the region-specific community, the social functions, patterns of interactions between people, to name a few, which distinguish the place-based culture even in the generation of the globalisation.

The meaning of the culture hence denotes the CCI production is, to certain extent, associated with the 'geographical place'. The product or service carries the cultural meaning and value is essentially linked to the local cultural attributes and production system. The region-specific connections crucially grant the uniqueness and cultural meanings to the CCI products. Furthermore, the CCI production and the geographical place mutually create the 'symbolic significance' in some instances. For example, London is well known for its theatre shows, Los Angeles is well recognised for its Hollywood film production, or Kyoto has attracted tourists by its Geisha shows and tea ceremony. Such are just a few classic cases that present the intricate connections between the CCI and its located geography, in that the CCI is intensified through the spacial-specific contexts while, on the other hand, the region is reputed along with its specialisation of CCI production (Scott 2000).

To summarise, the region-specific socio-economic contexts, the local culture & value system and the institutions are the 'ingredients' that signify the CCI productions. By the same token, CCI studies supposed the spatial place and the co-located creators form the 'chemical bond' to execute the CCI production.

2.2.4 Lack of Systematic Approach for CCI Cluster Analyses

Notwithstanding the significant collaboration between CCI and the place, the existing CCI studies are seen lacking a systematic or modelled approach to analyse the process of such a mechanism. That is, the growing numbers of CCI research have primarily focused on the CCI's regional development at a specific 'point of time' instead of its 'process' (Flew 2010; Lazzeretti et al. 2012). The interesting perspective regarding the process of the CCI clustering throughout the time has been less discussed, whilst the evolutionary perspective has flourished in the recent decade of cluster studies. Furthermore, while the mass research has done on the CCI's growth in cities/ regions and evolutionary terms of clustered economics respectively, there hasn't been plenty of coverage in both realms to devise the new explorations (Gong and Hassink 2017; Lazzeretti et al. 2012). Hence, it is suggested to redress the CCI with the EEG approach to unfold the black box of the CCI studies. Meanwhile, Flew (2010) accounted for the economic geographic as the still critical link of CCI to the geographical space, despite the recent argument emergence of globalisation, communication technology, or the crossed boundary economic activities.

According to CURDS (2001), Benneworth and Charles (2005), the CCI production is proposed as functioning through the 'knowledge pool model'. Through their studies, they indicated the regional co-location of production entities, so as the integration of entities 'as a whole' are the key mechanism during the CCI product development. The highlighted 'interaction' between co-located firms and individuals is the crucial bond that builds the regional cohesion for CCI production. Furthermore, the CCI clustering forms the atmosphere that encourages firms and creators to join the concentration. As indicated by De Propris et al. (2009), the co-location of groups of firms, specialists, labours, and suppliers builds an organisation that provokes competition and cooperations between the production entities and the specialised development of the supply and production chain. Sharing the similar perspective, Florida proposed the concept of the 'creative class' - that is - people in the creative professions, are attracted to locate in cities or regions of such atmosphere for the CCI production. The geographic proximity, in this sense, is deemed as that enhances the innovation activities of the CCI.

According to Lorenzen and Frederiksen (2008), Florida (2002), the regional agglomeration facilitates the sustained relationship of the co-located firms and individuals, and in the meanwhile, propels the knowledge spillovers that reinforce the CCI.

2.2.5 The Innovation Activities in the CCI

The CCI emphasises the end product to be able to provoke the 'experience' of the consumers (That is, the idea and thinking arouse through customer's interaction with the CCI product), which is more than the traditional manufacture product. The unique pattern of CCI's production relates to 'people's perspectives and value system' in conducting the research & development (R&D). According to Green and Miles (2007), the CCI innovation activities have less been in the research spotlight, while existing research lacks an in-depth comparison between CCI and traditional manufacturing. Green and Miles (2007) indicated that research into people's tastes and preferences plays a vital role in CCI innovation. Particularly it is observed that the consumer's involvement during the innovation process crucially contributes to CCI production. The consumer involvement and interactions with the local contexts though take the important part during the CCI innovation, the existing CCI studies yet have been in-depth discussed this as part of the CCI innovation process, or neither has this been considered the key role in terms of CCI R&D (research and development) activities. Green and Miles (2007) thus called the consumer involvement and interactions with the CCI creators as the 'hidden innovations activities' in describing the critical roles of such, which requires more attention to unveil how innovation occurs in the CCI.

2.2.6 The Project Organisation in CCI Production

As previously stated, the CCI features the 'symbolic or cultural valued product' which has the ambiguous audience taste and unpredictable market preference, the constant innovations thus take the crucial role to maintain the design and production adhering to the mass market's taste, and to pursue the persistent commercial profit (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2007). The cross-disciplined combinations comprising the artistic creation, production, manufacturing, market research and marketing activities thus characterise the CCI innovation process. Such gave rise to the CCI 'project organisations' pooling the talents, resources and resiliently adapting the innovation activities according to dynamic market demands (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2007).

A project organisation is a temporary collaboration of varying skilled-holders to perform a 'pre-specified and complex task' under the scheduled timescale (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2007). Meanwhile, a project is a flexible type of organisation that is open to dynamic principles and is likely to change the course in line with the targets. The project collaborations take varying forms, which can occur between organisations or bridge the organisations with individuals (or freelancers). In this regard, the project organisation functions to execute the advanced production or innovation activities in the event of unforeseeable market demands (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2005; Turner and Müller 2003). By entailing the project collaborations, firms can perform tasks that are relatively 'peripheral' internally yet required for particular production activities (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2005). Therefore, such projects are also preferable for smaller-sized firms that cannot afford the costs of hiring people or resources when certain production activities are not always demanding.

The project is advantageous in assembling members of various experiences, educational backgrounds, specialties, and even varying world views or way of thinking. Such reinforces the CCI production to carry out the production chain of the complex mix of professions, particularly with the participants of different

lifestyles and motivations contributing the 'cultural and symbolic' inputs - the core of the CCI products - to stimulate innovations and recognise the better practice of production (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2005).

2.2.7 Project Organisation and the TV Drama Production

The CCI characterises the link of artisan creation and the economic value created through market realisation. Such a '*from mind to market*' process (Howkins 2002) demands the co-working through the varying fields of the specialist to transform the 'artistic creation' into profit-making economic activities. Therefore, the CCI production presents the essential collaboration of activities including aesthetic creation, product design, branding, product distribution and service (Petrović et al 2017), by doing so to implement the CCI product carrying the personal or cultural meaning.

In the CCI production, the project organisation is considered as the adequate mode to facilitate various specialists, firms and different scales of engager's collaboration. The constant flexibility of project organisation allows firms, producers and the freelancers to join at any point of time, the coordinations of various resources, know-how, and the resilient strategy and management are the key features that empower the CCI production (Petrović et al 2017). Hence, the project organisation is commonly seen in the TV drama production featuring a complex production system of the intense specialists collaboration. From the preparation stage of screenwriting, filming location hunting, audience research, the mid-stage of art and lighting design, and casting, filming, to the final stage of editing, computer graphics (CG) editing, original soundtrack production, broadcasting to marketing, each stage is, in practice, conducted through cooperations of multiple independent companies and freelancers. Particularly in the case of contemporary TV drama production, the producing companies tend to entail the project approach, which outsources the majority of production activities to the temporarily contracted freelancers or small companies.

The costing production fee, the demands of the skill and know-how-intense talent pool, and the high unpredictability of the market preference characterise the high risk of the TV drama production. These are the factors that shape the particular needs of the project method leveraging between the resource and costs. Another aspect to explain the widely adopted project mode TV drama making is that, teamwork with different creators and the companies is considered an approach to bring in new ideas and deliver innovations in the final creation.

Last but not least, the project approach equipped the TV productions with agility to adapt to the environment or the institutional changes. Particularly, in the recent decades, the dramatic changes have occurred to the TV production in terms of digitalisation and technology advancement, the rising popularity of TV audiences and the introduction of streaming platforms. Meanwhile, given the TV programme as an essential medium for culture and information distribution, globalisation also impacted the TV production sector with the enhanced competition from the international markets (Windeler and Sydow 2001). To be able to adapt to the fast-changing industrial environment, the TV production formed through the projects are to flexibly coordinates resources and specialists, to update the latest know-how and skill sets, respond to the socio-economic environment, and constantly innovate original contents to match the market preference (Windeler and Sydow 2001).

In conclusion, TV drama productions featuring the combination of various fields of expertise, the high risk of commercialising the content creation, and being highly subject to the dynamic socio-economic environment contribute to the project-oriented production. Meanwhile, the project of the TV drama sector also presents its flexibility to co-evolve with the institutional environment to meet the latest market demands. Put together the above two points, it resonates with the co-evolution mechanism from the EEG framework and calls for a multi-scaled perspective to unravel the dynamic clustering patterns of the TV drama sector.

3. Research Framework

3.1. Theoretical Approach

Figure 3 below showcases the logic and theoretical links between the concepts used to structure the conceptual framework for this research:

This framework begins with the cluster concept, which serves as the building block. Firstly, the EEG branch of cluster thinking outlines the ‘system-wide’ and the ‘dynamic’ view for the clustering analyses. Specifically, the cluster is an aggregated system of varying entities and institutional contexts. The interconnections between the entities, and the interdependence amongst the entities and the institutional contexts, trigger the regional dynamics and the transformation of the cluster trajectories. To illustrate the mechanism of the system-wide dynamics, we revisit the ‘path-dependence’ and ‘multi-levelled’ ideas to articulate that the regionally concentrated entities act in relevance to the region’s historical past, in that the located entities take the regional contexts into account for their behaviours and decision making.

Further to this, EEG thinking stresses how multiple actors located at different scales interact and shape the region-wide dynamics. Meanwhile, the definition of the ‘institutional settings’ and the ‘actor-agency relationship’ is essential to configure the causal relationships amidst the co-located entities that co-evolve to build the changing cluster patterns. The final aspect of the cluster life-cycle concept emphasises that the multi-scaled dynamics forges varying paths of cluster evolution. Hence, instead of fitting all clustering cases into the traditional four-phase model to define the cluster’s life cycle stage, it is more noteworthy to define the changing institutional contexts and transforming actor-agency relationship in specific timescales, to configure region-specific evolutions into life-cycle phases over time.

The multi-levelled view from EEG is used to showcase the perspective of CCI discipline - Since CCI characterising the commercialisation of the ‘cultural, symbolic or the artistic’ creation that has the closed tie with the located space. Existing CCI studies tend to be static in that they limit the scope of analyses to a specific point of time, and overlook how the CCI cluster interacts with the region-wide dynamics over time. The CCI reciprocally interacts with the located region in two ways: the local culture and the symbolic meaning is the key ingredient for CCI production, the CCI production mode relies on the collaboration of varying entities to spur continuous innovations, to flexibly adapt to the unpredictable market with the best leverage of resource and the skill pool, and to commodify the region-inspired culture and symbolic idea for the mass distribution. Therefore, this research aims to apply the EEG-inspired multi-levelled framework, to cast light on the CCI’s interrelationship with the multi-scaled entities that built the regional transformation throughout the time.

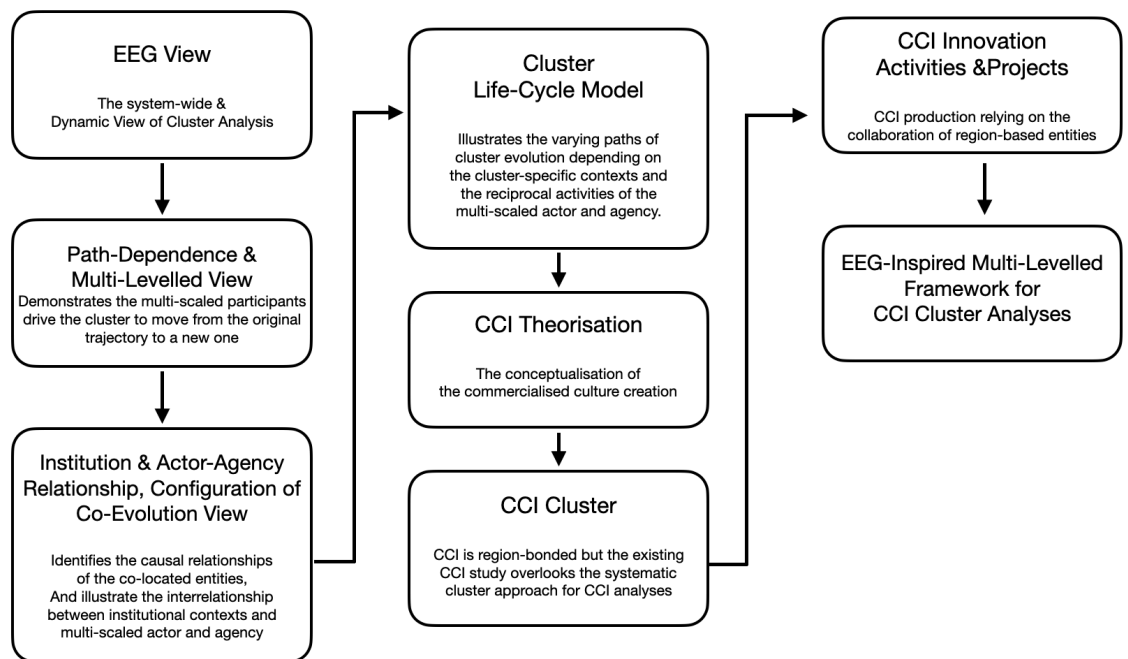


Figure 3: Theoretical Approach

3.2. Assumptions

The following section covers the main theoretical assumptions and how they are linked to build the research framework.

Theory 1: Evolutionary View of the Economic Geography

The literature review begins with an emphasis on EEG thinkings, to stress the regional cluster is formed through the cohesion of various entities, and that it is a dynamic system contingent to the interconnected relationships amongst the co-located entities. Taking a biological metaphor, EEG establishes a region-wide perspective, which posits that the collections of firms of different routines drive the 'selection process'. That is, the heterogenous routines of the collocated entities are believed to have different capacities to adapt to the environmental shocks. Some are weaker and may not survive the environmental changes, thus modify the routines, innovations, gaining new knowledge and developing skills to survive the environmental changes (Boschma and Frenken 2006; Hodgson 1999; Nelson and Winter 1982; Teece et al. 1997). Therefore, the selection pressured from the environmental changes is credited as triggering the constant new pattern creation.

EEG differentiates from the mainstream economic geography study in two aspects. Firstly, EEG considers the cluster as a complex system composed of multiple scaled entities. Therefore, the EEG school emphasised the cluster analyses to account for the various entities' activities and their interrelationship that encompass the clustering dynamics. Such a concept departs from mainstream economic geography studies that base the analyses on the sole actor or institutional system, and overlook the co-located entities to impose the clustering dynamics. Secondly, EEG posits the 'process' of the clustering, emphasising the dynamic nature of clustering, which evolves throughout the time. Hence, rather than the cluster studies focusing on a particular point of time, it is essential to explore the 'process' whereby a cluster moves from one trajectory to another. In this respect, the EEG regards the 'time' factor and the 'historical past'

of clusters pre-condition the behaviour of co-located entities and thus shape new clustering patterns.

Key assumption from the theory:

The assumption from the EEG outlines the essence of analysing the clustering mechanism from the system-wide view, considering the behaviour of varying entities to configure the process of pattern creation. Furthermore, the contextual environment is thought to be relevant to behaviour and decision-making of entities engaged in the cluster and contributes to the spatial concentration pattern over time.

Theory 2: The Path Dependence and the Multi-Levelled Perspective

Grounded on principle ideas that changing clustering patterns is relevant to the aggregated activities of co-located entities, and the essential perspective to address the factors of 'time' and the 'process' of clustering, the EEG thinking further stylises the 'path dependence' and the 'multi-levelled' view to elaborate the process of cluster's evolutions. To be evident that the cluster is a dynamic system that transforms relevantly to the geographically concentrated entities, the EEG school developed the 'path dependence' and the 'multi-levelled' view to suffice the theorisation.

The path-dependence mechanism explains how the regional economic evolution occurs from its historical past. Therefore, the regional contexts and the history are the essences that exert influence and formulate the future course of the regional development (Martin and Sunley 2006), in that the located entities take the regional contexts into account for their behaviours and decision making. Further to this point, EEG specified the entities taking form as regional social structures, organisations, institutions and individuals reacting to the shocks cohesively that functions the path dependence process (Martin and Sunley 2006; 2012). In line with such idea, the multi-levelled view is developed to back up the conceptualisation, which portrays the cluster as an aggregated system of the multi-scaled entities, and the interrelationships amidst the varying scaled entities

and the contextual environment triggers the region-wide trajectory transformation and the path creation throughout the time (Dopfer 2005; Essletzbichler 2012; Martin and Sunley 2015).

Key assumption from the theory:

The multi-scaled entities co-locating in the region and their tie with the regional context characterise the dynamic clustering. This presents the course of cluster analysis to take account of the varying entities and their reciprocal interdependence with the co-located entities and the regional context, so as to configure the full landscape of the regional clustering mechanism.

Theory 3: Configuration of the Institution system, actor-agency concept and the elaboration of the co-evolution mechanism

To scrutinise how an eventual impact can trigger the causal behaviours of the co-located entities and drive the system-wide dynamics, elaboration on the definition of the 'institution', and the located entity's role in relation to the environmental change or other entities they are reacting to, is necessary.

EEG approach emphasises discussion on how organisations inherit the 'routine' to survive the market competition (Nelson and Winter 1982). In other words, firms and organisations' based on their internal routines in the past, or amend the routines pressured by the environmental shocks or other entities which, consequently, contribute to the trajectory transformation of the regional cluster. Moreover, the 'environmental' or the 'contextual' factors that have reciprocal interactions are defined as the 'institutions'. Though 'institution' is not a new concept developed by EEG, it has re-formulated the institution as an external mechanism compared to an entity's internal trajectory, and with the particular emphasis that, institutions can be both 'socio form' and the 'economic form'. This overcomes the shortfall of the mainstream institution studies that either account the 'economic' or 'socio' turn to conceptualise the institutional context. Further to the re-definition of the institutional context, EEG puts forth that the institution is a dynamic system with the joint involvement of multiple entities that shape the

norm on 'how things are done' or the action of the engaged entities (Bathlet and Glu"ckler 2013).

Meanwhile, the explicit definition of the role of the 'entities' is essential to deploy how they react to the institutions and reshape the institutional contexts during the process. When contrasted under the contextual transformation, certain entities take purposeful behaviour or decision-making, leading to the consequences or the resource distribution of regions. Such type of entities are defined as 'actors' that take actions in response to the environmental changes, thus then formulating the new institutional settings. On the other hand, the 'agency', which is embedded in the institutional contexts and under the constraint of actor's activities and the institutional contexts (Lawrence et al. 2009).

The background knowledge of the institutions and the actor relationship is the building block of the co-evolution explanation of the regional cluster - the illustration of how the institutional change or actor's behaviour involves the region-wide system and shapes new trajectories of the regional cluster.

The co-evolution thinking, in the discipline of EEG or economic geography studies, grounded the unit of analysis as the 'populated economic organisations and institutions'. Such an integrated view is essential to understand the full picture of the regional development, in that the mutual interdependence is observed amongst these actors and their agency functions the changing regional patterns. In this sense, the co-evolution concept stresses the relevance amongst varying actor relationships and institutional contexts to unravel the mechanism of the dynamic regional economy. The background knowledge of the institutions and the actor relationship is the building block of the co-evolution explanation of the regional cluster - the illustration of how the institutional change or actor's behaviour involves the region-wide system and shapes new trajectories of the regional cluster.

Furthermore, co-evolution thinking aims to include the varying aspects of institutional contexts and entities to conduct the in-depth exploration of the regional economy. Apart from the government policymaking or firms decision making which have been frequently addressed in several EEG studies, the culture and the way of thinking of individuals or within organisations, at the same time, are remarked as of essential relevance to the changing regional system (Gong and Hassink 2019; Scott 1995). Hence, the co-evolution thinking tailored the existing EEG concepts, and explore the collaborations admits varying entities and the local contexts. Through such an integrated view, the in-depth analysis is thus feasible to reveal the mechanism of the dynamic regional economics.

Key assumption from the theory:

The co-evolution perspective accounted for the multiple forms of institutions and the actors interrelationships for the region-wide dynamics. In other words, the clustering process is a consequence of the accumulated inter-relationships amongst the institutions and the co-located actors. This suggests that attention to the varying forms of institutions, and identifying the actors and their causal effect are essential to showcase the process of the cluster transformation.

Theory 4: The lifecycle of the clusters

With the attention towards the 'time' scale and the 'historical path' in creating the clustering path, and what constitutes the 'co-evolution' process, a 'life-cycle' model is thus framed to systematically conceptualise such key concepts (Martin and Sunley 2011). The 'life-cycle' idea intends to explain the cluster's transformations 'throughout the time' and 'in stages'. The inspiration of the 'life-cycle' stemmed from Storper (1985) which interpreted the phenomena of the market, production economics and the technology transformation. Following Storper's theorisation, varying strands of 'life cycle' thinking develops to elaborate the industrial or economic transformations. Martin and Sunley (2011) categorised the 'life-cycle' thinking into the 'industrial life cycle model' and 'cluster specific life cycle model', with the former attributes the technology, production innovations or the maturity of the network of the co-located firms as the driver of the industrial

clusters. The latter, on the other hand, suggests that the cluster's capacity to adjust to the industrial environment determines its growth and decline. Such arguments based on the 'diversity of the cluster' and the cluster's adaptability to the environmental changes to define the cluster's life stage.

In sum, the two approaches of 'life-cycle' models differ in identifying the key driver of evolutions and how clusters proceed from one stage to another. Despite the intentions from the two approaches to modelling the dynamic clustering process, Martin and Sunley (2011) suggested the modified framework based on the two is quintessential to plausibly depict the course of lifecycle from EEG view. Echoing the 'multi-scaled' and 'co-evolved' clustering patterns featured by EEG, Martin and Sunley (2011) considered that, a regional cluster could exist varying life stages of innovation activities within different actors, or different scales of the local agglomeration. Given it is a 'complex' system with composition of micro, meso and macro life cycles that interact with each other, Martin and Sunley posed the modified lifecycle as a better fit for EEG regime.

Reflecting casual relationships, the multi-scaled dynamics and the contingent co-evolution mechanism, the modified life-cycle model configured the dynamic transformation of the regional cluster through the four phases - the cluster growth, cluster stabilisation, cluster decline, cluster renewal or replacement, which are much alike the traditional industrial life cycle. Further to this, the EEG-specific model emphasises the extra aspect of 'alternative trajectories' that takes place in smaller scales, or leads the disruptive/ looped paths of the clustering cycle. The alternative trajectories present that the life cycle does not necessarily follow any specific progression of a four-staged life cycle model. Instead, the EEG-specific life cycle showcases various evolutionary paths depending on the complicated mechanism of the co-evolution.

Key assumption from the theory:

Under the EEG implication, the life-cycle model is modified to capture the dynamics of the cluster transformation. The noteworthy aspect of the EEG-specific life-cycle model is that, it recognises the life stage does not necessarily

follow the standardised progression as put in the typical life-cycle model. It, instead, portrays the various evolution paths, and thus the life-cycle is flexibly defined, depending on the region-specific contexts and the coherent relationships with the multi-scaled system. In other words, rather than fitting a cluster's evolution into the typical 'four-stage model', the cluster life cycle is supposed to be framed by analysing the cluster-specific contexts and the actions and interactions of actors.

Theory 5: The theorisation of the CCI and characteristics of the CCI

The 'culture industry' was coined by Adorno (1991) to interpret the increasing film-making, radio, newspaper, jazz and popular music production as 'under monopoly capitalism' and 'absorbed by the economy'. Adorno's conceptualisation features the 'mass circulation' of the artisan creation that is 'out of the traditional aesthetics' that became a form that can attract mass population to achieve commercialisation per se (Adorno 1991).

Derived from Adorno's theorisation, the school of 'political economy of culture' intended to complement the weakness of the 'culture industry' idea, through the articulation of communication technology and the strategies to facilitate the commodification of the symbolic or artistic meaning. In the 1980s, the UK government's focus on cultural and creative production brought increasing interests from both the government policymaker and academia. The UK government posed the first-ever official definition of the 'scope' of the cultural industry, which specified the thirteen sectors of the cultural industry and termed the 'creative industry' to meet the political agenda. This also stimulated arguments amongst academic studies advocating varying prospects towards the cultural industry, or, creative industry.

Despite the growing debates regarding the 'term' and the 'scope' of CCI, the CCI is agreed as that relevant to the changing of the socio-economic environment, and creates the 'customer experience' through combining the aesthetics, design, and the region-based value in the end product or service (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008; Pine and Gilmore 1999). Meanwhile, due to the production of

the 'symbolic and the aesthetic meaning', CCI is 'unpredictable' and requires a resilient production system to adapt to the demands of the mass audience. In this sense, to realise the economic profits of the CCI production, the CCI features a collaborative production system that links varying specialists to empower the commercialisation process.

Key assumption from the theory:

The CCI characterises the commercialisation of the 'cultural, symbolic or the artistic' creation, which hence requires the collaboration of various specialists to flexibly adjust to the unpredictable market demands and realise the economic profits.

Theory 6: Regional Clustering of the CCI

Since the UK government implemented the CCI in line with the regional redevelopment schema, both policymakers and academia have shown growing interest to explore the CCI and its association to regional growth. However, despite the growing attention to the CCI studies and the relevant regional development, there still lacks the systemised CCI analyses through the 'cluster theory' to explicit the interrelationships between the CCI and its located region, and to explain why mainstream CCI studies are bonded to regions or cities development (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

However, the CCI characterises the production inspired from the culture and the symbolic meaning - which is arises from people intertwining with the place. Therefore, the cultural and symbolic meaning stems from the people and their located region that characterise the spatial-specific customs or way of thinking. Hence, the meaning of the culture denotes the CCI production is associated with the 'geographical place' to a certain extent. The product or service carries the cultural meaning and value, thus essentially linked to the local cultural attributes and production system. In other words, the region-specific socio-economic contexts, the local culture & value system and the institutions are the 'ingredients' that signify the CCI productions.

Nevertheless, the existing CCI studies are seen lacking a systematic or modelled approach to analyse the process of CCI and its co-evolution with the located region. That is, the growing amount of CCI research has primarily focused on the 'CCI's regional development at a specific 'point of time' instead of its 'process' (Flew 2010; Lazzarotti et al. 2012). However, considering that the CCI production functions through co-location of specialist, the interaction with the local culture and symbolic meaning, the bonds between the CCI production and the dynamics of the located region require the systemic analyses. The CCI characterises the commercialisation of the 'cultural, symbolic or the artistic' creation, which requires the collaboration of various specialists to adjust to unpredictable market demands and realise economic profits.

Key assumption from the theory:

Considering that the local culture and the symbolic meaning is the key ingredient for the CCI production, the CCI's bond to the located region requires a systematic approach to understand their co-evolution process. Furthermore, the existing CCI studies focusing on the CCI and its influence to the regional development at the specific point of time, which overlooks the CCI's association with groups of the co-located firms, specialists, worker and suppliers, and the consequent transformations of a region throughout of the time. In this regard, it is interesting to examine the CCI and its collaboration with the regional dynamics from the EEG perspectives to deploy the mechanism of the CCI clusters.

Theory 7: The Innovation activities and the project organisation of the CCI production

The CCI differentiates from the traditional manufacturing industry in that, it requires the input of the symbolic meaning and artisan creation to create the 'consumer experience'. To realise the CCI production, it thus demands the constant creation, research and development activities (R&D), specialised manufacturing and marketing research to transform the symbolic inspiration into sellable products (Green and Miles 2007). Furthermore, the consumers'

involvement and interactions towards the CCI production also take an essential role in conceptualising the CCI products. Such features the 'project organisation' in the CCI, which combines the cross-disciplined expertise to leverage the know-how and resource to fulfil the CCI production and flexibly adapt the innovation activities to match the dynamic market demands (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2007). Besides, the project approach linking the participants of different lifestyles and motivations contributes various 'cultural and symbolic' inputs that, particularly stimulates innovations of the CCI production (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2005).

Key assumption from the theory:

The project form of organising characterises the collaborations of varying firms, producers, specialists and audience's involvement in CCI production. This, in turn, implies the CCI studies to cast light on the interrelated entities and their bonds with the located region to manifest the mechanism of the CCI.

3.3. Theoretical Model

3.3.1 Research Framework

The framework (As shown in **figure 4**) presents a multi-levelled framework to examine the evolutionary CCI cluster along with the timescale. This has been developed from Essletzbichler (2012), which framed the regional system in the multi-scaled structure, and the varying scales of entities co-evolve throughout the time. Such a model captures the dynamic clustering transformation through the cohesive connections amongst the varying scaled institutions and the actor-agency relationship.

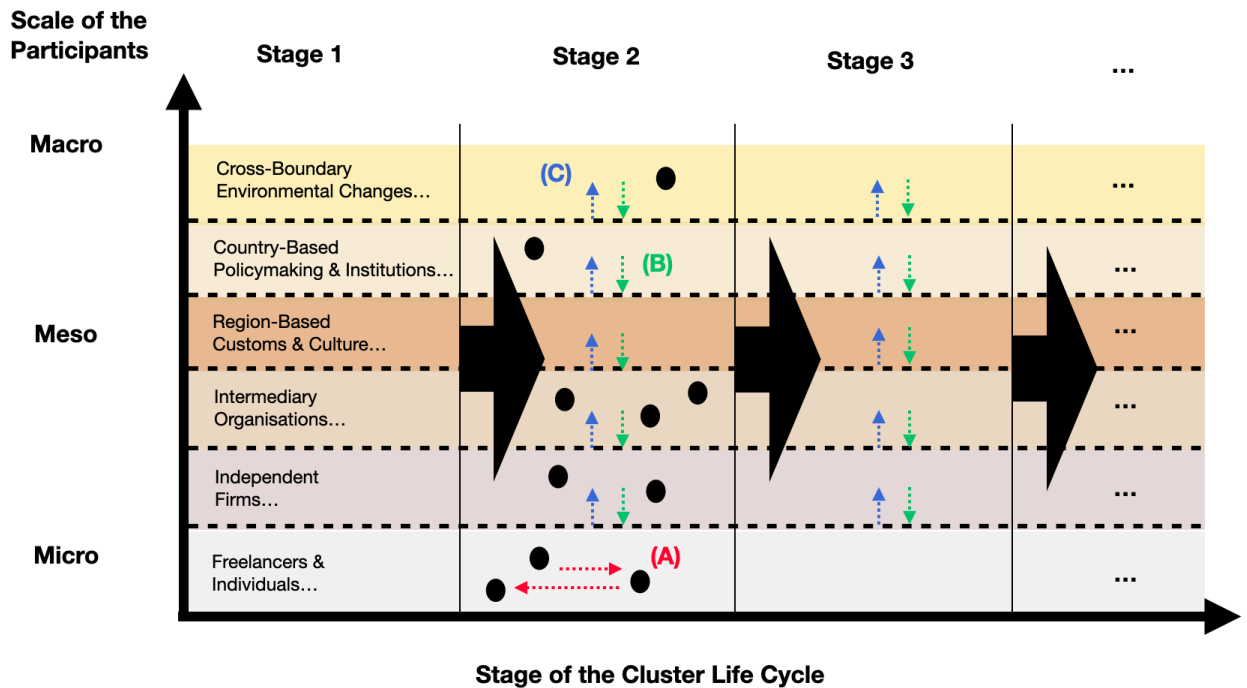


Figure 4: Research Framework - A Multi-Levelled Cluster Evolution Model

The multi-levelled model thus showcases an approach in understanding the CCI clusters, which sheds light on the 'dynamic' and the integrated system of varying actors to configure the trajectories of the CCI in the given timeframe. According to Essletzbichler (2012), Martin and Sunley (2015), Dopfer (2005), the multi-levelled concept is structured as macro, meso and micro levels, which presents a regional cluster is made up with participants or influencers of varying social hierarchies in a geographic agglomeration. That is, the multi-scaled structure is an aggregation of cross-boundary events or environmental setting, the country-based policymaking and institutions, the region-based customs and the cultural context, the intermediary organisations incorporating firms and individuals, the firms and companies and the individuals or freelancers.

Meanwhile, the interlinks amidst the multi-scaled entities constrain the region-wide dynamics. The interactions and networks between them involve varying entities to react to environmental changes, and lead to trajectory transformation. The resource and the networks are distributed across multiple scales in a regional system. Hence, when multiple entities interact with the changing environment or their actors' decision-making, it subsequently influences their associated entities' patterns. Such interactions occurring between the various scaled entities contingently trigger the system-wide pattern evolution (Martin and Sunley 2007).

In this regard, the drivers of such co-evolution processes can be of varying scales that pass on the behaviour changes to their agency at different levels. Meanwhile, the causal path creations are likely to occur within the same scale (shown as flow A in the framework model), or across different levels. The latter type of the causal relationship is addressed by the EEG perspective to happen dynamically—both from lower scales to the higher ones (Indicated as flow B in the framework), for example, a firm's strategies affect the new public policymaking; or from the higher scales to the lower scales (Indicated as flow C in the framework), for instance, the regional socio-economic environment enacts the behaviours of the co-located firms or individuals (Abdelnour et al. 2017; Garul et al. 2007; Mutch 2007; Weik 2011).

In a nutshell, this model guides the cluster analyses to systematically identify

actors at different scales and deploy the system-wide interrelationships amongst different scales that shape the clustering patterns. Additionally, this framework conceptualises the clustering transformations in varying stages, that is forged through different modes of the actor-agency interrelationships and environmental changes.

This framework requires CCI cluster analyses to recognise the institutional contexts, environmental shocks and the engaged actors and agency in each scale. Following this, the explorations probes into the interrelationships between the collected actor and their ties to the institutional and the environmental contexts. That is, according to the EEG perspective, to unpack the dynamics amongst the co-located entities and the consequent cluster transformation, it is essential to account for actors' behaviours in line with their purposeful goals to manifest the full landscape of the cluster patterns - the system as an aggregation of the multi-scaled engagers. By deploying the multi-scaled landscape in the longer time frame, this framework facilitates sketching the dynamic trajectories of the regional cluster along the time and to define the process of a cluster moving from its original settings to the new patterns in phases.

Further to conceptualising the core ideas of the EEG, the multi-levelled framework, at the same time, is built to model the CCI production. That is, the CCI's development is relevant to the socio-economic contexts of the located region. Meanwhile, the unpredictable market preference of the 'cultural, symbolic and the artistic' CCI products relies on the collaboration of varying know-how and skilled expertise to realise the commercialisation, and leverage the cost and resources to flexibility adapt to the risky industrial environment. Hence, such a multi-scaled EEG model is adapted to implement the analysis into the CCI clustering process and establish the CCI's reciprocal bond to a region.

3.3.2 Empirical Research Focus

This research aims to generate empirical findings by examining the evolutionary trajectories of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster. Through applying a multi-levelled cluster evolution model, this research seeks to map out Taiwanese TV drama cluster's path transformations since the 1960s, with particular consideration to the significant events and the multi-levelled actors' interactions that occurred in different points of time, and how this led the subsequent shifts in trajectories from one stage to another.

Since the 1960s, the Taiwanese TV drama cluster has experienced dramatic transformations impacted by the political relationships with the neighbouring countries, the geographical location resulting in the hybrids of culture, and historical contexts causing complicated cultural identity. As a result, varying regulations have been enforced in response to the complicated political circumstances, with the TV drama sector particularly subject to the regulation changes under the patriotic education agenda between the 1960s and 1980s. In the post-Martial Law period after the 1980s, Taiwanese TV drama production was since impacted by the advancing technologies and the era of growing globalisation. The upgrade of production techniques and the increasing import of foreign cultures hence led the evolutions of Taiwanese TV drama making, and triggered the new mode of collaborations within the production chain.

The dynamics of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster take place in the nationwide geographical scope. Due to the relatively small territory, Taiwan features a higher proportion of the cross-city commuting population, and the higher mobility of the workforce between cities and regions (Huang and Yang 2001). Especially with an upgrade in the traffic infrastructure since the early 1990s, the geographical limits between Taiwanese cities have become blurred, which gradually consolidated the nationwide workforce and resource collaborations. This thus characterises the country-wide cohesions in Taiwan's economic system (Huang and Yang 2001).

The nationwide collaboration specifically portrays the production activities of the Taiwanese TV drama sector, in that Taiwanese TV drama making relies on the

project organisations that combine specialists, independent firms and freelancers based in various cities in Taiwan (TIER 2019). Furthermore, to present the Taiwanese culture and scenery, the cultural material collection and filming are commonly seen taking place in various Taiwanese cities throughout the TV drama production process. Such production mode relying on incorporations of the resources and talents from multiple cities in Taiwan, hence, establishes the drama making through mechanism of the nationwide clustering (TIER 2019).

Moreover, the plentiful transformations in terms of technology, regulatory systems and the political environment, together with the out-sourced mode of TV drama production oriented the Taiwanese TV drama cluster to a system subject to varying events or involvers' activities. The central government's policymaking, the growing globalisation, the launch of new technologies, inter-firm relationships, independent firms'/ freelancers innovation activities are the key roles contributing to the constant evolution of Taiwanese TV drama cluster. In other words, Taiwanese TV drama production presents the coherence of participants and events in multiple social hierarchies, which interact reciprocally and direct the cluster-wide trajectory transformations.

In sum, considering the richness of contextual dynamics in Taiwan and their influence to the TV drama cluster in the last sixty years, it is interesting to further analyse the trajectories' evolutions through the time using the lens of the multi-levelled concept - as the multi-levelled cluster model provides an in-depth perspective to understand the dynamic evolution of Taiwanese TV drama cluster, with the specific attention to the system-wide participants and the interlinks between them in the observed timescale.

3.4. Research Value & Contribution to the Existing Knowledge

This project aims to address the gap in the existing CCI cluster studies, as most CCI cluster research is less focused on elaborating the essential bonds between the CCI sector and its located region. This is due to the increasing interest into CCI studies following the UK government's policymaking, the subsequent strands

of CCI research inherit the exploration of CCI's link to regional development. However, this has led to limited perspectives focusing on CCI's contribution to the regional growth at a specific point of time, neglecting the extent to which CCI clusters shape and are shaped by its location over time. That is, the region-specific culture is the essential ingredient for the economic activities of the CCI; Meanwhile, the collaboration of varying co-located entities, in terms of firms, organisations and producers, shapes the project organisation to realise the CCI production that translates the region-specific cultural interpretation into a sellable product. Furthermore, the pattern of the region-based CCI production is adjusted over time to adapt to the changing contexts of the region and the market demands.

In view of the aforementioned characteristic of the CCI, it implies the lack of an adequate approach to analyse the CCI cluster as an aggregated and dynamic system forged through the interrelationships of varying engagers. Hence, this study seeks to contribute to the CCI research through the EEG-inspired multi-levelled framework, with the aim to model the dynamics of the CCI clustering, and guide the new course of analysing the CCI clusters. Specifically, this research hopes to fill the gap in the existing studies by applying the 'dynamic' and 'system-wide' perspective to showcase the process of how a CCI cluster moves from its original trajectories to another. On the other hand, it is hoped that this research could promote the EEG view in CCI cluster analyses. As despite that two disciplines have developed the theorisations respectively in the recent decades, there yet hasn't been much research integrating the two perspectives to analyse the CCI cluster. Therefore, this study aims to demonstrate the EEG-inspired multi-scaled framework for CCI cluster study, to unravel the CCI cluster which is functioned through interrelationships with geographical space and varying co-located entities. This, in turn, is aimed to validate the EEG assumptions through the empirical evidence from CCI clusters case studies in this research.

4. Methodology

4.1. Research Question

In view of the preceding research purpose, the research question is structured in line with the multi-levelled framework. To that end, the research aims to examine the deployment of the multi-scaled structures and the dynamic actor-agency relationships to address how the Taiwanese TV drama cluster evolved through the time.

The empirical study will first focus on identifying the key participants in each scale - that is, the key events, environmental shocks, institutional changes, and the influential actors - in each stage. Further, the actor's decision-making and the causal activities will be identified with an attempt to understand how the co-evolution occurred. As stressed by Essletzbichler (2012), the purpose of the multi-scaled model is to define the interrelationships between the multi-scaled engagers to configure the full picture of the aggregated activities that drive the transforming clusters. Lastly, to portray the evolution patterns of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster since the 1960s, the mode of multi-scaled engagers' collaboration and key events in each phase will be compared to sketch the changing trajectories throughout the time.

Given the empirical focus of this research, the study aims to provide an answer to the following questions:

Q: How has the Taiwanese TV drama cluster evolved since the 1960s?

Q1: Who/ what drove the evolutions of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster in each phase?

Q1-1: What were the key events/ significant incidents/ government policymaking that took place in each stage?

Q1-2: Which actor led the pivotal changes in each phase?

Q1-3: What are the consequent pattern changes involved in each stage of clustering?

Q2: How does the mode of Taiwanese TV drama clustering differ in each stage?

Q2-1: Were there any changes in the mode of production and innovation activities?

Q2-2: Were there new ways of communication/ relationships or cooperative relationships between the co-located entities?

Q2-3: Were there any new projects-based organisations developed in each stage?

4.2. Paradigm

This research aims to explore the evolving trajectories of Taiwan's TV Drama clustering according to the contextual changes since the 1960s. As stated in the previous section, this study looks into the behaviours and interrelationships amongst the engaged collections of multi-levelled entities in the Taiwanese TV Drama cluster, and their decision making in response to the institutional changes, to understand the dynamic process of the clustering transformation. According to Creswell (2003), the constructivist perspective is to interpret the social situations through understanding participants interactions with contextual settings that forged the specific socio phenomena. Therefore, this study employs the social constructivism approach to explore the studied case by gathering the engaged entities' view and their experience in interacting with socio-economic contexts and institutions that facilitate Taiwanese TV drama cluster's transformations.

According to Berger and Luckmann (1967), social constructivism recognises that the theories are established by exploring participants' interaction with the environment or other people. Hence, social constructivism focuses on how people work together and interact with each other. In other words, the phenomena in the social constructive research is understood by observing the individuals/people/entities and the environment they exist in. Social constructivism thus explores the meaning of the complexity or situations through gathering the participants' views, in order to construct the meaning of the broad and general situations.

Hence, researchers use the constructivism approach to carry out open-ended discussions with the participants to explore their subjective meanings of the situations through their experience or interactions with social, historical settings and other individuals. Moreover, the social constructivist focuses on the 'process' of the observed participants interacting with the contexts and groups of individuals to recognise how the broad situations are shaped.

To put it briefly, social constructivism aims to make sense of meanings by assembling participants' views and their social or historical background to manifest a dynamic situation, instead of starting a new theory through inductively developing meanings as in the post positivism approach.

The social constructivism approach thus seems appropriate for this research project, which seeks to establish an understanding of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, the role of groups of agents and their interrelationship with the local contexts. Meanwhile, the multi-levelled framework of this research is also developed through the stance of social constructivism, with the semi-structured interviews designed as the data collection approach to compile views and experience of the engaged agents. Therefore, this research project adopts social constructivism to conceptualise the meaning of the clustering phenomena, and manifest the clustering process and the mechanism which has been happening in Taiwan since the 1960s.

4.3. Research Design

A qualitative approach is employed in this study to explore the research questions considering the methodological benefit, which develops theories through exploring the contextual background of the studied case, focusing on unfolding the process shaping the social phenomena, and devising the data collection with the flexible research structure.

Firstly, Creswell and Brown (1992) indicate that qualitative data collection is purposed to analyse a theme or situation taking place under specific settings. This resonates with the aim of this research to reveal the clustering process of Taiwan's TV drama cluster, which is through the data collection on Taiwan's socio-economic contexts and the historical events associating with Taiwanese TV drama industry. Given that the qualitative method considers the contexts or background settings in explaining the analysed subject, such approach allows this research to gain insights into the evolving TV drama cluster with attention to Taiwan's socio-economic and institutional background under the timeframe since the 1960s.

Furthermore, as Pettigrew (1977) noted, the qualitative approach enables the researchers to examine the process of a social phenomenon that occurs as a sequence of the collective individuals' actions or events. Therefore, the qualitative method enables this research to address the research questions by compiling facts and views from participants of different scales, and how the various participants' accumulated actions contributed to the changes of clustering mode throughout the four stages of Taiwanese TV drama clustering.

Thirdly, the qualitative design offers a relatively flexible structure of data collection that examines social phenomena through the eyes of the studied subjects. Understanding is built by assembling the observations or the genuine perspectives of the engaged participants to understand the reality of the social world and overcome the biased interpretation bound to the researcher's own perspective and knowledge (Bryman and Bell 2003). According to Rossman and Rallis (1998), the qualitative approach is conducted through high involvement of

the participants' views or their share of their actual experience to develop the details of the observed situation or phenomena. Moreover, by means of the qualitative approach, the researcher is able to explore the meaning of the observed situation through their reflection from the participant's personal background and the experience; Through the qualitative method, the researchers entail the collected data to interpret the meaning of a theme or situation. This can be done by asking individuals to develop the conclusion or understanding towards the observed situation. The adoption of the qualitative approach thus allows the participants' own experience to be reflected in this research's analyses.

To sum up, the qualitative study is carried out through inquiring and reflecting the participants' views and the individual experience to explore the shaping procedure of the case. Taiwan's TV drama cluster is a relatively new topic that has not yet been studied through the EEG's multi-levelled framework to understand the dynamic clustering process. The qualitative method is thus chosen to identify the contextual background and the participants of various agents that determine such clustering mechanism.

4.4. Data Collection

In this research, both primary and secondary strategies were used for qualitative data collection. Firstly, the secondary data in the forms of publication, archives, reports and journals to gain insights into the contextual backgrounds of Taiwanese TV drama cluster. The secondary source was also gathered to identify the key actors, agency and events that engaged in the clustering evolution in Taiwan's TV drama sector. This was then followed with the primary approach which was conducted through semi-structured interviews. By means of video-calls and open-ended questions, this research aims to obtain the in-depth understanding of coherent relationships amongst varying participants and the subsequent clustering evolutions. The data collection strategies for addressing each research question are specified in the following table.

Research Question		Literature Review	Secondary Data Collection	Semi-structured Interviews
How has the Taiwanese TV drama cluster evolved since the 1960s?	Q1-1: Who/ what drove the evolutions of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster in each phase?	V	V	V
	Q1-2: Which actor led the pivotal changes in each phase?		V	V
	Q1-3: What are the consequent pattern changes involved in each stage of clustering?		V	V
How does the mode of Taiwanese TV drama clustering differ in each stage?	Q2-1: Were there any changes in the mode of production and innovation activities?		V	V
	Q2-2: Were there new ways of communication/ relationships or cooperative relationships between the co-located entities?		V	V
	Q2-3: Were there any new projects-based organisations developed in each stage?		V	V

Table 3: Research Questions & Methods

4.4.1 Unit of Analysis

This research centres on the participants in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, to be specific, the actors and their agency that lead to the contingent scenes. By identifying the actors and agency in varying scales, this study seeks to configure how the interrelationship amongst actors, agency, and the surrounding institutions constantly shapes the new trajectories of the Taiwanese TV drama production. Moreover, through applying the multi-scaled perspective, this research will cast light on the actors' relationships taking place both in the particular scale and crossed scales of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster model. So doing is to conduct explorations into system-wide landscape to deploy the mechanism of the evolving clustering.

4.4.2 Context

The empirical research is conducted on the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, one of the CCI sectors in Taiwan that functions through the mechanism of spatial clustering and the interconnected relationships with the collocated actors. The case of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster is worth exploring to address the theories presented in the literature review chapter, given the dynamic contextual environment contributing to various trajectory transformations to the selected case. Due to Taiwan's historical and political complexity, Taiwan has experienced radical socio-economic transformations within the past 60 years. The TV drama production has been observed as one of the well-impacted sectors throughout the time, attributed to its production demanding intense socio-culture inputs and flexibility to adapt to the unpredictable audience preference. Through the case study of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, it is aimed to establish the in-depth understanding of the 'process' of the cluster transforming as the contingency of the varying scaled engager's interrelationship, and to contribute to the multi-levelled EEG theorisation through the evidence of the Taiwanese TV drama case.

4.4.3 Primary Data Collection

Primary data is collected through semi-structured interviews with individuals, firms, and government bodies engaged in the Taiwanese TV drama sector. To configure the holistic picture of the multi-levelled dynamics in Taiwanese TV drama cluster, the participants of different scales, including the top-levelled public policymaker, the leading production companies, the chairman of the inter-firm organisations and the freelancers have been recruited to obtain various perspectives, and to corroborate the multi-scaled mechanism that is intertwined with the evolving cluster dynamics.

Prior to the formal interviews, a pilot interview was conducted to verify that the research questions are adequate for the intended research purpose, and are feasible to address the research questions. The pilot testing was performed with a producer with more than thirty years of working experience in the Taiwanese TV drama sector and is well known for multiple TV drama productions in the past decades. Furthermore, the pilot-testing interviewee had previously attended varying drama production projects and taken different positions in broadcasting companies and independent firms working with the broadcasters through the case-based programmes. Considering the rich working experience and the knowledge of Taiwan's TV drama sector for the past decades, the pilot interviewee was therefore chosen to carry out the pilot interviews to inform the testing and refinement of the interview approach.

Following the pilot-testing and the refinement of the interview questions, the semi-structured interviews were implemented to gather perspectives from participants listed in Appendix II. By means of the semi-structured interviews, the interview process allows the flexibility to obtain multiple interpretations of the participants to the events, behaviours or patterns of the studied phenomena. Due to the semi-structured interviews are conducted based on the designed research questions while provides the interviewees with a great deal of flexibility to express their understandings, it gathers the dynamic opinions and avoids the biased views that are bounded to the researcher's own knowledge. Such features of the semi-structured interview are thus have benefited this research with the in-depth

exploration of Taiwanese TV drama cluster's evolutions, and to address the causal relationships between the co-located entities that shaped the various clustering patterns in each evolution phase.

Each interview was designed within thirty to forty-five minutes length. Audio recordings were done with consent obtained from the participants beforehand interviews. All interviews began with brief introductions regarding the research topic, purpose and the outline of the upcoming interview questions. Every interview participant was guided to reply the questions from their observation to the developments of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster since 1960, to the in-depth discussion pinpointing on the scale-specific decision making or behaviours that the participant was part of, to corroborate the dynamic actor interrelationships that took place in each scale, and to configure how the collections of the same-scaled entities contributed to the part of the cluster-wide changes. The detailed account of the interview guideline is attached as in the Appendix I.

4.4.4 Participants and Recruitment

To identify the multi-levelled dynamics that constitute the evolutionary trajectories of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, freelancers, producers or public policymakers who attended different phases of the clustering process were recruited to collect the essential views to shed light on such mechanism of Taiwan's TV drama cluster. The recruited participants and their professional background are listed as Appendix II.

The participants for this research were recruited through referencing by the pilot tester. Following the pilot interview, the modified interview guide and the list of participants were decided. A week prior to each interview, the recruited participants were contacted by email and telephone and provided with the introduction of this research and the interview guideline. A total of twelve interviews were carried out in this research, less than the planned twenty interviews due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. In response to the pandemic restriction policies in the year of 2021, companies and producers in the

drama production industry in Taiwan have followed the government guideline to transfer to work from home which affected availability of the interviewees. In light of the pandemic circumstance, this research has prudently selected twelve participants (or the organisation they represent) involved in different phases and scale of Taiwan's TV drama cluster. All the interviews took place via teleconferencing software due to the Covid-19 pandemic situation and the lock-down regulation in Taiwan restricting the majority of face-to-face activities.

4.5 Trustworthiness of the Data

This research employed two procedures to ensure the trustworthiness of the collected data. Firstly, the pilot testing was carried out with the producer whose professional experience is well recognised in the Taiwanese TV drama industry, and has witnessed the evolutions of Taiwan's TV drama cluster since the 1960s. Provided the tester's good knowledge of the Taiwanese TV drama production and its transformative process, the interview guideline and the selected participants were decided considering the suggestions from the tester. These were subsequently counter checked by another two producers in the Taiwanese TV drama sector, to corroborate that the design of the interview questions and the choice of participants meet the research focus. Secondly, member checking was conducted for each interview; that the participants reviewed the transcripts successively to the interview. So doing was to verify the accuracy of the transcribed content, to affirm that transcripts genuinely interpret participants' intended meaning.

4.6 Data Analysis

4.6.1 Case Study Approach

In this research, the data were collected through the case study approach to cope with the multi-scaled complex which interacts with the evolution process of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster. The case study approach has been extensively utilised to address complex social phenomena with the in-depth examination into involved individuals or their group behaviour to obtain the holistic understanding. Meanwhile, such an approach pursues the causal explanations through analysing the historical and the socio-economic contexts (Yin 2014), in order to unpack the the factors and the process that shaped the studied circumstance. That being said, the case study approach features extensive investigations into a social phenomenon, which especially probe into the contextual factors and processes that establish real-world situations (Yin and Davis 2007).

From the prospect of the case study method, a phenomenon and its contexts are inseparable in the real-world situation. The case study strategy, hence, can complement the shortfalls of other methods, such as the limited extent and width of explorations through the survey design; or the insufficient elaboration between the contextual circumstances and the causal phenomena as of the experimental method, due to the deliberately selected variables during the analyses. In this regard, the case study method tackles social phenomena through the extensive considerations of multiple variables, which develops theories through triangulating diverse sources of evidence. Hence, the case study approach is a widely recognised technique in exploring the social science realm, as it embraces the broader variations during the analyses that facilitate the understanding of complex social phenomena.

To execute the case study approach, five analytical techniques including pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models and cross-case synthesis can be applied to scrutinise specific theoretical propositions. In this research, the time-series analysis technique has been adopted to address the

Taiwanese TV drama cluster analyses with particular attention to the dynamic evolutions in the chosen timeframe. The following section will cover the features of the time-series analysis technique and how it aided this research to cope with the proposed research target.

4.6.2 Time-Series Analysis

The time-series technique is particularly being adopted for understanding the intricate patterns that form a phenomenon. Therefore, it is a design that is competent in analysing the multiple variables and the dependent consequence in a timescale, rather than stressing the selected sources of data, limiting the width and breadth of the study.

To put it precisely, the time-series analysis encompasses the explorations into the complex circumstances by tracing changes over time, and guides the analysis of trends that are subjective to different contextual conditions. Such technique sheds light on the relationships between events in a given timeframe, which addresses the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions in exploring the chronological sequence of the observed case. The time-series technique is conducted by identifying the collections of variables and events, and traces the causal effect between variables and events in a specific time interval to express the complexity of an evolutionary situation.

The time-series analysis is a technique to carry out the case examination for simple time series focusing on a single variable of analysis, and its relevance to the specific contingency in a time frame; the complete time-series analysis addresses the complicated count of the given case, and includes multiple sets of variables and the mixed patterns to develop the explanations whilst assessing the dynamic circumstances overtime; The chronological sequence approach purposed to unfold the contingency of variables and events, with the perception that a variable is likely to involve causal impacts on other variables in a time

period. In order to capture the co-located entities and their interlinks with the dynamics of Taiwanese TV clustering since 1960s, the chronological sequence analysis was carried out to examine such relationship, in order to build a better understanding of the causal connections between the multi-levelled dynamics, and the transformative paths of the clustering process.

4.7 Role of the Researcher

As this research pursues the Taiwanese case through the qualitative approach, it is critical to identify the researcher's role during the data collection and analysis process. As a researcher who has been actively involved in the field of Taiwanese cultural and creative industry for four years, I have possessed good knowledge and paid attention to the course of the studied case. Such has aided this research which requires the related experience and a certain degree of understanding towards Taiwan's CCI clusters to adequately observe the case, and clearly interpret the outcome from the data analysis. With the concern of the potential bias due to my previous experience in the Taiwanese CCI research, I have conducted the pilot testing and the member checking procedure to establish the research's trustworthiness whilst maintaining the unprejudiced view as an outsider. However, there could exist certain bias due to the researchers own experience, which could possibly impact the outcome of the research.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

This research is of low ethical risk, which does not involve the data collection of participants' confidential details, sensitive information and vulnerable individuals; No participants were exposed under potential risk or danger during the data collection process. The full research project is conducted adhering to the standards of University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), with the participants' consents obtained before the interviews and no collected data that is potentially to reveal the identity of the participants.

All interviews took place within the hours that were convenient for the participants, and via the teleconference software, which allowed the participants to attend the interviews at the location they are comfortable in. Prior to each interview, the participants were notified regarding the audio recording and data storage procedure of this research. Meanwhile, participants were given interview guidelines and were informed about the expected time length of the interview. Participants' formal permission for the aforementioned was obtained through the signed forms before the start of interviews. All research transcripts were stored in the encrypted storage drive which no one else can access. The collected data will only be retained during the lifetime of the research project, and will be permanently deleted when the research terminates.

5. Research Context

5.1. Introduction to the Television Production

Television is a medium that reflects and diffuses the culture, meaning and the embodied values, that potentially informs and shapes the new thinking of individuals, or even the society at large (Doyle et al. 2021; Smith 1998). In other words, Television is a means of content distribution which in turn, shapes the new lifestyle and pattern of the culture. Therefore, the mode of TV productions is relevant to public policymaking. In this regard, TV production has been adopted as the tool for political education in certain nations, and the changing regulations thus partially forge the new patterns of TV making.

Another noticeable impact on the TV production was the technological advancement in the 1970s to 1980s. Particularly the upgrades to the cable and satellite broadcasting enabled the TV contents to be delivered to the wider viewers in the following decade. From the 1990s, the digital compression techniques and the widespread development of the internet led to the digitalisation of TV productions. These propelled the increasing TV channels, diverse forms of TV content and new streaming platforms (Doyle 2014). The TV production mode and its developments vary in different nations, which is forged through the socio-economic contexts, dominating broadcasters or the specific national regulations and circumstances (Doyle et al. 2021; Morris and Waisbord 2001). However, TV content making is commonly seen as the vertically integrated production chain that combines varying specialists to realise the productions.

Television production is composed of multiple stages to transform the content and ideas into the visualised creation. Therefore, the production process features the highly heterogeneous combinations of producers and expertise in varying scales and specialised genre (Doyle et al. 2021; Paterson 2017a).

The TV production can be illustrated through a three-stage model, which specifies the pre-production, production and post-production phases of TV content making. In the pre-production stage, the main activities are scripting, team recruiting, casting and location hunting and so forth, to plan the resources and projects for the shooting. The actual shooting and recording occur in the following production stage, with the film editing, computer graphic (CG) editing, marketing and broadcasting happening in the post-production phase. Each production stage is performed through the collaborations of varying expertise, producing companies and freelancers as shown in the Figure 5.

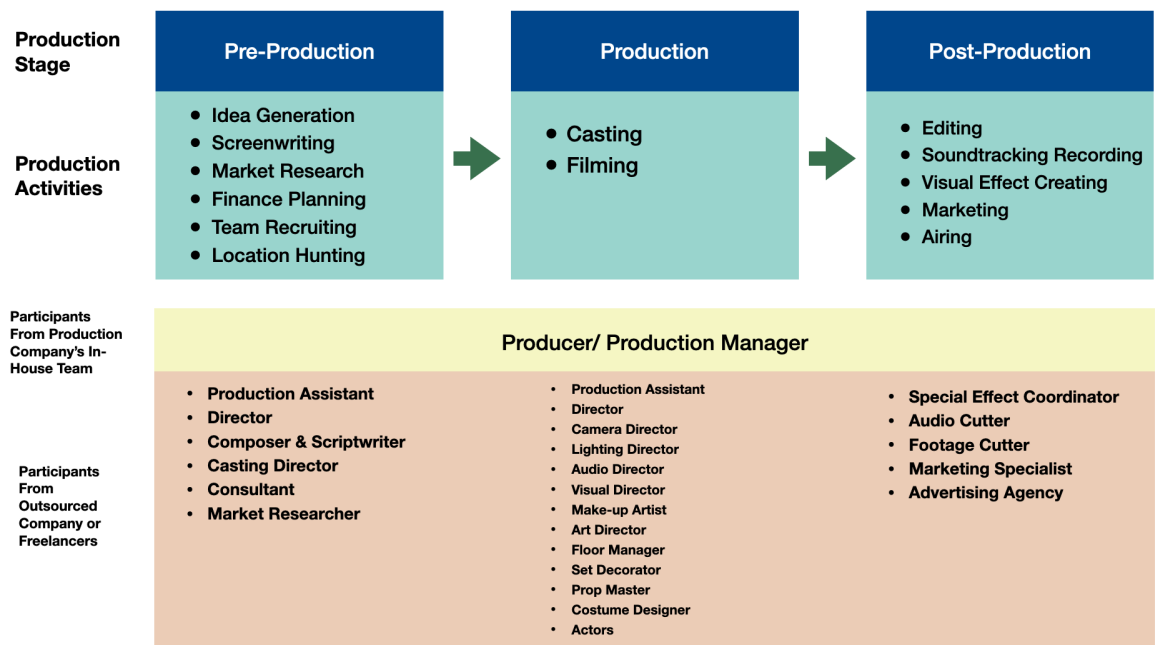


Figure 5: Stages of TV Drama Production

Source: Author's Own Elaboration

5.2. Introductions to Transformations of Taiwanese TV Drama Cluster

5.2.1 In the Year 1960s to 1980s

The year 1960 marked the first wave of Taiwanese drama production, following the guideline of the ruler to function as one of the channels for political propaganda. Since the Chinese civil war and the Chinese Nationalist Party's (also known as Kuomintang, KMT. I will be using the term KMT in the later paragraphs) retreated to Taiwan in 1949, KMT has taken Taiwan as a base to build the new government to strike against the Communist Party in mainland China. Since the Martial Law came into effect in 1949, the restriction of freedom of speech was levied, and all publications and broadcast programmes were under strict censorship. The rigorous regulation towards the publication shaped the earliest productions of Taiwanese TV drama, promoting patriotism and the thinking to fight against the counter-ruler in mainland China (Sue 2007; Zeng 2017).

Under the KMT governorship, three public-owned broadcasting companies, Taiwan Television (TTV), China Television Company (CTV) and Chinese Television System (CTS), were founded during this period and executed the TV programs and drama production following the government guideline. The anti-communism idea, promotion of revanchism spreading the thinking to reverse the lost territory in mainland China were intensified in the government-led TV drama production (Chen 2019; Sue 2007; Zeng 2017).

In 1971, the introduction of the 'TV Drama category' Golden Bell Award led to the breakthrough of the Taiwanese TV production. With the growing audience of the TV drama, when more households possessing televisions, the quality of content and more artistic value became the new demands from the market. Meanwhile, the government strategically added the 'TV Drama' category to promote the Taiwanese drama to the foreign markets. Hence, the central government paid growing attention to Taiwanese drama production with the target of drama 'internationalisation', 'specialisation' and the 'advanced artistic value'. Therefore,

the multifarious subjects and inspirations of stories can be seen in the late 1980s TV drama, which signified the transition to the commercialised and entertainment-purposed production (Sue 2007; Zeng 2017).

5.2.2 In the Year 1980s to 2000

In the late 1980s to the early 1990s, Taiwan's economic development ranked itself as 'Asian Four Tiger'. The economic growth and the relatively political stability remarked a new stage of Taiwan's drama production. Since the civil war time, Taiwan has established rather distinct socio-economic development in multifarious aspects. From the form of the government, economic development to the educational system, Taiwan has reached the era that welcomes the foreign culture and, at the same time, continuously took the leading role as the music and drama exporter in the Eastern Asian region.

The lifting of Martial Law in 1987 and the growing freedom of speech particularly transforms the cultural and creative productions, in that the creators and producers were hitherto allowed to add more interpretations of personal experiences or reflect the social reality in their creations (Zeng 2017).

Despite the tense relationship between the Taiwanese and Chinese governments for more than half a century, China was the Taiwanese TV drama's largest export market at the time, accounting for the closed roots of both countries' languages and culture. During this stage, Taiwanese TV drama production was experiencing the transition from the conservative and the 'regulated' content abiding by the rulers to that blended with 'fantasy' and 'romantic' elements. As in the post-Martial Law period, Taiwanese drama creation had broken through its principal function as the 'political tool' to the 'entertainment purpose' (Zeng 2017).

The 'Big three' public-owned broadcast companies (henceforth referred to as 'Big Three') still took the lead role in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster. The production activities were largely managed by the broadcasting companies or the few leading production companies. However, the public-found Big Three broadcasters relied on the advertising revenue to support the operation, which thus engendered the

production ecology relying on few outsourced contractors while the broadcasters focused on recruiting the advertisers (Chen 2003; Chen 2019). From the story and script writing & editing, casting, art design to the filming, the production was conducted by the few leading production companies, and took place inside the filming studios built by the Big Three. This production mode oriented the Taiwanese TV drama production towards the profit-making through advertising over the quality of the content. That is to say, the Big Three broadcasters and the dominating production companies are concerned about the 'funny or entertaining content' to trigger the viewing rates and advertiser's interest, rather than quality production to maintain the audience loyalty (Chen 2019). On the other hand, the Big Three shaped the interesting phenomenon of TV drama making, in that each TV drama has 'branded' with Big-Three's company culture and the political standpoint they embraced. Meanwhile, many actors and actresses made their name through their debuts of Big-Three's TV drama. For example, actor Bing-Bing or actress Fang were famous for their TV drama debuts in TTV (one of the Big-Three companies) drama series (Zeng 2017).

Another interesting fact about the TV drama production in this early stage after the lifting of Martial Law is the hybrid of 'Chinese culture-oriented production' and 'Localised Taiwanese-oriented production'. The legacy of the 'Chinese oriented' culture from the ruler since the 1940s still can be seen in dramas such as costumed drama of Chinese Legend Stories and Wuxia Chivalry stories (武俠劇). On the other hand, the freedom of speech and the lift of the language ban allowed new streams of drama production featuring Taiwanese local language and custom. This marked the very first productions of the 'Local Soap Opera' that significantly influenced the next decades of Taiwanese TV drama production (Zeng 2017).

In the late 1990s, the founding of the first private-owned broadcast company - Formosa Tele-communication Investment Co. (FTV), and the relief of the broadcasting regulations implied the new era of TV drama production and the market's competitiveness. The booming of licensed private broadcasters introduced the new forms and contents of Taiwanese TV drama productions (Chen 2019; Zeng 2017).

5.2.3 In the Year 2000 to 2010

The growing competition featured the Taiwanese TV drama market since the commencement of the 21st century, along with the number of private-owned broadcasting companies reaching more than seventy. The free market of Taiwan's TV drama production, thus, triggered the various forms of innovation from the production method, content to the marketing strategies to satisfy different audience groups.

The 'Local Taiwanese Drama' maintained its popularity given the background of stories and the used local language are familiarised by the major Taiwanese audience. The production of the 'local drama' focused on the 'entertainment purpose' rather than the 'quality or the artistic presentation'. Hence, the Taiwanese 'Local Taiwanese Drama' developed the 'shooting while broadcasting' mode of TV production. This type of production is unlike the traditional drama making process, which normally had the full episodes filmed before airing. Instead, it does not have the full episode plans nor does the full scripts, storylines or characters of each role planned beforehand the broadcasting. Such allows the high flexibility of the TV drama production, in that the producer can amend the storylines according to the audience reactions towards the broadcasted episodes, adding or removing roles to meet the market preference, or even include the daily news in the drama (Chou 2010; Lee 2017). It appeared the 'local drama' introduced the 'co-production mode, which takes the market preference as the indicator for the production. Whilst the filming place was without much innovation that still largely took place in the studio built and used since the 80s, the localised content plus some 'over-exaggerating funny moments' are favoured by the audience as the entertainment content.

In the 2000s, a new trend of 'idol drama' created a new wave amongst the younger groups of the audience. Idol drama featuring romantic stories, Japanese-comics inspired story-telling and the 'idolised' leading roles soon attracted young customers' interest and stimulated the new production mode. The emergence of the idol drama also introduced the new mode of production, which outsourced the production activities to various production companies and the specialist. This signified the transformation from the Big-Three monopolised mode to the

outsourcing mechanism with varying producers and specialist collaborations (Ann 2017; Wu and Gang 2010).

The flourishing Taiwanese TV drama also influenced the way of drama production in the eastern and south-eastern Asia countries. The success of idol dramas made Taiwan recognised as the 'TV drama production centre of eastern Asia', as the idol drama has gained the market shares of the neighbouring countries, including Japan, South Korea, China, Singapore and Malaysia. However, such a wave of Taiwanese drama boom was confronted with the impact of the 'Korean wave' and the growing attention to the Korean dramas. Facing the challenges from the 'Korean wave' in the 2010, Taiwanese TV drama production experienced declining market share and struggled to innovate the production to regain the interest and loyalty from the audiences.

5.2.4 From the Year 2010 Till Now

The surging of the Korean wave made South Korea the leading production centre of the TV drama in the 2010s. The influence of the Korean wave has also changed the audience taste in the Taiwanese TV drama market. The resource and capital-intensive production mode of the Korean drama had made its success in various countries and regions, the Hollywood movie-like quality and multifarious genres of topics soon attracted audience's interests. However, the Taiwanese counterpart was struggling to compete with the Korean Dramas due to the lack of resources and capital to upgrade to production.

Furthermore, the emergence of the streaming platforms also resulted in new audience behaviour, in that the audience has the increasing autonomy to 'select and only tune in' the favoured programmes. The underlying consequence in the TV drama sector was the rising competition over the novelty of the stories and the quality of the production.

Confronted with the striving Korean wave and the game-changing introduction of the streaming platforms, Taiwan's TV drama production learned from South Korea's mode and modified the production mode through various trial and error processes. The system-wide support in the recent decade forfeits the high flexibility of Taiwanese TV drama production, in that the multi-facet professionals and training programme integrated into the production network. Such a newly networked organisation enhances a reciprocal production system between the talent pool, production companies and the market. The production companies led the training programme or incorporated with the educational system to cultivate the talents; the production companies constantly have new talents join to contribute fresh ideas and content to meet various audience segments. Hence, since 2016, the Taiwanese TV drama sector also witnessed the talent employment shifted from the 'full-time' hiring mode to project-based contracting (Chen 2019). Beyond this, seeing the platform's rise as one of the mainstream tune-in channels, Taiwanese TV producers and broadcast companies collaborate with platforms such as Netflix, LINE TV, ViuTV, KKTV for 'original TV series' filming projects which not only offered the easier watching experience for audience, but also brought Taiwanese drama to the way of internationalisation (Ann 2017; Lee 2017; Maple 2017).

Seeing the emergence of the OTT (over the top) challenges the existing production mode (Chen 2019), In the year of 2016, Taiwanese government recognised the OTT's growing influence to the drama making, which urged the policymaking to support new mode of TV production and the registration against the copyright piracy of illegal streaming platforms. The growing OTT encourages talents to join the production of original TV shows, which stimulate the varying genres of drama to satisfy different segmentations of audience.

The illustration of Taiwan's four-stage TV drama cluster transformation is shown as figure 6.

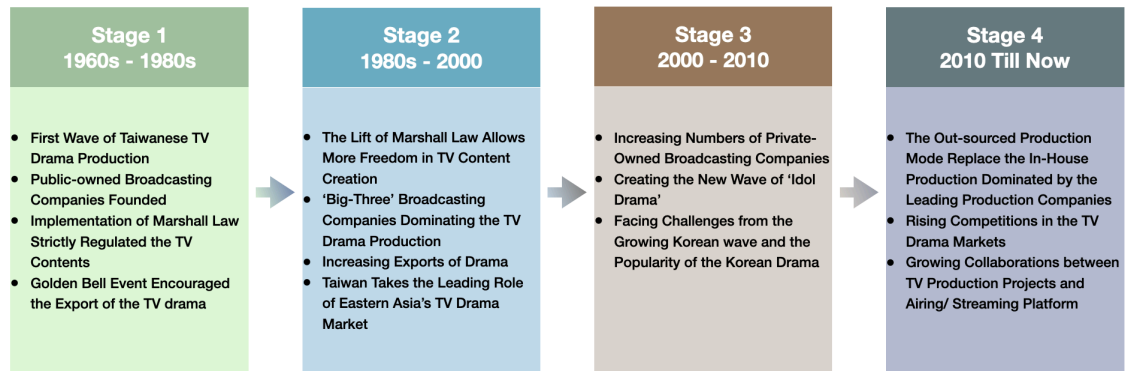


Figure 6: Stages of Taiwanese TV Cluster's Transformation

Source: Author's Own Elaboration

6. Findings

This chapter demonstrates the findings gathered from twelve semi-structured interviews conducted between May and July 2021. This chapter is arranged in four sections corresponding to the four phases of Taiwanese TV drama cluster development since the 1960s. The discussions will follow the order of phase one to phase four, covering clustering pattern observations in the Taiwanese TV drama clustering from the 1960s to 2021. Meanwhile, each section addresses observations of actors which shaped the specific production patterns and contributed to the transformative trajectories in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster. Following the discussion of the four stage's transformation in Taiwanese TV drama cluster, this chapter is concluded with reflections on limitations while conducting this research, and theoretical implications underlying the recommendations for future research.

6.1. Phase 1 - 1960 to 1980

Political Impact Built Taiwan's TV Drama Cluster

During the period between 1960s and 1980s, Taiwan's TV drama production activities were greatly affected by the political authorities whilst the government adopted the TV programmes as the medium of patriotism education. Governmental policymaking led the establishment of public-owned broadcasters, promoted the nation-wide TV programme distribution, oriented the TV drama production patterns and development in the following decades. Moreover, the political enforcement facilitated hardware equipments and know-hows contributing to the early development of Taiwan's TV drama cluster.

6.1.1 Key Drivers & Events

This section addresses the research question in identifying the Taiwanese central government and the public-owned broadcasters that led the emergence of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster in the early 1960s. Meanwhile, the governmental measures of setting up award event was recognised as one of the key events encouraging the TV drama production activities in Taiwan.

- **Central Government's Martial Law (Shown as flow ① in Figure 7)**

The tense relationship between Taiwan and China during the post-civil war period significantly forged the Taiwanese government to implement regulations of patriotism education, which included stricter control over the freedom of speech and the contents of radio and TV programmes. Hence, the TV drama cluster in Taiwan has consequently transformed during the period of the two countries' stalemate. Noted by interviewee B and E (who has more than 30 years of experience in Taiwanese TV drama production), the launch of the Martial Law has pressured drama production as the government's tool for political education thinking during the 1960s to 1980s.

The central government forced the transformation of TV drama development through the following measures:

Firstly, the reviewing procedure was imposed in line with restricting freedom for speech, publication and press. Hence, all creations, including TV programmes, can be aired only after passing the government's auditing process.

Secondly, the central government set up the public-owned broadcasting companies that aimed to intensify political propaganda distribution. That is, by establishing the public-owned broadcasters, Taiwan's government reinforced the control over TV productions. Since then, TV drama content has been

rigorously abiding by the Martial Law restriction and is being distributed under the schema of patriotism education or political propaganda.

- **Establishment of Public-Owned Broadcasters**
(Shown as flow ① in Figure 7)

Stressed by interviewee B and D (who are producers with long observations into Taiwanese TV drama cluster's development), the thinking education approach catalysed the establishment of the public-owned broadcasters to implement the policy. Hence, from the 1960s to 1970s, the three public-owned broadcasting companies representing the central government's control, armed force, and the ruling party were founded in line with political purposes. Further to the strategy of patriotism education, the central government also recognised the TV programmes as the crucial medium to deliver the compulsory education plan.

In the 1960s, the first broadcast company - Network of Educational Television (NETV) was founded under the Ministry of Education's and national armed force' guideline. The NETV was to function as a universal education within the nation. The NETV was later reformed as Chinese Television System (CTS) in the 1970s, which facilitated new education policy, whilst the limited number of schools and higher education institutions were not fully competent to deliver the education to the growing number of the student population. Meanwhile, viewing the TV as a promising technology to distribute educational content regardless of the geographical limitation, the national armed forces also jointed CTS' TV programme production to reinforce the patriotic education campaign. Such a strategic movement of the armed forces aimed to intensify the army and reservists training programme in army bases scattered around the country.

Following the foundation of the CTS, the Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV) was established under the central authority's instruction; In the late 1960s, the China Television Company (CTV) was subsequently founded under the central government's approval to deliver the project of Kuomintang (KMT, the political

party in power). To summarise, the political power's dominance over broadcasting companies and the TV content portrayed Taiwan's TV programme making in the 1960s to 1970s. The three earliest founded broadcasters hence directed the mode of TV drama production in Taiwan, and are recognised as the 'Big-Three' broadcaster leading the TV drama production activities.

- **Setting up the 'Golden Bell Award' to promote Taiwan's TV drama making to the abroad markets (Shown as flow ② in Figure 7)**

In 1971, the Taiwanese government set up the 'TV category' of the Golden Bell Award', intending to propagate Taiwan's national capability through the 'culture and artistic development'. To enhance the Taiwanese government's political power over China's, the Taiwanese government accounts for the cultural propaganda to further develop Taiwan's international recognition. The Golden Bell Award as part of the cultural promotion scheme was thus launched and aimed to motivate the TV drama to advance towards more internalised, professional and artistic production. Noted by interviews C and E, Through the Golden Bell award programme, Taiwan's TV drama has for the first time achieved the milestone of promoting to overseas market, through the strategy of inviting the world-famous TV producers to the award ceremony. This in turn, took the count in facilitating knowledge and know-how exchange between the Taiwanese producers and those world-famous TV broadcasting specialists, which profoundly inspired the Taiwanese TV drama production in terms of the depth and the variety of the TV drama content's innovation.

6.1.2. Responding Consequences Boosted the Forming of Taiwanese TV Drama Cluster

This section indicates the collaborations between Japanese-owned companies and broadcasters following governmental instruction, forming the 'Big-Three' mechanism contributing to the first soap opera masterpieces and the in-house production mode in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster. Moreover, the government's promotion of the TV drama industry facilitates the growing access to television and the popularity of TV dramas in Taiwan. In response to the growing audience and interests in TV drama, private broadcasters were established to offer varying drama content that implied the prospective transformation of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster to embrace innovations of multifarious drama stories.

- **Collaborations between Taiwanese broadcasters and Japanese-owned companies (Shown as flow ③ in Figure 7)**

The establishment of the TTV involved reciprocal contracts with four leading Japanese-owned companies in Taiwan (including Fuji TV, Toshiba, Hitachi and NEC). On the one hand, the four leading Japanese companies funded the establishment of TTV; On the other hand, the Taiwanese government purchased TV production equipment and televisions from the four companies. Stressed by interviewee D, such a strategy aimed to support the development of the TV production and enable wider audience groups to access the TV drama. The exclusive contract was granted to the four Japanese companies as the key television equipment supplier in the Taiwanese market, and facilitated the rapid development of Taiwanese TV drama production. The governmental promotion incorporated with the Japanese Companies gave rise to the increasing TV popularity and speeded up the development of the TV industry.

- **Broadcaster-led TV Drama Production Innovation (Shown as flow ④ in Figure 7)**

Beyond the purposeful political control, the establishment of China Television Company (CTV) also signified the advancement in Taiwanese TV programme production in two aspects: Firstly, CTV adopted the new technology and equipment in TV drama production which presented Taiwan's TV drama cluster with the new mode of production. That is, CTV was dedicated in promoting the colour TV amid the age of advancing television equipment and filming technology, which inspired Taiwanese TV drama producers to improve hardware settings to deliver the upgraded viewing experience to TV drama audiences. In line with the project of promoting colour TV, CTV set up a training team which learned essential skills and purchased equipment from Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK). Such a scheme aimed to replicate Japan's mode of production that executed the making and extending the colour TV programmes.

Secondly, CTV introduced the 'soap opera' form of drama production featuring the content and audience experience innovation in the 1970s. According to interviewee B (who has attended various Taiwanese soap opera production projects), CTV commenced the 'soap opera' TV programme in the Taiwanese TV production industry, and oriented Taiwanese drama production as a part of 'daily entertainment' as CTV launched the regularly aired TV drama during the weekdays and weekends. TV drama 'Jing Jing (晶晶)' produced by CTV was the first ever 'soap opera' programme premiered in Taiwan, which signified a new course of TV programme making, and formulated the production of 'Monday to Friday premiered' soap of Taiwan's TV drama production. Prior to the CTV's soap opera production, Taiwan's TV programmes were majorly broadcasting the educational-purposed content, or TV shows that usually came in single episode and without the continuously running storylines. However, after the successful premiere of the drama *Jing Jing*, CTV brought forth Taiwanese TV drama production's transformation from the educational purpose to the entertainment content, which meanwhile, contributed to the innovations of the drama stories.

- **Government's Education Schema Inspired New Routines of Taiwan's TV Drama Production (Shown as flow ④ in Figure 7)**

The key members who led the establishment of the primitive three broadcasting companies are either assigned by the central government or those who retreated with Taiwan's KMT military during the civil war. These are the factors that characterised the TV content greatly exerted with patriotic thinking and ideas associated with Chinese culture or traditions. As addressed by interviewee B, the experienced producer who has been attending Taiwan's TV drama production for more than 30 years, *"The government in the 1960s to 1980s tended to delegate officers who came to Taiwan during the civil war retreat to deliver the drama production programmes of public-found broadcasters. That's the reason that the drama stories during that time were unavoidably infused with officers' personal experience or knowledge inherited from their earlier life in mainland China."* Therefore, the TV drama stories have seen to be highly related to political propaganda and lacked the varieties of content innovation for entertainment.

Under the Taiwanese government's schema of establishing a TV broadcaster for political education, CTS, TTV and CTV were since recognised as the 'Big-Three' in Taiwan's TV production industry, which has dominated the resource allocation and the mode of content innovation of TV programme-making.

Due to that, the Big-Three broadcasters were set up for the political purpose instead of profit-making companies, the Big-Three developed the production mode with combinations of in-house production and outsourcing the production to the advertisers to generate the revenue. This thus shaped the new pattern of Taiwanese TV drama production adopted by the majority of Taiwan's TV broadcasters. Another significant invention from the Big-Three was formulating the fixed schedule for drama airing. For instance, the Big-Three established the noon-time or 8pm soaps, which have been inherited as the common industry practice that both producers and Taiwanese audience have been used to.

- **Growing Population Accessing TVs Under Government's Strategic Collaboration with Japanese Companies (Shown as flow ⑤ in Figure 7)**

In the late 1970s, Taiwan's TV drama production approached the first peak period, when more households possessed or had access to televisions. Especially under the governmental promotion and strategic collaborations with the Japanese companies, the television had almost become the must-have home appliance for all households and catalysed the TV drama as a new form of past-time. Hence, in this period, Taiwan's TV drama cluster produced the well-recognised masterpiece that achieved one of the highest viewership in the history of the Taiwanese drama sector.

- **Private Broadcasters Introduced the Prototype of Multifarious TV Content (Shown as flow ⑥ in Figure 7)**

The mountainous terrain in Taiwan, stressed by interviews D and E, resulted in poor broadcasting quality for the audience in certain regions. This gave rise to the rising instalment of the private antenna and illegal private broadcasters. The illegal private broadcasters used the TV cables to deliver videotape contents such as American films or TV series, which satisfied various market demands of TV content, and stimulated the dramatic increase of the cabled channels in the post Martial Law period. Meanwhile, the private broadcasters also gradually shaped the ecology of the Taiwanese TV drama industry, which broadcasts multifarious selections of content and programmes.

- **Impactful Transformation to the New Production Mechanism**

The increasing production of drama gradually shaped the new production practice and audience behaviour in Taiwan. On the one hand, the new trend of soap operas featuring long-running stories with more than fifty episodes and aired daily at the fixed time has become the mainstream form of TV drama making. On the other hand, the Big-Three prototyped the in-house production

mechanism in Taiwan's TV drama cluster. Accounting for the government's invested resource, knowhow and skill sets of TV drama production, the Big-three broadcasting companies thereby led the in-house production mode in Taiwan's TV drama cluster. Hence, since the 1980s, Taiwan's TV drama cluster witnessed the growing adoption of in-house production. The broadcasters hired the production team, including the specialised producers, actors, and building filming studios exclusively serving the broadcaster's shooting programmes.

6.1.3. Recap of Key Pattern Developments in Phase 1

Since the 1960s, the central government's policymaking framed the early stage of Taiwan's TV drama production, which consequently stimulated the collaborations and essential know-how transfer between Taiwanese broadcasters and Japanese companies. Further to the booming TV drama production, the Big-Three dominated the production activities in Big-Three's studio, while the in-house production mode aggregating various specialists in the Big-Three's production system. The drama story innovation took place in response to the growing drama viewers and the private broadcasters' movements implied the potential audience preference. The period of 1960s and 1980s, therefore, signified the establishment of Taiwanese drama production and determined the production routines in Taiwan's TV drama cluster in the next decades.

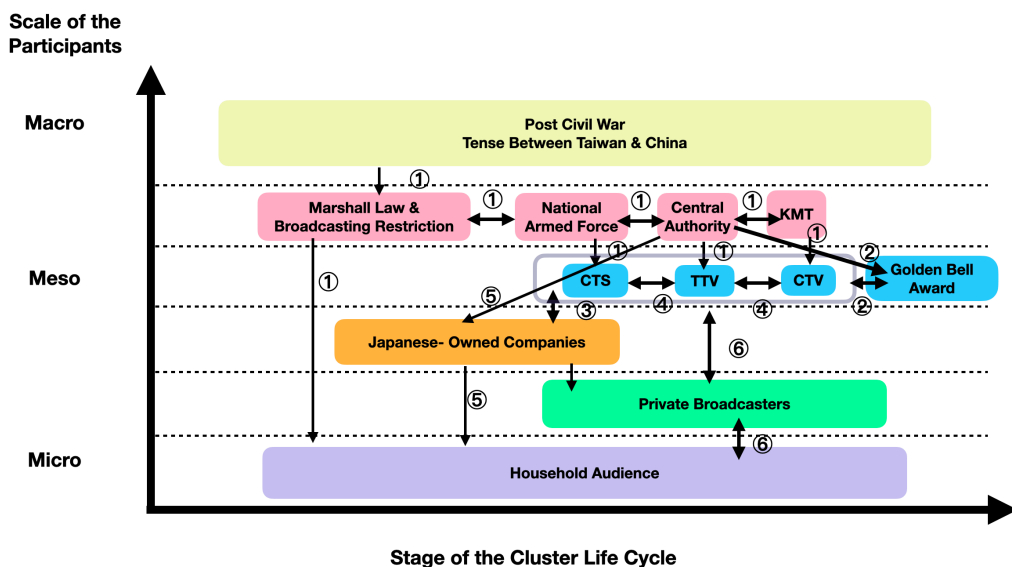


Figure 7: Phase 1 multi-levelled structure of Taiwanese TV drama cluster

6.2. Phase 2 - 1980 to 2000

TV Drama Production Innovation by Big-Three Broadcasters

Between the 1980s and 2000s signified Taiwanese TV drama transformation into various genres, subsequent to the lifted Martial Law ban and relief of speech and publication restriction. The loosened government control since 1987 led Taiwan to enter the golden age of TV drama production. The growing cultural exchange with the mainland China in the post Martial Law age, on the one hand, catalysed the cultural self awareness of Taiwanese and propelled the creation of 'local drama'; On the other hand, the increasing drama imports from the mainland China encouraged the booming private broadcasters which gradually replaced the dominating role of Big-Three broadcasters.

6.2.1. Key Drivers & Events

This section showcases the lifted Martial Law and the government's promotion programme as the actors shaped the new trajectories in the 1980s to 2000s. The rising cultural and artistic exchange between Taiwanese TV drama clusters and foreign talents, subsequently, facilitates the know-how learning between Taiwan's TV drama cluster and the imported drama pieces, which connects the Taiwanese TV drama cluster to the international market.

- **The Lift of the Martial Law Signified the Varying TV Drama Genres (Shown as flow ⑦ in Figure 8)**

The economic boom in the early 1980s contributed to the growing attention to the pastime in Taiwan, when the increasing disposable income and improved living conditions gave rise to the new habits of entertainment life. The rising audience of Taiwan's TV drama market urged the TV drama production to

transform from the 'educational purpose' to the rather 'commercialised content' with the increasing varieties of drama genres. In other words, as the rising freedom of speech since the 1980s, Taiwan's TV drama production has thereby been pressured to innovate the drama stories to meet varying audience preferences.

Noted by interviewee A and B, the lift of the Martial Law relieved Taiwan's TV drama production from governmental control and redirected the TV drama industry to be dominated under market trends. This consequently reshaped Taiwan's TV drama production to meet the preferences of the audience, and provoked new trends of content innovations of TV dramas. In the meanwhile, the removal of Martial Law restriction re-opened the country border and international exchange events. This stimulated the cultural and artistic exchange between Taiwan and other countries, particularly with mainland China following the two government's efforts to rebuild the bilateral relationship. The release of the travel restriction to mainland China triggered the new stream of costume drama and Wuxia Chivalry stories creation. This, meanwhile, encouraged the growing imports of China-produced drama into Taiwan's market.

The import of 'Chour Lau Heung story (楚留香)' from Hong Kong in the early 1980s was one of the most influential instances in Taiwan's TV drama history, which inspired the surge of the Wuxia Chivalry drama in the Taiwanese market. Stressed by interviewee B, '*...The Hong Kong-made drama just changed the game during that time. Both audiences and producers are obsessed with the Wuxia dramas...*'. That is, seeing the success of 'Chour Lau Heung story (楚留香)' in the Taiwanese market, the TV drama producers sensed the potential market preferences of the Wuxia Chivalry drama. The Big-Three broadcasters thus consecutively imported further Wuxia Chivalry drama produced by Hong Kong broadcasters, subsequent to the Taiwanese audience's positive response, which achieved the highest viewership amongst all genres of TV drama production during the period. However, the increasing imports of Hong Kong produced drama significantly suppressed the production of Taiwanese drama.

- **The Government Promoting Taiwan's TV Drama to the World-wide Market (Shown as flow ⑧ in Figure 8)**

Facing the growing competition from the foreign-produced TV drama during the post-Martial Law decade, the Taiwanese government further stressed the strategy to internationalise Taiwan's TV drama. Various artistic and academia events have been held along with the Golden Bell Award to enhance the chances of interactions between Taiwanese producers and experts from various countries. Hence, according to interviewee C, the new schema of the Golden Bell Award has been set to encourage the know-how and skillset exchange with the TV production expertise and academia throughout the world, to strengthen the competitiveness and the recognition of Taiwan's TV drama in the international market.

6.2.2. Responding Consequences Led the Increasing Innovations and Competitions in Taiwan's TV Drama Cluster

This section addressed the drama story innovation inspired by the imported TV drama pieces, and the growing varieties of TV drama genres following the lifted governmental restriction. It is demonstrated that, Taiwan's TV drama cluster showcased the attention to audience preference and creations of new TV drama genres dominated by Big-Three's in-house production system in the 1980s to 2000s.

- **Competition from Foreign Markets Pressured the Drama Production Innovation in Taiwan (Shown as flow ⑨ in Figure 8)**

Impacted by the competition of the Hong Kong produced drama, Taiwan's drama producers and actors were challenged by the lesser working opportunities, whilst broadcasters shifted the focus to purchase Hong Kong's Wuxia Chivalry drama replacing the investments in Taiwan-based TV

production. As a result, Taiwanese actors protested against the broadcasters' negligence of producing the in-house dramas, which pressured the central government to impose the law restricting the import of foreign drama and regulating the airing time of Hong Kong's Wuxia Chivalry drama.

The new broadcasting restriction propelled the broadcasters' new movements of investing in the in-house produced Wuxia Chivalry drama to meet the market demand in Taiwan. Noted by interviewee C, '*...The government was pressured by producers at that time to take actions to support Taiwanese producers. This then brought some positive effect to Taiwanese TV drama cluster, we saw the producers' new efforts in shifting to Wuxia Chivalry drama production...*'. Based on the inspiration of Hong Kong produced drama, Taiwan's broadcasters innovated Wuxia Chivalry drama which upgraded the production in terms of story arrangements, filming scenes and marketing programmes to gain the audience interest.

The loosened ban on the freedom of speaking and publication during the post-Martial Law time also marked the surge of the romantic drama. The first romantic drama in Taiwan's TV drama history was a remake from the famous romantic fiction of Qiong Yao (瓊瑤). The new stream of romantic genre orientated the new trend of drama production, which presented the diversified market preference and signified the growing commercialisation of the drama-making industry. That is, The drama producers had gradually transformed to create the new drama genres to satisfy various audience segmentations.

- **Growing Viewers of Private Broadcasters Forced the Relaxed Broadcasting Restriction (Shown as flow ⑩ in Figure 8)**

The growing numbers of private antenna and illegal private broadcasters have been acquiesced by the Taiwanese central government, which triggered the implementation of new TV broadcasting regulations allowing the increasing varieties of the drama genres. Meanwhile, the lifted ban on the local language and the cultural impact following the re-opening boundary between Taiwan and

mainland China, consequently urged the birth of 'local drama (鄉土劇)' aimed to call for audience' awareness of Taiwanese local culture and language.

In 1993, seeing the potential growth of the TV drama industry which, on one hand, being a strength of generating export revenue, on the other hand, promoting Taiwanese culture to the international market, the law amendment was in place and facilitated the multivariate innovations in Taiwan's TV drama sector. Stressed by interviewee A that, in the same year, the 'cable television law' legislation officially legalised the private broadcasters, which stimulated the greater competition and transformations in Taiwan's TV drama production. As a result, the number of licensed broadcasters and TV channels had soared from three to that close to a hundred by the end of the 1990s.

In the decade of increasing freedom of TV drama broadcasting and content creation, the new drama genre 'local drama' was developed symbolising the growing multifarious of drama stories. According to interviewee C, broadcaster CTS's original drama *Love (愛)* was the earliest drama in Taiwan's local language, which blended the sensitive storylines of local Taiwanese and the immigrated Taiwanese (外省人) who moved to Taiwan during the Civil War time. The drama has challenged the language ban and the drama length restriction, which played a key role prompting the policy reform to grant further freedoms of language and contents towards the drama production. In the late 1990s, the first private-owned broadcast company - Formosa Television Co. Ltd was founded and led the TV production focusing on the local Taiwan drama. Especially the broadcaster's holding the political standpoint against the ruling political party drove the TV production showcasing a different perspective towards patriotism and cultural identification.

The use of local language and the stories close to folklife formulated the new genre of Taiwanese TV drama production, which captured contemporary social affairs and injected the new political thinking into the mass audience. Such paved the road for the diverse content innovation of Taiwan's drama production, and became a new medium that encouraged the multifarious thinking and awareness of local culture during the post-Martial Law time. The local Taiwanese drama has since taken a significant role in fortifying the localism

movement during the time of the increasing globalisation.

To summarise, the new broadcasting law implemented in 1993 set the start of intense competition between producers regarding content innovation, quality of production, and viewership. The traditional mode of production relying on advertisement revenue had been gradually replaced by the upgraded quality and innovation of original content. This massively reshaped the way of collaborations between the broadcasters and producers. Whilst the Big-Three broadcasters established in-house production routines and tended to hire the producers who have personal networks with them, the growing market competition in the TV drama sector enacted the dynamic co-production networks between varying specialists, with the purpose to deliver eye-catching and fresh content to impress the audience.

6.2.3. Recap of Key Development Patterns in Phase 2

From the 1980s to 2000, The eased political restriction played a crucial role in drama genres diversifying in Taiwan. Instead of the Big-Three's highly dominated production activities, the joint of new broadcasters and the imported dramas triggered new competitions and innovation of drama stories. At the same time, public policymaking was stressed to further lift the broadcasting restriction in response to the growing audience demands of TV drama. By the end of the 1990s, the co-production networks in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster had formed to break down Big Three's in-house production. The increasing imports of foreign TV dramas in this period, meanwhile, have gradually gained popularity in Taiwan which led to the new impacts on the Taiwanese TV drama cluster in the following decade.

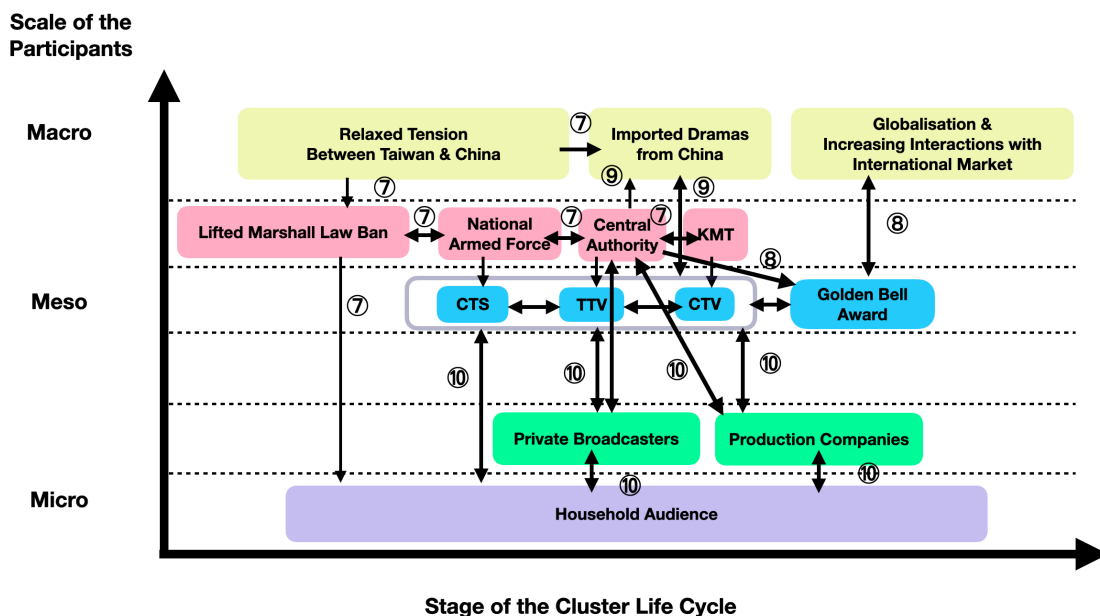


Figure 8: Phase 2 multi-levelled structure of Taiwanese TV drama cluster

6.3. Phase 3 - 2000 to 2010

Foreign Drama Transformed the Big-Three Production Mode

The increasing imports of foreign dramas in the 2000s contributed to the even segmented audience groups in the Taiwanese TV drama market, whilst foreign drama producers have introduced the innovated drama genres and the upgraded production technology. In the 2000s, Taiwan's drama production cluster was thus challenged by the competitions of Japanese, Korean, Chinese and US-made dramas.

Apart from the influence of the foreign dramas, the surging numbers of private broadcasters showcased another impact on Taiwanese TV drama cluster's development. That is, the increasing broadcasters were facing the lack of supportive public policymaking, which demotivated innovation activities of TV

drama production. The insufficiency of subsidiary support from the government hindered the upgrade of the TV drama production, whilst the advanced technology demanded further financial support to realise the equipment, skill-set upgrades and talent cultivation. The aforementioned factors challenged Taiwanese TV drama's development and its leading position in the Eastern Asian region.

6.3.1. Key Drivers & Events

This section addresses the increasing imports of foreign drama impacted Taiwanese audience behaviour, and demonstrated the weakness of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster when facing the increasing competition from foreign-made drama pieces. The Taiwanese TV drama cluster's challenges were witnessed during the growing drama imports, which hindered Taiwanese TV drama's leading position in the South Eastern Asian region.

• The Impact from the 'Korean wave' and Imported Dramas (Shown as flow ① in Figure 9)

Along with foreign dramas' entry into Taiwan's market, the Taiwanese drama industry started facing challenges of varieties of hit dramas worldwide. Particularly, the import of the South Korea drama has significantly impacted Taiwan's drama-making ecology and audience preference. According to interviewee C, '*...Korean dramas were the game changers. Just within a few years, we saw Taiwanese audiences start choosing Korean dramas...The Korean Drama also became a hit in the worldwide markets at a really fast speed...*'. 'Korean wave' spreading the South Korean culture and lifestyle through authentic drama and soundtracks was a strategic phenomenon promoted by the South Korean government. Hit by the Asia Economic crisis, The South Korean government purposefully encouraged TV drama production as one of the new strengths to fortify the nation's export revenue. The governmental support in terms of capital, educational system and supporting institutions soon promoted the South Korean drama to numerous countries. South Korea's

drama demonstrated the drama production with the advanced technique of high-definition making, the upgraded visual and sound effect, and the establishment of 'culture promotion office' in various countries, which expedited the popularity of the South Korean drama in the worldwide markets.

Neighbouring South Korea, the Korean wave has influenced Taiwan's TV drama extensively, spreading the South Korean culture and gradually gaining popularity amongst the Taiwanese audience. Furthermore, Korea Drama featuring intensive capital production, highly integrated talents, and innovative drama stories started challenging Taiwanese drama's dominance in both Taiwanese or South-Eastern Asian regions.

Despite that, Taiwanese TV drama production reached another peak of development in the early 2000s, with the local drama has achieved the broader audience base domestically, and the new drama genre has led the new form of drama making in the South Eastern Asian countries, Taiwanese TV drama production has since stuck in the bottleneck due to the lack of innovation. Particularly Taiwanese drama sector has long been influenced by the Big-Three's production, and resulted in the production routine limiting collaborations between Big-Three and production companies of their personal networks. This led to long-term partnership and contract with few production companies (shown as ⑫ in **Figure 9**). Such hindered the potential of innovation in Taiwan's TV drama sector, due to the production collaborations highly relying on the broadcasters and the production company of their acquaintance. Noted by interviewee A, '*...The biggest challenge was the Big-Three's production mode which led the routine for such a long time. Also, it was known at that time that, only those who have personal networks with the Big-Three got a chance to attend the production projects ...*'. This production mode impacted Taiwan's TV drama sectors in two aspects, firstly, it restricted the new producers or creators to join the TV drama projects that are likely to trigger innovations of the TV drama production. Secondly, the production mode inherited from the Big-Three lacks the sensitivity to the latest market trend or audience preference. As indicated by interviewee A, '*Big-Three have been the traditional dominators in Taiwanese TV drama cluster, who hold the majority of resource due to their historical root. This left new broadcasters or producers to share the relatively*

scarce resource...and led to the less proactivity to innovate according to the potential market trend.' Consequently, these weaknesses refined Taiwanese TV drama's development in domestic and abroad markets, especially the booming Korean drama, demonstrating the diversified TV dramas for customers to choose from.

Besides the impact of the Korean wave, Chinese drama has joined the competition in the 2000s. In the post-Martial Law time, the commercial activities between Taiwan and China have resumed, and Chinese-produced dramas were introduced to the Taiwanese market along with the growing trades between the two countries. The Chinese drama's entrance into Taiwan's market contributed to even fierce competition, along with that of Korean and Japanese TV dramas. The great upgrade of filming scenes and production quality of Chinese dramas gradually took up the market share and further weakened Taiwan-produced dramas' competitiveness.

- **New Streaming Platforms Transferred Taiwan's Audience Behaviour (Shown as flow ⑬ in Figure 9)**

The year 2008 signified the turning point of Taiwanese TV drama's development, whilst the Taiwanese drama production achieved the record-high number, the lesser motivation to break through the production mode succeeding from the Big-Three mode, however, resulted in the decreasing popularity of Taiwanese drama. Stressed by interviewee C, during the period of dynamic TV production technology upgrades, and the emerging online video-sharing or streaming platform (such as Youtube), Taiwan's drama audience started having the autonomy to tune in to various TV drama programmes on different platforms. This particularly jeopardised Taiwan's broadcasting mode established since the Martial Law ruling time, which was dominated by the earliest founded broadcasters and audience passively choosing to tune in to the limited categories of drama genres. Stressed by the interviewee F, who has long experience in equipment management in Taiwan's TV drama cluster, pointed out that '*...the new experience, particularly the film-like watching experience, with*

the additional benefit that audience can choose whichever comfortable time and place to watch...outperform the traditional cable TV experience and favoured by audience.' In the late 2000s, it is witnessed that Taiwanese TV drama audiences have become less loyal to specific broadcasters or soap operas that resulted in the dropping viewership of Taiwanese TV dramas. In other words, the Taiwanese TV drama sector has developed into even segmented audience groups, which indicated the Big-Three mode of drama production turned out to be less likely to satisfy the majority TV drama audience.

- **Lacking Governmental Support Discouraged Innovation Activities and Technology Upgrade in Taiwanese TV Drama Cluster (Shown as flow ⑭ in Figure 9)**

After a decade of cabled TV's legalisation, the number of licensed cabled TV broadcasters has soared to more than sixty and operates more than a hundred channels. However, despite the rapid increase of the TV broadcasters, the governmental support and subsidiary for TV drama production did not raise correspondingly to facilitate the continuous innovations and equipment upgrade. In other words, the increasing number of broadcasters are sharing relatively insufficient resources compared to the earlier decades. This demotivated the broadcasters to proactively invest in TV drama's innovation programmes and the recruitment of new producers or talents. According to interviewee E, the organiser of drama association in Taiwanese TV drama clusters, '*...the producers and young talents are less positive and proactive in innovations of drama stories, as you could imagine, when there's no supportive financial subsidiary, who would be willing to risk producing dramas of more different genres that could end up causing big loss?*' Hence, the content and production innovations in the TV drama sectors have drastically decreased, and broadcasters turned to rebroadcast old dramas or purchase the broadcasting rights and play Korean, Japanese or Chinese drama to generate revenues from rather scarce resources.

6.3.2. Responding Consequences Intending to Break Through the Development Bottleneck

In response to the bottleneck of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, independent producers and newly founded broadcasters strived to innovate the drama storyline and production method, to break through the Big-Three's production routines. Such implied collaborations between independent producers and new broadcasters gradually replaced the in-house production dominated by the Big-Three mechanism.

- **Growing Globalisation Impacted Audience Preference and Triggered Another Trend of TV Production Innovation (Shown as flow ⑮ in Figure 9)**

The era of growing globalisation impacted the drama production in Taiwan when the audience has grown to embrace the diverse culture. Whilst the households possessing televisions reached a record high rate in Taiwan, the youngsters who grew up during the booming period of TV productions gradually became one of the most influential audience groups in the Taiwanese TV drama market. Born in the post-Martial Law time, the youngsters are relatively open-minded to foreign culture and have been extensively exposed to multiple cultures and ways of thinking.

With attention to the above trends, producers developed the 'Idol drama' explicitly targeting the teenage audience. Inspired by the J-pop (Japanese pop culture), comic story and animations which were popularised amongst the teens, producer Angie Chai renovates the 'Idol drama' featuring vivid character design and storylines of campus romance. as mentioned by interviewee I (a well-known producers of Taiwanese Idol Drama), such type of drama production not only promptly attracted the adolescent audience but also transformed the role of the 'drama production' and its mode of revenue-generating in two folds

On the one hand, the Idol drama successfully promoted Taiwanese drama and culture to the neighbouring countries. Adopting the comic stories which have already been well-known in the Eastern and South-Eastern Asian countries, Taiwan's Idol drama rapidly captured the audience's and comic fans' interest throughout the Asian countries. Hence, after the idol dramas' debuts in Taiwan, the copyright licence fee and IP (intelligence property) revenue became the new sources of profit-making when growing interests from foreign TV stations or producers to remake or airing the drama. Subsequent to the successful launch of Taiwanese idol dramas, Taiwan took the leading role of the mandarin drama production in South-Eastern Asia, when the copyrights have been licensed to countries including Korea, Japan, mainland China, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand; On the other hand, the Idol drama unexpectedly created the business opportunities of selling the drama merchandise. Since the airing of the first idol drama *Meteor Garden*, it became the hit overnight and drama merchandise was launched after the drama received extensively positive response from the market.

The production of Taiwanese idol drama, at the same time, promoted the 'filming while broadcasting' mode, which airs the drama before all series' shootings are completed. Such production mode allows the production team to amend the storyline or character settings according to the feedback from the market or audience preference. Addressed by interviewee B, '*...such shooting approach is termed as "shooting while broadcasting", started by Taiwanese producers which is beneficial to ensure the drama pieces match the audience preference...an important method to reduce the loss resulting from the low audience interest.*' Thus, this demonstrated a new routine of production in the Taiwanese TV drama sector, in the period of growing competitions in the market, and during the era that audience-oriented content became even essential for TV drama production.

- **Continuous Innovation to Break Through the Bottleneck (Shown as flow ⑩ in Figure 9)**

The advanced innovation of Taiwan's TV drama at the beginning of the 21st century, however, is a double-edged sword that impacted the Taiwanese TV drama cluster both positively and negatively. Despite that the diversified genres and innovations functioned Taiwanese TV drama's viewership and potentials of export revenue, the producers in the neighbouring countries imitating such production mode challenged Taiwan's TV drama production and the increased competition in the Asian drama market.

In the decade of the drama production commercialisation, the new broadcaster Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS) was established to promote the original drama creation which is independent from political intervention or pressure from the market preference. Disregard the drama production that has developed to align with mass audience's preference, TBS was dedicated to promoting the educational, cultural and artistic value of Taiwanese drama. The remake drama based on mandarin literary classics, or stories featuring inspirations from social affairs are the drama genres that TBS proactively produced to infuse the drama sectors with new vibes of innovation. The quality and originality focused drama production of TBS demonstrated the new potential of drama creation, and at the same time, implied the new directions of drama-making competing on the depth of content and the quality presentation.

6.3.3. Recap of Key Development Patterns in Phase 3

In the 2000s, the growing number of imported dramas and the lack of governmental support indicated the challenge of Taiwan's TV drama development. During this period, the decreased government intervention whilst the rising competitions introduced by imported dramas triggered the private broadcasters and producers' actions to break down the bottleneck, and to

promote Taiwanese TV drama to the international market. Besides, the launch of new streaming platforms transformed Taiwanese audience behaviour which demonstrated the crucial upgrade in terms of production technology and know-how. Despite the success of Idol drama in the early 2000s, the Taiwanese TV drama cluster was faced with the bottleneck of dropping viewership and lacking resources to compete with the foreign dramas. Such circumstances also demonstrated the downturn and new collaboration mechanism in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster.

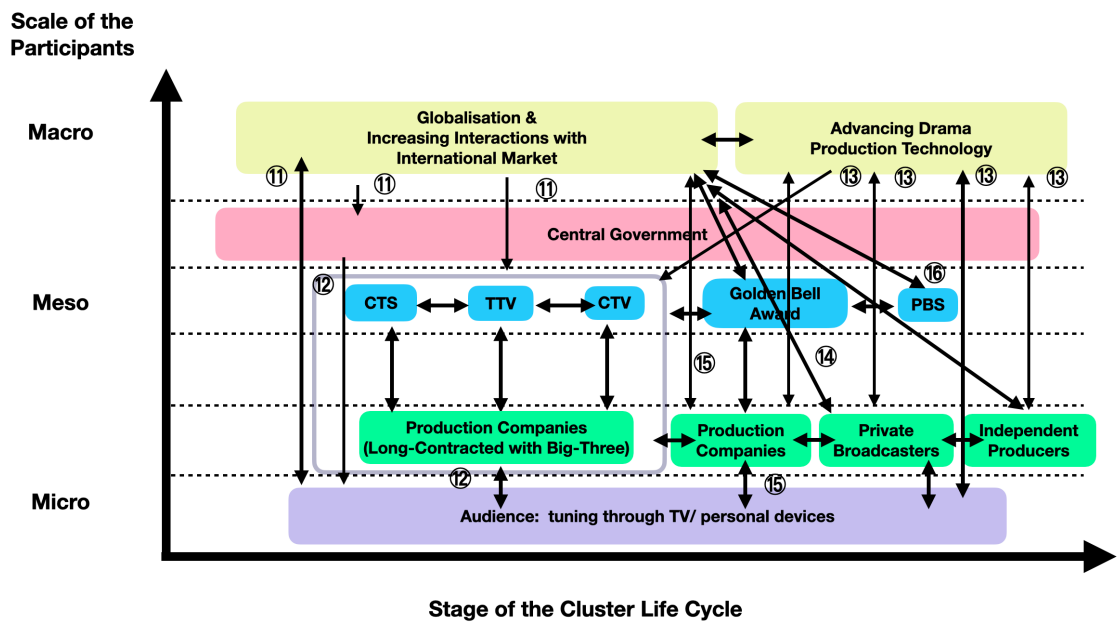


Figure 9: Phase 3 multi-levelled structure of Taiwanese TV drama cluster

6.4. Phase 4 - 2010 till now

Forming of Integrated Production Mechanism

Impacted by challenges from foreign drama's competition, the lagged production technology and the lacking resource for drama innovation, the Taiwanese TV drama cluster witnessed the decreased willingness of investments or innovation by producers or broadcasters. The consequently lesser opportunities and potential in Taiwan's TV drama sector, as a result, caused the brain drain in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster.

Since 2016, new generations of producers and talents' sought new forms of the integrated production network and projects to overcome the bottleneck of TV drama production in Taiwan. It is seen that TV broadcasters promoted talent education programmes to strengthen the tacit knowledge in drama production, which also aimed to encourage multifarious ideas that trigger innovation activities. Meanwhile, broadcasters started adopting technology to collect extensive audience feedback by analysing viewership in various tuned-in or streaming platforms. Such actions of broadcasters or independent producers, subsequently, pressured the government to implement new regulations to urge shooting and broadcasting equipment upgrades, which facilitates the new competitiveness of Taiwanese TV drama in the international market.

6.4.1. Key Drivers & Events

This section indicates the downturn of Taiwanese TV drama production driven by the competition of foreign dramas, and the advancing production technology. The increasing imports of foreign drama and growing popularity of streaming platforms, therefore, shaped the new audience behaviour and triggered the producer-led projects in the recent decade.

- **Brain Drain Subsequent to the Downturn of TV Drama Production (Shown as flow ⑰ in Figure 10)**

In the last decade, Taiwan's TV drama sector is stuck in vicious cycles led by limited governmental support. Such resulted in lesser investments in the innovation of drama production, which subsequently gave rise to TV drama production without many breakthroughs in terms of production quality, production technology and drama story creation. Furthermore, the entrance of foreign-produced dramas into the Taiwanese market introduced alternative drama options for the Taiwanese audience, which replaced Taiwanese drama's leading position.

The downturn of Taiwanese TV drama development drove the consequent brain drain whilst producers and actors started seeking careers and opportunities in the foreign market. Stressed by interviewee A, '*...it was so difficult for producers to get the chance and resources to do some proper innovations of TV drama production... this pushed the producers or talents to seek their career in the foreign countries or markets.*'. Particularly, in the period when Chinese TV drama rapidly grew through the substantial investments in talents, building shooting scenes, and exquisite costumes, Chinese producers proactively recruited Taiwanese producers or talents in the TV drama sector to transfer the experience and tacit knowledge that contributed to Taiwanese drama development in the earlier decade.

The relatively promising opportunities and sufficient resources in the Chinese TV drama sector led to the wave of talent outflows to China, or the growing TV production projects through collaborations between Taiwan and China sectors. Hence, Taiwanese TV drama production hit rock bottom in the first half of the recent decade, when Taiwan's TV drama sector struggled to retain the talents and break through the long-inherited production mode led by the Big-Three broadcasters.

- **Growing Hinders of Drama Development along with Increasing Users of Streaming Platforms (Shown as flow ⑱ in Figure 10)**

The growing users of streaming platforms or on-demand platforms during this period, meanwhile, showcased another hindrance for Taiwan's TV drama production. As along with the introduction of the streaming platform, the Taiwanese TV drama production was impacted in three aspects:

Firstly, the streaming platform innovated the audience experience of TV drama through the upgraded display resolution. By introducing the requirements of 4K and Ultra High Definition (UHD) production, streaming platforms established the new standard of TV drama production that propelled producers to upgrade the equipment and production skill sets of TV drama. However, while the streaming platform promoted the advanced production method, Taiwan's TV sector has not yet extensively embraced the new technology and upgraded the production equipment. As noted by interviewee A, '*...4K is the basic requirement for drama production nowadays...forget about the cable TV, what the producers need to realise is that, the streaming platforms have become the indicators of the shooting or production standard...Hence, it is obvious that the UHD production is what audiences are now expecting...*'. Consequently, the lag-behind production technology refined Taiwan's TV drama to land on the streaming platforms and reach broader audience groups. Not till the year 2017, the central government's guideline mandating all broadcasters upgrade to the digital TV which urged the 4K and high definition production in Taiwan's TV sector.

Secondly, the streaming platform introduced the on-demand mode of tuning TV dramas, which offers the flexible user experience that the audience can pick any TV dramas and tune in programmes at their own convenient time. Hence, since the growing users of the video and streaming platforms, the traditional TV broadcasters are challenged to maintain the viewership as the streaming platforms replaced the traditional TV broadcasting as the mainstream tune-in method. Taiwan's TV drama production majorly broadcasted through television thus struggled to reach the wider audience whilst the mass audience gradually adopted the streaming service to access drama pieces.

Thirdly, whilst the streaming platforms were gradually recognised as the medium distributing drama pieces into various countries and regions, the lagged production technology and intention to collaborate with the streaming platform hindered Taiwanese TV drama from developing the abroad market and audience.

To summarise, the negligence of opportunities brought in by the streaming platform stumbled Taiwan's TV drama development and expansion in the abroad market. In contrast, Korean and Chinese dramas gradually gained popularity in the Asian and worldwide markets through streaming service. Furthermore, the rather convenient and user-friendly experience introduced by the streaming platform highlighted the new trend of drama distribution, and demonstrated another critical factor that challenged Taiwan's TV drama development.

- **Foreign TV Dramas Replace Taiwan's Local-Made Dramas' Popularity and the Consequent Government Action (Shown as flow ⑱ in Figure 10)**

Stressed by interviewee B and C that, by 2016, Taiwan's TV sector witnessed the impactful takeover by the foreign TV dramas, with more than 50% broadcasting time playing TV dramas produced by foreign producers. In response to the surging competitions subsequent to imports of foreign dramas which eliminates Taiwanese drama's development, the government authority National Communication Commission (NCC) imposed a new regulation in 2016 to protect Taiwan's drama development. Thereby, under the guideline of NCC, all licensed channels in Taiwan have since been regulated to a minimum of 70% broadcasting time playing Taiwan-made dramas or content. Furthermore, the peak broadcasting hours such as 8 to 10 PM are restricted exclusively for broadcasting Taiwanese dramas. The central government's new regulation, however, is deemed by Taiwanese drama producers or creators as an approach that simply treats the problem rather than the symptoms. The launch of new regulation forced the audience to switch to the video or streaming platforms to access multifarious drama pieces flexibly.

6.4.2. Responding Consequences Urging the New Collaboration Networks in Taiwanese TV Drama Cluster (Shown as flow ⑩ in Figure 10)

Following the impact of foreign dramas and the advanced drama production technology, producers of the young generation proactively promoted talent training projects and integrated production networks in Taiwan. Hence, the new co-working patterns in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster fulfilled the production mechanism capable of flexibly adjusting to the market trends and connecting the Taiwanese TV drama cluster to foreign audiences.

• Experienced Producer Led the Transformation of Taiwanese TV Drama Innovation

In light of the most impactful bottleneck of Taiwan's TV drama development, the Taiwanese producers started seeking to innovate the TV drama production and framed a new production mechanism, to promote Taiwanese drama to the worldwide audience.

In 2016, eight well-known and experienced Taiwanese directors and broadcasters, including TTV, GTV (Gala Television Corporation), and PBS, launched a 'Qseries' programme, with the purpose to cultivate new talents and promote various genres of TV drama production in Taiwan. To break through the repeated TV drama topics focusing on campus love story or the comic style story-telling inherited from the Idol drama, the Qseries project launched the drama production plans to trial the innovative drama stories. The Qseries project thus recruited new talents through open auditions to grow the talent pool and trigger production innovations through collaborations of new talents and experienced producers or actors. Addressed by interviewee J and K, the organiser of the Queries project, '*...we need to create the chance for the new collaborations, which open the door for new talents to learn and contribute new ideas. We think this is an important catalyst for Taiwanese TV drama innovation. which has long been absent in Taiwanese TV drama cluster.*' The launch of the

Qseries project led to two inspirations in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster. On the one hand, the Qseries demonstrated the new mode of the apprenticeship to build the talent pool and motivated the innovation activities in the drama cluster. On the other hand, Qseries' collaboration of various specialists and talent training signified the integrated production mechanism to break through the long-inherited production mode. The Qseries' teamwork of varying specialists is more likely to foster the innovation activities than the earlier production ecology which was highly dominated by few leading broadcasters and production companies.

The positive audience feedback towards the Qseries drama motivated the broadcasters or new production companies to launch the training programme and the innovations of drama production. Since after the Qseries project, there have been increasing numbers of training or apprenticeship programmes developed to grow the new strength of Taiwan's drama production system, to compensate for the brain drain issue and the lack of incentive to innovation activities in Taiwan's drama cluster.

- **Forming of Integrated Production System (Shown as flow ②1 in Figure 10)**

Seeing the necessary move to the integrated production system in Taiwan's TV drama production, Mr Lin, the founder of the well-recognised Fixed Stars Media company in Taiwan, determined to reshape Taiwan's TV drama cluster into a collaborative system. By building the drama production association, Mr Lin is determined to encourage the cooperation of varying specialists and build a platform for resource or industrial information sharing.

With experience as drama and film sales import agent, Mr Lin has organised multiple international filming and drama events and observed the drama production mechanism in various countries. Perceiving the lack of the talent collaboration system, resources for production knowhow and equipment upgrade, Mr Lin strived to promote the integrated system to tackle the challenge faced by Taiwan's drama production system. According to interviewee E, '*...Taiwanese TV drama has long been locked under the Big-*

Three mechanism, which led to the uneven resource allocation. An integrated system, therefore, is a must to develop new potentials for Taiwanese TV drama cluster, to allow the information, idea and resource share...’.

Meanwhile, big broadcasters and production companies have long dominated Taiwan’s TV drama production, which confined the cooperation opportunity to those producers of leading broadcaster companies’ acquaintances. This consequently reduced the willingness of new talents to join Taiwan’s TV drama production and implied the problem of the relatively conservative attitude to embrace the new talents and technology in Taiwan’s TV drama cluster.

The circumstance of Taiwan’s TV drama production propelled the establishment of non-profit drama production association, which is purposed to promote the cross-field interactions and collaborations of specialists. In other words, the drama production association aims to assemble artists, academic researchers, producers, directors and actors. Furthermore, the association bridges the TV drama production talents and the central government through three approaches. Firstly, it reflects the resource demands of drama production to the central government. Secondly, the association represents the creators and producers supervising the government to take actions to support or promote Taiwan’s TV drama production. Thirdly, it serves to organise the events to enhance the knowledge and know-how exchange between producers in Taiwan and various countries.

• **Learning from the Foreign Drama Production to Reshape Mode of Taiwanese TV Drama Innovation (Shown as flow ② in Figure 10)**

Whilst the growing learning and knowledge exchange with the foreign drama producers and talents, Taiwan’s drama production has since been inspired with innovations to promote the drama pieces to the broader audience group. According to interviewee A, E and F, they have stressed the following new developments observed in Taiwanese TV drama clusters recently:

Firstly, Taiwan’s drama clusters developed into the collaborative mode of

production, with multifarious specialists and new talents involved to create authentic stories. The drama storylines have been extended from love stories to multiple genres and inspirations from real life. Meanwhile, the creators stress factors of Taiwan's local culture in the recent drama pieces, to mark out the authenticity of Taiwan's drama making and convey the Taiwan-inspired value to the audience throughout the world.

Secondly, Taiwan's producers have adopted big data analyses to access multiple streaming platform's audience behaviours to improve the story-telling or character design to match the audience preference. Advanced from the earlier decades of industrial practices collecting audience viewership after the TV drama's broadcast, Taiwan's drama cluster has applied new technology and data from varying social media platforms to flexibly improve the TV series storylines beforehand and during the airing. In other words, the TV drama production in Taiwan has developed to become open-minded to audience opinions, and oriented the drama production towards the rather customised content to meet the preference of different audience segmentations.

Thirdly, Taiwan's TV production system started paying attention to the additional value of drama production, with the souvenir and tourism promotion becoming the vital approach to attract the audience, particularly those in the abroad market.

6.4.3. Recap of Key Development Patterns in Phase 4

In the recent decade, new training projects, networks and integrated production modes have emerged in response to the impact of foreign dramas. The new technology, talent pool and flexible collaborations between talents built the new patterns of TV drama production in Taiwan. That is, the new production mechanism in Taiwan constantly learns from international trends and changing audience preferences, which allows the producers to reflect audience feedback in modifying the storyline of TV dramas and adopt the critical resource to perform the innovation, to meet varying market demands and audience behaviour.

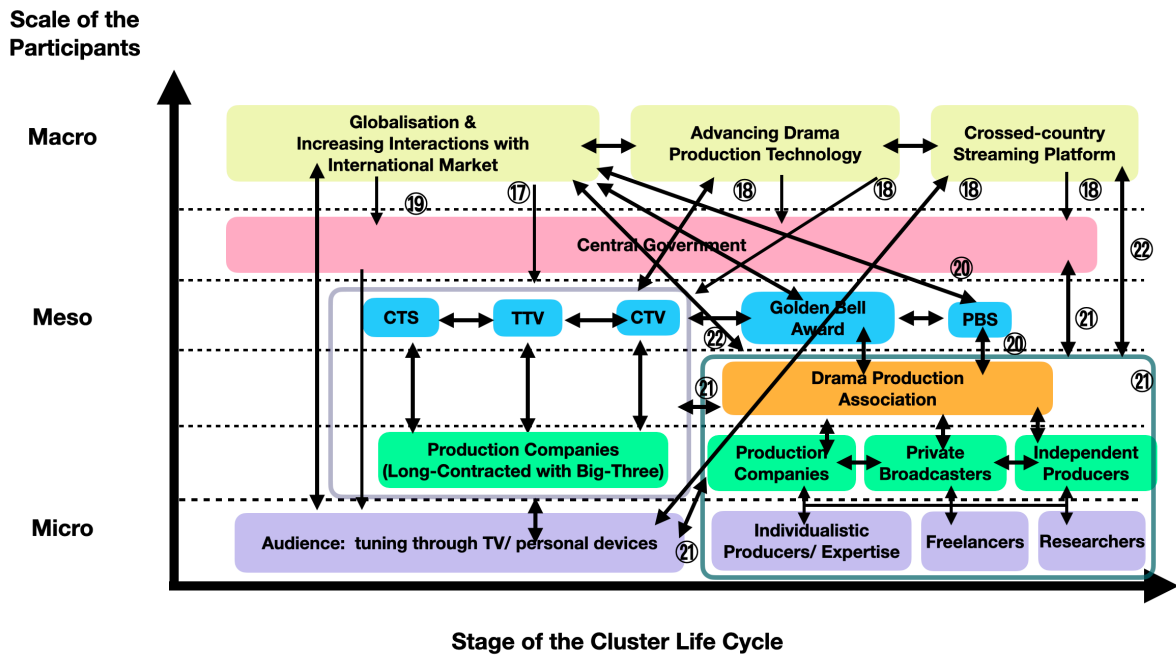


Figure 10: Phase 4 multi-levelled structure of Taiwanese TV drama cluster

6.5. Research Implications

Several theoretical implications can be drawn from this study, viewing the multi-levelled actors; relationships are associated with the dynamic transformations of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster. The analyses of the TV drama cluster suggested the clustering transformations are associated with collections of actors' relationships. Meanwhile, the aggregated pattern creations of varying-scaled actors are indicated as the mechanism to formulate the region-wide cluster changes. In short, given the experimental analyses on the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, the findings supported the crucial notions as follows:

Firstly, the cluster transformations are functioned through actors in varying scales. In other words, the new patterns are engendered through the chain relationships

amidst varying actors. Therefore, to understand a cluster's formation and its dynamic trajectories, it is important to take accounts of multiple-levelled actors, to explore how they act relatively to environmental impacts, regional events or co-located actors that contribute to region-wide co-evolution.

In addition, the co-evolution process takes place both within and across varying scales of actors. In accordance with the explorations in this research, the causal relationships between co-located actors have been observed occurring from high-level policymakers towards the independent producers, from the meso-scale production association to the central government or between producers of the same scale. Simply put, the explorations into the Taiwanese TV drama cluster implicate the cluster transformation as aggregations of multiple-levelled actors' connections.

Lastly, the cluster is a dynamic mechanism, which constantly undergoes pattern creations of varying-scaled actors, and the system-wide transformation. Therefore, to manifest the clustering mechanism, it is noteworthy to observe multiple actors' behaviours or events in a specific timescale to portray the dynamics of cluster evolutions.

6.6. Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

This research project showcases the multi-levelled complexity of the cluster mechanism, which is triggered through collections of varying actors' relationships. However, even though this research undeniably offers insights to support the multi-levelled clustering concept, it is acknowledged that this study is not without limitations.

Firstly, this study exclusively entailed the qualitative approach to interpret the clustering dynamics that have taken place in Taiwan's TV drama sector. However,

given the dynamic transformations in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, the quantitative data gathering in terms of changing numbers of broadcasters, independent producers and freelancers, for instance, is beneficial to corroborate the cluster's transformation procedure.

The second limitation is rooted in the short time allowed for primary data collections. Due to the impact of the covid-19 pandemic from January 2020 to July 2021, the lockdown regulations in Taiwan were placed in restricting face-to-face interactions between individuals. Therefore, professionals or organisations in the Taiwanese TV drama cluster tended to postpone the interviews while the majority of them are engaged with transferring to work-from-home practices. Such resulted in the limited number of interviews conducted for this study. Therefore, further research is considered valuable to extend primary data collections to explore the cluster dynamics in-depth.

Finally, despite the fact that the Taiwanese TV drama cluster's case presents the multi-scaled mechanism of region-based clusters, it may be of interest for future research to apply the framework in exploring clusters in different regions and industries. It is believed that the multi-levelled framework can be validated through testings on various regions and contexts to pursue the prudence of the conceptualisation.

7. Conclusion

This chapter is to recapitulate the key findings and the conclusion drawn from this study. By means of case study into the Taiwanese TV drama cluster, this research project aims to interpret the multi-levelled dynamics of the geographical cluster, and illustrate the multi-levelled framework as the essential approach to explore the CCI clustering dynamics.

Grounded on the critical interpretations of EEG thinkings, the multi-levelled clustering framework intends to conceptualise the clustering mechanism associated with the co-evolutions of various actors. Viewing the cultural and creative industry as the instance that develops through interactions between specific locations and co-located actors, this study aimed to adopt the multi-levelled framework to explain the dynamic transformations of the TV drama cluster in Taiwan. It is evident from the finding of this research that, the regional pattern changes are relevant to multiple actors' behaviour and decision making; It is observed that environmental events or public policymaking impacted the region-wide participants and forged their consequent behaviour changes. The case study into Taiwanese TV drama cluster showcases the dynamic pattern creation process between co-located actors, and their aggregated behaviour transformed the cluster-wide production trajectories from one phase to another. This resonates the multi-levelled framework which considers the co-located actors as the contributors to the new cluster trajectories, and hence advocates the notion of analysing the collected actors in a geographical location to unfold the mechanism of cluster evolution.

In this study, the qualitative approach was adopted to identify the evolutionary process of the Taiwanese TV cluster since the 1960s. Through semi-structured interviews, this study gains insights into each phase' actors and their behaviours in relation to impactful events. The multi-levelled structure of the Taiwanese TV drama cluster was thus sketched according to the primary data collection results to indicate the trajectory changes occurring in different scales and how these lead

to the region-wide evolution. However, given the time strain and the pandemic circumstance resulted in the smaller number of interviews conducted in this study, it is valuable for the future research to entail the mix-method method to examine the actors and their association with the located region through support of both qualitative and quantitative data.

In spite of all the limitations noted in this conclusion, it is believed that the findings from this study are intriguing enough to invite further research on the topic of multi-levelled cluster analyses, as well as further research on clusters of other industries or regions, to demonstrate the significance of multi-levelled concept in cluster analyses.

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Appendix I: Interview Questions & Invitation

Dear Sir/ Madam,

I am Wen-Chin Tseng, a MPhil student conducting the cluster research to understand the dynamics of the Taiwanese TV drama clustering. I am reaching out to you as part of my research programme, which is to understand the development of Taiwan's TV drama development since the 1960s. Therefore, I would like to speak to companies that contributed/ engaged in the evolutionary process of Taiwan's TV drama sectors to understand how Taiwan's TV drama production and innovation activities have changed throughout time.

Hence, it would be much appreciated if I have the pleasure to conduct a short interview with you to gain insight into the subject. The interview shall take around 30 to 45 minutes, which will cover some short chats concerning the brief history of Taiwan's drama sector, and to further talk in-depth about any big transitions of the sector and its impacts on the sectors production and innovation activities.

We don't anticipate your participation and the interview process are risk associated. However, you have the right to stop the interview or withdraw from the research at any time. The interview process and the data collection of this interview are conducted in accordance with the ethical procedures for academic research of UK institutions. Therefore, a consent form will be signed by your side beforehand for the interviews, for us to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement and that you agree to the conditions of your participation. The audio recording will be conducted only for the data analyses purpose. Therefore, any personal data will be anonymised as soon as practically possible. The project research data will be stored and backed up on the University of Manchester Research Data Storage (RDS) and Researchers P Drive which no one else can access. After completing the file transfer for safe research data storage, all interview records prepared on the laptop will be permanently deleted once the research project is completed.

Interview Questions:

Q1: Could you briefly introduce your company (company history and their participant in production/ innovation actives in Taiwan's TV drama sector).

Q2: Could you also briefly describe the development of Taiwan's drama sector? And also, from your perspective, could you describe any significant transitions in the industry, for example, any change of production and innovation activities/ significant event or the development of new technology ...etc. that took place?

Q3: Following the last question, could you describe which/ who (for example, the government policymaking, leading companies new strategy) significantly contributed to/ initiated or associated with the changes in the sector?

Q4: Also following the Q2, could you describe more about what kind of impacts that it had on the TV drama's sectors in terms of:

- The relationships/ mode of cooperations within the agents?
- Any new project organisation developed/ your organisation has attended?
- The significant changes in your organisation's decision making/ strategy?

Q5: Were there any significant project organisation formed during the period (I will specify the timeline for each interviewee)?

And which organisations/ creators were involved in the project organisation?

Interview Consent Form
訪談同意書

If you are happy to participate please complete and sign the consent form below
如您樂意參與此研究訪談，請閱讀並填寫以下同意書

1. I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above project and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily.
我已閱讀此研究計畫之相關說明與訪談大綱，並有充裕時間斟酌欲回答之相關內容。
2. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without detriment to any treatment/service. 我瞭解此研究訪談為自願性參與性質，因此，於訪談期間，我有不告知原因而隨時退出之權利
3. I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded.
我瞭解此訪談將全程錄音。
4. I understand that data collected during the study may be looked at by individuals from The University of Manchester or regulatory authorities, where it is relevant to my taking part in this research. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.
我同意曼徹斯特大學相關教職單位因論文審查之故，將能閱覽此訪談全部或部份之內容。
5. I consent to the personal information collected as part of this study being transferred and processed in the UK. This processing will be subject to UK data protection law.
我同意此訪談所搜集資訊之保密與儲存，將依據英國個人資料保護法之規定
6. I agree to take part in this study.
我同意參與此研究訪談。

Data Protection

The personal information we collect and use to conduct this research will be processed in accordance with UK data protection law as explained in the Participant Information Sheet and the [Privacy Notice for Research Participants](#).

Name of Participant
受訪者姓名

Signature
簽名

Date
日期

Name of the person taking consent

Signature

Date

您好，

我是目前就讀於曼徹斯特大學、專攻創新研究之研究生。論文專題聚焦於台灣電視劇產業由光復初期至今之發展及演變。本研究將觀察台灣電視劇聚集(cluster)由政經、社會環境、以及在地文化等之變遷，而帶動電視劇製作模式（於國際地位）之轉變。因此本研究欲透過訪談台灣電視劇產業具影響力之創作者、製作公司與組織，進一步解析台灣電視劇聚集之演進過程。因您/貴司/貴組織對於台灣電視劇產業之貢獻與相關經驗符合本研究之條件，故期盼能夠與您/貴司/貴組織相談以協助本研究之資料採集。

本研究將採深度訪談法，訪談時間預計為30至45分鐘。為便於資料整理及分析，本訪談將全程錄音。所有訪談過程的錄音檔案，將謄為逐字稿做為內容分析並僅供本研究使用。於論文撰寫過程中，亦會將可能辨識出您身份或組織之相關資訊匿名處理，以保障您/貴司/貴組織之隱私與權益。本研究希望您的參與為自願性參與。因此，於訪談期間，您有不告知原因而隨時退出之權利。同時，如於訪談過程中有不願意透露之資訊，您也可隨時要求暫停或終止錄音。本研究訪談資訊之搜集與處理，將依英國個人資料保護法之規定。於資料分析之階段，訪談錄音內容將暫存於曼徹斯特大學之加密P Drive，並於此研究專案結束時永久刪除。

本研究誠摯邀請您的參與、在此亦附上訪談大綱（請詳附檔）供您參考。您的參與對於本研究具有莫大的意義。若對於研究有任何疑問，也歡迎您隨聯繫或提供意見。

1. 貴公司/組織的簡介、創立的時空背景與目的，以及於過去曾參與之電視劇作品/製作專案
2. 請您簡述您認為，台灣電視劇產業發展，曾經歷之重大轉變與衝擊，例如社經局勢的變遷、生產模式之演變等
3. 承上題，您認為前述台灣電視劇產業的轉變之動因為何者，例如中央/地方政策、龍頭企業（老牌製作公司）決策主導、生產技術或相關設備之創新、相關產業組織/產業協會/製作專案之創立？
4. 再承題二，上述台灣電視劇產業的轉變，對貴公司及同類型公司生產與創新模式之影響？
各公司/創作者之間合作模式之轉變？
是否因應前述之轉變而產生新的生產/創作專案或人才培育/同業相關中介組織？
貴司因應前述轉變而實行之新的生產模式與決策？

Appendix II: List of Interviewees

Code of Interviewee	Experience
A	More than ten years' experience as associate producer, administration producer and co-producer in Taiwanese TV drama cluster. Has led talent training programmes cultivating drama production specialist since 2015.
B	Joined Taiwanese TV drama industry since 1970s and has taken roles as leading producers of varying famous dramas in Taiwan.
C	Had three years experience as custom designer for Big-Three drama projects. Currently running independent company and offering custom designs service for varying broadcaster's TV drama projects.
D	Joined Taiwanese TV drama industry since 1970s. Had attended multiple well-known soap opera productions in Taiwan. Currently has retired from TV drama production projects, and has taken new roles as University's lecturer delivering courses about drama production practices.
E	More than 30 years' experience as drama/ film import agency. Currently has founded an entertainment company offering consultancy service for producers and talents in Taiwanese TV drama industry. Has also established a TV drama production association serving as the information and resource exchange platforms for TV drama production projects.
F	Joined independent production company and has 5 years experience of filming equipment management. Also had experience as a drama director.
G	Administration assistant of the QSeries project.
H	Administration assistant of the QSeries project.
I	Assistant in production companies of Idol Dramas.
J	More than 10 years experience of drama production, and recently promoted the technology upgrade in Taiwanese TV drama cluster.
K	Administration assistant of drama projects in the recent 5 years, and promoted the multi-channel analyses to understand audience behaviour.
L	Experience as an assistant in production company, has joined multiple drama production projects and promoted filming equipment upgrade campaigns.