

rebeca



Revista Brasileira
de Estudos de
**Cinema
e Audiovisual**

e1324

Article – Thematic Dossier

Brazilian Audiovisual Media and Public Policies

The contributions of a cluster policy for the audiovisual firms

As contribuições de uma política de *cluster* para as empresas audiovisuais

Las contribuciones de una política de clúster para las empresas audiovisuales

Fernanda Klauck^I

Universidade Feevale, Novo Hamburgo, RS, Brazil
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1192-2567>

Thomás Czrnhak^{II}

Universidade Feevale, Novo Hamburgo, RS, Brazil
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0814-1233>

Cristiano Max Pereira Pinheiro^{III}

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, RS, Brasil
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2038-8191>

Gabriel Manzoni Ferri^{IV}

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil
<https://orcid.org/0009-0006-0451-879X>

Milena Cherutti^V

Universidade Feevale, Novo Hamburgo, RS, Brazil
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7495-3777>

Felipe Zanini^{VI}

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil
<https://orcid.org/0009-0000-0105-3022>

Francisco Marianoff de Castro^{VII}

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, RS, Brazil
<https://orcid.org/0009-0001-5427-9540>



rebeca



Revista Brasileira
de Estudos de
Cinema
e Audiovisual

e1324

Abstract: Creative and cultural clusters are structures that make substantial socioeconomic contributions to postmodern societies. Organizations in clusters gain access to formal and informal knowledge, form intersectoral partnerships more easily, develop and increase their innovativeness, have greater access to collaborations, and maximize profitability. Relationships become symbiotic, and forms of value are created by and for multiple stakeholders, enhancing the quality of the firms and the region surrounding the cluster. These traits make them attractive to policymakers, who can allocate resources to creative and cultural organizations. Within this theoretical and empirical context, the authors argue that by bringing together highly specialized, global, and innovative work in the technology and cultural representation fields, the audiovisual industry may benefit from and be beneficial for cluster policies. This paper analyzes how policies aimed at creating clusters can benefit firms from an industry perspective. The analysis is based on an in-depth case study of an audiovisual company associated with *Cluster GameRS*. The theoretical propositions confirm that a cluster may provide an audiovisual company with training and specialization, stable demand, employee retention, collaboration, internationalization, and networking. Policy suggestions for establishing and sustaining clusters are provided.

Keywords: Audiovisual; Clusters; Public policies; Cluster policies.

Resumo: *Clusters* criativos e culturais são estruturas de elevada contribuição socioeconômica em sociedades pós-modernas. Organizações clusterizadas adquirem acesso a conhecimento formal e informal, formulam parcerias intersetoriais com facilidade, desenvolvem-se, aumentam sua inovatividade, têm mais acesso a colaborações e adquirem maior lucratividade. As relações se tornam simbióticas e formas de valor são criadas por e para múltiplos *stakeholders*, qualificando as firmas e a região em torno do *cluster*. Isso os torna atrativos para legisladores, que podem aplicar recursos a organizações criativas e culturais. Dentro desse contexto teórico-empírico, é argumento dos autores que o setor audiovisual, por agrupar trabalho altamente especializado, global, de inovação e tecnologia e de representações culturais, poderia beneficiar e ser beneficiado por políticas de clusterização. Este trabalho, pela hélice da indústria, objetiva analisar como políticas formativas de clusterização podem beneficiar empresas deste segmento. A presente análise se dá por estudo de caso aprofundado de uma empresa de audiovisual ligada ao *Cluster GameRS*. As proposições teóricas confirmam que um cluster pode contribuir à uma empresa de audiovisual por qualificação e especialização, demanda estável, retenção de talentos, colaboração, internacionalização e *networking*. Sugestões políticas de fundação e sustentabilidade de *clusters* são fornecidas.

Palavras-chave: Audiovisual; *Clusters*; Políticas públicas; Políticas de *clusters*.

Resumen: Los clústeres creativos y culturales son estructuras que aportan contribuciones socioeconómicas sustanciales en las sociedades posmodernas. Las organizaciones que forman parte de los clústeres acceden a conocimiento, establecen alianzas intersectoriales, se desarrollan, aumentan su capacidad de innovación, tienen mayor acceso a colaboraciones y maximizan su rentabilidad. Las relaciones se vuelven simbióticas y se crean formas de valor para múltiples partes interesadas, lo que mejora la calidad de las empresas y la región que rodea al clúster. Estas características los hacen atractivos para los responsables políticos, que pueden asignar recursos a las organizaciones creativas y culturales. En este contexto, los autores sostienen que, al reunir trabajos altamente especializados, globales e innovadores en los campos de la tecnología y la representación cultural, la industria audiovisual puede ser beneficiosa para las políticas de clústeres y beneficiarse de ellas. El presente documento tiene por objeto analizar cómo las políticas destinadas a la creación de clústeres pueden beneficiar a las empresas desde la perspectiva de la industria audiovisual. El análisis se basa en un estudio de caso en profundidad de una empresa audiovisual asociada al *Cluster GameRS*. Las proposiciones teóricas confirman que un clúster puede proporcionar a una empresa audiovisual formación y especialización, demanda estable, retención de empleados, colaboración, internacionalización y creación de redes. Se ofrecen sugerencias políticas destinadas a la formación y la sostenibilidad de los clústeres.

Palabras clave: Industria audiovisual; Clústeres; Políticas públicas; Políticas de clústeres.



Introduction

Public Policies (PPs) ensure that civil society is involved in the public sphere to promote well-being (Chiarini; Silva, 2021). They also provide the state with the role of an economic partner for promotion and development (Hanson, 2012). These actions are necessary for the survival of organizations whose creations have a high cultural value (Potts; Cunningham, 2008), such as those in the audiovisual industry (Throsby, 2008).

Economic clusters are an example of PPs (Wagner; Portillo, 2024), shaped as urban concentrations of specialized organizations (Porter, 1998). These structures indicate institutional collaboration contingent on a specific region for its development (Freeman, 2002). Clusters lead to creative and cultural variations, which are determined by specialized forms of financial and cultural capital (Grandadam; Cohendet; Simon, 2013), particularly strong in core cultural industries, such as audiovisual media (Lazzeretti; Boix; Capone, 2008). These elements show the need for infrastructure and the action of non-creative actors to create benefits and financial, environmental, and social sustainability (Caves, 2003; Nathan, 2022). This positions the cluster as a program that can be systematically evaluated regarding efficacy, impact, and sustainability (Costa; Castanhar, 2003).

Given these features, clusters typically follow the *Triple Helix* (TH) model (Etzkowitz; Leydesdorff, 2000), joining creative actors and “non-creative” actors (e.g., government and research institutions associated with higher education centers). Porter (1998) emphasize the role of universities and government, together with industry in the shape of agglomeration economies, building prestige and reputation in specific economic sectors. As Reis (2008) argues, an institutional architecture is needed to integrate collaboration and development, uniting the public, the private, and the third sectors.

The collaboration extends beyond market actors (such as private companies, startups, and private investors) to include universities as sources of open innovation and the government, which is responsible for connecting and encouraging interactions between education and industry (Benea-Popușoi; Rusu, 2018). The *Triple Helix* assumes that each actor provides resources that, when combined, advance shared objectives.

Although audiovisual organizations contribute significantly to society in terms of the economy and social well-being through their cultural production (Green; Lowry, 2009), further knowledge is needed to understand how policies can institutionally contribute to their development. Despite the fundamental value of Scott’s (1993; 2001) work on U.S. audiovisual media, it is possible to argue that a more up-to-date, in-depth,

comprehensive view of the effects of institutional support and audiovisual clustering is necessary. The Brazilian context should be taken into account, as it is an emerging country where access to capital and infrastructure is constrained, and knowledge is largely generated informally (Meleiro, 2020).

A considerable portion of the literature on cluster policy has been limited to empirical settings in the natural sciences (e.g., Quadrana, 2020) and exact sciences (Cañizales Iburguen; Granobles Torres, 2024). Given the intrinsic connection between audiovisual media and digital environments (SPGG, 2021), the studies by Pin (2020) and Remotti (2021) are the most similar. However, the former addresses an excessively European reality, potentially differing from Brazilian results, while the latter's findings are firmly related to the *Internet of Things* (IoT). These studies are not dismissed; their results are compared with those presented in this investigation.

This paper aims to contribute to the discussion of PPs by analyzing an audiovisual company within a regional cluster. Thus, the following research question arises: how can cluster policies benefit the audiovisual industry through its organizations? A case was studied for 15 months (Yin, 2015). An in-depth interview with the company's legal representative, document analysis of the call for proposals, and non-participant observation reports were triangulated.

The results may, on the one hand, help policymakers formulate PPs that benefit the local audiovisual industry, making it more competitive and providing greater institutional security for national products that protect Brazilian production. Consequently, these findings can guide policymakers, providing them with empirical evidence (Costa; Castanhar, 2003). On the other hand, the authors consider Arretche's (2003) argument that Brazilian literature on PPs is historically characterized by horizontal contributions, in the form of atheoretical cases that make no academic contributions. This paper seeks to overcome this limitation by conducting a longitudinal case study grounded in the extensive literature on clusterization, particularly in a context of a TH analysis. This adds an emerging yet disjointed body of knowledge to the literature on creative and cultural clusters (Chapain; Sagot-Duvaurox, 2020) and provides novel findings whose insights might be applied to other creative sectors, such as arts (Michel, 2024), and non-creative sectors, such as urban planning (Caves, 2003).

This study first introduces a baseline conception of public policies and then discusses clusters created by these policies (Nathan, 2022). The method and the protocol procedures adopted are presented in the subsequent section. The researchers then analyze and interpret the results, provoking a discussion about the study's scope.

Final remarks conclude the study, summarizing the research and its academic and empirical contributions, and addressing its limitations and suggesting further studies.

Public Policies

There is no consensus on the definition of Public Policies (PPs) (Souza, 2006), as they represent a complex field of interaction between the state and civil society. However, there is unanimity on the fact that they aim to promote equality and collective well-being without restriction (Chiarini; Silva, 2021; Brent, 2023).

According to Mead (1995), PPs are part of the field of politics, corresponding to government actions geared towards social demands. Lynn and Gould (1980) regard them as state interventions aimed at bringing about impacts and transformations. These actions involve several dimensions of social life and influence economic and social aspects (Peters, 1986).

Dye (1984) posits that PPs are deliberate choices by public authorities. These choices highlight policymakers' preferences and interests in the decision-making process, evidencing decisions about what should be implemented. From this perspective, the government is the main agent in policymaking (Brasil; Capella, 2016), even though the main beneficiaries of PPs are citizens, who determine benefits and consequences (Souza, 2006). This situation stems from the effective allocation of human and financial resources (Ascenção; Poli, 2019), to achieve collective, economic, and social goals.

On the one hand, structural and procedural aspects stand out. They include identifying a problem, establishing objectives (solutions), choosing modes of performance, defining a specific course of action, and implementing decisions. On the other hand, emphasis is commonly placed on the decision-making and political processes, the definition of priorities, and the role of formal and informal actors (Brasil; Capella, 2016). Once formulated, PPs become plans, projects, and/or artifacts, and their implementation is monitored and evaluated to ensure the effectiveness of the actions.

PPs have significant impacts on both the economy and social dynamics, making it essential for any theory on the issue to consider the interrelationships between the state, politics, the economy, and society (Reis, 2008). In the audiovisual sector, policies involve several governmental and non-governmental actors. This enables the creation and distribution of wealth at the federal, state, and city levels (Ikeda, 2025). The multidisciplinary nature of such policies explains the shared interest of researchers from

several domains, contributing to the theoretical and empirical development of the field (Souza, 2006). An ascending classification of this type of policy is place-based policies, which improve spaces and enhance human capital, thus contributing to the creation of both material and immaterial wealth (Wagner; Portillo, 2024).

The gaming industry, as an audiovisual segment, began to be incorporated into the public policy agenda in 2003, a crucial moment marked by the Ministry of Culture's formal recognition of the sector. This progress culminated in the 2004 launch of the *JogosBR* Call for Proposals model, marking the first governmental action devoted to this segment, to stimulate economic, symbolic, and social growth (Zambon; Pessotto, 2018). The adoption of public calls as a funding mechanism, replacing alternatives such as tax exemptions, reveals the government's pursuit of greater control and more strategic direction over the investments.

The political approach became more collaborative in 2011, with the BNDES¹ Games Workshop, which brought together stakeholders to define funding and market guidelines (Ministério do Desenvolvimento, Indústria, Comércio e Serviços, 2011). In the state of Rio Grande do Sul (where this study was conducted), however, the reality is more complex, given the diversity in company maturity and the demand for financial support, such as access to traditional credit lines, which are unfavorable due to high interest rates and the small-scale production of the sector (Cherutti, 2025). It is in this context that the *GameRS Program* emerged, aligned with the "GameRS Strategic Guidelines Guide 2022-2030", which outlined five central strategic axes: (1) industry development; (2) human resource capacity building; (3) access to financing; (4) creation of business environments; and (5) expansion of demand policies (Rio Grande do Sul, 2022).

Clusters

Porter (1998) coined the term "cluster" to describe the spatial agglomeration of organizations with similar specialized activities. Specialized firms cluster to access resources, coexisting in spaces of collaboration and competition (Nelson; Nelson, 2002). These dynamics reflect regional idiosyncrasies and benefit the territories where they are

¹ Brazil's National Bank for Economic and Social Development.



grouped (Freeman, 2002), justifying the closer ties between universities, businesses, and regional governments to innovate and create wealth (Etzkowitz; Leydesdorff, 2000).

Firms in specialized clusters gain access to formal and informal knowledge (Maskell; Malmberg, 1999), profitability (Porter, 1998), reduced production costs, ease of partnerships (Kuah; Day, 2010), international market penetration (Evans, 2009), and innovativeness and productivity (Porter, 1998). Two other aspects of clustering are also the increase in the number of jobs in a given region (Nathan, 2022) and knowledge cross-fertilization – i.e., the integration of knowledge between different complex partners – fostering innovation (Ramírez-Pasilas, 2008).

While clusters refer to a geographic location, according to Scott (2001), they can be classified as spatial or functional clusters. The author argues that clusters that focus on function transcend the materialistic plane to create intellectual and tangible property. This argument is also put forward by Klimas (2020), who cites the social and economic proximity between clustered actors as the *raison d'être* for clusters. This interpretation prioritizes symbolic production, enhancing sectors of intangible production, such as the audiovisual industry, with a high cultural creative value (Throsby, 2008).

Creative and cultural firms have attracted close attention in policy-funded clusters (Chapain; Sagot-Duvaurox, 2020), given the socioeconomic role they play (Unesco, 2013). This effect is explained by Lazzeretti *et al.* (2008), who associate the greater availability of creative activity with clustering based on regional characteristics, the urban concentration of specialized firms, and the set of adjacent creative and non-creative firms. Caves (2003) endorses this standpoint, identifying the interdependence between creative and traditional firms. Florida (2011) also agrees; his findings demonstrate the displacement of creatives to large urban centers developed through the existence of social, economic, and technological resources. Thus, creatives integrate resources, contributing to innovation (Sousa; Nunes; Monteiro, 2019), specialization (Scott, 1993), and the creation of material and immaterial wealth (Valiati; Wink, 2013).

Notwithstanding, Chang and Feng (2023) determine that, unlike technology-based clusters, *Creative and Cultural Clusters* (CCCs) originate from local cultural knowledge. This resource emphasizes the local attractiveness of culturally innovative firms and talents who are specialized or undergoing specialization. In return, local cultural values are reproduced, social well-being increases, and urban spaces prosper, albeit with the help of externally obtained resources. These circumstances position such agglomeration economies within the *glocal* (global + local) dynamics outlined by Carayannis and Campbell (2009).



The benefits are obtained through public-private partnerships, while many stakeholders benefit from clustering, as noted by Michel (2024). Besides obtaining results similar to those of Chang and Feng (2023), the author proposes that CCCs can both enhance a prestigious urban area (and the culture and talent in its surroundings) and contribute to the symbolic and economic emergence of new regions. The growth of specialized talent is a natural outcome of increased employment opportunities in CCCs that are funded through political means (Wagner; Portillo, 2024).

The sophistication of regional production fosters the development of creative and cultural firms (Reis, 2008), making clustering desirable (Burlina; Casadei; Crociata, 2023). This econometric relationship is stronger in core cultural activities. However, as the authors state, there is a discrepancy regarding cluster policies pursued for this purpose. They argue that a restructuring is necessary, envisaging a greater role for universities, investment in infrastructure, and collaboration and exchange of specialized knowledge. While the role of the three helices in cluster formation is evident, their policy-driven dynamics must be strategically aligned with the local context as part of the regional innovation system.

Cluster policies

Cluster policies are introduced to foster the creation of these structures. In the Brazilian context, Reis (2008) initially highlighted *Arranjos Produtivos Locais* (or APLs) [local productive arrangements] as a development strategy. This was enabled by leveraging the resources of private and public actors to bolster localized production, specialization, wealth generation, and job creation.

According to Salazar-Xirinachs (2019), cluster-oriented policies became a practical and theoretical paradigm in global economic development. The author mentions the *Cluster Initiative Greenbook 2.0*, a European initiative that encompasses networking, human resource training, improved governance, business development, incentives to innovation and technology, and environmental improvement. These actions are implemented through public-private partnerships and supported by universities, leading to participatory, decentralized governance and decision-making processes.

Falck, Heblich, and Kipar (2010) present the *High-Tech Offensive Allianz Bayern Innovative*. It is a PP to promote cooperation among firms, universities, research institutes, and venture capital, aiming to create an environment conducive to innovation.

The initiatives encompassed investments of over 2 billion euros in strategic areas, the establishment of technology parks, regional development, and professional training. The program increased the innovativeness of firms in clusters by up to 5.7%, reducing research and development spending by 19.4%.

Remotti (2021) highlights how the European Union has been structuring specific policies to foster technological innovation. The sector is regarded as one of the strategic pillars for the economic, social, and industrial advancement of the bloc. Between 2012 and 2017, firms in clusters achieved economic growth of 33.5%. The share of universities and research organizations in clusters increased by 54.1% and 157.1%, respectively.

In Ukraine, laws and policies not specifically aimed at clusters were adapted to reflect digitalization and the demands for PPs presented by private actors (Melnyk *et al.*, 2018). With adapted policies, the country achieved an average annual growth of 28.7% in technology service exports between 2003 and 2017. Outsourcing generated 3.6 billion dollars in 2017, accounting for 3% of the country's annual gross domestic product. Out of the professionals working in clusters, 44% earned salaries above the national average. However, the authors emphasize the need for intellectual development, the strengthening of partnerships between universities and businesses, and the creation of state mechanisms for venture capital. These measures are considered essential for the country to move from an outsourcing model to an ecosystem that produces intellectual property.

Clustering has been used as a tool for economic and social strengthening in Palestine, where agglomerations have limited access to resources, as Sultan, van Dijk and Omran (2020) state. According to the authors, clusters were introduced in Palestine to enhance the competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises, which accounted for 99% of the local industrial sector and relied on low prices to operate.

Building on this, De Vaan, Boschma and Frenken (2013) analyzed more than 4,600 firms in clusters in the video game industry between 1972 and 2007, demonstrating that the effects of clustering are determined by the degree of maturity of the cluster. Immature clusters face challenges such as fierce competition for talent, limited access to venture capital, and organizational instability, contributing to the bankruptcy rate. The research by de Vaan, Boschma and Frenken (2013) deepens understanding of cluster policies in the creative and digital sectors, showing that mere geographic concentration alone is insufficient for success. However, once a cluster achieves a certain density, collaborative networks and creative excellence become

vectors for sustainability and organizational growth. Therefore, PPs targeting these sectors must consider the specific elements of project-based innovation dynamics and foster environments that encourage knowledge exchange, specialized financing, and workforce movement.

Table 1 displays the Theoretical Propositions (TPs) to be tested in the field.

Proposition	Description
TP1	Being part of clusters increases the access of audiovisual firms to knowledge and partnerships.
TP2	Clustering fosters collaboration and the concentration and hiring of specialized talent.
TP3	The actions of the clusters provide audiovisual firms with greater access to international operations, besides enhancing their domestic operations.

Table 1: Theoretical propositions (TPs).
Source: The authors.

Method: operation of the *Cluster GameRS*

The *Cluster GameRS* operates as a collaborative network in the digital video game industry. It primarily aims to improve specialized game production in the region. The Cluster offers collective services, including localization/translation, marketing, sound design, and legal advice through open calls for proposals, i.e., documents proposing open competition for services financed by a funding agency and the regional Secretariat of Innovation, Culture, and Technology. These documents define the recipients, given the limited funding allocated to the hired parties.

The localization services were provided to small and local game studios. The *Cluster GameRS* is managed by researchers (representing the academic helix), who, after quality analysis of the service, disbursed the payments to the analyzed case, which remains anonymous under a signed informed consent form.

The Cluster operates under a TH approach. It is managed by a committee composed of researchers and academics in the field of creative economy. This team collects and analyzes data from the clustered firms and is also responsible for obtaining the research grant in collaboration with a research funding agency and the Secretariat of

Innovation, Science, and Technology. These actors represent the governmental helix. The companies in the cluster enjoy several benefits, such as collective services, and becoming key actors (the industrial helix) in delivering innovative offerings.

Methodological procedures

This research adopts a descriptive and exploratory approach (Gil, 2022) to examine the effects of public policies in the relatively unexplored theoretical context of audiovisual media. To this end, a case study was conducted, following Yin's (2015) approach. The threefold procedure involved document analysis of the call for proposals and the proposals submitted to it, and feedback; an in-depth interview with creative directors, subjecting their discourse to Textual Discourse Analysis; and non-participant observation.

Case studies allow for the qualitative scrutiny of phenomena, effects, behaviors, and communications in representative and relevant cases (Yin, 2015). The small number of cases here is acknowledged, similarly to Pin (2020). This limit is justified by observation, as it was the only audiovisual service provider associated with the *Cluster GameRS*.

The studied case offers audiovisual services, such as localization/translation, audio production and mixing, film writing, and video editing (captions and voice-overs). The subsidized service for the *Cluster GameRS* is the localization service, which is therefore analyzed in this study.

The study protocol is detailed in Table 2.



Overview and purpose	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identifying how clusters, proposed by PPs, can contribute to the audiovisual industry; 2. Questions according to a questionnaire and document selection; 3. Case from <i>Cluster GameRS</i>.
Data collection	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. In-depth interviews with the owner of an audiovisual firm; 5. Document analysis of the call for proposals, proposals, and feedback; 6. Observations of interactions during the provision of services.
Research question	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. How can cluster policies benefit the audiovisual industry through its organizations?
Case study report	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Individualized description of the case; 9. Description and opinion considering the analytical categories; 10. Qualitative comparative cross-referencing with the TPs; 11. Qualitative inferences based on the TH model.

Table 2: Protocol used for the case study.
Source: The authors.

In-depth interviews with higher-level representatives provide insights that justify the actions in the case (Cooper; Schindler, 2016). The method for data analysis is Textual Discourse Analysis (Moraes, 2003), used in approaches that take place at the intersection of Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis. The cycle of Textual Discourse Analysis begins with the disassembly of the texts, aiming to deconstruct and unitize the corpus, alongside reading and signification, pushing the analysis to the brink of chaos (Moraes, 2003), with the involvement and impregnation of the analyzed content. This disorganization is necessary to achieve a deep level of understanding of the content. In the second stage, relations are established through categorization and production of arguments, taking the categories into account. The third stage comes closer to the result by expressing the understandings developed through metatexts, so that, as a living learning process, it clarifies the new structures emerging from the analysis (Klauck; Pinheiro, 2025).

The script (supplementary material available upon request) was written and implemented in a semi-structured manner to preserve flexibility during interactions. The instrument was written in Portuguese, the interviewee's native language. For greater accuracy, the instrument was validated with a PhD holder, a professional who works with PPs for the audiovisual industry. Her contributions included emphasizing the Cluster and adding questions about national and international collaborations.

The results were supplemented by non-participant observation. This methodological approach consists of formal or informal notes stemming from the researcher's observation of the object of study, with no direct interaction and/or

manipulation (Marconi; Lakatos, 2017). The dynamics of the cases during service were analyzed over a 15-month period. This timeframe allowed the authors to identify and analyze strategies and organizational behaviors, which could render a comprehensive view of the effects of the cluster. It is argued that this view is key to cluster policymaking and the design of public policy programs (Costa; Castanhar, 2003). The authors attended networking events, workshops promoted by the *Cluster GameRS*, and meetings on service provision, allowing the dynamics and exchanges between the parties to be observed.

Results and analysis: partnerships and networking as a way to help firms grow and cover shortfalls

The scrutiny of the discourse gave rise to four dimensions, explored below and complemented by observations and document analysis. During data collection, the interviewee described the company's involvement with PPs through the provision of services to clients selected through calls for proposals, confirming that the government plays the role of a partner for the development of the industry (Hanson, 2012). In his words, "we typically work on projects that are funded by our clients. We've already taken part in games, films, and documentaries supported by calls for proposals". At the Cluster, the company provided services to developers elected through the public calls for proposals for the project. This was made possible by the grant of 2.7 million Brazilian reais in subsidies to the project, 240 thousand of which were allocated to localization services. Financing enables firms to focus on their core business and develop sustainably, with subsidies for production (Remotti, 2021).

During networking meetings at the Cluster, some firms mentioned that it was the first time they had access to localization services, allowing them to internationalize their products and expand their reach. They noticed that, without the subsidy, smaller firms would not be able to afford the services. By increasing customer satisfaction, the company can choose a provider for continuity and display its name in the credits for other potential contracting firms. Thus, both parties benefit. Reaffirming the company's satisfaction and the importance of the new connections, he added, "We worked on projects that we might not have had the opportunity to participate in if it weren't for the opportunity the cluster provided us. So, completely satisfied".

The *Cluster GameRS* provided the localization services in five slots, ranging from 18,450 to 22,479 words per project. The supplier benefited from having work in all cases (5 firms per call), enabling the cluster to support its financial sustainability (Remotti, 2021), reducing uncertainty and generating predictable revenue (Porter, 1998). The call for proposals specifies the helices such as “universities, public authorities [...], businesses, and civil society organizations” participate to promote multisectoral collaboration. The Cluster received support from the voluntary association *ADJogosRS*, which assisted with networking and promotion of the initiatives undertaken by the Cluster. For the service provider, this partner was considered essential, directly or indirectly, for financial stability, as well as to reduce uncertainty.

Internationalized products contribute to greater reach and profitability (Jussani *et al.*, 2018). The interviewee reported positive impacts resulting from joining the cluster, highlighting expanded networking opportunities and institutional prestige, fostering the creation of inter- and extrasectoral partnerships (Kuah; Day, 2010): “For us, as a company, as a business, it was amazing, honestly. We had access to firms nationwide that were very well connected and well-positioned in the market.” This comment confirms the belief that clustering has significant impacts and transformations on the economy and social dynamics (Lynn; Gould, 1980; Mead, 1995; Souza, 2006).

Furthermore, during an instance of provision of services, the translation into Russian, the interviewee included native-speaking professionals to ensure the quality of the service. Subcontracting allowed part of the work to be transferred to third parties, reducing the time frame and enabling access to external expertise (Falck, Heblich; Kipar, 2010). These circumstances can further boost the audiovisual company’s profits (and financial health) given that Brazil can provide cheap labor when paid in foreign currencies (Dossani; Kennety, 2003). These results support TP1 and TP3, which envisage increases in inter- and extrasectoral partnerships among CCC members and in international operations, respectively.

Cluster as a training mechanism

The interviewee compared the digital gaming market in Brazil to the music industry, noting that many individuals enter the market motivated by a dream, without adequate technical training: “There’s a desire to do it, but the technical foundation is still lacking”. The observed knowledge gap aligns with the TH model, in which the

government (via a PP aimed at clusters) and universities (knowledge) work to reduce industry deficits (Falck; Heblich; Kipar, 2010), developing expertise (De Vaan; Boschma; Frenken, 2013).

By stating that the Cluster expanded access to firms with skills that are not part of the studios' core business, building a technical foundation (formal knowledge) and enabling contact with major players in the national and international market (informal knowledge), the interviewee agrees with Maskell and Malmberg (1999) regarding knowledge transfer in firms in clusters, as well as aspects associated with international market penetration (Evans, 2009) and innovativeness and productivity (Porter, 1998). In his words:

The cluster not only granted these firms easier access to aspects of development that don't fall within their expertise, such as legal services, marketing, localization, music, and sound effects, which aren't typically part of the game development studio's core business. And this technical foundation, this knowledge base, this access to big names in the market, even globally... So I think this kind of benefit that the cluster itself provides, not for us as a company, but for the market and for the developers of Rio Grande do Sul, is amazing.

Until the interview, the company had not carried out international projects on its own. However, the interviewee believes that being part of the cluster can indirectly aid internationalization. He explains that highly visible games translated into multiple languages become success stories: "So, it's something that also accredits the company's services for the international market". This experience indicates an indirect path to accreditation and reputation building as access to the global market. This standpoint supports proposition TP3. Furthermore, by mentioning the technical foundation, the interviewee demonstrates the importance of a cluster policy for the acquisition and spreading of knowledge, in accordance with the mention of "value addition and creation/induction of new products and services, as well as technological consolidation, [and] technology transfer" in the call for proposals.

A glocal perspective

The interviewee highlighted the importance of the initiative in terms of reach: “Since the cluster is regionalized in Rio Grande do Sul, a region where we did not have much participation initially, it was certainly a game-changer, especially regionally”. This statement acknowledges the regionalized nature of the cluster (Freeman, 2002) and the positive impact of the company’s presence in this specific geographic area. However, the relevance of social and economic proximity among cluster members becomes evident (Klimas, 2020) in sectors with high cultural-creative value, where symbolic and intangible production stands out, as is the case with audiovisual media (Throsby, 2008). This aspect is possibly more decisive than mere geographic proximity. The call for proposals that enables the *Cluster GameRS* commits to “supporting the creation of technological clusters [...], promoting social and economic development”. To this end, centralization in a higher education institution, which acts as a sponsoring institution and research institute, is essential, creating cycles of learning, management, and continuous improvement.

While mere geographic concentration is not the only necessary factor for the success of firms, according to De Vaan, Boschma and Frenken (2013), the collaborative network that emerges from a certain level of density and the contacts arising from this proximity yield positive results for those involved in a business cluster ecosystem. Like the authors, the interviewee stated that contacts established through the cluster often turn into referrals and meetings that generate business:

Sometimes, the connections made through firms in the cluster can become referrals at events, where you meet people, whether at a round of negotiations, a chat, a meetup, etc. This extends to other players you might not have access to if you hadn’t met the players who are members of the cluster. So, it’s really about business networking.

The importance of PPs for the knowledge exchange, specialized financing, and employee mobility is evident (De Vaan; Boschma; Frenken, 2013), regardless of geographic proximity. The interviewee’s statement provided empirical evidence that the demands of the Cluster encouraged the company to find new opportunities to expand its portfolio and increase its team, based on requests for languages that were not previously

satisfied: “We started with an average of 15 languages, and today we have over 20 languages in our portfolio to serve the market. So, yes, the Cluster helped us identify opportunities and take advantage of those opportunities with new professionals within the company”. This behavior raises the bar for firms in the industry, attracts talent, and develops local culture (Chang; Feng, 2023), consequently bringing benefits and social well-being to the community from a *glocal* perspective (Carayannis; Campbell, 2009). The data provided here substantiates proposition TP2.

Long-term effects of clustering

From the interviewee’s perspective, for the company, the effects of joining the cluster persist even after the work is completed: “After the provision of services to the Cluster, we have already received inquiries from some studios that worked with us during these processes”. Other developers in the Cluster recommended the company to third parties due to their satisfaction with the services they received. Feedback and networking events at the Cluster confirm this point. The perception is that being part of a collaborative network like the one promoted by a cluster positively influences the company in the long term: “I think that all the increased contact and networking ends up expanding things that aren’t visible at first”.

As Michel (2024) points out, clustering offers several benefits. It is possible to observe this point by considering the interviewee’s discourse: “It’s not a project that only aims to eradicate stages for the developer, but rather to take them in hand and help them in every aspect, with anything they might lack and that is not part of their expertise”. This statement describes the comprehensive support the Cluster provides for the industry, demonstrating its commitment to fostering and improving its regional ecosystem. Furthermore, the multiple clustering initiatives supported the three TPs.

Discussion

It is important to consider that the case studied here is linked to an embryonic regional state policy regarding agglomeration economies. This initial characteristic limits the analysis to preliminary elements and a small set of benefits of a cluster policy (e.g., networks and spillovers). Thus, due to its incipient state, the policy’s effects on other

issues, such as medium- to long-term technology infrastructure, remain largely unexplored. However, policymakers could examine how clustering policies might enhance other public initiatives in a given context. A prime example is *Pontos de Cultura* (Points of Culture), a Brazilian public policy that provided audiovisual equipment in low-income areas to foster digital emancipation (Reis, 2008). Other issues, such as catching up, sustainability, and inclusion (at both global and regional levels), will remain, as of now, unearthed.

The collected data indicate that PPs ensure that civil society is involved in the public sphere, striving for equality and collective well-being. At the same time, they provide the state with the role of an economic partner for promotion, development, and subsidy (Chiarini; Silva, 2021; Hanson, 2012). In this regard, the *Cluster GameRS* illustrates how an initiative can develop a PP clustering plan. The plan emerges from a call for proposals designed to add value and encourage innovation in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Its objectives include promoting social and economic development through technological advancement, knowledge transfer, and the sustainable creation of new products and services. These purposes align with the basic principles of PPs.

This case study can contribute to listing multiple consequences of cluster policies for the audiovisual industry. First, Brazil, a developing country, can provide cheap labor when it is paid for in foreign currencies (Dossani; Kenney, 2003), given the scalability and ability to internationalize digital products. Meleiro (2020) cautions that outsourcing, such as in animation production, could confine Brazilian firms to activities with low knowledge complexity, in which the actual producers do not hold any form of property rights. On the one hand, cost-effectiveness is an entry point to global markets, where training and networking may be achieved. On the other hand, audiovisual firms may be limited to low value-added activities, potentially resulting in poor returns on investment and on intellectual capital. Thus, policies (such as a clustering policy) should encourage co-production and intellectual property development while balancing outsourcing and international networking.

Second, through cluster policies, staff augmentation is essential as a proxy for employee retention (e.g., Florida, 2011, De Vaan; Boschma; Frenken, 2013). It increases national wealth, even if in a foreign currency, ensuring stable, well-paid jobs (Nathan, 2022). With the redistribution of this wealth through fair tax collection, development agencies and programs (such as sectoral development funds) will be able to support new audiovisual projects and firms, contributing to their growth.

Third, the intrinsic networking collaboration between the *Cluster GameRS* and the association *ADJogosRS* demonstrates how civil society organizations enable open innovation to go beyond the TH. Cluster PPs for Brazilian audiovisual production are believed to require the presence of a voluntary association of stakeholders and creative professionals for adequate operations management. Funds organized through partnerships between the helixes can also promote financial stability (e.g., the European Regional Development Fund²), as the services provided and subsidized in the *Cluster GameRS* have achieved.

Ikeda (2025) introduces *Fundo Setorial do Audiovisual* [the Audiovisual Sectoral Fund] in combination with the program *Arranjos Regionais* [Regional Arrangements] as an example. He explains that public calls provided by *Agência Nacional de Cinema* [the Brazilian National Film Agency] involved obtaining and integrating federal resources for specific audiovisual call-for-proposals at the state and city levels. This strengthened the local production ecosystems, expanding the local productive arrangements cited by Reis (2008).

Fourth, based on the intangible, symbolic, and economic nature of audiovisual products, the technological training and knowledge transfer among cluster members (the main objectives of the call for proposals) are expected to change perceptions of the results of the Brazilian audiovisual industry. They display quality, innovativeness, and openness to national and international partnerships. Thus, an audiovisual territory gains prestige and is valued economically (Scott, 1993). Furthermore, cluster PPs can subsidize highly proprietary and venture capital projects, reducing the perceived risks of radical innovations in products with lower sales potential, as demonstrated by Melnyk *et al.* (2018).

To this end, applied research and the work of researchers and research institutes are essential to managing, using, and generating knowledge based on the empiricism of the cluster. Audiovisual education centers can train students regarding theory and practice, through research and action projects, contributing to the development and retention of specialized employees in the industry.

The aforementioned findings suggest that the *Cluster GameRS* fulfilled its objective of generating intellectual capital and immaterial value, and of upgrading and enhancing the competitiveness of local firms. It provided empirical evidence of its

² Associazione Clust-ER Industrie Culturali e Creative (Clust-ER CREATE), located in Bologna, Italy. Retrieved from: <https://www.clustercollaboration.eu/content/clust-er-create-emilia-romagna-italy>. Access on: 27 dec. 2026.

efficiency and effectiveness, which are vital to public policy programs (Costa; Castanhar, 2003).

As De Vaan, Boschma and Frenken. (2013) demonstrate, the political plan for clusters, which is an artifact of PPs (Brasil; Capella, 2016), will not be stable. While it is maturing, the structure will undergo significant stress to maximize benefits. In the tension between benefits and consequences (Souza, 2006), resilience and active stakeholder participation are required for the cluster to preserve its structure and to mature. With that in mind, the following inferences can be drawn. Academia must source emerging talent and apply knowledge; organizations need to collaborate and compete for resources, always aiming to maximize their value propositions and access the greatest number of opportunities for national and international partnerships. Government funding, and subsidies, and copyright protection should remain in existence until civil society organizations and businesses devise the most appropriate governance and sustainability plans over the years.

Concluding remarks

This paper analyzed how a cluster developed through sectoral policies can contribute to Brazilian audiovisual firms through a case study. Responding to the research question, we can infer that cluster policies can benefit the audiovisual industry with training and specialization, stable demand, employee retention, collaboration, internationalization, and networking.

The theoretical propositions were fully met. The results, which triangulate discourse analysis, document analysis, and non-participant observation, confirm that membership in clusters increases access to inter- and extrasectoral partnerships. Furthermore, they also confirm that clustering fosters collaboration and allows access to specialized talent, both nationally and internationally.

We hope that the results of this study can serve as a foundation for policymakers and audiovisual organizations as they collaborate to formulate public policies that sustainably stimulate the industry through business initiatives. The interest and participation of students, researchers, and associations are essential. It is believed that the clustering of audiovisual actors can contribute to the establishment of new partnerships, revenue increase (especially in foreign currencies), and specialized labor.

We believe that cluster policies are excellent starting points for developing the audiovisual sector. The Brazilian reality shows that this cultural sector has historically lacked long-term multi-stakeholder articulation and policy interruption. Through clusters, the TH model enables the sector to adopt a dynamic, collaborative approach to securing resources. However, for this cluster policy to surpass its incipient state, it is necessary to address the economic sustainability of clustered audiovisual firms, overcoming the dependency on subsidies and calls for proposals.

Thus, a proactive governmental helix is needed to extend beyond direct funding. We believe that reviews of digital regulations are urgent, as part of initiatives to create a capital risk fund. Such funds are essential to build market trust, attract external partners (industrial helix), and diversify revenue sources. These new sources could contribute to sustaining the audiovisual firms, considering their small-scale production and difficulty in accessing credit lines (Cherutti, 2025). As Ikeda (2025) stated, the dependency on a single, centralized actor can pose risks (such as policy interruption) and, in a chain reaction, project failure. Thus, the helixes involved in the policies must be diversified.

Any policy initiative, however, is dependent on specialized social participation. This calls for educational policies that integrate universities and formal education centers. The academic helix contains and provides *ad hoc* knowledge on how to manage and create cluster policies that balance the interests of all actors, in addition to generating specific, innovative knowledge for reproduction. University research projects are avenues policymakers may explore, as they enable such an approach in a collaborative and low-cost manner. Specific quotas for the training and retention of creative and cultural talent should also be considered. This initiative may gradually address the predominantly informal system of training and knowledge acquisition in Brazil (Meleiro, 2020), which is thus susceptible to failure.

Due to its qualitative approach, this paper does not aim to make generalizations, but rather to provide insights to be used by actors in the multiple helixes. The small number of cases studied is acknowledged (e.g., Yin, 2015). However, it is noteworthy that the *Cluster GameRS* relied on only one localization company. This limitation was analyzed longitudinally, in hopes that it would be mitigated.

From a theoretical standpoint, this paper is based on studies on clusters of different natures, especially those in technology (e.g., Remotti, 2021). Even though CCCs and technology clusters are similar in terms of knowledge centrality (Chang; Feng, 2023), further *ad hoc* studies are needed. Ample research opportunities arise from this

study. First, other case studies could deepen understanding of the benefits of cluster policies compatible with the audiovisual industry. Other cultures and nationalities may yield new, unexplored insights. Testing the organizational factors that contribute most to and are conducive to intersectoral collaboration through causal relationships could provide important data for sector policy plans, offering a new perspective. Another emerging opportunity is found in qualitative comparative analyses of the monetary and non-monetary resources provided to CCCs across different political environments, since these contexts influence state provisions in agglomeration economies (Wagner; Portillo, 2024). This could reveal new dimensions of environmental policy to support regional audiovisual production.

References

ARRETCHE, Marta. Dossiê agenda de pesquisas em políticas públicas. **Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais**, v. 18, p. 7-10, 2003. Retrieved from: <https://www.scielo.br/j/rbcsoc/a/gR4pxgbyns7R5hTKfmMDkxG/?lang=pt>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

ASCENÇÃO, Beatriz Ladislau de; POLI, Karina da Cunha. Caminhos políticos da Economia Criativa no Brasil. *In*: ENECULT - Encontro Nacional de Estudos Multidisciplinares em Cultura, XV, 2019, Salvador. **Anais eletrônicos** [...]. Salvador, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.enecult.ufba.br/modulos/submissao/Upload-484/112339.pdf>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

BENEA-POPUȘOI, Elina; RUSU, Ecaterina. Knowledge spillovers in the process of formation of the economic clusters. **Eastern European Journal of Regional Studies**, v. 4, n. 2, p. 94-107, December 2018. Retrieved from: https://csei.ase.md/journal/files/issue_42/EEJRS_0402_94-107_BEN.pdf. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

BRASIL, Felipe Gonçalves; CAPELLA, Ana Cláudia Niedhardt. Os estudos das políticas públicas no Brasil: passado, presente e caminhos futuros da pesquisa sobre análise de políticas. **Revista Política Hoje**, v. 25, n. 1, p. 71-90, 2016. Retrieved from: <https://periodicos.ufpe.br/revistas/politica hoje/article/view/3710/3012>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

BRENT, Zoe W. Territorializing local public policy: Building social muscle, sustaining participation in food system transformation. **Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space**, v. 41, n. 1, p. 3-19, 2023. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/23996544221112590>. Access on: Dec. 27th, 2025.

BURLINA, Chiara; CASADEI, Patrizia; CROCIATA, Alessandro. Economic complexity and firm performance in the cultural and creative sector: Evidence from Italian provinces. **European Urban and Regional Studies**, v. 30, n. 2, p. 152-171, 2023. Retrieved from:



<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/09697764221125336>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

CAÑIZALES IBARGUEN, Andres Felipe; GRANOBLES TORRES, Juan Carlos. Competitividad del clúster de la construcción en Medellín, Colombia análisis desde las economías de aglomeración. **Revista Venezolana De Gerencia**, v. 29, n. 11, p. 453-466, 2024. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.52080/rvgluz.29.e11.27>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

CARAYANNIS, Elias G.; CAMPBELL, David F. J. 'Mode 3'and'Quadruple Helix': Toward a 21st century fractal innovation ecosystem. **International Journal of Technology Management**, v. 46, n. 3-4, p. 201-234, 2009. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJTM.2009.023374>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

CAVES, Richard. E. Contracts Between Art and Commerce. **Journal of Economic Perspectives**, v. 17, n. 2, p. 73-83, 2003. Retrieved from: <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/089533003765888430>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

CHANG, Yuan-Chieh; FENG, Liang. Micro Foundation of Cultural and Creative Clusters: The Knowledge-based View. **Journal of the Knowledge Economy**, v. 15, n. 2, p. 7723-7743, July 2023. Retrieved from: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13132-023-01177-0>. Access on: Aug. 21, 2025.

CHAPAIN, Caroline; SAGOT-DUVAUROUX, Dominique. Cultural and creative clusters – a systematic literature review and a renewed research agenda. **Urban Research & Practice**, v. 13, n. 3, p. 300-329, 2020. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2018.1545141>. Access on: Aug. 21, 2025.

CHERUTTI, Milena. Governança Colaborativa em Clusters Criativos: práticas internacionais e articulações locais. July 04th, 2025. Porto Alegre, Brazil. Retrieved from: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1EPv_a-hFIKVLbnO0hZPPjxzv9XtFfOqf/view. Access on: Nov. 8th, 2025.

CHIARINI, Tulio; SILVA, Victo. Inovações tecnologias permitem uma maior participação política? Um estudo de caso de plataformas digitais inovadoras no Brasil. **IPEA - Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada**, June 23th, 2021. Retrieved from: <https://www.ipea.gov.br/cts/pt/central-de-conteudo/artigos/artigos/267-inovacoes-tecnologicas-permitem-maior-participacao-politica>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

COOPER, Donald R.; SCHINDLER, Pamela S. **Métodos de Pesquisa em Administração**. 12 ed. Porto Alegre: McGraw Hill Brasil, 2016.

COSTA, Frederico Lustosa da; CASTANHAR, José Cezar. Avaliação de programas públicos: desafios conceituais e metodológicos. **RAP - Revista de Administração Pública**, v. 37, n. 5, p. 992-969 a 992, January 1th, 2003. Retrieved from: <https://periodicos.fgv.br/rap/article/view/6509>. Access on: 21 aug. 2025.

DE VAAN, Mathijs; BOSCHMA, Ron; FRENKEN, Koen. Clustering and firm performance in project-based industries: the case of the global video game industry, 1972–2007. **Journal of Economic Geography**, v. 13, n. 6, p. 965-991, November 2013. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lbs038>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.



DOSSANI, Rafiq; KENNEY, Martin. Went for cost, stayed for quality?: Moving the back office to India. **BRIE - Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy**, September, 2003. Retrieved from: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0b7764tt>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

DYE, Thomas R. **Understanding public policy**. 12 ed. London: Pearson, 1992.

ETZKOWITZ, Henry; LEYDESDORFF, Loet. The dynamics of innovation: from National Systems and “Mode 2” to a Triple Helix of university-industry-government relations. **Research Policy**, v. 29, n. 2, p. 109-123, 2000. Retrieved from: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0048-7333\(99\)00055-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0048-7333(99)00055-4). Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

EVANS, Graeme. From cultural quarters to creative clusters-creative spaces in the new city economy. In: LEGNER, M.; PONZINI, D (eds.). **Cultural Quarters and Urban Transformations: International Perspectives**. Sweden: Gotlandica Förlag, 2009. p. 32-59. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

FALCK, Oliver; HEBLICH, Stephan; KIPAR, Stefan. Industrial innovation: Direct evidence from a cluster-oriented policy. **Regional Science and Urban Economics**, v. 40, n. 6, p. 574-582, 2010. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.regsciurbeco.2010.03.007>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

FLORIDA, Richard. **A ascensão da classe criativa**. Porto Alegre: L&PM, 2011.

FREEMAN, Chris. Continental, national and sub-national innovation systems—complementarity and economic growth. **Research Policy**, v. 31, n. 2, p. 191-211, 2002. Retrieved from: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0048-7333\(01\)00136-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0048-7333(01)00136-6). Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

GIL, Antônio Carlos. **Como elaborar projetos de pesquisa**. São Paulo: Atlas, 2002.

GRANDADAM, David; COHENDET, Patrick; SIMON, Laurent. Places, Spaces and The Dynamics of Creativity: The Video Game Industry in Montreal. **Regional Studies**, v. 47, n. 10, p. 1701-1714, 2013. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2012.699191>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

GREEN, David; LOWRY, Joanna. Photography, cinema and medium as social practice. **Visual Studies**, v. 24, n. 2, p. 132-142, 2009. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725860903106138>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

HANSON, Dennis. Indústrias criativas. **Sistemas & Gestão**, v. 7, n. 2, p. 222-238, 2012. Retrieved from: <https://www.feevale.br/Comum/midias/6e967710-29e8-4f38-b2cc-92ed77925d00/HANSON%20%20Dennis%20-%20Industrias%20criativas.pdf>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

IKEDA, Marcelo Gil. O Fundo Setorial do Audiovisual: uma perspectiva histórica. **Políticas Culturais em Revista**, v. 18, n. 1, 2025. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.9771/pcr.v18i1.64356>. Access on: Oct. 24th, 2025.

JUSSANI, Ailton Conde; VASCONCELLOS Eduardo Pinheiro Gondim de; WRIGHT, James Terence Coulter; GRISI, Celso Cláudio de Hildebrand e. Marketing



internationalization: influence factors on product customization decision. **RAUSP Management Journal**, v. 53, n. 4, p. 555-574, 2018. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1108/RAUSP-07-2018-0043>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

KLAUCK, Fernanda; PINHEIRO, Cristiano Max Pereira Pinheiro. Quem faz a foto, a câmera ou o fotógrafo? Reflexões sobre criatividade, tecnologia e economia. *In*: BEZ, Marta Rosecler. *et al.* (orgs.). **Trajatórias criativas: uma década de pesquisas, projetos e conquistas**. Novo Hamburgo: Universidade Feevale, 2025. p. 226-248.

KLIMAS, Patrycja. Proximity: Synthesis, six-dimensional typology, and significance for cooperation performance. *In*: ZAKRZEWSKA-BIELAWSKA, Agnieszka; STANIEC, Iwona (eds.). **Contemporary challenges in cooperation and competition in the age of industry 4.0**. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020. p. 243-272.

KUAH, Adrian TH; DAY, John. Measuring Clustering Benefits and Competitiveness: What Do Players Really Value?. **Singapore Management Review**, v. 32, n. 2, p. 1-24, 2010. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/289221289_Measuring_clustering_benefits_and_competitiveness_What_do_players_really_value. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

LAZZERETTI, Luciana; BOIX, Rafael; CAPONE, Francesco. Do creative industries cluster? Mapping creative local production systems in Italy and Spain. **Industry and Innovation**, v. 15, n. 5, p. 549-567, 2008. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13662710802374161>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

LYNN, Laurence. E.; GOULD, Stephanie. G. **Designing public policy: A casebook on the role of policy analysis: instructor's manual**. Santa Monica: Goodyear, 1980. Retrieved from: <https://archive.org/details/designingpublicp0000unse>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

MARCONI, Marina; LAKATOS, Eva Maria. **Fundamentos de metodologia científica**. 8 ed. São Paulo: Atlas, 2017.

MASKELL, Peter; MALMBERG, Anders. Localised learning and industrial competitiveness. **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, v. 23, n. 2, p. 167-185, 01 March 1999. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/cje/23.2.167>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

MEAD, L. Public policy: vision, potential, limits. **Policy Currents** (Newsletter of the Public Policy Section, APSA), v. 68, n. 3, 1995.

MELEIRO, Alessandra. The global animation market: opportunities for developing countries. *In*: DENISSON, Stephanie; DWYER, Rachel (eds.). **Cinema and Soft Power: Configuring the National and Transnational in Geo-politics**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. p. 58-73.

MELNYK, Maryana; KORCELLI-OLEJNICZAK, Ewa; CHORNA, Nelia; POPADYNETS, Nazariy. Development of Regional IT clusters in Ukraine: institutional and investment dimensions. **Economic Annals-XXI**, n. 173, p. 19-25, 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=750254>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

MICHEL, Basile. Arts and culture in the city: Peripheral centrality, cultural vitality, and urban change in inner suburbs. **Cities**, v. 150, p. 104983, July 2024. Retrieved from:

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0264275124001975>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

MINISTÉRIO DO DESENVOLVIMENTO, INDÚSTRIA, COMÉRCIO E SERVIÇOS. Workshop para criação de projetos para o desenvolvimento de uma indústria de jogos digitais no Brasil. Local: BNDES - São Paulo/SP. 28 e 29 de julho de 2011.

NATHAN, Max. Does light touch cluster policy work? Evaluating the tech city programme. **Research Policy**, v. 51, n. 9, 2022. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.respol.2020.104138>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

NELSON, Richard R.; NELSON, Katherine. Technology, institutions, and innovation systems. **Research Policy**, v. 31, n. 2, p. 265-272, 2002. Retrieved from: <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=90d31273b11fb18a6c4c657e81af2c8943d41ad9>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

PETERS, B. Guy. **American Public Policy: Promise and Performance**. Chatham: Macmillan, 1986. p. 11-28.

PIN, Clément. La gouvernance territoriale de l'innovation. **Gouvernement et action publique**, v. 9, n. 1, p. 57-85, 2020. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.3917/gap.201.0057>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

PORTER, Michael. E. **Competitive advantage of nations**. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1998.

POTTS, Jason; CUNNINGHAM, Stuart. Four models of the creative industries. **International Journal of Cultural Policy**, v. 14, n. 3, p. 233-247, 2008. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630802281780>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

QUADRANA, Alejandra. El Clúster de la Semilla: un abordaje desde el Análisis de Redes de Políticas Públicas. **Redes. Revista Hispana para el Análisis de Redes Sociales**, v. 31, n. 2, p. 124-136, 2020. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/redes.869>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

RAMIREZ-PASILLAS, Marcela. Resituating proximity and knowledge cross-fertilization in clusters by means of international trade fairs. **European Planning Studies**, v. 16, n. 5, p. 643-663, 2008. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654310802049158>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

REIS, Ana Carla Fonseca (org.). **Economia criativa como estratégia de desenvolvimento: uma visão dos países em desenvolvimento**. São Paulo: Itaú Cultural, 2008.

REMOTTI, Luca Alessandro. IoT innovation clusters in Europe and the case for public policy. **Data & Policy**, v. 3, 2021. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1017/dap.2021.16>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

RIO GRANDE DO SUL. Decreto nº 55.359, de 30 de julho de 2020. Institui o Programa *GameRS*. **Diário Oficial do Estado**, Porto Alegre, 2020. Retrieved from: <https://www.diariooficial.rs.gov.br/materia?id=445839>. Access on: Apr. 6th, 2025.



SALAZAR-XIRINACHS, José Manuel. Cluster-based policies: what have we learned? In: OQUBAY, Arkebe; LIN, Justin Yifu (orgs.). **The Oxford Handbook of Industrial Hubs and Economic Development**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. p. 1256-1283.

SCOTT, Allen J. **Technopolis: high-technology industry and regional development in Southern**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

SCOTT, Allen. J. Capitalism, cities, and the production of symbolic forms. **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers**, v. 26, n. 1, p. 11-23, 2001. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-5661.00003>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

SPGG - Secretaria de Planejamento, Governança e Gestão do Estado. Norma técnica 43. 2021. Retrieved from: <https://dee.rs.gov.br/upload/arquivos/202206/02150850-nt-n-43-versao-final-1.pdf>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

SOUSA, Fernando Cardoso de; NUNES, Florbela; MONTEIRO, Ileana Pardal. Managers' attitudes to creativity and innovation practices in the creative industries. **Tourism & Management Studies**, v. 15, n. 1SI, p. 33-41, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/7024369.pdf>. Access on: Aug 21th, 2025.

SOUZA, Celina. Políticas públicas: uma revisão da literatura. **Sociologias**, p. 20-45, 2006. Retrieved from: <https://www.scielo.br/j/soc/a/6YsWyBWZSdFgfSqDVQhc4jm/?format=pdf&lang=pt>. Access on: Aug 21th, 2025.

SULTAN, Suahil; Van DIJK, Meine Pieter; OMRAN, Omar. Emergence and development of low-tech clusters: an empirical study of five Palestinian clusters. **EuroMed Journal of Business**, v. 15, n. 2, p. 129-149, 2020. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1108/EMJB-07-2019-0100>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

THROSBY, David. The concentric circles model of the cultural industries. **Cultural trends**, v. 17, n. 3, p. 147-164, 2008. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960802361951>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. **Creative economy report 2013: Special edition**. 2013. Retrieved from: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000224698>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

VALIATI, Leandro; WINK JUNIOR, Marcos Vinicius. **Indústria criativa no Rio Grande do Sul: síntese teórica e evidências empíricas**. Porto Alegre: FEE, 2013.

WAGNER, Gary A.; PORTILLO, Javier E. Cashing in on culture: local employment effects from art and cultural district designation. **Journal of Cultural Economics**, v. 48, n. 4, p. 645-684, 2024. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10824-024-09517-x>. Access on: Aug. 21th, 2025.

YIN, Robert K. **Estudo de caso: planejamento e métodos**. Porto Alegre: Bookman, 2015.

ZAMBON, Pedro Santoro; PESSOTTO, Ana Heloiza Vita. Políticas públicas para jogos digitais no Brasil: percurso histórico e atuação das instituições. *In*: SBGames, Foz de Iguaçu, Brazil, XVII, October 29th, November 1st, 2018. **Proceedings** [...]. Retrieved

from: <https://www.sbgames.org/sbgames2018/files/papers/IndustriaFull/189969.pdf>.
Access on: Nov. 10th, 2025.

^I Fernanda Klauck

Holds a Master's degree in Creative Industry and a Bachelor's degree in Advertising and Propaganda from Universidade Feevale (FEEVALE).

E-mail: fernanda.klauck@gmail.com

^{II} Thomás Czrnhak

Master's student in Business Administration and holds a Bachelor's degree in Fashion, both from Universidade Feevale (FEEVALE).

E-mail: 0285616@feevale.br

^{III} Cristiano Max Pereira Pinheiro

Holds a PhD and a Master's degree in Social Communication and a Bachelor's degree in Advertising and Propaganda, all from Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS).

E-mail: cristiano.max@puhrs.br

^{IV} Gabriel Manzoni Ferri

Master's student in Social Communication at Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), Porto Alegre, Brazil, and holds a Bachelor's degree in Journalism from Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (UNISINOS).

E-mail: gabrielmferri@icloud.com

^V Milena Cherutti

PhD candidate in Cultural Processes and Manifestations, holds a Master's degree in Creative Industry and a Bachelor's degree in Fashion, all from Universidade Feevale (FEEVALE).

E-mail: cheruttim@gmail.com

^{VI} Felipe Zanini

Holds a Bachelor's degree in Creative Writing and is an undergraduate student in Corporate Communication, both from Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS).

E-mail: felipezanini3@gmail.com

^{VII} Francisco Marianoff de Castro

Undergraduate student in Advertising and Propaganda at Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS).

E-mail: f.marianoff.castro@gmail.com

rebeca



Revista Brasileira
de Estudos de
Cinema
e Audiovisual

e1324

Article information

Research project outcome:

This is a full article derived from the *Cluster GameRS* project, funded by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul (FAPERGS) and carried out by the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS).

Funding sources:

Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul (FAPERGS), Brazil.

Ethical considerations:

Not applicable.

Conflict of interest statement:

Not applicable.

Previous presentation:

Not applicable.

Co-authorship information

Study conception and design:

Fernanda Klauck, Thomás Czrnhak, Cristiano Max Pereira Pinheiro, and Milena Cherutti.

Data acquisition, analysis, or interpretation:

Fernanda Klauck, Thomás Czrnhak, Cristiano Max Pereira Pinheiro, Gabriel Manzoni Ferri, Felipe Zanini, and Francisco Marianoff de Castro.

Manuscript writing:

Fernanda Klauck, Thomás Czrnhak, Gabriel Manzoni Ferri, Cristiano Max Pereira Pinheiro, and Felipe Zanini.

Article received on: August 21, 2025.

Approved on: December 16, 2025.

