

Sunstaining the Cultural Creative Industries Policy Networks of the Urban-based Creative Ecology ~ the Cases of the Six Municipalities in Taiwan

Dr. Hsiao-Ling CHUNG, Assistant Professor

Institute of Creative Industries Design, National Cheng Kung University

Email:hlchung@mail.ncku.edu.tw

Abstract

The study untangles the complexity in the urban context of the increasing interactions between key stakeholders in the cultural creative industries (CCI) policy implementations, involving city authorities, industry practitioners, and local institutions, which is termed as "CCI Policy Urban Network" in the present government-funded qualitative research. The research questions center on why and how the stakeholders facilitate policy implementation in developing city-based CCI, and how they adapt during the process. Correspondingly, by the end of 2014, the first-order administrative divisions of Taiwan, the six municipalities were completed, and they are regarded as the locomotives to drive Taiwan's creative economy with the new zones for enhanced living quality and industrial innovation. Empirically, the in-depth and face-to-face interviews with key stakeholders of each city were carried out, including 1) the cultural division chief of the city government, 2) the managing director of a recognized CCI enterprise, and 3) the leader of local community-based culture institute. The interview findings were then verified and refined by a focus group study with the six interviewed government chiefs. Theoretically, the four analytical properties of 'creative ecology', that is diversity, change, learning and adaptation were applied to examine the inside workings or healthiness of the network conditions and dynamics. It is in their interrelated co-evolving ecology where lies the potential for sustainability of participative urban CCI policy planning.

Key words: cultural creative industries policy, creative city, creative ecology, creative economy, network organization

Introduction

In reviewing the various discussions on the creative city, Richard Florida's (2005) concept of creative class and Charles Landry's (2008) development toolkits have shown that the policy's roles in developing the 'conditions' of both the hardware of urban infrastructure and the software of creative and artistic characters to attract and nurture talented individuals, and in return would contribute to the wider economic growth across sectors in the urban context. In addition, research on the creative city development such as Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009), Landry (2008), Flew (2005), Pratt (2004) and Scoot (2000) has highlighted issues such as how the cultural production 'system' and 'structures' connecting the 'spatiotemporal' elements might affect industry dynamics, and how 'creative bureaucracy' could be achieved through diverse and dynamic interaction beyond the government authorities. It is thus evident that a policy network is now required and expected.

With regard to studies on policy network, research has shown the trade-off to be gained through increasing collaboration with other sectors in the planning process (Rhodes 2006, Klijn 1997). Research also focuses on how policymaking involving a larger pool of stakeholders of enterprises, communities and individuals may be coordinated inwardly in order to achieve constructive and collective effects (Ribera-Fumaz 2009, Ramon 2009, MacKinnon and Derickson 2013). Outwardly, while acknowledging the complexity of the urban context and policy-making, policymakers are now required to adjust themselves to constantly deploying and engaging stakeholders to deliver policy progress (Innes and Booher 2010). This leads to an organizational challenge with the cultural, social and economic aspects of the policy network, so as to develop wider creative economy (Fikri Zul et al 2015, Ponzini and Rossi 2010).

The above suggests the need to go beyond conceptual insights to a broader cross-level *context, to understand the interaction between municipal actors and non-governmental coalitions, and the network character of the city's creative economy* (Grodach 2012, Comunian, 2011). In particular, it has been suggested that the development of the CCI policy in the broader context of urban policy means that there is a need to refocus on the frameworks that can accommodate the increasing complicated processing of relationships and roles of policy intermediation (Sacco and Crociata 2013, Peck and Theodore 2010, Jayne 2005)

Given the above background, this research chooses to address the practical level, by focusing empirically on examining how the policy network are generated, and how policy actors adapt to the higher levels of complexity. In taking the six municipalities in Taiwan as the empirical context, this paper presents the preliminary findings. Empirically, the in-depth and face-to-face interviews with key stakeholders of each city were carried out, including 1) the cultural division chief of the city government, 2) the managing director of a recognized CCI enterprise, and 3) the leader of local

community-based culture institute. The interview findings were then verified and refined by a focus group study with the six interviewed government chiefs. Theoretically, the four analytical properties of ‘creative ecology’, that is diversity, change, learning and adaptation were applied to examine the inside workings or healthiness of the network conditions and dynamics.

The Development of CCI in Taiwan

The development of CCI in Taiwan could be traced back to 1995, with the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA) proposed a grass-roots development approach ‘Culture Industrialization, Industries Culturalisation’ to generate new economic value based on local cultural assets. The term ‘Cultural Industries’ thus became a guideline behind the island wide ‘Comprehensive Community Building’ programme to develop local community-based economy. Correspondingly, with the ‘creative industries’ agenda promoted by the UK government since 1998, the Taiwanese government thus combined it with cultural industries and formed ‘Cultural and Creative Industries’ (CCI), and defined it as a sector that ‘originates from the accumulation of culture...and is expected to elevate the citizens’ living environment’ (CCA, 2010). However with the government’s agenda to upgrade Taiwan’s economy, the CCI in Taiwan in fact represents ‘an overarching industrial contract that defines actions across all levels and connecting all sectors’ (Chung 2012), and it then joined the discourse of ‘creative city’ which has become a powerful toolkit for urban revitalization in Taiwan since 2000.

Such progress came at a time when Taiwan was gradually starting to lose its advantages in the manufacturing and high-tech sectors, especially in confronting the growing competition from China, when Taiwan gained formal entrance into the WTO in 2002. The ‘Challenge 2008 – National Development Plan’ (Executive Yuan, the Cabinet, 2002), a six-year policy guideline (2002-2008) was therefore introduced and included CCI for the first time in the national development plans. In 2009, a national branding campaign named *Creative Taiwan* (2009-2013) was formed with the aim of developing CCI through two major strategies: Infrastructure Building and Flagship Industries Development. It was followed by the pass of the *Law for the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries* in 2010. Significantly, the Law emphasizes and empowers the local city authorities to drive its CCI economy. The latest national CCI development guideline–*Production Commercialization Value: Construction and Innovation of CCI Value Chain Program* (2013-2016) carries on the government’s efforts in building CCI friendly infrastructure and flagship industries.

With the aim of driving Taiwan’s economy transformation with the new regional zones and industrial innovation, the first-order administrative divisions of Taiwan, the six municipalities, were completed by the end of 2014. In the north is Taipei, the capital of Taiwan and New Taipei City, formerly known as Taipei county, and the greater Taoyuan city; in the center of Taiwan is greater

Taichung city and in the south, greater Tainan and greater Kaohsiung, all created through the mergers of city and county respectively. These six municipalities are significant to CCI development, as together, they account for about 80% of the total CCI enterprises, and generate over 90% of their overall turnover. (MOC, 2015).

Given the above, the research methods and strategy made for this study are presented, and an initial analysis of the six municipalities is given by outlining the relevant policies and networking stakeholders, together with a conversation between the secondary data review on government documentation, and the interviewed data with policy actors. In order to address the research questions, the major research methods applied to these municipalities remain the same, while the process for fieldwork varies to some extent. Such a mixed approach taken in this study is seen to shed light on the quantitative 'value chain' mind set of the Taiwanese government, and reveals the qualitative complexities involved in the CCI developments in Taiwan.

Research Design and Methods

Empirical research conducted across the six municipalities was based upon the following five steps, undertaken from September 2014 to July 2015.

Step1: Secondary Data Review

The secondary data collected in this research was harnessed by reviewing the related government documentation, including policy and administration guideline, research reports, and press materials concerning their recent CCI development, and especially any new plans after their upgrade. Particular attention was given to the data concerning the emphasis and initiatives on the government's collaborations or interaction with the local business and communities. The review has proved that across the six cities, a cross-sector synergy, community and people centered CCI development approach is executed and expected (Chung 2014).

Step 2: Pilot Study with the City of Tainan

Given that the researcher is based in Tainan and more familiar with its recent CCI development, the pilot study was conducted with the city of Tainan, during Dec.2014- Feb. 2015. This was achieved by reviewing the secondary data and undertaking small scale semi-structured interviews. In regards to the semi-structured interview, an interview invitation email outlining the purpose and themes of the research, was sent out to each interviewees, including 1) the chief of the CCI division of the Tainan city government and 2) director of a leading design enterprise, and 3) a local cultural community and opinion leader who have collaborated with the government division across various CCI development programs. The pilot study not only helped to understand the key stakeholders at

both the policy and practice levels, but familiarized the researcher with the triangle network structure, so as to formulate and tailor themes and questions for the target interviewees. A referring or snowballing sampling technique (*Salganik and Heckathorn 2004*) was also used which works like chain referral.

Step 3: Semi-structured Interviews with Policy Actors

The first tier of the primary data was collected between February and July 2015, using face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with three CPUN actors: current chiefs of the CCI divisions/departments, industry practitioners and local community leaders.

Firstly, in regards to the current chiefs of the CCI divisions/departments: 1) the city governments officers were identified online through organization structure review and 2) follow up with telephone confirmation. The reason for interviewing the government chiefs is that they were responsible for the strategic decisions and direction of the network. Secondly, in terms of the industry and community practitioners: 1) these representatives were firstly filtered through an on-line investigation of those who are recognized in the CCI community and had record of collaborating with the city government and follow up confirmation of its practicing status ; 2) a snowball sampling technique was also employed to gain contact with potential interviewees and/or key informants; 3) interviewees were those currently active CCI and community practitioners. The overall response rate to all interview invitations was one hundred percent, which again underlines the relevance of the study.

Step 4: Focus Group Study

Due to the complicated nature of the data gathered, and to reduce the risk of researcher's bias and negligence, the qualitative method of 'focus group' was conducted as the final step of the fieldwork, and it formed the second tier of the primary data collection. The purpose of the focus group was to: 1) gather further opinions and depth about research questions through the researcher who played as the moderator to facilitate interaction, 2) verify the preliminary findings of research questions, 3) observe and encourage spontaneous discussion among the participants on some issues. With the focal point of the city government in the CPUN, the invited participants to the focus group study including the six interviewed government chiefs (only the Chief from Taichung could not attend due to an emergent meeting, and was later follow up with telephony), and a professor who is interested in the study and is experienced with CCI policy networking as an academic over past 20 years, two postgraduate research students and assistants on the study.

The Creative Ecology Analytical Framework

Ecology is not a new concept, the term comes originally from the field of biology and was coined by Ernst Haeckel in 1866 to describe the study of how organisms relate to each other and to their outer world. Ecology particularly seeks to learn about interdependency, where each member of the system shares the fate of the whole system and vice versa, is the key principle that ecological thinking and analysis carries forward beyond the discipline of biology into the broader study of human systems. (Howkins, 2010). The field of cultural policy is beginning to apply more holistic analyses to creative processes and communities. Creative economist John Howkins has introduced the concept of creative ecology (2010) to the cultural policy discourse, and it is currently being applied as a new paradigm by which Howkins advocates for a shift in focus from infrastructure and industry to relationships and processes (Sterback, 2014)

Finally, the overall analytical framework is built up based on three fundamental properties of the creative ecology, these being: 1) diversity, which demonstrates the initial conditions for a system to go through micro-level symmetry-breaking through a continuous flow of energy into new structures of increased complexity, 2) *change*, a dynamic, adaptive process whereby systems acquire new behaviors, and 3) adaptation, *as* a phenomenon of the process of adapting and transforming spontaneously to find new ways of being, and 4) learning, an interactive processes that the actors move across the system and absorbing a complex mix of information regarding their purpose in relation to others and to their environment. These framework elements were chosen not only because they offer tools to analyze specific aspects of the network phenomenon at each level, but because they help us to understand the ways in which networking practices are interrelated in an organizational setting.

1. The preliminary findings of the Cases: The Six Municipal Cities in Taiwan

Taipei: The World Design Capital

Historically, the development of the Taipei dates back to Qing Dynasty in the 18th century, at which time it was heralded as the nexus of Northern Taiwan, since then with trade development in the mid-19th century, Taipei has transformed itself through the historical periods of the Qing Dynasty, the Japanese Colonial Period, the Taiwanese Retrocession and a status upgrade as a 'Executive-Yuan (Cabinet)-governed municipality' or direct municipality in 1967, and remains as the political, economic and cultural capital of Taiwan to this day.

According to the Taipei Yearbook 2014, Taipei's charm comes from its inclusivity, and its people serve as a key component of the city and the nation's development. The city government has

embraced the concept of community, thereby creating more design and social interaction, and the public and private sectors and communities are working together to create a 'Blissful Taipei, Friendly City'. In addition, 'Taipei, a City of Infinite Possibilities' gradually brings Taipei's urban development up to international standards, and Taipei is now the 2016 World Design Capital, it makes Taipei the world's fifth Design Capital, and the first in the Chinese speaking world. Under the theme 'Adaptive City – Design in Motion', Taipei is demonstrating its adaptability to meet citizen's demands by activating a series of city-wide 'Design is People' movements on topics such as urban transformation, life improvement, and aesthetics, with the concept of 'open government and public participation'.

'Taipei is the capital that attracts the most talent,... they are important in that they create the diverse clustering effects around different creative industries, which require different resources for business development, we are taking them as the best opportunities to work with them, for instance, we could mix and match their needs and show their better practices to new comers as a way to make them change and grow into a better directions...and as government officers, we are here to facilitate the administration process for the creative.'

The interviewed government chief pointed out that Taipei has been increasing its diversity of talent which makes a more inclusive policy planning necessary as a part of the city soft infrastructure building process. This is in line with the recent CCI policies of Taiwan's central government, the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government aims to promote the CCI and tourism in Taipei through a focus on social design and following measures, including: 1) Old House Cultural Movement gives historic buildings new purposes. 2) Building Taipei City's creative clusters across the city. 3) Culture Taipei to develop the city through an enhanced appreciation of local culture and community assets to connect the existing infrastructure as points of service platforms to promote cultural tourism and to harness the cluster effect of the CCI in the capital city (Kong 2015 et al). Taken together, those programs aim to connect the CCI facilities throughout the city communities to harness the cluster effect as also indicated by the interviewed officer.

we have to be self-initiated to communicate and convince other departments so that we could have a collective and coordinated goal in terms of city and communities developments...Citizen groups have relatively few ideas of commercial mechanisms, yet they need partnership which takes time to nurture, the government is there to set up a mechanism procedure, so that to have the right people to get involved, this is a gatekeeping, and also empowering...'

the gatekeeping roles is also shared by the community representative, as he commented on his roles in the policy network,

in order to include the voices from the business and communities, I am more like an external consultant, I cooperated with the Department of Cultural Affairs and health authorities to develop accessible urban culture by attending the needs of the elderly, mothers, and the disabled. We designed some information tools to increase their health awareness...while some places like hotels we could not get in, but with the city government authority and endorsement, it might just work!

Taipei City is confronting increasing challenges in Taiwan and around the globe, domestically; the city government has been focusing on developing a culture-based strategy to promote its cultural tourism. Yet challenges remains as to how the government could create an inclusive and level playing field for all the people.

The first waves generated by the World Design Capital campaign is more like promoting design and CCI, but now the current wave now is more about the common people , to ensure them begin to understand design which could be used to look at the communities themselves from diverse viewpoints . For example, I now promote the "friendly restaurant " is actually a social design, in the past it's just about design a new place, but we worked with disabled persons as a designer, and they can see things that we cannot see , so we can provide an improved design method , yet it's not easy to involve the right people for the right projects...

New Taipei City: The LOHAS City

New Taipei City started as Taipei County in 1945, after the end of Japanese governance, when the Taiwanese government turned Taipei into a provincial administrative municipality while making the rest of the Taipei region into Taipei County. New Taipei City developed and prospered to become a major commercial city, second to Taipei given its location advantage, and is today a favored 'immigrant city' for citizens and businesses, due to the high living cost in Taipei. The high-tech, service and tourism industries in the city create a high volume of job opportunities which resulted in 70% of its population is from different part of Taiwan and contributes to its cultural diversity and economic dynamics.

New Taipei is huge and diverse, and we are very aware of making stronger links with the local people and the businesses, otherwise, the government very easily gets criticized. So now I visit schools and farmer associations a lot, and it makes me to think about how we could mobilize those diverse resources together to fulfill their needs through legal and authoritative ways...internally, there are twenty-nine districts in New Taipei and our department is also in charge of several museums, and they are very autonomous by themselves, and it is a challenge for me to enhance their cooperation...

Such external and internal diversity can also be seen on the government policies. LOHAS City is the new brand of New Taipei. In building its CCI infrastructure, the city's cultural diversity also made the collaborations with local communities a challenge. Therefore, the city government has initiated programs such as 'Tourist Factory', 'Museum Family', 'Local Cultural House' to promote cross-cultural tourism with the aim to increase its citizens' recognition and identity of the city. With flagship industry development, according to its 2013-2015 Mid-term Development Plan, the city will invest in four key industries, including animation, film and TV, digital leisure and documentary. In particular, the government plans to establish a platform for cooperation with other cities through joint marketing and branding, which received mixed feedback from the business and community interviewees,

I just found that my job as the executive of the Sanxi Cultural Association is now shifting from art-oriented to community and business-oriented. Of course we work hard for the local communities and not for the government! But now I have to control budget seriously in order to cope with the complicated collaboration and promotion practices, like going abroad for cultural exchange... we have to learn all that to grow and most importantly to preserve our culture!

...no one can has all resources, and the local are always self-organize by their own means...the public sector take care of the hardware buildings, but rely on the local in order to mobilize the people and create cultural content with local meaning, so that those venues like museums could really nurture people's identity and pride which is the basis for developing cultural tourism...

The interviewed community representative also emphasised that:

...although quite a lot of opportunities that the government offers might just be bubbles, but through those collaboration and interaction with people who are not from local, we actually understand the culture features of ourselves...and we are working for the communities and not for the governments...

According to the interviewed policy actors, it became clear that while various plans are underway to encourage establish new specialized districts, encouraging diversification, specialization and interaction, the self-learning of the actors is becoming an important drive of shaping the policy network.

Taoyuan: the Taoyuan Aviation City

The learning and adaptation process can easily been found with the case of Taoyuan, the latest comer on the municipalities. Taoziyuan, which in Chinese means Peach Garden when the peach trees blossomed in spring, is a name given by the local people who immigrated and settled from

mainland in the Qing Dynasty. Taoyuan City was appointed as the capital of Taoyuan County in 1971, and it became the youngest municipality city at the end of 2014. Together with the early colonization by the Dutch, Spanish, and Ming Dynasty, and later the Japanese occupation, Taoyuan City developed into a city with various cultures and industrial activities, from agricultural, electronics and metal industries to be the home to semiconductor, information, electric and communications industries.

Taoyuan, at the edge of the Greater Taipei Region, has developed from a satellite city of Taipei to being the fifth-largest populated city in Taiwan. The Taoyuan International Airport, the most important gateway of Taiwan to the outside world has made the 'Taoyuan Aviation City'. Also, Taoyuan offers major sea routes to Southeast and Northeast sea transportation. As indicated by the interview officer, as the latest municipality in Taiwan, Taoyuan city strives to combine its advantages in ecological, landscape, industrial efficiency to achieve structural and lifestyles changes.

The recent development in Taoyuan has made its urban planning falling behind its demand with the population rising dramatically...while the government is trying to catch up, we are dealing with ever increased and diverse sources of information and needs, and each of them have their own supporters of voice, it makes us to take up the issues and reflect internally what we are lacking...to make sure we are creating better environment for people to stay in Taoyuan...

As the interviewed community representative also pointed out, the city government has been finding ways to encourage the local cultural economy by building its own cultural identity, *...the government is changing their attitude to the values of local culture, like those remaining military villages...as a curator and designer, I was more like a catalysts in the network to create some fermenting effect ...I have experiences in regenerating historical buildings in Kaohsiung and I know how to mobilize and maximize the local resource and connections, and most importantly, I know who are the right people to be included and invited ...and what we need to learn is the historical and social context of those village so that to involve the people in a right way with true empathy...*

In fact before the upgrade of Taoyuan, the city government had firstly started its 2011 CCI Development Program, which places emphasis on the assessment of potential CCI thematic sites to build creative communities to attract and retain talent, and a Cultural Creative Living Promotion Office and Taoyuan School of Creative Living and Culture were set up as a window for matchmaking creative talents and local resources for city-image and industry transformation. With regard to the flagship industry, Taoyuan is currently striving to develop film, animation and visual arts as a lens to showcase their local cultural, ethical and industrial diversity. However, the local start up is suggesting a more self-organize approach as follows,

I am an immigrant to Taoyuan, and I found that the city doesn't have any specialized industry, because it's a place for industrial processing, but now it has outnumbered any other cities in Taiwan in bookstores start-ups which would contribute to its people's cultural consumption... while the government might be introducing new industries or branding, yet we are helping to define and shape what CCI will eventually take roots here and characterize the image of Taoyuan...(Industry rep).

Greater Taichung: Creative City, Capital of Living

With an emphasis and expectation on the overall economy and living quality effect, Taichung City claims itself as the most successful city among the six municipalities. The city was established during the Qing Dynasty, and given its name literally meaning 'central Taiwan', it has established an inclusive land, sea and air transportation network as a trade, manufacturing, logistics and transportation hub, and it is now the third largest city in Taiwan. Surrounded by mountains and sea and with its pleasant weather, Taichung's strength also lies in its recreational farming, manufacturing and service industries. In its recent CCI development program, the city government is developing CCI through major directions including the promotion of literature, city aesthetics, cultural assets regeneration, district cultures and large cultural and religion festivals. In particular, the newly elected mayor, who replaced the former mayor who had served for twelve years, has changed the former 'City for Creative Living' branding of Taichung to upgrade to the 'Creative City, Capital of Living'. The new branding demonstrates the city's ambition to promote creative living industries, including food, clothing, housing and transportation industries related to the daily life by providing emotional services with in-depth experience that have high-quality aesthetics (Fan 2015).

We have set up the CCI Development Committee chaired by our deputy mayor, so we could now coordinate among the different departments, like Economic Development, Urban Development, Tourism and Agriculture etc. For example, the CCI Blocks Exhibition is the demonstration of how we achieved the division of labor, every department works for the program by adopting ten blocks across the city base on the strengths and characteristic of the local resources...

Internally we are more like a coach, guiding other departments with a cultural and creative approach in developments...Externally we are a facilitator to connect and enable clustering between local businesses and communities. What we have been asked to do is more like an agent...to connect all active actors in the communities and industries, and to provide timely resources ...

Correspondingly the coaching roles are also shared by the industry and communities interviewees, when asked about their roles in the networks, as they both emphasized the importance of guiding both the micro startups and also the government officers to build sustainable creative communities in the city. As the interviewed managing director said: *Networks around the creative communities form the most important part in the livable city, because the creative talent like the relaxing and inspiring atmosphere, and the many links of the environment provided*

While thus far, the dedication made by business and community partners in the city is manifested in the that those dynamics and achievements have been weaved into an economic approach when the government is paving ways to build its flagship creative living industries.

Greater Tainan: Cultural Capital, Creative City

Another way in which the building of infrastructure can be used to attract creative talent can be seen in the Tainan's experience in which the government would connect old and new CCI infrastructure. Tainan is the city with the earliest cultural roots situated in southern Taiwan, the cradle of Taiwanese development. The city saw Chinese settlement since the late 16th century. A strong sense of culture is found here as it was the trading site under Dutch colony during 1624 to 1662, and later the Ming and Qing eras and the Japanese establishments. Tainan was chosen as the capital when the Qing Dynasty regained control of Taiwan in 1683, and remained the political, cultural and economic center of Taiwan until 1885, when the capital moved to Taipei. Due to this history, Tainan takes great pride in its rich history and traditions with the highest concentration of cultural assets among other cities in Taiwan, and it stresses its brand name as the Cultural Capital in promoting its cultural tourism.

To build up this brand, as the interviewed Chief officer pointed out, the Cultural Affairs Bureau has been finding ways to navigate within the city government. He said:

'the CCI division has to be an internal platform, connecting and communicating all sort of information to make sure we are on the same page in building a Cultural Capital. Yet while I cannot be too intervening, our division is also expected to come up with creative and innovative ideas, it is good because it's a learning process and we could leave something for other divisions to learn...'

Accordingly its latest CCI development strategy- 'CCI 1+1', the infrastructure building and facilitating industries development have focused on preserving and promoting its cultural and historical assets and integrating the rural traditional industries. Incubation center for micro CCI, committee to support its audiovisual industries and promotion of the city through storytelling, and various community development programs and cultural festivals have been organized.

Correspondingly, in its 'Cultural Capital, Creative City' Plan, four major strategies are outlined, these being 'Restoring Tainan Historical Glory', 'Build a Friendly Arts Capital', 'Build Tainan Film Center' and 'Taiwan Gourmet City'. The master and sub-plans reveal the City's keen desire to transform itself into a modern all-inclusive city, while maintaining its historic and cultural richness. Consequently, it is the balance that gives the city its unique challenges. As the interviewed senior designer commented on the issues of adaptation,

Because Tainan is the place for cooking, preparing and assembly ideas, and over the five years we put up Tainan design exhibitions to move the city image from a historical capital to a creative city... and we realized that if the design products we show are not come from the local cultural context as the starting point, the whole thing would be empty...

Year by year, we develop a framework, and every year we try to do something different to enhance its level, so people participated in the event they would learn from each other and past experiences, and at the same time, very importantly, we also need to learn more international experience

it became clear that Tainan's flagship industry centers on 'Restoring Tainan Historical Glory' with growth in tourism to round off its attraction to talent and investment in Tainan. As the local tea master and cultural entrepreneur commented on the issues of diversity, adaptation and learning,

We need more diverse participants in those cultural events, and also to attract different people to stay and live in the city, that's very important in terms of sustaining our traditional culture in a new way... It means as we are dealing with old heritages, but it's not just for the physical buildings, but more about how the Tainanese culture could be experienced and appreciated...

Greater Kaohsiung: An Ocean City of Creativity

Founded as a small fishing village towards the end of the Ming dynasty, Kaohsiung was settled for its great location in southern-western Taiwan and facing the Taiwan Strait. It gained city status in 1946 after the Japanese colonial period ended in 1945, and it was upgraded to that of a special municipality in 1979. With its world class cargo port for international trade, Kaohsiung became the industry's engine behind the 'Taiwan Miracle' as a world leader in manufacturing in the 1960s. Despite its industrial flavor, since the 80s the city has been upgraded and restored to achieve a balance between the economy and ecology and to accelerate the transforming of traditional heavy Industries. Following the merger in 2010, Kaohsiung is now the largest city in Taiwan in terms of land size and second only to the upgraded Taipei New Taipei in terms of population.

In terms of infrastructure building, according to its 2015 Annual Policy and Administration Summary, a number of major arts venues have been built to further enhance its clustering effects, including the Kaohsiung City Da-Dong Art Center, an international-class performance venue, and the Wei Wu Ying Center for the Arts, is a multifunctional park embracing ecology, culture, art and tourism, the largest international-class performing arts center in southern Taiwan, and the new main Kaohsiung Public Library to upgrade the city's cultural and artistic capabilities. These joint efforts to promote CCI are most clearly manifested in the Pier-2 Art District. As an urban-regeneration projects, this district was renovated as a favorite waterfront area, with cultural attractions including art studios, riverside parks, cultural-arts treasures, live shows, and large-scale outdoor installation artworks.

The Pier-2 this year attracts four million visitors, and while we are building others parks, we set up the 'operation fund', which would be used to support their mutual learning from all those sites and to buffer all the profits and lost between them.

While commenting on the current ongoing infrastructure building projects, the interviewed officer pointed out the very challenge that Kaohsiung is confronting, that is how to ensure the clustering effects could sustain across the city. In addition, the 'New Asia Bay Area' program was launched together with the 'Marine Culture and Pop Music Center program' to continuously develop the city into a pop music hub for the Asian Pacific region.

I tend to look at the CCI as the new promising industries, and the sector became a driver of our city government organization innovation too. Before the city-county merge, we used to have the old ways of divisions and sections, now we have all the 'centers', which means we are becoming more integrated by different themes of our city policy and have our own central responsibility, we are increasing specialized in our own tasks while learning coordination with other centers...

Such internal crossing-over endeavor is also believed to be beneficial to CCI development as it is also regarded as a fundamental and collective strategy to develop its flagship industries. While the city government has been devoted to developing the pop music industry by energizing venues for a series of large scale music concerts and festivals, they are expected not only to promote industry cluster formation, as well as integrating art with life, but also to enhance the international profile of KH as an ocean city of creativity. However, concerns and calls for a more visionary yet rooted development of the city could be seen from the following extract of the interviewed industry and communities representatives.

After the merger between city and county, the emotion of the people about their own land became the most important characteristic. Kaohsiung City is a city of immigrants, immigrants tend to have no emotional connection with the urban area, it is the traditional agriculture industries that will produce emotional bond between the land and its people, and the government should not overlook this very asset! And we need to get the young people back on our own land!

Nowadays the young people are more willing to show their concerns toward Taiwan's future, and it is back to issues of public participation, a representative of the community or the industry is not big enough, we need to government to show us with some research findings and direction, then more people from us will like to comply or collaborate with the government...now it's still very much lacking of direction of where to go, we all say one thing, we are all specialized in our own field and have limited resources, yet together under some direction, we can work out together a consistent direction through public discussion...

City	A: Representative/ Government Department Chief in charge of CCI Policy and Development		B: Representative of Industry Practitioners		C: Representative of Local Communities	
Taipei	C.M Wu (interviewee1)	Chief/ CCI Division/Cultural Affairs Dept.	H.C. Wu (interviewee1)	CEO/ World Design Capital Office	C. W. Lin (interviewee1)	Founder/ Our City Love Organization
New Taipei	M-I. Chou (interviewee4)	Chief/ Cultural Affairs Dept.	M.L. Liu (interviewee5)	Executive/ Sanxia Cultural Association	C.C. Lin (interviewee6)	Founder/ The CAN Culture
Taoyuan	I.R. Su (interviewee7)	Chief/CCI and Audiovisual Dept. Cultural Affairs Dept.	H.L Chang (interviewee8)	Prof. of Arts Dept. Tung Ha University	C. M. Chen (interviewee9)	Director/ Comma Books
Taichung	M.S. Liu (interviewee10)	Chief/ Cultural & Arts Promotion Division	C.L Liao (interviewee11)	Managing Director/ Scandinavian Design	T. H. Wong (interviewee12)	CEO/ Lavender Cottage
Tainan	C.C Liu (interviewee13)	Chief/ CCI Development Division/ Cultural Affairs Dept.	Y. C. Hu (interviewee14)	General Manager/ NDD Design	T.T. Yeh (interviewee15)	General Manager/ TeaServing
Kaohsiung	K.Y. Lin (interviewee16)	Chief/CCI Development Center	L. Yin (interviewee17)	Prof. Graduate School of Applied Design, Shu-Te University	Y. L. Hsieh (interviewee18)	Director/ TAKAO Books

Table 1. List of the Interviewees of the Six Municipalities

Discussion and Conclusion:

According to the above review, two themes are identified as being the most relevant to the purpose and the design of this research. Firstly, the CCI are increasingly recognized as strategically important drivers for strong city economies, and the contributions made by the creative to the broad city economy city is acknowledged, the CCI development in Taiwan concerns how the macro-level policies are implemented at the local level, that is how the local city authorities organise their own CCI development approach, and make the most of the local culture through facilitating a collaborative network among industries and communities. Secondly, while the CPUN has evolved from the city government authorities to connect to a variety of business and individuals, its progress may still be subject to the authorities' priorities. However the purpose of the above initial analysis is not to conclude the recent CCI performances of the six metropolitans, but to demonstrate that after rezoning, in addition to the new developmental momentum, there are also new challenges that lie ahead, particularly in the newly merged cities. There are three main implications of the present study, which may be outlined as follows.

The first implication is issues of **diversity and diversification**. The above analysis highlights an issue related to the diverse yet specialized processing and integration as being that of control of the CPUN. It is found that the policy makers are constantly confronting a dilemma between control and coordination among the increased diversity: inwardly, they share the control of decision-making with other departments; outwardly, the network picture becomes even more unclear, as they are expected to acquire functional services from outside the government to fulfill the specialization gaps in the network. Such circumstances are frequently revealed as the policy makers are becoming increasingly aware of the diversification of the tasks and trade-offs involved in the network. Overall the agents' accounts of their experiences can be regarded as a reflection on their roles, and the overall development of the network.

The second implication is that of **Change with the unchanged**. Overall, the case study have deepened and broadened recent developments with the CCI in Taiwan. The evidence suggest that the bottom-up network-driven dynamics, with some mechanisms in place, a dynamic exchange can occur between the two ypes of networking, and these individual-originated networks are therefore crossing-over and contributing to the city's strategic networks. Importantly, instead of saying that ecology is generated from the lower level, it is more accurate to say that the new properties of the network system are the results generated through the spontaneous interaction and feedback between the top-down imposed and the bottom-up dynamics: the creative vs. commercial and strategic vs. operational forms of networking within the urban context have in effect creating a shared pressure to generate new connections and to build networks, both internally and externally. Having looked at the network developing scenario in Taiwan and being constantly brought back to the issue s of local

culture preservation, it is clear that as CPUN grow and open up new possibilities, the network challenges at the city level in terms of preserving the traditional also become evident.

The third implication is **learning through adaptation**. It is found that with the CPUN, there was a high level of self-driven learning and awareness of the continuing network developments. In addition, evidence is abundant which strengthens the finding that the roles played by the network actors are increasingly blurred as a result of early involvement and interaction, mutual learning and adaptation, with flexibility growing from the individual level and surface on the network level. On the one hand, at the personal level, while the businesses' views of themselves as creative facilitators play an important part in their attitudes toward the wider network and remains the central principle underlying their network practices. These ideals lead them towards certain directions in their networking as they are encouraged to build up partnerships with other businesses. On the other hand, they face another type of externally-driven pressure: to fulfil the needs of economic development, which require them to simultaneously go through a self-motivated learning process, as they deal with the collaborative tensions and different businesses logics in their interactions with both the internal and the external network partners. It can be said that the self-transformation progression with the producers is driven internally by their own willingness to adapt, and is achieved externally, through their self-motivated interaction with other members of the networks.

Reference

- Allen, P. M. (2012) *Cities and regions as self-organizing systems: models of complexity*. London: Routledge.
- Banks, M. and Hesmondhalgh D. (2009) Looking for work in creative industries policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15 (4) 415-30.
- Chung, H. L. (2014) Developing the Creative Economy: The Network Approach of the Five Municipalities in Taiwan. In Lee, H. K., & Lim, L (eds) *Cultural policies in East Asia: dynamics between the state, arts and creative industries* (pp. 193-209). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Chung HL (2012) 'Rebooting the Dragon at the Crossroads? Divergence and Convergence of Cultural Policy in Taiwan'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 18(3) 340-55.
- Comunian, R. (2011) Rethinking the Creative City: The Role of Complexity, Networks and Interactions in the Urban Creative Economy. *Urban Studies*, 48(6), 1157-1179. doi: 10.1177/0042098010370626
- Council of Cultural Affairs (2010) *Law for the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cca.gov.tw/ccaImages/laws/247/1-0-5.pdf>
- Executive Yuan, Taiwan (2002) Challenge 2008: Six Year National Development Plan. Retrieved

- from: <http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/4-0a/20020521/2002052101.html>
- Fahmi, F. Z., McCann, P., & Koster, S. (2015). Creative economy policy in developing countries: The case of Indonesia. *Urban Studies*, 0042098015620529.
- Flew, T. (2005) Creative economy. In Hartley, John (Ed.) *Creative industries*. Blackwell Publishing. Massachusetts, Malden, pp. 344-360.
- Florida, R. (2005) *Cities and the Creative Class*. London: Routledge.
- Grodach, C. (2013) Cultural economy planning in creative cities: Discourse and practice. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(5), 1747-1765.
- Grodach, C. (2012) Before and after the creative city: the politics of urban cultural policy in Austin, Texas. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 34(1), 81-97.
- Innes, J. E., & Booher, D. E. (2010). *Planning with complexity: An introduction to collaborative rationality for public policy*. London: Routledge.
- Jayne, M. (2005) Creative industries: the regional dimension? *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 23(4), 537-556.
- Kong, L., Chia-ho, C., & Tsu-Lung, C. (2015). *Arts, Culture and the Making of Global Cities: Creating New Urban Landscapes in Asia*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Landry C. (2008). *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. UK: Comedia.
- Klijn, E.-H. (1997). Policy networks: An overview. In J. M. Kickert, E.-H Klijn, & J. F. Koppenjan (Eds.), *Managing complex networks: Strategies for the public sector* (pp. 14-34). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Martin, R. and Sunley, P. (2007) Complexity thinking and evolutionary economic geography, *Journal of Economic Geography*, 7(5), pp. 1–29.
- McMillan, E. (2004) *Complexity, Organizations and Change*. London and New York: Routledge
- Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Taiwan (2013) *Production Commercialization Value: Construction and Innovation of CCI Value Chain Program (2013-2016)* Retrieved from: <http://www.ey.gov.tw/Upload/RelFile/27/698429/102000024963%E4%BF%AE%E6%AD%A3E8%A8%88%E7%95%AB1020424.pdf>
- Ponzini, D., & Rossi, U. (2010) Becoming a creative city: The entrepreneurial mayor, network politics and the promise of an urban renaissance. *Urban Studies*, 47(5), 1037-1057.
- Prince, R. (2010) Policy transfer as policy assemblage: making policy for the creative industries in New Zealand. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(1), 169-186.
- Ribera-Fumaz, R. (2009) From urban political economy to cultural political economy: rethinking culture and economy in and beyond the urban. *Progress in Human Geography* 33.4: 447-465.
- Rhodes, R. A. W. (2006) 'Policy Network Analysis'. In Moran (et al) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 423-45.
- Scott, AJ. (2000). *The Cultural Economy of Cities*. 1st ed. UK: Sage
- Sacco, P. L., & Crociata, A. (2013) A conceptual regulatory framework for the design and evaluation of complex, participative cultural planning strategies. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(5), 1688-1706.

- Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2010). Mobilizing policy: Models, methods, and mutations. *Geoforum*, 41(2), 169-174.
- Pratt, A. C. (2004) The cultural economy: A call for spatialized production of culture perspectives. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 7(1):117-128.
- Taipei City Government (2015) Taipei Yearbook 2014 Retrieved from <http://www.gov.taipei/public/MMO/TCG/2014e.pdf>
- Yin, R.K., (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Government Documentation (in Chinese)

- Taipei City Government (2014) Cultural Affairs Dept. 2014 Policy Administration Guidelines and Plans. Retrieved from : <http://english.culture.gov.taipei/>
- Taoyuan City Government (2015) 2015 Policy Administration Guidelines and Plans Retrieved from: <http://www.tyccc.gov.tw/>
- New Taipei City Government (2014) New Taipei City 2013-2016 Mid-term Administration Plans Retrieved from: <http://enweb.culture.ntpc.gov.tw/Default.aspx>
- Taichung City Government (2015) 2015-2018 Cultural Affairs Bureau, Taichung City Government Mid-term Administration Plans. Retrieved from: <http://eng.taichung.gov.tw/mp.aspx?mp=18>
- Tainan City Government (2015) 2015 Policy Administration Plans.
- Tainan City Government (2015) 2015-2016 The CCI 1+1 CCI Development Plan. Retrieved from: <http://culture.tainan.gov.tw/english/>
- Kaohsiung City Government (2015) 2015 Policy Administration Plans. Retrieved from: http://english.khcc.gov.tw/eng_home01.aspx?ID=1