

Cultural Creative Industries Policies in Urban Networks: Case Study Design for Research on the Six Municipalities in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

The focus of cultural creative industries policy has centered on urban infrastructure building to facilitate a city-based creative economy. This approach signifies increased interactions between policy stakeholders, involving city authorities, local enterprises, and communities, termed the 'CCI Policy Urban Network' (CPUN) in this paper. Taking the six municipalities in Taiwan as the empirical context, this research focuses on the overlooked issues of *how* the major stakeholders adapt in such networks. This paper identifies key components of a research methodology designed to address the complexity of stakeholder adaptation, involving document review and in-depth interviews with policy makers, industry, and community representatives. The empirical work finished with a focus group study of the interviewed policy makers, to verify and refine the collected data. An analytical framework based on creative ecology theory is then proposed.

Keywords: Creative ecology, Creative city, Case study, Cultural and creative industries policy, Qualitative research design, Policy network

1. INTRODUCTION

In the discussions on the creative city, Richard Florida's (2005) concept of creative class and Charles Landry's (2008) development toolkits explore the role of policy in developing the 'conditions' of the hardware of urban infrastructure and the software of creative and artistic characters to attract and nurture talented individuals. These policies then contribute to the wider economic growth across the urban context. Research on creative city development by Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009), Landry (2008), Flew (2005), Pratt (2004) and Scott (2000) have highlighted how the cultural production systems and structures connecting the spatiotemporal elements might affect industry dynamics, and how creative bureaucracy can be achieved through diverse and dynamic interaction beyond the government authorities. It is thus clear that a policy network is now required and expected.

Research on policy networks has shown the trade-off and benefits obtained from 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; MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013). Outwardly, while acknowledging the complexity of the urban context and policy-making, policymakers must now adjust to constantly deploying and engaging stakeholders to deliver policy progress (Innes & Booher, 2010). This leads to an organizational challenge within the cultural, social, and economic aspects of the policy network in developing the wider creative economy (Fahmi, 2015; Ponzini & 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 policy for

cultural and creative industries (CCI) in the broader context of urban policy means that there is a need to refocus on the methodological strategies and frameworks that can accommodate the increasing complicated processing of relationships and roles of policy intermediation (Sacco & Crociata, 2013; Peck & Theodore 2010; Jayne, 2005).

Given the above background, this research chooses to address the practical level, by focusing empirically on examining how policy networks 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 a qualitative research design to collect data. However, the concept of research design within qualitative research remains problematic, and alternative terms such as research methodology, research approach and research type are often used interchangeably. In this paper, the research design follows the definition of Cheek (2008, p. 761) "the way in which a research idea is transformed into a research project or plan that can then be carried out in practice by a research or research team".

This refocusing on the research design was needed not only because of the empirical shortcomings of existing creative city and CCI policy research methods for non-western contexts, but also to respond to the increasingly important questions of how CCI policy may be formulated and informed beyond the governmental centered quantitative mindset of planning and economic development policy. This paper shows how qualitative methods can be used to address and highlight such concerns. The analytical framework based on the creative ecology theory will be then proposed. This study also shows a workable framework for developing CCI policies for a city-based creative economy.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CCI IN TAIWAN

The development of CCI in Taiwan can be traced back to 1995, when the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA)¹ proposed a grass-roots development approach to generate new economic value based on local cultural assets called Culture Industri-

alization, Industries Culturalization. The term “Cultural Industries” thus became a guideline behind the island wide Comprehensive Community Building program to develop local community-based economy. The Taiwan government combined the creative industries agenda promoted by the UK government since 1998 with cultural industries and formed Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI), which it defined as a sector that “originates from the accumulation of culture... and is expected to elevate the citizens’ living environment” (CCA, 2010). However, given the government’s agenda to upgrade Taiwan’s economy, CCI in Taiwan in fact represents “an overarching industrial contract that defines actions across all levels and connecting all sectors” (Chung, 2012, p. 12). It has joined the discourse on creative city which has become a powerful toolkit for urban revitalization in Taiwan since 2000.

This progress came at a time when Taiwan was gradually beginning to lose its advantages in the manufacturing and high-tech sectors, especially to China. The Challenge 2008 – National Development Plan (Executive Yuan, 2002)², a six-year policy guideline (2002-2008) was introduced in response to Taiwan’s entrance into the World Trade Organization, 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. This was followed by the passage 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) continues the government’s efforts in building CCI friendly infrastructure and flagship industries.

With the aim of driving Taiwan’s economic 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. These municipalities are Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, New Taipei City (formerly Taipei County), Taoyuan city (formerly Taoyuan County), Taichung city (formed by merging the city and adjacent Taichung County), Tainan (formed by merging the city and adjacent Tainan County) and Kaohsiung (formed by merging the city and adjacent Kaohsiung County). These six municipalities are significant for CCI development, together accounting for about 80% of the total CCI enterprises, and generating over 90% of their overall revenue (Ministry of Culture, 2015).

A brief overview of the six municipalities in Taiwan is given to outline the relevant policies and networking stakeholders based on secondary data review of government documentation. Following this, the methodological choices of this study are presented by discussing the research methods and strategy. 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. The mixed approach taken in this study can shed light on the quantitative value chain mind set of the Taiwan government, and reveals the qualitative complexities involved in the CCI developments in Taiwan. Finally, the creative ecology analytical framework is introduced.

3. OUTLINE OF THE CASES: THE SIX MUNICIPALITIES OF TAIWAN

3.1 Taipei: The World Design Capital

Modern Taipei began to develop as a river port and market town in the 18th century. In the late 19th century it was designated the capital. During the Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945) it developed as a major administrative and commercial center. In 1967 it was designated a municipality under the current government. It remains the political, economic and cultural capital of Taiwan.

¹ Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA) was the government agency which was in charge of designing cultural policy in Taiwan. The council was upgraded to ministerial level in May 2012 and it is now known as the Ministry of Culture.

² Executive Yuan is the Cabinet of Taiwan, consisting of 14 ministries, eight councils, and seven independent agencies and organizations.

Taipei is now the 2016 World Design Capital. 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.

Consistent 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, including: (1) the 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 et al., 2015).

3.2 New Taipei City: The LOHAS City³

New Taipei City started as Taipei County in 1945, after the end of Japanese control, when the Taiwan government designated Taipei as the ‘provincial’ administrative municipality while making the remainder of the region Taipei County. Taipei County (and later city) developed into a major commercial center, 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 numerous job opportunities.

LOHAS City is the branding for New Taipei. In building its CCI infrastructure, the city’s cultural diversity has collaborated with local communities. Therefore, the city government has initiated programs such as Tourist Factory, Museum Family, and Local Cultural House to promote cross-cultural tourism with the aim of increasing its citizens’ recognition 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 films. The government plans to establish a platform for cooperation with other cities through joint marketing and branding.

3.3 Taoyuan: the Taoyuan Aviation City

Taoyuan County became the youngest municipality at the end of 2014. Under the Japanese and later, the ROC government, Taoyuan County (later city) developed into a city with widely varied cultures and industries, including agriculture, electronics, metals, semiconductors, and information technology. At the edge of the Greater Taipei Region, Taoyuan has developed from a satellite city of Taipei into the fifth-largest city by population in Taiwan. The Taoyuan International Airport, the most important gateway of Taiwan to the outside world, has underpinned the “Taoyuan Aviation City”.

The Taoyuan city government first began a CCI Development Program in 2011 (before the entire county became a municipality). It emphasizes the assessment of potential CCI thematic sites to build creative communities to attract and retain talent. A Cultural Creative Living Promotion Office and Taoyuan School of Creative Living and Culture were erected for matchmaking creative talents and local resources for city-image and industry transformation. Taoyuan is currently striving to develop film, animation, and visual arts as a lens to showcase its local cultural and industrial diversity.

3.4 Greater Taichung: Creative City, Capital of Living

Taichung City was established during the Qing Dynasty. It has become a trade, manufacturing, logistics, and transportation hub, and is now the fourth largest city in Taiwan. Blessed with its pleasant weather, Taichung’s strength lies in its manufacturing and service industries. The city government is developing CCI through the

³ LOHAS refers to ‘Lifestyles of Health and Sustainability’, a demographic that defines a certain market segment related to environmental-friendly and sustainable living

promotion of literature, city aesthetics, cultural asset regeneration, district cultures, and large cultural and religious festivals. The newly elected mayor is rebranding Taichung as “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).

3.5 Greater Tainan: Cultural Capital, Creative City

Situated in southern Taiwan, Tainan has the earliest cultural roots and is the cradle of Taiwanese culture. The Dutch brought in Chinese settlers in the 17th century. A trading center and Dutch colony from 1624 to 1662, it was the capital for most of the Qing Dynasty beginning in 1683, and remained the political, cultural and economic center of Taiwan until 1885, when the capital moved to Taipei. Tainan takes great pride in its rich history and high concentration of cultural assets, and it stresses its brand name as the Cultural Capital in promoting cultural tourism in Taiwan.

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 rural traditional industries. The 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. In its “Cultural Capital, Creative City” Plan, four major strategies are outlined, these being (1) Restoring Tainan’s Historical Glory; (2) Building a Friendly Arts Capital; (3) Building a Tainan Film Center; and (4) Taiwan Gourmet City.

3.6 Greater Kaohsiung: An Ocean City of Creativity

Kaohsiung in southern Taiwan was settled for its port facing the Taiwan Strait. The original

city gained municipal status in 1946, and was upgraded to a special municipality in 1979. With its world class cargo port for international trade, Kaohsiung became the engine of the Taiwan Miracle as a world leader in manufacturing in the 1960s. Despite its industrial flavor, since the 1980s the city has turned to environmental and cultural tourism, and services, as traditional heavy industries wane. Following the city-county merger in 2010 that formed the current municipality, Kaohsiung is now the largest city in Taiwan in terms of land size and second only to upgraded New Taipei in terms of population.

According to its 2015 Annual Policy and Administration Summary, a number of major arts venues have been built to further enhance clustering effects, including the Kaohsiung City Da-Dong Art Center, an international-class performance venue, and the Wei Wu Ying Center for the Arts, 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 via infrastructure are most clearly manifested in the Pier-2 Art District. An urban-regeneration project, it renovated a favorite waterfront area, with cultural attractions including art studios, riverside parks, cultural-arts treasures, live shows, and large-scale outdoor installation artworks. In addition, the New Asia Bay Area program was launched together with the Marine Culture and Pop Music Center program to develop the city into a pop music hub for the Asian Pacific region.

Based on the above review, two themes are identified as being the most relevant to the purpose and the design of this research. First, CCI development in Taiwan concerns how macro-level policies are implemented at the local level: how 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. Second, while CCI Policy Urban Networks (CPUN)

have 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. The following sections further demonstrate how the two themes relate to the empirical design of the study.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN: METHODS AND PROCESS

In this section, the overall research design and methodological decisions of the study are discussed. Though the network scope under examination is that of city wide connections, a manageable network boundary for study has been decided. This boundary is based on the following considerations. First, it is based on the use of the term CCI Policy Urban Networks (CPUN) as discussed. Second, the CPUN is defined as involving those businesses or institutions that are empirically found in collaboration with, and which are central to, the city government's CCI development agenda. Third, the "complexity" in this network research refers to organizational complexity, which is involved in inter-relationships within the network system, from city authorities to related businesses and communities.

The city government authorities are regarded as the focal point of the network from which the network expands. The key interviewees for this study were thus the CCI division chiefs of the city governments, and an understanding of the network dynamics is achieved by focusing on how the officers perceive their roles in and adapt to such network in facilitating CCI policy. This is because the city authorities (mainly the CCI Division or the Cultural Affairs Department) are the ultimate authority that initiates, coordinates and supervises all aspects of the policy process. The CCI division thus has a two-fold role: it internally organizes every aspect of the policy, and externally, acquires resources across the city.

4.1 Multiple-case study approach

Yin (2009) indicates that a case study approach may help to inform practice by illustrating what has been achieved and what the dilemmas are

by examining the 'how' and 'why' questions of a real-life contemporary phenomenon where the researcher has little control over the involved events. This type of approach is also appropriate when the research purpose involves seeking a new perspective, with a limited existing knowledge about the phenomenon under study. Here, researchers collect detailed information with multiple sources of evidence to be used (Hamel et al., 1993). As Gerring (2007) indicates, a case study is also a suitable research approach when the focus is on understanding the complex and dynamic nature of the phenomena studied, as is the case with the CPUN, through integrating a diversity of methods. This method will be illustrated below.

Case studies can be in the form of a single-case study or a multiple-case study, both of which can use a single unit/level of analysis or multiple units/levels of analysis (Yin, 2009). For this study, a multiple-case study with multiple levels of analysis was chosen. This is because this study provides a holistic, broader view of the network phenomenon. In this study this research design was manageable, as there were no major problems in gaining access to the needed information. This was also because the investigations focused on the representatives in the cities. The reason for choosing the six cities and the government-industry-community, as informed by the secondary data, is that the study seeks to provide a broader view of the networks by showing how networks operate at differing levels of maturity and development. This design of the combinational analytical framework helps to draw out similarities and contrasts in network practices to provide more comprehensive policy and practical implications.

As has been outlined earlier, the case study in this research consists of three interrelated levels of analysis, from the individual, to the network and city levels. The three-level analytical designs aim to demonstrate how the network emerges from the policy makers, through interrelated dynamics with broader sectors in the context of the city. The *individual-level* analysis explores how the perceptions, attitudes, and concerns of

city government officers influence their practices, and shape the ways in which networks develop. The *network-level* analysis examines the internal process of how the business and community representatives perceive their relationships with and roles in the policy network. At the *city level*, the analysis examines whether there is any structure or strategy that has emerged due to networking practices.

4.2 Qualitative Approach and the Semi-structured Interviews

Although a case study can be conducted using both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Yin, 2009), given to the purpose of this study, qualitative methods were used. Despite the diversity of qualitative methods, Mason (2002, p. 3) identified their common elements as: (1) being grounded in an “interpretivist” position that is concerned with how the phenomena of interest are interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted; (2) based on research methods which are flexible and sensitive to social context; and (3) based on analytic methods which take account of complexity, detail, and context. Further, given the main focus of this study was on subjective experience throughout the networking process which

are varied circumstances requiring an in-depth understanding, semi-structured interviews were adopted for the case study. The semi-structured interview (in-depth or “conversation with a purpose”) is a method of inquiry located between the two other types of interview, structured and unstructured. Although semi-structured interviews are typically conducted based around a predetermined topic, they allow researchers to gain deeper insights and information by allowing interviewees the freedom to express their views on the complex scenario in their own terms and permits questions and issues to arise in response to the dialogue through which to gain reliable, comparable qualitative data (Esterberg, 2002).

4.3 Data Collection Process

Empirical research conducted across the six municipalities was based upon the following five steps, undertaken from September 2014 to July 2015 (Figure 1).

Step1: Secondary Data Review

The secondary data collected in this research was collected by reviewing the related government documentation, including policy and administration guideline, research reports, and press materi-

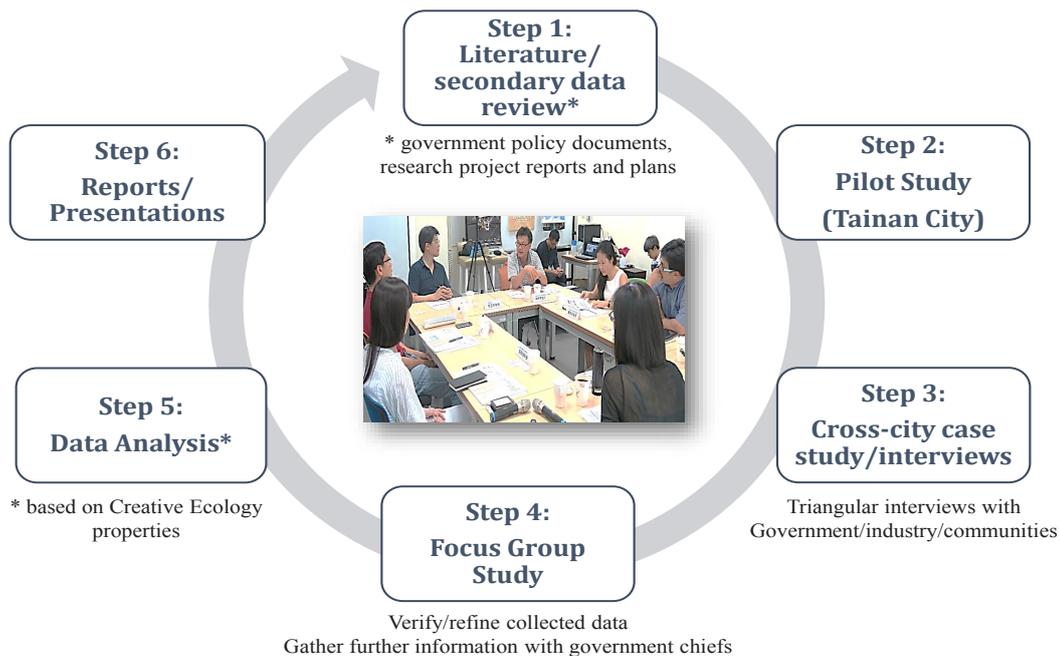


Figure 1. Overall Research Design and Process

als 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 shown that across the six cities, a cross-sector synergy, community and people centered CCI development approach is executed and expected (Chung, 2014). This may be seen from the social design strategy of Taipei, the plan outlined by the Taichung city government to promote its CCI blocks and creative living industries, and the infrastructure developed for promoting cultural tourism in Tainan. However, the data on this were limited. Thus, a pilot study (Step 2) was used for the fieldwork in Tainan, to identify general issues relating to the research, before probing further into the network phenomenon.

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, from December of 2014 to February of 2015. This was achieved by reviewing the secondary data and undertaking small scale semi-structured interviews. An interview invitation email outlining the purpose and themes of the research was sent to each interviewee: the chief of the CCI division of the Tainan city government, the director of a leading design enterprise, and a local cultural community and opinion leader who has collaborated with the government division across various CCI development programs. The purposes of the pilot study were (1) to empirically verify the relevance of the network research issues; (2) to gather policy actors' interpretations with regard to CPUN; and (3) to fine-tune the data-collection methods and questions.

The pilot study was helpful, insofar as the interviewees highlighted three points concerning the subject as well as the practicalities of this study: (1) the various network types and characteristics of CPUN; (2) the dynamic and diverse relationships across stakeholders, and their personal adaptation and learning during the process; and (3)

the method of initial e-mail contact and the face-to-face semi-structured interviews was found to be effective, as they demonstrated the relevance of the study to these officers and practitioners, and produced rich first-hand data. The pilot study not only helped to understand the key stakeholders at both the policy and practice levels, but familiarized the researcher with the triangular network structure, enabling the researcher to formulate themes and questions for the target interviewees. The snowball sampling technique (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004) was also used. For example, the researcher asked the Chief Officer to provide several names of practitioners who have recently been involved with the CPUN network for future interviews.

Step 3: Semi-structured Interviews with Policy Actors across the six municipalities

Two tiers of interviews were conducted: (1) With the representatives of government departments; (2) With the representatives of industry practitioners and local communities (Table 1). The overall Triangular Interviews are illustrated in Figure 2.

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.

First, the city government chiefs were identified through online organization structure review and then via telephone confirmation. The reason for interviewing the government chiefs is that they were responsible for the strategic decisions and direction of the network. Despite the bureaucratic processing, the response rate to all the interview invitations was one hundred percent. The purpose of these interviews were to gain a verifying understanding of their decision-making and their networking practices, and to initially identify and analyze the networking issues and themes by doing two-way, counterpart interviews with the collaborating related businesses.

Table 1. List of the interviewees of the six municipalities

City	Groups of Representatives					
	Government Department Chief in charge of CCI Policy and Development		Industry Practitioners		Local Communities	
Taipei	C.M Wu	Chief/ CCI Division/ Cultural Affairs Dept.	H.C. Wu	CEO/ World Design Capital Office	C. W. Lin	Founder/ Our City Love Organization
New Taipei	M-I. Chou	Chief/ Cultural Affairs Dept.	M.L. Liu	Executive/ Sanxia Cultural Association	C.C. Lin	Founder/ The CAN Culture
Taoyuan	I.R. Su	Chief/CCI and Audiovisual Dept. Cultural Affairs Dept.	H.L Chang	Prof. of Arts Dept. Tung Ha University	C. M. Chen	Director/ Comma Books
Taichung	M.S. Liu	Chief/ Cultural & Arts Promotion Division	C.L Liao	Managing Director/ Scandinavian Design	T. H. Wong	CEO/ Lavender Cottage
Tainan	C.C Liu	Chief/ CCI Development Division/ Cultural Affairs Dept.	Y. C. Hu	General Manager/ NDD Design	T.T. Yeh	General Manager/ TeaServing
Kaohsiung	K.Y. Lin	Chief/CCI Development Center	L. Yin	Prof. Graduate School of Applied Design, Shu-Te University	Y. L. Hsieh	Director/ TAKAO Books

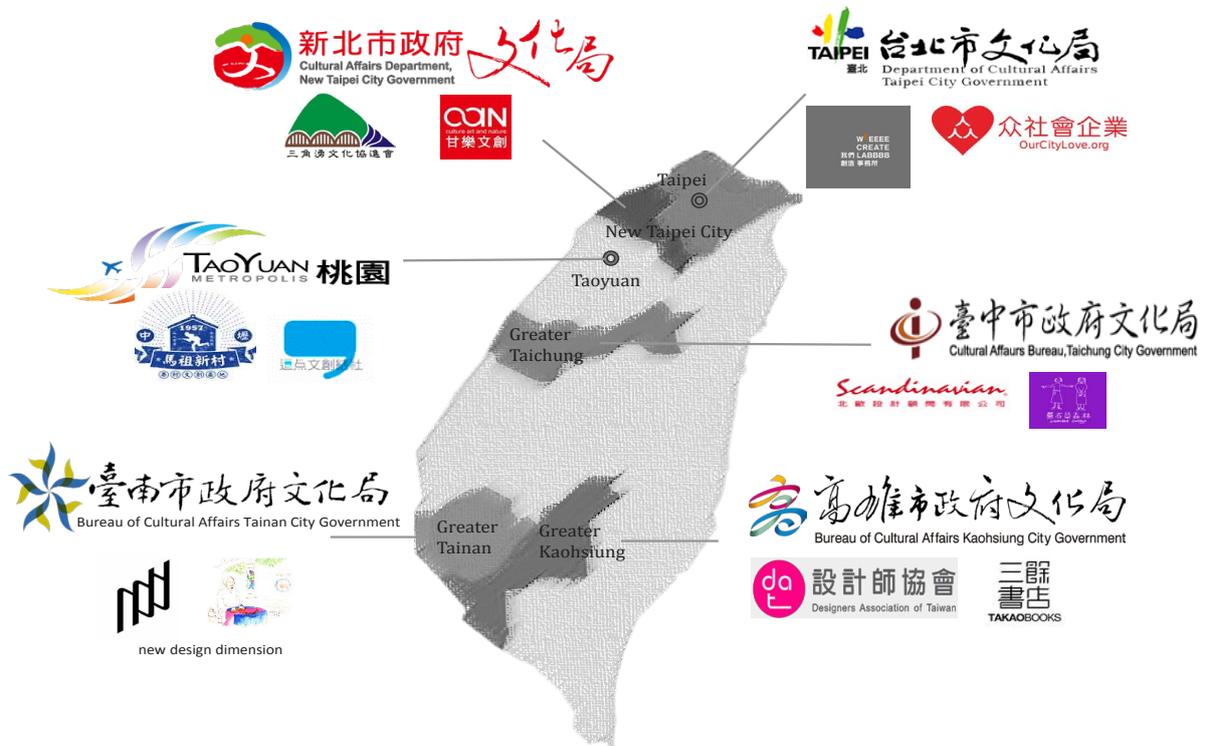


Figure 2. Illustration of the Triangular Interviews with CPUN actors

Second, the representative industry and community practitioners were first filtered through an on-line investigation of those who are recognized in the CCI community and had record of collaborating with the city government, the researcher then confirmed their status. Snowball sampling was then employed to find potential interviewees and key informants. Interviewees were currently active CCI and community practitioners. They were initially contacted by telephone and follow up email, with an interview invitation letter offering a brief background to the research and key interview themes. The overall response rate to all interview invitations was one hundred percent.

The aims of conducting interviews with industry and community representatives were (1) to gain a broad understanding of the issues facing the CPUN; (2) to identify an appropriate event or issues for a deeper study; and (3) to empirically identify other key and active individuals who had shown concern for CCI policy, or had collaborated with the city governments or had different views of its policies. All the interviews conducted in this research were digitally recorded, with the consent of the interviewees. Of the 18 interviews in total, all six government officers were interviewed face to face, with two practitioner interviews being conducted on-line via Skype.

The selection of industry practitioners and community representatives is based on the referred individuals, and depended on whether they were directly involved in the key CCI infrastructure building of flagship programs. For example, Taoyuan city is keen on developing the community-based CCI clusters and attracting talent. Therefore, the interviewees were the professor who is responsible for planning and building a major military village CCI park, and the bookshop-founder who recently immigrated to Taoyuan and has become the voice of the local communities. This is also illustrated in the case of New Taipei City. The designer-turned entrepreneur has worked with the Cultural Affairs Department in developing city-branding merchandise, and the Executive of the Sanxia Cultural Association has

rich experience, collaborating with the department in promoting local culture before and after the upgrade.

Step 4: Focus Group Study

Because of the complicated nature of the data, and to reduce the risk of researcher bias and negligence, a focus group was conducted as the final step of the fieldwork, and formed the second tier of the primary data collection.

The purposes of the focus group were 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; and (3) observe and encourage spontaneous discussion among the participants on some issues. With the focal point of the city government in the CPUN, the participants including five of the six interviewed government chiefs (only the Chief from Taichung could not attend, and followed up via telephone), 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 the assistants in the study.

The focus group study took place on 17 July, 2015 at the researcher's academic institute, which was chosen as a neutral site. The group study lasted throughout a Friday afternoon, about 4.5 hours comprising five major sessions, as the agenda below illustrates (Table 2).

All the three thematic sessions were digitally audio and visually-taped and fully transcribed, with the consent of the participants. The sessions began with the participants' self-introduction, followed by a brief given by the researcher/moderator regarding the research's background, questions, methodologies, and summary of preliminary findings. The issues identified in previous stages of the study were made known to the participants for comment. The three thematic sessions were designed following the major research questions, and each session began with a brief of the preliminary findings of each question.

Table 2. The agenda of focus group study

Time	Duration (minute)	Agenda
13:00-13:15	15	Registration
13:15-13:30	15	Introduction of Participants
13:30-13:50	20	Introduction of Research Background/Questions/ Research Design
13:50-14:30	40	(Theme I) Internal CCI Policy Network
14:30-15:10	40	(Theme II) External CCI Policy Networks
15:10-15:30	20	Tea Break
15:30-16:10	40	(Theme III) CCI Policy Networks International Competition
16:10-17:10	60	General Discussion
17:10-17:20	10	Conclusion
17:30		Ending

In regards to Theme I, introductory questions were asked such as, "What do you think of our finding that the roles of the CCI division in developing the internal network within the city government were proactive or passive?" As the discussion proceeded, the moderator increasingly probed for an understanding of the questions. The discussion covering the following issues: integration, platforms, intervention, and specialization. This led smoothly into the Theme II, concerning the external network, where the moderator presented both the positive and negative views of the networking experience with governments from the businesses and communities. The participants debated whether there was too much or too little incentives and interventions and how to manage the external expectations and to adapt to how people currently think about the role of government. The Theme III session concerned the issues of policy network and international competition, as issues with city-identity, city-branding, and cross-city and regional integration were brought up in the preliminary findings, and participants expressed their views on the roles and division of jobs

between the central and local city governments, and Taiwan's international political status. They also discussed their direct experience of being involved in international exchange activities, and what other international collaboration, instead of competition, could be initiated by the private sector, and the facilitating roles of the government.

There was an agreement among the participants that the CPUN is significant to the actual impacts of CCI policy, and the concept of the CPUN is positive and acceptable to all participants. The participant's comments on the preliminary findings were largely positive, and supported the directions proposed by the study for further analysis, whilst providing further insights into the network phenomenon. The participants not only identified propositions for future collaboration, but also showed high appreciation for the qualitative understanding of the increased complexity of their work. One suggestion was that an on-line and open platform to accumulate and exchange opinions and experiences of those interviewees is needed. A summary of the group study was emailed a week later for the participants' review and comments, and there was no rejection or disagreements.

Ethical guidelines for research concerning anonymity and confidentiality were applied throughout the collection, analysis and presentation of the empirical data, and all the interviewees agreed to show their real names for the academic purpose of this study.

5. THE CREATIVE ECOLOGY ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The idea of ecology comes originally from the field of biology and concerns interdependency, in which each member of the system shares the fate of the whole system and vice versa. Ecological thinking and analysis carries forward beyond the discipline of biology into the broader study of human systems, concerning systems that have the capacity to transform themselves under an even

greater state of complexity. Creative economist John Howkins introduced the concept of creative ecology (2011) to the cultural policy discourse. It is currently being applied as a new paradigm under which Howkins advocates for a shift in focus from infrastructure and industry to relationships and processes (Sterback, 2014).

Methodologically, the research design of multiple-level analysis, multiple-case study connects fundamentally to the conceptual logics of ecological thinking. First, it gives a broader view to examine the urban development context as an interrelated system. Second, researchers have highlighted the issues of complexity involved in the CCI development, and observed that a refocus on the policy process rather than outcome is required. Third, with the purpose of generating implications for policymakers, the framework is taken as a metaphor, from which to draw implications for policy development. The properties will therefore be used to draw an analogy between the network characteristics under study.

Given the purpose of the study, the overall analytical framework is built up based on four fundamental properties of the creative ecology: (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; (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 in which actors move across the system and absorb 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.

6. CONCLUSION

In the above sections, the methodological choice made and the main research tasks have been discussed. A qualitative research methodology was used, and based on the themes of the creative ecology framework, the analysis will be further processed. The qualitative case study examines the CPUN across the six municipalities in Taiwan. From the secondary data review and pilot study, the initial issues concerning the policy priorities and network were identified. Through in-depth interviews of network stakeholders at different levels and statuses of development, this paper demonstrates a systematic way of dealing with the organizational complexity of the subject under study.

Through this chosen focus on research design, it seems clear that CCI policy development requires better understanding of its actor. This may be seen from their proactive and open attitudes toward enabling the policy progress becoming more inclusive and accessible, instead of top-down as is traditional in Taiwan. Additionally, policy makers act as the network initiator and gatekeeper for CPUN. How the principles, attitudes, and values of policy makers shape the policy network demands more qualitative and systematic study. Overall, it seems clear that in order to understand the increasingly complicated policy network, a mixed approach to data collection enables a more flexible, yet holistic understanding of the research questions and the entities involved in these processes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank the reviewers for their constructive comments and suggestions on the paper, and also to acknowledge the research grants from the Ministry of Science and Technology for the research project titled: A study on the Cultural and Creative Industries Policies Execution Network: A Perspective from the Six Municipalities in Taiwan (MOST 103-2410-H-006 -100 -103).

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