

**A Critical Analysis of Culture-led Urban Regeneration Policy
in Taipei and beyond**

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Abstract

This thesis critically and empirically investigates Taipei city's creative and culture-led urban regeneration policies (CCURP) in recent decades to better understand how creative culture-led urban regeneration policies are generated and fixed into the city's local context. This research challenges and complements the existing research on CCURP, policy movements (policy mobilities), and gentrification and adds empirical richness to a body of work which is generally overly theoretical, focused on a small lexicon of places and in most cases lacking in in-depth and systematic empirical examination of the causalities (among policy interventions, social impacts, and influential factors) in diverse contexts and in places 'off the map'. A qualitative approach is adopted with an intensive case study of one CCURP policy, the Urban Regeneration Station scheme focusing on Dihua Street but also covering other areas in the city. Based on empirical data derived from in-depth interviews, analysis of documents, and observation, this thesis reveals that local complex, dynamic and yet intertwined issues of political and economic change, active civil society and global knowledge flow explain the emergence of this and other CCURP in Taipei.

In concrete, this work addresses the issues of CCURP from three observation points to shed light on their move from elsewhere in the world to Taipei, the factors shaping them in the local context and their social impact on a local community. Firstly, it focuses on policy mobilities closely examining paths, learning schemes and intermediaries. It argues that the city's CCURP are highly associated with global knowledge flows and that local planning elites are key actors in knowledge filtering and policy making, thus resulting in an incomplete and uneven learning process. Secondly, through an analysis of from policy objectives, processes, categories and policy discourse, it argues that the URS scheme is a highly localised and contested CCURP policy hiding a less precise and more haphazard executive process. Finally, it argues that CCURP have dominated the city's redevelopment direction combining with commercial and aesthetic forces to produce a mixed type of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification.

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Preface

Notes on transliteration, translation and exchange rate:

Transliteration of Chinese word is mainly in Pinyin, except for names of people, places and abbreviations that are well known or recognised by other spellings and forms; such as Chiang Kai-Shek, Taipei, MRT, KMT, and Department of Economic Development (DOED).

All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are the author's.

All prices in this thesis are expressed in NT dollars. The current exchange rate of GBP-NTD is about £ 1 to NTD 50; for US\$, it is around \$ 1 to NTD 30.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

As we approach the end of the second decade of the 21st century, both the theory of the 'creative city' (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002b), and the importance of the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI), have rapidly become part of the main government policy script for urban recovery, redevelopment and future prosperity worldwide. The value of the 'creative economy' is strongly promoted by the United Nations (UN). According to the UN, during the period 2002 to 2008, 'world trade of creative goods and services continued its expansion reflecting an annual growth rate of 14 per cent,' despite an overall 12 per cent decline in global trade due to the 2008 world financial and economic crisis (UNCTAD, 2010, p. xx). Such growth has led the UN to assert that the 'creative economy is a feasible development option... the time for action is now' (UNCTAD, 2010, p. 393).

In simple terms, what I define in this thesis as '**Creative and Culture-led Urban Regeneration Policies**' (CCURP) rests on the notion that cities faced with economic and physical decline can revive their fortunes by attracting and promoting the creative industries and the creative class that work in them. The fashion for CCURP has moved from their initial promoters in North American and Western European cities to Asian urban contexts. It has also generated considerable academic debate discussed more extensively in Chapter 2. For instance, studies have linked CCURP with contentious social and economic impacts, such as gentrification (Peck, 2005), and harmful effects on local sustainable development (e.g. Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008, 2009b; Scott, 2006). Research has also highlighted particular empirical gaps about places 'off the map' (Cohen, 2015, p. 23) in a body of evidence that tends to focus on the same paradigmatic cities and urban success stories such as the 'Bilbao effect' (Gonzalez, 2011). Others have raised the problem of developing valid and reliable 'mobile methods' for studying these mobile policies (Cook and Ward, 2011; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Wood, 2015; McCann, 2011). There is also a clear absence of critical academic research on Taiwanese urbanism (Wang, 2010). Meanwhile, critical research on 'policy mobilities' has sought to move beyond the traditional transfer-diffusion theory of policy emulation and instead draw attention to the ideological nature of policy mobility, demanding more practical research work to trace the networks of actors involved and how they shape and have been shaped (Peck and Theodore, 2010a; McCann, 2011; Prince, 2012). Overall, there remains a lack of systematic studies of how CCURP are embedded in and influenced by the practical complexities of their local contexts, and how CCURP have been

transferred and translated from hitherto Western urban policy contexts to Asian cities (e.g. Grodach, 2010; Evans, 2009; Simmie, 2006; Cook and Ward, 2011).

Taiwan is a keen promoter of the creative city and creative economy. At the national level, the CCI have been strongly and visibly promoted since 2002 by Taiwan's national government to boost the sector and its potential contribution to future growth in regional development and tourism business (Lee, 2015). This was officially announced in the *Challenge 2008: National Strategic Development Plan (2002-2007)*, which identified the CCI as a key pillar of development (Executive Yuan, 2002). Although Taiwan's CCI policy appeared a little later than the other three regional 'tigers' – Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea (Kong et al., 2006) – this national strategic development plan led to and strengthened the rationale and momentum for local/city governments to conduct their own CCURP strategies. In 2009, the CCI were further designated as one of the six key emerging industries. An *ad hoc* organisation, the *Cultural and Creative Industry Projects Promotion Panel* was set up by Taiwan's Executive Yuan (the ruling body headed by the elected President) to implement a five-year project named *Creative Taiwan: Cultural and Creative Industries Development Program Action Plan* (Executive Yuan, 2009). This project received a large budget of up to 26.2 billion NT Dollars, and was charged with leading the development of the creative economy in Taiwan (Executive Yuan, 2009). In this context, ideas and slogans such as 'culture is a good business' (Feng, 2002) and 'Culturalisation of Industries, Industrialisation of Culture', which began in the 1990s and represent the central themes of Taiwanese 'cultural policy', were used by the state to advance its CCI strategy (Chung, 2012).

From the author's personal position as a Taiwanese civil servant, working in the capital city of Taipei in the City Government's Department of Urban Development, I have witnessed the city's ambitious grasping of the creative city idea as a new and key tactic in its overall strategic approach to urban governance and renewal (details of which will be illustrated in Chapter 4). This has led me to question how these apparently Western ideas arrive and fit into an Asian post-industrial city like Taipei. How are they found, interpreted and implemented? How do they interact with complex local factors? How do local actors in turn respond? Do these emulated policies mutate? How do they shape the city? What kind of impacts do they generate?

As a response to this intellectual deficit – academic, policy and personal – this thesis offers a systematic study of contemporary urban development policy in Taipei, focusing on internationally mobile CCURP and their dynamic interplay in the context of Taipei. This overarching research aim is *to critically investigate and deepen academic understanding of how creative city and*

culture-led urban regeneration policies emerge, embed in and impact on the East Asian urban context of Taipei. The research questions are addressed through a policy case study of the Urban Regeneration Station (URS) scheme and its implementation in the Dadaocheng historical area of Taipei city – specifically the Dihua Street and neighbourhood. Taipei City Government announced the URS scheme in 2009, promoting it as a new urban regeneration strategy with more flexible possibilities than conventional ones, a different approach to the physical reconstruction of buildings and environment. The policy encourages the owners of old and derelict buildings to transfer their properties to the URS scheme as publicly owned buildings for short term and temporary use in the form of community spaces, information hubs, local libraries, and exhibition halls amongst others. This can be seen as a sort of spatial reuse programme for idle space but with a new creative city content. One of the main official purposes of the policy, is to integrate the creativity of local residents and cultural vitality by providing spaces with acceptable rents or free of charge to organisations as a means of creating diverse urban activities. The high density of URS sites on Dihua Street and its historical importance in the development of contemporary Taipei make it an obvious choice for the study. By following how this policy has been implemented in a particular local area we are able to discover to what extent CCURP can be a model or a toolkit to be copied from city to city when set against the history, the people and the urban context of a place.

In the rest of this introductory chapter I will first explain in more depth the rationale for studying the uncharted world of CCURP and their emergence and implementation in Taipei (Section 1.2), before drawing out the main research aims and objectives that guided this thesis (Section 1.3) and the thesis structure (Section 1.4).

1.2. Rationale for the study of Creative and Culture-led Urban Regeneration Policies (CCURP) in Taipei

1.2.1. Knowledge gaps

In an era of increasingly fierce competition between cities, the potential power of culture and creativity is being utilised in urban policies in order to stimulate economic growth and redevelopment. The creative city idea is taken by policy makers as a new urban planning standard and operating guideline for urban renewal (Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008). CCURP are being widely implemented, flowing from European and North American cities to Asian cities (Kong and O'Connor, 2009). A raft of studies has explored these phenomena, covering the dynamic and complex relations among policies, creative clusters, local development and its undesirable economic and social consequences such as gentrification (discussed in Chapter 2). However, there are three major

knowledge gaps in the research map of CCURP that this thesis responds to: geographical coverage; thematic focus; and the role of civil society. We take each in order.

First, the geographical coverage of CCURP research is highly concentrated on cities in North America and Western Europe, especially 'hot spots' like Barcelona, Bilbao, London, Amsterdam and Vancouver (Cohen, 2015). This has left a large gap in our knowledge of creative city-making in the non-Western world. Moreover, where new research on Asian cities is being undertaken, it too has become geographically concentrated, on new popular destinations that have 'emerged as more recent Meccas' (Oakes and Wang, 2015, p. 6), such as Dubai, Singapore, Shanghai, Beijing and Hong Kong (e.g. Wang et al., 2015). This leaves an enormous and undiscovered world of other East Asian cities like Taipei, the focus of this thesis.

Second, new emerging research in Asia tends to investigate cultural tourism or the rise of CCI parks and cluster developments (e.g. O'Connor and Gu, 2014; Chen, 2012b; Mok, 2009; Keane, 2009). Far less thematic focus is placed on urban policy interventions around regeneration and local redevelopment, or the relationships between urban policy, creative clusters and local communities. A key knowledge gap relates to how CCURP emerge in the first place, especially through their geographical mobility and translation from Western to Asian contexts, even though the phenomenon, causes, intermediate agents and factors of policy learning/ transfer/ mobilities have been discussed a considerable amount in Western literature (see Chapter 2.7).

Third, there is a noticeable absence of diverse voices and perspectives of civil society in the CCURP debates irrespective of place. While the process of urban transformation is recognised to be dynamic, complex and multi-faceted, and it is generally perceived that CCURP generate diverse social and economic impacts on the ground such as gentrification, the views and positions of different interest groups – from local business owners to local residents, either longstanding or newly arriving – are rarely discussed and even then very cautiously. It is noticeable that while certain questions about the role of civil society and especially grassroots movements are often raised in academic scholarship – e.g. 'whose culture? whose city?' (Zukin, 1995b), 'whose right to the city?' (Harvey, 2003), and 'your place or my place?' (Hou, 2013) – actual empirical studies are rare (but see Gainza, 2016, on Bilbao, and Chen Hung-Ying, 2013, on Taipei).

The following section explains why and how a study of CCURP in Taipei can fill these knowledge gaps in cultural policy and urban studies.

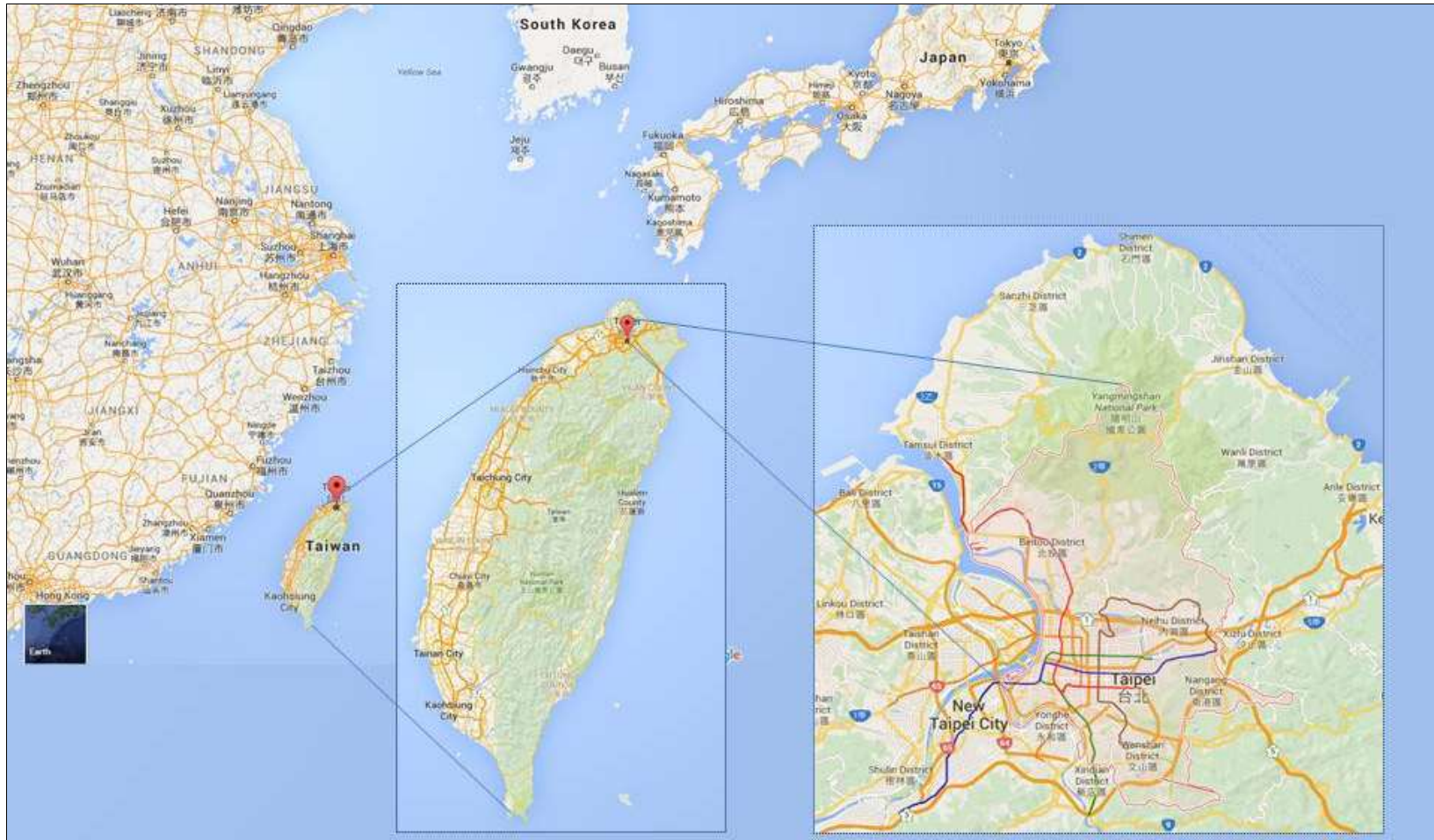
1.2.2. The relevance of CCURP in Taipei

A study of the nascent implementation of CCURP in Taipei urban governance and how they have become embedded in distinctive geographies of the city provides a timely and important opportunity to respond to these knowledge gaps. First, it offers a new case study of an East Asian city that enhances our geographical knowledge. Second, it responds to the urgent call for a new study of policy mobility. Third, by exploring a particular space – Dihua Street – it allows for the investigation of local civil society voices from a variety of positions and perspectives. But there are two very important reasons for choosing to study Taipei in and of itself.

First, following the state's strategic development framework that emerged in the 2000s and was outlined above, cultural and creative parks, international events and festivals were born and spread rapidly in cities and regions. Taipei, as Taiwan's capital city, strongly represents the national government's ambitions and its urban political elites have been keen to develop the city through a culture-led approach that builds on the CCI approach, holding international mega events and culture-led urban policy, as well as making cultural and creative parks (see Chapters 3 and 4; Figure 1.1 shows a map of Taipei). Amidst these culture-led urban policies, in particular, the URS scheme exemplifies the Taipei City Government's aspirations towards the 'creative city' approach in terms of urban renewal strategy. The city's ambition to make itself a world-class platform has underpinned its successful 2013 bid for the 2016 World Design Capital (WDC) (for details, see Chapter 3), which saw it become the fifth city to receive the award following Turin (2008), Seoul (2010), Helsinki (2012) and Cape Town (2014) (Icsid, 2013, p. 1). During the WDC bidding process, the city government included the URS scheme – the policy case study of this thesis – as one of the city's creative initiatives to convince the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID). The *Adaptive City* white paper announced later in 2013, identified the URS scheme as one of the sixteen tasks needed to help Taipei adapt to social and economic change and become a creative design city (DCA, 2013).

Second, the Taipei City Government has also geographically focused its URS scheme in Dihua Street where there is a high density of URS sites. This is important because of the historical significance of the street to Taipei and Taiwan. It contains one of the oldest business settlements in the city's history; it was where the modernisation of Taiwan began during the Qing Dynasty and where the awakening of Taiwanese identity took place in the Japanese

Figure 1.1 Location of Taipei



Source: Google map.

colonial era. It has also been home to the emergence of Taiwan's civil society preservation movement in the 1980s that successfully challenged urban redevelopment and demanded conservation and rehabilitation of the traditional built environment. This movement arguably played a major role in the adoption of CCURP in Taipei. Given its historically important cultural and economic background, Dihua Street presents a complex and rich context in which to situate the thesis and to understand the process of community development within CCURP policy interventions (see Chapters 3 and 4 for Taipei's history and development, and Chapter 5 for more detailed reasons for choosing Dihua Street as the geographic focus).

The relatively late development of CCI policy in Taiwan helps to explain why research on this topic remains undeveloped (Wang, 2010). Important and interesting work is now emerging reflecting the significant changes in certain areas of the city, for instance, the transformations in the south and east of the city (e.g. Jou and Chen, 2014; Jou et al., 2016), Treasure Hill (Ng, 2014), Wanhua in the west of the city (e.g. Huang, 2014) as well as Da-an district (Huang, 2015). Despite differences in research and geographical focus, we see similar concerns and issues critiqued – the role of the state, the changing relationship between the state and society and the seemingly unavoidable, 'concomitant risks of gentrification and commodification' that cultural policy can bring with it (Evans, 2015, p. 135). However, our understanding of Taipei's recent CCURP and their impact at the local level, especially in a historic preservation community, remain limited. A study of the operation of Taipei's CCURP is now urgent, as Pratt argued in his appeal for 'closer analysis and understanding of the operation of the CCI and their relationship with the rest of the economy (and society)' (Pratt, 2009a, p. 19). In parallel with the implementation of the URS, Taipei's urban policy discourses are continuing to develop and the first outcomes of its policy innovations are starting to appear, making this thesis and its case study an important and timely focus for research.

1.3. Research aims and objectives

This overarching aim of this thesis is *to critically investigate and deepen academic understanding of how creative culture-led urban regeneration policies (CCURP) emerge, embed in and impact on the East Asian urban context of Taipei*. This overarching aim can be broken down into three main objectives:

O1. To gain a fuller and more historically grounded understanding of the Taipei urban context – economic, political, social, cultural and spatial – in which CCURP are introduced.

Existing research on cultural policy in Taiwan has tended to focus on CCI and both the influences on it and its impacts (e.g. Chen et al., 2012; Wu, 2004) or on schemes to reuse the cultural/ industrial heritage (e.g. Hsia, 2006; Lin, 2014b). However, the historical background to the introduction of CCURP is rarely explored. As such, my research will broadly map out the development context of urban regeneration policies in the last three decades in the city but within a much longer national and regional context, to identify the key factors and actors behind the evolution in urban governance and policies. This objective will be covered mainly in Chapters 2 to 4.

O2. To investigate the role of international policy transfer, policy mobility and policy tourism in the emergence and introduction of CCURP in the city of Taipei.

Although there is a growing academic literature on the movement of policies and policy-makers around the world, there is a major research gap on how creative city theory and CCURP circulate and then become fixed in Asian cities like Taipei. While there has been some research on Taiwanese urban policy and the contemporary development of Taipei city, there has been very little research on CCURP and especially their rationale, implementation and urban impacts in particular places. How do such policies first emerge? What typical paradigms are taken and learnt? By whom? What kind of urban issues are expected to be addressed? This objective will be covered primarily in Chapters 6 and 7 by tracing the introduction and experience of a specific CCURP policy in the city. I will empirically research the Urban Regeneration Station scheme as a policy case study to explore how and where the localised creative city discourses of 'soft urbanism' and 'urban acupuncture' come from and how they informed urban regeneration policy. This will be done through a geographical case study of Dihua Street where there is a high density of the URS sites.

O3. To critically evaluate the community or neighbourhood impacts and implications of CCURP in terms of 'regeneration', 'involvement' and 'gentrification' so as to better understand how those theoretical discourses and international experiences are reflected in an actual urban policy intervention in the local context.

While existing Western research on CCURP has exposed the risks and problems mainly in terms of gentrification and the wider neoliberal urban agenda, most Taiwanese research takes on a more optimistic attitude toward the creative city idea. A key objective is therefore to explore what are the various social, economic and community effects of the URS scheme.

Overall, in response to these objectives the thesis makes five key findings.

First, the emergence of CCURP in Taipei can only be properly understood based on a historically-grounded understanding of the Taipei urban context. Chapters 3 and 4 show that by the 1990s, a historical process of post-war political and economic restructuring had led to a peculiar set of urban problems facing the Taipei City Government into which the potential of CCURP made sense as a policy choice.

Second, far from being an example of policy 'borrowing' (Wang, 2010), the emergence and development of both the overarching CCURP approach and the specific policy toolkit in Taipei was the result of a complex, multiscalar process in which policy knowledge is dominated and filtered by certain groups who hold power in making policy decisions and who are not held to account by critical voices in academia leading to an uneven and incomplete learning process.

Third, the URS scheme showed how mobile CCURP -- and in particular the Creative City idea -- were converted by one policy maker into a localised discourse (urban acupuncture), and how the discourse of urban acupuncture hides a less precise and more haphazard application of a policy. It shows, therefore, that there is not a monolithic policy block but instead a contested urban process, contested at street level, within the bureaucracy and between street and bureaucracy. The URS as a mobile CCUR policy was influenced by other contexts, but was unique to Taipei in terms of bringing together the need to build a new creative economy while at the same time responding to the demands of a new approach to urban renewal.

Four, beyond being a catalyst of urban regeneration (Evans, 2009, 2005), culture-led urban policy has taken a dominant position, setting the direction for cultural schemes driving the community towards creative economy led redevelopment. This creative economy led approach is combined with the features of the URS scheme, lacking transparent procedures and having a top-down elite-led path, ignoring local voices and thus enlarging the existing dissatisfaction and misunderstanding, eventually causing uneven gentrified development.

Five, the very global and local production of the URS scheme produced a highly localised CCUR policy that generated an uneven development impact on Dihua Street showing a mixed type of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification. However, at the same time, Dihua Street's gentrification is not absolute as the conditions of public infrastructural facilities and the limitations resulting from the regulation of historical architecture are holding back the gentrification process.

These findings have supported my main argument that the emergence of CCURP in Taipei is deeply embedded in the city's political and economic

restructuring, active civil society and global knowledge flow where local planning elites are key actors in knowledge filtering and policy making. CCURP in Taipei formed a sophisticated and dynamic process with complex factors and interventions in a local social context, a process that has economic goals and one that is implemented by a bureaucratic system playing a vital and active role leading to a redevelopment directed towards the so-called creative economy. The URS scheme as a mobile CCUR policy, with its lack of transparent procedures and top-down elite-led approach ignored local voices and thus intensified existing dissatisfaction and misunderstanding causing uneven gentrified development. This state force combining with commercial and aesthetic forces produced a mixed type of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification.

1.4. Thesis structure

In order to properly explain and contextualise the findings, the thesis is organised as follows.

Chapter 2 reviews and discusses relevant academic literature on culture-led urban regeneration policy and the 'creative city' idea that has emerged over the past few decades as a basis for understanding debates and policy directions relating to contemporary urban regeneration in East Asian cities like Taipei. It also introduces literature on urban policy transfer and policy mobilities, providing a series of views on how creative and culture-led urban regeneration policies (CCURP) that began in Western settings have spread internationally. The first section reviews academic work on the processes by which CCURP travel around the world. The second section discusses culture-led urban regeneration. The third section explores the role that culture-led urban regeneration plays in urban development. The fourth section discusses in more depth the rise of the creative city concept, focusing on its symbiotic roles as social and symbolic instrument on the one hand and economic tool on the other. This is followed by a section that examines and critiques creative city theory and its influence on urban policy. A sixth section reviews critical debates on the social and economic impacts, long-term sustainability and local benefits of CCURP. The final substantive section turns to debates on urban development in Taipei and Taiwan focusing on community involvement and gentrification.

Chapter 3 introduces the empirical context of the thesis – Taipei city in Taiwan. It provides a political, economic and geographical contextualisation of Taipei's development up to the contemporary era and its urban policy and planning developments in the wider context of Taiwan's history. It is important to understand that the urban development of Taipei city is continually influenced by national identity, political issues and central government

economic policies. The first section will provide an overview of the economic and political development of Taiwan since the 17th century but primarily focusing on the latter half of the 20th century. I argue that the mid-to-late 1980s form a historical dividing line in the country's story between the era of autocratic government and high economic growth on the one hand and the democratic/ low economic growth era on the other. The second section charts the overall urban development of Taipei while the third section discusses the emergence and roll-out of diverse urban development projects over the past two decades. I will show that the main factor driving the development of Taipei city was dependent on state policy before the mid-80s, and then tended to be pulled and pushed by polygonal forces. A fourth section then introduces and discusses the main empirical focus of Taipei – the historical development of Dadaocheng and its Dihua Street area.

Chapter 4 starts the empirical analysis of this thesis by mapping out the city's CCURP in recent decades setting in three main time divisions, and as such responds to one of the thesis aims, to understand how and why urban regeneration policy has undertaken a cultural turn. I pay attention to key factors and the roles of certain pivotal individuals who influenced urban regeneration policies in the period and identify policies of bulk reward and Transfer of Development Right (TDR) as both being pivotal mechanisms adopted by the authority in its governance of historical heritage preservation and urban regeneration. The case of the Wenlin Yuan dispute is introduced to explain struggles and tensions across society, stakeholders and the authority, and thus show how it reinforced the rationale and execution of the city's CCURP. Embedded in this empirical analysis, I indicate that since the 1980s the city has adopted a neoliberal approach to urban governance where bulk-reward mechanisms were taken by the state to dominate Taipei's urban development. I also show that under the force of urban competition at the global and national levels and in response to counterattacks from civil society the city has initiated an new age of cultural urban governance since 2010.

Chapter 5 presents the methodological approach of this research. I discuss the process of research design, data collection and analysis. A qualitative methodology is employed. Meanwhile the reasons for taking the URS scheme as a single-case study are also expounded. Embedded in observation, in-depth interviews and document analysis, the feelings and opinions of interviewees from various groups are closely observed so as to strive for a diversity of voices. Given my position as a member of Taipei City Government, I particularly reflect upon the ethical issues and my positionality in influencing the thesis and reshaping the researcher's identity.

Chapter 6 focuses on the theme of CCURP mobilities and bridges theoretical discourses and empirical practices. A brief review of previous urban policy

learning reflects the history of policy mobile. Discussion is followed by an introduction to soft urbanism and urban acupuncture to address how the creative city idea fits into the context of Taipei, as well as the paths of systematic schemes of policy learning and transfer. Embedded in its context of territoriality, relationality and localities, I critically examine the contributions and meanings of each approach to the city's policy learning, and argue that it shows an uneven and incomplete learning process as policy knowledge is dominated and filtered by certain groups who hold power in making policy decisions and who are not held to account by critical voices in academia.

Chapter 7 looks into the URS scheme in detail setting a context for my further study of culture-led urban regeneration policy and the application of Creative City theory in the city in Chapters 8. A panoramic view of the URS scheme is drawn, taking the reader from the initial concept, through its policy objectives, and operational mechanism to its typology. Policy mobilities are also reviewed regarding the travel paths, elements and practical strategies. As a practical culture-led urban policy, I examine the URS scheme as an integrated use of resources including spaces, human capital and organisations arguing that this represents a localised CCUR policy. I unpick the urban acupuncture metaphor discussing gaps between policy discourses and realities, as well as administrative limits.

Chapter 8 is the final analytical chapter where I start by investigating the impacts of the city's two stages of CCUR policy by portraying the transformation of a historic community, Dihua Street, and the significant change in the rental market. I do this by relaying the various voices of the new incoming 'creative residents' and existing residents, as well as policy makers. I argue that CCURP in their various stages are key forces both pushing and limiting Dihua Street's gentrification. Dihua Street's transformation is further identified as a mixed type of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification. The URS scheme, as representative of creative city urban policy, drives the community towards creative economic led redevelopment.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by linking back to my research aims and objectives and drawing together the empirical and theoretical findings and contributions to scholarship on the following themes: the relationship between CCURP and local community, the social and economic impacts of CCURP on a historic community, the factors influencing CCURP, and policy mobilities. Suggestions for further research on CCURP and policy mobilities (in Taipei and beyond) are provided at the end.

Overall, the thesis makes original empirical and theoretical contributions to fill gaps in this research area and adds to our understanding by revealing the story of CCURP and practices and policy mobilities in a city.

Chapter 2: Mobile culture-led urban policies: review and critique

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will review and discuss relevant literature on mobile culture-led urban regeneration policies and the ‘creative city’ idea that has emerged over the past few decades as a basis for understanding debates and policy directions relating to contemporary urban regeneration in East Asian cities like Taipei. It covers the three general themes of policy mobilities, creative city and culture-led urban policies, and gentrification as well as how they play out in Taipei and Taiwan. As these three themes are interrelated, I anticipate in this chapter the structure of my thesis, with an introduction to the literature on urban policy transfer and policy mobilities coming first and providing a series of views on how creative and culture-led urban regeneration policies (CCURP) that began in Western settings have spread internationally. I then move onto a discussion of CCURP from their origins, to definitions of the role they play. I discuss the rise of the creative city concept under three headings, creative human capital, social context and attractive milieu. I then examine the critique of creative city theory and its influence on urban policy, focusing on arguments that it represents short termism, emphasises global competitiveness at the expense of local benefit, and contributes to gentrification and displacement. Following these debates on creative city and culture-led urban regeneration policy, I turn the lens to urban restructuring, gentrification and mobilising policies in Taipei and Taiwan. Finally, some critical reflections are proposed.

2.2. Culture-led urban regeneration as a mobile urban policy

This chapter starts with a review of the processes by which CCURP travel around the world, or to be more precise, how scholars have been writing about these processes in recent years.

CCURP have become globally influential and thus fit into what research have noted as the phenomenon of ‘fast policies’ spreading from city to city, West to East, and between Asian cities. For instance, New Zealand drew lessons from the UK to make its urban policy promote creative industries (Prince, 2010); Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan have also absorbed UK experiences, taking the British definition and classification of cultural and creative industries (CCI) as a base to produce the frameworks for their own national CCI policies (Kong and O’Connor, 2009; Kong et al., 2006); and

Singapore's planning policies have become a model for China (Huat, 2011). Research brings a geographical focus to how and why these ideas and policies move from one city to another and what factors are involved (e.g. Cohen, 2015; Cook and Ward, 2011; Prince, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2010b). Much of the literature explores the processes involved in lesson-drawing (Rose, 1991; Sanderson, 2002), policy convergence, policy diffusion, policy transfer (Bulmer and Padgett, 2005; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Stone, 2004) and policy tourism (González, 2011; Sheldon, 2004). Discussions develop from the point of view of seeking best practice of 'evidence-based policy making' (Clarence, 2002; Campbell, 2002; Pawson, 2002) to recent analysis of 'policy mobilities' (McCann, 2011; McCann, 2008; Peck and Theodore, 2010a; Cook, 2008; Clarke, 2012). Research in policy mobilities covers and recognises not only the circuit of policy flows, transnational networks and other relevant factors (González, 2006; McCann, 2003, 2008; Cook, 2008; Stone, 2004; Wolman and Page, 2002; Cohen, 2015), but also their multiple forms. I now briefly review this research.

2.2.1. The nature and reasons for lesson drawing and policy transfer

The notions of 'lesson drawing' (Rose, 1991; 1993) and 'policy transfer' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; 2000) provide a basis for studying public policy, especially understanding the phenomenon of similar urban policies flowing from one city to another through the reasons, transfer objects, actors, networks, paths and evaluation of policy transfer and policy convergence. An array of literature discusses and analyses these processes and as Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p. 5) identify, although the terminology and focus often vary, they are all

concerned with a similar process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting.

Policy transfer has been seen as a process of lesson-drawing where evidence-based 'best practice' is identified (Sanderson, 2002; Pawson, 2002; Campbell, 2002) and transferred elsewhere (González, 2006; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000). Through various approaches to copying, emulation, hybridisation, synthesis and inspiration to create a new programme, lesson-drawing builds upon empirical evidence implemented elsewhere for 'adoption at home' (Rose, 1991, p. 21). 'Objects of policy transfer' might be policy ideas,

innovations, institutions, technologies or models. According to Rose (1991, p. 3) the process,

starts with scanning programmes in effect elsewhere, and ends with the prospective evaluation of what would happen if a programme already in effect elsewhere were transferred here in future.

Dolowitz and Marsh (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000) develop this idea further and focus on the characters of 'voluntary and coercive (forced) transfer' and the relationship between policy transfer and evaluating the consequences – i.e. whether the transformation succeeds. Their research into the funding of a policy transfer framework identified three types of failure – 'uninformed transfer', 'incomplete transfer' and 'inappropriate transfer'.

However, it is dangerous to limit research to these conceptual frameworks and try to identify whether a 'transfer' is successful or a failure in its 'adoption at home' because 'policy transfer' is not quantifiable and always involves complex conditions and factors that also make comparison difficult. One of the main questions is the blurred boundaries between 'lesson absorbing' and 'rational' policy-making, as James and Lodge (2003) argue:

How are policies defined as distinctive forms of policy making separate from other, more conventional, forms? 'Lesson drawing' is very similar to conventional accounts of 'rational' policy-making and 'policy transfer' is very difficult to define distinctly from many other forms of policy-making.... Whilst the effect of more 'lesson drawing' seems to be more 'rational' policy-making, the effect of 'policy transfer' on policy 'success' and 'failure' is less clear.

The discussion now turns to focus on the 'policy mobilities' literature that has emerged in recent decades, led by mainly geographers. The term is employed to distinguish it from conventional, orthodox 'policy transfer', and as such to further discover its contemporary meanings, local-global structures, new order of power, and so on.

2.2.2. From 'policy transfer' to 'policy mobilities'

The term 'policy mobilities' is used to discuss a modern evolutionary version of policy transfer reflecting the contemporary fast mobility of new ideas, new global networks of human and non-human agents (from gurus to consultants), innovative approaches, powerful trading partners, and occupying powers (Peck and Theodore, 2010a; Peck, 2011). It is generally agreed that policy changes as it moves (McCann, 2008; Freeman, 2012; Clarke, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2010a). As such, Peck (2011, p. 794) regards the orthodox 'transfer-diffusion' as a self-limiting paradigm and argues that 'there is a need, to coin a paradoxical term, to embed mobility, and to explore the ways in

which the restructuring of policy regimes and the mobility of fast policy fixes are jointly constituted'. Policy mobility as a 'paradoxical term' is expected to represent a 'significant geographical contribution' to critical policy studies (Peck, 2011, p. 794).

Following Peck (2011), studies of urban policy mobilities claim to be distinct from conventional studies of policy transfer in at least two ways: firstly, they advocate a 'social-constructivist understanding of policy mobilities-and-mutations' instead of orthodox 'rational-choice frameworks' of policy transfer; and secondly, they are sensitive to the 'constitutive roles of spatiotemporal context' which moves beyond 'essentialised, formalist representations of policy transfer' (Peck, 2011, p. 773). In other words, policy flows are considered to have a specific setting in every unique context of 'territoriality and relationality' rather than being a linear event between jurisdictions, and/or linear outcomes of expert networks. Studies also suggest that the transfer processes are more than simply 'copy and paste' actions, but involve countless individuals and organisations, and the consequences and results are seldom the same (Stone, 2004; Peck and Theodore, 2001). In this context, it is argued that research should engage in 'fine-grained qualitative studies' to realise how policy flows, and how it responds to contemporary urban issues (McCann, 2008, p. 2).

The literature is suggestive of 'multiple faces' of policy mobilities studies that include key actors (Larner and Laurie, 2010), scale of governance (Peck and Theodore, 2001), networks and circuits (Cohen, 2015; Cook and Ward, 2011), 'mobilizing material and nonmaterial forms of knowledge' (Wood, 2015), 'urban international' (Clarke, 2012) and the 'assemblage approach' (Prince, 2010). The results suggest that the characteristics and formations of policy mobilities/ circulation in the 21st century are often political and technical (Prince, 2010), (dis)organised, geographically extensive, social and anti-political (Clarke, 2012), fast (Peck and Theodore, 2001; Clarke, 2012), disjunctive and haphazard (Larner and Laurie, 2010).

In addition to these new understandings, the pathway of policy transformation is also discussed. Policy mobilities are regarded as 'global circuits of knowledge' (McCann, 2008; McCann, 2011). The concept of policy mobilities is employed to understand urban transformations where 'city comparison, referencing, or modelling' takes place (Ong, 2011, p. 4), transformations that are 'embedded in global-local relations' (Peck, 2011, p. 794). The concept is also adopted to explain a new complex ordering of power structure (e.g. Roy, 2011; Ong, 2011; Peck and Theodore, 2010b; Jacobs, 2012; Clarke, 2012; Cook and Ward, 2011; McCann, 2011; Larner and Laurie, 2010). For instance, Prince sees the discussion of policy mobilities explaining the 'increasingly spatially stretched relations constitutive of globalisation' (Prince, 2010, p. 9).

The concept has also been expounded to build an understanding of the significance of decentring and 'worlding' policy routes and theory development (Roy and Ong, 2011). A homogenised phenomenon is generally observed in which, as Cochrane observes:

Everywhere borrows and reuses everything through particular practice, in ways that join it up with elsewhere all the time. In other words, elsewhere is right here as much as it is over there. (Cochrane, 2011, p. xi)

Looking beyond appearances of homogenised phenomena amidst cities and within a city, various papers have explored more deeply the territoriality, relationality, and localities embedded in the mobile process (e.g. McCann and Ward, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2001; Prince, 2010; Cohen, 2015; McCann and Ward, 2010). These works have stressed local context in order to explain how a policy mutates through global flows. After all, the 'objects' of policy transfer 'do not float freely in some unstructured universe' but are 'socially and institutionally constructed' (McCann, 2011, p. 2). 'Local' policy, here, 'occurs in a self-consciously comparative and asymmetrically relativized context' (Cook and Ward, 2011, p. 2519).

Huat's work on how China took Singapore as a model offers a good example. Huat illustrates how China learned from Singapore in planning and constructing industrial parks and tried to do better, referring to Singapore as a possibility rather than a model. In this context, Huat points out the cultural and geographical similarities. He quotes Singapore's Minister of Foreign Affairs, 'if it can work here, maybe it can work there... it draws and abstracts the relevant lessons' (Huat, 2011, p. 50). Huat concludes the paper with an interesting comment, 'the largest nation in Asia, a rising global power, is studying the smallest one in Asia, and one that was thought, by most, unlikely to succeed' (2011, p. 50). In this case, China's self-identification of cultural and geographical similarities shows it to be 'self-consciously comparative' and the difference of China and Singapore in territorial scale presents an 'asymmetrically relativized context'.

As mentioned, McCann claims and identifies the 'circular nature' of policy mobilities as distinct from the 'linear track' of policy transfer (McCann, 2011; McCann, 2008). Cook and Ward further suggest that the process can involve multiple points of reference elsewhere and thus does not necessarily draw on a linear, single action from one place to another (Cook and Ward, 2011). González, however, after illustrating the diffusion model of Barcelona and Bilbao, notes that 'we cannot abandon the more old-fashioned unidirectional or bidirectional' model (González, 2011, p.1410). In the case of the notion of creative economy which moved from Britain to Bandung in Indonesia, Cohen sees 'multiple pathways' (Cohen, 2015, p. 34). Key actors, associated organisations and ad hoc policy networks are highlighted in Cohen's research

to explain the movement and transfer process. For instance, Charles Landry was introduced to Bandung as an expert to promote the creative city idea; and local policy makers visited Britain to witness the flourishing British creative economy. He highlights other key paths of interactions of local elites, interactions of the local ad hoc committee and the British Council, interactions which, as we shall see, later are mirrored in relations between Taipei and London in Chapter 6.

Drawing on cognitive aspects, Freeman's study refers to the transfer process 'in a wave form' so as to spell out its 'mobility and its mutability' (Freeman, 2012, p. 12). By deconstructing the transfer process, he illustrates it as a process of translation where messages are understood, re-iterated, and policies are thus 'reformulated and repeated in different contexts' accordingly (Freeman, 2012, p. 13). As reverberation ratio reflects the size of the space, Freeman claims that the moving process embodies a process of shared understanding, and it is in this wave-like pattern that consensus is 'consolidated and reproduced' (Freeman, 2012, p. 13).

From various aspects of local and global relationships, territoriality and relationality, and its nature and ways of diffusion, research on the features and pathways of 21st century policy flows re-iterates the idea that the characters of policy mobilities are, as Simmel proposed, complex, chaotic yet embedded in local context (Featherstone, 1997). It is also based on these varied, complex and elusive characters that some research (e.g. Wood, 2015; McCann, 2011; Cook and Ward, 2011; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Büscher and Urry, 2009) calls urgently for new methods to cope with the 'new mobilities paradigm' of multiple mobility systems of people, information, images and objects (Sheller and Urry, 2006). We will discuss these in more detail in Chapter 5.

2.3. Culture-led urban regeneration

Culture, broadly understood, has been increasingly used as a rationale behind urban regeneration projects in the last 30 years. During this time the concept of the 'creative city' has come to play a leading role in urban policy and planning in the global north and increasingly in global south countries. In this section I explore the recent antecedents of the creative city and culture-led urban regeneration as a background to understanding the development of contemporary urban policy. I introduce post-modernist theory and the urban design movement known as New Urbanism, including some important urban planning ideas from pioneers including Jane Jacobs, Robert Venturi, Aldo Rossi, and Charles Jencks, underlining their contributions to work on culture and contemporary urban life and their influence on the development of urban theory.

2.3.1. Antecedents of culture-led urbanism

Culture-led regeneration policies and the rise of the 'creative city' approach arguably took root in the simultaneous rise of mass culture and the ever-diversifying heterogeneity of communities during the 1960s and 1970s. Taking issue with the Garden City idea and Le Corbusier's Radiant City, Jane Jacobs emphasised the importance of the particular nature of individual cities and the need for city diversity in her well known book, *The death and life of great American cities*. She emphasised the meaning and quality of sidewalks, local parks (open space) and neighbourhoods and argued that the real vitality of cities lay in their diversity, variegated architectural styles, heterogeneous street life and human scale (Jacobs, 1961). Her celebration of 'mix-use' neighbourhoods has been widely accepted as part of the characteristics and value of urban life (Dreier, 2006).

Rooted in similar tendencies, Venturi et al.'s 1972 work, *Learning from Las Vegas*, criticised the boredom and indifference induced by the International style of Modernism. They argued that urban and architectural forms should reflect in their appearance the context in which they were located. In other words, the cities and buildings should represent the way and scale of the life of most people. They believed that the image of Las Vegas, including neon signs, billboards, cafes and other commercial styles, shaped and reflected the preferences of the masses. Hence, they advocated that architects and planners establish a dialogue with the masses and learn from Las Vegas. In addition, they asserted that architects should be more receptive to the tastes and values of "common" people instead of trying to create heroic, self-aggrandizing monuments and ostentatious designs (Venturi et al., 1972).

Consequently, some post-modernism pioneers focused more on city context rather than city form itself (Jencks, 1977; Rossi et al., 1982). Aldo Rossi, an Italian theorist and architect, believed that the city should be understood as a place of collective memory and as a field for public social activities (Rossi et al., 1982). Similarly, Charles Jencks also focused on forms derived from the city context and nature while discussing the paradigm shift from modern to postmodern architecture (Jencks, 1977). This ideological change not only influenced the form of architecture design and urban planning but also, more importantly, an awareness of the content of city life. This consciousness would later become a core concern of the creative city idea and culture-led urban restructuring.

In addition to post-modernist theory, the creative city idea and culture-led urban regeneration have also been inspired by the New Urbanism movement of 1980s. In the Charter of the New Urbanism (Congress for the New

Urbanism, 1993), 27 principles were classified into three geographic scales of 'the region: metropolis, city, and town', 'the neighbourhood, the district, and the corridor', and 'the block, the street, and the building', so as to guide public policy, development practice, urban planning, and design. The charter advocated the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles:

Neighbourhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice. (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000, p. 339)

What emerged from this ideological trend was that in urban planning, the meaning of the city or of a place was no longer presented nor led solely by its function as it had been by modernism ('form follows function'); instead, the characteristics and relationships involving culture, activities and citizens (users) were elevated as key issues while discussing regional development, as well as the later development of the Creative City theory.

2.3.2. Defining culture-led regeneration

Urban regeneration policies often have different social and historical backgrounds. However, cultural policies appear universally as favoured new strategies for urban regeneration (Evans and Shaw, 2004; Miles, 2005a; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993), economic development (Florida, 2002b; Scott, 2004), social inclusion (Belfiore, 2002; Brown, 1995) and even international status (Kong, 2007). As Evans writes, 'cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration -- epithets of change and movement' (Evans, 2005 p. 968). Scholars have analysed culture-led urban policies via empirical studies, either through their location -- examining cities around the world including in North America (Grodach, 2010), Asia (Kong, 2007; Lin and Hsing, 2009), the UK (Evans and Shaw, 2004; Miles, 2005b) and Western Europe (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; García, 2004a; Montgomery, 2004; Salet, 2008); or typologically, in terms of 'flagship' projects (Smyth, 1994; Jencks, 2005; Miles, 2005b; Kong, 2007; Grodach, 2010), mega-events such as expos, festivals, and sports competitions (Quinn, 2005; Bramham and Wagg, 2009; Gold and Gold, 2010; Monclús, 2012; Smith, 2012), and arts programming (García, 2004b; Sharp et al., 2005; Garcia, 2004).

In order to understand the particular nature of culture-led urban regeneration, it is necessary to explore the role culture itself plays in urban policy and the goals that cultural policies are trying to achieve, which we now turn to. For both urban policy makers and academics, 'culture' is regarded as a catalyst, driver or even key player in the process of urban governance (Bassett, 1993;

Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Evans, 2001; García, 2004a; Stevenson, 2004) through its symbolic value and its ability to attract and include specific local contexts and stakeholders and to enhance city competitiveness and international status (Bassett, 1993; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Evans, 2001; García, 2004a; Kong, 2007; Stevenson, 2004). Culture, consequently, has been combined with the geo-social economic shift from traditional public service models to business-oriented, market-driven and profit-oriented structures to strengthen competitive potential, spur urban development, and create local identity and social cohesion. The trend, according to Beatriz Garcia, 'has grown from an interesting alternative to urban development policy into a core strategy in an increasing number of cities and regions world-wide' (Garcia, 2005, p. 841). It has developed from festival marketplaces, waterfront sites providing consumption and entertainment to an approach of 'cultural planning' (Stevenson, 2003).

With different forms, concentration and density of culture involved, the definition of cultural planning proposed by Graeme Evans is the one which has most influenced subsequent work. He classified it into three models: 'Cultural Regeneration', 'Culture and Regeneration' and 'Culture-led Regeneration' (Evans, 2005); these are set out in the table below.

Table 2.1 Models of regeneration through cultural projects as defined by Evans.

Models	Definition and features	Examples
Culture-led Regeneration	1. Cultural activity is regarded as the catalyst and engine of regeneration.	
	2. The activity is likely to have a high-public profile and frequently to be cited as the sign of regeneration.	
	3. The activity might be the design and construction (or re-use) of a building or buildings for public or business use;	Guggenheim Bilbao, Spain Baltic and Sage Music Centre in Gateshead Tate Modern and Peckham Library in Southwark The Chocolate Factory in Haringey The Lace Market in Nottingham
	the reclamation of open space;	The garden festivals of the 1980s and 90s in Ebbw Vale, Stoke, Gateshead, Liverpool, etc. EXPO sites

	the introduction of a programme of activity which is then used to rebrand a place	Ulverston Festival Town Window on the World Festival, North Shields Arts 'festivals', events and public art schemes
Cultural Regeneration	<p>1. Cultural activity is fully integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere.</p> <p>2. This model is closely allied to the 'cultural planning' approach to cultural policy and city regeneration.</p>	<p>Birmingham's Renaissance where the arts were incorporated with policy, planning and resourcing through the city council's joint Arts, Employment and Economic Development Committee.</p> <p>Barcelona, the 'exemplar' cultural city: Olympic village site and declining Poblanou industrial district.</p>
Culture and Regeneration	<p>1. Cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage (often because the responsibilities for cultural provision and for regeneration sit within different departments).</p> <p>2. The intervention is often small-scale.</p> <p>3. In some cases, where no planned provision has been made, residents and cultural organisations may respond to the vacuum and make their own interventions.</p>	<p>a public art programme for a business park, once the buildings have been designed;</p> <p>a heritage interpretation or local history museum tucked away in the corner of a reclaimed industrial site</p> <p>lobbying for a library, commissioning artists to make signs or street furniture, recording the history of their area, setting up a regular music night, etc.</p>

Source: Compiled by the author from Evans (2005, pp. 967-970) and Evans and Shaw (2004, p. 5).

Accordingly, in the cultural regeneration model, 'cultural activity is more integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere', while in the culture *and* regeneration model, it is

often small and 'not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage'. What Evans identified as the culture-led regeneration model is 'seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration'. It 'might be the design and construction (or reuse) of a building or buildings for public or mixed use; the reclamation of open space (for example, garden festivals, EXPO sites); or the introduction of a programme of activity which is then used to rebrand a place, notably arts 'festivals', events and public art schemes' (Evans, 2005, p. 968-969).

In order to develop relevant discourses on cultural policy and specifically embed an aspect of urban spatial policies in this thesis Evans' definition of culture-led Regeneration will be taken as a basis for discussion in the following section. As to his other definitions, there are myriad literatures theoretically and empirically looking at those (e.g. Bilton, 2014; Hall and Robertson, 2001; Miles, 1997; Amin, 2008), but they are beyond the research scope here.

2.4. The role that culture-led regeneration policy plays in urban development

In responding to the waves of contemporary urban design theory, local consciousness and neoliberal capitalism, culture-led urban regeneration has been adopted across the world as a silver bullet for urban spatial revitalisation. As the overall goals of urban regeneration are, arguably, to bring money and investment into a city, to restructure who lives in the city and who does not, to provide outlets for construction and service jobs and thus profits, to enable politicians to build political power bases, culture-led regeneration leads more specifically to certain aims. The causal relationships amongst contemporary society, cultural policy and visions of urban development are complex and intertwined. Therefore, the meaning of culture-led urban policy is diverse with plenty of empirical examinations using varying methodologies. From those studies, I briefly illustrate the role culture-led regeneration is seen to play in two main dimensions. The first is as a social and symbolic means of improving not only urban facilities but also urban image through either utilizing local cultural elements or introducing flagship projects that represent the spirit of a space and create an atmosphere of social cohesion. The second is as an economic tool to attract inward investment and boost the tourism economy.

2.4.1. Culture as social and symbolic instrument for re-imagining and re-vitalising

First, it is argued widely that the products of cultural urban policies, especially landmark buildings and flagship projects, are adopted to create a distinctive urban image, something that has long been seen as important by planners and politicians (Bradley et al., 2002). As Mommaas argues, place-based strategies of culture-led development are aimed at strengthening the identity of places (Mommaas, 2004). In this context, flagship projects begin with competitions to which internationally famous architects are invited to apply. These projects are considered important because they contribute to city image-shaping. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao has become the paradigm of culture-led regeneration policy aimed at urban image-making. It has become a synonym of Bilbao and has drawn significant attention and has given us the expression the 'Bilbao effect' (Rybczynski, 2002; Plaza, 2007). This is defined by Lord (Lord, 2007, p. 32) as 'the transformation of a city by a new museum or cultural facility into a vibrant and attractive place for residents, visitors and inward investment'.

Secondly, cultural strategies appear as catalysts for creating opportunities for inner city living, aesthetics and urban lifestyles. Policies concentrate on public space making through cultural intervention. Public spaces are deemed to be an important aspect of urban living and are part of the lifestyle on offer to citizens (Jacobs, 1961; Montgomery, 2003), while cultural interventions create the appearance of an active city life with vivid street frontages (Montgomery, 2003; Carmona et al., 2010; Zukin, 1998). Many abandoned industrial buildings are reused, such as new art galleries, pubs, cafés, or even public open spaces to provide a diversity of rich and playful places for city life (Stevens, 2007). The Tate Museum in London is an example of successful building reuse (Evans, 2005). It presents the value of city life in the way it combines the multidimensional function of art, education, leisure, and most importantly revitalizing surrounding areas.

Finally, regeneration using cultural events or arts-based programmes designed to bring about 'soft edged' (Betterton, 2001, p. 11) urban change is expected to address social exclusion, greater participation and public well-being in community life (Evans, 2005) in order to bring about greater social cohesion. In particular, Matarasso finds that by adopting participatory cultural and arts initiatives in public policy arts-based programmes make 'a serious contribution to addressing contemporary social challenges'; they 'can contribute to social cohesion by developing networks and understanding, and building local capacity for organisation and self-determination' (Matarasso, 1997, p. 6,10).

2.4.2. Culture as an economic tool for tourism, investment and competitiveness

The role played by cultural intervention in the economic development of cities can be understood in two main ways.

The first is the rise of tourism, travel and aesthetic cosmopolitanism (Urry, 1995), as well as place promotion (Urry and Larsen, 2011). Cultural policies fit with this wave of tourism to create a tourism-based economy rooted in experiential consumption (Schmitt, 1999). Many regenerated sites are produced by enhancing the existing cultural, historical features so as to develop their potential attraction to tourism (Urry and Larsen, 2011; Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 1999). Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois claim there is a relationship, a 'synergy between culture and tourism', a 'symbiosis of culture and tourism'. In other words, as (Ashworth, 2003, p. 89) argues:

The mutual benefit for culture and tourism are driving both sectors towards defining common targets. The conservation of cultural resources and the process of transformation into tourism products can be a real incentive to the process of reviving cultural identity, on the community or regional level. In its turn this process creates a favourable incubation climate for the development of and investment in new tourism projects, which the tourism market needs in its current search for innovation and diversification... culture and tourism are interdependent.

As a result, cultural policy, in this aspect, is used to stimulate the tourism economy which in turn stimulates culture in a kind of virtuous circle. At the same time, in Urry and Larsen's theory of the tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen, 2011), place promotion (regeneration) has become a major industry in numerous cities around the world. Policies focus upon creating, promoting and enabling tourist flows to art museums, as well as sporting and other festival-like attractions to promote the local characteristics and cultural attractions of place. Cities thus attempt to unearth and develop their distinctive offerings to compete for visitors. Culture-led policies become the universal solution, nevertheless reflecting the particularities of each city. This creates opportunities for tourists to experience unique local cultural life. Consequently, these cultural places/ spaces have been shaped into a 'place for consumption' (Urry, 1995). By doing so, money flows into the local economy.

The second role of cultural interventions relates to entrepreneurial governance and competitiveness in the neoliberal age. Following the economic and political crises of the 1970s, neoliberalism became increasingly influential across the world in government policies towards economic growth, labour market regulation, housing and urban planning. At its core, neoliberalism is a kind of political belief which most significantly and

prototypically includes the conviction that the only legitimate purpose of the state is to protect and guarantee individual private property rights (Friedman and Friedman, 1990; Thorsen and Lie, 2006). Anna-Maria Blomgren identifies that neoliberalism 'is commonly thought of as a political philosophy giving priority to individual freedom and the right to private property... It ranges over a wide expanse in regard to ethical foundations as well as to normative conclusions. At one end of the line is "anarcho-liberalism", arguing for a complete laissez-faire, and the abolition of all government. At the other end is "classical liberalism", demanding a government with functions exceeding those of the so-called night-watchman state' (Blomgren, 1997 cited in Thorsen and Lie, 2006, p. 12).

One of the leading theorists of neoliberal urbanism, David Harvey, argued that under neoliberalism, urban governance has shifted from managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989). The mode of neoliberal entrepreneurial policies and regimes (Bock, 1998) reveals the ideas of the private sector in risk taking, promotion, effective, innovation, and creativity. Culture is seen a critical 'policy device' in entrepreneurial urbanism (McGuigan, 2005). Cultural policies are heralded by some advocates and policy makers, as creating business opportunities in cultural spaces, benefiting thereby economic development and city competitiveness (Cooke, 2008; Pratt, 2008; Peck, 2005). With globalisation has come the increasing cross-border flows of goods, services, technologies, and capital, turning the city itself into a battlefield for attracting investment so that it can finance improvements in its physical fabric, create job opportunities to attract and retain workers, economic and soft urban activities, and thus stimulate urban development. Brenner and Theodore argue that 'throughout the advanced capitalist world... cities have become strategically crucial geographical areas in which a variety of neoliberal initiatives—along with closely intertwined strategies of crisis displacement and crisis management—have been articulated' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p. 349). This phenomenon unavoidably caused severe competition amongst cities, which some describe as a 'zero-sum game' (Begg, 1999; Harvey, 1989). As Brenner (2000) argues, neoliberal political practice has generated new forms of social polarisation, and uneven development at spatial scales. Cities compete for capital flow and international status.

As one example of cultural policy, holding mega events such as expos and festivals is seen as increasing the urban economic capacity, attracting private financial investment in public facilities and thus stimulating regional development. Furthermore, enhanced economic strength would in turn enhance city competitiveness to bring in advantages in international status (Kong, 2007). Asian cities such as Hong Kong, Tokyo, Seoul, Singapore, and Shanghai are examples to be explored for an understanding of the way cities integrate their cultural policy with entrepreneurial strategies so as to boost

their competitiveness in the world economy (Jessop and Sum, 2000; Kong, 2007). International fairs and culture-based mega city projects are widely implemented in Asian cities - examples being Expo 2010 in Shanghai, 2010 International Flora Exposition in Taipei, Cheonggyecheon waterfront project in Seoul, and the Woodlands waterfront project in Singapore. Through holding these international events and implementing these mega projects, in part through government budgets, cities invite private capital investments to build up public and private partnerships so as to create value for sightseeing and city living, as well as enhance competitiveness.

These significant features drive a surge in culture led urban governance. This wave is consequently interwoven with the emerging idea of the 'Creative City'.

2.5. The rise of the Creative City as idea and practice

Creative city theory emerged against the background of a world facing fundamental economic and social change at the end of 20th century. With the rise of technological innovation and the middle class as part of global economic restructuring, traditional industrial economies have been gradually replaced by the knowledge economy, the human capital economy, and the creative economy. Post-industrial cities have thus entered a new competitive era. Thus, creative city ideas arose against a background of core considerations of human and capital flow, social network, place making and marketing.

The creative city had been widely discussed in terms of urban economics (Andersson, 1985; Batten, 1995; Howkins, 2002; Hospers, 2003), social psychology (Simonton, 1975; Amabile, 1983; Simonton, 2000), urban sociology (Karlsson et al., 2005; Potts and Cunningham, 2008; Potts et al., 2008) and urban planning (Hall, 1998; Hall, 2000; Sasaki, 2010). But it was the publications of two pioneering books – Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida, 2002b) and Charles Landry's *The Creative City: a Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (Landry, 2000) – that gave the idea sudden and growing traction in post-industrial cities where it was enthusiastically embraced by city planners and policymakers. Both Landry and Florida emphasise creativity and diversity as key elements driving a creative, vibrant and competitive city, but from different positions.

2.5.1. Creative city: key conceptual elements

Florida (Florida, 2002b) focuses on economic development and the creative class. He underlines the significant positive relationship between certain social groups and the creation of economic value. He claims the 3Ts of

economic development – ‘technology’, ‘talent’, and ‘tolerance’ – are the main points in realising the new economic geography of creativity and its influences on economic results. *Technology* is a capability of both innovation and high-technology; *tolerance* refers to openness, inclusiveness, and diversity in regard to people and daily life; and *talent* refers to people with creativity and a highly educated workforce. Creative class theory goes on to suggest the importance of place and location in the decision-making of creative people, as ‘sources of regional and national economic growth’ (Florida, 2004, p. 3). Florida points out that ‘places with a greater number of talented people grew faster and were better able to attract more talent’ (Florida, 2004, p. 7). For cities to attract these people, therefore, they need to provide a fertile place for creativity to take place through investment in cultural facilities and other related amenities.

In contrast, Landry’s thought stands closer to the concerns of urban planners than does Florida’s creative city. Landry’s creative city is regarded as a new method of strategic urban policy as well as a new approach to thinking, planning and acting with imagination in developing and running city life so as to address urban issues. Differing from Florida’s main idea of spurring regional development by shaping a place to attract the ‘creative class’, Landry’s thought tends to approach a vibrant city by creating a preferable life style (Zukin, 1998) and culture of consumption (Molotch, 1996; Mort, 1996), even though he does not use the term consumption. He stresses creating a ‘creative milieu’ for a critical mass:

A creative milieu is a place – either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole or a region – that contains the necessary preconditions in terms of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. Such a milieu is a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success. (Landry, 2000, p.133)

Meanwhile, he believes ‘creativity’ could come from any source, including city mind-set, relationships and networks, and dynamic thinkers, creators and implementers. Further, city is considered as ecosystem with creative, cultural and symbolic values added as catalysts in fostering urban development. Accordingly, he identifies seven factors – personal qualities, will and leadership, human diversity and access to varied talent, organisational culture, local identity, and urban spaces and facilities and networking dynamics – to ‘allow for creative thought, the incubation of ideas and objective testing’ (Landry, 2000, p. 105). The built environment, ‘soft’ infrastructure are treated as a setting for establishing the ‘creative milieu’ to provide networking opportunities and increase a city’s quality of life.

Government and inter-governmental policies often reveal a Creative Cities approach. For example, UNESCO – the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation – launched the Creative Cities Network in October 2004, which aims to develop international cooperation among cities and encourage them to drive joint development partnerships in line with UNESCO's global priorities of 'culture and development' and 'sustainable development' (UNESCO, 2004). States and cities across continents have formulated their own creative city indicators to examine their cities, and there are now more than fifty cities labelling themselves as creative cities (Landry, 2011b).

Florida writes about 3Ts (technology, talent, and tolerance) as the main points for realising the new creative economy, while Landry highlights the dynamics of urban creativity with a creative milieu. Creative cities are regarded as places with a unique milieu attracting people, no matter whether they are living, working, or travelling there, so as to create economic growth. In order to delve into the meaning of creative cities theory and how it is inserted into urban policies, it will be discussed according to what I argue are the three main elements of creative city writing: creative human capital, creative clusters and social networking, and attractive milieu/ place.

2.5.1.1. Creative Human Capital

The following terms are frequently used in the literature: 'talent and creative class' (Florida, 2002b, 2004; Hall, 1998), 'personal qualities, human diversity and access to varied talent: mixing people, and critical mass' (Landry, 2000), and 'critical mass, creative people and knowledgeable people' (Andersson, 2011). These all refer to the characteristics of human capital as one of the necessary conditions of creative city theory on account of its significant social and economic effects.

Economists and geographers have discussed the transition from the traditional theory of transportation and natural resources to a shifting climate of robust relation between regional economic development and human capital, known as knowledge economy, human capital accumulation or creative economy. Jane Jacobs illustrated the idea of the better capacity of cities to absorb creative people in order to boost economic growth (Jacobs, 1985). Cities for her are cauldrons of diversity and creativity.

Following on Jacobs' theory, Robert Lucas, the Nobel economist, examined and supported her thesis, saying:

...much of economic life is 'creative' in much the same way as is 'art' and 'science'. ... Her [Jacobs] emphasis on the role of cities in economic growth

stems from the observation that a city, economically, is like the nucleus of an atom: If we postulate only the usual list of economic forces, cities should fly apart. The theory of production contains nothing to hold a city together.It seems to me that the 'force' we need to postulate [an] account for the central role of cities in economic life is of exactly the same character as the 'external human capital' I have postulated as a force to account for certain features of aggregative development. ... What can people be paying Manhattan or downtown Chicago rents for, if not for being near other people? (Lucas Jr, 1988, pp. 38-39)

Others have supported this idea, including Wagner (2000), Leppälä and Desrochers (2010), as well as Beaudry and Schiffauerova (2009). In parallel, a rich literature contributes to the cognitive, personal, developmental and social aspects of creativity.

Decades ago, Zukin noticed that minority groups, lesbians and gays have become more visible actors in public space and the cultural realm and have in turn had a remarkable effect in defining urban cultures and lifestyles (Zukin, 1995a). Brooks' bestselling book *Bobos in paradise: The new upper class and how they got there* also stresses the rise and influence of new social class, which he named 'Bobos' short for the 'bohemian and bourgeois' (Brooks, 2000).

Florida identifies this specific group as the creative class, whose members engage in work to 'create meaningful new forms' (Florida, 2004, p. 8). He classifies those highly-educated individuals according to their occupations referring to people working in science, engineering, education, computer programming, and research. These classic knowledge-based workers also include those working in healthcare, business and finance, the legal sector, and education (Florida, 2002b).

However, what makes a specific kind of creative person and how this person contributes to regional growth is still a matter of debate. Some research started with a different approach by asking which skills and qualities contribute to a better understanding of regional growth and competitiveness and how they do this. For instance, Currid and Stolarick (Currid and Stolarick, 2010) used the case of the IT sector in Los Angeles to analyse the relationship amongst people, their occupation skills and their contribution to the creative economy.

This is a critical and fundamental issue. While policy makers have welcomed creative city theory and adapted their urban strategies accordingly, what kind of human capital are policies actually looking for? And, for what purposes?

2.5.1.2. Creative Clusters and Social Networks

Many social theorists and commentators see creative clusters and social networking as central to the development of creative cities (Currid and Currid-Halkett, 2007; Hall, 2000; Hall, 1998; Porter, 1998; Potts et al., 2008). Andersson et al. address 'developing a "creativity platform" as a main strategic tool in establishing a comprehensive "creative ecology" within a city' (Andersson et al., 2011, p. 517). Hall (1998) in his book *Cities in civilisation*, through examining lessons in history dealing with great cities in their golden age, notices the critical actors and the effect of location and its social context to creativity. The concept of social context is discussed nowadays in terms of creative activity, creative industry, creative clusters and social networks, even though they have different specific meanings when discussed in relation to the creative city.

Simon Evans (2013), a consultant and advocate of creative clusters at the EU, the Council of Europe, UNESCO and UNCTAD, defines creative clusters as including:

Non-profit enterprises, cultural institutions, arts venues and individual artists alongside the science park and the media centre. Creative clusters are places to live as well as to work, places where cultural products are consumed as well as made. They are open round the clock, for work and play. They feed on diversity and change and so thrive in busy, multi-cultural urban settings that have their own local distinctiveness but are also connected to the world. (Evans, 2013, p. 1)

This shows the spatialities and temporalities of creative clusters with their diversity and dynamic features, covering everything from economic behaviour of production and consumption, social structure of organisations and individuals to urban life, leisure and work. It is this notion of creative clustering that Florida sees as a central to its added value:

When people -- especially talented and creative ones - come together, ideas flow more freely, and as a result individual and aggregate talents increase exponentially: the end result adds to more than the sum of the parts... this in a nutshell is the clustering force. (Florida, 2010, p. 66)

The phenomenon of gathering firms or people from the same industry into certain urban areas and cities where there are dense social networks – such as fashion in Milan and Paris, design in Soho in New York, film in Hollywood, computer and IT industries in Silicon Valley – is recognised as a key element for success and has led to policy approaches that involve making either creative clusters (Cooke, 2008; Porter, 2000), networking and creative structures (Landry, 2000), industry clusters (Currid and Stolarick, 2010), or city quarters (Wen, 2012).

Even though the significant features and effects of industrial agglomerations were defined 100 years ago as 'industrial districts' in Marshall's book *The Principle of Economics* (1890), they started to become influential in contemporary research as a result of Porter's industrial clustering model (Porter, 1998). Porter pointed not only to the direct effects of the clustering economy but also to the informal relations outside the firm and the possibilities from cross-fertilising linkages that clusters provide. Based on Porter's clustering theory, observations and discourses on clusters and social networking have increased dramatically, such as 'face 2 face economy' (Storper and Venables, 2004), 'buzz geography' (Bathelt et al., 2004), and 'the Warhol Economy' (Currid and Currid-Halkett, 2007). Those theories highlight the importance of 'place' in the city, places such as pubs, bars or cafés where people actually meet each other. Researchers also contribute to understanding how the new economy works and how far social networks create benefits for urban growth. The idea of clusters and networks operating as a social production system that can gather and spur creation and consumption, in line with Currid and Currid-Halkett's (2007) observation of how the social creative economy works in New York, has influenced policy approaches towards regional competitiveness and possibilities for growth.

2.5.1.3. Attractive Milieu/ Place

Great places embody seven elements. They are places of anchorage, they feel like home, there is with a sense of stability, tradition and distinctiveness. They are places of possibility, "can do", stimulation and buzz. They are places of communication and networking, where it is easy [to] connect, interact and move around, the outside world is accessible, and you feel you are part of a bigger, extensive web. They are places to self-improve, learn and reflect. They are places of inspiration. Culture is alive and, finally, a great city is well put together through design. The best places are diverse and provide a rich register of experiences some of which can be profound...Great places have a good balance. They are alive and vibrant, yet provide spaces for calm and tranquillity. They are dense and encourage mixing.... It is a blend of hardware (its physical fabric like streets buildings and parks), software (its activity base like its enterprise, its cultural life or its shopping experiences), and "orgware" (how it is organised, managed and governed). (Landry, 2011a, p. 1)

The quotation above from Landry emphasises how creating an attractive milieu in cities is seen as a golden principle for attracting the creative class in order to make a city competitive. For his part Florida argues that creative people will not move to these places for 'traditional reasons':

The physical attractions that most cities focus on – sports stadiums, freeways, urban malls and tourism-and-entertainment districts that resemble theme parks – are irrelevant, insufficient or actually unattractive to many Creative Class

people. What they look for in communities are abundant high-quality experiences, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and, above all else, the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people. (Florida, 2003, P. 9)

Florida also emphasises the importance of diversity in the last T of his 3Ts theory, Tolerance, meaning a diverse community that is inclusive and accepting of different cultures, lifestyles and ideas. Through structural equation models and path analysis, Florida et al. highlight that:

Tolerance is significantly associated with both human capital and the creative class as well as with wages and income. We also find that the cultural economy has both direct and indirect relationships to regional development and impacts both production and consumption. (Florida et al., 2008, p. 615)

Florida (2002a) develops a composite diversity index made up of a gay index, melting pot index, and bohemian index. Simonton indicates that creative people prefer cities for their milieu both as open places and as places that stimulate creativity benefitting thereby creative development and creative performance (Simonton, 2000). Therefore, a creative city needs to provide quality of place through investment in cultural facilities and other related amenities, a fertile place for creativity to take place to build an attractive climate for the knowledge economy.

2.5.2. Critiques of creative city theory

Like the word innovative, so often used by Creative City proponents, Creative City theory has a rhetorical fuzziness which has been noted by critics (Scott, 2006; Krätke, 2012). Richard Smith and Katie Warfield analyse the creative city idea in the context of Canadian cities via main policy approaches: culture-centric and econo-centric orientations (Smith and Warfield, 2008). Culture-centric approaches have core values around arts, culture, community well-being, inclusion and quality of life. Econo-centricism, in contrast, involves creative assets generating local economic growth and development with a strong creative workforce, industry, networks, connections and competitiveness. However, Smith and Warfield's classification of creative city policy is open to debate. Critical work (e.g. Pratt, 2008; Scott, 2007) points out that the roles of economy and culture are indistinguishable in contemporary society and that Creative City creates a false distinction. More concretely, Andy Pratt (2008) critiques Florida's idea of the creative city for urban regeneration and growth by clearly pointing out that the creative class is utilised 'as a "magnet" that it is hoped will draw in hi-tech industries keen to find the right labour' (p. 114). This would suggest that cities must adjust themselves to 'the values and mores of the creative class'. He argues instead

that 'the relationship between the cultural economy and the city, and growth, is misplaced and thus needs to be recast' (p. 114).

Another one of the most trenchant critiques of Creative City theory comes from Jamie Peck. Peck argues that Creative City is merely a 'fast urban policy' for a fast policy market (Peck, 2005), but lacks deeper cultural awareness and long term vision beyond attracting human capital (Hospers, 2003, 2004; Krätke, 2012; Scott, 2007; Pratt, 2009b). Jamie Peck argues that the creative class and city script is 'familiar neoliberal snake-oil' serves for fast urban policy, an uneven process of financial policy organised around short term projects rather than progressive goals and sustainable development. Through the quickly fading case of the allure of creativity in waterfront regeneration projects in Baltimore, which were regarded as pioneers of the early round of urban entrepreneurialism, he goes further and points out that 'commodity cultural recourses and even social tolerance itself' is part of evolving domains of urban competition. In this context, the creative city idea provides 'a means to intensify and publicly subsidise urban consumption systems for a circulating class of gentrifiers, whose lack of commitment to place and whose weak community ties are perversely celebrated' (Peck, 2005, P. 764).

Peck's voice is but one of many who have criticised the Panglossian nature of Florida's thesis. Markusen argues that creative city theory attempts to build a façade that gives the creative class the impression of living in an attractive cosmopolitan city. However, the 'creative class' gather together professions which have very different approaches to life and culture. Urban policy should not aim for the unstable creative class; they should, instead, seek for a sense of local place, history and belonging (Markusen, 2006).

2.5.3. From creative city theory to culture-led regeneration policy

For the general goals of economic development, competitiveness and city position, creative city theory is seen as providing a ready-to-go blueprint or checklist for policy makers engaged in culture-led urban regeneration, and is commonly included in the mix of initiatives aimed at disinvested inner city areas or former industrial zones. In addition, it is seen by its proponents and adherents as bringing about wider social and cultural benefits to local people by attracting a highly skilled workforce to cities. This can be seen in official UK government policy documents produced under the Labour government (1997-2010), for example:

The re-population of run-down areas by clusters of creative industries can have major regenerative effects, leading to the increased use of local amenities and the opening of ancillary businesses (DCMS, 2004, p. 4).

Creative industries play a role in local and regional regeneration... the creative industries play a growing role in local economic development. They also bring wider social and cultural benefits (DCMS, 2008, p. 58).

Culture, sport and the creative industries are part of the core script for recovery and future prosperity (DCMS, 2009, p. 4).

This interaction between creative city theory and culture-led regeneration has been by discussed by Costa (2008) and Evans (2009). Costa regards creative activities in explicitly creative cities as one part of territorial affirmation based on identity and culture (Costa, 2008). Evans sees the place strategies of culture development, local creative clusters and new industrial hubs of creative city theory as the 'subject of policy interventions and public- private investment' (Evans, 2009, p. 1003). But when creative city and culture are adopted as panaceas for urban regeneration, are they fit for purpose? Do they cause side effects?

In the following sections, I introduce the main arguments and potential problems with creative city and culture-led urban regeneration policies as a policy tool.

2.6. Critical debates on the creative urban policy recipe: panacea or placebo?

CCURP give rise to debates. For instance, Evans argues, in its defence, that culture-led or culture-based regeneration has 'widened the rationale for cultural investment to include social impacts, in particular, arts-based projects which address social exclusion, the "well-being" of city residents and greater participation in community life' (2005, p. 966). Some academics argue more critically, however, that CCURP are aimed at specific groups; thus facilities and activities are designed for those professional managerial classes who are therefore the disproportionate beneficiaries leading indirectly to gentrification (McGuigan, 2002; Scott, 1997, 2006). In this section, I will examine the various critiques of CCURP; these can be divided into three key areas: short termism versus long term sustainable development, local benefits versus global competitiveness, and 'gentrification and displacement'

2.6.1. Short termism versus long term sustainable development

A common criticism of CCURP is that they are of solely short-term value. The possibilities of long term sustainable development through regeneration strategies involving cultural events, flagship projects and creative clusters

have all been called into question (Hospers, 2003; Pratt, 2008; Scott, 2004). Scott takes the far-flung satellite film-production centres in the Canadian cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver as examples. He argues that 'our present state of knowledge makes it extraordinarily difficult to formulate viable policy approaches to deal with all the complex cross-currents that are involved and even more difficult to assess' (Scott, 2006, p. 14). Some doubts are based on the belief that culture occurs organically and this does not work with certain projects running over a short time period. Therefore, can culture and creative clusters really be planned? Even so, would it be a sustainable solution for a region's development (Hospers, 2003; Krätke, 2012; Scott, 2007)? From the perspective of culture-led urban policies, some scepticism is evidenced as to whether cultural activities and flagship projects like museums designed by famous architects can create a vision of place so as to attract tourists and investment and spur regional development. Not every town can sustain its own symbolic landmark like the Tate Modern in London; these projects could 'fail to attract or maintain attention, whilst new cultural experiences in new locations can attract and maintain visitors' (Evans, 2005, p. 960). In addition, the long term sustainability and endurance of the developmental vision are also being questioned (García, 2004b). Through an assessment of the European Capital of Culture competition, Palmer finds that cities have too often concentrated on funding one-off events and projects, with little plan and investment given to the future (Palmer, 2004).

2.6.2. Local benefit and global competitiveness

A second criticism is that while there has been much discussion about cultural strategies adopted for economic development to enhance global competitiveness and maintain international status, there has been insufficient consideration of their impact on local communities. Writers who have raised this issue have concentrated on two main issues, that of cities becoming increasingly anonymous (Bailey et al., 2004) and of a decline in a sense of city belonging (Bailey et al., 2004; Newman et al., 2003).

Pre-existing community and local identity are most commonly mentioned in reflections on the consequences of copy-cat policy making. The importance of the role of community is continually emphasised (Montgomery, 2003, 2004). According to Bailey et al., successful urban regeneration projects are those implying a strong involvement with the pre-existing community (Bailey et al., 2004). He indicates that without its own personalities and characters so-called cultural policies actually promote a globalised culture that can cause a location to become anonymous. Pratt expresses the view that, 'the creative city cannot be founded like a cathedral in the desert: it needs to be linked to and be part of an existing cultural environment' (Pratt, 2008, p. 38). Costa

also concludes that 'an integrated strategy for intervention must embed in the specificity of local community and must exploit a combination of resources, with a specific governance mechanism, in order to promote territorial competitiveness and achieve sustainable development' (Costa, 2008, p. 17).

Debates consequently lead to the question of who culturally based urban regeneration processes should serve. While critics occasionally concede that mega project use of the city may create financial benefits, they tend to argue that CCURP damage the local community (Bailey et al., 2004; García, 2004b).

2.6.3. Gentrification and displacement

Most critics still regard gentrification as one of, if not the most, serious consequence of CCURP (e.g. Turok, 1992; Atkinson, 2004; Lees, 2008). The impact of culture-led urban policies has been at the forefront of Sharon Zukin's work. In her seminal work *Loft living* (1989), Zukin pulled the gentrification debate out of the limited sphere of the economy and showed how closely bound cultural capital was to what apparently seemed otherwise to be exclusively economic calculations. She utilised Bourdieu's (1986) idea of cultural and economic capital to illustrate how artists had converted the meaning, image and surroundings of disused warehouse buildings in SoHo in lower Manhattan to convert storage space into carefully designed apartments and create thereby a bohemian atmosphere. She later developed these ideas in work on the transformation of commercial districts through the conversion of independent shops into chain stores, boutiques, cafes, and the like in a way that parallels closely the process described for part of Taipei in Chapter 8, where I explain how the city's CCURP aligned with gentrification trends to bring about significant change to a historical neighbourhood (Zukin, 1995a, 1998, 2008, 2009; Zukin and Braslow, 2011) .

The role artists and other cultural professionals play is widely recognised in the gentrification literature (e.g. Ley, 1992; Uitermark et al., 2007; Chang, 2016). As Ley (1992) indicates they can be seen as early stage gentrifiers who are 'the first to establish a presence in the inner city' (p. 199) and as such are followed by the next stages of gentrifiers. As a consequence, lower-income, less highly skilled and educated residents are forced out from areas in which they have been long-term inhabitants. In their research in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam, Uitermark et al. argue (2007), 'gentrification undermines social cohesion and thereby reduces the chance that residents will find solutions for tensions in the neighbourhood' (p. 125).

The process and impacts of gentrification and displacement are found to be highly associated -- although not necessarily in a direct linear causal connection -- with CCURP implemented in various cities, for instance in

Toronto (Catungal et al., 2009), Rotterdam (Uitermark et al., 2007), Bilbao (Gainza, 2016), and Gateshead in north-east England (Cameron and Coaffee, 2005). For instance, Catungal et al.'s research into the case of Liberty Village, Toronto (2009), demonstrates how creative place-making strategies led to a series of displacements. In these works of empirical critical research, gentrification is more or less seen to be the outcome of CCURP.

Against this, some researchers argue that there is still a lack of adequate evidence on the relation between public intervention, new creative clusters, existing ones and the impact of culture-led policies (Evans, 2005; Betterton, 2001; Evans, 2009; Simmie, 2006) -- and this even more so after the 'dot com' era (Kotkin and DeVol, 2001) that intensified social network activities among creative clusters and created more dynamic possibilities out of geographical spatial limitations. They believe that while in the earlier stage of regeneration in the 1980s and early 1990s, property-led policies were linked to the onset of displacement effects from gentrification, the 'argument has now shifted back towards more "soft edged" rationales for cultural investment' (Evans and Shaw, 2004, p. 24). While arguments of this nature tend to be inconclusive, the weight of scholarly opinion suggests that CCURP do indeed encourage gentrification, which in turn leads to displacement.

2.7. Urban restructuring in Taipei

The literature on urban restructuring in Taipei comes from two directions. One is macro-scale, and discusses urban change from a national, transnational or international political-economy perspective seeing the dynamics of spatial form and strategic planning in Taipei in a global context (e.g. Chou, 1998; Hsu, 2011b; Ng, 1999; Leitner and Kang, 1999; Wang and Huang, 2009; Clough, 1989). The other, on which I focus most of my attention in this section, adopts a closer a city level perspective focusing on urban spatial governance (e.g. Chuang, 2005; Huang, 2005; Leitner and Kang, 1999; Lin and Hsing, 2009; Tan and Waley, 2006) and its transformation and consequent gentrification (Huang, 2015; Jou and Chen, 2014; Lin, 2014c; Huang, 2014).

The broader compass of the first category of research draws attention to Taiwan's democratisation, party politics and political struggles (Fell, 2012; Wang, 2004), social, economic and industrial development in a global context (Chou, 1998; Yang et al., 2009) and international status, including cross-strait relations and city competition under conditions of globalised neoliberal capital, to explain state transformation and regional development (Wang and Huang, 2009; Hsu, 2011b; Ng, 1999). This body of work provides evidence of multiple and complex factors that have brought Taiwan much wider political, social,

and economic tensions since the 1980s. Hsu's research (2011b) argues that complex political-economic factors have changed Taiwan's planning policies from a developmentalist strategy to populist subsidy and that this has coloured the process of urban planning because of the dense intertwining of social, political and economic issues (Hsu, 2011b). These research findings tend to be supported by those whose work adopts a closer-grained approach.

At this intra-urban level, research is embedded in the path dependence of the city's development background, which it tends to interpret in terms of culture-led and community-led urban policy (e.g. Lin and Hsing, 2009; Chen, 2009; Wang, 2003), community mobilisation and grassroots movements (e.g. Ng, 2014; Huang, 2005; Chuang, 2005), and a relatively new emerging process of gentrification (e.g. Huang, 2015; Jou and Chen, 2014; Huang, 2014). I will analyse and compare these two types of research with official documents and findings from my interviews to map out Taipei's urban development and urban regeneration policies in Chapters 3 and 4. In the following section, I draw on discussion from this research work and develop my argument along two lines: (1) culture-led urban policies, public participation and community mobilisation, and, more especially, (2) gentrification of the city centre, themes that are then developed further in Chapters 7 and 8.

2.7.1. Culture-led urban policies, public participation and community mobilisation

Coming out of research on Taipei's urban policy is an understanding that citizen participation, grassroots movements and the role of professional planning elites form a distinctive and important feature. Research, for example, on Yung kang Park (Chuang, 2005), Wanhua community (Raco et al., 2011), Dihua Street (Tan and Waley, 2006) and Treasure Hill (Ng, 2014) shows that the combination of community mobilisation and professional elites has led to significant changes to original plans to demolish buildings to widen roads (Yung kang Park and Dihua Street), give a face-lift to a waterfront park (Treasure Hill) or introduce a community renewal project (Wanhua community). In the nationally well-known case of Yung kang Park, a tree-preservation movement in the mid-1990s involved grassroots middle class mobilisation in community planning to recognise and preserve a specific sense of place. Chuang (2005) describes how largely middle-class community mobilisation allied to the endeavours of professional individuals (students and professors from universities) and community-based organisations built up a consensus among various groups of local residents with different interests to preserve trees and a community park from the local government's road-widening project which would have involved the demolition of a section of the park to make way for a new road. Yung kang Park was thus

successfully 'preserved' and indeed developed into a liveable community with generous walking space for pedestrians and various leisure facilities. There was some overlap between the social movement organisations and those activists and professional elites who were part of the community because that is where they lived (Chuang, 2005). It is not surprising therefore to find that Yung Kang Park, according to Jou et. al (2016) has become one of Taipei's leading gentrified districts with, ironically, these activists and professors leading the way as pioneers gentrifiers.

Not everyone agrees. Taking a very different stance, Ng in her comparative study of urban planning in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan (1999), argues that 'the professional planners play only a marginal role in urban governance' as Taiwan's planning system, she argues, is highly affected by 'a very dynamic network of power relationships between the government and the business interests' (p. 23). Lin and Hsing make a similar point. In their research (2009) into culture-led urban regeneration and community mobilisation in the Bao-an Temple historical area they raise the issue of scarcity in the planning process and argue for more public participation, claiming that 'local government needs to move beyond the instrumentalism of urban cultural strategies and to rediscover the spaces where local cultural activities and mobilisation capacities are attached' (p. 1317).

Research into the Wanhua community renewal project (Raco et al., 2011) echoes Ng's (1999) arguments on Taiwan's urban planning involving a 'power play within and among various [political] actors' (p. 85) as a major means of urban governance. Raco et al. maintain that the extent of involvement of political power is leading community-led, sustainable urban development agendas 'in and through existing forms of urban and national politics' (p. 290). They argue that the formal political parties -- the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the Kuomintang (KMT) principal among them -- seek 'greater control of the community-empowerment process with activists hoping to use community subjectivities to entrench their support' (p. 288). Wang (2006) sees the city's urban policy as a more top-down model with citizen participation in the planning process limited, even as grassroots movements are active. They argue that the 'Urban Planning Law does provide opportunities for citizens to participate in the urban planning process, but these opportunities are limited to information dissemination and consultation, rather than initiation and planning' (p. 303). I shall discuss further in Chapter 7, in my case study of the URS scheme, how CCURP involves public participation and to what extent.

Another group of studies on community participation and mobilisation discuss debates on the meaning of these terms (Huang and Hsu, 2011; Hsia, 1999; Hsu and Hsu, 2013). These papers examine the professional representative

mechanism -- the use of experts to 'manage' the process of democratic participation (Li, 2008) and as mediators between community and state (Huang and Hsu, 2011). They also consider bottom-up versus top-down strategies (Wang, 2011; Li, 2008) in the context of the Community Empowerment policy, introduced in 1994 and then widely implemented. The meaning and motives behind the Community Empowerment policy are the subject of some debate. Hsu and Hsu (2013), Huang and Hsu (2011) and Li (2008) are among those who regard the policy as a political tool, a part of the ideological device of the state to enhance the status of the KMT regime and national identity rather than a measure to bring about participative democracy and sustainable development in civil society or through public participation making better environmental decisions as scholars working in other contexts have suggested they should be (e.g. Coenen, 2008; Dobson, 2003; Powell and Geoghegan, 2005).

Some commentators have also questioned the role of community professionals in the transmission process of professional knowledge and political power (Huang and Hsu, 2011; Li, 2008). Huang and Hsu (2011) claim that there are negative consequences as well as positive ones: 'Some of the community groups and professionals rely too much on government grants, and thus downgrade themselves as the flanking arm of the state. Just like a double-edged sword, the community movements could speed up democracy by dissolving the authoritarian regime, but not without the risk of playing the vassals of the liberalised state' (p. 148).

A widely read debate took place between two commentators writing in Chinese language papers. Li (2008) sees gaps between theory and practice and an uneven distribution of financial resources leading to a crisis of community sense and consensus. Wang (2011) responds to his arguments by presenting a perspective on 'reflexive community empowerment' (p. 1) based on empirical practices and participatory observations. He claims that the performances of community building are hard to evaluate and that community development can be seen as a chance to contest the dominance of the neoliberal market-led development in a globalised era.

Despite some disagreement among researchers, similar concerns of actual community participation and the role of professionals in CCURP have also arisen. These issues will be examined in Chapters 7 and 8.

2.7.2. Gentrification and aestheticisation

If it can be said that CCURP have created the conditions for gentrification in the cities of North America and Europe, the same can be said of trends in East Asia. Indeed, while until recently most of the English-language literature

on gentrification was located in a largely 'Anglo' setting, much recent writing has helped to flesh out a more global understanding of the process. This globalisation of gentrification studies and understanding of gentrification as global urban strategy is, according to Neil Smith (2002, p. 427) in an early and classic statement:

...no longer isolated or restricted to Europe, North America, or Oceania, the impulse behind gentrification is now generalised; its incidence is global, and it is densely connected into the circuits of global capital and cultural circulation.

Not all scholars agree, however, that gentrification is a useful term in the East Asian context. Some have challenged the existence of the process (Yip and Tran, 2016), while other work has questioned the term itself. Thus, Chang (2016) asks 'whether "gentrification" suitably captures the processes of urban change in Singapore' (p. 536). In general, however, there is an acceptance of the utility of the term as a means of understanding processes of urban change in East Asia (Ley and Teo, 2014), and much recent work has helped reinforce a sense of the diversity of gentrification processes in this part of the world (Choi, 2016; Forrest, 2015; Hudalah et al., 2014; Waley, 2016; Yip and Tran, 2016; Ortega, 2016). Waley (2016), for example, takes a regional perspective on gentrification in East Asia. He identifies a number of types of gentrification, among them what he calls 'slash-and-build' and 'orientalising gentrification' (p. 616). Slash-and-build gentrification is a merging of state-led and new-build gentrification and suggests a 'massive process of accumulation by dispossession in the inner city' (p. 616). This can be seen in China (He, 2007), where the state expelled residents to make way for capital investment for the newly wealthy middle class with culture and consumption-led projects such as Xintiandi. In exploring the gentrification process in metro Manila, Choi (2016) identifies the exclusive spaces 'created through private developments by landed elites, while the urban renewal proposals of city governments have remained largely rhetorical' (p. 578). By way of reflection, the role of the landed elite tells a different story in Taipei, as I will discuss in Chapters 6 and 8.

Orientalising gentrification involves aestheticised transformation that, in Waley's words, 'involves the selective conversion of districts with characteristic vernacular housing into chic city quarters with upmarket restaurants and boutiques' (p. 617). Orientalising gentrification is akin to the 'gentrification aesthetics' which Chang (2016) describes. Chang takes Pine and Gilmore's concept of the 'experience economy' (1999) to explain how culture-led policies utilising gentrification aesthetics and the experience economy provide a unique scenery for producing and consuming experiences to revitalise heritage and historical neighbourhoods. Due to its close association with tourism and the experience economy, Waley suggests that

orientalising gentrification is ‘an instance of worldwide retail gentrification and tourist gentrification’ (p. 619). This can be seen in places such as Little India in Singapore (Chang, 2016), Gwangju in South Korea (Shin and Stevens, 2013), Xintiandi and Taikang Road in Shanghai -- and in Taipei city centre, as we shall see later. Beijing provides a further example, prompted by the 2008 Olympics, of urban aestheticisation with old *hutong* neighbourhoods transformed by real estate capital supported by the state that ‘created massive social and spatial displacements’ (Chang, 2016, p. 5). In the case of Little India, Chang (2016) observes that the government is a dominant actor regulating and promoting urban change by way of ‘the gazetting of historic conservation zones, lifting of rent control, restoring old buildings and designating select sites for arts groups deemed worthy by the state’ (p. 13). He shows how the city’s strict conservation code has limited what artists can and cannot do to maintain the historical and architectural aesthetics that are recognised by the state. In Dihua Street in Taipei, as we shall see in Chapters 7 and 8, the state uses its control over the preservation of historical buildings to effect a particular form of urban change.

These various studies represent strong evidence of the link between culture-led urban regeneration policies and the aestheticisation of urban landscapes that brings with it gentrification and displacement, and they locate these processes strongly in the setting of East Asian cities.

2.7.2.1. Gentrification in Taipei city centre

‘Oh, no, we don’t have any gentrification here [in Taipei]’ -- Clark (2015, p. 453) recalls how he was told by an ‘eminent researcher of the rise of the Taiwanese middle class’ some 10 years ago, a rise, according to Clark’s informant, that had come without gentrification. A decade later, recent research on Taipei’s urban restructuring reveals a new emerging gentrification involving the city’s culture-led urban policies, new middle class, booming property market, and globalisation (Huang, 2015; Jou and Chen, 2014; Lin, 2014c; Huang, 2014).

The process of commercial gentrification, first identified by Sharon Zukin (2008; 2009), has since been discussed in the context of Shanghai by Stephen Wei-Hsin Wang, who defines it as involving the ‘adaptive reuse of historic neighbourhoods into locales for shopping, dining, art and culture’ and ‘now constitut[ing] an alternative process of neighbourhood renewal’ (Wang, 2011, p. 364). Commercial gentrification is argued by Jou and Chen (2014) to exist in two of what they term bottom-up cultural clusters in the southwest of the city centre, one of which includes Yongkang Park. They draw a vivid picture of how hundreds of fashionable stores, restaurants, cafés and salons

have mushroomed in the small alleys and lanes in this part of the city, as if Zukin's Brooklyn had been transported to Taipei. In their discussion of these 'spontaneous cultural clusters' they illustrate the roles urban professionals, individual artists and cultural critics play and their influence through social media, showing how these two districts fit 'the style of spatial aesthetic of the creative class and their workplaces' (Jou and Chen, 2014, p. 117). Further, they identify that this spatial transformation was 'neither created by the various collective social actors nor determined by their historical structure' (p. 119). They argue that it was the 'outcome of intertwined forces of structure and agency' (p. 119).

In an almost overlapping area, Huang Liling's research (2015) of two examples of public housing estates, Da-An public housing and Zhenyi public housing in Da-An district (within which the cultural clusters mentioned above are located), shows how policy intervention caused a type of government-led, or state-led, gentrification. After reviewing Taipei's development history first in the Japanese colonial era followed by the KMT regime, and in the context of social class change and a dramatic rise in house prices, Huang demonstrates the process of privatisation of land and property originally owned by the state. She examines how urban restructuring projects like the Taipei metro system (the MRT), Taipei Manhattan (the Xinyi commercial district and Taipei 101 skyscraper), Da-An Forest Park as well as other projects transformed the east of the city into a favoured location for gentrifiers. She argues that the city's urban renewal incentive policies also played an important part in deepening and speeding up the process of urban restructuring. She further argues that the Urban Renewal Act (URA) 'triggered' (Huang, 2015, p. 239) a new wave of gentrification which she sees as being 'akin to the phenomenon of "super-gentrification" (Lees, 2003)' (p. 240). Furthermore, she claims that skyrocketing housing prices divide the middle class in such a way that 'only the upper-middle class and super-rich could afford to live in the city centre' and this produces 'a new form of social inequality' (p. 240).

In a recent chapter on land development and urban growth in Taipei, Lin Tzu-Chin (2014) shows that Da-An and Zhongshan are the two districts with the most active property markets while property prices in the older west of the city centre, encompassing the area of Dadaocheng, which I shall be introducing later in this thesis, have been less buoyant. Ironically, it is in the wealthier Da-An and other districts in the east of the city that much urban renewal has taken place. This is a point made by Huang. 'Although the urban renewal policy in Taiwan,' she writes, 'claimed to improve the condition of poor housing, the majority of renewal projects in Taipei did not occur in run-down areas but in existing areas of expensive land that continuously generated a potential ground rent' (2015, p. 239).

Other research also sees a culturally inflected urban policy contributing to gentrification in the city. Wang (2003) recognises that it is in the mid-1990s that Taipei entered a new stage of cultural governance. In particular, this began after the first ever election of a Taipei City mayor where the city started to stress 'multi-ethnic culture, popular memory and writing of city history, cultural industries development, internationalisation, and place-making' (p. 121). It was also in the 1990s that certain urban restructuring projects like the construction of parks started to draw criticism (e.g. Huang, 2012a; Chen, 2009) for its bulldozer-type approach that ignored residents and labelled old neighbourhoods as blighted areas. Huang Sun-Quan (2012a) refers to the 'green bulldozer' creating parks to provide more liveable urban environments by sacrificing certain groups of people that included residents of long standing. In a more recent chapter, Huang Liling (2014) writes about the city's culture-led urban regeneration policy, examining three cases in the old district of Wanhua. All three, she writes, exacerbated issues of social inequality and misinterpreted local culture and collective history. For instance, in case of the Bo Pi Liao historical area, she shows how, ironically, residents were driven out and their shops closed to make way for an educational centre for the city, with the result that 'under the banner of education, the once living culture faded away' (p. 96).

The cases above show that Taipei's urban planning has been inclined towards development and that the rights of certain groups have often been ignored. In research on Little Indonesia in Taipei, Chen reflects on the rights of migrants in the place-making process of urban redevelopment. Chen concludes by critiquing the city's 'aesthetic developmentalism with an ever growing number of consumer-oriented, cosmopolitan places', arguing that it endangers the 'true multicultural landscapes' of Taipei (Chen, 2013, p. 283). Indeed, she states that, 'There appears to have been no space left for multicultural and bottom-up ways of placemaking. Aiming to become a World City, Taipei has apparently turned its back on its largest foreign population. As such, multiculturalism in Taipei exists only as hollow rhetoric' (p. 283). The meaning of multiculturalism will be explored further in Chapter 8.

A different perspective is presented by Ng Mee Kam in her highly nuanced research (2014) on how action taken by certain activists and academics who might be seen to be part of the city's planning elites used their knowledge and experience to influence and change the city's top-down plan to demolish the Treasure Hill community. Her research into a squatter settlement on the ex-military site on Treasure Hill tells an intriguing story of how knowledgeable individuals mobilised to preserve the living space where a community of native Taiwanese, ex-military men and their families from the mainland and rural migrants squatted. In this case, the city government initiated a series of plans to create a waterfront park to 'give the area a face-lift' (p. 253). Ng

illustrates how a group of intellectuals including professors and students of the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning at the National Taiwan University and members of an activist group, the Organisation of Urban Re-s (known as OURs), utilised their knowledge of the value of the lived space at Treasure Hill as a powerful discourse and resource to 'reframe and reproblematised' (p. 260) the case to further negotiate with the city government. Treasure Hill was eventually preserved and then developed into a co-living space with both the original residents' dwellings and artists' studios, known as Treasure Hill international artist village. Even though it was not a fully successful case, with some residents moving out due to 'the fragility of organic lived space' (p. 253), it has, however, 'arrested the pace of gentrification and, to a certain extent, allowed those elderly members of the community an option to live a full life in a place that they call home' (p. 266).

Much has been written about Taipei in the last decade since Clark was categorically told there was no gentrification in Taipei, showing how the city has rapidly changed under waves of neo-liberal urbanism and CCURP. Meanwhile, the case of Treasure Hill and the cultural clusters identified by Jou and Chen (2014) highlight the different roles the city's professional elites play in leading the community into critical changes.

2.7.3. Mobilising policies in Taiwan

Research on urban policy mobilities to and from Taiwan is seriously lacking even though so many urban planning theories and practices appear on the face of it to have been introduced from abroad. Wang and Heath's work on new town planning in 1950s Taiwan (2010) is one of the few works exploring how Western planning paradigms of garden city were absorbed in post-colonial Taiwan. They argue that 'in the absence of an input of external expertise, the planners appeared to mistake aesthetic order and pastoral imagery of low-density residential development in England as practically viable solutions to the pressing urban problems in Taiwan' (p. 141). Their work reflects the prevailing ideological trend of urban planning back in 50s. Chapter 6 will discuss the import and translation of CCURP in Taipei and will try to reveal some of the features of policy mobilities in recent years in the context of arguments made by McCann and others.

Wang and Heath reflect on the view at the time that urban planning and the learning process presented a mode of 'borrowing' and one-direction flows (2010, p. 141). However, knowledge flows among nationals is less discussed in the literature; it can make for an effective learning process but is not a guarantee of a successful transfer of experience. For instance, Huang and Hsu, in their study of cultural and economic revitalisation in Taiwan (2011),

point out that due to Japan's colonial history, 'the contexts of social development shared between Japan and Taiwan' have led to 'long-term interaction among the intellectuals of the two societies' (p. 141) since the colonial era. They state that particularly after the earthquake in 1999 Taiwan's reconstruction and community empowerment projects revealed a learning trajectory from 'Japanese experience of engaging NGOs in the reconstruction after the Hanshin earthquake' (p. 141), a learning process 'between Japanese and Taiwanese community activists and professionals' (p. 142).

A later study of policy learning in the process of urban redevelopment in Taiwan (Hsu and Hsu, 2013) notes that 'the Taiwanese government invited experts from advanced countries, mainly from the United Kingdom and Japan, for lecture sessions, workshops, advisory groups, and special task forces' (p. 690) concerning ways to implement and manage public-private partnership (PPP) initiatives. They further argue that 'domestic politics matter for the validity and metamorphos[is] of policy learning processes' (p. 693), which echoes Peck and Theodore's (2010) argument that policy rarely travels as a complete package but reflects power struggles at the receiving end.

The research discussed above has introduced some of the issues concerning policy mobilities as they impact on urban redevelopment policy in Taipei. In Chapter 6, I will illustrate how CCURP travelled to Taipei and will lay out the history, paths and actors in policy transfer and mobilities.

2.8. Some concluding critical reflections

I have explored the literatures on policy mobilities, culture-led urban regeneration policy, the creative city idea and gentrification as well as literatures on how these play out in Taipei and Taiwan. In conclusion, I abstract and reflect on these themes of policy mobilities, creative city theory and CCURP, as well as gentrification.

First, literature on policy mobilities challenge 'traditional' notions of policy transfer by suggesting policy movements are 'global circuits of knowledge' and that they go beyond linear directions from place to place but are multiple, complex and chaotic. This then suggests the importance of focusing on territoriality and relationality in a local context. However, most of research work is drawn from a theoretical perspective; empirical verifications remain scarce, and we see an even more serious scarcity of research on urban policy mobilities as they relate to Taiwan.

Secondly, in terms of CCURP and gentrification, we have seen that the research addresses creative city theory, CCURP and gentrification from

critical, theoretical and empirical perspectives. However, how they interact is less explored, especially in those geographic areas that lie outside the global west. For instance, gentrification is generally perceived as an 'outcome' of CCURP in the West. What if gentrification is a part of or a means of bringing about CCURP? What are the roles of culture(s) and CCURP? Are they simply catalysts of urban renaissance and community revitalisation, or do they provide the state with a wider rationale for urban investment? How do they actually interact in a local community and among creative clusters in an East Asia city? And what and how are the global circuits of knowledge involving in the process of either CCURP making or gentrification? These are among the questions that are lacking from the literature.

Finally, in the discussion on urban restructuring and gentrification in Taipei, some intricate characteristics have been noticed including political and economic factors, grassroots power, community participation/ empowerment, top-down and bottom-up tactics as well as local planning elites as key actors in policy making processes. Meanwhile, work on gentrification has also proposed different views on state-led versus spontaneous cultural clusters. Research has attempted to capture and explain Taipei's spatial transformation. However, Taiwan has long been a sophisticated society where urban policy is closely associated with its political, economic and community, as well as certain elite groups and their social networks. Some research work has left us with more questions beyond their conclusions due to a lack of detailed empirical evidence. Another issue is related to how we see and how we employ the notion of gentrification in describing Taipei's urban changes (Waley, 2016; Ley and Teo, 2014). New emerging research tends to employ it to describe recent dramatic changes in the real estate market and new creative clusters in the city centre. Cultural clusters can be both (partly) state-led and spontaneous, but a single-sided explanation is unlikely to explain the process and phenomenon of transformation.

I carry these doubts and questions into my account of Taipei's mobile CCURP in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 embedding in detailed evidence. These themes and inquiries will be further reflected on in Chapter 9.3.

Chapter 3: Contextualising the development of Taipei city, Taiwan

3.1. Introduction

Having introduced the main literature debates and conceptual ideas of creative and culture-led urban policy underpinning this thesis, I now turn to the empirical context of the thesis – Taipei city in Taiwan. Before explaining the research aims and methodology in depth, it is necessary to provide a political, economic and geographical contextualisation of Taipei's development up to the contemporary era and its planning policies and urban development in the wider context of Taiwan's history. It is important to understand that the urban development of Taipei city is continually influenced by national identity, political issues and central government's economic policies. Therefore, this chapter will be organised in three main sections. The first will provide an overview of the economic and political development of Taiwan initially taking the story up to the mid-to-late 1980s. As is widely acknowledged, these represent a break between the era under Chiang Kai-Shek and his son Chiang Ching-Kuo, a period of Kuomintang (KMT) rule characterised by autocratic government and high economic growth and the more recent decades of democratic government and low economic growth. A second section charts the overall urban development of Taipei. I will argue that the main factor driving the development of Taipei city was led by state policy before the mid-80s, and then tended to be formed by the forces of globalising capital as well as government policy and factors relevant to Taiwan's changing relationship with mainland China. The last section then introduces and discusses the main empirical focus of this thesis – the historical development of Dadaocheng and Dihua Street, laying the ground for further discussion in Chapter 8 of Dihua Street's transformation after urban policy interventions.

3.2. Land, History and the People of Taiwan

Located in the Western Pacific, the island of Taiwan, along with Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu, and other minor islands, form the territories of the partially recognised Republic of China (ROC) state. Taiwan and its associated islands constitute an area of 35,800 square kilometres, slightly smaller than the Netherlands (Figure 3.1). Taipei is the political capital as well as the economic and cultural centre of Taiwan. In 2012, there were 23.3 million people living in Taiwan (MOI, 2013). Taiwan's territory has been dominated since the late 17th century by various colonial regimes which have imposed their distinct

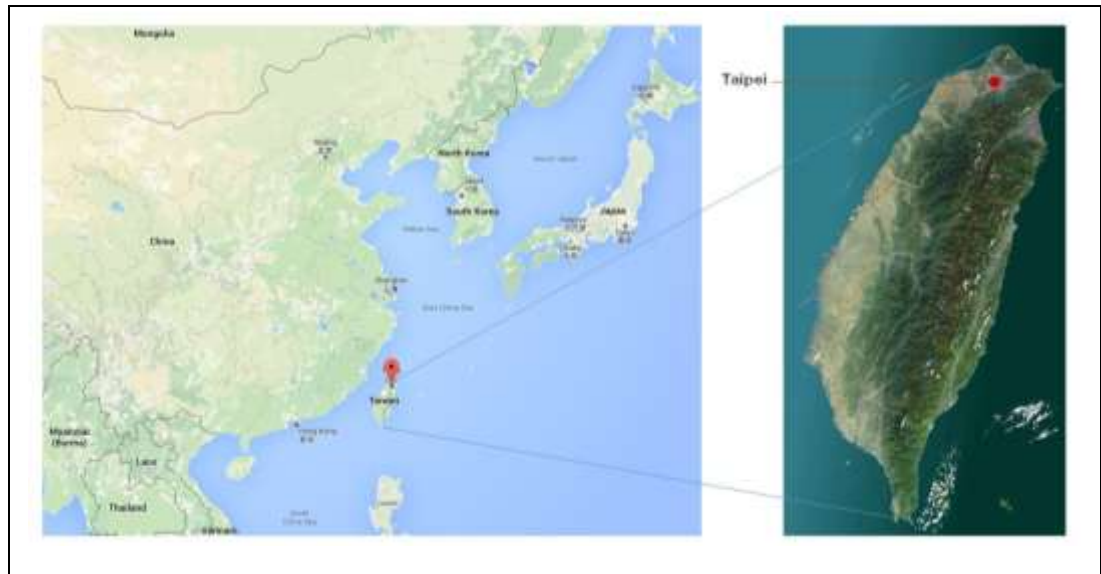
identities on the population of Taiwan (TCG, 2011c; Leitner and Kang, 1999). This complex political history is now discussed briefly.

3.2.1. Taiwan's colonial and contested past

In the early 17th century, first the Dutch East India Company and then the Spanish Empire colonised the island, their regimes respectively controlling south-western and north-western Taiwan, while eastern Taiwan was inhabited by aboriginal tribes (Liu, 1998). The Spanish were driven out in 1642 and the island was unified and ruled by the Dutch until they were defeated in 1662 by Zheng Cheng-gong, a self-declared loyalist of the Ming dynasty that had ruled China from 1378 to 1644, when it was defeated and superseded by the Qing dynasty. Zheng's regime then controlled the island until 1683 when the Qing dynasty of China formally annexed the island, and in 1684 Taiwan Prefecture was established. During this period, there was a large scale migration of Han Chinese to Taiwan and the island officially merged into the Chinese Empire. In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the Qing Dynasty after its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. Sixteen years later, the Qing Dynasty was overthrown and the Republic of China (ROC) was established in Beijing in 1911. At the end of World War II in 1945, Japan surrendered Taiwan to the ROC, but in 1949, after the Chinese Civil War, the Communist Party of China (CPC) controlled the entire mainland of China and founded the People's Republic of China (PRC); the ROC, led by the KMT – translated as the Chinese Nationalist Party – retreated and relocated to Taiwan where it became the single ruling party until democratisation reforms of the late 1980s.

The ROC has continued to claim to this day to be the legitimate government of China; whereas the PRC has continually claimed Taiwan and its related islands as its dominion and does not recognise the ROC as a sovereign state. During the Cold War era, international state recognition of the ROC gradually declined under diplomatic pressure from the PRC, which threatened to cut off all diplomatic relations with any nation that recognised the ROC. In 1971, the UN recognised the PRC as China's only representative at the United Nations and the ROC was expelled; today around 20 UN member states and the Holy See currently maintain formal diplomatic relations with the ROC. Up to this day, these divisive and contested relations between the ROC and the PRC – or between Taiwan and China – have meant that national identity within the country is an important factor in Taiwanese politics and a cause of social and political division among political parties and their respective supporters.

Figure 3.1 Location of Taiwan.



Source: Google map (left) and Taipei City Government (right).

From the late 17th century through to the middle 19th century, large-scale immigration of Chinese fishing and rice-farming families to Taiwan took place. Through a combination of conflict and inter-marriage, this led to the gradual Sinicisation of the aboriginal non-Chinese Austronesian population who first settled there some 8000 years ago. Most of these Chinese migrants had come from the Fujian and Guangdong Provinces of mainland China, but there were also remnants of other mainland aboriginal tribes and a large minority of Hakka people, who also migrated from the mainland. All these groups spoke their own languages and had distinct customs. After the first Sino-Japanese war ended in defeat of the Chinese empire in 1895, the islanders became Japanese subjects and the Japanese administration pursued a policy of cultural assimilation, requiring them to give their names in Japanese forms, adopt Japanese customs and use the Japanese language as their everyday vernacular (TCG, 2006b; Leitner and Kang, 1999). The most recent wave of Han Chinese were soldiers, KMT officials and others who left the mainland after it fell to the CPC in 1949-50. Those people from outside Taiwan province are called *waisheng ren*. Their political standing and education meant that when they arrived on the island they took most of the elite positions in government, education, and the military (McBeath, 1998; Executive Yuan, 2012a). Following the surrender of Taiwan to the ROC by the Japanese in 1945, the KMT regime ruled that education be in Mandarin only. Since the onset of democratisation in the late 1980s which began dislodging the KMT from power, the official language has remained Mandarin, but Taiwanese and Hakka have since been added to education in primary schools. A very small part of the population, approximately one percent, is composed of descendants of the island's aboriginal non-Chinese Austronesian population.

3.2.2. Political and economic development in the post-war era

Under the KMT regime, the ROC succeeded the Japanese colonial administration's control of major transportation and communication systems, most of the financial institutions and other monopoly businesses (including sugar refining, paper, cement and electric power). Even though most export industries were in the private sector with only minimal assistance from the state, it still played a very important and powerful role in the Taiwanese economy, controlling many national industries and the financial market (La Grange et al., 2006).

Following the Korean War, in order to stabilise prices the US began an aid programme in 1952. Taiwan's economic development was encouraged by American economic aid and programmes of the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, which built the foundation for the subsequent growth of the agricultural sector. Combined with land reform policies and agricultural development programmes, agricultural production increased at an average annual rate of four percent from 1952 to 1959, higher than the average annual population growth of 3.6 percent (Clough, 1989).

From the late 1950s to the 1960s, Taiwan's inward-looking, import-substitution policy was shifted to an outward-looking, export-promotion policy, as with most newly industrialising countries with the state playing a leading and organising role in the 1970s (Wade, 2003; Wang, 1995). Export activities became the major engine behind Taiwan's economy with the contribution of exports growing from 35% of GDP in the first half of the 1960s to 45.9% in the second half, and on to 68.7% in the first half of the 1970s. Research found that not only was there rapid economic growth but also that industrialisation spread to rural areas through the development of an urban–rural network of production (Gilbert and Gugler, 1992).

The negative impact of the world oil price crisis of the 1970s made Taiwan realise that its economic growth was over-reliant on oil imports. Chiang Ching-Kuo, who became president in 1978, not long after the death of his father in 1975, oversaw Ten Great Construction projects to improve public infrastructure such as the transport system (railway, airport and freeway) and to promote the country's own upstream supply of basic raw materials like petrochemicals and steel. Heavy industries were located for the most part in and around Kaohsiung (in southern Taiwan). The injection of capital investment of NT \$8 billion mainly from state was a major financial contribution for the time. These projects are regarded as the foundation of Taiwan's modern development.

At the same time, Taiwan's economy faced new problems, such as an increase in wages, land prices, and environmental costs caused by its

industrial development. Therefore, the government began to promote lower energy consuming and polluting, technology-intensive, high value-added strategic industries. It established the Industrial Technology Research Institute (ITRI) in 1973 to restructure Taiwan's economy from labour intensive to skill and knowledge intensive (Chang et al., 2001). The government then decided to enter the Integrated Circuit industry, choosing the Electronic Research Service Organisation (ERSO) as the vehicle based in the Hsinchu Science-based Industrial Park (HSIP) in northern Taiwan. A series of supporting measures were adopted, including providing financial and tax incentives to lure speculative investment, providing public infrastructure for tenant firms, setting up an Integrated Circuit design centre and allowing its engineers to start up their own companies, and encouraging small to medium-sized firms to enter the industrial system of global production networks. Those policies made HSIP and the corridor from Taipei to Hsinchu a successful industry chain and helped strengthen the competitiveness of Taiwan in the global information industry (Hsu, 2011a; Hsu, 2004; Chen and Li, 2004; McBeath, 1998).

During those decades, Taiwan experienced rapid economic development and grew into one of the 'Asia four little tigers', its economy growing at more than eight percent per annum. While the rise of East Asia is seen as 'one of the biggest stories of the twentieth century' (Wade, 2003, p. 34), Taiwan's economic development further served as a model 'being promoted by UNESCO and the World Bank' (Greene, 2007, p. 148). Taiwan's extraordinary economic record is described by some social scientists as the 'Taiwan miracle' (Fell, 2012).

In short, from the 1950s to the 1980s, Taiwan underwent a major economic transformation under a state-led industrialisation process (Wade, 2003; Hsu, 2011a; Chang et al., 2001; Chen and Li, 2004).

3.2.3. Liberalisation, democratisation and the changing political economy of Taiwan from the 1980s

After the mid-1980s, Taiwan entered a new and dramatic era of reform with the activities of civil society on the one hand and economic restructuring as a result of global economic competition on the other leading to considerable change. Taiwan's previous advantages of cheap labour and land were now passing to the newly industrializing Southeast Asian countries and mainland China. As a result, both international and domestic investment slowed and declined (McBeath, 1998). The USA was also pushing Taiwan to prepare to join what would eventually become the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995, which meant opening the domestic market and liberalizing currency

exchange markets. This made the economic situation even harder and challenged the policy of an export-oriented economy. Therefore, in 1985, the KMT created a special committee for economic recovery and announced it was pressing ahead with the liberalisation and internationalisation of economic development.

Coming along with economic change, Taiwan also met the challenge of democratisation. In addition to the 'Taiwan miracle' of economic development in the 1970s and 1980s, Taiwan also earned a reputation for 'having undergone a political miracle' because of its 'smooth and peaceful democratic transition and consolidation from the late 1980s through to the late 1990s' (Fell, 2012, P. 232). The rise of the middle class, discussed below, to between 20% and 30% of the total population in Taiwan by the late 1980s (Xiao et. al., 1989, cited in Huang, 2005) also played a role in the emergence of social movements pushing Taiwan from authoritarian ruled state to vibrant civil society. Opposition groups mostly composed of the local Taiwanese middle class elites fought against the KMT's one-party system of government and claimed a 'national' identity for Taiwan. After a long struggle, in 1987 an opposition party – the Democratic Progress Party (DPP) – was allowed to be founded.

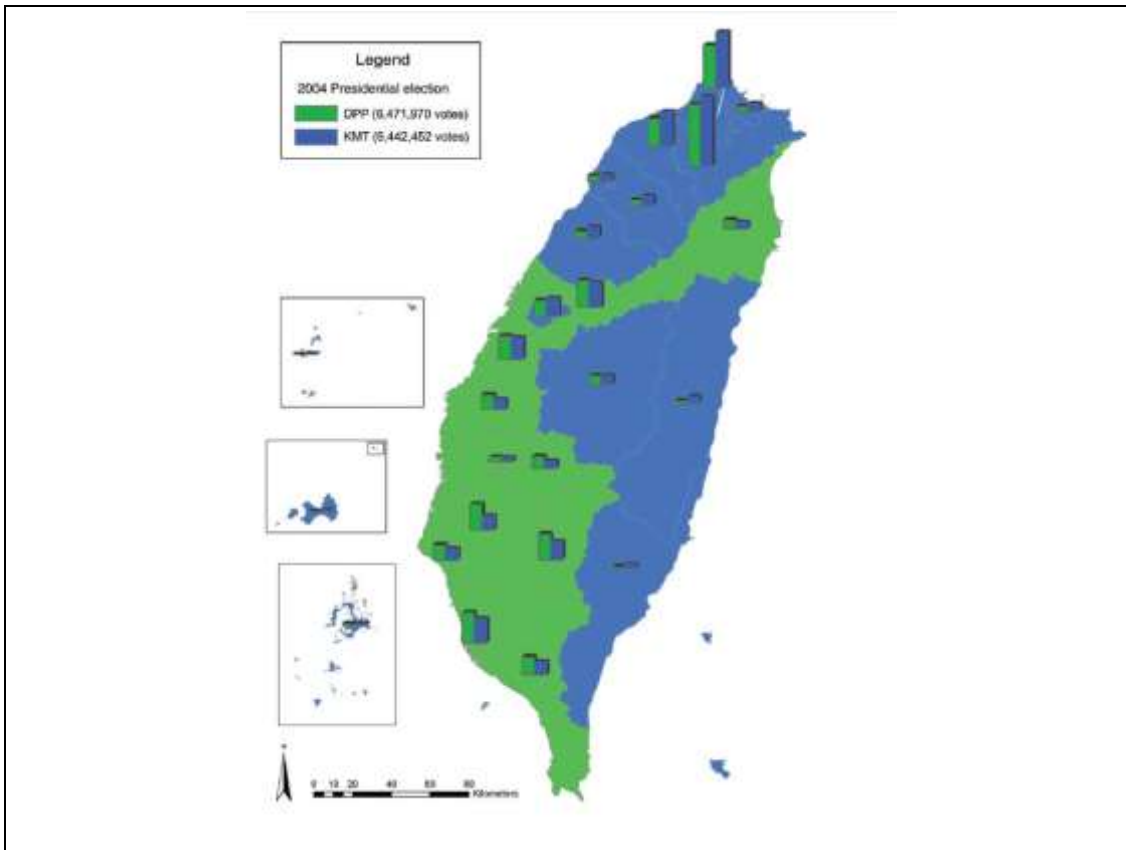
Another significant feature of the 1980s was the rise of civil society (Chang, 1997). With changes in both the domestic and international environment, the lifting of martial law in 1987 opened up democratic voices from below (Wang, 1989). Social movements in this period covered a wide range of issues including class and gender, the environment, daily consumption, and human rights. More specifically, this period saw the advent of the consumer movement (1980-), anti-pollution protest campaigns (1980-), ecological conservation campaigns (1982-), the women's movement (1982-), the aboriginal human rights campaign (1983-), the student movement (1986-), the labour movement (1987-), peasant movements (1987-), human rights campaigns among teachers (1987-), the disability and welfare protest movement (1987-), the anti-nuclear movement (1988-), the Hakka rights movement (1988-), housing campaigns (1989-), and so on (Chang, 1997; Ho, 2011; Hsiao, 1990; Fan, 2003). The vice-president Lee Deng-Hui succeeded Chiang Ching-Kuo as the new president on the latter's death in 1988. As the first Taiwanese president born on the island rather than in mainland China, Lee launched an 'indigenisation' or 'Taiwanisation' strategy on the one hand to place more Taiwanese elites inside government organisations and on the other hand to combine local factions to form a political majority. Through the liberalisation process, the state would no longer play a strong leading role in economic development but instead rely on private investment.

In the 1990s, the state was caught in a contradictory situation, because of the tensions between movements for nationalisation, democratisation and cross border economic activities (Wang, 1997). Even though the state adopted new strategies in order to upgrade the economy, the liberalisation meant that Taiwan was transformed from a recipient of foreign capital to an outward investor. Many small- and medium-sized entrepreneurs set up factories abroad, in Vietnam and mainland China in particular.

In 1998, in order to strengthen the domestic economy and improve the unemployment rate, the state introduced a series of policies to expand domestic demand. The Landscape Renaissance Project was one of these, designed to encourage people to participate in environmental improvement actions. Through programme competitions, every local administration obtained a differing amount of financial support from central government. Even though the scale of financial subsidy was limited due to the mechanism of competition and participation, it encouraged community empowerment and inspired bottom-up local autonomy in terms of public space.

In the process of democratisation, observers claimed that following the DPP's victory in the 2000 presidential election the political power map and state strategies changed significantly (Wang and Huang, 2009; Hsu, 2011a; Wang, 2007). Most of the DPP's gains were located in the centre and south and rural areas, and again, the DPP won re-election in 2004 because of its support in the South (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 The winning constituencies in the 2004 presidential election.



Source: Hsu (2004).

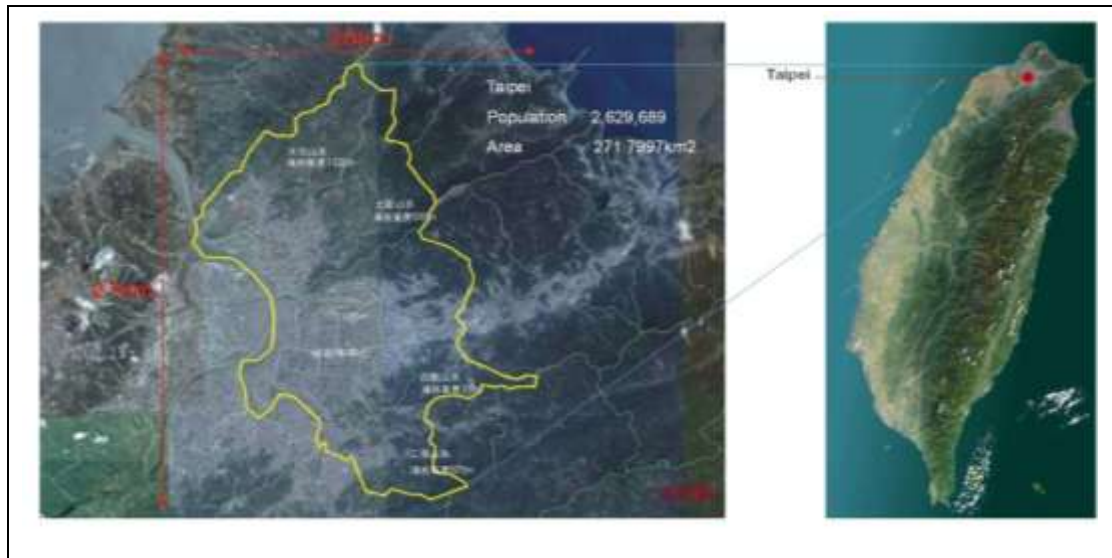
In the early years of the millennium with the rise of the mainland's economy, the DPP regime had to compete globally with China or move towards cross-straits regional integration. However, the DPP's support came mainly from the central and southern regions from voters who were opposed to a policy of closer links with China. The struggle around political and national identity made economic policies even harder to conduct.

In 2008, the KMT regime won the presidential election. A '2008 white paper' by the government stated that 'Taiwan should seek to maintain stable relation with China while continuing to protect national security, and avoiding excessive "Sinicisation" of Taiwanese economy'(Executive Yuan, 2008). In 2010, regular cross-strait direct flights to mainland China started from Taipei to Shanghai. In the same year, in order to better balance the development of regions and enhance national competitiveness, the state restructured local government territorial administration. It upgraded Taipei County to New Taipei City, merged Taichung City and County to become an enlarged Taichung City, and did the same for Tainan, Kaohsiung and the original Taipei city; these are collectively referred to as the five municipalities directly under the Central Government, under whose ultimate control their budget and administration are placed.

3.3. The historical urban development of Taipei, 1800-2000

Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, is located in the northern part of Taiwan with fine geographical surroundings of mountains and rivers (Figure 3.3), a subtropical climate, and a wealth of cultural and historical heritage. In this section, the city's history and spatial development will be discussed in order to understand its urban context.

Figure 3.3 Location of Taipei.



Source: Taipei City Government.

3.3.1. Taipei's colonial development and role, 1800-1949

As the last planned prefecture in the Qing Dynasty, Taipei Prefecture was established in 1875 in Mengjia (the general term for Taipei's main municipality and its name at that time). The construction of a walled city was completed in 1884. During Emperor Tongzhi's reign (1862-1874), Dadaocheng – the focus for this thesis – which was an important trading port in the 19th century outside of the walled city which thrived from the tea trade as Taiwanese tea became famous in the international market (TCG, 2006b). The name of Dadaocheng in Chinese means 'big-rice-ground', and is said to originate from the 18th century when Dadaocheng was levelled in order to dry grain. One century later, the railways, streets, roads and schools were planned and constructed; Taipei's walled city became an administrative entity, while Dadaocheng developed into a business district. At this time, Tainan in the south of Taiwan was the centre of Taiwanese culture and activity.

Following China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, in 1895 the Japanese colonised Taiwan and Taipei became the centre of the colonial government, its importance in political and economic activities increasing rapidly (Wang and Huang, 2009). Between 1899 and 1901, the Japanese expanded the streets in Taipei City and improved drainage. In 1905, Japanese colonists demolished the Taipei City walls and built roads along the foundation of the original walls, connecting Mengjia, the Inner City and Dadaocheng and expanding the overall administrative area of Taipei. Following Japan's defeat in 1945, Taiwan was re-established as a province under the Republic of China, but four years later, after the KMT regime was defeated by the Communists in the Civil War, the KMT government relocated to Taiwan and made Taipei its provisional capital.

Figure 3.4 The transformations of Taipei city 1736-1949.



Source: Taipei City Government.

In summary, each imperial colonial power planned Taipei city according to its political and economic goals, which directly sculpted the form and usage of the city's urban texture, public space and civil daily life, and this eventually influenced its continuing development in the post-colonial era.

3.3.2. Taipei's post-colonial urban development, 1949-2000

Having acted as the temporary wartime capital as well as the political, military, cultural and economic centre of Taiwan, on 1 July 1967, Taipei was awarded the status of a special municipality directly under the jurisdiction of the central government and became the de facto capital city (Leitner and Kang, 1999; Wang, 2004; TCG, 2011c) -- de facto because the KMT regime still saw its presence on the island as only a temporary sojourn. In preparation to 'return to the mainland', the KMT continued to make Taipei the place where all major governmental and military offices were located (Wang and Huang, 2009).

In the export-oriented industrialisation process of the 1960s onwards, Taipei played the role of economic node and centre that linked local producers with global markets. By 1981, over 90% of Taiwan's international trade and over 80% of business service employees were located in Taipei city (Wang and Huang, 2009; Marsh, 1996). In the 1990s, Taipei's economic power was further strengthened as the Taiwan economy began to reach out to Southeast Asia and China. The regionalisation of the Taiwan economy enhanced the status of Taipei as a regional hub, through which capital transactions and transnational travel greatly increased (Hsu, 2005). Faced with the challenges of global capitalism, both the state and local government in the early 1990s began to adopt new development strategies to enhance the nation's physical infrastructure and increase Taipei's competitiveness in the world market. These strategies involved policies that led to huge investments in physical infrastructure and the relaxation of restrictive regulations for market operations so as to create space both physically and economically to upgrade the economy and attract more foreign investment (Wang, 2004).

The combined effect of Taipei being the centre of national government and military administration, and its global regional industrial hub status, meant that over the post-war period up to the early 1980s, the urban management of Taipei city had not been a priority (Wang, 2004; Wang and Huang, 2009). But by the 1980s, what had been the central area of the metropolitan city comprising Dadaocheng and Mengjia (now the city's western part) had become over-developed, over-populated and commercially saturated. Between 1981 and 1984 the City Government therefore began to plan the expansion of the city with a new central area in Xinyi on the outskirts of Taipei, to where the city's government would be relocated at the heart of a new business district connected through new public transportation hubs and a Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) system, and surrounded by a new residential settlement with schools, parks and pedestrian paths (TCG, 2006a).

As we discuss in more detail in chapter 4, the major urban transformations of the 1980s and 1990s did not go uncontested. A number of civic movements emerged demanding the conservation of cultural heritage in places such as Dihua Street (discussed in section below). This laid the foundations for the City Government's turn towards a culture-led regeneration policy (Lin and Hsing, 2009; Tan and Waley, 2006). This cultural turn was also a geographical shift as the Taipei City Government decided to flip the urban development axis in favour of reinvigoration of the historic city. It should be noted that after those movements, especially the Dihua Street conservation movement, an autonomous expression of public consciousness around planning emerged. This led, in 1996, to the Department of Urban Development initiating a 'Neighbourhood Improvement Plan', which emphasised collaborative planning with community stakeholders. Later on, it

was combined with the state's Landscape Renaissance Project to provide budgets for communities to improve community spaces through a participatory process. According to the Taipei City Government, from 1996 to 2000 a total of 200 proposals were submitted to the Neighbourhood Improvement Plan and 106 projects received financial support after a competition based on participatory design. Most of the projects were for improving the quality of public space such as neighbourhood parks and pedestrian routes (Huang, 2005).

Overall, the mid-1980s can be seen as a watershed for Taipei's political and economic development. Before the mid-1980s, the city was planned according to its military, political and economic functions. Accompanying the democratisation process, after the mid-1980s, urban governance and function became more flexible, and mega-size city projects and transport construction turned Taipei from a mono-centric to a polycentric city. Cultural diversity and grassroots energy made the city vibrant. However, it also faced serious challenges from global and local city competition. In response, the City Government changed its governance stratagem to some extent, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

3.3.3. Urban spatial reform of Taipei city since 2000

As I explained earlier, the DPP's victory in the 2000 presidential election led to the government's adoption of a pro-south policy. As a result, many city events, such as annual national and international festivals and grant funding, were moved to southern Taiwan in 2001 and 2002, and this is seen as having undermined the competitiveness and power of Taipei (Wang, 2004; Wang and Huang, 2009). This process was further enhanced in 2010 with the new system of local administrations; Taipei finally lost its priority in obtaining financial support from the state.

In this new context, Taiwanese cities must now compete against each other for financial support from the central state, as well as visibility and status. As a result, each city on the island is striving to rival and outbid regional competitors. For instance, Taichung city in central Taiwan has sought to cooperate with the Guggenheim Museum and emulate the successful experience of Bilbao in the Basque Country by having the famous architect Frank Gehry work in the city; Kaohsiung city in southern Taiwan held the 2009 World Student Games which was first major international multi-sport event in Taiwan; in the northeast, Yilan county holds an international children's folklore and folk game festival every year.

Similarly, the Taipei City Government has sought to create what it sees as a high-quality urban living environment by promoting projects such as urban

renewal, community construction, and district improvement, to make the city a comfortable, appealing place to live (Department of Urban Development, 2005). Policy-makers have merged cultural policies with urban regeneration projects as a strategic intervention to resolve socioeconomic problems. The City Government has applied to host international events such as 2011 World Flora Expo and 2017 World University Olympic Games as solutions to what it sees as the city's declining international status, and it has followed this up with a series of other urban policies such as the Urban Regeneration Station scheme, which will be discussed in later chapters.

3.4. The rise and decline of Dihua Street in Dadaocheng

This section briefly introduces the history of Dadaocheng and its Dihua Street area – the main geographical focus of the thesis. In the late 19th century, Dadaocheng was the most thriving trading port in northern Taiwan, with Dihua Street and surrounding streets its most important commercial area. Dihua Street's rise and subsequent decline in Taiwan's modern history reflects the country's political and economic trajectory since colonial times; it is also a key site in the emergence and development of Taiwanese identity (Shih, 2012; Hsia, 2000). More recently it has become home to a grassroots preservation movement in the 1980s and the conservation urban development policies that followed it. This contextual background provides the basis for the further discussion of culture-led urban policies in Chapters 4 to 8.

3.4.1. The past and present of Dadaocheng and Dihua Street

As indicated in Figure 3.4, the transformation of Taipei city in the 1850s saw settlements extend northwards from Mengjia (nowadays Wanhua) to Dadaocheng on the sand deposits of the Tanshui River. Along with the merchant ships previously docked at Dadaocheng, the economic centre shifted with the emergence of the tea trade, begun by a British businessman John Dodd and a local businessman Lee Chunsheng in the mid-1860s. As the tea trade attracted more people to the area, Dadaocheng replaced Mengjia as a commercial and trading port. By the 1870s, the tea trade and its relevant industrial activities had led the area to prosperity, and had generated the rise of a new group of compradors and local wealthy merchants (Yen, 2006). In order to attract foreign investment, the late Qing dynasty empire encouraged local businessmen to rent their houses to foreigners. At the same time, the Qing empire committed to Dadaocheng's modernisation in terms of its physical infrastructure (Zeng, 1994). Taiwan's Provincial Governor, Liu Mingchuan, began a series of modernisations, including building a railway station and railways, establishing a foreign residence area, and creating

public schools, all of which speeded up the development of economic activity. The modernised facilities formed the foundation of Dadaocheng's business prosperity, lifting Dadaocheng from a regional commodity distribution centre to a station for international trade and by the late 19th century, it had become Taiwan's second largest city (Yen, 2006). In the Japanese colonial era, with the construction and operation of railways and a railway station, as well as the relocation of the export port to Keelung Harbour, most supplies were delivered to Dadaocheng as a trading centre. The trading of rice, groceries, fabric and Chinese herbal medicines replaced the tea business.

Modern Taiwan also began in Dadaocheng (Zeng, 1994). Western elite culture, like art, classical music and drama, were imported and introduced here before anywhere else on the island. Taiwan's early modern services also appeared here first, including insurance, postal services, and the telegraph. As Yen puts it, 'Dihua Street can be seen as a world city at that time' (Yen, 2006, p.97). It was also under Japanese colonial rule and the early KMT regime that Dadaocheng was not only the island's economic and cultural centre but also the place that presented Taiwanese identity, known as 'the islanders' street' (Figure 3-5). Due to the completion of the railway (1908) that ran through the island, Dadaocheng became the island's largest trading centre for goods including traditional Chinese medicine and fabric (Lin and Gao, 2015; Huang, 1995). Cultural activities emerged with varied kinds of drama, art, music, literature, movies and Taiwanese ballads (Shih, 2012). In the Japanese colonial era, local elites chose Chinese Shanghai style cultural entertainments to distinguish themselves from those favouring colonial entertainments. Similarly, under the KMT regime, performances were played in Taiwanese to highlight local identity as opposed to Mandarin Chinese, which was the official language. It was a place for 'developing the self-space consciousness of Taiwanese identification' (Shih, 2012, p. 43).

Figure 3.5 Post card of 'View of the Eirakumachi Street (Taihoku)'

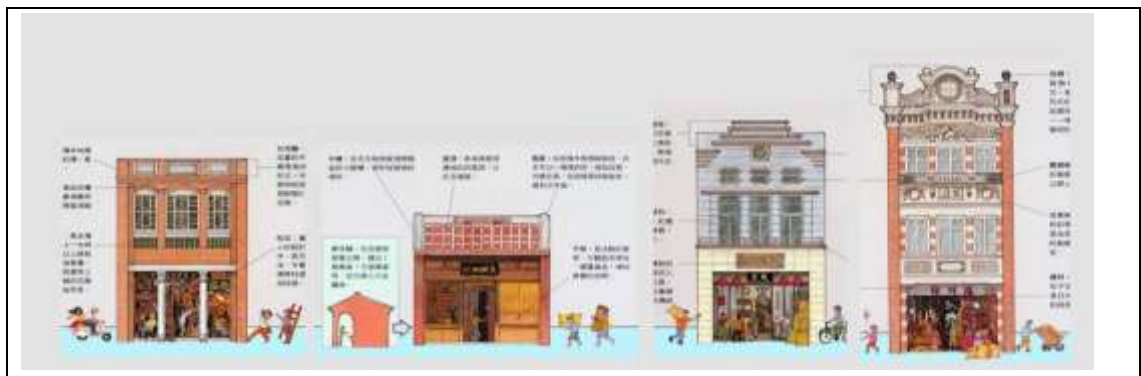
Dihua Street in the Japanese colonial era. 'Islanders' Street' and 'Taipei Attraction' are in brackets in the caption.



Source : National Central Library (1920).

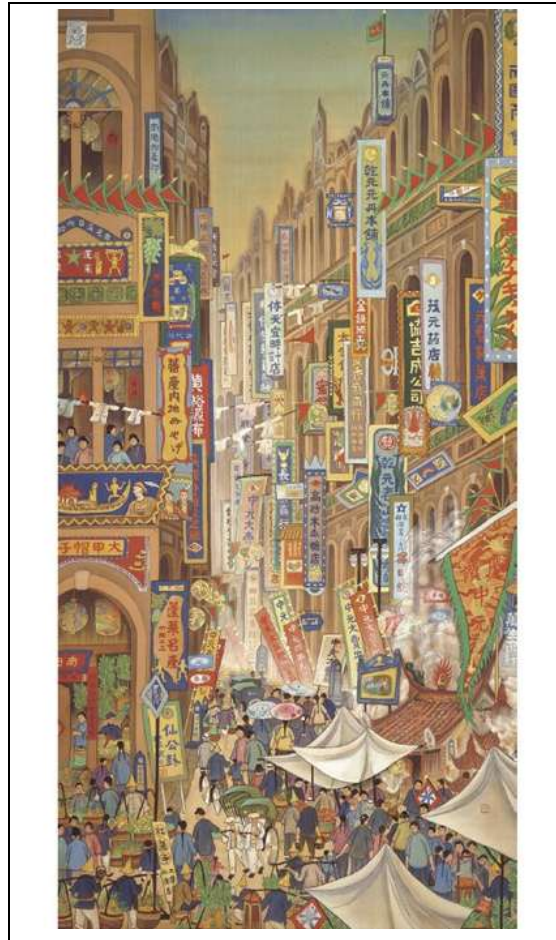
Economic prosperity and cultural activities were reflected in the lavish architectural style. Apart from some buildings constructed in the late 19th century, the façades of buildings from the Japanese regime show various styles, from Taiwanese to Western neo-baroque and early modernist (see Figure 3.6). The spatial structures of the buildings mirror the traditional form of the Chinese courtyard house. 'Festival on South Street 1930' (Figure 3.7) is a painting by the famous Taiwanese artist, Kuo Hsueh-Hu (1908-2012), portraying the lively and crowded festival scene of south Dihua Street in the 1930s in an exaggerated dramatic way. It shows the western architectural styles and also products traded in the shops in the perceived 'golden era'.

Figure 3.6 Various styles of the façades of buildings on the street.



Source : Zhuang (1996, pp. 106-109).

Figure 3.7 Festival on South Street 1930, by KUO Hsueh-Hu (1908 - 2012).



Source : Taipei Fine Arts Museum (KUO, 1930).

At the same time, Dihua Street was also the place where intellectuals gathered and from where various advocates of nationalism spread. The Taiwan Cultural Association is one of the most influential organisations for Taiwanese national development. Established in 1921 in a school in Dadaocheng, it was a collection of the island's elites who wanted to promote cultural enlightenment and a national movement to gain either independence or autonomy for Taiwan. Consequently, cultural and political activities turned Dadaocheng into a cradle of modern thought, and a significant base for the anti-Japanese movement (Lin and Gao, 2015; Huang, 1995).

The decline of Dadaocheng started after World War II but from the 1950s to the 1970s textiles, clothing and various wholesale industries flourished and with rural migration into the cities, pushed Dadaocheng to the peak of its prosperity (Huang, 2012b). There are three main reasons for the subsequent decline of Dadaocheng and Dihua Street.

Firstly, due to industrialisation and volume manufacturing, consumers stopped buying fabric to have their own clothes specially tailored; fabric commerce thus declined. With the number of convenience stores and

supermarkets emerging in the 1980s, grocery commerce shrank and the business transformed from wholesale to both wholesale and retail. At the same time, the number of Chinese herbal medicine shops increased (Huang, 2012b). Along with the social and economic transformation, especially the change of consumption habits, newly emerging department stores and convenient stores came to Dihua Street.

Secondly, as we discussed earlier in this chapter, due to the expansion of the urban area and the changing role Taiwan played in global markets, the core of the city shifted to the east (Su, 2002). Under these conditions, the area around Taipei's main railway station replaced Dadaocheng as the economic business centre in the 1970s. A decade later, the city's east commercial district rose, further undermining the old business centre (Lin and Gao, 2015).

Thirdly, from a spatial viewpoint, the operation of state projects was also a crucial factor. A 9.6 metre-high embankment was built in the late 1960s along the river, after a strong typhoon in 1963 caused serious injury and death, to prevent the river from flooding the city (Figure 3.8). Then there were several new roads built in the 1970s and 1980s, including Huanhe South Road, Huanhe North Road and Changan West Road. These urban constructions accelerated the decline of Dihua Street, given that the highways divided this area of the city into 'an isolated island' (Yen, 2006, p. 99). Dadaocheng in the west end of the city, was once the most prosperous area, but has since become, as one resident sighed, 'a synonym for depression, old fashioned and out-of-date' (Interview D13).

Figure 3.8 The 9.6 meter-high embankment and inter-city-link fast road (Huanhe North Road).



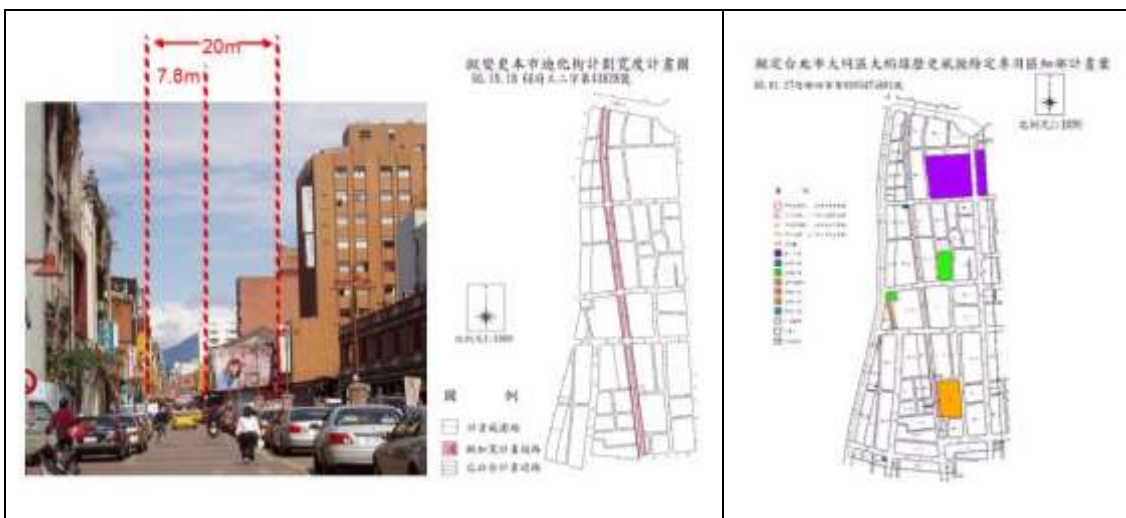
Source: The author, photographs taken in February 2015.

3.4.2. 'I Love Dihua Street' preservation movement and urban policies

In order to revitalise local economic activities and improve its infrastructure, a street-widening plan was announced in 1977. In this plan Dihua Street was going to be widened from 7.8 metres to 20 metres (Figure 3.9) (URO, 2013c). A few years later, in 1983, a further plan was recommended by the Urban Planning Commission of Taipei City Government. This plan suggested reconsidering the area as a special district, in order to redevelop the wider area instead of taking action merely on the street itself (Figure 3.9). In 1988, according to the Urban Planning Law, the Taipei City Government was required to start the road widening plan, a process of purchasing land and property in Dihua Street. This meant that the historic façades of the buildings on looking onto Dihua Street, would be demolished. This caused intense debate, and strong opposition arose from civil society groups.

Figure 3.9 The street-widening plan in 1977 (left), and the 'Dadaocheng historical special detail plan' in 2000 (right).

The figure on the right shows the 'Dadaocheng historical special detail plan' as a project to redevelop the wider area.



Source: Taipei City Government, arranged by the author.

A key background factor in the rise of this protest movement was the changing class makeup of Taiwan. In the 1960s, the rise of low-cost industry participating in the international division of labour created a new working class. The 1970s, with its export-oriented industrialisation process, brought the rise of a middle class, who were mostly petty bourgeois, self-employed traders running small businesses (Hsu, 1989). Dihua Street was not absent from this 'moveable feast' of social and economic change. Many nowadays well-known local family businesses in the textile industry, food industry, and financial sector were founded in the 1960s and 1970s. Due to its large commercial

transactions and cash flow, Dihua Street earned itself the title of 'Taiwanese Wall Street'.

From the 1980s onwards, the newly emerging middle class was mainly composed of management and professional, knowledge-intensive personnel (Wu, 2001). This newly active middle class of professionals, intellectuals and artists was actually a 'creative class', formed before the name was introduced into Taiwan in the early 2000s. In the two decades from the 1990s, with the class structure further differentiated under capitalism, there was a considerable change with the post-industrial transformation of developed economies. During this period, educational credentials became a major factor in class mobility; the percentage of experts increased while the percentage of self-employed declined; more highly educated females entered the labour market reshaping the gender balance; and income inequality between capitalists and unskilled workers increased (Lin, 2009b). Dadaocheng also witnessed the transformation of social class and struggles between generations. This shows particularly in the different values of aesthetics and lifestyle which will be further explored in Chapter 8.

In this changing class structure of Taipei, Dihua Street's economic and cultural activities, its architectural content and the position and roles the street played were cherished and regarded by those activists and professors as valuable heritage, 'to memorialise the nature of the island's history and to establish the credentials of a global city with local colour' (Tan and Waley, 2006, p. 552).

Among the debates and campaigns on struggles between cultural preservation and capital accumulation, an alliance between professors at universities and the activist Chiu Ruhwa, who was one of the founders and the leader of Leshan Cultural and Educational Foundation (1986-2003), played a key role in influencing the city's preservation policy (Hsu, 1993). A campaign called 'I love Dihua Street', was launched by Leshan Cultural and Educational Foundation to save this traditional settlement and historic street. The campaign gathered experts and local residents, and successfully drew the attention of the public. The City Government then started a series of research studies into the street including a survey of its history, the status quo and redevelopment plans.

After a decade of research (e.g Department of Architecture, 1990; Department of civil engineering, 1989), Taipei City Government made a crucial u-turn in terms of regeneration. It decided to stop the move towards redevelopment, and instead announced the 'Dadaocheng historical special detail plan' in 2000. The plan authorised a series of planning and development related mechanisms to achieve the aim of historic area preservation and to assure the rights of private property owners. In 2010, the

authority introduced its new urban regeneration policy, the Urban Regeneration Station (URS) scheme, to Dihua Street, leading this unique area into another stage of development, which a major part of this research focuses on.

The photographs below show the status of buildings before and after architectural maintenance and preservation (Figures 3.10 - 3.12).

Figure 3.10 No. 117, Dihua Street.



Source: Taipei City Government, arranged by the author.

Figure 3.11 No. 200, Dihua Street.



Source: Taipei City Government, arranged by the author.

Figure 3.12 No. 370, Dihua Street.



Before (left) and after (right) architectural maintenance and preservation.

Source: Taipei City Government, arranged by the author.

The process and results of Dihua Street's preservation movement are perceived by the authority, and some scholars, as successful in terms of preserving physical heritage and helping in the construction of a democratic civil society (Yen, 2006; Lin and Gao, 2015). It has been regarded as a positive process for the creation of a communication platform in which 'various visions, values and meanings regarding the existing urban form were identified, proposed and contested' (Yen, 2006 p. 94). However, it is also argued that Dihua Street's preservation policy is 'limited to visual control, lacking a holistic understanding for Taiwan's local urban structure, traditional urban fabric and morphology' (Kuo, 2010 p. 222), and thus failed to engage a broader societal, economic and cultural meaning (Kuo, 2010; Yen, 2006). Furthermore, within the preservation process it is doubtful whether various voices were fully listened to and carried into policy considerations. The property owners were not fully convinced, and opinions from residents and shopkeepers who were not property owners were ignored (Tan and Waley, 2006). These factors had, in fact, been influencing policy implementation and the community's local development, which will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the processes of Taiwan's economic and political development as well as the urban policy and planning developments in Taipei. We have seen how, before the mid-1980s, Taiwan had high economic growth and an autocratic government and the urban development of Taipei city formed the colonial and political context and the state regime largely shaped

the city form. In contrast, after the mid-1980s, we saw how Taiwan underwent a process of democratisation at the same time as experiencing low economic growth, while Taipei itself was restructured by the interplay of many forces, from state policies, local government, local communities and NGOs. As a result, Taipei city no longer plays the role of sole national leader but has competitor cities on the island. We have also discussed the rise of the middle class in Taiwan. Dadaocheng itself witnessed the transformation of social class and struggles, bringing in different values of aesthetics and lifestyle, which we explore in more detail in Chapter 8.

Specifically at the scale of the city, the chapter argued that the City Government adopted new policies to fight against the potential negative aspects of city competition that focused on the creative city and the creative class. These included the use of international experts on creative urbanism, like Charles Landry, the holding of international events and the fusing of cultural policy with urban regeneration projects. One main reason for this turn away from large-scale infrastructural projects was the reduced financial support and resources from the state. Some writers have argued that Taipei's strategic planning seems to be a complex historical product of the city's political-economic context, due to Taiwan's multi-layered government structure (Ng, 1999), the struggle between two major political parties, and the tension of international status (Leitner and Kang, 1999; Wang, 2004; Wang, 2006; Wang and Huang, 2009; Tan and Waley, 2006). At the same time, the government adopted strategies of smaller scale, trying to attract local creative energy, and to create platform for dialogue amongst administrators, creative sectors and diversity citizen; finally, to enhance urban visibility and multicultural, and strengthen competitiveness. Finally, the chapter explored Dadaocheng's history and summarised that the rise and fall of its main commercial area, Dihua Street, reflects the wider city's progress in politics, economics, culture, society and urban policy. We looked in particular at the preservation policy, introduced in 2000, after much opposition to planned infrastructure policies. This has achieved its goal, at least in so far as buildings lining the Dihua Street were preserved and the urban texture remains (physically).

The following chapter will closely review the complex evolution of the city's urban policy from 1980 to 2014 exploring rationales that brought the city's to introduce new culturally inflected policies and incentive mechanisms in its urban renewal policies, and problems caused by the urban renewal mechanisms. It will explain how CCURP then took over to kindle the city's redevelopment. It is to this focus that the thesis now turns, on how culture-led urban policy was conducted in the city, how it operated, and its consequences.

Chapter 4: Expansion, conservation, and the creative-culture turn: the complex evolution of Taipei's urban regeneration, 1980-2014

4.1. Introduction

This chapter picks up from the historical context of Taiwan, Taipei and Dadaocheng set out in Chapter 3, focusing more specifically on the complex evolution of urban regeneration policy in Taipei. This provides a vital background and basis for the empirical research into policy mobilities and the application of creative city theory through CCURP in Taipei in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The emergence of CCURP in Taipei is a significant feature of recent decades. This chapter focuses on these urban regeneration policies in order to better understand how and why urban regeneration policy has undertaken what we might call a creative-cultural turn. The chapter is divided into four sections.

The first three sections provides a broad overview and discussion of urban regeneration policies in Taipei over the period from the 1980s to 2014. I map out the Taipei City Government's urban strategies, identify which factors have shaped the city, and chart the rise of a vigorous civil society within the move to democracy in the 1980s and how it affected Taipei on a variety of urban and environmental issues. Discussions are set in three main time divisions, including (1) origins of today's urban policies in the 1980s, (2) twin-track urbanism in the 1990s and (3) the cultural and creative-class turn post 2000. In addition to an exploration of the motivations of culture-led urban policy, I also elaborate key factors and the roles of certain pivotal individuals who influenced urban regeneration policies in the period.

Bulk reward and Transfer of Development Right (TDR) are introduced and highlighted for their vital role utilising by the City Government in its twin pursuit of urban expansion and heritage conversation in the 1990s. This will provide an important context for understanding how these incentive mechanisms were used in the conservation of Dadaocheng in response to demands for the protection of private property rights, heritage conservation and local development. The bulk reward mechanism appeared again in the Taipei Beautiful Plan in 2009, the third section of which discuss the city's cultural-creative class turn. It shows that the bulk-led mechanism was adopted by the government to initiate urban redevelopment and that it was embedded in the operation of real estate markets.

The fourth section introduces the Wenlin Yuan dispute, caused when the city authorities forcibly evicted residents to make way for a building renewal project. It provides us with a detailed view of the tensions that can arise among stakeholders, academic critics and the public and hostility toward the authorities and their urban renewal policy. This leads to a discussion of how urban policy has undergone a cultural turn and how cultural policy has been introduced to deal with the difficulties caused by the use of development rights transfer mechanisms.

4.2. From central state to city governance: the origins of contemporary urban policy in the 1980s

In this section, I map out the evolution of the main urban policies in Taipei since 1980. As we saw in Chapter 3, urban development in Taipei was historically prioritised over the rest of the island due to the city's political and economic importance following the KMT takeover in 1945. However, the combined effect of Taipei being the centre of national government and military administration, and its regional industrial hub status, meant that up to the 1980s, urban management for providing a higher quality of urban life was not a priority (Wang, 2004; Wang and Huang, 2009). It was only in the 1980s that the Taipei City Government began to focus more on dedicated planning policies to improve the city from an experiential basis. Coinciding with a period of high economic growth from 1978 that reached a peak of eight percent per annum in 1988 (Executive Yuan, 2012b), the city experienced dramatic changes in its spatial and social environment. During this period, new urban planning projects, the development of a local professional planning bureaucracy and the rise of civil society groups together laid the foundation of contemporary Taipei. I discuss these developments below.

4.2.1. Decentralisation of urban governance

In terms of the hierarchy of urban governance, it was in the late 1970s and 1980s that the municipal bureaucracy took over tasks and duties from the national state, as we can see from the introduction of these new urban policies. Several new departments were formed. For instance, the City Government's Department of Urban Development, previously called the Urban Planning Office, was established in 1977. The Rapid Transit Systems department was established in 1987 to take charge of the planning and construction of the city's rapid transit system. Direct elections to the mayor's office were introduced in 1994. Since then, Taipei's professional bureaucracy has been the main actor in the city's urban policy. Its interests are often different to that of the central state, as we shall see in Chapter 7 when we

examine in detail the issues around the creation of the Urban Regeneration Station (URS) scheme.

4.2.2. Urban expansion and urban renewal: the Xinyi Planning District and the Liuxiang Plan

The rise of city governance in the late 1970s arguably led to the emergence of a new era of urban planning and development led from within Taipei. This was seen in the development of Xinyi. A major outcome of the previous concentration of military and economic facilities in Taipei was that the city's central areas – Dadaocheng and Mengjia, which are now in the west of the city centre – became over-developed, saturated with people and buildings. To ease the strain of over-development, the national government began to plan the creation of a new sub-centre in the eastern outskirts of Taipei, now called Xinyi district. This area of Taipei was mainly vacant, unpopulated land and old military buildings. The outline of the Xinyi Master Plan was announced in 1981. Its main feature was the move there of the city's administrative headquarters, Taipei city hall, from the old city centre. This demonstrated the importance of this project to the city's strategic urban development. The outline plan was followed by a Detailed Plan in 1984 that included a design for a grid of roads and pedestrian walkways and planned commercial functions as a concentric circle with the City Hall at the centre (TCG, 2006a). Public transportation hubs and a Mass Rapid Transport System were proposed for the northern and southern points and the surrounding residential area was to include schools, parks and pedestrian paths. The Xinyi Planning District has been gradually developed over the past thirty years as a regional financial hub through a public-private-partnership to become the 'Manhattan of Taipei' with its landmark skyscrapers headed by Taipei 101, the world's tallest building between 2004 and 2010.

In the same year, the Liuxiang Plan in Wanhua district was also announced. If Xinyi Commercial District represented a paradigm of the actual application of urban design in a new part of the city, the Liuxiang Plan represented the very first urban renewal scheme in Taipei. In this plan, the local authority assessed and re-designated city land via an approach of zonal expropriation to remove illegal old buildings, eliminate narrow alleys, establish a new street system, and plan for public spaces including neighbourhood parks, a public market, and a public library so as to improve the quality of urban residential space. As a first urban renewal project, its experiences were later extended and formalised through the enactment of Taipei City Urban Renewal Implementation Measures in 1983.

The significance of these early urban planning schemes relates to the new forms of urban policy being used. First, Xinyi was the first comprehensive

urban design programme focusing on the larger scale of groups of buildings, streets and public spaces defining permitted land uses, scale and density. An 'Urban Design Review' requirement was introduced requiring developers to submit an architectural development and design document for each site. This document had to be approved by the Taipei Urban Design Committee before the company could apply for a construction license. The document's main focus was on the design of open spaces, the impact of the project, and feedback from developers. The design review created room to negotiate with developers and sought a balance between the rights of private property owners and regulations for the spatial qualities of privately owned spaces that were open to the public. This mechanism was subsequently applied to other areas including the Dadaocheng conservation plan and other new urban planning areas. Furthermore, it has also been introduced and adopted in other cities in Taiwan.

Second, Xinyi saw the first use of the bulk reward mechanism that would become a central feature of urban governance in Taipei to the present day. I will introduce the more detailed aspects of the bulk reward mechanism later in this chapter. Put simply, the bulk reward mechanism is part of the system of building regulations in Taiwan. Unlike planning permission in the UK, Taiwan's building development is restricted by rules over the Floor Area Ratio (FAR). FAR is the ratio of a building's total cubic area (volume) to the size of the land parcel on which the building sits. From 1980s onwards, each land parcel has been given a permitted (and thus limited) FAR of building development that varies according to the zoning in the master plan for the area. In other words, the authority has created rules that control the height of any building on that land, meaning for each plot of land there are restricted development rights, except where there are no development rights at all, such as in national parks or environmentally sensitive areas. FAR policies have been utilised to manage the density of development in different land use zones. Depending on the master plan and the specific urban scheme, bulk reward mechanisms, in turn, allow existing land or property owners to earn extra FAR (more bulk) if they meet certain conditions.

The use of the bulk reward mechanism in Xinyi district aimed to encourage landowners and developers to participate in the construction of this new urban sub-centre by rewarding planning proposals that emphasised the best public space design and that came forward relatively quickly to speed up the development process (TCG, 1994). For instance, according to the Xinyi Detailed Plan, one bulk reward mechanism was for fast planning applications, with up to 3% more of each site's original FAR when a development application was lodged within the first 5 years of the Second Overall Review of Xinyi Planning District Detailed Plan in 2000 (TCG, 2000). Xinyi planning district also qualified for extra bulk through the Transfer of Development

Rights (TDR) mechanism in which a developer or owner could buy or transfer their own permitted development rights to increase the height they could build to. The TDR and bulk reward mechanism played a key role in Dihua Street's preservation and transformation, as will be detailed in section 4.3.4.

4.2.3. The rise of urban civil society

Alongside the decentralisation of urban governance and the new urban expansion policies, a third key and related development of the 1980s was the rise of new social movements outlined in chapter 3 as part of the era of democratisation. This included several prominent urban-related movements, of which the Dadaocheng conservation movement was one. This was initiated in 1987 by a group of planning and architectural professionals against the Dihua Street road widening plan in an attempt to preserve the street's historic architectural façades. The road widening plan was part of the overarching redevelopment approach of the City Government during this time that found its expression in the Xinyi masterplan discussed above. In August 1989, another movement, the Snails without Shells housing movement, gathered 100,000 people to occupy Chunghsiao East Road to protest against rising housing costs and to demand affordable housing. Since then, it has become a common scene to see mass protests occurring when issues affecting the well-being of Taipei's residents have been mooted.

Along with the wave of social movements and the rise in community empowerment, some planning-based NGOs staffed by 'urban professionals' were established, including the Tsuei Mama Foundation for Housing and Community Services (1989), the Foundation for Research on Open Space (1990), the Organisation of Urban Re-s (1992), and the Chinese Institute of Urban Design (1994). The involvement in public affairs of professional organisations not only bore witness and enhanced the strength of grassroots movements; it also helped to form part of an important force to supervise public policies especially on conservation and environmental issues.

In summary, the development of Taipei in the 1980s was focused on both 'urban hardware' in terms of infrastructure construction and 'urban software' issues related to the environment, community, housing, and cultural identity. Along with national political and economic developments, the mid-1980s in particular can be seen as a watershed. Before then, the city was planned according to its military, political and economic functions. Accompanying the democratisation process, after the mid-1980s, city space became more flexible, with mega-sized urban and transport projects turning the city from a single-centred to a multi-core city. The diversity of cultural and popular movements and activities made the city feel vibrant.

4.3. Taipei's twin-track urbanism: urban expansion meets conservation of the historic centre: 1990-2000

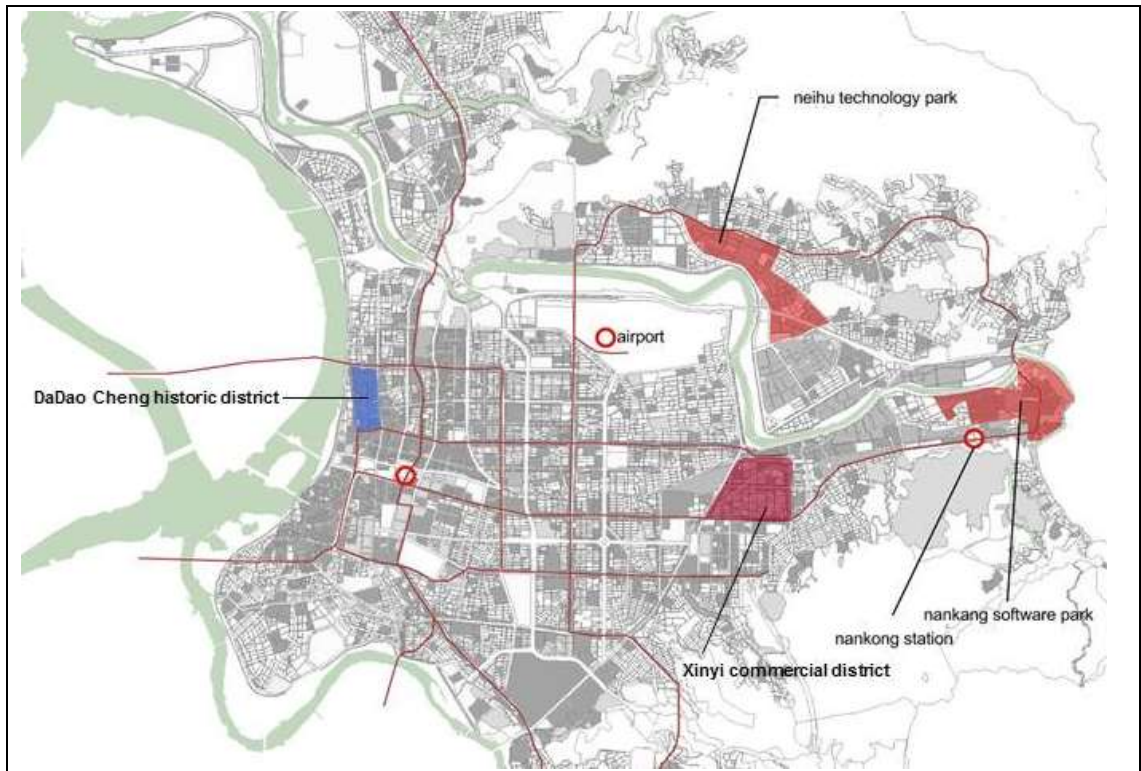
The urban policies of the 1990s were a continuation of those of the late 1980s but had a more significant impact on the structure of urban spaces and community mobilisation. Spatially, the city experienced major changes in terms of large-scale transportation construction projects, the development of commercial and industrial parks, and the construction of urban parks. But it also saw a new round of civic mobilisation against urban renewal that pushed it towards a different, more heritage-based approach in the historic areas of the city.

4.3.1. Urban expansion and development continue

It was in the 1990s that Nangang Economic and Trade Park and Neihu Science and Technology Park were planned to entice companies in commerce, science, and technology, and more generally knowledge-based economic development. It was later designated by the government a science and technology belt for the city in the 2000s. According to city government statistics (DOED, 2008), a total of 1,700 companies, mostly in the electronic and information sectors, had located in Neihu Science and Technology Park by the end of 2003, and the total output value in revenue was more than 2.7 trillion NTD in 2007. The development of Xinyi Planning District, Nangang Economic and Trade Park and Neihu Science and Technology Park deconcentrated urban activities in the western part of the city and also created the basis for the subsequent development of higher-order services and high-tech industry (Jou et al., 2012).

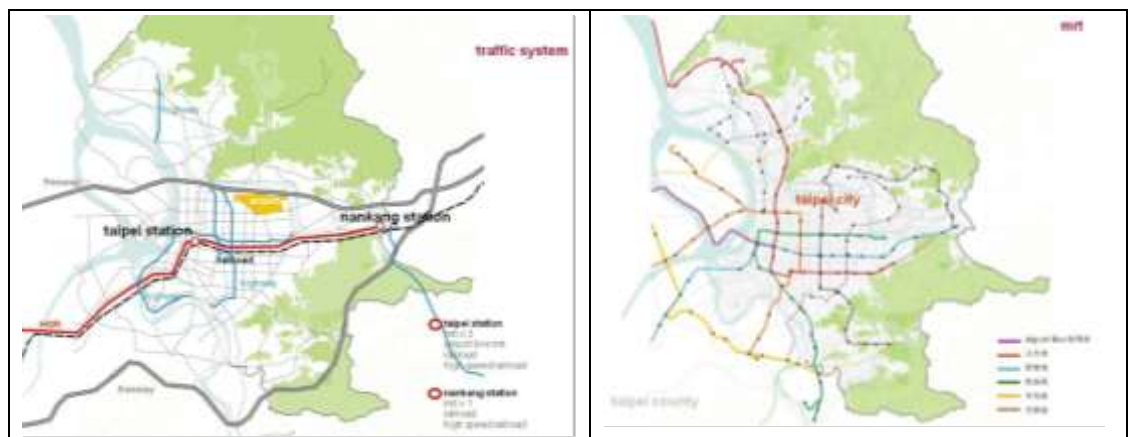
In addition to the planning of a new sub-centre, the drafting of large-scale public transportation plans also played a significant role in the 1990s (Figure 4.2.) including: an underground railway, a separate and now more extensive metro system known as the MRT, and bus lanes system that required a major reorganisation of urban public space. These projects were undertaken through the 1990s, which became known as the 'dark traffic period' as construction sites were scattered around the urban core. These urban transformations did act to improve the serious urban physical problems like air pollution and traffic congestion, and over time led to a change in the urban fabric from the gradual roll-out of MRT routes. The removal of railway lines from the surface created new urban spaces, some of which were subsequently used by civic communities and local residents for their daily use (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.1 Locations of Nangang Economic and Trade Park, Neihu Science and Technology Park, Xinyi District and Dadaocheng historic area.



Source: Taipei city government, and rearranged by the author.

Figure 4.2 Large-scale transportation projects of the 1990s.

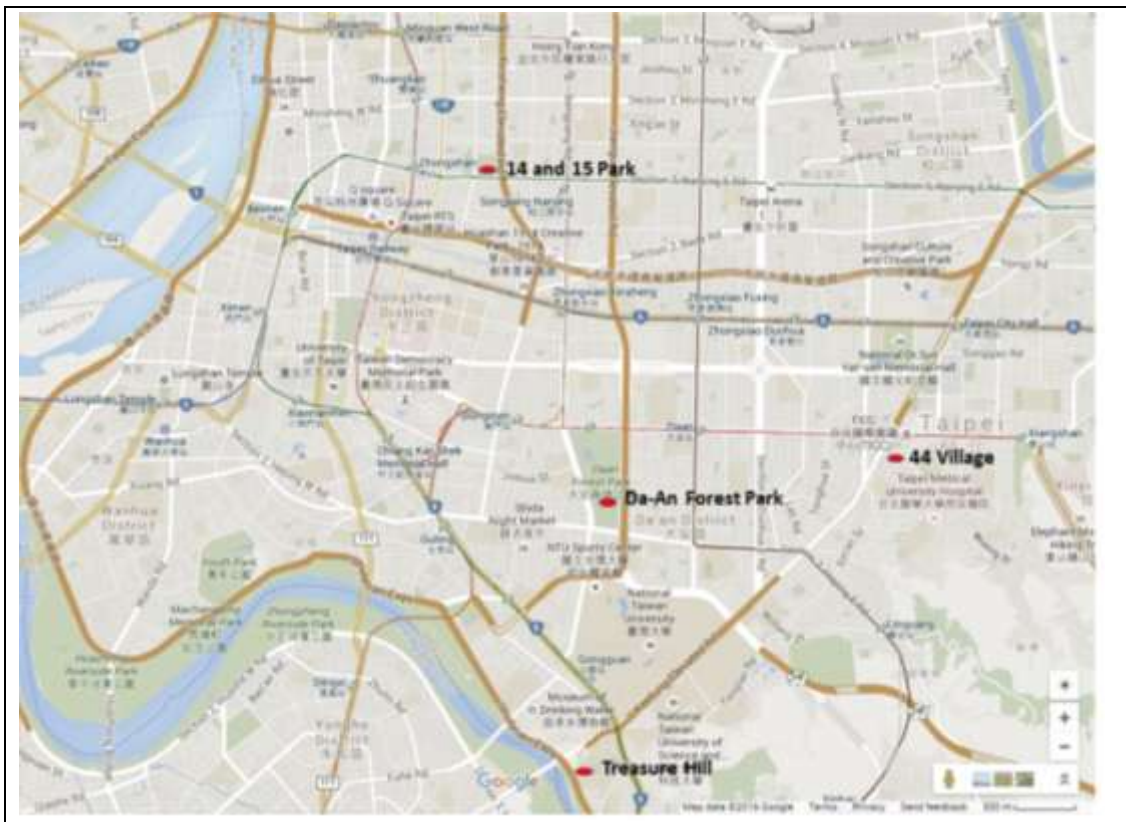


Source: Taipei City Government, rearranged by the author.

The 1990s also saw the construction of several urban parks and significant urban infrastructural services which contributed to reshaping Taipei as a modern contemporary city, even though the restructuring process involved displacing existing residents giving rise to huge protests (Jou et al., 2016). Parks including Da-An Forest Park, 14 and 15 Park, 44 Village and Treasure Hill settlement each had a different development history but suffered similarly as a result of clashes sparked by different values towards the urban environment and environmental justice; in some instances, these parks were

seen to cause changes in the landscape and in real estate markets (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3 Location of Da-An Forest Park, 14 and 15 Park, 44 Village and Treasure Hill.



Source: Google map, marked by the author.

With Da-An Forest Park, for example, the land was owned by the state and had been destined to become a park in the 1932 Japanese colonial master plan. After the war, the KMT government could not meet the housing demands of its citizens; it thus acquired public buildings and military installations, and housed military personnel and their dependents on the site. A blind eye was turned when migrants from rural areas built illegal housing in the city. This situation changed from the 1980s. With stable economic growth and improving livelihoods, urban green spaces and parks were in demand. However, there were numerous controversies, especially around what to do with squatter settlements. In 1992, the government took action to enforce demolition, causing a huge protest from squatters. After the former residents had been displaced and the park constructed, the surrounding area received a significant structural change. With a rapid rise in house prices and the construction of luxury apartments, the area underwent a dramatic process of gentrification (Jou et al., 2016). The rapid transformation of newly built areas – new green parks, new commercial districts, new high-tech estates – quickly attracted investments from estate agents. High demand on the real estate

market and high land prices became common features. Later, indirectly and unintentionally they contributed to the success of the bulk reward mechanism (introduced in the next sub-section).

4.3.2. The turn to conservation and community empowerment

Moving on to cultural and architectural heritage, conservation policies were now introduced with incentive schemes designed to respond to demands from different stakeholders. Social movements campaigned for conservation of the built heritage of places and buildings such as the Dihua Street, Red House, Zhongshan, and Datong District, the Confucius Temple and Baoan Temple, laying the foundations for the turn towards a culture-led regeneration policy (Lin and Hsing, 2009; Tan and Waley, 2006). These campaigns happened mainly during Chen Shuibian's tenure of the mayor's office (1994-1998). Urban policies in the 1990s not only indicated a cultural turn but also a geographical shift. Chen's successor as mayor, Ma Yingjeou, announced a major policy change under the slogan 'Flipping the Axis, Reconstructing the West' (TCG, 2012b). It aimed to prioritise reinvigoration and urban development of the historic west of the city, including the Dadaocheng and Dihua Street areas, to which we return later in the chapter.

At the same time, starting in the 1990s, community empowerment and art interventions were promoted by the national government. The term community empowerment was introduced in 1994 by the chairman of the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), which was upgraded to ministerial level in 2012 and re-named the Ministry of Culture. Community empowerment, according to the CCA, has five aspects: people, culture, land, landscape, and industry. The objectives of community empowerment as CCA policy were to 'establish a community culture... build up community cohesion and consensus', seeing this as a new way of thinking and policy making for cultural administration (Cultural and Environment Foundation, 1999 p,1). Under this policy, subsidies for construction costs were provided to local government by central government (mainly CCA and the Ministry of the Interior). Local authorities were encouraged to use these subsidies to implement schemes fitting the objectives of community empowerment.

In Taipei, community development-oriented projects prospered in the 1990s. A considerable proportion of them were also funded by the state under its Townscape Renaissance Project, which was implemented by the Ministry of the Interior's Construction and Planning Agency. In 1996, the Department of Urban Development of Taipei City Government initiated a Neighbourhood Improvement Plan, which emphasised collaborative planning through the institutionalisation of community resources. Later on, it was combined with the

state's Landscape Renaissance Project to provide budgets for communities to improve community spaces through a participatory process. According to Taipei City Government, from 1996 to 2000 a total of 200 proposals were submitted to the Neighbourhood Improvement Plan and 106 projects received financial support after a competition based on participatory design. Most of the projects were for improving the quality of public space such as neighbourhood parks and pedestrian routes. Through these projects the government mobilised citizens and designers participating in public affairs at the community scale (Huang, 2005).

There were various different types and scales of community development projects. These included but were not limited to well-known projects such as Ximending pedestrian zone, Shida Night Market, Yongkang Park and Ningxia Night Market, which then became either tourist draws (night markets) or gentrified areas with luxury apartments, favourite haunts of the middle class (Jou et al., 2016). A system of community planners was established in 1999 by the Department of Urban Development as a platform for spatial design and a bridge connecting community voices with policies. After that, a system of youth community planners, community centres and environmental planning courses in community colleges was put in place. More than 200 community participant projects were completed before 2005, transforming the nature of neighbourhood parks, mountain paths, river paths, routes to school and community public space. Community mobilisation was regarded by the local authority as the foundation for shaping a community's culture, local identity, and community consensus (Wang and Qian, 1995; Xu and Song, 2003). However, community development projects were criticised for being a kind of political operation led by elites incorporating a set of elite values (Lin and Chiu, 2014; Raco et al., 2011). They are thus unable to exert an influence on urban policies at a community level. Nevertheless, some have argued that the sheer number of community oriented projects has led to a change in the planning landscape (e.g. Wang, 2011).

4.3.3. The 1998 Urban Renewal Act

Promulgated by Presidential Decree on 11 November 1998, the Urban Renewal Act was implemented for the purposes of 'promoting well-planned urban land redevelopment, revitalizing urban functions, improving urban living environments, and increasing public interest' (Article 1). It was, in reality, a technical guidebook with directions on how to undertake physical urban renewal in specific areas or sites. The Act focused on physical matters; urban renewal processes are identified in Article 4 and are divided into three methods of reconstruction, renovation and maintenance depending on whether buildings identified in Article 6 are hazardous to public safety or in a

dilapidated, dangerous condition; do not meet their stipulated urban function; are not coordinated with important development projects; have historical, cultural, artistic, or other memorable value that urgently requires preserving and maintaining; or have a poor living environment that constitutes a hazard to public health or social order.

The implementation procedure for urban renewal projects is stated with precise requirements, each of which calls for agreement among a simple majority of rights holders (see Appendix A for details). The voices and thoughts of the rest of the residents are generally neglected and sacrificed. The case of Wenlin Yuan urban renewal project, which we will discuss later, highlights this issue. In addition, rights conversions¹ and incentives (see Appendix B) are introduced into the Act to smooth and stimulate the progress of urban renewal projects. Furthermore, the taxes of the land and buildings within the renewal area are also reduced.

Overall, the Urban Renewal Act is a means of pursuing urban regeneration, urban beautification and urban vitality. Via the mechanism of rights conversions, it introduces investments from developers to combine with those of property owners; and to those, it adds incentives of building bulk reward, tax reductions and low interest rates on loans. Majority decision making remains a tool to silence the minority so as to eradicate buildings that are regarded as being a hazard to public safety or in a dilapidated, dangerous condition. However, this kind of urban renewal approach quickly caused controversy as it focuses excessively on the interests of certain groups such as developers. I will use the Wenlin Yuan dispute in section 4.5. as a case to demonstrate the tensions among players as well as urban regeneration policy issues in the city.

4.3.4. Bulk reward and Transfer of Development Rights for conservation and donation of properties

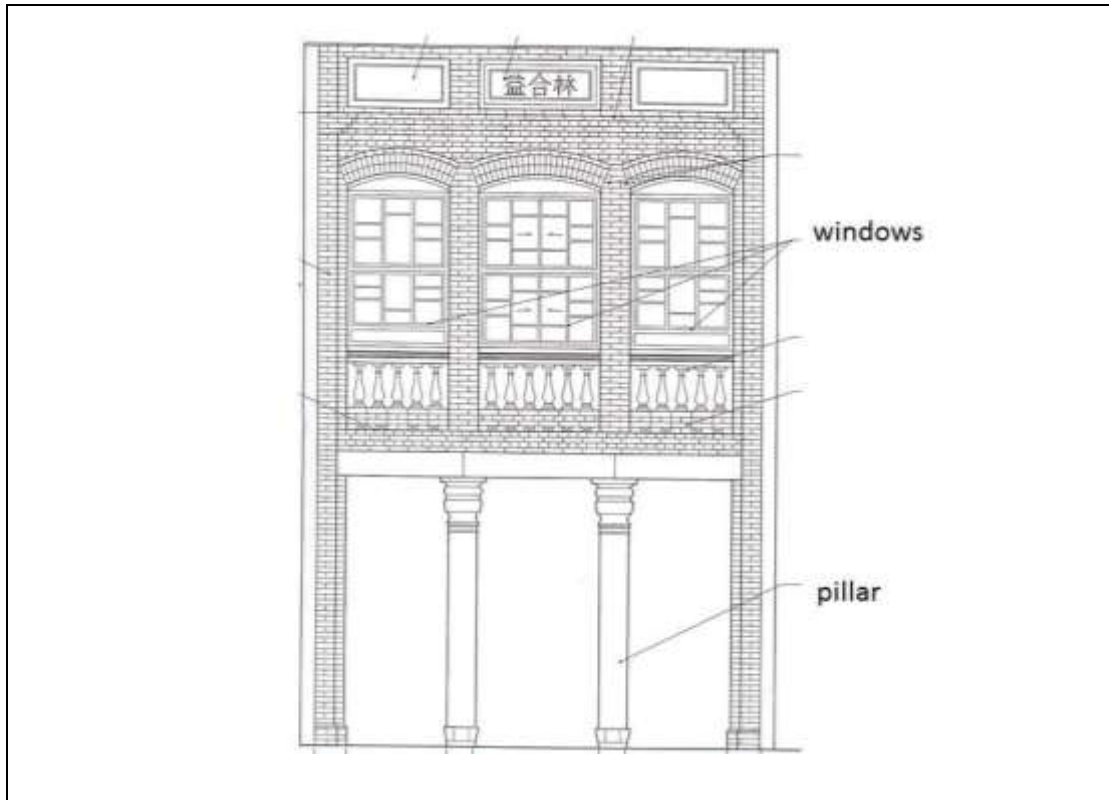
I briefly introduced in Chapter 3 the conservation movement and its associated urban planning policy as part of the overview of Taiwan and Taipei. In this section I introduce the key regeneration mechanisms of bulk reward for conservation and for the 'donation' of properties to the City Government for non-profit public use as well as the Transfer of Development Rights (TDR). It is worth noting initially that bulk reward mechanisms and TDR have been implemented in many urban projects under both central government and local government auspices since the 1980s. For instance, we see bulk reward

¹ Rights conversion here refers to all those who undertake a renewal project including land owners, building owners and owners of other legal rights.

mechanisms in the urban master plans of the Xinyi Planning District using local regulations, in the central government's 1998 Urban Renewal Act, and in the municipal-level 2009 Taipei Beautiful Plan discussed later on. The TDR toolkit is also utilised for the purposes of heritage conservation, set out in the national 1982 Cultural Heritage Conservation Law and the 1998 National Regulations on TDR for Heritage, and to obtain land for public facilities. Each of these sets of regulations has different operational forms but is based on the same idea of ensuring development rights for properties and in the case of bulk reward, of releasing certain benefits when the exercise of property rights may run counter to specific policies.

To explain how bulk reward and TDR mechanisms work in the urban governance of Taipei, I focus here on their use in the Dadaocheng Special District Detailed Plan of 2000. In order to conserve historic architectural styles within the existing urban texture of a traditional commercial area as discussed in chapter 3, rigorous regulations were set out in the Dadaocheng Special District Detailed Plan. Detailed design rules preserve certain features such as the style of four pillars and three windows (see Figure 4.4) and building height and width. Land in Dadaocheng is mostly zoned as commercial, which mean a higher FAR is permitted than in a residential zone. The floor space limits permitted under FAR regulations in existing buildings – known as the 'reference volume' – is not normally reached.

Figure 4.4 Facade of four pillars and three windows.



Source: Taipei city government.

To encourage property owners to maintain and preserve their buildings, bulk rewards are given according to four different calculations. The total floor volume, calculated after administrative procedures (urban design review) and building restoration work have been completed, is comprised of the reference volume (V_0) plus rewarded volumes (ΔV_1 , ΔV_2 , ΔV_3 , ΔV_4).

Total floor area = reference volume (V_0) + reward volume (ΔV_1 , ΔV_2 , ΔV_3 , ΔV_4)

The reference volume is rigidly based on the urban plan, while each site is regulated to a maximum volume according to its designated function, which will depend on whether it is located in a residential, commercial, or educational zone. The symbol Δ is used to denote a changeable quantity. In terms of reward volume: ΔV_1 provides incentives to landowners in order to preserve historically valuable buildings; ΔV_2 rewards owners who provide public facilities; ΔV_3 is designed to encourage the owners of large buildings to come forward since a larger site enhances the possibility of a more flexible design to solve existing problems in old city areas such as a lack of parking space or of public services or outdated fittings; and ΔV_4 creates a negotiating platform between land or property owners and the committee and encourages

a more environment-friendly design. The four types of reward volumes are set out in more detail in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1 TDR reward volumes.

<p>ΔV1: reward volume for reconstruction of the original architectural form</p>	<p>For designated historical buildings, the reward volume includes a reward for specific parts of buildings that have recognised historical value and the cost of maintenance to the building. For non-listed buildings, the reward volume is limited to the cost of maintenance.</p>
<p>ΔV2: reward volume for providing public facilities</p>	<p>The floor area that is provided for public service facilities is excluded from the total volume; for buildings transferred to the city, the costs of building work can be translated into extra volume.</p>
<p>ΔV3: reward volume according to a building's ground floor area</p>	<p>For those building with a ground floor larger than 400 square meters, the reward volume is calculated according to the ground floor area multiplied by 15%; for those larger than 1,000 square meters, multiplied by 20%; and for those larger than 2,000 square meters, multiplied by 25%.</p>
<p>ΔV4: reward volume and environmental impact</p>	<p>A relative increase or decrease in reward volume is given depending on the results of an environmental impact assessment. The amount is decided by the Urban Renewal Committee.²</p>

Source: DUD, Taipei city government.

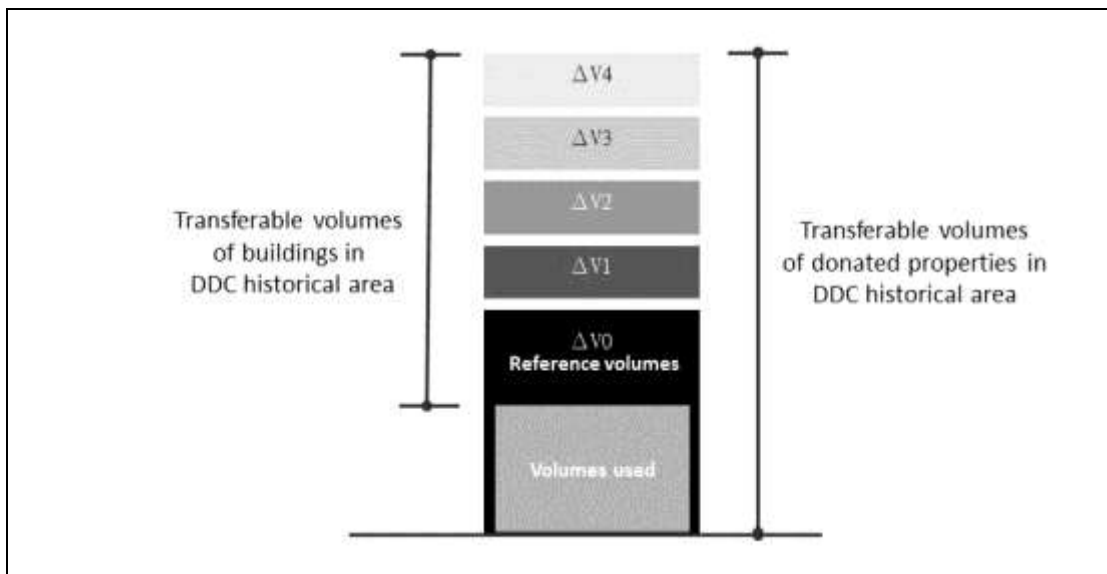
The form of building reconstruction work that is permitted is specified by the Detailed Plan as part of its wider purpose to protect the landscape of Dadaocheng including its spatial pattern and the facades of its buildings. In order to execute both a conservation strategy and ensure that the rights of landowners are not infringed, the TDR procedure was introduced into Dadaocheng Special District. Based on Article 7 (6) of the Dadaocheng Special District Detailed Plan, an annexe entitled 'Transfer of Development Rights Operating Guidelines for Dadaocheng Historic Features Special District' was attached to the Detailed Plan to: (1) promote the conservation of historical buildings in Dadaocheng Special District; (2) shape the overall landscape of these traditional neighbourhoods; and (3) ensure that

² The Urban Renewal Committee is authorized by the regulation of Taipei Urban Renewal Implementing Measures, staffed by commissioners of the government's relevant departments and experts in fields of urban planning, environment, traffic, and so on. The committee is responsible for the reviewing of designations of renewal areas, drafting or revising urban renewal plans as well as bulk reward and related matters.

landowners' property rights are respected (Transfer of Development Rights Operating Guidelines).

TDR allows property owners to sell the development rights for their buildings and transfer the potential rights to other sites in other areas of Taipei. The total volumes, including the maximum building capacity under current building regulations and the zoning ordinance plus rewards, are such that total building volume would exceed the capacity of current sites. Therefore, the TDR system provides a solution that takes both conservation and landowners' rights into account. It minimises the financial loss of property owners as well therefore as their opposition to the plan.

Figure 4.5 Transferable volumes of donated properties in DDC historical area.



Source: DUD, Taipei city government.

Moving back to ΔV_2 , the reward volume for the transfer to the city authorities of public facilities and buildings later directly influenced urban policy. Originally, it was designed to create more facilities for public use, as this part of the city is tightly packed with buildings and most assets belong to private citizens. Under this regulation, once part of the floor area is given over to the provision of public services that volume is excluded, which means an equal floor volume is allowed beyond its original legal right. These extra volumes are transferable to other parts of the city (as we shall see in chapter 7). In Article 6 of the TDR Operating Guidelines, it goes further to clearly regulate for sites where historic buildings stand; if the land and its building have been donated to the city and conservation work completed, the total volume can be fully transferred (without subtracting the existing volume). In other words, under this mechanism of transferring property (referred to as a donation in Chinese), the City Government gains the land and building, while the 'donor'

is actually paid for the transferable building volumes and can sell the development rights on the market.

4.3.5. TDR and the Taipei real estate market boom

Since the Dadaocheng Special District Detailed Plan was promulgated on 27 January 2000, there have been 275 buildings that completed the process of Urban Design Review using these mechanisms, and 349 TDR cases had been checked and approved by July 2012 (URO, 2013d) (Table 4.2 shows TDR cases in Dadaocheng). It seems the mechanism has achieved its initial goals of encouraging building maintenance and repair under strict urban design regulations that preserve the traditional Taiwanese street and its cultural landscape. However, the remorseless rise in house and land prices in recent decades has jeopardised the success of the TDR mechanism in the Dadaocheng historic area. Figure 4.6 shows the index of average house prices for the period 2000 to 2012, with 2010 as the base year. That the real estate market was very active through this period is confirmed by a property developer I interviewed:

‘Less and less land has become available for construction, but demand in the housing market remains high. For sure, TDR ... provides us with a solution’ (Interview E1).

The rise in property prices also helps to explain why TDR, which is a nationwide mechanism, is only actively used in northern Taiwan, mainly in Taipei. Elsewhere the incentive in terms of rising prices does not exist, for property owners and developers.

TDR is also seen as contributing to urban preservation. I argue that the success of the bulk-reward-led approaches and their operations were in part the result of strong demand for real estate in the reborn eastern part of the city as well as in recently gentrified areas such as Yongkang, Qingtian, Wenzhou and Huaguang neighbourhoods in Da-An District (Jou et al., 2016). As the operations of volume mechanisms have a highly dynamic relationship with the real estate market, these sorts of mechanisms are not universally applicable methods.

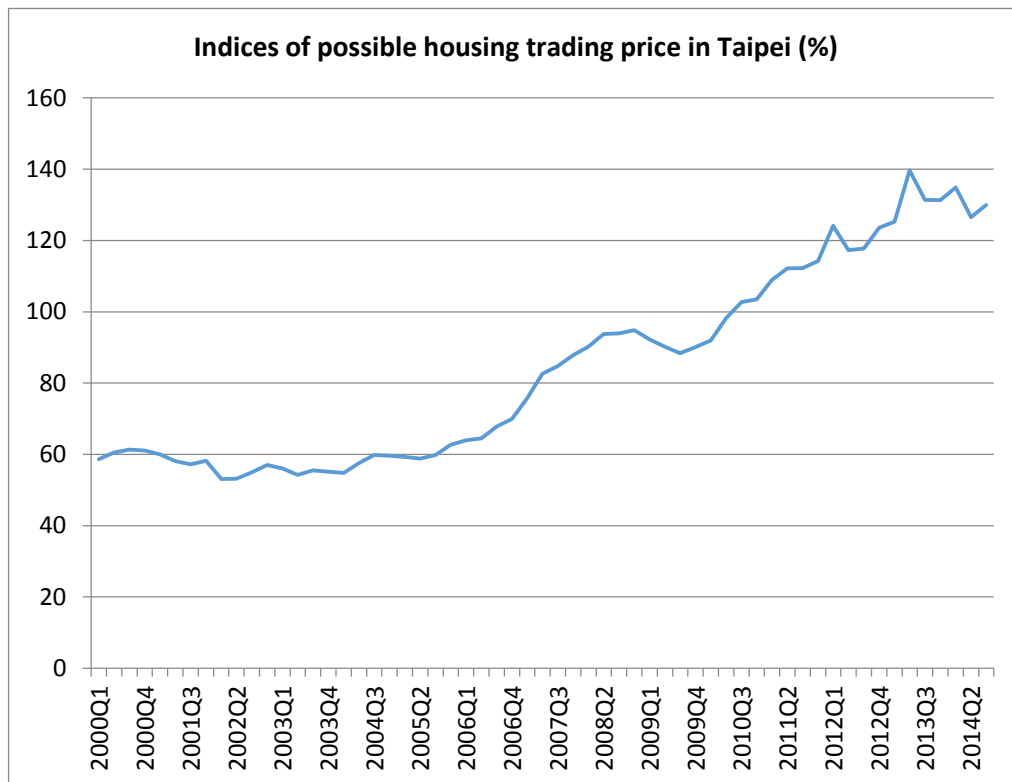
Table 4.2 Annual number of TDR cases in Dadaocheng Special District, 2000-2012.

Year	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	Total
Number	1	3	10	13	35	45	54	38	21	36	44	30	19*	349

* Figures for the period up to the end of July 2012

Source: Taipei city government (URO, 2013d).

Figure 4.6 Indices of possible housing trading price in Taipei (%) (2000-2014).



Source: E-Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2015). Base period, 2010 = 100.

4.4. Taipei's cultural-creative class turn in changing national times: 2000 to 2014

Through the bulk reward mechanism, the Urban Renewal Act of 1998 has enabled a total number of 644 urban renewal projects in the city during the period of 2000 to 2010, according to statistics from the Urban Regeneration Research and Development Foundation (Urban Regeneration Research and Development Foundation, 2011).³ However, after 2000, Taipei's urban policy was increasingly focused, on the one hand, on area-specific urban planning schemes concentrating on specific issues like conservation (Dadaocheng area) or industrial development (Nankang, Neihu), and on the other, on transforming public-owned brownfield land from industrial use into commercial, creative and cultural parks.

³ Urban regeneration research and development foundation is a non-profit organisation established by the Economic Development Committee of the Executive Yuan.

4.4.1. The urban implications of a changing national political landscape

The mayoralty of Taipei has become a stepping stone for the country's presidency. Taiwan's president, Ma Yingjeou (2008-2016) was the city's mayor from 1998 to 2006. During Ma's tenure, urban regeneration in the western part of the city was a main focus. This focus was basically followed by the man who succeeded Ma as mayor, Hao Lungbien (2006-2014), who is also from the KMT. In his urban policy, Hao also concentrated on holding international events alongside other types of culture-led urban regeneration policies (Evans, 2005). Before these two KMT mayors, Chen Shuibian had been the first mayor (1994-1998) to be directly elected by citizens, the enabling legislation, the Municipality Government Act, having been passed into law in the year of his election. He is the first and, so far, the only mayor from the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party). He was then very soon after nominated by the DPP as presidential candidate, winning the presidential election in 2000 to be followed after two terms by Ma Yingjeou. The location of the Presidential Palace and City Hall at the opposite ends of Renai Boulevard symbolises the important role of the city to the country and intimates the delicate nature of the relationship between the central and local government.

The national development plan announced during the presidency of Chen Shuibian had significant nationwide consequences on cultural urban policy. His Challenge 2008, a six-year national development plan (2002-2008), was announced in 2002 with a budget of NT\$ 2.6 trillion over the six years of the plan. This huge budget set the developmental direction of the country. The plan placed emphasis on the cultural and creative industries including the 'Cultivation of E-generation Talents', 'International R & D Bases', and 'Digital Taiwan'. It aimed to make Taiwan a hub for 'operational headquarters' and proposed the development of an 'Island transport backbone' prioritising 'water and green construction' (Executive Yuan, 2002 p. 7-8). It also set a target of doubling tourist numbers. Overall, it clearly represented a turn towards knowledge and culture-based economic growth by the state.

These national policies were now implemented in Taipei. The aim was to develop cultural and creative industries to 'capture the large Chinese culture market and build Taiwan into a point of convergence for the Asia-Pacific cultural creative industry' (Executive Yuan, 2002). In short, policies -- no matter whether from central or local city government -- indicated a shift in urban policy towards culture, by which I mean policies were more focused on popular memories, the development of cultural industries, internationalisation, place-making, and the writing of city history (also discussed by Wang, 2003). This cultural turn in urban policy remained in place after Hao Lungbien's

election as mayor. However, community-oriented projects tended to be replaced by international events. Mayor Hao announced his urban development objectives with the slogan 'Waterfront -- Humanity -- Technology' as medium-term projects of the Taipei City Government. According to official documents (DEC, 2008), the aim was to create a liveable city by transforming features of 'superior geographical, cultural, historical resources, and well-developed technology industry as well as friendly people' to 'enhance the competitiveness of the city' and 'to promote sustainable urban development' as its goals (DEC, 2008). According to the White Paper that announced these projects, holding international events was one of the main approaches to attract private investments, pursue place-making strategies, and promote the city with the ultimate aim of improving the city's visibility on the world stage and winning the backing of Taipei's citizens. The annual budget of Taipei's urban renewal fund shows significant increases in spending on creative city projects since 2010 (URO, 2007, 2008, 2009a, 2010a, 2011a, 2012a, 2013a, 2014).

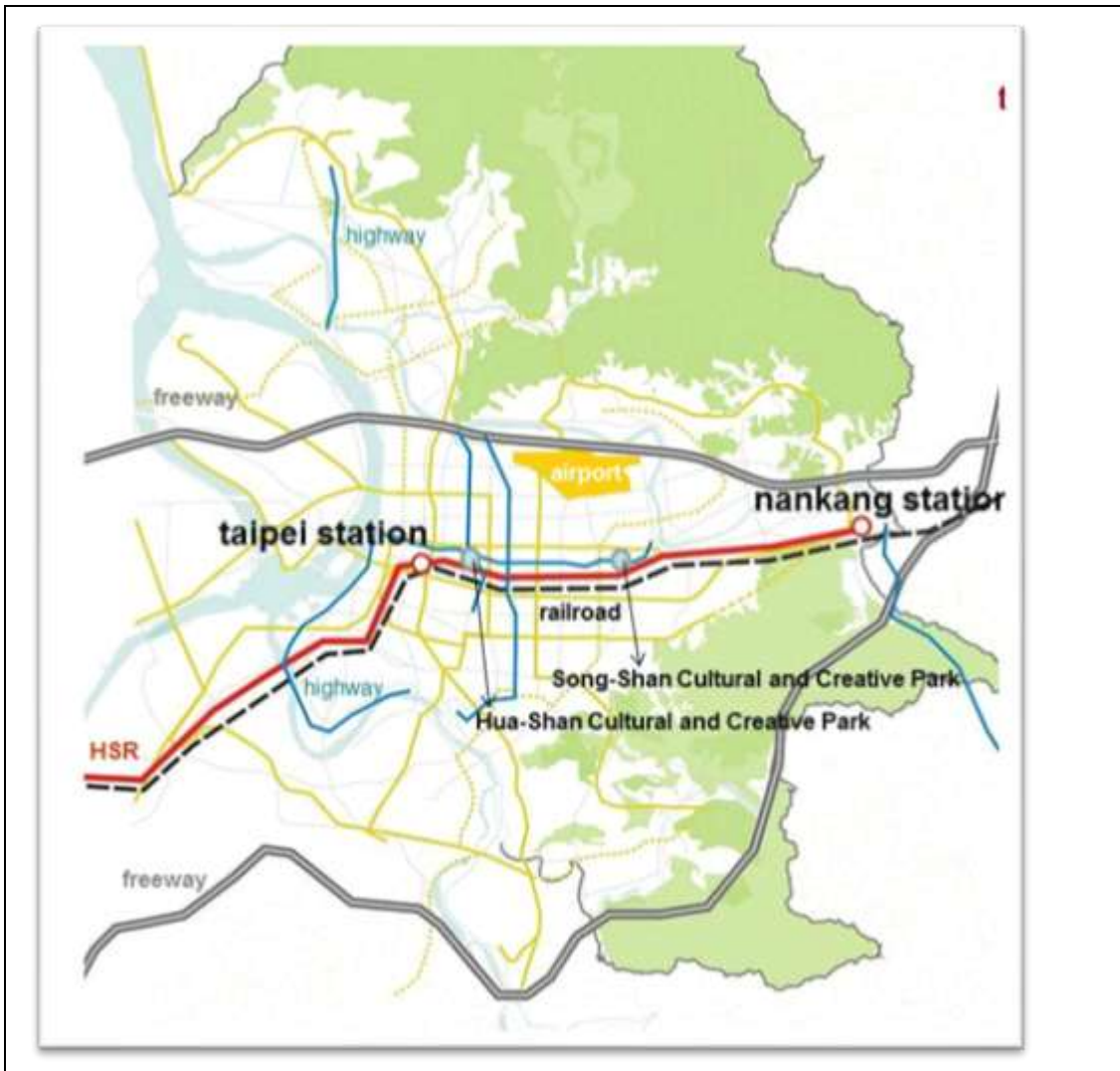
4.4.2. Creative and Cultural Parks

The City Government began to focus seriously on cultural and creative urban policies. Following the opening of Huashan 1914 Creative Park (also known as Huashan Cultural and Creative Park) in 2005, Songshan Cultural and Creative Park was opened in 2011 (Figure 4.7). With a total of 19 hectares, the site used to be a tobacco factory named Songshan Tobacco Plant of the Monopoly Bureau, founded in 1937 by the Taiwan Governor's Office under the Japanese colonial authorities. After the factory was closed in 1998, the City Government designated the factory building as a historic site in 2001. The whole site was then turned into what was termed a Cultural and Creative park, and together with the adjacent Taipei Dome was named Taipei Cultural and Sporting Park. Taiwan Design Centre was opened in 2004 in Nankang; some years later relocated into this park. This is a national design centre established in 2003 'to enhance the upgrading of national competitiveness' as well as 'to promote the development of the cultural and creative economy' (Taiwan Design Center, 2011). The Songshan Park is run by the Taipei Culture Foundation, a non-profit organisation supported by a combination of public and private sector funding, to provide activities and venues for various cultural and creative exhibitions and performances.

The locations of both Huashan Cultural and Creative Park and Songshan Cultural and Creative Park are immediately adjacent to an axial rail line. The structure at the centre of the Huashan park was built in 1914 as a distillery and was Taiwan's largest in the 1920s. The distillery and the tobacco factory had been located close to the railway line for ease of transport of goods.

However, almost one century later, after the railway line had been rebuilt underground, these abandoned industrial buildings seemed to the authorities to present a great opportunity for the development of the city's cultural and creative industries due to their location in the heart of the city. The City Government designated the axis along with the former railway line as a 'cultural and creative axis'. The Urban Regeneration Office presented its concept of a cultural and creative axis in an international forum on Taipei's urban regeneration strategy in 2013.

Figure 4.7 Locations of Songshan and Huashan cultural and creative parks.



Source: Taipei city government, and rearranged by the author.

4.4.3. International events

The Taipei city government has integrated its various departments with external resources to lead the development of urban regeneration through holding international events. The city hosted the Deaflympics (previously named International Games for the Deaf World, or Games for the Deaf) in

2009. Another example is the International Flora Exposition, a garden festival recognised by the International Association of Horticultural Producers. In 2006 Taipei successfully applied to host the 2010 Flora Expo, making it the first internationally recognised Expo to take place in Taiwan. From 2007 the Expo master plan and associated infrastructure reforms and public transportation projects were rolled out, occupying an area of 91.8 hectares with 30 countries and 60 cities participating (TCG, 2011a).

The Flora Expo was designed conceptually to convey the essence of gardening, science, and environmental protection technology, as well as promoting the goals of 'reduce, reuse, and recycle' and combining culture and art as part of eco-friendly living. In addition to the exhibition planning, a series of environmental projects and regional re-development plans were adopted, such as the Taipei Beautiful Plan (see below), regional renewal projects, and public derelict building reuse schemes. During the six month operating period, according to government statistics, there were over 8.9 million visitors, of whom 25.9% were from Taipei and 6.5% were foreign visitors, the latter a higher percentage than both for the 2010 Shanghai World Expo and the Aichi World Expo of 1996, which recorded approximately 5%. The net financial benefit of the 2010 Flora Expo was estimated to be about 29.5 billion NTD (TCG, 2011a).

In 2011, the government successfully bid to host the 2017 Summer Universiade, an international sport event organised for university athletes by the International University Sports Federation. Furthermore, the authority decided in 2012 to bid for 2016 World Design Capital⁴, vigorously mobilizing each department within its organisation and holding intensive workshops to consult with experts and scholars at home and abroad, including Charles Laundry. This shows that the authority took international events as one of the main strategies of urban development.

4.4.4. Taipei Beautiful Plan

The Taipei Beautiful Plan was a series of integrated projects announced on 1 April 2009, comprising a total of eight action plans with three integration plans, including open space beautification, urban facility beautification, building facade and signboard beautification, and regional transformation. Take the open space beautification for example; unlike past urban development plans, this project was a short-term plan aiming to present a better cityscape for the 2010 Flora Expo (interview A4). The authority announced a new Pre-

⁴ Held by the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (Icsid).

Development Maintenance and Management of Land Act⁵ by providing bulk reward and simplification of administrative processes to induce private investors and land owners to green and beautify their lands. Ultimately, the goal was to promote urban renewal and regeneration as well as improve the city landscape especially during the 2010 Flora Expo. This plan had 52 urban infrastructural projects completed and 2,774 derelict signboards cleared by the end of 2009, according to Taipei City Government's annual report (TCG, 2010a).

In the Taipei Beautiful Plan, the government provided extra incentive volume to encourage property owners to demolish old buildings and then plant and green those lands as public spaces. According to this policy, the property owners had to provide their lands for public-use parks for at least 18 months before commencing redevelopment in order to create a better-looking landscape to welcome visitors to the Flora Expo. Once property owners applied and followed the policy, they could earn 5 percent to 10 percent extra FAR (TCG, 2009). This policy attracted some private property owners; by the end of 2009 there were 83 successful applications.

The FAR incentive scheme caused controversy among scholars, experts and NGOs. It is argued that the FAR incentive policy unfairly benefited property owners, enabling them to take advantage of high property prices (e.g. Chen, 2012a; Isle, 2012). They criticised the policy in newspapers, TV programmes, and internet blogs (e.g. Coalition, 2012; Park, 2012; China Times, 2014a). Consequently, the authority cut the FAR incentive down, to 2 to 5 percent in the following year for new applications, and this resulted in only six sites being applied for development in this way in 2010 (interview A1).

4.4.5. International workshops and conferences

Taipei city government has held international conferences in the dynamics of urban regeneration annually over recent years. Since 2010, the City Government has funded an international cooperation project to a value of 20 million NTD per year with universities and non-profit organisation at home and abroad in the field of urban planning and urban design (TCG, 2012a). The aim is to introduce international perspectives that could help to discover the potential of Taipei, as well as to inspire innovative ideas to regenerate urban public spaces and the environment in the city. In 2012, for example, there were more than 20 international conferences, forums, and workshops held by the City Government. Experts, professional planners, and architects participated mainly from European countries and Japan.

⁵ An act announced by Taipei city government to implement the Taipei Beautiful Plan.

Furthermore, in order to bid for the World Design Capital (WDC), the Taipei city authority invited creative city guru, Charles Landry, as a consultant to give Taipei a competitive edge over WDC competitors. As we shall see in more detail in Chapter 6, Landry visited Taipei twice in 2012 for a couple of days each time, during which time the City Government arranged a schedule showing him around the city and specific projects regarded as hotspots with high potential. While Landry's report gives rise to debate, it makes clear how anxious the City Authority has been to pursue a creative city approach. We return to this in chapter 6.

4.5. The Return of grassroots opposition to urban renewal

As we have seen, the bulk-reward-led approach has been widely used -- for example, in Dihua Street, in Xinyi District, and in Taipei beautiful plans; it provides the government with a powerful bargaining chip in the land development and real estate market. It seems to the government that no budget is needed if these bulk rewards are used. It can be argued, however, that the cost is paid by Taipei's citizens. In this section, I deal with the issue of growing opposition to this approach. Based on an understanding of the Urban Renewal Act 1998, I introduce the Wenlin Yuan dispute, which serves as a typical example of the tensions that can arise among stakeholders and the local authority. I also use the Wenlin Yuan dispute to argue that the bulk-reward-led urban renewal approach is an uneven urban development policy, and one that helps increase the City Authority's faith in treating CCURP as a coping strategy.

4.5.1. The Wenlin Yuan dispute

On the morning of 28 March 2012, the city forcibly evicted residents to make way for an urban renewal project in Shilin in the north of the city (AppleTimes, 2012). More than three hundred people gathered in front of two two-storey houses belonging to the Wang family in solidarity with the house owners to protest against the planned demolition. Hundreds of police forcibly expelled the protesters. The scene was chaotic and caused a public outcry.

This urban renewal project was named Wenlin Yuan. Implemented by Le-Young Construction Company, the plan was to build a 15-storey apartment building on land on which 38 old houses stood. The urban renewal business plan was submitted in 2008 and subsequently obtained a satisfactory level of agreement. The Wang family were the only residents to oppose this urban renewal project, which passed the procedures in accordance with the regulations (Articles 10 and 22). It was approved in 2009. The project was then delayed for almost three years because of resistance from the Wang

family. Given the pressure from the developer and the other 36 house owners who supported and participated in the project, the City Government was entitled by law (Article 36, see Appendix C for detail) to destroy the Wang's property. But the initial demolition of two homes had led to a series of lawsuits (from the Wang family, Le-Young Construction Company and Taipei city government), and a social movement.

Protests occurred, involving civil society groups, students and famous film directors, against the City Government's demolition of the Wang family home. Some urban design students camped out at the construction site. They demanded that the City Government and the construction company build two new houses on the demolition site for the Wang family as compensation. The City Government very rapidly set up an advisory panel of academics and experts to discuss and review urban renewal regulations and mechanisms. At the same time, it negotiated with the Wang family, the developer and other rights holders. The Ministry of the Interior also introduced legislative measures to change the Urban Renewal Act.

The protest movement ended almost two years later on 14 March 2014. After a long term struggle and lawsuit, Wang Yaode, son of the head of the Wang household, issued a statement (Wang, 2014) in which he said that the family were exhausted with the whole affair and unable to afford the huge sum that might be claimed by the developer. He removed their temporary prefabricated house, which had been ruled illegal by the courts, and negotiated with the developer. In May 2014, they reached a settlement according to which all legal proceedings were to be ended.

4.5.2. Coping strategies from the central and local government

In the wake of the Wenlin Yuan dispute, the government faced much criticism from civil society groups, academics, and developers. Some of the strongest criticism came from various people who supported the government's approach to development, as the following comments demonstrate. According to one of my interlocutors, most urban renewal projects were 'either blocked or reviewed strictly and slowly' by URO to the dissatisfaction of developers, (interview E1). Public officials, he said, had become more timid and,

As you can see, big construction companies like Farglory, Changhong, Kitai, Chung Kun and others you can easily name, they are no longer [involved in] any urban renewal projects in Taipei. The same with my company. One of our peers called them [urban renewal projects] a big scam' (interview E1).

Another developer, whose business focuses on urban renewal projects in Taipei, told me that, 'Urban renewal has been very difficult to implement in these last few years in Taipei.' He gives two reasons: firstly, after the Wenlin

Yuan urban renewal project, 'the government tends to be overcautious'. Secondly, he believes that public opinion has become much more critical of developers. However, he says,

The acquisition costs of land are already pretty high; it inevitably means higher prices on the housing market. The question now is that too little land [is available] to support the demand for housing. Since whatever [public officials] do is taken as wrong, they have become much more conservative. (Interview E2)

A member of a civil society group indicated that 'there is no urban renewal in Taipei, as we can see from the Wenlin Yuan project.... The Wang family showed us in essence what urban renewal means. The [Urban Renewal Act] is incomplete, so the process of [construction] is full of contradictions and conflicts. The central government's act is too tight. Taipei [city government] should have more powers.' (Interview F7).

The situation was described to me as follows by an academic expert:

People believe that developers earn a lot of money from urban renewal projects and that the city's urban policy is helping them. Such a view has penetrated into every corner of the city. (Interview B5).

The central government's Ministry of the Interior started discussions to modify the Act. The main concerns revolved around the relationship between land expropriation and the protection of private property rights. Majority enforcement mechanisms were reviewed, such as the proportion of rights holders' agreement needed at each stage during the process of urban renewal projects. The suggested amendments included: (1) strengthening links between urban renewal on the one hand and social welfare on the other; (2) the strengthening of information transparency and public participation; (3) improving the rights conversion mechanism; and (4) reducing the risks that lay behind implementation. However, at the end of 2014, legislators had failed to reach agreement on amendments to the Urban Renewal Act. The revisions were stalled in the legislature's Internal Administration Committee (AppleTimes, 2014).

The city government also responded in May 2013 by setting up a task force, the Urban Renewal Promoting Team, led by the deputy mayor, staffed by experts and heads of relevant departments. In December of the same year, the task force's report, Programme of Action Urban Renewal in Taipei, was published (TCG, 2013). In November 2014, a revised version was announced, under the title of Programme of Action for Taipei Urban Renewal 2.0 (TCG, 2014a). According to both these official documents, 'the Wenlin Yuan dispute is leading to public anxiety and lack of confidence in urban renew projects' (TCG, 2014a, p. 3; 2013 p. 1).

The revised report identifies current issues that urban renewal projects are facing, including:

- (1) Local residents have insufficient confidence in organisations undertaking urban renewal projects and thus find it difficult to reach consensus on rights conversions.
- (2) Lack of mechanisms for consultation and arbitration, making it difficult to integrate the views of residents.
- (3) Urban renewal laws are too complex for the public; procedures for administrative review are too lengthy and are inefficient.
- (4) The public fail to recognise urban renewal achievements, leading to lack of confidence.

Strategies suggested to remedy these issues include strengthening mechanisms of guidance and integration, establishing multiple approaches, improving the system to enhance the efficiency of the administrative review procedures, and considering and protecting the public interest as well as expanding and promoting the accomplishments of urban renewal. In other words, the report argues that the issue, in a number of areas, is that the public do not clearly understand how good the urban renewal projects are, and how far the authority's targets have been 'actively achieved' (TCG, 2014a, p. 6). The Programme of Action for Taipei Urban Renewal II then introduces ten innovations in urban renewal for Taipei, all of which it claims have been achieved. The URS scheme is listed as number 7, under the title 'Implementing the URS scheme to activate an old community', and number 8 is 'actively connecting with international experiences in urban regeneration and creating the atmosphere of a creative city' (TCG, 2014a, p. 9).

It is clear from a reading of these reports that Taipei government is insistent on firmly pursuing its cultural urban regeneration policy, and in particular creative city ideas, and giving prominence to international experiences in official documents. The URS scheme and the creation of an 'atmosphere of creative city' are both regarded as solutions to current urban regeneration issues and are both being deployed to win over the public. In fact, the city's culture-led urban policy has been underway since at least the start of the movement to preserve Dihua Street, and the URS scheme was actually introduced before the Wenlin Yuan dispute. Culture-led urban regeneration and creative city policies are regarded by Taipei City Government as an effective method of winning over a sceptical public. I introduce the URS scheme in chapter 7 and then discuss its influences and impacts in chapter 8. Before that, in order to gain an understanding of how the city connects with international experiences and how lessons are learnt, I review the methods and key elements of policy learning and paradigm shifts in Chapter 6.

4.6. Conclusions

Taipei city has experienced a dramatic and rapid transformation in recent decades, especially after the lifting of martial law in 1987. In the last few years, we see a more subtle and gentle change in comparison to the mega constructions of the 1980s and 1990s. Urban policies have played a pivotal role in the local political, social, and economic context. This chapter has drawn a 'chronological map' of urban development policy and identified key features and influential factors relating to state development policy and the rise of civil society in each decade since the 1980s. The bulk reward and transfer mechanisms have been identified as important approaches and a bargaining chip for use by the government to enhance its governance abilities in stimulating the real estate market so as to reach its urban regeneration objectives. However, this caused controversy widely among the public and academic and other experts. The Wenlin Yuan dispute was discussed along with the Urban Renewal Act. The dispute with the Wang family and their supporters among social movements caused widespread concern and discussion. It was argued further that the difficulties stemming from the urban renewal approach led by property bulk reward had pushed the state into amending the law and, moreover, it pushed policy in the direction of adopting a second wave of culture-led urban policies.

In reviewing urban development policies, it has become clear that the economy has always been the core issue driving urban policy, including even the latest developments in culture-led urban regeneration policy. In the 1990s, the expansion of urban metropolitan areas via planning, such as the Xinyi commercial district, Nankang trading park and Neihu Technology Park, was closely linked with industry and economic development (Ching, 1999). For a brief period after the 1997 financial crisis Taipei's economic position in the global industrial chain was uncertain due to broader political uncertainties around the country's national identity (Ching, 2001; Wang, 2002). From 2000 onwards, I argue that cultural and creative policies, at both the state and city level -- the policies of 'cultural and creative parks' and international events -- were being implemented in the name of creative and aesthetic urbanisation but were in fact designed to create a more favourable environment for economic development and to attract investment. Meanwhile the Wenlin Yuan dispute has shown the city's urban renewal policy to be an uneven one, and the employment of bulk relevant mechanisms have reinforced market rules under which building bulk is seen as a good to be traded. The irony is that what is seen by the authority as a tradable bulk counter is actually a kind of public good. The more bulk the authority gives out, the more crowded the city becomes and the lower the quality of public services. The cost is paid by the city and its citizens. From the analysis, I argue that since the 1980s the city has adopted a neoliberal approach in urban governance where bulk-reward

mechanisms were taken by the state as a leading element in Taipei's urban development I also argue that under the force of global and national city competition and in the face of counterattacks from civil society the city has entered an new age of cultural urban governance.

The following chapter will explain how the research was operationalised in terms of methods and design before subsequent chapters deconstruct Taipei's culture-led urban regeneration policy, exploring where it came from and what its consequences have been so far so as to understand the key issues and principal actors directing urban development and city life.

Chapter 5: Research Design and Methodology

5.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out, justifies and critically reflects on the research methodology employed in this thesis in order to meet the research objectives. The overarching approach is qualitative and critical, exploring the social and institutional dynamics of culture-led regeneration projects in Taipei City. The evidence has been gathered through an investigation of a culture-led regeneration policy -- the Urban Regeneration Station (URS) scheme -- charting its emergence, evolution and impact within the Dihua street area of Taipei City through a multi-scalar analysis.

As discussed in Chapter 1, given the recent appetite for creative city and CCURP policies in East Asian cities, the gaps explored in Chapter 2 and the lack of critical empirical research into CCURP, my research aims to better understand how creative and culture-led urban regeneration policies evolve, to what extent CCURP move from West to East, how they are perceived by urban elites and policy makers, and how they have been absorbed into local policy practice as a new solution to urban issues. This contributes to recent discussions on rethinking policy mobilities, on who learned what from whom, and how (e.g. Benson and Jordan, 2011; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2012, 2000), and by using what approach (e.g. Evans and Davies, 1999; Stone, 2004; Bulmer and Padgett, 2005). The research questions focus on the how localised CCURP perform and represent the capabilities of cultural capital (an historical street, in my research context), and what happens after these policy interventions.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. Section 5.2 explains how these aims were translated into practice through the overall research design. Section 5.3 discusses and justifies the choice of case study approach and the geographical focus. Section 5.4 discusses the three main types of qualitative data employed in this thesis: oral, textual, and observational. It explains how these data, including a wide range of official, private and public media materials, were collected. Interviews with various types of actors are detailed Section 5.5 illustrates how these data were analysed with respect to validity and reliability. It critically and reflexively discusses the research ethics and my own positionality and identity during the research. I demonstrate the relationships among the researcher and participants, the researcher's identity and how ethical issues were considered. Finally, Section 5.6 summarises how the research was designed and conducted in the field, and where in this thesis my research findings and analysis can be found.

5.2. Research design

In order to attain my research aim – to critically investigate and deepen academic understanding of how creative city and CCURP mobile, embed in and impact on Taipei – I have chosen a principally qualitative methodology to conduct this research. The study is developed through the collection of three main types of data: the oral, the textual, and the observational. According to Leedy and Ormrod, the design of a research project is literally the plan for how the study will be conducted. It is a matter of thinking about, imagining, and visualising how the research study will be undertaken (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Data collected from research should answer the research questions, thus the research plan should be designed to echo and reach the research objectives. As Valerie Janesick sees it, design is the choreography that establishes the research dance (Janesick, 1994).

Based the use of a range of qualitative methods (interviews, documentary analysis, observation and case study on urban policies), this research firstly conducted a historical-context analysis of the past and present urban planning policies and mechanisms from various sources, including the texts of policies, laws, regulations, official documents, the statements of politicians, debates and the texts of interviews, to obtain a more sufficient and historically grounded understanding of the Taipei urban context where CCURP were introduced (Objective 1., and that has been looking over in Chapter 4). Secondly, in order to examine the influences of transnational policy transfer and to trace policy flows in the rise and introduction of CCURP in Taipei (Objective 2.), I collected data not only from interviews, documentary analysis, but also from participating observation, in which findings will be detailed discussed in Chapter 6. Finally, a single case study of the URS policy and its implementation in Dihua Street and other places in the city was conducted to respond to the Objective 3 - to critically assess the community impacts and implications of CCURP in terms of renaissance, public participant and gentrification (analysis will be developed in Chapters 7 and 8).

I have chosen this approach because it enables a set of evaluation of theoretical work and empirical practices responding to my research aim and research questions addressed in Chapter 1. During the research design process, generation of data and analysis, one of the key concerns to bear in mind is reliability, to ensure the research supports and provides credible conclusions. As LeCompte and Goetz stress, ‘the value of scientific research is partially dependent on the ability of individual researchers to demonstrate the credibility of their findings (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 31). My research was designed, and the field work conducted, as far as possible to follow these thoughts and principles. I detail and explain the justifications and

limits of choosing the case study method and data collection in following sections.

5.3. Introducing the Case Study

In this section I discuss and justify the decision to employ a case study approach before introducing and contextualising the case study and its geographical focus.

5.3.1. Justifying the single case study approach

The first part of my research design was to choose a case study approach as the main empirical basis for the thesis. Case studies are well-established in academic research, used when ‘the main research questions are “how” or “why” questions’, and ‘the focus of study is a contemporary (as opposed to entirely historical) phenomenon’ (Yin, 2014, p. 2). The case study approach is also seen as the most flexible approach, allowing the researcher ‘to retain the holistic characteristics of real-life events while investigating empirical events’ (Schell, 1992, p. 2).

In choosing a case study approach, I opted for a single case study instead of a multi case study approach. The single case design is notably justifiable, according to Yin’s (2014) analysis and classification, under certain conditions – where the case indicates ‘(a) a critical test of existing theory, (b) an extreme or unusual circumstance, or (c) a common case, or where the case serves a (d) revelatory or (e) longitudinal purpose’ (p. 56). Given that the single case study is able to present a critical test of a significant theory, in this thesis, therefore, it enables an assessment of creative city theory. This single case, the URS scheme and its application in Dihua Street (and in other parts of Taipei), provides rich resources and reveals insights which capture the common circumstances of everyday life. This helps our understanding of the influences of policy intervention. It is a revelatory and longitudinal case because of the historical and evolving context of Dihua Street (to be discussed later). Building this single case study also provides an opportunity to observe and uncover social change because of its revelatory nature. In Dihua Street especially, there has been lots of research around its preservation movement (e.g., Hsu, 1993; Yen, 2006; Huang, 1995).

As with any other method, a single case study has its weaknesses. A general critique of the single case approach is the issue of generalisation, as it is argued that the case study method is closely related to the comparative method (Lijphart, 1971). For instance, Lijphart argues that a single case ‘can constitute neither the basis of a valid generalisation nor the ground for

disproving an established generalisation' (Lijphart, 1971, p. 691). Moses and Knutsen criticise the single case study as it is 'difficult to test hypotheses in systematic and complex ways against empirical evidence beyond the specific case in question' (Moses and Knutsen, 2007, p. 140). I am aware of these issues and limits to the single case study, and keep them in mind to avoid any unsuitable or inappropriate assumptions when making comparisons and generalisations.

5.3.2. Selecting the case study: the Urban Regeneration Station (URS) scheme in Dihua Street

I briefly introduced the URS policy in chapter 4. There are five main reasons for the selection of the URS scheme as the case study of this thesis. First, my previous firsthand experience of working in the Department of Urban Development (DUD) in the Taipei City Government generated important original questions about this policy as well as practical knowledge about its implementation that would be useful to the study. It also reflects my personal position, curiosities, and inquiries as introduced in Chapter 1. I understood the complex local context and could see its potential in helping me answer research questions. Secondly, compared to other cultural policies being implemented simultaneously in Taipei, the URS scheme is organised and implemented by the Urban Regeneration Office (URO), an office dedicated to urban regeneration. It does therefore speak clearly to the focus of my research, culture-led urban regeneration policy. Thirdly, localised creative city and regeneration discourses (soft urbanism and urban acupuncture) were developed at almost the same time, and were regularly updated along with the implementation of the URS scheme. The formation of these policies provides a basis for discussion of policy mobilities. The interactions between them enable this research to test the intentions behind discourses. Fourthly, after several years of operating in a specific area (Dihua Street), unlike the 2016 World Design Capital, which is very much a current project and had not been started when I undertook my research, the URS scheme has led the street through considerable change, and that gives the researcher room to discover the whole picture. Finally, although the URS scheme is small in scale, it provides a clear and concrete vantage point from which to understand how and why creative city theory is used as a contemporary urban regeneration approach and how it is localised. In other words, the URS is a straightforward case with which to approach my research objectives.

I will introduce the URS scheme in detail in Chapter 7. Here, in order to explain the rationale for taking it as a case study and to build a basis for the

next section, I briefly introduce the Urban Regeneration Station (URS) scheme and Dihua Street.

5.3.2.1 A brief overview of the URS scheme

Taipei City Government announced the URS scheme in 2009, promoting it as a new urban regeneration strategy with more flexible possibilities than conventional ones, a different approach to reconstruction of the physical buildings and environment. The policy encourages the owners of old and derelict buildings to transfer their properties to the URS scheme for use by the public for short term and temporary use in the form of community spaces, information hubs, local libraries, and exhibition halls amongst others. This can be seen as a sort of spatial reuse programme for idle space but with a new creative city content. There were seven URS sites completed by the end of 2012 (URO, 2012d), and at the time the main fieldwork for this thesis was conducted (2014), there were ten sites in total. One of the main purposes of the policy, according to official documents, is to integrate the creativity of local residents and cultural vitality by providing spaces with acceptable rents as a means of creating diverse urban activities. This policy, as of Easter 2016, is still in progress.

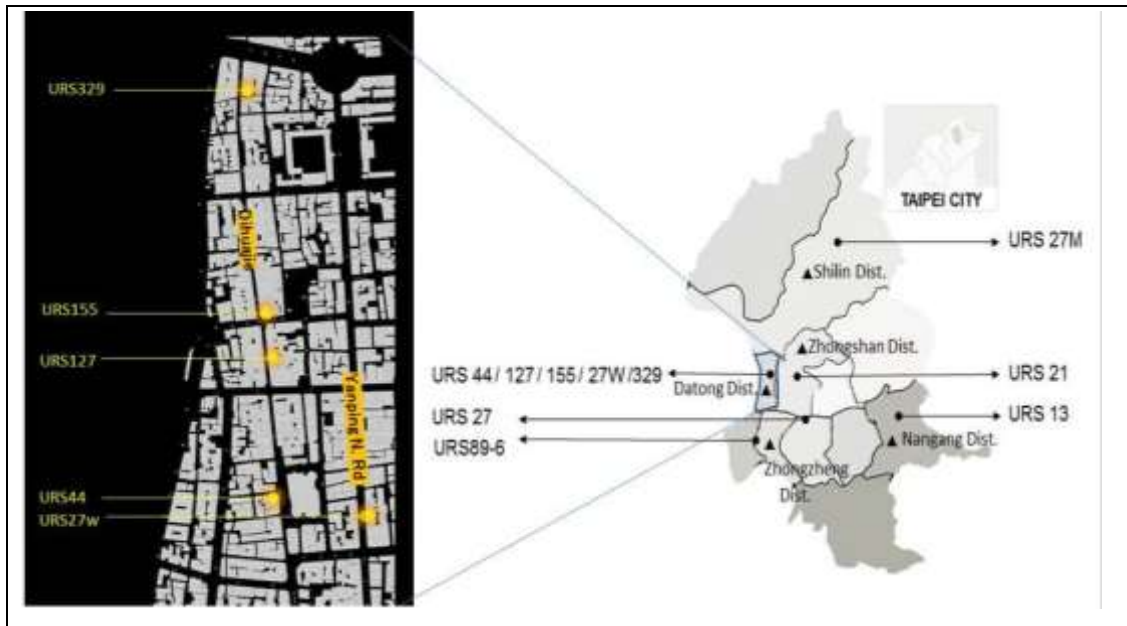
The boundaries of the case are also of crucial concern, and a 'common difficulty to be defined' (Arksey and Knight, 1999, p. 41). As this is the way a researcher identifies and conceptualises the core concerns of the research which later lead to the fundamental findings of research. In this research, the boundaries of the analysis of the URS scheme include the 'URS Partner', in order to analyse policy mobilities in Chapter 7, but leave out a subsequent programme named URS Family. I take Dihua Street and its contemporary preservation development as a geographical observation site, but the territorial bounds of my research are flexible, and in order to build a more complete picture of the URS scheme, I make reference and discuss URSSs located in other parts of the city.

5.3.2.2 Dihua Street as a specific geographical case study site

Five of the ten sites are located in Datong District, the modern city district that encompasses Dadaocheng and Dihua Street; and four of these five are situated on Dihua Street (Figure 5.1). The high density of URS sites on the street provides a significant support for the rationale of concentrating on the street. This specific context and local area (the street) form my research boundaries, particularly in the spatial dimension (with the qualification noted above). This focus enables observation of the street's daily life and social and

economic change. It also represents a specific operable range for my fieldwork.

Figure 5.1 Location of Urban Regeneration Stations.



Source: Taipei City Government, arranged by the author.

Secondly, the street itself is historically rich. Its encounter with the URS scheme and the local context create potential and capacity to embody the nature of creative city regeneration policy. Its historical significance, complex culture and preservation movement, which will be discussed in Chapter 7, make the street an important case for reflecting on regeneration policy in the city, one that I already knew well as a result of previous work experience, on which I elaborate later in this chapter.

The choice of the URS scheme as the subject of the case study and Dihua Street as the geographic focus are based on theoretical, empirical rationales and personal work experience. The analysis will lead to a deeper level of understanding of the intertwined political, economic, and social factors involved. The research design based on this case study approach will be elaborated in the next section.

5.3.2.3. 'Mobile methods' of studying policy mobilities

A key part of this research about the URS scheme and its application to Dihua Street is understanding where these policies have come from in terms of the policy mobilities literature. Researching the mobility of policies is a major challenge for the researcher, as has already been indicated in Chapter 2. As McCann and Ward argue, 'theoretical developments and empirical

insights' of policy assemblage, mobility and mutation 'have run ahead of significant methodological considerations' (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 42).

Given that policy flows are rarely quantifiable and 'not calculating processes but part of the uneven movement of ideas and experiences that involve power and personalities' (Wood, 2015, p. 1), 'mobile methods' are strongly advocated (Wood, 2015; McCann, 2011; Cook and Ward, 2011; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Büscher and Urry, 2009) to address and examine critical social, political and material appearance and to lead social science insight into responses (Büscher and Urry, 2009).

As Wood (2015) puts it, even in the same conference where two policy actors participate and the same topic or issue is discussed, how do they share a common image of good urban form when talking about a certain urban planning policy over refreshments after a discussion forum in an unfamiliar foreign city? Wood stresses that this is how people learn.

The new methods refer to new attitudes, strategies, and the use of new technology (Büscher et al., 2010; Büscher and Urry, 2009; Wood, 2015; McCann and Ward, 2012). For instance, in the realm of tracing urban policy making, McCann and Ward suggest focusing on three methodological decisions of (1) 'studying through' (rather than studying up or down), (2) techniques of following actors, policies, etc. and (3) relational situations in which mobilisation and assemblage happen (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 42). Meanwhile, drawing from the classifications of mobile 'objects' of mobilities, Wood develops a set of mobile approaches by 'following' research objects. Three kinds of following are suggested: 'following the people' to trace their understandings of mobile policy; 'following the materials' to examine by and through materiality; and finally, 'following the meetings' to those conferences, workshops and seminars where the people and materials mix (Wood, 2015).

In this thesis I employ this tripartite approach to researching the policy mobilities behind the URS scheme. In order to trace the complexity of contemporary urban policy and its movements (McCann and Ward, 2012; Büscher et al., 2010; Wood, 2015), as discussed in Chapter 2, I designed my field work and data collection with multiple types of qualitative research, including the oral, the textual, and the observation approaches. My approaches were similar to Wood's 'objects following theory' (Wood, 2015) which he refers to as 'following the people', 'following the materials' and 'following the meetings'. I identified key actors (such as policy makers, both local and landed elites, and community leaders) and followed their public speeches and/or papers and their social media (such as Facebook and Twitter), conducted interviews with them and participated in their meetings and activities to 'follow the people' and to 'follow the meetings'. Documents, news, photographs and relevant reports were collected and analysed to

'follow the materials'. Through these methods, data collection led to a more integrated picture of the city's policy making.

5.4. Data collection

Methods for generating qualitative data have varied classifications and can generally be divided into documentary research, discourse analysis and field research. Mason explores these, including the use of interviews, observation, documents and visual data according to different research materials (Mason, 2002). Similarly, Iain Hay goes on to identify three main types of qualitative research: the oral (primarily based on interview), the textual (documentary and landscape), and the observational (Hay, 2000). In the following subsection I illustrate the ways I practiced data collection.

5.4.1. Oral methods: in-depth interviews

Oral qualitative research is widely conducted in human geography by talking to various subjects, who could be individuals or groups, to map out a figure or answer research questions. Oral methods range from the 'highly individualistic', such as autobiographies and oral histories, 'to the highly generalised', in which the individual is 'one of a random sample' (Hay, 2000, p. 9). In order to discover and unpack individual opinions from various actors, I used an in-depth interview approach. The key terms of my interviews were grounded around the URS scheme and policy transfer, to explore the nature and dynamic interplay of 'creative cities', 'culture-led urban regeneration' and 'policy mobilities' in Taipei. Interviewees were, for instance, asked for their points of view and experiences of the URS policy.

Sampling is another key issue. Given that sampling is 'viewed as a collection of overlapping alternatives to a variety of design problems', its use should be relevant to the research problems, rather than maintaining a 'conformity to randomness' (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 54). LeCompte and Goetz emphasise that 'the extent to which results are generalisable or unique depends on such factors as the level of abstraction addressed and will vary by particular construct or relationship posited' (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, pp. 54-55). Based on these considerations and the need to be credible, sampling for interviews was carefully and strictly adopted. Participants were identified from different areas including officials, academics, members of the URS committee, social activists, urban planners, developers and local people. Due to my previous work experience, I was able to identify the key persons who were deeply involved in the URS scheme and contact participants from the public and private sectors to arrange interviews. In comparison, the sampling of representative local people from Dihua Street, apart from community leaders, took longer. I went to the street very frequently and had lots of conversations with local shopkeepers so as to gain their trust and,

most importantly, to make decisions about proper interviewees. A purposive snowball technique was used. Table 5.1 shows the types, numbers and positions of interviewees (also Appendix D for details and code of interviews).

The initial plan for the number of interviews was about 30. However, the plan changed when I conducted my fieldwork in January 2014. I found a significant change on the street, and felt it necessary to extend the coverage of my interviews to include local voices so as to reflect the overarching situation by presenting a wider range of voices of the many stakeholders. The plan was quickly adjusted. More than 20 interviews were added with local people including neighbourhood leaders, leaders of local commercial organisations, both 'old' and 'new' shop keepers, and property owners. The results of these interviews significantly enriched the research (see Chapter 8).

Table 5.1 Types and numbers of interviews.

Types (numbers)	Organisation and Position	Numbers
People from the public sector (7)	Division chief (senior official), DUD	2
	Director (senior official), URO	3
	Former director, Department of Finance	1
	Chief of local district, Department of Civil Affairs (DCA)	1
Experts / academics (8)	Members of the URS committee	4
	Consultants to the URO	4
URS participants (9)	URS operators / managers	9
Local people (21)	Neighbourhood association leaders (lizhang)	3
	Leaders of local commercial organisations	4
	Retailers of old shops	6
	Retailers / founders of new shops	8
Developers (2)	Company managers	2
Planners / architects / art curators (6)	Partners or senior managers of planning companies involved in the city's urban regeneration policies	6
Civil society actor	Organiser of a civil society	1
Young entrepreneurs (2)	Founders of creative clusters	2
Total number of interviews		56

First contact with the interviewees was made by e-mail and/or phone to explain the research and to invite their participation. Participants were given the option of an informal meeting with me where I presented the topic, objectives, methods, my positionality and ethical considerations (I discuss

positionality and ethical issues later). Subjects were given at least one week to decide whether to participate. I also reminded non-respondents, which only happened in a few cases, and gave them another week. There was only one case from whom I received no response a developer, who I assume had concerns about talking about urban regeneration policies. Thus I did not pursue him, but recruited another developer instead. For those who agreed to be interviewed, I arranged a time and place and asked them to sign the consent form when we met. For the interviews with local people, I did the interview in their shops, as they had to take care of their businesses, so conversations were held in a more casual way. The other concern with shopkeepers was the timing. My fieldwork was conducted from January to March, and as the Chinese New Year falls during this period, this is the busiest period for grocery shopkeepers and local leaders. Therefore I scheduled those interviews after the Chinese New Year festival. I also chose off-peak periods of their daily business to visit them.

Most interviews were conducted in Taipei. There is only one exception, which was arranged in New York City. I took the chance when participating in the Association of American Geographers (AAG) 2014 annual meeting to visit and interview a senior New York City planner. He had been a consultant for DUD for more than two decades and was able to provide me with much valuable background information. Details of the interviews are as follows:

Table 5.2 Detail of interviews.

Type	Organisation and position		Date
Public sector	Department of Urban Development	Division chief / senior engineer	2014.01.07
		Deputy chief engineer	2014.01.07
	Urban Regeneration Office	Director of URO	2014.02.20
		Deputy chief engineer	2014.02.27
		Section chief	2014.02.07
	Department of Finance	Former commissioner	2014.02.18
	Department of Civil Affairs	Chief of Datong District	2014.01.22
Experts / academics	Member of URS committee	Museum curator	2014.01.09
		Academic	2014.01.23
		Academic	2014.02.18
		Academic /Art curator	2014.02.19
	Consultants	Academic/ consultant of URO	2014.02.24
		Art curator	2014.02.07

		Senior planner, New York City	2014.04.05
		URO consultant, working with Landry in Taipei	2014.02.24
URS participants	URS site A	Manager 1	2014.01.14
	URS site B	Manager 2	2014.02.11
	URS site C	Manager 3	2014.06.08
		Architect/ ex-space user	2014.01.17
		Manager 4	2014.01.17
	URS site D	Manager 5	2014.01.19
	URS site E	Manager 6	2014.01.23
	Village Taipei	Architect 1	2014.02.10
		Ex-URO member, Architect 2	2014.02.19
Local people	Neighbourhood association A	Neighbourhood association leader 1	2014.01.22
	Neighbourhood association B	Neighbourhood association leader 2	2014.02.06
	Neighbourhood association C	Neighbourhood association leader 3	2014.02.11
	Commercial organisations	Chairman of a district development association	2014.01.21
		Chairman of a traditional grocery association	2014.02.06
		General director of a regional business development association	2014.02.06
		Chairman of a regional business development association	2014.02.06
	Retailers of long established shops	Shopkeeper 1, grocery shop ⁶	2014.01.19
		Shopkeeper 2, grocery shop	2014.01.21
		Shopkeeper 3, fabrics Shop	2014.01.22
		Shopkeeper 4, traditional products shop	2014.02.12
		Shopkeeper 5, grocery shop	2014.02.17
Shopkeeper 6, grocery shop		2014.03.01	

⁶ In this thesis, 'grocery shop' refers to a typical traditional Taiwanese store where commodities like food ingredients are sold. Some grocery shops also sell Chinese herbs. A considerable number of these shops in Dihua Street are both wholesale and retail (see Chapter 3).

	Retailers of newly established shops	Shopkeeper 1, tea shop	2014.01.08
		Shop keeper 2, Silver jewellery shop	2014.01.17
		Shopkeeper 3, design group co.	2014.02.12
		Shopkeeper 4, bike shop	2014.02.17
		Shopkeeper 5, fashion design shop	2014.02.17
		Founder of an agricultural market	2014.02.17
		Founder of an arts gallery	2014.02.18
		Shopkeeper 6, an design shop	2014.02.18
		Shopkeeper 7, coffee shop	2014.02.17
Developers	General manager 1, construction company		2014.02.12
	General manager 2, construction company		2014.01.14
Planners / architects / art curators	Planners	Planning and design consultants	2014.01.08
		Founder of a planning company	2014.02.19
		Manager of an international planning company	2014.02.25
	Architects	Partner 1, architecture firm	2014.01.22
		Partner 2, an architecture firm	2014.01.22
		Partner 3, an architecture firm	2014.02.10
Civil society activist	Academic / art curator	Organiser, a civil society organised by spatial planning professionals	2014.02.11
Young entrepreneurs	Creative clusters	Entrepreneur 1, founder of a collaborative laboratory	2014.01.13
		Entrepreneur 2, founder of a production laboratory	2014.01.10

In order to gain valid and reliable information, I used semi-structured interviews, which at times and intentionally became less structured. That is, I attempted to conduct the interview in a natural situation, like a normal conversation, as far as possible to avoid procedural reactivity. Some local shopkeepers and developers, in particular, might be wary of expressing criticism of policies even though they have been informed in advance of the nature of the research. Personal issues such as business income levels and rent costs are also sensitive for shopkeepers. As a result, I used a less-structured interview format to avoid 'unwittingly studying artificial responses, or at least behaviour which is not representative of people's everyday lives' (Hammersley, 1979, cited in Sapsford and Jupp, 2006, p. 113) so as to

reduce threats to reliability and validity (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982; Sapsford and Jupp, 2006). Interview questions were designed in line with the various types of interviewees in regarding their opinions on the origin, process and performances of URS scheme and policy movements. In order to achieve the research aims and to process the interviews smoothly, the questions were developed from the city's general issues on urban redevelopment, the original idea of urban regeneration strategies to more specific and sensitive issues -- from various perspectives of spatial usages, political and economic factors, as well as social impacts. The final stage of these interviews then sought for participants' opinions on policy effects. For instance, interviewees who from public sectors and academics were asked to evaluate the consequence of the URS. They were also inquired about the flows of urban planning knowledge and relevant matters (see section 1.3. for research objectives and Appendix E for semi-structured interview schema).

When interviewing local people, I tried to keep the main topics, key words and questions in mind, to make the interviews more like natural chats. I left sensitive questions to a later stage when, if I felt the conversation was going well, they were willing to share more. They were fully informed, and agreed that our talk be recorded. For other interviewees, I employed a semi-structured interview. In addition to using a tape recorder, I also kept notes. Interviews were conducted in either Mandarin or Taiwanese, or occasionally both. I always left sensitive questions to the end of the interview. For local shopkeepers these might involve information about the rent of their properties or changes in average business income; for officials or spatial elites, how they evaluate the outcomes and achievements of their policies.

Through interviews with local people, I was able to gain information about the local rental real estate market, which became important later on when I analysed the transformation of Dihua Street. In old Taiwanese communities like Dihua Street, property trading or renting does not rely on agencies but is conducted in a more traditional way, through everyday social networks or by putting posters in front of the house. Therefore, so far there has been no research and no statistics on Dihua Street's rental market available from the authorities or property agents. The information on rents I obtained from interviews, even though it was not the result of a comprehensive survey, enabled me to validate evidence from a number of interviews.

In general, the interview process went relatively smoothly, which may be because of the researcher's positionality (discussed in a later section), personality (Moser, 2008) and also the straightforward access to research subjects and data. Regarding the last factor, my experiences were quite similar to Dafydd Fell's. He refers to the supportive environment in Taiwan, saying that participants, especially scholars, are 'much more willing to be interviewed' and have patience with academics, and 'Taiwan's online

databases are extremely user friendly'. A greater problem, as he mentions, 'tends to be how to manage an excess of material' (Fell, 2012, pp. 3-4). I explain the way I deal with the excess of material in 5.4.6.

5.4.2. Textual analysis: documentary sources

In addition to the oral interview method, textual methodology is another crucial approach to data generation. Textual analysis generally refers to the context analysis of documentary, creative and landscape sources. Documentary sources include maps, newspapers, planning documents and even postage stamps. Creative texts include poems, films, art, fiction and music. Landscape sources include the micro scale of the retailing street and the pattern of the city (Duncan and Duncan, 1988). As the interaction of policy discourse and its implementation within local contexts are core concerns of this research, the use of documents is 'the source of underlying discourse that underpins and legitimates social structure' (Hay, 2000, p. 8). Particularly in creative city research, the urgency of the raft of 'mapping documents' (Pratt, 2009a, p. 19) is underlined as documents reflecting initiative intentions and the impacts of CCURP policy that 'could and should be the concern of society and policy makers' (Pratt, 2009a, p. 19).

The range of documents I draw upon in this research includes mainly official documents and records, such as government announcements (White Papers and Acts) and research reports. According to the typology of documents produced by Scott (2014) based on criteria of authorship and access (see Table 5.3 below), the documents I collected belong to types 10, 11 and 12. They are produced by government authorities, both national and local. Most of them are open-published (type 12) and can be downloaded online, such as White Papers and Charles Landry's three books of Taipei diagnosis, or are open-archival (type 11) in which data are open to the public but stored in public libraries or on the book shelves of the URO and DUD office, like annual reports or surveys on urban policy achievements. Some material I collected was restricted (type 10). This material is protected by the authority and the Personal Information Protection Act, which forbids unauthorised disclosure; this includes information on each property on Dihua Street. For these, the way I approached the data was to apply for the parts I needed unrelated to personal information and guarantee they were to be used for research purposes only (such data will show in Chapter 7 how traditional houses are utilised as URS sites).

Table 5.3 A classification of documents.

		Authorship		
		Personal	Official	
			Private	State
Access	Closed	1	5	9
	Restricted	2	6	10
	Open-archival	3	7	11
	Open-published	4	8	12

Source: Scott (2014).

The official documents and records I collected were analysed critically in terms of structural inequalities in society (for example, the neglect of old shopkeepers in favour of a focus on ‘creative’ groups) and in terms of documents as vehicles for the propagation of various discourses. Critical analysis is characterised by ‘not taking for granted what is being said in a document and what is often assumed to be knowledge. It involves uncovering what is being treated as knowledge – often by addressing what is not being treated as knowledge – and examining the consequences of such knowledge’ (Sapsford and Jupp, 2006, p. 289). Through my critical reading of documents, I was able to explore gaps in policy discourses in order to understand below-the-surface circumstances. As such, textual analysis played an important role in realising the research aims, especially as they pertained to policy discourses.

5.4.3. Observation and sense making

Observation formed a crucial basis for my field data collection. What I learnt from observation is not directly present in my analysis. However, the events and scenes I observed helped me make sense of, and inspired me to refine, my research questions, interview questions and data collection. For example, it prompted me to focus one of my concerns on what happened to various groups in the local community in relation to policy discourses. My observation took two forms: a geographical scope, taking in as many types of activity as possible in the Dihua Street area, and participatory observation of a number of different groups.

Firstly, I observed Dihua Street’s daily social and commercial activities and chatted with local people. This helped me identify suitable interviewees. The issues and concerns of local residents were treated as useful research context. I became aware of the interests and stresses experienced by different groups in the area; for instance, I noticed that old shopkeepers were constantly struggling with new emerging economic patterns. I also got a feel

for the uneven reallocation of public resources via the urban regeneration policies. This process of observation influenced my interview questions and also shaped my perceptions of cultural policy in the city, which will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Secondly, I actively participated in both community meetings and official activities, including workshops, conferences, meetings and so on. Participatory observation, as Fals Borda and Rahman suggest, enables meaningful relationships to develop, so the researcher can explore the research subjects and get a deeper understanding of the research context (Fals Borda and Rahman, 1991). During my field work in Taipei, I participated as much as possible with creative city events held for the general public such as workshops, meetings of creative clusters and international conferences. Spending time participating with the weekly activities of independent clusters of entrepreneurs enabled me to build an understanding of how young entrepreneurs perceived themselves, how they regarded the creative city policy, their relationship with local communities, and their attitude towards the authorities, more so than if I had relied on oral interviews and documents alone. These participants helped me refine my interview questions and approach some potential interviewees.

I was also allowed, thanks to my affiliation with Taipei City Government (to be discussed later in the chapter) and my colleagues' support, to participate in official internal meetings, mostly held by the URO, such as the internal URS meetings for each site, and Charles Landry's visit in December 2013. This latter opportunity enabled me to speak directly to the appeal of McCann and Ward that it 'is imperative to reflect on how researchers might best move with the "transfer agents" and other policy actors who produce, circulate, mediate, modify, and consume policies through their daily work practices' (McCann and Ward, 2012, p. 46). Landry's visit and meetings with policy makers provided a deeper understanding of how and why a creative city strategy was introduced in the city, how urban issues were identified and how creative city solutions were promoted.

Table 5.4 below, shows the events and meetings in which I participated (see also Appendix F for details of each meeting). While as a government official I used to be familiar with various kinds of official meetings that was different from the experience of attending as a researcher. This kind of participatory observation influenced my inquiries into cultural policy intentions and policy mobilities. For instance, the meeting bringing together so-called 'creative talents' organised by the URO to create communication with Charles Landry recalled to me debates on creative city's tendency to favour particular groups and social classes. It also reminded me to take into account the interests of different groups or stakeholders and listen to the voices of the local community which appeared in one of the official documents as a critical issue

but was actually left out of the official agenda. These observations are developed and explored in Chapters 6 and 8, chapters that deal respectively with policy mobilities and a critical analysis of the URS scheme.

Table 5.4 Meetings attended.

Date	Meetings
13 December 2013	Urban regeneration task force meeting / reading group: Discussion of cases in Berlin, Barcelona and Amsterdam and the booklet '20 stories of urban regeneration'
18-20 December	Participation in Charles Landry's visit ⁷
18 December	Meeting: Discussion of Taipei's creative city strategy (after 30 minute meeting with the deputy mayor)
18 December	Meeting: Discussion of Taipei 'creative entrepreneurship eco-system map' with creative entrepreneurs from overseas
19 December	Meeting: Discussion of how to make a creative platform
19 December	Meeting: Discussion of 'Taipei creative entrepreneurship eco-system map' with creative entrepreneurs in Taipei
20 December	Meeting: Discussion of Landry's annual consulting work
20 December	Meeting: Discussion of Taipei's creative city development
20 December	Meeting: Discussion of Taipei 'creative entrepreneurship eco-system map' with local young entrepreneur
10 January 2014	Symposium: creative city symposium
2 February	Meeting: URS village meeting
25 February	Pre-conference meeting of the Taipei urban regeneration strategic forum
26 February	Forum: Taipei Urban Regeneration Strategic Forum 2014

⁷ Charles Landry was invited as the URO's CC strategic consultant; details will be introduced in Chapter 6.

5.4.4. Social media and other sources

In addition to the main resources mentioned above, web searches and internet social media networks like Facebook also served as an effective supplementary source of information. In recent years, the authorities in Taiwan have tended towards open data and the release of official survey papers. This is very convenient for researchers who wish to acquire official statistical data. In order to track relevant activities and policies, I used the function of setting alerts on particular issues and terms and news concerning URSs and key actors. For instance, through Facebook alerts I closely followed URS activities when fieldwork was conducted. I also followed key actors' Facebook pages, including policy makers and opposition individuals, groups and scholar-activist planners like OURS and the Taiwan Alliance for Victims of Urban Renewal in order to understand multi-dimensional and dynamic changes over time. This kind of 'observation' using social media continued when I returned to Leeds.

Some minor secondary quantitative data was collected from research surveys undertaken by the authorities and private companies. For instance, changes of rental trends in various districts in recent years were collected from a local housing agency. While this does not represent the main core of the research, the material was used to build a better understanding of the real estate market (the data is used in Chapter 8 to explain the commercial rental price index in various districts in the city).

In addition, approaching academic research papers in Chinese is a major difficulty of this research. A considerable amount of literature published in Chinese is not accessible as it is not part of University of Leeds subscriptions. Buying the relevant papers was beyond my means. The way I dealt with this was to seek assistance directly from the authors of those papers; references appear mainly in Chapters 3, 4 and 8.

5.4.5. Fieldwork schedule and alignment

The first period of fieldwork was conducted from December 2013 to March 2014. The second field visit was in February 2015. Data was mostly collected from the first visit, the second being a supplementary visit to confirm and support my arguments.

In the first stay in the field, I spent about one month participating in meetings, involving myself in activities related to the URS scheme and observing daily social and commercial activities on Dihua Street. My focus on issues developed quickly during this period. The process of conducting interviews collecting and data was actually smoother and more effective than I expected

it might be. I arranged my research schedule so as to be able to have in-depth conversations with local shopkeepers during their slack hours. After participating in official workshops and meetings, I took the chance to approach young entrepreneurs who had been brought into the street as a result of the URS scheme as well as URO consultants. After these meetings with entrepreneurs, I was invited to participate in a number of regular URS activities. A wider network of connections was therefore built up. This helped me rapidly integrate into both the context of the local community and the URSs.

At the same time, I made a few adjustments to the interview schedule. I found that the URS scheme had led Dihua Street through significant changes, and thus voices from different stakeholders became crucial to the research. I therefore added a few new types of interview with local people, URS partners and people from creative clusters, which took the number of types of interviewees from the original 5 to 8 (Table 4.3). A total of 56 people were interviewed. The success of my first visit enabled me to shorten my second period of fieldwork from the scheduled three months to one month only.

5.4.6. Data analysis

Collected data, both oral and textual, was subjected to critical analysis to expose the ideological presuppositions of creative city policy and examine the consequences of its operation. The data was used for the analysis that is developed in Chapters 7 and 8, an analysis which proceeded by 'identifying and coding statements and grouping them thematically into coherent repertoires that express an underlying discourse' (Sapsford and Jupp, 2006, p. 269). In order to understand the intent behind creative city policy, I looked into the 'conflict between discourses, the functions they perform, the relationships, freedoms and relative status they accord their participants and objects, the social locations they confer and how people use them to position themselves and others, enduring strategies and temporary or enduring and implicit or explicit resistance' (Sapsford and Jupp, 2006, p. 269).

The oral data from the 56 interviews was tape recorded and typed up, in Chinese, word for word. During the process of transcription, some critical details were picked up which had been unintentionally ignored when the interviews were conducted. The process also refreshed the researcher's thoughts. Critical themes appeared along with the issues mentioned, and these later formed the basis of discussion of the characteristics of the URS scheme. It is worth noting here that when participants were interviewed and asked questions about the meanings of policy discourses around, for example, soft urbanism and urban acupuncture, on several occasions they simply referred to the interpretation of Director Lin Chongjie as the originator of these

policies. This explains why in Chapter 6 in the discussion of these policies there are so many quotations coming from the one source as I attributed the comments to Lin where appropriate.

Following the data collection, the management and analysis of a large quantity of both oral and textual data in its raw state was one of the main challenges regardless of whether it was spoken, written or observed. I took a basic initial approach to data analysis by labelling the data, creating an index and then coding and categorising them. Dendritic drawings were an important aid to thinking and mind mapping which helped in data labelling, coding and analysis. As Sousanis argues in his graphic PhD thesis and published book, merging words and images produces new forms of knowledge in which 'we draw not to transcribe ideas from our heads but to generate them in search of greater understanding', thus we are able 'to see past the boundaries of our current frame of mind' and to 'access modes of understanding beyond what we normally apprehend' (Sousanis, 2015, the cover page).

I used Evernote software as a tool to help with note taking, data classification and labelling. It assisted in entering, preparing and indexing the data for analysis. An indexing database was created to organise the data. At the same time, I used the labelling function of Evernote to categorise my materials. Through this, I became more aware of issues revealed by the data, which led me to dig deeper and engage in more rigorous analysis. With my research objectives in mind, these materials, which included the interview transcripts, official statements, opinions and notes, helped me understand and address the research questions. The materials were coded in order to identify themes and quotes that addressed the research aims and gaps in the introduction and literature review in Chapters 1 and 2.

5.5. Issues regarding ethics and researcher positionality

My own experience of working on Dihua Street stems from my work as an officer in the DUD involved mainly in the supervision of restoration plans. Participating in the Urban Design Review⁸ process was a main part of my work in my three years in the DUD (2006–2009). Applications for Urban Design Review from Dihua Street were very common in that period. Thus, as a member of the Urban Design Review Committee, I visited Dihua Street a couple of times each month. We entered the private buildings which had applied for review and evaluated each space, the structural materials and the

⁸ As introduced in Chapter 4.2.2, Urban Design Review is regarded as an important mechanism in Taipei. It is operated in order to review architectural and environmental design by the Urban Design Review Committee so as to control urban development.

architectural structure. We checked whether the application documents recorded the details of the historic building accurately, and whether the refurbishment plan took a proper approach to maintaining its status and value as a historic building. The process is related to bulk reward, a mechanism that has played a crucial role in preserving heritage (see Chapters 3, 4, and 6). While my colleagues and I visited the street regularly, we were mainly concerned with physical structures, and interaction with the community or even the property owners was rare. If there was any, it was merely related to technical or physical details. This experience helped me to quickly absorb the context. I saw changes in the street before as well as after the introduction of the URS scheme.

After 2009, I was promoted to a position as sub-division chief and was no longer in charge of participating in Urban Design Review. Instead, I took part in programmes and policies which involved various other departments. For instance, I participated in the Taipei Beautiful Plan, the Kungkuan waterfront and Treasure Hill area redevelopment plans, and the 2016 World Design Capital bid. This was at the time of the beginning of the URS. I joined several meetings held at URS sites on the street. I was assigned to join the urban regeneration strategic study group which was organised by the URO (the systematic learning scheme will be introduced in Chapter 6.4). In addition, inviting foreign consultants and participating in their visits was also part of my job. This working experience and background built a basis for my research on cultural policies and policy mobilities.

5.5.1. Insider vs. outsider: positionality and identity

As a member of the Department of Urban Development of Taipei City Government and conducting my research into urban regeneration policy, the process of data collection (fieldwork) and critical analysis presented some challenges for me, especially at the stages of planning and conducting my fieldwork, even though the collection of official materials was more easily for me than it would have been for others. Researching is never ethically or politically neutral, as Coffey notes: 'Fieldwork is personal, emotional and identity work' involving a set of 'accounts of the personal experience' (Coffey, 1999, p. 1).

The positionality of a researcher, as has been widely noted, shapes and influences the orientation of the research and thus the 'production of knowledge' (Sánchez, 2010), as 'personal values, views, and location in time and space influence how one understands the world' (Warf, 2010, p. 2257). The positioning of those who engage in the production of knowledge indicates that research is unavoidably shaped by the cognition and values of

researchers (Sánchez, 2010). The American psychologist Ernest R. Hilgard came up with the following witticism: 'There was once an entomologist who found a bug he couldn't classify -- so he stepped on it'. This is cited by Moser to explain that the differences in how the researcher reacts and responds to their personal status, is an explanation of the concept of positionality (Moser, 2008). The identity of the researcher is a similar, if subtly different, concept of personal perception. It refers to the way the researcher creates and establishes the 'self' in the field (Coffey, 1999, p. 14), and plays a key role in the process of knowledge production (Wolf, 1996; Shariff, 2014).

My position, as far as interviewees who were officials, planners, academics and the like were concerned, seemed to be rather simple -- they saw me as a member of DUD who currently studies abroad focusing on cultural urban policy. However, my acceptance by people in the Dihua Street area, both the old and new residents, seemed to depend more on factors related to their understanding of my position, which was at first unclear to them. They accepted me, after some time, as an insider who can speak Taiwanese and studies outside the country. On the other hand, some of them, when talking about urban policies, continued to regard me as an outsider, a person who works for the government where the 'unintelligible policies' (Interview D13) come from. As for myself, I felt uncomfortable evaluating urban policies and policy makers in a detailed and critical way, in particular looking at the policies of the department where I used to work.

The process and experience of interviewing participants also surprised me. Most of my interviewees were willing to share with me their personal opinions, although in different ways, some maybe more implicitly. It was definitively a process of learning from the field. It also involved, in writing and presenting my field work, a process of self-presentation and identity construction (Coffey, 1999; Shariff, 2014). I consider myself firmly to be a researcher, as well as a member of the DUD. The best reaction I can give to the city and to show gratitude to my admirable interviewees, is to play my role well whatever position I am in. In this context, and following Marcuse's (2009) suggestion 'that exposing and proposing and politicizing the key issues can move us closer to implementing the right to the city' (Marcuse, 2009, p. 185), I believe critical analysis could be not only a contribution to the territory of knowledge as a reflection of empirical practice but also a contribution in that it allows unspoken voices to be heard.

Another rather minor matter encountered in my fieldwork which I would also like to mention is that my gender, as a female, quite quickly helped me to be accepted and trusted by female local residents, and they were willing to share their personal experiences. My experience fitted well with what feminist researchers have identified; the shared ideology and sensibility with less-

privileged subjects of the research allowed me to build connections and trust within field relations (Weiner-Levy, 2009; Abu-Lughod, 1990). For instance, interviewing elder female shopkeepers, I felt myself trusted to share their struggles of running traditional grocery shops in a tough situation of a rising rental market.

5.5.2. Research Ethics

This research complied with the principles of the University of Leeds Research Ethics Policy (ESRC, 2013), endorsed by the university's council in January 2013, and the Framework for Research Ethics produced by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2012). The main principles of ethical research include integrity and transparency, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, voluntary participation free from coercion, avoidance of harm, as well as independence and impartiality of research. Before my fieldwork could be carried out, my research application was reviewed and approved by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee (application for ethical review reference AREA 13-022) with the documents Ethical Review Form, Participant Consent Form, Participant Consultation Sheet, and Risk Assessment Form.

As I am from Taiwan and the research was undertaken in Taipei, Taiwan, I realise very well the unique local context in terms of social and political background, as well as sensitive issues. Therefore, I did as much as possible to ensure informed consent and take care of any aspects of ethical issues. The main ethical issues identified and the proposed courses of action to address them are presented as follows.

5.5.2.1 Informed consent

One of the most important ethical issues is to ensure that participants' consent is given on a fully informed basis. Written consent forms and information sheets were printed and handed out. After the first contact, the information was given in advance with a minimum of approximately a week before the interview, in order for participants to decide whether they wanted to be involved. Informed consent was obtained both verbally and via the written consent form. Participants were informed about the research, its objectives, its methods, the way their information would be used, how the research findings would be available to them, that their participation was voluntary and they could decide to stop at any point while the research fieldwork was being done. A few of my interviewees felt more comfortable taking part without signing any official documents. For these, interviews were conducted with their verbal consent which was considered as important as the written consent form.

5.5.2.2 Sensitive topics and interviewee discomfort

My interviews were conducted to explore the interviewees' points of view on urban policies, its influence on various groups and impacts on local development, which was sometimes politically and professionally sensitive for some interviewees, making them feel uncomfortable. Public officials are sometimes cautious about talking openly about policies they participated in or are responsible for, where criticisms could bring negative consequences. My action was to be aware of this, to take care of participants' feelings during the interviews, to make them feel comfortable, to offer anonymity, and, in a very few cases, confidentiality, in order to allow them to fully express themselves on the issues they consider important. Other actions included asking them to comment on descriptive statements and framing questions on general policies and ideas rather than the individuals taking those decisions in order to avoid discomfort during the interview. I also decided to anonymise the participants so as to avoid embarrassing or incriminating them personally, professionally, socially or politically. The director of the Urban Regeneration Office and two scholar planners that I interviewed were the only exceptions. For the two scholar planners, the descriptions of their positions are important to give readers the background to be able to follow my inferences. However, the descriptions of their positions clearly identify who they are, for instance the author of a certain book or the original operator of the first URS site. Anonymity is invalid under these conditions. As a result, I fully informed them of the way I intended to deal with their words and gained their permission for public citation of their words. The director of URO is supposed to take responsibility and be accountable for his words in public, so there was no need, and it would have been inappropriate, to anonymise him.

5.5.2.3 Disclosure of confidential information and conflicts of interest

Related to the question of sensitivity is another ethical issue of research data being made available in the public realm, that it could identify an individual and their views, or cause political harm to a group or organisation. This is not simply a problem of breach of anonymity and confidentiality, as interviewees remain anonymous in the published research, but the impact of the research findings may cause harm. My attempt to reduce the harm was to switch the focus from certain individuals towards groups or organisations. For the duration of the research process, data collected from the fieldwork was securely managed on an encrypted laptop.

5.5.2.4 Data issues

To ensure confidentiality and security of personal data, including names, email addresses, telephone numbers and participants' views, anonymisation procedures, secure storage and coding of data were undertaken as follows:

1. Names and contact details were securely held on a mobile phone address directory protected by password and an encrypted laptop in a password protected database.
2. Interviewees who desired anonymity were assigned a pseudonym of their choice at the beginning of the interview – or retrospectively – and the interview was conducted as if this was their actual name. The true identity will only be known to the researcher.
3. Audio recordings and transcripts were stored in an encrypted laptop computer, in a password protected database when transferring documents to the university's internal drive, which is in turn protected through a firewall.
4. Data which is not relevant for the purposes of the research was not stored and all data which could lead to the identification of participants was heavily coded. Anonymous interviewees are given their code names in any written chapters.

5.6. Conclusion: Learning in the field

'Attaining absolute validity and reliability is an impossible goal for any research model. Nevertheless, investigators may approach these objectives by conscientious balancing of the various factors enhancing credibility within the context of their particular research problems and goals' (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 55).

In this chapter, I have portrayed the qualitative methodology employed in the research in order to attain, as far as possible, validity and reliability. Methods of data collection were introduced based on varied forms. I discussed the issues of ethics and my positionality which both influence and are influenced by the field.

I firstly reiterated the aims of my fieldwork to ground my understanding of the reasons and goals. A single-case study approach was used to explain the dominance of, and provide solutions for, a more insightful understanding of the nature of creative city policy and its influences. I illustrated my research design, which is mainly embedded in observation, interview and documents analysis. Observation of the local development on Dihua Street and participatory observation of official activities helped me make sense of transformations and social networks in general as well as creating a connection with potential interviewees. What I learned from observation influenced my interviews, and vice versa. The less-structured interview format was adopted with local people and the semi-structured interview approach was employed with government officials and urban elites to gain the greatest possible validity and reliability. I argued that these in-depth interviews provide great opportunities to better understand the thoughts and opinions of interviewees from various groups. Meanwhile the textual materials, mainly

official documents, enabled this research to explore the discrepancies and gaps between ideology, as the study of the origin and nature of policy, and empirical practice.

Both productive and problematic issues related to my positionality were identified and explained. As a member of the DUD, I gained official material easier; however, I also encountered issues around self-identity and worries of harm to certain persons, and myself, in the future resulting from the critical analysis. This kind of struggle was later addressed through the expectations I placed on myself as researcher to be reflexive and adjust as appropriate in specific situations.

My fieldwork was a process of learning in the field. In order to pursue the solutions and answers to my research 'puzzles' with considerations of maximised comprehensive credibility and research ethics, my research design was adjusted along with the process of data collection. My ways of thinking and reacting were reformed, especially from the perspectives of positionality and identity. I witnessed the birth of the first URS site on the street several years ago when I worked in the DUD. When the fieldwork was being conducted, I reviewed the policy as a researcher. The reflection, from the basis of my personal positional change, allowed me to examine the policy from a wider perspective. It also challenged my previous beliefs on the potential achievements of creative city policy. I develop the main findings in discussions of policy mobilities in Chapter 6. Furthermore, in the field, I experienced great support, as described in the interview section, from the interview participants and those who welcomed me into their cluster gatherings and workshops. This individually experienced opinion or group intelligence enriched my fieldwork and learning journey.

The empirical findings in the following chapters are based on the primary and secondary data illustrated in this chapter. The findings and discussions are presented in the following way. In Chapter 4, government documents are employed to map out the city's urban regeneration policies and show how urban regeneration policies took a cultural turn. Presentation of my participatory observation of official meetings and workshops, as well as textual materials, such as 'Twenty Stories of Urban Regeneration' and Charles Landry's published works on Taipei are used in Chapter 6. Paths and approaches to policy learning are explored in order to understand how the idea of creative city policy, with its Western provenance, is perceived by the city's policy makers and urban planners as a new solution to urban issues, and how policies were thus influenced. Chapter 7 introduces the URS scheme as a mobile CCUR policy with official publications and reports as well as evidence from interviews with policy makers, officials, the URS partners and professionals who participated in the URS scheme, and unpick the policy

discourse exploring gaps between discourse and practice as well as administrative limitations. Lastly, Chapter 8 takes the form of a critical commentary on the scheme in which local voices are cited to build new understandings of the social impacts and factors influencing urban change.

Chapter 6: Policy discourses and policy learning: soft urbanism, urban acupuncture and the Landry effect

6.1. Introduction

This chapter is focused on the theme of 'policy mobilities' (McCann, 2011; McCann and Ward, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2010a), a term applied by scholars to distinguish a modern evolutionary of policy transfer for which I have reviewed and analysed research work in Chapter 2. It will bridge the discussions of Taipei's broad culture-led urban policies in chapter 4 with the empirically detailed evidence about the Urban Regeneration Station scheme in chapter 7. Beginning with an introduction of policy transfer in the past, I discuss how policy learning has a history with deep connections both with local context and international status. Following this, creative city policy discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture will be presented. The chapter then explains how experiences from abroad have been borrowed, transferred and adapted within the localised policy discourses of Taipei City. Approaches and intermediaries are explored to better understand policy intentions in depth, to echo research aims and questions on policy mobilities about to appreciate who learned what from whom and how and by what approach (Benson and Jordan, 2011; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2012, 2000; Evans and Davies, 1999; Stone, 2004; Bulmer and Padgett, 2005; McCann and Ward, 2010).

A detailed look at the people who participate in creative city policy mobilities as carriers or intermediaries serves to aid our understanding of motivations behind policy learning. Based on factors such as (1) economic intentions, (2) the background and networks of these carriers and intermediaries of creative city policy as well as (3) the uneven state of academia in Taiwan and its relations with policy making (Wang, 2010), I argue that the process of lesson drawing from abroad presents incomplete mobilities as knowledge and is generally filtered by spatial elites in ways that censor criticism; if anything, the invitation of international advocates to come to Taipei has more of a symbolic or ideological purpose.

The chapter proceeds as follows. Section 6.2 uses a review of previous urban policies to look back on how policy mobilities were treated and operated over an extended period of time. Section 6.3 introduces discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture to address how creative city idea fit into the context of Taipei. In section 6.4, I switch the focus closely to the detailed

paths of systematic schemes of policy learning and transfer. Key actors and the role they played are identified. Finally, in section 6.5, I critique the process of lesson drawing, arguing that it shows an elite-led lesson has been unevenly absorbed. Section 6.6, reflects upon the features and phenomenon on the city's policy transfer of creative city culture-led urban policy. This chapter is also a bridge connecting theoretical discourses and empirical practices, providing a foundation for further discussions on factors that enable and constrain this localised creative city urban regeneration policy in the following chapters.

6.2. The early history of urban planning policy learning

Similar to the archetypal case of Japan's modernisation after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 being reliant upon learning public policies and technologies from Western cities (Odagiri and Gotō, 1996), Taiwan has drawn on at least a half century of lessons in urban planning from abroad. Due to its history, there are two main historical influences on modern urban planning (Chen and Shih, 2010). One developed from the rules and regulations of the Japanese colonial period, and the other via the KMT Nationalists from mainland China. These were later amended (from 1964) by methods learned mainly from the United States. Planning concepts like zoning and private development rights were imported from the USA and implemented throughout Taiwan, which changed Taiwan's planning system 'from the former Japanese procedures to the Americanised Taiwanese form that we see today' (Bristow, 2010, p. 2).

According to interviews published by Academia Sinica (Institute of Modern History, 2000) with pioneers of Taiwan's urban planning, in the 1960s planners received funding from the United Nations to study urban policies overseas or investigate specific policies in Europe and the United States (Institute of Modern History, 2000, p. 187, 208). Some experts were also sent to Taiwan to spread ideas of urban planning. For instance, Donald Monson and his team from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) came to Taiwan to help policy implementation on regional planning, urban planning and housing development (Institute of Modern History, 2000 p. 128,226 ; also interview B7). In order to collaborate with these experts, a team was built named the Urban and Housing Development Committee composed of former officials from the Ministry of Interior (Institute of Modern History, 2000, p. 45-46). Many ideas and strategies of regional and urban governance were developed by this committee – such as the 'core spirit of zoning', which is now an essential controlling mechanism of land development in Taiwan, and is clearly derived from the strategy of 'introducing from the USA' (Institute of Modern History, 2000, p. 154).

Technologies of urban public facilities and services, such as the laying of underground infrastructure systems and public housing were assisted by the United Nations advisory group and helped improve housing and environmental standards, which had been neglected by successive governments, for whom the first and only priority was military and economic development (Institute of Modern History, 2000, p. 154).

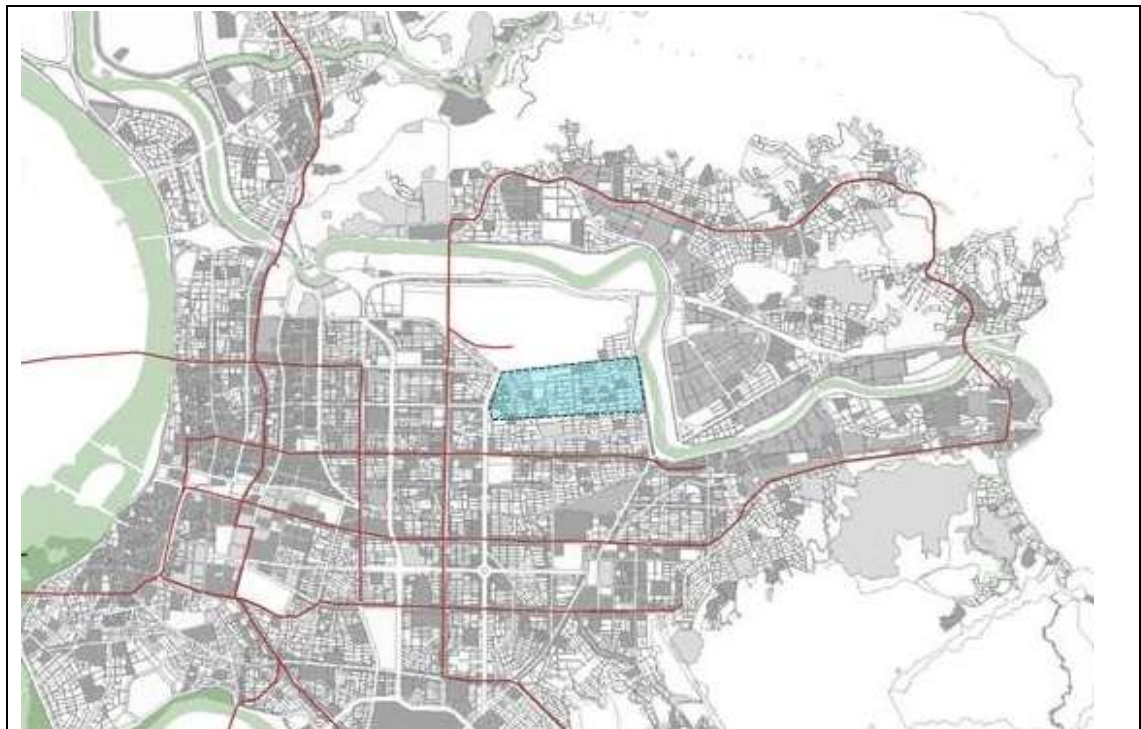
Minsheng Neighbourhood Community is a classic example of urban planning learning from the USA, and its influence has continued for long enough to have contributed to gentrification in the area (Kang and Yang, 2013). Located in Songshan District (see Figure 6.2 for the Location of Minsheng Community), with an original 110 hectares of land (later expanded to 298.5 hectares), it is Taiwan's first modern community planned in 1967 to serve 45,000 residents. According to official statistics (HRO, 2014), the population had grown to 82,000 by 2014. The planning of Minsheng community received a USAID subsidy and professional advice from a British consultant (Institute of Modern History, 2000, p. 88-89; also interview B5, B7). In particular, the community was planned based on the concept of the State New Town and Neighbourhood Unit development model of the USA (Banerjee and Baer, 2013). Minsheng thus became the first modernised community with a sewer system in Taiwan, and is also notable for the unique characteristics of its four-meter-wide pavements with lush green street trees, community scale green parks, and mostly four-storey apartments. It is generally considered as one of the most liveable neighbourhoods in Taipei. A well-known architect and academic in Taiwan, Ruan Qingyue, praised it as 'ahead of its time' (Ruan, 2012, p. 1). The high quality residential environment has continued to attract middle-class incomers. In the past decade, Minsheng community has experienced a further spatial restructuring with the mushrooming of chic cafés and shops and small creative studios whose owners appreciate the green surroundings and cultural atmosphere, even though it was planned and built a half century ago. A blogger posted a hand-written note online in 2010 in which he said that there were more than 30 cafés in the neighbourhood (Lin, 2010d, see figure 6.1). The City Government's Department of Cultural Affairs designated Minsheng as one of eleven creative communities in 2012, which were detailed in its book 'Love Taipei, the atlas of creative quarters' (DCA, 2012) (see Figure 6.3 for the map of creative spots in the Minsheng community).

Figure 6.1 Locations cafes in Minsheng community, a hand note of a blogger.



Source: Lin Wencheng (2010d).

Figure 6.2 Location of Minsheng Community.



Source: Taipei City Government, marked by the author.

Figure 6.3 The walking map of creative block--Minsheng community.



Source: Department of Cultural Affairs (2012).

Figure 6.4 An image of the street in Minsheng Community.



Source: Wang Perry (2013).

Figure 6.5 Images of cafes in Minsheng Community.



Source: Christabelle (2013); Sunny Hills (2013).

The Minsheng Neighbourhood Community can be seen as the most prominent example of policy mobility in the 1960s and 1970s. A significant example of international policy mobility in the 1980s and 1990s is represented by the adoption of Xinyi District urban design and the implementation of the transfer of development rights (TDR) mechanism. In the case of Xinyi commercial district, some interviewees point to the participation of experts who had returned from Japan (Tokyo) and the USA (New York); they brought in new and fresh ideas to urban planning in Taipei such as 'super blocks, a system for separating people and vehicles, three dimensional planning, sky paths, urban design' and so on (Interview B7). According to a consultant of Taipei City Government who is now a senior urban planner in NYC, the TDR policy was 'no doubt, [a case of] learning from the Transfer of Air Rights of New York City' (Interview B7). He explained that the mechanism was implemented after the successful experience of landmark conservation

projects at Penn Station and Grand Central Terminal. This policy transfer process was facilitated by a visit to NYC by the former commissioner of the Construction and Planning Agency⁹ who subsequently took ‘a whole package of urban design systems back to Taiwan and promoted them’ (Interview B7).

Up until the last two or three decades, other urban planning ideas and methods were drawn from a more diverse group of foreign sources. For instance, British-style development control of ‘planning permissions and planning obligations’ was introduced to Taiwan in certain urban areas in the 1990s (Bristow, 2010, P. 2). From the many official reports compiled by government officials after short term study abroad programmes, we can also track the process of policy learning in various fields. For example, the public–private partnership approach was learned from Britain and has been utilised mainly in public services and public works since the 1990s (Interview A3, A6). Waterfront redevelopment techniques were introduced by Taiwanese professional planners, academics and the authorities from cities in Australia, Canada and Netherlands; some relatively smaller projects like U-Bike, a public bicycle service in Taipei, followed in the footsteps of a public bicycle scheme in Paris in the 2000s. It has also been pointed out that due to ‘the pervading American influences’ and their particular links through professional practice linkages, academia and scholarship which have profoundly influenced ‘Taiwanese urban planning policy practice, Taiwan’s governance and educational systems are now as aware as anyone of the currents of change ... affecting contemporary spatial planning thinking’ (Bristow, 2010, P. 2). I will explore later the reflections of Taiwanese experts on the urban spatial system to explore the issues related to urban policy learning.

The ‘localisation’ of foreign experiences into a local context involves an important transformation. Take the TDR mechanism for instance. It was learned from New York but what makes it work in Taipei are local conditions like high demand from the real estate market. It thus may not be applicable to other cities in Taiwan. Even in Taipei, once the condition of the real estate market changed, the mechanism became harder to operate. In this case, the city adapted the mechanism combining it with bulk rewards to encourage conservation under strict rules, leading to the birth of Urban Regeneration Stations, which will be introduced in the next chapter. In the other words, the prototype of the mechanism and policy was leaned from abroad; however, it was later on developed into one suitable for local conditions.

In short, due to Taiwan’s historic development process, policy learning from abroad played a significant role in urban planning and development. It pushed

⁹ The Construction and Planning Agency is the central government authority, under the Ministry of the Interior, responsible for national spatial resource planning, utilization, and management.

the city to look outward for best practice and new solutions despite the difficult cross-straits and international political and economic context described in Chapter 3. In this situation of severe international competition, policy learning provides the city's planners and policy makers with the basis for a search for future directions. Thus, as Bristow observes, there is little doubt about Taipei's eagerness to learn: 'Its professionals, academics and indeed all kinds of policy-makers are eager to observe the practices of others and to adapt them to their very own Taiwanese experiences' (Bristow, 2010, P. 13).

In the next section, the discussion moves to a focus on what factors have influenced the birth of the ideas of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture, which can be seen as a kind of practical implementation of Creative City theory.

6.3. Soft urbanism and urban acupuncture: A new variant of the creative city approach to the governance of urban regeneration

'Taipei City Government initiated an innovative form of governance to promote the idea of the creative city, called soft urbanism. Based on soft urbanism, Taipei launched the URS [Urban Regeneration Station] project which uses the concept of urban acupuncture to coordinate urban contents and energise the city' (TCG, 2012c, p. 3).

The preceding words are taken from an official brochure which was used to introduce and promote Taipei during its bid to be 2016 World Design Capital. It shows how soft urbanism and urban acupuncture have emerged as two key discourses related to the implementation of creative city policies in Taipei. Therefore, exploring the meanings and contexts of both can help us understand how policy makers treat the issues of urban regeneration, what kinds of approaches and/or solutions are chosen and for what purpose. In this section, I argue that these discourses as well as the policies underpinning them can be understood as part of a wider global circulation of policy ideas and practices. The analysis is based mainly on an in-depth interview with Lin Chongjie, Director of the Urban Regeneration Office from April 2009 to December 2014 on 20 February 2014, and on official policy documents including the Taipei City publication 'Your City, URS Life' and a series of URS policy brochures, as well as Lin's published papers in magazines.

6.3.1. From 'hard' developer-led urbanism to 'soft', people-centred urbanism

'I have always felt that the practice of urban renewal in Taiwan had problems... It needed to be changed. We started a comprehensive reform which we called 'soft urbanism' (Interview A3).

According to Lin, the 1998 Urban Renewal Act was merely concerned with single sites such as architectural renewal projects and was solely based on developers' ideas and actions, leaving the mass of residents out of the story. He explained that 'the mechanism of bulk reward was a way to stimulate developers to participate' but it had become outdated: 'I personally believed it should be changed'. He stressed that urban regeneration should contain a broader field of action, including aspects of laws, mechanisms and strategies rather than being restricted to the remodeling of single sites, 'as has been implemented in western cities and in Japan' (Interview A3).

In Lin's writings that expound the policy discourse of 'soft urbanism' he mentions the concept of 'soft power' advocated by international relations theorist Joseph Nye. Nye refers to a 'soft' approach, i.e. non-physically forceful, way of getting desired outcomes (Nye, 1990) in three main areas: culture, political values, and policies (Nye, 2004). Extending the idea of soft power to the discourse of soft urbanism, Lin underlined that in contrast to existing inflexible regulatory urban planning systems, this meant another form of urban regeneration policy that combined 'abundant culture and human resources as well as the vitality of civil society' to start up the 'potentials and opportunities' of the city (Lin, 2013a, p. 4). In criticizing inflexible urban planning systems, he was referring to 'the development model from the post-war period of US aid, level upon level of bureaucracy, legal mechanisms, and regulatory models' (Lin, 2013a, p. 9). Lin takes the example of Peter Hall's diagnostic report in 2009 on the transformation of the city of Yokohama, Japan, into a creative city, as a marker for the situation in Taipei:

'Yokohama sits in the corner of one of the largest urban circles. Internally, it faces pressure coming from the strong magnetic pull of Tokyo. Externally, it faces much competition from newly industrialised countries. At the same time, along with the pressure for critical development felt by mature economies, the pursuit of a creative knowledge economy has become a necessary direction in the formation of policy' (cite in Lin, 2013a, p. 10).

Given the situation in Taiwan, the relationship with China and its wider impact, Taipei needs, in Lin's words to 'continuously seek new blue ocean strategies for growth' (Lin, 2013a, p. 10). In addition, Lin argues, Taipei has unique characteristics that represent soft resources to build on:

‘convenience, efficiency, friendliness, flexibility, versatility, inclusiveness, openness, educated and creative talents, micro-commerce clusters, gourmet foods, technology, high density, compactness, mixed-usage, multiple characteristics, diverse geographies, and scenic landscapes’ (Lin, 2013a, p. 12).

In the interview, Lin stressed that these soft resources relate not only to younger workers, who, he claims, form the Chinese world’s best young creative professionals, but also to a professional middle-aged generation including those who used to work around the world but who are now returning to Taiwan. ‘This is our greatest resource’, he emphasised. Coming to this conclusion, Lin believed it was important to provide opportunities for these people to work with the resources at hand to help develop Taipei. Lin argued that utilizing the strengths and maximizing the marginal benefits for all these rich resources through integration could help Taipei become a competitive ‘international city’ that can attract ‘talent, creative clusters and eventually lead the next wave of industry’ to achieve a creative knowledge economy similar to Peter Hall’s diagnostic for Yokohama (Interview A3). To organise this process, he said, ‘we came up with a new urban discourse’ of soft urbanism (Interview A3).

Soft urbanism has been set up to represent a new form of ‘creative governance’ that promotes strategies for an urban regeneration through ‘creative measures’. Under the concept of soft urbanism, ‘urban acupuncture’ is proposed as its strategic method, a model of city governance.

6.3.2. Urban acupuncture: the strategic method of soft urbanism

Compared to the discourse of soft urbanism, urban acupuncture is stressed less in official documents. It often appears, however, with soft urbanism as the background to strategic ideas to introduce practical schemes such as the Urban Regeneration Stations (URS). For example Chen Hsin-Chin et al. write of ‘using a method called urban acupuncture as a model of city governance’ (Chen et al., 2013, p. 14). Lin (interview A3) explained the core idea of urban acupuncture as follows:

‘We no longer believe in, or should I say no longer rely on, a big architectural project such as the Guggenheim Museum [in Bilbao] or similar projects which were popular worldwide in the 90s to change Taipei.

We avoided actions that merely accorded with the requirements of community leaders -- contrary to what we used to do. When they asked for a park, we responded by producing a park, which was even created through a community participation process. ... The critical issue is to explore the root causes of a problem’.

At least three points from Lin's written text and interview comments help us to better understand the core ideas of urban acupuncture.

Firstly, medical metaphors are frequently used to imply a pathology of urban space in need of healing. Even more so with acupuncture, an ancient Chinese approach to healing based on Taoist philosophy, which focuses on the imbalance that is causing the symptom instead of the symptom per se. For instance, for urban acupuncture 'a request for a park' (symptom) may not really be what a community needs (the problem). Urban acupuncture is seen as a dynamic and 'thorough approach' to find out and then treat the problems of the living organism (the city).

Secondly, as a needle is the visible feature of acupuncture, so the localised healing concept of acupuncture is applied in a small-scaled targeted approach. As Lin said, '[We want] no more big architectural projects' (interview A3) to cure the (large-scale) problem of urban development. A conceptual illustration of urban acupuncture is shown on the first page of the URS' promotional brochure, which shows projects like pins spread out across the city.

Thirdly, each acupuncture point reflects a specific network of a certain part of the human body. In other words, each point should be precisely localised on a particular spot so as to hit the target. The same rule applies to urban acupuncture; the 'right remedy' is seen to be the fundamental essence for healing the city.

In conclusion, through the discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture, terms such as the creative knowledge economy, human resources, the local cultural climate are favoured. Lin stressed that urban policy 'should turn back to the people, to their needs, and to their imaginings for the future' (interview A3)

These discourses are an essential basis for the URS scheme. A creative city, culture-led urban policy will be detailed in the next chapter and then a more critical point of view will be laid out in chapter 8 to discuss whether or not it works, and if so, to what extent it works and what factors determine its success. Before we review the URS scheme derived from these ideas, in order to realise how and where these discourses and policies come from, we will trace the path of policy learning and adapting in the following section.

6.4. Systematic schemes and processes aimed at introducing urban regeneration policies from overseas cities since 2009

Arriving at a sense of the sequences, timelines and interactions of discourses such as soft urbanism and urban acupuncture and schemes such as URS takes the researcher into uncharted areas with no documentary evidence and little in the way of substance coming from interviews with people who have been deeply involved. This response from a senior planner is representative: 'It seems things happened at the same time and interacted with each other and formed into a circle' (Interview C9). An academic commented cryptically that, 'the discourse was gradually advancing with the times and projects' (Interview B4). While Lin answered my question as follows: 'We keep looking for a way for the city to move forward' (Interview A4). The sequences may be vague, but casual remarks from various quarters about 'a series of overseas urban policy studies' and 'international expertise consulting' may bring some light to our understanding of the original influences on urban policies. As such, this section traces the paths of policy mobilities. The analysis of empirical observations is classified into three sub-sections: domestic workshops, overseas urban study visits and invitations of overseas consultants to Taipei, and participation at international events.

6.4.1. Domestic workshops and an Urban Regeneration textbook

In 2010, Taipei city authority began a study series on overseas examples of successful urban regeneration policies. The Urban Regeneration Office (URO) built up an informal task force of authority officials and academics, approximately two dozen members, to study urban regeneration policies adopted in other cities as potential paradigms of local application. Task force members met monthly to discuss the mechanisms and strategies of new urban regeneration policies and the process to be used for those policies selected (see Table 6.1 for the year and annual theme¹⁰). Information on each case was sent to task force members approximately one week before the meeting, which functioned like a reading group with material prepared by academics. Each meeting typically began with a presentation by an academic which introduced a selected case and was followed by questions and discussions. The meetings were mostly held in URS127, the first URS site in Dihua Street with work space, exhibition hall and meeting room (I discuss this site in more detail in chapter 7). A senior official explained that 'when we were

¹⁰ In Chinese, the term used was an annual 'theme', but this actually referred to states and cities.

discussing those creative spaces / collaborative spaces in Berlin, London, or Amsterdam, we were in our own Taipei collaborative space' (Interview A5). After a year of research and discussion, an international forum was held. Those identified by the authority as key persons of the targeted policies were invited to Taipei to share their experiences. A booklet named '20 stories of urban regeneration' was subsequently published in December 2013. It included 20 cases in 10 cities that had been discussed by the task force over the previous three years, including Berlin, London, Barcelona, New York, Seattle, Tokyo and Seoul (Lin, 2013b).

Table 6.1 Urban regeneration policies study by year and theme.

Year	Annual theme
2010	1. Thematic workshop on urban regeneration in the UK 2. Thematic workshop on urban regeneration in Japan
2011	1. Thematic workshop on urban regeneration in 10 international cities -- Research and analysis on strategic policies 2. Thematic workshop on urban regeneration in 4 international cities (London, Barcelona, Bangkok and Taipei) -- Strategic urban regeneration policies 3. Thematic workshop on strategic urban regeneration policies in Germany
2012	Thematic workshop on strategic urban regeneration policies in the Netherlands

Source: URO, Taipei City Government.

Table 6.2 Research and analysis on strategic urban regeneration policies in 10 international cities.

City	Strategic urban regeneration policies
Singapore	HDB Upgrading Programs and URA urban regeneration scheme
Brisbane	Urban regeneration scheme in Brisbane River sites
Honk Kong	Strategic urban regeneration policy
Seattle	Urban village
New York	High line and Hudson River urban regeneration scheme
Berlin	Urban regeneration scheme
Ruhr	Ruhr & IBA (International Building Exhibition) urban regeneration scheme
Amsterdam	Westergasfabriek & NDSM
London	London 2012 Olympics
Barcelona	22 @ Barcelona

Source: URO, Taipei City Government.

The editor of the booklet, Professor Lin Sheng-Feng, who was also a consultant for URO, explained in an interview that the URO had for a long time been collecting data and networking around examples of successful urban policy interventions in cities overseas through visits and international workshops and conferences. The idea of the booklet was to highlight those ‘cases which can inspire the field of urban regeneration in Taiwan, to make it work as a textbook for use in colleges’ (Interview B8). The 20 stories were grouped together into six types of ‘DNA’, used metaphorically to imply that those crucial elements embedded in the successful cases were the carriers of genetic-like information on the essential ingredients for successful implementation (Interview B8). The six types of DNA are: (1) sustainable development as core value, (2) vision for the city, (3) think tank of the city, (4) new forms of public participation, (5) partnerships among creative executives as well as the public and private sectors and (6) creative economy (see table 6.3).

A further discussion will be developed in the next chapter to see how the spirit behind these 20 stories has been transferred and adapted into Taipei’s principal creative city urban regeneration policy – the URS scheme.

Table 6.3 Six DNAs of 20 stories of urban regeneration.

Story	DNA	CITY	Strategic Urban Regeneration policy
Story 1	DNA 1 Sustainable development as core value	London	Legacy Plan- Using the Olympics to reform an old area
Story 2		New York	The High Line Park – Abandoned elevated railway becomes public park
Story 3		Hamburg	Hafen City – A city dancing with water
Story 4	DNA 2 Vision for the city	Hamburg	City Dialogue – Without a vision you cannot build a city; without public participation you cannot form the vision
Story 5		Seattle	Urban Village – A metropolitan centre adhering to the preservation of its village characteristics
Story 6		Barcelona	City Architecture– A conductor of the urban symphony
Story 7	DNA 3 Urban think tank	Seoul	Seoul Institute – A think-tank for the City Government
Story 8		San Francisco	SPUR – A private think-tank which led a urban a hundred-year development
Story 9		Hamburg	IBA – An international architecture exhibition which led the evolution of the city
Story 10	DNA 4 New forms of public participation	Berlin	Tempelhof – A method which allowed the best solution to emerge gradually
Story 11		Amsterdam	Wikicity – An inspiration to urban planning
Story 12		New York	Change by ‘us’ –Turning the public’s ideas into practical action
Story 13	DNA 5	Hamburg	RISE – Experiments in the removal

	Partnerships among creative executives as well as the public and private sectors		of selfishness and the integration of administrative resources
Story 14		Amsterdam	GWL – A water plant transformed into an exemplary community by a housing association
Story 15		Tokyo	Otemachi – A series of urban renewal projects interlocking as in a relay race
Story 16		Tokyo	Roppongi hills – A large scale urban renewal project led by a private firm with support from the government
Story 17	DNA6 Creative Economy	Berlin	Betahaus – Turning empty apartments into creative bases
Story 18		Berlin	Project Future – Utilizing cultural and creative industries to drive urban regeneration
Story 19		Barcelona	22 @ Barcelona – Creative laboratory for urban regeneration
Story 20		Seoul	Dongdaemu – Utilizing fashion industry (clothes) to drive urban regeneration

Source: Based on '20 stories of urban regeneration' (Lin, 2013b), arranged by the author.

6.4.2. Seeing is believing - overseas study visits

In addition to domestic reading-based workshops, visiting other places seems to have been an important approach. Overseas visits are quite common and have actually been adopted for decades in Taiwanese governmental organisations. Table 6.4 shows overseas visits in terms of urban regeneration policy studies carried out by the URO and the Department of Urban Development (DUD) between 2011 and 2013. This kind of visit generally has fewer people involved than the Taipei workshops given the higher cost per person. The duration of visits varied from one day (e.g. Hong Kong) to two weeks. Once an overseas visit had finished, the participants would report and review the visit formally, assessing what knowledge they had gained and what could be learnt (TCG, 2014b). Participants were also generally required to give a presentation to their colleagues on the lessons they had learnt from the visit and their suggestions to the city on urban policy. The cities visited were supposed to reflect policy makers' views for directions in which they wanted the city to develop. Cities were chosen beforehand. Policy makers selected particular successful cases to study and learn from. In other words, the cities visited had to be 'models' because of how they dealt with specific urban issues. Table 6.4 shows the programme of overseas urban study visits and illustrates the city's high interest in culture-led urban regeneration policies (Evans, 2005).

Take the London 2012 Olympics, for instance, a mega-event driven by culture-led urban regeneration policy. Lin Chongjie was among the Taipei team who visited London and authored the report. According to the report, Lin and colleagues met with officials from the Olympic Park Legacy Company, London Development Agency, Thames Gateway Urban Development Corporation (UDC), and the Olympic Delivery Authority. They visited the Olympic Park with the assistance of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Presentations were given by Olympic Park Legacy Company on an 'overview of the plan of London 2012' and 'sport and culture as catalysts for regeneration' (Lin and Li, 2011, pp. 18-20).










Table 6.4 Overseas urban study visits of DUD and URO in 2011-2013

Year	Project / purpose	City	Duration	Numbers of visitors
2011	London 2012: Urban Regeneration and Sustainable Development	London	5 days (March)	2 (DUD)
	2011-12 Hong Kong & Shenzhen Bi-city Biennale of Urbanism\Architecture	Hong Kong	1 day (June)	2 (DUD, URO)
	Urban regeneration in UK, Spain, and Germany.	London, Barcelona, Hamburg, Berlin	12 days (March)	6 (DUD, URO)
2012	Internship exchange program with officials in the New York urban renewal sector	New York	14 days (April-May)	2 (DUD, URO)
	Visit to Echigo-Tsumari Art Field to research local regeneration	Niigata (Japan)	7 days (August-September)	1 (URO)
	Waterfront regeneration policy	Edinburgh, Glasgow (UK)	9 day (December)	2 (DUD, URO)
2013	2013 International Building Exhibition and visits to local officials	Hamburg	8 days (September)	7 (Vice mayor, DUD, URO)

Source: Data collated from the official reports of overseas urban study visits, TCG, and URO, Taipei City Government (2015) .

Figure 6.6 Presentation slides

Presentation given by the Olympic Park Legacy Company) explaining the plans for London 2012 included in the report compiled by officials from Taipei.

<p>OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY COMPANY</p> <p>Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park</p>  <p>Rosanna Lawes, Andrzej Kotowicz 21 March 2011</p>	<p>OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY COMPANY</p> <p>The Olympic Family</p>  <p>Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC)</p> <p>Building the Venues & Infrastructure Hosting the Athletes & Officials, Processing & Staging the Games Designing & Managing the Park, Venues & Infrastructure</p>
<p>OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY COMPANY</p> <p>The Company</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established May 2006, as a not-for-profit 'company limited by guarantee' Founded by Government and the Mayor of London to assist them in delivering their legacy commitments for the Olympic Park Commercial approach, but social objectives at our core Led by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Margaret Ford (Chair) and Andrew Adman (CEO) Board comprising experts from development, social enterprise, sport, local government, award management Offices in Stratford Top team in place and staffing from LDA 	<p>OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY COMPANY</p> <p>Our remit</p> 
<p>OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY COMPANY</p> <p>Core themes</p> 	<p>OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY COMPANY</p> <p>Housing</p> 
<p>OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY COMPANY</p> <p>Creating jobs: anchor locations</p> <p>Employment hubs establish strong economic activity</p>  	<p>OLYMPIC PARK LEGACY COMPANY</p> <p>Jobs, skills and enterprise</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creating employment space Forecasting workforce requirements Influencing local training provision Job brokerage 

Source: Lin and Li (2011, p. 7).

Four months later, there was another visit to London, from 24 July to 13 August (21 days, covering the Olympics opening ceremony – on 26 July and part of the Olympics itself, which ended on 26 August). It was made up of a team of 11 members from different sectors of Taipei City Government led by Vice Mayor, Ding Tingyu. This visit focused on the operational details of the London Olympics. The process of holding the London Olympics was set as a model and reference for Taipei's international event for 2017, the Taipei Summer Universiade (Interview A3). The report of the Vice Mayor's visit (Ding, 2012) shows that his team concentrated on the planning of activities and procedures, such as technical transportation plans, event planning, the planning of venues and temporary facilities, viewer pathways, plans for the opening and closing ceremonies, marketing plans, configuration and operation of the Olympic Village and volunteer services. Several meetings and visits were set up to meet and discuss with a number of Olympics officials (these included Karen Rothery, CEO British Universities and Colleges Sport [BUCS], Neil Rogers, Chef De Mission of International Programmes, BUCS, and Mike Taylor, UK Trade & Investment department (UKTI)). They visited the BBC and listened to a presentation explaining how the BBC participated in the planning and operation of the London Olympics.

In general terms, the suggestions and comments in the written reports of overseas visits relate to overall principles and tend to be somewhat vague and superficial. For example, the main comment from the report on the London Olympics visit was to suggest that the city should undertake an 'early preparation' and 'build up consensus' for 2017 Taipei Summer Universiade so as to create a successful international event (Ding, 2012, p. 8). This is a characteristically bland comment.

European visits in 2012 provide us with further examples of well-meaning but vague suggestions. In the conclusion to the report on the visit to examine urban regeneration policy in Britain, Spain, and Germany, six suggestions are made about urban regeneration policy as exemplified by the following extract (Hau et al., 2012, p. 130):

1. Policy should take social, economic and environmental factors into consideration, and should integrate different [professional] fields. A proper platform or mechanism is necessary to coordinate urban development work.
2. [Taipei] could follow these European urban strategies, encouraging more educational activities and societies so as to enhance public cohesion thus creating a better living environment and quality;
3. [Taipei should] continue promoting creative city urban policy. In particular, policy should try to introduce creative energy into unused urban spaces, for example through the URS Scheme.

4. For large-scale construction and development projects, land is a key resource, thus it is necessary to build up a long term land preservation system for the city's future needs.
5. It is necessary to establish a dedicated research and development institution with a well supervised mechanism so as to strengthen the implementation of urban policy.
6. Policy should pay more attention to public participation and dialogue with the public.

After the reports were approved by the mayor or his delegate, they were then uploaded online and made available to relevant departments for consideration. Responses from these departments also tended to be vague, along the lines of 'this will be taken into consideration in the future' (interviews A1, A5).

It seems that the suggestions emanating from these reports were unable to provide more convincing evidence and details of why and what to learn from these overseas cities. Nor did they mention the different context of the cities visited and how policy could be transferred from there to here. The point here is not to criticise the nature of this kind of overseas urban study visit, but rather to emphasise that the written reports were not the main purpose; instead, this was a 'seeing-is-believing' approach to policy learning, with all its limitations. After all, the visits were only short ones. This seeing-is-believing approach could also be risky as sometimes the causalities of policy and its results are unclear, hidden or even inverted.

6.4.3. Participation at international events and invitations to overseas consultants to visit Taipei – the Landry effect

Alongside the overseas visits discussed above, there has been a growing number of visits to Taipei by overseas consultants to attend events or give lectures. These international events include conferences and workshops such as IBA and International Urban Development Association (INTA) bringing together policy makers, practitioners and advocates. Through these various pathways and platforms, experiences were exchanged among participants. This has not merely been one directional, but more a scenario of multiple influences and exchanges of experience in line with the policy mobilities literature (McCann and Ward, 2012; Wood, 2015). With this frequent travelling – the study visits and international events -- and especially with the emergence of the internet, the flow of knowledge is speeded up in both reality and in virtual space. In this context, overseas consultants particularly seem to be playing an influential role in promoting creative city urban policy.

It is common practice in Taipei to invite international consultants to participate in workshops, forums, and conferences with the expectation that this will

create communication platforms and lead to an exchange of experiences. It is, however, relatively rare to see a long-term contract being offered to an international consultant. The case of Charles Landry, a 'creative city strategy consultant' from London, was an exception (interview A3). The contract involved a three year project between the URO and Landry and involved planning to diagnose urban issues during the first year (2012), discovering limits and potentials in the second year, and then suggesting solutions in the third year. A senior URO planner told me that each time Landry came on a visit the URO arranged for him to visit strategic spots where the office was considering implementing urban regeneration policies. The agenda was clearly set by the URO. Landry was also introduced to the mayor and to officials of other departments to allow the mayor to 'make his case for Taipei and let others know what the URO was doing' (Interview C9). In this way, the URO was able to use Landry to help reinforce its own position within the municipal bureaucracy. It shows that the invitation of an international consultant is more about an ideological and political process as the URO had already decided where to act and what to do but used a consultant to legitimise it.

Landry visited Taipei nine times in three years (TCG, 2014b) and put together three books (in 2012, 2014 and 2015) as guidelines and advice for Taipei officials. The publications were prepared with help from a local studio¹¹, which provided local data collection, translations and administrative support. The first book by Charles Landry, *Talented Taipei & the creative imperative* (Landry, 2012, p. 18), diagnosed the urban problem – calling it Taipei's 'urgent crisis' – as the 'talent churn' and the 'brain drain':

'To be perceived as a creative city is vital to reverse these difficult trends and to retain Taipei's best people and to attract others from elsewhere.. Taipei might address this complex set of dilemmas and get itself more firmly onto the global radar screen and become known for its "civic creativity"' (Landry, 2012, p. 9).

He went on to argue that city planning must be sophisticated in 'rethinking how to foster spaces, places and quarters that are both compelling and interesting for those living in Taipei as well as the highly mobile from elsewhere'. This can be read as a restatement of his basic approach to the creative city idea, to create the atmosphere to attract creative talents. At the same time he also recommended setting up a 'Creativity Platform' which is a

¹¹ Bamboo Curtain Studio (BCS), founded in 1995 by Margaret Shiu. She is a senior art curator and also a consultant of URO. BCS provides services mainly on holding exhibitions, performances, and cultural events. According to its official website, 'BCS is a member of Res Artis, initiator of Intra Asia Network for AIR & Artists' mobility, regional representative of the International Network of Culture Diversity and Arts Network Asia, and country representative for World Culture Forum Asia-Pacific' (Bamboo Culture, 2015).

'public private and third sector growth partnership and task force made up of cross disciplinary experts with the aim to enhance Taipei's creative credentials so it is seen as a versatile, ambitious and imaginative Asian hub able to retain and attract its skilled, aspirational and talented people' (Landry, 2012, p. 11).

In his second book, *A creativity platform: harnessing the collective imagination of Taipei* (Landry, 2014), Landry stressed again the importance of understanding the need for a culture of creativity as it is 'a new form of currency' (Landry, 2014, p. 9). He defined cities on a scale, 'The City 0.0' to 'The City 3.0', and suggested that 'Taipei needs to move decisively from a 1.0 city to a 3.0 city' which 'is strongly concerned with the public realm, human scale and aesthetics'. 'Encouraging entrepreneurship,' he wrote, 'is key to making the city of the future work'. At this scale, the city 'moves away from a strict land-use focus and is more integrative as it brings together economic, cultural, physical and social concerns' (Landry, 2014, p. 24). Examples of City 3.0 include Barcelona, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Melbourne and Singapore.

To complement the 'creativity platform' Landry proposed a Creative Quarter strategy. The creativity platform involves a cross-disciplinary membership including promoters, advocates and lobbyists rather than those involved in directly implementing projects and programmes. The aim of the Creative Quarter strategy is to 'cluster activities in varying parts of the city in order to encourage the development of hotspots where creative forces and those that will in part drive the future Taipei economy, can gather and create synergies' (Landry, 2014, p. 9). In this book, Landry argued that the major fault line for Taipei is 'the misalignment between an evolving 3.0 world and its economy, culture and social dynamics and its existing operating system that still has several 1.0 features. For instance, they need flexible office leasing.... They require an urban aesthetic' (Landry, 2014, p. 29).

The final publication, which appeared in January 2015, was entitled *Taipei: a city of ambition* (Landry, 2015). In it, Landry drew attention to a mechanism to help implement change. The mechanism is a combination of three things:

'First, a shift in belief, thinking and perspective; second, a readjustment of political priorities, courage, motivation and will and third strategies and policies with an incentives and regulations regime to match so that vision and aims are acted upon and implemented' (Landry, 2015, p. 8).

Under this mechanism, he addressed eleven focus areas and recommendations that 'will have a substantial effect on the positive prospects for Taipei' (Landry, 2015, p. 8). They are reproduced verbatim here:

1. The public bureaucracy is not fit for purpose for 21st century conditions.
2. Taipei needs an integrated talent retention and attraction policy

3. Taipei needs to continually monitor its creative ecology and be alert to necessary interventions
4. Taipei needs to dramatically rethink its real estate driven city making.
5. The five major development proposals currently under discussions can present an important symbol of changed
6. Understand that a 100 small projects done well and orchestrated can be more powerful and effective than an imposing physical structure
7. Create a development framework that safeguards the old appropriately and blends well with the new
8. Make partnership working Taipei's daily practice
9. Instigate an integrated city wide support for younger companies and start-ups
10. Establish a Creativity Platform to harness the collective imagination of Taipei
11. The public sector should play an important role in innovation through a progressive collaborative procurement policy (Landry, 2015, pp. 9-13).

After nine visits and three books, Landry's advice can be summarised as advocating creative places and creative talents so as to 'maintain and improve [Taipei's] global positioning in a way that meets both local desires whilst responding to global, competitive necessities' (Landry, 2015, p. 14) .

In my interview with him, Lin echoed Landry's suggestions by saying,

'As our consultant Charles Landry constantly reminded us and the cases we studied ... [creative] young people are the most important capital for the city's future. Urban policies should support them. What they need are obviously not big museums or big exhibition hall; they need the networks, creative atmosphere, and the possibilities of starting an enterprise.... We notice the new strength propelling the city forward, which is also the reason I use soft urbanism' (Interview A3).

This indicates the close relationship of CCURP in Taipei and the policies advocated through visits and by consultants. In short, when linking discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture with the advice stemming from visits and consultants, we saw similar ideas, slogans, strategies adapted from city to city. This tool kit is built around co-working spaces and cultural creative industries. It shows the extent to which, as a result of the sort of mobility of policy that we have examined here, these urban discourses in Taipei have fairly close links to the approaches adopted elsewhere. These findings echo theoretical works that see contemporary policy transfer as a multiple, dynamic movement (Freeman, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2010a; McCann, 2008) and, equally, challenges Wang and Heath's (2010) argument suggesting Taiwan's policy learning process is a mode of 'borrowing' and one-direction flows, as has been discussed in Chapter 2.

To realise how it actually operated, we now move to a discussion of the intermediaries in the policy mobility 'game'.

6.5. Intermediaries of policy mobility and the knowledge filter

When exploring the process of policy paradigm shifts, it is also important to identify the role of intermediaries – the advocates, conveyors, and practitioners – so as to build up a basis to understand why the CCURP approach was chosen as a solution to urban redevelopment. In the context of Taipei, we have seen that an alliance was formed between urban spatial planning authorities – the URO and UDD – and think tanks and ad hoc committees. Members of ad hoc committees were invited by the director (of the URO) or commissioner (of the DUD) as policy consultants. In the public sector, those who hold higher positions play key roles in policy direction and decision making. These urban spatial professionals, no matter whether they are from the public sector or individuals invited as policy consultants, are mostly people with a background in architecture, urban planning, urban design, and art-related fields. Most of these consultants have had experience of study or work abroad and are currently employed as professors or lecturers teaching in universities, mostly in departments of architecture. Some of them, however, run small scale studios (Interviews A4, A5). From my interviews and previous experiences in working with them, these ‘spatial and planning elites’ show a high sense of professional mission, are passionate about their work and aspire to build better, more liveable cities by using their own technical knowledge and sense of aesthetics.

Alongside this, the pursuit of a creative milieu, creative clusters and thus the cultural and creative economy – the key elements promoted by creative city theory – on the one hand fit well with the aesthetic taste of these elites and their belief in the value of culture-based urban redevelopment; on the other hand, they have provided these global elites with favourable conditions for an expanding and strengthening of middle class reproduction (Hsu, 1989). As was introduced earlier (in Chapter 3), Taiwan’s changing society with the growth in the size of the middle class has played a significant part in the country’s rapid economic development and the blossoming of civil society. Here, when we look at the introduction of CCURP, we find the path is deeply connected to these professional elites, who are in charge of allocation of bureaucratic resources like policy making and budget spending, and who, even though they are under the supervision of the City Government and legislature, still have power to undertake new initiatives; alongside them are a section of the upper middle class more generally, influential intellectuals and planners who collaborate with policy makers to promote creative city ideas through participation in workshops and consultations and even more directly as executors of certain schemes. The systematic programmes of annual workshops, international conferences, international consultant contracts,

published books and so on were the visible crystallisation of collaboration and alliances among these spatial elites.

The making of high quality and friendly urban spaces with aesthetic value so as to create a liveable city has been the declared aim of spatial planners since the 1990s. The Urban Planning Office was elevated to its current status as the Department of Urban Development with urban planning and urban design divisions in 1993. This can be seen as a response to a new awareness of an aesthetic approach to urban issues. Reflections on place making were intense and common in both quality and quantity in academic works, in international conferences and in public opinion. Environmental, aesthetic and civic values are essential to the spirit of urban affairs for spatial elites. Ironically, there is a general recognition among citizens and policy makers that Taipei is a foreigner-friendly but ugly city. The Taipei Beautiful Plan (see Chapter 4) provided a vehicle for the policy makers to introduce measures to reform and beautify the urban landscape.

The stress on aesthetic place-making driving urban redevelopment according to creative city theory is thus quickly received, promoted and adopted by these spatial elites. An example comes in the form of an article entitled 'Creative city and space aesthetics' written by Professor Chang Chi-Yi and published in the *Taiwan Education Review* in 2008 (Chang, 2008). Chang at that time was the director of the Graduate Institute of Architecture at National Chiao Tung University and also a spatial consultant of the city before becoming deputy mayor of Taitung County in 2011. In his article, he endorses Richard Florida's idea of the creative city and the creative class (Florida, 2004) and advocates the idea of enhancing cultural consumption via urban branding to enhance city competitiveness. He takes 12 cities as paradigms to emphasise the importance of urban branding, arguing that their unique aesthetic, architectural, and cultural characteristics are well adapted to what he sees as the contemporary creative era¹². He also promotes the value and importance of 'design' and 'creativity', saying that 'only through creativity can a city stand out from the global competition' (Chang, 2008, p. 9).

Another of these spatial professional and policy makers, Professor Charles Lin, stresses the importance of innovation and creative cities as leading to a new model of competitive urban governance (Lin, 2009a, 2010b; c). Professor Lin is one of the pioneers of urban design in Taiwan. Before taking up his academic position at National Chiao Tung University and at intervals during his tenure (University, 2014), he worked as an urban planner, and specifically as director of urban planning and public works departments in Taipei, Hsinchu

¹² The 12 cities are: Athens, Lisbon, Barcelona, Bilbao, Genoa, Lyons, Rotterdam, Seattle, Chicago, Melbourne, Los Angeles and Vancouver.

and Kaohsiung. He was later appointed director of the general office of the Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior, deputy mayor of Tainan City Government and deputy mayor of Taipei City Government, a position which he still held at the time of writing.

These two cases provide an example of the social networks of these spatial elites as well as the political and academic powers they combine by moving from one domain to the other. They also show their belief in the benefit of creative city and the values of aesthetic urban spaces. The role they play is similar to what Kong et al. (2006, p. 175) called 'translators' of 'Euro-American knowledges', and the social networks they move in are close to what have been called 'guanxi or connections', a kind of 'social capital' (Yao and Han, 2016, p. 304). Taipei's case also shows that knowledge of urban planning, and regeneration strategies, has been filtered, endorsed and promoted by certain local planning elites and their networks. Wang, a critical scholar, names these connections among policy makers, planning elites and research outputs as a 'unique Taiwanese phenomenon of politico-academic-industrial complex' (Wang, 2010, p. 168)

In the following section, I develop the theme of the nature and meaning of creative city policy mobility and provide further evidence of the ways in which it contributes to an uneven and incomplete learning process.

6.6. The transfer of CCURP and selected learning

In this section, I critique the approach to the transfer of CCURP in Taipei city, which, I argue, shows an uneven process of policy learning. Embedded in previous learning pathways and existing academic works, discussion develops from the process of paradigms taken haphazardly from the foreign consultants invited to Taipei. I argue that the flows of policy knowledge were filtered by domestic planning elites. Meanwhile, those foreign consultants who were invited by policy makers to the city were exploited primarily for their symbolic significance.

As has been noted, the 'global circuits of policy knowledge' (McCann, 2008; McCann, 2011) reflect the uneven process of social and global power restructuring (for example, McCann, 2011; Prince, 2010). In Taipei, it can be seen how 'policy knowledge' is filtered by certain planning elites thus leading to a rather narrow range of selections. Take the London 2012 Olympics for instance. In the booklet '20 stories of urban regeneration', where only the bright side of each story is introduced, we read that London successfully turned the 2012 Olympics into a catalyst for urban regeneration projects transforming the heart of East London into a creative hub and making the

Olympic Park a sustainable urban green space for London's citizens. In addition, when we look back at the international forum on 'Strategic urban regeneration policies in 4 international cities (London, Barcelona, Bangkok and Taipei)', held in Taipei on 20 October 2011, Charles Landry was invited on behalf of London to give a speech on creative atmosphere. The British speakers at the forum on 'Urban regeneration issues in UK', held on 19 and 20 October 2011, were all senior officials working in government or in quasi-official bodies¹³. While I would not wish to criticize the invitations to these specific individuals or the reports written on the London Olympics in the book, it is troubling that the diversity of views on the Olympics and their impact on London (e.g. Watt, 2013) seem to have been ignored.

A scarcity of critical voices from academia could be another key reason contributing to the uneven learning process. Since the 'Challenge 2008, Six-Year National Development Plan (2002-2008)' (see Chapters 1 and 4) announced in 2002, city governments throughout Taiwan have devoted much energy to promoting Creative City and creative industry policies. Terms of cultural, creative and aesthetic lifestyle and soft power soon become popular and fashionable slogans. This 'fashionable wave' showed up not only in policy but also appeared in research work. If you search for 'culture and creative' as keyword on website of 'National Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations in Taiwan', you can find numerous research works: more than 5000 theses were produced during 2002 and 2012. However, there is a lack of reflection from critical viewpoints on CCURP theory and practices in research works. In addition to theses and dissertations, many papers from spatial, planning and even social scholars start from the proposition of the advantages of the creative city or importance of creativity and aesthetics (for example, Chang, 2008; Lin, 2010c; Liu, 2003; Xia, 2008). Wang Chia Huang (2010) reviewed more than one hundred research papers, theses and books published between 2000 and 2008 on the themes of creative city, culture and creative industries, and creative class. He found that most of this research work shows a 'scarcity of theoretical and critical thinking' and only a few pieces that demonstrated holistic, comprehensive and critical reflections' (Wang, 2010, p. 16).

Wang calls this 'easy' learning process a 'borrowing approach', which chimes with Jamie Peck's critique of creative city policy transferring and 'borrowing' as 'fast urban policy' (Peck, 2005; Peck and Theodore, 2010a). Wang

¹³ They were Joseph Montgomery, then director general of the Regions and Communities Group at the Department of Communities and Local Government, John Walker, then chief executive of English Partnership, and Aman Dalvi, who was corporate director of Development and Regeneration at the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, a board member of the Olympic Park Legacy Company and chief executive of Gateway to London.

comments that the 'borrowing' phenomenon not only in the political sphere but in academia too presents a kind of 'fast, fashion catching, hitchhiking and superficial' theoretical and practical appearance (Wang, 2010 p. 3).

In addition to the question of what functions and roles academics play, it is also important to ask what kind of role foreign consultants play in the 'global flow of policy knowledge'. Foreign consultants have quite often been invited to the city to diagnose problems. However, most of these foreign experts and consultants are not familiar with the historical content, context and development of the city. They obtain most of their information from their host department in Taipei or the domestic consultants they work together with during a short visit to the city. One should not, therefore, expect profound insights.

Take as an example Charles Landry's book 'Talented Taipei & the creative imperative'. In it Landry claims that 'the brain drain is Taipei's urgent, overriding crisis, and Taipei's younger talents and those that are more established are leaving in greater numbers. This must act as the catalyst to address the creativity agenda with vigour. To be perceived as a creative city is vital to reverse these difficult trends and to retain Taipei's best people and to attract others from elsewhere' (Landry, 2012 p. 9). However, he does not produce evidence to elaborate on where his diagnosis of 'brain drain' comes from; nor is there any evidence of its extent. A senior URO planner whom I interviewed explained that Landry's information came from another domestic consultant who was deeply involved in the author's visit (Interview C9). The suggestion of a brain drain is from the New Generation of Architecture Exhibition held annually in June. My interviewee paraphrased the words of the local consultant: 'We can see that there are more than 3000 students graduating from architectural colleges each year'. However, the architectural design market is unable to offer enough job opportunities. These 3000 graduates are three times the number the market can absorb. Therefore, they are forced to look for a different type of job or leave the country. 'As to if actual data exists', he said, 'the answer is no' (Interview C9).

That there is some loss of talent, whether through emigration or change of direction, is clearly true. According to the paper that the National Development Council (NDC) presented to the Executive Yuan for ratification on 'The Integrated Program to Cultivate, Retain, and Attract Talent' on 29 April 2014, some similar issues of human capital were flagged, as a result of 'the training industry not yet being mature, there being a gap between education and industry needs, young people entering the workplace relatively late or middle-aged, older workers retiring too early, and talent being lost to other countries' (NDC, 2014). However, the paper diagnoses and measures urban issues on the basis of the reflections and personal impressions of

domestic experts. It was therefore based more on people's personal views rather than solid evidence.

One wonders therefore what is really meant when an international expert is invited to diagnose the city and give advice; is it an appropriate and effective approach to rely on an outsider to accurately point out the dilemmas and problems behind a city's development and to introduce measures to tackle them based on this advice? Or is it the case that the consultant is actually invited as a 'theory master' or star performer to promote ideas that the policy makers have already decided on -- in this case, to reinforce the correctness of the creative city approach? Is a consultant invited as a powerful professional symbol to present and communicate with politicians, academics, and citizens or as a disseminator, to spread the experiences and achievements of Taipei when he is later invited to other cities?

Despite these doubts, we can however be sure that the foreign expert provides a borrowed pair of binoculars, as it were, that will come up with a new view of events likely to help policy makers to see the city in which they are living, working and serving the public in a different light. These experiences in Taipei make for interesting comparison with those elsewhere, for example in Manila, where, as Shatkin (2008) and Choi (2016) show (see Chapter 2), the urban restructuring process reveals that developments have been led by private elites while the city's local renewal proposals were largely rhetorical.

6.7. Conclusions: a localised process filtered by the planning elite

'While maintaining a concentration on wider forces, studies of policy mobilities must take seriously the role that apparently banal activities of individual policy transfer agents play in the travels of policy models and must also engage in fine-grained qualitative studies of how policies are carried from place to place, learned in specific settings, and changed as they move' (McCann, 2011, p. 107).

Following McCann's suggestion on studies of policy mobilities, this chapter has identified key actors involved in policy mobilities and the paths taken by those policies. In this context, it elucidated how planning elites play key roles in the transfer of policy paradigms, using their professional knowledge, social capital and sense of aesthetics as a standard to drive a localised creative city urban policy.

This chapter also carried forwards the more general discussion of the culture turn in urban policy that was broached in chapter 4 focusing on the

transmission of creative city ideas to Taipei. From here, this thesis moves on in Chapter 7 to a specific practical case study, that of the URS scheme. There I will explore how these overseas paradigms moved to Taipei. Discourses and key actors discussed in this chapter will be integrated with the context of the specific case study (the URS scheme), and this will form a preface to a detailed critique in chapter 8.

In order to understand how policy transfer emerged, I traced back in the second section of this chapter to the origin and the history of urban policies and urban planning in Taiwan. The evidence showed that urban policies in Taipei have for many decades been deeply influenced by foreign theories and practical experiences. The policy mobilities have been evidenced through discussion of organisations, policies such as the DDC conservation program, mechanisms such as the TDR as well as discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture. Various writers have stressed the importance of territoriality, relationality and localities when considering policy mobilities (for example, McCann and Ward, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2001; Prince, 2010; Cohen, 2015; McCann and Ward, 2010). Reflecting their arguments, it is true to say that the previous history of approaches to urban planning policy learning has reflected Taiwan's national status, and this has included close relationships and professional planning networks with the UN and USA. Mechanisms of TDR not only served as an example of policy transfer, but evidenced my argument of 'localised solutions'. In the process of movement, TDR mutated and adapted 'along the way' to fit into the local context and become suitable for local conditions.

Grounded in the discussions of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture discourses, in 6.3, I discussed how the creative city idea was adapted by local policy makers into the local context. Drawing on creative city ideas, creative talent, social networking and place making were embedded into the discourse as weapons of the city's 'soft power'. Creative city ideas were applied under the rubric of acupuncture to cure urban problems. This suggested an understanding of the city as a living organism, with new urban policies as the remedies to urban issues (symptoms).

In later sections, I discussed the role of the planning elites and their power networks which have formed a knowledge filter; they were not only key actors driving the direction of 'lesson drawing' but also controlled the main content of the lessons. Given that elite-led policy learning encounters few critical comments in the domestic academic world, I critiqued this kind of creative city policy mobility, arguing that it displayed an uneven learning approach as lessons were learnt as a result of the viewpoints of members of the Taiwanese planning establishment. I further argued that the invitations to foreign consultants in fact bore a primarily symbolic meaning for the city. The

consultants were invited by these planning elites to confirm and promote those mobile urban redevelopment creative city ideas and policies that had already been chosen and decided on by the host policy makers. This finding engages with Wang's (2010) critique of Taipei's CCURP as being an 'easy', 'borrowing' approach. This chapter has critically and in detailed fashion shown how knowledge was filtered by local planning elites.

In summary, this chapter has responded to appeals for both 'fine-grained' study of policy mobilities (see McCann, 2011, also discussed in Chapter 2) and for a critical rethinking of CCURP policy learning (Wang, 2010). Through the detailed discussion of learning processes, discourse development and key actors, I have delineated the paths taken by mobile policies in the city by identifying three main approaches: first, through domestic workshops on paradigms for study; secondly, through overseas visits to look at urban projects and hear about urban policies; and thirdly through invitations to overseas consultants to come to Taipei and participate in international events. By exploring the contributions and meanings of each approach, I examined their symbolic significance along with the policy mobility embedded in its context of territoriality, relationality and localities. I found similar ideas, slogans and strategies adapted from city to city; bridging discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture were used building on the advice stemming from visits and consultants. I also criticised the policy mobility process in the city, arguing that it shows an uneven and incomplete learning process as policy knowledge is dominated and filtered by certain groups who hold power in making policy decisions and who are not held to account by critical voices in academia.

In the following Chapter, the URS scheme will be discussed as a mobile creative city idea that landed in Taipei in order to understand how the notion from abroad was adopted in the context of an East Asian city and to unpick the urban acupuncture metaphor.

Chapter 7: The Urban Regeneration Station (URS): mobile creative city ideas meet urban renewal in Taipei

7.1. Introduction

As has been suggested in chapters 3 and 4, pluralistic forces have pushed the city's urban regeneration policy into a cultural turn. In this chapter we are going to focus in detail on a specific CCUR policy to reflect on how the discourses of 'soft urbanism' and 'urban acupuncture' (explored in Chapter 6.3) have been implemented in the city within a local context that reflects the paths and intermediaries of policy mobilities. The policy is the Urban Regeneration Station (URS) scheme. This scheme involves property owners, whether private or government, making buildings – and in some cases surrounding land – available free of charge to organisations who bid to run the buildings and host activities there for the benefit of the local community for a period of some years before the building reverts to the original owner for refurbishment or sale. Some private property owners (for example, those in Dihua Street) receive Transfer Development Rights in the form of bulk rewards to be used elsewhere in place of the right to sell their property at a later date. Other URSs were not put out to tender but were run by the URO. The duration of the contract was initially set at three years for most of the URSs, but this was later changed to eight years for some of the stations.

The URS scheme has indeed attracted considerable attention in the city and has driven the transformation of a historic old community, as I shall show in this chapter. By looking into the URS scheme in detail, I intend to explore how it works and provide a context for Chapter 8, in which I engage critically with some of these processes. This chapter centres on the empirical case of the URS scheme. This develops the reflections on the local social, political and economic context which were presented in chapters 3 and 4 as well as the context of policy mobilities discussed in chapter 6.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The origins of the URS scheme will be introduced in section 7.2 with a basic overview looking at the concept and purpose behind its creation, as well as a reflection on the scheme as a mobile urban policy. Section 7.3 introduces the URS process, its location, designation and competition. I then categorise those sites into three types in section 7.4. Type 1 relates to the creative culture economy; Type 2 involves neighbourhood renewal; and Type 3 discusses the URS scheme in terms of ownership and organisation, looking at sites that belong to the state and are operated by the local authority. In section 7.5, I unpick the urban acupuncture

metaphor discussing gaps between policy discourses and realities, as well as administrative limits.

In the conclusion to this chapter, I point out that the URSs represent an integrated use of resources including spaces, human capital and organisations arguing that this represents a localised CCUR policy. It also suggests a trajectory of policy mobilities, for while the URS scheme is seen by Taipei officials and elites as being for the main part based on home-grown ideas, it is in fact reliant to a considerable extent on ideas and policies from abroad. I further point out the URS is a contested urban process from the street to the bureaucracy by exposing some of the issues behind the urban acupuncture discourse.

7.2. The origins of the URS scheme

The URS scheme was originally designed and launched by the Taipei City Government's Urban Regeneration Office (URO) in 2009. A URS is a building provided free of charge by the City Authority for private organisations to run for public use. It is one of the most significant urban regeneration policies in Taipei under the local spatial elite's discourse of soft urbanism. Since the first site opened in 2009, URS sites have become one of the 'must-see' spots recommended by the URO to its international visitors, especially 'policy tourists' (González, 2011), for either official or unofficial purposes (Interview C9). Here I first explore the origins of the URS policy before discussing the mechanisms, characteristics and the bidding process behind each URS site. I then discuss how the idea of the URS scheme has travelled between cities before concluding by arguing that the scheme is an integrated application of local resources, in which we see human capital, social capital, public funds and spatial capital are combined to process the programme. This will contribute to our understanding of how the URS scheme fits into the city's context in certain urban areas and how resources including human resources, space, and public funds are linked together and their interactions respond to the city's demands.

7.2.1. Concept and purpose

The name, meaning and objectives of the URS concept originate with Lin Chongjie, who was head of the URO from April 2009 to October 2014, and now heads the City Government's Department of Economic Development (DOED). Lin describes the URS as

'a pioneer plan within the city's overarching comprehensive urban reform actions... it plays a role which provides a chance for a change in operational mechanisms, a change in mind-set, and a new approach toward the city's future' (Interview A3).

A senior planning officer at the URO recalls the process and the period of the birth of URS. He describes how Lin 'wanted something different in terms of urban regeneration [policy]' and relates that his personal professional background was key to the URS initiative. Lin was apparently influenced by his graduate education in Tokyo and was inspired by urban policies implemented in Japan such as the Yokohama temporary art space programme. He also had extensive experience in urban design and community empowerment. Lin invited experts from across various fields to discuss policy ideas through a series of 'brainstorming exercises' that ran into several nights (Interview A4). In this way it is possible, linking back to the analysis in Chapter 6, to further see the URS within the context of the mobile policy-makers world in which international experiences shape officials' policy imagination and toolkit.

The URO's naming of the URS was not accidental. According to the URO's statement (URO, 2009c), the abbreviation of the words urban, regeneration and station – URS – 'sounds like "yours" and refers to "yours" [as a way of signifying that it] provides the public a free pre-defined subject and framework'. As the URS sites are used as public spaces for all citizens, the name URS is a kind of declaration that this scheme is all for its citizens, the spaces are 'yours'. The URO represented the URS as a sharing idea of 'Your Station, Your Society, Your Space, Your Shelter, Your Studio' (URO, 2009c, p. 6).

The URSs as Yours also implies a declaration, and positions itself in relation to OURs, the Organisation of Urban Re-s, a civil society organisation initiated in 1989 by socially oriented professionals, architects and urban planners with funding from the general public and professionals participating in community actions. Members of OURs have mobilised and played a pivotal role in supervising urban policies, and participated with issue-focused social movements and campaigns such as the Snails without Shells housing movement and Wenlin Yuan Dispute (discussed in Chapter 4). Their highly vocal professional, critical voices have always created pressure on the City Authority. The name URS (yours) was regarded by those senior officials who knew well the tensions between the URO and OURs as signalling a declaration of the authority's ambition to revitalise old communities (Interview A1). It also reflects the strain that URO was put under following public disquiet over the Wenlin Yuan Dispute and its perceived failure to come up with new solutions to urban regeneration issues. The contents and objectives of the URS scheme were adjusted slightly in light of the URO's practical

experiences and the influence of some experts and campaigners. The initial concept of URS was to create a public intermediary space for public use. But after an announcement published on the Taipei City Government's website in February 2011, the URS was re-framed to 'create a new urban forum and opportunities for public participation' (TCG, 2011b, p. 1).

In May 2010, the 'Taipei Urban Regeneration Station action plan' was published by the URO (URO, 2010c). This was the first public announcement of the URS. According to the action plan, the URS scheme has three principal features: firstly, to encourage private non-profit organisations to become involved in urban regeneration; secondly, to re-use idle spaces in old communities and renew urban districts effectively; and thirdly, to look for underlying energies in the city to promote urban transformation. The implementation of the URS scheme was set as a time-limited, temporary executive strategy of the realisation of urban acupuncture discourse. I will return to this topic in 7.3 and discuss further by inquiring 'how long is temporary?' in 7.5.3.

A month later, in June 2010, the then head of the URO, Lin, published an article in *Taiwan Architecture* magazine setting out the early vision of URS policy:

'Every URS is a mission for urban regeneration. Through a dialectical process involving experts and the community, the creative possibilities for an urban area are explored. A URS may seem like an exhibition hall, but it is not one. Rather, it stands as part of the implementation of policies. Furthermore, it is simply not just the use of abandoned spaces. Although their locations mostly consist of spaces that are currently not in use, their mission is to reinvigorate communities and the surrounding environment. Basically, the URS serves as a discussion for urban development, an open platform through which dialogue occurs, an experimental urban movement, and a method for constructing an urban network' (Lin, 2010a, p. 98).

According to official documents, URSs can take varied forms and possibilities that contribute to the proactive urban policy objectives to the city. However, the idea of URS could also be a nebulous and fuzzy concept to the public – as we discuss in chapter 8 – and even to participants involved in it. A URS operator recalled that at the start of running one of the early URS sites, 'we had no idea what specific target to approach except the basic principle of opening this space to the public and for public use' (Interview C4).

This flexible form and possibilities imply one of the concept's features: its highly experimental nature. As one of the URO's main consultants commented, the URS 'brought in some imaginative possibilities and pointed out some possible paths; yet, it also retained some flexibilities' (Interview B4). The flexibilities resulted from the fact that the position and role of each URS

site was developed by the body running it. Every year with a big project or event,

'[Lin] Chongjie defended the URS scheme with an ever more elaborate discourse. He let the [practical experiences of URS sites] reiterate the policy. Thus, you can find that policy objectives were set in retrospect. It [URS] is a pioneer programme of something -- probably a pioneer programme of urban renewal' (Interview B4).

After operating for a couple of years, the objectives of URS were then more clearly defined. In April 2012, Lin set out the following five strategic dimensions of URS: '(1) Respect of historical contents; (2) Build-up of low-carbon and eco-city communities; (3) Affordable housing support; (4) Shaping of a creative atmosphere; (5) Adaptive use of space resources' (Lin, 2012b). This shows how a cultural and historical approach and the idea of the creative city had been fitted into the discourse of urban regeneration policy. Five months later, two more strategic dimensions were added: '(6) Spatial support of urban industry; (7) Institutional framework of social dialogue' (Lin, 2012a).

Up to this point, it had been clear that, by providing creative spaces, URSs were expected to provide a creative, affordable and supportive climate so as to gather talented people and spur local development and 'create a vibrant diverse society' (TCG, 2012c, p. 6) as creative city theory suggests. However no matter how the discourse was shaped and transmitted to the public, the core meaning of URS remained to Lin 'a new kind of strategy different from traditional urban renewal methods' (Lin, 2013a, p. 14). Evidence of the innovative experimental character of the programme could also be seen in the operational process of each URS site (to be explored later in this Chapter). Those objectives as outlined by Lin will be critically evaluated in a later section (Chapter 7.5) and Chapter 8.

7.2.2. URS as a mobile urban policy

We saw in the last chapter how bidirectional policy visits, systematic workshops and invitations to consultants helped frame creative city ideas; these can then be seen put into practice in the URS scheme. These represent a combination of local resources with experience from 'best practice' abroad. The original idea of the URS, a kind of culture-led urban regeneration with a creative city inflexion, is seen by Taipei officials as being, for the main part, based on home-grown ideas but in fact reliant to a considerable extent on ideas and policies from abroad.

The name 'URS' and discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture might be names derived from brainstorming undertaken by local elites and

policy makers. However, the core concept of gathering creative talent, place making, cluster creating, and the benefits to local communities are ideas deeply reliant on Western theory and experiences. Further evidence comes from the URS Partner scheme. The URS Partner scheme is an extension plan of URS, encouraging private individuals or organisations taking the model of URS and providing their properties for good public uses (the URS partner idea will be discussed in Chapter 8). This scheme provides us with a basis to realise the similarities between localised CCURP and CCURP practices in Western cities.

The table below compares the URS Partner scheme and cases from the book '20 Stories of Urban Regeneration'. Here, the type of URS Partner was identified according to the definition given by Director Lin of the URS partner scheme's core aims, which are: (1) to create possibilities for the provision of new spaces, (2) to share social networks, and (3) to create a society open to dialogue (Lin, 2014a). It shows that the URS Partner scheme has a considerable degree of similarity in approach and aims to corresponding strategies in the '20 Stories of Urban Regeneration' (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Comparison chart of 'URS Partner' schemes and '20 Stories of Urban Regeneration'.

Approach and Aims		20 Stories of Urban Regeneration
Shared vision	A new approach to urban dialogue to develop a vision of community in Datong and Wanhua districts of Taipei's old city centre.	DNA 2 Vision of the city: Story 4 Hamburg -City Dialogue
	A workstation was set up to hold repeated meetings among local residents so as to explore issues in depth and to reach consensus as a basis for public policy and budgets.	DNA 4 New forms of public participation: Story 10 Berlin Tempelhof Story 11 Amsterdam Wikicity Story 12 New York Change by Us
Open green space	This project encourages NGOs and professionals to work together with residents to develop community self-awareness and build a new type of public space belonging to the community.	DNA 1 Sustainable development as core value: Story 2 New York The High Line Park
	It is set up to re-discover issues of green public spaces, urban agriculture, and community self-awareness.	DNA 3 Vision of the city: Story 5 Seattle - Urban Village
Shared spaces	This project is a platform in cooperation with real estate development associations, such as Lutheran Housing co., Timeless R Real Estate co. and Tsuei Ma-Ma Foundation for Housing and Community Services.	DNA 5 partnerships among the creative executive as well as the public and private sectors : Story 13 Hamburg RISE
	It aims to provide the information and possibilities of affordable working spaces for start-ups. The spaces are classified into co-working spaces, space sharing, affordable spaces, and community spaces.	DNA6 Creative Economy: Story 17 Berlin - Betahaus Story 18 Berlin - Project Future

Source: Analysed by the author.

Just as CCURP have been brought to the city primarily from Western Europe, North America and Australia, the experiences of URSs and URS Partners schemes have themselves been exported to neighbouring countries and cities in Asia such as Japan, South Korea, and Hong Kong. According to quarterly

reports on the operation of each site, various visits have been recorded. One instance of this can be seen in a report for the URS44. During the period October 2011 to January 2012, there were nine visiting groups, from the US, the Netherlands, South Korea, Mainland China, Japan, Vietnam and Malaysia whose members included variously academics, planners, social activists, and government officials (IHRM, 2012, p. 39-40). In October 2011, another site, URS21, invited the celebrated Dutch architecture company MVRDV to set up a research-based design exhibition called The Vertical Village (JFAA, 2013, p. 61). This project later led to Taipei's involvement in the International Building Exhibition, IBA, in Hamburg, 2013.

Interviews and official documents shed further light on the relationship between the idea of URSs and policy elsewhere. Firstly, the characteristics of URSs were given greater definition as a result of visits to Taipei from policy-makers from other East Asian cities. Senior officials from the URO recall that visitors from other Asian cities came to visit URS sites and learnt from the experience (Interviews A4, A5). Their visits were also recorded on operational reports for each site (IHRM, 2012; JFAA, 2013). Visitors covered a wide range of occupation, from academics and planning officials to artistic curators and even social activists.

From the process of policy mobilities and exchange of visits, the city's policy makers were able to further clarify the features and confirm the core values of the URS. As a senior officer said: 'It is a policy adapted to local conditions. People [from other Asian cities] come to learn our policies and share with us theirs'. She identifies the differences: 'Most of theirs are spatial reuse programmes, but in the URS scheme the spatial usages are not the first priority' (Interview A5).

It is clear from our previous discussion that the creative city idea and new types of tactical urban policies came mainly from the West. A senior urban planner confirmed that the concept of affordable shared spaces was learned from Western cities:

'When Lin [the head of the URO] visited Berlin and saw how co-working spaces were put in practice, he felt the model could be learned and operated in Taipei. An expert from Barcelona also introduced the same idea when we held a conference last year' (Interview A5).

The URS scheme has been introduced by the URO to other cities participating in international conferences such as the 2011 Biennale of Urbanism and Architecture in Shenzhen (China) and Hong Kong and the IBA in Hamburg (Interview C9). My research also found that exchanges of knowledge and lessons between Taipei and its neighbouring cities appear to have become more frequent in the past few years. Meanwhile, as figures 7.1

and 7.2 show, the URS experience, built on the import of policies, has been shared with nearby Asian cities, a point supported by official documents on policy travels and interviews (Interview A5).

Figure 7.1 The paths of importation of policies linked with the URS scheme.



Source: Marked by the author.

Figure 7.2 The paths of export of URS-related policy.



Source: Marked by the author.

7.3. The URS process: location, designation and competition

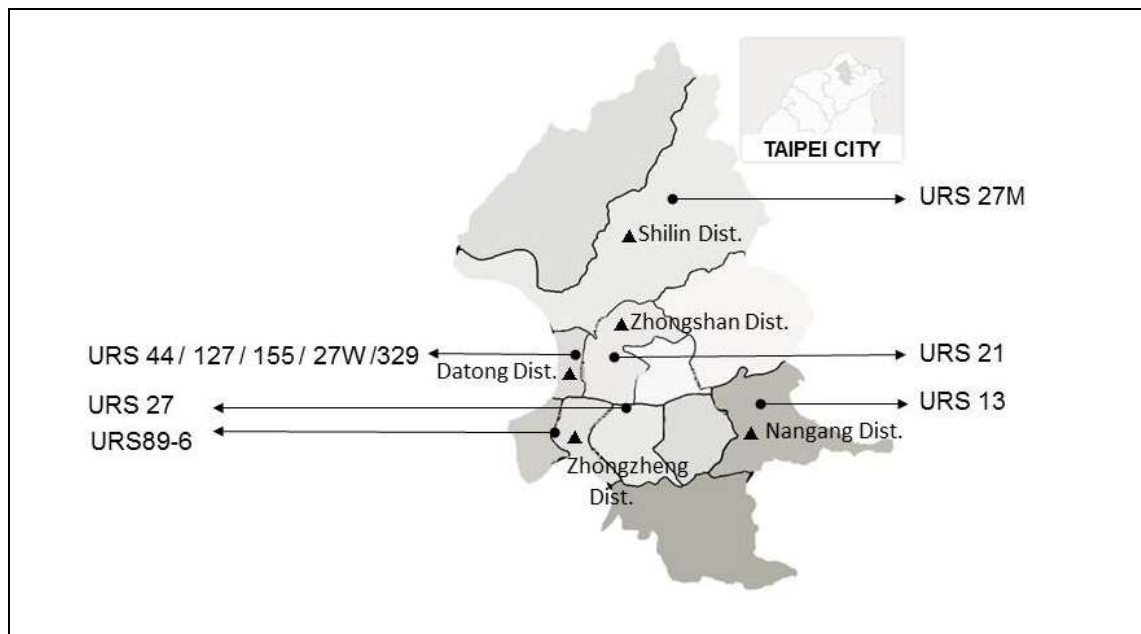
Since 2010, a total of ten URS sites have been launched (as of September 2014). Three sites (13, 21 and 27) belonged to the National Property Administration (NPA), the central government department that manages state property. Two were abandoned factories (URS13, a tinsplate factory; URS21, a distribution centre for tobacco and wine) and the other (URS27) was an empty site that had been part of a train station. Five sites belong to the City Government, all were traditional shop-houses located in the Dadaocheng historical area, four of which on Dihua Street. The bodies operating the URSs

tend to be from the URO itself or from universities, foundations, commercial companies and art organisations. A URS takes over a building for a temporary and short term project before reconstruction. For instance, URS13, covering an area of about 1.6 hectares, was formerly a Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau Bottle Factory belonging to the NPA. By the end of 2010, the URO coordinated with the NPA, and successfully took over responsibility for managing the land. This project lasted until the end of June 2013 at which point the land was returned to the NPA. During the URS period, several art festivals were held to reflect, in the words of the URO, ‘the cultural context behind this area, and to create a blueprint for the future of Nangang [district] that meets international standards’ (Chen et al., 2013, p. 112).

7.3.1. Location

In terms of space, the URO targeted old and derelict properties and turned them into URSs following the prescriptions of soft urbanism. The URO looked in particular for those idle or unoccupied properties belonging to the central government or the City Authority. According to official documents, it aimed at those unused spaces which had already been designated as part of urban renewal areas (URO, 2010c). Figure 7.3 shows their location while Table 7.2. shows the details of each site.

Figure 7.3 Locations of URSs.



Source: Taipei City Government, marked by the author.

Table 7.2 Breakdown of each URS site.

Site / Name	Owner	Dates	Area	Building Type
URS89-6 Regeneration Plant	JUT Land Development Group	2010-12	Zhongzheng District near Ximending ¹⁴	4-storey building
URS13 Revived Vanguard	NPA	2011-13	Nangang District	Abandoned tinplate factory
URS21 Zhongshan Creative Hub	NPA	2011-14	Zhongshan District	Abandoned distribution centre tobacco and wine
URS27 Grand Green	NPA	2010-12	Zhongzheng District	Open / green space abandoned train station
URS27M Mountain Forum	Water Department, Taipei City Government	2013-	Shilin District	House
URS44 Story House	Taipei City Government	2011-	Datong District, Dadaocheng Dihua St.	Traditional street house
URS127 1) Design Gallery 2) Art Factory	Taipei City Government	2010-	Datong District, Dadaocheng Dihua St.	Traditional street house
URS155 Cooking Together	Taipei City Government	2012-	Datong District, Dadaocheng Dihua St.	Traditional street house
URS27W Film Range	Taipei City Government	2012-	Datong District, Dadaocheng	Traditional street house
URS329	Taipei City Government	2014-	Datong District, Dadaocheng Dihua St.,	Traditional street house

Source: URO (2012c, 2013a, 2015), arranged by the author.

¹⁴ Ximending is in the heart of the old centre of the city; it now has been developed into a commercial area especially popular with young people

7.3.2. Definition and competition

Another important feature is the basic operating system of public and private partnership. Once the authority obtains a property, a suitable body is sought to run the space. Each site is offered at no cost. In return, the operator has to arrange activities according to conditions set by the URO. In order to regulate the rights and obligations of the partners, the 'Operating Guidelines of Taipei Urban Regeneration Station' were formulated by the URO and a dedicated committee, the Taipei Urban Regeneration Station Committee, was set up to support the operation of URSs. This committee has 7 to 11 members, including 2 or 3 URO officers, and 1 or 2 experienced event managers, as well as experts and scholars. The main mission of the committee is to provide suggestions and a consulting service to the URO, to assess proposals for URS sites, to assist the URO to evaluate activities proposed by operators and other relevant matters (URO, 2010b).

According to my interviews, the process of site designation and the bidding process works as follows:

1. The URO firstly invites experts to discuss the potential and possible theme for each site.
2. Suggestions are then received by the URO to identify the best theme for each station.
3. In some cases, such as URS21, URS27W, and URS27M, the URO holds a couple of events in the site itself to engender interest as well as advertise URS policy and the site itself. The nature of these events is determined by the discussions during this first stage.
4. The URO runs each of these spaces for a while as a test to understand how local people and interested community groups will react.
5. The URO then produces an official invitation to tender setting out the role each site plays and the aim of the site, as well as the related rights and obligations.
6. A committee meeting is arranged to confirm the direction, position and guidelines set out in the document.
7. The bidding document and related information are announced by the URO.
8. Following the receipt of proposals, the committee is convened again to review each of the proposals.
9. Finally, they decide which bidder wins the right to run the building/space for free within the given period of time (the length of time depends on the condition of each site).

According to official documents inviting expressions of interest to operate the site, it is stated that based on the intended use for the public benefit, the URS site will provide space free of charge during a contract period under the conditions of non-profit status. In return, URS sites should be run for the

benefit of the public and with the aim of getting the public involved. Applying organisations should submit programmes that involve at least four events per year linked to issues in the district and be linked to the main aims of the project.

In order to support and enhance each URS site, in 2010 the URO announced the URS Subsidy Plan (TCG, 2010b) and since then has budgeted for an annual subsidy from the Urban Renewal Fund. Based on the subsidy plan, each operating body can apply for a subsidy of up to NT \$1.2m per year. According to the URS Station Subsidy Plan, to receive a subsidy a successful application should match at least one of the specific purposes of:

- (1) Creating and activating the special characteristics of places and community spaces;
- (2) Offering and shaping working places relating to urban regeneration;
- (3) Renewing and instigating local cultural creativity;
- (4) Remodelling urban spaces;
- (5) Promoting and offering advice concerning urban regeneration issues, urban space and community empowerment' (TCG, 2010b, p. 1).

7.3.3. URS activities

All URS sites are designed to provide for public use but with different activities and functions. Those properties belonging to the NPA – URSs 13, 21, and 27 – were borrowed by the city government for two to three years' temporary use and the URSs were closed down when their contract expired. The following table gives details of the type of property owner, status of existence, nature of the body operating it, and the location of each site.

The table points to significant features of URSs that link a type of URS to culture-led urban policy. In the following sections I explain in more detail each type and its exemplar URSs.

Table 7.3 Typology of URS.

Site / Name	Owner	Operator	Attribute of operator	Theme/Position and Type of activities/ Functions
URS89-6 Regeneration Plant	Private	URO / National Chiao Tung University	University	1. Interdisciplinary thinking, and creation of an artistic public sphere 2. Forum/Exhibitions/Art installations
URS13 Revived Vanguard	State	URO	URO+ Art Curator	1. Creating local specialties and developing local identity 2. Forum/Exhibitions/Art installations
URS21 Zhongshan Creative Hub	State	JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture	Art Foundation	1. Stresses coherence of urban life 2. Forums/ Exhibitions/ Art installations; Incubator centre
URS27 Grand Green	State	URO	URO+ Art Curator	1. Public open space with combination of festivals 2. Forum/Exhibitions/Art installations
URS27M MOUNTAIN FORUM	City Authority	Chinese Culture University Alumni Association	non-profit	1. An interactive platform for relations between humans and the environment 2. Forums/ Exhibitions
URS44 Story House	City Authority	Institute of Historical Resources Management	non-profit	1. Creating an active regeneration model for historical space in Dadaocheng 2. Forums/Exhibitions/Art installations
URS127 Design Gallery	City Authority	Department of Architecture Tamkang University to May 2013	University	1. Creating a new type of public space 2. Forums/ Exhibitions/ Art installations 3. Incubator centre
		Blue Dragon Art Company	Art Company	Forum/Exhibitions
URS155 Cooking Together	City Authority	CAMPOBAG Company	Company	1. Utilizing food culture to build up consensus 2. Forums/Exhibitions/Art installations
URS27W Film Range	City Authority	I-Mei Multimedia e-Content	Company	1. Use of media images on history and social issues to inspire people to participate in

		Production & Marketing Co., Ltd.		public issues 2. Forums/Exhibitions/Art installations
URS329 Rice and Shine	City Authority	Ye Jin Fa Co., Ltd.	Company	1. Promoting the traditional rice business through culture, arts, and creative activities. 2. Forum/Exhibitions

Source: URO (2012c, 2013a, 2015), arranged by the author.

7.4. The URS typology analysed

My research has identified three main types of URS. The first type relates URSs to the creative culture economy, in which the position of the URS plays the major role as an incubation centre to spur development of particular aspects; for example URS21 welcomes talented young people working in design-related businesses. The second type is designed to foster neighbourhood renewal; for example, those URSs located in Dihua Street have transformed the street to a considerable extent from a street dominated by traditional grocery shops to a place of antiques and fashion shops, and thus a new gathering spot for trend-conscious young people. The third type relates more to ownership and organisation; these sites belong to the state and are operated by the local authority; URS13 and 27 were operated by the URO and because of the size of the site were able to hold large-scale artistic and other events. I now discuss each of these types in turn, according to the main features of usage, location of site and operational organisation.

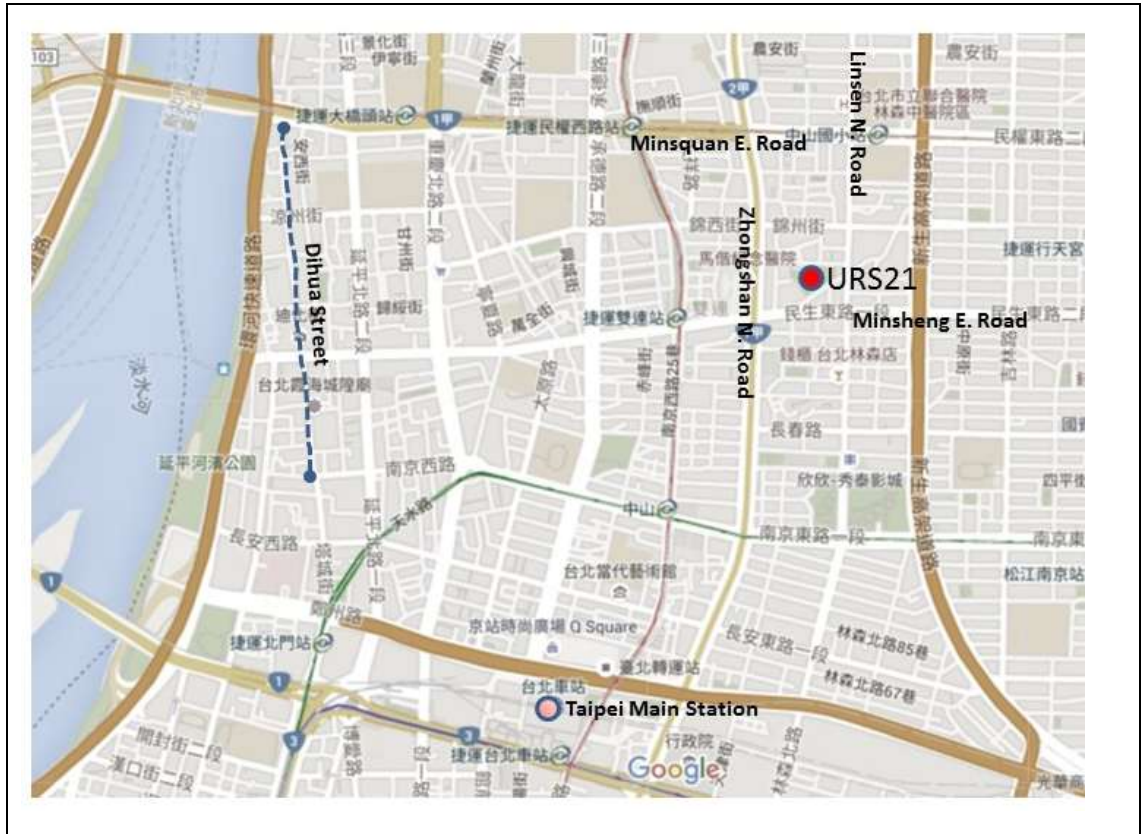
7.4.1. Type 1: Creative Culture Economy – URS21

URS21 Zhongshan Creative Hub was established to act as an incubation centre; it signified the core creative city idea of gathering young talent together. The site had once been the Zhongshan Distribution Centre of the Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau back in the 1980s. After the abolition of the monopoly system in 1999, the business of selling tobacco and wine was privatised. The land and buildings belonged to the NPA but had been abandoned for years until the City Authority negotiated the temporary usage with the NPA and the site was thus developed into a URS.

The 4,000 metre square site is located within the block formed by Zhongshan North Road, Minsheng East Road, Linsen North Road, and Minquan East Road. Zhongshan North Road is one of the city's main thoroughfares, lined with international brand-name shops and bank branches, while the area of Minquan East Road has been an adult entertainment district since World War

It with a large number of bars, pubs and Japanese restaurants. In recent decades, following the development of the Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) system, the area on the west side of Zhongshan North Road has been thriving with lots of design shops and studios, bookstores, cafés, and galleries. In contrast, the east of Zhongshan North Road, where this site is located, is less busy.

Figure 7.4 Location of URS21 Zhongshan Creative Hub.



Source: Google map, marked by the author.

The URO came upon this site during its work on the Taipei Beautiful Plan programme, which was originally designed to support the 2010 Taipei International Flora Expo (introduced in Chapter 4). In order to improve city amenities, the Taipei City Government started to deal with abandoned properties no matter whether private or state-owned. The URO was in charge of improving the appearance of abandoned properties and discovered the site’s potential. As one senior planner deeply involved in the project said:

‘The head of the URO had great sense; at first glance, he said, “that’s it, it will be a URS”. Therefore we started to negotiate usage and management mechanism with the NPA. Before it was formally opened as a URS site, we collaborated with a university to hold an international workshop, and we held a series of art interventions to warm this site up... That was the beginning of URS21’. Director Lin told me that, ‘Over the past decades, this area gave our citizens an impression of stagnation. We hope to bring activity that connects

with the local community, so that a community consciousness can be built up' (Interview A3).

Taipei City Government reached an agreement with the NPA to 'borrow and manage the land' (interview A4) for a three year period during which the NPA would devise a permanent development plan for the site after the URS left. As well as turning this site into a creative hub and incubation centre, the URO wanted its URS to enhance community cohesion through a series of art interventions with community participation. (Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5 The site of URS21 before and after the URS scheme.



Sources: JFAA (2011).

The JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture (JFAA) won the bid and took over the operation of URS21. JFAA is part of JUT Land Development Group, which was established in 1988 and is involved mainly in real estate, construction, architecture, interior design, as well as being an agent for design furniture and kitchen products. The JUT Construction Company is based in Taipei, with most of its activities in Zhongshan District (JUT, 2014), which is where URS21 is located. Before running URS21, JFAA had a programme named Urban Core Arts Block running from 2010 to 2012 in which empty buildings in Zhonghua Road were managed by JUT Land Development Group and made available for use by art associations, artists, and creative groups as working spaces with no charge. The purpose was, according to the promotional brochure of JFAA (2012a):

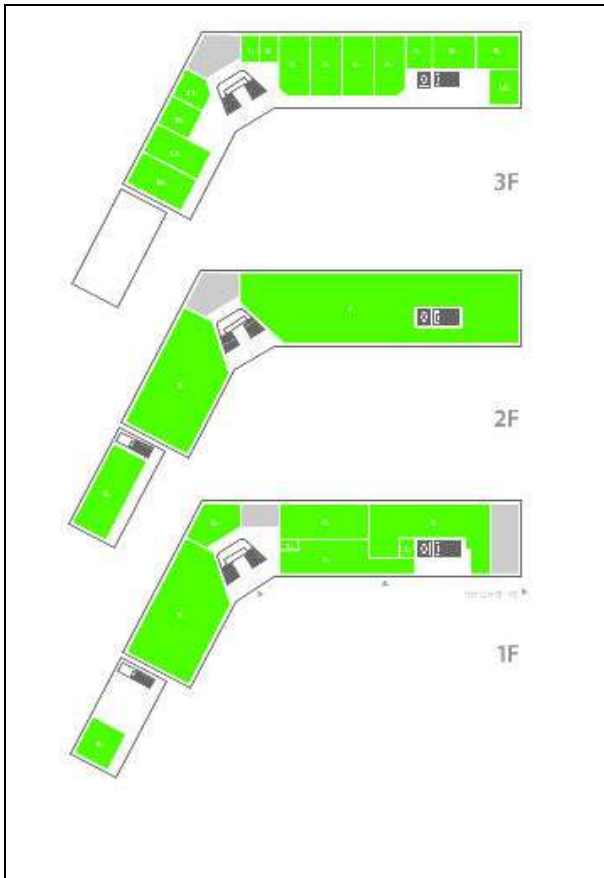
'This laboratory of originality allows artists to ferment their ideas and establish an artistic interactive platform for national and international society, and stimulates conversations with the public in local communities in order to practice art and culture locally'. (JFAA, 2012, p. 1)

The empty buildings were located in Wanhua District in the old part of the city. JUT at that time was in the process of redeveloping the area, including

negotiating with landlords for an exchange of rights as part of its urban renewal plan. As these processes took many years before the houses were demolished, a three-year arts programme was proposed. Eleven buildings in total were provided through this programme. The URO also participated in and ran one of them as URS89-6. This could be seen as a prelude to subsequent URS activity. It was a critical experience for both JFAA and URO in running an incubation centre with strategies of art intervention and interactions between artists and local residents.

JFAA took over URS21 in September 2011, ending in June 2014. During this time, the site was operated as an exhibition hall, meeting room and work space (URO, 2013d, 2012d; JFAA, 2014). The first and second floors were exhibition spaces and auditorium, where international and domestic events were regularly held. A cafe was operated on the ground floor. The third floor was the creative incubation centre. It was divided into several independent smaller rooms to provide 'creative young people' (Interview C1) with work space at a cheaper rent to help them start a business. Common rooms were also provided on this floor serving as residences for 13 creative teams of different disciplines, including jewellery designers, architects, fashion designers, and graphic designers (JFAA, 2012b). Residential teams were selected by JFAA according to URO guidelines for incubating creative young talents. The work spaces were in high demand; 34 teams in total applied for them and 13 teams were selected after an assessment undertaken by 3 reviewers from the fields of architecture, product design and art (Interview C1). Some of the professional teams in residence had in fact outstanding achievements before they moved into this station. One of my interviewees told me that, 'They were already representative teams at a national level [before moving into URS21]', as their work had been recognised by international awards in famous design competitions (Interview the operator of URS21). The outdoor lawn provided a recreational space for citizens. The adjacent vacant land was also beautified, connecting the site to a community park. On the site, it created a 4,000 square metre expanse of urban green land (URO, 2012b).

Figure 7.6 Floor plans.



Sources: JFAA (2012b).

Figure 7.7 Activities in URS21: A talk on community space in Tokyo.



Sources: The author, photographs taken in December 2013.

This site was provided free of charge for the operator. The costs of holding activities and maintenance of the building were mainly borne by the operating body's parent company, JUT Land Development Group (Interview C1). Users of the third floors facilities had to pay a 'management-sharing fee' of around 900 NTD (US\$30) per ping (approximately US\$9 per square metre). According to the URS21 manager, this was a good deal:

'The rental market in this neighbourhood is about 1000 to 1500 NTD; some better spaces may even request higher rents. We share the utilities, security, cost of hiring help-desk staff; while their exhibitions and shows in the exhibition hall of this site are free of charge' (Interview C1).

The events and activities held there were bigger than those held in URS sites in the Dadaocheng area due its large size and because financial support was available from JFAA's parent company to hold international events. Aligned with the JUT/JFAA's interests, exhibitions and activities were mostly related to architectural and/or artistic topics. For instance, in 2011 the JFAA invited the MVRDV to curate an exhibition entitled The Vertical Village (8 October 2011 -

8 January 2012; mentioned earlier section 7.2.2.). It explored and showed the texture and characteristics of East Asian cities, including hutong alleyways in Beijing, housing in Taipei, and settlements in Jakarta, and presented ideas for vertical development in Taipei. This exhibition later travelled to the Total Museum of Contemporary Art, Seoul (21 June - 10 July 2012) and then to the IBA Hamburg in 2013. It was actually part of a series of events called Tomorrow's Museum Project implemented by JFAA since 2007. JFAA continued this project, organised by the JUT Architecture Academy with lectures and other educational events on site at URS21. Apart from big international events, there were also some local activities and smaller scale community events. A publication, Linkage Journal, was published seasonally to report activities in URS21 and in the wider community.

URS21 was closed down when the contract between URO and JFAA expired in June 2014. Most experts regard the URS21 as the most successful case among all the URS sites. According to a senior spatial planner and URO consultant:

'URS21 is the most successful URS given its great location and proper scale of urban space. Even better it had an operating body with financial capacity.... The contribution it made was creating the URS brand for Taipei. It is a paradigm. When mention is made of URS21, for those people working in the fields of architecture or government outside Taipei, if they don't know about it, then they are behind the times' (Interview B1).

An architectural expert, Wang Chun-Hsiung, ex-manager of URS127 also commented,

'Among the URS sites that the URO has set up, URS21 has a special development. Most URS sites are run by academies or small companies through a public service model, but the creative base of URS21 actually exceeded the others.... The business model of JFAA ... followed regular business methods, emphasizing relationships of social development, which is an approach worth promoting' (JFAA, 2014, p. 181).

This three-year experimental operation seems to have brought significant benefits to stakeholders including JFAA and its parent company, JUT Land Development Group. For JUT Land Development Group, JFAA's running of URS21 helped to embed its relationship with the local context and its potential customers given that so much real estate is located in the Zhongshan District. Taking advantage of URS21's location, JUT was able to build up its public image and market itself by holding those architectural and art exhibitions. When talking about the running of URS21 and JFAA's relationship to its parent company, a key manager of JFAA said:

'I do not think the parent company had particular ideas or thoughts on URS21 as their core business is planning and construction of real estate. However, we did some surveys of local real estate and reported to the parent company. We are stationed here so we know this area better..... Running URS21 for us is kind of a short-term task, a phase of work. We are eventually going to set up our own gallery. The gallery is also situated in this district and will be soon under construction. This is an experimental base for our operations' (Interview C1).

For the young start-up design teams in residence, according to one of my interviewees (interview C8) who set up her studio here, URS21 provided affordable working spaces and thus their financial risk was reduced. In addition, they reaped the benefits of clustering. A designer working at the site confirmed this and told me that, 'it's definitely not easy, or should I say impossible, for young designers like me to rent an office in Taipei. The rent is just too high for new entrepreneurs who want to start a design business -- not to mention the renting of resources like exhibition spaces, common room and meeting rooms, all things we share here' (Interview C8).

URO officials believe URS21 has created a win-win situation. Director Lin put it like this:

'Because of this partnership, developers have begun to change. Like what happened with the Tsutaya bookstore in Daikanyama [Tokyo]..., developers transformed the district by adopting a cultural approach. In the past, developers in Taiwan thought of the change only based on a single site. Now, if we can bring developers together to imagine the transformation of a whole district..., if we can make developers, the powerful energy holders, change their way of thinking, then we are able to create a great picture for the future' (Interview A3).

However, does URS21 truly meet its description in official documents? Has it gradually become a creative cluster connecting Taipei with international society, revitalizing the local community? So far, there seems to be a lack of evidence to clearly indicate the URS21 fully met its official targets and objectives. Its limitations will be discussed in the following chapter.

7.4.2. Type 2: Neighbourhood Renewal - URS44, 127 and 155

Out of a total of ten URSs, there were five sites located in Dadaocheng, and four in Dihua Street as of 2014. Several more URS sites were due to open progressively in the coming years, according to a planner in the URO (Interview A5). This concentration of URSs in one street appears likely to be telling us something about the nature of culture-led urban regeneration policy in the city. This sub-section focuses on URSs 44, 127 and 155 in Dihua Street, and discusses why URSs were located here, how the area was changed by policy intervention, and the role the URSs play in spurring the redevelopment of this threatened historical area. The contextual information here contributes to an assessment of the Dihua Street URSs in the next chapter.

7.4.2.1. URS127

URS127 was the very first one to be established in Dihua Street. Located in the middle section of Dihua Street, set in traditional commercial surroundings, it is a three-story historic building with a floor area of about 450 square meters. The house, as one of the original seventy-seven historic buildings designated in the Dadaocheng Historical Special Detail Plan (see chapters 3), used to be a traditional goods retail shop. It was then handed over (or 'donated' to use the official term) by the property owner, Hsu Chuan-sheng, to the local authority in 2004 in return for Transfer Development Rights in the form of bulk rewards, as introduced in chapter 4.3.4. Regarding decisions on the usage and position of the site, a senior officer of URO recalled the scenario before the URS127 project was first conceived in 2009:

'Once we received the house, we had discussions on its best use. We proposed varied ideas of spatial usage. We discussed it several times in specialised meetings in the DUD, but ended up without any concrete conclusion. Due to a lack of a specific consensus, it was even decided to return the management to the Department of Finance, which made some of us a bit sad. Thus we invited some scholars to urgent discussions. We believed it should be related to issues such as 'urban', 'network', 'committee' and 'community'... This was how URS127 started' (Interview A4).

His words indicate a very early URS prototype. The special meeting convened with scholars is generally chaired by the DUD commissioner and gathers senior executives in the department to make decisions on critical issues. According to the interviewee quoted above, the operation of URS127, as the first case on the street, was a new model at that time for the URO and DUD to deal with, in that the property had been handed over as opposed to the situation with the state-owned properties that made up Type 1.

When the usage and location were confirmed, in October 2009, the URO released the 'Dihua Street URS127 Application Guidelines' and called for applications to operate it. According to the guidelines, the project was to be operated by a public-private partnership (PPP) approach to improve efficiency, enhance preservation of cultural heritage and promote educational meaning. In addition, the purpose was to enhance the energy of urban regeneration as well as to preserve the unique architectural features of the shop-houses in this historical area, and at the same time to guide and counsel local people on ways to promote creative industries. The vitality and creativity of the private sector were expected to import cultural and creative industries to activate the neighbourhood and present 'a new life style in old Dadaocheng' (URO, 2009b).

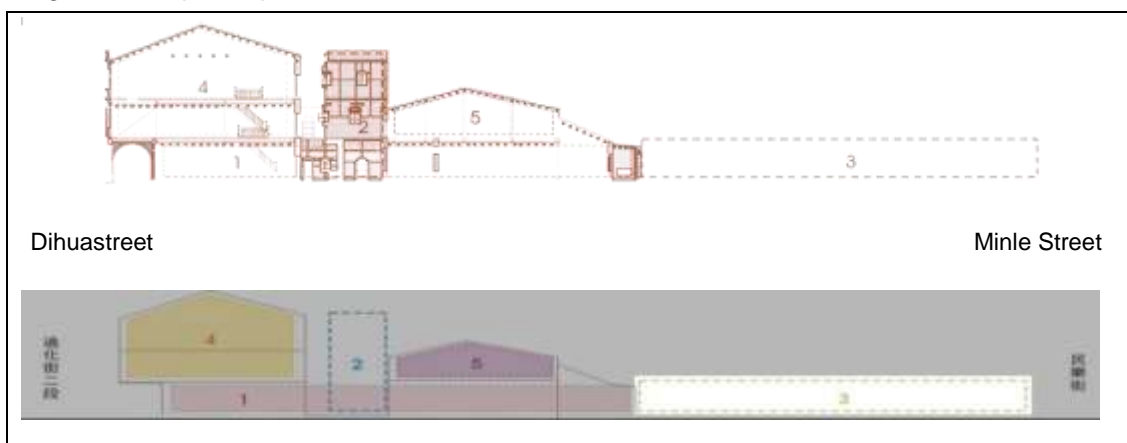
Through a competition process, the Department of Architecture, Tamkang University, gained the right to operate the site and named it a 'Design Gallery'.

'We identified URS127 as a "public" gallery ... and as a platform for the exchange of information and ideas among amateur artists. We focused on folk culture and supporting varied forms and performances of the arts', according to Wang Chun-Hsiung, who used to teach at Tamkang University and is currently teaching at Shih Chien University's Department of Architecture (Interview C3). Wang, who himself served as the manager of URS127, explained the rationale:

'Dihua Street enables citizens to access and appreciate the beauty of Taiwanese architecture and the atmosphere of a traditional commercial street. We chose to take the meaning of the word "design" to accurately reflect our architectural and spatial planning profession' (Interview C3).

The site was spatially divided into five areas, each one defined by a specific function (Figure 7.8). The ground floor (number 1 in the figure) is mainly for exhibition space. As the site faces roads on both sides, Dihua Street on one side and Minle Street on the other, the Tamkang team named this space the '127 corridor'. The atrium (2 in the figure) was named the 'courtyard of the sky' as a place with abundant light and shade for art installations. The back yard (3) was named '127 plaza' and used for various types of outdoor activities including community social gatherings, educational purposes, cinema and an exhibition venue. The first and second floors at the front of the house (4) are multipurpose spaces for different sizes of meetings, workshops and sometimes a theatre for rehearsal and performance. The final area is a co-working space named 'TAI Space'. TAI stands for Tamkang Architecture Incubator. According to the URS's annual operating report to the URO, there are a total of 12 work spaces provided to young designers in the TAI space (Interview C3). It has developed into an architecture studio, and a theatre group is stationed there. As the co-working space is provided at no charge, in return TAI team members have to participate in curating activities and look after URS127's web site.

Figure 7.8 Spatial plans.



Source: URO (2009b), arranged by the author.

Between May 2010 and May 2013, the Tamkang team organised a total of 38 exhibitions and 36 lectures and workshops, mostly related to the fields of architecture and arts (Figure 7.9). Some local residents complained that they did not understand what the exhibitions were about, even though they quite often went into the house as it provided a short cut from one street to the other. A member of the Tamkang team responded by saying, that they created ‘possibilities and platforms for young designers and artists... an affordable exhibition space for them in Taipei’ (Interview C4). Senior URO planners had positive opinions of URS127. For example, one stated:

‘URS127 as first station on Dihua Street, sparked a vibrant creative energy by holding so many activities. URS127 also provided chances for communication among different social groups, in particular between elder residents and young artists’ (Interview A4).

Figure 7.9 Exhibitions and performances in URS127.



Source: Photographs by Tsai Ming-Ying (2013).

In terms of finance, even though the space was free of charge and TAI team members assisted, the maintenance fee, utility bills and costs of holding exhibitions had to be met. As the URS127 manager explained: ‘[finance] was really an issue for an operating organisation like us, an academic body, to pay for these monthly bills’. They applied to the URO’s competitive grant programme and sought donations from ‘individuals and consortiums via our social network’ (Interview C3).

When the Tamkang contract ended in May 2013, the URO opened a new bidding round. Although Tamkang bid again and expected to win, instead the contract went to the Blue Dragon Art Company. Blue Dragon is a Taiwanese company founded in 1991 which has since grown quickly to become one of the country’s biggest art agencies. It mainly provides services of public art

project management, curating international and domestic exhibitions and related activities, publishing art books, and international media promotion. It reopened URS127 as the 'Art Factory' in December 2013 and used it to put on mainly education activities and the promotion of art and aesthetics. The ground floor was converted into an 'Arts Library' and 'Art Gallery', while the first floor is an 'Art Lab' and office space.

Most of those involved in the URS under Tamkang were shocked and distressed at the bidding result and the change of operating body of URS127. The outgoing manager, government officials, local residents and academics all expected the Tamkang team to hold onto the operating rights. However, members of the committee had different thoughts and decided to give a new team a chance. One of the committee members argued that 'the change of operating body of URS127 may have felt agonising for many spatial planners. However, it was necessary to discuss what kind of operating body was best suited to a URS site in a historical commercial street like Dihua Street. I felt this kind of change is very important' (Interview B4).

URS127 is not only the first URS in Dihua Street but also the only one for which the operating body changed before 2014. It provides a lens through which we can see how policy changed from supporting a non-profit organisation -- an academic body in which operators even had to seek financial support from their own social networks -- to a successful arts company. This change in policy will be among the issues discussed in the next chapter.

7.4.2.2. URS44: Story House

This three-story house, built in 1924 with delicate neo-Baroque style architecture, is located at the south end of Dihua Street, near the main entrance of Dihua Street from the city centre. It is one of the original 77 historic buildings designated by in the Dadaocheng Urban Plan and is in a prime position opposite the Xia-Hai City God Temple and Yongle Market Square, the most prosperous spot in terms of commerce, history and tourism in the Dadaocheng area. The building's architectural preservation and restoration plan had been approved by the Urban Design Review Committee (introduced in Chapter 4) in December 2003 in accord with the Dadaocheng Urban Plan. Six years later, the owner applied for the house to be handed over to the authority after refurbishment was completed at the end of 2009 (see Chapters 3 and 4 for a discussion of the preservation of Dadaocheng and the mechanism by which proprietors hand over their buildings).

Figure 7.10 Before and after repair and maintenance.



Source: URO.

Figure 7.11 Outlook of URS44.



Source: URO.

The URO named URS44 the 'Story House' and decided that its function was to be a

'communication platform to provide and exchange information, to share and present Dadaocheng local culture, to enhance public participation, to allow creativity to get into the local community and to create a new platform of sharing possibility' (URO, 2011d, p. 1).

A section leader of the URO (Interview A5) explained that at that time the URO was improving facilities in and around Yongle market. URO planners regarded this area as lacking neighbourhood tourism services and supporting facilities; the street was too narrow to allow public service vehicles to pass through. As a result, they intended to use URS44 as a spot to support tourist services, and co-operate with the operators to introduce activities to promote local consensus and activate commercial activity. The desired functions were to be: (1) a tourist information station for the south section of Dihua Street; (2) a salon for exhibitions on the history of Dadaocheng and the achievements of its preservation programme; (3) a communication platform for the 'Restoration

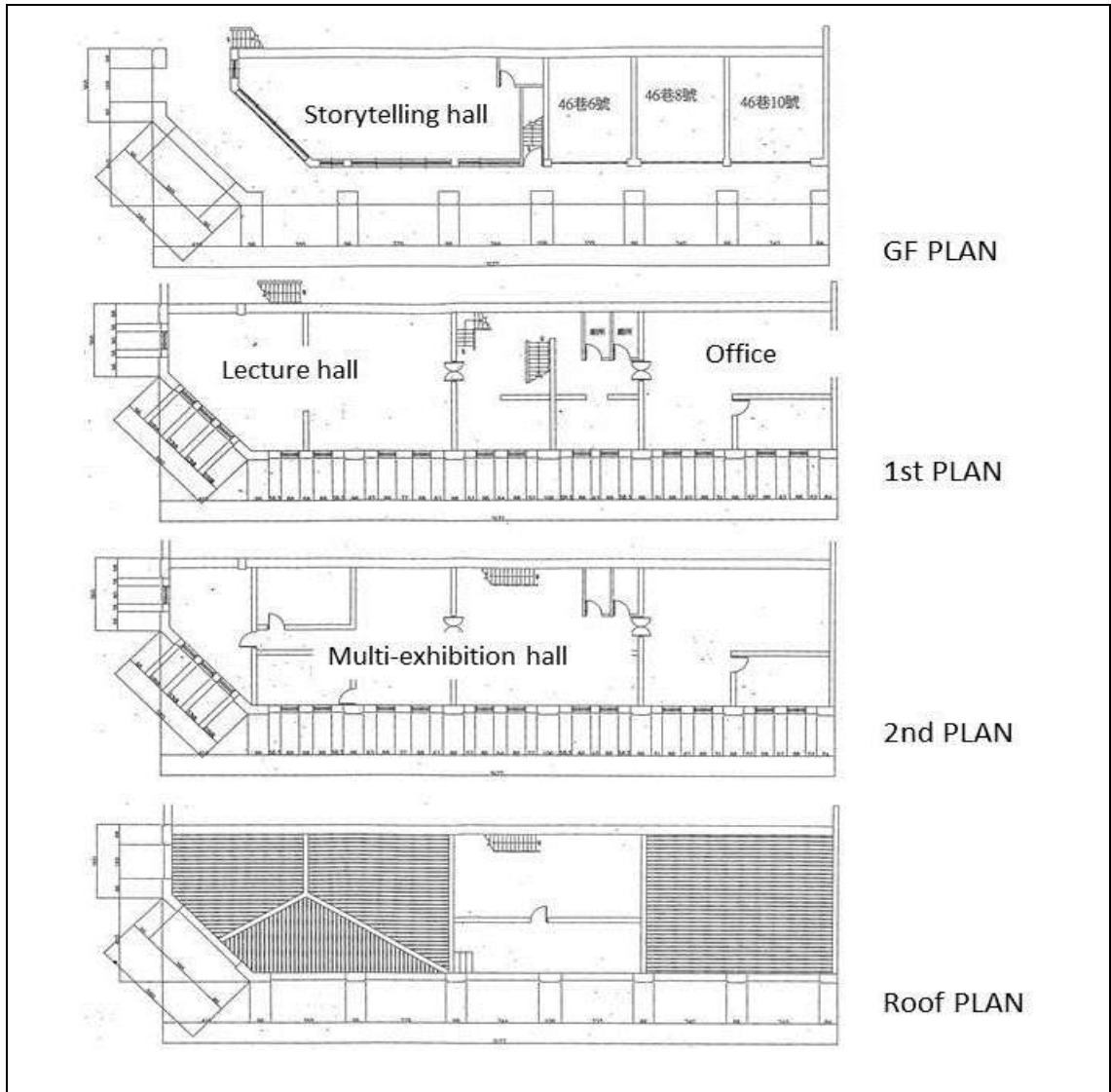
of Glorious Old Dadaocheng'¹⁵; and (4) a marketing and promotion platform for the creative industries.

The Institute of Historical Resources Management, Taiwan (IHRM), which won the operating rights, is a non-profit organisation founded in 2004 to promote ideas of sustainable management of historical resources, spaces and environment. According to its website, one of its missions is to foster cultural heritage networks between Taiwan and international NGOs to promote Taiwan's participation in international activities, information exchange and mutual support. Its secretary-general, Chiu Ruhwa, played a pivotal role in the urban social movements, especially the preservation of Dadaocheng in the 1980s and 1990s. Since then, she has been dedicated to the work of conservation and management of cultural and historical resources. As a pioneer of urban issues, Chiu has very close relationships with leading public officials, cultural workers and scholars, which might explain why IHRM became the operating body of URS44.

When IHRM took over URS44 in May 2011, the house was basically divided into a 'storytelling' hall (ground floor), a lecture hall and an office room (first floor), and multi-exhibition hall (second floor) (Figure 7.12). In the storytelling hall, there was a long-term exhibition of the history of Dadaocheng, URS programme and site 44. Activities were related to cultural, urban and community affairs (the figure below shows the exhibitions and performances held at the site). In May every year, to celebrate the birthday of the City God, URS44 held exhibitions and lectures on the origin of the story of the Xia Hai City God Temple. In addition, public talks and workshops were organised utilizing Chiu's social networks. Foreign experts were invited to URS44 to give speeches, and international experiences were exchanged. For instance, Professor Paola Falini of Sapienza University of Rome gave a talk on 'Preservation of Urban and Environmental Heritage' (1 December 2011); Professor Yukio Nishimura of the University of Tokyo gave a speech entitled 'From Recommendations for the Historic Urban Landscape of UNESCO to the Development of Land Along the Old Railway in Taipei' (21 July 2012).

¹⁵ The Restoration of Glorious Old Dadaocheng was another urban policy conducted during the earlier year of Mayor Hao's tenure (2006-2014). The policy focused on the reconstruction of public facilities to promote Dadaocheng's local redevelopment.

Figure 7.12 Floor plans of URS44.



Source: DUD, Taipei City Government.

Figure 7.13 Exhibitions and performances in URS44.



Source: Photographs provided by Tsai Ming-Ying (2013).

Apart from holding exhibitions and public lectures, URS44 is also allied with other organisations in different fields. Since 2012, it has been allied with the 248 Agriculture Market. This is a spontaneous organisation promoting contemporary ideas on environment-friendly agriculture and sustainable environmental development. It holds educational activities and sets up a number of places to help farmers sell their products. The alliance of IHRM and the 248 Agriculture Market led to a series of lectures and programmes in URS44 to educate citizens on how to look after plants outside their houses, how to use spaces either on the roof or on a balcony, and how to promote food safety and environmental friendliness.

When the contract between the URO and IHRM expired in May 2014, the URO called for bids, and IHRM successfully beat off five other bidding teams to win a new operating contract for the URS. That same year, IHRM cooperated with the Centre for Arts Resources and Educational Outreach, Taipei National University of the Arts. They organised a learning programme named the 'Development of Land Along the Old Railway' providing courses on issues such as cultural preservation, product planning and marketing, and

cultural entrepreneurship. Unlike the previous free admission for public lectures, this learning programme charged the same as normal market conditions. Despite the fact that the URS scheme is built strictly on non-profit usage, the new contract allowed the operating body relative flexibility to run the URS as a business. I will discuss the change from strict non-profit usage to a partial business approach in Chapter 8.

7.4.2.3 URS155: Cooking Together

Opened in June 2012, URS155 is located in No.155 Dihua Street, in the north section of the street. It is a three-story house built in 1850 in traditional Taiwanese style with a total floor area of 336 square meters. It was formerly used as a traditional grain and Chinese herbal medicine retail shop. The house was transferred to Taipei city government by its former proprietors in May 2010. The purpose of the URS was to promote the long-term project entitled 'Bringing back the Glory of Old Dadaocheng', to integrate local resources, and to provide public access. URS155 was originally to be named 'Dadaocheng City Academy' by the URO. According to a senior URO planner:

'We wanted to go beyond the existing commercial model in the street and introduce some new possibilities. The Dadaocheng area used to have a famous theatre and was a place of entertainment where wealthy men came for leisure activities. From this historical aspect, we were thinking of creating a place where historical stories were told' (Interview A5).

It was designed to be an incubation and communication centre combining traditional industries and contemporary urban life. Bidding participants needed to propose their spatial programmes according to the following principles put together by the URO:

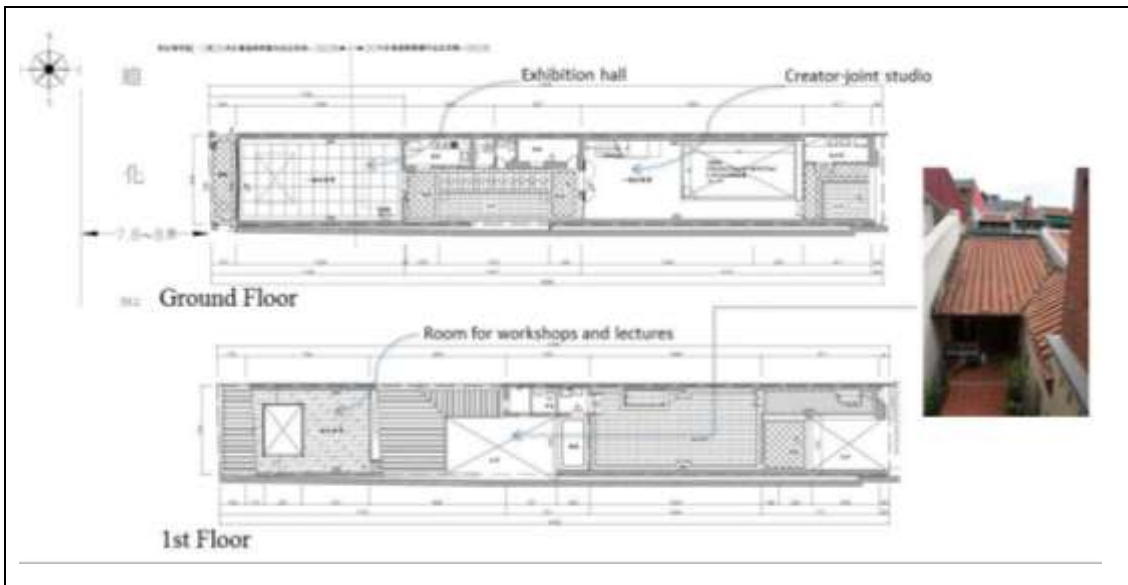
- (1) Fit in with the core spirit of URS by
 - a. integrating local community networks
 - b. evoking sustainable spatial use and creative industries
 - c. assisting local industry to fit in with contemporary life
- (2) Operate the spaces vigorously to excite the community
- (3) Be able to follow policy and increase the amount of community participation and social care' (URO, 2011b, p. 2).

CAMPOBAG won the bid for a two year contract to run URS155. This is a small company established in 2008 and describes itself as 'providing a platform for young artists to develop their creative brands and help them manage their businesses'(CAMPOBAG, 2012, p. 1). It is run by a young couple, and brings together young artists including handcraft makers and cartoonists. CAMPOBAG helps them travel around Taiwan to set up stalls,

join in artist market places and sell their products. They have also organised visits to London and some Asian cities. Instead of the URO's preferred name, Dadaocheng City Academy, CAMPOBAG proposed the URS name 'Cooking Together' as a concept 'to combine local ingredients and creativity, gathering artists and shop owners together to undertake creative thinking and actions locally', according to the manager of URS44 (Interview C6).

Space usage on this site was set according to its architectural features. The front part of the ground floor was used for exhibitions; the interior of the house was a studio. The first floor was designed for workshops and lectures but the space 'was quite flexible' (Interview C6). 'We also changed some functions in order to fit the demand for various activities. For instance, currently, the project Mega Dadaocheng (see below) means that we use the whole space of the ground floor as an exhibition hall to introduce traditional and new design shops on this street to visitors' (Interview C6).

Figure 7.14 Floor Plans of URS155.



Source: URO (2011b), arranged by the author.

Activities in URS155 could be generally classified into three types: (1) exhibitions and workshops of handicraft design mainly targeted at young people in their 20s; (2) cooking activities introducing Taiwanese ingredients sold by local traditional shops to participants (Figure 7.15) to get local shop owners involved in URS and to promote locally traded products to visitors; and (3) exhibitions introducing local shops, both old and new, and daily life, such as Mega Dadaocheng and the Neighbourhoods Life Exhibition. In the Mega Dadaocheng exhibition, the whole ground floor was set up as an exhibition hall to introduce some of the shops on the street. A quiz was designed for visitors to take part in; participants were given a map to explore the shops and were encouraged to visit each shop to find the answers and

return to URS155 to claim a gift – an annual calendar with comics of Dadaocheng architectural features drawn by one of CAMPOBAG's member designers. The quiz design required CAMPOBAG members to visit these shops and build up relationships with them. A manager of URS155 describes the process as follows: 'We spent a long time each and every day to really live here. It's not only a place for work but now more like a home to me' (Interview C6).

Figure 7.15 Cooking activities in URS155.



Source: Photographs provided by Tsai Ming-Ying (2013).

Two years later, in 2014, the first stage of the contract between URO and CAMPOBAG expired but CAMPOBAG used their right to renew the contract for 3 years and reopened the site in September 2014. The operation of CAMPOBAG in URS155 indicates another model of the URS's PPP approach, in which CAMPOBAG took advantage of free working spaces to try to bridge the gap between the local community and tourists. A senior URO official described the meaning of activities held at URS155 in these words:

'Through interaction between the younger generation and elderly shop owners and through introducing traditional food ingredients and agricultural products, young creative energy is introduced to this old community. It achieved our goals on space sharing and cultivation of creativity in this area' (Interview A5).

However, different views were expressed by some of the shop owners. They were not all as positive as these perspectives from CAMPOBAG and URO. I shall discuss the issues of lack of consensus and misunderstandings in Chapter 8.7.4.3.

7.4.3. Type 3: State-owned properties, URS13 and 27

In contrast to the previous two types of URS that were located in privately-owned sites and operated by non-state bodies, both URS13 and URS27 are state-owned properties operated by the URO. They are located along the former overground railway line through the centre of Taipei that was re-laid underground in the 1980s (Figure 7.16). URS13 was a tin can factory from 1941 until 2004. URS27 was a railway station between 1937 and 1986. These two sites had been abandoned after their original functions ceased. They were then channelled into the URS scheme by the URO after negotiation with the National Property Administration. Given the size, condition and characteristics of these larger scale, abandoned spaces, they required more financial support to be transformed into regular office or formal exhibition spaces. The temporary, short-term nature of URSs and the need for efficient utilisation of resources (space and budget) meant that artistic and event interventions became better options for the authority to achieve the goal of activating local community and creative clusters (Interview A4).

[URS13] Play Ground, was the first large-scale exhibition setting which combined installation art and community activities to bring citizens back to 'the most innocent state of playfulness, freedom and creativity embedded in daily life so that sparkles of new perspectives of our environment and culture can be triggered' (TCG, 2012c, p. 177).

Fram Kitagawa, a well-known Japanese arts and festival entrepreneur, was invited by the URO from Japan to URS13 to participate in the 'Play Ground' because of his successful experience in running the Echigo Tsumari Triennial Art Festival, where he invites artists from around the world to the isolated village of Echigo Tsumari to create works with the villagers and have conversations with them. Eventually, these art works served to promote tourism and thus benefit the local economy. Kitagawa's strategy of artistic intervention is widely seen to have brought new energy into Echigo Tsumari to deal with issues of decline and social divisions (Favell, 2015). The invitation to Kitagawa shows the intention of the City Authority to revive the city in the same way by holding art festivals.

In addition, the site was popular for electronic musicians, digital artists and filmmakers because of its unique features. The URO claimed that the space was 'filled with free and vibrant diverse creative energy of the entertainment industry' as it provided a platform for artist gatherings and 'a unique spatial atmosphere for filming and shooting for an average of 200 days annually' (TCG, 2012c, p. 6). According to official publications, these activities were intended to awaken the 'awareness of self confidence among local people and Taipei citizens' so as to become 'the anchor where actions for future regeneration can be mobilised' (Chen et al., 2013, p. 171) (Figure 7.17).

At the same time, as the name Grand Green suggests, URS27 provided 2.3 hectares of open green space, and its activities were related more to daily city life. Take for example Taipei Extra-Ordinary: the Aesthetics of Living in Taipei, an art exhibition on the city's street culture. It prompted a re-examination of 'what a liveable city is' and 'what urban aesthetics are' based on the perspectives of Taipei City's alley culture and the feature of windows with iron gratings (URO, 2012d, p. 71).

Figure 7.16 Locations of URS13 and 27.

	URS13	URS27
Size of site	1.6 hectares	2.3 hectares
Location		
Duration	2011-2013.06	2010.06-2012.06
Activities	2011.05-2011.11 Play Ground X 2012.01-2012.08 Making films 2012.09 Noise Taipei Forum 2012.09.15 Black town Music Festival 2013.04 The 1st Urban Music & Sounds Festival 2013 2013.05-06 Opening for the visiting of movie scene	2010.06-2010.07 Grand Green-Happy Station 2011.08-2011.11 Taipei Extra-Ordinary 2012.12-2013.01 Next play-Taipei future dwelling exhibition 2014.01 Next play-Green Factory
Original use	Tin can factory (abandoned)	Rail station (abandoned)
Future use	--	Central government office

Sources: URO (2013a, 2012c, 2011b; c), arranged by the author.

Figure 7.17 Photographs of URS13 and 27: wide and flexible open space has made these two sites favourite places for large-scale events.

URS13: Before the URS scheme



URS13: the URS scheme – artistic events



URS13: the URS scheme – music events



URS27 Grand Green



URS27: Event intervention



Sources: URO (2013d, 2012d, 2011c); Chen et al. (2013), arranged by the author.

These kinds of art interventions and festival-like events have no doubt attracted the attention of the younger generation and art workers in the city. However, whether they therefore have enough impact to elicit public awareness of 'the link between the land and its citizens' and as such drive local urban renewal, as the publicity brochure states, is so far unclear.

Overall, the three types of URS discussed above show that local resources were comprehensively utilised to support the city's CCUR programme where human capital (young entrepreneurs, experts and scholars), social capital (foundations, spatial elites' social connections), financial capital (public budget and aid), spatial capital (houses and public properties) are mobilised, through PPP and/or holding activities approach, by the URO to promote the scheme and make it sound. The urban regeneration effects of these policies and of their mobility will be discussed in the next chapter. I next critically discuss the process of so-called urban acupuncture, unpicking the surgical discourse and examining its more problematic aspects.

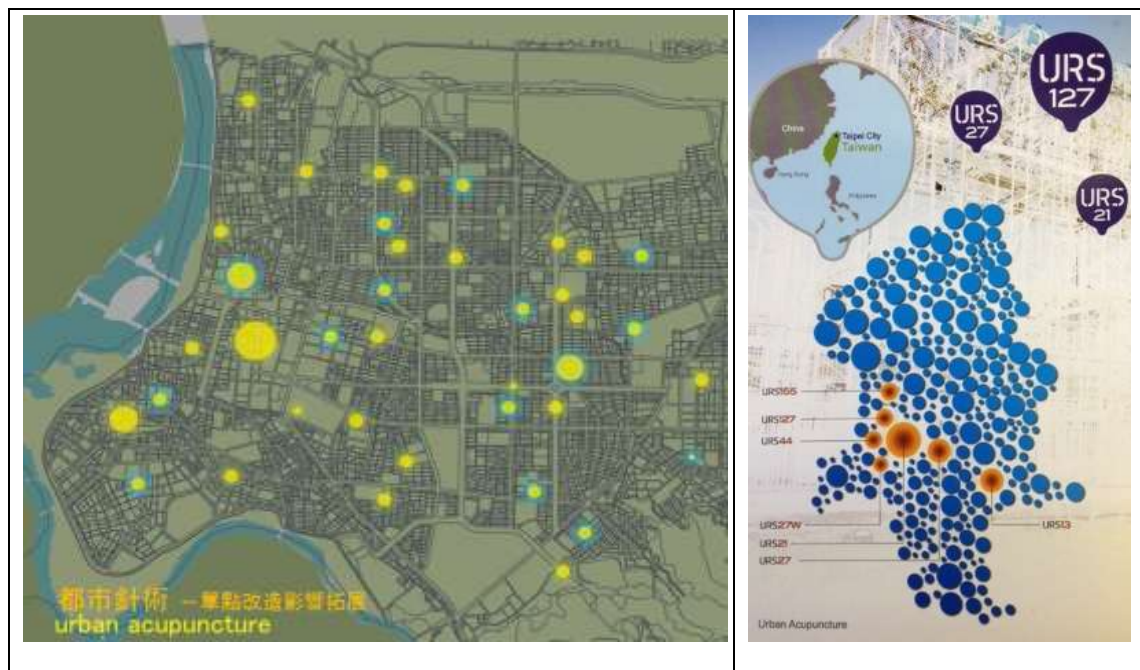
7.5. Unpicking the urban acupuncture metaphor

As I discussed earlier in this chapter, the URS scheme is built on the discourse of 'urban acupuncture'. Its approach and the benefits are stressed by government documents in both words and diagrams, in official promotion brochures, and in slides presented as policy advocacy.

'For Taipei to step up in its role as an international city, we must fully utilise its strengths and maximize the marginal benefits for all its resources through proper integration. Here, we have used a method called urban acupuncture, which serves as a model of city governance that is different from the functional regionalisation commonly seen in the West. Such a method for reconciling urban systems and traffic flows are all features of a URS (Urban Regeneration Station)' (Lin, 2013a, p. 14).

Figure 7.18 below is taken from these official documents and shows the ambitions of the URS scheme and its acupuncture approach. The intended message is clear: URS sites are springing up all over the city, exaggerated and luminous spots on the darkened map of the city. From these maps we can smell the ambitions and goals of the URS scheme – tiny but powerful pinpoints (sites) spreading over the city to cure various urban issues, just like acupuncture, in which fine needles are inserted into the flesh at specific points on the body to relieve pain or treat various physical, mental or emotional conditions.

Figure 7.18 The URO's imaginary of URS sites.



Sources: Official brochure promoting the URS scheme (right) (URO, 2012c); presentation slides (left) (URO, 2013b).

The discourse of urban acupuncture sounds good. However, the practical reality presents a different story. In the following sections, I will explore the gaps between discourse and reality under four main headings: (1) spatial limitations: the uneven selection of URS sites, (2) haphazard site selection and designation: inflexibility and inconsistency in approach, (3) the URS scheme as short term tactical urbanism: how long is temporary for a URS? (4) Can festivalised activities fix the contemporary urban renewal issues? And finally I will discuss administrative issues of (1) bureaucratic inefficiency, and (2) a lack of political support.

7.5.1. The uneven selection of URS sites

In Chapter 6, I showed how a discourse of urban acupuncture was used to legitimise the URS scheme and more specifically to legitimise the choice of individual sites. Initially, however, it was not possible for the URO simply to choose the sites it wanted as there was no knowledge of the scheme and ready supply. It was not therefore possible for a URS to correspond to the city's urban issues (symptoms). During the five years of the scheme, there has only been one site, URS89-6, that remained in the hands of private owners (JUT Land Development Group). The URS89-6, the exception that proves the rule, was closed in March 2012 as the building was planned to be demolished and the JUT Group set this as the cut-off point. The rest of the 9 sites are all public properties belonging to either central or city government, having been transferred to the authorities by the owners of the property. As we have seen, a majority of the URS sites are located on Dihua Street and in its immediate Dadaocheng neighbourhood, including URS21, 27w, 44, 155, 329. All these properties were handed over by private property owners to the city government as part of the bulk-reward incentive mechanism authorised by the preservation incentive policy (see chapter 4 for a discussion of how this worked). Other sites like URS13, 21 and 27, are owned by organs of central government; URS27M is city government owned (See Table 7-2 for details). The privately owned URS89-6 was, in fact, not selected by the URO nor launched in pursuit of a specific policy. The URO was a passive participant in a JFAA project, 'Urban Core Arts Block' (Interview C1).

Figure 7.19 compares intended locations for the URSs with their actual sites. This figure is taken from a slide which was produced and used by the URO to introduce the URS scheme to the participants of the 'Community Space Forum' (see Appendix F for detail). The map below shows the intended locations, those on the above the actual ones.

Figure 7.19 Locations of URS sites in reality (above) and in the URO vision (below).



Source: Presentation slides from URO (2013b).

The evidence in these slides indicates that the URO has been unable to select locations that might produce cures to urban problems as its urban acupuncture discourse implies it should be doing. As academic critics have said, URS is a cool name, but when referring to acupuncture, this kind of Chinese traditional therapy requires a precise point corresponding to a certain disease. However, the choices open to the URO were limited:

'It was given and received. The location can't be an acupuncture point, it was merely somewhere available... It was decided by availability rather than by choice' (Interview B5).

Defending the scheme from this sort of critique, a senior URO official pointed to the URS Partner, the Wanhua Family Lin, as an example of the way URS sites were spreading around the city. An interviewee stressed that this new approach, encouraging private individuals and organisations to offer spaces, is likely to produce more URS sites.

'Even though it is small in scale, it marks a milestone in the progress of awareness and understanding of the grassroots -- of house owners willing to participate with public policy through providing their personal property'. He believes that these various types of URS schemes can 'scatter URS sites to many other areas in Taipei' (Interview C9).

However, this does not answer the question of the inability of URSs to accurately remedy urban issues. Its privately owned and privately run approach to URSs raises even more questions, such as: How could privately owned and privately run URSs guarantee a promising solution for urban regeneration? What are the mechanisms for the running and supervision of these URSs? Is there any way for the public and the authority to impose obligations relating to public issues on the private operator, and if so to what extent? We return to these issues in chapter 8.

Due to the difficulties of acquiring sites, as we have seen, the policy relies mainly on 'donations' (sites in the Dadaocheng area) and publicly owned properties. The attractions of the bulk reward mechanism enticed property owners into handing over their property in what was actually a form of barter in return for development rights elsewhere thus making the URS sites possible. However, when there are four sites on a street only about one kilometre long with the possibility of several more sites in the future questions arise. Does this area really need so many 'acupuncture points'? Does each point/ site respond to specific issues? How does a site and its declared role interact? This leads to issues of position which will be discussed in the next section. In addition, while the URS scheme combined with bulk-reward and TDR policies certainly stimulates maintenance and the repair of houses and conservation of historic areas, it acts to encourage a strong if invisible force

pushing landlords into giving up on holding onto their existing family businesses and instead selling their house and winding up their business. From a policy making viewpoint, the URO is in a position to use its discretion and introduce more sensitive approaches. However, they have chosen to use the URSs 'as a brand' (Interview B2) and turn all donated properties into packaged brands without asking whether they are suitable or not.

As we have discovered, each site was initially set up for a particular role with certain objectives and this was built into the bidding specifications. In this section, we see that the identification of the principal features of the URSs are largely out of the control of the URO. This means, as we shall see, that it is difficult for operating bodies to meet the goals set by the authority, given that the goals do not usually fit with the operators' expertise. This in the end shows the gap between the discourse of acupuncture and reality, and that location selection is not the only issue; theme and designation present another one.

7.5.2. Inflexibility and inconsistency in approach

In principle, the mission and name of each URS are decided in advance by the URO after deliberations undertaken by the Taipei Urban Regeneration Station Committee and then written into the bidding documents. According to the URO officer (Interview A5) in charge of URS affairs, the URO summoned committee meetings to discuss the most suitable functions and roles of a URS site, stipulating that these should fit with what it saw as the 'spirit' of each site, such as a place for cultivating talent or a place for community development. These were identified according to the condition of each site (strengths and weaknesses) as well as background and features (Table 7.4). For example, a URO official explained the idea behind URS44:

'As with [URS] 44, the location is very good. Members of the committee felt -- given that it is such an important site that it should be designed to tell the story of Dadaocheng. Therefore it was designated as a Story House' (Interview A5).

Table 7.4. Theme and position of each site.

Site	Name	Theme and Designation
URS89-6	Regeneration Plant	Interdisciplinary thinking, and creation of an artistic public sphere
URS13	Revived Vanguard	Digging local specialties and developing local identity
URS21	Zhongshan Creative Hub	Stressed coherence of urban life
URS27	Grand Green	Public open space with combination of festivals landscape and urban daily life
URS27M	Mountain Forum	An interactive platform for relations between humans and the environment
URS44	Story House	Creating an active regeneration mode for historical space in Dadaocheng
URS127	Design Gallery	Creating a new type of public space
URS155	Cooking Together	Utilising food culture to build up consensus
URS27W	Film Range	Use of media images on history and social issues to inspire people to participate in public issues
URS329	Rice and Shine	Promoting the traditional rice crop business through culture, arts, and creative activities

Source: URO (2012c, 2013a, 2015), arranged by the author.

However, my research found that this process was in reality far more inconsistent, with both inflexibility and adaptability experienced in the creative process. For example, URS27W was rigidly designated as a film-related place. An official brochure from the URO explains why:

‘Its location bears witnesses to the democratic movement in Taiwan -- the New Culture Movement... and Japanese colonial history. We believe, on the one hand, the film industry needs to be involved... On the other hand, the film industry needs to be recording and introducing this history to [Taipei’s] citizens. With this in mind, we set film as the theme for this site [URS27W / Film Range]’ (URO, 2013b, p. 2).

One of the URS operators admitted his confusion in fulfilling the mission of the station as a film-related place: ‘I don’t really understand why it should be a site relevant to film or something like that’ (Interview C7). The people running URS27w commented on their struggle with the URO when discussing the directions and approaches the site should take as they – the bodies running the URS, I-Mei Multimedia e-Content Production & Marketing Co. Ltd. and Chiang Weishui Foundation – had different ideas on how to use the space.

The site was assigned by the URO as a film related site, and was eventually named 'Film Range'. However, one of the operators, the Chiang Weishui Foundation intended to have it suggest a memorial hall to introduce and educate the public on the importance of the role Chiang Weishui played in Taiwan's democratic development. Chiang Weishui (1891-1931) was a founder of the Taiwanese Cultural Association and the Taiwanese People's Party. He is seen as the father of Taiwan's New Culture Movement, and one of the most important persons in Taiwan's resistance movement against the Japanese colonial regime. Given that the location of URS27w is very close to the original base of the Taiwanese Cultural Association, the Chiang Weishui Foundation thus participated with the bid and regarded it as a good opportunity to build a platform from which to commemorate Chiang Weishui's contribution in modern Taiwanese history. The operator complained that negotiations had gone round and round in circles and the URO were 'fairly insistent' on their set designation of the site: 'If we had disagreed with that, our proposal would not have been approved by the URO' (Interview C7). As a result 'the exhibitions as you can see are now all about digital media; it is all presented in images and videos'. The photographs below show an exhibition held in the URS27w. It seems to the URO and the committee that a place that promotes a creative city related industry is more in keeping with their image of a URS space.

Figure 7.20 An exhibition presents local history in images and videos in URS27w.



Source: Photographs provided by Tsai Ming-Ying (2013).

This opens up the question as to why should URS27w be identified as a site for a film centre? Similar doubts are also applicable to other sites especially in Dadaocheng. While it seems legitimate for the URO to select sites, should the theme of these eventual URS sites not be more open to a creative process from the very creative class Taipei wants to attract and nurture?

URS155 offers an example of a more bottom-up process at work. At the very beginning of this programme, the URO set the site up as a City Academy with the following vision: 'An academy, in China, was a place of classical

learning.... Here it implies a place in a milieu of learning and a place belonging to intellectuals' (URO, 2011d). According to the official call for participants (URO, 2011b), the URS would have the task of being an incubation and information exchange centre. The site was to be a place where 'the creative vibes will be shaped and created by the combination of traditional industry and modern urban life thus inspiring the younger generation so as to re-brand this old neighbourhood, activate traditional industries and boost the whole area' (URO, 2011a, p. 1). Yet, a completely different idea, that of Cooking Together, was instead proposed by CAMPOBAG and accepted by the URO. This is neither an incubation centre nor an information exchange centre. Referring to this situation, one member of the committee explained:

'Their [CAMPOBAG] proposal was the most exciting one among those participating in the bidding process. We believed that the "cooking together" proposal could provide diversity to the street life even though it failed to respond to the meaning and tasks of the pre-set designation of City Academy' (Interview B4).

This indicates the extent to which the contents of the bidding documents can be seen as tenuous and incoherent. A member of the committee admitted that, 'It [the bidding document] is a fragile and weak document'. She also pointed out that, 'the application process can be freely interpreted by each participating bidder' (Interview B4). Here, the selection process exposes the difficulties of designation decisions and selection of operating bodies. The process also reflects the elite-led nature of the exercise, and the consequences of a lack of public participation (as discussed in 7.4).

A further difficulty relates to the nature and capacity of bidding teams participating in the URS scheme, which are in reality far more unpredictable than the URO and the committee would have us believe. For this reason, a pre-set designation becomes a big challenge or, worse, an impossible mission for the operating group. From the viewpoint of the bodies running the URSs, many of them appear to have found it difficult to fit their work into the orientations framed by the committee and the URO. Take URS21 for example, it is regarded as a paradigm, a benchmark and the most successful among the sites, well operated and with a range of exhibitions (Interviews B1, B3, B6). However it was criticised for its poor relationship with the local community. A core member of JFAA (the operating body of URS21) responded to this criticism in the following terms:

'To interact with the community is not what we [an art foundation] are good at; the task was set by the URO, but was hard for us to carry out. It was the same with [the task of being an] incubation centre. They [the people using URS21] are all artists and professional designers. Who is willing to be incubated by

someone else? What we can do is just provide spaces [for co-workers]' (Interview C1).

From the cases illustrated above, it can be seen that the designation should not be decided at the beginning of the each project. Proponents may defend the designation issue by saying the URS is a scheme with high flexibility. However, it is questionable whether a certain designation (position, functions and tasks) implies the use of the urban acupuncture terminology (URO, 2010c; 2012d; also see ch5 and 7.1). If the designation is shaky, how can the project relate to its original aims? A further problem arises when we consider the duration of each site as another aspect of urban acupuncture.

7.5.3 How long is temporary for a URS?

Being provisional is one of the critical characteristics of the URSs, given their original definition as reuse of space before demolition or reconstruction of an old building or an abandoned factory. In order to discuss the issue of time and the nature of 'temporary' urban regeneration strategies, I focus on the URS sites operated via PPPs, as with sites in the Dadaocheng area. Originally, for PPP projects, those sites which had a private team participating normally had a two-to-three-year contract with the URO to run the site. The duration of operation caused different points of view to surface. Some regarded two to three years as too short to achieve the policy goals. According to an operator's experiences of running a URS for three years:

'The short period was problematic because an operating space of three years was just a beginning, during which you can start doing a relatively better plan. Those factors of uncertainty were just about solved and finished after two and a half years. At this point, it began to be possible to make it better. However, given the limitation of the operating period, the spatial strategy eventually became more conservative. This is one of the biggest problems' (Interview C3).

Responding to this issue, the rule was changed in August 2013, on the grounds that a short term project is uneconomical and the original short period of two years of operation may hamper long-term vision and lead to a scarcity of stable operators (Interview A5). Now a contract can potentially run up to eight years. I found contrasting views on this issue. Some of my interviewees firmly believed that a relatively short term period was good enough and that this limitation is actually needed as it can stimulate the creativity of URS teams. 'Especially for those sites running as incubation centres', a URS official explained:

'Our mission was to create a platform and opportunities for them [creative young talents] to start their businesses in Taipei. Until June this year [2014], they would have had two and a half to three years' experience. However, it

seems that they have not worked out with confidence to how to survive outside. Maybe they already had the abilities and capacities; they just are not aware yet. I personally think that the incubation centre itself should set a time limit, crossing over the line they should [leave] and accept their challenge. In the same way, the duration of each URS site should operate for a short limited period' (Interview C1).

It may still be too soon to discuss the URO's new strategy of a longer contract for the operating bodies. However, thinking back to the core idea of the URS scheme, it is worth questioning whether a temporary urban tactic that has become an eight-year project run by a single team can still be seen as a form of urban acupuncture therapy. This issue of time span leads onto another controversial issue, that of what might be called the 'festivalised' nature of activities.

7.5.4. Can festivalised activities help fix contemporary issues of urban renewal?

In contrast to URSs run by PPPs, the others are operated directly by the URO with, for example, a curator invited to curate art, music or festival events. They normally occupy state-owned sites -- URS13 and 27 are examples. The duration of this type varies from a half-a-day workshop to a month long exhibition. Due to the conditions of vacancy and the limited time period, sites are acquired after URO negotiations with the National Property Administration (see 7.1.2). Festival-like art intervention activities have become a typical strategy to operate sites with certain urban related issues. The official booklet, *Your City: URS Life* (Chen et al., 2013) published by the URO, underlines the purpose and meaning of URS13, and this is to connect citizens with the environment and bring their attention to city life via art interventions:

'The Grand Green was revealed to the public and positioned as an open space for cultural events and performances. As the location became a cultural venue, its surrounding communities began to rethink the relationship they have with their ecology, as well as the relationship between people and their city' (Chen et al., 2013, p. 67).

'It [URS13] invited artists to express their feelings for the area's environment and create an amicable space that draws people's attention' (Chen et al., 2013, p. 70).

In parallel, the official document also points out the purpose of Play Ground, an art event in URS27, to awaken citizens' awareness of the city's future:

'For this curatorial project to better reflect the cultural context behind this area, and to create a blueprint for the future of Nangang that meets international standards, the initial concept for URS13 was to be based on the various

possibilities imagined in professional planning..... By integrating works of art from the community, artists were able to conduct an event,... community residents were able to rediscover certain cultural characteristics and urban spaces unique to Nangang, and begin to imagine possibilities for the future' (Chen et al., 2013, p. 112).

A series of art intervention activities indeed brought a party-like joyful atmosphere for certain groups in the city reminiscent, it might be said, of the concept of *genius loci* propounded by Norberg-Schulz (Norberg-Schulz, 1976). It seems that this kind of URS scheme is adopting a more gentle approach in an attempt to recall a deeper relationship between the land and people, as in other foreign cases that the URS learned from (e.g. art festivals in Japan). A senior officer of the URO describes this kind of festival event as, 'looks great, promising, and feels right' (Interview A4).

An opposing voice argued that the 'dollops of public money spent' on festival activities should not be the affair of the URO. 'Just leave it to the Department of Cultural Affairs', I was told by a member of the OURs. 'Go back to those real challenges and responsibilities that the URO should undertake' (Interview F7).

It may not be a problem for most of the city's residents which department within the authority organises festivals. However, it is a matter of concern how effectively public resources, including budget and human resources, are managed. Those opposed to the URO are mainly arguing that urban regeneration policy should really engage with and confront physical and social urban problems, such as issues of residential justice and those issues reflected by the Wenlin Yuan dispute rather than these short-term URS schemes. They are not against the artists or the activities but against what they see as the misuse of tax revenue (Interviews F3, F7). They argue that public resources should be spent on something constructive like modification of the Urban Regeneration Act (see Chapter 5). This strategy of short-term events, while linking back to policy discourses of 'soft urbanism' and 'urban acupuncture', shows a lack of focus on specific symptoms and countermeasures. Therefore, the policy appears unable to answer 'real' urban issues. Instead, as one interviewee suggested, it 'merely puts party-like activities into a few days of razzamatazz' (Interview F7).

In addition to the issues discussed above, the internal administrative processes are problematic and in fact shackle both the URS operators and officials in the URO.

7.5.5. Bureaucratic inefficiency

An internal problem faced by the URS scheme was the bureaucratic system that slowed down its operational efficiency. This is a view put forward by Charles Landry in his role as a project consultant (see Chapter 6). He suggested the URO should adopt a more entrepreneurial approach at a consultation meeting held on 19 December 2013 (Appendix F). Indeed, the URS scheme has been affected by the conflicting values that characterise different sectors within the bureaucracy. For instance, the accounting sector would assess the best value of a public property from a financial standpoint rather than provide the space for other 'uncertain' usages like URS.

URS21 provides an example of the tensions between national and local government. URS21, a state-owned property, was 'borrowed' from the NPA to serve as a site for the URS scheme. The usage was later on questioned by members of the Committee on Financial and Economic Affairs of the Control Yuan, a branch of Taiwan's national government (NPA, 2011). Issues were mainly focused from a financial point of view on how to deal with public property to create the best value for money. This consideration is particularly relevant to URS21, which is located in the city centre where property prices are at their highest.

Another issue revolves around the various values and opinions held by people within the URO. URO finance officials thought public properties provided as URS sites should be banned from any commercial usage. Operational officers had to expend much effort to persuade their colleagues as to the 'invisible and potential' beneficial results to citizens and thus the contribution to urban renewal development (Interviews A5 and C9).

The extent of the scheme's paperwork annoyed URS managers. One of them complained that '[the administrative paperwork] makes trouble for us' (Interview C1). The administrative work 'has been unnecessarily depleting our energy', according to a manager of a URS site (Interview C6). Current operators, potential operators, and new shop owners in Dihua Street (Interviews C2, C3, C6, D14, D18 and D20) have all expressed views along the lines voiced by a member of the JFAA, operator of URS21, who said that factors:

'...such as, financial planning reports for the URO are causing big trouble for us. They demanded a fixed time like early or late in the year to report our financial statements. But our company is a large enterprise; their [accounting] schedule to process account settlement is fixed at March. We spent such a long time arguing with the URO over these things. Every year [spoken with emphasis]. It is impossible to work with [the URO]. I do not understand why it is so difficult and why there is so much inflexibility once the contract is signed.... The most difficult part of working with the URO is the paperwork' (Interview C1).

Some potential operators and new shop owners in Dihua Street also mentioned the same concern, and regarded it as a critical factor which influenced their decision on whether or not to join the bidding and work as partners with the URO (Interviews D14, D18 and D20). The manager of a design company who was invited by the authority to participate in the bidding to operate a URS site expressed the view that, considering the paperwork he had to cope with, even though the rent would have been saved, 'we chose to rely on ourselves so that we are able to focus all our energies on design affairs which is really the core of our business' (Interview D20).

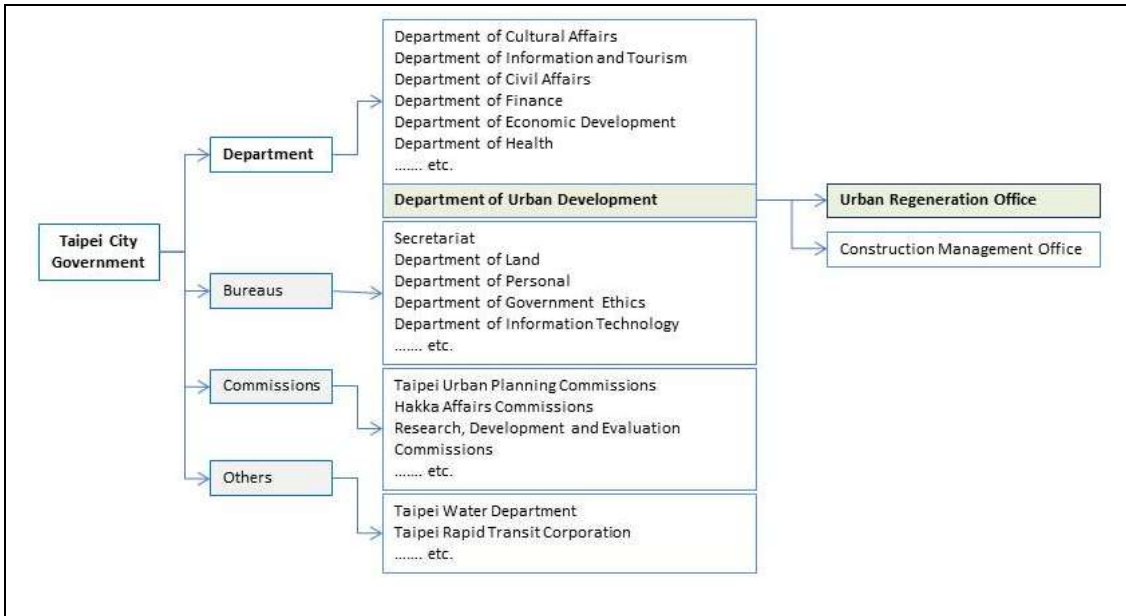
The paperwork, however, for the public sector is shaped within regulatory parameters. The accounting verification process asks for financial statements and details of spending. Parliamentary supervision also has its requirements. The whole administrative mechanism has restricted the URO's freedom of movement. As a result, it is unable to operate as efficiently as the private sector, and the evidence is obvious when compared with private-sponsored organisations working at the same spatial scale in so-called clusters such as Fablab Taipei, Chinshan number 9, and TEDxTaipei.

These aspects analysed above show how the inflexibilities of a public sector organisation limit the possibilities of the URS scheme.

7.5.6. A lack of political support

Another major factor behind the incoherence of the URS approach is a lack of administrative and political support for the programme. The URO is a secondary layer in the organisational framework of Taipei City Government and is subordinate to the DDU (Figure 7.21). As the URS scheme was launched by the URO, a relatively low-level agency, the resources directed to it by the URO have been limited. A policy launched for example by the mayor would be implemented by every relevant department; while a policy announced at a higher level than the URO as for example the DUD would be more likely to earn administrative and political support from the mayor and other departments on the same level.

Figure 7.21 Organisational chart of the Taipei City Government.



Source: Taipei City Government (2010), arranged by the author.

The URS scheme seems to confirm the situation described above. Evidence came from various quarters, including scholars, the operating bodies of URS sites, and even officers in the URO and DUD.

A senior DUD official: 'I think the higher level care less about the URS' (Interview A1).

The operator of a URS site: 'From my point of view, the mayor and head of DUD regard URS more like one of [their] political achievements. They merely appeared at the opening ceremony, addressing their audience in official language. It is more as if they only reap the rewards of this policy' (Interview C3).

A consultant to the URO: 'With no direct connection between [Lin, the URO director] and his office with the mayor or deputy mayor, [the URS scheme] caused hardly any change in the mechanism [of policy implementation]; it merely left businesses [on Dihua Street] to reflect on the superficiality of appeals to fairness and justice. The authority did not really responded to people's needs' (Interview B3).

If a higher tier of the bureaucracy is less concerned with a certain policy, networks between departments within the organisation would have lower levels of integration and co-operation. Each department would be more likely to continue its own normal duties. Therefore there would hardly be the conditions for comprehensive consideration and support. Take spatial governance for example. When a new space is received by the Taipei City Government, for instance through the 'donation' (transfer) of a building on Dihua Street, the authority gains a new manageable asset but different

departments of the city government have varied concerns. As a former commissioner of the Department of Finance (DOF) of the city government points out:

‘The first priority is the income from the property, which is a main concern because everyone can see whether the city’s debt is increasing or decreasing during a mayor’s term. It is leaving a historical record so that we can see in which year, under which mayor, there is how much debt. This tends to become a very important political issue. The management and disposition of property is one critical approach to making money. With limited financial resources, there are a lot of public policies and affairs to deal with, those all need money. Helping the city to make money is one of our [DOF’s] main tasks’ (Interview A6).

This lack of sufficient funding might explain some of the difficulties discussed in the last section, the lack of a precise action plan and the lack of an ability to select locations. A comment from URO director Lin tacitly confirmed this situation:

‘My approach and discourse is different from the traditional one in the past. Therefore those people who stick to the traditional discourse [of urban governance] do not know what I’m doing’ (Interview A3).

An observation from a scholar who has considerable experience in working with the URO and Charles Landry, also reflects on the situation clearly:

‘Landry’s urban diagnosis for Taipei has clearly told us what our urban problem is. However, the real problem is he should be the mayor’s adviser rather than just the URO’s. He has given us a great prescription. But he lacks [the support of] the mayor, or the mayor’s trust’ (Interview A5).

In short, these points of view suggest that behind the urban acupuncture discourse the URS has shown a haphazard approach to the overarching process of policy making, site selection, decision making on the designation of URSs, competitive bidding for URS contracts, and winning support locally and in the bureaucracy. These are the main factors which interacted to weaken the success of the URS scheme.

7.6. Conclusion: a localised creative city approach to create a favourable environment for economic development

This chapter has examined the URS scheme and the URSs themselves as a mobile CCUR policy; it has identified notable features of the process of policy mobility, introduced the URS scheme and unpicked the urban acupuncture metaphor. As a practical culture-led urban policy, the URS scheme represents a localised implementation of creative city theory, integrating local

resources of land, property and local talent and expertise. These resources were utilised to create the city's URS sites. In analysis and comparison, I pointed out the gaps between discourse of urban acupuncture and practice, and well as limitations deriving from the bureaucratic system. I argue that these factors weakening the possibilities for the URS policy.

Section 7.2 focused on the original concept and purpose, as well as mechanisms and operational processes, with evidence based on both interviews and official documents. The discussion showed how urban regeneration issues were recognised by government officials, and how creative city ideas were localised in terms of urban acupuncture and soft urbanism and transmuted into the URS scheme. We saw how the URO's Urban Regeneration Station Committee played a crucial and sometimes decisive role in terms of participating in the bidding process, assessing proposals, defining each site's mission, and approving the URS financial subsidy projects. The context of the URS scheme also laid a basis for a further critical discussion on issues of local development, the temporary duration of the URS sites, discourse vs. practice, and the limits of the URS scheme as a creature of bureaucracy.

I also analysed the URS Partner scheme and compared it with six DNAs from the '20 Stories'. The similarity of these approaches and aims has provided empirical evidence to reinforce the sense of the centrality of policy mobilities examined in the previous chapter. I found that the URS and URS Partner schemes are highly reliant on ideas and policies from abroad and thus argued that the original idea of the URS, which was seen by the city's elites and policy makers as a product of home-grown ideas and of a brainstorming process and organisational decision-making within UDD, is actually inspired and influenced by ideas current in the West. I also identified two notable features of the process of policy mobility: (1) policy was re-defined through the process of travel; and (2) general paths of travel can be identified for incoming and outgoing policy. CCUR ideas were mainly learned from the West and Japan, while the city's practical experiences were studied by its Asian neighbour countries and cities.

Different types of URS were analysed in section 7.4. under the headings (1) creative culture economy, (2) neighbourhood renewal, and (3) ownership and organisation. URS21, which was regarded by certain city elites as being the most successful among the URSs, provided a frame for understanding how a PPP approach can be used. I analysed its meaning for the main stakeholders, in which the operator, JFAA, earned a positive reputation and its parent company, JUT Land Development Group, was afforded the chance to enhance its relationship with potential customers so as to expand its business. URS21 also provided some affordable working spaces to certain designers

who were regarded as promising. However, as pointed out, it remains unclear whether URS21 met the objectives of revitalising the local community and cultivating young talent. These and other related questions will be discussed in the following chapter.

In the second type of URS, I elaborated on how the URS scheme was involved in Dihua Street and analysed the operational details of URS44, 127 and 155, as well as how they were intended to catalyse the neighbourhood by attracting a new type of design-led shop. I also revealed the adjustments undertaken by the URO to adapt to the local context of Dadaocheng in terms of spatial usage, site position, length of contract for each operator and the contract renewal process. What I have been describing is, in other words, the practical process of the localised creative city idea. The encouragement to 'donate' properties that the preservation policy provides and the bulk reward mechanisms also gave the authority a great opportunity to conduct its CCUR policy in the form of the URS scheme, with cultural interventions introduced to the neighbourhood and a younger generation of creative workers and tourists brought in.

URS13 and URS27 represented the third type of URS, this one state owned, local authority run and related to the arts. The approach here combined the city's land resources and the creative city strategic idea to pursue urban regeneration and awaken community consensus. The invitation to Fram Kitagawa to come to organise the Play Ground in URS13 also provided evidence of an approach that welcomed interventions from abroad.

The URSs are therefore represented as a localised creative city approach to the integrated use of local resources including spaces, human capital and organisations. The three types of URS showed us that cultural elements like heritage and artistic activities were utilised by the authority to attract a particular group, the so called 'creative talents', to promote taste and middle class consumption, and as such stimulate a revival of old communities in the city.

In section 7.5, I unpicked the basic, core idea behind the URS policy. Four issues were raised to highlight gaps between reality and expectations embedded in the discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture which gave birth to the URS scheme. The limitations lying behind the selection of locations was discussed in terms of the acupuncture approach. It was argued that the URO was actually unable to select of its own volition a location as an 'acupuncture point' to deal with an explicit urban issue. The second issue concerned the designation of sites. From an examination of the bidding process and the empirical cases, we found that the weakly framed bidding documents were one of the reasons why it was difficult to designate site tasks in advance. Another reason was the unpredictable conditions created by the

varied capabilities and diverse nature of the operating bodies. Thirdly, the temporary uses including festivals and art intervention events made it seem as if the URS scheme was immersed in short-term tactics and lacked the ambition to act as 'urban therapy'. However, the question arises as to how long is temporary for a URS. I suggested that the temporary period of use for a URS remains a fuzzy and experimental issue. The length of the operating period in contracts was extended from two years without any convincing reason being given for the change. We noted a lack of evidence and discussion indicating the existence of 'urban symptoms' to be 'diagnosed and acupunctured' during contract extensions.

Following the discussion of discourse, the focus moved to a discussion of the administrative process of policy implementation to find out what factors were involved in influencing the performance and achievements of CCUR policy. We found that issues of (1) bureaucratic inefficiency and (2) a lack of political support provided a partial explanation of the gap between discourse and reality examined earlier. An analysis of official organisations and their top down elite-led approach indicated that the URS scheme did not get proper administrative support and trust from a higher layer of bureaucracy. Relationships between local residents and the URO were examined, as well as the various perceptions of URSs among residents, URS operators, and officials within the administration. Evidence showed that the URS has been a fuzzy concept for most residents. It seems that there is, overwhelmingly, a misunderstanding and a lack of consensus on the policy across groups of citizens, operators and even public officials. I argued here that the checks and balances mechanism, administrative systems, the lengthy administrative procedures and large amount of paperwork have had a serious impact on administrative efficiency and public perception.

Overall, I argued that the URS showed a mobile CCUR policy where the Creative City idea was converted by one policy maker to a localised discourse (urban acupuncture), and that the implementation of the URS scheme showed how the discourse of urban acupuncture hides a less precise and more haphazard application of a policy, and that there is not a monolithic policy block but a contested urban process from the street to the bureaucracy.

Chapter 8: Urban renaissance for whom? A critical analysis of the URS scheme and the CCURP approach

8.1 Introduction

This chapter critically analyses the social and spatial effects of the URS scheme on Dihua Street as a way of evaluating Creative and Culture-led Urban Regeneration policies (CCURP) and policy mobilities. It offers an empirically based balance sheet of the consequences of CCURP implementation, especially the disparities between policy discourses and realities, as well as the limitations which have arisen (Wang, 2010; Chiu and Lin, 2014). The change that has occurred in Dihua Street is the first subject to be discussed and reviewed in this chapter. The re-imaging of Dihua Street is generally regarded by policy makers as a successful paradigm, even if not by most citizens. However, behind the mask of apparent prosperity, this chapter will ask whether other things are being buried and voices silenced or even groups sacrificed. What kind of picture does Dihua Street present after the implementation of these policies, especially in terms that a more critical approach might expose, such as gentrification and displacement?

Based on what we have learnt about the URSs in Dihua Street (Chapter 7), a more complete picture will be drawn through an investigation of various groups including pre-existing residents, newly arrived shopkeepers, academics and policy makers. From these investigations this research presents the varied voices of those who live and work there, as well as those who influence and/or make urban policies. Grounded in this framework, we will find that while Dihua Street has become an exotic and rewarding city street for boutique shopkeepers, while for long-standing residents it tends to involve problems and struggles. A rapidly soaring, chaotic rental real estate market and transformation of property management is explored here. After the discussion of polarised voices in a chaotic rental market, we ask, whether diversity and affordability are anything more than rhetoric. What is the true meaning of the terms 'diversity' and 'affordability' that appear in the Creative City discourse as propounded by the URO?

A series of examples suggest that affordability and diversity are rhetorical devices used to rationalise an uneven policy. I argue that this rhetoric of affordability is merely targeting the so-called creative class, leaving existing local shopkeepers behind. In addition, I argue that under the umbrella of a discourse of diversity, what the URS caused in Dihua Street is more of a commercial displacement process than the production of cultural diversity. The consequence of this tendency, I suggest, has been a process of

homogenised consumption spaces spread around on the cultural landscape of the city behind the dazzling rhetoric. This, I go on to suggest, is harmful for the city's social, economic and cultural sustainable development.

In order to realise what caused this change, the city's urban policies will be examined in detail. I analyse Dihua Street's preservation and refurbishment policy, the policies of volume rewards, TDR and the historic building donation mechanism, characterizing them as the first stage in culture-led urban policy. I argue that they not only play a decisive role in paving the way for Dihua Street's redevelopment but also for creating room for the implementation of cultural urban policy – the URS scheme – which I identify as the second wave of culture-led urban policy.

Accordingly, I argue that these two stages of culture-led policy are key forces showing bilateral forces pushing and limiting Dihua Street's gentrification, and that in line with academic work on gentrification discussed in Chapter 2 (e.g. Waley, 2016; Chang, 2016; Lees et al., 2013), I define Dihua Street's transformation as showing a mixed type of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification. Following the discussion of change along Dihua Street, the lens turns to contested process and policy in terms of community participation, disconnected policy, as well as prevalent top-down approaches.

Through this empirical examination, I will argue that the implementation of the URS scheme, representative of CCURP, is supported by complex and sophisticated factors. The role that culture-led urban policy has played could be more than a catalyst of urban regeneration, as is generally perceived by Evans (2005) among others. Instead, it tends to take a more dominant position, setting the direction for cultural schemes driving the community towards creative economy led redevelopment. I further argue that this creative economy led approach is combined with the features of the URS scheme, lacking transparent procedures and having a top-down elite-led path, ignoring local voices and thus enlarging the existing dissatisfaction and misunderstanding, eventually causing uneven gentrified development.

The chapter proceeds as follows. Section 8.2 will present Dihua Street's renaissance, while section 8.3 will explore voices from various groups who live and work in Dihua Street to provide a discussion of gentrified transformation in process. Section 8.4 will examine the two stages of CCURP as a relay race of gentrification as well as showing that there are some factors holding gentrification back. Section 8.5 discusses the problematic issues the URS encountered from a community perspective. The interleaving of community transformation and the problematic issues encountered in the local context helps piece together a wider sense of the consequences of creative city cultural policy beyond the superficial appearance of prosperity.

8.2. Dihua Street's renaissance: An exotic foreign city?

Overseas political visitors are very often invited to visit Dihua Street and the URS sites by policy makers (Interview A1, A5). Taipei City Mayor Hao said in the 10th anniversary celebration of the Urban Regeneration Office in 2014 that there should be more URS sites in the city to promote urban regeneration (China Times, 2014b). I discuss this official success story in two parts: the retail transformation of Dihua Street and the official 'welcome' of gentrification by the City Authority.

8.2.1. A changing retail offer

The pursuit of the URS scheme in Dihua Street has certainly coincided with a change in the retail and commercial character of the street in the past few years. Different from traditional retail and wholesale stores, a new type of shop has been mushrooming in various consumer spaces across this area, especially along the main street. Within three years (to early 2014 when my fieldwork was conducted), more than 30 new shops opened on Dihua Street and on one or two neighbouring Dadaocheng streets, and the number continues to grow. The services provided cover almost all types of food, clothing, hostels and entertainment in these consumption spaces, with a particular concentration of cafés, tea houses, design shops, design studios and so on (Figure 8.1). These new shops' common feature is that they are well decorated, creating an image of better designed products for consumers; the businesses are intertwined with the historical buildings and the atmosphere of the street to sell products that convey a sense of taste, aesthetics, and a new style of urban life. Of this transformation, Director Lin said proudly,

'After we did this [implemented the URS scheme], a few years later -- to answer your question about differences in this area -- I must stress clearly: Dihua Street has experienced a huge change in the past four years. In the past, there was no one in Dihua Street except during the Nian Huo Festival [the New Year market]. But after we came into this area, a year later, the number of tourists increased. The change in Dihua Street attracted many foreign tourists from Japan, Hong Kong, Macao and Singapore; alongside this, lots of new stores opened here. We made friends with [the new shop owners] through the URSs. We created new networks and relationships with these new friends. Dihua Street became more lively than before, and now as you can see, Evernote¹⁶

¹⁶ Evernote makes aps and other products. Founded in 2007, it is an independent, private company headquartered in California.

has its office here; Mogu¹⁷ also has an outlet here. There are also some independent shops here ... tempting young people into this historic district’.

Of these new, small shops and start-up businesses, Lin says that Dihua Street provides opportunities with lower barriers for young entrepreneurs without sufficient financial capital to start up their businesses elsewhere. Dihua Street also provides unique architectural spaces. Lin’s statement was confirmed by a silver jewellery designer who located her studio and retail shop on the street in December 2013, saying that it was impossible for her to afford such a well appointed and relatively big space in any other place in Taipei (Interview D14).

Another opinion, from the director of a famous local Taiwanese design company, gives us a clue as to what makes Dihua Street an attractive place for start-ups. He portrayed Dihua Street as a vivid place, inspiring designers with its local materials which can be smelt, touched and felt in ordinary daily life, ‘which makes our design closer to people’, he explains; ‘Dihua Street for me is more like an exotic foreign city’ (Interview D20).

Figure 8.1 Location and type of new shops.



Source: Based on DUD (2013), marked by the author.

¹⁷ Booday (known as Mogu in Chinese) is a Taiwanese local design company founded in 2003, offering goods like T-shirts, canvas purses and totes, clothing dyed with all-natural pigments and stationery.

As visitors returned, some traditional shop owners also changed their way of interior decorating and packaging and showing products. Consumers came for leisure. The traditional shop owners I interviewed all told me that the most significant groups whose numbers are growing are fashion-conscious young people and foreign travellers (Interviews D8, D9, D11, D13, D15).

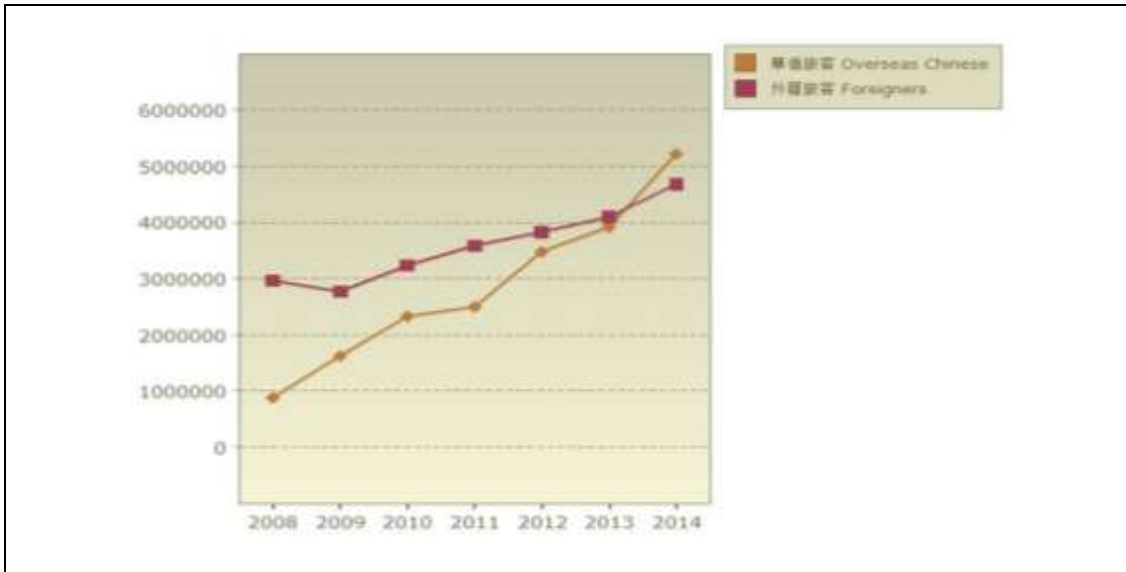
According to most interviewees, shop owners and officials, most of the foreign visitors are from East Asian countries -- Japan, Hong Kong, Macao, Singapore with a recent growth in tourists from Mainland China. They come for the unique atmosphere of traditional Taiwanese streets and alleys. The owner of a traditional shop claimed to me that,

‘Some of them come here because of the City God Temple, which is famous as a place to come to pray for a good marriage. For example, when Japanese girls came here, first they go to the City God Temple, then they follow with their travel book; they only go to those shops recommended in the book’ (Interview D9).

In order to catch these young visitors’ attention, the owner of a traditional fabric store, a man in his 40s, told me that, ‘We renewed our interior decoration so as to attract these visitors. You can see some other old shops like ours were also changed’.

There is a lack of relevant research directly indicating the growth of tourism in particular centring on Dihua Street. However, an official survey shows a tendency for growth in tourism in the city and supports the observations above. The annual statistics on tourism from the Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (2013), Taipei City Government and Tourism Bureau, Ministry of Transportation and Communication (2011, 2013) show a significant rise in the number of foreign visitors from 4.4 million in 2009 to 8 million in 2013 (Figure 8.2). The main factors attracting visitors are: beautiful scenery (59%), delicious local food (41 %), shopping (30 %), local customs and culture (29%) and people-friendly atmosphere (24%) (Tourism Bureau, 2013 p.4). In this context, Dihua Street and Dadaocheng more generally, it can be supposed, satisfy foreigners by meeting their expectations, providing a Taiwanese cultural atmosphere, shopping spaces and opportunities to try local food.

Figure 8.2 Visitor arrivals to Taipei by year.



Source: Tourism Bureau (2011, 2013); Department of Budget (2013).

URO officials contend that these URS sites have brought about a revival of Dihua Street, and this view has gained wider currency. As evidence, Wang, former manager of URS127, outlines how a URS site changed its neighbourhood and how coffee culture was introduced into this old community. He told me in an interview that the building behind URS127 was originally planned to operate a 7-11, a 24 hour chain convenience store (Interview C3). After he had spoken with the property owner, drawing on a vision of co-creating a better backyard public space between two houses, the property owner eventually decided to turn the house into a coffee shop, the first one on the street. Since then, a number of other coffee shops have opened. Following on from this, stylish shops and design studios entered the area attracting a new type of consumer.

The argument put across by planners and other interested parties is that Dadaocheng, and especially Dihua Street, is enjoying a new lease of life, with new shops and visitors arriving in numbers to patronize them. At the time of writing, more URS sites are scheduled to open. Dadaocheng is attracting considerable attention, not only from travellers, designers, and people in the arts and cultural sectors. Bidding to become the host body of URS329 in 2014 attracted 17 bidders, which is about five times the number in previous rounds, according to the URO. In the early phase of the URSs, there were usually only two or three bidders applying to operate each URS site. This shows that more individuals, companies and organisations are keen to be involved in the URS schemes in this area.

8.2.2. Welcoming gentrification

Dihua Street's renaissance is not only appreciated by tourists, and young artists and entrepreneurs but also welcomed by the city's policy makers. The city's urban elites and policy makers are optimistic about what they see as a significant transformation of Dihua Street. They believe that 'gentrification is acceptable here' (Interviews A3, A4, A5, and B5). This gentrification is rationalised by the belief held by urban elites in 'affordability and diversity' as advocated by creative city theory. The urban elites and policy makers believe that gentrification provides diversity; they advocate, in line with creative city ideas, new types of shops providing different types of products to a varied group of customers (Interviews C3, C5, and B5). (In Section 8.3.4, I will critique the use of the terms affordability and diversity.)

As a result, instead of adopting a precautionary stance towards these changes, the authority takes a fairly optimistic view. Director Lin Chongjie of the Urban Regeneration Office (URO) claims that 'there is no sign of gentrification... All that there is an increase in rents' (Interview A3). Another senior official explains that: 'last time, when we asked about the gentrification issue with a foreign expert, he answered, it will certainly happen, and such kind of change is a good thing' (Interview A5). A similar opinion was expressed by one of the URO consultants, who said he believes that 'it is acceptable if Dihua Street is gentrified as it used once to belong to the rich', by which he meant that the traditional shopkeepers had themselves once been rich. He claimed that 'if an industry is out of date, then it probably should be eliminated' (Interview B5).

These attitudes toward Dihua Street's gentrification are of vital importance. As I argued earlier, the URS scheme represents an elite-led top-down decision-making model, and the transformation of Dihua Street is closely associated with the interventions of the URS scheme. The welcoming attitude towards gentrification suggests that the URSs are regarded by leading city officials as an effective tactic. Not surprisingly, therefore, more resources were invested in the scheme. For instance, a few months after my interviews with these officials, another new URS site (URS329) was inaugurated on the street.

I switch the focal point now from the views of officials to those of groups who either work or live in the street, whether of long standing or recent incomers. In particular, I inquire about views on the local rental market. We will find that the issue of rent is particularly noteworthy in the way that it has influenced the dramatic change in business models and street life.

8.3. Polarised voices in a chaotic rental market

In this section I specifically portray the transformation of Dihua Street from the perspectives of different stakeholders – older shopkeepers, new incoming residents, as well as analysing the significant change in the rental real estate market. In this context, I seek to provide a more integrated understanding of the consequences the URS scheme and its impact on the local community by portraying the situation of various groups who were, and often still are, living and working on the street and encountering the new wave of economic activities promoted by the authority's CCUR policy.

8.3.1. Displacement pressure: shopkeepers in traditional grocery stores

The rise and decline of Dadaocheng is not only a part of the city's history (see Chapter 3) but also part of its present. In particular, for older shopkeepers, the traditional businesses they had been part of all their lives are facing new challenges from changes in contemporary consumption in terms of aesthetic values and consumption habits.

Shops on Dihua Street, as one of the oldest Taiwanese commercial streets specializing in groceries of various kinds, had been maintained for decades with bulk selling in accordance with consumer demands. Many of these stores provide both wholesale and retail services. However, consumption habits have changed with the rise in Taipei of large chain supermarkets like Carrefour and high density 24-hour convenience stores like 7-11; consumers pay much more attention to information on packages and have an increased awareness of food safety issues. Several interviewees told me that (Interview A3, B5, D4, D9, D13) some of them, the younger ones amongst them in particular, tend to use convenience stores and supermarkets where products are provided standardised descriptions of place of production, expiry dates and clearly marked prices. This has a big impact on the traditional retail stores. A second-generation, younger owner of a traditional store talks about these changes. He complains, 'We (younger owners) would also like to adjust to the requests of consumers; however, the generation [of our parents] do not allow any change. They insist on an open selling model with no price marked so as to create opportunities for interactions and bargaining' (Interview D8).

'My father taught me', he explains, 'only when a consumer asks you the price should you explain its place of production and characteristics and thus the difference in quality and price [with other products]' (Interview D8). Older shopkeepers believe the traditional open selling model, in which products are stacked in baskets rather than being packed in standard packages, is a better

way to build up trust and long term relationships with shoppers. After countless arguments on this issue, D8's store is now running a mixed mode with some open goods and some small pre-packaged goods (Figure 8.3 shows images of the traditional open model).

In addition to differences in packaging types and aesthetics, the proprietor of a traditional store mentioned the severe competition from large supermarkets and convenience stores. She pointed out that people, especially the younger generation, go to where there are 'brighter lights' and 'an automatic door with a welcome chime' to purchase food and daily necessities. '20 years ago, during the three major traditional festivals [Chinese New Year, Dragon Boat Festival and Mid-Autumn Festival], our store had to work overtime till midnight. Now, even during the major festivals not to mention normal days, we lock up at 5 p.m. and call it a day as no customers will come later' (Figure 8.4 shows a new bicycle shop and an old one across the street).

Figure 8.3. Open selling mode.



Source: The author, photographs taken in Feb 2014.

Figure 8.4. A new fashion bike shop vs. an old long-established one standing opposite.



Source: The author, photographs taken in February 2014.

My interviewees indicated that after the refurbishments some shopkeepers decided either to move out to other places or close their shops for good. For the relative minority who have not yet participated in the preservation and refurbishment policy, my interviews with these shopkeepers also show that their major concerns are with building repairs and the sustainability of their businesses.

One of them, a shopkeeper in his eighties, told me that, according to his observations, those shops that had moved out had not necessarily relocated back to Dihua Street again. He explained that some had put down roots elsewhere, but many of them used the money earned from TDR in the real estate market to develop other businesses in other areas, or had simply retired. This elderly shopkeeper chose to retain the status quo, as his business operated well with good relationships with particular restaurants for a long time. He expressed the belief that holding on to his shop represented the 'path of persistence' for sustainable development of both independent shops and the whole community. 'It [the process of house refurbishment] takes at least five years. Once you move out from Dihua Street, you won't be able to return', he maintained (Interview D5).

After the refurbishment, some buildings remained idle until the intervention of the URS scheme. Cultural events and artistic exhibitions held by the URSs attracted the younger generation, the new middle class and tourists and then gave rise to new spaces of consumption -- a wave of stylish shops. The following stage of replacement of old by new retail space is the result of the stimulus provided by the real estate market. As analysed earlier, the demand from new start-ups and potential profits from rents inspired those landlords who used to have their businesses in their own properties to let out the

commercial space to earn their livelihood from rents rather than from their original grocery businesses.

The authority's series of cultural urban policies was deeply implicated and, in fact, led to these two paths -- departure or landlordism -- initiating a process of gentrification. The earlier preservation policy involving TDR was thus the first leg of a relay race of gentrification, preparing cultural capital by preserving physical historical elements. Once the refurbishment of buildings on Dihua Street had been mostly completed, the URS scheme became the next leg of this relay race through its introduction of a new type of so-called creative economy to stimulate local development.

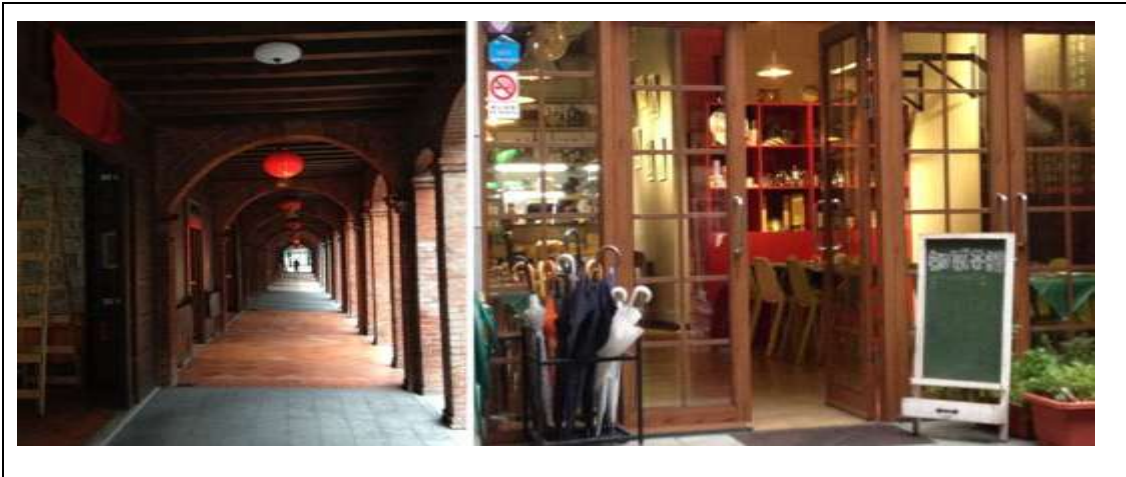
Closely associated with the consequences of the relay race of cultural policies, the refurbishment of these historic buildings made them new wonderlands for 'creative talents' leading to the proliferation of trendy boutiques. The photographs below show the state of numbers 348 to 366 Dihua Street before and after the preservation process (Figures 8.5, 8.6 and 8.7), as well as a commercial space utilising the building's traditional atrium space as part of a café (Figure 8.7). I will explain the relay race of cultural policies in more detail in section 8.5.

Figure 8.5 Nos. 348-366 Dihua Street (before renovation).



Source: Photographs provided by DUD, Taipei city government.

Figure 8.6 Nos. 348-366 Dihua Street (after renovation).



Source: The author, photographs taken in February 2014.

Figure 8.7 A traditional atrium space is now turned into commercial space as part of a café.



Source: The author, photographs taken in February 2015.

8.3.2. The new arrivals: incoming design-led boutiques

It is clear that the streetscape has been changed by the arrival of fashionable boutiques. Commercial and social activities were also significantly changed. A visitor to Dihua Street can easily observe a variety of consumer services, from traditional snacks costing 10 or 20 NT dollars to French delicacies costing thousands of NT dollars; from a few hundred NT dollars for traditional groceries to hundreds of thousands for paintings. Reflecting this rapid transformation, the chair of the local neighbourhood association expressed his curiosity and confusion:

'Have you visited that new high class kitchenware shop up there? They run a restaurant upstairs. The meals they provide for each customer are more than a thousand [NT dollars]! The rent for their shop is more than 100,000 per month. I don't understand their business model' (Interview D3).

His view was very similar to that of another traditional shopkeeper who saw the expensive paintings on sale and looked puzzled. It seems that the blossoming of high-price boutiques and similar consumption spaces on Dihua Street appears very strange to members of the local community. After all, this had been for a long time a busy traditional Taiwanese-style commercial street. Dihua Street, Yongle market and its surrounding area where snack vendors gathered had generally been regarded as one of the best inexpensive gourmet paradises in the city, especially for many older citizens and connoisseurs of good food. These very features are likely to have appealed to the gentrifiers, and indeed I was told by developers (Interview E1, E2) that Dihua Street is an area with high potential for redevelopment. Nevertheless, the refurbishment of the physical environment further enhanced the superiority of culture-led capital and sped up the emergence of trendy boutiques.

These upmarket boutiques were sporadically distributed along the street in early 2014, when my first period of fieldwork was conducted. As Figure 8.1. showed, over 30 new shops and cafés came to this area within less than 2 years up to the end of 2013 bringing with them a new breed of tourists and consumers to the street. A year later, in my second round of visits in 2015, there were a further 10 and more smartly decorated cafés, book stores and restaurants open on the street (see photographs in Figure 8.8).

Figure 8.8 New design-led boutiques and cafés opened in late 2014.



Source: The author, photographs taken in February 2015.

The existing shopkeepers have little sympathy for the growing number of new tourists. As a shopkeeper selling Chinese herbs told me:

'They come here for fun, most of them take a few photographs and then buy some designer goods; they sit in a café to enjoy the nostalgic scenery ... which is useless for our business' (Interview D6).

I was also informed by several interviewees that what they called a tiny contribution has been made to the existing traditional businesses along with the change in commercial activity (Interviews D7, D8, D9, D11, D13). A landlord who is also a store owner, whose family have been running their grocery store for two generations, observed:

'Truly in these few years the number of visitors has grown gradually, many younger people and foreigners come here. It has changed. However, our business has not benefitted. They, the Japanese, Mainland, or Hong Kong people, just pass by. They very seldom come into our store and purchase any goods' (Interview D9).

Newly arrived shopkeepers told me that their consumers are mostly young tourists, and for some, their target group is young foreigners. 'One-quarter of [my customers] are Japanese', I was told by an operator who runs three art shops on the street (Interview D15). Another design-shop owner described his customers as 'some young Taiwanese, but mostly young Japanese' (Interview D20).

Regarding Dihua Street's change after the URS interventions started, there are several different descriptions from individual designers and urban planners. I was told that the URSs are 'a kindling' (Interview C8), 'a path' (Interview F3), 'a window' (Interview F1) which enables Dihua Street's potentials, possibilities and capacities 'to be seen' (Interview F4, B3, B4, C3). One of the 'new residents' on the street who used to be involved in a URS scheme and now owns his design studio in Dihua Street (Interview C4) states that 'the change in Dihua Street over the past three years has been HUGE [his emphasis], and the change is continuing'. However, he also worries that, 'It is complicated and confusing. By now, it's not possible to figure out if it's a good thing or a bad thing for the long term development of this community'.

8.3.3. A soaring rental market and the transformation of property management

One of the principal changes that has occurred is a growing rental market with soaring rents. In my interviews with eight incoming shop owners, all of them mentioned the rent as one of the key factors that motivated their determination to base their business on Dihua Street. The four cases below

refer to new shops opened in 2012 and 2013; they are situated in the central and northern sections of the street and have similar sized spaces. The interviewees rent individual properties from private landlords. They told me they were fairly satisfied with the rents and regarded them as value for money in comparison with rents in other areas of the city -- especially those in eastern and southern parts of the city where most designer shops are to be found. The information they revealed points out a noteworthy phenomenon, that rents can vary by a factor of more than three even though the buildings are located on the same street with similar conditions of interior space and courtyard space. Figure 8.9 illustrates the contrasting rents that are outlined in the following quotations.

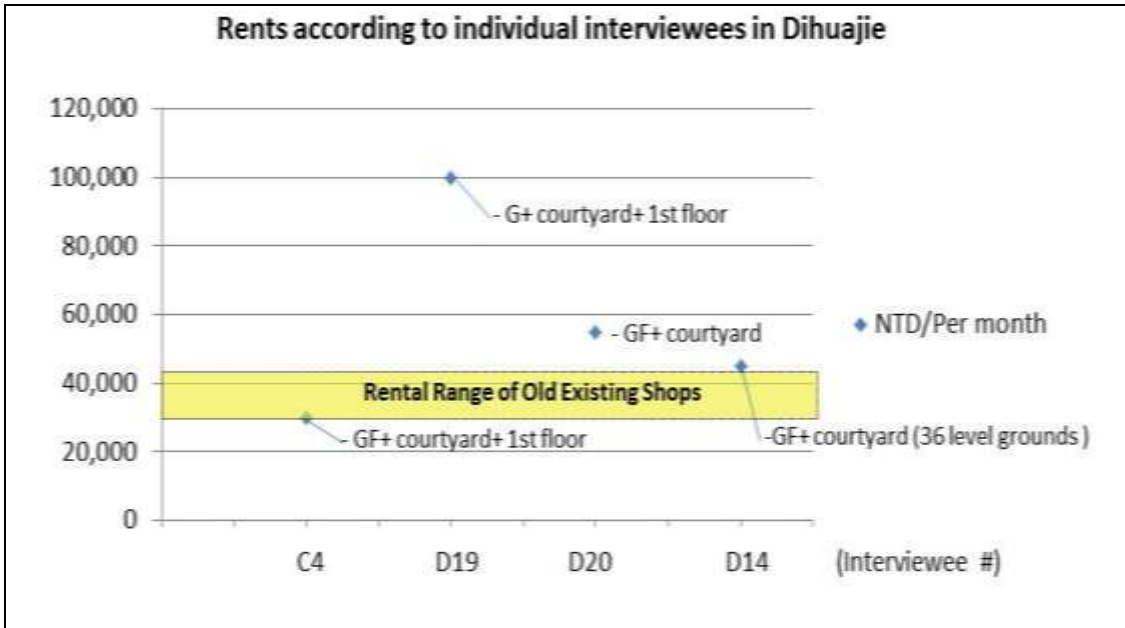
The founder of a small design studio: '[The rent] is 30,000 [NTD] per month [per ping]. We pay for the whole house including ground floor, courtyard, and first floor... It is far cheaper than any other place in Taipei. This is the upper limit we can afford' (Interview C4).

The owner of a jewellery design studio and shop: '45,000 [NTD] per month -- the rent is for the ground floor and courtyard garden, 36 ping interior space in total (approximately 900 GBP for 120 square metres per month). In other places, like Xinyi district or Yongkang Street [in the east of the city], it would cost 20,000 per ping [16 times more], a huge difference and unaffordable' shop (Interview D14).

The founder of a well-known design company: 'We use the ground floor and courtyard. It costs 55,000 [NTD] per month. We have a six-year contract. We initially applied for a ten-year one, but the landlord had his concerns' (Interview D20).

The owner of an art gallery: '100,000 [NTD] per month including exhibition space on the ground floor, courtyard garden, and office space on the first floor... Most of them (local residents) were watching and curious about the rent we pay for this house because they wanted to know how much they could earn from letting out their properties' (Interview D19).

Figure 8.9 Contrasting rents.



Source: Interviews C4, D19, D14, D20.

According to what the grocery shopkeepers told me, compared to these new shops, the rents that they pay are in the range of 30,000 to 45,000 NTD for a whole building in the middle section of the street. This relatively lower rent, compared to the new shops, has remained the same for years. Even so, one of the shopkeepers admitted reluctantly that his business was still difficult to maintain as the volume of trade was in decline and the rent almost accounted for two-thirds of net income (Interview D13).

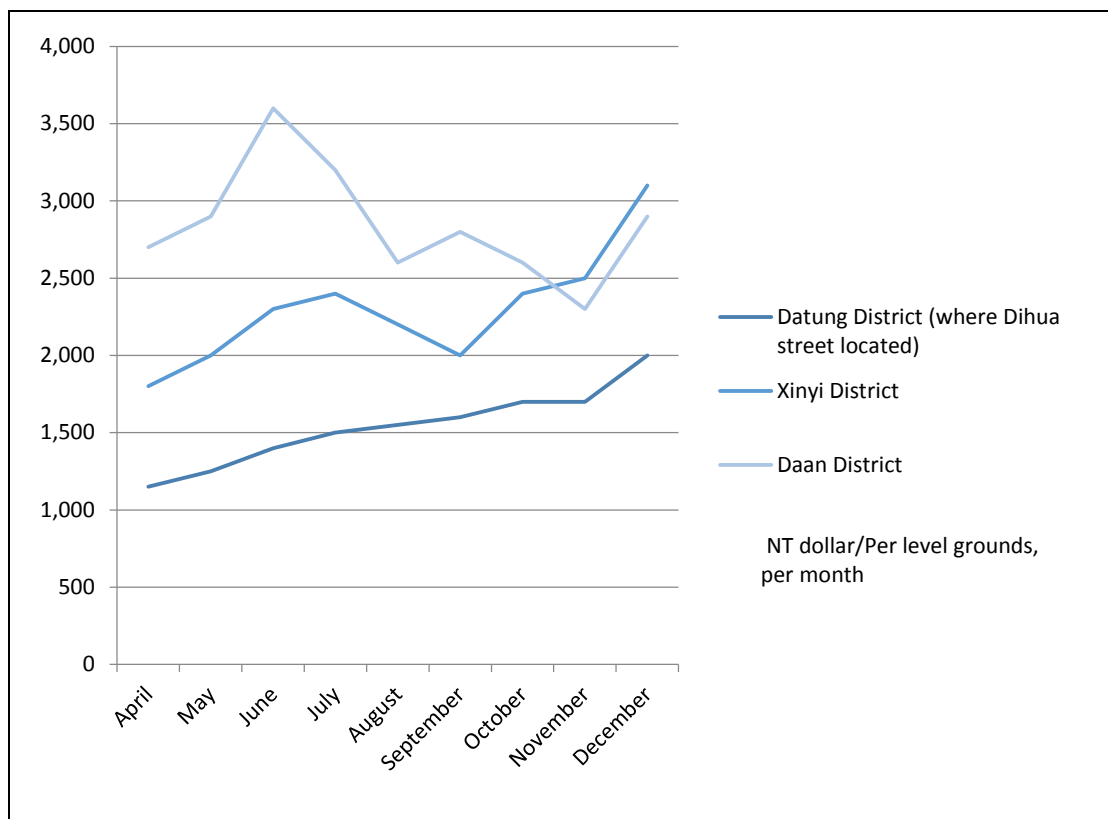
In the view of one traditional shop owner, 'Nowadays doing traditional business on Dihua Street is really tough' (Interview D11). The informant owns the property from which she runs her traditional shop which was founded in 1915 and has operated for three generations:

'It's not easy to survive, even though this property is owned by my family. It seems it would be easier for me to rent this house out; perhaps it would even earn more than working hard to keep running the shop myself. That new art gallery, I don't know what products [they] sell there. I heard that one painting is going to be sold up for 600,000 [NTD]. I don't know who is going to buy it. Another house opposite us which used to rent for 60,000 per month; it's now up to 120,000. Doubled! That's why more and more shopkeepers want to let out their houses. To be honest, the rent is so good, I would also like to rent it out and have my shop closed'. (KUO, 1930)

One of the main reasons for rising rents in Dihua Street is the increasing rents in other areas of the city, such as the Yongkang, Qingtian, Wenzhou and Huaguang neighbourhoods in Da-An District (Jou et al., 2016) and the districts in the east of the city (Huang, 2015); Dihua Street is now seen as being on a par with these districts as a gathering place for the young and the

fashion conscious. Figure 8.10 shows the trend of commercial rents in Datong, Xinyi and Da-An Districts in 2014. While it does not show with precision the neighbourhoods discussed here, it does give a broad indication of the rents among the three districts. The higher rents in other parts of the city have pushed these new entrepreneurs into the area of Dihua Street. Consequently, the high demand for commercial spaces pushes up the rent on the local real estate market. Alongside the decline of traditional retail businesses and the higher interest from renting, some property owners have been prompted by the market to let out their houses rather than to maintain their existing shops.

Figure 8.10 Commercial rent (NTD) index in Datong, Xinyi and Da-An Districts in 2014.



Source: Based on the Taiwan Houses Company's (2014) database of purchase and sale of properties, compiled by the author.

8.3.4. Are diversity and affordability anything more than rhetoric?

Multiculturalism is promoted by creative city theorists, and regarded by many policy makers and urban elites as a leading principle of urban redevelopment, believing that diversity breeds creativity (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2003, 2002a). However, in the case of Dihua Street, it is unclear whether the consequences in terms of gentrification present redevelopment are marked by cultural diversity or a homogenised transformation. In addition, providing affordable spaces is another central task of the URS. What do we learn from the change

of the rental market in Dihua Street? What are the 'true meanings' of 'diversity' and 'affordability' empirically revealed in the city's CCURP policy?

Previous discussions of gentrified development in Dihua Street (see 8.2) have shown that new types of shops which were welcomed by the policy makers were gradually replacing the existing shops -- because the opening of any new shop meant the closure of another, older one. The blossoming of new design-led shops has condemned old retail and wholesale commerce and led to an epochal change to the fabric of street life. This is more a process of social and industrial replacement than the onset of diversity. While the transformation is welcomed by the URO, most of my interviewed local people remain unconvinced that the city's CCUR policy is striving for multicultural diversity (Interviews D1-13); they expressed opinions that aligned more closely with Chen Hung-Ying's view based on her work in Taipei's Little Indonesia that 'multiculturalism in Taipei exists only as hollow rhetoric' (2013, p. 283). Alongside multicultural diversity, the URS scheme is designed to attract 'creative talents'. The unpredictable nature of the rental market has shown that different standards exist for different groups. To new shopkeepers, Dihua Street no doubt provides affordable bases for their businesses. They see the traditional elements of the historic buildings and the street, vendors and market, as well as the existing grocery shops as exotic, a wonderland that inspires their designs and adds value to the goods they sell (Interviews D20). However, to those who have long been operating their businesses there, the soaring rents are a big problem. The term 'affordability' means something different for those old shopkeepers who have to rent houses to operate their businesses.

Zooming out from street to city scale, when we put Dihua Street onto the map of CCI consumption spaces in the city, it seems fairly clear that there is a trend that sees a homogenised consumption landscape driving urban redevelopment. Places and their historic milieu (cultural capital) are utilised to promote city tourism and provide a unique local, authentic consumption scenario and additional value to products reflecting Urry's (1995) theory on tourism and consuming places and Zukin's (1998; 2008; 2009) work on consuming authenticity. Along with the CCI parks -- Huanshan and Songshan cultural and creative parks -- a band of gentrified terrain with its middle class consumption spaces has been created stretching along one of the metro lines from Dihua Street in the east to Xinyi in the west (Figure 8.11).

Figure 8.11 Taipei's CCI consumption spaces along the underground railway line and the MRT metro (blue line).



Source: DUD (2014), arranged by the author.

A new shopkeeper who owns several shops in Dihua Street has divided the buildings into several units to sublet to start-ups. He also provides a consultancy service to young entrepreneurs starting businesses on Dihua Street. In my interview, he showed his appreciation of Dihua Street's cultural content and believes that he and his business partners provide a unique service to 'carefully chosen' young entrepreneurs. He told me with confidence that his consultancy 'looks successful as some purchasing managers from bigger entrepreneurs which are currently running the CCI parks have come to me and invited some of our partners to sell their design products in their stores in Huashan and Songshan parks' (Interview D15).

The fast-flowing characteristics of micro and small enterprises and the convenient urban public transport system have sped up the homogenising tendency in the city. There are indications that some young entrepreneurs have expanded their businesses, selling spots in Dihua Street and moving to other CCI 'hot spots'. For instance, a stylish bicycle store originally based in Dadaocheng opened a second store in 2015 in Huasheng Creative Park and subsequently closing their shop in Dihua Street (Figure 8.12).

Figure 8.12 A stylish bicycle store originally located in Dadaocheng (left) and its second shop in 2015 in Huashan Creative Park (right).



Sources: The author, taken in February 2014 (left), and Huashan 1914 Official website (middle and right) (2015).

It would seem therefore that diversity and affordability of CCUR policy in Dihua Street are well reflected in the following observation, made by a Taiwanese sociologist Kang Chao: “Multiculturalism” in contemporary Taiwan is essentially a rhetoric celebrating formal diversity and paradoxically an ideological agenda’ (Chao, 2006, p. 148) -- merely nice-sounding rhetoric behind which problems resulting from uneven development are hidden.

In accordance with the discourse of diversity and affordability, the CCUR policy has changed the physical and cultural fabric of the city, and the operating of the urban development market; CCI in particular is producing homogenised spaces of consumption spread around the city.

8.4. A state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification and limits of gentrification

We have seen how young artists and entrepreneurs have led the change on retail aesthetics (Chang, 2016) in Dihua Street, and have contributed (albeit generally unintentionally) to growing strength in the commercial and real estate market (Lees et al., 2013; Lin, 2014c). In this section, I explore the state’s power in what I refer to as a CCURP relay race. I identify the earlier stage of preservation policy and the URS scheme as two phases of culture-led urban policies. Finally, by summarising and reflecting on Dihua Street’s transformation, I rethink the role the CCUR policy plays in local development.

8.4.1. A relay race of CCURP: preservation as the first phase?

The replacement of one type of shop with another does not happen overnight, but more often there is a process of closure of the old one for years while it is repaired; then instead of a reopening, a new type of shop is opened instead. As introduced in Chapter 4, the incentive mechanism of the preservation policy requires adherence to a strict architectural norm by the property owner and in return gives volume, which can be traded in the real estate market. From the viewpoint of preservation of heritage, the profit that this policy creates for property owners has successfully encouraged them to participate in the refurbishment of their properties and thus maintain this historic street fabric. As has discussed in Chapter 4.3.6, since 2000 there have been 275 buildings that completed the process of urban design review using these mechanisms and 349 TDR cases had been checked and approved by July 2012. This cultural heritage preservation policy has, in fact, been one of the most important factors in Dihua Street's transformation as it has created places for the later CCUR policy to be executed.

In order to ensure proper renovation methods in the house refurbishments, inspections with a five-stage checking process¹⁸ are conducted in the urban design review process. The process is designed by the City Government to guarantee that respect and attention has been paid to these historic buildings. After all, the authority takes the view that the property owners should take the burden of responsibility as they will be paid for the bulk of the repairs. The photographs below show the status of each stage (Figure 8.13). The process of the urban design review and the five-stage checks is designed to ensure the quality of refurbishment.

¹⁸ Based on the Dadaocheng Special District Detailed Plan, five-stage check points are inspected by the Dadaocheng Special District ad hoc committee to ensure the quality of the entire process of maintenance and preservation. The contents of each stage are as follows: the first stage involves an inspection of the building's layout; the second stage, an inspection of the facade; the third stage, an inspection of structural repair; the fourth stage, an inspection of interior decoration; and the final stage, an inspection of the completion of repair.

Figure 8.13 Inspections of five-stage checking points.

The first stage: inspection of the building's layout



The second stage: inspection of the facade



The third stage: inspection of structural repair



The fourth stage: inspection of interior decoration



The final stage: inspection of the completion of repair



Source: Photographs provided by DUD, Taipei City Government.

Following the bulk-reward incentive tactic of preservation policy, the URS scheme was then adopted as the second leg of this relay. The city government received properties due to the previous 'donation' bulk reward mechanism that resulted in the URS scheme having the 'physical' spaces to employ the CCUR policy whereby a historical area is utilised to attract new entrepreneurs and tourists and thus revitalise the community. It presents a type of state-led gentrification with the characteristics of vernacular housing conversion (Waley, 2016). When considered alongside the arts-led entrepreneurial aesthetic retail and real estate market, gentrification in Dihua Street can be described as a mixed type of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification.

8.4.2. The Limits to Gentrification?

Certain factors, however, have formed a countervailing force against a more widespread gentrified development. These factors are: (1) existing conditions of public infrastructural facilities, (2) limitations resulting from the regulation of historical architecture, and (3) local pride.

While the historic nature of Dihua Street's buildings presented distinctive advantages in attracting tourists and new businesses, at the same time the historic architecture was also protected by rigorous regulations. The existing condition of the street places severe limits on public infrastructural facilities and services. For instance, the street is too narrow to allow a big fire engine through; it lacks parking spaces and green parks. The existing insufficiencies in the infrastructure and strict regulations are the main concerns for big chain retailers and wealthy customers. These considerations may prevent a typical gentrification process.

The assessment Starbucks made when planning to locate a branch on Dihua Street serves as a good example. A shopkeeper told me that Starbucks had once considered opening a coffee shop near his store:

'They visited the building several times and almost made a final decision. However, the width of the existing stairs does not fit with the standard set by its head office in the U.S. and according to the city's regulation, any structural reform of historic buildings is prohibited' (Interview D15).

Moreover, the narrow but deep traditional houses have relatively poor conditions in terms of natural daylight and ventilation compared with modern dwellings. Such conditions hamper their conversion into more comfortable spaces.

In addition to the physical conditions, local pride is another important characteristic of the existing local entrepreneurs. From my fieldwork, I noticed that some local businessmen, especially those who have developed successful businesses in Dadaocheng, showed great appreciation of Dihua Street and showed great local pride. A local businessman described Dihua Street as 'a treasure trove for entrepreneurs', as it not only provided opportunities but was also a cradle of the local traditional grocery industry (Interview D5; also D12). Research on Dadaocheng conducted by Huang (2012) shows that relationships among businessmen are strong and highly associated with cooperation but also with rivalry. The sense of belonging to Dadaocheng and trust among businessmen are seen as the most important reasons why traditional commerce can continue to exist in Dihua Street (Huang, 2012b).

Overall, this long preservation process is the first stage in what we might call an 'unintended industrial expulsion'. As first mentioned in Chapter 3, traditional shops in Dihua Street have faced the brunt of dynamic changes in Taiwanese society and its economy. Due to the severe threat posed by changes in consumption patterns and competition from newly emerging parts of the city, traditional shopkeepers struggle with their businesses and consider other options for their livelihoods. The bulk-reward incentive policy

has speeded up the decline of traditional shops and approach to trade that they embody. As we have seen, the chaotic rental market plays a crucial role leading to a transformation of the local retail scene with a major change in commercial activities and street life. However, as I have shown, the gentrification process is not proceeding smoothly. As with Singapore's Little India (Chang, 2016), the state's power is also seen in Taipei. Dihua Street's strict conservation code has limited further widespread gentrified development. These three factors together -- the existing conditions of public infrastructural facilities, limitations from strict architectural regulations, and local pride -- all go to present a powerful force working against gentrification. However, whether this is enough to halt the process of gentrification is doubtful.

8.5. The contested politics of community participation in urban renaissance

As we have noted, the URS scheme was developed with discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture following the creative city idea (URO, 2010c; 2012d; also see ch5 and 7.1). However, it seems that the core spirit and idea of the URS scheme are lost to local residents. In this section, I examine firstly the dissatisfaction among residents, dissatisfaction that appears to have come early, originating with the historical conservation programme which caused a rather negative attitude towards the URS scheme. The focus then turns to the top-down elite-led approach and its limited degree of community participation which left very little room for residents to get involved in the operations of the URS. Local voices have been largely ignored. The lack of consensus and understanding not only exists among residents but also among officials in the city government and between the various URS sites. I argue that these multiple factors interact to mean that the URS is a policy lacking consensus and understanding, and thus unable to bring people together in a shared vision.

8.5.1. Regeneration as disruption of everyday life

As I argued in chapter 4, the mechanisms of TDR (transfer of development rights) and bulk reward have created benefits for property owners, making them more willing to repair their buildings. However, the TDR and bulk-reward policies and operating procedures also caused dissatisfaction in the Dihua Street community that had a major impact on the community's receptiveness to the URS scheme. For most existing residents, the process took too long. On average it took 5 years for one building, from applying for urban design

review through to completing repairs (Interview F6). It is not only an inconvenience for the individual property owner, but worse it turned Dihua Street from a traditional Taiwanese high street with lots of commercial activity into a construction site for approximately a decade.

Figure 8.14 Scenes of renovation of buildings on Dihua Street.



Sources: The author, taken in January 2016.

The neighbourhood association leader quoted above compared Dihua Street to the reconstruction of traditional old streets in New Taipei City and Taoyuan City:

‘Look at Sanxia Old Street [in New Taipei City] and Daxi Old Street [in Taoyuan City]; they completed the street renovation there in 3 to 5 years. Here, in our street, it has been running for more than 10 years and is still ongoing. The efficiency of city government is disappointing. You should go around the street and take a look. The [houses in the] middle and northern sections are still under construction. When a policy is planned, the government should consider the development of the entire neighbourhood... not just the URSs, which are only a tiny part of it.... Don’t ask me; please leave me alone and ask someone else’ (Interview D3).

The conservation and renovation projects he mentioned in New Taipei City and Taoyuan City in fact have various elements in common with those in Dadaocheng. In terms of local traditional culture, industry and heritage

conservation, it would be hard to argue that these projects have been better executed than Dadaocheng. However, it is clear that the duration of the work on Dihua Street has led to dissatisfaction in the community. Against this, it should be stated that this lengthy process, including the administrative procedure of urban design review, transfer of development rights and building renovation, is designed to ensure the quality of work on heritage conservation.

An architect who has been operating for a long time on the street observes that the renovation work has been having an impact on local businesses for years. He points to the 'construction fencing that occupies part of the street and those large construction vehicles passing up and down' (Interview F6).

While the authorities have been engaged in dialogue with land and property owners, residents who are not themselves owners of buildings have over the last three decades been ignored and excluded from the discussion of the preservation movement (Tan and Waley, 2006). This long term state of disregard for residents by 'professional knowledge and administrative power' (Tan and Waley, 2006, p. 553) turned existing residents into passive information consumers with a relatively cynical attitude towards urban policy.

There is no significant sign of any attempt to mend fences with members of the local community. The URS did initially have an approach towards communicating with the community (URO, 2010c). However, it seems to have been limited in its effectiveness as the existing dissatisfaction among landowners and residents is caused by previous policies.

8.5.2. A disconnected policy

Residents of Dihua Street were seen by officials as tending to be passive information consumers rather than active participants. I was told that even at the beginning of the URS scheme, the URS encountered some backlash from the community (Interviews C3, C4). Take URS127 for example. Neighbours regarded their community as being disturbed by 'outside' groups. After a period of run-ins, a new understanding was reached, but it took time for the neighbours to become involved in activities held by the URS (Interview C6). My interviews confirmed what I have been told by those involved in running the URS. When I interviewed those older pre-existing residents and shopkeepers and asked them about the URS programme, some of them told me they hadn't heard about it and asked me what it was (Interviews D1, D5, D12).

In contrast, the owners of shops moving into the street were more aware of policies and willing to participate with the URS. Some chose to locate their shops here because they saw the opportunities presented by the policy, and

felt optimistic about the future development of Dihua Street. The manager of a gallery observed:

‘Urban policies are focused on this district. Public financial resources are being spent here as well because of all these historic and architectural resources... It will become more and more prosperous and as you can see the rent is getting higher and higher’ (Interview D19).

For some pre-existing residents, the URSs are merely places providing spaces for exhibitions. Some local residents of Dadaocheng in and around Dihua Street thought the URS scheme was simply a sort of policy providing sightseeing spots or galleries intended to attract travellers or tourists to come to the area. A leader of the local business development association said:

‘To create better commercial conditions is probably one of our main concerns. Since Dihua Street is a place full of stories, we should have been telling them better. The URS is a part of storytelling. However, it’s a pity that it is always standing out there, alone [not linked in to other things in the street]. It should be utilised more to attract customers.... You see that these URS sites [in Dihua Street] are now merely places providing static exhibitions’ (Interview D6).

Compared with the seven strategic dimensions of the URS scheme summarised in the introduction to this chapter, shop owners seemed to expect more commercial benefits from the policy. As one grocery shop owner complained, ‘URS155 quite often held activities. But those who came here were all young people ... looking to have fun. What can they contribute to our business?’ (Interview D13). Some were confused about what the URSs were actually about and what they did. For example the leader of one of the three neighbourhood associations in Dadaocheng told me:

‘The URS and these new businesses -- I really don’t get it. The URSs and new businesses came into the street... Different fields, we are laymen. Various trades and industries have their tricks. URS127 is very independent [less involved with the community]. I can’t see what URS155 is nor what it does. They seem to be holding activities several times a year’ (Interview D3).

The local business association leader quoted above suggested that the URSs were disconnected from the existing retail and residential community:

‘It seems the URSs could do more to connect with the local community and business in the locality as people here may not even know what URS is’ (Interview D6).

One URS operator conceded there was a problem of local engagement and perception:

‘It cannot be denied that it is a minority of residents who know properly what URS is. We literally simplify and explain to them that we are one of the urban

regeneration stations, these houses were donated to government, and we are here to communicate with the community in various ways. We explain in a simple way' (Interview C6).

A dry goods shopkeeper confirmed that 'we had chats sometimes with them [URS operators], but we still don't get it [what URS is]' (Interview D9).

In addition to confusion among residents, the long-standing dissatisfaction with government policies in the district and the process of the conservation programme exacerbated the tensions between government and residents. In the next section, I argue using official documents that the URS policy itself does not actively encourage community involvement.

8.5.3. Top-down approach: neglecting community participation and the problem of trust

The URS scheme suffered from a lack of process transparency as decisions were made by policy makers while local residents were kept out. Official brochures publicizing the scheme maintain that 'the URS scheme is designed to develop the local community' (URO, 2010c, 2009c). However, the operating guidelines of Taipei Urban Regeneration Station Committee, discussed in 7.3.2., show that the scheme has seldom been concerned with local participation.

The guidelines should be an important document laying out the processes of selection, designation and evaluation of each URS site. However, article 4 of the guidelines stipulates that the URS committee should be composed of URO officers, experienced event organisers, experts and scholars; there is not even a single place reserved for local representatives. Local participation is merely noted later; 'when summoning a meeting, depending on each case, if necessary representatives of local residents may be invited to attend', but without voting rights.

When this might be 'necessary' is decided by the URO, and this had never actually happened by 2014 when my fieldwork was conducted. According to interviews with officials of the URO, there had been no individual local resident ever invited to any meeting of the URS committee.

This neglect of local participation confirmed Wang's (2006) assessment, mention in Chapter 2, of the city's urban planing policy as having limited citizen participation in the planning process. The low degree of public participation in the process helps to explain the misunderstanding and dissatisfaction discussed earlier, and led to the lack of interest among local residents. This discrepancy between local residents and the authority may

well reduce the potential capacity of the URS scheme and result in uneven gentrified development.

Referring to these misunderstandings, Director Lin told me that ‘outsiders regarded the URS scheme as a programme to reuse idle buildings. This is a big misunderstanding. It has NEVER been this’ (Interview A3). He explained that, ‘Idle space means a place lacking activity.... However, we set up [each URS] to intensify local community [cohesion] by looking for the right team’. As a result, ‘the way the space is used is not a major concern. For me, what I really care about is what can be done through the URS [policy] to contribute to the local area [redevelopment]’.

Unfortunately, the ‘outsiders’ Lin mentions seem not only to be residents, but also people he works with in governmental organisations as well as people in the network of URS scheme. In contrast to Lin’s view of the URS scheme, my interviews with senior public servants from DUD gave me a directly contradictory interpretation. They regarded URS as merely a project to solve problems of space. In the words of two senior urban planners I interviewed:

{URS is a] programme for reusing idle spaces. That’s it’ (InterviewA2).

‘It is because some houses [in Dadaocheng] were received by the authority from landlords. The way these properties were used were issues the URO was forced to deal with. Those [URS] spaces were thus created... What the URO did was deal with and solve spatial issues’ (Interview A1).

The interviewees quoted above have been working in the spatial planning sector as public servants for more than a decade, and have rich experience of urban planning as well as a long-term focus on planning projects in the Dadaocheng area. One must presume from their answers that they do actually regard the policy as a space reuse programme and the policy discourse as mere rhetoric and that therefore the misunderstandings not only exist with ‘outsiders’ but also appear even within the city government.

Coincidentally, relations between the URO and each URS site, as well as networks among URS sites were criticised by a former URS manager:

‘The plan is unclear. There is no clear formula. Everyone [in each site] was working in the dark, alone, and acted according to his or her own imagination’ (Interview C1).

Each site is independent and mutually unrelated, as confirmed by one of the URS consultants (Interview B4). According to her observation, she believes there are large gaps between the sites:

'Those sites have never be well connected. There is no consensus among sites. There is also a lack of good relationships between the sites. Even and especially those sites on Dihua Street'.

When the URS sites fail to connect with each other, how could it be possible for the URS scheme to form a strong alliance with local people, and lead them forward in pursuit of policy objectives and a shared vision? How can the URO bring together forces from both the public and private sectors to achieve those goals, if these misunderstandings are widespread, not only among 'outsiders' but also within the internal organisation of the government?

As we have seen in Chapter 4 and Chapter 8.3, a combination of the struggles for local economic development in Dadaocheng, the conservation policies and the lengthy administrative procedures of urban review and TDR have intensified residents' distrust of government. Responses from my interviewees all refer to, and confirm, this lack of trust, regardless of whether they are local residents, newly established entrepreneurs or planning experts.

'The URS providing exhibition space is good enough. You cannot expect more because it belongs to the city government. It [commercial element] should be avoided because of its official character. [The URS] feels like a cold yamen [government office in imperial China]. Only outsiders would go into those places'. The director of one of the local business associations (Interview D6).

'Alas! They [the government] did this. They never know what we [shopkeepers] need. Whatever it [URS] is, once the government got involved, it became a failure!'. Shopkeeper (Interview D13).

'It [URS] is too clearly an official affair. Residents would not go into it'. Architect and ex-URO member (Interview C9).

'Trust in the government by citizens is very weak'. Art curator with long experience of working with the city government (Interview B6).

These statements indicate a long term mistrust of government. The local residents whom I interviewed had no desire to enter the URS sites simply because they saw it as part of an 'official' world. This impact on the URS scheme has been predictably negative. As one URO consultant put it, 'the gap between the authorities and citizens is huge' (Interview B5). He also questions 'how the URS can be well implemented when its citizens have no expectations, no trust towards the government'.

In this section, we found more fundamental trust issue between the residents and the City Authority so as to urban policies. These intertwined causalities adding to our discussion in last chapter is another factor that influences policy performances, it also shows that the URS is not a monolithic policy block but a contested urban process from the street to the bureaucracy.

8.6. Conclusion: a culture-inclined rhetoric hiding an economically driven policy

This chapter has, along with the second half of Chapter 7, provided a detailed critique of the URS scheme, addressing the scarcity of empirical evidence and the poverty of critical review in Taiwan. It has presented Dihua Street, a historical community where the policy has been implemented in a highly condensed way, to demonstrate the transformation of the community through a two-stage intervention process involving culture-led policies. It started with an investigation into Dihua Street's renaissance, and then probed into polarised voices from various groups. I then identified the role the city's CCUR policy played, finding out what factors were involved and their consequences. Finally, I discussed this contested policy from dimensions of daily community life, community participation and the issue of trust.

In section 8.2 and 8.3, with a geographic focus on Dihua Street, I portrayed in detail the dramatic changes in commercial activities, daily life and the rental market. These were examined from the following points of view: (1) a changing retail offer, (2) welcoming gentrification, (3) displacement pressures of shopkeepers in traditional grocery stores, (4) the new arrivals, and (5) the rapidly soaring rental market. Based on this, I found that the implementation of a series of CCURP played a vital role in driving Dihua Street through an ongoing process of gentrification which echoes critiques discussed in Chapter 2 of the impact of CCURP (e.g. Atkinson, 2004; Belfiore, 2002; Lees, 2008). Nevertheless, there are distinctive features to the situation as it applies to the local context of Dihua Street.

The analysis started with an examination of the existing shopkeepers and their struggles. Modernised business models and consumption habits present severe challenges for older shopkeepers, many of whom have lived and worked in Dihua Street all their lives. New design-conscious stylish shops have gradually replaced the old grocery stores. However, as I demonstrated, the process of replacement did not happen in a straightforward way from the traditional to the new, but was instead mostly activated through the policy intervention of property preservation and refurbishment measures, which I argued were the first stage of culture-led urban policy. The consequences of this were that some traditional shops have moved, or even vanished forever. The URS scheme consequently took the next step, to introduce to this old commercial street so-called 'creative groups' by highlighting its unique historic cultural elements and holding cultural and artistic events. I demonstrated that, these two phases of culture-led policies together led Dihua Street to an early stage of gentrification.

An examination of rents and what they mean to those younger entrepreneurs and traditional shopkeepers shed further light on the process in Dihua Street. Younger entrepreneurs regarded Dihua Street as the street with the best value for money for their design-led businesses. High demand for business spaces on the street and the lack of clarity over rental value resulted in a chaotic real estate market. The rapidly soaring rent forced most of the old shopkeepers to either close their businesses and move out or, for those who owned the properties, to rent them out for profit. This showed that rent is an influential factor activated by the city's CCURP pushing Dihua Street faster in its process of transformation. We saw a mixed type of gentrification where CCURP present a vital state-led power, with participations of young artists and entrepreneurs leading a process of change in retail aesthetics (Chang, 2016) alongside a strengthening commercial and real estate market (Lees et al., 2013; Lin, 2014c). I identified it as a mixed style of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification.

However, I also pointed out that it is a dynamic ongoing process, in which the existing condition of public infrastructure facilities, limitations imposed by strict architectural regulations, and local pride work together to slow down gentrification.

In summary, through a detailed review of the development of local communities, the actual meaning of policy discourses, divergence in the implementation process and the bureaucratic system, this chapter revealed the nature of the URS scheme, the role it plays, and the factors that go to influence the performance of the policy. These findings have supported my main argument that CCUR policy in Taipei is a sophisticated and dynamic process with complex factors and interventions in a local social context, a process that has economic goals and one that is implemented by a bureaucratic system. CCUR policy plays a vital and active role through a two stages -- the bulk-reward-led preservation and URS schemes -- leading to a redevelopment directed towards the so-called creative economy. The CCUR policy, with its lack of transparent procedures and top-down elite-led approach ignored local voices and thus intensified existing dissatisfaction and misunderstanding, causing uneven gentrified development.

Chapter 9: Conclusions: rethinking the relationship between creative city-making and citizens

9.1. Introduction

This thesis has tracked the history of urban regeneration policies and mechanisms over the past three decades, and investigated the implementation of creative and culture-led urban regeneration policies (CCURP), their impact on local communities and policy mobilities in Taipei through a qualitative approach to the research objectives. The Urban Regeneration Station (URS) scheme has been taken as a case study, responding to academic appeals for empirical evidence and geographic research into CCURP, focusing on implementation mechanisms, processes and diverse voices to discover their nature and application in Dihua Street (and in other parts of Taipei), gaps between policy discourse and practical reality, and policy limitations, as well as gentrification in Dihua Street.

This concluding chapter reviews the main findings of the thesis from the previous chapters, the original empirical and theoretical contributions of the research, and suggests possibilities and directions for further research.

9.2. Summary of thesis and key points from previous chapters

The introductory chapter laid out the background to my research, explaining research motivation, aims and objectives. Taking from three levels of central government, local government and community development, I presented the grounds for an exploration of CCUR policy in Taipei.

In the second chapter, I reviewed the literature on culture-led urban regeneration policy, the creative city idea, and how urban policy knowledge flows, as well as urban restructuring, policy mobilities and gentrification in Taipei. Research on policy transfer was discussed to understand current debates on mobility, assemblage and new methods to the study of CCURP. After a reflection of contemporary research on creative city and culture-led urban regeneration policy as well as policy mobilities, this chapter reviewed the literature on urban restructuring, community empowerment and gentrification in Taipei, suggesting that Taipei's culture-led urban policies are closely related to its local political and social context while local professionals and community empowerment played a critical role in spatial restructuring.

Chapter 3 explored the process of the economic, political and social development of Taiwan, the development of urban planning policy in Taipei as well as Dihua Street's history and preservation movement. In chronological order, I sketched Taiwan and Taipei's development from 1980s to 2014 arguing that the main factor driving the development of Taipei city was dependent on state policy before the mid-80s, and then tended to be pulled and pushed by polygonal forces. Discussions on the rise and decline of Dadaocheng and Dihua Street and conservation movements prepared the way for later discussion on transformations of urban policy as well as changes and gentrification of Dihua Street.

Chapter 4, following the background story set out in Chapter 3, investigated (1) From central state to city governance: the origins of contemporary urban policy in the 1980s, (2) Taipei's twin-track urbanism: urban expansion meets conservation of the historic centre: 1990-2000, (3) Taipei's cultural-creative class turn in changing national times: 2000 to 2014, (4) The Return of grassroots opposition to urban renewal, and (5) Coping strategies from the central and local government. In the first three parts, key development features and directions have been identified in three main time divisions from the 1980s to 2014 portraying Taipei's notable and rapid transformation. I related the origins of today's urban policies in the 1980s, twin-track urbanism in the 1990s and the cultural and creative-class turn post 2000 by reviewing literature and mapped out the city's urban strategies within social and political dynamic conditions, especially the rise of a vigorous civil society in democratic process and the influences of a variety of urban and environmental issues.

Bulk Reward, Transfer of Development Right (TDR) and property 'donations' have been identified as decisive mechanisms adopted by the authority in its governance of historical heritage preservation and urban regeneration since 1990s. These incentive mechanisms have been introduced in the application for Dadaocheng preservation policy in response to demands for the protection of private property rights, heritage conservation and local development. Spatial incentive mechanisms have later been brought into the Urban Renewal Act. I argued that these strategies are actually a kind of neoliberal approach attempting to create a favourable condition for real estate markets to maintain a buoyant property market. Finally, I presented growing opposition to urban renewal and the coping strategies from the central and local government. I developed the discussion from the Urban Renewal Act to the Wenlin Yuan dispute to illustrate the growing opposition to urban renewal. The Wenlin Yuan dispute showed the tensions that arose among stakeholders, academic critics and the public and hostility toward the authority and its urban renewal policy.

Chapters 3 and 4 showed that by the 1990s, a historical process of post-war political, economic restructuring and active civil society had led to a peculiar set of urban challenges facing the Taipei City Government into which the potential of CCURP made sense as a policy choice. While the pressures from the public on physical urban renewal projects further pushed the city's urban regeneration policy towards a cultural turn where cultural policy was then introduced to soften and downplay the struggles and difficulties caused by the bulk-reward-led approach.

To realise how and where these ideas and cultural policies came from, I took CCURP mobilities as the core discussion in Chapter 6 to bridge the analysis of broad CCURP with the specific case study of the URS in Chapter 7 by demonstrating how the CCURP ideas were transferred from the West to Taipei, and formed a preface to a detailed critique in Chapters 7 and 8.

In **Chapter 5**, I described the qualitative methodology employed in the research based on the considerations of attaining validity and reliability. Methods of data collection were introduced based on varied forms mainly embedded in observation, interview and documents analysis. The URS scheme was introduced as a single-case study approach. A total of 56 interviews classified in 8 types were conducted. Meanwhile the textual materials, mainly official documents, enabled this research to explore the discrepancies and gaps between discourse and empirical practice. Participatory observations of official meeting and overseas advocate were conducted responding to the suggested new 'mobile methods' (Büscher et al., 2010; Sheller and Urry, 2006) in the study of urban policy and policy flows. I have also discussed the issues of ethics and my positionality which both influenced and were influenced by the field. Productive and problematic issues related to my positionality were identified and explained. The process of my fieldwork was a learning journey in the field which has significantly shaped my way of thinking, my thoughts and understanding on urban issues and thus the outputs of this research.

Based on Taiwan and Taipei's development background (Chapter 3), findings from existing literature (Chapter 2), and the primary and secondary data collected from a qualitative research method (Chapter 5), the empirical findings of this research were addressed in the following four chapters. Materials gathered from governmental documents, and from interviews were employed to map out the city's urban regeneration policies and show how urban regeneration policies took a cultural turn in Chapter 4. **Chapter 6** focused on policy mobilities of CCURP where data from interviews, participatory observation of official meetings and workshops, as well as textual materials such as 'Twenty Stories of Urban Regeneration' and Charles Landry's published works on the city were analysed to track the idea and

activities of creative city-making. Those official publications and reports as well as evidence from interviews with policy makers, officials, the URS partners and professionals who participated deeply in the URS scheme were used in **Chapter 7** to introduce the URS scheme as well as policy discourse. Lastly, in **Chapter 8** diverse voices from different types of interview were cited to seek for a more thorough understanding of the consequences of the URS scheme. The core findings of these three chapters are outlined in the following three sections.

9.2.1. Policy mobilities: a lesson in elite-filtered planning?

‘The stones of other hills can be used to polish [one’s own] gems’.

The Book of Songs (Shijing; 10th and 9th centuries BC)

This line from an ancient Chinese poem is interpreted as meaning that experiences from others may help conquer one’s own shortcomings. It implies the belief of certain professionals and policy makers in Taipei that urban regeneration strategies from cities abroad can be learnt and implemented to shape Taipei for a better future and win the city a leading position in global competition (Lin, 2012a; Lin, 2010c; Lin, 2013b; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000).

Reflecting my research objective 2 as well as what has been suggested by various scholars (Benson and Jordan, 2011; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2012; Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000; Evans and Davies, 1999; Stone, 2004; Bulmer and Padgett, 2005), Chapter 6 began with an introduction on policy transfer, proceeded by a detailed discussion on creative city policy discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture explaining how experiences from abroad have been borrowed, transferred and adapted within the localised policy discourses of Taipei City. Approaches and intermediaries were fully explored to better understand policy intentions in depth. The role of planning elites was highlighted as pivotal intermediaries in the process of policy transfer.

By tracing back to the origin and the history of urban policies and urban planning, the second sections of this chapter demonstrated that urban policies in Taipei have for many decades been deeply influenced by foreign theories and practical experiences through the systemised discussion of organisations, policies such as the DDC conservation programme, mechanisms (the TDR, discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture). TDR mechanisms has been taken as an example of policy mobilities to evidence my argument of ‘localised solutions’ that mutated and adapted ‘along the way’ (McCann, 2011 p. 117) to fit into the local context and become suitable for local conditions. This also responds to the importance of focusing on territoriality, relationality and localities when considering policy mobilities

(for example, McCann and Ward, 2012; Peck and Theodore, 2001; Prince, 2010; Cohen, 2015; McCann and Ward, 2010)

The concepts and discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture were discussed and deconstructed. I illustrated how creative city ideas were applied under the rubric of acupuncture to cure urban problems, in which creative human capital, creative clusters and place making were embedded into the discourse as new weapons of the city's 'soft power'.

In the final section, I argued that the role of the planning elites formed a knowledge filter -- that they were not only key actors driving the direction of 'lesson drawing' but also determining the main content of the policy paradigms. Given that elite-led policy learning encountered few critical comments in the domestic academic world, I critiqued this kind of creative city policy mobility, arguing that it displayed an uneven leaning approach as lessons were learnt as a result of the viewpoints of members of the Taiwanese planning establishment. I further argued that the invitations to foreign consultants in fact bore a primarily symbolic meaning for the city. The consultants were invited by these planning elites to confirm and promote those mobile urban redevelopment creative city ideas and policies that had already been chosen and decided on by the host policy makers.

In short, this chapter responded to appeals for both a 'fine-grained' study of policy mobilities (see McCann, 2011, also discussed in Chapter 2) and for a critical reflection of CCURP (Wang, 2010) presenting the emergence and development of both the overarching CCURP approach and the specific policy toolkit in Taipei as the result of a complex, multiscalar process in which local planning elites selectively used international policy ideas and symbolic policy gurus to partially inform but more fundamentally to legitimise a chosen policy course.

9.2.2. The URS scheme: a localised creative city policy and a witness of policy flow

The distinctive Taipei characteristics of the URS scheme were discussed in Chapter 7, where the initial concept, policy objectives, and operational mechanism were illustrated in depth. It was shown how the creative city idea was embedded in Taipei's context and responding thereby to the third research objective.

Discussion was drawn, firstly, from the original notion and aims of the URS scheme, as well as mechanisms and operational processes, with evidence based on both oral (interviews) and textual materials (official documents). Evidence showed how urban regeneration issues were recognised by

planning elites and transmuted into the URS scheme in terms of urban acupuncture and soft urbanism. The crucial role that the URO's Urban Regeneration Station Committee played has been illustrated by showing how it participated in the bidding process, evaluating proposals, defining each site's mission, and approving the URS financial subsidy projects. The context of the URS also built a basis for further critical analysis on matters of local development, the temporary duration, elite-led approach versus consensus among stakeholders, discourse versus practice, and the limits of the URS scheme as a creature of bureaucracy.

As a mobile CCUR policy, the URS Partner scheme was compared with six DNAs from the '20 Stories' to analyse their similarities. The URS and URS Partner schemes were found to be highly reliant on ideas and policies from abroad. I therefore argued that the original idea of the URS is motivated and influenced by ideas current in the West, even though they were seen by the city's planning elites as a crystallisation of home-grown ideas through a brainstorming and organisational decision-making process. Two notable features of the process of policy mobility were then identified: (1) policy was re-defined through the process of travel; and (2) general paths of travel can be identified for incoming and outgoing policy. I also found that CCURP ideas were mainly learned from the West and Japan, while the city's practical experiences were studied by its Asian neighbour countries and cities.

Secondly, the URS sites were explored in depth under three typological headings: (1) creative culture economy, (2) neighbourhood renewal, and (3) ownership and organisation. URS21, as an example of type 1, provided a picture for understanding how a PPP approach could be utilised. I suggested that its meaning for the main stakeholders was that the operator gained a positive reputation and its parent company paid for the chance to enhance its relationship with potential customers so as to widen its business, while certain designers were able to work in the affordable working spaces it provided. However, I also pointed out, evidence remains lacking as to whether URS21 met the objectives of reviving the local community and cultivating young talent.

In the second type of URS, I expounded how the URS scheme was involved in Dihua Street and analysed the operational details of URS44, 127 and 155, as well as how they illuminated the neighbourhood by attracting a new type of design-led shop. We saw how the encouragement to 'donate' properties that the preservation policy and bulk reward mechanisms provided gave the authority a great opportunity to implement its flagship CCUR policy, the URS scheme. I also revealed the practical process of the localised creative city idea from discussions of adjustments undertaken by the URO to adapt to the local context of Dadaocheng in terms of spatial usage, site position, length of contract for each operator and the contract renewal process. I showed how

cultural interventions introduced to the neighbourhood, a younger generation of creative workers and tourists provided markets for a more middle class style of aesthetic economic activity. The state owned and local authority run sites, URS13 and URS27, represented the third type of URS. The approach here combined the city's land resources and the creative city strategic idea to chase urban revitalisation and awaken community consensus.

Finally, the urban acupuncture metaphor was unpicked to explore further gaps between reality and expectations embedded in the discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture which gave birth to the URS scheme. The core concept behind the URS policy was examined from four dimensions: the selection of location, the designation of sites, the duration of temporary uses, as well as administrative limits. I argued that the URO was actually unable to select of its own volition a location as an 'acupuncture point' to 'heal' an explicit urban problem/issue; the weakly framed bidding documents and the unpredictable conditions resulting from the varied capabilities and diverse nature of the operating bodies made it hard to designate site tasks in advance; the temporary period of use for a URS remains a blurred and experimental issue, and there was a shortage of evidence and discussion implying the presence of 'urban symptoms' to be 'diagnosed and acupunctured' during contract extensions. We also found that the URS scheme did not receive appropriate administrative backup and reliance from a higher layer of bureaucracy and that administrative efficiency and public perception have been seriously affected by the checks and balances mechanism, administrative systems, the lengthy administrative procedures and large amount of paperwork. In particular, I argued that this kind of top-down elite-led urban policy had a lack of transparency in the overarching process (policy making, site selection, task designation, and on competitive bidding for URS contracts).

In summary, I argued that the URS scheme represented a mobile CCUR policy where the Creative City idea was converted by policy makers into a localised discourse (urban acupuncture), that the implementation of the URS scheme showed how the discourse of urban acupuncture hides a less precise and haphazard application of a policy, and that there is not a monolithic policy block but a contested urban process from the street to the bureaucracy.

9.2.3. Lessons from the URS: a culture-inclined rhetoric leading to state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification

In the last analysis chapter, Dihua Street has been presented firstly to demonstrate the transformation of the community. An investigation was undertaken into the extent to which the change influenced various groups of

people who live and work there, as well as the dramatic change in the rental market. Thirdly, the two-stage intervention process involving CCUR policy demonstrate the process of displacement and transformation. Finally, the focus turned to the process of policy implementation in terms of the top-down elite-led approach neglecting community participation and the problem of trust and presenting how issues arose affecting the performance of the scheme as well as community daily life.

The analysis started with a geographic focus on Dihua Street. The dramatic changes in production and consumption there, as well as the rental market and daily life were portrayed from a number of points of views. Based on various voices, the dis/replacement of shops and the rapidly soaring rental market, I showed how the implementation of a series of CCURP played a vital role in driving Dihua Street through an ongoing process of gentrification. Nevertheless, there are distinctive characteristics to the situation as it is relevant to the local context of Dihua Street.

I have portrayed the situation from the point of view of existing shopkeepers and their struggles in the face of new design-conscious stylish shops to demonstrate the process of replacement, from the traditional to the new; I highlighted that this was activated through the first stage of culture-led urban policy, the policy intervention of property preservation and refurbishment measures. The next step that stemmed from the URS scheme was a revaluation of the unique historic cultural milieu through the holding of cultural and artistic events to introduce this old commercial district to a younger generation working and consuming in the creative economy.

An inspection of rents and what they mean to different group of shopkeepers shed further light on the changes in Dihua Street. Younger entrepreneurs considered Dihua Street as a place with the best value for money for their design-led businesses. High demand from younger entrepreneurs and the shortage of clarity over rental value led to a chaotic real estate market. The rapidly rising rent drove those who owned properties to rent them out for profit or, in the case of some of the older shopkeepers, to close their businesses and move out. This indicated that rent is an influential factor activated by the city's CCURP forcing the community to act quicker in its process of transformation.

I argued that Dihua Street's transformation is a mixed type of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification, where CCURP present a vital state-led power, with the participation of young artists and entrepreneurs bringing with them a change in retail aesthetics, along with a strengthening commercial and real estate market. However, I also drew attention to the state's strict architectural regulations and the existing condition of public infrastructure facilities slowing down gentrification.

The change in Dihua Street provoked a re-think of the role CCURP play. What happened, and what was lost between policy discourses and practical implementations? What limitations and issues has the URS scheme encountered? I found evidence from the implementation process showing that various limitations of location selection, URS designations, administrative issues and the meaning of the core ideas of 'affordability and diversity' in creative city theory are essentially rhetoric and an ideological agenda. I showed how local voices were ignored when policy was made, with its focus on specific groups (creative talents and young entrepreneurs). I therefore asked, for whose benefit is CCUR policy created?

In other words, my findings represent a detailed assessment of the development of local communities and reveal the concrete meaning of policy discourses, discrepancy in the execution process and the bureaucratic system, exposing the nature of the URS scheme, the role it plays, and the factors influencing the performance of the policy. These findings have sustained my main argument that CCUR policy in Taipei is a sophisticated and dynamic process with complex factors and interventions in a local social context, a process that has economic goals and one that is adopted by a bureaucratic system. CCUR policy plays a vital and active role through two stages -- the bulk-reward-led preservation and URS schemes -- leading to a redevelopment directed towards the so-called creative economy. With its top-down elite-led approach, lack of transparent process, inattention to local voices and thus intensified existing dissatisfaction and misunderstanding, the CCUR policy has resulted in uneven gentrified development.

From what we have read of the development of Taipei's urban regeneration policies in the last three decades, as well as an empirical examination of the URS scheme, this research outlines a picture explaining how the city has taken a creative city approach to its urban revitalisation. The next section summarises the story from these four analysis chapters to reflect and recognise the distinctive characteristics of CCURP application in Taipei.

9.3. Reflections on Taipei's mobile CCURP and gentrification: reflexive spatial planning practices

This research derived from my curiosity concerning CCURP and their outcomes, due no doubt to my decade and longer observing and participating in urban planning practice. Thus this research can be seen as a phased output, building from previous experiences. In this research, I see issues and seek answers as both an insider and an outsider, as a researcher and a civil servant. To a certain degree, when criticising CCURP, I was at the same time reflecting on planning practices that I have been participating in. This is how

my positionality has shaped the ways of thinking, seeing, and investigating this research and thus contributing to the literature.

This thesis has, I believe, contributed to the literature in the following ways, by: (1) examining theories (of creative city and policy mobilities) and critical research work, (2) bridging gaps of knowledge between theoretical work and practical evidence, (3) enhancing our understanding of CCURP and the transformation they cause in an East Asian city in an era of globalised capital. I review my findings according to three main themes, (1) urban policy mobilities, (2) a localised CCUR policy – the URS scheme, and (3) gentrification and displacement.

First, my exploration of urban policy mobilities in Chapter 6 has given three main findings to the literature in terms of the path of transfers, the roles of the planning elite and local professionals, and the form and meanings of policy learning. Discussion has revealed how the CCURP idea moved from the West and Japan to Taipei, the paths, approaches (overseas study visits, workshops/ reading groups, and cross-national conferences) and intermediaries (overseas consultants and local planning elites) reflected to some extent what has been suggested in the research agenda on territoriality and relationality, and its nature and ways of diffusion embedded in local contexts with new mobile methods (Cohen, 2015; McCann and Ward, 2012; McCann, 2011; McCann and Ward, 2010).

My findings do, however, point to some differences with this literature. There has recently been much written and said in order to move away from a Western-centric view of policy mobilities and theory construction towards an understanding of the importance and characteristic of decentring, inter-referencing, and ‘worlding’ policy routes and theory development (Roy and Ong, 2011). Nonetheless, the experience of Taipei shows that at least in this context much of the ‘trade’ in policy practices and ideas is still coming from the West, although with due regard to Japanese influence.

At the same time, the specific characteristic of the elite-led knowledge-filter model and uneven and incomplete lesson-drawing process, as been highlighted in my research, presents a similar picture to that proposed by policy mobilities theorists (McCann and Ward, 2010; Prince, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2010a) who write that policy mutates with the moving process and reflects complex local contexts. Indeed, Taipei’s policy learning process showed similar approaches to the landed elites, overseas study visits, and ad hoc policy networks in Indonesia identified by Cohen (2015). However, I evidenced further that the learning objectives and processes are actually dominated by local professionals where exemplars were pre-selected and the exemplars advocated were more or less of symbolic significance only.

In Chapter 6, in responding to the literature on policies mobilities in Taiwan (Hsu and Hsu, 2013; Huang and Hsu, 2011; Wang and Heath, 2010), I challenged Wang's (2010) critique of Taipei's CCURP as being an 'easy', 'borrowing' approach and Wang and Heath's (2010) comment that Taiwan's policy learning process was mode of 'borrowing' and one-direction flow. The argument advanced here moved beyond policy travel paths and added new understandings in the field of urban policy mobilities with a more detailed and critical analysis.

Secondly, the URS scheme as a mobile CCUR policy has provided an empirical and critical study with a detailed examination of the discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture and the performance of the scheme, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. Based on the policy trajectory of the URS scheme and an analysis of its three categories, my research findings supported the argument of policy mobilities as a global circuit of knowledge (McCann, 2008; McCann, 2011). My findings also concurred with a critique of the creative city concept as fast policy and a part of neoliberal urbanism (Scott, 2004, 2006; Pratt, 2005; Peck, 2005). I argued that the URS scheme had illustrated how creative city theory (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2003) was implemented without regard to specific local context and were rather merely setting out to create a 'creative climate' to stimulate urban redevelopment, thus echoing points made by Urry (1995) on tourism and consuming places and Zukin on (1998; 2008; 2009) consuming authenticity.

Unpicking the URS scheme and its discourses of soft urbanism and urban acupuncture, this research has responded to the call for a critical review of CCURP in Taiwan (Wang, 2010) and evidenced critiques of the negative impacts of CCURP on existing communities (Bailey et al., 2004; Newman et al., 2003), in particular because they lead to gentrification and displacement (Turok, 1992; Atkinson, 2004; Lees, 2008). My findings identified further limitations and disparities of theoretical discourses and practical practices, including the limitations, inflexibilities and inconsistency in approach of the URS scheme, inefficiency of the bureaucracy, and legitimation of neoliberal policy through reference to culture.

This research proposed that the role CCURP play in Taipei are more than 'just' a catalyst for urban redevelopment, and they do more than simply widen the rationale for cultural investment (Evans, 2005). The two stages of CCURP in Dihua Street have showed us how these policies led a traditional commercial community towards a significant transformation. Equally, based on the consequences of CCURP in Dihua Street in terms of displacement and replacement of traditional grocery stores, the author agrees with Evans' (2003) critical note on the cost of the hard-branding of cultural urban strategies which, in his words, 'is borne in terms of cultural diversity and production (versus

consumption and mediation); in community cultural activity and amenity; and by those who do not have a stake in the gentrification processes which attach to these emerging cultural quarters' (p. 437).

Lastly, in considering the theme of gentrification and displacement, my research has echoed recent research on gentrification and aestheticisation in East Asia (Waley, 2016; Chang, 2016; Ley and Teo, 2014) by presenting a mixed form of gentrification that widens our reading of urban restructuring in East Asia. As we saw in Chapter 8, gentrification in Dihua Street is the consequence of the intertwined forces of state-led measures (conservation policy and the URS scheme), commercial and real estate market strength (Lees et al., 2013; Lin, 2014c), the tastes of young artists and entrepreneurs (Chang, 2016), as well as vernacular housing conversion presenting a mixed style of state-led commercial aesthetic gentrification.

Furthermore, my research also revealed that the state played a dual role in relation to culture-led policy. On the one hand it propels and on the other it constrains gentrification. The bulk-reward incentive, TDR and 'donation' (transfer) mechanism were identified as key means by which state-led CCURP encouraged gentrification processes. On the other hand, conservation policies limited the entry to Dihua Street of some big chain stores.

In responding to research on gentrification in East Asian cities in general and Taipei in particular, looking at the relationship between CCURP and historical conservation, it would appear that the gentrification of Dihua Street relates to Chang's (2016) comment on Little India in Singapore where he shows how the strict conservation code has limited redevelopment in certain ways that are recognised and approved by the state even as other measures undertaken by the state have encouraged gentrification. My research challenges work by Jou and Chen (2014) on gentrification in east Taipei. They claim that 'spontaneous cultural clusters' (p. 101) have brought about changes to the urban fabric. Do these cultural clusters engage 'spontaneously' or are they encouraged by the state's neoliberal CCURP? This study presented arguments that went beyond perspectives of either spontaneous developments or state-led policy (Jou et al., 2016; Hsu and Hsu, 2013) being sole causes of gentrification; instead, it employed a deeper empirical study and detailed analysis to examine the multiple and intertwined forces that have resulted in the ongoing gentrification of Dihua Street.

9.4 Research limitations: what remains unspoken and unclear

This thesis has told the story of the URS scheme as Taipei's creative city-making policy, presenting its elite-led, top-down approach and negative

consequences of uneven redevelopment. However, there remain some unspoken and unclear areas. The main limitations of this research come from the nature of the case study approach as well as the timing.

As discussed in the methodology chapter, generalisation is an issue for the case study approach (e.g. Lijphart, 1971; Moses and Knutsen, 2007). Thus, the findings of the URS study are not generalisable, and it should be treated as a unique case embedded in its context rather than as part of a larger quantitative sample. What this research has sought to achieve, in addition to the fully discussed aims and objectives, is to initiate an open debate regarding the evaluation and importance of the study of CCURP in a specific political, cultural, economic and spatial context.

Another limitation is in the analysis of the long term effects of the URS scheme and CCURP. This research has examined the URS scheme that developed from 2009 onwards, and most of the empirical fieldwork was conducted from 2013 to 2015. Given it is still a young policy, it is still too early to evaluate certain outcomes that were aimed for by the URS scheme, such as its ambition of cultivating talent. In addition, it is an ongoing initiative. The mobile processes and outcomes are dynamically and highly associated with changes in the city's society, economy, and other urban policies. For instance, critical social movements—such as the Sunflower Movement where we saw the rise of new young activists and new social class (explained in the final section). The election of the mayor of Taipei in 2014, and the general elections (President, Vice President and members of the 9th Legislative Yuan) in 2016 have both led scholars and commentators to identify clear signs of social and political change both in Taipei and in Taiwan (Cole, 2014a; Gerber, 2016; Keating, 2015; BBC, 2016).

9.5 Further research: Stories continuing to be discovered

In March and April 2014, when this research was progressing into the writing up stage, Taiwan was in thrall to a pivotal social movement, known as the Sunflower Movement. About 300 students occupied the main chamber of the Legislative Yuan (Taiwan's parliament) and thousands of Taiwanese surrounded the Legislative Yuan building in Taipei for three weeks to protest against the government's dealing in a trade in services agreement, the Cross-Strait Services Trade Agreement (CSSTA), with China. Through the internet and social networks, Taiwan's Sunflower Movement gained sympathetic protests from 49 cities spread across 21 countries in North America, Europe and Asia meaning that the issue 'goes global' (Tiezzi, 2014). Three weeks later, the protest successfully forced the government to re-evaluate the

CSSTA. This was a milestone in Taiwan's democratisation, resulting in new situations at home and abroad, and 'a turning point in the development of cross-Strait ties' (AFP, 2015). One significant overseas influence, for example, is that it is believed to have encouraged and aroused Hong Kong's Occupy Central demonstrations, known as the Umbrella Movement (Cole, 2014b; Lee and Wu, 2016), which many Hong Kong residents see as a political awakening (Lee and Wu, 2016). The same can be said of the elections of 2014 and 2016. A student leader of the Hong Kong protests said, 'the Taiwan election is a motivation for us to keep moving towards the goal of democracy' (Lee and Wu, 2016).

A new grassroots movement, known as Taiwan's Third Force, born from the Sunflower Movement, influenced Taiwan's local elections of 2014, and the presidential election of 2016 (Horst, 2016; Firstpost, 2016). In 2014, independent Ko Wen-je, an accomplished surgeon with no prior political experience, defeated the ruling Kuomintang party candidate and won the Taipei mayoral election. In 2016 general elections, the Sunflower activists turned lawmakers in an election victory. It is fairly clear that the force of civil society is significantly restructuring the political power map since the Sunflower Movement. This new relocation of social and political powers is opening a new page of urban governance and place making. For instance, Taipei Mayor Ko assigned a famous Taiwanese architect as the new Commissioner of DUD because he feels Taipei is 'too ugly' and 'lacks urban aesthetics' (Yi-Ting, 2014; Zou, 2016). In addition, one of Mayor Ko's vice mayors, Lin Chin-Rong, used to be a consultant to URO and DUD for urban planning and creative city-making. Meanwhile, former Director Lin of URO was assigned to be the Commissioner of the Department of Economic Development (DOED). After taking over this new position, Commissioner Lin upheld the idea of the creative city, turned his focus from spatial to industrial government, started to develop Taipei as an entrepreneurial city and emphasised the importance of a creative economy (Lin, 2015).

Undoubtedly, Taipei is continuing to seek to make itself a creative city. For instance, the prototype of the URS scheme has been brought by Commissioner Lin from URO to DOED, in the Shin Fu traditional food market refurbishment project. Shin Fu traditional food market, in Wanhua District, was designated as heritage in 2006. In 2015, before the physical refurbishment started, DOED held a series of exhibitions and activities with the former operator of URS21, the JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture (JFAA, 2015).

Embedded in this social, political context, as well as the unspoken and unclear areas mentioned earlier, some new questions and directions are open for ongoing research in urban and cultural studies.

In tracing the URS scheme and creative city approach, we might ask what the next step of the URS Scheme is, or what the next step for Dihua Street is, especially, when the housing 'donation' mechanism is continuing and the quantity of donated houses is gradually increasing. Following Dihua Street's transformation, what changes will be brought to its neighbouring smaller streets from the main street? Where will the creative-economic-led approach lead the city and community? What story will the city's new initiative for Shin Fu traditional food market tell? Will it present a similar story to that identified in Markthalle 9 Berlin, or Markthal Rotterdam, where food is 'used strategically to foster competition and city-branding' and is 'increasingly becoming central in the making of today's neoliberal governance' (Cretella and Buenger, 2016)?

In the new relocation of political and social power, how do the city's CCURP adapt to the city's, or policy makers' needs? In what direction are they propelling? Will the rise of the Third Force as a new grassroots movement influence the urban policy making process, and how? Will any new room be created for diverse voices in the process of place making along with the rapid changes of society and politics, for instance the grassroots voice encountering new Mayor Ko's Aesthetic Urbanisation? If so, to what extent? Are we merely seeing the rise of another new middle class, a rise of a new generation with a different political faith who are in fact taking over the previous task of making the city become an 'elite citadel' (Kuper, 2013).

Finally, as suggested by Clark (2015), gentrification is far less discussed 'in currently fashionable notions of "sustainable cities"' (p. 455) research. Drawing on social dimensions of sustainability, issues of gentrification shall be taken more seriously in both theoretical research work and practical exercise in urban policy. From this perspective, I would suggest, and hope, that this research into Taipei's CCUR policy story and gentrification in Dihua Street invokes more research into social sustainability, and provides a basis for research a wide range of possibilities of rigorous comparative works with cities in Asia and worldwide. It is also an attempt and a call for considering and seeking for more social sustainability in CCURP.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Name / Phrase
APROC	Asia-Pacific Regional Operation Centre
CC	Creative City
CCI	Cultural and Creative Industries
CCP	China Communist Party
CCUR	Creative Culture-led Urban Regeneration
CCURP	Creative Culture-led Urban Regeneration Policies
DOED	Department of Economic Development
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DUD	Department of Urban Development
ERSO	Electronic Research Service Organisation
HSIP	Hsinchu Science-based Industrial Park
IBA	International Building Exhibition
IHRM	Institute of Historical Resources Management, Taiwan
INTA	International Urban Development Association
JFAA	JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture
KMT	Kuomintang
MRT	Mass Rapid Transit
NCTU	National Chiao Tung University
NPA	National Property Administration
OURs	Organisation of Urban Re-s
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China (Taiwan)
URO	Urban Regeneration Office
URS	Urban Regeneration Stations
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Glossary of Chinses terms

English	Chinese	Explanation
Art Factory	玩藝工場	The designation of URS127 named by its host – the Blue Dragon Art Company when it reopened in Dec 2013. (2013-).
Blue Dragon Art Company	蔚龍藝術	One of the biggest Taiwanese art companies, founded in 1991.
Black town Music Festival	黑鄉作樂	A music festival held in URS13 in Nangang in 2012. Black Town was named to reflect the bristled factory buildings and air pollution in the post-war era.
CAMPOBAG Company	希嘉文化有限公司	The host of URS155 (2012-); also known as C+ Culture Co., Ltd.
Changan West Road	長安西路	One of the city's inter-city-link roads
Chiang Weishui Foundation	蔣渭水文教基金會	Chiang Weishui was a founder of the Taiwanese Cultural Association and the Taiwanese People's Party. He is also one of the most important persons in Taiwan's resistance movement against Japanese colony. This foundation is established to commemorate Chiang Weishui and promote Taiwanese culture.
Chinshan number 9	金山九號	One of the city's famous co-working spaces. Small events (for a few dozens of participants) are held frequently gathering groups of hackers, younger artists and makers.
City Academy	城市書院	An official designation for URS155. An academy (書院) refers to a decent place for learning in dynastic times.
Cold Yamen	冷衙門	Yamen refers to a government office in dynastic time. Cold Yamen is used to describe a sense of alienation where government branch stands in high above the people.
Cooking Together	創作分享圈	Name of URS155 (2012-).
Culturalisation of	產業文化化 ·	Ideas and slogans began in the 1990s. It

Industries, Industrialisation of Culture	文化產業化	was utilised by the central government to advance the state's cultural and creative industry strategy.
Culture is a good business	文化是門好生意	
Dadaocheng	大稻埕	Dadaocheng is one of the oldest community in the city. It used to be an important trading port in the 19 th century.
Dadaocheng Historical Special Detail Plan	大稻埕歷史風貌特定區細部計畫	It was announced in 2000 by Taipei city government to achieve the main aim of historic area preservation.
Datong District	大同區	One of the oldest district of the city in the west of Taipei.
Department of Urban Development	都市發展局	It was established in 1973 in Taipei city government in charge of the city's spatial comprehensive Planning, urban planning, urban design, housing planning, housing engineering, housing services, building management, among others.
Design Gallery	設計公店	The first designation of URS127 (2010-2013), it was named by its first host, Tamkang University.
Dihua Street	迪化街	One of the oldest commercial street of the city, it is located in Dadaocheng
Flipping the Axis, Reconstructing the West	軸線翻轉·再造西區	A policy slogan announced in Ma Yingjeou's mayoral tenure (1998–2006) to prioritise reinvigoration and urban redevelopment of the historic west of the city.
Film Range	城市影像實驗室	The name of URS27W, it is expected to utilise digital images, media and technology as a medium on exploring history and social issues as well as promoting digital arts and thus related industry.
Grand Green	華山大草原	The name of URS27
Hsu Chuan-sheng	許傳勝	One of the property 'donors', his property was then transferred to URS127.
Inspections of five-stage checking points	五階段勘驗	The process of building repair in Dadaocheng area, it is restricted by the Dadaocheng Special District Detailed Plan to ensure the quality of the entire

		process of maintenance and preservation. The five-stage check points are inspected by the Dadaocheng Special District Urban Design Committee.
Institute of Historical Resources Management, Taiwan	社團法人台灣歷史資源經理學會	A non-profit organisation founded in 2004 to promote ideas of sustainable management of historical resources, spaces and environment.
JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture	忠泰文教基金會	The foundation was established in 2007 by its parent company, the JUT Land Development Group.
Kuo Hsueh-Hu	郭雪胡	Kuo Hsueh-Hu (1908 - 2012) is a famous Taiwanese artist. His work Festival on South Street 1930 is nowadays constantly mentioned to picture south Dihua Street's old good days in the 1930s.
Lee Chunsheng	李春生	Lee Chunsheng (1838-1924) was a Chinese businessman who was born in Fujian, mainland China and moved to Dadaocheng in 1868. He is believed to be one of the earliest tea trading agents and contributed to Dadaocheng's trading development in the then time.
Leshan Foundation	樂山文教基金會	A non-governmental organisation funded by Taiwanese academics, Leshan Foundation is believed played key role in Dihua Street preservation movement.
Le-Young Construction Company	樂揚建設公司	A local, Taipei- based land development company. It is also the implementer of Wenlin Yuan urban renewal project.
Lin Chongjie	林崇傑	An official in Taipei city government. In this research, we found he played a significant role in the city's CCURP in his position as the director of Urban Regeneration Office in 2009-2014.
Linkage Journal	連連刊	A journal published by the URS21's host, the JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture, it was expected to connect the URS site with local community and creative clusters.

Linsen North Road	林森北路	An inter-city-link road, also the location of the URS21.
Liu Mingchuan	劉銘傳	Liu Mingchuan (1836–1896) was the first governor of the newly established Taiwan Province in the mid-Qing dynasty, who was well known for his efforts in Taiwan's modernisation in his tenure as governor.
Liuxiang Plan	柳鄉計畫	Liuxiang community is one of the oldest communities of the city located in Wanhua district. Liuxiang Plan was the first urban renewal scheme in Taipei to assess and re-designate this old community via a new approach of zonal expropriation.
Love Taipei, the atlas of creative quarters	愛台北·創意街區地圖	A book published by Department of Cultural Affairs in 2012 to indicate the city's attractive quarters in terms of independent design shops, galleries and cafés.
Minle Street	民樂街	An alley parallels to Dihua street
Minnan (South Fujian)	閩南	An area in southeast of mainland China
Minquan East Road	民權東路	One of the city's inter-city-link roads
Minsheng East Road	民生東路	One of the city's inter-city-link roads. It is where the Minsheng Community located.
Minsheng Neighbourhood Community	民生社區	It is Taiwan's first modern community which was planned in 1967 with lush green street trees, community scale green parks, and mostly four-storey apartments.
Mengjia	艋舺	It is an original name in aboriginal language for Wanhua- the oldest district of Taipei.
Mountain Forum	郊山學堂	The name of URS27M (2013-)
National Property Administration	國有財產局	An agency of the Ministry of Finance, Taiwan. The duties of National Property Administration are inspections, management, disposal, assessment of national property and other national property related issues.

Nian Huo Festival (Lunar New Year market)	年貨大街	It is a type of fair held annually one month before Lunar New Year.
Neighbourhood associations leader	里長	Neighbourhood association is the smallest administrative division in Taiwan. Leader of a neighbourhood association is generated by election. Dihua Street is divided into three neighbourhood associations.
Ningxia Night Market	寧夏夜市	A famous street-food night market in Datong District
Noise Taipei Forum	噪音論壇	A music festival held in URS13 in 2012
Restoration of Glorious Old Dadaocheng	大稻埕古城風華再現	It was an urban policy conducted during the earlier year of Mayor Hao's tenure (2006-2014) focusing on the reconstruction of public facilities to promote Dadaocheng's local redevelopment.
Shida Night Market	師大夜市	A night market nearby Taiwan Normal University, it is famous for fashion shops and various type of cafés and restaurants providing exotic gourmets.
Songshan District	松山區	It is a district of Taipei. It is the location of Minsheng neighbourhood community.
Stage 1: An inspection of the building's layout	第 1 階段: 放樣勘驗	Specific checking points and tasks of inspections to ensure the quality of the each stage throughout the rehabilitation works in Dadaocheng historical area.
Stage 2: An inspection of facade cleaning and repair	第 2 階段: 立面清洗修復勘驗	
Stage 3: An inspection of structural repair	第 3 階段: 結構修復勘驗	
Stage 4: An inspection of interior decoration	第 4 階段: 室內裝修前勘驗	
Stage 5: An inspection of the completion of repair	第 5 階段: 竣工勘驗	

Story House	大稻埕故事工坊	The name of the URS27 (2011-)
Taipei Extra-Ordinary	台北那條通	An art exhibition held in URS27 in 2011 presenting the city's daily life on street and between alleys.
Tamkang University	淡江大學	The first host of the first URS in Dihua Street
The stones of other hills can be used to polish [one's own] gems	他山之石可以攻錯	It comes from an ancient Chinese poem. It is understood as meaning that experiences from others may help overcome one's own shortcomings.
Urban Core Arts Block	城中藝術街區	A programme ran by JUT Foundation for Arts and Architecture from 2010 to 2012 in which buildings were provided for short-term use by art associations, artists, and creative groups as working spaces with no charge. It is believed to be the prototype of the URS scheme.
Urban Regeneration Office	都市更新處	An office dedicated to urban regeneration which is under the supervision of Department of Urban Development
Urban Regeneration Stations	都市再生前進基地	A scheme announced by the urban regeneration office in 2009
Waisheng ren	外省人	A term was used to distinguish those people from outside Taiwan, especially referred to those came to Taiwan with Kuomintang (KMT) regime.
Wang Yaode	王耀德	He is one of the family Wang and the spokesman in Wenlin Yuan dispute.
Wanhua District	萬華區	In the west end of the city, it is the oldest district in Taipei.
Wenlin Yuan	文林苑	An urban renewal project.
Xia-Hai City God Temple	霞海城隍廟	Located in south end of Dihua Street, it is the most prosperous spot in terms of commerce, history and tourism in the Dadaocheng area.
Ximending Pedestrian Zone	西門町徒步區	In the west end of the city, it is the first pedestrian area in the city. Located in the heart of the old centre (Wanhua District). It is a commercial area in terms of fashion, subculture, and Japanese culture. Ximending has been described

		the 'Harajuku of Taipei' especially popular with teenagers and younger consumers.
Xinyi Commercial District	信義商業區	In the east end of the city where Taipei City Hall and Taipei 101 located, Xinyi Commercial District was planned in 1980s and developed to a busy business and leisure shopping centre in 2000s.
Ye Jin Fa Co., Ltd.	葉晉發股份有限公司	The host of URS329 (2014-)
Yongle Market Square	永樂市場廣場	It is in front of the Yongle market, right nearby the Xia-Hai City God Temple
Yongle (Fabric) market	永樂市場	It is one of the largest fabric centres in Taiwan It is also a significant place for professional designer and the textile industry for providing produces from fabric to sewing materials.
Yongkang Park	永康公園	It is a community scale park located on Yongkanjie Street.
Yongkanjie Street	永康街	Yongkang Street is well-known for local boutique shopping and delicious local food popular with local middle class and overseas tourists –especially Japanese and Hong Kong young people.
Zheng Cheng-gong (also known as Koxinga)	鄭成功 (國姓爺)	Zheng Cheng-gong was a self-declared loyalist of the Ming dynasty (Ming dynasty ruled China from 1378 to 1644). Zheng's regime controlled Taiwan since 1662 until 1683 when the Qing dynasty of China formally annexed the island.
Zhongshan Creative Hub	中山創意基地	The name of URS21 (2011-2014)
Zhongshan North Road	中山北路	It is one of the city's major arterial/ boulevard connecting northern and southern areas of the city.

Appendix A: Urban Regeneration Act (Articles 10 and 22)

According to Article 10 of the act: 'The owners of the land and legal buildings of an area that has been designated for renewal may designate the individual units for renewal themselves, follow the authority's designation of renewal units, or conduct a hearing based on the criteria for designating a renewal unit. They may then present a business summary together with the public hearing records to the municipal or, county ... authority to apply for approval. Finally, they should organise a renewal group to implement the urban renewal project for that area or entrust it to an urban renewal business institution for implementation' (Article 10).

As for how the decision on whether formally to undertake an urban renewal project, the act states that it 'should be agreed by more than 10% of the owners of the private plots of land and legal private buildings within the renewed area, and the total land area and the total floor areas of the legal buildings owned should also exceed 10%.' In the next stage of the implementation of Urban Renewal Business, it states: 'On the one hand, in the urban renewal area designated in accordance with article 7, the urban renewal project should be agreed by more than 50% of the owners of private land and private legal buildings within the renewal unit. Furthermore, the sum of the land area and floor area of legal buildings should be more than 50% of the total. On the other hand, it should be agreed by more than 60% of the owners of private land and private legal buildings within a renewal unit. Moreover, the sum of the land area and floor area of the legal buildings should be more than two thirds of the total. In addition, an application for approval of urban renewal business in accordance with the regulations in Article 10 should obtain the support of more than two thirds of the owners of private plots and private legal buildings within a renewal unit. Furthermore, the sum of the land and floor area of the legal buildings should be more than 75% of the total. However, if the sum of the private land area and floor area of the legal buildings of those who support the project is more than 80% of the total, the calculation of owners' agreement can be omitted' (Article 22).

Appendix B: Urban Regeneration Act (Article 44)

Additional building bulk is assigned as an incentive according to principles laid out in the Act:

‘The building bulk of legal building before the implementation of the building bulk control is more than the building bulk prescribed by the law, the original building bulk is allowed.

For public facilities provided to the community after renewal...Renewed areas that have priority or have been directly designated by the authority.

Other processes to promote the urban renewal business that local authority send to central authority and were approved by the central authority. After implementing previous four bulk incentive principles, building's floor area owned by most allottees still less than the average of local residential floor area standard, additional building bulk can be allowed’ (Article 44).

Appendix C: Urban Regeneration Act (Article 36)

Article 36 in Urban Regeneration Act,

'The implementer must publicly announce the land improvements within the rights transformation area that required to be removed. The implementer also has to notify the owners, managers or users to demolish or remove them within 30 days. Land improvements that are not removed before the given time limit, the implementer can request the municipal, county (city) authority to do it on their behalves. The municipal, county (city) authority has the obligation to do the removing on behalf of the owners; the municipal, county (city) authority shall schedule the forced removal or relocation procedure which should not exceed six months. Under certain circumstances and with proper reasons, the period could be extended for another six months with central government approval whereas not exceed two times. However, where those land improvements being managed by the government or being specifically enforced by the court are required to be removed, the implementer should notify the managing authority or the executing court that they must be dealt with before remove....'.

Appendix D: List of interview with code

Type	Organisation and position		Date	Code
Public sector	Department of Urban Development	Division chief / senior engineer	2014.01.07	A1
		Deputy chief engineer	2014.01.07	A2
	Urban Regeneration Office	Director of URO	2014.02.20	A3
		Deputy chief engineer	2014.02.27	A4
		Section chief	2014.02.07	A5
	Department of Finance	Former commissioner	2014.02.18	A6
	Department of Civil Affairs	Chief of Datong District	2014.01.22	A7
Experts/ academics	Member of URS committee	Museum curator	2014.01.09	B1
		Academic	2014.01.23	B2
		Academic	2014.02.18	B3
		Academic / Art curator	2014.02.19	B4
	Consultants	Academic/ consultant of URO	2014.02.24	B5
		Art curator	2014.02.07	B6
		Senior planner, New York City	2014.04.05	B7
		URO consultant, working with Landry in Taipei	2014.02.24	B8
URS participants	URS site A	Manager 1	2014.01.14	C1
	URS site B	Manager 2	2014.02.11	C2
	URS site C	Manager 3	2014.06.08	C3
		Architect/ ex-space user	2014.01.17	C4
		Manager 4	2014.01.17	C5
	URS site D	Manager 5	2014.01.19	C6

	URS site E	Manager 6	2014.01.23	C7
	Village Taipei	Architect 1	2014.02.10	C8
		Ex-URO member, Architect 2	2014.02.19	C9
Local people	Neighbourhood association A	Neighbourhood association leader 1	2014.01.22	D1
	Neighbourhood association B	Neighbourhood association leader 2	2014.02.06	D2
	Neighbourhood association C	Neighbourhood association leader 3	2014.02.11	D3
	Commercial organisations	Chairman of a district development association	2014.01.21	D4
		Chairman of a traditional grocery association	2014.02.06	D5
		General director of a regional business development association	2014.02.06	D6
		Chairman of a regional business development association	2014.02.06	D7
	Retailers of long established shops	Shopkeeper 1, grocery shop	2014.01.19	D8
		Shopkeeper 2, grocery shop	2014.01.21	D9
		Shopkeeper 3, fabrics Shop	2014.01.22	D10
		Shopkeeper 4, traditional products shop	2014.02.12	D11
		Shopkeeper 5, grocery shop	2014.02.17	D12
		Shopkeeper 6, grocery shop	2014.03.01	D13
	Retailers of newly established shops	Shopkeeper 1, tea shop	2014.01.08	D13
		Shopkeeper 2, Silver jewellery shop	2014.01.17	D14
		Shopkeeper 3, design group co.	2014.02.12	D15
Shopkeeper 4, bike shop		2014.02.17	D16	

		Shopkeeper 5, fashion design shop	2014.02.17	D17
		Founder of an agricultural market	2014.02.17	D18
		Founder of an arts gallery	2014.02.18	D19
		Shopkeeper 6, an design shop	2014.02.18	D20
		Shopkeeper 7, coffee shop	2014.02.17	D21
Developers	General manager 1, construction company		2014.02.12	E1
	General manager 2, construction company		2014.01.14	E2
Planners/ architects/ art curators	Planners	Planning and design consultants	2014.01.08	F1
		Founder of a planning company	2014.02.19	F2
		Manager of an international planning company	2014.02.25	F3
	Architects	Partner 1, architecture firm	2014.01.22	F4
		Partner 2, an architecture firm	2014.01.22	F5
		Partner 3, an architecture firm	2014.02.10	F6
Civil society activist	Academic/ art curator	Organiser, a civil society organised by spatial planning professionals	2014.02.11	F7
Young entrepreneurs	Creative clusters	Entrepreneur 1, founder of a collaborative laboratory	2014.01.13	G1
		Entrepreneur 2, founder of a production laboratory	2014.01.10	G2

Appendix E: Semi-structured interview schema

	In general	Original idea from, how it works, and the process	Spatial Issues (including the usage of historical building)	Political and economic issues	Social issues / community development	Evaluate / self-assessment	Policy mobilities
Public sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What issues do you think that Taipei city mostly facing on in urban planning aspect? • What are the main issues on urban development and urban regeneration? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where / how do the idea of the URS originally from? How does the URS policy be created? • What are the purposes that the URS was set for? • The process of the URS, • How to decide/ select an organisation to operate the space? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How/ what do the types of activities be decided (and by who) to fit for policy purpose (of what interviewee answered for earlier question)? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationships among the central, local governments and the citizens. • Did or do this policy receive any kind of supports from central government? • How and what do the state regard it as? • How does the Moyer regard it as? • How do public citizens treat it as? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think the relationship between the URS site and local community? • Do you think the URS make the communities/ street life any change? • What kind of people do you think are attracted by the URS? Why and how? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What/ how do you see its contributions to urban redevelopment ? To what extend? • Is there any risk or negative impacts? • How does the URS contribute to Taipei? In which dimensions and to what extend? • Do you think it (according to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you know any other similar policies adopted in other cities? • Similarities and dissimilarities? • Did the experiences of the URS have been bringing to other cities? How does it work?

						interviewees' answers earlier) do bring in young people/creative human capital/ spur tourism/ creative economy?	
Experts / academics/ Planners / architects / art curators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The URS as part of a broader vision (of culture-led urban regeneration), who authored the vision? Who buys into it? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What problems and challenges do you think exist? How do you think the community is being involved? 					
Developers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you feel about the development of urban regeneration in recent years? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the URS site make any influence to property selling? Where does the financial support (for the URS operation) come from? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do local residents response to the URS? And to activities? What do you see the URS scheme? 		N/A		
Managers of the URS sites			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do local residents response to the URS? And to activities? What kind of groups/individuals are the main visitor/ user? 		N/A		
People from Local community/	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you feel about the city development in recent years? When do you notice the URS project? What do you think it operate for? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you think about the reservation and development of this area (e.g. historical street)? Do the URS make this area any different? To what extend? For shop keeper- do you think the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Who do you think the URS designed for? What do you think the role of the URS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you think about the URS? Do you think it provide an effective public 	N/A		

Property owners / Young entrepreneurs		URS promote the local tourism? And benefit to local economy?	play in this area? • How often do local people participating within the activities? How do people involve in?	space for local? • Is there any inconvenient the URS causing? • Do you have any other concern about the policy or the further step of the URS site?	
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Appendix F: List of participating events and meetings

Participating Charles Landry's visiting itinerary (18 -20 December, 2013)				
Date	Time	Event	Participants	Place
18, Dec.	1000-1300	Meeting: Discussion of creative city strategy (after meeting with Deputy Mayor 09.30-10.00)	Charles Landry 2 domestic academics who are both consultants of URO Lin Chongjie, Director of URO Officials from URO and DUD	DUD
18, Dec.	1400-1800	Meeting: Discussion of Taipei creative entrepreneurship eco-system map with creative entrepreneurs from overseas	Charles Landry Zhu Ping, CEO of Canmeng Institute creative entrepreneurs from overseas 3 domestic academics Lin Chongjie, Director of URO Officials from URO and relevant departments	Canmeng Institute
19, Dec.	0930-1300	Meeting: Discussion of how to make a creative platform	Charles Landry, 2 domestic academics Lin Chongjie, Director of URO Officials from URO	URO
19, Dec.	1400-1700	Meeting: Discussion of Taipei creative entrepreneurship eco-system map with creative entrepreneurs in Taipei	Charles Landry Local creative entrepreneurs 2 domestic academics Officials from URO	Nanhai Gallery
20, Dec.	1000-1230	Meeting: Discussion of Landry's annual consulting work	Charles Landry 3 domestic academics Lin Chongjie, Director of URO Officials from URO	Ueshima Café'

20, Dec.	1400- 1600	Meeting: Discussion of Taipei's creative city development	Charles Landry 3 domestic academics Officials from DUD and URO	DUD, Taipei City Hall
20, Dec.	1900- 2130	Meeting: Discussion of Taipei creative entrepreneurship eco- system map with local young entrepreneur	Charles Landry Jason Hsu, co-founder of The Big Questions, also curates TEDxTaipei conference Arthur Huang - CEO of MINIWIZ Sustainable Energy LTD 2 domestic academics Officials from URO	VVG Café

Participating events and meetings held by URO and DUD (2013-2014)

Date	Time	Event	Participants	Place
13, Dec.	1400- 1700	Urban regeneration task force meeting / reading group: Discussion of cases in Berlin, Barcelona, and Amsterdam and the publish plan of '20 stories of urban regeneration'	Members of the task force: Lin Chongjie, Director of URO Academics Civil servants from URO and relevant departments	URS127
15, Dec.	0930- 1230	Community Space Forum - Experiences of Tokyo & Taipei	Christian Dimmer, Assistant Professor, University of Tokyo Makiju Toshiyuki, Masaru Ito, Shibaura House Officials from URO and DUD	URS21
10, Jan.	0930- 1245	Symposium: Creative city symposium	Prof. Lin, Chin-Rong Local young entrepreneurs Artists Officials from UDD and URO	URS21

2, Feb.	1400- 1530	Meeting: URS village meeting	Directs of URS21 + 44 + 127+155 Officials from URO	URS127
25, Feb.	1400-	Pre-Conference meeting of the Taipei urban regeneration strategic forum	Lin Chongjie, Director of URO Officials from URO, UDD and relevant departments	DUD, Taipei city hall
26, Feb.	0900- 1730	Forum: Taipei Urban Regeneration Strategic Forum 2014	Michel Sudarskis, the Secretary-General of International Urban Development Association (INTA) Lin Chongjie, Director of URO Prof. Lin Chien-Yuan, ex-vice mayor of Taipei city Chang Chin-Oh, vice mayor of Taipei city Prof. Lin, Chin-Rong Domestic academics	GIS MOTC Convention Centre