The policy mobility of

the Korean U-City Model

- The case of Songdo as the benchmark model for the Clark Green City Project in the Philippines -

필리핀 클락그린시티 프로젝트 벤치마크로서

한국 송도 유-시티(U-City) 모델의 정책 이동성

연구

August 2016

서울대학교 환경대학원
환경계획학과 도시및지역계획전공

John Zacharia Cadag Lee

The policy mobility of

the Korean U-City Model

- The case of Songdo as the benchmark model

for the Clark Green City Project in the

Philippines -

Prof. Kim Kyung Min (김경민)

Submitting a Master's thesis of
Regional and Urban Planning

July 2016

Graduate School of Environmental Studies
Seoul National University

John Zacharia Cadag Lee

Confirming the Master's thesis written by
John Zacharia Cadag Lee
June 2016

Chair   _____(Seal)
Vice Chair _____(Seal)
Examiner   _____(Seal)

The policy mobility of the Korean U-City model:
The case of Songdo as the benchmark for the Clark Green City Project in the
Philippines

John Zacharia Cadag Lee

(존 자차리아)

B.A. in International Relations, 2008
University of British Columbia

Submitted to the Department of Environmental Planning
Graduate School of Environmental Studies

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Urban and Regional Planning

at

Seoul National University

August 2016

John Zacharia Cadag Lee

Abstract

South Korea's transition from the destruction of the Korean War to being one of the world's most advanced economies has gained the admiration of policymakers all over the world. They come to Korea to seek out lessons learned from past experiences, and best practices to potentially derive policy solutions for problems they encounter within their policy contexts. At the same time, Korean policymakers are attempting to package and share the "Korean Experience" as part of their aid to developing countries. This is a process that hopes on the replication of success from one context to another.

This study follows the adoption of Songdo International Business District as a model for the new Clark Green City Project in the Philippines. It is an example of exporting a "Korea-Style U-City" or ubiquitous city to assist the Philippines in building its first "green, intelligent and global" city. Through a series of in-depth interviews, document reviews, and participant observations, it has been observed that the line between formal and informal spaces of mobilizing policies can become blurred. Secondly, urban policymakers' perspectives on what to draw from mobilized policies evolve in parallel with the understanding of their own project. Third is that policymakers understand new policies based on their own experiences in studying and living in other places. They are then more partial to policies that come from those places or echo their own experiences. These have policy implications for countries like Korea or cities like Seoul who are eager to share their own development experiences.

Keywords: policy mobilities, smart cities, Songdo, Philippines, policy translation
Student Number: 2014-24057

Table of Contents

Figures

Tables

1. Introduction

During an interview at the 2016 World Economic Forum in Davos, Seoul Mayor Park Won Soon said that he was working to "share Seoul's brand of urban management with other global cities" (Cheng, 2016). They already provide consulting services on how Seoul emerged from the destruction of the Korean War. This decision is indicative of a desire in Korean policymaking to share their urban development experience to other countries around the world. The Ministry of Land, Transport, and Maritime Affairs (now the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport) established the International Urban Development Cooperation Center in 2012 with a mission of developing urban models to be exported overseas (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transportation, 2012). They provide government-to-government capacity building services through consultancies and educational programs. Their work is complemented by the work of the Ministry of Strategy and Finance and the Korean Development Institute who launched the Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) as a way to share the country's "development know-how". KSP provides bilateral policy consultations, joint consultations with multilateral development banks, and publish what they termed the "modularization" of the Korean development experience. Through KSP, the Korean Research Institute for Human Settlements published a study on how Korea's new town development can be a model to be adopted in other countries (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2011). All these efforts are aimed at distilling the lessons and success of Korea's urban development experience into policies that can be shared and adopted with their partner countries.

In a highly competitive global environment, policymakers are pushed to quickly find solutions to pressing and challenging urban problems. Indeed, many officials from developing countries have sought to learn from Seoul and South Korea's successes in the hopes that they could provide lessons and best practices.

These in turn are intended to be replicated within their own contexts in the hope of gaining the same successes. They have sent delegations to participate in study tours, experiencing first-hand the results of the urban transformations. Examples such as Seoul's reform of the public bus transit system and the revitalization of the Cheonggye Stream have attracted much attention from policymakers around the world. Governments have also sent officials to study in Korean universities in order to build their own capacity when they return home. It is envisioned that they will bring back new and innovative ideas that could successfully overcome problems such as housing shortages and traffic congestion (Ward, 2010; Perera, 2010). Doing so will provide opportunities for cities to be more attractive to people who are searching for livable homes, economic opportunities, and social mobility.

Adopting models from other cities implies two ideas. First is that the city's problem is similar to those experienced by others thus requiring similar solutions (McCann, 2011a). Some contextual specificities are favoured over others in order to emphasize the similarities between both places. Second is that the model has a proven track record of success, enabling policymakers to treat it as a superior solution to their policy problem (Peck, 2011). Solutions only need to be adapted and tailored, removing the need to develop entirely new ones. What if these two assumptions are arguably absent when one place signifies their desire to emulate another? How was the policy mobilized that it became accepted in a different context? This paper examines one such case in the Philippines' Clark Green City (CGC) Project announcing that they have chosen South Korea's Songdo International Business District (Songdo) as their benchmark model.

1.1. Research purpose and research questions

Songdo is South Korea's attempt at building the world's first sustainable city that is also an international business district. Dubbed as the world's largest real-estate development project (Gale International, 2008), it is a $35 billion real estate

project on the coast of Incheon about an hour away from Seoul. It is planned to hold 210,000 new residents and to be completed by 2018 (Arbes & Bethea, 2014). CGC is the Philippine's first eco-city project to be located in a former US air base, 2 hours from the capital of Manila. It aims to be a sustainable city, a smart city, and a globally-competitive city that will house 1.12 million residents over the next thirty to forty years. The main project proponent is the Bases Conversion and Development Authority (BCDA), a state-owned enterprise tasked with developing former military bases into civilian uses. In 2014, BCDA's president, Arnel Casanova, said that they are adopting Songdo as the model for CGC (Reyes, 2014). Yet, Songdo is still incomplete and its success is still far from being settled. The Philippines and South Korea are also two very different countries with different levels of economic development, social structures, and historical experiences. This puts into question how and why Songdo was chosen as the model for CGC.

The purpose of this study is two-fold. First is to observe and understand what actually happens to urban policies, more specifically Korean urban policies, as they move from one place to another. As Korean governments continue to find ways of sharing the Korean urban development experience, it is necessary to see how these policies are mobilized, adopted and translated in a different context. Second is to learn how and why policymakers adopt benchmark models who are still undergoing their own development. If similarities and successes are absent then other reasons maybe present as to why something is seen as a benchmark to be emulated. This study asks the following research questions:

- How was Songdo chosen as the benchmark model for CGC when Songdo's success is far from being settled?
- Who facilitated Songdo's movement to the Philippines?
- How has Songdo been adapted and translated into the Philippine context?
- How is Songdo being integrated into CGC?

1.2. Thesis statement

Through a series of in-depth interviews with key policymakers from both within and outside the project's main proponent, document reviews, and participant observations, this study examines the case of Songdo and CGC through the framework of policy mobilities. It provides new insights into the process of what happens to policies as they move across borders. First is that personal and professional relationships between policymakers and their peers, acquaintances, or friends do play a role in facilitating the movement policies. Policies are more easily introduced and adopted when policy networks operate within a sense of familiarity and trust. This does not imply wrong doing or unlawful acts from policymakers. It shows that as much as they are decision-makers with higher levels of responsibilities, they also need to be seen and understood as ordinary people. They have micropractices and microspaces where mundane actions such as hallway conversations with friends or attending meetings in cafes. They that may appear ad hoc and happenstance but are actually rich sources of information and ideas. These moments influence the policymaking process in ways that have not been fully acknowledged and may be unbeknownst to policymakers themselves.

Second is that the understanding and lessons learned from the policy being adopted is not static. The change comes in parallel with how policymakers understand their own project and context. For any urban development project, the conceptualization and visioning stage is where policymakers look for places that can help visualize the ideas they are thinking about. Once they enter the project implementation stage, their understanding shifts by looking into the finer details of the plan. Models and benchmarks that may have been prominent before will recede into the background as new ones are learned and adopted. As seen in the case of Songdo and CGC, the former also provided new lessons as the latter was moving forward in its development phase. This shows that policymakers undergo a process of stock-taking, freely choosing from multiple policies and models that are

considered to be the best in specific policy areas. These are then translated and recombined into a policy package that informs and responds to their own development needs. These ideas are further reinforced by formal partnerships with organizations where the movement of ideas and lessons are more easily facilitated between policy sharers and policy adopters.

Lastly is that the movement of policies is also dependent on the mobility of policymakers or their ability to visit different places around the world. How they understand urban problems and what policies they are more partial to adopting is highly informed by their previous experiences. This includes studying abroad and working for international organizations. Each of these experiences are long term thus engaging and exposing policymakers to specific policies for extended periods of time. A key component of the partnerships mentioned above are study tours for policy adopters in order to show them firsthand the results of the policies being examined. Policy tourism is still essential to the mobilization of policies. They are however, short-term engagements that may not embed themselves within the imaginaries of policy actors. There is a need to supplement them with collaborative activities that continuously reinforce and apply policy ideas in the new context.

1.3. Structure and organization

Section two of this study starts with a review of the literature on policy mobilities. It will begin by laying out its evolution from the previously dominant policy transfer framework. The policy mobilities framework takes a more constructivist approach to the movement of policies across borders. It gives emphasis on the actions of both policy sharers and policy adopters in mobilizing ideas through a myriad of practices. Special attention will be given on the processes of policy tourism, and the acknowledgment of micropractices and microplaces.

Section three will describe the methodology used for this study, which mainly follows two suggested methods in studying policy mobilities. First is the

extended case method as suggested by Peck & Theodore (2012) that encourages following the policy as it is transformed on the go. This is complemented by Wood's (2016) suggest procedures of following people, materials, and meetings. As such the study involves nineteen in-depth interviews with key policymakers and urban professionals in the Philippines. These are supported by document reviews (masterplans, press releases, news coverage, websites, social media accounts) and participant observations (conference sessions, field trips).

Section four will provide brief backgrounds on Songdo, the development of Clark Green City, and its main proponent, the Bases Conversion and Development Authority.

Section five will focus on the findings from the research starting with how the relationship between Songdo and CGC was established. It is followed by the observed changes in how Songdo is understood by policy adopters going in parallel with their evolving understanding of what CGC is. Lastly, what are the experiences that have influenced policymakers within BCDA as well as other stakeholders in the project such as consultants, external partners, and officials from other government agencies.

Section six will contain the theoretical and policy implications that can be derived from the findings. It starts with the study's contributions to the literature on policy mobilities. It is followed by the theoretical implication where border between formal and informal policymaking practices are seen to be very blurred in this context. At the same time, there are policy implications for South Korea as a policy sharer and for the Philippines as a policy seeker.

Section seven will conclude with a summary of the research followed by the limitations of this study, and possible research directions in the future.

2. Literature review and theoretical background

Early understandings on how policy moves from one place to another relied on the policy transfer approach. Much of the literature depends on the definition proposed by Dolowitz and Marsh where policy transfer is a process where the knowledge of policies and ideas in one place is used in the development of policies and ideas in another (Gonzalez, 2011; Peck, 2011; McCann, 2011a; Lee & Hwang, 2012; Crivello, 2015). It is primarily assumed as a result of rational decision-making by policymakers who are in search of objective best practices to solve their policy challenges. Policies on the move are seen as static and fully-formed, making them easily transferable between different contexts (Clarke, 2012; Temenos & McCann, 2013; McCann & Ward, 2013). This approach is heavily used in Political Science due to their focus on the role of the state and state actors as the primary transfer agents (McCann, 2011a; Cook, 2015; Wood, 2015). They have looked at how policies are moved in the hopes that similar results will be replicated in their own contexts (McCann & Ward, 2011; McCann, 2011a).

For Urban Planning and Geography scholars however, the policy transfer framework seems to be too rigid in its rationalist assumptions. It neglects to look at how policies are constructed objects, developed by a myriad of different actors responding to place specific contexts and challenges. Their movements are facilitated by relationships between actors within networks who have their own agendas to negotiate with. This more constructivist and relational approach acknowledges that in reality, policy movements are more diverse and chaotic than first imagined (McCann, 2011a). The best policies do not merely rise to prominence with only objectivity and rationality in mind. They are studied, compartmentalized and packaged through interactive visitors centres (Joss, 2011; Grodach, 2011; Pow, 2014), fact-finding trips (Gonzalez, 2011; Wood, 2015) and learning exchanges (Chua, 2011). Ideas and places are carefully curated for simplification and easy consumption, reinforcing images of success and replicability (Shatkin, 2011; Vanolo,

2014; McManus, 2012; Bulkeley, 2006). Networks can form around particular ideas, populated by private firms, academics, professionals, and international organizations. Their discussions shape the discourse around particular policies, elevating some examples and at the same time excluding others (Healey, 2013; Cochrane & Ward, 2012; Peck & Theodore, 2012).

As such, the policy mobilities framework can be defined as looking at how policy actors engage with each other in learning and teaching models, ideas, and best practices. It focuses on how they are mobilized by different people, changed as they move across borders, shaped by and shape the places they travel to (McCann, 2011b). Policies themselves are not static but mutate and change as they are translated from one place to another. They are interpreted and reinterpreted by different actors, responding to local policy drivers and lenses (McCann & Ward, 2013; Friedmann, 2010; Bulkeley, 2006; Tait & Jensen, 2007). Key elements can be lost or deemphasized, while others are fused with ideas from other places. This process makes identifying and attributing their places of origin much more difficult.

2.1. Microspaces and micropractices

A key contribution of the policy mobilities framework is the recognition that policy is moved not only by states and their officials. These policy mobilizers include a myriad of different actors that include academics, professionals, civil society organizations, and international organizations just to name a few. It is an acknowledgement that as people move around the world, they also bring with them their own knowledge, expertise, and skills that they try to apply in different contexts. Some historical accounts have focused on the movement of planning professionals such as architects, planners, and engineers by colonial governments to impose the urban systems of their home countries in other places (Hall, 2001; Sen, 2010; Ward, 2010). Others have looked at how newly independent countries augmented their lack of homegrown professional base by sending students abroad to study (Perera, 2010).

Similar actions were taken by private companies who were building factories and hotels in other countries but found out that the local standards were not up to par with what they were used to (Beauregard, 2005). More contemporary accounts have described the rise of a "global consultocracy" (Temenos & McCann, 2013; McCann, 2011) or what Pow (2014) has called "policy pedlars". Consultants and firms travel around the world imparting urban policy advice through conferences, white papers, city rankings, and reports (Bunnell & Das, 2010; Chua, 2011; Wood, Competing for knowledge: Leaders and laggards of bus rapid transit in South Africa, 2015; Markusen, 2006). They seek out receptive policymakers in the hopes that they turn into potential clients. In turn, their project experience in different places enables them to further mobilize ideas, solutions and policies to new places (Khirfan & Jaffer, 2013; Robinson, 2011).

As policy mobilizers travel and interact with each other, they form networks of professionals around common interests in policy ideas, encouraging its adoption in different places (Healey, 2013; McCann, 2011a). These are epistemic communities where the boundaries of policy problems are defined with the potential solutions easily laid for others to adopt (Peck, 2011; Harris & Moore, 2013). This process of codification through interactions with fellow policy mobilizers, either in person or via sharing their experience on what works and what has not. They amplify particular elements of urban models by making it seem they are common-sense policies. At the same time, it downplays other aspects that may have been deemed less attractive (Pow, 2014; Healey, 2013). Thus, they continue to shape the thinking on policy problems by imbuing a sense of authority through the value of peer review, iteration, and experience. It enables faster policy exchanges that overcome potential critiques and opposition (Jacobs, 2012; Clarke, 2012; Peck, 2011; Harris & Moore, 2013).

Yet, this process leans heavily into diffusionist perspectives of policy mobilities that veer very much back into the formalist processes of the policy transfer

framework. It suggests that there is a sequential process where policymakers learn from the lessons and experiences of their more successful peers. It enables them to "leapfrog" the development process with proven solutions and strategies (Peck & Theodore, 2012; Ward, 2000; Lee & Hwang, 2012; Marcotullio, 2001). It espouses a linear view of development where policies converge towards the same end point (Hult, 2013; Healey, 2013). McFarlane (2010) argues however that learning is a non-linear process. It is social, relational, material, and contestable all at the same time. There cannot be a predetermined understanding where a policy is applicable to a place or not. As Robinson's (2015) research in Johannesburg, South Africa shows, policymakers still rework ideas and intentionally build unique approaches based on their own context and the resources available to them. The local context still matters greatly, which includes the relationships between people as policy mobilizers (Crivello, 2015; Kuus, 2015; Keivani & Mattingly, 2007; Ghannam, 2008). These relationships determine what gets shared, what gets shown, and what gets adopted by policymakers (Temenos & McCann, 2012).

There is a need to focus on these relationships at the micro-level. Several scholars have pointed out that policy mobilization does not always happen in formal places of meeting, conferences, and summits. They also happen in what are called microspaces and micropractices or through more mundane means such as hallway conversations, drinks after work, or having friends over for dinner (Temenos & McCann, 2013; Bulkeley, 2006; McCann, 2011a; Acuto, 2014). Bulkeley (2006) argues that policy actors tend to evaluate best practices based on the recommendation of informal networks. This is something that Bunnell & Das (2010) observed on how the consulting firm McKinsey & Co. were able to mobilize information technology polies from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia to Hyderabad, India. Relationships between the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and a former managing director at McKinsey made the former more susceptible to pursuing an investment roadmap that prioritized IT development. As Roy (2009) argues, the state also works

in informal ways in order to gain some flexibility in decision-making that are not present in more formal structures. Although difficult to study due to their fleeting nature, these "ephemeral spaces of interaction and communication" (Robinson, 2015) need to be accounted for. They are important sources of learning, inspiration and influence for policymakers, affecting what kinds of policies they are more partial to and more willing to adapt. The effects of micropractices and microspaces maybe also stronger in places where the state has relatively weak policymaking institutions as seen in many Asian countries (Perera, 2010; Shatkin, 2008; Marcotullio, 2001). And as Ong (2011) argues,when state presence is weak, it leads to the creation and validation of new social relationships or new solidarities.

2.2. Curation within policy tourism

Policy mobilities research have also given attention to cases of policy tourism as both opportunities to promote and to learn policy solutions. Policy tourism is the practice where policymakers go visit and travel to other places in order to see how policies were implemented, experience the results firsthand, and learn from those directly involved (Temenos & McCann, 2013; Hudson & Kim, 2014; Cook & Ward, 2011). Sites are often seen as models of successful policy implementation and innovation, thus may be able to offer lessons for others aspiring to do the same. Cities like Barcelona and Bilbao have become policy tourism hubs for urban regeneration (Gonzalez, 2011), Singapore for urban planning and governance (Pow, 2014), and Curitiba, Brazil for bus-rapid transit systems (Wood, 2014). More commonly known as study tours, these are learning events meant to showcase what has been done and enable visitors to draw lessons that could be used in their own context.

The practice though has been described as offering a "retreat-like experience" (Pow, 2014), taking the policymakers or tourists out of their own context. This enables them to imagine what is possible by being immersed in a different city where

the policy is alive and actually happening (Cook & Ward, 2011; Wood, 2014). Similarly, as much as policy tourists are visiting a city, the places themselves are decontextualized in order be made into templates for consumption by others (Cochrane & Ward, 2012). Research has shown that it is a highly controlled and curated process aiming to emphasize and mobilize certain policy elements while immobilizing others. Gonzalez (2011) for example, observed that local governments in Bilbao and Barcelona regularly customize their tours based on where their visitors come from. For those coming from the North Atlantic, they highlight urban policies and design. For officials from Latin American countries, they show both cities as models of local democratization and the success of their public-private partnerships. In neither of these case were issues of social polarization and gentrification discussed, which are some of the consequences of both cities' urban regeneration success. Pow (2014) described similar strategies adopted by Singapore where visitors are taken through a visitor center, complete with multimedia and multisensory displays. These are efforts to mythologize, exocitize, and spectacularize a city, projecting a staged authenticity where stories of success are circulated. The difficulties of implementation and unintended consequences are subsequently omitted (Clarke, 2012).

As Bulkeley (2006) argues however, policy actors also seek to understand the circumstances of how successful policies were arrived at in search of the political rationalities and governmental technologies. This is to enable them to find ways to disrupt the dominant discourses in their own context and identify avenues for change. Immersing and experiencing the successes of different cities are still essential learning opportunities in order to "meet experts and ask focused questions" (Cook & Ward, 2011). Aside from learning about the positive results, they also want to know how successes were achieved, how they are negotiated, and what are the negative consequences they should watch out for. Actors who organize these study tours also cannot control how policies are understood and received by their visitors.

As much as they are being presented a curated look, they are viewing it from the perspective of their own policy challenges. The literature on policy tourism has focused on examining the experience during the study tours themselves. Attention also needs to be given to what actually happens after policy tourists come back home to act on what they saw.
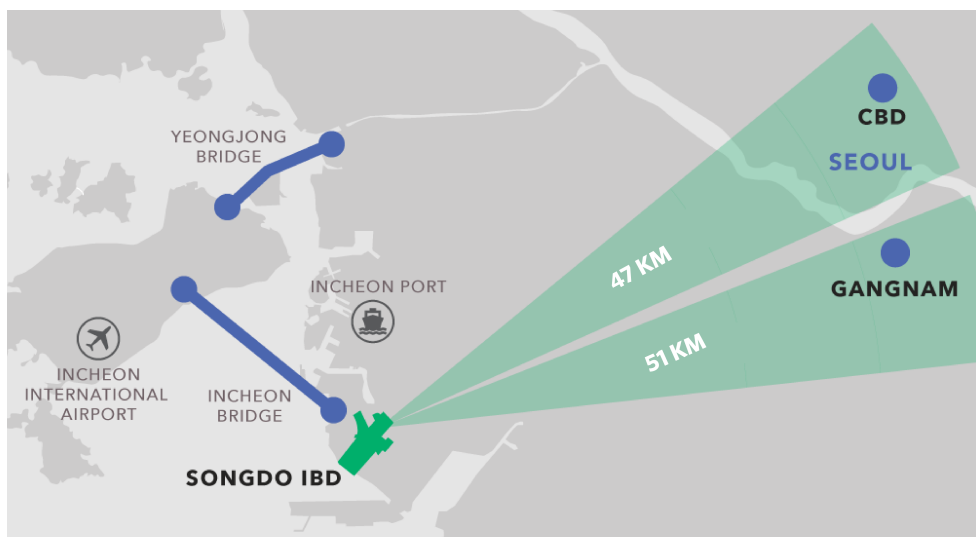
Figure 1: Location of Songdo in terms of distance from the capital city of Seoul.

Source: http://songdoibd.com/about/

3. Case Description

This chapter provides brief backgrounds on the case study being examined. It will start with the development history of the Songdo International Business District before moving on with the Clark Green City. It is followed by a brief discussion on the nature of the CGC's project proponent, the Bases Conversion and Development Authority, and their mandate to convert former military locations for civilian uses.

3.1. Songdo International Business District

The Songdo International District is a $35 billion USD project located an hour outside of the capital city of Seoul, just on the coast of the City of Incheon (see Figure 1). The vision is to have the world's first sustainable city that is also an international business district, home to corporate headquarters and expatriates. It is being developed on former wetlands that were partially reclaimed to provide almost 1,500 acres of new real estate. The project is designed around six core sustainability principles of having open green spaces, emphasizing public and active transportation, minimizing water consumption, creating energy-efficient infrastructure, maximizing recycling, and integrating sustainable management practices (Gale International & POSCO E & C). The masterplan designates a variety of commercial, office, and residential spaces while 40% of the land is devoted to parks and other open spaces. It is a self-declared ubiquitous city where advanced information technologies are integrated into the urban infrastructure. They are intended to compliment the sustainability principles by measuring and optimizing resource use, monitoring for quick response times, and assisting residents in their daily decision making process. As part of the Incheon Free Economic Zone (IFEZ), it is designated to be a hub of high-tech information service industry complete with educational institutions and biotechnology research facilities (Kim C. , 2010). Songdo is intended to be an economic hub for the Northeast Asia region by attracting investments through generous tax breaks and other financial supports (Shwayri, 2013). With Incheon International Airport located just seven miles away, Songdo is also being framed as an aerotropolis (see Figure 2) where capital and professionals can easily fly in and out of the country in order to be connected to the global marketplace (Kuecker, 2013). According to many of Songdo's marketing materials, the district is merely three and half hours away from one-third of the world's population, especially with financial centres like Tokyo, Shanghai and Hong Kong. The project is expected to be

completed by 2018, housing a population of 210,000 residents (Arbes & Bethea, 2014).
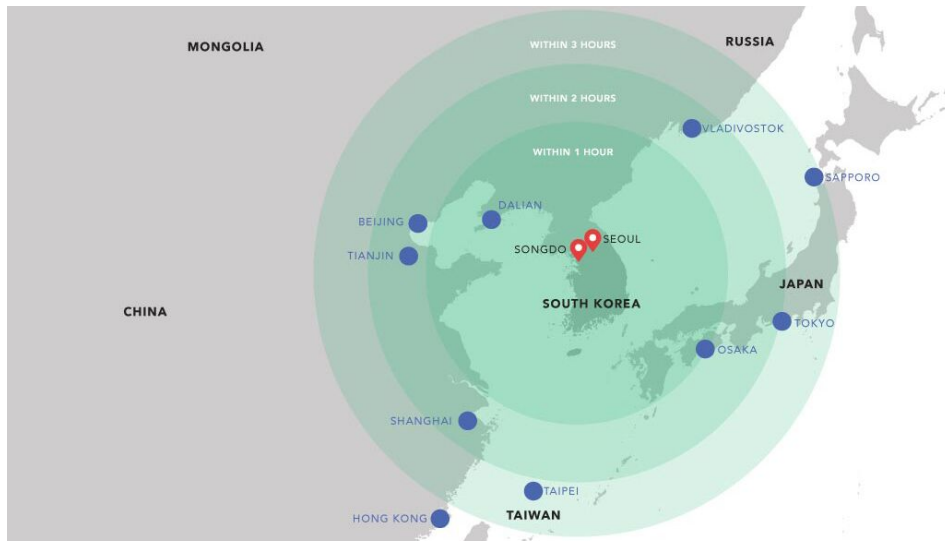
Figure 2: Location of Songdo and showing its flight distance from other major cities in northeast Asia.

Source: http://songdoibd.com/about/

Environmental protection, economic growth, and a growing Seoul metropolitan area were some of the drivers that facilitated Songdo's development. During the 1980s, the capital city of Seoul and its surrounding metropolitan region continued to draw in many Koreans. It grew from approximately 44% of the national population in 1992 to almost 50% by 2010 (Kim J. , 2006; Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2015). Planners needed new areas to accommodate the city's growing population. Incheon's waterfront was seen as the best alternative (Kuecker, 2013). At the same time, the country was also facing another wave of economic restructuring brought by the liberalization of trade and several financial crises in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Government efforts focused on finding new engines of economic growth through knowledge-based, high

technology industries. Airports and seaports have become key components in facilitating the flexibility of production and the country's growing importance in the logistics industries (Kim C. , 2010). Economic growth and competitiveness traditionally trumped environmental concerns. With the growing importance of climate change at the global level, South Korea also started to focus resources on tackling environmental challenges by establishing the Ministry of Environment and the adoption of an environmental preservation law. Green growth plans, or the integration of environmental protection with economic growth strategies, were adopted in late 2008 leading to the development of short- and long-term sustainability goals in all levels of government (Shwayri, 2013).

Since Songdo's inception in the late 1980s, the project has gone numerous iterations. It is reflected in its complex organizational structure that mixes local and national governments, local and foreign development partners. The project was initially overseen by the city of Incheon who gave the Daewoo Group the development rights with a masterplan to be developed by international architectural firm Office of Metropolitan Architecture (OMA). Yet the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis brought significant changes, one of which was the collapse and bankruptcy of Daewoo. Free economic zones such as IFEZ were also created in response to the difficulties in attracting foreign investment. Songdo was relaunched as a private-public partnership with the new Incheon Free Economic Zone Authority (IFEZA) given the mandate to negotiate deals with the private sector. Final approval of plans though still required the endorsement from both the city of Incheon and the national government (Shwayri, 2013). Currently, Songdo is being planned and built by a joint venture between South Korean engineering company POSCO and American property developer Gale International, while the masterplan was designed by Kohn Pedersen and Fox. Other components of the project have been awarded to multiple international firms such as Arup for design services, Cisco for smart-city technologies, and Milton Academy for educational institutions (Kuecker, 2013). By

emphasizing the involvement of foreign firms, South Korea means to attract foreign businesses and investment as well as reflect a new global culture in the country (Kuecker, 2013; Nam, 2013).

Songdo though, as Shwayri (2013) described, is a future city built on inherent contradictions that has experienced many challenges and setbacks. The initial reclamation works have taken away habitats from migratory, endangered, and near-threatened bird species. These tidal flats were also natural sources of carbon sequestration and storm surge protection (Birds Korea, 2009; Moores, 2014). It puts into question the project's eco-city status and claims of being one of the most sustainable cities in the world. Many elements of the master plan were either scrapped, cancelled or delayed because of changing political support and the lack of funding brought by the 2008 financial crises. Although the sales of residential condominiums have been relatively successful, commercial and office tenants have so far been slower. Gale has mentioned the favourable tax regime for foreign firms made it difficult to attract domestic firms, which in turn attracts international investors (Nam, 2013). The project is almost 70% complete but with only 67,000 residents, it has only achieved one-quarter of its target population level (Sisson, 2015; Gale International, 2015). Lastly, many of the smart city technologies such as mobile phone controlled home appliances and child-tracking bracelets have not been implemented (Arbes & Bethea, 2014). In spite of the difficulties Songdo has faced, it was still chosen as the model for CGC.

3.2. Clark Green City

Clark Green City is the first eco-city project in the Philippines. It is being developed as an alternative to the capital city of Manila, which has been experiencing daily traffic congestion, regular flooding, and underinvestment in urban infrastructure (See Figure 3). Manila and its surrounding metropolitan region generates more than 37% of the Philippine economy with almost 13% of the

17

population concentrated in a small area of 640 sq. km. (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015). After years of lacklustre growth, the Philippines has been experiencing surging growth rates averaging at over 6%. Much of this growth has been attributed to business process outsourcing, manufacturing, and other service industries located in urban areas. Yet, state investment in urban infrastructure has not grown at the same pace. The Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) estimates that Metro Manila loses $53 million USD from the daily traffic gridlock. It has been exacerbated by the lack of public transportation options and streets straining from vehicular overcapacity (Guinto, 2014). The Philippines is also one of the most climate change impacted countries in the world. Numerous typhoons during

Figure 3: Location of Clark Green City and showing its flight distance from other major cities in Asia.

Source: Zack Lee

the annual monsoon season cause flooding and other natural disasters across the country. Metro Manila was put under a state of calamity in 2009 after Typhoon Ketsana poured 400 millimetres of rain under 6 hours (Olan, 2014). It caused extensive flooding and submerged whole neighbourhoods for days. The UN estimates that the country lost $730 million USD from floods and storms in 2011 (Singh, 2012). It has been estimated that 6.2 million people will be regularly affected by flooding (Aisch, Leonhardt, & Quealy, 2014). The government has recently focused on a disaster risk reduction and flood control framework in order to address the mounting economic losses.

Inclusive economic growth, decongestion of Metro Manila, and a more disaster resilient urban area are the policy drivers behind the Clark Green City. It will be located two hours north of the capital in the Central Luzon region, straddling the boundaries between Pampanga and Tarlac provinces (see Figure 4). The original masterplan called for the development of five districts: Government District, Central Business District, Innovation District, Agri-Zone, and Wellness and Eco-Tourism Centre. Much of its defining characteristics can be found in its strategies to be "smart, green, and disaster resilient" (Reyes, 2014). Its smart elements are heavily reliant on the integration of information technology into the project's infrastructure such as the creation of a command centre to monitor and control traffic conditions, sensors to track water usage and the extensive use of closed-circuit TV cameras. They also adopted 7 key indicators to measure their environmental performance, which focuses on characteristics of the compact city model, such as minimizing sprawl and supporting non-motorized transportation options. Of the 9,450 ha. total land area, only 34% will be buildable in order to preserve open spaces. The CGC's design includes flood control strategies such as retention ponds and permeable road surfaces. Unlike Manila, the area does not have any fault lines that could trigger devastating earthquakes. The urban area is also located about 30km. from Mt. Pinatubo, which last erupted in 1992 (Casanova, 2015a). Development will be funded through a
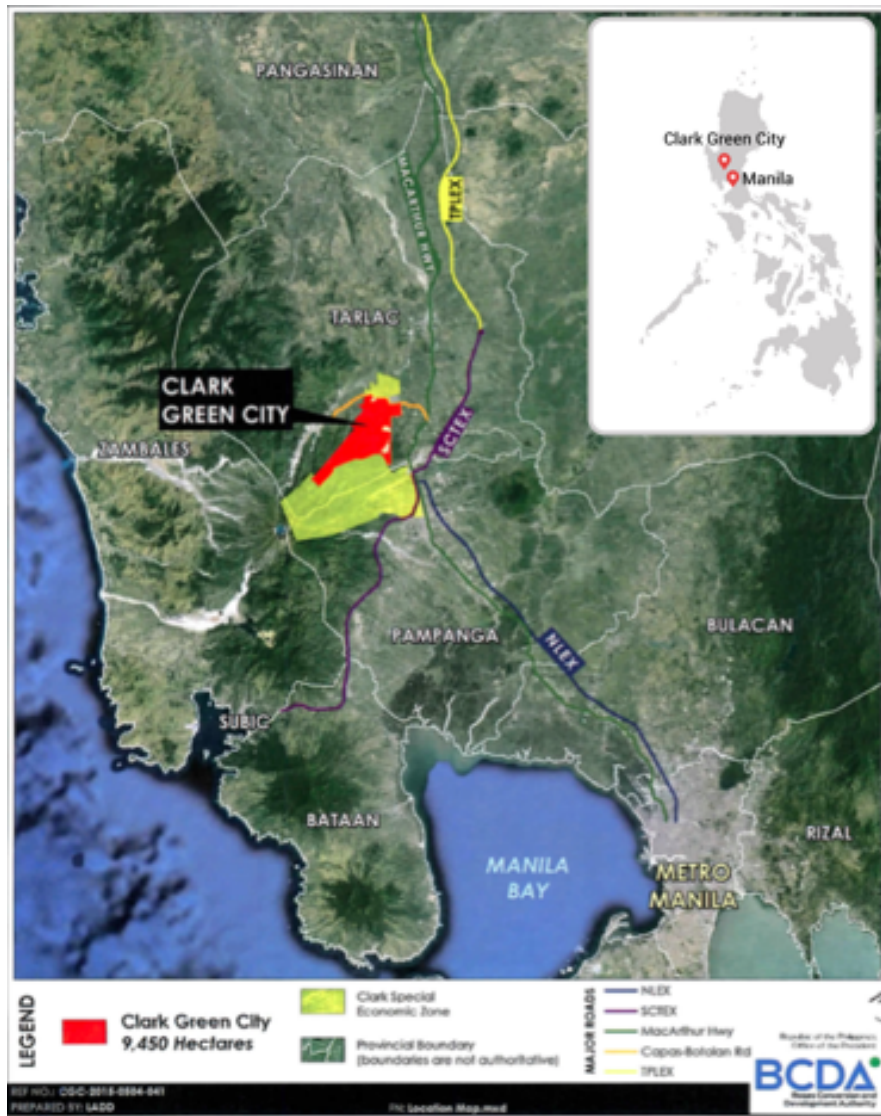
19

Figure 4: Location of Clark Green City within the Clark Special Economic Zone, about 2 hours away from Metro Manila.

Source:

http://www.bcda.gov.ph/file_attachments/0000/9297/Terms_of_Reference_for_the_BCDA_s_JV_Partner_in_the_Development_of_a_288-hectare_Parcel_of_the_Clark_Green_City.pdf

public-private partnership scheme where the national government will finance the

basic infrastructure while the private sector will handle residential and commercial construction. The first phase of construction has been awarded to Filinvest Land, one of the country's biggest real estate developers. Road construction has already begun and is being designed to prioritize walking and biking. Full-development is expected to be completed by 2040 with a projected population of 1.2 million residents and 800,000 workers.

The project is itself is part of a larger redevelopment drive of former military bases in the Philippines. CGC's main proponent is the Bases Conversion and Development Authority, a government owned corporation, reporting directly to the president, tasked with converting military bases into civilian uses. They were first created when the Philippine Senate passed legislation in the early 1990's to remove US military bases in the country. Proceeds from the redevelopment will primarily be used to fund the modernization of the Philippine military camps, equipment, hospitals, and housing loans for soldiers. Provisions included in the law enabled the BCDA to finance and construct infrastructure that would make their projects accessible. Another section designated some locations as special economic zones with specific tax regimes in order to spur development. Despite early setbacks, the BCDA has been relatively successful in their development projects. They now have large business districts, industrial parks, highways and integrated resorts under their portfolio. Clark Green City itself is located within the former Clark Airforce Base that has been transformed into the Clark Freeport Zone. It now houses IT and logistics companies, water parks and resorts, and the Clark International Airport, a candidate to replace Manila's airport as the country's primary gateway.

4. Methodology

Studying the movements of policies from one place to another is primarily approached qualitatively. As McCann (2011a) argued, the mobilities approach to analyzing policy movements focuses on the different ways people move, how they

move ideas around, how technology enables those movements, how their political power affects what is moved, and what institutions do they have to work in. This examines how and what policymakers understand, what they learn from hearing stories about other places, reading in newspapers or see when they visit a place. It traces the relationships between their networks of peers and colleagues and how those relationships were established. It is also essential to understand what policymakers are responding to and observing how they act in order to come to the decisions they have made.

Much of the methodologies adopted for this study follows the extended case method as described by Peck & Theodore (2012). It focuses on interviews as a means of gathering data in difficult to access fields. It encourages a more open methodological stance in research, broadening the possible sources of information. This means interviewing policymakers and other policy actors that are not only directly, but also those who had indirect roles in the project. It avoids the risk being entrapped in an echo-chamber of information and interpretations. The study is also adopting Wood's (2016) suggested procedures in studying policy mobility of following the people, materials, and meetings. Following the people means interviewing those who were involved in moving, shaping, and adopting the policies being examined. Following the materials requires the examination of items such as masterplans, websites, and press releases. These mundane artifacts are products resulting from how policies are mobilized, understood, and translated from one context to another. Following the meetings entails actually attending related workshops, conferences and other learning events related to the policy being examined. These are the moments where both policy learning and exchanges happen as well as giving life to the various materials being produced. As such, they provide opportunities where policy actors can be observed in they understand their own challenges and the potential solutions they are seeking.

4.1.Informal interviews and selection process

Empirical data for this study were derived through 19 in-person, one-on-one, informal interviews. The complete list of interviews, interviewee affiliation, and interview dates can be seen in Table 1. BCDA was approached to assist in the study by identifying and setting up interviews with BCDA staff who are directly working on CGC. Five interviews were setup and Table 2 summarizes their characteristics. It was specifically requested that at least one or two interviewees were from three different levels of project operations, namely frontline, managerial, and executive. Other interviewees were identified through a stakeholder mapping exercise and a snowballing process (see Appendix 8.1). Some interviewees were either previously or are currently involved on CGC but not part of BCDA. They were either participants in the competitions organized by BCDA or are providing advice in CGC's development. Other government agencies were also interviewed due to their involvement in the policy environment CGC is supposed to respond to. The National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) is the Philippine government's economic and planning agency who approves large development projects worth ₱1billion PhP (approximately $22million USD) or more. The Climate Change Commission is the policymaking body created to lead and implement the country's climate change action plans. They were also invited to setup facilities and institutions at CGC. Members of civil society have ranged from international organizations to local professional associations. Besides the previously mentioned connections with CGC, civil society groups are also involved in translating policy ideas from abroad to the Philippines. Interviews with them have proven insightful in highlighting emergent patterns in policy mobilities within the Philippine context.

Table 1: CGC Interviews

Interviewee Number	Affiliation	Interview Date
1	Bases Conversion and Development Authority	01 FEB 2016
2	Private Architecture/Planning Firm	04 FEB 2016
3	Civil Society	11 FEB 2016
4	Civil Society	13 FEB 2016
5	Bases Conversion and Development Authority	23 FEB 2016
6	Bases Conversion and Development Authority	26 FEB 2016
7	Private Architecture/Planning Firm	04 MAR 2016
8	National Economic Development Authority	04 MAR 2016
9	National Economic Development Authority	04 MAR 2016
10	Academia	09 MAR 2016
11	Civil Society	10 MAR 2016
12	Bases Conversion and Development Authority	14 MAR 2016
13	Bases Conversion and Development Authority	14 MAR 2016

14	Private Architecture/Planning Firm		15 MAR 2016
15	Private Architecture/Planning Firm		19 MAR 2016
16	Private Architecture/Planning Firm		19 MAR 2016
17	Civil Society		23 MAR 2016
18	Climate	Change	06 APR 2016
	Commission		
19	Climate	Change	06 APR 2016
	Commission		

Interviews were unstructured and informal in order both relax the participant in sharing their experience and points of view. This provided room for respondents to emphasize experiences that they may deem important to highlight. The common topics used to focus the interviews included what were they roles in CGC's development, how did they get to know CGC, what were the visions and ideas presented to them, and what ideas informed their development. For those specifically involved or had knowledge about the use of Songdo as CGC's model, questions were asked regarding topics such as how was Songdo presented to the project, how did they understand Songdo's development, and what is Songdo as a model being used for.

Table 2: BCDA Staff Interviews

Interviewee Number	Position	Interview Date	Interview Location
1	Frontline staff	01 FEB 2016	Headquarters
5	Consultant	23 FEB 2016	Headquarters
6	Frontline staff	26 FEB 2016	Field Office
12	Executive	14 MAR 2016	Headquarters
13	Management	14 MAR 2016	Headquarters

Clark Green City is still in the early stages of its development and a project with significant amount of resources attached to it. It made some interviewees reticent to openly speak about their involvement in fear of saying something that could damage professional relationships or business opportunities. At the same time, the study period overlapped with the Philippine presidential elections campaign period. This made the study context more sensitive to wider political power relations. BCDA's management is co-terminus with the current presidential administration. There were concerns about transitions and continuity, a situation that is common with the election of new governments. As such, great care was taken by the author to ensure anonymity and privacy regarding the identity of the interviewees. Interviewees outside of BCDA were contacted via email for an interview request. They were given the opportunity to set a time, date and place for the interview, wherever and whenever they were comfortable to meet. Included in the email is

information on the topic being studied, assurance on confidentiality and privacy, and the contact information of the thesis supervisor (see Appendix 8.2 for a sample of the email sent to interviewees). Before any interview, the author orally informed the interviewees that the session will be recorded for review and note-taking purposes only. They were also asked to explicitly say "off the record" if they said something that they do not want to be directly quoted from them. Recordings themselves have no identifying information except for the interview date. The findings section of this study will also minimize any use of direct quotations or interviewee identifying information. The author adopts a precautionary principle as it could affect the career prospects, business opportunities, and professional relationships of interviewees.

4.2. Archival analysis, site visits, and participant observations

Interviews were supplemented by archival analysis, a site visit to the Clark Green City and participant observations. Some of the data derived from these were used to further refine interview questions as well as cross-reference statements during interviews. Archival analysis consisted of tracking news reports, press releases, and the BCDA and Clark Green City social media accounts about the project's development. Google Alerts were setup on the following keywords: eco-cities, eco-city, Clark Green City, Bases Conversion and Development Authority, and Songdo. These alerts sent email messages when new articles containing the keywords appeared in newly published online articles. Social media accounts of BCDA and CGC regularly post new information regarding the project as well as articles that may have been missed by the email alerts. The public Facebook page of policymakers have also been valuable resources, providing new insights into their thoughts and ideas that are not captured in more formal interviews and press releases. The author was also able to access and examine CGC's masterplans, which are restricted documents, not accessible to public.

A visit to the Clark Green City site was also conducted with a BCDA staff member on 26 FEB 2016. It was an opportunity to examine the state of the project, and understand the site's landscape and potential land conflict issues (see Appendix 8.3 for photos taken during the site visit). Last 08 MAR 2016, the author also attended a BCDA-hosted conference to anchor the launch of CGC. Titled, NXCities, it had a theme of "Building Urban Platforms for Innovation, Inclusion, and Resilience", it brought together speakers from Singapore, Japan, Sweden, India, and US with local urban development professionals. Many of the topics were in reference to aspects of CGC's vision such as green urban infrastructure, urban sustainability, smart cities, and big data. A complete list of speakers is included in Appendix 8.4. One of the most valuable aspects of the conference was that many of the speakers are already involved in CGC or have existing partnerships with BCDA. It was an opportunity to hear about what ideas are influencing them as well as how they are applying it to CGC.

5. Findings and discussions

This section presents the findings from this three-month study on the adoption of Songdo as the benchmark model for Clark Green City. It starts with describing the process by which Songdo was chosen as a model for CGC. It will discuss how Songdo was introduced to the BCDA as well as what was adopted. It will be followed by how the understanding of Songdo changed as BCDA entered the implementation phase of the project. This has affected Songdo's place within the overall framework informing CGC. Last will be about the stated influences of CGC's stakeholders and policy actors. It highlights the lingering effects of previous experiences in their decision-making process.

5.1. Non-state actors and Songdo's beginnings at CGC

Songdo's movement from the shores of Incheon to the Philippines was facilitated through the professional and personal relationships between executives of BCDA and Cisco Systems International (Cisco). The latter is one of the primary stakeholders in the Songdo International Business District. They supply and develop the information technology that supports its vision to be a ubiquitous or smart city. This relationship was established through common involvement with non-governmental organizations.

Between late 2012 and early 2013, BCDA was in the midst of the research and preparation phase for the Clark Green City project's masterplan. CGC was going to be the first of its kind in the country thus no similar projects could be found locally. One interviewee said that the BCDA's president encouraged the team to go travel and learn from what other places have done. During this period, a smart city technology company named Centios approached BCDA and invited them to visit

Figure 5: An aerial view of Songdo that shows the central canal.

Source: http://songdoibd.com/

Songdo. Centios is the joint venture company between Cisco and KT Corporations, South Korea's largest telecommunications company. According to two interviewees, staff and executives were flown to Songdo and were shown the biotechnology and nanotechnology research labs, the central park, and the U-Life Center. It was a showcase tour of the project's advanced technologies and smart city features. The visitors came away impressed with what they saw and BCDA's president asked that many of the project's features be integrated into the masterplan. As one interviewee mentioned, the BCDA president spoke overwhelmingly positive about what he saw and said that "we need to do something like this".

As a result, the original CGC masterplan, released in 2013, involved many similarities to Songdo. (For a more detailed look, please refer to Appendices 8.5 and 8.6 for Songdo's current masterplan and CGC's 2013 masterplan.) In terms of planning, the CGC has emulated many of Songdo's features. Green open spaces will be placed throughout the development with a large centrally located park, similar to Songdo's Central Park. Although smaller than CGC's 66% preservation area, Songdo set aside 40% of its land area for green public spaces. Both have also anchored themselves with building higher education institutions, from both foreign and local universities. The Songdo Global University Campus, will be the home of ten foreign universities who have been invited to setup international branch campuses. These educational institutions are intended to form partnerships with research laboratories in order to hire students after graduation. Instead of biotechnology and nanotechnology, CGC would focus on agricultural and forestry research in response to the site's regional context. The Agri-Forestry Research and Development District would be developed and supported by the Institutional District. Local and foreign universities are envisioned to setup branch campuses to provide the necessary labor force for the research district (Rosales, 2014; University of the Philippines, 2014). In terms of urban design, all 5 districts would be connected by a canal that also serves to capture stormwater in retaining ponds. It would have been

large enough to host water-sports related activities such as boating. It is very similar to Songdo's Central Park Canal that bisects the district in half (see Figures 5 and 6). From a political perspective, both projects have overlapping interests at the local and national level. Both are projects of national importance with central governments involved in the approval of plans and strategies, especially as alternatives to their capital cities.

In addition, it was announced in late 2012 that BCDA would be partnering with both Centios and Cisco. The latter has been asked to apply their Smart+Connected Community" (S+CC) package, a set of technology solutions for information gathering and resource optimization, to CGC's development. It is the same package that they applied in Songdo. Centios on the other hand, would be working on the feasibility study on applying S+CC at CGC (Reyes, 2014; Bases Conversion and Development Authority, 2012). As a result of this partnership, an additional chapter was added to the 2013 CGC masterplan that focused on how to apply the smart city technologies. It focused on developing the needed infrastructure for an integrated

Figure 6: A rendering of CGC's original 2013 masterplan.

Source: https://clarkgreencityphils.com

command center, similar to Songdo's U-Life Center. The traffic, weather, disaster situations, and security will be tracked and monitored with the extensive use of sensors and CCTV cameras. Information will be shared with residents through their mobile devices. Utilities will be underground and automatically controlled for more efficient management (Casanova, 2015b; Garcia, 2014). At the end of this chapter, it was recommended that BCDA look to other smart city projects around the world. They gave three examples, one of which was Songdo.

At the same time, there was also an existing relationship between BCDA and Cisco through their executives' involvement in non-governmental organizations. When one interviewee was asked how was Songdo introduced to BCDA, it was said that the organization benefited from BCDA president's extensive experience in the private sector. This led to an equally extensive network of contacts that they were able to tap into. The BCDA President and executives from Cisco regularly attend events organized by the Urban Land Institute (ULI) and the Asia Society. In some cases, they also speak together on specially convened panels (ULI Asia Pacific, 2012; Asia Society & Urban Land Institute, 2014). The latter is a non-governmental organization that aims to foster ties between Asia, the United States and Europe on a variety of topics such as art, politics, and sustainability. Before becoming the BCDA President, Arnel Casanova was also the Executive Director at the Asia Society – Philippines. He was also named as an Asia 21 Young Leader, an initiative that aims to foster a network of young leaders across Asia for collaborations. ULI on the other hand, is an international non-profit organization whose mission is to promote knowledge sharing between their members of land-use and real estate development professionals.

Aside from hosting learning events and disbursing project-specific grants, ULI also provides advisory services that give policy recommendations and advice on different land use issues. In early 2013, BCDA engaged ULI to produce recommendations on the development of Clark International Airport and the Special

Economic Zone. Recommendations were partly derived from interviews with stakeholders inside and outside BCDA such as private developers and design professionals. Cisco again was one of the interviewed participants during the course of their research process. The special advisory panel suggested an aerotropolis model to be adopted with Songdo as "the most notable example" (Urban Land Institute Advisory Services, 2013). They also described Songdo is an example where new airports become a "catalyst for new growth" with a vision of "providing visitors to the country with an arrival that is gracious, efficient, and awe inspiring on many levels, and that blends seamlessly with their job-related activities." Lastly, the panel also suggested that in order to differentiate CGC, the project had to be sustainable through the implementation of smart city concepts. This means adopting an integrated approach to infrastructure and information technologies, developing a system that can monitor traffic, utilities and security. It was a recommendation that was very similar to the ideas within Cisco's S+CC package. Both of these have given further support that led to Songdo being chosen as an appropriate model for CGC.

These finding suggests three implications. One is that professional relationships play a key role in the movement of ideas that inspire policymakers. These relationships can be seen as a source of trust due to their previous experiences with their peers in other capacities. For the global policy consultocracy, receptive potential clients are identified through existing relationships and networks, also known as their natural markets. It is much easier to introduce an idea to someone that they already know, enabling customization based on previously and personally shared information. It however, does not suggest that there were any inappropriate actions taken by policymakers. It does support the notion however that policy mobilization does not only happen in formal learning events or idea exchanges. In fact, in this instance, the policy was mobilized before any formal partnerships were established. It was only after the first visit to Songdo that explicit efforts were made to formalize relationships and policy advice through agreements and publicly

accessible reports. Two is that study tours and policy tourism continue to be powerful tools in mobilizing policies. They are used to highlight the positive characteristics of the project without the complexities of the process that led to its development. It results in favourable perceptions of success wherein the final product is evidence that it can be done and can possibly be repeated elsewhere. Third is that policy learning is also a process of reinforcing ideas through multiple methods and avenues. As seen in Figure 7, Songdo was not only learned through a singular study tour. Its integration into the overall vision and masterplan of CGC was also a result of being reinforced in Cisco and Centios' contribution to the original 2013 masterplan as well as through the recommendations of the ULI report.
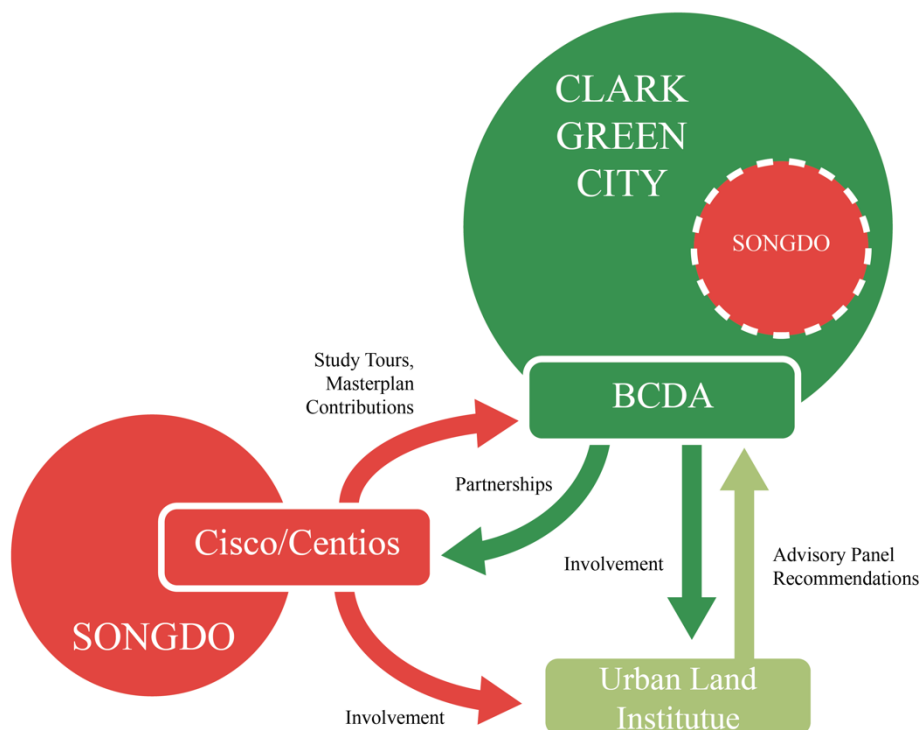

Figure 7: An illustration of the relationships and learning process for BCDA.

5.2. Moving on from Songdo

During the early stages of CGC's development, Songdo was a very clear and prominent inspiration for the project as can be evidenced in BCDA's original plans. Moving forward however, Songdo's prominence waned as BCDA entered into the more detailed planning and implementation phase. Different components of the project are now taking inspiration and policy cues from other places such as Singapore, Japan, and Sweden. This process is also facilitated by greater involvement from different stakeholders besides BCDA and Cisco.

According to several interviewees, there were perceived deficits regarding the 2013 masterplan. They have described it as being "too generic", "not visionary, innovative, or inspiring" and "just like any other city". It had sufficient and in-depth background research but did not give enough detail regarding the urban design and its green features. Interviewees also expressed doubts on the feasibility of some project's proposed features. They explicitly mentioned the central canal, which would require extensive engineering works that BCDA could not afford. This was also seen as contradictory to the project's "green vision" since land use would not follow the natural terrain and the environment. As one interviewee said, "we wanted something that will excite people." BCDA was marketing the project but was hesitant to publicly release the masterplan. The document was also subjected to a market sounding study in order to gauge how receptive other stakeholders outside of BCDA would be. It gathered the opinions of real estate developers, government agencies and other potential interested parties. Many saw the potential risks that the project had regarding its location outside of Metro Manila. They wanted to negotiate better business terms to compensate for the increased risk and emphasized the need for transportation connectivity.

This was when the differences between Songdo and CGC became apparent. Songdo has the advantage of being located within the metropolitan area of Incheon and being well-connected to Seoul. There is a large regional demand for residential

real estate as well as for commercial and office space. Songdo is easily accessible by car, bus, and subway. CGC however, is being built in a primarily agricultural region with closely located regional cities having the space to accommodate more growth. There is also a lack of public transportation options, which makes the area more difficult to access. A train line is being planned that would initially connect the nearby Clark International Airport to Manila, and eventually connect to CGC. As of writing, it is still in planning stages, targeting 2017 for the start of construction (Remo, 2015). Unlike the Port of Incheon and Incheon International Airport, the nearby seaport and airport for the CGC are not the Philippine's primary gateways. The Port of Manila and the Manila International Airport still draw the majority of international cargo and passengers that enter the Philippines (Department of Tourism, 2016; Philippine Ports Authority, 2016). There has been discussion of moving these designations from Manila's facilities to the airport and the seaport nearby CGC but nothing has been finalized (Yap, 2015; Magturo, 2016). Lastly, the industries that the CGC and Songdo want to focus on are different. Songdo is targeting financial, engineering, and biotechnology firms to setup offices and research centres. The CGC on the other hand, primarily focuses on business process outsourcing and agricultural technology research.

As a result of the market sounding study, BCDA organized an "Open Competition for the Design Optimization of the Clark Green City". It aimed to develop a more detailed conceptual development masterplan that "integrate market-sounding feedbacks and incorporate global best practices" (Bases Conversion and Development Authority, 2014). Five finalists were chosen from the entries, three were foreign firms and two were local. None of the entries were from Korea or had any affiliations with Songdo. It was ultimately won by the international engineering and planning firm AECOM through their Singapore office. AECOM's plan is described by two interviewees as being easy to understand as the green corridors were oriented towards the nearby mountains with the universities framing the view

(See Appendix 8.7 for the new masterplan). Since it was easier to understand, it was believed to be easier to implement. It dropped the central canal in favour of a lake at the center of the development. A new development phasing scheme was adopted that integrated the previously five separate districts into one central core, creating a more compact design.

Initially Songdo was the only place that was explicitly mentioned as a model for CGC. The BCDA president however has repeatedly mentioned that it was one of the many models they are looking at (Reyes, 2014). Interviewees have mentioned several other places that CGC is taking inspiration from. For example, BCDA is looking at Japan, and Tokyo more specifically, for their transportation system. They are interested in the rail system and the associated transport-oriented developments surrounding the stations as the country is a "leader in mass transport". The rail connection to Manila has been identified as an essential element to support CGC's development and viability (ULI, 2013). They are also studying Tokyo's development due to its outsized role in the Japanese economy, which also reflects the situation in Manila. Another example is Singapore. The country was being examined due to their efficient public transportation system, as well as a model of urban governance and institution building. It was said by an interviewee that Singapore's Urban Redevelopment Authority is an organization that BCDA wants to emulate. Future urban design elements and structures at CGC have also taken cues from the country's green corridors, city in a garden principle, and the OMA-designed Interlace residential complex. Other places that were mentioned were France for their advances in urban sustainability and green technologies, and Hammarby Sjöstad in Sweden for its sustainable technologies. During the NXCities conference, Filinvest Land gave a presentation about their ideas for how they will design and build the first phase of CGC. They are one of the Philippines' largest real estate developers and were awarded the development rights for CGC's first phase. Their company vice president said they are taking inspiration and cues from Tokyo, New

York, and most importantly, Singapore as their background for future plans. More recently, BCDA's Chair released an editorial stating that they "sought the best practices" from their "neighbors in conceptualizing" CGC. These best practices include Singapore's energy efficiency, effective recycling habits and green commuting options; India's work in engaging governing bodies and residents; and Sweden's investment in research and development for environmental technologies (Geotina-Garcia, 2016).

Similar to the actions taken described in the previous section, BCDA has moved to formalize relationships with organizations from different countries they want to take best practices from. A full list of the partner organizations that were announced via press releases can be seen in Table 3. These partnerships closely match the list of countries that were mentioned as other models for CGC. They primarily focus on learning exchanges, technical assistance, and capacity building for BCDA staff. Several interviewees highlighted that capacity building activities provide them the opportunity to visit other cities in different countries. These involve at least week-long stays in the cities that includes formal presentations and study tours. The goal for these partnerships is to identify collaborative projects where their expertise can be applied within CGC.

Table 3: BCDA/CGC International Partnerships

Company/Organization	Country	Specialty/Interest	Date
Japan Overseas Infrastructure Investment Corporation for Transport and Urban Development (JOIN)	Japan	Transportation, Urban Development	08 MAR 2016

Vivapolis	France	Sustainable urban development	15 DEC 2015
IVL Swedish Environmental Research Institute	Sweden	Environmental development	16 NOV 2015
ElectriCITY	Sweden	Sustainable urban development	16 NOV 2015
XERIC	Sweden	Information technology, Smart city	16 NOV 2015
M Health Limited (MHL)	United Kingdom	Healthcare	09 SEP 2015
International Finance Corporation (IFC)	US/International Organization	Business development	11 MAR 2015
World Bank (WB)	US/International Organization	Sustainable green development	29 MAY 2014
Incheon Free Economic Zone Authority	South Korea	Sustainable urban development	26 DEC 2013
Urban Land Institute	US	Urban development	21 JAN 2013
Cisco Systems International B.V. (CSI)	US	Information technology, Smart city	14 DEC 2012
Centios	South Korea	Information technology, Smart city	14 DEC 2012

Interestingly, an interviewee mentioned Dubai as a place that BCDA wants to learn from. They want to learn from the challenges it faced during the 2008 financial crisis, which led to the failure of many projects. The interviewee said that it was important to look at both the successes and failures. This perspective was echoed by other interviewees when further asked about Songdo's role in CGC. Even though they have been looking at policy models from elsewhere, Songdo still had lessons to impart. Interviewees acknowledged Songdo's limitations and applicability in the Philippines. It was highlighted that CGC benefits greatly from hindsight, where they can "address what has been missed". Interviewees have described Songdo as a very expensive project that neither BCDA, the Philippine government, nor their private sector partners can match. As one BCDA interviewee said, "We don't have a lot of cash to burn." They are also following a more conservative approach with a more phased-in development. They cannot and do not want to build everything immediately. Development has to match the demand from the population and businesses. It was also said that Songdo was not an inclusive development. Real estate values are prohibitively high with no affordable housing available for workers. At CGC, there have been explicit efforts regarding this topic, the most visible of which is the affordable housing project (see Appendix 8.8 for the design). It will be one of the first buildings to be constructed and is intended to provide housing for future workers and employees. It was said by several interviewees that BCDA wants to avoid creating slum areas and shantytowns on the fringes of the project's development.

As shown in Figure 8, Songdo moved from being the singular model informing CGC to being just one of several. This does not suggest that Songdo has been replaced by other models. On the contrary, the smart city features continue to be part of CGC and are still embedded within AECOM's new masterplan. Similarly, after the original 2013 masterplan was announced, BCDA embarked on the

development of key performance indicators (KPIs). According to one interviewee, these KPIs would serve as BCDA's guide in developing CGC (see Appendix 8.8 for the list of seven indicators). It gives them an idea of what developments to do and who are the kinds of partners they can work with. They are a set of parameters where BCDA's actions can be measured against to see if they are following their own vision. From these it can be seen that Songdo can fit in under resource management with its smart city features. Unfortunately, it can also go against the criterion of mixed-income communities under Diversity & Identity. This shows that there are limits to what Songdo can teach and BCDA sought other places to emulate for other areas of their project.
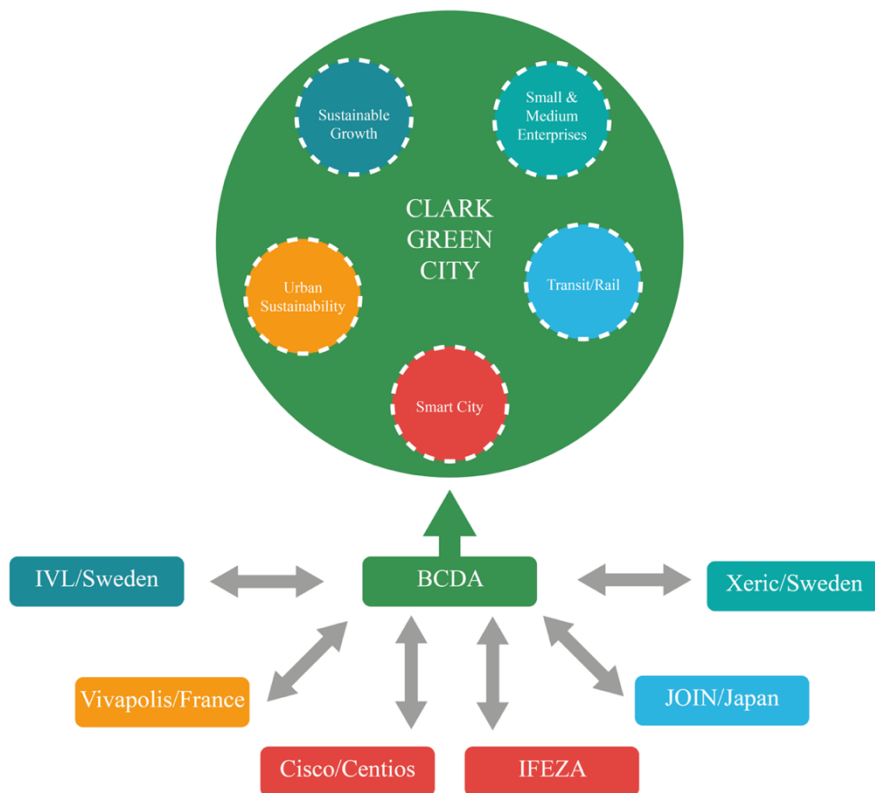

Figure 8: An illustration of the different policies taken from different places that are informing CGC's development.

What these findings suggest is the continuing dynamic relationship between planning and policy mobilities. Songdo was the initial model for CGC but it was only a starting point. As time went on and as specific details were to be fleshed out, BCDA needed to look to other places to draw lessons from. Each place becomes a source of learning and policy models for areas such as transportation, governance, and urban sustainability. As a policy-seeker, BCDA also had to evaluate and acknowledge the limits of Songdo's applicability in the Philippine context. Even though Songdo has been packaged as city of the future with advance technologies, it also plays a similar role to Dubai. Lessons drawn from policy models do not only come in the form of best practices. They are also made up of "what was missed" and what could be done better. The understanding of Songdo was eventually filtered through the Philippine's economic and social context. A different economic structure, financial resources, and desires to be more inclusive had to be recognized. It shows that there is a desire to learn from both the successes and the failures. It is a recognition that policies and projects need not be packaged only as successes or failures. They can be seen as both with lessons to be drawn from each side.

5.3. Personal knowledge and experience of policy mobilizing elites

Much of the displacement of Songdo's prominence from CGC can also be attributed to policy actors' own knowledge and personal experience. They developed a greater affinity with other places other than South Korea due to the familiarity based on their education and travels. It seems that organizations that partner with BCDA may very well be cognizant of this phenomenon. Their partnerships regularly involve capacity building activities and study tours that reinforce the lessons learned and best practices from other places.

Several interviewees were asked questions on what informed them regarding their work, plans or designs for Clark Green City. Three of the most

common responses they had were education, work experience and travels. For education, it was specifically said that their studies outside of the Philippines greatly influences their current work. Many of the policy actors and stakeholders involved with CGC had opportunities to study abroad. The older interviewees were part of the early wave of students who were provided scholarships to study abroad, mostly in the United States. They were asked to come back and contribute their expertise to the Philippines' development. Some of the younger interviewees were also able to study or were able to participate in short training courses outside of the Philippines. They mentioned being able to attend programs in Singapore, Japan, the United Kingdom and other Northern European countries.

In terms of their work experience, many of the respondents were able to work internationally or with international organizations within the Philippines. Some have worked for the different organizations within the United Nations system, others have worked with aid organizations such as Germany's Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), or acted as consultants for multilateral development banks such as the Asian Development Bank or the World Bank. Some were sent abroad as part of their training or were able to learn from the policies that were being shared by those organizations. Lastly, interviewees spoke very fondly about their experiences traveling abroad. They regularly referenced experiences they had during their travels in order to visualize and describe their visions for Clark Green City. One interviewee spoke highly of their experiences in riding the subways in Singapore and Tokyo as something that affected how they saw cities move. Another said that their experience walking around the neighbourhoods of New York and Boston shaped their desires to move away from car-oriented developments. These travels were either brought about by work-related opportunities or personal trips with their family. Aside from those directly working within BCDA, many interviewees were not familiar with Songdo. They only knew of Songdo based on what was initially mentioned by

BCDA. Many noted that they thought Songdo was a great model to emulate. It was a "great project", "beautiful", and "technologically advanced". Most of them said however, that they did not follow-up or learn more about it after the initial introduction.

What these findings show is that the mobility of policies is also largely dependent on the mobility of policy actors. Mobility in this sense signifies their ability to actually move around, travel, live in and experience particular places. These travels create experiences that in turn becomes points of reference and frames for policy actors to understand current problems and explore new ideas. They are accumulative in nature, stored as half-forgotten and half-remembered moments from the past. Only to be drawn upon when needed to supplement their current practices. They still hold much power as they continue to affect and inform policy actors on what kinds of policies they are more pre-disposed to support. BCDA and its partner organizations may have unknowingly recognized this phenomenon in policy learning. They continuously reinforce the mobilization of policies through formal partnerships that focus on capacity building and study tours. More importantly, these partnerships include frameworks on starting collaborative projects thus facilitating a process of learning by immersion, followed by direct application into CGC. It keeps the best practices and policy ideas on top of mind in BCDA staff even after the initial discussions. At the end of the interview period, BCDA staff were about to leave two multi-week study programs. One was in Singapore and the other one was in Sweden.

6. Discussions

This section provides the discussions on the theoretical and policy implications that can be derived from the findings. It starts with what the study will contribute to the growing literature on policy mobilities. Next are the theoretical implications focus on the new understandings that can be added to the policy

mobilities framework. The policy implications are divided between South Korea as a policy sharer and the Philippines as policy adopter.

6.1. Contributions to the literature

This research contributes to the literature on policy mobilities in three ways. By exploring the movement of policies from one place to another, it focuses on ones where success has not been determined. Harris & Moore (2013) has called for further research on the policies that have failed or be successfully implemented. They can also be sources of lessons learned that may be helpful in addressing problems in a different policy context. With many pressing urban challenges, policymakers are pressed into even shorter policy cycles where experimentation becomes key in finding solutions (Clarke, 2012). Arriving at good practice requires a commitment to constantly learn (Bai, Roberts, & Chen, 2010). Secondly, the study addresses a gap within the policy mobilities literature by looking at the more fleeting and ephemeral spaces of movements. More specifically, the study looks at how professional and personal relationships are able to introduce and influence how a policy is adopted. Thirdly, this contributes to the small body of literature on how Korean urban policies are being mobilized around the world. Lee & Hwang (2012) have looked at how Seoul mobilizes its creative city programs, while Percival & Waley (2012) only briefly touched on how Korean construction companies have constructed new town projects in Cambodia. More specifically, this study examines how the Korean U-City model, the latest in Korea's new town models (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2011), has been mobilized, adopted, and translated in a different country. As Korean governments continue to share the country's development experience, there is a need to understand what is being rolled out, what is being presented, and how they are being translated.

6.2. Theoretical implications

Using the policy mobilities approach, several theoretical implications can be taken from the findings. One is that the everyday practices that policy actors do and the informal spaces they inhabit can be powerful avenues for facilitating the movement of policies. These micropractices and microspaces such as hallway conversations after a meeting, pre-event small talk with co-panelists, and breaks over coffee may seem mundane and ephemeral. Yet, they are places where unguarded discussions can be had about the challenges that policy actors are facing. Their colleagues or friends are more than likely to offer what could be potential solutions or lead them into particular understandings of the problem. The existing relationship between Cisco and BCDA made it easier for the former to introduce the idea of what Songdo is and how it can support the latter's vision for CGC. It reveals that in addition to notions of expertise, professional and personal networks also operate with a sense of trust and familiarity between its members. Policy ideas are more easily accepted if they come from trusted sources such as friends or colleagues.

Two is that these informal relationships and spaces eventually move into more formal instruments such as organizational partnerships, consultancies, and reports. As much as micropractices and microspaces are powerful in facilitating the movement of policies, formal protocols still need to be followed and adhered to, especially for government projects and policy actors. Policy decisions need to be supported by evidence contained in written reports and other documents. In this case, the decision to pattern CGC after Songdo was supported by a chapter on smart city features within the original 2013 masterplan and recommendations from the Urban Land Institute Advisory Services Panel. These formal instruments are valuable in hoping to convince other stakeholders that the adopted policy is the appropriate choice in responding to the challenge at hand.

Three is that the lessons drawn from a policy model can also be dynamic. They change over time as the policy adopter's understanding of the problem at hand

also changes. As BCDA entered the implementation phase of CGC, they saw Songdo's limitations as the project's benchmark. It was then supplemented by best practices from other places, creating a policy package taken from a diverse range of sources. Policy mobilities scholars have suggested that policy failures also need to be studied, indicating that they are separate objects from policy successes. This study shows however that in some cases policy failures and success can be embodied together within one example. Which lessons are drawn can be different at particular moments of a project's life cycle.

Four is that the wealth of information currently available enables policy actors to circumscribe the highly curated experience of policy tours. Organizers of study tours typically highlight the positive achievements and results of reforms and projects implemented in their own city. It reinforces their status as a model to be emulated by others and to draw best practices from. In this case, BCDA staff were toured around Songdo's highly technologically advanced facilities that led one of their executives to say "we need to do something like this." It was a curated experience that highlighted the district's positive aspects. Yet, later on they were also able to learn about the problems and challenges that Songdo is facing. It is a project that has been covered regularly by journalists due to being one of the smart city projects that is furthest along its own development. The wealth and diversity of information now available could potentially pose a challenge to policy actors who seek to package their cities or policy actions through study tours and interactive museums.

Fifth and last is that policy actors have a particular affinity towards policies that they have had longer experiences with. Study tours and programs usually only last for weeks at a time. Evidence shows that longer engagements such as studying and living abroad greatly informs how policy actors understand challenges and their solutions. Similarly, working within international organizations associated with particular countries imprints particular frameworks within policy actors. It suggests

that policy learning is an accumulative process where policy actors keep the best practices they have personally experienced. They either intentionally or unintentionally draw these lessons out to inform how they understand the policy challenge they are faced with.

6.3. Policy implications

Aside from contributions to the academic literature on policy mobilities, this research also considers several policy implications from the findings. First is that private companies will only present and engage clients with topics that could potentially bring them financial returns. They limit what is shown to policy actors which in turn limits what can be derived from the policy experience or project. In this case, Cisco, a non-Korean, multinational company was able to facilitate the movement of Songdo to the Philippines. Interviewees only recalled visiting places related to Songdo's smart city features (e.g. U-Life Center, Research Labs) during their study tour. Eventually, Songdo's place within CGC became limited to plans for its smart city features. At the same time, South Korean governments cite financial returns as one of the rationales for sharing policy knowledge and expertise. Seoul's consulting services bring in additional revenue for the metropolitan government (Cheng, 2016). Korean companies also gain through the facilitation of newly signed contracts to compensate for declining profits locally (Park, 2011) or the capturing of a larger market share in the emerging smart city industry (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2011). BCDA engaged Cisco and its Korean joint-venture subsidiary Centios for consulting services on how to apply Cisco's Smart+Connected Community technology package. It is unclear however, if either company is involved in the actually implementation of the smart city features. There could be financial returns for Cisco but for Korea, it is still unclear.

If South Korea is to continue its desire to share its policy experience with other countries, it needs to take more control of the policy sharing process.

Relationships with policymakers need to be established beyond the typical road shows or investment presentations. A new relationship building and networking strategy will require immersing representatives within policy circles, including participating within different third party organizations. This means being actively involved in events and gatherings in order to meet policy actors within microspaces where ideas can be shared without the strictures of formal meetings. Once relationships have been established, policy tours can be introduced as these continue to be an essential component in the policy mobilization process. These need to be followed-up and complimented with formal partnerships that contain capacity building opportunities and agreements to pursue collaborative projects together. This reinforces the policy learnings and best practices that could be drawn from the policy tours. It moves both policy sharers and policy adopters from the visioning and planning stages to the implementation stage. Additionally, if Songdo is to be described as the latest iteration of South Korea's new town development policy then it needs to be presented as such. This means moving beyond just the U-City designation and also include other components into discussions. This involves integrating the policy experiences and expertise from other areas that new town developments had to employ such as housing and transportation. Successes, failures and continuing challenges need to be shared as policy adopters may need different lessons at different times of a project's life cycle. As new challenges arise, new policy ideas can be suggested as potential responses thus ensuring the continued relevance of the South Korean development experience in the policy adopter's context.

Second is that the development of robust key performance indicators is essential for policy adopters to have at the beginning of their project's life cycle. KPIs will give more concrete ideas and understanding of what the project needs to achieve in order to be considered successful. They are a disciplining technique to help prevent policymakers from adopting inappropriate policy models. They frame

49

what decisions, actions, and partnerships are desirable and what are not (Vanolo, 2014). In the case of Clark Green City, BCDA was able to articulate their vision for CGC in a much clearer manner after developing a set of KPIs. According to interviewees, these indicators have been mainstreamed into all sub-projects and decisions related to the CGC. They have informed the criteria on the optimized master plan and affordable housing competitions BCDA organized. They have also guided BCDA into what kinds of organizations they want to forge partnerships and pursue collaborative projects with. Lastly, they have helped BCDA recognize the limits of Songdo as a benchmark model for CGC, enabling them to move forward with other sources of policy ideas and best practices. As McManus (2012) argued, indicators can simplify complex phenomena into more communicable forms. Projects envisioning to build a new city is inherently complex with many constituent parts needing to be planned and implemented. KPIs will help communicate the vision for the project to both current and future stakeholders. It is the common language that will be understood by everyone involved, regardless of the project area they are dealing with.

7. Conclusion

This final section will start with a brief summary of the research findings. It will include with reflections on the limitations of this study as well as opportunities for future research.

7.1. Research summary

This study tracked the adoption of South Korea's Songdo International Business District as the benchmark model for the Philippine's new Clark Green City project. By examining this case, the research has two aims. First is to track what actually happens to Korean urban policy after it has been adopted and translated into

a different place. Songdo is an example of the latest iteration of Korea's new town developments called a Ubiquitous City or U-City where information technology is embedded into the infrastructure. Information gathered from the numerous sensors and CCTV cameras are imagined to create a much more convenient and safe city for its residents (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2011). Clark Green City is envisioned to be "smart, intelligent, global" city with similar features adopted from Songdo.

The second aim of this study is to learn how and why policymakers adopt benchmark models that are still undergoing their own development. Adopting a city as a model to emulate implies that it has successes that other policymakers could learn from; and that there are similarities between the two places. In the case of Songdo, success is far from being settled as it is still an incomplete project. At the same time, South Korea and the Philippines have very different contexts and situations.

Three main findings were derived from in-depth interviews, archival documents, and participant observations. First is that Songdo's movement from the shores of Incheon to the Philippines was primarily facilitated by personal and professional relationships. There were already existing relationships between executives of the Bases Conversion and Development Authority and Cisco Systems International through their common involvement in non-governmental organizations. Second is that Songdo's initial prominence in CGC diminished over time as the project entered into its more detailed implementation phase. Models and best practices were taken from other countries to be applied to specific project components such as transportation and energy efficiency. Lastly, the policy actors involved in CGC's design and planning also relied on experiences gained from traveling and living in other cities. This informed the choices that they make and the kinds of policies they have a greater affinity with.

51

From these findings, the study suggests that policymakers regularly move in between formal and informal practices and spaces in mobilizing policies. The boundaries between formal instruments, such as policy tours or bilateral agreements, and informal practices, such as drinks over dinner or conversations at cafes, are much more obscure than it seems. In the case of Songdo and Clark Green City, there has been a continuous back and forth between learning from personal networks to consultancy agreements to personal research to new partnership agreements. Policy mobilization can start informally but needs to move into more formal instruments in order to be more widely accepted, especially in government led projects. It shows that determining a linear genealogy between projects and policies is not simple nor straightforward. It is a much more complex process were ideas for policy solutions can come from multiple sources, can lay dormant for time, and acted upon in different ways.

As such, this research also suggests policymakers cannot only be understood within the strictures of their professions. They may be persons in positions of power, delegated to find solutions to pressing urban challenges. They are however, need to be also seen as ordinary people who are attuned to ideas coming from people they know and understand them based on their own experiences. They interpret problems based on what they learned in school, encountered in their previous work, or what they read in the news. As Wood (2016) realized during her research of the mobility of BRT policies in Africa, she and policy actors she encountered had similar learning processes. This includes "interactions with and by participating in networks alongside fellow actors, and we regularly validate this information through materials and at learning events." Concept notes, proposals, and reports can only tell one part of the story of how a project came to be. They can be seen as merely the distillation of the numerous learning and sharing practices that policy actors do on a regular basis. These practices may sometimes be ephemeral or fleeting but they need to be accounted for due to their sometimes outsized influence on the policymaking process.

This is especially more so in regions where policymaking institutions have historically not been strong.

7.2. Research limitations and opportunities for future research

Reflecting on the full research process, this study does have its limitations primarily brought about by the case being examined and the topics being discussed. First is that access to policy actors was an ongoing challenge, especially those at management or executive-level positions. The author repeatedly tried to be flexible in terms of scheduling interviews. Unfortunately, scheduling conflicts kept on arising. Some policy actors also denied requests for interviews, insisting that only BCDA can speak about the topic. Just like any government-affiliated project, respondents might be suspicious as to why scholars are researching it. Additionally, the author's ability to speak, read, and understand the Korean language has limited the kinds of resources to be analyzed and the actors to be interviewed. Interviews with policy actors from Songdo could reveal different sets of perspectives and recollections that give a much more nuanced picture of the policy mobilities process. Their absence from the analysis could have made the research findings much stronger.

Taking these limitations in mind, there are several future opportunities that should be considered by other scholars to further improve upon and extend this research. For one, other studies need and should focus on the perspectives and practices of policy actors in Korea. It will be of great interest to understand how private sector stakeholders such as Gale International, POSCO and Cisco share their experiences about Songdo. This can then be compared with how government related institutions such as the City of Incheon or IFEZA perform the same process with interested parties. Differences can range from what places are shown during the study tours, what developments are explained, and what do they do to move forward.

Another topic that should be consider is a study focusing on policy learning. The topic is touched upon in the findings but was not the primary aim of this study. Analyzing how BCDA staff interpret, learn, and integrate new ideas and policies can reveal other microspaces and micropractices that facilitate policy mobilities. This is complemented well by studies on the power dynamics between policy actors inside organzations. Hierarchical relationships tend to structure how new ideas get introduced and analyzed into the organizational conversation. Determining who has the power to push for certain ideas can reveal particular practices on how policies are considered and constructed. It takes into consideration the different agendas at play in developing large projects such as CGC. Lastly, it must be kept in mind that Clark Green City is a long-term development project whose construction is estimated between 30-40 years. As such, many components, aspects, and the project itself could still change. New research opportunities may arise as the project progresses towards completion. More importantly, it is envisioned to be a model for other cities within and outside the Philippines when completed. As such, continued tracking and monitoring is essential to see what has changed and how CGC is going to be mobilized as a policy model.

8. Works cited

Acuto, M. (2014). Dubai in the 'middle'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 38*(5), 1732-1748.

Aisch, G., Leonhardt, D., & Quealy, K. (2014, September 23). *Flooding risk from climate change, country by country.* Retrieved from The New York Times: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/24/upshot/flooding-risk-from-climate-change-country-by-country.html?_r=0

Arbes, R., & Bethea, C. (2014, September 27). *Songdo, South Korea: City of the future?* Retrieved from The Atlantic: http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/09/songdo-south-korea-the-city-of-the-future/380849/

Asia Society & Urban Land Institute. (2014, March 11). *Creating resilient & livable cities: Pacific cities sustainability initiative forum second annual forum.* Retrieved from Asia Society: http://asiasociety.org/files/ONLINE%20PCSI%20Forum%202014%20Program.pdf

Bai, X., Roberts, B., & Chen, J. (2010). Urban sustainability experiments in asia: Patterns and pathways. *Environmental Science & Policy, 13*(4), 312-325.

Bases Conversion and Development Authority. (2012, December 14). *BCDA seals tie-up with global technology experts to maximize Clark Green City potentials.* Retrieved from Bases Conversion and Development Authority: http://www.bcda.gov.ph/news_articles/show/287

Bases Conversion and Development Authority. (2014, December 19). *Invitation to participate in the open competition for the design optimization of the conceptual master development plan for the Clark Green City Project.* Retrieved from Bases Conversion and Development Authority: http://www.bcda.gov.ph/news_articles/show/437

Beauregard, R. A. (2005). Writing transnational histories. *Journal of Planning History, 4*(4), 392-402.

Birds Korea. (2009, March 24). *Large-scale wetland reclamation of Song Do tidal-flat approved.* Retrieved from Birds Korea: http://www.birdskorea.org/Habitats/Wetlands/Songdo/BK-HA-Songdo-Tidal-flat-reclamation-2009-03.shtml

Bulkeley, H. (2006). Urban sustainability: Learning from best practice? *Environment and Planning A, 38*(6), 1029-1044.

Bunnell, T., & Das, D. (2010). Urban pulse — A geography of serial seduction: Urban policy transfer from Kuala Lumpur to Hyderabad. *Urban Geography, 31*(3), 277-284.

Casanova, A. P. (2015a). *Alternative urban futures: Clark Green City Project.* Retrieved from Philippine Institute of Environmental Planners: http://piep.org.ph/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/14_Clark-Green-City_Cassanova.pdf

Casanova, A. P. (2015b). *Clark Green City presentation to the Philippine Investment Conference, Tokyo, Japan.* Retrieved from ASEAN-Japan Centre: http://www.asean.or.jp/ja/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/3-Presentation-2-BCDA-06042015.pdf

Cheng, J. (2016, January 20). South Korean mayor moves to export urban model. *Wall Street Journal*.

Chua, B. (2011). Singapore as model: Planning innovations, knowledge experts. In A. Roy, & A. Ong (Eds.), *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global* (pp. 29-54). West Sussex: Blackwell.

Clarke, N. (2012). Urban policy mobility, anti-politics, and histories of the transnational municipal movement. *Progress in Human Geography, 36*(1), 24-43.

Cochrane, A., & Ward, K. (2012). Research the geographies of policy mobility: Confronting the methodological challenges. *Environment and Planning A, 44*(1), 5-12.

Cook, I. R. (2015, July). Policy mobilities and interdisciplinary engagement. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(4), 835–837.

Cook, I. R., & Ward, K. (2011). Trans-urban networks of learning, mega events and policy tourism: The case of Manchester's Commonwealth and Olympic Games projects. *Urban Studies, 48*(12), 2519-2535.

Crivello, S. (2015). Urban policy mobilities: The case of Turin as a smart city. *European Planning Studies, 23*(5), 909-921.

Department of Tourism. (2016, May 18). *International tourist arrivals | March*

2016. Retrieved from Department of Tourism:
http://www.tourism.gov.ph/Pages/IndustryPerformance.aspx

Friedmann, J. (2010). Crossing borders: Do planning ideas travel? In P. Healey, &
R. Upton (Eds.), *Crossing Borders: international Exchange and Planning
Practices* (pp. 313-328). New York, New York, United States of America:
Routledge.

Gale International & POSCO E & C. (n.d.). *Sustainable design in Songdo IBD.*
Retrieved from
http://www.songdo.com/Uploads/FileManager/Songdo/Sustainability/Susta
inability_White_Paper.pdf

Gale International. (2008, January 15). *Global marketing campaign launched for
world's largest commercial real estate venture.* Retrieved from
http://www.galeintl.com/2008/01/15/global-marketing-campaign-
launched-for-worlds-largest-commercial-real-estate-venture/

Gale International. (2015, June 15). Field Trip Presentation. Incheon, South Korea.

Garcia, K. (2014, July 14). *Is Clark Green City the future of 'Smart Cities' in PH?*
Retrieved from Rappler: http://www.rappler.com/brandrap/stories/63302-
is-clark-green-city-future-ph

Geotina-Garcia, M. (2016, May 30). *Why we need Clark Green City, a new
metropolis.* Retrieved from Inquirer.net:
http://business.inquirer.net/210680/why-we-need-clark-green-city-a-new-
metropolis

Ghannam, F. (2008). Faking globalization. In A. Huyssen (Ed.), *Other cities, other
worlds: Urban imaginaries in a globalizing age* (pp. 267-287). Durham,
North Carolina, United States of America: Duke University Press.

Gonzalez, S. (2011). Bilbao and Barcelona 'in motion'. How urban regeneration
'models' travel and mutate in the global flows of policy tourism. *Urban
Studies, 48*(7), 1397-1418.

Grodach, C. (2011). Art spaces in community and economic development:
Connections to neighbourhoods, artists, and the cultural economy. *Journal
of Planning Education and Research, 31*(1), 74-85.

Guinto, J. (2014, October 13). *Urban decay threatens hot Philippine economy.*
Retrieved from Rappler: http://www.rappler.com/business/industries/208-

infrastructure/71773-urban-decay-threatens-hot-philippine-economy

Hall, P. (2001). *Cities of tomorrow: An intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century* (3rd Edition ed.). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Harris, A., & Moore, S. (2013). Planning histories and practices of circulating urban K=knowledge. *Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37*(5), 1499-1509.

Healey, P. (2010). Introduction: The transnational flow of knowledge and expertise in the planning field. In P. Healey, & R. Upton (Eds.), *Crossing Borders: international Exchange and Planning Practices* (pp. 1-27). New York, New York, United States of America: Routledge.

Healey, P. (2013). Circuits of knowledge and techniques: The transnational flow of planning ideas and practices. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37*(5), 1510-1526.

Hudson, J., & Kim, B.-Y. (2014). Policy transfer using the 'gold standard': Exploring policy tourism in practice. *Policy & Politics, 42*(4), 495-511.

Hult, A. (2013). Swedish production of sustainable urban imaginaries in China. *Journal of Urban Technology, 20*(1), 77-94.

Jacobs, J. M. (2012). Urban geographies I: Still thinking cities relationally. *Progress in Human Geography, 36*(3), 412-422.

Joss, S. (2011). Eco-cities: The mainstreaming of urban sustainability - Key characteristics and driving factors. *International Journal of Sustainable Development Planning, 6*(3), 268-285.

Keivani, R., & Mattingly, M. (2007). The interface of globalization and peripheral land in the cities of the South: Implications for urban governance and local economic development. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 31*(2), 459-74.

Khirfan, L., & Jaffer, Z. (2013). Sustainable urbanism in Abu Dhabi: Transferring the Vancouver model. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 36*(3), 482-502.

Kim, C. (2010). Place promotion and symbolic characterization of New Songdo City, South Korea. *Cities, 27*(1), 13-19.

Kim, J. (2006). Globalization and the changing urban system in South Korea. In

K.-C. Ho, & X. Xiao (Eds.), *Capital Cities in Asia-Pacific: Primacy and Diversity* (pp. 189-206). Taipei, Taiwan: Centre for Asia-Pacific Area Studies.

Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements. (2011). *2011 modularization of Korea's development experience: Korean version of new town development.* Knowledge Sharing Program.

Kuecker, G. D. (2013). *Building the bridge to the future: New Songdo City from a critical urbanism perspective.* Retrieved from https://www.soas.ac.uk/koreanstudies/overseas-leading-university-programmes/soas-aks-working-papers-in-korean-studies-ii/file85159.pdf

Kuus, M. (2015). For slow research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(4), 838-840.

Lee, Y.-S., & Hwang, E.-J. (2012). Global urban frontiers through policy transfer? Unpacking Seoul's creating city programmes. *Urban Studies, 49*(13), 2817-2837.

Magturo, D. R. (2016, March 27). *DoTC urges JICA study on new airport.* Retrieved from BusinessWorld: http://www.bworldonline.com/content.php?section=Nation&title=dotc-urges-jica-study-on-new-airport

Marcotullio, P. J. (2001). Asian urban sustainability in the era of globalization. *Habitat International, 25*(4), 577–598.

Markusen, A. (2006). The work of forgetting and remembering places. In *Globalisation and the politics of forgetting.* New York, New York, United States of America: Routledge.

McCann, E. (2011a). Urban policy mobilities and global circuits of knowledge: Toward a research agenda. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 101*(1), 107-130.

McCann, E. (2011b). Veritable inventions: Cities, policies and assemblage. *Area, 43*(2), 143-147.

McCann, E., & Ward, K. (2011). Introduction: Urban assemblages — Territories, relations, practices, and power. In E. McCann, & K. Ward (Eds.), *Mobile urbanism: Cities and policymaking in the global age* (pp. xiii-xxxv). Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States of America: University of

Minnesota Press.

McCann, E., & Ward, K. (2013). A multi-disciplinary approach to policy transfer research: Geographies, assemblages, mobilities, and mutations. *Policy Studies, 34*(1), 2-18.

McFarlane, C. (2010). The comparative city: Knowledge, learning, urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 34*(4), 725-742.

McManus, P. (2012). Measuring urban sustainability: the potential and pitfalls of city rankings. *Australian Geographer, 43*(4), 411-424.

McManus, P. (2012). Measuring urban sustainability: the potential and pitfalls of city rankings. *Australian Geographer, 43*(4), 411-424.

Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs. (2015). 통계표명 : 주민등록 인구통계. Retrieved from http://rcps.egov.go.kr:8081/jsp/stat/ppl_stat_jf.jsp

Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transportation. (2012, October 30). *MLTM ignites the export engine of Korean made new towns.* Retrieved from http://english.molit.go.kr/USR/BORD0201/m_28286/DTL.jsp?id=eng0301&cate=&key=&search=&search_regdate_s=&search_regdate_e=&order=&desc=asc&srch_prc_stts=&item_num=0&search_dept_id=&search_dept_nm=&srch_usr_nm=N&srch_usr_titl=N&srch_usr_ctnt=N&srch_mng_nm=N&old_dept_nm=&search_gbn=&search_section=&source=&search1=&lcmspage=8&mode=view&idx=2152

Moores, N. (2014, November 29). *Is Song Do New City an example of sustainable development and "good globalization"?* Retrieved from Birds Korea Blog: http://www.birdskoreablog.org/?p=13803

Nam, I.-S. (2013, December 6). *South Korea's $35 billion 'labor of love'; Developer struggles to build a city from scratch.* Retrieved from Wall Street Journal: http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304579404579236150341041182

Olan, S. J. (2014, September 26). *Looking back: The records of Ondoy.* Retrieved from Rappler: http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/disasters/70240-ondoy-records

Ong, A. (2011). Introduction: Worlding cities, or the art of being global. In A. Roy, & A. Ong (Eds.), *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global* (pp. 1-26). Chichester, West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.

Park, Y.-G. (2011, November 14). *Urban development next major 'export'.* Retrieved from Korea JoongAng Daily: http://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/Article.aspx?aid=2944073

Peck, J. (2011). Geographies of policy: From transfer-diffusion to mobility-mutation. *Progress in Human Geography, 35*(6), 773-797.

Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2012). Follow the policy: A distended case approach. *Environment and Planning A, 44*(1), 21-30.

Percival, T., & Waley, P. (2012). Articulating intra-Asian urbanism: The production of satellite cities in Phnom Penh. *Urban Studies, 49*(13), 2873-2888.

Perera, N. (2010). When planning ideas land: Mahaweli's people-centred approach. In P. Healey, & R. Upton (Eds.), *Crossing Borders: international Exchange and Planning Practices* (pp. 141-172). New York, New York, United States of America: Routledge.

Philippine Ports Authority. (2016, April 30). *Summary shipping statistics by PDO/PMO/PORT (January-March2 016).* Retrieved from Philippine Ports Authority: http://www.ppa.com.ph/

Philippine Statistics Authority. (2015, July). *GRDP by region (2012-2014, at constant 2000 and current prices).* Retrieved from Philippine Statistics Authority: https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/attachments/grdp/GRDP_Con_Reg_P_2014_pub%20%283%29.xls.

Pow, C. (2014). License to travel: Policy assemblages and the 'Singapore model'. *Cities, 18*(3), 287-306.

Remo, A. R. (2015, December 21). *BCDA, Japanese agency set to start Clark rail plans Read more: http://business.inquirer.net/204500/bcda-japanese-agency-set-start-clark-rail-plans#ixzz4AbfqBBtE Follow us: @inquirerdotnet on Twitter | inquirerdotnet on Facebook .* Retrieved from Inquirer.net: http://business.inquirer.net/204500/bcda-japanese-agency-set-start-clark-rail-plans

Reyes, E. (2014, May 5). *Philippines' new Clark Green City promises sustainable living*. Retrieved from Eco-Business: http://www.eco-business.com/news/philippines-new-clark-green-city-promises-sustainable-living/

Robinson, J. (2011). The spaces of circulating knowledge: City strategies and global urban governmentality. In E. McCann, & K. Ward (Eds.), *Mobile urbanism: Cities and policymaking in the global age* (pp. 15-40). Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States of America: University of Minnesota Press.

Robinson, J. (2015). Arriving at' urban policies: The topological spaces of urban mobility. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(4), 831-834.

Rosales, R. R. (2014, May-June). PNoy gives Clark Green City the green light. *The Source: Official Publication of the Bases Conversion and Development Authority, 9*(4), pp. 4-7.

Roy, A. (2009). The 21st-century metropolis: New geographies of theory. *Regional Studies, 43*(6), 819-830.

Sen, S. (2010). Between dominance, dependence, negotiation, and compromise: European architecture and urban planning practices in colonial India. *Journal of Planning History, 9*(4), 203–231.

Shatkin, G. (2008). The city and the bottom line: Urban megaprojects and the privatization of planning in Southeast Asia. *Environmental Planning A, 40*(2), 383-401.

Shatkin, G. (2011). Planning privatopolis: Representation and contestation in the development of urban integrated mega-projects. In A. Roy, & A. Ong (Eds.), *Worlding cities: Asian experiments and the art of being global* (pp. 77-97). West Sussex: Blackwell.

Shwayri, S. T. (2013). A model Korean ubiquitous eco-city? The politics of making Songdo. *Journal of Urban Technology, 20*(1), 39-55.

Singh, D. (2012, August 9). *Unplanned urbanization increasing flood impacts.* Retrieved from The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction: http://www.unisdr.org/archive/27965

Sisson, P. (2015, November 2). *Songdo, South Korea's city of the future, has a*

green vision. Retrieved from Curbed:
http://www.curbed.com/2015/11/2/9904808/songdo-korea-city-planning

Tait, M., & Jensen, O. B. (2007). ravelling ideas, power and place: The cases of
urban villages and business improvement districts. *International Planning
Studies, 12*(2), 107-127.

Temenos, C., & McCann, E. (2012). The local politics of policy mobility:
Learning, persuasion, and the production of a municipal sustainability fix.
Environment and Planning A, 44(6), 1389-1406.

Temenos, C., & McCann, E. (2013). Geographies of policy mobilities. *Geography
Compass, 7*(5), 344-357.

ULI Asia Pacific. (2012, May 11). *ULI Country Council launch events –
Philippines, Singapore, Australia .* Retrieved from Urban Land Institute -
Asia Pacific: http://asia.uli.org/emerging-trends/uli-country-council-
launch-events-philippines-singapore-australia/

University of the Philippines. (2014, May 9). *UP, BCDA team up to build an
educational hub in Clark Green City.* Retrieved from University of the
Philippines: http://www.up.edu.ph/up-bcda-team-up-to-build-an-
educational-hub-in-clark-green-city/

Urban Land Institute Advisory Services. (2013). *Clark International Airport and
Special Economic Zone Republic of the Philippines: Strategic
recommendations for a world-class airport.* Washington, DC: Urban Land
Institute.

Vanolo, A. (2014). Smartmentality: The smart city as a disciplinary strategy. *Urban
Studies, 51*(5), 883-898.

Ward, S. V. (2000). Re-examining the international diffusion of planning. In R.
Freestone (Ed.), *Urban planning in a changing world* (pp. 40-60). New
York: Routledge.

Ward, S. V. (2010). Transnational planners in a postcolonial world. In P. Healey, &
R. Upton (Eds.), *Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning
Practices* (pp. 47-72). New York, New York, United States of America:
Routledge.

Wood, A. (2014). Learning through policy tourism: Circulating bus rapid transit
from South America to South Africa. *Environment and Planning A, 46*(1),

2654-2669.

Wood, A. (2015). Competing for knowledge: Leaders and laggards of bus rapid transit in South Africa. *Urban Forum, 26*(2), 203-221.

Wood, A. (2016). Tracing policy movements: Methods for studying learning and policy circulation. *Environment and Planning A, 48*(2), 391-406.

Yap, D. (2015, June 7). *House study urges greater use of Batangas, Subic ports* . Retrieved from Inquirer.net: http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/696685/house-study-urges-greater-use-of-batangas-subic-ports.

9. Appendices

9.1.Stakeholder mapping for interviewee identification
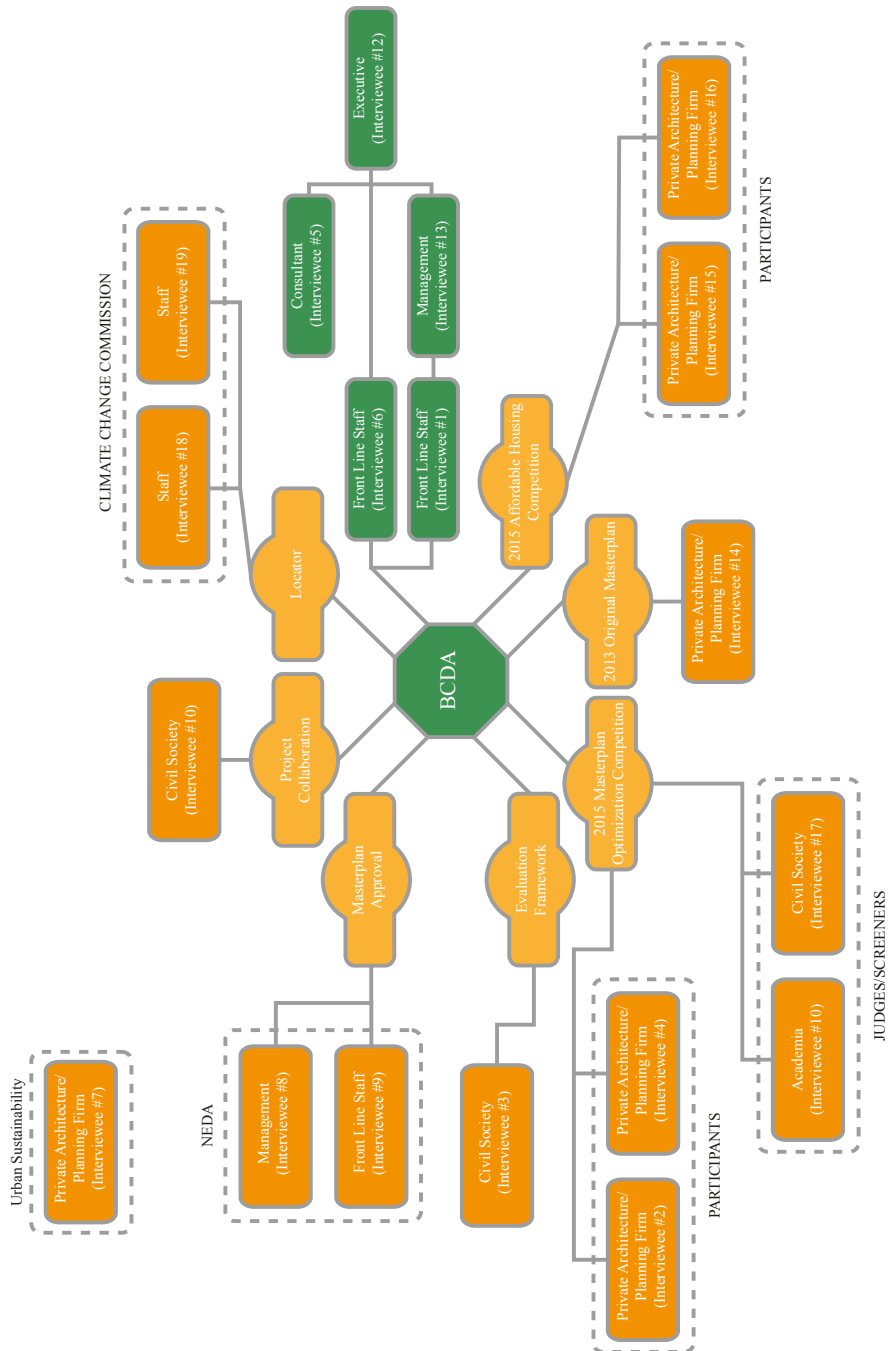
9.2.Interview request email (sample)

Hello,

My name is Zack Lee and I am graduate student of urban and regional planning from Seoul National University. I am currently in the Philippines doing research for my thesis on urban sustainability and eco-city building with Clark Green City as my case study.

I am requesting an interview with someone at the _____ regarding the topics above as well as the process of how international and national policies are transmitted to local government units.

Also for your information, all conversations will be kept anonymous and confidential. Raw information will be used for analysis and may only be shared with my supervisor, Prof. Kim Kyung Min (kkim2@snu.ac.kr).

Please feel free to let me know if you need more information. Looking forward to hearing from you.

Cheers!

- Z
--
Zack Lee
Master's Candidate in Urban and Regional Planning
Graduate School of Environmental Studies
Seoul National University,
Seoul, South Korea

9.3. Photos from the Clark Green City site visit (26 FEB 2016)

This photo shows one of the large houses that is built on land for Clark Green City.

The photo above shows the farmland where Clark Green City's phase 1 will be built.

The photos above show the construction for one of the main road connections into Clark Green City.

9.4. NXCities conference schedule (08 MAR 2016)

Time	Presentation Name
800	REGISTRATION AND REFRESHMENTS
900	WELCOME REMARKS Arnel Paciano Casanova Esq., *President and CEO, Bases Conversion and Development Authority*
910	SECRETARY'S MESSAGE: THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO BUILDING GREEN CITIES Hon. Rogelio Singson, *Secretary,* Department of Public Works and Highways
925	KEYNOTE SPEECH: SINGAPORE'S SECRET SAUCE FROM 3RD TO 1ST Dr. Limin Hee, *Director, Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore*
955	PLENARY 1: HOW DO YOU BUILD A GREAT CITY? Yehchin Hsu, *Head, Design and Planning and Economics, SEAsia, AECOM,* *Master Planner, Clark Green City* Josephine Gotianun-Yap, *President and CEO,* *Fil-Invest Land*
1025	PANEL DISCUSSION: VISIONS FOR A GREAT CITY Dr. Limin Hee, *Director,* Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore Yehchin Hsu, *Head, Design and Planning and Economics, SEAsia, AECOM,* *Master Planner, Clark Green City* Josephine Gotianun-Yap, *President and CEO,* Fil-Invest Land

Arnel Paciano Casanova, *President and CEO* Bases Conversion and Development Authority

1100	PLENARY 2: GREEN CITY DEVELOPMENT–SUSTAINABILITY BY SWEDEN Prof. Hans Lundberg, *Senior Advisor* Swedish Environmental Research Institute
1130	PLENARY 3: MEDICAL INNOVATIONS IN EMERGING CITIES Dr. Yoshihide Hayashizaki, *Program Director, RIKEN Preventive Medicine and Diagnosis Innovation Program*
1200	LUNCH
1300	PLENARY 4: MOBILITY IN THE CITY Laurence Cua, *General Manager, Uber Manila*
1320	PLENARY 5: STARTUP SOLUTIONS FOR THE CITIES OF THE FUTURE Public Sector Perspective: Hon. Nora Terrado, *Undersecretary for Management Services, Department of Trade and Industry* Private Sector Perspective: Minette Navarrete, *Founder and CEO, Kickstart*
1400	PLENARY 6: CITIES, IoT, AND BIG DATA J.V. Emmanuel de Dios, *CEO, GE Philippines*
1420	PLENARY 7: DESIGNING A CITY FOR HAPPINESS Stephen Gray, *Assistant Professor in Urban Design, Harvard Graduate School of Design* Mary Anne Ocampo, *Lecturer in Urban Design, School of Architecture and Planning, MIT; Principal Urban Designer, Sasaki Associates*
1520	COFFEE BREAK
1530	PLENARY 8: BUILDING A GREEN CITY IN CLARK Jose Ma. Lorenzo Tan, *Vice-Chairman, WWF National Advisory Council*

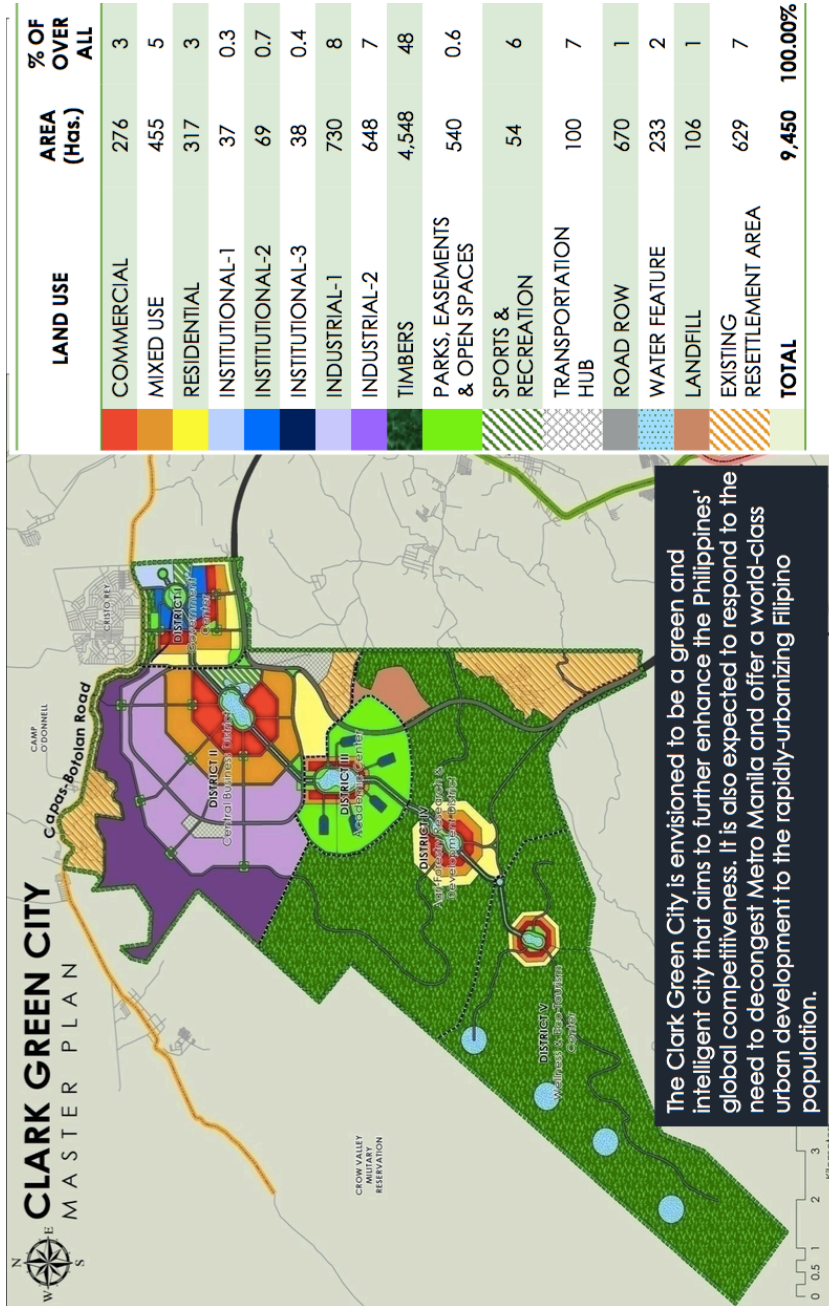| 1600	PLENARY 9: DISCUSSION ON HUMAN CAPITAL
	Alfredo Pascual, *President, University of the Philippines*
1620	PLENARY 10: SMART CITIES
	Karuna Gopal, *President, Foundation for Futuristic Cities*
1640	PANEL DISCUSSION: BUILDING THE CITY OF THE FUTURE
	Dorjee Sun, *Director, Who Gives, Carbon Agro, and Carbon Conservation*
	Klas Lundgren, *CEO, Xeric Southeast Asia*
	Raymond Rufino, *Chairman, Philippine Green Building Council*
	Eduardo Gonzalez, *Assistant Vice President, Energy Development Corporation*
1720	CLARK GREEN CITY INTRODUCTION VIDEO
1725	CLOSING REMARKS
	Ma. Aurora Geotina-Garcia, *Chairperson, Bases Conversion and Development Authority*

9.5. Songdo's current masterplan

9.6.Clark Green City 2013 Masterplan

LAND USE	AREA (Has.)	% OF OVER ALL
COMMERCIAL	276	3
MIXED USE	455	5
RESIDENTIAL	317	3
INSTITUTIONAL-1	37	0.3
INSTITUTIONAL-2	69	0.7
INSTITUTIONAL-3	38	0.4
INDUSTRIAL-1	730	8
INDUSTRIAL-2	648	7
TIMBERS	4,548	48
PARKS, EASEMENTS & OPEN SPACES	540	0.6
SPORTS & RECREATION	54	6
TRANSPORTATION HUB	100	7
ROAD ROW	670	1
WATER FEATURE	233	2
LANDFILL	106	1
EXISTING RESETTLEMENT AREA	629	7
TOTAL	9,450	100.00%

The Clark Green City is envisioned to be a green and intelligent city that aims to further enhance the Philippines' global competitiveness. It is also expected to respond to the need to decongest Metro Manila and offer a world-class urban development to the rapidly-urbanizing Filipino population.

Source: http://bcda.gov.ph/file_attachments/0000/8989/Download_Information_Kit.pdf

73

9.7.2015 Conceptual Masterplan for Clark Green City prepared by AECOM

9.8. Clark Green City key performance indicators

Source: Casanova, A. P. (2015a). *Alternative urban futures: Clark Green City Project.* Retrieved from Philippine Institute of Environmental Planners: http://piep.org.ph/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/14_Clark-Green-City_Cassanova.pdf

10. Abstract in Korean

국문초록

필리핀 클락그린시티 프로젝트 벤치마크로서 한국 송도 유-시티(U-City) 모델의 정책 이동성 연구

존 자차리아
서울대학교 환경대학원
환경계획학과 도시및지역계획전공전공
2016 년 8 월

대한민국은 한국 전쟁의 폐허 속에서 오늘날 세계에서 가장 발전한 나라 중 하나로 변화하였다. 이러한 변화는 전 세계의 많은 정책 입안자들로부터 찬사를 받아왔다. 이들 정책 입안자들은 한국의 과거 경험과 교훈, 최선의 방안 등을 통해서 자국이 직면한 문제점을 해결하기 위한 잠재적 해법을 이끌어내기 위해 한국을 찾는다. 동시에 한국 정책 입안자들은 개발도상국들을 원조하는 일환으로 "한국적 경험"을 패키지화하고 공유하고자 한다. 이는 한국이 성공을 다른 곳으로 복제하기를 원하는 과정으로 볼 수 있다.

본 연구는 필리핀 뉴(新)클락그린시티 프로젝트의 모델로서 송도국제지구의 적용을 살펴보고자 한다. 이는 "한국식 U-City"를 필리핀의 첫 "녹색, 지능, 글로벌" 도시 건설에 적용하는 예이기도 하다. 심층 인터뷰, 문헌 조사, 참여자 관찰을 통해, 정책 입안자들을 관찰을 통해, 뉴클락시티 프로젝트에 대한 도시계획 정책 입안자들의 이해와 이와 관련하여 송도국제지구에 대해 어떤 시각을 가지고 있는지를 관찰했다. 정책 이동성 접근은 특별히 민간 부문에서 강력하게 통제된 정책 이동성에도 불구하고, 시간이 지남에 따라 정책 입안자들에 의해 적용된 정책 체득의 변화를 보여준다. 이는 한국, 혹은 서울의 개발 경험을 공유하기를 열망하는 국가와 도시들의 정책 영향을 줄 것이다.