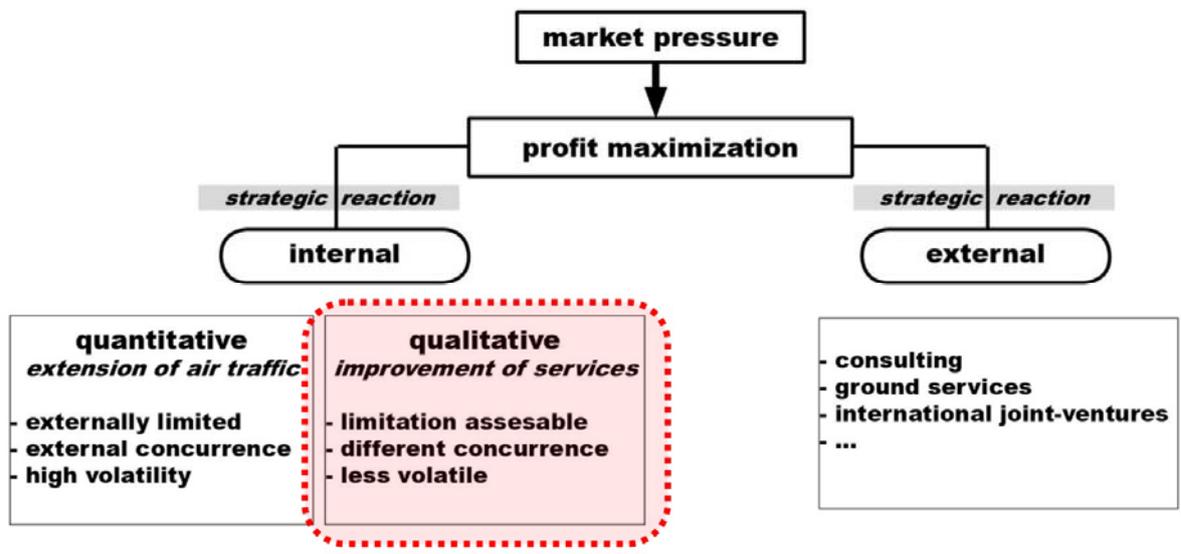


**The commercial real-estate development named "Airport City": possible fields of conflict in the airport-region-relation**

Ute Knippenberger; University of Karlsruhe (TH)

With the transformation of air-traffic into a medium of mass-transit, airports have developed a limited set of services such as hotels, conference space and retail. The accelerating development of commercial uses, besides the directly aviation related facilities, in the past 15 years marks a tipping-point: the discovery of the airport as a real-estate asset, the "Airport City". The market deregulation and the resulting competition are the main drivers for this development at airports (Bourghouwt and Huys 2003), even though we still see many nuances in the conceptual implementation of non-aviation approaches (Jarach 2001). These developments lead to a strategic reaction of the airport resulting, among others, in non-aviation approaches (Fig.01).

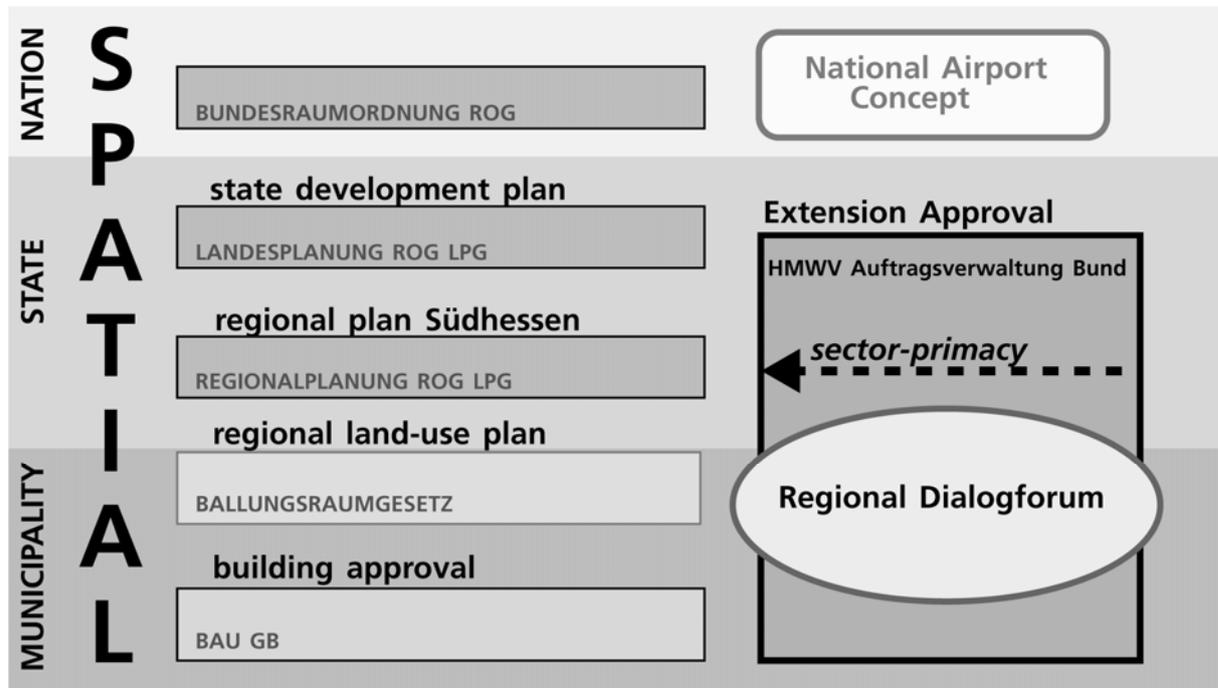


**Fig 1: Strategic reaction of airport management**

At the same time we are faced with a partial rearrangement of space in general, resulting in stronger centralities of metropolitan areas, also called the global city development (Sassen 1991). Airports, especially hubs, are entangled with these agglomeration processes as drivers and beneficiaries of new centralities, with spatial impacts beyond the airport fence. To sum it up, we can understand airport cities as a commercial product as well as an agglomeration process.

The paper is concerned with this commercial expansion of surfaces and questions these from an urban planning viewpoint and analyses the political coordination associated. At the case study of Frankfurt Rhine-Main airport it shows that this spatially relevant expansion is merely discussed by urban land-use planning, neither in the sectoral procedure. The aim is to

ask for the reasons for this and to give insight in how far these reasons might be generalized. This is especially relevant, since as well the spatial, as the sectoral components are in fact regulated in a very complex interaction (Fig.02).

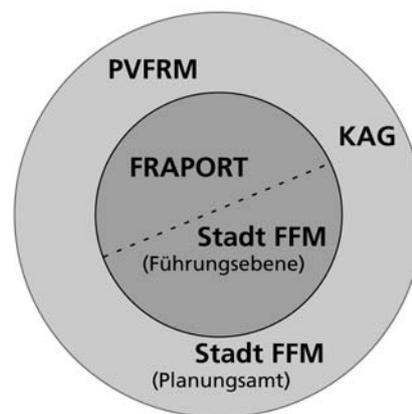


**Fig. 2: Spatial and sectoral regulation between different levels of state (case-study FRA)**

Understanding airports as components of the socio-technical system air-transport contextualizes the research question. This system, also understood as a societal subsystem (Hughes/Mayntz 1988, Mayntz 2008), is characterized by an own institutional framework, its own knowledge base, as well as norms and standards. This is important to understand the airport management's perception of the airport-region interrelation. In order to analyze the actions taken with regard to the research question it is theorized under the notion of governance. Governance here encompasses the complete set of interactions, be it hierarchical steering or cooperative negotiation, undertaken by the actors with the focus of "airport and region" (Mayntz 2004). The efficiency of the political coordination is understood beyond Pareto-optimality as a welfare-theoretical, normative approach, which offers compensation for those disadvantaged by the negotiated solution, following the Kaldor-optimum (Scharpf 1991; Sager 2008). It is therefore applicable since spatial conflicts encompass specific criteria: They are dynamic processes and are the result of opposing interests, focused on the same object (Reuber 2005). The misfit between the spatial impact and the administrative boundaries are a potential source of conflict, since they withdraw compensation measures. These conflicts prolong the legal procedures for any plan at the airport and are therefore inefficient. The governance of „airport and region“ could encompass the complete set of criteria such as land-use, agglomeration drivers, noise impact and health questions with the demands

of a successful airport operation for cargo and passengers. Reality shows that the discussion is dominated by antagonisms and historical conflicts reduced to noise vs. economy and that spatial effects remain underrepresented. At the same time we understand, that the focus on noise is connected with non-acoustical factors of conflict perception that can be influenced by trust in the airport-region-relation (Suau-Sanchez 2009).

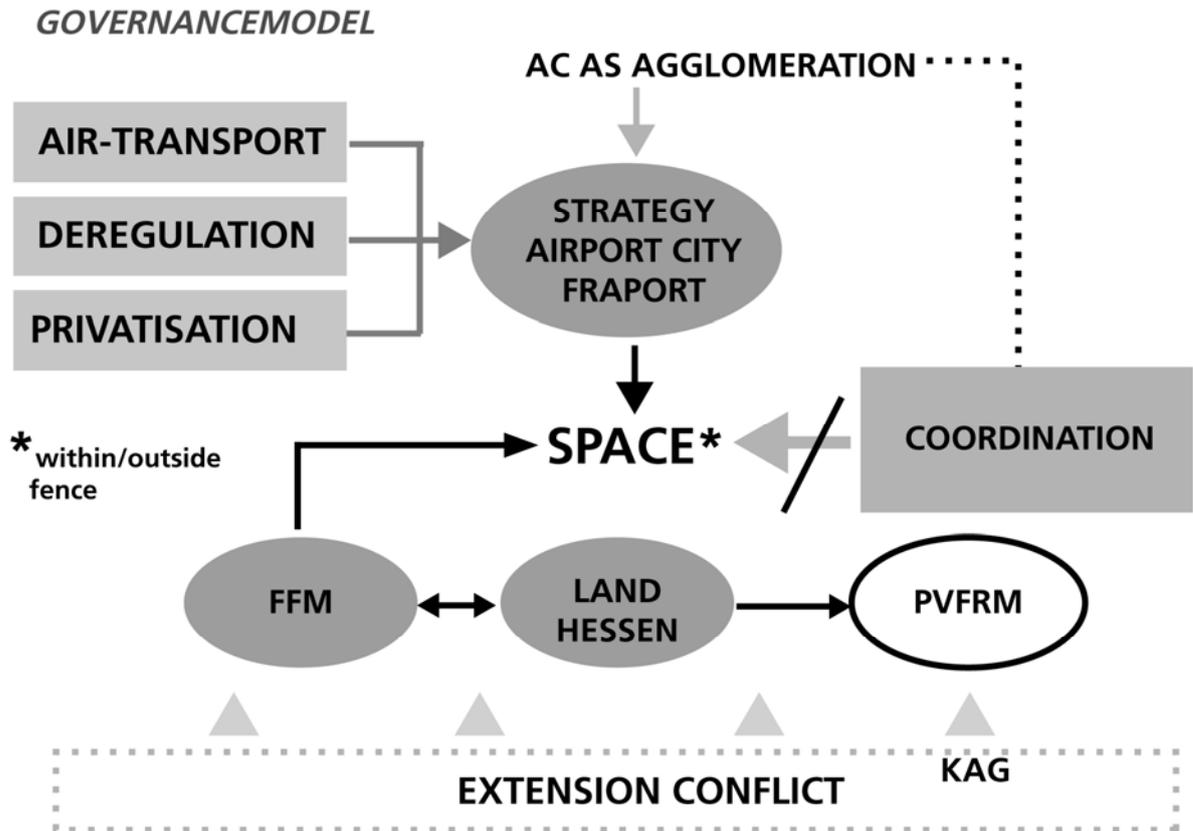
In order to understand the reasons for this at the example of Frankfurt Rhine-Main, the central actors constellations and their normative conceptions are empirically analyzed. Within the whole framework of the airport expansion process the specific constellation concerned with the commercial expansion can be isolated as a strong coalition between the



political level of the City of Frankfurt and the Fraport AG management, with adjacent critical actors (Fig. 03).

**Fig. 3: Fraport and political level City of Frankfurt building central coalition, critical actors surrounding, without influence**

It is shown that this specific constellation intentionally avoids this expansion to be regulated by the means of land-use planning. Hypothetically the reason for this is twofold: through the partial privatization of the airport, a blurring of the object of regulation (airport) and the regulating actor (i.e. the City of Frankfurt) is invoked, and both partners choose this solution to avoid transaction costs of a broader conceptual framework of the "Airport City". On the other hand the instruments of regulation are shown as unfit for the existing spatial development and the airport-region-governance is dominated by the noise-abatement (Fig.04).



**Fig 4: Governancemodel for political coordination of Airport City-process, induced by a market transformation and agglomeration patterns, influenced by conflictial airport-region-relation**

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