Coordinating Spatial Development in Airport Regions

Embeddedness and Experimentation at Paris Orly and Amsterdam Schiphol

While most international airports are broadly recognized as strategic territories within their metro areas, Amsterdam stands out as an international example of coherent development in Europe. Orly is Paris' second and oldest international airport, specialized in cargo and the French domestic market. Local stakeholders in Paris tried to define a coherent land strategy, taking into account numerous actors and territories, taking Schiphol as a possible reference study. Although both of them are quite different types of airports (one is a domestic and cargo airport, the other an international hub), in terms of managing spatial development in the densely built urban areas, a relevant comparison can be made, and lessons can be learned.

by: Veronique Galvin

Introduction

The Val de Marne Development Agency I worked for in 2006 carried out a comparative research in order to bring relevant illustrations to Orly. Amsterdam airport was chosen as one of the major cases in this benchmark. As I continued my master's course at the University of Amsterdam, the Val de Marne Agency asked to do a more detailed analysis in a thesis by developing the Orly – Schiphol comparison. This article is based on the thesis, resulting from the analysis carried out with the Orly region authorities.

Since 2007, growth strategies have been outlined, and new actors that have been reorganized have been charged with implementing these. However, the governance framework has been drastically changed in the same period. Orly now has a very different growth context, which is not based on local and regional stakeholders. Is Schiphol still a unilateral example, in the end? What can the new practices observed at Orly bring to the debate on land development around airports?

Schiphol and Orly

Orly and Schiphol are two major transportation hubs in Europe. Both are ranked in the top ten of European airports, with Orly transporting 27 million passengers and Schiphol 47 million. However, there are some important differences between Schiphol airport, the fifth-largest hub in Europe, and Orly airport, second-largest airport in France, overtaken by Charles de Gaulle Airport after that airport's completion. Today, Orly airport is specialized in regional and European passenger flights, carried out by national airline Air France, but also by a significant number of charter

Table 1: *Comparing two airport*

	Paris Orly	Amsterdam Schiphol
Traffic / European Rank	26,4 million pax / 10	47,8 million pax / 5
Network	Regional: Europe/France	Worldwide
Hub	Secondary Air France hub After Charles de Gaulle airport	First KLM hub
Airport authority & status Distance from the City centre	ADP (Aéroports de Paris) Privatized in 2005 14km from Paris	Schiphol Group, public schareholders 12km from Amsterdam
Regional Planning	Local governments and state agency	Local governments: region and municipalities

and low-cost airlines. Schiphol, on the other hand, specializes not only in passengers, but is also a major freight and business airport in Europe. With more and more low-cost companies flying there, authorities are increasingly discussing the possibility of moving charter flights to other regional airports. Furthermore, when it comes to hub strategy, Amsterdam Schiphol and Paris Orly both compete with Paris Roissy Charles de Gaulle, home base of the Air France – KLM Group.

Nevertheless, the two airports are located in similar environments, each at a distance from their respective city's downtown areas of approximately 13 kilometers. As a consequence, both are confronted with land planning issues, as they are located in rather densely populated neighborhoods.

Both cases happen to be interestingly dissimilar when it comes to planning competences around the airports: at Schiphol, the regional authority is the planning stakeholder, whereas at Orly, a state planning agency recently took hold of the planning competence in the major strategic sites surrounding the airport.

This article is an actor-oriented study on the main parties involved in land use planning. It analyses two different land development governance systems, each with the same objective: developing competitive economic hubs in their metro areas.

Governance Issues in Airport Regions

From airport to airport cities

Main airports had to be built outside of cities because of the considerable amount of land they require, as well as having a major impact on the environment. However, in the 1990s, city planning stakeholders noticed that airport regions were becoming new urban centers outside the cities, attracting major business parks and facilities ("edge Cities", as Joel Garreau (1991) called them). Orly and Schiphol airports, though, were never replaced and thus stayed relatively central in the urban area, creating economic potential landside-wise, and environmental and social management complexities airside-wise.

Map 1: *Economic and urban development surrounding Schiphol Airport. Courtesy of Amsterdam Airport Area*

Coordination Prior to Land Development

In a process involving many stakeholders, there has been an increasing need for cooperation and coherent development in the airport region, leading to the multiplication of stakeholders, and in particular, scale and status (Massadrier 2003). In this context, developing land requires a global agreement for growth beforehand, gathering actors in coalitions. When the idea of developing a new city centre around the airport is broadly shared by the major stakeholders, it becomes a growth coalition (Terhorst, 2005).

Coordination along the Land Development Process

Airport region development depends on many stakeholders during the entire process. First, the regulation/policy-making and strategic land planning depends, by definition, mostly on state ministries and local governments at different levels. The airport authority, however, is usually in charge of planning within the infrastructure's borders. Next, the implementation phase (land development and facilities management) involves a variety of actors, ranging from private developers to municipal authorities or perhaps even airport authority agencies.

Consequently, developing the airport region as a major centre in the metro area (or "cityport") also calls for efficient coordination between the different stakeholders during the process:

- First, vertical coordination between different levels (national, regional, local), the structure of which usually depending on the extent of decentralization in the country.
- Second, horizontal coordination between different actors on a same level (be it ministries, municipalities or local developers).
- Third, public-private coordination. This variable is particularly strategic in airport region development. As Van Wijk puts it, "governments in coordinated market economies are no longer the single dominant actors and they increasingly share tasks with market actors" (Van Wijk, 2007). Furthermore, new issues are brought forward as privatization of airport authorities tends to spread throughout Western countries.

Schiphol "Airport city": A Strong and Decades-old Growth Coalition

Schiphol airport has been one of the first main airport regions to develop as a major urban centre. It launched the concepts of "airport city" and, lately, "mainport", in order to attract investors.

Around Schiphol, coherent development is basically ensured by the existence of a strong agreement on growth, which gets

all of the land development stakeholders together. Its size is of such magnitude that Terhorst (2005) writes about a "growth coalition", a notion used by many American scientists to define a territorially based coalition that includes local public actors and business actors to promote urban growth:

Several decades ago, the growth coalition faced an "anti-growth" group, consisting of municipalities and local associations, before urban growth became the key issue among stakeholders. As Terhorst (2005) explains, the pro-growth group today brings together stakeholders in several circles: a central "sustainable" group consisting of those that are the most concerned with airport development (airport authority, ministries). Land development actors, in the second circle, are also part of the coalition.

A Coherent Public-Private Development

Strengthened by the growth coalition, the airport region development process is more importantly coordinated by several specific bodies.

First, in the land planning process, two forums help local governments and the airport authority coordinate their policies, and define land development guidelines. The province of North-Holland, strategic land planning actor in the Netherlands (it publishes the referent strategic plan), sits on two forums as a strategic coordination body:

- An administration forum, the so-called Bestuursforum Schiphol (BFS), consists of the main urban-planning actors' platform in the airport region, chaired by the Province, along with municipalities of Amsterdam and Haarlemmermeer as its members.
- On a larger scale, an administrative coordination group, the so-called Bestuurlijke Regiegroep Schiphol (BRS), also includes neighboring regions and municipalities that have interests in the airport's airside's further development.

Secondly, the public-private actors system is coordinated by two strategic bodies during the entire development implementation (building, management) :

- Schiphol Area Development Company (SADC), set up by the BFS' actors, has a major role in coordinating public guidelines and private interests in a coherent land-development process. Functioning as an economic development agency, it is also authorized to build, develop and manage land; which it does in about ten projects around the airport.
- Amsterdam Airport Area is a public-private association whose diverse members range from municipalities and port authorities to development funds. It handles marketing and communication on a larger defined "airport city" scale.

In conclusion, coordination is ensured during the land development process, from strategy development to land development implementation. This coherent development framework has led to a substantial growth in the Schiphol region, from logistics and business areas to mixed urban projects. In 2007, AAA supervised and carried out the international marketing activities of over 30 territories located between the port of Amsterdam and the south of the municipality of Haarlemmermeer (in which Schiphol is located).

Orly Region: from Bottom-up to Top-down Development

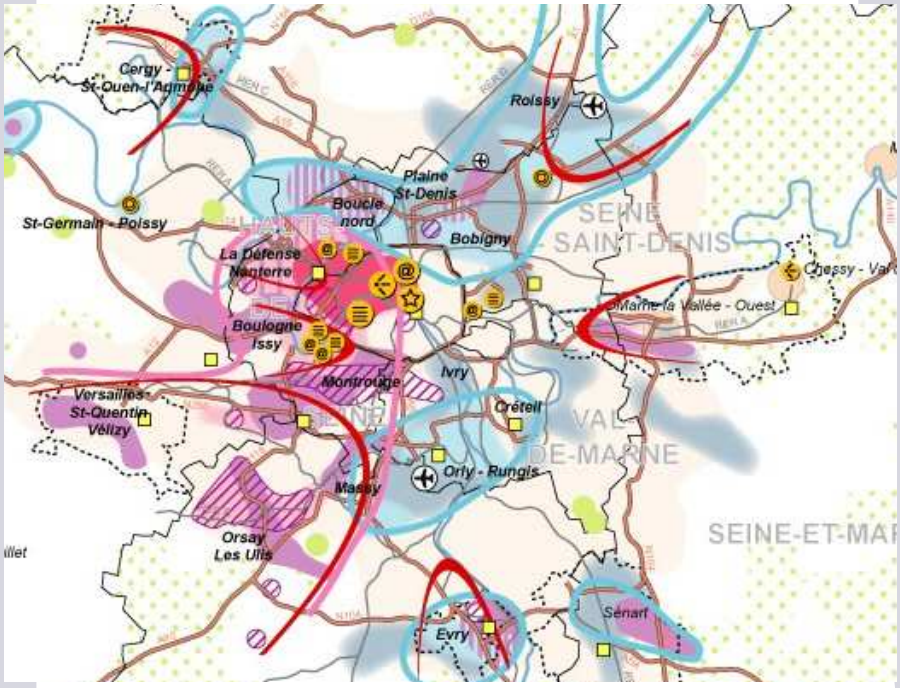
A Recent Growth Coalition Based on Local Stakeholders

In the early 2000s, local authorities started to focus on the development opportunities around Orly airport. Using the favorable opinions of satisfied market actors settled around the airport as an argument, two main stakeholders, the Val-de-Marne Département (province) and its economic development agency (Agence de Développement du Val-de-Marne) emphasized the regional importance of Orly as a business area.

In 2005, a conference was held for the first time, and has been held annually ever since: the "assises d'Orly". It was initially aimed at the creation of a broad vision of regional development around the airport. The conference attracted private developers, but also local governments and the airport authority communication board. This pro-growth group created a common vision of land and economic development around Orly. At the end of the second "assises" in 2006, a document with strategic guidelines was drawn up (Départements du Val de Marne et de l'Essonne, 2006).

This marked a change in the planning stakeholders' point of views. Three years after the first conference, the Parisian Chamber of Commerce (CCIP, 2006) and Ile-de-France region incorporated Orly as a major regional hub into their studies and into the major regional-planning document (Schéma Directeur Régional d'Ile-de-France (SDRIF)). All in all, land planning and market actors managed to enlarge the growth coalition, which, until then, almost entirely focused on air issues - by introducing business development guidelines.

Map 2: *Economic and urban development on Île-de-France. Source: Institut d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme de la Région Ile de France*



Government, not Governance

At the beginning of 2007, development in the Orly-Rungis territory became so important that it was eventually integrated into two national projects, which were originally limited to smaller territories. These special projects are carried out by the French land planning ministry in territories that have outstanding devel-

opment potential. In the northern part (the part with the highest concentration of business activity), they replaced the local planning actors with a state agency, the Etablissement Public d'Aménagement (EPA).

As a consequence, policy-making and land planning are now almost completely state affairs: prefectures (representing State at the province level) are the only ones allowed to issue construction licenses and to grant project authorizations inside the Opération d'Intérêt National (OIN). Coordination between state agencies and local governments thus follows a vertical pattern. However, communication is guaranteed by the multitude of meetings and by the roundtable systems, and most local governments remain in charge of smaller projects within their territory (a list sums up the most strategic projects in which the state agency is in charge of planning).

However, local stakeholders, too, come into play in the development implementation phase. The economic development agency is the most strategic coordination body, bringing together institutional and market actors. It helps companies find a location to settle, and it can also provide information about locations and business places. This central coordination actor has already long considered the Orly region, and still has specific work groups about it.

Finally, the emergence of a local "pro-growth" group had one unexpected effect: it started a new development process managed by national actors. Today, there is no land development governance system, but rather a more traditional government system (governance and government definitions can be found in the European Union White Paper on governance, Commission of the European Communities, 2001) with little communication between the different levels.

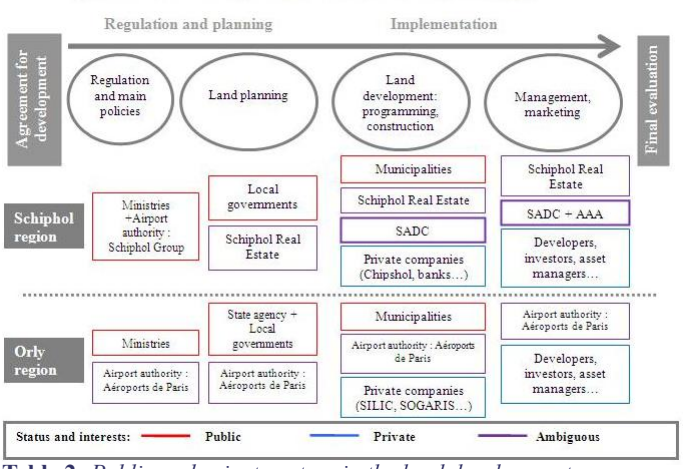


Table 2: *Public and private actors in the land development process*

Comparison: Two Opposite Cases?

Coalition Culture Versus Lobbying for Recognition

In the Parisian case, the airport growth coalition has historically focused on air issues and infrastructure development. It took time for Aéroports de Paris (ADP) and the French ministries to expand this focus, and to include the idea of a metropolitan strategic development. This expansion is the result of active lobbying by local public and private actors.

Amsterdam Schiphol's regional growth, on the other hand, is ensured by a strong and decade-old coalition, which consists of land-planning actors. The importance and success of Schiphol's growth coalition can be considered the result of a specific aspect of Dutch society: "pillarization", which is rooted in the cohabitation between Catholic and Protestant citizens within separate institutions until the middle of the 20th century (see notably the OECD Randstad review (2007). This 'pillarization' has created a preference for compromise rather than confrontation.
In a nutshell, Schiphol and Orly regions are two different examples, but they roughly lead to the same result: a shared vision of the airport region development.

Governance versus Government

However, with regard to governance in the planning process, Amsterdam Schiphol still stands as a model with its strategic coordination bodies.

At Orly, two state agencies have recently taken hold of strategic land planning. Their coordination on a horizontal (between themselves) and vertical (with local governments) levels is yet to develop.

On the other hand, Schiphol region stakeholders have developed a "bottom-based", public-private growth model, whereas Orly local stakeholders failed to fully create one. Coordination between local governments and airport authority is ensured by two "forum" groups, and specific public-private coordination bodies have been created to better integrate private actors, one of which is Schiphol Area Development Company, "a unique public-private institutional innovation" (Van Wijk 2007).

Comparing Two Embedded Cases

Amsterdam Schiphol stands as a model for airport region development and for the many coordination tools it has created in order to achieve its goals. But to what extent can it be an example to Orly? Several limits have to be notified:

- Coordination by actors in the Netherlands is a part of an embedded culture and economic system (Hollingsworth and Boyer 1997). The desire to avoid conflicts and to seek the middle ground also has specific side effects, such as lack of ambition and stasis.
- Intense land development around the airport has been a failure of its own success as well, leading to a lack of available land around the airport infrastructure, hence making airside development complicated at a time when increased air traffic is seriously putting the ability of airports to welcome more passengers to the test.
- Furthermore, despite the two agencies aiming at coordinating public and market stakeholders, private actors remain mostly out of the governance system (Van Wijk 2007). After all, among the main land developers are Schiphol Real Estate (a private, wholly-owned subsidiary and part of the public company Schiphol Group) and the municipalities, which are allowed to sell land.
- To what extent can one strive for coordination in a country with over 60,000 municipalities? The OIN (Opération d'Intérêt National) was originally one of the French answers to ensure coherent development over scattered territories. Just for comparison, Orly's direct surroundings include 15 to 30 municipalities and two provinces.

Conclusion: Embeddedness and Best Practices

In conclusion, the comparison between Orly and Schiphol has changed because the most recent years in the Paris Region. The original study was defined as a best practices benchmark, while the present article underlines the differences between two distinct growth models, presenting both benefits and drawbacks.

If Schiphol continues to be an example of bottom-up, coordinated development in Europe, it will resemble the Orly situation less and less. This can be explained by the French specific territorial frame: a top-down government structure has been regarded as an efficient solution to the scattering of local governments in order to create a unique, coherent growth. Furthermore, contrary to the Netherlands, France does not have a strong trade-off culture, but a centuries-old history of centralization and top-down policies.

However, in the last few years, there have been increasing calls for bottom-up policies in France, which must be seen in the context of increased central government influence over the Paris region. Indeed, the Orly case is part of a broader trend in the capital region. A major example is the Greater Paris (Grand Paris) policy, for which a specific ministry was recently created without coordination with local governments. Furthermore, it results in a growing gap between national and local governments, linked in part to different political ideologies. As the Ile-de-France region has become a strong opponent to the central government, municipalities and provinces are now more and more claiming for coordination, notably in some OIN (Opération d'Intérêt National) territories.

The comparison between Orly and Schiphol airport regions finally helps to underline that even in a specific recentralization context, coordination and bottom-up development are still a central issue. It is a matter of local democracy in a decentralized country, but also a way to ensure coherence, notably with private partners, throughout the land development process.

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Photos

Photo page 5: Photo of the Orly tower by J.Cozannet. Technical post-production with with regard to the Schiphol Tower was done by Du Saar Photography.

About the Author

Véronique Galvin specialized in economic land planning as a student at Paris 8 University (Institut Français d'Urbanisme). In addition, she focused on airport regions during a six-month research period at the University of Amsterdam. She is now a retail consultant in Paris, helping real estate actors (municipalities, private companies) in defining development projects or helping maintaining retail as a local amenity in urban areas.