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## GOVERNANCE OF AIRPORT AREAS: THE CASES OF STOCKHOLM AND AMSTERDAM

**AIRPORTS, LARGE CITIES' INTERNATIONAL POINTS OF ENTRY, ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE CONNECTIVITY AND PROPER FUNCTIONING OF THESE CITIES, NOW DOMINATED BY FLOWS. METROPOLISATION IS IMPELLING THEIR ROLE TO EVOLVE, FROM SIMPLE TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE FACILITIES INTO INSTRUMENTS OF METROPOLITAN – AND EVEN REGIONAL – DEVELOPMENT. THIS CALLS FOR A RE-EXAMINATION OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THEIR TERRITORIES, AND THEIR MODES OF GOVERNANCE.**

Identifying airports' current mode of governance is the subject of two case studies, produced by the students of the Urban School in SciencesPo Paris for the IAU îdF, on Amsterdam-Schiphol and Stockholm-Arlanda. They shed light directly on questions in the Paris Region on the issue of the role played by airports in the metropolis. The recent debates regarding the inclusion into the Greater Paris Metropolitan Authority, or not, of the municipalities hosting the two international airports, which are situated just outside its initial perimeter, are an illustration of this.

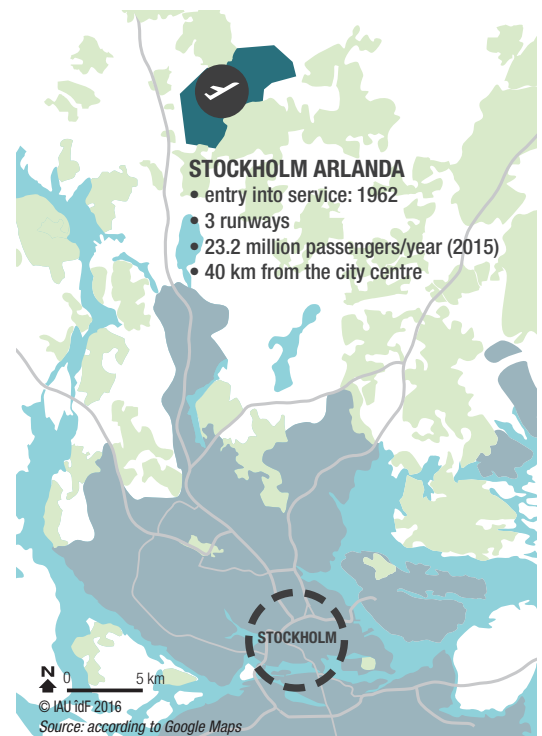
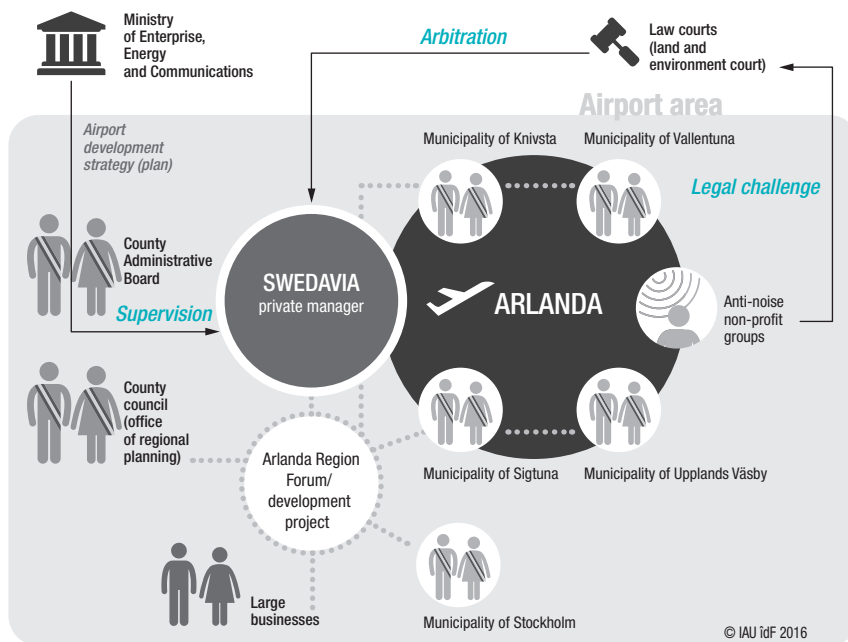
### THE STAKES INVOLVED IN THE GOVERNANCE OF AIRPORT AREAS

This debate is indicative of the importance of airports with regard to the economic dynamism of a territory intent on claiming status as a global metropolis. Importance, but also the difficulties linked, even simply on the spatial front, to the integration of airports into metropolitan projects. Frequently, moreover, these infrastructure facilities are located at the periphery of the metropolises, although they constitute one of their main polarities, one of the places providing the connection between the local and the global. A strategic concern for the economy, airport areas condense a number of issues linked to this synthesis between apparently contradictory objectives: compatibility between development and conservation, the complexity of scales of governance, and the difficulty of building collaboration.

#### *The fragmentation of the stakeholders*

An airport, a major facility, spans multi-scalar issues: from local transport infrastructure integration to the international attractiveness of a metropolis. Although, nowadays, public authorities have a tendency to disengage from airport management in favour of entrusting it to private organisations,

## THE STAKEHOLDER SYSTEM IN THE STOCKHOLM ARLANDA AIRPORT AREA



**Cover:** Arlanda Airport (Sweden). Being an issue of national interest, it is the Swedish State that determines the development strategy of this future "Scandinavian hub", according to a top-down mode of governance.

the hub and, more broadly, the airport area, involve a wide variety of stakeholders of diverse status, be they local or international, public or private (airlines, courier shipment companies, aeronautical businesses, etc.). This stakeholder fragmentation can make the establishment of development strategies and their application more fragile, as it requires forums for dialogue and consultation.

### *A shared vision for the territory*

As they are project sites where interests intersect, sometimes generating conflicts of use (consumption of space for development *versus* environmental protection, for example), the efficacy of airport areas necessitates the construction of a shared vision. This raises the question of each of the parties' legitimacy and resources in view of arbitration and the implementation of a shared strategy.

### *The management of externalities*

The presence of an airport has several effects on the territory that hosts it: it is a major economic driver, a creator of wealth and employment, and generates very numerous flows – both airborne and terrestrial – that are sources of pollution. The control of and compensation for these forms of pollution constitute an important issue for governance, as these parameters must be handled within a constraining framework of national – and even supranational – regulations and local commitments.

Another difficulty: the territories enjoying the positive spin-offs and suffering the negative repercussions rarely coincide! Agreement must be found on the way to balance or compensate for these effects. These challenges raise the issue of the links between governance and strategic planning,

the places and the instruments of implementation, the stakeholders to involve and their determination to work together.

## STOCKHOLM AND AMSTERDAM: TWO EXAMPLES OF GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS

At Stockholm-Arlanda, the Swedish government wishes to transform the airport into a "Scandinavian hub". This strategy is shared by the municipalities hosting the hub and also by the regional institution, who champion a policy of international openness reinforced by "the fear of Sweden being isolated". Furthermore, they have committed, with the State, to improving the airport's service connection by developing a transport network along the Stockholm-Uppsala corridor, which would extend as far as Arlanda.

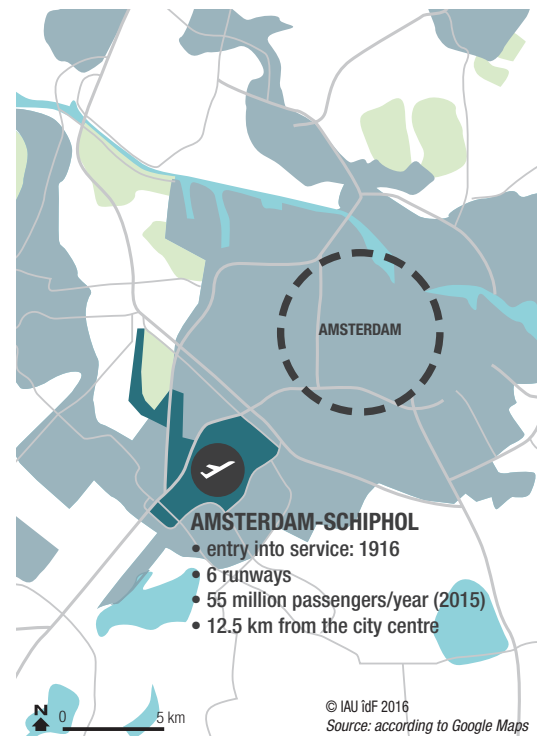
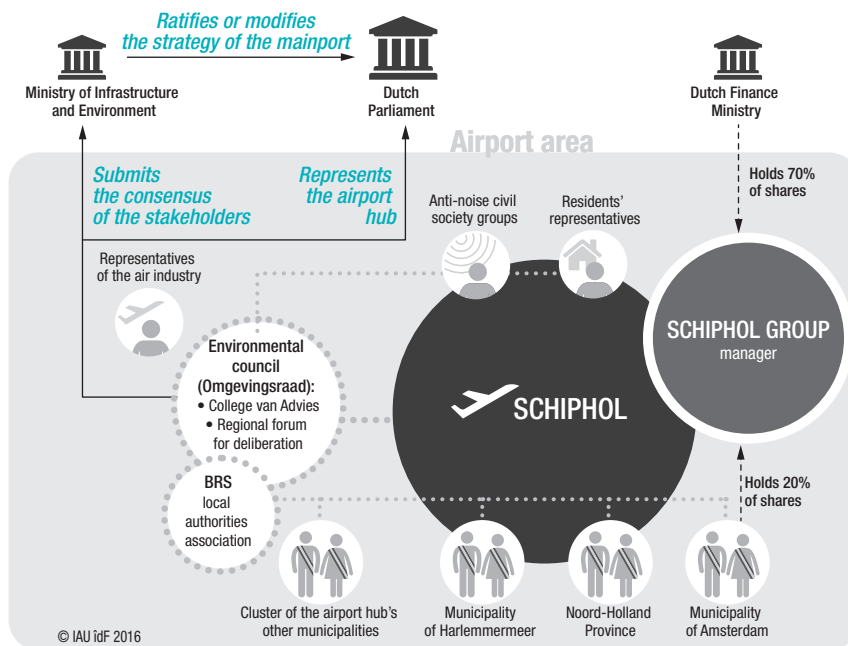
This strategy translates into the ambitious objective of doubling passenger traffic between now and 2040: the construction of a fourth runway and the closing of the Bromma airport, built right next to Stockholm. Arlanda airport, for its part, is built far from the heart of the metropolis, in a low-density area suitable for development projects.

In Schiphol, the Amsterdam airport hub is located at the heart of a very dense metropolis, saturated by urban development, in a highly constrained geographical space. It is the fifth-largest airport in Europe and its development strategy targets selectivity and the quality upgrading of its offers of service (real estate, hotels, and transport). The governance system of these two airport areas can be analysed taking into account three aspects: the distribution of stakeholders, the tools for regulation and the methods of government.

## AIRPORT AREA VS HUB

Whereas the hub refers to the boundaries of the airport, the airport area covers a broader area, subject to different externalities (positive and/or negative) linked to the airport: economic spin-offs and repercussions, attractiveness of the territory and, again, the environmental impacts of air traffic. So this territory is to be considered more within a rationale of functioning and of influence [IAU idF, Metropolis, 2015], whence the significant changeability of its boundary, that may vary not only according to the issues and impacts tackled, but also depending on the representation by the stakeholders of the questions at issue.

## THE STAKEHOLDER SYSTEM IN THE AMSTERDAM SCHIPHOL AIRPORT AREA



### The stakeholders

The governance of the Arlanda airport area is structured around stakeholders emanating from the State. Admittedly, the principal airport manager, Swedavia, is a private stakeholder, responsible for land, real estate operations – like the current Airport City Stockholm project – and even transport infrastructure. It is the owner of this airport, as it was for all Swedish airports. That is no longer the case. The status of airports is multiple: public, private or mixed. However, Swedavia remains under the administrative and political stewardship of the State which, as majority shareholder, exercises supervision over its development choices via a de-concentrated structure at the regional level: the county administrative board<sup>2</sup> responsible for ensuring compliance with governmental directives at the regional level.

Swedavia, playing on its status as a business representing the national interest<sup>3</sup>, imposed its decisions on local municipalities for many years. This was all the more difficult to accept as, in this decentralised State, municipalities possess broad jurisdictions in matters of development and planning. As it is obliged to play on dialogue to reconcile the positive and negative externalities, Swedavia is now in a position that is both more conciliatory and open to negotiation with the four municipalities who host the airport.

In Amsterdam, the presence of the State is less pronounced. It has, nevertheless, always recognised Schiphol as a national priority and still wields influence over the development of the airport area via two levers: the national development plans with limited prescriptive range and a majority

shareholding in the capital of the businesses managing the airport, conferring upon it the right to review their strategy. The majority of the capital in the Schiphol Group – the airport's main economic, development and real estate investment operator – is thus held by the Dutch Ministry of Finance (70%) and by the municipality of Amsterdam (20%)<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, Schiphol Group possesses virtually all the airports in the country, which has allowed it to develop a group strategy: specialising each airport in a type of flight (short or long haul, low cost, etc.).

### The tools for regulation

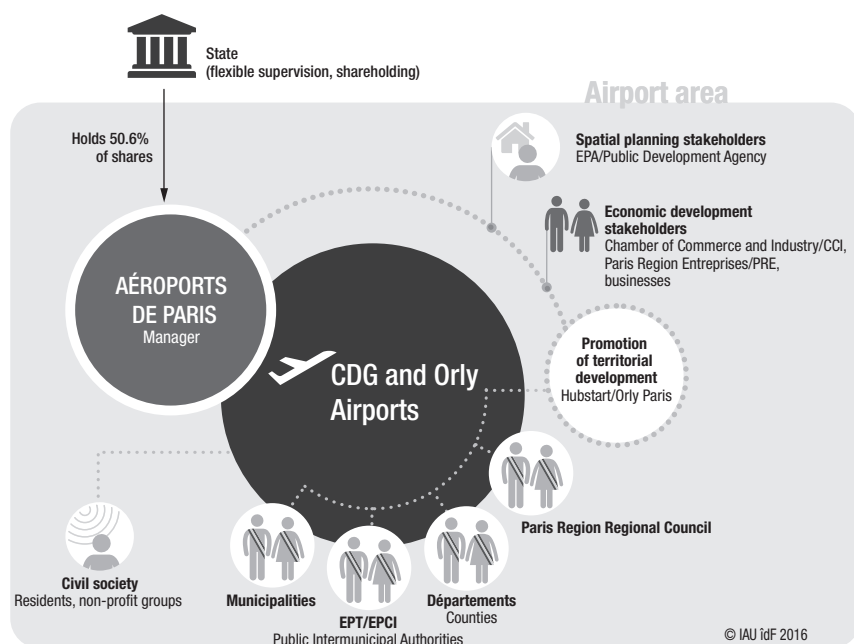
In Arlanda, several tools are used to coordinate the different stakeholders' projects, and their contradictory interests (issue of international connectivity, reduction of noise pollution, etc.).

The primary instrument for the coordination of interests is a sort of flexible project cooperation, established on the initiative of Swedavia, for the purpose of constructing a shared vision of the positive benefits generated by the airport's activities: Arlanda Region. It foregathers three times per year and brings together: Swedavia, the four municipalities hosting the Arlanda airport hub, Stockholm County Council, Stockholm Municipal Council which, for several years, has maintained a keen interest in the airport hub, and a few large businesses.

The strategic plans are defined at the national level and within the framework of a county council planning office bringing together the representatives of the municipalities and of the State. They are adjusted to the municipalities' expectations and projects. A "regional" cooperation, which recently, in June 2016, led to the adoption of a regional development plan (delregional utvecklingsplan)



## THE STAKEHOLDER SYSTEM IN THE AIRPORT AREAS IN THE PARIS REGION



defining Arlanda's main planning and economic development projects (development of a transport network for the corridor lying between Stockholm-Uppsala-Arlanda, increasing the residential housing stock, etc.). This document makes it possible to adjust the objectives and the expectations of the municipalities to the national strategic plan defined by the Ministry for Enterprise, Energy and Telecommunications, which establishes the main development focus for Arlanda Airport. The mayor of Knivsta summarises this situation well: "When the State decides on a development plan, the municipalities can only exert influence at the margins of that decision: the latter, because it is a matter of the national interest, takes precedence over local concerns<sup>5</sup>".

Since its creation in 2005, Arlanda Region has above all made it possible to establish a dialogue between Swedavia and the Arlanda municipalities, to break with the top-down approach of the public decision of a business, citing its status as "representative" of the national interest, in order to impose without ever negotiating.

The openness of Swedavia with regard to the Arlanda hub municipalities has gradually promoted their alignment with the idea, championed by the State, that the airport constitutes an opportunity for local territorial development and attractiveness. It was, moreover, in this forum for discussion and cooperation that the Airport City Stockholm structuring project, led by the local authorities, Swedavia and a property developer, Arlandastad Holding AB, took shape.

The alignment of positions between institutional stakeholders has a tendency, nevertheless, to set aside one question: that of the environment and,

notably, of noise pollution. It reappears *via* the mobilisation of civil society which, as it is not associated in the decision-making process, uses other channels to weigh on decisions. It refers matters to a national institution: the law courts responsible for environmental and territorial disputes. The second instrument for "top-down" regulation, this authority plays a decisive role with regard to spatial planning matters as it has the last word on the issuing (or not) of building permits, significantly called "environment permits". Through this role as referee between the interests championed by the airport infrastructure property developers and local residents, this law court is akin to an instrument for law-based regulation. This judicialisation should not, however, be considered an obstacle to decision-making, but rather as a safeguard that operates as a "speed-bump". This type of "indirect and non-transparent" procedure also harms the capacity for collective initiative and the "development of mutual trust between stakeholders<sup>6</sup>".

In Schiphol, the bargaining tables are numerous and interpenetrating, but two of them play a key role. The Schiphol Regional Airport Governance (BRS) is a platform for coordination aiming at defining an economic and spatial strategy between the airport area's local authorities. This strategy is then confronted with the interests, aims and requests of the representatives of the industrial activities, aviation businesses and residents, within the context of an environmental council (Omgevingsraad). This council is made up of two collegiate structures: the College Van Advies, which is the decision-making authority in which elected residents participate; and a regional forum, more broadly open, notably to employers' associations

and residents, which constitutes the space for discussion and preparation of the decisions of the College Van Advies, the place where the stakeholders develop a balance between the positive and negative externalities of the airport area's development.

The particular uniqueness of this structure consists in the position granted to the hub's residents, *via* a system of representation by elected delegates making it possible to have their claims heard and to influence negotiations. This environment council thus plays a central role in the regulation of interests between the Schiphol airport area's stakeholders (BRS, elected representatives from civil society and private operators) that is clearly recognised, as it is charged with reporting the position of the airport area's stakeholders to Parliament when it engages in deliberations around a project concerning Schiphol.

#### *The modes of government: top down or remote*

In Arlanda, the mode of government of the airport area may be characterised as “top down” due to two key features:

- a State that coordinates the development of the airport. *Via* the intermediary of a private enterprise, it exercises a “flexible stewardship” for the purpose of organising the development of an airport considered to be of “national interest”;
- the regulation of conflicts between the diverging interests is performed by recourse to law, to the judiciary authority incarnating a “neutral third party”, an arbiter between the questions at issue locally.

The Schiphol airport area relies on a “remote” system of governance whose two principal characteristics are:

- a State exercising “indirect” influence over the development of the airport, through the interplay of cooperation between public and private local stakeholders;
- the regulation of conflicts through negotiation.

In the end, the Arlanda airport area is characterised by governance predominantly by the State. It is after all the government that defines the development strategy and supervises the organisation of the relationship between the local stakeholders in a directive way. This mode of governance, in which the



Even though the Amsterdam-Schiphol airport area is considered a national priority, its development is conducted *via* a mode of collaborative governance involving both public and private stakeholders.

construction of a project for a territory is performed “top down”, is closely linked to the idea that this airport area constitutes an issue of national interest that takes precedence over the construction of a negotiated project of “local” general interest. The fragility of this mode of governance has to do with the eviction of the stakeholders that are inconvenient for the project, with the risk of them hindering it via the mobilisation of legal recourse. The culture of law, and rules, takes priority over that of negotiation.

In Schiphol, the airport area is managed by a pluralistic system of governance. Its development project is negotiated and decided between private and public stakeholders within the framework of a structure permitting dialogue and which performs a coordinating role that has succeeded in finding a provisional consensus, even with stakeholders from civil society.

Should we see here a model to be copied for the purpose of reconciling the externalities of the airport areas in the Paris Region? It would be rather hasty to answer in the affirmative. First, because the Schiphol model is fragile. It is, in fact, built on a short-range consensus based on so-called “selective” growth, whose perspective is limited to 2020. Beyond that date, there is major uncertainty

#### THE IAU ÎDF/SCIENCES-PO URBAN SCHOOL RESEARCH

This *Note rapide* is based on research conducted in 2016 by a team of four students from the Urban School in Sciences-Po Paris, within the context of a workshop of the Master's degree entitled “Governing the Large Metropolis”. Its goal was to analyse the modes of governance of two airport areas – Stockholm-Arlanda and Amsterdam-Schiphol – for the purpose of shedding light on the situation in the Paris Region. Based on a solid review of the scientific literature and on a series of interviews on site, this research made it possible to develop a perspective on the organisation and the configuration of the interplay of stakeholders in each of these two areas and to distinguish two models of governance. The research was produced by Jean-Baptiste Besançon, Anna Jönsson, Agathe Lacombe and Filipe Mello Rose with mentoring from Charlotte Halpern and Antoine Frémont.

#### Typology of airport governance

	State-dominated governance	Pluralistic governance
Main stakeholder in the airport hub	A state-majority enterprise	Private company management of the airport hub
Mode of government	Top Down	Remote
Regulatory tools	Strategic plans Decision-making bodies	Contracts Law courts

regarding the capacity to maintain a shared vision and produce collective action founded – and this is a second weakness – solely on interpersonal relations of trust. Subsequently because a governance model is tightly linked to the institutional structure of each country, to the culture of negotiation, to the left of the State, to the policies of airport managers, and also to the territorial constraints in which this airport area is involved. Geographical constraints, land use, and its socio-economic characteristics weigh on the stakeholders that need to be involved in governance and on the issues to be dealt with.

The scarcity of land, the inclusion of the airport in a dense and populated urban context, and its proximity to the city centre are all elements that shape the governance system in Amsterdam. In Arlanda, the distance from the city centre and the considerable availability of land lead to the bringing of issues of accessibility (creation of a Stockholm-Uppsala-Arlanda corridor), and opportunities for urbanisation, to the fore.

Consequently, these two case studies offer ideas that may be pursued – notably with regard to negotiation between public and private stakeholders, for the creation of a capacity for collective initiative – but not models to be imported. In order to bring about change in governance in the Île-de-France, it is vital that its territorial specificities, and those of its stakeholders, be taken into account. ■

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1. Christer Wikström, responsible for industry and business in Sigtuna, one of the municipalities in the county of Stockholm hosting Arlanda airport, March 2016.
2. This board is responsible for ensuring compliance with governmental directives at the regional level.
3. The areas of national interest are defined by the Swedish environmental code as those involving environmental preservation or requiring the best possible use of the territory and resources in view of economic development.
4. 2% by the city of Rotterdam and 8% by Aéroports de Paris (ADP).
5. Klas Brattström, Mayor of Knivsta, municipality hosting the Arlanda airport hub. Interview conducted by telephone on 26 March 2016.
6. Hans Brattström, architect-urban planner, Stockholm County Council-Regional Planning Office. Interview conducted by telephone on 27 March 2016.

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