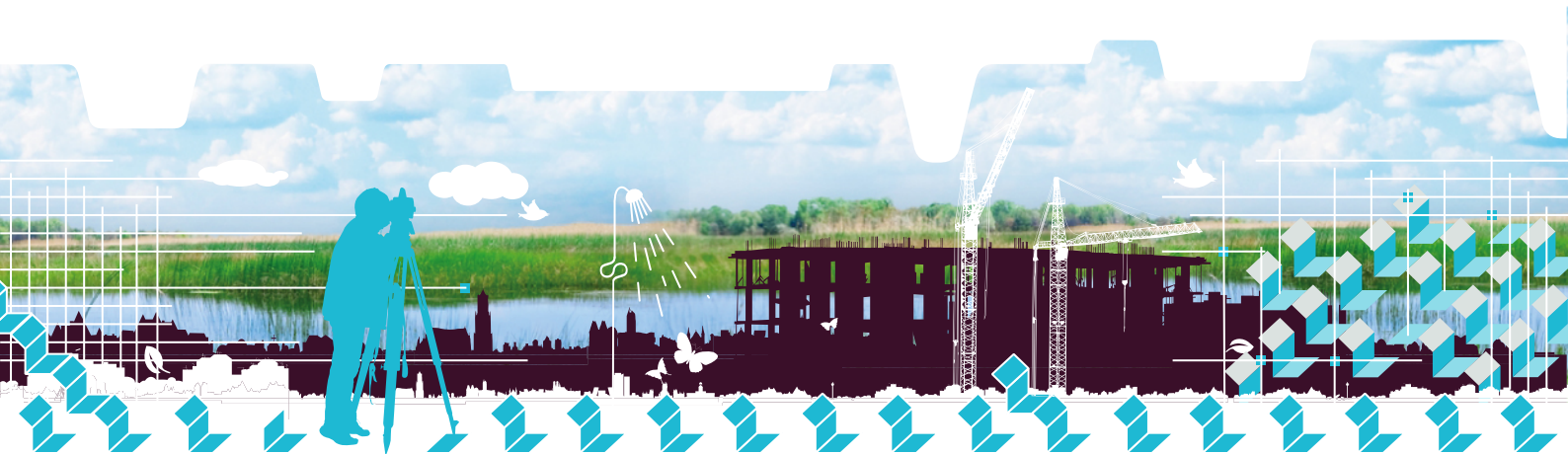


Urban Regions in the Delta



Case Study Manchester Airport City Enterprise Zone, UK: Twin Engines for Growth

Nicola Headlam



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Nicola Headlam

CONTEXT

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Principal Investigator

Prof. Willem Salet
Chair programme group Urban Planning
University of Amsterdam

Scientific Partners

University of Amsterdam (Centre for Urban Studies), the Netherlands
Prof. Willem Salet, Dr. Jochem de Vries, Dr. Sebastian Dembski

TU Delft (OTB Research Institute for the Built Environment), the Netherlands
Prof. Wil Zonneveld, Dr. Bas Waterhout, Dr. Erik Louw

Utrecht University (Centre for Environmental Law and Policy/NILOS), the Netherlands
Prof. Marleen van Rijswijk, Dr. Anoeska Buijze

Université Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée (LATTs), France
Prof. Christian Lefèvre, Dr. Camille Gardesse

University of Liverpool (The Heseltine Institute for Public Policy and Practice), United Kingdom
Prof. Alan Harding, Dr. Nicola Headlam

Professional Partners

DG Ruimte en Water Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, Provincie Noord-Holland, Provincie Flevoland, Stadsregio Amsterdam, Project Management Bureau Gemeente Amsterdam, Noordwaarts Gemeente Amsterdam, Hoogheemraadschap De Stichtse Rijnlanden, KWR Watercycle Research Institute, Institut d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme Île-de-France, Manchester's Commission for the New Economy

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Executive summary

The UK case of the Greater Manchester Airport City Development Project offers an interesting counterpoint for the CONTEXT project. This is because the already liberalised UK spatial planning system does not create a space for the discussion of strong plan-led forms of development. The Airport and the City-Region itself, an emergent scale for governance and regulation, are seen as 'twin engines' for growth.

In the current policy context the only statutory scale for regulatory spatial planning is the locality scale with no mandated city-regional, regional or national planning policy framework in which to fit environmental or social concerns. Consequently there is no national-level infrastructure plan to frame decision-making. In addition there is no national airport policy in place, with a Commission of Enquiry seeking to report after 2015.

Against this national-level policy vacuum the city (and city-regional) elites have sought instead to utilise Enterprise Zone Policy (couched as a counterpoint to the 'bureaucracy' 'red tape' and 'de-lay' of the regular planning process) in order to create a dynamic in favour of (any) development at the airport. European legislation in this local context is referred to primarily in the context of airport/airline competition policy, as this frames the ways in which UK regional airports compete with one another against European airports.

The 'city fathers' have taken a strong hand in the development trajectory of the Airport throughout the whole twentieth century. That the airport can be seen as one of twin engines for economic growth and development, with the other 'twin engine' as the construction of the metropolitan scale of governance itself, the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) Two large planning consents have been granted in 2012 for the development of the airport. These 2 planning consents are for 1) a World Logistics Hub and 2) a Medi-Park. These projects are intended to support a wide range of uses at the Airport and to remove some area from 'Green-Belt' status.

The report describes the policy context, suggests alternate frameworks for the analysis of airports and sets a scene under which planning policy is highly limited and circumscribed in the conditions that it can demand of an agreed city-regional priority – the continued growth and development of the airport. A few (very) local, neighbourhood voices challenging this growth dynamic have utterly failed to challenge this dominant rhetoric, despite parish council campaigns and representations within the formal planning consent process. In terms of the contextualisation, then of European rules the UK case is one of a 'wilful blindness' to the local-level policy levers framing environmental concerns.

1 Introduction

This report seeks to explore the key issue of governance and regulation pertaining to the Airport City case in Greater Manchester, UK in order that we can explore the match and mismatch between local policies and concerns within a multi-layer regulatory context. We explore herein the areas of discretion and constraint available (and framing) local actors in the contested area of airport development and the principles of regulation which underpin the case itself. This represents the literature and policy review for the CONTEXT project and represents the thinking of the early part of the project.

It is important to foreground the complex multi-level interplay of the site (AirportCity) and its importance for the Greater Manchester City Region (GMCR) and how far questions of regional airport capacity and regional economic development can be resolved in the context of centralised fiscal and territorial policy. Further we explore how this affects the local and metropolitan policy elites, their uses of the formal regulatory mechanisms and further their local response to the vacuum surrounding large elements of the public policy jigsaw including the use of soft and non-mandatory spaces for the promotion of peculiar and particular spatial imaginaries. Also it is interesting to explore the construction and maintenance of the discourses which legitimate the actors' city region, in particular which voices are excluded. This is situated within the wider theoretical, domestic policy and local policy frameworks for infrastructural and economic development where we explore potential development trajectories and consider how far the GMCR policy community is able to marshal the requisite resources and political capital and regulatory levers for the urban transformation of the airport city site.



Fig. 1 Enterprise Zone Site in decision-making context : source author

In some ways the UK case study serves to highlight the consequences of the further liberalisation of spatial planning functions to scales other than those at which democratic accountability is exercised. The site of the AirportCity Enterprise Zone sits within Greater Manchester city-regional governance arrangements which are not mandated to make formal statutory land use plans but that wields significant influence over the future of the site.

Manchester Airports Group (MAG) owns and operates Manchester Airport. Manchester Airport Developments (MAG DEV) is the property arm of MAG, responsible for the Enterprise Zone (EZ) Project and both boards are made up of representatives of the 10 boroughs of the city region. Manchester City Council MCC has a 35.5 per cent stake in Manchester Airport and the other 9 authorities of the Combined Authority have 5 per cent each.¹ MAG also owns Bournemouth, East Midlands and Stansted Airports. In the light of the acquisition of further regional airports in the UK this ownership structure may be forced to change. Currently there is a clear connection between the leadership of the city-regional Combined Authority and the Enterprise Zone at the Airport, the majority shareholders in the Airport are the elected leaders of the local authorities who make up the governance structures of the GMCA. The closeness between MAG and GMCA is outlined in this figure, as it is possible to see the three main nodes connecting the combined authority with the board of the airport. This small network diagram has three key nodes (the leaders of three of the Manchester authorities on both boards) showing that decision making involves the same small group of actors.

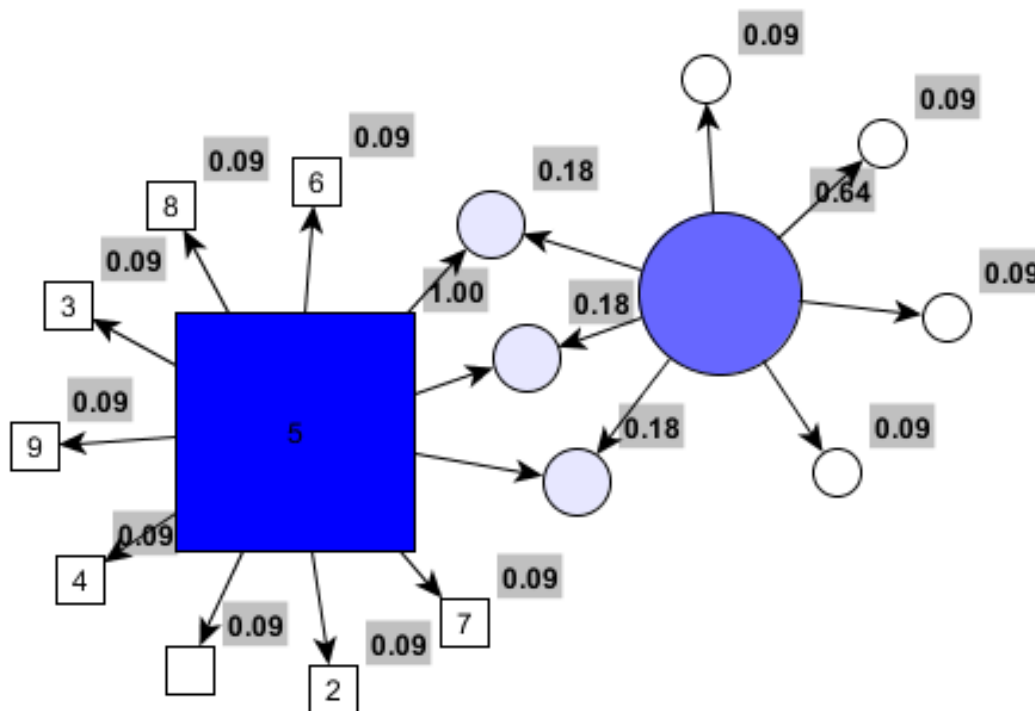


Fig. 2. Network connections between MAG and GMCA. Source: author

¹ In 2013 the authorities of the city-region benefitted from a surprise windfall from the airport of £48m. This has received a lot of media attention due to an overwhelming context of 'austerity localism' and cuts to local government (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-23513673>).

Although not the core interest of the CONTEXT case study it is worth reiterating for an international audience that sub-national economic development and spatial policy in the UK has a recent history of quite massive institutional changes. A critical juncture in this respect has been the election of the Coalition government in 2010 which abolished regional level spatial planning and strategy. Prior to this and under regional planning arrangements, vested in the regional Assemblies, there was arguably less impetus for airport expansion. In the (re)turn to locality plans as the only statutory level the interests of the airport are more concretely fixed with the key political actors. Further, UK airport development policy has failed to articulate the role of Manchester Airport as a matter of national, rather than regional priority.

The core question, therefore in terms of contextualisation processes is how far this boosterist locality elite are able to mobilise specific rationales for local economic development to the exclusion of legislation from higher governmental tiers (such as the EU), the way in which EU directives, such as Noise Pollution, are 1) domesticated and 2) localised is highly specific. Ultimately the downplaying of environmental agendas is a significant risk within the liberalised UK spatial planning system and an area that this project will return to in articulating alternate discursive space for the development of the site, city and city-region which pursues a specific form of spatial idiom and development trajectory coupled with a weak framing by national actors of the wider (supra-national) agendas. It is worth exploring how and why environmental agendas are stage managed at the city-regional scale as part of the next phases of the context project.

2 Forms of airport development and their connections with urban form

Literature on the relationships between airports and economic and spatial development abounds. Conceptually it is possible to situate 'the airport' as a key node in the Castellan space of flows of global exchange. John Kasarda, who has been highly influential in framing thinking about the role of airports within regional systems, argues that the aerotropolis is the coming urban form. Other critics, however, have viewed airport boosterism as wanting in terms of sustainability (either environmental or social) (Freestone, 2009). There is also a small corpus of work on the participatory and governance implications of airport development, particularly as focussed on the actions and activities of airlines as framing political decision-making (Halpern, 2012), but it is fair to say that there is a paucity of research which foregrounds the regulatory levers and constraints available to local actors whilst questioning the regional (and national) dimensions of development trajectory (Longhurst et al., 1996; Upham et al., 2003; Adey, 2006; Discazeaux, 2007; Baker & Freestone, 2012).

As ever in an ostensibly neo-liberalised policy environment (airport ownership since 1986 has broken the automatic relationships between airports and their administrative/territorial governments in the UK) there remains a huge role for national policy in framing the climate for infrastructure investment. There are causal questions to be addressed concerning the relationships between market success and airport success, and the role of infrastructure within metropolitan massification processes (Harding, 2013). How, where and whether airports develop is a highly contested area, delineated here by Charlotte Halpern and squarely situated within circuits of decision-making, governance and power.

Conflicts around airport planning have opened new opportunities for *airport managers to pursue their development strategies by challenging existing forms of decision-making within metropolitan areas...* privatization and financierization of airport infrastructures has profoundly transformed the relationship between the infrastructures and their territories, caused the politicization of airport planning, and has opened new opportunities for *airport companies to enrol in collective dynamics at the metropolitan level that would ultimately ensure the implementation of their "airport cities" projects.* (Halpern, 2012: 346; emphasis added)

Without wishing to foreclose questions about who gets to frame such debates it is uncontentious to agree that airports are a vital component of the transport infrastructure of contemporary cities and that they have developed in reciprocal relationships with the cities in which they sit, both framing and being framed by urban form and structure. This reciprocity of impacts has intensified

in the last 30 years as air travel has expanded and has been amplified through forces of privatisation, corporatisation and globalisation (Graham, 2003). Market forces, corporate strategies and government policies have given rise to new types of airports far more complex and interactive in their metropolitan settings than the isolated landing fields of the last century (Conway, 1993; Güller & Güller, 2003).

The reason for interest in the Airport City case is partly due to the collision of regional economic development rationales being adopted by policy makers and applied to infrastructure planning concerns. There has been a growing realisation that economic growth and infrastructural investment are connected in the light of the recession and further there has been a change in attitude to airports.

‘Aviation occupies a central role in regional, national and global economies. Airports are pivotal spaces enabling flows of both people and goods but have taken on new functions and features as nodes of high accessibility at various geographic scales. In turn, they confront a range of environmental, spatial, infrastructural, political, and design challenges on the ground.’ (2nd colloquium on airport development)

The study of airports as urban and planning phenomena has demonstrably progressed in concert with the technological changes which have shaped the airline and airport industries for over a century, this has led to airports evolving from their status as a novel transport technology to being mired within a suite of infrastructural, economic, management and legal issues. The need to appreciate a more complex set of environmental considerations in the broadest sense became evident from the site selection and locational conflict literature of the 1970s (Haggett, 1979). More recently, sustainability issues and security have become unavoidable considerations (Charles et al., 2007; O'Malley, 2006; Upham & Mills, 2005; Wheeler, 2005).

Airports as nodes and flows are framed as part of sets of the sorts of ‘neo-Marshallian linkages’ beloved of new economic geographers who rationalise that Producers, so the story goes, want to choose locations that (i) have good access to large markets and (ii) have good access to supplies of goods that they or their workers require. However, a place that for whatever reason already has a concentration of producers will tend to offer a large market (because of the demand generated by the producers and their workers) and a good supply of inputs and consumer goods (made by the producers already there). These two advantages correspond precisely to the ‘backward linkages’ and ‘forward linkages’ of development theory. Because of these linkages, a spatial concentration of production, once established, may tend to persist – and a small difference in the initial economic size of two otherwise equivalent locations may tend to grow over time. Further enthusiasts for novel urban forms (edge cities, edgeless cities) have discussed the aerotropolis in somewhat breathless terms as a new land use.

As more and more aviation-oriented businesses are being drawn to airport cities and along transportation corridors radiating from them, a new urban form is emerging—the Aero-tropolis—stretching up to 20 miles (30 kilometers) outward from some airports. Analogous in shape to the traditional metropolis made up of a central city and its rings of commuter-heavy suburbs, *the Aerotropolis consists of an airport city and outlying corridors and clusters of aviation-linked businesses and associated residential development*. A number of these clusters such as Amsterdam Zuidas, Las Colinas, Texas, and South Korea’s Songdo In-

ternational Business District have become globally significant airport edge-cities *representing planned postmodern urban mega-development in the age of the Aerotropolis*. (Aerotropolis, 2012)

This breathless enthusiasm for postmodern mega development – in the Kasarda model is tempered by other scholars who view the airport as a complex nexus worthy of serious study:

The business case underlying the airport city model recognises that: (1) passengers, service-sector businesses, and shippers have unmet needs, (2) those needs can be systematically addressed as these three primary airport area growth drivers continue to increase in size and economic importance, and (3) critically, that airport operators and their enterprise partners can benefit financially by addressing those needs. *The airport city model is therefore increasingly being incorporated into airports' commercial and land-use plans to generate additional non-aeronautical revenues while serving 21st century air travellers, businesses and shippers.*²

It is worth noting that the Manchester case is entitled 'airport city', not 'aerotropolis' however, as the quote from Charlotte Halpern (2012) suggests the insertion of airport city thinking is a key outcome of the activities of airlines over the 'period of liberalisation'.

Manchester Airport and entrepreneurial local leadership

In their work on the historical background of the Airport (Caruana & Simmons, 2001) state that it has been integral to the self-concept of the political elite, who (over the period 1929–1982) planned and delivered the new Ringway airport in the south of the conurbation. They write “despite the failure of early attempts to establish scheduled air services in Britain in the 1920's Manchester corporation inclined to the view that there was a market for such and set about making it” (Caruana & Simmons, 2001: 121). This research makes clear that the development of both the airport and the urban policy elite are closely connected. In current policy terms the Enterprise Zone *site* at the Airport, which we situate within its local development context and further to the has a relationships with the 10-borough city regional combined authority of the GMCA in that the putative benefits ‘accrue to the LEP’ (CLG, 2010). Here, however, we demonstrate that the closeness between the ‘city fathers’ and ‘their’ key infrastructural node of air travel has been one of long standing. First we explore the governance project of the city-region in its current form followed by a description of the physical development trajectory of the airport site. We refer to airport and city-regional development as ‘twin engines for growth’ in that there has been a strong and mutually reinforcing dynamic towards economic development and growth between the two observable over the past century.

Airports are a remarkable barometer of the historical dynamism of cities through time (Gordon, 2004) They have evolved through a typology of urban and architectural forms in concert with the rising demand for air travel accompanying urban population growth. The initial grassed aerodromes of the 1920s were formalised as city gateways akin to rail and

² <http://www.aerotropolis.com/files/GlobalAirportCities.pdf>

port terminals by the late 1930s. The development of military-related infrastructure and utilisation during the second world war helped lay a platform for rapid expansion through democratization of international air travel from the 1950s. The 1960s saw a phase of replication as new airports were developed on the metropolitan fringe [...] *The designer airport then took hold as a place-making device with the subsequent struggle for regional and international competitive advantage.* (Freestone, 2009: 162)

This development trajectory of the Airport cannot be understood without linking it with the overt development strategies of city (and city-region):

Development of the Airport is an unsung but important part of Greater Manchester's history, as a collective project on which the ten have shown persistence, maturity and ambition in prioritising economic growth and shareholder value. *Manchester's is a polity adapting quickly to changing international tides that increasingly reveal central governments and their security and regulatory hang-ups as slow-moving beasts, ill-equipped for the darting opportunism needed today for business, trade and investment [...]* Airport policy is a great example: as national debate is transfixed by Heathrow's third runway, Manchester gets on and just does it. (Baron Frankal, 23 January 2013)

Here, then, lies the crux of the case. The ways in which the local policy elite 'gets on and does it' in terms of pulling all the available policy levers in order to support the development of Airport City – an Enterprise Zone – within the city regional arrangements. In order to bring this story up to the contemporary it is important to explore first, the core questions of governance and ownership of the airport and secondly the physical development trajectory of the site.

Governance and Ownership

The airport is perhaps the most important single piece of infrastructure *in the battle between cities and nations for influence in*, and the benefits of growth and development. (Connor & Scott, 1992: 6)

(Greater) Manchester is no stranger to this battle between cities and nations, or more concretely has been engaged in a number of small wars, largely with the treasury, over the correct balance of/for subnational powers. Since this paper is for an international audience it is worth restating here the fact that by any standard the UK is a very centralised nation. The balance of power between Whitehall and Town Hall has been stacked inexorably in favour of the national scale at the expense of local discretion, as the post-war welfare state sucked functions and competences to the centre in order to run the Keynesian re-distributive welfare state. All substantive city-level policies must also take account of actions at other scales. Despite this political and fiscal centralism Manchester has garnered national/international attention for the way in which it has sought to work across the administrative boundaries of the conurbation. It has piloted new institutional arrangements for a 'combined authority' where the 10 boroughs of the city region collaborate by using and modifying available policy tools.

This activity has built on the work of the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities (AGMA) and survived changes of government, the demise of a regional tier of governance and the economic downturn.

'Manchester' is an elastic term, used variously at different times. Even before the Coalition government dismantled the regional tier of governance in England there had been a series of experiments at various sub-national scales attempted over the prior 2 decades. These mechanisms when applied to the 'Core' Northern English cities somewhat 'harden' or 'institutionalise' fuzzy boundaries or soft governance spaces (Haughton & Allmendinger, 2008). The more recent phase of city-region institution building had been in the period 2006 onwards. The case under consideration is the functioning of 'Manchester's bust regime' (Harding et al., 2010) which whilst widely lauded (not least by its protagonists), as a model for UK cities (Emmerich & Frankal, 2009). The evolution of metropolitan/city-regional governance, from the late 1980s to the early part of this century saw institutional capacity at the metropolitan scale remain fragmented, relatively weak and low profile and the potential for a new round of collaboration was built up slowly, largely as a bi-product of the City's radically different and increasingly successful approach to economic development and regeneration (see Rees & Harding, 2010). Williams (1995) offers the most complete descriptive account of the trajectory of the city region. However the stories of the relationships between the locality and the regeneration and economic development policy take many forms.

The following explains the urban policy initiatives within the city-region at the present time. Core to the UK subnational policy are the central government departments of Communities and Local Government (CLG) and the Department for Business and Innovation (BIS). In addition there has been a lot of concern from the Treasury about the role of Local Economic Growth. The main national policies being localised to the city-regional scale are: Enterprise Zone Policy (BIS), City Deals (CLG/BIS & The Treasury) and Community Budgeting at the Combined Authority Scale. Closely allied with initiative at the site of the airport is the city-regional governance project of the combined authority for Greater Manchester.

The Enterprise Zone at the Airport represents a small area for experimentation within the Manchester City Council (MCC) Local/Planning Authority District Boundary. However key to the localisation of this policy is a marginal tax incentive, through which Supplementary Business Rate (SBR) uplift will accrue to the Local Economic Partnership (LEP) at the Greater Manchester City Region (GMCR) – 10-borough AGMA boundaried scale. It is highly significant that the Airport site was selected as the Enterprise Zone for the City-region and followed an employment site study report commissioned by KPMG³ in order to shortlist EZ locations across the city-region. The boundary of the EZ site has been described a bit of 'clever planning' as it presents three zones the first tightly bounded to airport consisting of 5 development sites. The second medi-park – 'a field' marked out as a medi-park for development and thirdly Wythenshawe neighbourhood centre. The *City Deal* for Greater Manchester 'Earn Back' is the core lever within the city deal process.

The Enterprise Zone at the Airport is very much within the spirit of existing attempts to promote and develop the airport. Figure 3 shows the current iterations of GMCR governance in the Combined Authority (GMCA).

³ This options appraisal presented other options for Enterprise Zone designation including Port Salford and Kingsway in Rochdale.

The LEP & GM Combined Authority

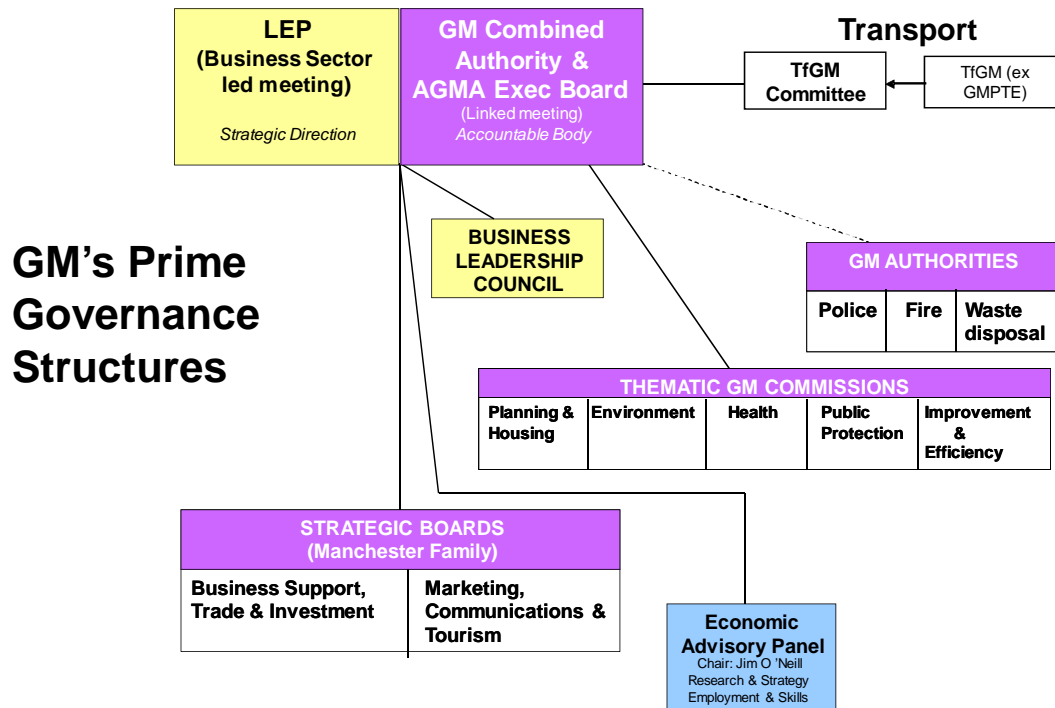


Fig. 3. Mechanisms for governance of Greater Manchester: Source AGMA

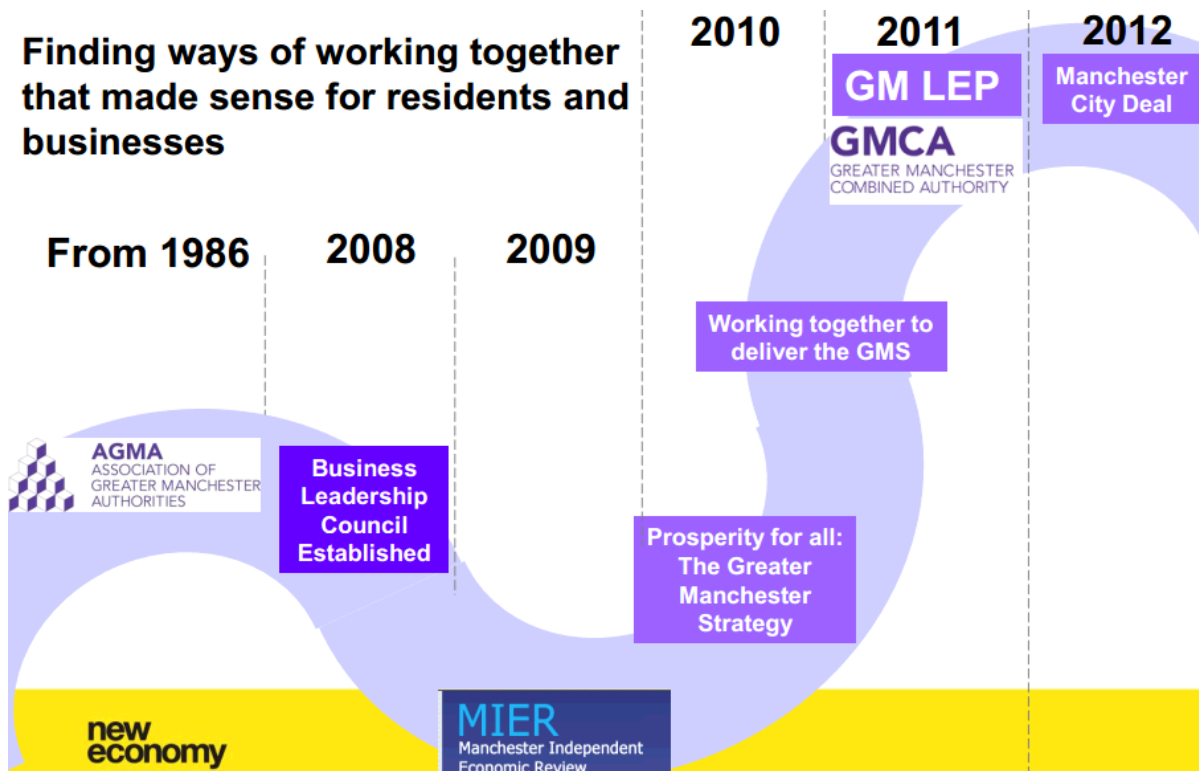


Fig. 4. The long and winding road to the GMCR. Source: New Economy

City regional institution-building

AGMA, the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities retained some capacity from the disestablishment of the Greater Manchester Council GMC in 1986 where the timeline begins. As part of the development of the new arrangements the MIER in 2009 emerged from the management team at Manchester Enterprises (now the Commission for the New Economy), who had been conducting a review of the existing strategy and evidence base, and noted that whilst the previous and current work was thorough and provided policymakers with sound evidence for their decision-making process, there was a need for a greater understanding of the Manchester City Region economy to understand properly its inherent and structural strengths and weaknesses. The key hypothesis underlying the Manchester Independent Economic Review (MIER) was that Manchester is the UK city, outside of London, most likely to increase its long-term growth rate, to access international markets and enjoy strong connections to the rest of the world. However, it was argued, the city has for many years ‘punched below its weight’, given its size and scale. This was viewed as an opportunity for the city to continue to reinvent itself and cultivate new areas of economic growth. Whilst it is true that 2010s moves towards the formation of a statutory city region with elements of devolved authority to the 10-borough scale represent the most complete attempt to institutionalise and formalise governance structure since the municipal experiments of the 1970s, these contexts are still salient in the decisions regarding the political construction of the city region.

In exploring city-regional co-ordination it should not be forgotten that these issues are perennial. The Manchester Plan for 1935, for instance, provides an instructive illustration:

Regional Planning: The most effective planning scheme is one which is comprehensive in character and not limited by the artificial boundary of a local authority's area. Its success depends upon (1) securing an area capable of economic development (2) effective joint action with neighbouring authorities. (Manchester Corporation, 1935: xii)

‘Comprehensiveness’, securing an area for ‘economic development’ and the issue of ‘concerted action with neighbours’ are all issues with which policy actors in Manchester still grapple today.

Airport expansion was not directly addressed within the MIER itself, but has been addressed within numerous regional strategies and plans, as well as the local planning frameworks for the city itself. The Planning Policy MA1 states that

growth of Manchester Airport to 2030 will be supported and sets out the policy context for development at the Airport. It identifies areas for expansion and shows the amendments to the Green Belt required to deliver that expansion. It specifically identifies the application site as being suitable for “Operational facilities, cargo facilities and car parking and landscape mitigation.” It states further that all development proposed as part of the Airport expansion should seek to ensure that any environmental effects of development are assessed at the planning application stage to ensure any impact is acceptable.

The following table explains the salient plans at national, regional and local scales.

Tab. 1. Planning policy context for Enterprise Zone development, 2012

National planning policy	Regional planning policies NW RSS 2008–2021	Manchester Planning Policy Core Strategy
National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF)	DP1, Spatial Principles	Policy SP1, Spatial Principles
Draft Aviation Policy Framework, Department of Transport	RT 5, Airports	Policy DM1, Development Management
Green Belt Policy	RDF4, Green Belt	Policy DM 2, Aerodrome Safeguarding
Enterprise Zone Policy (Dept for Business Innovation & Skills)		Policy EC1, Employment and Economic Growth in Manchester
		Policy EC10, Wythenshawe
		Policy MA1, Manchester Airport Strategic Site
		Policy EN13, Green Belt
		Environmental Impact Assessment
		Policy EN1, Design Principles and Strategic Character Areas
		Policy EN8, Adaption to Climate Change
		Policy EN9, Green Infrastructure
		Policy EN10, Safeguarding Open Spaces, Sport and Recreation Facilities
		Wythenshawe Strategic Regeneration Framework (2004)
		Manchester Tree Strategy
		Manchester Airport City Masterplan

This planning policy context is explored further within section 4 of this report.

Airport ownership

All UK Airports were privatised in a Parliamentary Act of 1986. The following table explains current ownership of UK regional airports.

Tab. 2. Ownership status of UK's 15 regional airports (2012)

<i>Birmingham</i>	40 per cent was sold to Aer Rianta in 1997 and, following various other sales and takeovers, the airport is now owned by seven West Midlands district councils (49%), the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan and Australia's Victorian Funds Management Corporation (48.25%), and the Employee Share Trust (2.75%).
<i>Blackpool</i>	95 per cent was sold to MAR Properties Ltd in July 2004; this share was sold on in May 2008 to Balfour Beatty; Blackpool Borough Council retains a 5 per cent share.
<i>Bournemouth</i>	Sold in 1995 to National Express and subsequently in 2001 to Manchester Airports Group.
<i>Bristol</i>	51 per cent stake sold in December 1997 to First Group; but the airport was bought outright in January 2002 and is now 100 per cent owned by South West Airports Limited (SWAL), a joint venture holding company owned by Bristol Airport (Bermuda) Limited (BABL) and Macquarie European Infrastructure Fund (MEIF). BABL is owned by Macquarie Airports (71%) and the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan (29%). Both BABL and MEIF are managed by Macquarie Capital Funds (Europe) Limited (MCFEL), a subsidiary of Macquarie Group Limited.
<i>Cardiff</i>	Sold in April 1995 to TBI plc, which was in turn purchased by Abertis Group in 2005.
<i>East Midlands</i>	Sold in July 1993 to National Express and again in February 2001 to Manchester Airports Group.
<i>Exeter</i>	Sold in January 2007 to Regional and City Airports (Exeter) Ltd, which is owned by Balfour Beatty (60%) and the Galaxy Investment Fund (40%).
<i>Humberside</i>	An 82.7 per cent share was sold in June 1999 to Manchester Airports Group.
<i>Leeds Bradford</i>	Sold to private equity firm Bridgepoint Capital in May 2007.
<i>Liverpool</i>	76 per cent was sold to British Aerospace in 1990, which was in turn sold on to Peel Holdings in July 1997. Peel acquired the remaining 24 per cent share of the airport in May 2001.
<i>Luton</i>	Operated under a public private partnership (PPP) deal signed in August 1998. London Luton Airport remains publicly owned by Luton Borough Council but is operated managed and developed by a private consortium, London Luton Airport Operations Ltd, for a period of 30 years. TBI plc became the private partner in March 2001 until it was purchased by abertis, the Spanish infrastructure group, in 2005.
<i>Manchester</i>	Owned by Manchester Airports Group.
<i>Newcastle</i>	49 per cent sold in May 2001 to Copenhagen Airports under a public-private partnership (PPP)
<i>Norwich</i>	80.1 per cent was sold to Omniport (owned largely by Penta Capital and Caledonia Investments) in 2004; Norwich City and Norfolk County councils own the remainder of the airport.
<i>Durham Tees Valley</i>	75 per cent was sold to Peel Holdings in April 2003; the remaining 25 per cent is owned by Darlington and Stockton Borough Councils.

Manchester Airport Physical Development Trajectory

It is hard to overstate the closeness of the policy elite over the trajectory of the whole span of the twentieth century. 'The Corporation of Manchester' were instrumental in the decision to move the airfield from a previous site at Barton, near Eccles, and in the establishment of air routes for commercial purposes.

By October 1926 pressure was beginning to be applied by a small group of individuals who argued that Manchester would suffer commercially if it had no link with the world's air routes. (Manchester Airport, 1978: 37)

This small group included the leader of the corporation, Councillor George Westcott, and was instrumental in the establishment of the Airport Special Committee of the Corporation and the granting of special licence for Wythenshawe Airport in 1929. From 1934 Ringway Airport had a relationship with KLM flying daily to Schipol.

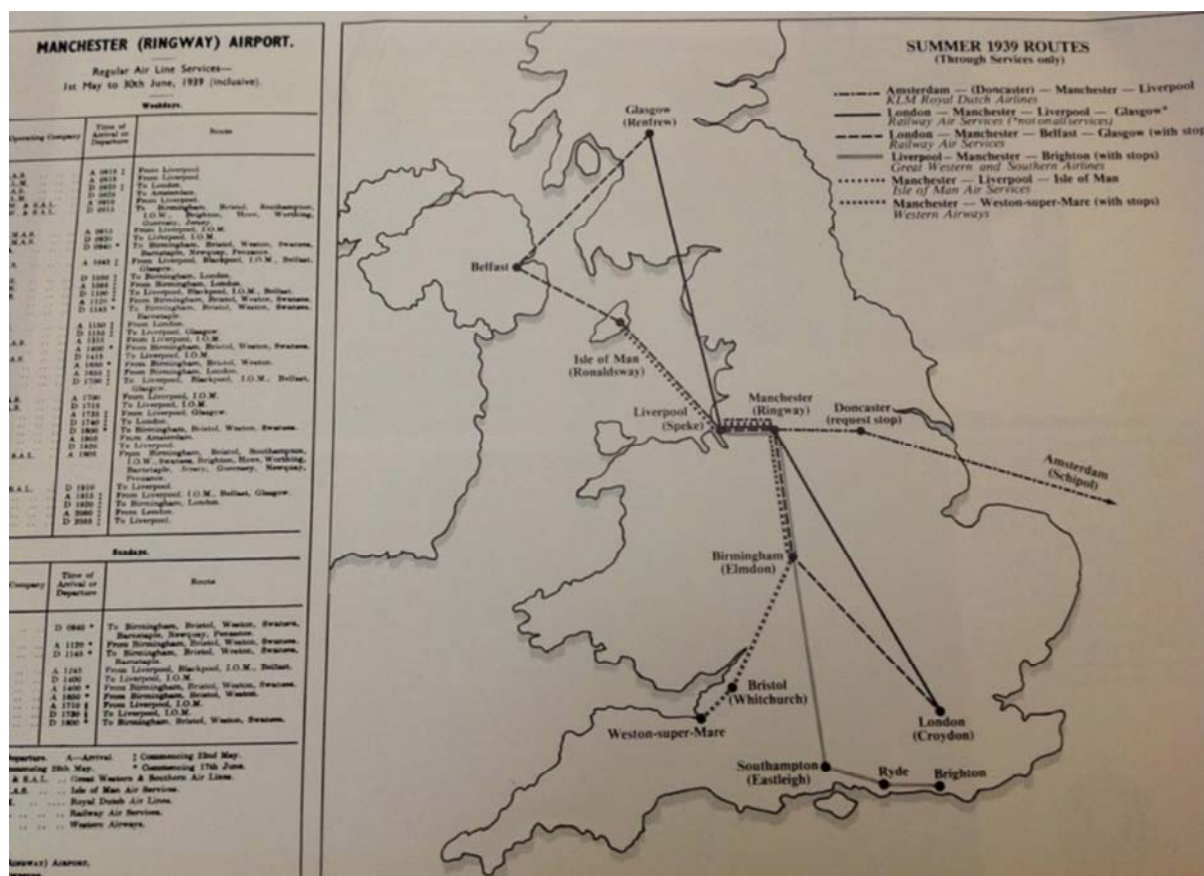


Fig. 5. 1939 routes from Manchester (Ringway) Airport. Source: MAG 1978

Caruna and Simmons go so far as to propose that the (familiar) features of municipal boosterism are rooted in the relationship between the Manchester Corporation and its airport. Their analysis covers the period 1929–1978 and shares many similar features with the role of city-regional actors in the further expansion of the airport in the present moment.

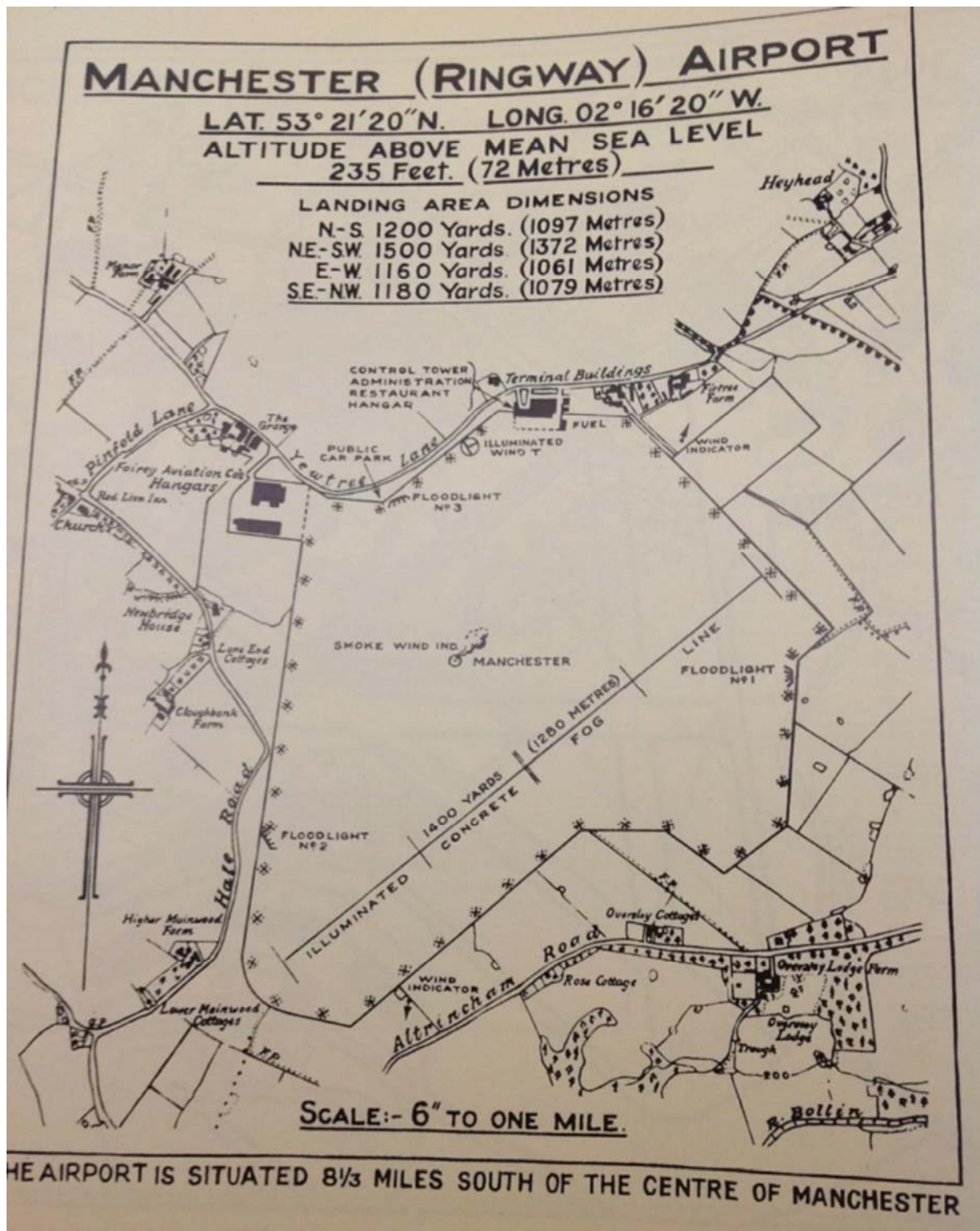


Fig. 6. Ringway Airport 1945 Source: MAG, 1978

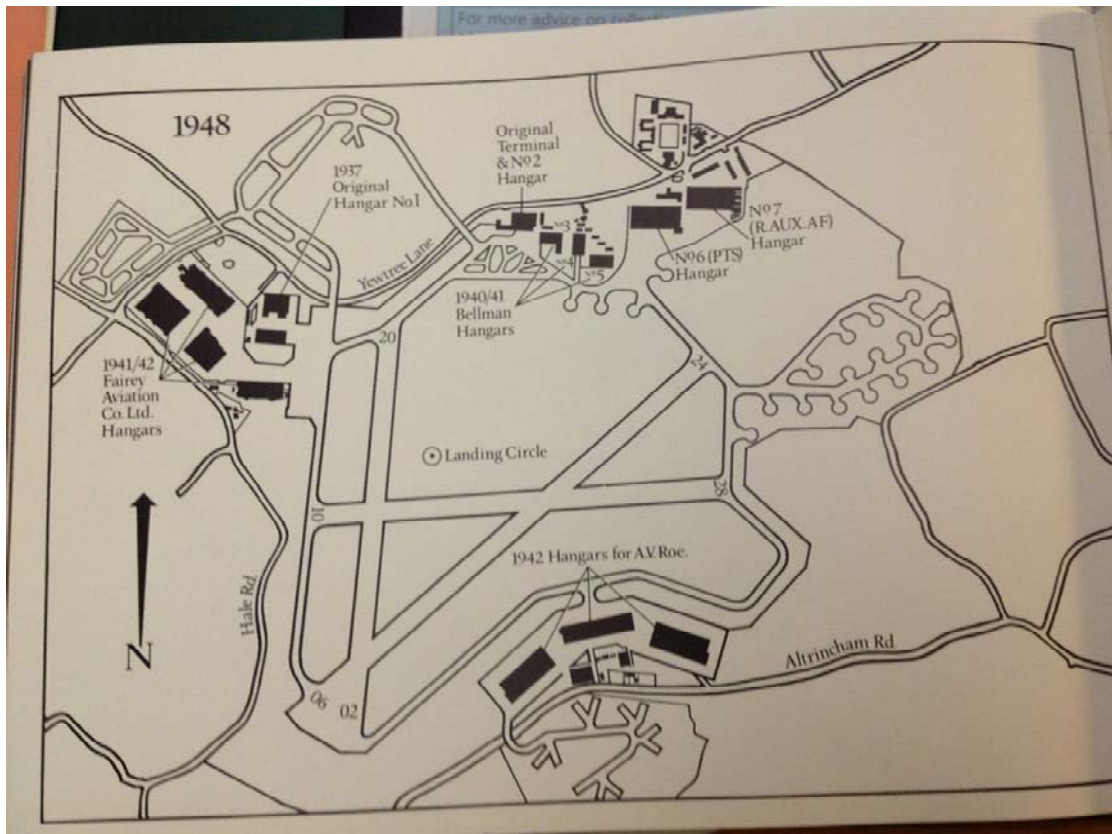


Fig. 7. Airport site in 1948. Source: MAG 1978

Tab. 3. Milestones in post-war period

1946	Peacetime passenger services begin.
1947	Passenger numbers triple to more than 34,000 a year.
1949	Extended terminal facilities open in the converted wartime building.
1951	The main runway is extended from 1,280 metres to 1,798 metres.
1952	The airport commences 24-hour operations, and now handles 63,000 passengers every year.
1953	Sabena (Belgian Airlines) introduces the first scheduled service to New York.
1954	The airport records its millionth passenger since the Second World War.
1955	The first inclusive tour flight begins to Ostend.
1962	HRH the Duke of Edinburgh opens the new £2.7 million terminal.
1969	The runway is extended to 2,745 metres, allowing aircraft to fly non-stop to Canada.
1974	A new inter-continental pier, capable of handling Boeing 747s, opens for business.
1978	15 scheduled airlines operate flights to 37 destinations in the UK, Europe and North America. Over one hundred companies operate at the airport, employing more than 5,000 people.
1980	For the first time, passenger numbers top more than half a million in a single month.
1981	The runway is extended by 244 metres to 3,048 metres, in order to attract long-haul operators.
1986	The World Freight Terminal opens.

1987	Passenger numbers grow still further – a figure of one million passengers a month is reached.
1988	Manchester Airport celebrates its Golden Jubilee.
1989	HRH the Princess of Wales opens the new Domestic Terminal.
1990	The airport launches its 'Towards a Better Environment' programme, aimed at minimising the airport's impact on the local community.
1991	Manchester publishes its new 'Development Strategy for the year 2005', including plans for a 21st Century airport, designed to handle 30 million passengers a year by 2005, complete with proposals for a second runway.
1992	The Aviation Viewing Park is opened. Ringway Handling Services is formed.
1993	Terminal 2 is opened by HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, doubling Manchester Airport's terminal capacity to around 20 million passengers a year. A new railway station is opened in May, providing direct links to many towns and cities in the North of England.
1995	Annual passenger numbers reach 15 million.
1996	The airport launches its environmental plan, encouraging everyone who works at the airport to be more to be environmentally aware.
1997	Approval is granted for the building of the second runway and work begins.
1999	Manchester Airport acquires a majority shareholding in Humberside International Airport.
2000	Work starts on the £60 million Integrated Public Transport Interchange. The Government also gives the go-ahead for a £289 million Metrolink extension to the Airport.
2001	Manchester Airport completes the purchase of East Midlands and Bournemouth Airport to become the second largest airport operator in the UK. The second runway opens in February.
2002	As a major host-city sponsor, Manchester Airport welcomes athletes from around the world to the Commonwealth Games.
2003	£5.5 million retail upgrade of Terminal 1 is completed and extensive development of Terminal 2.
2004	The airport's newly-built public transport interchange, offering connections to many major UK cities, is officially opened by the Rt Hon Margaret Beckett, MP. The airport marks its 20 millionth passenger in the space of a year.
2005	Manchester Airport handles 22 million passengers in a year, for the first time.
2007	Building work begins on a major refurbishment of Terminal One.
2008	Manchester Airport marks its 70th anniversary on June 25th 2008.
2009	In February 2009, building work begins on the site of a brand new £19m leading educational academy in Wythenshawe. The Manchester Enterprise Academy aims to be at the forefront of a new way of learning with the airport as its lead sponsor.
2010	Etihad also announces an increase in capacity and the construction of a new lounge for Manchester, only its third outside of Abu Dhabi.

This trajectory shows a focus initially on transatlantic flights and later to other global destinations and emerging markets – backed up by an inexorable increase in air passenger numbers – reported here in raw numbers.

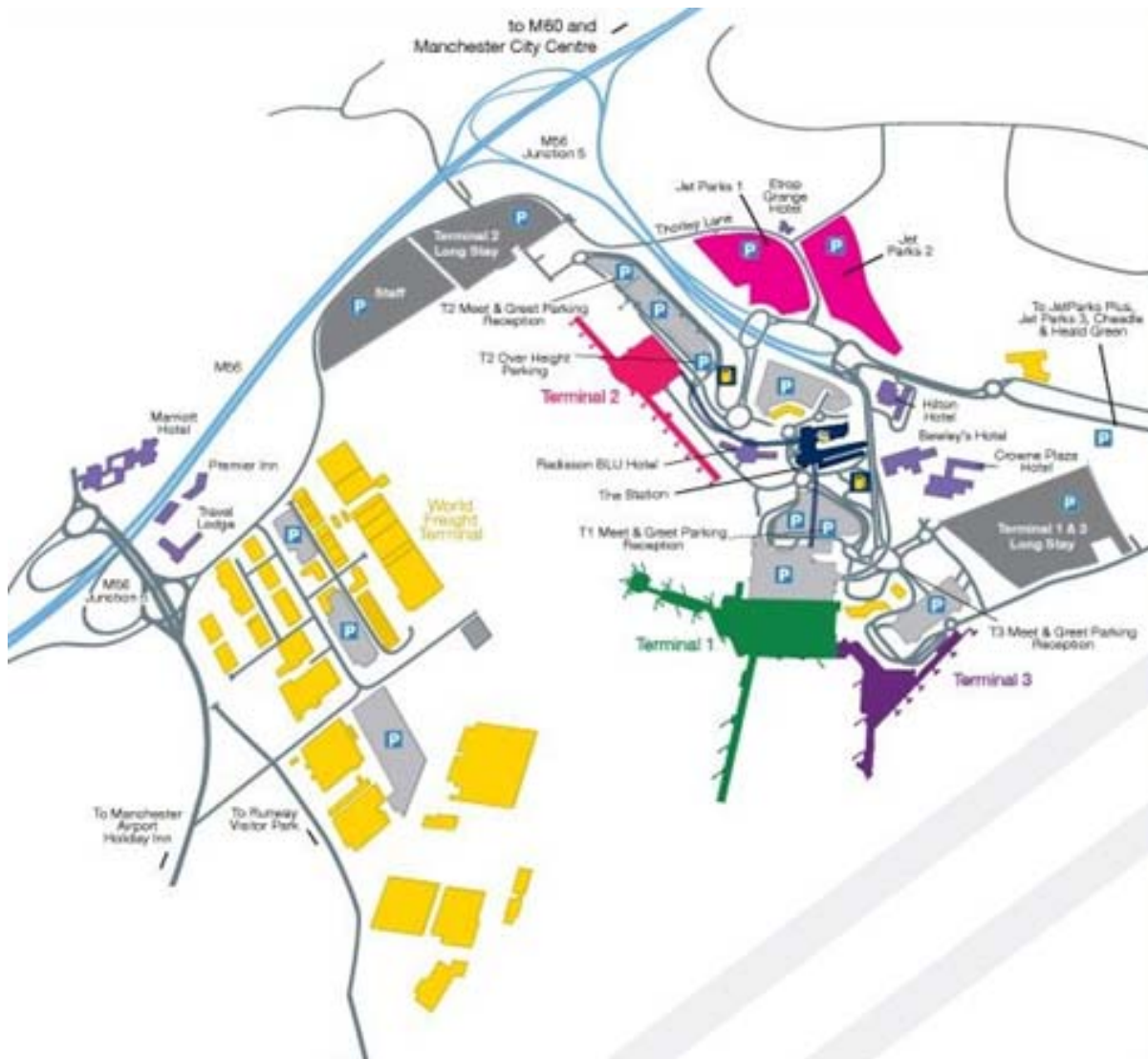


Fig. 8. Manchester Airport today. Source: MAG

These figures concerning the site of the Airport must be seen in the context of local planning (at the borough scale) and city-region, where there is no overt spatial planning function but instead an 'investment strategy' which is being worked on by the Planning and Housing Commission of the GMCA.

The Airport Masterplan

Airport Master Plans do not have a statutory status, but the previous Government expect them to be taken into account in the preparation of regional and local policies and in the making of planning decisions. Manchester's first Development Strategy was published in 1980 and a Draft Development Strategy to 2015 was prepared in 2003. The draft Master Plan to 2030 was published for public consultation in July 2006. This was designed to nest within the hierarchy of spatial plans which existed at the time (see Fig. 9).

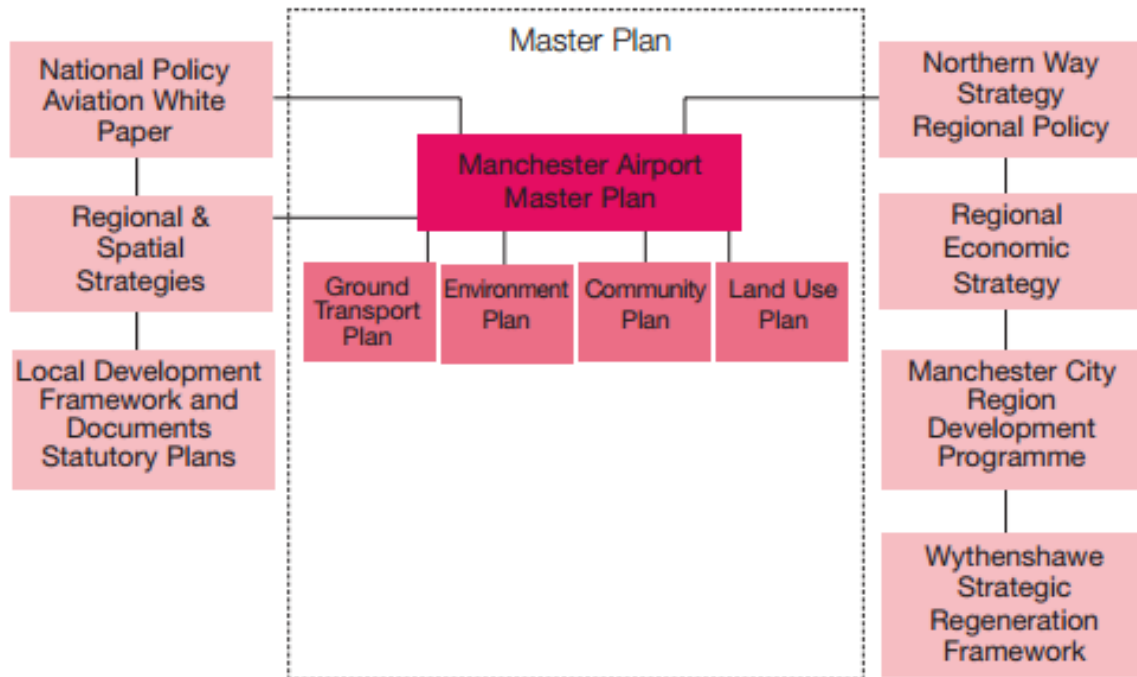


Fig. 9. Planning policy context for Airport Source: Masterplan, 2004.

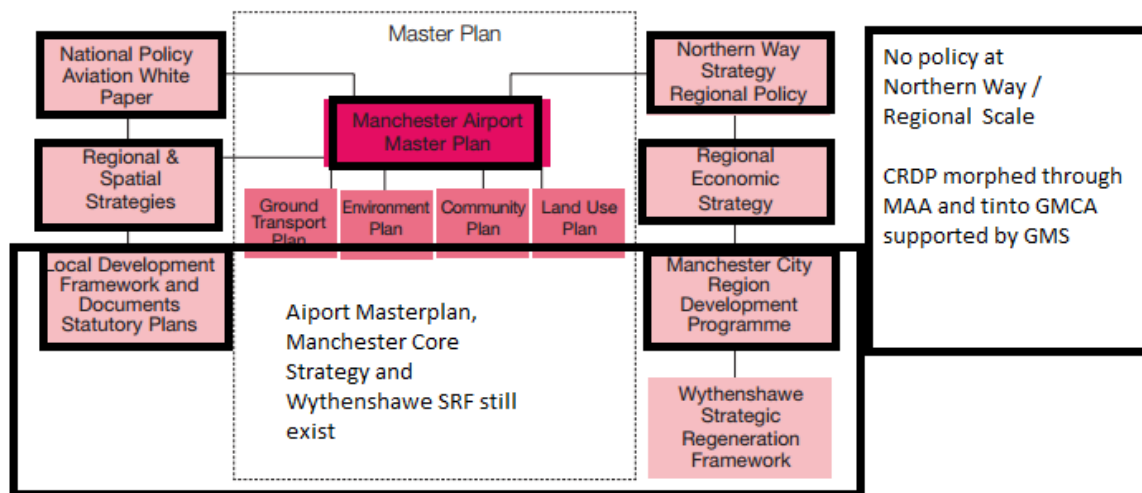


Fig. 10. Current planning policy context for airport development. Source: Modified from Masterplan

UK regional airport policy

Where airports should be sited and where or whether they should expand is described as ‘a toxic political issue’ in the UK context.⁴ In the face of this the Government has called for a Commission of Enquiry into the future of UK aviation to report in 2015. In the words of the Commission Chair:

⁴ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2012/nov/02/airports-commission-options-next-year>

The experience of recent years shows we need a robust evidence base which has the support of a broad consensus of opinion. (Howard Davies, interviewed 2012)

It is hard to over-emphasise to international partners how politicised and polarised questions around airport capacity and development are. Even down to the definition – the term ‘regional airport’ is not a statutory or legislative one, although it is very widely used in writings about UK airports. Although developments in the aviation sector have somewhat weakened the usefulness of the term as formerly understood, its definition does provide a way of thinking about how to classify airports.⁵ It was defined in the 1978 White Paper *Airports Policy*, where four categories of airport were determined:

Category A Gateway international airports which provide a wide range of international (including inter-continental) and domestic services;

Category B Regional airports which provide a network of short-haul scheduled international services, a significant range of charter services and domestic services including links with gateway airports;

Category C Local airports which provide facilities for some domestic feeder services, charter flights and general aviation

Category D General aviation aerodromes concerned with the provision of general aviation facilities.

By identifying the role of individual airports within these broad classifications, the White Paper provided the framework for a national airports strategy. In the South East, Heathrow, Gatwick, Stansted and Luton Airports were regarded as forming “a single category A gateway international airports system”. Outside the South East of England, *Manchester was designated a category A international gateway airport*. Birmingham, Cardiff, East Midlands, Newcastle and Leeds/ Bradford (subject to an extension of its runway) were classified as category B regional airports. The main local airports were identified as Bristol, Exeter, Liverpool, Southampton and Tees-side. (Hoc Standard Note, 2012)⁶

An evidence base for decision making in aviation has been subjected to journalistic and parliamentary inquiries into the use of lobbyists in this highly charged environment – a recent report of the All Party Parliamentary Group into Aviation Policy and Air Passenger Duty⁷ prepared by lobbyists for Heathrow. This report is clear in outlining lack of coherent airport policy as ‘the single biggest constraint inhibiting growth for the sector’. They go on to state:

UK businesses and foreign investors cannot be expected to accept, nor can the UK afford, the stopstart aviation policy making of the last decades. *The history of aviation infrastruc-*

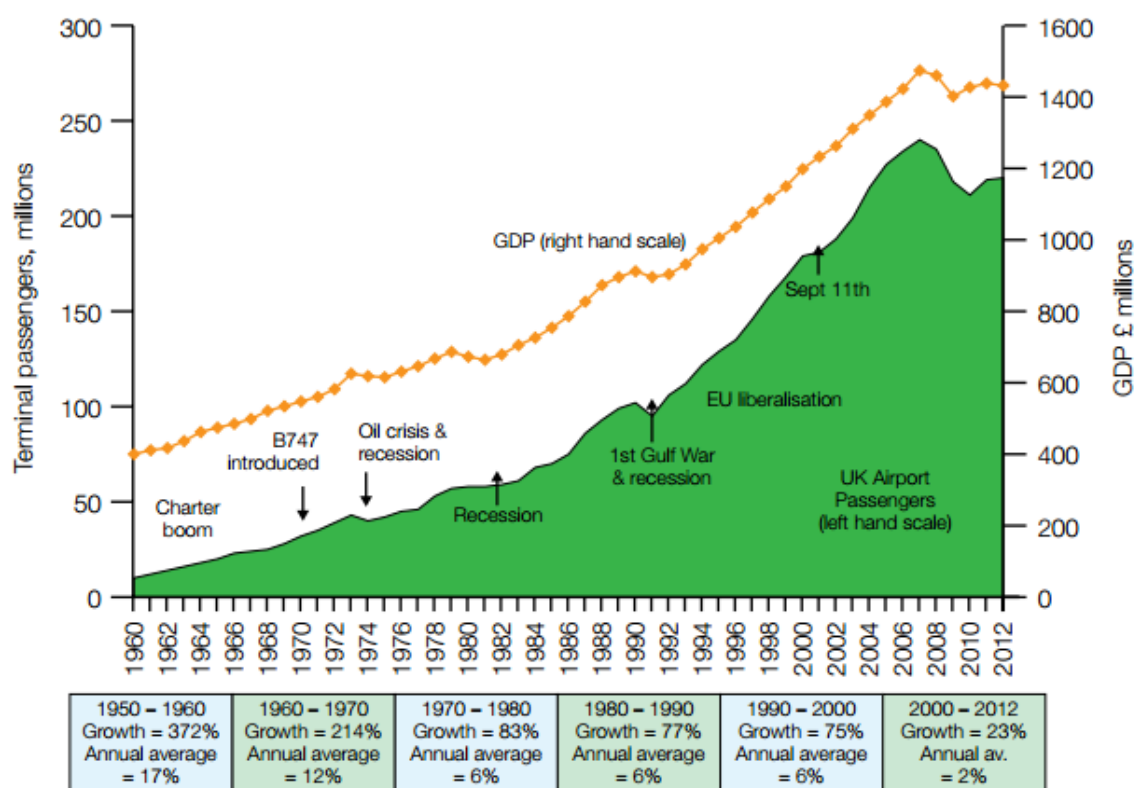
⁵ Section 5 of the June 1985 White Paper *Airports Policy* is devoted to a discussion of regional airports. The term is perhaps more loosely used than above, and seems to indicate merely those airports which are not in or near London. Many of these are or were owned by local authorities, and some people automatically think of the local authority airports when they hear the term employed, although this is potentially misleading now that almost all the former local authority-owned airports have been privatised. The old categories, moreover, do not allow easily for airports like London City (which opened in 1987) and contain features common to both categories A and B. It is also questionable whether the terms ‘gateway’ airport and ‘link’ and ‘feeder’ services do justice to the increasingly prevalent structure of ‘hub’ and ‘spoke’ airports, where services from several spoke airports are timed to connect with ongoing, longer-haul flights from the hub airport which is in effect a distribution centre. This structure creates more rigid and interdependent links between different categories of airports (both national and international), and the choice of a hub site may depend upon other criteria than regional demand.

⁶ <http://www.parliament.uk/topics/Aviation.htm>

⁷ http://www.bar-uk.org/docs/topics_docs/APPG_Aviation_Report_Aug_2012.pdf

ture development is steeped in delay and procrastination, a situation which has helped neither advocates nor objectors, merely UK competitors. Aviation policy remains a controversial political issue but this Group considers the issue too important not to be addressed in a comprehensive, connected and consistent fashion.

The Commission is seeking views over the period of the Context project – and will report in 2015.



Source: CAA/ONS data.

Fig. 11. Terminal passengers at UK airports and GDP, 1950–2012. Source: CAA

Fig. 11 is taken from the scoping paper for the Airport Commission⁸ and demonstrates an inexorable rise in airport capacity. Along the lines of the explosion in passengers described for the Manchester case since WW2. Department for Transport forecasts in 2013 have suggested a further slowing of this increase due to the economic context. Further, academics have disputed where (in the UK) these passenger rises have occurred and why. The transport select committee in the UK parliament have recently conducted a review into airport capacity, at which Manchester airport was invited to give oral evidence. Against this context the Commission for the New Economy have reported further sharp rises in passenger numbers from Manchester Airport.⁹

There appears to be some public appetite for expansion of regional airport capacity. Public surveys regarding how to solve the issue of airport capacity have the public resoundingly in favour of deconcentrating the over-capacity of the Greater South East and focussing on regional airports

⁸ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/73143/aviation-demand-forecasting.pdf

⁹ http://neweconomymanchester.com/stories/1752-manchester_monitor

instead. In a YouGov poll of public opinion in early 2013 in response to the question “which do you think would be the best way of increasing the UK’s airport capacity?”.¹⁰

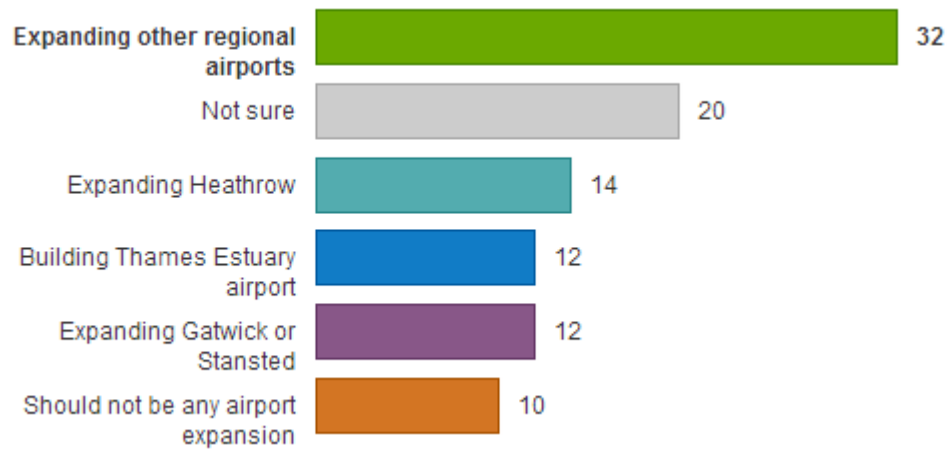


Fig. 12 Public Survey on Airport Capacity. Source: YouGov

Further when asked about the role of high-speed rail in this mix the following was recorded:

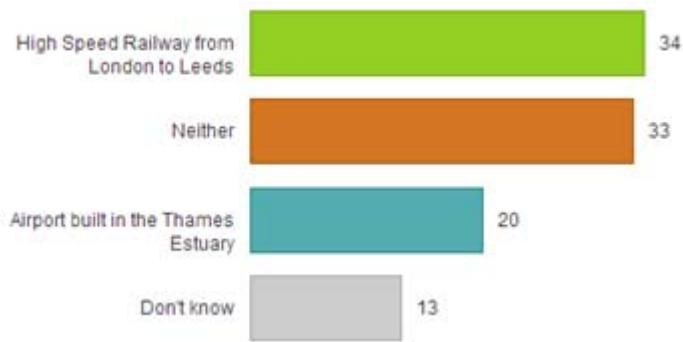


Fig. 13. Public Survey on High-Speed Rail and Airport Capacity. Source: YouGov

This survey is most interesting as it must be seen in the light of a serious imbalance in public subsidy for infrastructure from south to north in the UK.¹¹

¹⁰ <http://yougov.co.uk/news/2013/07/15/only-12-think-estuary-airport-best/>
¹¹ http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/transport/Scrutiny%20Unit%20Note%20-%20regional%20transport%20spending%20_2_.pdf

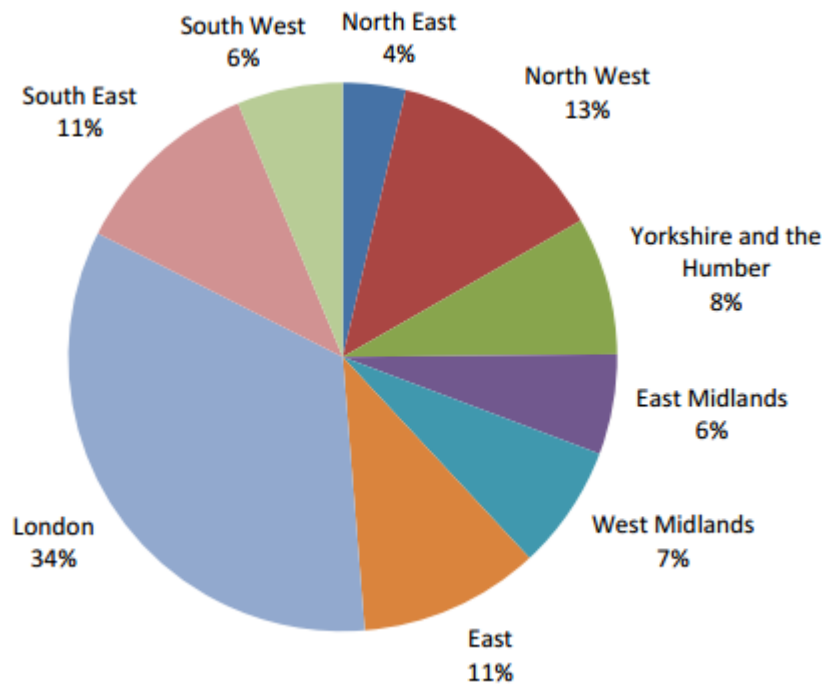


Fig. 14. Total public expenditure on transport in England, 2011–1012. Source: House of Commons Transport Select Committee



Fig. 15. Public expenditure per head on transport in England, 2011–2012. Source: House of Commons Transport Select Committee

In the UK context the role of European legislation on economic competition is given a lot of credence. It is this aspect of European regulations which is most assiduously ‘contextualised’ as the Civil Aviation Authority has developed initial proposals for the economic regulation of Heathrow, Gatwick and Stansted airports for the five year period beginning in April 2014. The proposals are:

At **Heathrow**, the CAA found clear evidence of substantial market power, and is proposing a traditional price control mechanism. After a decade when prices have risen, largely to en-

able major capital investments, including new terminals to enhance passenger experience, the CAA is now looking to encourage further investment whilst improving value for passengers in other ways, with charges capped at RPI minus 1.3% for the five years from April 2014.

At **Gatwick**, substantial market power persists, as neither low cost carriers nor full service carriers can easily switch to other airports and still serve the London market. However, because Gatwick's market power is weaker than Heathrow's, the CAA would like to implement a flexible regulatory approach that is based upon price and service quality commitments agreed between Gatwick and their airline customers, underpinned by a licence from the CAA. This approach would require effective airport-airline collaboration, and so far the airport has not yet made acceptable proposals along these lines. The CAA has set out the price cap that would apply if this remains the case, with prices capped at RPI plus 1% for the five years from April 2014.

As the CAA set out in December, **Stansted** shows the weakest evidence of market power today, but the CAA believes that as of today it may have substantial market power, and this is likely to grow stronger between 2014 and 2019 as capacity around London becomes even more constrained. Regulation at Stansted will take the form of the CAA monitoring price and service quality – this will ensure that users are protected while minimising the regulatory burden on airport and airlines. However, the CAA may impose more detailed regulation unless prices at Stansted reduce over time.

In March 2009 a European Directive on airport charges was agreed (2009/12/EC). The Directive sets common principles for the levying of airport charges EU airports. It applies to any airport located in the EU and open to commercial traffic whose annual traffic is over five million passenger movements and to the airport with the highest passenger movement in each Member State. The Directive was brought into force in the UK on 10 November 2011; it applies to: Heathrow; Gatwick; Stansted; Manchester; Luton; Birmingham; Edinburgh; Glasgow; and Bristol.

Planning policy

In the absence of a national plan – the English context for airport development is dispersed across the policy frames of the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), the Draft Aviation Policy Framework, as well as Policy on Green Belt and Enterprise Zone Policy. These three policy areas are across the departments of Communities and Local Government, The Treasury and the Department for Business Innovation and Enterprise (BIS).

Famously light in terms of detail the NPPF has only 2 things to say in relation to airports:

Local authorities should work with neighbouring authorities and transport providers to develop strategies for the provision of viable infrastructure necessary to support sustainable development, including large scale facilities such as rail freight interchanges, roadside facilities

ties for motorists or transport investment necessary to support strategies for the growth of ports, airports or other major generators of travel demand in their areas.¹²

When planning for ports, airports and airfields that are not subject to a separate national policy statement, plans should take account of their growth and role in serving business, leisure, training and emergency service needs. Plans should take account of this Framework as well as the principles set out in the relevant national policy statements and the Government Framework for UK Aviation¹³

Since the 2010 election the Coalition Government has published two key documents on aviation and airport development: the report of the South East Airports' Task Force and a Draft Aviation Framework. A consultation on the long-term future expansion of air capacity in the South East has been delayed until autumn 2012. The Government has also published a *Civil Aviation Bill*, currently in the House of Lords. Amongst other things, the Bill reforms to the legislative framework for the economic regulation of airports to reorient the regulatory framework towards passenger interests.

In March 2011 the Department for Transport published the scoping document for its proposed sustainable aviation framework: this was essentially a consultation on what a framework should include, bearing in mind the environmental consequences of aviation and balancing them against its economic benefits.²⁴ The government finally published its consultation on its proposed draft aviation framework in July 2012. This gave the government's general approach towards regional airport expansion as follows:

The Government wants to see the ***best use of existing airport capacity and, as a general principle, we support the growth of airports in Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales and regional airports in England.*** However, we recognise that the development of airports can have negative, as well as positive, local impacts including on noise levels.

The previous government had an Aviation White Paper in 2003 which set out the key issues for the North of England as follows:

The North of England is served by several well established airports, each of which plays an important role within the region in addition to serving its own local catchment area. Each has its own natural advantages and strengths, and some have established particular sectoral or geographical roles within the North of England air travel market. Each also has environmental impacts, which need to be monitored and managed carefully. *A particular issue raised by the consultation document was whether Manchester Airport could develop as a secondary UK hub serving the North of England* and other parts of the UK outside the South East of England. It also examined a number of related issues such as the need to improve surface access to airports and the potential for route development.

The main conclusions in the White Paper of 2003 were: anticipated significant growth at the North of England's airports supported the development of the additional terminal capacity, runway extensions and improved taxiway systems.

¹² https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6077/2116950.pdf

¹³ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6077/2116950.pdf

In the context of the issues for 'The North' the following was proposed:

- **Manchester** Airport's capacity should in principle continue to grow to accommodate additional demand up to around 50mppa by 2030, subject to stringent limits on the area affected by aircraft noise;
- **Liverpool** John Lennon Airport to require further terminal capacity to accommodate increased demand; a future runway extension would be acceptable provided there was no encroachment on the River Mersey Site of Special Scientific Interest, Ramsar site and Special Protection Area;
- **Carlisle** was encouraged to bring forward proposals for development;
- support for plans at **Newcastle** to expand terminal facilities and extend the runway, providing there was careful assessment of potential environmental impacts;
- support for extensions to both terminal facilities and runway length, and enhancements to the existing taxiway system at **Durham Tees Valley** Airport, to be provided within existing airport land; and
- support for additional terminal capacity and a possible runway extension at **Leeds Bradford** International Airport.¹⁴

Once again Manchester Airport is presented as a key site for airport development.

Frameworks for exploring airport development

Graham et al. (2000: 253) argue that the 'inadequacy of strategic aviation planning in the UK is further compounded by growing evidence that the impact of global deregulation in the air transport industry has altered the balance of commercial initiative in favour of the supply-side of the equation.' They explain this by unpacking seven key salient supply-side factors:

- 1 **Creation of multiple hub and spoke systems:** redefined concept of hinterland as hubs serve catchments far greater in extent than the metropolitan regions within which they are located
- 2 **Frequency of service:** *the* principal competitive tool in the deregulated marketplace
- 3 **Passenger behaviour manipulation:** complex fare structure / loyalty schemes. High-yield-hub-bypass inter-regional traffic
- 4 **Airline global strategic alliances:** consolidation around major companies
- 5 **Market entry by low-cost/no frills carriers**
- 6 **Market instability**
- 7 **Vertical and horizontal consolidation of charter business**

If this list reflects some of the issues concerning airport development then the response of metropolitan actors could be couched in terms of a strategic response to the 7 challenges outlined in. Beyond the supply-side considerations there are numerous frameworks which propose more comprehensive approaches to the management of airports.

¹⁴ www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/sn00323.pdf

Conversely there are those who advocate 'strong' forms of plan-led development in the framing of airport development. This is an approach pursued by Freestone (Freestone et al., 2009: 165) who offers the following as principles of a sustainable aerotropolis:

- 1 Realistic economic forecasts as the basis for development and expansion
- 2 Caution about impacts of new development on the existing environment
- 3 Incorporation of aviation into urban and community visions
- 4 Shared sense of responsibility and purpose among key stakeholders
- 5 District wide comprehensive plan that provides for organized land use, environmental protection and multi-modal mobility
- 6 Economic development and marketing strategy that defines an airport region and provides tools to attract and retain investment
- 7 A governance framework that facilitates coordination of all relevant public agencies
- 8 An open dialogue and partnerships between airport and wider community
- 9 Consistency of relevant plan objectives and territorialities at the airport, local area, region, metropolis, state and national scales

The list offers a useful framework for the analysis of a place – exploring whether their local arrangements can be described as meeting the standards of a 'sustainable metropolis'. We will return to this framework to explore the case of the Airport City Enterprise Zone at Manchester Airport. Further Karsada et al. (2001) have also argued that airports have shifted from 'public good' transport interchange nodes to profit oriented commercial ventures where aviation revenue is now only a part of the airport 'business'. As a result of such changes a range of issues and impacts now pose considerable challenges for both the airport and the surrounding urban and regional environment. It is this form of development which has led to the designation of the airport as the Enterprise Zone for Greater Manchester.

Enterprise Zone Policy

Designation of the AirportCity Development at Manchester Airport as the Greater Manchester Enterprise Zone links the development of the site with the development of the city-regional governance formations in a very clear and direct way. There is significant controversy as regards sub-national economic development policy in the UK. Enterprise Zones are viewed as core to the driving of growth within localities, and their prospectus presents their benefits.

- **Financial benefits**

By locating your business in an Enterprise Zone, you can claim up to 100% Business Rates relief (worth up to £275,000) over a 5-year period. In some Enterprise Zones there are also sites available where you can claim Enhanced Capital Allowances for investment in plant and machinery. Many Enterprise Zones provide even more benefits, such as lease payment holidays, low-rent incubator units and development funding. Contact the zone you are interested in for more details of the specific incentives on offer.

- **An on-site customer base**

Many of the Enterprise Zones are encouraging businesses in the same sector to cluster together, for mutual benefit. Some focus on automotive – others on renewable energy or medical supplies. To view the Enterprise Zones by sector click [here](#). Major businesses

are specifically choosing Enterprise Zones that can provide them with the goods and services they need. By choosing an Enterprise Zone based on what you offer, you can increase your sales and reduce distribution costs.

- **A straightforward planning process**

Enterprise Zones have a can-do attitude to planning through the use of simplified planning procedures – for example, Local Development Orders grant automatic planning permission for specified types of development. If you need a new development to accommodate the needs of your business, locating on an Enterprise Zone could save you time and money.

- **Business-ready infrastructure**

Enterprise Zones are developed with business in mind – this means you can look forward to features like superfast broadband and easy access to motorways, rail, airports or ports. Not only that, by choosing an Enterprise Zone that's right for your sector, you can make use of a locally based pool of labour with the skills your business needs. Some Enterprise Zones have also negotiated 'soft landing' packages with partners – to encourage new businesses into their area. These packages might include pre-agreed deals with developers, accountants, or estate agents to make it easier for your business to establish a base there. (BIS 2010; emphasis in original)

The enterprise zone for Greater Manchester being sited at the Airport is supposed to accrue the above benefits towards the Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) at the city-regional/metropolitan scale of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (the GMCA)

3 Planning policy context for enterprise zone development

The Core Strategy is the only statutory planning document relevant to the AirportCity site as there are no plans recognised at higher tiers of government and no steer from the Airport Commission until 2015.

Two major project planning consents have been agreed by the Planning and Highways Committee of Manchester City Council.

The first of the planning consents for the development of the World Logistics Hub as part of the development of Airport City was granted on Thursday 22 November. The second site, of the Medi-Park was consented in January 2013. These proposals have been developed over number of years and were included in their draft Masterplan that was published in 2006. This document identified proposed extensions to the Airport's Operational Area and identified areas of land that may require a review of the Green Belt boundary. The Masterplan's proposals were considered in preparation of the City Council's Core Strategy and this considered the options in respect of the extensions of the Operational Area and the review of the Green Belt. The proposals to extend the Operational Area and review the Green Belt boundary were tested at an Examination in Public in November 2011. The Government Inspector appointed to examine the soundness of the Core Strategy concluded that its policies for Manchester Airport are up to date and justified and that the exceptional circumstances for an alteration to the Green Belt boundary had been demonstrated. With the agreed Justification for the Development evidence was submitted to update the Manchester Airport Masterplan. It referred to detailed market evidence, the scale of demand and that the lack of land was holding back growth. It stated further that the Operational Area, even after its extension and airport growth was not big enough for the market demand and so there was still an unmet market opportunity. Furthermore, it stated that sites in the vicinity could be well placed to take advantage of this opportunity, with extra jobs and economic growth it would deliver.

Following the release of the Government's UK Aviation Forecast in August 2011, the Core Strategy was revised to reflect the findings of that forecast, namely that Manchester Airport passenger numbers are anticipated to grow to 35 million per annum by 2030 and 55 million per annum by 2040 (current passenger numbers stand at 19 million for 2011). As the majority of freight is carried by passenger planes it is anticipated that freight tonnage will also grow. Despite these Government findings, concerns have been raised that the current financial situation will mean that the forecasted passenger numbers are unlikely to be achieved. However, evidence submitted as part of the Core Strategy shows that previous drops in passenger numbers did not significantly change

the number of passenger plane movements, therefore freight tonnage transported will not necessarily be reduced by the same percentage.



Fig. 16. Local Core Strategy Plan featuring the airport as development site. Source: Manchester City Council, 2012: 36

Finally, the justification for the proposed development was established through the successful Enterprise Zone bid process and the Core Strategy process, with the latter being independently assessed by a Government Inspector who accepted the need for the Airport to expand in order to meet the updated national forecasts and fulfil its potential as an economic driver in the region.

Increased Airport Activity – The overall growth of the Airport to 30 million passengers, the extra flights, and the environmental impact, was considered as part of the permission for Runway 2. The preparation of the Core Strategy included consideration of airport expansion; which was found to be consistent with the Council's approach to sustainable development and climate change. Freight-only air traffic constitutes a small number of movements at Manchester Airport as the majority of freight is transported in the holds of passenger planes. The scheme does not include any increase in passenger aircraft handling capability. Additional freight will be absorbed into the Airport's existing operations. Therefore the proposal would not give rise to a disproportionate rise in emissions associated with plane movements. Given this it is not considered that the development of the site as a logistics hub will in itself generate an increase in aircraft movements.

Green Belt For the purposes of clarity, adoption of the Core Strategy confirmed the removal of the application site from the Green Belt. It should be noted that the Inspector stated in her report that the "[...] need for the Airport to expand in order to meet the updated national forecasts and fulfil its potential as an economic driver in the region provides **exceptional circumstances** for an alteration to Green Belt boundaries..."

Neighbourhood Forums The Localism Act, which received Royal Assent on 15 November 2011, introduced new rights and powers to allow local communities to shape new development by coming together to prepare neighbourhood plans. Neighbourhood planning can be taken forward by two types of body – town and parish councils or 'neighbourhood forums'. Neighbourhood forums are community groups that are designated to take forward neighbourhood planning in areas without parishes. Neighbourhood forums and parish councils can use new neighbourhood planning powers to establish general planning policies for the development and use of land in a neighbourhood. These are described legally as neighbourhood development plans. Neighbourhood development plans do not take effect unless there is a majority of support in a referendum of the neighbourhood. They also have to meet a number of conditions before they can be put to a community referendum and legally come into force. These conditions are to ensure plans are legally compliant and take account of wider policy considerations (e.g. national policy). The conditions are they must have regard to national planning policy; they must be in general conformity with strategic policies in the development plan for the local area (i.e. such as in a core strategy); and they must be compatible with EU obligations and human rights requirements.

The *National Planning Policy Framework* (NPPF) was published on the 27 March 2012 and replaces and revokes a number of Planning Policy Guidance (PPGs) and Planning Policy Statements (PPSs) previously produced by Central Government. The NPPF constitutes guidance for local planning authorities and decision-makers both in drawing up plans and as a material consideration in determining planning applications. It does not change the statutory status of the development plan, i.e. the Core Strategy, as the starting point for decision making and it states further that development that accords with an up-to-date local plan, such as the Core Strategy, should be approved unless other material considerations indicate otherwise.

The Manchester Core Strategy was adopted on 11 July 2012 after having been found to be sound after an Examination in Public. It represents the most up to date planning policy position as will be outlined later on in this report. The NPPF states that the planning system must contribute to the achievement of sustainable development and that there are three dimensions to this: economic, social and environmental. It has introduced a set of Core Principle that should underpin both plan making and decision taking, these 12 principles are that planning should:

- Be genuinely plan-led,
- Not simply about scrutiny, but instead be a creative exercise in finding ways to enhance and improve places,
- Proactively drive and support sustainable economic development to deliver the homes, businesses/industrial units, infrastructure and thriving local places that the country needs,
- Always seek to secure high quality design and a good standard of amenity,
- Take account of the different roles and character of different areas,
- Support the transition to a low carbon future,
- Contribute to conserving and enhancing the natural environment
- Encourage the effective use of land,
- Promote mixed use developments,
- Conserve heritage assets in a manner appropriate to their significance,
- Actively manage patterns of growth to make the fullest possible use of public transport, walking and cycling, and focus significant development in locations which are or can be made sustainable,
- Take account of and support local strategies to improve health, social and cultural well being for all.

The *Regional Spatial Strategy* (RSS) for North West England provided a framework for development and investment in the region over the next fifteen to twenty years. It establishes a broad vision for the region and its sub-regions, priorities for growth and regeneration, and policies to achieve sustainable development across a wide range of topics – from jobs, housing and transport to climate change. In July 2010 the Secretary of State announced the revocation of RSS, although this decision was subject to a successful High Court Challenge, where it was subsequently reinstated. It is still the Government's intention to abolish RSS but until such time it still forms part of the Development Plan.

The following policies are considered to be of relevance in this instance:

Policy DP1, Spatial Principles – The following principles underpin the RSS:

- promote sustainable communities;
- promote sustainable economic development;
- make the best use of existing resources and infrastructure;
- manage travel demand, reduce the need to travel, and increase accessibility;
- marry opportunity and need;
- promote environmental quality;
- mainstreaming rural issues;
- reduce emissions and adapt to climate change.

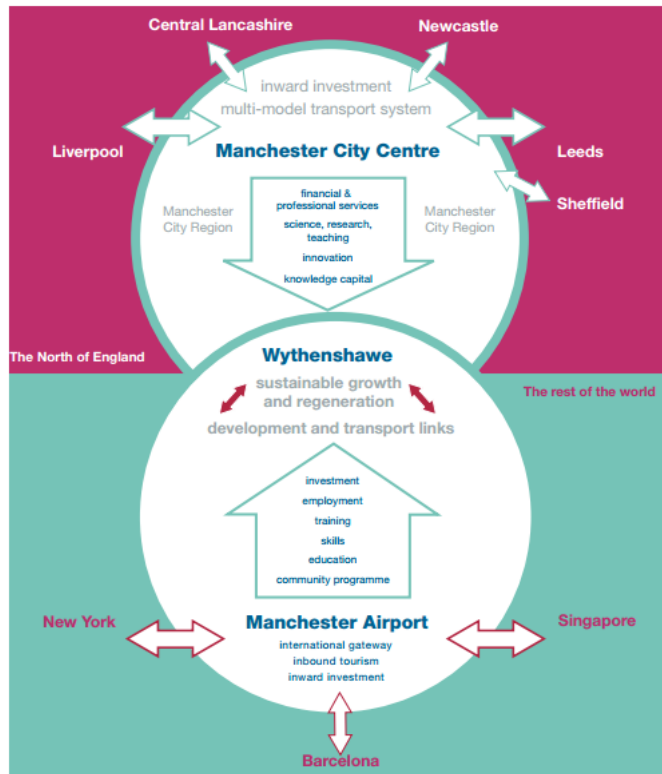


Fig. 17. Airport and wider regional linkages. Source: 2004 Airport Masterplan

Policy RT 5, Airports – This policy states that plans and strategies should support the economic activity generated and sustained by the Region's airports, in particular, the importance of Manchester Airport as a key economic driver for the North of England. The future operational and infrastructure requirements, surface access demands and environmental impacts for each airport should be identified and measures to address and monitor them included in Airport Master Plans and other relevant plans and strategies, based on the strategic framework for the development of airport capacity set out in the White Paper 'Future of Air Transport'. Airport boundaries, as existing or as proposed, should be shown in Local Development Documents. In determining requirements for the expansion of an airport beyond its existing boundary, plans and strategies should take account of:

- the scope for intensification and rationalisation of activities and facilities within the existing boundary;
- the scope for relocating existing activities or facilities off-site;
- the scope for developing proposed activities or facilities off-site.

In considering applications for development at airports, account will be taken of:

- the extent to which surface access and car parking arrangements encourage the use of public transport, walking and cycling;
- the effect of the proposed development on noise and atmospheric pollution, and the extent to which this can be mitigated;
- the effect of the proposed development on the health and wellbeing of local communities; and

- the adverse effects on sites of national and international nature conservation importance to ensure that these effects are avoided, mitigated or compensated as appropriate.
- the policy concludes by stating that in formulating plans and strategies, account should be taken of the contribution general aviation makes to the regional and local economies

Policy RDF4, Green Belt - This policy states that Local Development Frameworks may provide for detailed changes in Green Belt boundaries to accommodate the expansion of Manchester Airport. It identifies this as an exceptional purpose to meet the operational infrastructure requirements at Manchester Airport.

Draft Aviation Policy Framework, Department of Transport – The Government introduced its draft aviation policy on 12 July 2012 and sent it out for consultation, with the consultation period expiring on 31 October 2012.

The framework states that the Government's primary objective is to achieve long-term economic growth, that the aviation sector is a major contributor to the economy and that growth is supported within a framework which maintains a balance between the benefits of aviation and its costs, particularly climate change and noise.

It continues stating that the Government recognises the very important role airports across the UK play in providing domestic and international connections and the vital contribution they can make to the growth of regional economies.

In referring specifically to Manchester, the framework points to the designation of an Enterprise Zone around Manchester Airport and states that the "proposed Airport City is a £659 million, 150-acre development which will transform the airport into an international business destination and create up to 20,000 new jobs over the next 15 years. Manchester Airport is a key component of the Greater Manchester Strategy and contributes £3.5 billion to the UK economy, providing direct employment to 26,000 people and supporting a further 50,000 jobs."

Enterprise Zone – Enterprise Zones were announced by the government in the 2011 budget. There are a number of Enterprise Zones across the country and their aim is to stimulate business growth in designated areas by providing financial incentives and simplified planning arrangements to businesses and to councils. The aim is that they will provide jobs and drive local and national growth.

The Greater Manchester Enterprise Zone is a set of linked sites around Manchester Airport, Wythenshawe Town Centre, 'Medipark' at University Hospital South Manchester Foundation Trust and Roundthorn Industrial Estate. A development and planning framework, namely the Manchester Airport City Enterprise Zone Framework Plan, has been produced to provide a structural policy context for development across the Enterprise Zone, explaining the role of each site and outlining development requirements across the Enterprise Zone. This framework was approved by the Executive Committee on 24 October 2012 and it was resolved that it would be a material consideration in decisions the City Council makes as local planning authority.

Core Strategy Development Plan Document – The Core Strategy Development Plan Document 2012–2027 ('the Core Strategy') was adopted by the City Council on 11 July 2012. It is the key

document in Manchester's Local Development Framework. The Core Strategy replaces significant elements of the Unitary Development Plan (UDP) as the document that sets out the long term strategic planning policies for Manchester's future development. A number of UDP policies have been saved until replaced by further development plan documents to accompany the Core Strategy. Planning applications in Manchester must be decided in accordance with the Core Strategy, saved UDP policies and other Local Development Documents unless material considerations indicate otherwise.

Policy SP1, Spatial Principles – This states that the key spatial principles which will guide the strategic development of Manchester to 2027 are:

- The Regional Centre will be the focus for economic and commercial development, retail, leisure and cultural activity, alongside high quality city living.
- The growth of Manchester Airport will act as a catalyst for the regional economy, and will also provide the impetus for a second hub of economic activity in this part of the City.
- Beyond these areas, the emphasis is on the creation of neighbourhoods of choice, providing high quality and diverse housing around district centres which meet local needs, all in a distinct environment. The majority of new residential development in these neighbourhoods will be in the Inner Areas, defined by the North Manchester, East Manchester and Central Manchester Regeneration Areas.
- The City is covered by regeneration areas including the City Centre. All development should have regard to the character, issues and strategy for each regeneration area as described in the North, East, Central and South Manchester and Wythenshawe Strategic Regeneration Frameworks and the Manchester City Centre Strategic Plan.
- The City's network of open spaces will provide all residents with good access to recreation opportunities. The River Valleys (the Irk, Medlock and Mersey) and City Parks are particularly important, and access to these resources will be improved.
- New development will maximise the potential of the City's transport infrastructure, in particular promoting walking, cycling and use of the public transport. The extension to the Metrolink network through the Oldham and Ashton lines will create key corridors for new development.

Manchester City Core Development Principles

Development in all parts of the City should:

- Make a positive contribution to neighbourhoods of choice including:
 - i. creating well designed places that enhance or create character.
 - ii. making a positive contribution to the health, safety and wellbeing of residents
 - iii. considering the needs of all members of the community regardless of age, gender, disability, sexuality, religion, culture, ethnicity or income.
 - iv. protect and enhance the built and natural environment.
- Minimise emissions, ensure efficient use of natural resources and reuse previously developed land wherever possible.
- Improve access to jobs, services, education and open space by being located to reduce the need to travel and provide good access to sustainable transport provision.

Policy DM1, Development Management – This policy states that all development should have regard to the following specific issues for which more detailed guidance may be given within a supplementary planning document

- Appropriate siting, layout, scale, form, massing, materials and detail.
- Impact on the surrounding areas in terms of the design, scale and appearance of the proposed development. Development should have regard to the character of the surrounding area.
- Effects on amenity, including privacy, light, noise, vibration, air quality, odours, litter, vermin, birds, road safety and traffic generation. This could also include proposals which would be sensitive to existing environmental conditions, such as noise.
- Accessibility: buildings and neighbourhoods fully accessible to disabled people, access to new development by sustainable transport modes.
- Community safety and crime prevention.
- Design for health.
- Adequacy of internal accommodation and external amenity space.
- Refuse storage and collection.
- Vehicular access and car parking.
- Effects relating to biodiversity, landscape, archaeological or built heritage.
- Green Infrastructure including open space, both public and private.
- The use of alternatives to peat-based products in landscaping/gardens within development schemes.
- Flood risk and drainage.
- Existing or proposed hazardous installations.
- Subject to scheme viability, developers will be required to demonstrate that new development incorporates sustainable construction techniques as follows (In terms of energy targets this policy should be read alongside policy EN6 and the higher target will apply):-
 - (a) For new residential development meet as a minimum the following Code for Sustainable Homes standards. This will apply until a higher national standard is required:
 - Year 2010 – Code Level 3;
 - Year 2013 - Code Level 4;
 - Year 2016 - Code Level 6; and
 - (b) For new commercial developments to demonstrate best practice which will include the application of the BREEAM (Building Research Establishment Environmental Assessment Method) standards. By 2019 provisions similar to the Code for Sustainable Homes will also apply to all new non-domestic buildings.

Policy DM 2, Aerodrome Safeguarding – This policy states that development that would affect the operational integrity or safety of Manchester Airport or Manchester Radar will not be permitted.

Policy EC1, Employment and Economic Growth in Manchester – This policy states that key locations for major employment growth showing indicative distribution figures will be the Regional Centre and Manchester Airport and the surrounding area.

Policy EC10, Wythenshawe – This policy states that Wythenshawe is expected to provide 55 hectares of employment land within the office, research and development and light industry (Class B1) and logistics and distribution (Class B8) sectors. The majority of economic development will be focused on four sites, one of which is Manchester Airport. The policy continues stating that

Manchester Airport and specifically Manchester Airport Strategic Site and Airport City Strategic Employment Location are suitable for aviation related development and a mix of economic development uses including offices, high technology industries, logistics, warehousing and airport hotels.

Policy MA1, Manchester Airport Strategic Site – This policy, which designates the Airport as a Strategic Site, states that growth of Manchester Airport to 2030 will be supported and sets out the policy context for development at the Airport. It identifies areas for expansion and shows the amendments to the Green Belt required to deliver that expansion. It specifically identifies the application site as being suitable for "Operational facilities, cargo facilities and car parking and landscape mitigation." It states further that all development proposed as part of the Airport expansion should seek to ensure that any environmental effects of development are assessed at the planning application stage to ensure any impact is acceptable. It will be necessary to mitigate or compensate any negative effects. In particular, development should:

- minimise any adverse impact on areas of international or national conservation, ecological and landscape value. In particular, development should avoid the Cotteril Clough SSSI. Where it is not possible to avoid harm, mitigation measures to compensate for any adverse impact will be necessary. Development within the expansion areas must implement the mitigation measures agreed with the Council,
- be informed by an up to date environmental assessment,
- support the retention and preservation of heritage assets. Detailed proposals which impact upon heritage assets within or close to the site, including listed buildings, will be required to show they have met the tests within PPS5. Development which has a detrimental impact on heritage assets should be necessary to meet operational capacity requirements, taking account of the availability of preferable development options within the Airport site.
- retain or relocate the allotments.
- include surface access and car parking arrangements which encourage the use of public transport, walking and cycling, and satisfactorily manage impacts on the highway network,
- seek the maximum possible reductions in noise through compliance with the Manchester Airport Noise Action Plan and Manchester Airport Environment Plan.
- demonstrate that the number of people affected by atmospheric pollution is minimised and the extent to which any impact can be mitigated.
- improve access to training and job opportunities, particularly for people in Wythenshawe.

Policy EN13, Green Belt –The extent of Green Belt in Manchester will be amended in the vicinity of Manchester Airport, in accordance with policy MA1.

Policy EN1, Design Principles and Strategic Character Areas – This policy states of the "Airport & urban fringe Character Area" that much of this area is open in character, including a significant area of agricultural land. It states further that built development is mainly associated with the Airport and associated uses, often large scale but height limited by flight path requirements and that other built development is small scale and takes the form of individual or small clusters of houses. This element of the policy concludes by stating that development in this area needs to accommodate the future operational needs of the Airport, whilst retaining the area's open character as far as is possible.

Policy EN8, Adaption to Climate Change – this policy states that all new development will be expected to be adaptable to climate change in terms of the design, layout, siting and function of both buildings and associated external spaces. In achieving developments which are adaptable to climate change developers should have regard to the following, although this is not an exhaustive list:

- Minimisation of flood risk by appropriate siting, drainage, and treatment of surface areas to ensure rain water permeability
- Reduction in urban heat island effect through the use of Green Infrastructure such as green roofs, green walls, increased tree cover and waterways
- The need to control overheating of buildings through passive design
- The opportunity to provide linked and diverse green space to enhance natural habitats which will assist species adaptation
- Developers will be permitted to use green infrastructure elements such as green roofs, green walls, street trees and waterways to contribute to compliance with CO2 mitigation under Policy EN6, subject to sufficient evidence to quantify their contribution to compliance.

Policy EN9, Green Infrastructure – This policy states that new development will be expected to maintain existing green infrastructure in terms of its quantity, quality and multiple function. Where the opportunity arises and in accordance with current Green Infrastructure Strategies the Council will encourage developers to enhance the quality and quantity of green infrastructure, improve the performance of its functions and create and improve linkages to and between areas of green infrastructure.

Where the benefits of a proposed development are considered to outweigh the loss of an existing element of green infrastructure, the developer will be required to demonstrate how this loss will be mitigated in terms of quantity, quality, function and future management.

Policy EN10, Safeguarding Open Spaces, Sport and Recreation Facilities – this policy states that the Council will seek to retain and improve existing open spaces, sport and recreation facilities and provide a network of diverse, multi-functional open spaces. It primarily concerns itself with recognised sport and recreational facilities and open spaces like parks and wood, such as Sunbank Wood and Cotteril Clough, rather than open farm land such as that around Oak Farm and off Sunbank Lane.

Wythenshawe Strategic Regeneration Framework (2004) – The Wythenshawe Strategic Regeneration Framework (SRF) provides a strong vision for Wythenshawe over the next 10-15 years. It provides a guide for the improvement of public services for Wythenshawe residents, and aims to shape future investment. The rationale for Airport City is established in the Wythenshawe SRF. It identifies the East-West Wythenshawe 'Economic Development Corridor' linking Sharston/Northenden in the east and University Hospital South/Roundthorn in the west – with Manchester Airport as the pivotal link. A key opportunity identified within the SRF is the continued development of Manchester Airport as this will contribute towards the future prosperity of Wythenshawe through providing increased job opportunities for local residents. The SRF identifies the need to support the continued growth of Manchester Airport as one of the UK's premier business locations, capable of attracting corporate end users on an international scale to the conurbation.

Manchester Tree Strategy – This Tree Strategy was developed in response to community interest about how trees are managed across Manchester. It is a key environmental strategy of the City Council and as such will influence all of the City Council's policies and operations that affect trees. One of the key fundamental policies of this strategy is the requirement for a 10% net increase in new tree planting on all new developments.

Manchester Airport City Masterplan – Prepared by MAG in 2011, the Airport City Masterplan is focussed on delivering the buildings and infrastructure to attract businesses drawn to the region by the unique opportunity of direct proximity to an International Airport. The Masterplan provides a comprehensive framework within which the development of the World Logistics Hub will be brought forward, including details on phasing of development, transport and utilities requirements, environmental protection and enhancement measures to be put in place and flood risk prevention and drainage measures.

Environmental Impact Assessment – The applicant has submitted an Environmental Statement in accordance with the Town and Country Planning (Environmental Impact Assessment) (England and Wales) Regulations 2011.

During the EIA process the applicant has considered an extensive range of potential environmental effects in consultation with Natural England, the Environment Agency, English Heritage, the Highways Agency, the City Council, GMEU, Cheshire Wildlife Trust, Cheshire Bat Group, Greater Manchester Bird Recording Group, Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit and United Utilities.

4 Conclusion and next steps for study of AirportCity case

This report covers the local background and context Airport City case in Greater Manchester, UK and to presents the key issues of governance and regulation. It seeks to show how closely connected the policy elite and the airport have been over the course of the twentieth century, and that presents some of the mutually constitutive projects of airport and city-regional development, presented as 'twin engines' for economic growth. Against a context of enormous growth to all UK airports described UK regional airport policy has been a hugely vexed political arena, with no extant framework for this development since the White Paper of 2003. Decisions about where development should be are subject to the Airport Commission Process which will report in 2015 (after the next general election).

The case, therefore hinges on the ability of local policy elites to mobilise investment for their airport expansion independently of a strong planning / infrastructure policy context at the national scale. The absence of a strong policy steer on how and where airport capacity should be accommodated within the UK will, therefore not be settled within the life of the Context project which presents some difficulties as to how airport capacity and the putative economic development gains can be resolved in the context of centralised decision making. Lack of certainty about preferred national strategy is a significant constraint for local actors as significant investment decisions are being deferred. The local policy elite have a raft of policy documents (enumerated as section 3 of this report) which support the further development of the Airport Site and have used the opportunity of the Enterprise Zone awarded to the GMCA in order to inject further dynamism under their aspiration to extend the airport. Neither national Planning nor Enterprise Zone Policy is very prescriptive as it is rooted in policy rhetoric around localism, arguably the animating policy idea of the coalition government.

We present herein some possible frameworks for airport development which may support thinking about the role of the regional airport and particularly the role of regulatory mechanisms within this process, having charted the growth of passenger at Manchester Airport and a physical development trajectory which has seen the continued growth of the site and the local preference for a continuation to this growth. The multi-level interplay of the site (AirportCity) and its importance for the city region (GMCR) demonstrate again a closeness between the city elite and the development of the airport as a key strategic site of the city-region. It shows that the apparatus of local planning has developed a strong orientation towards continued growth of the airport.

As such conflicts caused by the formal regulatory mechanisms are far less common than the issues presented by a vacuum surrounding large elements of the public policy jigsaw as they apply to the locality scale, the urban policy 'menu' as offered to local actors is sparse.

As they always have done city-regional actors rely on the use of soft and non-mandatory spaces for the promotion of peculiar and particular spatial imaginaries, despite no formal powers over planning or economic development at the city-regional scale they rely upon notional trajectories and presumptions in favour of southern city-regional (market-led) solutions. They are unable to marshal regulatory levers and focus instead upon accruing political capital and legitimacy at the 10-borough scale leading to specific forms of urban transformation of the airport city site.

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Urban Regions in the Delta

Meer informatie

urd.verdus.nl

Programmasecretaris: Marcus van Leeuwen

m.vanleeuwen@nwo.nl

+31 70 3440931

Senior management assistent: Jessica de Graaff

j.degraaff@nwo.nl

+31 70 3440947

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