

# **RUNWAY OR RUN AWAY:**

**A struggle for power at Groningen Airport  
Eelde**



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A struggle for power at Groningen Airport Eelde

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## **Abstract**

The planning process of airport expansions can take a long time. The balance of power between groups either promoting or opposing an airport expansions changes through time. But the aspect of time is an underestimated factor in the power balance in the spatial planning process. This research highlights time as an aspect of importance for the power balance between groups in the spatial planning process. The runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde is chosen as case. The political process is investigated from 1954 up to now. The power balance in the planning process of the runway extension is investigated by using the foucauldian discourse analysis to research over 300 newspaper articles over a 23 year period, from 1991 up to 2014. The research reveals a lack of attention for the influence of time on the power balance in the spatial planning process.

# 1 Introduction

Investigating one of the harder scientific terms is not easy. But that is precisely what this research is going to do. By investigating power, the challenge is set. Power is a difficult term to investigate as it is not quantifiable, not touchable. You're not going to grasp, feel or touch power. In the scientific world power causes a lot of debate as power does not have one single definition. Many scholars have tried to describe power and domination however coming to one undisputed definition has not been possible. The concept of power is too wide and diverse for one definition. By taking a chronological path through the different lines of thinking about power a built up is created where the current way of thinking about power originates from.

Power plays a pivotal role in the spatial planning process. Different parties use the power available to them to try to get their goal realised. In this research the focus lies on the planning process and the role power plays in this process around airport infrastructure expansions. Airport expansions affects surrounding inhabitants and nature. Because airport expansions affects their surroundings groups are founded that oppose the airport expansion as the expansion affects their livelihood or recreational area. The opposition uses the tools available to execute their power in the planning process. The objections that come forward can lead to prolonged and extensive planning procedures. It takes a lot of time.

Time is an underexposed aspect in the research on power in the planning process. Much of the scientific research that is carried out is focused on where power comes from and who has the ability to use power. However, time makes that a lot can change while a planning process is underway. The economy might change making a project no longer feasible or the political landscape or cultural values changes. Power changes between groups and opinions through time. Investigating the time aspect on power in the planning process is the central aim in this research. This leads to the main research question:

Why is time the underestimated factor in the power balance in the spatial planning process?

To be able to answer this main research question a number of sub-questions have to be answered.

What is power?

How is spatial planning related to airport expansions?

What were the effects of airport expansions at airports that were looking to expand their infrastructure?

Why is the Foucauldian discourse analysis the best research tool to investigate the effect of time on the power balance in a planning process around an airport expansion?

Why the airport expansion at Groningen Airport Eelde as case?

To investigate the time aspect in the power balance in the chosen case this research uses a Foucauldian discourse analysis. A Foucauldian discourse analysis makes it possible to investigate qualitative data. Foucauldian discourse analysis is not so much used to provide recommendations for new policy. The struggle for power is the central point of investigation of a Foucauldian discourse analysis. A Foucauldian discourse analysis gives a "fluid and nuanced analysis of the exercise of

power” (Barnes et al., 2006 p.351). That makes that the Foucauldian discourse analysis is the preferred research tool for this research into the struggle for power through time at Groningen Airport Eelde.

Two different lines of investigation were followed. First a chronological path of the political process of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde is made. This is done to picture the political decisions through time and the changes in the political landscape that occurred through the planning process around the runway extension. The second part looks at the power balance between the different groups over the second phase of the planning process. This second phase stretches over a 23 year period. By investigating over 300 newspaper articles from the 23 year period the balance of power of the groups arguments becomes clear. The power balance between the different groups are clarified by arguments they use. These arguments come from coding all the newspaper articles. From all the descriptive codes a number of analytical codes are created. Each analytical code stands for the argumentation of one group. Each line of arguments is pictured over the 23 year period and also compared to each other. This creates a picture of the power balance through time between the different groups. With these figures of the lines of arguments explanations will be given why the lines flow as they do. Furthermore, scientific investigations are mentioned that support the line of arguments and the position of the groups.

All of this has to do with the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. But what kind of an airport is Groningen Airport Eelde. In the part below a short history of Groningen Airport Eelde and the scheduled services it had/has is given. The history of Groningen Airport Eelde goes back a long way.

### **1.1 History of Groningen Airport Eelde**

The story of Groningen Airport Eelde starts in 1930, when the municipality of Eelde had decided that during the summer an airport should be built. Around 1930 an airport and aviation in general was new and spectacular (this is well shown in Visser, 1994), nowadays aviation is part of everyday life. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1931 the ministry of Traffic, Public Works and Water Management that also is responsible for aviation regulation approves the area designated for the Airport Eelde to be an official airport. One of the reasons for the airport to be built was, besides passengers services, a quick way to transport agricultural produce and flowers from the area to places further away. Even though this was one of the reasons for building Airport Eelde the transport of agricultural produce and flowers did not take off (Reinders, 1979). So far, up to the current day this has still not taken off, even though there is an auction facility of Flora Holland in the close vicinity of Groningen Airport Eelde (Ingenbleek et al., 2007).

Groningen Airport Eelde’s first scheduled passenger service was, less than surprising, with Amsterdam Schiphol Airport. The service was not the huge success that was expected. The primary reason was that the airport was a bit too remote from the city of Groningen. This meant less passengers from Groningen came to the airport and on the service between Eelde and Amsterdam. In 1932 the KLM only had some unscheduled flights, the scheduled service did not really exist anymore. The ambition however remained. The local Chambers of Commerce of Groningen, Drente and the Veenkoloniën, the municipality of Groningen and private funds put up 7820,40 guilders, a huge sum of money as an Opel convertible was 1795 guilders and a bike 66 guilders. The money was put forward to cover the losses of the KLM on the route. The KLM obliged to fly twice a day for three



years, but only in the months June, July, August and September. The service remained a disappointment. The average occupancy rate in the first month was 2,84 passengers whereas an average of 5 was expected. The only positive were the cargo numbers, primarily due to newspapers being transported (Reinders, 1979).

The first international scheduled service was in 1932 when the Deutsche Verkehrsflug A.G., later this company became part of Lufthansa, started a service between Eelde and the German island of Borkum. The service started on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, too late in the summer season and was stopped on the first of September. Even though this was a short period the service was a success. The success was large enough that the KLM continued the service in combination with its Amsterdam service.

The success did not last long in 1935 the Eelde-Amsterdam service was scaled down to once a day and the Borkum service was dissolved. In the late 30s the airport was confiscated by the Dutch military. After the Netherlands surrendered to Nazi-Germany Eelde became an airport for military use, mostly supplying the German forces with food and other war necessities. During the military occupation no passenger traffic was possible. After the Netherlands was freed of the German occupation the airport was used by the Canadians. However, not for aviation, but for the storage of broken down war material. The Canadians would fix their tanks and other equipment before sending those back to the front. Aviation was not possible at this stage of the war. The runway was full with craters from the bombs. Surprising was the emergency landing of a German Arado jetfighter on the crater filled runway. The German pilot managed to miss all the holes and make a successful emergency landing (Reinders, 1979).

After the war it became clear that the airport had suffered a lot. After the major damage was repaired both the national government as the KLM would have liked to restart the inland air services. But no passenger planes were available. The government gave the KLM four converted freight to passenger aircraft to start. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of October 1945 Groningen Airport Eelde received the first plane from Amsterdam. One year later the KLM flew the larger McDonnell Douglas DC-3 between Amsterdam and Eelde. This lasted until 1949, the line was no longer financially feasible. The major drawback was the inability to fly in the winter, because the drainage at Groningen Airport Eelde did not function and that caused the runway to flood and impossible to land or take off from (Reinders, 1979).

For Groningen Airport Eelde 1954 is an important year. In 1954 Groningen Airport Eelde got two paved runways. These paved runways would make it possible for heavier aircraft to take off and land at Groningen Airport Eelde (Laboratorium voor Grondmechanica, 1952). In 1959 two services were introduced and quickly suspended again. One route to London Southend in the UK and again to Borkum. In 1962 Sabena tried a scheduled service to Brussels, with a connection on the international routes. Only a few times this route was operated before it was shut down. In 1963 three new routes were introduced: Rotterdam, Hamburg and again Amsterdam. The routes to Rotterdam and Hamburg did not last long and in 1965 the route to Amsterdam was also suspended. In 1966 it is the KLM that comes back at Groningen Airport Eelde with its subsidiary NLM. Two return trips a day would be started between Amsterdam and a combination of Eelde and Airport Twente. The lines were expected to make losses, but most passengers would connect at Schiphol, which would compensate the losses. Not much was expected, but the line was a success. The number of passengers from Groningen Airport Eelde that took a connecting flight was around 80 percent.

People looking to travel to visit Amsterdam would rather take the car or train. The non-aviation options are cheaper and more flexible. Besides Schiphol, the best options for new routes from Groningen Airport Eelde are London followed by Hamburg, Copenhagen and Frankfurt (Metra Consulting Group, 1972).

At Schiphol the training flights of the pilots of the KLM flight school became a problem. Groningen Airport Eelde could provide a solution as the RLS, the governmental pilot school was already at Eelde since 1954. Due to heavy opposition the move from the KLM flight school does not happen. But eventually the KLM will have a flight school at Groningen Airport Eelde. In 1991 the RLS is taken over by the KLM and is renamed KLM aviation school and in 2000 renamed to KLM flight academy (Pelleboer, 2011). Other flight schools were also stationed at Groningen Airport Eelde. However, Stella Aviation Academy went bankrupt in 2014 and the Dutch Flight Academy ceased the training for pilots in 2014 (Pilotopleiding, 2014a & Pilotopleiding, 2014b). For Groningen Airport Eelde the flight schools have been an important piece of the activities. The training flights have been down. The reason is the huge surplus of pilots. Groningen Airport Eelde would benefit from a revival of the training flights.

In 1975 the NLM tried a new route. The service Schiphol-Eelde-Bremen was primarily for passengers from Amsterdam to have an afternoon connection between Amsterdam and Bremen. The line was not a success and was ended after one summer season (Reinders, 1979). In 1985 after 19 years the NLM, now NLM Cityhopper, stops the flights between Schiphol and Groningen Airport Eelde. Netherlines takes over the flights, but ceases the service in 1988. There would be no connection between Eelde and Amsterdam until 1995 when F'Airlines restarts the service. After F'Airlines is acquired by KLM, daughter KLM Exel continues the service. This lasts until 1999 when out of the blue the service is stopped. Trans Travel Airlines tries to reboot the service in 2001, but stops in 2002. The last episode so far in the service between Eelde and Amsterdam is the service started by VLM between Groningen Airport Eelde-Schiphol-London City Airport in 2006. This service remains until the KLM acquires VLM and cancels the service (Winkel, 2011).

Besides Schiphol there were also other destinations that were on and off. Borkum was tried again by the Ostfriesische Lufttransport but failed. FAST B.V. flew for the Dutch Post between Groningen Airport Eelde and Rotterdam. In 1981 a line to Copenhagen also fails. It is all over for FAST B.V. when the company goes bankrupt in 1984. A service between Eelde and Paris fails in 1986, due to a lack of passengers. Netherlines, Air Classic, Dutch Air Ferries and Ryanair try to fly to London, but the lack of passengers and length of the runway causes the fail of all these services. Other services to U.K. airports have had moderate success. The service to Norwich runs from 2004 to 2008 by Eastern Airways. The service between Groningen Airport Eelde and Aberdeen lasts from 2004 until 2013. BMI Regional ran the line that focused on the oil sector heavily represented in both regions. Scandinavia remained interesting, but services to Billund in Denmark and Stavanger in Norway did not last long (Winkel, 2011).

Currently Groningen Airport Eelde has two scheduled services. One by Flybe to London Southend and one by Wizz Air to Gdansk. Furthermore, Groningen Airport Eelde leans heavily on holiday charters. Nowadays Transavia is the largest airline at Groningen Airport Eelde with flights to multiple holiday destinations. Corendon and Arkefly also fly from Groningen Airport Eelde. Both have a charter service

to Antalya in Turkey. Groningen Airport Eelde is currently having talks with Danish Air Transportation for a scheduled service to Copenhagen (Dagblad van het Noorden, 2015).

There were two more airlines operating from the already extended runway Vueling and again Ryanair. These will be further explained as part of chapter 7. This is a very brief history of Airport Eelde and the scheduled services it had/has.

Researching the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde has several implications both practical and scientific. On a practical level the long duration of the planning process. The procedures of the planning process and the number of opportunities to object are so vast and extensive that the planning process could drag on for years. The main problem that this causes is the longstanding insecurity that remains for both the promoters and the opposition to a project, in this case the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. Nowadays, the planning procedures are shortened and there are less opportunities to object. This research will show by taking the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde as an example that the shortening of the planning process has positive and negative implications in reality.

On the scientific level this research brings forward the aspect that time poses on power and the balance of power in the planning process is under exposed. Because through time the cultural values, political landscape and/or economic circumstances change the strength of power a group has also changes within the planning process. Time becomes an under exposed factor in the research on power in the planning process.

## **1.2 Outline**

The research is built up as follows. Next is the literature review. The literature review is spread over two chapters. Chapter 2 follows a chronological path of different scientists ideas of power. The development of power is investigated to come to a current view on power used in the research. The second chapter of the literature review focuses on the relation between airport expansions and spatial planning. Furthermore, the chapter also investigates the effects of airport expansions. These effects are divided in three categories; economy, nature and environment and social. At the end of chapter 4 a conceptual framework is constructed to structure and inform the research. Chapter 5 explains how the research is carried out and which analytical tool is used. The Foucauldian discourse analysis is used to investigate the power balance between groups around the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. Also in chapter 5 is the explanation why this research uses newspaper articles as a primary data source for the analysis. Chapter 6 goes through the two phases that the political process went through with the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. Chapter 7 uses the newspaper articles to investigate the second phase of the runway extension to see how power flows between arguments and groups. This forms flow graphs that show the balance of power through a period of 23 years between different groups around the runway extension of Groningen Airport Eelde. Chapter 8 takes the results from chapter 7 and analyses these results on the base of the conceptual framework as presented in chapter 4. Chapter 8 is the last and will conclude the research. The conclusions will be presented and a recap will be given from the research. After the conclusions the references are represented. Two appendices are also included in the report. One appendix will feature all the references from the newspaper articles used for the research into the power flows of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. A second appendix will contain all

the descriptive codes that were found in the newspaper articles. These descriptive codes are in the appendix dedicated to one of the four analytical codes.

## Literature Review

The literature review is divided up in two chapters. The first chapter investigates the literature on power. This chapter is divided up in a number of sections. It follows the path of the development of power and the theory of power. A couple of sections are dedicated to the influential ideas on power of Michel Foucault and the critique that Foucault received on his idea of power. Highlighted in the last section of the first chapter is the debate between Foucault and Jürgen Habermas. Among other scholars discussed in the chapter 2 are Talcott Parsons, Nicos Poulantzas and Steven Lukes.

The first part of chapter 3 is dedicated to literature on airports, especially on airport expansion and spatial planning. The second part of this chapter is divided in three main sections. The first is the effects the airport expansion has on the economy, this section also has subsections on the relation between expanding airports and low cost carriers and airports as megaprojects. The second section is on the effects the expansion of an airport has on nature. The third part discusses the effect of an expanding airport on society in particular on the airport's neighboring communities. The third section has subsections on noise nuisance, air pollution, limited alternatives of expansion and poor value and communication. Another section is dedicated to interest groups for both promoters and opposers of the airport's expansion.

## 2. Power

Power is a concept that lacks a single agreed definition (Parsons, 1986), instead many scholars have their own definition of what power is and means.

### 2.1 Classic view on power

Russell states that power is "the production of intended effects" (Russell, 1986, Ch.1 p. 19). Russell sees power is different between organizations and individuals. The two are interrelated, but an individual first needs to acquire power in the organization. The organization then needs to get power. Russell uses the example of a political party. If a person wants to become prime minister, first it is necessary to get power in your political party, then the political party needs to get power in the nation. However, different types of organization will mean that other types of individuals come to power, this leads to different states of society. Russell furthermore makes a distinction between traditional and newly acquired power. The traditional form of power is harder to see than newly acquired power, because habit plays an important role. Traditional power feels secure, but that also means foulplayers won't be detected. The newly acquired power, Russell calls this "naked" power, does not have the same level of security feeling. Naked power is associated with military action. Tyranny and war are examples of how naked power influences.

Weber (1986) makes the difference between domination (*Herrschaft*) and power (*Macht*). Power is a more general term, according to Weber. Power is strongly linked to the realm of politics (Jiménez-Anca, 2012). Dahl (1986) states that Weber was not interested in power in general, but in one particular aspect of power, namely domination. Domination is a special form of power. Domination is "the possibility of imposing one's own will upon the behaviour of other persons" (Weber, 1986, Ch.2

p. 29). This also is true for organizations or countries. Lukes (2005) has a similar definition for the power of the powerful, where Lukes states that the powerful have the capability to affect the interest of others (Lukes, 2005). Weber (1986) breaks domination up in two forms. The first is the domination by monopoly. Weber calls this the most pure form of domination in the market. One party decides what the price of a product is on the market. Where the first form of power consist mostly within an economic realm, the other form also exist outside, but originates in the economic realm. The other form is domination by authority. One actor has domination of the economic power. From the economic domination, the actor expands his domination to the whole of the society. An example is the role Prussia played in the German Union. Prussia was the largest region, had the most railroads and the biggest decisive market. This domination by authority could crush, formally equally, other German regions.

Dahl makes a difference between having power and exercising that power for influence. However, there is also a difference between the levels of power actors have (1986).

## **2.2 Social class view on power**

Poulantzas states that power is “the capacity of a social class to realize its specific objective interests”(Poulantzas, 1986, Ch.7 p.144). The keywords here are social class. By adding social class in his definition Poulantzas ties his idea of power to the concepts of Marx, especially the struggle between different social classes. In this structure Poulantzas shows that power is an effect not a property of the structure (Clarke, 1977). Poulantzas disagrees with Dahl’s definition of power. Dahl states that power is inter personal, which means person A can have power over person B (Dahl, 1957, in Poulantzas, 1986; Goldman, 1986). Goldman (1986) sees multiple problems with the definition of Dahl. First, Dahl does not show the degree of power in his definition. Secondly, Goldman also states that a person may have less power, but still can get his preferred outcome by having more desire for his outcome than the more powerful person has desire for his preferred outcome. It is not possible to have no power. A subject might have a very limited amount of power, but it will still have power (Aron, 1986). Furthermore, Poulantzas states that power does not play between persons, but between social classes. Poulantzas states that the power a class has depends on the power of the opponents class. Power of one class is relative to the power of another class (Poulantzas, 1986). This is related to the zero-sum concept of power discussed by Parsons (1986). The zero-sum concept will be discussed in the next section.

Poulantzas offers a theory of class in a Marxist way. Poulantzas claims that there are two components of his theory. First, economic interests are the shaping factor for interest groups. Second, the relations between interest groups are asymmetrical, the relation can even be one of domination or exploitation. The first component shows the importance that Poulantzas gave to the role of the economy. The second component shows Poulantzas understanding that equality between groups is not a given fact (Clarke, 1977).

## **2.3 Zero-sum concept**

Parsons (1986) sees that a single clear definition of power does not exist. However, Parsons states that in the concept of power there is a core meaning. According to Parsons, that core meaning is “the capacity of persons to get things done, effectively”(Parsons, 1986, Ch.6 p.94; Habermas, 1986). Besides the capacity to get things done Heiskala concludes it is also important to include conflict as a

power dimension (Heiskala, 2007). To exercise power Parsons makes the difference between positive and negative strategies. On the positive strategies a subject can use persuasion and/or inducement. On the negative strategies a subject can use coercion and/or what Parsons calls: Activation of commitments. This activation of commitments strategy means that a subject shows that non-compliance with the wishes of that subject would be harmful to the other subjects interests. However, a system of power can't consist of only positive strategies or only negative strategies. To successfully create a power system both strategies must be applied (Parsons, 1986). Giddens criticizes the power system theory. Giddens states that Parsons ignores the fact that power are relations between individuals or groups. Parsons presumes that the goals are already in place and that different strategies reach that goals. Giddens believes that the goals are a result of the struggle of power between the individuals or groups (Giddens, 1968).

Power can also be used to get influence in a decision. Parsons gives the example of a political interest group that trades it's power for influence in the political decision, by getting political support. The striking here is that Parsons sees power as a tradable good. The political group trades it's power for influence. However this power is not traded for influence. Influence is the end goal that the political interest group wants. Power is given from the political interest group to a political group to have a higher chance of getting the decision their way. The political interest group will lose power, whereas the political group will gain power. This is the zero-sum concept of power. Where one group will lose power another group will gain power (Parsons, 1986; Habermas, 1986). Later in live Parsons rejects the zero-sum game and states that power is circulating between actors, which both enables and constraints. With this view Parsons comes close to the ideas of Foucault (discussed later), however Parsons continued to believe that power was a matter of sovereignty, whereas Foucault went further (Holton, 2006).

#### **2.4 Communicative view on power**

Arendt states that violence is the most impudent form of power (Arendt, 1986). Violence is the power of one over all. The most extreme form of power is all against one. Governments need a base of power, violence is an instrument to exercise power (Hook, 2007). Arendt (1986) concludes that violence and power can be seen as opposites. Where one is absolute, the other is absent. Whereas violence and power are phenomena that are standing on their own, often power and violence will appear together. Power will be the first, predominate factor. Violence will show itself when power is diminishing, however when nothing counteracts violence power will disappear. Violence is capable of destroying power, but it is incapable in creating power. Lenski (1986) states that, following the reasoning of Edmund Burke, force can only seize power, but retaining power requires other measures. Such a measure can be changing laws. Laws can be written so that it favours the ruling group. Another measure is propaganda. Using institutions such as mass media or education the ruling group can legitimize their seizing of power. Arendt furthermore states that power is not owned by one individual. However, it is owned by a group of people. As Habermas (1986) explains Arendt's point "power is not the instrumentalization of another's will, but the formation of a common will in a communication directed to reaching agreement" (Habermas, 1986, Ch.5 p.76). Lukes disagrees with calling coming together to one goal power. Lukes states that power can only exist when there is a conflict. Coming together to one collective goal is, according to Lukes, not power, but influence (Lukes, 2005). Power of persons, such as in an parent-children relation, is according to Arendt not power, but authority. To keep authority the person needs to have the respect of the ones that obey

him. Lenski comes to a similar definition of authority (Lenski, 1986). Arendt made clear distinctions between force, power, violence and authority to challenge that power is only domination through violence (Hoffman, 2014).

## **2.5 Three dimensional power concept**

Lukes (1986) focuses his view not on one full definition. Lukes makes a difference in what has become to be known as the three dimensional power concept (Lukes, 1986). Lukes begins with the one dimensional view of power. This view focuses on “behaviour in the making of decisions on issues over which there is an observable conflict of interests”(Lukes, 2005, Ch.1 p.19). The one dimensional view focuses on when one subject exercises his power over other, when these others have other preferences, with regard to what Lukes calls “key issues”. Lukes based the notion of “key issues” on the work of Dahl (1961). The two dimensional view of power is a step further. Not only the decision making is take into account the non-decisions are also taken in. Bachrach & Baratz (1970, in Lukes, 2005) state that non-decisions are the second face of power. Power of one subject is retained both by decisions and non-decisions. The two dimensional view of power still exercises power like in the one dimensional view, but goes further. In the two dimensional view the subject not only controls others preferences, but also controls the agenda, determines what “key issues” are, what issues are in need of a decision, uses the bias within the system and exclude every subject that is a threat to the one in power. The three dimensional view of power goes again further. The one dimensional and two dimensional views of power actual conflict is needed to have power. Lukes disagrees with this, “the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent conflict”(Lukes, 2005, Ch.1 p.27). It incorporates the first two dimensional views of power, but expanse it with the power to shape and modify the subjects beliefs and desires in such a way that it counteracts their own interests.

Lukes (2005) admits that the three dimensional view of power poses problems to the researcher. According to Lukes there are three specific problems that affect the researcher. First of the three problems is inaction. Inaction in itself can be seen as action. An action leads to certain consequences, however inaction also leads to consequences. The consequences of inaction are not the same as the consequences of action. The second problem is unconsciousness. Unconsciousness exists when power is exercised, but the exerciser is unaware of what he is doing. Lukes separates three distinct forms of unconsciousness. The first is when the exerciser is unaware of the real motive of his action. This is an example of a Freudian case (Billig, 2006). Second form of unconsciousness is when the exerciser is unaware of how other’s interpret his action. The third form of unconsciousness is when the exerciser is unaware of the consequences of his action. The third and last problem, according to Lukes (2005), for researchers is when to attribute an exercise of power to a group, collective, class or institution. This problem appeared distinctly in the debate on Marxist thought on power between Poulantzas and Miliband (Clarke, 1977). Miliband believed that groups could only have power through inter-personal relations, which means that not groups, but individuals within those groups have power. Miller (2001) sees individuals as the defining elements of a social group. Poulantzas disagrees with Miliband. Poulantzas states that groups can exercise power, where the group can be seen as an entity. Lukes (2005) filtrates out of this debate his own view on collective power. Lukes sees collective power as implying that “the members of the group or institution could have combined or organized to act differently”(Lukes, 2005, Ch.1 p.57).

Lukes also investigates the concept of power. Lukes identifies power as a capacity, it is a potentiality. A definition of the concept of power can due to its huge variety in meaning never really be very specific. The definition of the concept of power that Lukes comes up with is very general “power is being able to make or to receive any change, or to resist it.”(Lukes, 2005, Ch.2 p.69).

Furthermore, Lukes (2005) spots more problems when it comes to investigating power. The problems arise when a researcher tries to compare power of an agent in various time periods, especially when comparing the power of an agent in the present with the past or projected future. Another problem for researchers is to compare the overall power of the different agents. For the second problem two rules of inquiry are important. First, how big is the scope of the concept of power and second, what effects of the power are considered significant.

## **2.6 Foucault’s view on power**

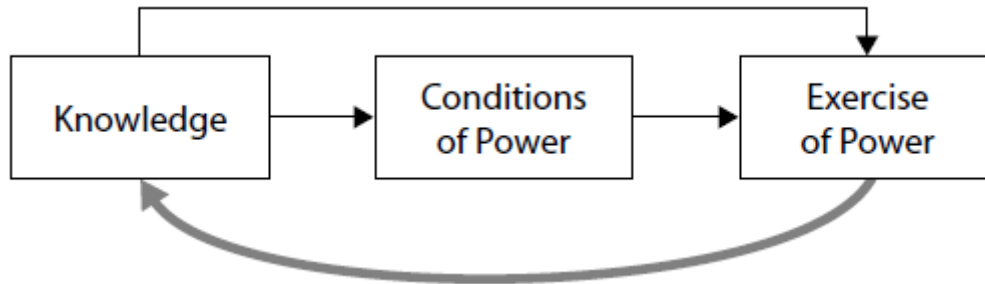
Michel Foucault might be the most influential scholar to affect the field of power. Foucault has challenged all the previous views of power. Foucault continuous to be a major inspiration for scientists worldwide to study the field of power (Alasuutari, 2010).

Foucault believes that, despite the major differences, there is a common ground between the classic/traditional and the Marxist theory of power. That common ground is the link between the theory of power and the economy. In the classic theory of power, power is seen as a commodity. Power can be hold by individuals and be transferred between people. In the Marxist theory of power none of this will be found. However, the Marxist theory of power is formed by economy. The base of the Marxist theory is that of “the relations of production and of a class domination”(Foucault, 1980b, Ch.5 p.88). Foucault does not believe that power can only exist around the economy. Power is not given, not exchanged and not recovered, however power is exercised and exist only in action (Foucault, 1980b).

Foucault (1980d) was the first scholar that tried to understand power in a concrete and detailed fashion. Neither the Western Capitalism side nor the Marxist were interested in the way power was exercised. Both were satisfied to see power as a global and polemical phenomenon. The first step towards a more detailed and concrete way of understanding power came after 1968 and was based on the struggles on a daily basis of grass roots. The grass roots provided the first time that power became visible in its concrete and detailed fashion. The grass roots showed that power is not only repression, power does not only say no. Power is also capable of inducing pleasure, forming knowledge and producing discourse (Foucault, 1980d).

Foucault (1986) sees that power relations in a society can’t be created, sustained or implemented out of nothing. For these power relations to exist discourse is needed. Foucault is very interested in the field of discourse (Fischler, 2000). Power can’t be exercised without the discourse of truth. However, power can influence which truth is perceived right in a society. Exercising power results in knowledge. Knowledge leads to the effects of power (Foucault, 1979). However, power can’t be exercised without knowledge and knowledge will always engender power (Foucault, 1980a). The more information is available, the more strategic can power be used (Foucault, 1980c). Flyvbjerg supports the view of Foucault that “power and knowledge directly imply one another (Flyvbjerg, 2001 p. 125). Figure 1 below shows the relation between knowledge and the exercising of power (Avelino & Rotmans, 2009).





**Figure 1:** The Foucauldian relation between knowledge and the exercising of power. Source: (Avelino & Rotmans, 2009).

Foucault also sees domination different from the classic definition of Weber. Foucault states that domination is not power of one person over another or even a group over another group, but that domination has many different forms. It centers along the relations between people or groups. Power is a cluster of relations, these relations are open and kind of coordinated (Foucault, 1980g). Power can be seen as force relations (Flyvbjerg, 2001). “Power is never localized here or there, never in anybody’s hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization ... Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application” (Foucault, 1980b, Ch.5 p.98; Foucault, 1986, Ch.11 p.234). Every individual has a certain power to his disposal and through that every individual can be used for a wider form of power (Foucault, 1980c), but no one owns power (Foucault, 1980f). Foucault explains here that power can’t be the possession of anyone, but individuals can make use of it. “Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere” (Foucault, 1978, Part 4 p. 93). It is not possible to escape from power (Jiménez-Anca, 2012). “Power is always already there”(Foucault, 1980e, p.141). Power is around like oxygen in the air. Oxygen is used but it can’t be grasped. Miller (2000) sees it like energy that flows through every organism and society like a current.

“Power is not an institution, a structure, or a certain force” (Foucault, 1976, in Gordon, 1980, Afterword p.236) neither can power be controlled (Hook, 2007). Furthermore, Hook (2007) states that power is anonymous. The anonymity means that even when power is being used the subject may not realize that power is influencing his actions. According to Hook (2007), power can only be called power when there is a lasting effect upon the subject. However, power can be interpreted by subjects in a different way, which can lead to different actions/responses and through that lead to different effects (Hook, 2007). Power makes the individual, so the individual is an effect of power (Hoffman, 2014). Power can benefit, but also destroy life definitively (Foucault, 1980d).

The view on power presented by Foucault is by some scholars referred to as the fourth dimension of power (Digeser, 1992), referring to the three dimensional view on power by Lukes (2005). Foucault’s power relations are not seen as only oppressive, but are separated in juridical power and disciplinary power relations (Dillon, 2014). Juridical power means that power can be possessed, flows from top to bottom and is repressive. The juridical form of power is more related to the classical theory of power than disciplinary power. Disciplinary power is exercised instead of possessed, from the bottom up and productive instead of repressive. The disciplinary power is mostly used by Foucault, for instance in the explanation of prison (Kelly, 1994; Ashenden, 1999). A good example of Foucauldian-inspired research is Bent Flyvbjerg’s work on what has become to be known as the Aalborg Project (Lukes, 2005). In this research Flyvbjerg investigates how institutions that were meant to represent the public interest got caught up in “the hidden exercise of power and the protection of special

interests" (Flyvbjerg, 1998, Ch.20 p.225). Flyvbjerg sees power as the defining entity to what rationality is and thereby what reality is. "Rationality is context-dependent, the context often being power" (Flyvbjerg, 1998, Ch.20 p. 227). Flyvbjerg (1998) puts a lot of emphasis on the context and how the context shapes reality. Some Foucault inspired researchers even go as far that the identity of a subject can be seen as a product of power relations and that the model of the rational autonomous agent is undermined (Lukes, 2005).

## 2.7 Critique on Foucault

Foucault's radical view on power provoked a lot of critique. According to Lukes (2005) power as seen by Foucault is an ideal form of power, not necessarily of how power works, but how power should work. Dolar gives another point of critique in his work *Where does power come from?* (Hook, 2008). Dolar sees a discrepancy between the methodological claims, that is the locations of power and the precise instruments of investigation, and the very general outcomes of Foucault's analysis (Dolar, 1999).

Fraser criticizes Foucault on his broad range of what power is. According to Fraser, Foucault uses the term power for a multiple of issues and then leaves it at that. Notions such as violence, force, authority and domination are lumped together under the term power, whereas these notions could make a distinction for certain phenomena. This lumping together of notions leads to a one-dimensionality on the side of Foucault (Fraser, 1989 in McCarthy, 1994).

Foucault has had a lot of criticism, but perhaps the most critiqued part of Foucault's work is his analytics of resistance (Hook, 2007). Furthermore, Hook sees that resistance never got the same amount of thoroughness as power had in Foucault's work (Hook, 2007). Stein & Harper (2003) state that in a Foucauldian view resistance is meaningless. Simons criticizes Foucault on his too optimistic view on resistance, especially in comparison with Foucault's view on domination. Not only is this an under-theorization of resistance, but it is also an overestimation of the dominating apparatus. Foucault does not pay enough attention to the fragilities of the apparatus (Simons, 1995). Resistance is for Foucault nothing more than a political strategy by those who resist through the exercise of power (McKee, 2009). Tilly (1991) poses the question: why do subordinates not stand up against the dominating groups? Tilly gives 7 reasons why subordinates do not resist.

- 1: The presumption is incorrect. There is resistance but this resistance is hidden.
- 2: There is a return for their subordination. As long as the return is good enough, there will hardly be any resistance.
- 3: In pursuing other value ends, subordinates become entrapped in the system.
- 4: Due to a lack of alternatives and repression, subordinates are not aware resistance is a possibility.
- 5: Force and violence keep the subordinates in line.
- 6: Resisting is a very costly. Many subordinates may not have the means to be able to resist.
- 7: A combination of all of the above.

Foucault central idea of power is that through subjection the subject is constituted to power. This is a one way form of power, through domination a subject is subjected. On the question if it isn't possible to have power two ways Foucault remained abstract by stating that where power is there will be resistance, but this resistance is never exterior in relation to power. Spinoza was clearer by stating that individuals had their own ideas and that there are as many different opinions as there are tastes (Lukes, 2005). However, Foucault also stated that all power-relations can be attacked by both parties, no matter how unequal the relations are and furthermore these power relations can be seen as constraining for both parties (Foucault, 1979; Hook, 2007). According to Gilgan (2001), resistance can be seen as a political act that has a symbiotic relationship with dominance. Equal power relations are not possible because power is by its very nature disruptive (Thompson, 1999). Foucault also states that resistance is necessary for a relation of power, otherwise there would only be subservience, obedience and domination (Foucault, 1983). No relations of power are possible without resistance (Hook, 2007). Resistance is always at the same place where power is (Foucault, 1980e). Every form of power creates possibilities for resistance (Schmidt & Wartenberg, 1994). Every power relations has resistance built in it (Dillon, 2014).

There is also critique that Foucault romanticizes resistance too much. Foucault states that power and resistance can only be understood if human subjects are active. Exercising power means that active subjects have to act in accordance against or with a relations of power (Tully, 1999). The romantization is most visible in Foucault's work on the Iranian revolution. Foucault views resistance as one-single-mass resistance, viewing the resistance as if all levels of society unite (Afary & Anderson, 2005; Osborne, 1999). But this view is much too general to be able to sketch a proper image of the resistance in Iran (Hook, 2007). Foucault does see that there is an interdependency between the notions of power and resistance. However, by treating the subject as an effect of power Foucault undercuts the notion of resistance (McCarthy, 1994). It is not possible to resist something that is an effect of something else.

Habermas also disagrees with Foucault on the notion of resistance. Habermas believes that only when an activity is done to resist the dominate, that activity can be called resistance. However, Foucault believes that resistance is already formed at the point where the power relations are exercised (Guilfoyle, 2007). Resistance is existing much earlier by Foucault, than by Habermas.

## **2.8 Foucault/Habermas debate**

The most famous chapter of the critique on Foucault was the debate between Jürgen Habermas and Michel Foucault. "Perhaps the most formidable critic of Foucault is Habermas" (Bernstein, 1994). Some researchers even see that the gap between Habermas and Foucault is 'unsurmountable' (Fischler, 2000). The following section is dedicated to this debate.

Habermas criticizes Foucault on his use of power. According to Habermas, Foucault sees power similar to how Nietzsche explained the term authority. For Habermas the explanation of Foucault is not enough to justify the usage that leads from it. Foucault collapses back into Nietzschean aestheticism and through that Foucault undermines power (Owen, 1999). Foucault should have realized this when his discourse analysis in *The Order of Things* was insufficient (Habermas, 1994a). Foucault abstracts his concept of power in later work. Foucault now sees power as the "productive penetration and subjectivizing subjugation of a bodily opponent" (Habermas, 1994a, Ch.2 p.64-65). Power has become nothing more than a synonym for a purely structuralistic activity (Habermas,

1994a). According to Habermas, Foucault sees power as “the subject that has an effect on objects in successful actions”(Habermas, 1994b, Ch.3 p. 87). With this, power is centered in the truth of judgments, truth is still the core of power. To overcome this problem Foucault switches the relation of power and truth. No longer is truth the core of power, but power the core of truth. Through that power becomes subjectless. However, Habermas says this switch is not possible, because “no one can escape the strategic conceptual constraints of the philosophy of the subject”(Habermas, 1994b, Ch.3 p.87). Furthermore as noted earlier Foucault states that power is everywhere (see, section Foucault). However, Habermas sees this statement as self-defeating, because Foucault tries to go beyond power. According to Habermas, Foucault wants to speak for the oppressed, but cannot do that due to the fact that Foucault believes in the ubiquity of power (Osborne, 1999).

Foucault, when faced with critique on his view on power, makes a distinction between what power is. Firstly, for Foucault power is not referring to power in a way that the subject is dominated and its rationality imposed, but power as in power relations. The subject is an entity of the power relations (Allen, 2011). These power relations shape differently, are multiple, they can play in any kind of relations, whether there in a family, institution, administration or between the dominating and dominated class. The power relations all have a specific form of rationality, specific to their power relation. Secondly, Foucault denies he is creating a theory of power. Foucault tries to find the way in which the reflexivity of the subject and the discourse of truth are intertwined. Foucault then also asks the question: “How can the subject tell the truth about itself?”(Foucault, 1994, Ch.5 p.128). Foucault also denies he is a theoretician of power, “power, as an autonomous question, does not interest me”(Foucault, 1994, Ch.5 p.129). On the relation of power and knowledge Foucault states that the thesis of power is knowledge and knowledge is power, often attributed to Foucault, is incorrect. If it was correct than there would be no reason to investigate the relationship, like Foucault has done. Foucault also implies that Habermas believes that there is a society without relations of power. However, this is not the case as Tully shows “Communicative action ... is rooted in and surrounded by strategic struggles” (Tully, 1999, Ch.4 p.130).

Habermas argues that Foucault “becomes entangled when he opposes his critique of power, ... to the analytic of the true in such a way that the former is deprived of the normative standards it would have to derive from the latter”(Habermas, 1994c, Ch. 7 p.154). Briefly summarizing Habermas’s point. Habermas thinks the critical project of Foucault is enmeshed in some seriously performative contradictions (Conway, 1999). However, from Foucault’s perspective Habermas is performing Enlightenment blackmail (Bernstein, 1994). Foucault is refusing to see the conception of enlightenment as a logic that one must be for it or against it (Owen, 1999).

Habermas (1986) points out that there is no individual that truly possess power. Power can only originate when men come together with one common goal. Power will disappear when the group falls apart. This reasoning is also followed by Arendt (1970, in Lukes, 2005). Rather than competing against each other, working together, through communication, leads to a base of power (McCarthy, 1994). Habermas calls this communicative action, action focused on reaching a mutual agreement (Dean, 1999). Habermas states that communication that is undistorted is free of the influence of power (Stein & Harper, 2003). Foucault disagrees with this view on power. Foucault states that the mutual agreement is a result of the exercising of power of the different parties in the process. “Relationships of communication produce effects of power by modifying the field of information between parties” (Foucault, 1985 in McCarthy, 1994, Ch. 11, p.265). Foucault sees Habermas’s model

of communicative action as unpractical in real-life situations (Bardon & Josserand, 2011). The concept of power that Foucault presents is to seek to govern the behaviour of others through actions to control the actions of the others. These actions are taken to limit the action field of possible actions (Ashenden & Owen, 1999; Owen, 1999) and so manage the possibilities (McKee, 2009) of the others.

There are many different views on what power is and what power is about. In the end it is, as Lukes puts it “None offers a generally satisfying and informative definition” (Lukes, 1986, Introduction p.4).

### **3. Airport**

“There is no ideal site for airport expansion. There are always negative impacts on people and the environment on and around the site” (Bridger, 2013 p.65). The approval and building of the extension of an airport can take decades (Bridger, 2013). In Los Angeles the proposed expansion of LAX after 10 years and 147 million dollars spent still was not making any progress (Baxamusa, 2008). The planning process for an airport extension can take a while. But why does it take so long? The next part focuses on the planning process history concerning airports and what new planning procedures are put forward.

#### **3.1 Airports and spatial planning**

The problem with investing in airport infrastructure is the high cost and the long period before the investment has paid itself back. But whereas airport infrastructure is a long term investment the airlines that would use the airport infrastructure have an increasing flexible, footloose network. Airlines network behaviour changes scheduled services to airports quicker than a couple of decades ago. In previous decades the traditional airport master planning assumed that there was one option and that option was the best for the specific future that the powerful unitary actor had envisioned (Burghouwt, 2007). Such a plan is called a ‘unitary plan’ by Davidoff (2009). Usually the planning agency of a government is that unitary actor. The traditional airport master planning is top-down meaning that the planning process decision making is dominated by the top-management of the unitary actor (Burghouwt, 2007). The traditional airport master planning had some major drawbacks besides the inaccurate predicted outcomes. First, an airport extension has more stakeholders than the airport and government planning agency alone. The external stakeholders have also power and can use that power for their own different interests. Citizens that are affected by the plan are an example of an external stakeholder that is excluded from the planning process (Davidoff, 2009). Secondly, top management usually follow hard numbers, whereas a ground employee stands closer to the day to day activities and can see changes sooner. Finally, top management may have unclear strategies to get to the desired end result of the planning process. This can lead to misunderstanding at the lower levels making the planning process next to impossible (Burghouwt, 2007). Clear examples of failures of the traditional master planning are Dempsey et al. (1997) about the expansion of Denver International Airport and a non-airport example such as Flyvbjerg et al. (2003b).

The planning process for infrastructure developments changes in the late 1960s. Two streams started to develop. The first was structured that the politicians would make the decisions in a pluralistic fashion. No longer would one party have all the power and knowledge. The decision making process came to be known as disjointed incrementalism or muddling through. The second stream focused more on a bottom-up planning approach. However, the planner remained in a strong position. By

making advocate planners the diversity of plans should be greater, but yet remain within the legal boundaries (Hall, 2009). The bottom-up approach developed further through time.

Burghouwt (2007) developed the theory of Flexible Strategic Planning. This planning strategy is made to make the planning process more flexible and proactive, against the more rigid and reactive traditional master planning. The flexible strategy planning makes more than one real option and researches these options to more than one future. By constantly scanning and experimenting the planning process remains flexible to changing conditions. Proactivity within the planning process ensures certain events will go through, making the process keep pace. By having the airport diversify its investments the risks of losing money is less for the airport. Creating flexible organizations is the last of the features of a flexible strategy planning. Flexible organizations will cause a lot of resistance within the organization as this may entail a change of position and leads to a restructured organization. But a flexible organization is better capable of dealing with the uncertainty of airline behaviour.

Flexible strategic planning also has weaknesses. Flexibility is a wicked problem. A wicked problem is a problem that fundamentally cannot be solved. When an airport buys adjacent land to the airport to increase their flexibility, the flexibility of the surrounding population decreases as they lose a part of land. Furthermore, politics still play a major role in the planning process. The decision making can be influenced too much by narrow political interests and this decreases the flexibility (Burghouwt, 2007). The flexible strategy planning is also not developed to a point that it can be used in practice (Kwakkel et al., 2010). Kwakkel et al. (2010) also investigated two other theories for planning airport expansions. The other two are the Dynamic Strategic Planning and Adaptive Policy Making. Kwakkel et al. (2010) take the three strategies and put them together to get a strategy that is theoretically sound and usable in practice. They call it Adaptive Airport Strategy Planning. The strategy wants flexibility and has to be able to adapt to changes that an airport faces through time (Kwakkel et al., 2010). Adaptive Airport Strategy Planning also has drawbacks. First, it deals with a lot of stakeholders and there is no guarantee a common understanding will be reached. The adaptive airport strategy can fail. Secondly, even if a common understanding is reached there is still the possibility that one of the stakeholders does not comply with the understanding.

The bottom up strategies for planning an airport expansion certainly has many advantages over the older blue print planning strategies. However, the bottom up strategies are also not a guarantee to be effective as an airport expansion has positive and negative effects on the surrounding nature and population.

The next part is centred on three lines of effects of airport expansions: economy, nature and social effects. After the three lines of arguments there is a short section on interest groups. Interest groups use the lines of arguments to promote or oppose the expansion of an airport.

### **3.2 Economy**

The expansion of an airport is important for the economy of a region and for the employment of people both direct and indirect (Dehn & Meise, 1975). Özcan (2013) finds that an increase of passengers of 10% can create thousands of jobs. Brueckner (2003) is less optimistic, but also sees a positive relation between number of passengers and jobs in the region. The expansion of an airport comes with expansions in the infrastructure, like new roads and business areas. Belt et al. (1990)

divide the companies in and around the airport in three segments. The first is the direct company, located at the airport and provide services vital to the operation of the airport. Secondly, there are the companies not located on the airport, but where the airport relies upon for their operation, like local suppliers (OECD, 1975). Thirdly, there are companies that do not relate directly to the airports operation. This is discussed in the next paragraph.

There are many different industries that consider the vicinity of an major airport as an important reason for the decision where to locate, especially in a world that becomes more global (Buck Consultants International, 2000) as a representative from KPN stated. In the past couple of years airports have been under growing pressure of governments to become more self-sufficient. An airport can make better use of existing retail by making it less demanding for parents with children and elderly people and by introducing short term parking rates (Castillo-Manzano, 2010). Another way to increase the self-sufficiency of airports is looking to attract different industries (Zhang & Zhang, 1997). These industries do not necessarily have to be an airport related industry (see for example Van der Knaap & Vossen, 1995; Van der Kind, 1975). As representatives of KPN “If knowledge is to be used internationally, than flying has to be done” (Buck Consultants International p. 36) and ING “a well-functioning airport is essential for an international company like ING” (Buck Consultants International p.38) show. There is a strong effect of the industries for the regional economy, this leads to local authorities putting a lot of effort in making the airport as attractive as possible. However, an airport has only a limited amount of space, that is why most companies locate in the vicinity of the airport. Vendex (retail company) states that “The location near an airport is a clear advantage” (Buck Consultants International p.38). Real estate development companies are set up by airports to create favourable conditions for companies to locate near the airport (Bridger, 2013). The airport likes attracting non-airport related industries for extra income (Hall, 1993) and less dependency on the cyclicity of the airline industry (Pierson & Sterman, 2013; Liehr et al., 2001). The occurrence of non-airport related companies are an effect of among others location, performance and the possibility of extending the airport (Morrison, 2009). Charles de Gaulle is an example of the extension of an airport, including terminal and runway extensions. For all companies the international accessibility is an essential (Buck Consultants International, 2000).

Even though governments push airports to become more self-sufficient (Zhang & Zhang, 1997), national, regional and local governments still play a vital role. Governments remain the major financier for investments in airport infrastructure, like runways (Flyvbjerg & Priemus, 2007). Furthermore, governments are also responsible for the network infrastructure, like telecommunications, supply and effluent of water, power and road infrastructure that lead to the airport (Bridger, 2013). Companies find good accessibility to and from an airport just as important as investments in the airport itself (Buck Consultants International, 2000). For smaller airports better accessibility is a good example of the market-conformable measures needed to be taken to reach the goals set out (Pels, 2000). For companies four conditions are essential for an airport: accessibility, low loss of time at the airport, quality and reliability (Buck Consultants International, 2000).

The impacts of an airport on an economy are identified by Button and Stough (1999, in Pels, 2000,) The separate 4 different impacts based on time.

- Primary effects: benefits to the economy, because of design and construction of the airport. These are considered short term effects.

- Secondary effects: benefits that are associated with the operation of an airport, such as aircraft catering. These are long term effects.
- Tertiary effects: These effects are related to the business that is attracted by the presence of an airport.
- Perpetuity effects: the economic growth that is kick-started by an airport can turn into the basis of endogenous growth.

Van der Kind (1975) also sees the perpetuity effects. The expanded airport produces more employment. These workers live and spend their wages in the region, leading to the basis of endogenous growth. An airport can be vital for the economy of a city and of that of neighbouring communities (Dehn & Meise, 1975). Investment in 'core' infrastructure, like airports, is very productive according to Aschauer (1989). The expansion of a runway offers significant added value to an airport (Miller & Clarke, 2007).

Flyvbjerg et al. (2003a) see more possible positive effects of expansion of the airport. In the short term the expansion provides the airport with a higher demand of businesses and private individuals. On the medium term businesses already using the airport before the expansion see their cost per unit drop, which leads to a higher demand for that business. On the long term businesses profit from the higher demand and that results in a better competitive position and possible an expansion of the business.

Most airports encounter capacity constraints, whether these are physical or environmental (Pels, 2000). In the 1970s it was expected that in the Netherlands would face major capacity strains at airports (Van der Kind, 1975). The length of the runway is the decisive factor what type of aircraft can land at an airport. A longer runway can receive larger, heavier and faster landing and taking off aircraft (Pels, 2000). Furthermore Pels (2000) concludes that airports have to take in airline behaviour and linked to that passenger preferences, before the capacity is expanded or improvements to accessibility are made. Well looking at the airline behaviour is important because airlines might not have the same or even the opposite goal of that of an airport.

Taxiways and aprons that are not effectively build create major constrains on the capacity of a runway. On average an European airport is still inefficient (Pels, 2000). An extension of the runway alone helps but needs to be accompanied by expansions of taxiways and the apron (Bekebrede et al., 1999). The expansion creates more capacity, which means lower costs per landing or take off, which leads to lower charges. Lower charges attracts more airlines, especially the low cost carriers (Barrett, 2000). The revenue stream of airside operations of airports do not grow rapidly, but the traffic does and so do non-airside revenue streams.

### *3.2.1 Low cost carriers and airports*

The low cost carrier sector has become a major player in both the airline and airport industry (Graham, 2013). The largest low cost carriers of this moment are easyJet and Ryanair. Ryanair is the largest airline when only looked at international passengers, easyJet is second. In only domestic flights the American low cost carrier Southwest is the largest in transported passengers (International Air Transport Association, 2014). The low cost carrier segment is a strong growing section of the airline market. A low cost carrier, especially Ryanair, does not fly on large airports, like Schiphol. Ryanair prefers cheaper airports like Eindhoven or in the future Lelystad Airport (Heemskerk et al.,



2006). The low cost carriers accelerate their growth, because they take over part of the market for charter holidays. An airport with 1 million passenger gives direct employment of minimal 800 jobs. When an airport grows the number of employees per million passengers declines due to scaling. This decline due to scaling is especially strong in the early expansion of an airport (Heemskerk et al., 2006).

For low cost airlines serving airports the largest retail revenues come from grab and go stores (Graham, 2009). A much heard argument is that because low cost carriers charge for on board services passenger would spend more on the airport than full service airline passengers. However, no evidence for this argument has been found (Lei & Papatheodorou, 2010). Airports can attract low cost carriers by making investments in both airside and non-airside operations (Fasone et al., 2012). Some airports have instead of charging landing fees offered low cost carriers money to fly to their airport (Gillen & Lall, 2004). This to increase passenger numbers and commercial revenues (Francis et al., 2003). Francis et al. (2004) also warn airports for trying to attract low cost carriers. Airports become more reliant on non-aeronautical revenues and the low cost market is known for its volatility. Low cost carriers open and close a lot of routes every year (Graham, 2013). The low cost market is also a very seasonal market, that is much larger in the summer season. The efficiency of an airport serving mainly low cost carriers is much higher in the summer than in the winter (Pyrialakou et al., 2012), but the presence of low cost carrier traffic makes an airport more efficient (Coto-Millán et al., 2014). Airports focussed on solely low cost carriers are more efficient than airports that serve both low cost carriers and full service network airlines (Choo & Oum, 2013).

Airports serving low cost carriers can benefit from the low cost carriers. Albany county airport expanded its parking facilities, surveyed the businesses in the region and build transportation links to neighbouring cities that did not have the service of a low cost carrier. The airport believes that the customers of the low cost carriers are the same customers for the airport (Gillen & Lall, 2004).

### *3.2.2 Airports as megaprojects*

Investment in airports is very expensive. A lot of money is needed to expand an airport. A project with a large budget are, as Flyvbjerg states 'megaprojects'. "Mega originates from the Greek word megas, which means great, large, vast, big, high, tall, mighty and important" (Flyvbjerg, 2014 p. 7). Never in history have so many megaprojects been build (Flyvbjerg, 2007a). These megaprojects involve several public and private stakeholders and take many years to design and build (Flyvbjerg, 2014). In projects that have a huge budget it is not uncommon that cost overrun and that benefits fall short (Flyvbjerg, 2012a). There are winners and losers in a megaproject. The winners are the companies that get multi-million dollar contracts. Furthermore, there are land owners, local authorities and consultants that also profit from the project. Engineers and technologists are also considered winners. A megaproject is considered the masterpiece of their work. However, besides winners there are also losers. The cost overruns and the shortage of benefits mean that the funders of the projects have to cover huge losses, one of the losers usually are the taxpayers (Flyvbjerg et al., 2003a). The losses disadvantage the welfare of society (Flyvbjerg, 2008). Besides a financial debacle a megaproject also creates a lot of negative effects for both nature and social life, these effects are discussed in the following two sections.

### 3.3 Nature

Airports are more than ever associated with negative impacts on the environment (Griggs & Howarth, 2012). However, in the predictions these negative impacts are not so dramatic. In reality the negative impacts are much larger. Predictions for the negative impacts during building are further away from the actual results than the predictions of negative impacts on the environment of the operation of the airport (Flyvbjerg et al., 2003a).

However, according to airlines expansion of airports can actually reduce the impact on the environment. Because an increase in the capacity of an airport will mean less congestion in the operating time of the airport. If more aircraft can land in the available time, than the aircraft will not have to wait as long in a holding pattern saving lots of fuel. Another advantage of less waiting is that airplanes will not have to take on as much fuel, reducing the weight of an aircraft and so making it more fuel efficient. Using less fuel means less emissions from the aircraft, which is better for the environment (Somerville, 1993).

Most scientists believe that the expansion of an airport can have negative impacts for wildlife, be harmful to fragile ecology and may cause a loss of agricultural land and the open landscape (OECD, 1975). The expansion of JFK Airport was halted, because the expansion was planned in the ecological important Jamaica Bay. In the Bay 60 species of fish and over 300 species of birds were recorded. The expansion would have damaged the ecology of the already under pressure flora and fauna of the Jamaica Bay. With higher frequency of aircraft taking off and landing the dangers of an oil spill and fuel leakages would also increase (Ebbin, 1975). Leakages in the ground can cause major problems. In the winter there is a runoff of glycol. Glycol is the de-icing fluid used to clear an aircraft of ice. Ice severely affects the aerodynamics of an aircraft. The glycol used is run off to surface water nearby. Bacteria are capable of breaking down glycol, but it needs oxygen to do so. The lack of oxygen that results of the breakdown of glycol causes fishes to choke and die. The river becomes an empty dead river (Bridger, 2013). When heavy chemicals, present in fuel, leak away into the ground it can run into ground water. The ground water can flow towards other places. Then these places are also affected by the airports operation. With the expansion of the airport and the increase in air traffic the change on leakages into ground and surface water rises (Belt et al., 1990). The spreading of toxins can have severe implications for both nature and humans. It was found that grassland near Schiphol was so contaminated that kettles were not allowed to feed there and the grassland was not suitable to be cattle fodder. Cattle that did feed from this grassland were not suitable for human consumption. The meat was too much polluted to be safe to eat (Belt et al., 1990).

In Canada before any ecological studies were done sand and gravel were already extracted for airport expansion. The extraction of this sand and gravel destroyed animal habitats and natural dunes (Marriot & Cook, 1975). Trees are cut down to make room for the extended runway. Due to the cut down trees an open landscape is created. This open landscape is ideal for certain types of birds. The open landscape in combination with an increasing number of aircraft taking off and landing creates a higher risk for bird strikes. Not only pose bird strikes an increased safety risk for passengers, but in most cases the birds do not survive a collision with an aircraft (Dolbeer, 2013; Ebbin, 1975). For other species measures can be taken, but it is inevitable that some will prosper and others decline (Marriot & Cook, 1975).

Another not that often considered effect of extending the airport, especially the runway, apron and taxiways is the increased runoff of rainwater. Whereas nature, like trees, take up water and gradually release it a solid runway does not hold water, but releases it immediately. The higher immediate release of water can cause flooding of animal habitats and surrounding communities (Bridger, 2013).

### **3.4 Social**

The communities around the airport are among its most fierce opposers. "The admiration for the exercise of power that wins a new airport is not shared by the people whose property abuts the landing strip" (Galbraith, 1986, Ch.10 p.218). According to Foucault an airport can be seen as a heterotopia (Hook, 2007). The airport is the space in which the different interests are contested. It is the space that "provides a real site of practical resistance" (Lees, 1997 p. 321). Airports have become a centre for conflict (Stratford, 1974). In the present day negative effects of the operation of airports are in the spotlight. Much attention is given to noise and air pollution (Griggs & Howarth, 2012; Korytárová & Hromádka, 2014).

#### *3.4.1 Noise nuisance*

Besides the noise from aircraft taking off and landing noise nuisance from the taxiing of aircraft, the idle engines before take-off and the noise caused by all airport vehicles attribute to the noise annoyance of communities surrounding the airport (Stratford, 1974). Noise nuisance however varies a lot between airports. Noise might be a bigger problem at one airport than at another, though no airport is free of noise nuisance. Because the problems with noise differ between airports Van Essen et al. (2005) propose to look at the problem of noise per individual airport. The local authority should set the limit for the number of people exposed to aircraft noise. What Van Essen et al. (2005) do not realize is that some airports are owned by the same local authorities. Local authorities might give an airport more room in the limit of exposed people so the airport can make more money for the owner, the local authority.

Noise generating by air traffic can severely affect the daily lives of people living near the airport. Noise can be both affecting peoples physical and psychological health. The noise prevents people from hearing natural sounds like the singing of birds and unnatural sounds like the television, noise can cause problems with reading and sleeping. Especially a lack of sleeping well can cause ill health (Perron et al., 2012). Even if the aircraft become more quiet, the expansion of the airport leads to more noise nuisance (Belt et al., 1990; Bridger, 2013). Aircraft noise causes an increase in the size of the waist (Eriksson et al., 2014), a higher chance of a heart attack (Ancona et al., 2014) and a poorer cognitive performance (Elmenhorst et al., 2010). The value of houses also decline if there is more noise from the airport. Worrying about the house and a lack of sleep can cause a lot of stress. Other airport related effects on value of houses are the fear of accidents, air pollution and vibration (Stratford, 1974).

#### *3.4.2 Air pollution*

Studies have shown that commercial aircraft are responsible for a maximum of two percent of the national air pollution (Marriot & Cook, 1975). In these studies a number of airport operations are not taken in. Airports provide three ways of air pollution. First there are the aircraft that take off, land and taxi. Secondly, there are the vehicles the airports uses to service the aircraft. Special attention

should be given to the Auxiliary Power Units (APUs). These APUs are either located in the aircraft or for aircraft without an APU on board the airport has a mobile APU on a vehicle. Using the APU, for instance for air conditioning on the ground, means burning fuel (Bekebrede et al., 1999). Thirdly, the aircraft pollutes the air when stationary running its engines (Belt et al., 1990). I believe there is a fourth way the airport, indirect is polluting the air. The fourth way is that the passengers and freight need to be delivered and picked up from the airport causing even more air pollution. This fourth way is also observed by Stratford (1974). Belt et al. (1990) see three impacts of air pollution. First, acidification. Acidification poses problems for ecosystems. However, due to the use of filters this problem is for the large part solved. Secondly, there is the effect on local health. Air pollution can contribute to problems with allergies or asthma. Bridger (2013) also sees that air pollution causes higher cancer rates among people living near the airport. Thirdly, there is climate change. Currently this is the biggest environmental problem (Upham et al., 2003).

### *3.4.3 Limit the alternatives*

The promoters of the expansion of a project are taking in a limited amount of alternatives to have their proposition as the best. The proposed project is 'locked-in' (Flyvbjerg, 2009). Priemus (2007) finds this is also the case in large Dutch infrastructure projects. Sometimes alternatives are not presented in an early stage and when they are presented the project is too far in progress to consider an alternative. Even if alternatives are taken in early, the governments preferred plan will still go through because alternatives are not investigated seriously (Priemus, 2007). The promoters limit the alternatives, because their proposed projects delivers them the highest reward.

Another way of showing the proposed alternative is by excluding interest groups. This is well described in the case of Heathrow's third runway. Only a couple of public consultations were done, those were called 'therapeutic consultations', but it was more an explanation what was going to happen. Furthermore, communities and also environmental groups were excluded from the Project for the Sustainable Development of Heathrow (PSDH). However, the British Airport Authority, National Air Traffic Services and Civil Aviation Authority were included in the PSDH. (Griggs & Howarth, 2012). A further way in which promoters try to get their proposed alternative is by misrepresenting the costs and benefits, where society does not get the real figures but other less dramatic figures. Flyvbjerg et al. (2002) see this as lying. "The problem of misinformation is an issue of power and profit" (Flyvbjerg et al., 2003b). This statement connects the social component with the economic part of airports and with the problem of extensions of airports as a struggle of rival interests and through that a struggle between rival forces (Griggs & Howarth, 2012) and with the part on power presented above. An agency might officially lead the project, but there are always other agencies and interest groups involved. The leading agency does not possess all power therefore the agency needs to bargain and negotiate to get the airport expansion designed and implemented (Szyliowicz & Goetz, 1995). However an agency might have a surplus of power, because communities are not well organised in groups. If this happens one individual has to face a large powerful agency and will lose its struggle (Jordhus-Lier, 2015). Only if individuals act together they can amass enough power to stand up against the power of the agency. But Miller (2001) believes that actions of organizations are reducible to the actions of individuals. "All social actions are performed by individuals, not social entities (Miller, 2001 p. 160).

Two examples of airports that wanted to expand but couldn't are discussed in the next two paragraphs. The airport of Zürich-Kloten has more than enough space to extend, but the neighbouring population opposes the growth of the airport (Van der Knaap & Vossen, 1995). The relation between the airport Zürich-Kloten and the neighbouring communities is intrinsically complex. Most of the employees need to commute to the airport and do not live in the neighbouring and most negative affected communities (Touzin, 1975). What also needs to be taken into consideration is that measures that reduce the noise annoyance are expensive and increase an already large budget (Reinhard, 1975). Zurich airport nowadays has its own noise measure index. The Zürich Aircraft Noise Index is used to measure the analysis of the effects of aircraft using the airport on the surrounding population (Schaffer et al., 2012).

The expansion of the Stapleton airport near Denver did not only suffer from intense opposition from local environmentalists and the possibly affected neighbourhoods (Szyliowicz & Goetz, 1995), but also from the dominant airline at the airport. Usually there is one airline that dominates an airport (Pels, 2000). This dominant airline was afraid that extra capacity would lead to more competition and that the airport would try to recuperate its investment through higher landing and terminal fees (Altshuler & Luberoff, 2003).

#### *3.4.4 Poor value and communication*

Interest groups do understand that an airport is an asset for the local economy. However they feel that more people on the ground are affected than the number of people that profit in the sky (Stratford, 1974). The European Court of Auditors investigated 20 airport expansions and came with some surprising conclusions. In 10 of the 20 researched airports the number of passengers declined after expansion. The other 10 that did see an increase in passengers however, the rise was significantly lower than projected. Only about half of the airports actually needed expansion. Cost overruns happened on 9 of the 20 investigated airports and 17 out of 20 airport expansions were delayed and finished after the delivery date. More than half of the investigated airport expansions were not fully in use, some weren't even used in peak hours. The European Court of Auditors also founded that airports that received funding were geographically very close to each other and were fishing in the same passenger pond. The overall conclusion was that investment in airport expansions was poor value for money (European Court of Auditors, 2014). Infrastructure projects, like airports, keep disappointing the stakeholders, when it comes to the actual results versus expected results (Ika & Hodgson, 2014).

An airport that has the wish to expand will face a lot of resistance from neighbouring communities as shown above. However, the airport can reduce the amount of resistance. To counter Not-In-My-Back Yard behaviour the affected neighbouring communities need to be involved in any further planning for airport expansion (Szyliowicz & Goetz, 1995). To reduce resistance the airport has to be transparent, show how large the negative impacts will be as result of the expansion, go into conversation with the communities without dictating and without using technical language in the conversations with the communities (Ng & Sheate, 1997) and airports should try to maximize the social and economic benefits that result of the expansion and target these benefits to the most affected communities (Upham et al., 2003). Unfortunately airport planning still focuses on facilitating the growth of passengers (Saldiraner, 2013) and less attention is being paid to other implications of airport expansion. An example that did saw different stakeholders work together is given by Van Wijk

et al. (2014) However, this partnership did not last due to inflexibility and the airport real estate developer got too much power within the partnership.

As a result from the social problems groups of people from surrounding communities organize themselves, but the promoters of the airport expansion also organize. The next section is concerned with those interest groups.

### **3.5 Interest groups**

May & Hill (2006) differentiate six different categories of stakeholders in airport expansions. First, there are the politicians and government agencies on the national and local level. Second, there are the airlines flying on the airport. Third, there are the business organizations, like the airport operator and local Chamber of commerce. Fourth, the non-government groups representing the affected communities. Fifth, are the media, including local media, like local television, radio and newspapers. Sixth, the passengers of the airport flying in and out of the region. Another stakeholder that May & Hill (2006) missed are the local and national environmental groups.

In the work of Poulantzas the state plays an important role. Poulantzas states that the state can play a decisive role in which interest group will benefit due to intervention from the state in the economy. For a group to really become a decisive group it is vital that the group becomes sufficiently politically organized. The level of organization and the position of bargaining are the determining factors where the power of a group depends on. The power of a group gives the ability of that group to achieve its interests in a conflict situation (Clarke, 1977).

Interest groups are the main drivers for change in the industries and agencies that traditionally are involved with infrastructure projects. This change is necessary to improve the planning, financial accountability and design of infrastructure projects (Flyvbjerg, 2007b). Interest groups have different backgrounds and different ideals. However interest groups can also work together to form one front against a common 'enemy' (Griggs & Howarth, 2004). In the case of an airport it is not uncommon to see conservation, environmentalist and local protest groups form a front against airport expansion. When the government of the UK announced a third runway at Heathrow would be build environmental and conservation lobby groups kicked into action. But not only lobby groups also action driven environmentalists started to protest (Griggs & Howarth, 2012). The opposing parties use the legal system to the maximum to try to stop the extension or building of a runway (Van Bakelen, 1986). However, interest groups may not only be against something. Again taking an airport as example, airport companies, airlines, parts of the tourist industry, trade unions, organized businesses and air users are all interest groups that can form a front in favour of expansion of an airport (Griggs & Howarth, 2012). Promoters of airport expansion, like business groups usually use arguments concerning economic benefits to justify airport expansions (Altshuler & Luberoff, 2003).

## **4. Structure of analysis**

The main research question focuses on the aspect of time in the power balance that goes on in a planning process of, in this research, airport expansions. The main research question that goes along with this is: Why is time the underestimated factor in the power balance in the spatial planning process? The literature investigated in the previous chapters provide the basic starting point on the way to answer the main question posed in this research. Chapter 2 sheds light on what power is and

what it entails. Furthermore, chapter 3 investigates the role between the spatial planning process and airport expansions and the effects of the airport expansions. Combining both into one research method creates a merger of both sides of investigation. The research method has to be able to combine power and the planning process of airport expansion and be able to do the research over a longer period of time. After the research method is chosen the case study is investigated by applying the research method on the case. After the research results are clear, a chapter is dedicated to how the research results are located in the analytical steps that were followed. The chapter looks at the path followed and how the case study is compared to the wider field of power and airport planning. At the end the main question is answered in the conclusion.

## 4.1 Conceptual Framework

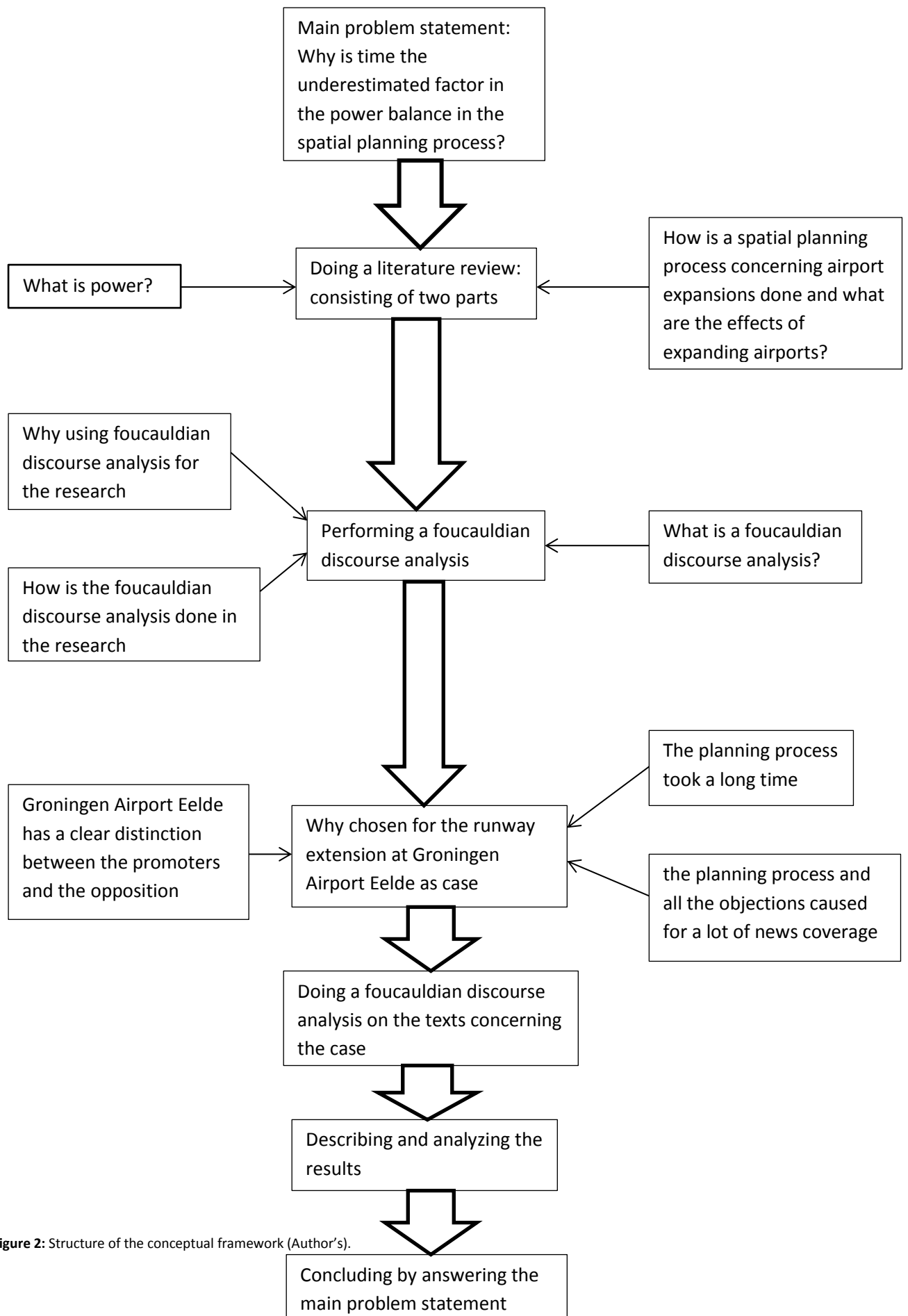


Figure 2: Structure of the conceptual framework (Author's).



The above presented part gives a substantial overview on the literature on power and airport expansions, but it is far from all encompassing. However, for the research it is sufficiently investigated and forms a base on which to continue. Next the methodology will be explained.

## **5. Methodology**

In the Chapter 2 a lot of attention was focused on power. Power is difficult to investigate, more so due to the high levels of abstraction and subtleties in the terminology of power. This is not a problem in itself. Scientists that focus on the analysis of power might see it as a challenge to try to develop a theoretical model of power. However, for research that goes beyond the field of politics, power might become ignored (Avelino & Rotmans, 2009). In this research qualitative data is used, but, simply counting the number of times a code appears in a text is not in itself enough to be the link between the quantitative and qualitative data (Boyatzis, 1998). This research will use the foucauldian discourse analysis to investigate the power struggle between different stakeholders through time. Coding forms part of the foucauldian discourse analysis, this research will give a higher significance to coding. First I discuss the foucauldian discourse analysis and why was chosen for this analysis. A section is dedicated to a comparison between the in this research used foucauldian discourse analysis and the popular phronetic social science analysis and why the foucauldian discourse analysis was preferred in this research. This is followed by a part on why the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde was chosen as case. The last part is dedicated to the role of the media. Media reports play an important role in the research.

### **5.1 Foucauldian discourse analysis**

Discourse analysis based on thematic analysis is according to Boyatzis (1998) very basic, consisting of three stages: deciding on sampling and design issues, developing themes and codes and validating and using the codes. Discourse analysis gives the possibility of investigating qualitative data like texts (Cheek, 2004). However, the discourse analysis of Boyatzis (1998) is not a very sophisticated tool for doing analysis in qualitative research. The Foucauldian discourse analysis is often considered as one of the best analysis for qualitative research. Foucauldian discourse analysis is not so much focused on providing policy recommendations (Sharp & Richardson, 2001), but more on the struggle for power (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Foucauldian discourse analysis gives a more “fluid and nuanced analysis of the exercise of power and of the contradictions evident in the discourse” (Barnes, et al., 2006 p. 351). However, there is hardly any literature on how to perform a foucauldian discourse analysis. Foucault’s philosophy can be a challenge to incorporate in a research due to the many different views and lack of one single theoretical point. However, Foucault’s philosophy can also reveal many views that are unconventional and be of much assistance. Furthermore, Foucault sees power relations not as a simple cause and effect relationship (Dillon, 2014).

Waitt (2010) does give a scheme how to do foucauldian analysis. Waitt breaks up the analysis in 7 steps. The steps explained below are sourced on Waitt (2010) any other statement that is made in the scheme comes from the sources mentioned by the statement. Let’s explain the scheme and the implications this analysis has for the research.

### *5.1.1 The first step*

The first step of the analysis is making the choice of source materials or texts. Usually discourse researchers have to deal with vast amounts of texts (Du Bois & Schuetze-Coburn, 1993). The quality of the collected texts are vital for a consistent and reliable analysis. However, this does not mean that a scientific paper is qualitative better than a personal account of something it all depends on the question that is under investigation (Boyatzis, 1998). In a foucauldian discourse analysis any kind of written or spoken text can be used to analyse. To determine which sources to use is an important step in doing foucauldian discourse analysis (Whitehead et al., 2013). There are three main sources that will be used in this research. The first are scientific papers. Scientific papers need to be included to provide the view from the academic world on the extension of the runway. The second source consist of official government reports, these will provide insight in the view the local, regional and national authorities have on the extension of the runway. The third source are media reports. Due to the total number reports it is expected that media reports provide the larger volume of information. By some scientists media reports are not seen as acceptable for scientific research. However, media reports are well suited to be used in researches that use the foucauldian discourse analysis as the research tool as the example of Burroughs (2015) shows. This research will use newspaper articles to show the power balance through time at the case of Groningen Airport Eelde and its runway extension.

### *5.1.2 The second step*

The second step for a researcher is to become reflexive. Becoming reflexive might sound vague, but there are three main conditions to ensure reflexivity. First, discussing why you as the researcher have chosen for a particular topic and what your first ideas about that topic are. Second, is the relationship between the research and the researcher through time. During the research the opinions and ideas of a researcher might change. A textual analysis always affects the opinions and ways of how an author investigates the chosen topic (Miller, 1993). The change might affect the direction in which the research is going. Third, keep the way of interpretation of the text well documented. The core is not the researcher's perspective, but the producer's perspective on the topic of research. Through the research all references of all newspaper articles (in appendix B) and other data sources (in the reference list) are listed. The descriptive codes derived from the newspaper articles are listed in appendix A.

### *5.1.3 The third step*

The third step of foucauldian discourse analysis is an essential one. It is what Waitt (2010) calls getting familiarized with the texts. This entails focussing on who the author is, what technology did the author use and what is the intended audience of the author. Looking at these three parts of the text is essential to be able to be critical about the presented discourse. Foucault saw discourse as being a subtle form of social power and control. Powerful groups are more present in a discourse, because their discourse might be seen as the 'truth'. The other less powerful groups discourse may not be heard, or be considered 'untruthful'. A text is always the outcome of a power-laden process. The same is true for a planning process (Van Dijk et al., 2011). Texts provokes multiple meanings and these meanings can go in any direction. Every person brings his own meaning, linked to their background and experiences. The research has diversified over different sources to ensure that as

many intended audiences are served and variety in authors and their investigation technologies was achieved.

#### *5.1.4 The fourth step*

The fourth step is doing coding. With coding qualitative information is quantified, however this does not mean it is only used to get quantifiable numbers. In Foucauldian discourse analysis codes form a systemized body of knowledge (Springer & Clinton, 2015). Foucault saw the importance of looking for recurrent themes and arguments (Whitehead et al., 2013). Coding is done for two particular reasons. The first is to organize. The second is for interpretation. The most basic and most used coding analysis is the content analysis. Content analysis is a system of counting the “terms, phrases or actions that appear in a document, audio recording, or video” (Cope, 2010 p. 282) and in what context the terms, phrases or actions appear. The content analysis can use two different kinds of codes. The distinction is made between descriptive and analytical codes.

Descriptive codes describe the themes that are very obvious from the data, like scale identifiers, demographic or site categories. Analytical codes are codes that are formed from a number of codes with similar meaning. For instance when research is done to what people eat in a day, apples and bananas can fall under the code fruit, whereas carrots and potatoes fall under the code vegetables. These analytical codes are made to shrink the number of codes, increasing the workability and to create themes that reflect the researchers interests (Cope, 2010). By grouping the codes it becomes possible to systematically study the texts (Lampert & Ervin-Tripp, 1993). These clusters of codes are important for presenting the findings of the research and could serve as the basis of further research. Content analysis is the starting point for discourse analysis. Coding provides the most basic element of investigating raw data (Boyatzis, 1998). The analytical codes form the “insights into why an individual or collective holds particular sets of ideas by which they make sense of places, themselves and others” (Waite, 2010 p. 232).

The research derives the descriptive codes from over 300 newspaper articles over a 23 year period. The descriptive codes (all are listed in appendix A) are categorised into a number of analytical codes. These analytical codes provide the main lines of arguments used by both promoters and opposition groups. A clear picture is given by the flow through time of the power balance in the planning process around the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. A descriptive part is also written to cover the political process through time about the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde.

Through coding analysis the expectation is that the sources provide three main notions. Economy, Nature and Social. These notions are drawn from the literature review. These three notions still say very little. To become more important time has to be factored in. Time poses certain difficulties in doing research. Through time the consistency of data might differ. When for instance is looked at revenue an airport derives from airport related companies inflation must be calculated, just as the discrepancy between the euro and what other currency was used before. Time is a crucial part of the context of the discourse (Hook, 2001). In this research the discourse and the context that is derived from the texts are important markers for the effect of time on power. However, this research does not go as far into the context as the phonetic social science theory. Why not is explained in the section 5.3 further below. Time is also the essential part of the main problem statement, that is investigated by doing a Foucauldian discourse analysis.

Time is factored in by taking the total frequency of the codes of each notion in a year and putting them in a descriptive method. The descriptive method used are flow graphs (drawn from the codes counted). However, the number of sources per year will vary. To eliminate this the total frequency of the codes of each notion per year has to be divided by the number of sources of that year. Then a picture is established of each notion through time. The notions are then put together to see what notion is dominant in each year. Last all three main notions are put together to create a total picture. This is done to be able to visualize the struggle of power between the stakeholders through time and the planning process at the case study.

#### *5.1.5 The fifth step*

The fifth step into doing Foucauldian discourse analysis is to investigate the text for what Waitt calls the 'effects of truth'. The notions of power, knowledge and persuasion play an important role. As seen in the literature review power is a term with a wide field of meaning. The main reason for investigating texts for power, knowledge and persuasion is because these three notions influence truth or more specifically the perception of what the truth is. Already shortly mentioned in step three is that power decides what group can or cannot present their truth better in society. Power influences the truth because some truths might not be mentioned whereas others are mentioned too much. This power relationship has stirred some controversy as Foucault sees that all relationships have power. Opposers state that were the relationship has power, the actors in the relationship have not. They even called it an updated version of Talcott Parsons (Matthews, 2012). The research follows, as Foucault indeed says, that actors don't have power, but can use power in the relationship. It is also not an updated version of Parsons as Parsons also believed that power could be an entity that could be lost or gained.

With knowledge there is a similar distinction. For instance scientific knowledge is quicker acknowledged than local knowledge. Scientific knowledge is regarded as a 'proven' concept, whereas local knowledge is regarded as 'unproven' and less reliable. Foucault believes persuasion is a form of power. Persuasion is used to try to get the wider society believe that the truth presented by your group is the right one. Persuasion is targeting the feelings and fears of the audience, it is an interactive process (Curran, 2002).

Due to the notions of power, knowledge and persuasion truth does not exist. An author of a piece, whether it is a newspaper article or a scientific paper strives to be objective, however being totally objective is impossible. The author is always putting in hidden views, that are related to his/her background. Foucault goes even further by stating that the author is a function of a certain group of discourse and that affirms the status of the author in society (Foucault, 1977). Due to the difference in background it is possible that one text may lead to different readings of the same text. The different perspectives of the text can all be valid. For a researcher investigating texts for the effects these notions have on the 'truth' is important to be able to clearly understand that the presented truth in the texts does not necessarily present the total picture of all the groups and truths in society. There is not one reading that is the 'truth' (Burr, 1995).

This becomes clear in chapter 7 section 9 where the results from the case study are analysed and compared to the wider concept of planning and the relation of power and planning through time.

### *5.1.6 The sixth step*

The sixth step is investigating the resilience of the texts used in the research. With resilience is meant that a text does not show inconsistency. Resilience is important for understanding and making use of qualitative information (Boyatzis, 1998). Texts that are inconsistent might not be as suitable for a research than texts that do not show inconsistency. An example is around nature. The mainstream idea is that nature is outside the border of cities, not spoiled by human intervention. However, farmland can also be seen as nature even though this is cultivated nature and formed due to human intervention.

By having a large number of sources that originate from a different background this research strives to be as resilient as possible to be able to answer the main research question.

### *5.1.7 The seventh step*

The seventh step is silence. This might be seen as an odd step, but just as important as investigating what is being said in a text is what is not being said. It is not easy to investigate something that is not mentioned in the text. To be able to have awareness of what is not said a background check must be done. That background check has to investigate the wider social context of the texts. The research has tried to do this by diversifying the sources of data, from media, to scientific literature to government reports. As this is a research looking back in time the circumstances during the time in which the text was written is especially essential. Silence operates on two levels. First is who speaks. The view of one is represented, whereas another view is not. Consensus may have been reached between powerful groups, but a smaller margin of the public might have been silenced in the process to reach consensus (Beaumont & Nicholls, 2008). For the research investigating why that other view is not presented is a key element. Second is what is not being said. Not saying something might also present a wrong discourse of a text. A good example here is Kimberley in Australia. A local airline presents Kimberley as the 'last frontier', but Kimberley does have an airline service to the rest of the world. The part on the airline service is not mentioned to present the image of Kimberley as the last frontier, like it is not all discovered. This example shows that what is not said is just as important as what is being said (Waite, 2010).

## **5.2 Why foucauldian discourse analysis for this research**

The foucauldian discourse analysis is the preferred analysis tool for this research for three main reasons. These three reasons provide that the foucauldian discourse analysis is chosen before other analysing tools. It might be that some analyses can provide a better solution for one of the reasons, but all three reasons are best served by the foucauldian discourse analysis. The three main reasons for choosing foucauldian discourse analysis for this research are the capability to investigate the history of a case, the ability to investigate the power balance of a case through time and to investigate the texts to form usable data for the research.

Foucauldian discourse analysis makes it possible to investigate the history of a case over a longer period of time. In the case of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde it goes all the way back to the 1950s. Foucauldian discourse analysis makes it also feasible to investigate power relations within a case through a time period (Whitehead et al., 2013). The time period can even span decades (Servelli, 2013). The investigation of the power balance at the runway extension at

Groningen Airport Eelde is carried out from the year 1991 to 2014. In this 23 year period over 300 newspaper articles will be decoded for the number of arguments for each group per article per year. This deduction of data creates a clear picture of the power balance at the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. The deduction of data is the last reason why the Foucauldian discourse analysis is the preferred research tool. The Foucauldian discourse analysis makes it possible to shrink the huge amount of information to usable data for further research.

### **5.3 Phronetic social science versus Foucauldian discourse analysis**

One of the currently most used and popular research tools for doing power research is the phronetic social science. Originally based on the idea of Aristotle it was further developed by Foucault and Flyvbjerg. Flyvbjerg's (2001) *Making Social Science Matter* the book that really put phronetic social science firmly in the spotlight. The phronetic research method is well capable to investigate power, also in the planning process of airport expansions, then why does this research use the less well known and in the spatial planning (so far) hardly used Foucauldian discourse analysis?

First, let state that there are a lot of similarities between phronetic social science and Foucauldian discourse analysis. Both are based on the ideas on power as developed by Foucault. Phronetic social science has at its base a social and historical conditioned context. This research, which uses Foucauldian discourse analysis, also delves back in time to form the context for the planning process. History is fundamental for performing social science. Phronetic social science also heavily focuses on case studies. That would fit perfectly in this research as this research also makes use of a case study.

However, it are the differences between the two research analysis that made this research choose for Foucauldian discourse analysis. First, phronetic social science focuses on the small, the minutiae. Phronetic social science does research that is both detailed as general were the general is in the details. I seriously doubt whether it is possible to be both extremely focused on details and yet be capable of picturing a wide image. Secondly, the main goal of the phronetic social science is to provide input for ongoing social dialogue and praxis in the society. However, the goal of this research is to show the influence time has on the power balance in a planning process.

Thirdly, bigger problems with phronetic social science arise because of the focus on the daily practice, the deed, on the actions outside of the text. Phronetic social science believes there is more than what the text states. I believe this is true, but I struggle with were phronetic social science than basis there assumptions on. Especially in doing a historical research on the workings of power the main source are primarily written texts. Even if there still are persons that can tell about historical events the objectivity is hard because these people look through today's eyes to days gone past. Foucault even stated that discourse is not life, but daily practice. But how can a Foucauldian discourse analysis then be even possible. It seems like Foucauldian and discourse analysis are counterparts of each other. This is of course not true. Foucauldian discourse analysis is possible and focuses on "revealing the discourses that operate beneath the consciousness of individual subjects" (Springer & Clinton, 2015 p. 88). Investigating the deeper context for the power balance through time lies at the core of this investigation meaning that the Foucauldian discourse analysis makes for a more suitable research tool than the phronesis social science as described by Flyvbjerg (2001).

## 5.4 Groningen Airport Eelde's runway extension as case

So far it is explained how the case of Groningen Airport Eelde is going to be researched, but nowhere is explained why the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde is chosen as the case to be researched. Groningen Airport Eelde is a great example of a planning process that grinded to a halt. After both runways were paved in the 1950s the first plans came forward to extend the main runway. By the late 80s it looked like it was going to happen, but the whole planning process was cancelled and the second phase was initiated in 1992 only to be finalized in 2012. Groningen Airport Eelde provides a great template for other planning process cases. First, the planning process for the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde took a long time, several decades. Second, Groningen Airport Eelde also had a clear distinction between the promoters and the opposition groups. Third, the planning process and all the objections caused for a lot of news coverage providing a base to do Foucauldian discourse analysis. The long time period of the planning process makes it possible to investigate the influence time can have on the power balance between groups in a spatial planning process. The runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde provides all the things necessary for doing a successful Foucauldian discourse analysis and be able to provide a base for a wider field of investigation into what the influence of time is on the balance of power in a spatial planning process.

The research uses text to be able to apply the Foucauldian discourse analysis. The section below investigates deeper the role the media play and the role power plays in the media landscape.

## 5.5 Mass media

In this research the media plays an important role. The texts out of the media form a strong base for the research. Journalism is not just presenting the daily news, journalists also are seen as cultural brokers. The cultural products have to deal with the commentary from the consumers and with advertising around the pieces. Journalism is posed with the problem of keeping the balance between news and the non-news for the target audiences. Besides that there is also the competition between different media also targeting the same audience (Corner, 2011). To truly understand the role the media plays in society this section is dedicated to the role of the media with regards to power and resistance groups.

### 5.5.1 Media and power

Powerful institutions like the state can influence the messages the media spread. This is true throughout history (Curran, 2002). The media then lose their own ability to present their own ideas. Then there is no longer the power *of* the media, but there is power *over* the media. Media provide 'soft' power. In this power there is no physical violence or force. Soft power means that the media encourage or discourage certain actions, provide certain information and generate certain feelings (Corner, 2011). The media creates a construction of reality that reflects the dominant culture (Curran, 2002). The media then systematically reproduces and connects to the relationship with the powerful. The media are very important for the powerful, because the media provides a channel to speak to and control the larger majority. Media can also deceive the viewing audience. The media only shows a part of the total picture, this can lead to a person or place being showed better or worse than the total picture would show (see for example Barnes et al., 2006). However, the idea that there is one dominant powerful group that controls the media is a myth. Power shifts between groups where at different times different groups are dominant. The media is a site of competition between

different groups that both try to be the dominate one. Getting coverage on a mass medium is very important in itself, because there are many competing interests that also like the limited space on a mass medium. A mass medium also reaches a vast number of the population (Miller, 2001). The media can be seen as an agency that is caught up in the struggle between different ideas of the competing groups (Curran, 2002).

Besides the control of the media by a powerful group there is also another point of view. In the liberal tradition the media is considered to be highly autonomous. This autonomous is under threat especially now that media is bought up by large corporations where profit is more important than reflecting reality. The distinction between news and entertainment fades. If this happens media becomes less autonomous even in the liberal tradition (Curran, 2002).

The media provides a lot of different forms of knowledge, this is considered to be good. Flyvbjerg understands the vast pressure that mass media can give. Mass media “structure and dominate the public sphere, for better and for worse”(Flyvbjerg, 2012a p.97). Corner (2011) has to admit that investigating the flow of power that plays in and through the media is difficult to investigate.

One thing media have to take account off is that their audience is not like an empty room that will be filled by the information by the media. People are selective both in what news they take in and what they believe to be true (Curran, 2002). The function of the media is not so much changing the believes of their audiences, but keeping society functioning.

#### *5.5.2 Media and resistance*

News media have a special relationship with conflict. Where there is a conflict between different parties it is likely to find some form of media (Tiffen, 2000). The media have found airport expansions a welcome subject for controversy. The views are usually the opposite of national development programmes. The media provide a platform for uncritically resistance to airport expansion (Stratford, 1974). Tiffen (2000) sees three interests that groups have for media attention. The first is maintaining, mobilising and extending their member group. An interest group tries to be in the news as much as possible. Constant media attention makes the chance higher that the audience will take over the view of the group (Castells, 2009). Second is trying to influence the public agenda. Third is trying to affect the government’s policy in favour of their interests.

Media can also play a negative role in resistance. Media coverage can set bad blood with the opposing site. If the opposing site than starts reacting a conflict is born (Tiffen, 2000). The current mainstream view of the media is that the media reflects society and less so shapes society. Flyvbjerg (2012b) believes that the media play an important role in the awareness of problems with big projects. Resistance to big projects (and the big cost overruns) generate opposition, but this resistance needs to be organized. If resistance groups can form an organization that represents their views on a subject like airport expansion than the media will pick it up quicker, because there is a contact the media can approach (Tiffen, 2000). But good organization alone is not enough. The site for protest is also important. Mitchell (2013) shows the example of baggage handling strikers of Denver International Airport having to protest far from the airport terminals on a parking lot. The media attention faded quickly because no one was affected by the strike. There was no conflict and so there was little media attention. Besides organization and site there is one other important factor



for getting media attention. The more money an organized group has, the more capable the group is to get media attention (Castells, 2009).

Media nowadays represent the ideas and views of the public even if these views are not in line with the views and ideas of the powerful. Foucault understood the importance of the media and that the media could be used as a mechanism of power. Media can provide a certain opinion. This does not necessarily have to be the desired opinion (Foucault, 1980f). Interest groups can use different modes of media. First there is the media they own or control, like an own newspaper or website. These media only show the views of the group, it is propaganda. Second are the sub-cultural media that present only to people that have similar views and ideas. Third there are the intra-organizational media. These media reach the members of an organization, nowadays these are mainly company magazines. (Curran, 2002).

By investigating newspaper articles it may sound like this research is based on quantitative data, but this is not the case. The table on the next page shows each research question, the data it provided, what source the data came from and most important what use the data has for the research.

<b>Research question:</b>	<b>Data derived:</b>	<b>From what source is data derived:</b>	<b>What is the interest of the research question for the research:</b>
What is power?	Chronological path of the origin of power	Scientific literature for example works of Lukes, Habermas and Foucault	To understand what power is and how it influences the spatial planning process
How is spatial planning related to airport expansions?	The shift from top-down planning to bottom-up planning in the planning process of airport expansions	Scientific literature for example Kwakkel et al. (2010) and Burghouwt (2007)	To understand the role of spatial planning process around airport expansions
What were the effects of airport expansions at airports that were looking to expand their infrastructure?	Three main effects derived	Scientific literature for example Bridger (2013) and Pels (2000)	These effects form the base for the start of analytical codes
Why is the foucauldian discourse analysis the best research tool to investigate the effect of time on the power balance in a planning process around an airport expansion?	Why the choice was made for foucauldian discourse analysis and not for other analyses such as phronetic social science	Scientific literature for example works of Waitt (2010) and Flyvbjerg (2001)	To have the best possible research analysis to answer the main research question
Why the airport expansion at Groningen Airport Eelde as case?	The political process of the time of the planning process and the flow of power of groups competing the in the planning process through time	A combination of historical backgrounds of Groningen Airport Eelde, newspaper articles over the period 1991-2014 concerning the case and scientific literature of investigations specific to the effects of the case through time	To investigate the discourse between groups competing for power through time in the planning process of the case
<b>Main research question:</b> Why is time the underestimated factor in the power balance in the spatial planning process?	Insight in the aspect of time on the power balance in the spatial planning process	From the answers and analytical investigation of the sub questions mentioned above	The final conclusions to the main research questions

**Table 1:** Research questions, their data and their interest for the research.

## 6. The political process

To start the results part the political process to come to the runway extension with all the delays and setbacks are discussed. First a short section on the political process from the creation of the paved runways and the first rumours around a possible extension of the main runway. The second phase is taking a look at the planning process in the research period from 1991 to the present day. Next, the research results are given and discussed. A section is also dedicated to the role low cost carriers play

at Groningen Airport Eelde. Here the services of Ryanair and Vueling are also discussed as stated in the introduction. First, the political decision making process.

### **6.1 The first phase: 1954-1991**

The best place to start is in 1954. In 1954 the two main runways of Groningen Airport Eelde become paved. The second runway became 1100 meters long, whereas the main runway became 1800 meters long. The discussion concerning a runway extension evolves around the main 1800 meter runway. The first opinions about whether or not to extend crop up in 1968. Rumours that the KLM and the airport want to extend were denied by both. In 1969 during a closed meeting with a club of local entrepreneurs the director of the airport hints on an extension of the runway and improving the airport facilities. The director of the national aviation service sees Groningen Airport Eelde as an airport that can play a significant role in European aviation, but only if the facilities are improved and the runway is extended. In 1972 the province of Drenthe, in which the airport lies, states that the main runway won't be extended for now (De Vries, 2011a).

In 1977 the minister for Transport, Public Works and Water Management opens the new passenger terminal. In his accompanying speech the minister reopens the debate of the runway extensions by stating that the only restraint Groningen Airport Eelde has is the length of the main runway. The new director of Groningen Airport Eelde states in 1978 that the main runway is too short for certain larger types of aircraft to land and take off, but also that this statement is a dangerous one because it immediately springs up reactions from environmental groups and from people that live near the airport or under the flightpath of aircraft approaching the airport. In 1979 the province of Groningen, one of the stakeholders of the airport, is in favour of expanding, however the municipality of Eelde is against extending the runway (De Vries, 2011a).

The discussion about whether or not to extend the runway continues in the 1980s. In 1980 the province of Drenthe calls for an investigation whether or not the runway extension is necessary. As long as the investigation is continued no spatial development is allowed at the airport. The investigation brings forward that the main negative arguments are the expected increase in noise nuisance, squandering of government money and devaluation of the value of homes in the neighbourhood of the airport. The investigation concludes that the national government is in favour of an extension, but that the final decision lies with the local governments (DHV Milieu & Infrastructuur, 1993). The province of Drenthe remains against an extension of the runway. This is a disappointment for the promoters of the runway extension. For the first time since the discussion started the extension of the runway by 700 meters is brought up by the director of Groningen Airport Eelde. The northern business leaders become quite frustrated with the position of the province of Drenthe of not allowing the extension. The province of Drenthe is the only government that opposes the extension. The province of Groningen, the municipality of Eelde and the national government are promoters of the runway extension. After a lot of pressure the province of Drenthe is not in favour, but also no longer against an extension of the runway. The board of directors of the airport wants to know from the local and provincial governments whether or not they are willing to support the extension of the main runway by 700 meters. The airport starts the procedure for extending the runway in 1985.

The first step to be undertaken is the investigation of the possible negative impacts on the environment due to the extension of the runway. This is done in a MER, an environmental impact

assessment. The MER comes to the conclusion that the negative impacts of the extension will be limited. The air traffic will become more intense but this will not result in a significant increase in the amount of noise nuisance. The extension will also not have major negative impacts on the ecology, the water management, the cultural landscape and the road infrastructure. On the basis of the MER the province of Drenthe approves the extension of the main runway to 2500 meter. The decision to allow extension by 700 meters leads to a lot of objections. The minister demands that the airport proves the economic viability of the extension before any other action is undertaken (De Vries, 2011a).

The airport takes a long time before responding to the demand. In 1990 there is already a new minister of Transport, Public Works and Water Management. The most influencing local action group the foundation Surrounding Airport Eelde states that they are prepared to litigate to the highest judge. Early in 1991 a new action group the Committee Rethinking Runway Extension asks the province of Groningen to postpone the decision to extent by five year stating that this delay would not harm the growth and create time to investigate whether or not the extension is really necessary. A few days later the province of Groningen is the first of the stakeholders to approve the runway extension. A couple of months later the other major stakeholder, the province of Drenthe, also approves the extension.

It seems that nothing stands in the way for the runway extension, but then the minister decides that a new environmental impact assessment is necessary. Later in 1991 the runway extension is in danger after it becomes clear the existing 1800 meters main runway is in need of a serious overhaul costing 17 million guilders. The minister wants that the overhaul is paid from the budget that was designated for the runway extension. The original budget of 35 million guilders can be achieved when the extension is cut down to its very basic form. The province of Groningen and Drenthe are arguing what the best way is for the extension to go forward. The minister wants the airport direction to reapply a proposition for extending the runway (De Vries, 2011a). With this decision the first phase of the runway extension comes to an end.

## **6.2 The second phase: 1992-present day**

In 1992 the airport direction has for the second time successfully gotten permission from the national government to extend. 1992 is also the year that the foundation Surrounding Airport Eelde and the Committee Rethinking Runway Extension combine their forces and go on as the Union Local Residents Airport Eelde (in Dutch Vereniging Omwonenden Airport Eelde, in short VOLE, from now on the Union Local Residents Airport Eelde will be denoted as VOLE). VOLE's main activity is lobbying to the people who are in charge and taking the decisions, combatting the politicians that are in favour of the runway extension, influence the public through the press and use the legal system to the maximum to stop the extension. VOLE persist they're not against the airport, but that they are against the negative impacts the airport has and the future increase in negative impacts. VOLE is against the runway extension and also questioning the necessity of extending the runway. Being a member of VOLE does not mean that you are linked to a social party or environmental organisation. VOLE has a think-tank. In that think-tank are experts with a different field of expertise. These experts are not members of VOLE. To VOLE having 'independent' experts on their side is of much greater importance than to have them as members (De Vries, 2011b).

In 1996 both the ministry for Traffic, Public Works and Water Management and the ministry Homes, Spatial Development and Environment again approve the environmental assessment as having no major negative impacts as a result from the runway extension, this to the disappointment of VOLE. In 1997 both the province of Groningen and the province Drenthe and also the municipality of Eelde make clear that they want the runway extension. However, the municipalities of Haren and Vries voted against extending. A commission takes in 839 objections against the runway extension. The commission eventually presents a strongly divided advice on whether or not to proceed with the extension. The representatives of the municipalities of Haren and Vries and the local residents advice not to extend, the others advice to do the runway extension. During a debate in 1998 in the House of Commons the minister of Home, Spatial Development and Environment states that it would be good to reopen the discussion of whether the runway extension is needed. By stating this a crisis arises between the minister of Homes, Spatial Development and Environment and the minister of Traffic, Public Works and Water Management who sees nothing in reopening the discussion. In 1999 both ministers talk but do not make public what the result of the talk was. With the fall of the cabinet in 1999 it becomes uncertain what the position is of the national government. The times are intense as new problems surrounding the financing turn up, but late 1999 the national government finally decides to proceed with the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. Early 2000 the House of Commons also decides to approve the runway extension. After some small adaptations the decision is official in 2001 when it is published in the State newspaper. From this moment the opposers of the runway extension can object to the decision in court.

VOLE calls for every local resident to object to the decision. VOLE provides a standard objection letter and organizes three information evenings to help residents to formalize their objection letters. VOLE also immediately goes to court to ask for a suspension of the decision. The ministry of Traffic, Public Works and Water Management receives 696 objection letters including 283 of the standard letters provided by VOLE. The 696 objection letters are less than the 839 objections that were received in 1997. The chairman of VOLE believes that through the years several procedural errors were made and that some of the assumptions on which the decision is based are old and no longer correct. He is convinced the decision will not stand in court. In 2002 the ministry has judged all objections and publicizes the decision on the runway extension after objections. The next step is going to court.

The Supreme court destroys the decision in December 2003 and rules in favour of VOLE, stating that the model used to calculate noise nuisance is old and no longer representative. Also in December 2003 the national government withdraws as a stakeholder in the airport and deals their shares to the other stakeholders, the provinces of Groningen and Drenthe and the municipalities of Assen, Groningen and Tynaarlo by the first of July 2004. The national government also deals 18 million euros to the other stakeholders to be used for the runway extension. In July 2005 the new environmental impact assessment is done. This new assessment concludes that no additional damage will be done and that the noise nuisance for local residents will not increase. In 2006 the national government decide that the runway extension should proceed forward. VOLE is not amused and again goes to the supreme court to try to induce a new procedure stating that the used procedure was inaccurate. Besides VOLE there is also an organization promoting the runway extension called Friends of Groningen Airport Eelde. They set up a petition to strengthen their view in favour of the extension. The petition results in 12.700 signatures, including prominent politicians such as former minister of the Treasury and now CEO of ABN Amro bank Gerrit Zalm and now prime minister Mark Rutte.

However, as VOLE puts forward, the petition won't make any difference in court as the judges will only look if the procedure is followed correctly.

Opposers of the runway extension ask the ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality to forbid the runway extension in the interest of protected bats. Both promoters and opposers agree that the supreme court judges have done a very thorough investigation. To everyone's surprise the supreme court asks for additional research especially by the European Commission concerning the governments financial support. In December 2007 the European Commission states that the governments financial support should have been reported to them, because of the possibility that the financial support might be conflicting with European legislation. The supreme court rules in 2008 that the European Commission has to decide whether or not the financial support is conform European legislation. In the same ruling all other objections put forward by the local residents and an environmental action group concerning the nature and environment were thrown out. The ministry for Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality dispenses Groningen Airport Eelde on the first of May 2009 for the Flora and Fauna legislation. This means that for five years endangered species are less protected than anywhere else. Any opposers have six weeks for objections to be filed. The European Commission's decision whether or not the airport has received illegal state funding came out on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November of 2009. The European Commission decides that the state funding for the runway extension is not against European legislation. Early in 2010 the national state newspaper publishes the decision made by the ministers of Traffic, Public Works and Water management and Home, Spatial Development and Environment that there is no objection against the runway extension. Against this decision it is possible to object on legal grounds. Five objections are submitted.

The municipality of Tynaarlo, in which the airport lies, does not wait for the objections to be handled and starts with changing the regional zoning plan. On the second of November 2010 the council of Tynaarlo permits the change in the regional zoning plan so the runway extension can move forward. The change makes sure that some of the roads can be rearranged in a different area and that lost nature due to the extension is compensated for. The only objector to the change in the regional zoning plan at the supreme court is VOLE. A fortnight later the council of Tynaarlo agree that an expropriation procedure can start against two landowners that do not want to sell their land.

The first day of the realisation face is the 14th of January 2010 when potential building firms receive information on what the demands are that need to be fulfilled. A DBFM constructing will be used for the tender. DBFM stands for Design, Build, Finance and Maintenance. The DBFM method is introduced to get private funds to finance infrastructure either existing or new. The DBFM contract for Groningen Airport Eelde's runway extension is 10 years (GAE, 2014). The reasoning behind doing a DBFM contract is that a consortium will use good quality materials to limit the expenses on maintenance. A monopoly is given to one party so the party can recuperate the investment (Koopman, 2015). In other countries the private party are also responsible for the exploitation of the infrastructure, for example the French toll roads. In the Netherlands this is not done as maintenance is separated from exploitation. The private party recuperates its investment by payments from the government (Lenferink et al., 2013). This is also the case at Groningen Airport Eelde and the runway extension. Besides extending the main runway from 1800 to 2500 meters the contractor has to build a taxiway of 700 meters, a new apron that can accommodate 5 planes of the type Boeing 737 or Airbus A320, build the electronic infrastructure, reroute some roads and waterways, compensate lost nature and maintain the airport infrastructure for 10 years. For all of these tasks there is a budget of

20 million euros. Halfway June 2010 the airport direction hopes to select three contractors. Those three contractors can then further develop their plans for the new and improved airport infrastructure.

There were eight contractors that were willing to do the build the project. By the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 2010 the airport direction makes the names of the selected three contractors public, earlier than was expected. The three selected contractors have until August of 2010 to put in their bid. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of September the airport selects the Combination PASE as the winner of the tender. Combination PASE is a collaboration between the construction firm Dura Vermeer and the now bankrupt technical service company Imtech.

### 7. The research results from Groningen Airport Eelde

As stated earlier investigating power is difficult, but not impossible. The goal of this investigation is to show the flow of power between the promoters of the runway extension on the one hand and on the other hand the opposers of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. To investigate the flow of power a large number of newspaper articles were investigated for arguments for or against the extension. First there were three categories made. These categories are the same as the ones discussed in the literature review. After an initial start the newspaper articles showed that the category economy should be divided in two. The category economy is split because both promoters and opposers use it to support their view on the runway extension. Promoters state that the runway extension is good for the economy, while opposers don't believe the runway extension will benefit the economy. Due to the low amount of data sources in the years 1991 to 1996 the first year will consist of data from 1991 to 1996. After 1996 each year will be separate.

After investigating over 300 newspaper articles and digesting the total of arguments from each year for each category the following graph comes out as a result.

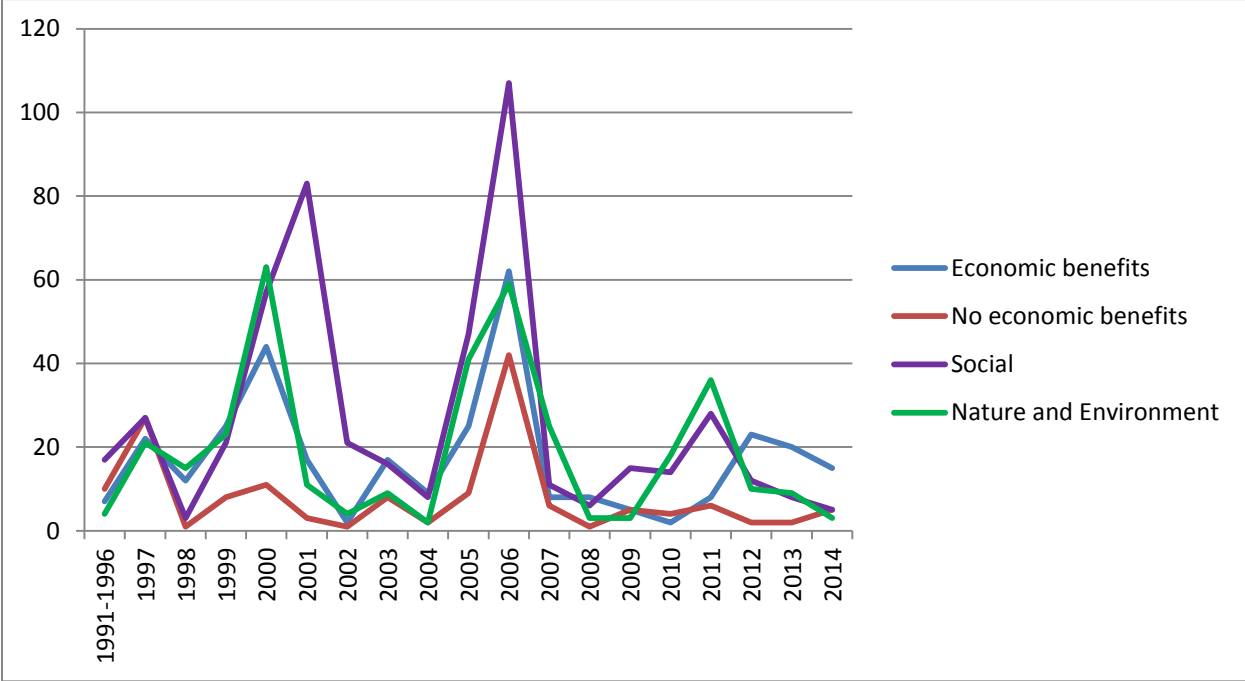


Figure 3: All arguments per year.

Figure 3 shows that in the first couple of years each of the categories has about the same amount of arguments. This really changes around the millennium change. There is a high rise in the categories of economic benefits, nature and environment and especially social. Surprising is that the category of no economic benefits does not follow the other three. From 2001 to 2004 the number of arguments is again relatively low in all categories. From 2004 all categories spike in the number of arguments even though the spike of no economic benefits is a little later than the other categories. After 2007 all the categories stay relative close and with a low number arguments.

However this figure does not show a picture that can be used well in this research. The biggest problem with figure 3 is that there is no consideration with the number of articles in one year. This also causes the two big spikes in figure 3. Remarkable is that in the last couple of years the number of articles is also high, but this does not result in a high number of arguments. Figure 3 also gives a lot of information. For our research it is more helpful to separate each category and look at them individually before joining them to one better surveyable figure.

Let's first look at the category of economic benefits.

**7.1 Economic benefits**

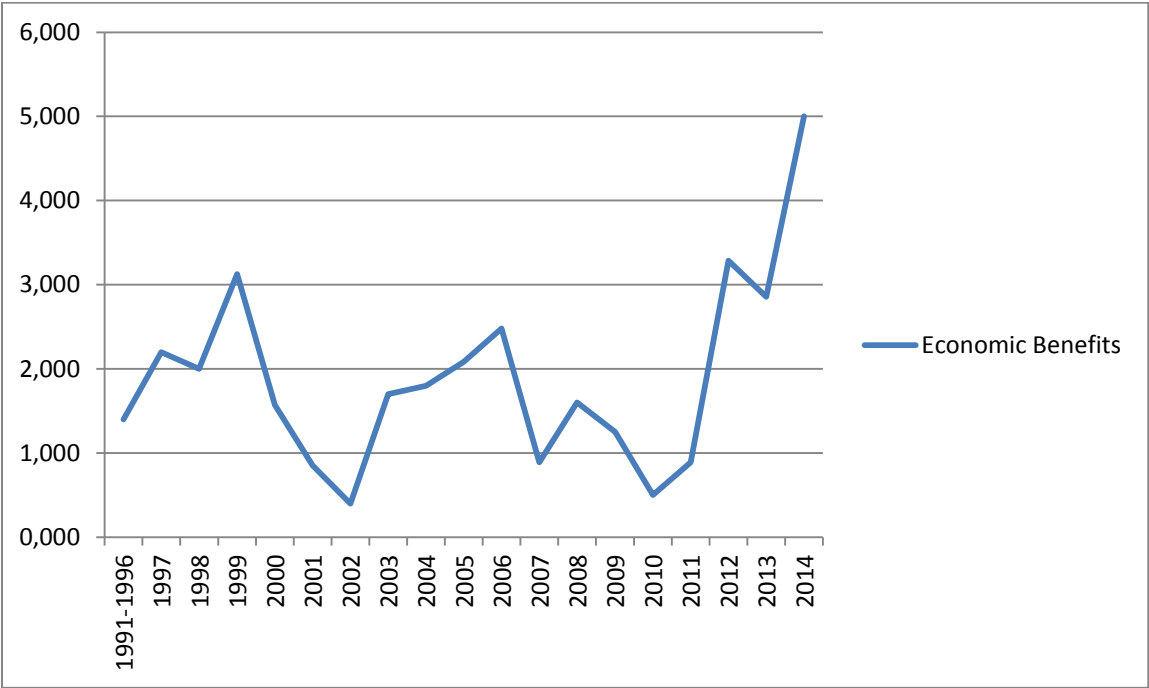


Figure 4: Economic benefits arguments per article per year.

When looking at the number of arguments concerning potential economic benefits two small spikes can be noticed. The first spike is in 1999. In 1999 the cabinet decides that the runway extension can go through. This is a positive decision for the promoters of the runway extension. After 1999 the line flows down to a low in the year 2002 than to rise again to a second spike 2006. 2006 is an important year in the decision making concerning the runway extension. In 2006 the ministries of Traffic, Public Works and Water management and Home, Spatial Development and Environment again back the runway extension. After the decision is made public VOLE asks the High Court for a new rapport on environmental consequences. The High Court asks independent researchers for a new rapport on all aspects of the runway extension. All these steps create a feisty exchange in the newspapers between



the promoters and opposers of the runway extension. However, by far the largest spike can be seen from 2012 and onwards. This spike is a result from the runway extension that was finished in 2012. After finalizing the extension a lot of hope rose that the runway extension would bring in a lot of extra scheduled lines and so also extra passengers. The spike in 2012 is also helped by the economic benefits of designing and building the runway extension and complementary rebuild of the apron. The next paragraphs will be concerned with several scientific researches already done to the economic benefits the runway extension provides.

In 1993 a new startpaper is made for the runway extension. The startpaper starts with forming what exactly the current problem is and what the goal is the airport as initiator wants. The startpaper concerning the runway extension is commissioned by the airport and made by the consultancy firm DHV. The problem Groningen Airport Eelde has in 1993 is the runway length of 1800 meters of the main runway. Especially for the chartermarket, that includes the market for packaged holidays, the main runway length is too short to fly a fully loaded plane to southern Europe. The runway is also too short for a cargo service from Groningen Airport Eelde. The airport believes that with an extended runway the efficiency will be higher and the continuity can be guaranteed better.

The goal of extending the runway is “to foster the continuity of Groningen Airport Eelde as an infrastructural purveyance for offering market aimed and highly qualitative services for air transport” (DHV Milieu & Infrastructuur, 1993 p. 7). There are four categories of air transport mentioned in the startpaper that could benefit from the runway extension. First, are the connections with so called ‘Eurohubs’. Eurohubs are airports that serve an important role in the air transport within Europe. Airports that are mentioned as being Eurohubs are Brussels and Cologne/Bonn. To serve Eurohubs a very solid and reliable service is necessary. In bad weather a runway of 2500 meters can still provide the reliability for a solid service to Eurohubs. Second, is the chartermarket, already mentioned the 1800 meter runway is too short for fully loaded planes to fly to southern Europe. A 2500 meter runway will solve this problem and so make Groningen Airport Eelde more attractive to travel organizations. Third are the scheduled services. A 2500 meter runway provides airlines with the reliability to fly a punctual service between Groningen Airport Eelde and another airport. Groningen Airport Eelde lies favorable for scheduled services to one of the London airports and to Scandinavia. A 2500 meter runway is a necessity for scheduled services that go further into Europe. The fourth category of air transport is connected to an important service already existing. Groningen Airport Eelde is the major national airport for training flights. The extended runway will improve the reliability for training flights, especially with bad weather (DHV Milieu & Infrastructuur, 1993).

There is also a fifth category of air transport that the startpaper does not mention as goal, but does mention as a problem. That is the category of cargo services. An extended runway will make cargo flights better feasible, but cargo airlines prefer an even longer runway for their large aircraft and opening hours that are twenty-four hours a day seven days a week (Gardiner et al., 2005). Groningen Airport Eelde can’t provide 24/7 opening hours and an even longer extended runway.

The proposed alternative is not just the runway extension, but also improving the economic viability of the airport. Improvements are made in the horeca facilities. Furthermore, the airport proposes new business parks, more air transport through more scheduled services, charters and function as a complementary airport for Schiphol for cargo services. The airport also believes the runway

extension will increase the number of air transport supporting services (DHV Milieu & Infrastructuur, 1993).

In 2009 Buck Consultants International releases a new rapport on the economic viability of Groningen Airport Eelde and the proposed runway extension. The 2009 rapport is a follow up of the rapport released in 2005 (Buck Consultants International, 2005) and is indirectly a response to the rapport by de Wit (2007) that was commissioned by VOLE (see the No economic benefits section). The rapport by de Wit (2007) was very critical of the investigation by Buck Consultants International (2005). The 2009 Buck Consultants International rapport is not commissioned by Groningen Airport Eelde, but by the ministry of Traffic, Public Works and Water Management. Buck Consultants International (2009) conclude that the delay of the runway extension pushes back their projections from the investigation in 2005. However, even after the very critical rapport of de Wit (2007) Buck Consultants International stay with their projections of increased employment by 500-1000 jobs due to the runway extension, the significance the runway extension has on attracting more low cost carriers and on attracting cargo. The runway extension is of vital meaning for the growth potentials of Groningen Airport Eelde (Buck Consultants International, 2009). The cargo should also come from the auction facility of Flora Holland located near the airport (Ingenbleek et al., 2007). In 2013 a research was carried out to investigate the ability of Groningen Airport Eelde to be profitable after the runway extension. This research was done by Lieshout et al. (2013). See also the section No economic benefits.

Lieshout et al. (2013) state that the airport won't be profitable for at least 8 more years, but likely even more. However, the total costs and benefits for the entire region are not calculated. The only calculation made here is for the company Groningen Airport Eelde. Lieshout et al. (2013) recommend that a social cost-benefit analysis is undertaken. As a reaction on the recommendation of Lieshout et al. (2013) Pr. Dr. Elhorst performs a preliminary social cost-benefit analysis.

The investigation by Elhorst (2013a) shows that Groningen Airport Eelde provides 460 jobs both direct and indirect. The employment will rise with the growth in the number of passengers. This is in line with the expectation of Gordijn (2013) that the runway extension will create an increase in local employment. However, the more important results from the investigations by Elhorst are the first steps in the social cost-benefit analysis. Elhorst investigates the loss of the company Groningen Airport Eelde and the gain in time for air passengers now travelling through Groningen Airport Eelde. The gain in time is partially lost by doing of the airlines. The gain in time, and so in money saved, is partially compensated by the airlines asking slightly higher ticket prices. Elhorst calls this skimming travel time profit. The gain in time is called social travel time profit in the research of Elhorst (2013a). If the social travel time profit is added to the result of Groningen Airport Eelde N.V. and then the skimming travel time profit is abstracted what then is left is the social balance of Groningen Airport Eelde. In the table on the next page the social balance is calculated on the base of the numbers provided by Groningen Airport Eelde N.V. Because the loss over 2013 is already known I have adapted the table from Elhorst (2013a).

**Table 2:** Adaptation of Elhorst (2013a) Social balance of travels from Northern Netherlands through GAE instead of Schiphol in multiple years on the basis of the future predictions of GAE.

Year	Passenger movements (*1000)	Company result (*1000)	Social travel time profit (*1000)	Skimming travel time profit (*1000)	Social balance (*1000)
2013*	201*	-490*	2574	1750	334*
2015	192	-1042	2824	1920	-138
2017	303	-741	4457	3030	686
2019	411	-435	6045	4110	1500
2021	524	1321	7707	5240	3788
2023	597	1759	8781	5970	4570

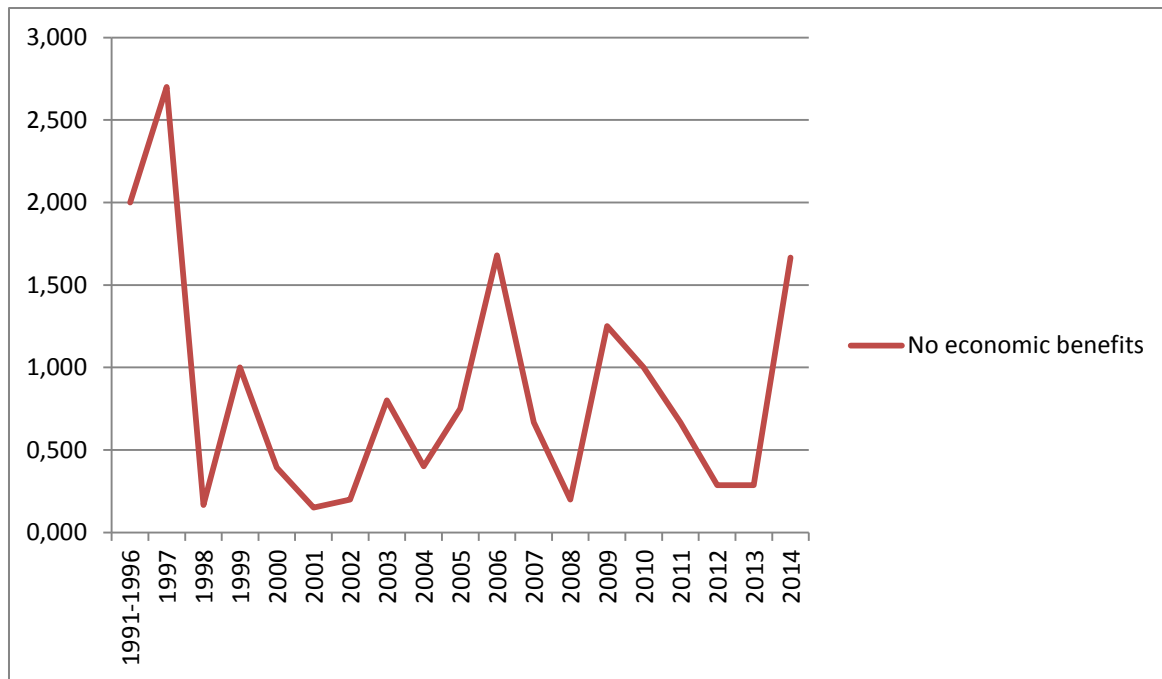
\*Numbers already available and included, see Ophof (2015b) and GAE (2013).

The numbers over 2013 were better than Groningen Airport Eelde or Elhorst (2013a) had anticipated. In 2015 a slight loss in the social balance is anticipated, but this loss is quickly resolved by the positive social balances in the other years. This investigation by Elhorst gives the stakeholders, which are the provincial and municipal governments, the base to keep filling the losses the airport makes on an operational base. It is even possible that the airport can be profitable on its operations from the year 2020 (Elhorst, 2013a).

Elhorst (2013b) has also investigated the social balance on the base of the numbers given in the scenarios in Lieshout et al. (2013). In the worst of the three scenario by Lieshout et al. (2013), that is the scenario in which Lelystad Airport becomes a serious competitor of Groningen Airport Eelde , the company result would be a loss of 202.000 euro. The total spend on filling up the losses of the airport would in the third scenario end up around the 5,1 million euro. The research concludes that in 2025 when considering the worst scenario (the Lelystad variant), taking in the skimming of travel time profit by airlines and valuing the travel time profit lower than in the research of Lieshout et al. (2013), the social balance would still be seven times better than the company result. When looked at the entire research period from 2013 up to 2030 the total social balance would show a profit of 2.6 million euro (Elhorst, 2013b).

## 7.2 No economic benefits

Whereas the organization Friends of Groningen Airport Eelde mostly sees economic benefits of the runway extension other organizations such as VOLE do not see these economic benefits and claims the runway extension creates extra nuisance which harms the tourist economy. The arguments of no economic benefits are shown in figure 5.



**Figure 5:** No economic benefits per article per year.

The arguments concerning no economic benefits show three small peaks, one in 2006, one in 2009 and one in 2014. The peak in 2014 might be a reaction to much of the promoters arguments of economic benefits of the runway extension. The peak of 2009 can be explained, because of the European Commission deciding if the national government was right in subsidizing the runway extension. Opposers might say no and use the lack of economic benefits as a reason for their no. The largest peak in the first two years is a lot higher. The main reason is that in the early stage of process whether or not to extend the main runway the arguments of the economy are important. Is this runway extension plan even helpful for the regional and national economy. In 1997 the national state also decides to start the procedure to extend the runway. This decision leads to a lot of opposition. The opposition uses the economic arguments to state that the runway extension is not an useful development for the economy. The opposition uses scientific investigations to support their claim. The first in a line of scientific researches to show the lack of economic benefits is Berkhout & Meijer (1994). Berkhout & Meijer did the research that was commissioned by VOLE.

Berkhout & Meijer's (1994) investigation into the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde takes in three alternatives. The zero alternative where there is no runway extension and no intensification of air traffic is the first alternative. This zero alternative is the benchmark for the other two alternatives. The second alternative is no runway extension but there is an intensification of air traffic through more effort from the airport direction. The third alternative is building the runway extension. Berkhout & Meijer (1994) put these alternatives through a variety of analysis. These analysis are the investment analysis, a societal cost benefit analysis and a multi-criteria analysis. The investment analysis calculates if the runway extension is going to create profit for the Groningen Airport Eelde. A social cost benefit analysis calculates the impact of the runway extension on a much broader field of inquiry. The social cost benefit analysis monetizes all effects the runway extension has, both positive and negative effects. The end result shows whether the runway extension is profitable for society as a whole or not. The last analysis in which the alternatives are put is the multi-criteria analysis. The multi-criteria analysis is different to the social cost benefit analysis

because whereas the cost benefit analysis monetizes every effect the multi-criteria analysis also takes in not quantifiable effects.

First analysis that was done by Berkhout & Meijer (1994) was the investment analysis. This analysis is important for the airport because it determines if the runway extension leads to a profitable situation for the airport. The conclusion is that the expansion alternative almost always leads to an increase in the profit of the airport when compared to the zero alternative. The difference would be from a slight loss of 400.000 guilders to a maximal achievable profit of 8 million guilders. However, when the intensification alternative is compared to the zero alternative the minimal achievable profit will be 5 million and the maximal 12 million guilders.

The intensification alternative seems to be the most lucrative alternative for Groningen Airport Eelde. But how would society in general fare when looked at the alternatives for Groningen Airport Eelde. To investigate this Berkhout & Meijer (1994) did a societal cost benefit analysis. Berkhout & Meijer came up with two different CBA's. One on a regional level and one on a national level. The societal benefits are much larger on a regional level than on a national. The expansion alternative gives the regional society a surplus of between 104 and 227 million guilders when compared to the zero alternative. On a national level the surplus is smaller between 19 and 43 million guilders. The intensification alternative also provides a surplus for society both on a regional and a national level when compared to the zero alternative. The intensification alternative gives a surplus to the region of between 39 and 130 million guilders. On a national level the surplus is between 12 and 37 million guilders. However, these numbers are contingent on the airport developing a high number of activities.

The third analysis done by Berkhout & Meijer (1994) is the multi-criteria analysis. The multi-criteria analysis is done because not all the effects of the runway extension can be monetized. Some effects are difficult to quantify. What is, for instance, the value of nuisance by people. To be able to investigate not quantifiable and monetizable effects the multi-criteria analysis takes all effects and gives them a value. By counting all the valued effects of each alternative the most beneficial alternative can be found. Because the multi-criteria analysis uses qualitative measures Berkhout & Meijer (1994) add one more alternative to the previous three. The fourth alternative is the liquidation alternative. This alternative investigates what benefits it will bring to cease operations on Groningen Airport Eelde and the area of the airport to be used for alternative goals. It has to be noted that the liquidation alternative is the most difficult alternative to calculate benefits and costs. The freed ground is difficult to evaluate because it is all about what will be the next use.

Berkhout & Meijer (1994) take the four alternatives the intensification, expansion, zero and liquidation alternative and calculate what the most beneficial alternative would be. Berkhout & Meijer come to three conclusions. One that comes up as best for the region, one on national level and one that combines both the region and national level. On a regional level the intensification alternative comes up as best, but if slightly more emphasis is put on economic development than the expansion alternative would come up as the most beneficial one. On a national level the difference is much clearer. The intensification alternative is with quite some distance the best option. When the regional and national level outcomes are combined then the intensification alternative comes out as the most positive alternative. Noted has to be that the regional level is weighted three

times to one national level. This is done because the airport has much greater influence on the economy and society of the region than the national.

After the three analyses Berkhout & Meijer (1994) conclude that the intensification alternative is the best alternative. The expansion alternative is only better when a lot of emphasis is being put on the economic development of the region. The expansion alternative is also the worst alternative for nature and social wellbeing. Berkhout & Meijer (1994) recommend that the intensification alternative is being pursued. If this alternative is being pursued the airport direction will need to intensify their effort of attracting as much activities as possible. These activities will hardly be hampered by the length of the runway.

Berkhout & Meijer (1994) concluded a runway extension was not necessary for a successful exploitation. In 2007 a new investigation was commissioned by VOLE. This research was done by De Wit (2007). De Wit is part of the group expert consultants used by VOLE. VOLE uses a group of scholars that are said to be independent. These scholars are not members of VOLE, but form a kind of think-tank. The investigations ordered by VOLE post many doubts on the claims made and reasons for extending the main runway.

VOLE's investigation poses strong doubts about the attractiveness of Groningen Airport Eelde for low cost carriers such as Ryanair. Ryanair flies with Boeing 737-800's. Fully loaded these 737's would need 1852 meters of runway for taking off and landing, more than the 1800 meters for the not extended runway. VOLE's investigation states that for a flight to London Ryanair could still fly with a 95 percent loaded plane. Other low cost carriers that fly slightly smaller aircraft could even fly on full capacity. According to VOLE's investigation the low cost carrier market would hardly be hampered by an 1800 meter runway. There are also questions about the catchment area of the low cost carrier. Heerkens (2008) states that the catchment area for Groningen Airport Eelde is small when it comes to potential clients. This is linked to the relative weak economy of the region. Groningen Airport Eelde has big competition in the low cost market (De Wit, 2007). Airport Weeze is just over the Dutch-German border and airport Lelystad has just gotten permission to extend their runway to 2500 meters (Duursma, 2015). Heerkens (2008) disagrees with De Wit (2007) when it comes to the competition. Heerkens (2008) states that Groningen Airport Eelde has a relative solitary position compared to other airports and that the catchment area does not have immediate competitors.

One of the major markets for Groningen Airport Eelde is the holiday charter market. Again the catchment area is a problem. Transavia, the largest airline on Groningen Airport Eelde, has on some of their charter flights the planes make an extra stop on Rotterdam, Eindhoven or Maastricht airport to pick up additional passengers and get their flights full. The runway extension would not help the lack in passengers at Groningen Airport Eelde. Another issue is that the total charter market is also shrinking. More people want to book only a flight and book the hotel and trips themselves (ING, 2013).

Groningen Airport Eelde now has no cargo traffic. The direction of Groningen Airport Eelde hopes that after the extension their airfield will attract cargo airlines. But VOLE's investigation suggest this is not believable as the cargo market is extremely competitive, especially on landingfees, so an airport needs to be very efficient. The lack of enough companies in the area for cargo is another drawback. Also mentioned in the literature review is that cargo airlines want to operate on an airport that is open 24/7 something Groningen Airport Eelde is not and likely won't be. All of these

drawbacks makes the assumption of the research by Buck Consultants International (2005) that after the extension Groningen Airport Eelde will be processing between 15.000 and 40.000 ton according to VOLE's investigation highly unlikely.

A direct line between Schiphol and Groningen Airport Eelde is not seen as credible by VOLE's investigation. Schiphol is already heavily congested, especially at peak hours. The peak hours are also important for traffic from Eelde as at these times most intercontinental flights depart. It is also questionable if there are enough passengers from Eelde. Schiphol might favour destinations that bring a higher number of passengers.

VOLE's investigation also pays attention to the amount of employment as a result of the runway extension. The runway extension should bring more traffic to Groningen Airport Eelde. The increase in traffic should result in more jobs. The airport calculates that about 800 to a 1000 jobs will exist after the extension of the main runway (Buck Consultants International, 2005). VOLE's investigation predicts about half of the amount of traffic as what the airport calculates and believes that the airport can do with 125 to 192 jobs to deal with all the traffic. In 2015 the airport has 63 employees (GAE, 2015). Below what the investigation believes is needed.

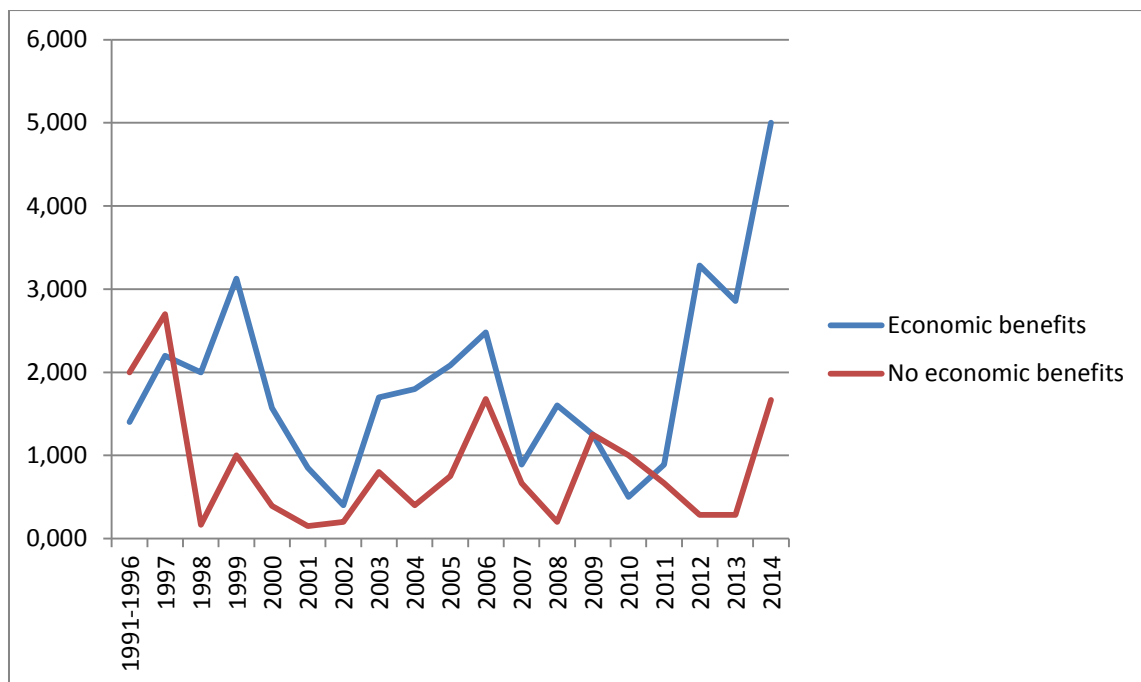
The third and last research posing serious question with the success of the runway extension is Lieshout et al. (2013). Lieshout et al. (2013) is the first investigation in which the situation is already changed. The runway extension has happened and the executives of the airport are fully aiming for growth. Lieshout et al. (2013) investigate three different scenario's. The first scenario is when a low cost carrier, in this case Ryanair but it could also be another large low cost carrier, starts expanding quite rapidly. The second scenario is the business as usual scenario in which a couple of services by a low cost carrier remain, but the development keeps up with the worldwide average. The third scenario is when Lelystad airport is expanding quickly. The expansion of Lelystad would be tough competition for Groningen Airport Eelde as both airports have a common catchment area, but Lelystad has the advantage to be closer to the heavily populated western part of the Netherlands. Ryanair has more than once shown interest in a developed Lelystad Airport.

All the three scenarios of Lieshout et al. (2013) are investigated on when the breakeven point is reached. So far Groningen Airport Eelde is still lossmaking. In 2013 a total loss of 492.869 euro was recorded. A year later in 2014 the loss had increased to 893.304 euro (Ophof, 2015b). In the first scenario investigated by Lieshout et al. (2013) a low cost carrier would expand rapidly. The rapid expansion would lead to more revenue for Groningen Airport Eelde. The breakeven point would be reached in 2023. In the second scenario in which everything stays the same except for a growth similar to the worldwide average Groningen Airport Eelde would be able to break even around the year 2030. In the third and worst case scenario, the expansion of competitor Lelystad Airport, Groningen Airport Eelde would break even years after 2030. Not all three scenarios are as likely as the other, but Lieshout et al. (2013) would expect the breakeven point to be after the year 2025 instead of before 2025. Two conditions have to be taken in. First the traffic from lessons for pupil pilots have to recover and second the costs for air traffic control must not rise.

### **7.3 Comparison Economic benefits and No economic benefits**

Both the promoters and the opposition use scientific researches and the flows of economic arguments from opposers and promoters are shown in the previous two figures. The next figure

shows how the flow of economic arguments relate to each other. Who has the edge when it comes to representation of their arguments in the newspaper articles.



**Figure 6:** Economic arguments of promoters and opposers per article per year.

Figure 6 shows that the line representing the economic benefit arguments is almost everywhere higher than the arguments of no economic benefits. The only exceptions are the first two years and 2010. The economic benefits arguments are more mentioned in almost all years per article than the no economic benefits. There are two reasons for the difference in flows. The first reason is that the economic benefits are the main category of arguments for promoters. The runway extension provides a lot of economic benefits for the region according to the promoters. Opposers disagree with the promoters positive look on the effects on the economy. However, the no economic benefits are not following an equal flow with the economic benefit arguments. This leads to the second reason. Opposers to the runway extension do not only use the no economic benefits arguments, but also use the arguments related to nuisance from the runway extension. These nuisances are impacting the people living near Groningen Airport Eelde. These nuisances are collected under the category of social arguments. Besides the social arguments the opposers of the runway extension also use arguments related to nature and the landscape. Opposers say the runway extension will have devastating effects on the nature and landscape surrounding Groningen Airport Eelde.

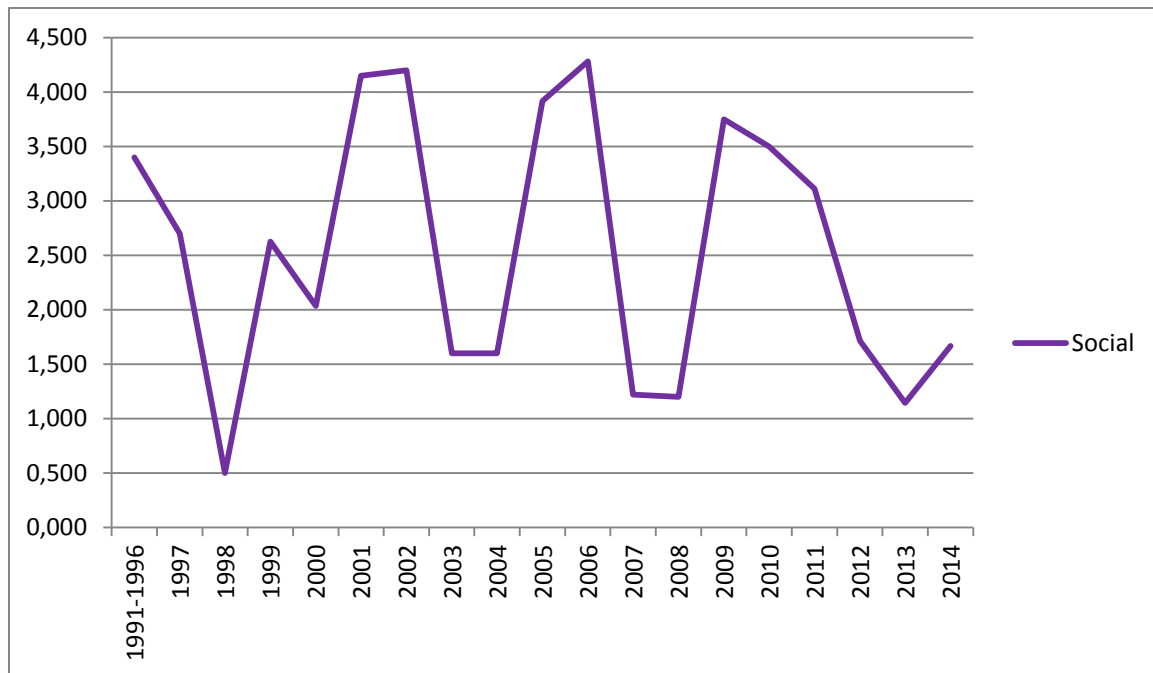
#### 7.4 Social

The next figure will show the social arguments per article for each year. After discussing the social arguments a figure will be presented showing the nature arguments per article per year. These arguments are representing the opposers view on the runway extension, even though the promoters use some social arguments to enforce their position. Some of the promoters social arguments are that the runway extension creates: a safer situation for cargo transport than road transportation, extra public infrastructure (such as the transferium at De Punt), an increase in safety, especially at take offs and aborted take offs, less noise nuisance from aircraft taking off as it is no longer necessary



to give full power (Reinders, 1979) and lastly the promoters claim that there is a large support of people living near Groningen Airport Eelde.

The figure below is showing the flow of social arguments made by opposers.



**Figure 7:** Social arguments per article per year.

Figure 7 shows three main peaks in the flow of social arguments. These peaks are in 2001-2002, 2005-2006 and 2009. The years 2001 and 2002 form the first peak. In 2001 VOLE decides to object to the extension of the main runway by the High Court. According to VOLE the government has made procedural mistakes and asks the High Court to dismiss the decision to extend (Bolhuis, 2001). By objecting to the High Court VOLE makes it impossible to reach a compromise between the group and Groningen Airport Eelde (Dagblad van het Noorden, 2001). Groningen Airport Eelde and the Friends of Groningen Airport Eelde are unhappy to say the least with the decision to object by VOLE (Vegter, 2001a & Vegter, 2001b). The second peak starts in 2005. In 2005 the government holds information meetings for local inhabitants (Wortel, 2005a), the government has extra research done as a consequence of a court ruling. These extra investigations conclude there is no extra noise nuisance as a result of the runway extension (Kroeze, 2005). In 2005 there are also talks about possibly operating cargo services from Groningen Airport Eelde. These cargo services would mean more noise nuisance for neighbouring inhabitants (Wortel, 2005b). Besides more noise, cargo services also increase the feeling of unsafety. One of the largest accidents in the Netherlands was with a cargo plane in 1992. Cargo services does also mean night flights (Lambers, 2006). The third peak in 2009 centres around the decision of the European Commission not to prohibit the subsidizing by the Dutch state of the runway extension (Bruin, 2009).

Besides the three peaks there are also some lows in the flow. The peaks and lows are remarkably far away from each other and follow up quickly which leads to a fickle picture. The flow peaks in years where there is a happening, like an objection from VOLE to the High Court. In the low years a happening on social arguments has not happened.

In 1999 Van Dongen et al. have researched the effect of the runway extension on the neighbouring communities. The outcomes show a mixed picture. First, Van Dongen et al. (1999) investigated a comparison in noise nuisance between Groningen Airport Eelde and Schiphol Airport. Around Groningen Airport Eelde the percentage of severely negatively impacted neighbours of the airport, due to noise is higher than at Schiphol. Whereas there is no hard evidence this might be as a result of the type of flying on the airports. Groningen Airport Eelde has many training flights, those flights fly relatively low, use a smaller area for their flights and are operated by small aircraft. Groningen Airport Eelde also primarily uses one runway. At Schiphol most flights are large aircraft taking off or landing and use different runways when the weather changes. Another reason might be that in the surrounding area of Schiphol the noise made by aviation is dominated by noise coming from other sources, whereas the surroundings of Groningen Airport Eelde there are no other more dominant sources of noise (Van Dongen et al., 1999).

About one in every ten persons asked in a survey had put in an official complaint about the noise from the airport. Most of these complaints were made through the telephone number dedicated to complaints about the airport. Other ways of complaining was by joining an opposition group, complaining at the operators of the airport, the municipality or through a political party. Of the total number of complainers 61 percent were not happy with how their complaint was managed. The two most heard complaints about the complaining process was the non-reaction on their complaint and the complaints were not taken seriously or dealt with in an arrogant manner.

Almost all neighbouring inhabitants of the airport know about the proposed extension of the runway. Nine out of ten persons knew about the runway extension through the newspaper coverage. Another major source of information was the newsletter spread by the opposition group VOLE.

The neighbouring population is also asked what the main positive and negative aspects of the runway extension are. The most mentioned positive aspects are that the runway extension makes it possible for larger aircraft to land and through that destinations further away can be reached and that the runway extension is good for employment and the regional economy. One reason only a small portion of the total mentions is the increase in safety that the extension means. Even though some positive aspects are mentioned over half of the neighbouring population could not think of a positive aspect.

The runway extension does not have only positive aspects. The neighbouring population was also asked what the negative aspects of the runway extension were going to be according to them. The most heard aspect was that larger aircraft that landed created more noise nuisance. Other negative aspects heard were an increase in air traffic, more flights during night hours, more training flights, negative operational results, lowering effect on property values, negative impacts on nature and an increasing feeling of insecurity. The runway extension might lead to more safety, but the expected increase in the amount of traffic over the houses of the neighbouring population that are beneath the flightpath of aircraft actually increases the feeling of insecurity.

When the neighbouring population is asked how they think about the runway extension it is quite remarkable that there about the same percentage of local residents think positively about the runway extension as negatively. Also the percentage of very positive thinking local residents and very negatively thinking local residents is about equal.

## 7.5 Nature and Environment

But, opposers of the runway extension do not only use social arguments, also arguments related to nature, the landscape and the environment are used. Promoters claim that the runway extension is good for the environment as more destinations can be reached without the aircraft having to make an extra landing to take on more fuel (Hoogakker, 2001). Opposers view the runway extension as damaging for the flora and fauna of the region. In the next figure the flow of nature and environment arguments throughout the years is presented.

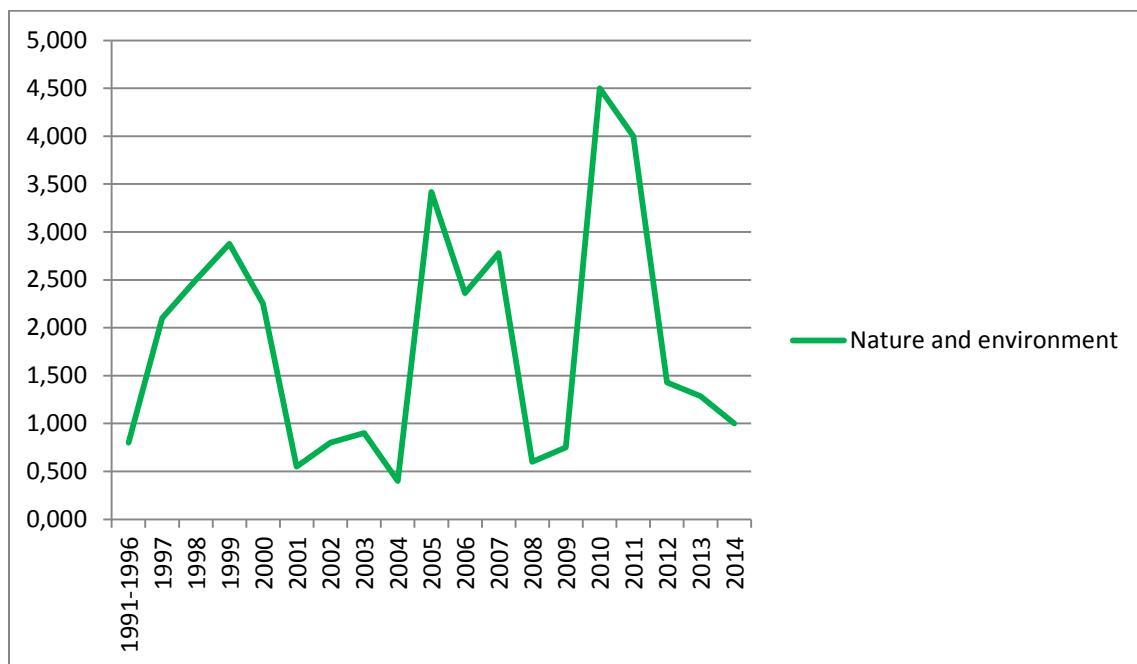


Figure 8: Nature and environment arguments per article per year.

In figure 8 there are three distinctive peaks. The first peak has its maximum in 1999. The second peak actually spans a couple of years from 2005 to 2007. The third peak is the highest in 2010 and also includes 2011. The first peak around 1999 is mostly concerned with two incidents. The first is that the ANWB which is the Dutch Automobile Association is not in favour of the runway extension. The Dutch Automobile Association would rather see that the money is spend on a high speed rail connection between the north of the Netherlands and west of the Netherlands. The Dutch Automobile Association believes that investing in a high speed rail is more beneficial to the national and regional economy than an extended runway (Algemeen Dagblad, 1999; Leeuwarder Courant, 1999). The second happening in 1999 which causes the increase in the flow of nature and environmental arguments is the decision by the ministers of Traffic, Public Works and Water Management and Homes, Spatial Development and Environment. This is the first decision made by the national government to go ahead with the extension of the runway at Groningen Airport Eelde. The decision was not easy, especially after the minister of Homes, Spatial Development and Environment reopened the debate about whether or not to extend in 1998 (Coerts, 1998) and the fall of the cabinet in the summer of 1999 (de Vries, 2011a).

The second peak is from 2005 to 2007. During this peak there are three reasons that cause the peak in the flow of nature and environment arguments. The first is the researches that are done to investigate the impact of the extension on nature. These investigations concern the effects on birds

in the Föchteloerveen area and the geese in the Zuidlaardermeer area (Wortel, 2005c; Wortel, 2007). VOLE also demanded a new rapport on environmental effects of the runway extension (Wortel, 2006a). Repeatedly the government did not find this necessary (Kroeze, 2005). Second, are the objections made by opposers such as VOLE and environmental groups. The environmental groups and VOLE made objections to the runway extension based on the reason that in the area designated for the runway extension four different species of bats and two protected species of frogs live. Besides the animals the environmental groups and VOLE also object to the extra emission of nitrogen dioxide (NO<sub>2</sub>) and particulate matter (PM<sub>10</sub>) (Wortel, 2006b). In 2007 the objection concerning the bats by an environmental group is put forward to the ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Development (Dagblad van het Noorden, 2007). The third reason causing the peak in 2005-2007 are the nature compensation schemes. By building the extension of the runway a part of the nature is sacrificed (Dagblad van het Noorden, 2005). A compensation scheme is necessary to be able to get approval to build the extension. Tried is to make the compensation scheme as close to the current airport as possible. For the extension several dirt roads and water ways have to be diverted. Besides diversions a couple of dozen trees will need to be cut down (Dagblad van het Noorden, 2006).

Besides the previous two peaks there is a third peak in the flow of nature and environmental arguments. This peak is in the two year period spanning 2010 and 2011. In the paragraph about the second peak the compensation scheme was discussed. The compensation scheme again comes up during the third peak. VOLE accuses Groningen Airport Eelde from not obliging the agreed compensation scheme. VOLE makes their accusations expressed by the ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation (Kiers, 2010). In 2010 the municipality of Tynaarlo, in which Groningen Airport Eelde lies, starts the expropriation procedure (Wind, 2010). There are two landowners not willing to sell their land (de Vries, 2011a). Besides the compensation scheme the discussing surrounding the bats pops up again. One of the environmental groups asked the High Court to have the operations to make the area ready for the runway extension stopped due to the bat situation. The High Court rejects the objection, because the operations have already finished (Kiers, 2011). There is also good news for the bats as a bat shelter will be built near the airport (Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau, 2011).

The airport also has to pay attention to the environment. The startpaper by DHV (DHV Milieu & Infrastructuur, 1993) forms the first start for the environmental impact assessment on the runway extension by Groningen Airport Eelde. The startpaper provides the data the initiator in this case the airport management of Groningen Airport Eelde has to provide to the ministries. The startpaper is then made available for the public to react. The reactions on the startpaper are taken in to the guidelines the environmental impact assessment has to follow.

The startpaper of 1993 is not the first for the runway extension. In the mid-1980s there was already a startup of the procedures to extend the runway. This included an environmental impact assessment. However, due to several different reasons the ongoing procedure was stopped by the airport after consulting with the ministry of Traffic, Public works and Water Management and legal representatives. Decided was that a new procedure should be started, including a new environmental impact assessment.

The environmental impact assessment does not provide data on whether the runway extension will provide economic benefits or help the continuity of the airport. Instead the assessment will focus on

what the negative impacts on the environment are as a result of the runway extension. What compensating measures can be undertaken and what negative impacts the compensating measures have on the environment. The environmental impact assessment takes in three alternatives. The first is the runway extension in the proposed form. The second alternative is the most environmental friendly alternative, where there will be an extended runway, but the negative impacts are limited to the absolute minimum, whatever the cost. The third alternative will be the reference alternative. In this environmental impact assessment the reference alternative is the zero alternative. The zero alternative provides a situation where there is no runway extension, but the airport will continue to develop autonomously. A preliminary overview of negative impacts on the environment is given in the startpaper. These negative impacts will be further investigated in the environmental impact assessment. The runway extension can have negative impacts on noise nuisance, air quality, ground water, the ecology, the landscape, the living environment, safety, traffic and some smaller other negative impacts. These negative impacts can also be seen at other airports as explained in the literature review. The environmental impact assessment might not be able to provide all the data. A section of the environmental impact assessment will be dedicated to missing data and gaps in the information (DHV Milieu & Infrastructuur, 1993).

**7.6 All arguments together**

All the three lines of arguments of opposers have been discussed, so is the line of argument by the promoters, but how do these lines of arguments compare to each other. In the next figure all of the flows of the lines of arguments are presented.

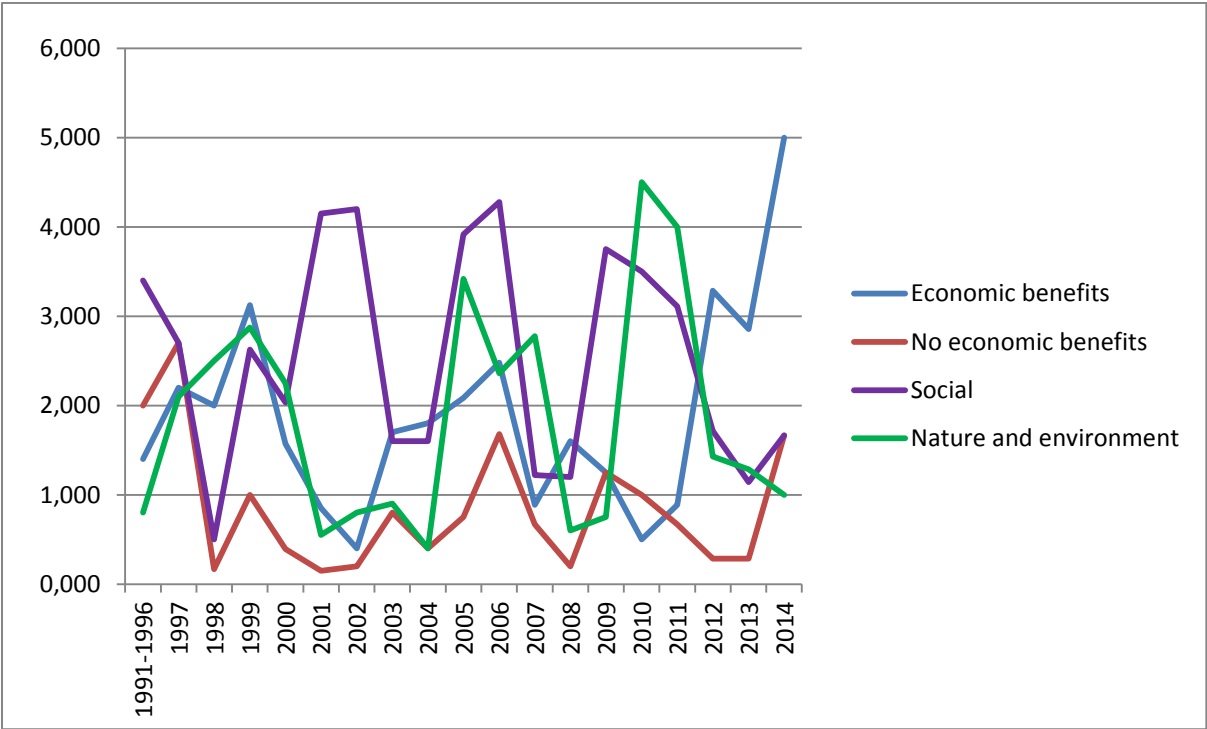


Figure 9: All arguments per article per year.

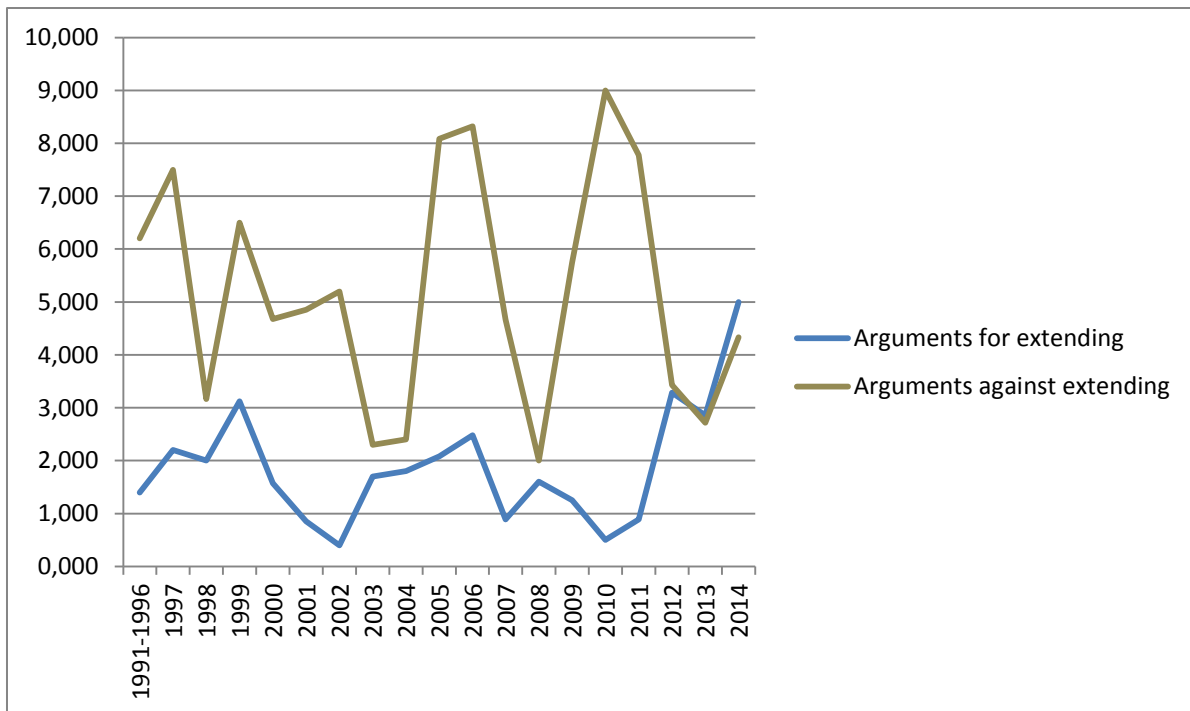
Figure 9 is a difficult figure to understand as a lot of lines cross each other and show multiple highs and lows. In the early years the lines stay relatively close to each other. However, this changes in 1998 when both the no economic benefits arguments and the social arguments fall, whereas the

economic benefits and nature and environment arguments lines stay more or less equal. The first real big change happens in 2001. The line of the social arguments rises to its first peak, whereas the other lines of arguments fall. The social arguments remain dominant until 2003. The social arguments fall. The economic arguments take over the leading position, however the social arguments stay close. In 2005 the social arguments reaches its second high. In 2005 there is also the start of the second high for the nature and environment arguments. The social arguments stay dominant until 2007. In 2007 the nature and environment arguments take over to become the dominant line of arguments in the debate around the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. The dominance of the nature and environment arguments lasts a year. In 2008 the social and nature and environment arguments are both down and are topped by the economic benefits line of arguments. However, in 2009 the social arguments reach their third high, followed a year later by the third high of the nature and environment arguments. Both fall in 2012 when the economic benefits arguments take over the dominant position. This is related to the runway extension being built in 2012. All protest had been in vain and the oppositions arguments lose out to the promoters arguments in the years up to 2014.

Not much discussed in the previous paragraph is the line of no economic benefits. This line is nowhere dominant. This might be because the social and nature and environment arguments are more used by the opposition than the no economic benefits arguments. This might be because social and nature and environment arguments are more convincing as objections in court. Whether or not the extension is good for the economy is a locked debate between promoters and opposition. There is also not a linkage between the no economic benefits and the economic benefits lines of arguments.

### **7.7 Arguments for and against**

In figure 9 all the different flows are shown for each line of arguments. In the next figure all of the opposition arguments, the social, nature and environment and no economic benefits arguments are counted up and presented against the promoters economic benefits line of arguments. Figure 10 shows the total of arguments per article per year against or in favour of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde.



**Figure 10:** Arguments for extending compared to arguments against extending per article per year.

As can be seen from figure 10 the arguments against extending the runway far exceed the arguments for extending for all years leading up to 2013. As stated before the extension of the runway was completed in 2012 and from a year later the promoters arguments for extending exceed the arguments against extending made by the opposition. When figure 10 is compared with figure 7 and 8 the peaks in 2005-2006 and 2010 can be directly linked to the second peak of social arguments and the second peak of the nature and environment arguments. The peak of 2005-2006 is also helped by the no economic benefits arguments peaking in 2006 as can be seen in figure 5. Another surprise is the lack of a peak in 2001-2002. In figure 7 the line of social arguments has its first peak in the years 2001 and 2002, however in figure 10 this peak cannot be seen. The lack of a peak in 2001-2002 in figure 10 can be explained by looking closely to figure 9. Whereas the line of social arguments peaks in 2001 and 2002 the other arguments against extending, the no economic benefits and especially the nature and environment fall down to a low. Because the nature and environment and no economic benefits fall to a low this compensated the first peak of the social arguments.

The next section is dedicated to the relation between the low cost carriers and Groningen Airport Eelde.

### 7.8 Low Cost Carriers at Groningen Airport Eelde

As most regional airports Groningen Airport Eelde has (had) scheduled services by low cost carriers. The biggest low cost carrier in Europe is the Irish airline Ryanair. Groningen Airport Eelde also has a history with Ryanair. Ryanair starts operating from Groningen Airport Eelde for the first time in 2003. On the first of May Ryanair starts operating a daily scheduled service between Groningen Airport Eelde and London Stansted (Luchtvaartnieuws, 2003). However, not even a full year later the service between Groningen Airport Eelde and London Stansted is stopped by Ryanair (Winkel, 2011). According to Ryanair the route does not generate sufficient demand. The occupancy rate was not living up to expectations of Ryanair. This does not mean that the route was losing money, just that

Ryanair expects to make more money on another route. A second problem for Ryanair could be the length of the runway of 1800 meters in 2003. Ryanair flew between London and Groningen with the Bae 146-100, but would rather fly their larger Boeing 737 on the route. The length of 1800 meters makes it impossible for a fully loaded 737 to take off (NRC Handelsblad, 2004).

But 2003 would not be the only time Ryanair would service Groningen Airport Eelde. Ryanair returns to the airport in the northern Netherlands in 2012. The reason for the return is the court ruling that finally allows for the runway extension even though it wasn't yet built. Ryanair started operations from Groningen Airport Eelde to three destinations: Palma de Mallorca, Milan-Bergamo and Marseille. These destinations would be flown twice a week between May and October (Luchtvaartnieuws, 2012). After one year the destination to Marseille was dropped in favour of Girona an airport in the vicinity of Barcelona (NOM, 2013). In December 2013 Ryanair announced to stop the route on Milan-Bergamo for the summer season 2014, but the other two destination Girona and Palma de Mallorca were continued (Luchtvaartnieuws, 2013). However in October 2014 Ryanair announces that the airline would not continue the scheduled services to Girona and Palma de Mallorca (RTV Noord, 2014a). Ryanair did not make this decision on the basis of a lack of passengers. The occupancy rate was around 77 percent, not far from the Ryanair average of 82 percent. Ryanair decided to change its strategy and focus its network on a number of large airports. By the refocusing of the strategy Ryanair needs more aircraft, which it currently does not have. To free up aircraft the routes from Groningen Airport Eelde were sacrificed (RTV Noord, 2014b).

So currently Ryanair does not fly from Groningen Airport Eelde, but the chairman of Ryanair, Michael O'Leary leaves a door open for a return of Ryanair at Groningen Airport Eelde. Chairman O'Leary stated that it were not the number of passengers that made Ryanair stop at Groningen Airport Eelde, but a lack of available aircraft. Ryanair would certainly return if the costs are low enough and the demand for tickets high enough (Ophof, 2015a).

However, Ryanair is not the only low cost carrier in Europe. The second largest low cost carrier in Europe is EasyJet. EasyJet has never operated from Groningen Airport Eelde and this is also not anticipated for the future as EasyJet focuses on large hub airports such as Schiphol Airport. EasyJet is currently the second largest airline at Schiphol after the KLM (Schouten, 2015). A low cost carrier that did operate from Groningen Airport Eelde is Vueling. The Spanish airline started a scheduled service flying twice a week between Groningen Airport Eelde and Barcelona. But after just flying one season Vueling stops the service to Barcelona. The reasons to stop were the lack of passengers and the competition of Ryanair's new scheduled service to Girona. Girona lies in the neighbourhood of Barcelona and Vueling expected that the competition would draw away even more passengers (RTV Drenthe, 2013).

At this moment in time there are still two low cost carriers active at Groningen Airport Eelde. The first is Wizz Air. Wizz Air operates throughout the year a twice a week scheduled service between Groningen Airport Eelde and Gdansk in Poland. Wizz Air started operations on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October 2014. Besides tourist and business travellers Wizz Air targets one more audience. In the northern part of the Netherlands and Germany live approximately 45.000 Polish natives. Before Wizz Air offered the service between Groningen Airport Eelde and Gdansk these approximately 45.000 people depended on a long car journey to visit friends and family in Poland (Wizz Air, 2014).



The other low cost carrier active at Groningen Airport Eelde is Flybe. Flybe is an airline that originally comes from the British Channel Islands, but now has its headquarters in Exeter in the south of England. From the 5<sup>th</sup> of June 2014 Flybe offers a daily service between Groningen Airport Eelde and the London airport of Southend (Drenthejournaal, 2014). The flights are carried out by Stobart Air. During the summer months Flybe scratched the flight on Saturdays, due to low demand during the weekend. Stobart Air operates a smaller aircraft than the usual Airbus A320's or Boeing 737's seen at Groningen Airport Eelde. In the ATR 72's operated by Stobart Air can accommodate a maximum of 72 people (RTV Noord, 2015). In the first year the occupancy rate was around the 54 percent mark. This could be higher, but Flybe was satisfied with this rate for the first year (Ophof, 2014).

Now all the sides from the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde are investigated. From the political, the promoters, the opposition and the low cost carriers side. All these views will now be used to analytically investigate the main question from this research. This will be carried out in the next part.

## **7.9 Analysing the case study results**

Now that the path of power balance between groups either promoting or opposing the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde through time is clear a further investigation can be done to see how the researched case holds in comparison to a wider field of research. The case study will be related to the theories of power and related to the spatial planning process. Also investigated are the results of the case study and how these results work with the conceptual framework.

### *7.9.1 Power and Groningen Airport Eelde*

From the literature review on what power is it became clear that, following Foucault, power is not an entity. . "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1978, Part 4 p. 93). It is not possible to escape from power (Jiménez-Anca, 2012). "Power is always already there"(Foucault, 1980e, p.141). Power is around like oxygen in the air. Oxygen is used but it can't be grasped. Miller (2000) sees it like energy that flows through every organism and society like a current. Every individual has a certain power to his disposal and through that every individual can be used for a wider form of power (Foucault, 1980c), but no one owns power (Foucault, 1980f). This can also be seen in the case of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. Figure 9 provides the best support for this.

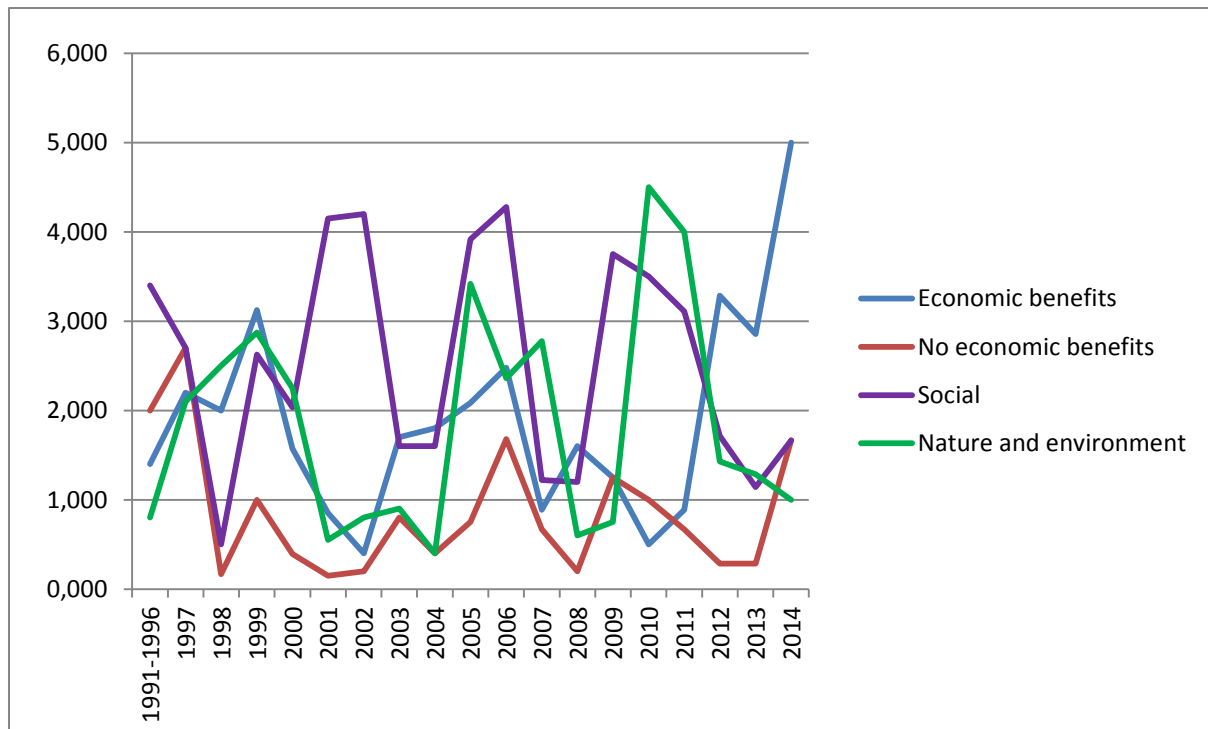


Figure 9: All arguments per article per year.

In the case study, the power balance through time has different lines of arguments on top, but nowhere is there a line that goes all the way down to zero. Every line shows that they have some power, yet not necessarily the most influential. It is not like Weber's view on domination. Weber sees domination as "the possibility of imposing one's own will upon the behaviour of other persons" (Weber, 1986, Ch.2 p. 29). This also is true for organizations or countries. At Groningen Airport Eelde the power balance through time changes. Power flows through the different groups and then the one group and then the other group has the most power.

### 7.9.2 Spatial planning and Groningen Airport Eelde

The spatial planning process developed through time from a top-down planning system to a bottom-up planning system. This is also true for planning process around airport expansion plans. The case of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde is a special case. Where the literature speaks of cooperation between all the stakeholders from the start to reach a consensus where all can live with, this was not the case at Groningen Airport Eelde. The spatial planning process around the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde is an example of top-down planning. The extension was presented and any suggestion to alter or cancel the plan through the year was denied or ignored. The development was 'locked-in' (Flyvbjerg, 2009). But, the planning process was also not blind for objections from stakeholders. There were enough possibilities to object and eventually go to court. However, all the objections and court cases and higher appeals led to a long planning process that sometimes went into such details that one can wonder if the real overall goal of the planning process, whether or not to extend the runway, did even matter.

The extensive planning procedure took such a long time, that power balances shifted through time within the planning process of Groningen Airport Eelde. This is just one example of a top down spatial planning process not going in the direction that was anticipated from the start by the planning

agency. However, a bottom-up process is also not always successful as consensus must be achieved, which is not easy when stakeholders have opposing views. Furthermore, all stakeholders have to hold up their side of the agreement through the planning process. If this is not done also the bottom-up process can bog down into one court case after another. It is questionable if a bottom-up planning process would be a success at the case of Groningen Airport Eelde's runway extension. When the airport direction wanted to start a mediation attempt with the main opposition group VOLE, VOLE sent a pamphlet in the area surrounding the airport portraying the airport in a bad light. This set bad blood with the promoters and it never came to a mediation attempt. The gaps in interests were insurmountable and there is a deep mistrust between the promoters and the opposition groups, making a bottom-up planning approach as good as impossible (Vegter, 2001a & Vegter, 2001b).

## **8. Conclusions**

This research has investigated one of the toughest concepts by investigating power. But by, linking power to the spatial planning process around airport expansions it makes researching power just a bit easier. The planning process of airport expansions can take a long period of time. But what the influence is of time on the power balance in the spatial planning process has not been researched enough. That is why the main research question is like this:

Why is time the underestimated factor in the power balance in the spatial planning process?

This question is answered by posing a number of subquestions. These sub-questions are answered by the research done to the literature on power, spatial planning process and airport expansions and the effects on airport expansions. Furthermore, a case study is done investigating the spatial planning process of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde and the power balance between the promoters and the opposition groups through time. The next couple of paragraphs summarize the research done.

This research has investigated a wide and hard scientific term in power. Following a chronological path through the history of the ideas and theories of power this research ends with the idea of power as taught by Foucault. However, whereas this research uses the ideas of Foucault on power, this does not mean that the idea of power as presented by Foucault is without criticism. Attention is given to the critiques on the idea of power of Foucault. Special attention is given to the debate between Habermas and Foucault on power.

After it has become clear what power entails, the spatial planning process around airport expansions was investigated. The literature showed that a shift had been going on in the planning process of airport expansions from a traditional top-down to a new bottom-up process. The top-down process was not a workable process as it assumed one possible future, which with the ever changing context is impossible. The bottom-up approach searches to reach consensus between the different stakeholders. The problem with the bottom-up procedure is that it is based on the trust between stakeholders, but if a stakeholder is not looking for a consensus the bottom-up process fails. Another potential failure of the bottom-up process is when a consensus is reached but not upheld by one or more stakeholders. The airport expansion is then most likely to bog down in long and expensive court cases and appeals.

Airport expansion plans are so highly contested due to the effects that the expansion of an airport gives. Those effects are both positive and negative. Out of the literature the positive effects are primarily economic. The negative effects concern mostly the nature and landscape and the neighbourhoods surrounding the airport. Special attention is given to interest groups and the role low cost carriers play in airport expansions. A conceptual framework was added to help visualize the analytical steps of the research. Together with the literature on spatial planning process around airport expansions and on the concept of power this section forms the literature review of this research.

To investigate the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde the Foucauldian discourse analysis was chosen. Seven steps of analysis were explained and linked to how to investigate the case. A special part was dedicated to phronetic social science as explained by Flyvbjerg (2001) in *Making Social Science Matter* and the reason why was not chosen for the popular power research tool that is phronetic social science. Phronetic social science investigates the context that is outside of the text. A struggle with that especially with the case of Groningen Airport Eelde is looking back in history, where text in the form of newspaper articles is the main source of investigation. Phronetic social science also looks at the future of the case and the balance of power, whereas this research looks at the effect of time on the power balance and so is more looking back than forward at the case. For those reasons the Foucauldian discourse analysis provides a better tool for this research.

The reasons why the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde was chosen as case were explained. Also part of the methodology chapter is a special part on the media. This is done as the media presents a major source for the investigation of the case and is instrumental for understanding the balance of power through time.

After the methods were explained the attention went to investigating the case. First with a descriptive look at the political process of the runway extension. First, a short piece on the period 1954-1991 and then a more focused look at the period 1992-present day as it is this period that is under investigation. The political process part shows the top down approach of the government in the case of the runway extension at Groningen Airport Eelde. That top down approach lasted throughout the planning process. The opposition groups used all legal possibilities to try to stop the extension of the runway.

A second descriptive chapter was dedicated to investigating the balance of power at the case between the promoters and the opposition groups through the researched period 1992-2014. Four lines of arguments that represented the effects were investigated. The lines of arguments consisted of descriptive codes digested from the over 300 newspaper articles investigated. These were first brought under the three analytical codes derived from the scientific literature. However, a fourth category came forward from the research. The four lines of arguments became: Economic benefits, No economic benefits, Nature and environment and Social. Each line of arguments stood for one group. The economic benefits for the promoters. The nature and environment arguments for environmental protection groups and the no economic benefits and social arguments stood for the social opposition group in our research VOLE. These lines of arguments were supported by scientific researches.

An analytical chapter was added to put our researched case in a wider field of research. Both the spatial planning process of the researched case and the power aspect were analysed against other cases and theories.

This was all done to answer the main question of:

Why is time the underestimated factor in the power balance in the spatial planning process?

Time is an under researched aspect in the field of power and especially in the field of power in spatial planning process. Power is investigated extensively, just as the balance of power between actors and how context influences power. But the effect time has on power differences in the spatial planning process is not researched as much as it should deserve. Researchers tend to be so focused on their investigation that the aspect of time in their investigation becomes an underestimated factor. This research clears up the question why time is the underestimated factor in power research of the spatial planning process. This research also wants to fill the gap that is left by not looking into the time aspect on the power balance in the spatial planning process.

By investigating the runway extension of Groningen Airport Eelde and putting that in a wider field of research this research shows that through time the power balance changes in the spatial planning process. Time remains under investigated as much of the effort is focused on the context around changing power such as economic changes or cultural values changing. But if time is not factored into the equation the context would not change and so there would be no changes in power. That is why it is of importance to look closely at the aspect of time and the effect time has on the power balance in the spatial planning process.

Now that it is set out what implications time has on field of power research in the spatial planning process a look has to be given to how this research helps the planners in the field, in practice. As the case study shows airport expansions can take a long time, this is true for both the Netherlands as it is for other developed democratic countries (see for example the LAX expansion in Baxamusa (2008)). The lengthy process makes that year after year the insecurity lasts. In the case of Groningen Airport Eelde this insecurity lasted too long for a company looking to ship cargo from the extended runway. The simplest way to decrease the amount of time lost in the planning process is limiting the possibilities for objections, as objections can lead to long court cases and their appeals lengthen the process even more. This is also what happened in the Netherlands as the possibilities to object were limited (for example having less environmental impact assessment objections possibilities). However, it is questionable this is the right way forward. For the economic interests the limiting of objection possibilities are positive. They are the 'winners' as the project gets realised quicker and less objections mean less opportunities to stop the realisation of a project. But, when the objection possibilities are limited the nature and surrounding inhabitants may be affected. In earlier planning procedures with more objection possibilities it may have been that a project is stopped. The increase of economic interests is also visible in the case of Groningen Airport Eelde. In figure 9 in the last years the flow of the line of the economic interests is higher than those of the nature and environment and social lines.

In practice future research has to assess whether or not the decision to limit the objection possibilities is not putting the economic interests to much in an advantage at the cost of nature and the human wellbeing. Future research on a theoretical level would help to fill the gap now left in the

research of time in the power balance in the spatial planning process. But future researches could also investigate other fields where power researches have not taking in time.

For Groningen Airport Eelde investigating the airport's importance to the region would be helpful. Also further investigation of whether or not privatization could help limit the increasing operational losses is a good suggestion. However privatization is a tricky road to go to. Airports were considered to be of great importance to society, providing a vital service to inhabitants. In the 1990s this view changed and more airports became privatized or less drastically corporatized. Privatization of airports can bring benefits. Privatized airports have a greater chance to attract investment from private funds and non-airport related industries (see Van der Knaap & Vossen, 1995). Privatization also forces an airport to become more efficient, because losses are no longer covered by the government. Privatization also has negative effects. Airports may become a little monopoly and abuse that position. The aim of a privatized airport is making profit, but the government might have different goals. The government has to weigh the economic benefits against the interest of other stakeholders, like neighbouring communities (Stratford, 1974). The public might also think a very profitable airport is not acceptable, especially due to the negative effects of a growing airport, like additional noise. Whereas large airports may be profitable, smaller airports that do not generate a lot of traffic might stay lossmaking (Pels, 2000; Doganis, 1992). Companies do not agree on the subject that airports should be privatized. Some companies, like Vindex, KPN, Ahold and ABN Amro are in favour of privatization. Other companies, like Randstad and TUI, see infrastructure, including airports, as a government task and not to be given to the grills of the market (Buck Consultants International, 2000).

But would privatization be a possible route for the future of Groningen Airport Eelde? To research this a thorough look should be given to another Dutch regional airport. Airport Twente near Enschede was closed in 2008 after the military left the airport after 68 years. The civil aviation at the airport would be continued by a private party. In 2008 the first tender fails as no private party is willing to run the airport. In 2010 the airport is taken over by the municipality of Enschede and the province of Overijssel. In 2011 a second tender is done. The result is that three parties are interested, but non become concrete enough. The plan seems to fail, but like a rabbit out of a hat there is a party willing to operate the airport. This party is a big local construction company. The construction company would also built all the new airport buildings necessary. In the end it proved that the subsidies provided to the airport were perhaps not authorised by European Law. According to the European Commission extensive research needed to be done. The deadline of the province was exceeded and the airport remained closed. The suspicion rose that the Germans used the European Commission to protect their own publicly funded airport Münster/Osnabruck and did not wanted a privately funded competitor so close by (Schimmelpenninck, 2015).

This does not mean privatization is bad, but it is unlikely that Groningen Airport Eelde will be profitable in the near future, which will mean the airport is less interesting for private financiers.

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**Appendix A:** All descriptive codes designated to the four analytical codes.

The analytical codes are given in bold letters. The descriptive codes retrieved from the newspaper article are given in the table. The descriptive codes that are in brackets are promoter's arguments in an analytical code attributed to the opposition.

A descriptive code that is mentioned in this appendix can be mentioned in the newspaper articles more than once.

<b>Economic benefits</b>	<b>No economic benefits</b>	<b>Social</b>	<b>Nature and environment</b>
Pijler voor de noordelijke economie	Exploitatieverliezen	Geluidsoverlast grote vliegtuigen	Boven natuurgebied
Lesverkeer neemt toe	Geen economische noodzaak	Rust verstoord	Milieu effect rapportage
Stimulans voor het Noorden	Slecht voor toerisme	Hele dag starten en landen	Extra belasting milieu
Versterking voor Noordelijke economie	Geen enkel voordeel	Maatschappelijke wenselijkheid	MER
Opkrikken Noordelijke economie	Te hoog ingeschatte groei	Stichting Rondom Vliegveld Eelde	Landschap aantasting
Meer vluchten meer omzet	Geen extra werkgelegenheid	VOLE	Milieu organisaties
Langere baan is rendabel	Bedrijfsleven ziet niets in verlenging	Openingstijden	Cultuurlandschap
Regio gebaat bij lange baan	Miljoenentekort	Omwonenden	Milieugrenzen
Economie profiteert	Verlenging onnodig voor economische groei	Toename geluidsoverlast	Milieuminister
Banen bijkomen	Bodemloze put	Meer overlast	VROM
Grote kansen voor vakantie vluchten en vracht	Geld bij moeten	Geluidshinder	Milieuprocedures
Rendabel worden	Duurder dan beraamd	7 huizen slopen	Milieubelangen
Economische effecten	Geen nut van investering	(Toename veiligheid)	Landschappelijk waardevol
Meer lesvliegen	Geen drukker vliegveld	Nachtvluchten	Ecologische hoofdstructuur
Veel rechtstreekse vluchten	Financieel beter af met 1800 baan	(Voldoende draagvlak)	Stroomdalgebied Drentse Aa
Impuls voor luchthaven	Planschade	Geluidsnormen	Nationaal park
400 banen bij	Af te breken huizen compenseren	Schade aan omgeving	Milieudefensie Drenthe
Profiteren van congestie Schiphol	Onnodig	Schade aan woningen	Stichting Natuur & Milieu
Terugdringen exploitatieverliezen	Regionaal economisch oninteressant	Schade voor woonomgeving	Milieu ruimte
Korte baan remt groei	Financieel zeer riskant	Planologisch onverstandig	CO2 uitstoot

Goede verbindingen cruciaal	Te weinig vraag naar diensten	Draagvlak	Milieustichting
Volle vluchten kan nu niet	Financiële consequenties van verlies lesvluchten	Volksgezondheid	'Groene' organisaties
Economisch belang voor Noorden	Geen bewezen economische noodzaak	Verenigingen dorpsbelangen	Milieuverontreinigende
Meer reizigers	Verlies op jaarbasis	(Kortere wachttijden)	koolstofdioxide
Werven van nieuwe bedrijven	Economische plaatje is oud & incompleet	(Lagere parkeertarief)	Waddenzee
Economische zaken	Marginale economische groei	Meer overlast toeristen	Milieuclubs
Nieuwe terminal + nieuwe winkels	Vraagbehoefte blijft achter	Meer overlast recreanten	Milieunormen
Meer parkeergelegenheid	Marktconforme exploitatie	Achteruitgang recreatieve waarde	Emissierechten
Meer nieuwe bedrijven + kantoren	Rode cijfers	Hinderlijk rondvliegen	Schade aan landschap
Verder gelegen bestemmingen	Zwaar verlieslijdend	Ernstige hinder	Milieubelasting
Meer vrachtverkeer	Meer indirecte kosten	Aantasting woon/leefklimaat	Milieukwaliteit
Groeikansen	Financieel sein op rood	Buurtbewoners	Vervuiling van motoren
Grotere chartervluchten	Financiële kosten en risico's overschaduwten mogelijke opbrengsten	Geluidzone	Plantjes
Verlies wordt verkleind	Financiële consequenties	Lawaai	Planten
Economische ontwikkeling	Financiële gevolgen	Geluidseffecten	Milieudefensie
Meer types op Eelde	Daling van woningwaarde	Leefbaarheid	Bomen
Meer cargoverkeer	Bang voor toekomstige verliezen	Toename hinder	Plankton
Meer charterverkeer	Vertrekkende toeristen besteden geld elders	Loodrecht op munitiedepot	Bedreigde dieren
Groot economisch belang	Vrachtverkeer onrealistisch	Doodsteek paraclub	Weidevogel
Bloemenveiling gebruik	Concurrentie Lelystad	Hinderlijke circuitvluchten	Natuureservaten
Betere levensvatbaar	Overschat werkgelegenheid	Verpesting van woonomgeving	Milieucommissie
Belangrijke motorfunctie voor bedrijvigheid	Te optimistisch over passagiers	Luchtvracht = veiliger dan wegvracht	Vogelrichtlijn
Kamers van Koophandel	Niet meer lijndiensten	Leefbaarheid rond Groningen Airport Eelde neemt af	Vogelpopulatie
Bedrijfsleven	Kost toerisme geld	Geluidscontour	Geen effect op natuur rond Zuidlaardermeer



Nuttige diensten	Geen zakelijke behoefte	(Vliegveld kan ook recreatie creëren)	(Meer bestemmingen dichterbij = beter voor milieu)
Stichting Vrienden Groningen Airport Eelde	Geen economische betekenis voor Friesland	Woningen geïsoleerd worden	Natuurorganisatie IVN
Overslagterrein	Ongeoorloofde staatssteun	Luchtvracht = nachtvlucht	Milieuhygiëne
Cargo terrein	Toeristen blijven weg	Veiligheidsrisico	Natuurmonumenten
Bedrijvenpark	Voor vliegschool vooral nadelen	Lawaai lijdt tot slechte gezondheid en schaadt leerprestaties van leerlingen	Milieuvervuiling
Vestigingsfactor voor bedrijven		Stankoverlast	Geen extra natuurschade
Maatschappelijk nut		Slaapverstoring	Wildtunnel
Zonder verlenging niet voldoende renderen of zich verder ontwikkelen		Aantasting gezondheid	Landschap van oude houtwallen verdwijnt
Baanverlenging sterkt middenstand		Gezondheidsraad	Watergangen
Komst Ryanair of andere low cost carrier		(1000 handtekeningen voor verlenging)	Waterhuishouding
Draagt bij aan vestigingsklimaat		(64% voor verlenging blijkt uit onderzoek RUG)	Zandwegen
Interessant voor regionale vrachtbedrijven		Gemeenschap	Beekdalen
Bedrijf niet internationale contacten		Rust	Eekhoornschelooop
Campings: Groningen Airport Eelde extra attractie		(Luchtvaart hoort bij samenleving)	Zandruggen met houtsingels en essen
Geen verlenging Groningen Airport Eelde kan op failliet		Bewoners rond Groningen Airport Eelde	Ecologische waarden
Voor het eerst winst maken		Nachttransporten van trucks voor verlenging	Houtwallen
Vastgoedontwikkeling = extra winst		(Veiliger bij opstijgen of afbraak start)	Boschages
Extra inkomsten uit proefvluchten met grote vliegtuigen		(Minder geluid van opstijgende vliegtuigen wegens niet vol gas)	Vleermuisroute
Belangrijk voor buitenlandse gasten van de TT-races		(Transferium De Punt onderdeel van infrastructuur)	Flora & Fauna wet
Ryanair keert terug bij verlenging	(Tijdwinst, geen tussenstop)	Knobbelzwanen	

Meer industrie aantrekken
Essentieel project
Publieke faciliteit
Vastgoedontwikkelaar
Haalbaarheidsstudies
Investeringsnota's
Noodzakelijke infrastructuur projecten
Om te kunnen concurreren
Goed voor buitenlandse toeristen
Overbodig maken van tussenlandingen
Randvoorwaarde

(Voor meer openingstijden)	Vleermuistrek
(Minister is voor)	Bomenrij
(Breed draagvlak)	Milieuverstorende effecten
	Faunawetten
	Landelijk gebied
	Vleermuissoorten
	Vernietigde leefgebied van amfibieën
	2 soorten kikkers
	Landbouw
	Vleermuizen
	Muizen
	Eksters
	Kraaien
	Ganzen
	Natuurvereniging
	Landbouwminister
	Onderbegroeiing
	Vleermuisonvriendelijk
	Beplanting
	Vleermuiskelder
	Diertjes
	Egels
	Vleermuizenprotest
	Natuurcompenserende (Vliegtuigen hoeven niet meer vol gas op te stijgen = minder verbruik brandstof)

**Appendix B:** All newspaper articles references in chronological order.

NRC Handelsblad (1991). Verlengen startbaan Eelde mag van GS. *NRC Handelsblad*, 01-05-1991.

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