



MARKET SOLUTIONS
FOR MISSOURI

CASE
STUDY
NUMBER 9 JULY 2011



'AEROTROPOLIS' A Raw Deal for Missouri

By Audrey Spalding and Patrick Ishmael

OVERVIEW

The Missouri General Assembly may reconvene in special session to take up tax credit legislation that includes \$360 million in taxpayer-backed incentives to develop in Saint Louis a new international trade hub, more commonly known today as “Aerotropolis.” Proponents claim that these indirect subsidies would bring increased air cargo to Lambert–St. Louis International Airport from international destinations, boosting economic development in the region.

As written, however, the plan violates sound public policy principles by sanctioning a government handout to local developers on terms that are indistinguishable from the cronyism often seen in legislation at the federal level.

Legislators should not take claims that the bill is for “economic development” or “jobs” at face value, because the economics that undergird the Aerotropolis plan fail to support such claims. The state’s representatives and senators appear to take the need for regional growth seriously, as do we at the Show-Me Institute. This plan, however, is a raw deal for Missourians.

WHAT IS AN AEROTROPOLIS?

An “aerotropolis” is an international trade zone that uses multiple modes of transport — including trucks, trains, and airplanes — to move goods. The term describes an evolution in trade that’s taken place for more than half a century, long before the word “Aerotropolis” was coined. Many cities have developed such trade centers

ADVANCING LIBERTY WITH RESPONSIBILITY
BY PROMOTING MARKET SOLUTIONS
FOR MISSOURI PUBLIC POLICY



Audrey Spalding
Policy Analyst

Audrey Spalding graduated in 2009 from the University of Missouri–Columbia with dual degrees in journalism and economics. She became fascinated with local government issues while working as an education reporter at the *Columbia Missourian*, and realized the importance of holding elected officials accountable. Her coverage of the Columbia Public School District’s tax levy increase election won a Hearst Journalism Award. Before joining the Show-Me Institute, Audrey worked for the institute as a research intern for a year, and during that time filed more than 500 requests for public information. She is originally from Michigan.

Email: audrey.spalding@showmeinstitute.org

to one extent or another over that time, with the FedEx hub in Memphis being an archetypal example.¹

Yet the Aerotropolis concept has begun to be pushed as a public development plan only within the last decade or so.² Building an Aerotropolis from the ground up requires massive inventories of warehouses around an airport to store products, massive improvements in an airport to handle an influx of air carriers, and, too often, massive public subsidies.

The Aerotropolis dream of attracting international trade to a region is by no means a poor one. In fact, increasing trade among countries is one of the best ways to improve economic welfare. However, problems arise when the dream is used as a justification for public subsidy.

GOVERNMENT HANDOUTS

The structure of the incentives laid out in the Aerotropolis legislation do not advance Missouri’s economic interests because a vast majority of the incentives are tailored to advance the financial interests of a small group of businesses and private developers, at the expense of pre-existing businesses and state taxpayers.

The Aerotropolis tax credits would subsidize warehouse construction, as well as cargo flights from Saint Louis to international destinations. **Up to \$300 million in tax credits — more than 80 percent of the bill’s tax breaks — would be made available for the construction of new warehouses around the airport.**³ Those tax credits could be used to pay up to 30 percent of a warehouse owner’s demolition, construction, and equipment costs.⁴ The bill requires that warehouses qualifying for those incentives must be built on 100 contiguous acres of land or in specially designated areas.⁵

There does not seem to be any practical reason for the “100 acre” requirement contained within the Aerotropolis tax credit bill. **The requirement seems to serve only to restrict who could draw upon such tax credits, narrowing the field to a small pool of large-scale developers.** Such a strange requirement is not unexpected, but it is an unfortunate example of the cronyism that can flourish almost hidden in the details of a lengthy bill.

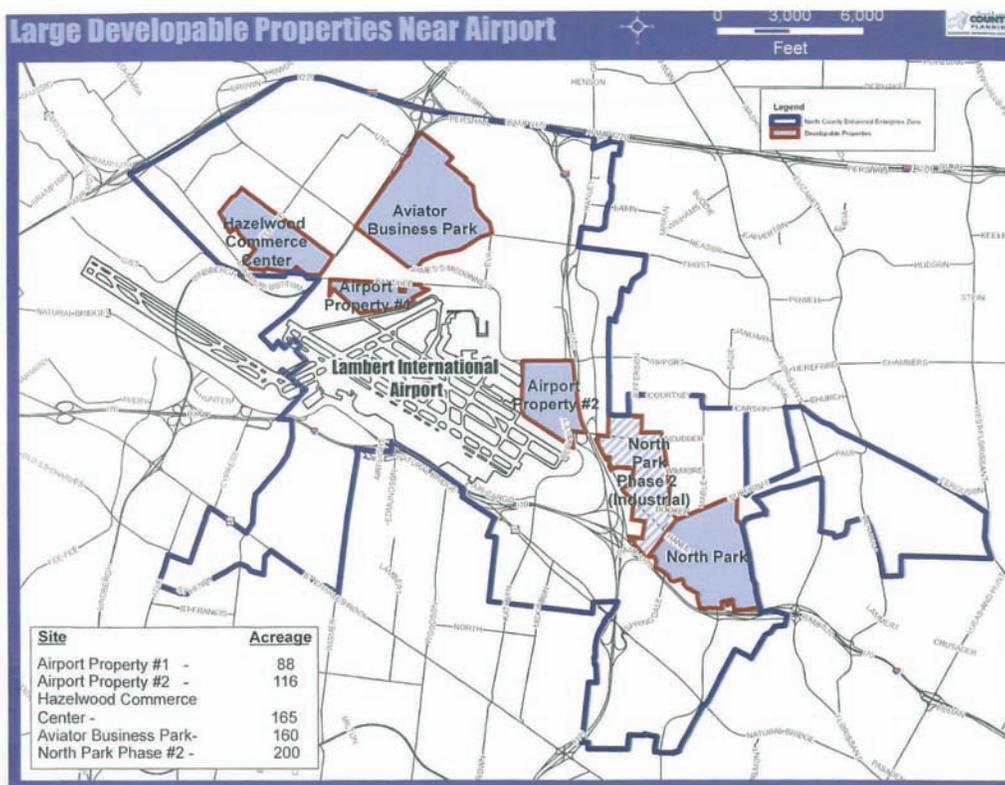
Furthermore, although Aerotropolis proponents cite increased international trade as the reason to create hundreds of millions in subsidies, the bill would allow warehouse owners that do not process any international cargo to draw upon the tax credits.

Jeff Rainford, the chief of staff for the mayor of Saint Louis, wrote in a letter to the *St. Louis Business Journal* that “we are not gambling. The Aerotropolis credits cannot be used until the facilities are built and are being used for international cargo. If none of that happens, then no one will have used the Aerotropolis credits, and the state will lose nothing.”⁶

This statement is misleading at best. The legislation sets several limits on eligibility for the tax credits, but those limits are low and, in some cases, almost nonexistent. Some owners of warehouses with international cargo consisting of as little as 20 percent of their operations could receive the Aerotropolis tax credits.⁷ Other owners of warehouses with international cargo consisting of as little as 10 percent of their operations could receive the Aerotropolis tax credits.⁸

Most strikingly, owners of warehouses that use two modes of commerce — not necessarily air cargo, but perhaps road and rail transportation — could draw on the tax credits.⁹ So could owners of

Figure 1 – Likely Beneficiaries of Proposed Aerotropolis Tax Credits Near Lambert



Source: "Review of Senate Bill 390 – The Aerotropolis Trade Incentive and Tax Credit Act," Midwest China Hub Commission. Provided in response to an information request from Andrew Reuben, general counsel and vice president of real estate and community development for the St. Louis County Economic Council. Online here: tinyurl.com/6jwxjnu

warehouses that are refrigerated for storage of perishable materials.¹⁰ Again, the Senate substitute for the Aerotropolis legislation doesn't require those facilities to process international cargo.

Isn't it possible that these tax credits, given the low standards and wide-ranging eligibility definitions, could be used to pay for business as usual? There's no protection for taxpayers specifying that, if the international agreements never materialize, the tax credits won't be awarded.

Moreover, several of the likely applicants for the Aerotropolis tax credits are already the beneficiaries of millions of dollars of state and local tax incentives. In an

internal review of the proposed Aerotropolis tax credit legislation, Saint Louis County officials identified several development areas that would likely draw upon the Aerotropolis tax credits, and noted that nearly \$100 million in tax subsidy had already been authorized or expended in those areas.¹¹ Those officials wrote that another "\$192 million in prospective incentives are currently available" at those sites.

In Figure 1, a map drawn by Saint Louis County officials, it is evident that the likely beneficiaries of the proposed Aerotropolis tax credits are owners of large tracts of



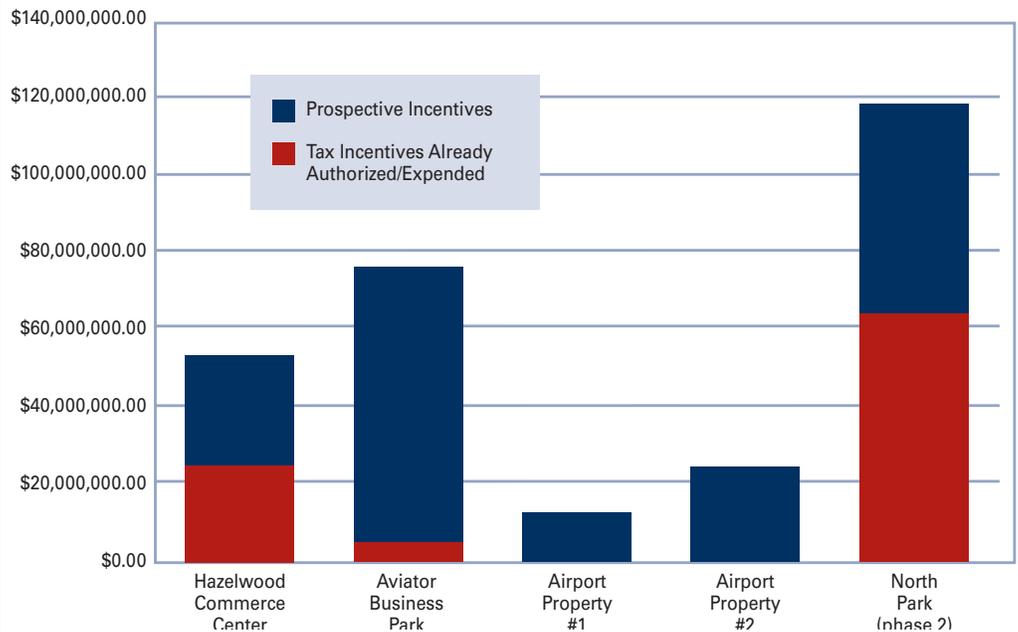
Patrick Ishmael
Policy Analyst

Patrick Ishmael is a native of Kansas City, and a 2006 graduate of Saint Louis University, where he earned honors degrees in finance (H.B.S.B.A.) and political science (H.B.A.). Patrick went on to law school, graduating from SLU with a concentration in business transactions. He is a member of the Missouri Bar. Patrick's writing has been featured in the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Weekly Standard*, and many other print publications, as well as in many online publications, including HotAir.com. He lives in the city of Saint Louis.

Email: patrick.ishmael@showmeinstitute.org

At some point, the state must let entrepreneurs stand, or fail, on their own merit.

Figure 2 — Tax Incentives Already Expended or Available for Areas Near Lambert



Source: "Review of Senate Bill 390 –The Aerotropolis Trade Incentive and Tax Credit Act," Midwest China Hub Commission. Online here: tinyurl.com/6jwxjnu

land near the Lambert airport. And yet, according to the county's analysis, several of those areas have already received, or have been authorized to receive, a great deal of taxpayer money. Figure 2 shows the availability of tax credits for a few such properties.¹²

The 550-acre NorthPark development has already received or been authorized to receive more than \$63 million in indirect subsidies, according to the county's analysis.¹³ The same analysis (see Figure 3) found that Hazelwood Commerce Center, a 151-acre industrial site, has received or has been authorized to receive more than \$25 million in taxpayer subsidies.¹⁴ Aviator Business Park, the former site of a Ford Motor Co. assembly plant, has already received or has been authorized to receive \$5 million in taxpayer subsidies.

These three sites, along with two airport properties, could draw upon nearly \$200 million more in tax subsidies, according to the county's analysis (see Figure 4).

The Aviator Business Park site has the biggest potential draw, likely being eligible for as much as \$71 million in prospective subsidies.

Considering the vast amount of public subsidies both already expended and available at those areas, the policy question changes from one of whether it's wise to award any subsidy to a question of whether it is wise to layer subsidy upon subsidy. At some point, the state must let entrepreneurs stand, or fail, on their own merit.

DOES SAINT LOUIS NEED MORE WAREHOUSES?

The Saint Louis area does not lack warehouse space. In driving around the

Figure 3 — Redevelopment Incentives (Authorized/Expended)

| | Hazelwood Commerce Center | Aviator Business Park | Airport Property #1 | Airport Property #2 | North Park (phase 2) |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| TIF | \$17,055,000 | 0 | 0 | 0 | \$57,500,000 |
| Brownfield Tax Credits | \$8,000,000 | \$5,000,000 | 0 | 0 | \$6,000,000 |
| SuperTIF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | \$25,055,000 | \$5,000,000 | 0 | 0 | \$63,500,000 |

Source: "Review of Senate Bill 390 –The Aerotropolis Trade Incentive and Tax Credit Act," Midwest China Hub Commission. Online here: tinyurl.com/6jwxjnu

neighborhoods located near Lambert–St. Louis International Airport, Show-Me Institute policy analysts found many vacant warehouses. **According to warehouse market research, more than 18 million square feet in vacant warehouse space is already in the area.**¹⁵

It is possible that some of the available warehouse space is somehow inadequate for the projected international cargo, but elected officials and other tax credit proponents have not provided any public evidence that this is the case, or even discussed the 18 million square feet in available warehouse space.

However, after reviewing the Midwest China Hub Commission's (MCHC) estimated increase in flights following the award of \$60 million in tax credits, Michael Webber, an international air cargo industry consultant, wrote that Saint Louis "has adequate on-airport capacity (existing facilities or unimproved land) to host adequate air cargo facilities to support the unlikely maximum of 8 projected weekly freighters," the number estimated by MCHC.

In fact, the massive Aerotropolis warehouse subsidies would likely harm individuals who already own or lease warehouses in the Saint Louis area, but who are not eligible to receive the benefits of the Aerotropolis subsidies.

One person who could be harmed by such tax credits is David Randolph, vice president of CB Richard Ellis, a Saint Louis–area brokerage company that is looking to fill a great deal of vacant warehouse space. Randolph said that he hasn't seen a shortage of warehouse space. **"If someone's looking for space, we have space available," he said.**¹⁶

Randolph disagreed with making tax credits available for the developers of new buildings. "I personally think it would be a disadvantage to current owners of buildings that exist," Randolph said, "that only new buildings get tax credits but old buildings do not."

The proposal to build warehouses isn't the only problem with the Aerotropolis tax credit proposal. Tim Nowak, the executive director of the World Trade Center of Saint Louis, wrote that "volcanic demand" would

The massive Aerotropolis warehouse subsidies would likely harm individuals who already own or lease warehouses in the Saint Louis area, but who are not eligible to receive the benefits of the Aerotropolis subsidies.

If the lead House sponsor of the Aerotropolis legislation doesn't know what his own legislation will do for his constituents, taxpayers should be very wary of all the promises being made to justify the bill's passage.

Figure 4 – Prospective Incentives

| | Hazelwood Commerce Center | Aviator Business Park | Airport Property #1 | Airport Property #2 | North Park (phase 2) |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| SuperTIF | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | \$9,479,383 |
| Net Equity From New Market Tax Credits (Allocation from HRIF) | 0 | \$530,000 | \$530,000 | \$530,000 | \$530,000 |
| Enhanced Enterprise Zone Tax Credits | \$6,217,322 | \$8,289,763 | \$3,005,039 | \$6,010,078 | \$9,727,530 |
| Real Property Tax Abatement (Ch. 99, Ch. 100, EZ) | \$12,953,239 | 0 | \$5,626,443 | \$11,252,886 | \$21,927,281 |
| Personal Property Tax Abatement (Ch 100) | \$4,431,835 | \$6,838,384 | \$1,896,463 | \$3,792,926 | \$7,603,806 |
| Sales Tax Exemption Building Materials (Ch 99, Ch 100) | \$3,329,726 | 0 | \$1,609,368 | \$3,218,736 | \$5,549,544 |
| Chapter 353 Tax Abatement (Real Property) | 0 | \$54,598,659 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Local Option Sales Tax Incentive Fund (Hazelwood) | \$1,250,000 | \$1,250,000 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | \$28,182,122 | \$71,506,806 | \$12,667,313 | \$24,804,626 | \$54,817,544 |

Source: "Review of Senate Bill 390 – The Aerotropolis Trade Incentive and Tax Credit Act," Midwest China Hub Commission. Online here: tinyurl.com/6jwxjnu



be needed to achieve the growth in cargo flight targets — 20 or more flights per week — that the bill’s supporters believed these subsidies would attract.¹⁷

NOT EVEN WHEN PIGS FLY

Perhaps the most absurd promise made to advance the Aerotropolis legislation came from Rep. Caleb Jones (R-California). Jones, a lead sponsor of the House version of the bill, told Saint Louis CBS affiliate KMOX in a piece published on April 6 that, if the legislation became law, “Folks from my district are going to be able to load up cattle and drive it to St. Louis and have it in China the next day.”¹⁸

However, top-level supporters of the Aerotropolis tax credits likely knew that Jones’ flying cow assertion was incorrect. Jason Van Eaton, executive director of the MCHC, wrote in an email on April 5 that although pork products were approved for trade with China, beef was not.¹⁹

From the email:

Bottom line, pork is officially open between the US and China. Beef is not but the word is that it will open soon ... but that’s been the word for months. Many other trade issues keeping this tied up right now.

If the lead House sponsor of the Aerotropolis legislation doesn’t know what his own legislation will do for his constituents, taxpayers should be very wary of all the promises being made to justify the bill’s passage.

THE UNDERLYING NETWORK CONNECTIVITY PROBLEM

Dedicated cargo aircraft aren’t the only means for rapidly transporting goods. Passenger planes play an enormous role, as well. “Belly freight,” cargo carried by passenger aircraft, augments the shipping offerings of cargo hubs by providing additional opportunities to ship products at various times during the day.

International cargo consultant Michael Webber knows what makes airports work, and he sees immense competitive barriers to Saint Louis developing into an international cargo hub under the Aerotropolis plan, because the airport’s diminished capacity for “belly freight” makes its overall offering to freight forwarders less appealing. After all, since 2000 the airport has seen passenger traffic decline by more than half.²⁰

“The cargo air carriers’ most critical allied service partners — freight forwarders — depend upon the greatest possible network

International cargo consultant Michael Webber knows what makes airports work, and he sees immense competitive barriers to Saint Louis developing into an international cargo hub under the Aerotropolis plan.

Business travelers are one of the most important elements to building up an airport, which is another strong reason for Missouri officials to create a favorable economic climate across the board rather than target a narrow range of business activity.



connectivity to serve their shipper customers (exporter and importer), strengthening the competitive advantages of incumbent gateways,” Webber wrote after reviewing the MCHC’s internal review of the proposed Aerotropolis subsidies.

Business travelers are one of the most important elements to building up an airport, which is another strong reason for Missouri officials to create a favorable economic climate across the board rather than target a narrow range of business activity.

“The business travel component is critical due to the relatively low fare elasticity of and disproportionately high fares paid by business travelers,” said Robert Mann, an independent airline industry analyst who has served as a senior executive with American Airlines and as an officer at TWA, Pan Am, and Tower Air. “Greater demand, especially greater demand at higher business-level fares, attracts more air service to more destinations, which often coincide with other high demand markets and business communities of interest such as factories, suppliers and customer concentrations.”

One reason Lambert may be suffering from fewer flights is the airport’s outsized

debt. The *St. Louis Business Journal* reported that the airport carried more than \$900 million in debt during fiscal year 2010, an increase of more than 13 percent from the previous year.²¹ According to the *Business Journal*, “Most of the debt is being paid from airline charges, specifically landing fees.”

As a result, the landing fees that Lambert charges are far higher than other nearby airports. The *Business Journal* reported that Lambert pays for most of its debt with landing fees, which amount to \$8.18 per 1,000 pounds of aircraft weight. Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Memphis all charge a quarter or less than Lambert’s fee.

Stephen Perry, a lobbyist working on the Aerotropolis subsidy package, warned the head of the World Trade Center in Saint Louis — as well as the head of the MCHC and an attorney leading the push for the subsidies — that public discussion of Lambert’s debt could be detrimental.²²

He wrote (punctuation below is reproduced as it appeared in the original):

Lambert looks to me saddled by huge debt which can only be solved by imaginative refinancing and new income sources . If this bill falls then Lambert is beyond recovery and the

media will see that and how that happened .

As far as I can see the fighting is risking bringing into focus the huge debt that Lambert is saddled with , and their negotiating position with users will be badly undermined .

The Aerotropolis bill does nothing to address these obstacles that stand in the way of establishing Saint Louis as an international cargo hub. **Without seriously addressing these fundamental problems, the long-term prospects of Aerotropolis are bleak.**

BEWARE THE “MULTIPLIER EFFECT”

Aerotropolis proponents claim that the millions in subsidies would result in nearly \$34 billion in economic activity over a 20-year period.²³ However, there are two fatal flaws in such analysis. The first is a failure to account for the economic activity that could occur if the state were to let taxpayers keep the \$360 million and invest it as they choose. The second is a heavy reliance on the notion of an economic “multiplier.”

The idea of economic multipliers can be traced to an interpretation of the work of economist John Maynard Keynes, who argued that when the economy is in a recession, higher government spending combats people’s tendency to hoard money in a downturn and puts unemployed people and resources to work. As the spending ripples across the economy, he suggested, a dollar in government spending should cause substantially more than a dollar in economic activity.

The Barack Obama administration invoked the multiplier to promote its \$787 billion federal stimulus package. The president’s economic advisers assumed that every dollar

spent by the stimulus would add \$1.50 to GDP, pulling the economy out of recession and toward full employment. In an analysis published by the *New York Times*, University of Chicago economist Casey Mulligan showed that stimulus spending did not boost GDP and may have been detrimental.²⁴

We have seen similar results more locally in Saint Louis boondoggles such as Ballpark Village. When final plans for the development were announced in 2006, the St. Louis Regional Chamber and Growth Association (RCGA) estimated that Phase I of the project would cost \$387 million but generate \$273 million in “economic benefit” for the Saint Louis region.²⁵

Almost five years later, construction has not started, and the investment has been downgraded to \$155 million, with at least \$57 million of that coming from various levels of government. Furthermore, Ballpark Village is primarily shuffling existing businesses around instead of attracting or creating new ones. Stifel Financial Corp., the village’s largest future tenant, will move all of seven blocks.²⁶

The same organization that pushed for the Ballpark Village development, the RCGA, has also pushed strongly for the Aerotropolis tax credits. Government spending can sometimes boost economic growth by providing infrastructure, but this is only necessary in cases such as highway construction, where excluding free riders is especially difficult or impossible. This problem does not affect warehouses and other similar brick-and-mortar projects.

Despite previous failures, politicians from both sides of the aisle cited multiplier effects in order to bolster their support for the subsidies contained in the Aerotropolis legislation. Although the precise equation behind their multiplier estimates is obscure,

The government cannot create resources from thin air. It must take them from taxpayers through taxation or borrowing. Resources used by the government are resources that cannot be used by the private sector.

The appearance of the Aerotropolis tax credit package during the 2011 legislative session is the latest example of public officials acting contrary to research, audits, and public commissions that have recommended tax credit reform.

an RCGA study predicts that \$300 million in public funding will lead to almost \$34 billion in private economic activity over 20 years, positing a return of more than 100 times the original expenditure. We've heard these promises before.

The government cannot create resources from thin air. It must take them from taxpayers through taxation or borrowing. Resources used by the government are resources that cannot be used by the private sector. Increasing government spending does not in itself increase the country's capacity to produce — it just shifts existing production away from goods and services that consumers demand to those demanded by politicians.

Corporate giveaways are a threat to the free market, and portrayals of the Aerotropolis bill as a regional “economic stimulus,” a “jobs bill,” or as an “economic multiplier” recall the promises made at the federal level to justify the profligate spending of the 2009 stimulus bill. When it comes to a whole host of issues — sports teams, convention centers, hotels, and many other developments — too often the idea of a “well-spent” government dollar is accepted as a sustainable and enduring form of economic development. More often, such programs retard regional growth and rearrange economic development instead of growing it.

Research contribution: John Payne, *Research Assistant* john.payne@showmeinstitute.org

TAX CREDITS ARE KNOWN TO BE A POOR TOOL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Many promises and claims are made when tax credits are awarded. Unfortunately,

tax credit programs rarely deliver on their promises. The Mackinac Center for Public Policy, a nonprofit research organization that studies Michigan public policy, found that over a 10-year period, 127 of Michigan's tax credit agreements should have produced “fully employed facilities.” However, only 10 of those agreements produced the promised number of direct jobs within the established timeline.²⁷

Unfortunately, tax credits can cost more than initially projected. The Missouri auditor reviewed 15 of the state's tax credit programs and found that redemptions exceeded fiscal note projections by more than \$1.1 billion in a mere five years.²⁸

Tax credit programs can also be contorted by companies in order to receive the greatest public subsidy for the least cost. Less than a year after Gov. Jay Nixon announced that Liberty Mutual Group would receive \$1.6 million in tax credits for creating new jobs, the company notified 45 employees that their positions had been eliminated. The company noted, however, that those employees could apply for new, lower-paying jobs. Despite the terminations, a spokesman for the Missouri Department of Economic Development (DED) told the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that the company remained eligible for the tax credits.²⁹

Public officials certainly know that the proliferation of tax credit programs in Missouri is a problem that needs to be addressed. The General Assembly has considered limiting tax credit programs, but continues to fall short of making substantial reform. A commission appointed by Gov. Nixon recommended eliminating or declining to reauthorize 28 different state tax credit programs, and found that tax credit redemptions have more than quintupled since fiscal year 1998, far outpacing state revenue growth.³⁰ The state

auditor's office has warned repeatedly of the outsized costs and poor accounting used in the award of tax credits.³¹

Although state officials take tough stances on tax credits, their actions stand in sharp contrast to their rhetoric. The Associated Press characterized Nixon as a “cutter in chief,” noting his plans to “[curtail] Missouri’s expansive tax credit programs,” and yet the governor has since traveled around the state touting tax credit programs.³² Nixon has even taken time to travel to Macon to announce the awarding of tax credits for the creation of merely eight jobs, and has said on national radio that he’s traveled to north Missouri to announce the creation of a single job.³³

The appearance of the Aerotropolis tax credit package during the 2011 legislative session is the latest example of public officials acting contrary to research, audits, and public commissions that have recommended tax credit reform.

CONCLUSION

Tax credits are not free money, and Missouri’s state government is already straining to meet its current commitments. Every dollar that is given away in tax credits is a dollar that the government must replace with cuts in current programs, or — more likely — through increased taxation. Nor are targeted tax credits the same as tax cuts. **In fact, targeted tax credits are very similar to spending “earmarks” — narrow public subsidies handed out to powerful special interests.** There is a long and dismal history illustrating the multiple failures of heavily subsidized commercial enterprises.

Robert Mann put it more simply:

There is no free lunch. Aerotropolis requires a “bridge to nowhere”

subsidy and fails to recognize that recovering the economics of energy costs, scarcity, and other constraints will shrink — not expand — global supply chains, raising questions about long-term demand.

Instead of awarding more tax credits to favored individuals and industries, legislators should do something truly innovative: They should lower taxes across the board for all Missourians. That way, economic growth can occur organically, and in areas that legislators might not expect.

If, as proponents have argued, the Aerotropolis dream is viable, and one that will bring a tremendous return on investment, where are the private investors in the absence of subsidy? After all, the RCGA suggested that \$300 million would yield almost \$34 billion in economic activity over 20 years, a return of more than 10,000 percent.

Certainly, if such predictions were accurate, private entrepreneurs would jump at the opportunity to earn such a large return even without receiving subsidies. If investors truly believed that the Aerotropolis dream is a can’t-miss-opportunity, there would be no need for tax credits. The fact that there has been such a clamor and fervor to pass the subsidies should indicate just how risky the Aerotropolis dream really is.

Lawmakers should focus on making Missouri more competitive across the board and in every corner of state, rather than picking the winners and losers in one of its regions: a grand bet with a troubling payoff.

***Join the fight for liberty in our state.
Become a Show-Me Institute supporter
www.showmeinstitute.org***

Instead of awarding more tax credits to favored individuals and industries, legislators should do something truly innovative: They should lower taxes across the board for all Missourians. That way, economic growth can occur organically, and in areas that legislators might not expect.

- ¹ Kasarda, John D., and Greg Lindsay, *Aerotropolis: The Way We'll Live Next*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1st ed., 2011, p. 59.
- ² Kasarda, John D., "Aerotropolis: Airport-Driven Urban Development," *ULI on the Future: Cities in the 21st Century*, Urban Land Institute, 2000.
- ³ Senate Substitute for House Bills 116&316 135.1517.
- ⁴ Senate Substitute for House Bills 116&316 135.1513.1(1).
- ⁵ Senate Substitute for House Bills 116&316 135.1500.2(16).
- ⁶ Rainford, Jeff, "Attracting investment around Lambert Airport is the 'Big Idea,'" *St. Louis Business Journal*, June 10, 2011. Online here: tinyurl.com/3hl2har
- ⁷ Senate Substitute for House Bills 116&316 135.1500.2(17) and 135.1513.1(1).
- ⁸ Senate Substitute for House Bills 116&316 135.1500.2(18) and 135.1513.1(2).
- ⁹ Senate Substitute for House Bills 116&316 135.1500.2(19) and 135.1500.2(24) and 135.1513.1(2).
- ¹⁰ Senate Substitute for House Bills 116&316 135.1500.2(26) and 135.1513.1(2).
- ¹¹ "Review of Senate Bill 390 – The Aerotropolis Trade Incentive and Tax Credit Act," Midwest China Hub Commission. Provided in response to an information request from Andrew Reuben, general counsel and vice president of real estate and community development for the St. Louis County Economic Council. Online here: tinyurl.com/6jwxjnu
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Description of NorthPark: tinyurl.com/3lxuzk5
- ¹⁴ Description of Hazelwood Commerce Center: tinyurl.com/3tg3zsw
- ¹⁵ According to marketing research conducted by CB Richard Ellis, 18 million square feet in developed warehouse space is vacant and available in the Saint Louis metro area.
- ¹⁶ Phone interview with David Randolph, conducted on May 11, 2011.
- ¹⁷ Email from Tim Nowak to Sean Mullins on March 22, 2011. Email obtained in response to a Sunshine Law request made to the MCHC for documents relating to the proposed Aerotropolis subsidies.
- ¹⁸ Brooks, Phil, and Kevin Killeen, "Mo House Okays Lambert China Hub Tax Breaks — But State Senate May Say No," CBS St. Louis KMOX, April 6, 2011. Online here: tinyurl.com/3rltg8p
- ¹⁹ Email from Jason Van Eaton to Michael Hafner, sent on April 5, 2011. Documents provided in response to a Sunshine Law request made by the Show-Me Institute to the MCHC for documents relating to the Aerotropolis legislation.
- ²⁰ Solomont, Elizabeth, "Flying under a load of debt: Analysts turn negative on Lambert's billion-dollar debt, lack of revenue options," *St. Louis Business Journal*, June 3, 2011. Online here: tinyurl.com/3oqetmb
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Email from Stephen Perry to Jason Van Eaton, Steven Stone, and Michael Jones, sent on April 9, 2011.
- ²³ "Estimate of Potential Economic Impact Associated with 'Aerotropolis' Legislation and an International Freight Hub at Lambert-St. Louis International Airport," St. Louis Regional Chamber & Growth Association, April 19, 2011. Online here: tinyurl.com/4yxv4cd
- ²⁴ Mulligan, Casey, "The Minimal Impact of the Stimulus," *New York Times*, March 2, 2011. Online here: tinyurl.com/483twy7
- ²⁵ "RCGA Economist's Economic Impact Analysis of Ballpark Village: \$273 million annual impact; 3,040 job impact + construction," St. Louis Regional Chamber & Growth Association, Oct. 27, 2006. Online here: tinyurl.com/3qs5p82
- ²⁶ Logan, Tim, "Big Plans for Ballpark Village," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Jan 20, 2011. Online here: tinyurl.com/3f6pz9l
- ²⁷ LaFaive, Michael, and Michael Hicks, "MEGA: A Retrospective Assessment," Mackinac Center for Public Policy, April 2005, p. 22. Online here: tinyurl.com/3vop2gs
- ²⁸ Montee, Susan, JD, CPA, "Tax Credit Cost Controls," Missouri State Auditor, Report No. 2010-47, April 2010, p. 8. Online here: tinyurl.com/3k6kf5s
- ²⁹ Geigerich, Steve, "Firm awarded hiring aid; workers lose jobs," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 17, 2011. Online here: tinyurl.com/3kggebh
- ³⁰ "Report of the Missouri Tax Credit Review Commission," Missouri Tax Credit Review Commission, Nov. 30, 2010. Online here: tinyurl.com/34t3327
- ³¹ See Missouri State Auditor reports 2010-47, 2010-106, and 2008-23. Problems raised in those reports include higher costs than anticipated, poor verification of information submitted by tax credit recipients, and a low return rate on state subsidy. Online here: tinyurl.com/3k6kf5s; tinyurl.com/3r8szrz; tinyurl.com/3tg8bs2
- ³² Lieb, David, "Once a critic, Nixon now cutter-in-chief," Associated Press, May 23, 2010. Online here: tinyurl.com/6xgs78x
- ³³ This American Life, "How to Create a Job," Chicago Public Media, May 13, 2011. Online here: tinyurl.com/3t7w6oy



4512 West Pine Blvd. | Saint Louis, MO 63108 | 314-454-0647 | www.showmeinstitute.org

View State Government Spending:
showmeliving.org

Read Our Blog:
showmedaily.org

Use Our Interactive Database:
showmeideas.org

Find Us on Facebook:
facebook.com/showmeinstitute

Follow Us on Twitter:
twitter.com/showme