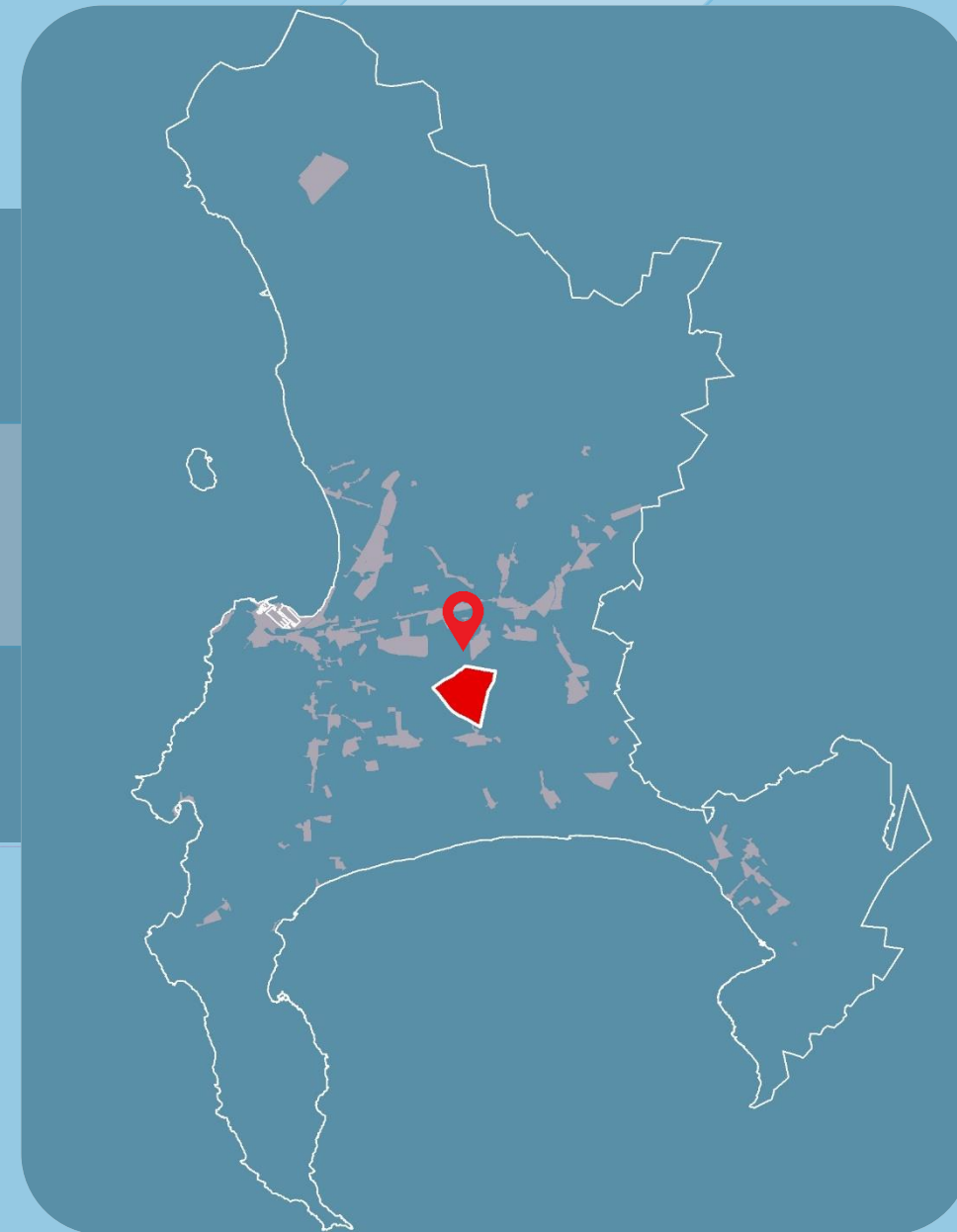# AIRPORT INDUSTRIAL
ECONOMIC AREA PROFILE

TREND ANALYSIS 2012-2022

Image source: City of Cape Town

June 2025

CITY OF CAPE TOWN
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Making progress possible. Together.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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POLICY & REGULATORY CONTEXT

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For the past decade, the global and national economic context has required regional economies to prioritise their investment decisions in space for greater efficiency. The Economic Areas Management Programme (ECAMP), as it was introduced, has therefore been considered a valuable economic data tool that provides valuable insights into the performance of the space economy at an area-specific level.

This update of ECAMP is further aligned with the Urban Planning & Design Department's business strategy to leverage spatial intelligence to unlock value within Cape Town's space economy by:

a) Tracking the performance and implementation of its spatial development framework policies
b) Developing the evidence base to inform and adjust said spatial policy
c) Supporting spatially targeted investment and decision-making
d) Providing a spatial lens of economic data within the Cape Town context

The following strategic objectives and programmes support the update of ECAMP:

INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN 2022-2027

- Objective 1 (Increased jobs and investment in the Cape Town Economy): Targeted urban development programme
- Objective 15 (A more spatially integrated and inclusive city): Spatial strategy monitoring and evaluation project

INCLUSIVE ECONOMIC GROWTH STRATEGY (2021)

- Applying an economic lens to policy-making by integrating sustainable analysis into City Decision Making in alignment with the MSDF.
- The primary and most immediate scope of work must centre around economic recovery. To this end, implementation of this Strategy will be in the form of a three-phase recovery approach.

MUNICIPAL SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK (MSDF, 2023) POLICY & STRATEGY IMPLEMENTATION

- Table 5.1: Spatial strategy 1: Substrategies and policy guidelines (Policy 2, 4 and 5)
- Table A2: Spatial strategy 1: Policy guidelines, strategic and implementation intent (Policy 4,2 and 4,3)

DISTRICT SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK (DSDF, 2023): SUB DISTRICT GUIDANCE

- Tygerberg DSDF - Subdistrict 7: Cape Town International Airport precinct and Boquinar Industria:
  - District Development Guidelines (page 60)
  - Subdistrict Development Guidelines (page 116)
  - Consolidated subdistrict SDF (Figure 24: Cape Town International Airport and Boquinar Industria)

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Intended users
This profile provides a cohesive narrative to determine key trends across several data entry points to help inform decision-making. It also aims to help guide investment in cases where data is not readily available to the public.

Conceptual Framework
The reporting of updated time series microeconomic analysis on Cape Town's economic areas is informed by a conceptual framework, which aims to create spatial intelligence on *supply & demand factors according to the* 5 themes which have been identified. The 5 themes allow for an integrated narrative across area-based economic trends. The trends being reported throughout this profile are used to classify and assess the overall performance of Cape Town's economic areas.

Data preparation, sources, assumptions and limitations
The indicators reported in this profile feed off several automated data processes to add intelligence at a land parcel level which is then aggregated into economic areas. This profile draws across various datasets between 2012 and 2022 such as the General Valuation Roll, market reports, building plans, land use applications, property sales and SARS data. While many of the respective datasets are continuously refined over time, this profile will be updated as and when new data is available.

Contact details
Should you wish to make contact, please direct your feedback to the City of Cape Town's Metropolitan Spatial Planning and Growth Management branch via Future.CapeTown@capetown.gov.za.
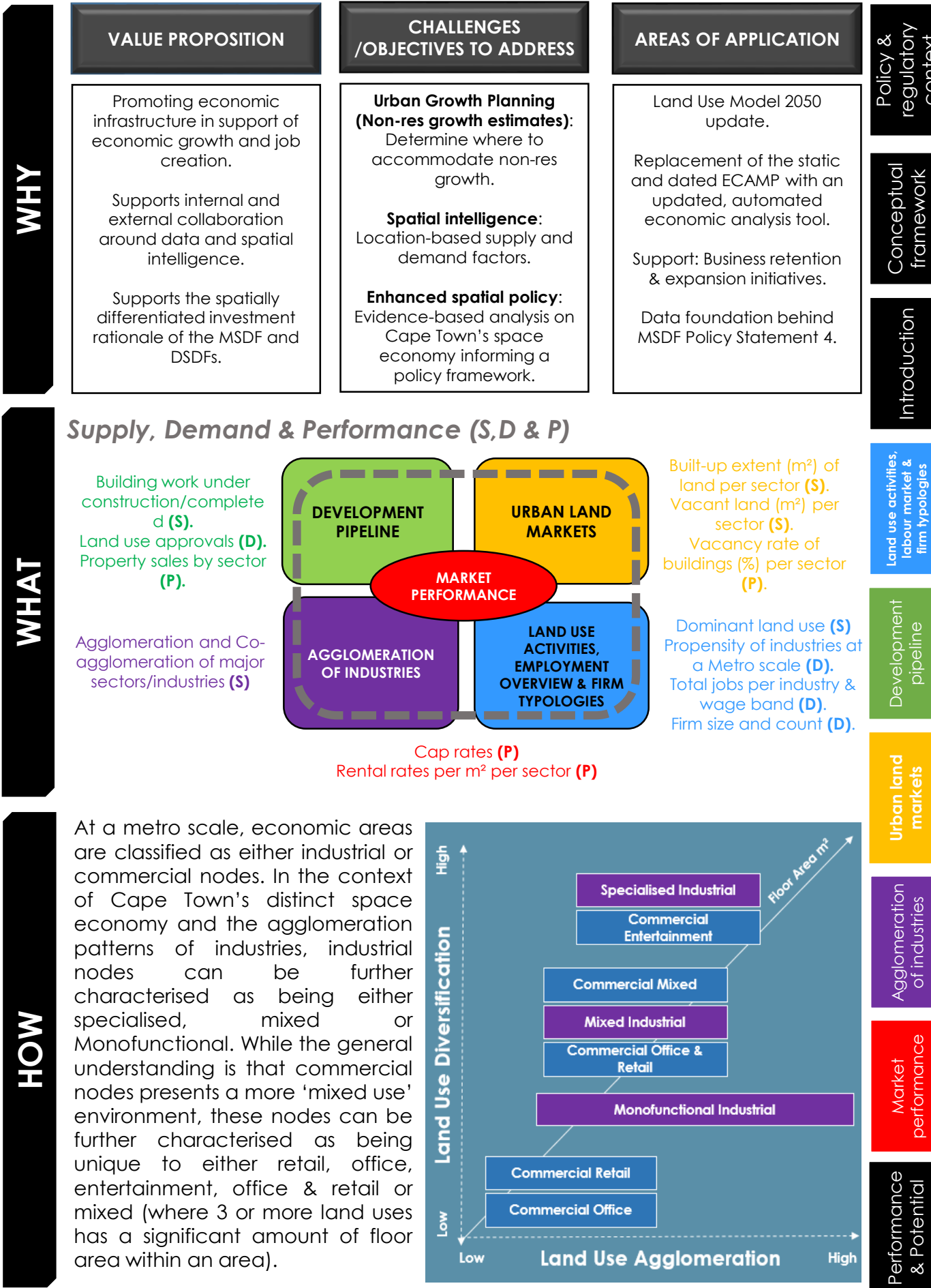

MICRO-ECONOMIC DEMAND & SUPPLY FACTORS
This profile examines a range of micro-economic indicators to highlight trends in supply and demand specific to the economic area. The indicators include:
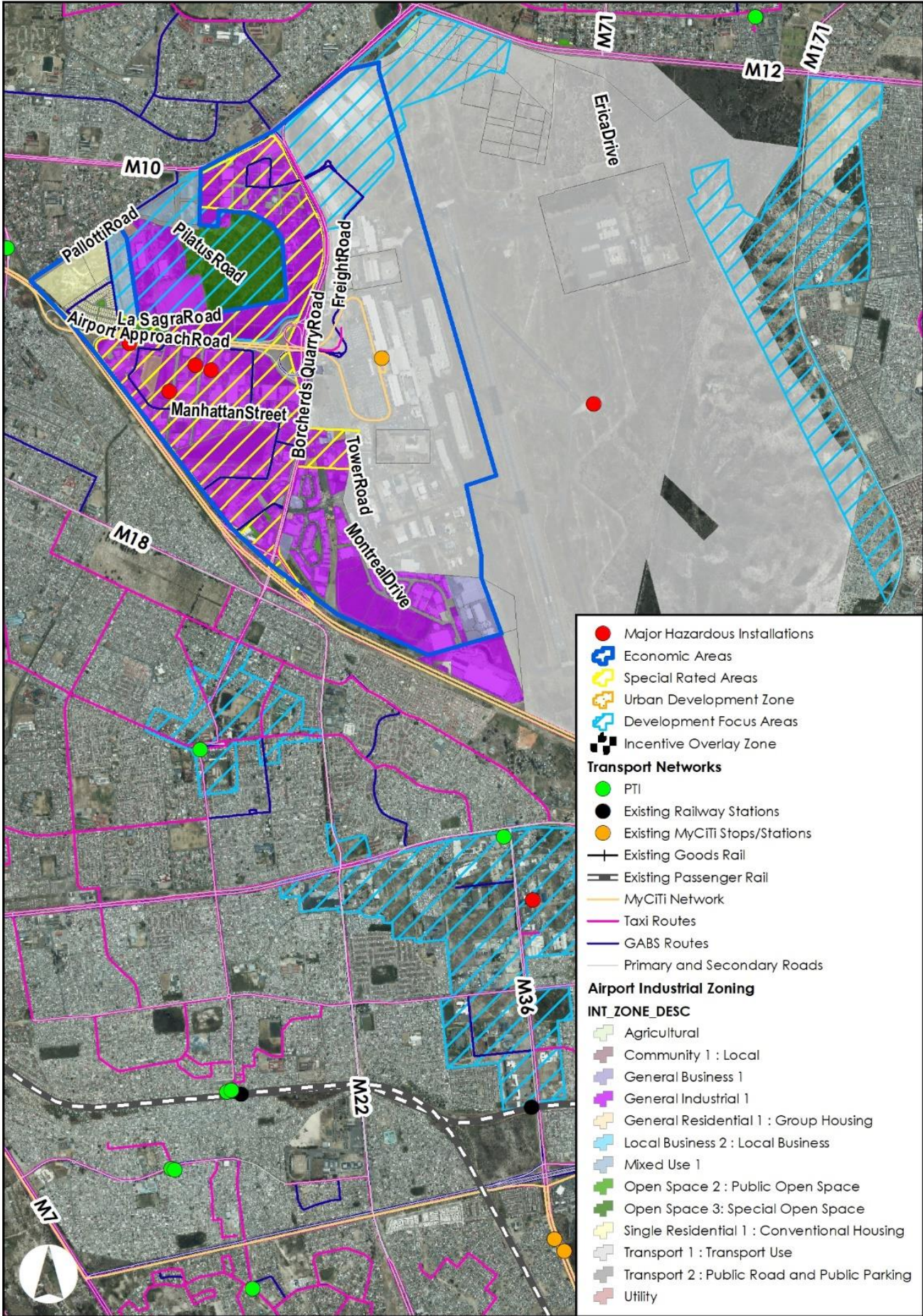
- Property sales per land use sector
- Building work completed
- Types of land use applications approved
- Vacant land per land use sector
- Built-up land and take up rate per land use sector
- Dominant land uses present in an area
- Building vacancy rate overtime
- Capitalisation rate over time
- Rental rate p/m² by land use sector
- Jobs per industry

MACRO-ECONOMIC REPORTS AND INDICATORS
For additional insights into the macro-economic factors affecting the regional economic condition, refer to the following reports for more information on macro-economic indicators related to Cape Town:

- Economic Performance Indicators for Cape Town
- Regional Market Analysis and Intelligence 2023/24
- Provincial Economic Review and Outlook (PERO)
- Municipal Economic Review and Outlook (MERO)

WHY

VALUE PROPOSITION

Promoting economic infrastructure in support of economic growth and job creation.

Supports internal and external collaboration around data and spatial intelligence.

Supports the spatially differentiated investment rationale of the MSDF and DSDFs.

CHALLENGES /OBJECTIVES TO ADDRESS

Urban Growth Planning (Non-res growth estimates): Determine where to accommodate non-res growth.

Spatial intelligence: Location-based supply and demand factors.

Enhanced spatial policy: Evidence-based analysis on Cape Town's space economy informing a policy framework.

AREAS OF APPLICATION

Land Use Model 2050 update.

Replacement of the static and dated ECAMP with an updated, automated economic analysis tool.

Support: Business retention & expansion initiatives.

Data foundation behind MSDF Policy Statement 4.

WHAT

Supply, Demand & Performance (S,D & P)

Building work under construction/completed **(S)**.
Land use approvals **(D)**.
Property sales by sector **(P)**.

Built-up extent (m²) of land per sector **(S)**.
Vacant land (m²) per sector **(S)**.
Vacancy rate of buildings (%) per sector **(P)**.

Agglomeration and Co-agglomeration of major sectors/industries **(S)**

Dominant land use **(S)**
Propensity of industries at a Metro scale **(D)**.
Total jobs per industry & wage band **(D)**.
Firm size and count **(D)**.

Cap rates **(P)**
Rental rates per m² per sector **(P)**

HOW

At a metro scale, economic areas are classified as either industrial or commercial nodes. In the context of Cape Town's distinct space economy and the agglomeration patterns of industries, industrial nodes can be further characterised as being either specialised, mixed or Monofunctional. While the general understanding is that commercial nodes presents a more 'mixed use' environment, these nodes can be further characterised as being unique to either retail, office, entertainment, office & retail or mixed (where 3 or more land uses has a significant amount of floor area within an area).

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AIRPORT INDUSTRIAL

Location

- The area is approximately 17km southeast of Cape Town's Central Business District and the Port of Cape Town.
- It is also situated adjacent to the N2 highway, providing easy access to the N1 via the R300 highway, which connects to areas across Cape Town.
- The area is mainly serviced by MyCiTi, GABS and taxis.
- Access to a skilled workforce from surrounding areas, includes the broader Delft, Elsies River, Nyanga and Belhar areas.
- Due to its location, the area also attracts a skilled workforce from areas across Cape Town.

Zoning, land use and form

- The area is predominantly zoned for industrial purposes.
- The area is mainly characterised by aviation uses, which include sales, manufacturing, repairs, transportation & storage and office accommodation.
- The average land parcel size in the area mostly varies between 1,000 – 1,500m², with a limited number of land parcels ranging beyond 20,000m².

Spatial planning mechanisms

- Part of the area is serviced by a Central Improvement District
- Part of the area has also been identified as a Development Focus Area in terms of the Tygerberg District Spatial Development Framework.

Key highlights of the area include:

- The Airport City Improvement District was established in 2004 to facilitate an investable environment and promote business retention.
- The airport was upgraded and extended in time for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which included a MyCiTi station developed at the entrance of the airport building.

Map legend:

- Major Hazardous Installations
- Economic Areas
- Special Rated Areas
- Urban Development Zone
- Development Focus Areas
- Incentive Overlay Zone

Transport Networks
- PTI
- Existing Railway Stations
- Existing MyCiTi Stops/Stations
- Existing Goods Rail
- Existing Passenger Rail
- MyCiTi Network
- Taxi Routes
- GABS Routes
- Primary and Secondary Roads

Airport Industrial Zoning
INT_ZONE_DESC
- Agricultural
- Community 1 : Local
- General Business 1
- General Industrial 1
- General Residential 1 : Group Housing
- Local Business 2 : Local Business
- Mixed Use 1
- Open Space 2 : Public Open Space
- Open Space 3: Special Open Space
- Single Residential 1 : Conventional Housing
- Transport 1 : Transport Use
- Transport 2 : Public Road and Public Parking
- Utility

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LAND USE ACTIVITIES

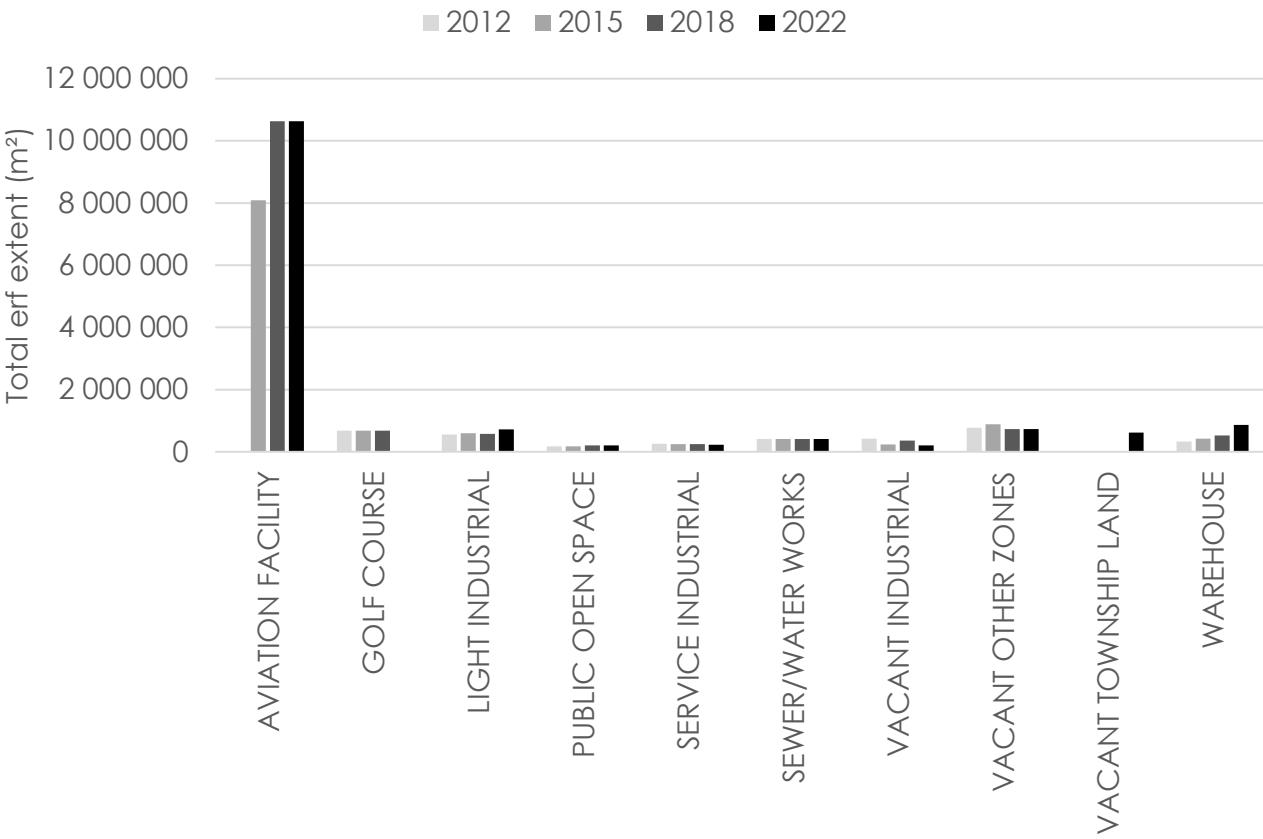A recent analysis involved converting land use codes from the General Valuation Roll (GV Roll) into Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes. This was done to determine the prevalence of industries operating in areas with similar characteristics.
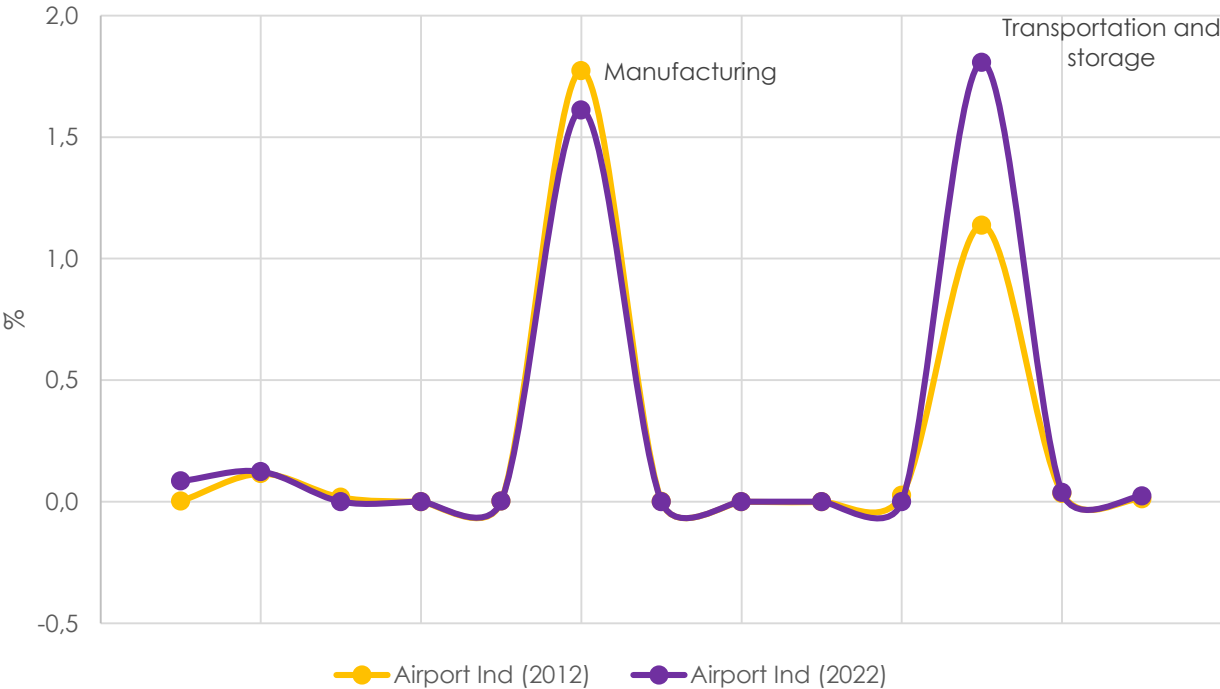
- Between 2012 and 2022, Airport industrial was mainly characterised by a greater propensity for manufacturing and transport & storage as reflected in the **Nodal Typology**. The nodal typology highlights industries with the most floor area (m²) operating within an economic area.

- The **Metroscale Benchmarking** positions Airport industrial as being a contributor of manufacturing and transport & storage which performs higher than that of the sectoral average for transport & storage when measured against other industrial areas across Cape Town.

- The GV Roll supplements the findings of the SIC level data by illustrating the **dominant land use** overtime based on the cumulative extent (m²) of floor area for aviation with minimal uses ranging between light industrial, service industrial and warehousing.
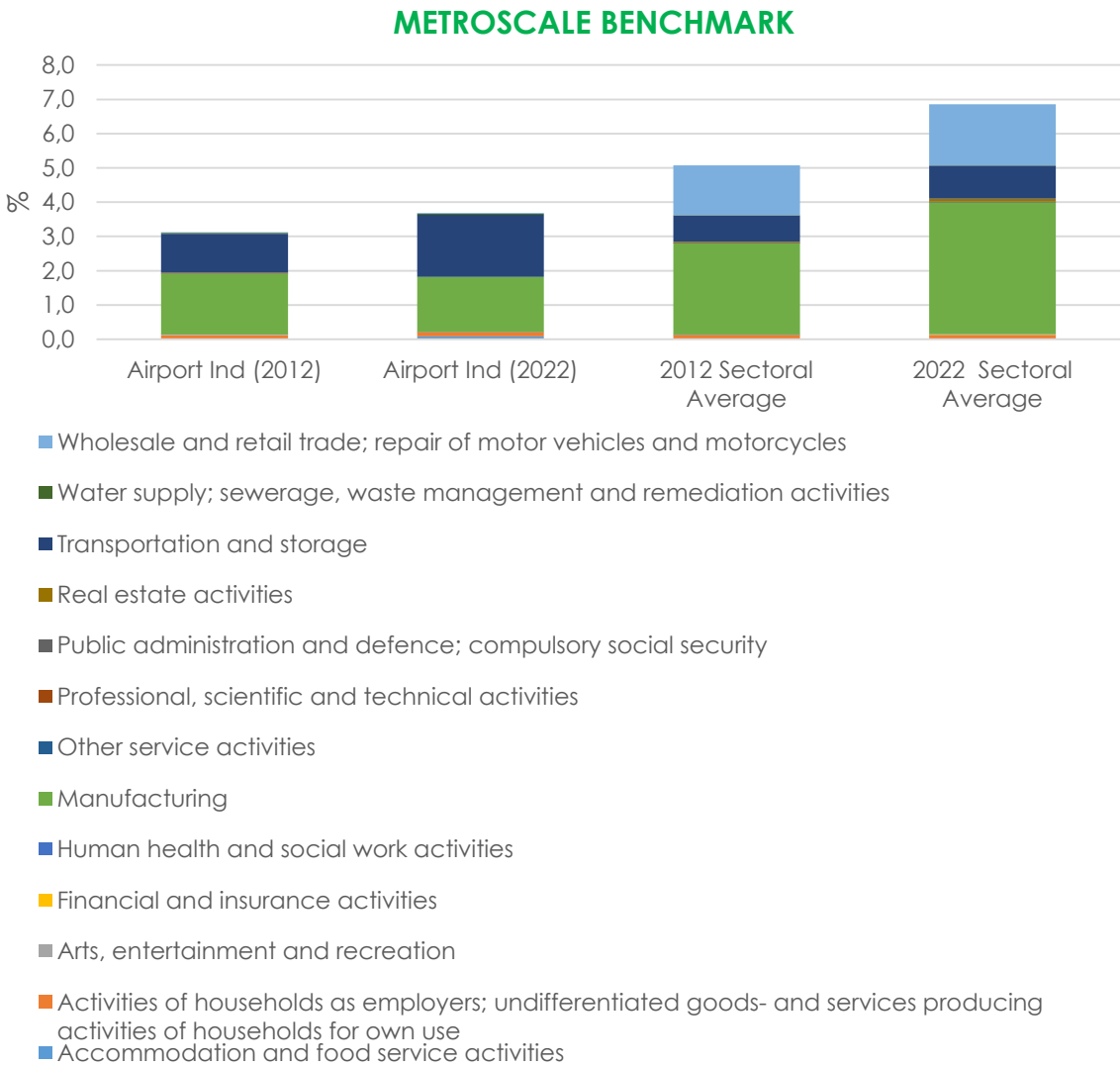
TOP 10 MOST DOMINANT LAND USES BETWEEN 2012 AND 2022

Legend: ■ 2012 ■ 2015 ■ 2018 ■ 2022

Y-axis: Total erf extent (m²)

X-axis categories: AVIATION FACILITY, GOLF COURSE, LIGHT INDUSTRIAL, PUBLIC OPEN SPACE, SERVICE INDUSTRIAL, SEWER/WATER WORKS, VACANT INDUSTRIAL, VACANT OTHER ZONES, VACANT TOWNSHIP LAND, WAREHOUSE

METROSCALE BENCHMARK

Categories: Airport Ind (2012), Airport Ind (2022), 2012 Sectoral Average, 2022 Sectoral Average

Legend:
- ■ Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles
- ■ Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities
- ■ Transportation and storage
- ■ Real estate activities
- ■ Public administration and defence; compulsory social security
- ■ Professional, scientific and technical activities
- ■ Other service activities
- ■ Manufacturing
- ■ Human health and social work activities
- ■ Financial and insurance activities
- ■ Arts, entertainment and recreation
- ■ Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- and services producing activities of households for own use
- ■ Accommodation and food service activities

NODAL TYPOLOGY FOR 2012 AND 2022
(*Mixed Industrial*)

Labels: Manufacturing, Transportation and storage

Legend: ● Airport Ind (2012) ● Airport Ind (2022)

Source: 2012 – 2022 land use codes converted to SIC codes (May 2024 analysis)

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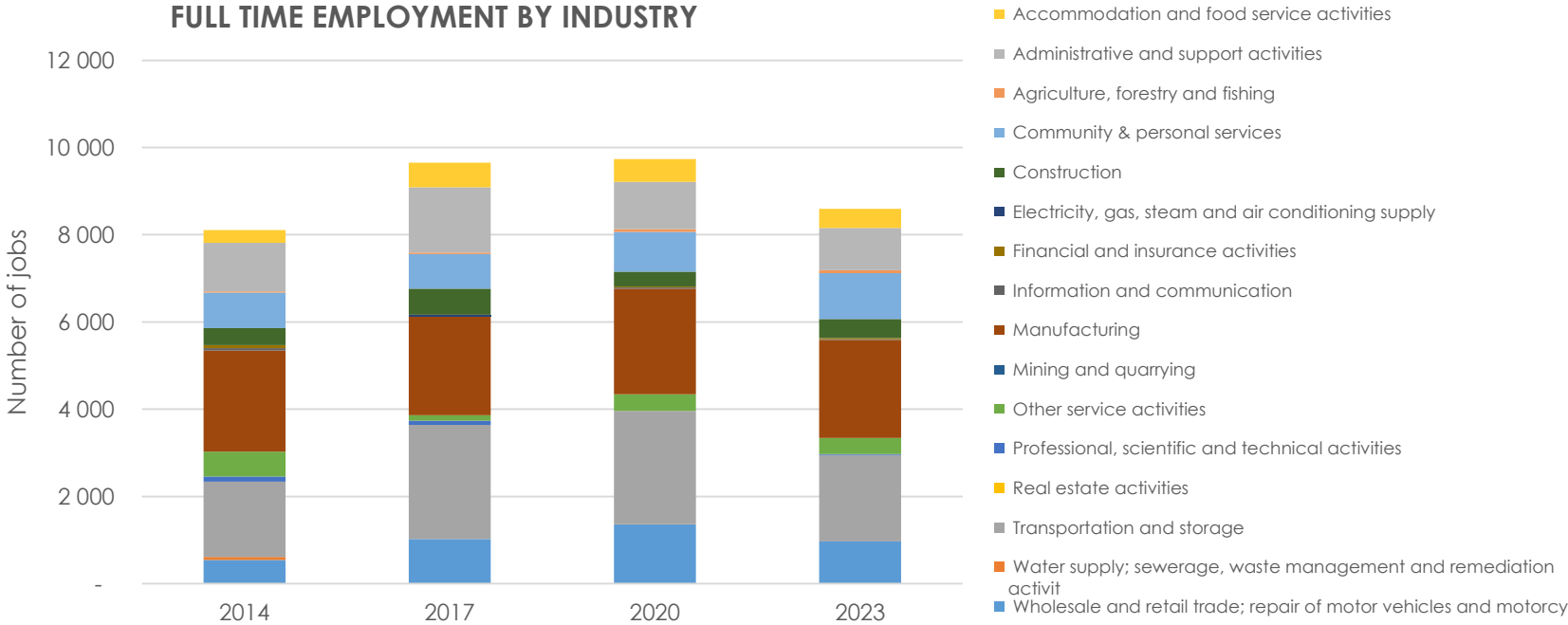Land use activities, labour market & firm typologies

Development pipeline
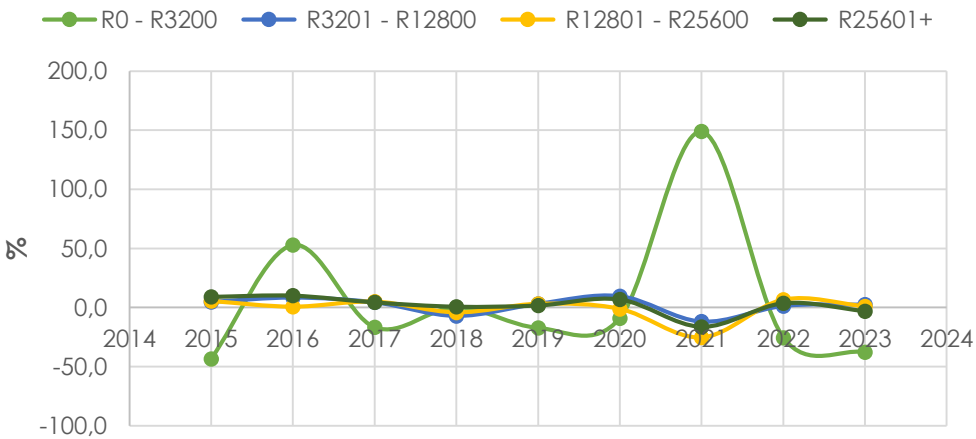
Urban land markets

Agglomeration of industries

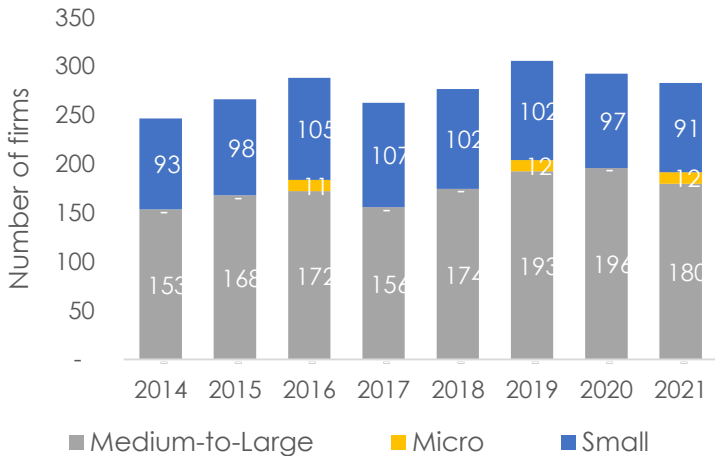Market performance

Performance & Potential

EMPLOYMENT OVERVIEW & FIRM TYPOLOGIES

FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

Legend:
- Accommodation and food service activities
- Administrative and support activities
- Agriculture, forestry and fishing
- Community & personal services
- Construction
- Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply
- Financial and insurance activities
- Information and communication
- Manufacturing
- Mining and quarrying
- Other service activities
- Professional, scientific and technical activities
- Real estate activities
- Transportation and storage
- Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activit
- Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcy

(Bar chart: Number of jobs, years 2014, 2017, 2020, 2023)

YEAR ON YEAR % CHANGE OF FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT WITHIN EACH WAGE BAND

Legend: R0 - R3200, R3201 - R12800, R12801 - R25600, R25601+

(Line chart: % change, years 2014–2024)

NUMBER OF FIRM TYPOLOGIES

(Bar chart: Number of firms)

Year	Small	Micro	Medium-to-Large
2014	93		153
2015	98		168
2016	105	11	172
2017	107		156
2018	102		174
2019	102	12	193
2020	97		196
2021	91	12	180

Legend: Medium-to-Large, Micro, Small

FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT BY WAGEBAND

Legend: R0 - R3200, R3201 - R12800, R12801 - R25600, R25601+

Year	R0 - R3200	R3201 - R12800	R12801 - R25600	R25601+
2014	954	5 020	2 025	1 609
2015	539	5 257	2 135	1 754
2016	824	5 698	2 149	1 930
2017	685	5 948	2 255	2 013
2018	686	5 526	2 162	2 027
2019	568	5 700	2 228	2 061
2020	517	6 247	2 202	2 202
2021	1 286	5 502	1 646	1 841
2022	958	5 574	1 754	1 907
2023	594	5 710	1 773	1 848

Source: SARS data extract for period between 2014 and 2023. Firm size data only available between 2014 and 2021.

Jobs/Firms
The number of job opportunities surrounding the Airport industrial area increased from 8,000 to 9,000 between 2014 and 2020, but decreased to 8,300 in 2023. The majority of the jobs are concentrated in the wholesale & retail, manufacturing, transportation & storage and administrative activities.

The total number of firms fluctuated around the 250 mark between 2014 and 2021. While medium-to-large firms have been the most dominant, there is also a significant presence of small firms.
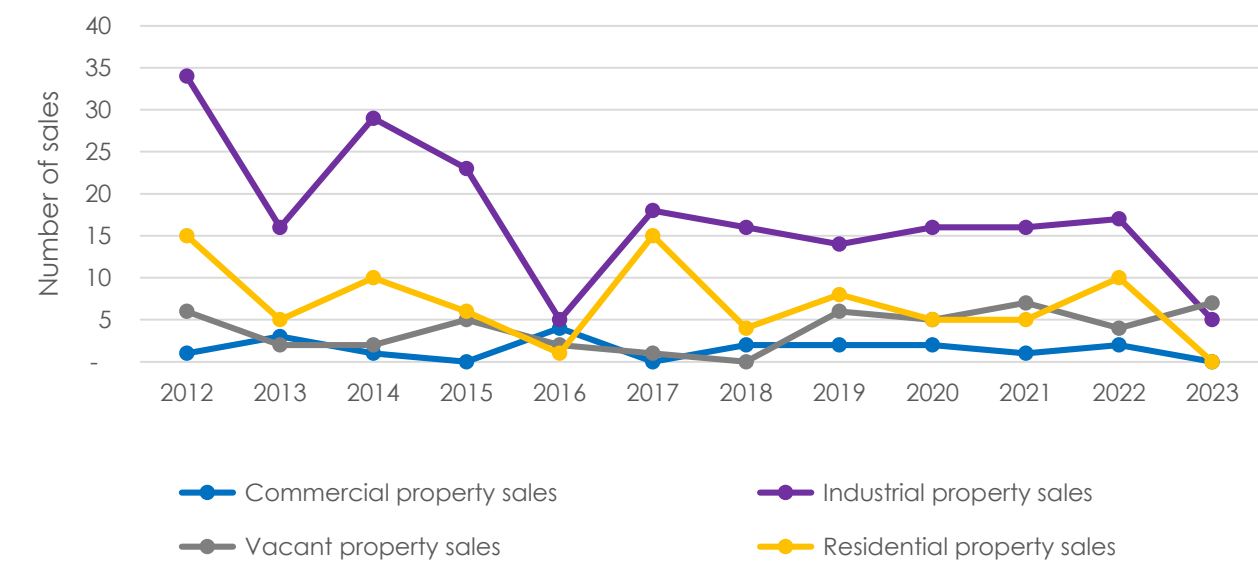
Income bands
The income bands reflect the skill levels of employed individuals. The data suggests that most employees earn up to R12,800, with a limited number of employees which earns in the upper-income brackets.
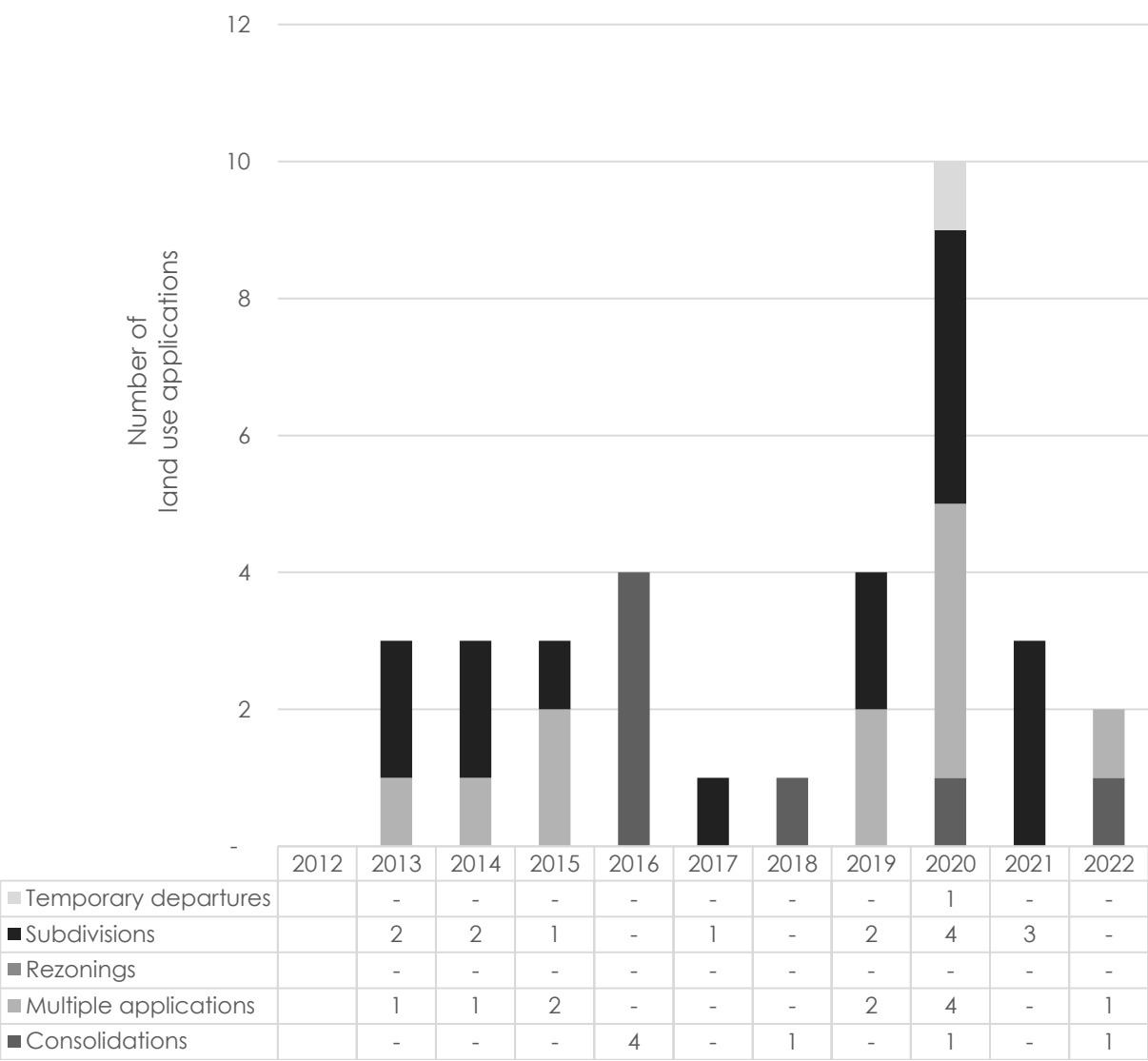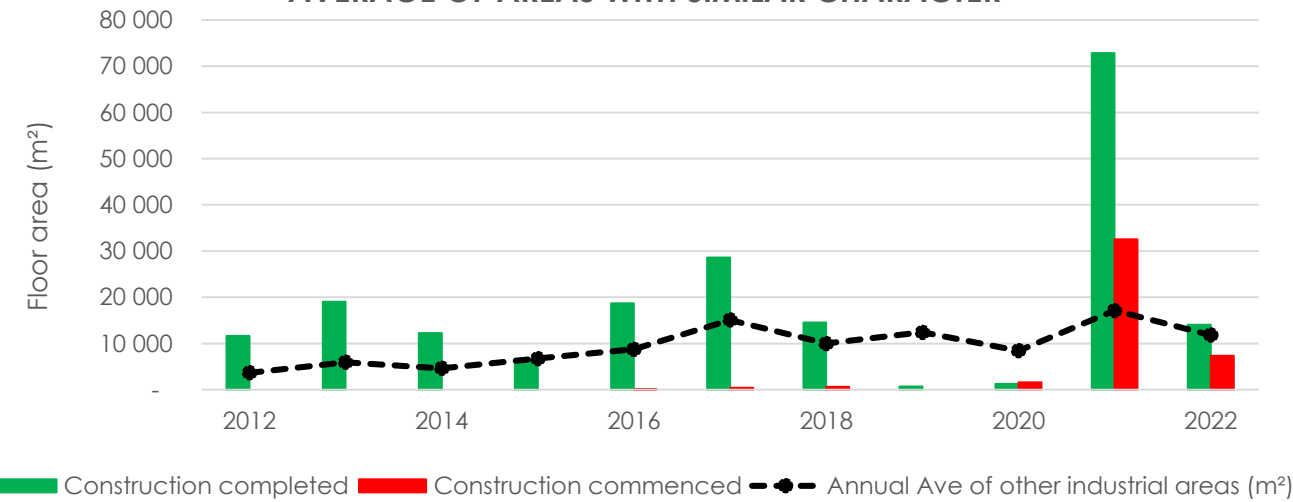
Legend: SARS Hexagon, Economic Area

Spatial hexagons in which SARS data has been captured and overlaid with Airport industrial economic area.

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PROPERTY SALES BY SECTOR

Legend:
- Commercial property sales
- Industrial property sales
- Vacant property sales
- Residential property sales

BUILDING WORK COMPLETED/UNDER CONSTRUCTION RELATIVE TO AVERAGE OF AREAS WITH SIMILAR CHARACTER

Legend:
- Construction completed
- Construction commenced
- Annual Ave of other industrial areas (m²)

APPROVED LAND USE APPLICATIONS

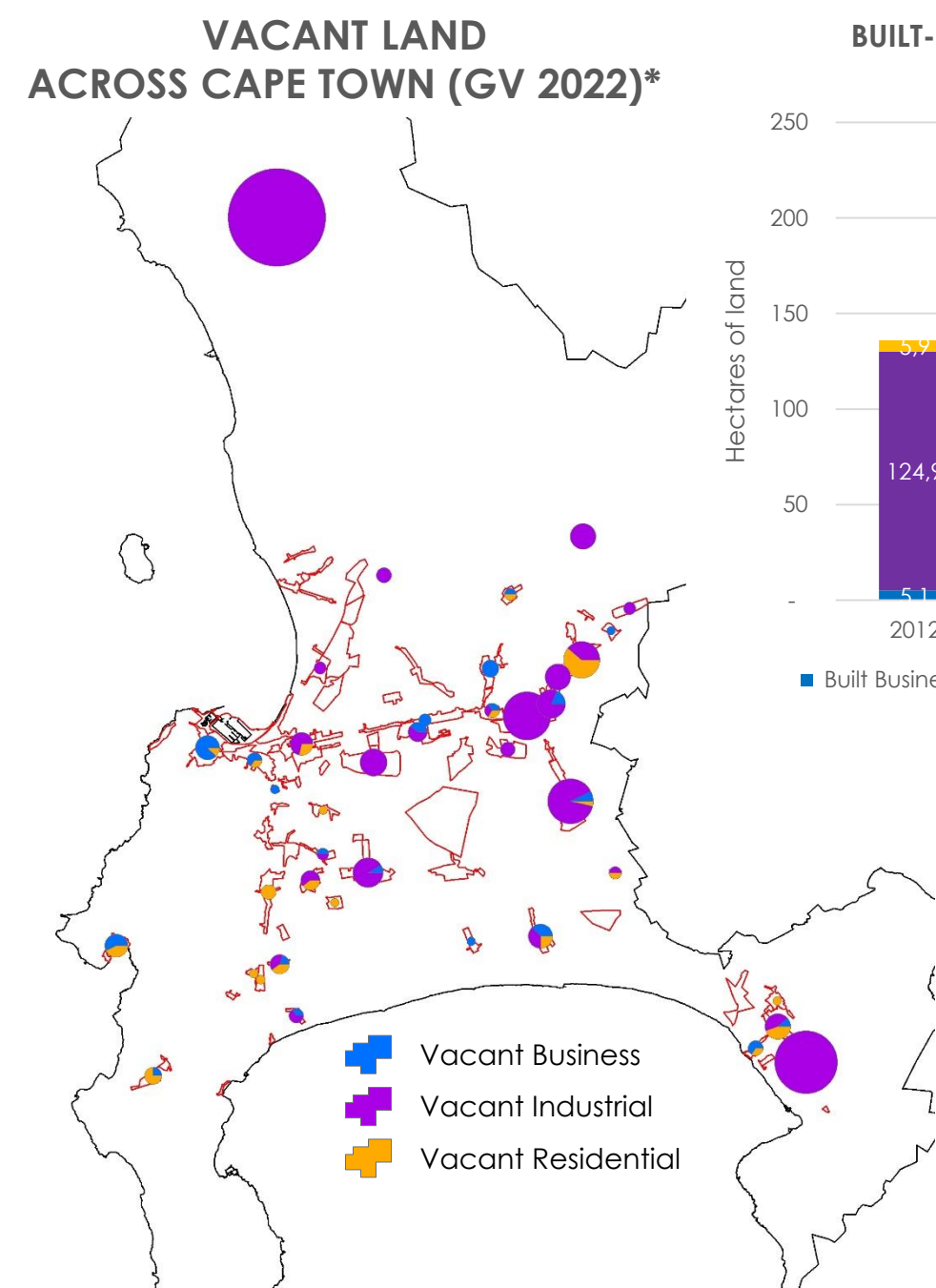|	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Temporary departures	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Subdivisions	2	2	1	-	1	-	2	4	3	-	
Rezonings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Multiple applications	1	1	2	-	-	-	2	4	-	1	
Consolidations	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	1	-	1	

Property sales
Property sales in the industrial sector experienced the highest number of sales compared to other sectors, however, they mostly fluctuated between 2014 and 2022. Several residential property sales also occurred, but not to the extent of industrial properties. Furthermore, residential property sales varied between 2012 and 2022, with peaks observed in 2012 and 2017. Property sales for vacant land and commercial properties were also fluctuating below the 10 sales per annum mark.

Land use applications
Airport industrial is predominantly zoned for industrial purposes. However, based on the approvals granted between 2013 and 2022, most approvals were granted for subdivisions with a limited number of consolidations, suggesting a need for particular sized properties.

Building plans
Following on from property sales and land use approvals, building work activity has been ongoing between 2012 and 2018, with a significant spike observed in 2021, which has been higher than the metro's annual average across other industrial areas.
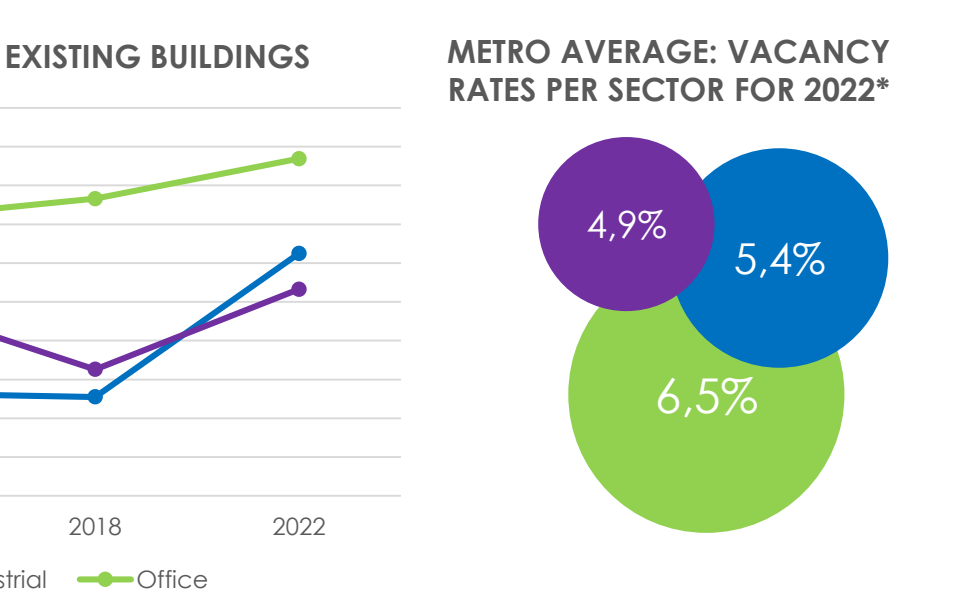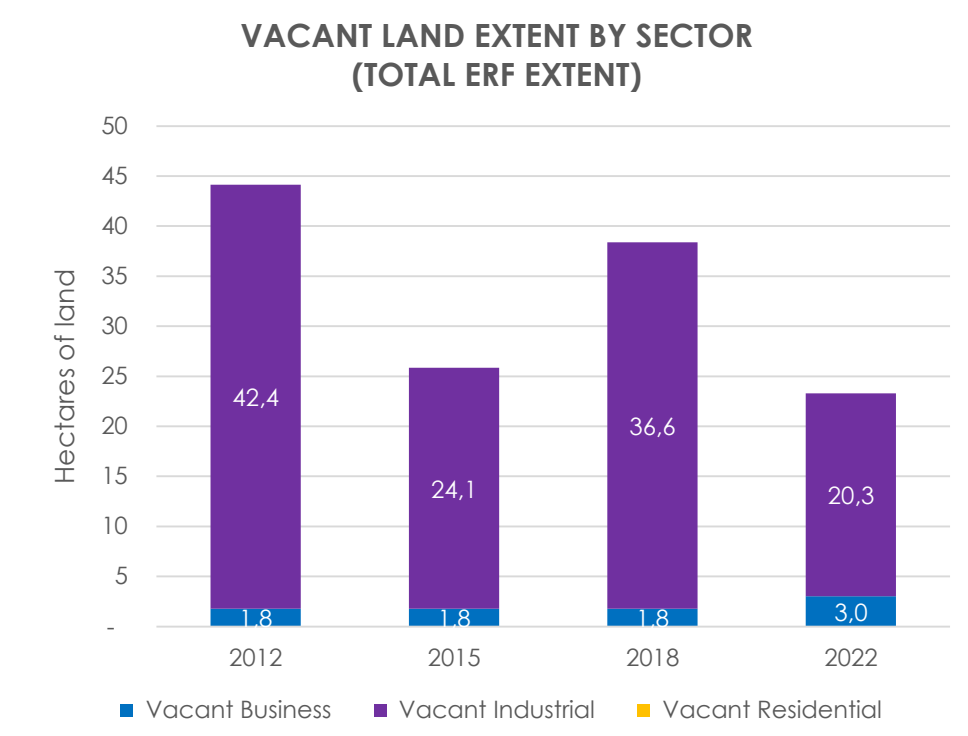
Source: City's DAMS (building plans and land use applications extract), General Valuation Roll.

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URBAN LAND MARKETS

VACANT LAND ACROSS CAPE TOWN (GV 2022)*

Legend:
- Vacant Business
- Vacant Industrial
- Vacant Residential

BUILT-UP LAND EXTENT BY SECTOR (TOTAL ERF EXTENT)

Y-axis: Hectares of land

Year	Built Business	Built Industrial	Built Residential
2012	5,1	124,9	5,9
2015	3,0	135,3	5,9
2018	2,9	152,3	5,9
2022	2,9	199,9	5,9

- Built Business
- Built Industrial
- Built Residential

VACANT LAND EXTENT BY SECTOR (TOTAL ERF EXTENT)

Y-axis: Hectares of land

Year	Vacant Business	Vacant Industrial	Vacant Residential
2012	1,8	42,4	
2015	1,8	24,1	
2018	1,8	36,6	
2022	3,0	20,3	

- Vacant Business
- Vacant Industrial
- Vacant Residential

AVERAGE VACANCY RATE OF EXISTING BUILDINGS

Y-axis: Vacancy rate % (-, 1,0, 2,0, 3,0, 4,0, 5,0, 6,0, 7,0, 8,0, 9,0, 10,0)

X-axis: 2012, 2015, 2018, 2022

- Commercial
- Industrial
- Office

METRO AVERAGE: VACANCY RATES PER SECTOR FOR 2022*

- 4,9%
- 5,4%
- 6,5%

Number of land parcels that are vacant by size			
Erf Size	**Commercial**	**Industrial**	**Residential**
1) 1-250m²			
2) 251-500m²			
3) 501-1000m²		1	
4) 1001-2500m²		10	
5) 2501-5000m²		1	
6) 5001-10000m²		2	
7) >10000m²		7	2
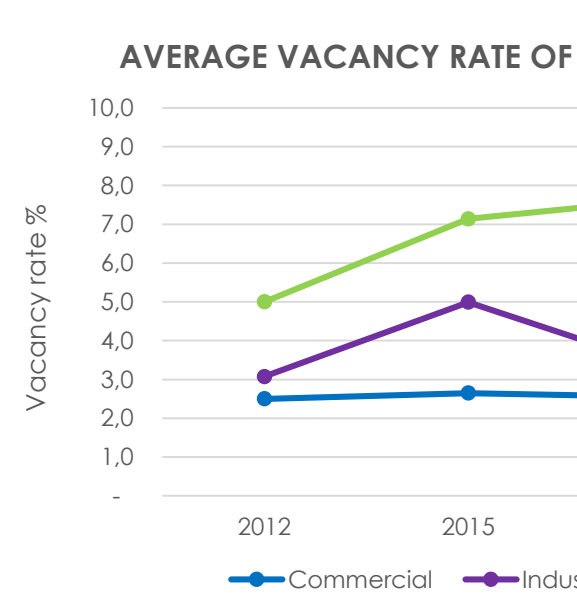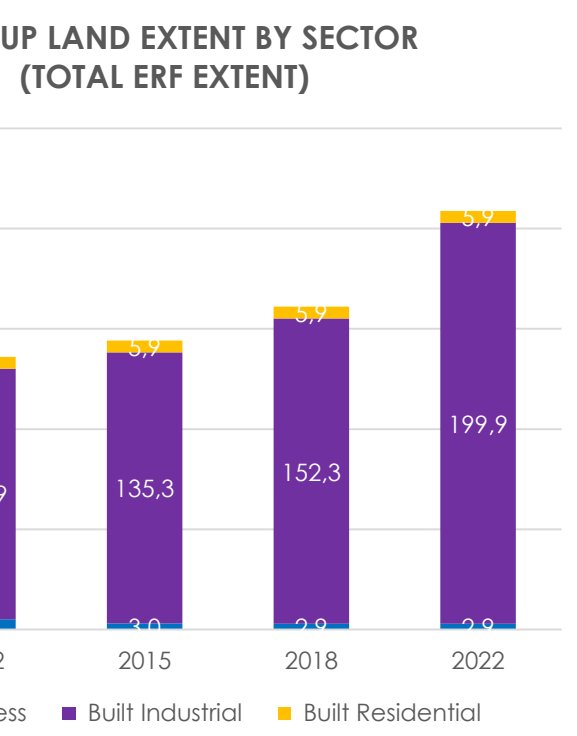
Vacant Land
The map illustrates the latest General Valuation Roll (2022) by showcasing vacant land across the metropolitan area. The map can be read in conjunction with the vacant land graph for the 2022 GV year. Airport industrial has experienced growth in terms of the built-up land, with a significant amount of vacant land available as of 2022, indicating an opportunity to further develop within the area. Additionally, the vacant land remaining is categorised based on the number and size of land parcels, as reflected in the accompanying table.

Vacancy rates:
In addition to vacant land, vacancy rates of existing buildings for the industrial sector increased from 3,1% in 2012 to 5,3% in 2022. The commercial sector has increased from 2,5% in 2012 to 6,3% in 2022, while the office sector has also increased significantly from 5% in 2012 to 8,7% in 2022.

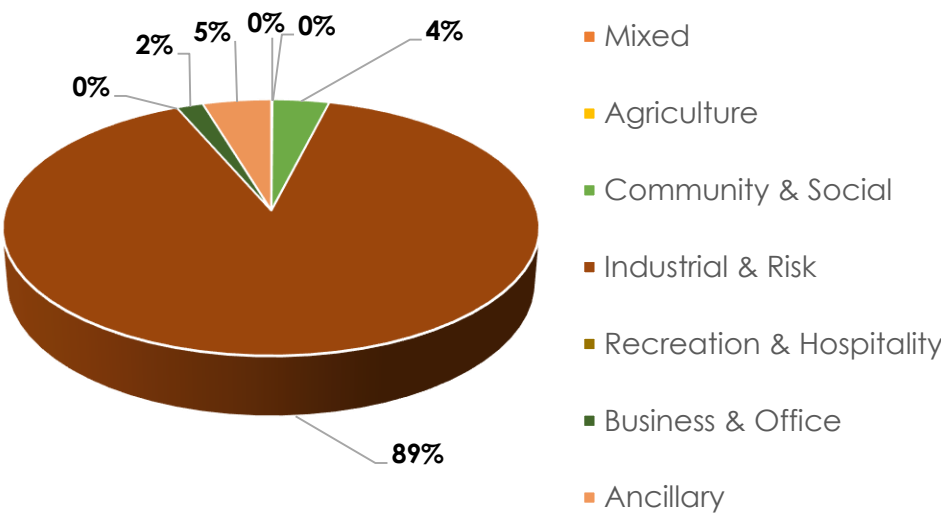*Source: City's General Valuation Roll and Market Reports*

A metro view that provides further context relative to this economic area.

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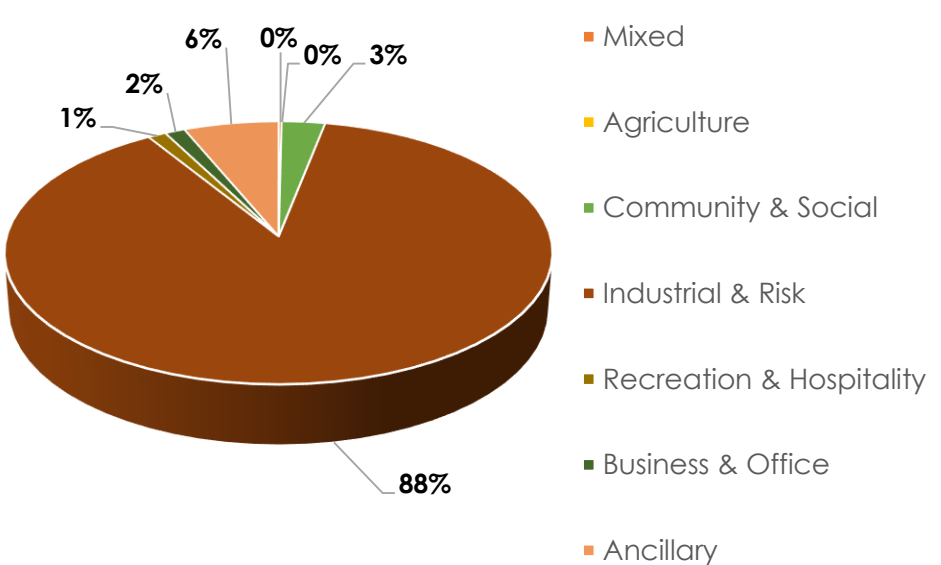Market performance

Performance & Potential

AGGLOMERATION OF INDUSTRIES

% OF LAND USE GROUPS (2012)

- Mixed
- Agriculture
- Community & Social
- Industrial & Risk
- Recreation & Hospitality
- Business & Office
- Ancillary

0% 2% 5% 0% 0% 4%
0%
89%

% OF LAND USE GROUPS (2022)

- Mixed
- Agriculture
- Community & Social
- Industrial & Risk
- Recreation & Hospitality
- Business & Office
- Ancillary

1% 2% 6% 0% 0% 3%
88%
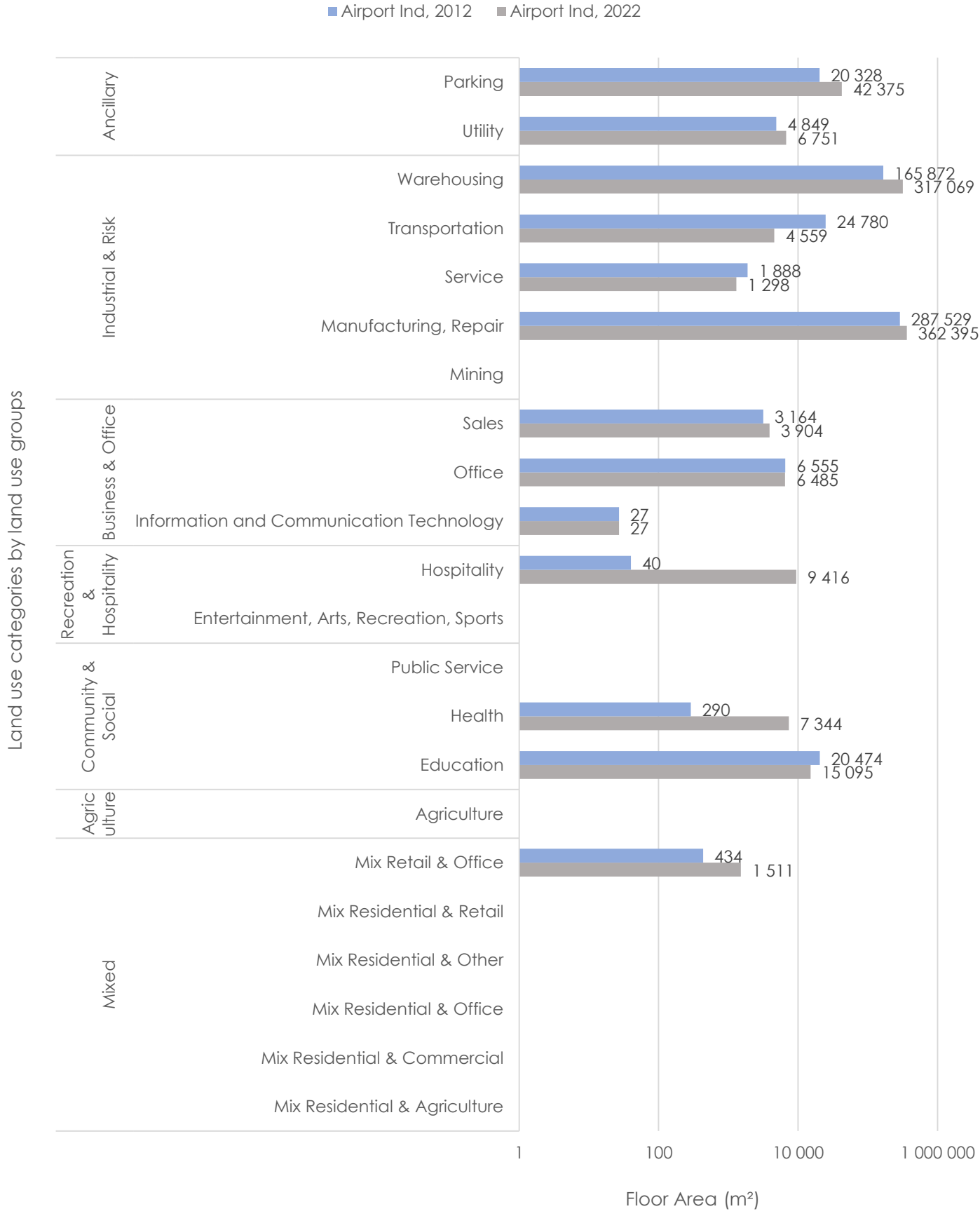
The pie charts represent the % split of land use groups agglomerated in Airport industrial. This % is based on the cumulative floor area (m²) across the various land uses and as can be seen by the chart, the Industrial & Risks group has been dominant in both 2012 and 2022 when compared to the other groups.

Furthermore, the bar graph represents a comparative view between 2012 and 2022 on the co-agglomeration of land use categories within each of the land use groups. The area shows the most dominance for manufacturing, repairs and warehousing. There is also a presence of other land uses, which can be seen to be in support of the most dominant land uses.

FLOOR AREA PER LAND USE CATEGORY FOR 2012 AND 2022

■ Airport Ind, 2012 ■ Airport Ind, 2022

Land use category	Airport Ind, 2012	Airport Ind, 2022
Ancillary — Parking	20 328	42 375
Ancillary — Utility	4 849	6 751
Industrial & Risk — Warehousing	165 872	317 069
Industrial & Risk — Transportation	24 780	4 559
Industrial & Risk — Service	1 888	1 298
Industrial & Risk — Manufacturing, Repair	287 529	362 395
Industrial & Risk — Mining		
Business & Office — Sales	3 164	3 904
Business & Office — Office	6 555	6 485
Business & Office — Information and Communication Technology	27	27
Recreation & Hospitality — Hospitality	40	9 416
Recreation & Hospitality — Entertainment, Arts, Recreation, Sports		
Community & Social — Public Service		
Community & Social — Health	290	7 344
Community & Social — Education	20 474	15 095
Agriculture — Agriculture		
Mixed — Mix Retail & Office	434	1 511
Mixed — Mix Residential & Retail		
Mixed — Mix Residential & Other		
Mixed — Mix Residential & Office		
Mixed — Mix Residential & Commercial		
Mixed — Mix Residential & Agriculture		

Land use categories by land use groups

Floor Area (m²)

1 100 10 000 1 000 000

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MARKET PERFORMANCE

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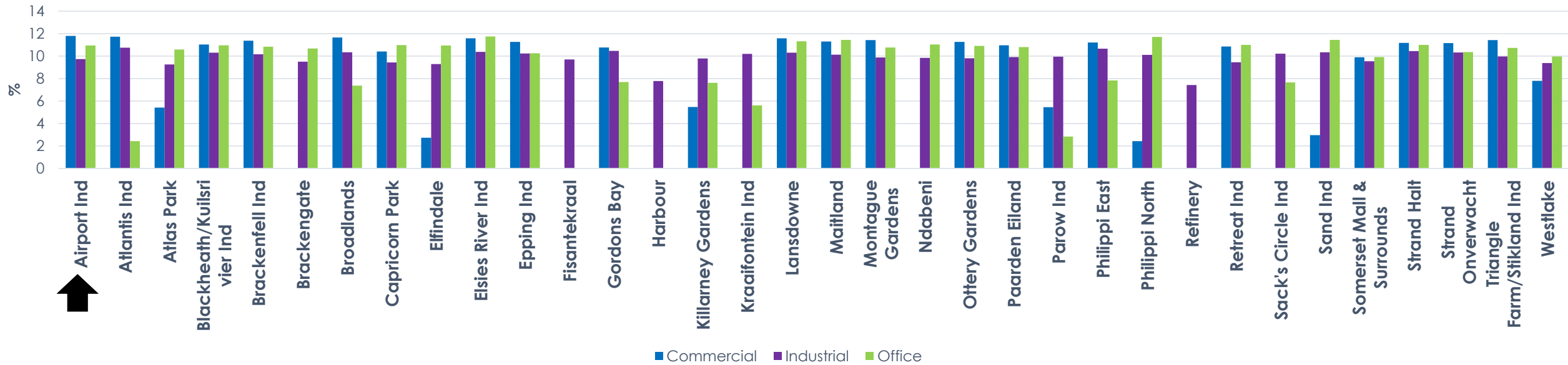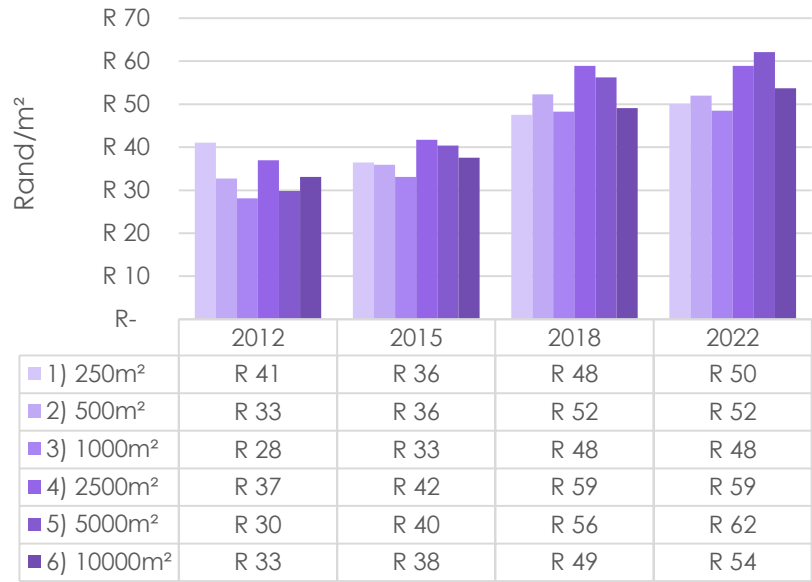
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AVERAGE CAPITALISATION RATE OF AIRPORT INDUSTRIAL IN RELATION TO OTHER INDUSTRIAL AREAS FOR THE PERIOD BETWEEN 2012 AND 2022

■ Commercial ■ Industrial ■ Office

INDUSTRIAL RENTALS

	2012	2015	2018	2022
1) 250m²	R 41	R 36	R 48	R 50
2) 500m²	R 33	R 36	R 52	R 52
3) 1000m²	R 28	R 33	R 48	R 48
4) 2500m²	R 37	R 42	R 59	R 59
5) 5000m²	R 30	R 40	R 56	R 62
6) 10000m²	R 33	R 38	R 49	R 54

COMMERCIAL AND OFFICE RENTALS

	2012	2015	2018	2022
■ Commercial	R 22	R 31	R 123	R 126
■ Office	R 80	R 165	R 159	R 124

CAPITALISATION RATES

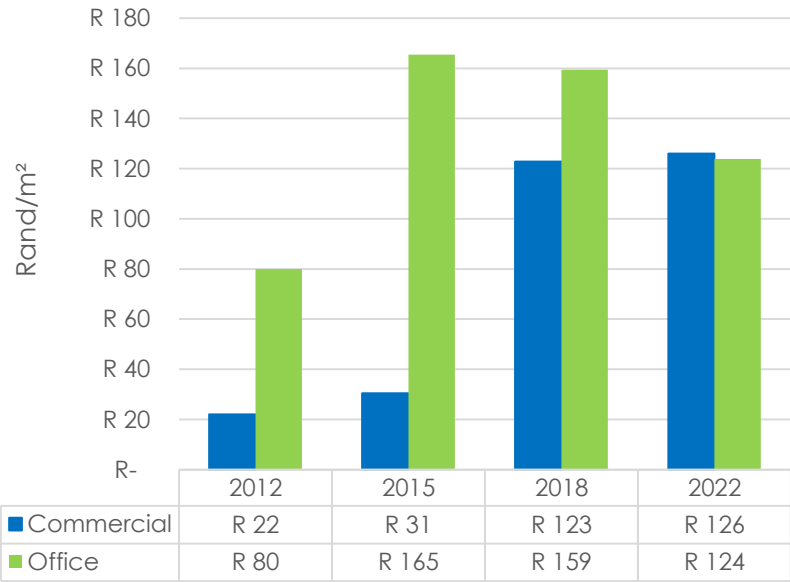─●─ Commercial   ─●─ Industrial   ─●─ Office

Rental rates
Rental rates across all industrial space gradually increased between 2012 and 2022, with higher rental prices recorded for larger spaces.

Both commercial and office rentals have increased significantly from 2012 to 2018, with rental prices being higher for office space. Both sectors experienced a decrease in rental rates in 2022.

Comparative view on capitalisation rates
The average capitalisation rate between 2012 and 2022 for industrial, office and commercial sectors was 9,75%, 10,95% and 11,80%, respectively and further indicates its competitiveness relative to other industrial areas.

Year on year capitalisation rates for the industrial sector have remained steady around the 8,6% mark, whereas the office sector remained consistent around the 12% mark. There has been an increase in the commercial sector from 5,9% in 2012 to 12% in 2022.
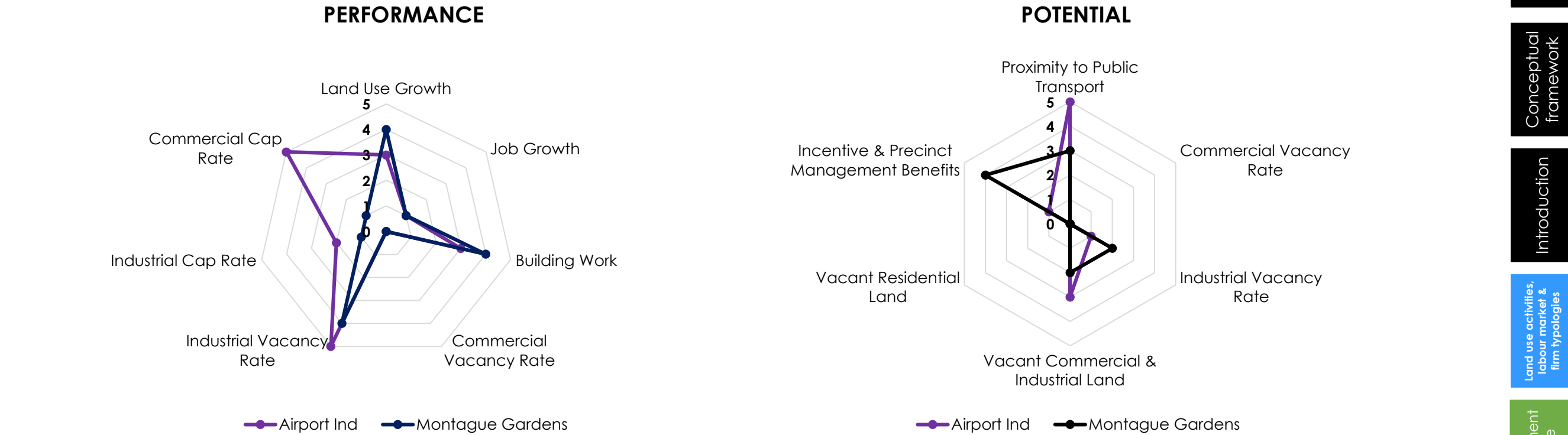
- *Higher cap rates = higher investment risk.*
- *Lower cap rates = lower investment risk.*

Source: 2012 – 2022 market reports
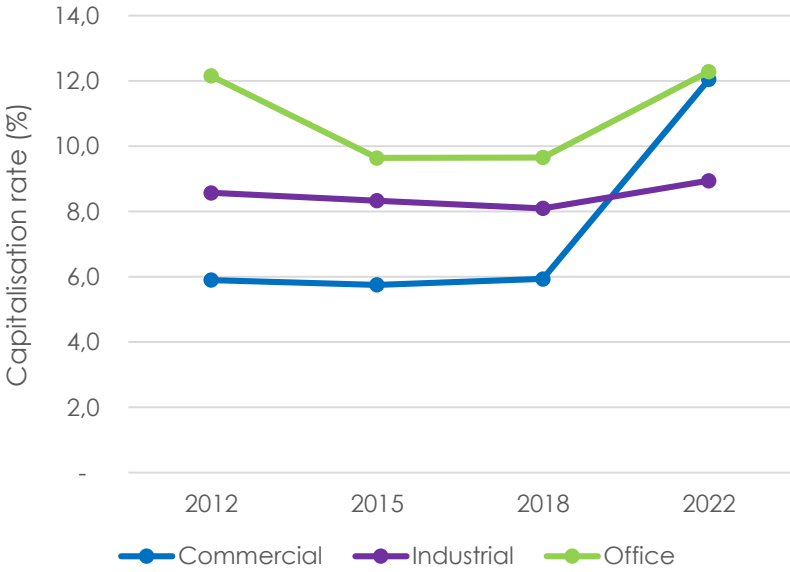
PERFORMANCE & POTENTIAL

The scores provided below summarise the detailed information presented throughout this profile. The method used to calculate Performance and Potential is based on several measurable individual indicators. The **scoring system ranges from 0 to 5, where 0 indicates low performance or potential and 5 indicates high performance or potential**. This profile compares either to Cape Town CBD (Commercial) or Montague Gardens (Industrial), depending on the classification of the economic area, as these two areas have attracted the most new floor area between 2012 and 2022 within their respective classifications.

PERFORMANCE — Radar chart with indicators: Land Use Growth, Job Growth, Building Work, Commercial Vacancy Rate, Industrial Vacancy Rate, Industrial Cap Rate, Commercial Cap Rate. Legend: Airport Ind, Montague Gardens.

POTENTIAL — Radar chart with indicators: Proximity to Public Transport, Commercial Vacancy Rate, Industrial Vacancy Rate, Vacant Commercial & Industrial Land, Vacant Residential Land, Incentive & Precinct Management Benefits. Legend: Airport Ind, Montague Gardens.

Policy & regulatory context

Conceptual framework

Introduction

Land use activities, labour market & firm typologies

Development pipeline

Urban land markets

Agglomeration of industries

Market performance

Performance & Potential

	Indicator	Description
Performance	Land Use Growth	Measures the growth of new floor area (m²) from 2012 to 2022 within an economic area, compared to other economic areas of similar classification. More growth indicates better performance. ***Source: General Valuation Roll.***
	Job Growth	Measures the percentage change in jobs within an economic area from 2014 to 2023, comparing this data against other economic areas of similar classification. A higher job prevalence indicates better performance. ***Source: SARS as of May 2024.***
	Building Work	Measures building work activity (new and improved m²) within an economic area from 2012 to 2022, compared to other economic areas of similar classification. Increased building work activity indicates better performance. ***Source: City's DAMS.***
	Vacancy Rate	Measures the average vacancy rates for the commercial and industrial sectors as of 2022, compared to other economic areas of similar classification. Lower vacancy rates indicate better performance. ***Source: City's Market Reports.***
	Capitalisation Rate	Measures the percentage change in capitalisation rates for the commercial and industrial sectors during the years 2012, 2015, 2018, and 2022, comparing them to other economic areas of similar classification. A lower average percentage change between these periods indicates greater maturity and consequently, higher performance. ***Source: City's Market Reports.***
Potential	Proximity to Public Transport	Assess the accessibility of various public transport modes near an economic area. Greater access to multiple transport modes indicates higher potential. ***Source: City's UPD, spatial analysis.***
	Vacant Land	Assess the availability of vacant land in the commercial, industrial and residential sectors. A higher amount of vacant land across these three sectors as of 2022 indicates greater potential. ***Source: General Valuation Roll.***
	Vacancy Rate	Measures the average vacancy rates for the commercial and industrial sectors as of 2022, compared to other economic areas of similar classification. Higher vacancy rates indicate greater potential. ***Source: City's Market Reports.***
	Incentive & Precinct Management Benefits	Evaluate the spatial overlap, whether partial or complete, of incentive areas and established precinct management tools within each economic area. A greater degree of overlap suggests increased potential. ***Source: City's UPD, spatial analysis.***