



**City Limits:
Urban economic development
and its policy implications**

**John Daley, CEO, Grattan Institute
Presentation to Auckland Conversations
1 September 2015**

City limits

Australia's economy is increasingly dominated by services produced in cities

Australian cities are nearing their limits

Planning policy needs to adjust to changing patterns of work

Tax policy should encourage rather than discourage home ownership

City limits

Australia's economy is increasingly dominated by services produced in cities

- Services are growing much faster than other sectors
- Big cities now dominate the economy
- More jobs are concentrated in the centre of big cities, while new housing is primarily at the edge

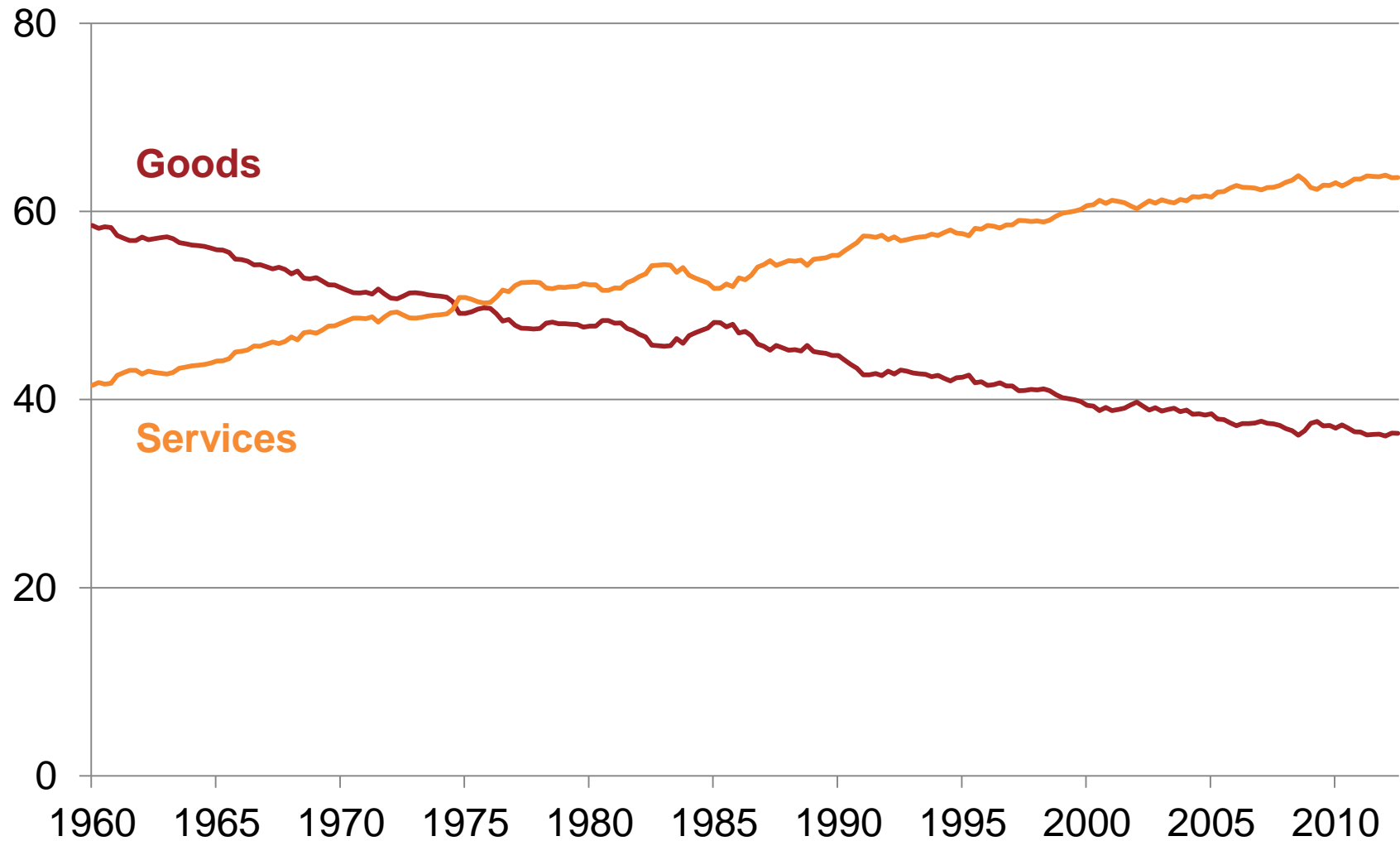
Australian cities are nearing their limits

Planning policy needs to adjust to changing patterns of work

Tax policy should encourage rather than discourage home ownership

People are consuming more services

Share of total nominal household expenditure

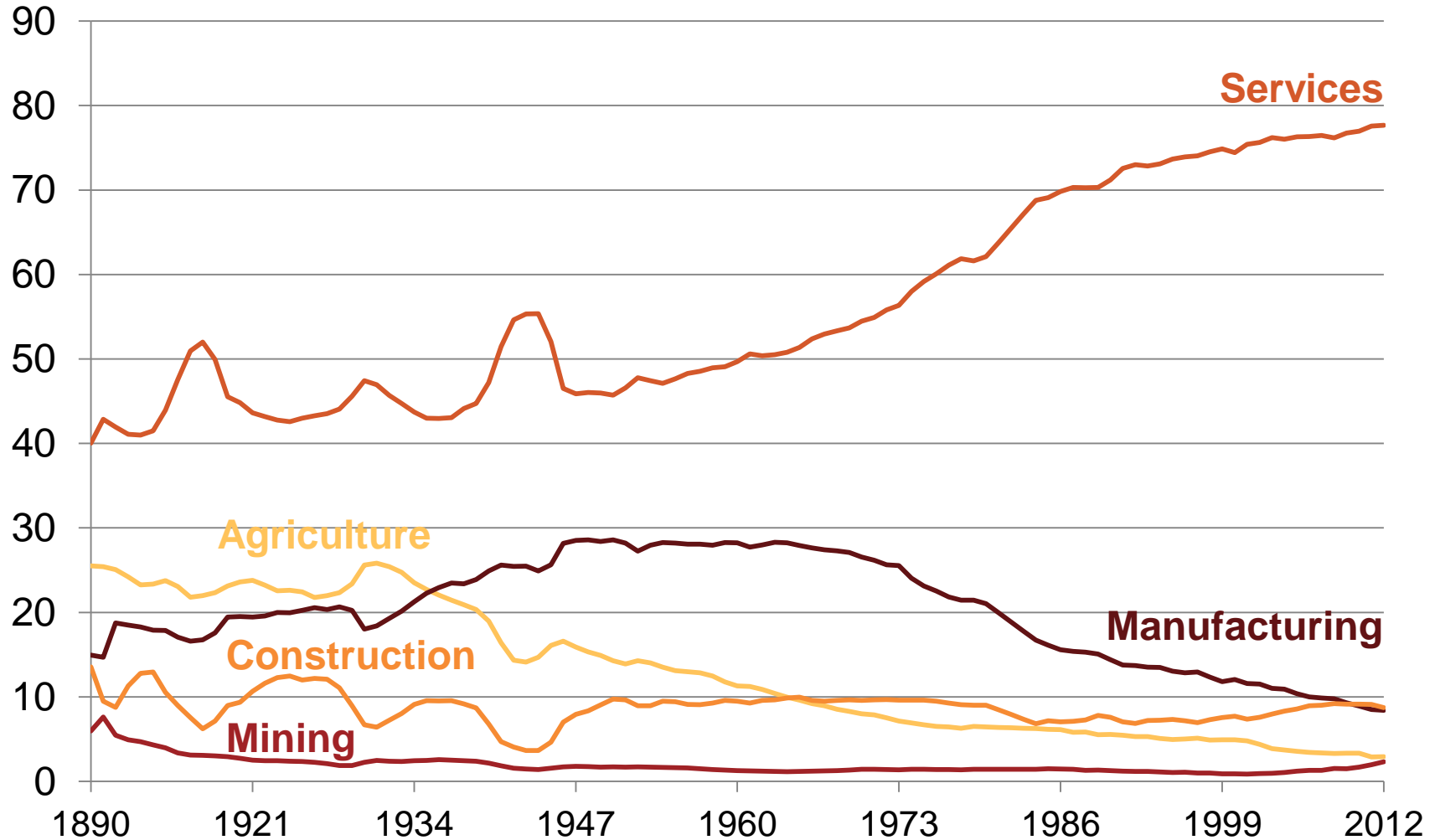


Source: ABS5206 table 8

Notes: Excludes "rents and dwelling costs" and "other goods and services". Based on seasonally adjusted current prices data

Consequently, more people are working in services

Per cent of workforce, Australia



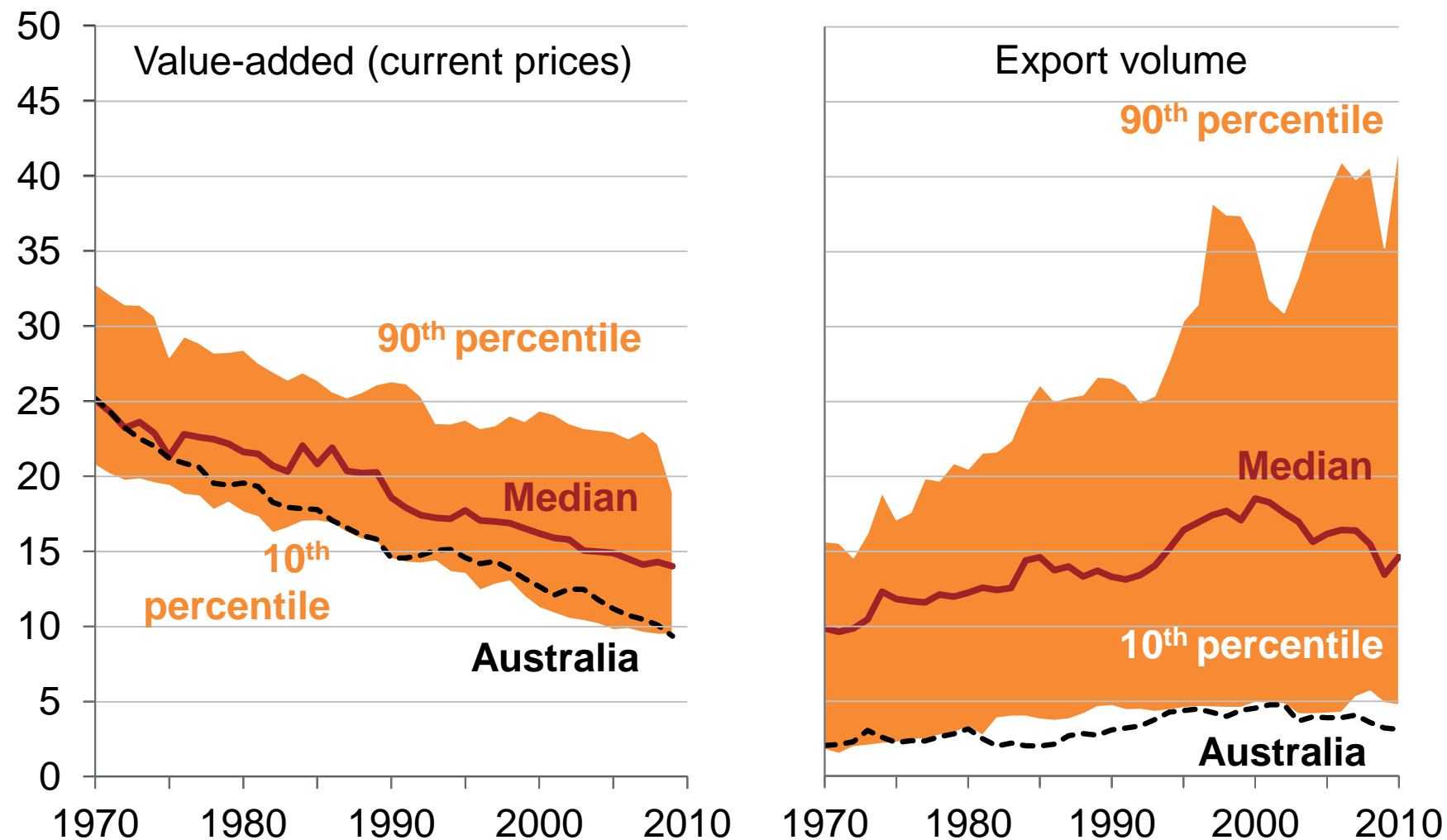
Sources:

1. 1890-1980 Australian Historical Statistics: Labour Statistics, by G.Withers, T.Endes, L.Perry
2. 1984-2012: ABS6291.0.44.003, table 4

Note: 1981-1983 are interpolated using 1980 and 1984 data

Manufacturing has steadily declined in Australia, “leading” international trends

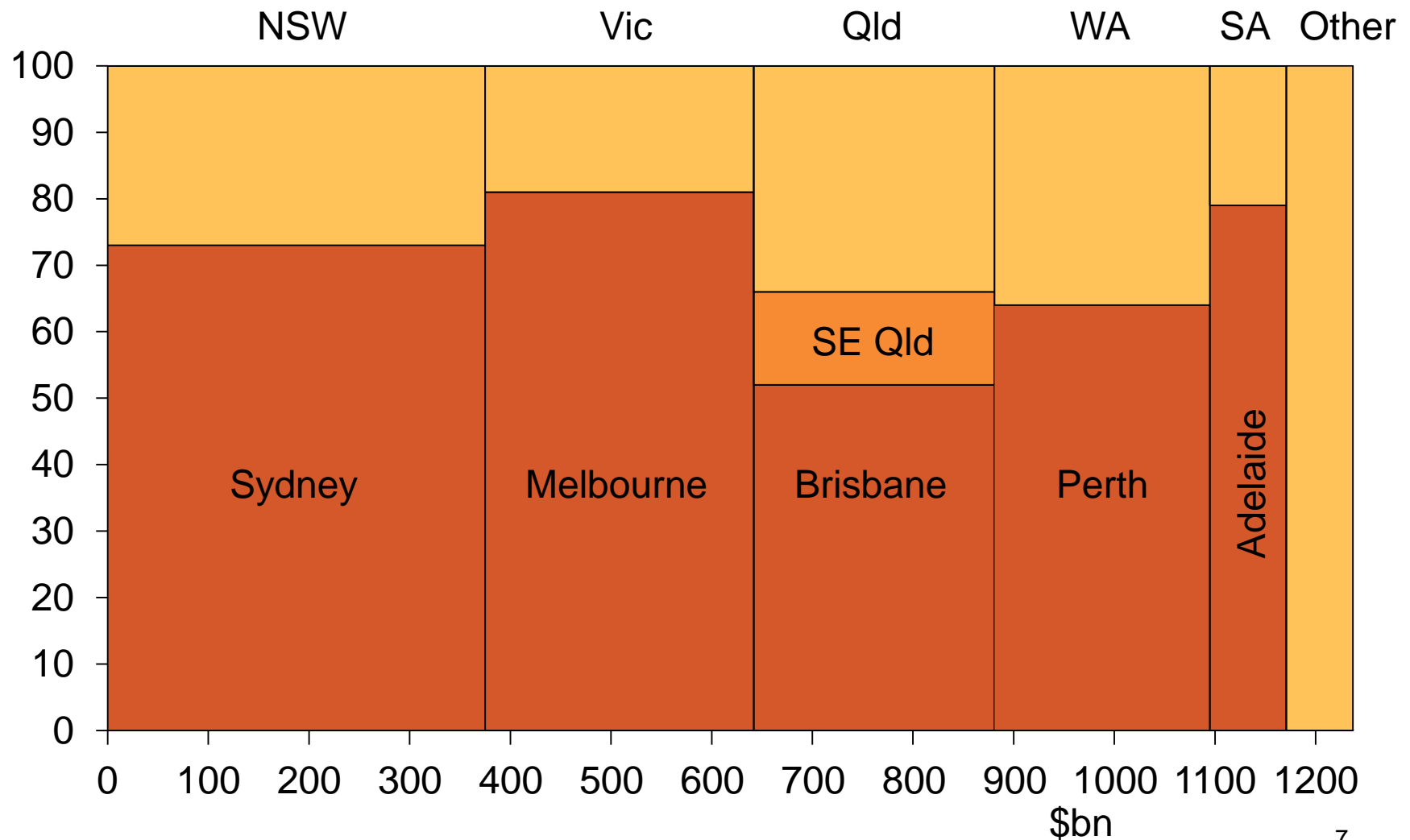
Per cent GDP



Australia's economy is dominated by its big cities

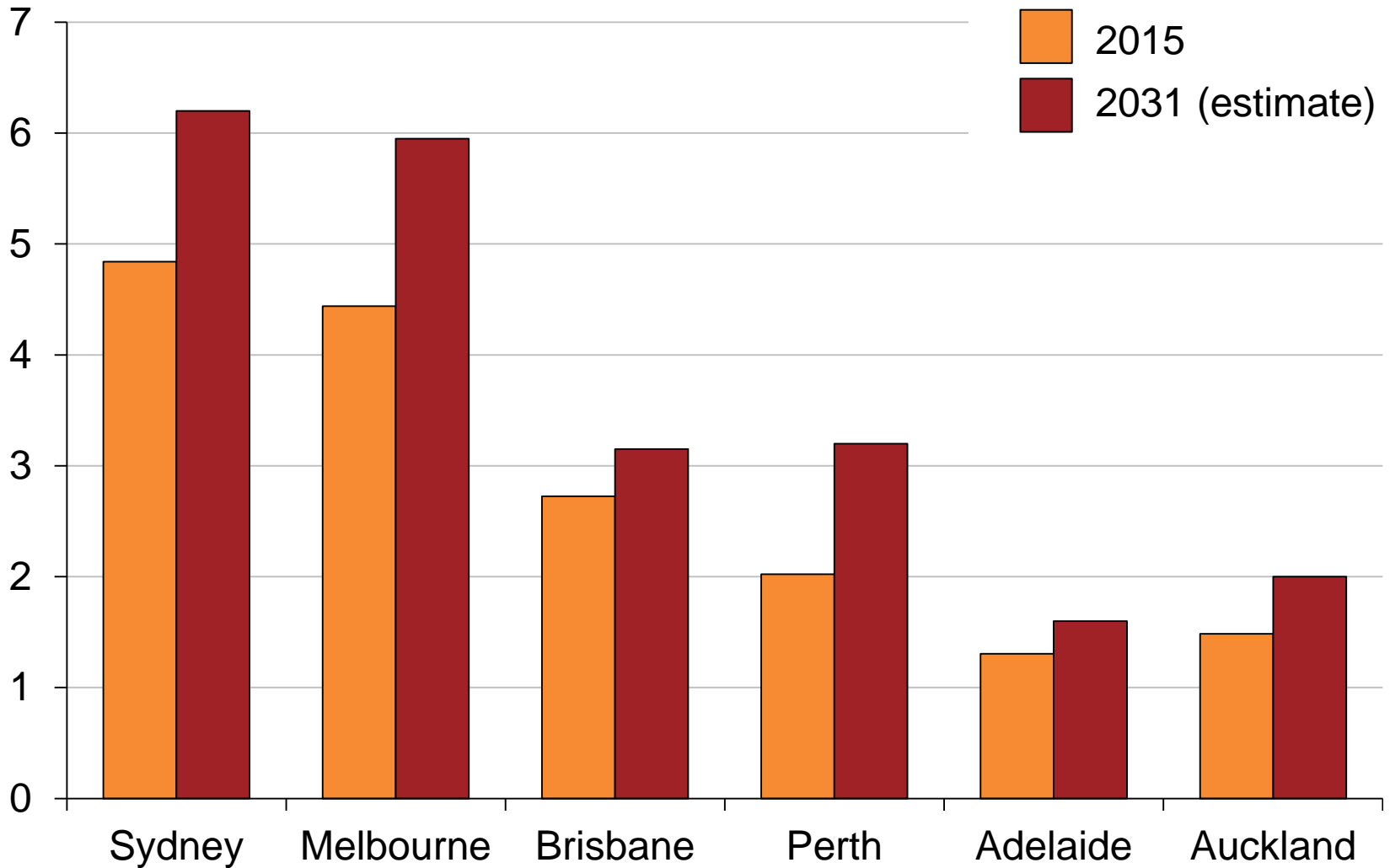
Australian economic activity, 2011-12

Per cent of State total



Some context: Auckland is a mid-size “Australasian city”

Population, millions

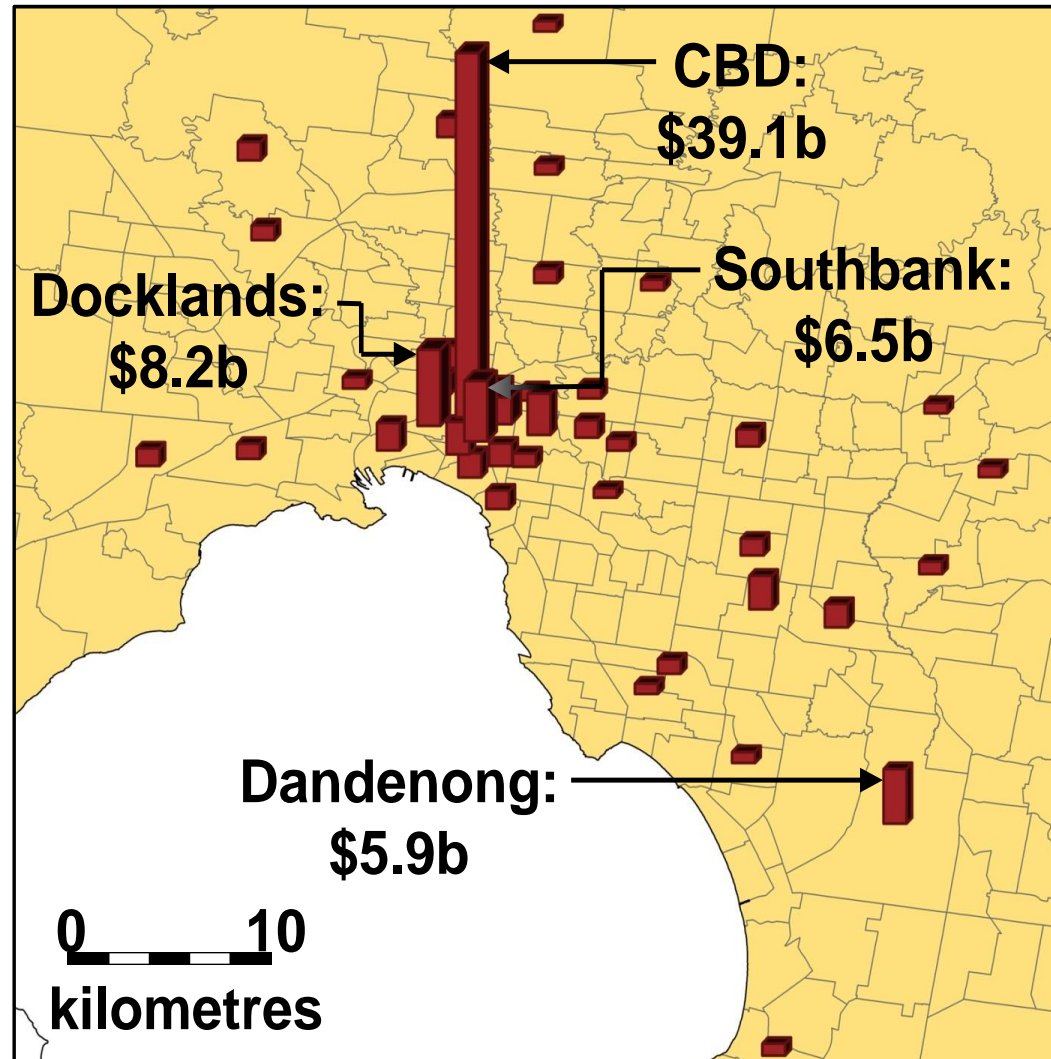


Economic activity is most intense in inner cities

Economic activity by location, 2011-12, Melbourne

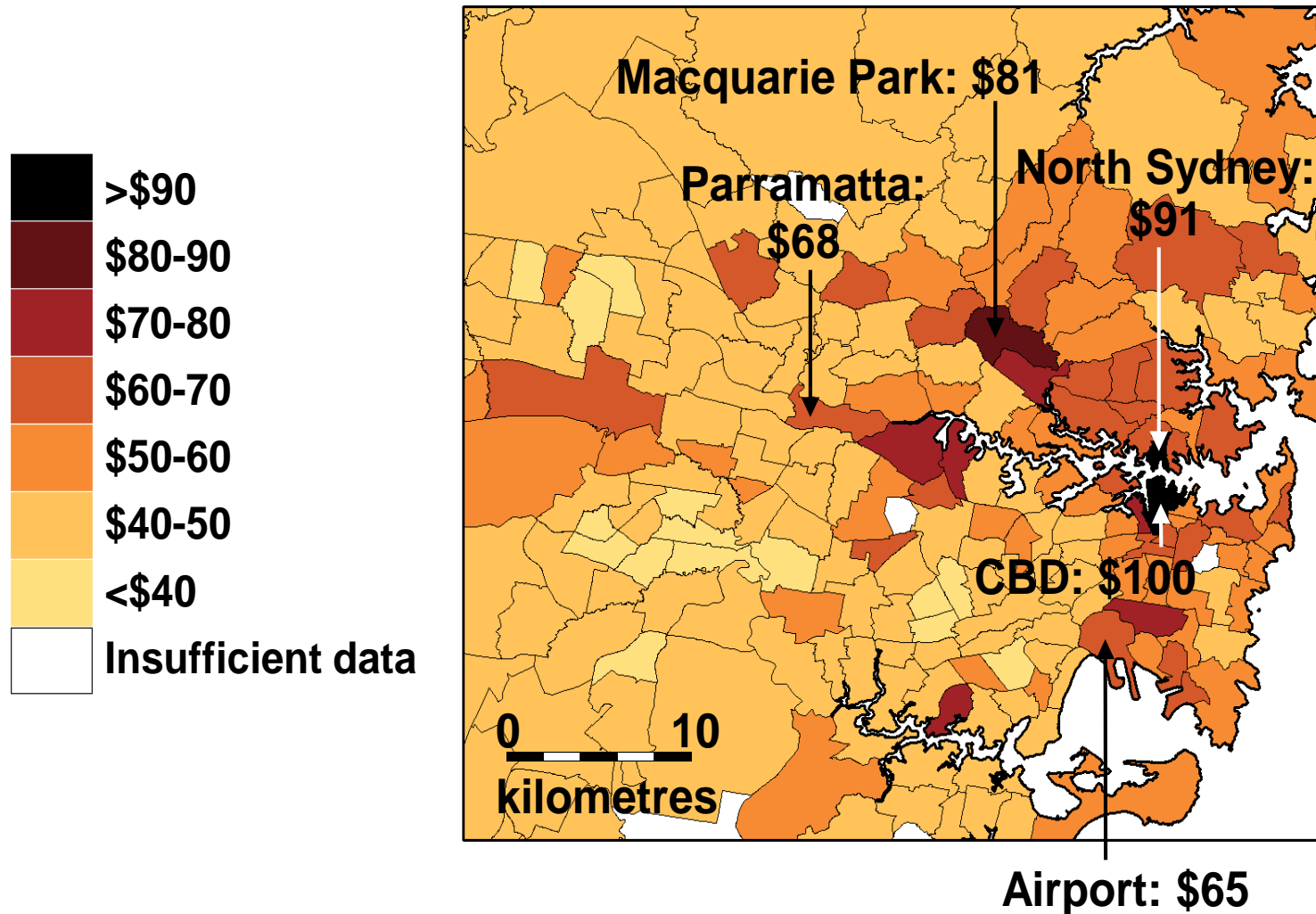
Height of bar indicates total economic activity

Bar not shown for economic activity less than \$1 billion



Economic output per hour is highest towards the centre

Economic activity per working hour, 2011-12, Sydney



City limits

Australia's economy is increasingly dominated by services produced in cities

Australian cities are nearing their limits

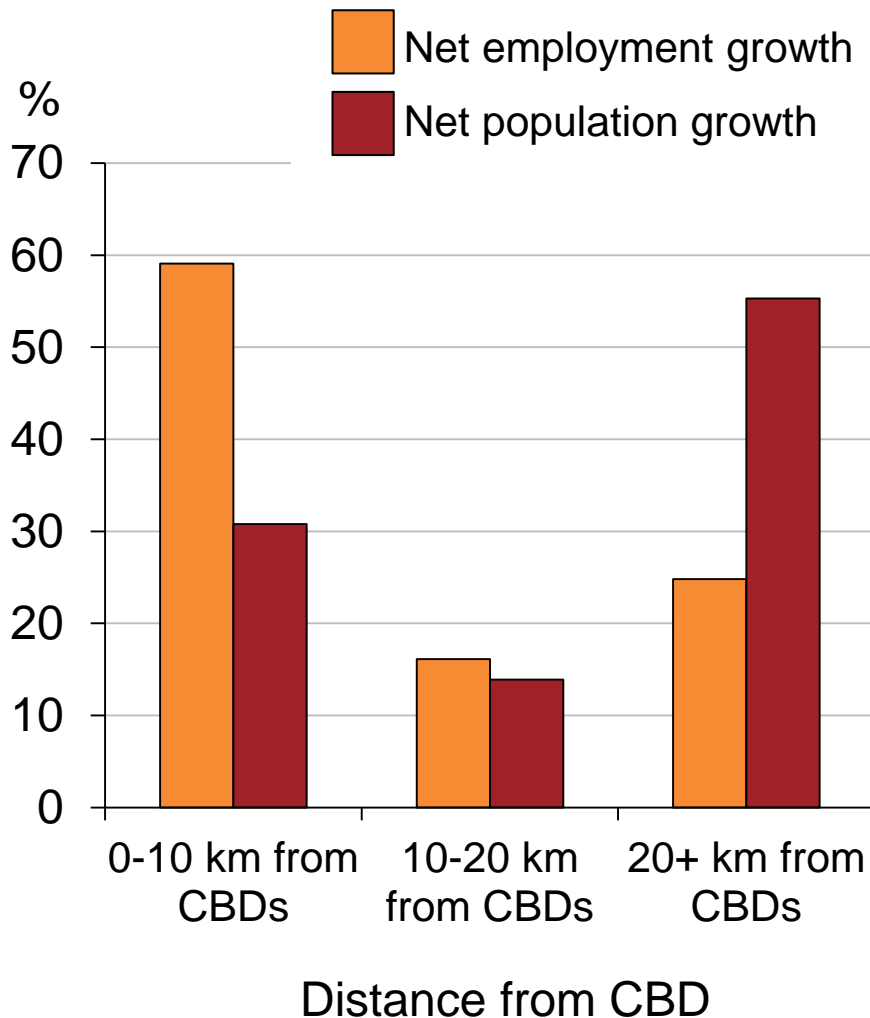
- Big cities are dividing geographically
 - Inner cities have much better education levels, access to jobs, high incomes
 - The divide is increasing, particularly disadvantaging women
- Many people want to make different housing choices
- Home ownership is falling for all ages under 55, particularly those on low incomes

Planning policy needs to adjust to changing patterns of work

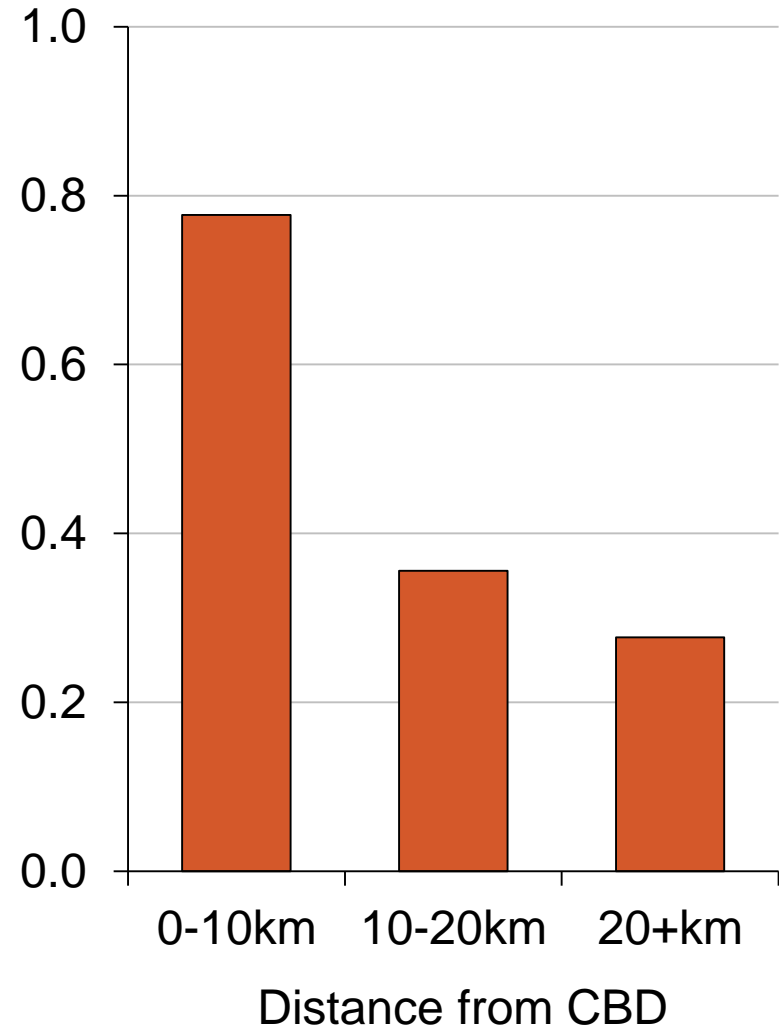
Tax policy should encourage rather than discourage home ownership

Most new jobs are towards the centre, while most new homes are on the edge

Employment and population growth, 5 largest Australian cities, 2006-11

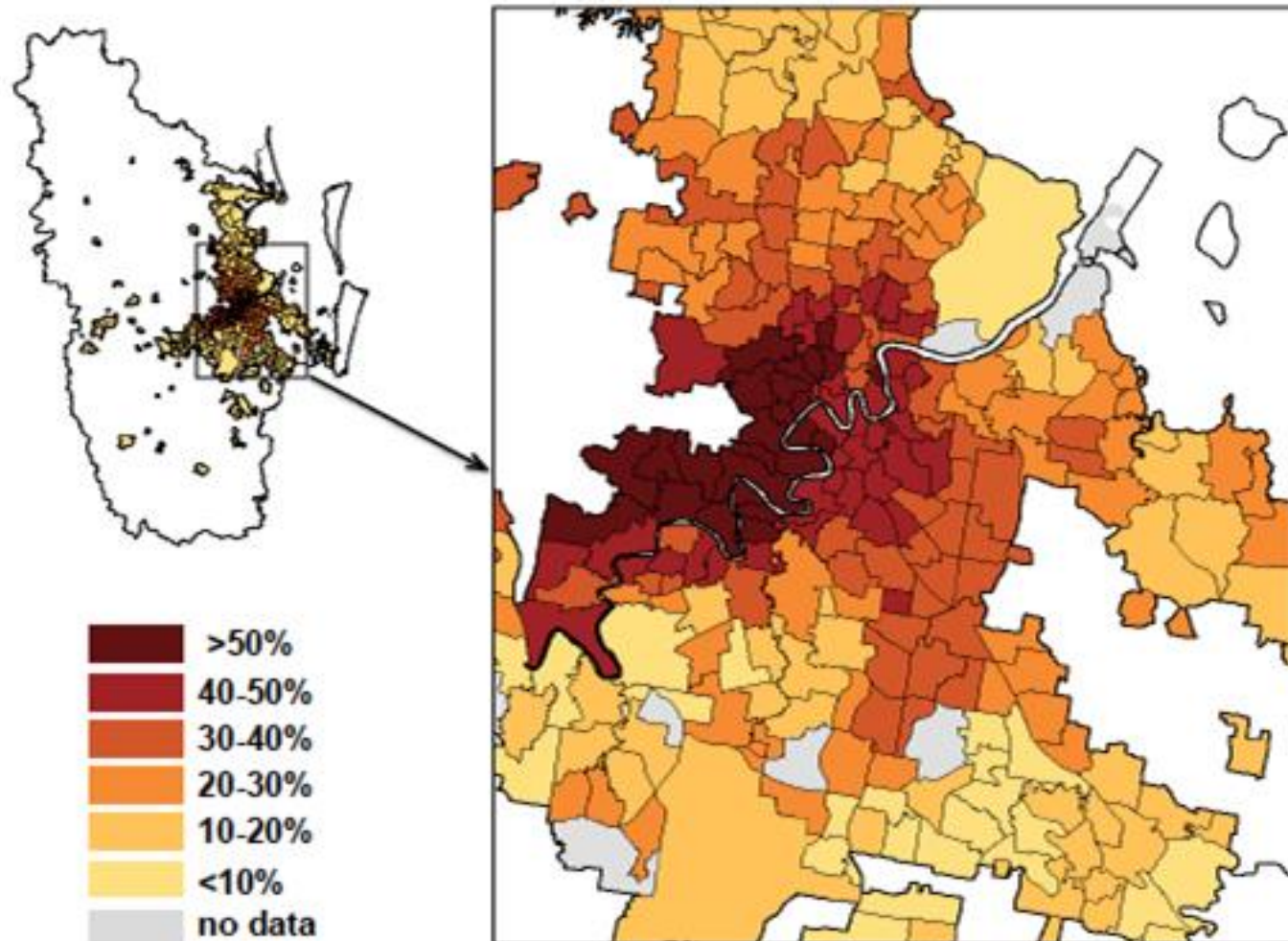


Jobs per resident, 5 largest Australian cities, 2011



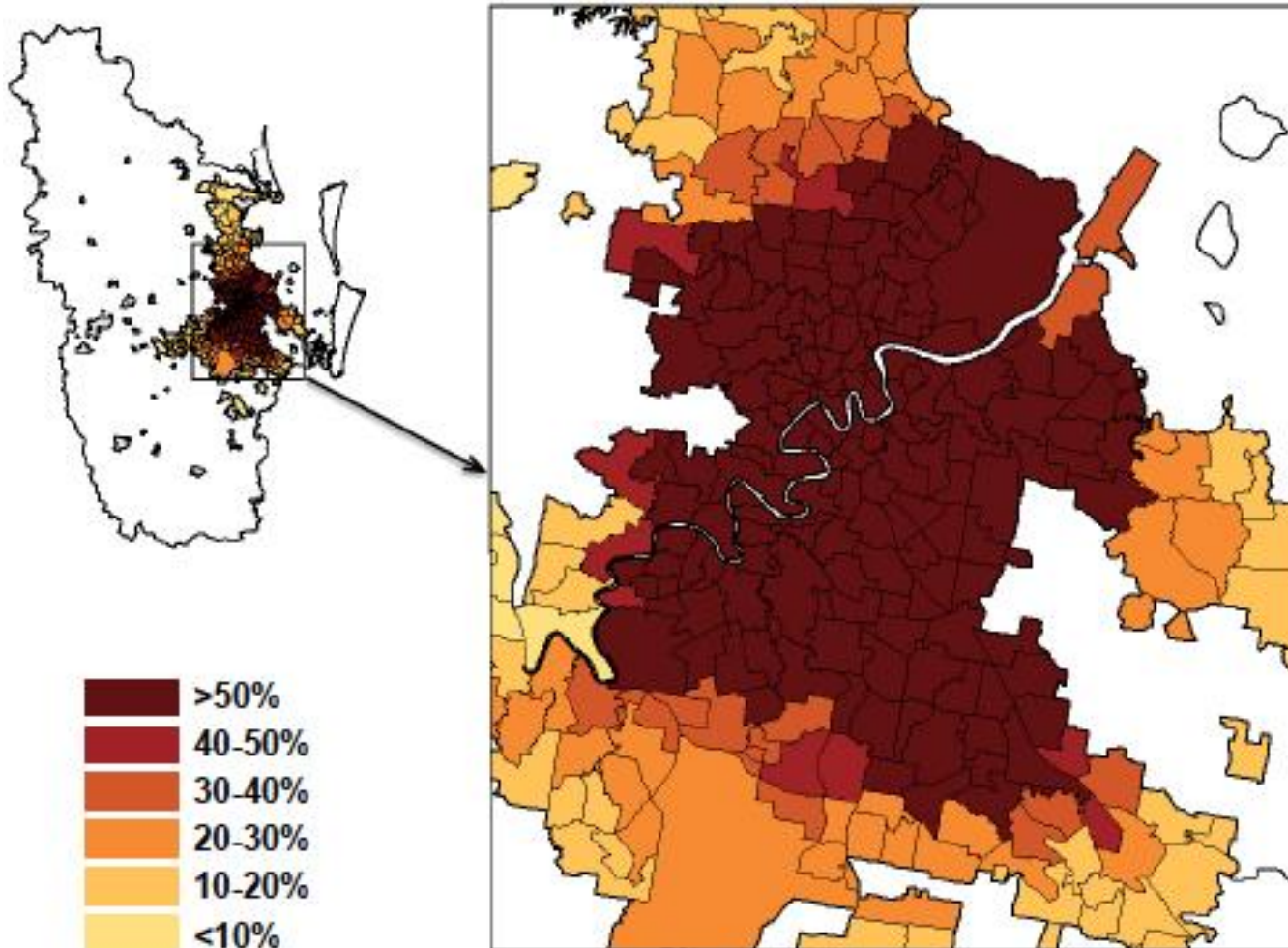
Inner suburbs have much high levels of tertiary education

Tertiary education levels by suburb, Brisbane 2011



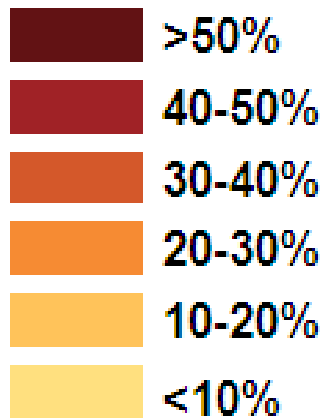
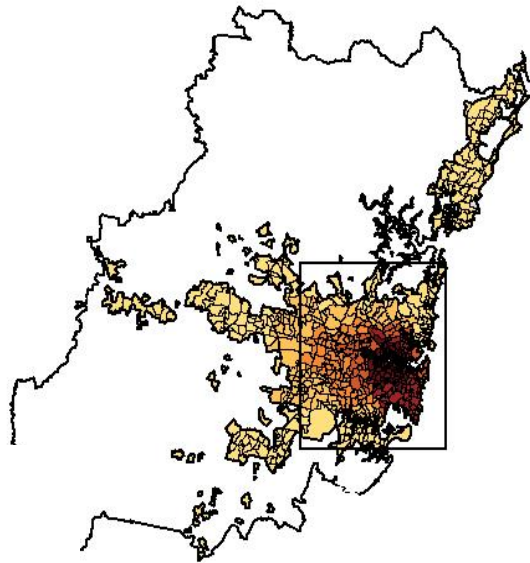
Most Brisbane residents have good access to jobs by car ...

Percentage of Brisbane jobs that can be reached in 45 minutes by car

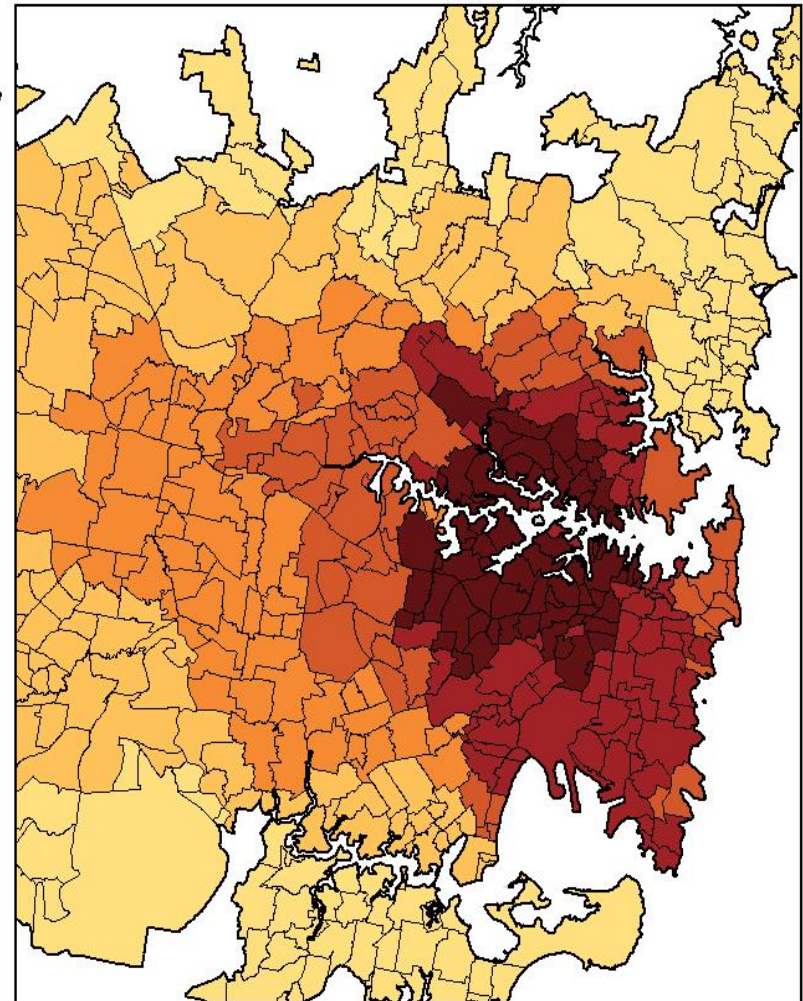


... but Sydney shows how there can be real problems

Percentage of jobs that can be reached in 45 minutes by car

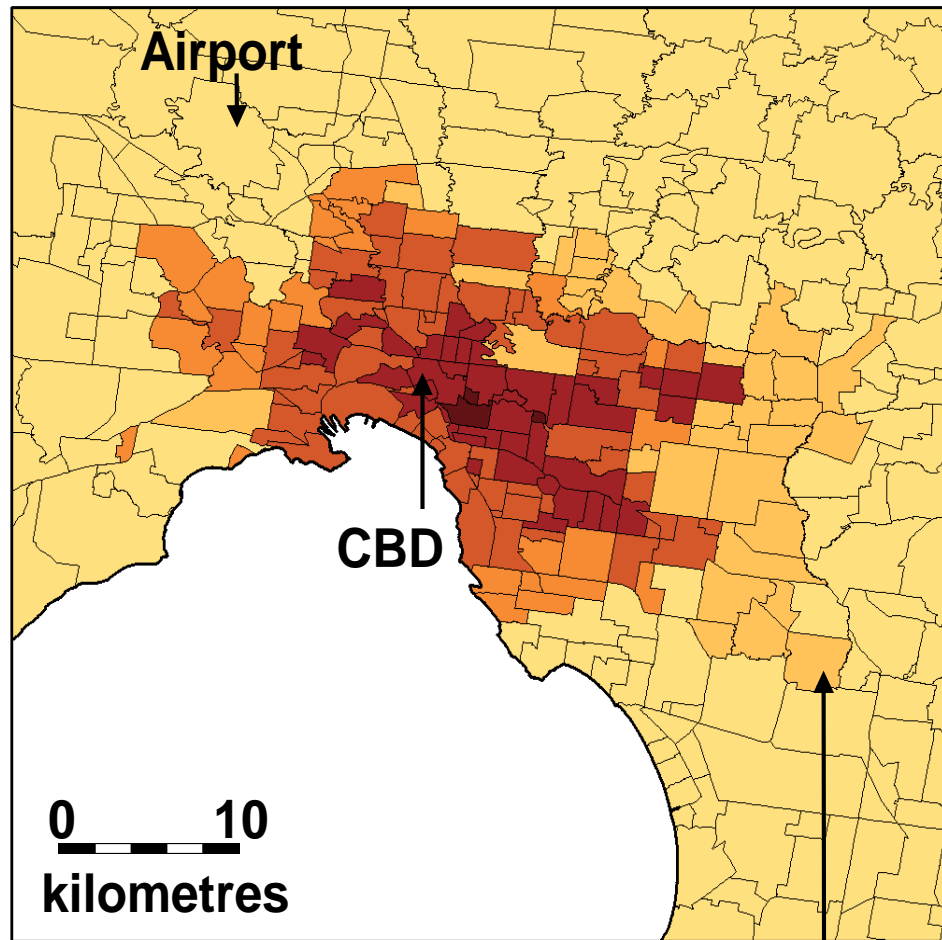
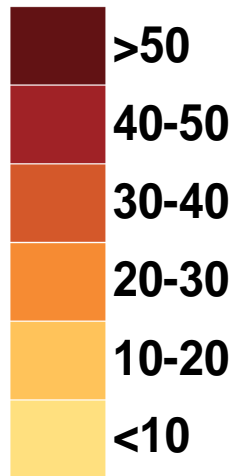


Job:



... and public transport leaves many of Melbourne's outer suburbs under-served

Percentage of Melbourne jobs that can be reached in 60 minutes by public transport

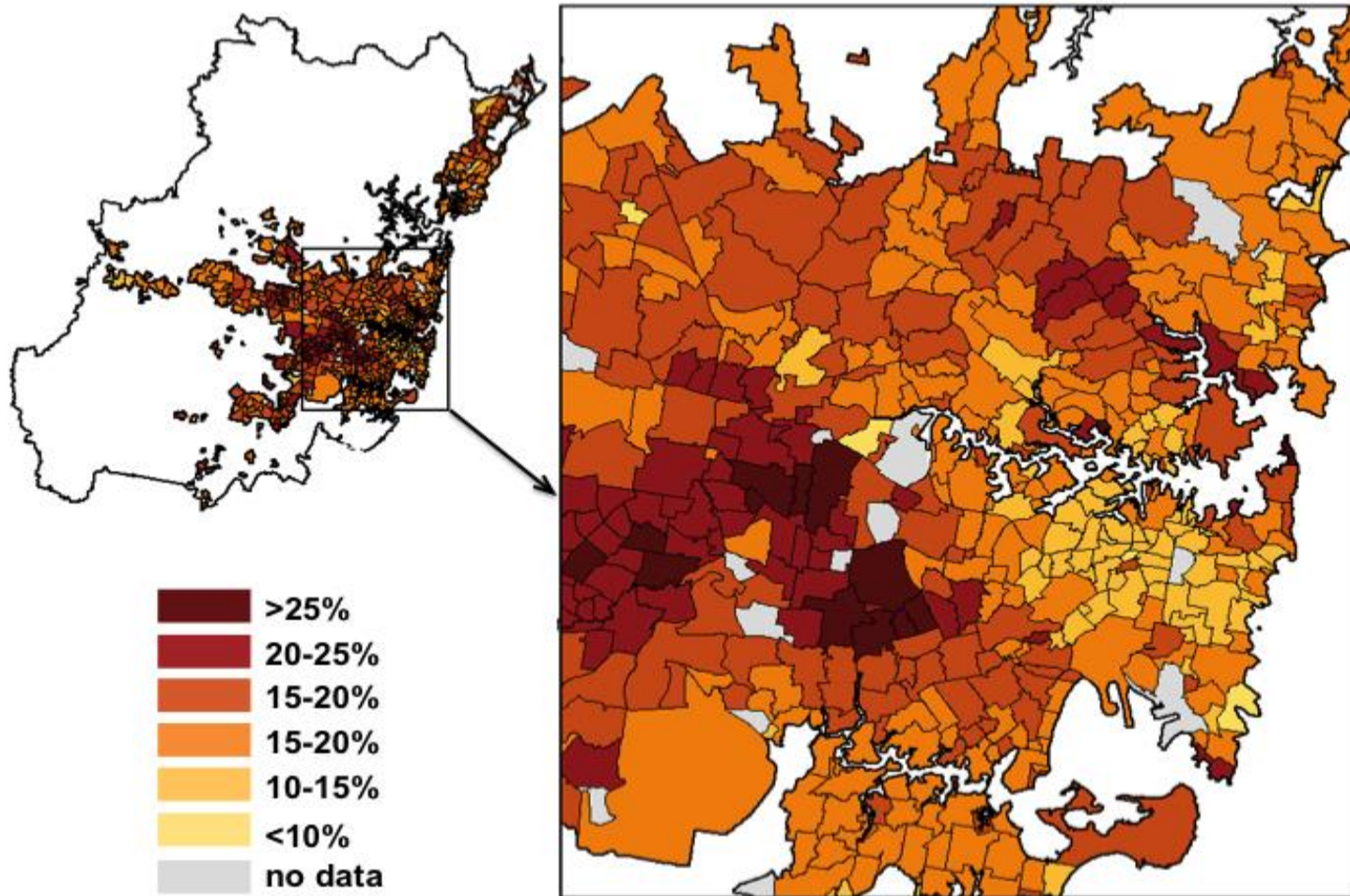


Residents living in the darkest shaded suburbs can reach more than half the jobs within a 60 minute public transport trip. In the lightest shaded areas, residents can access fewer than one in ten of those jobs

Dandenong

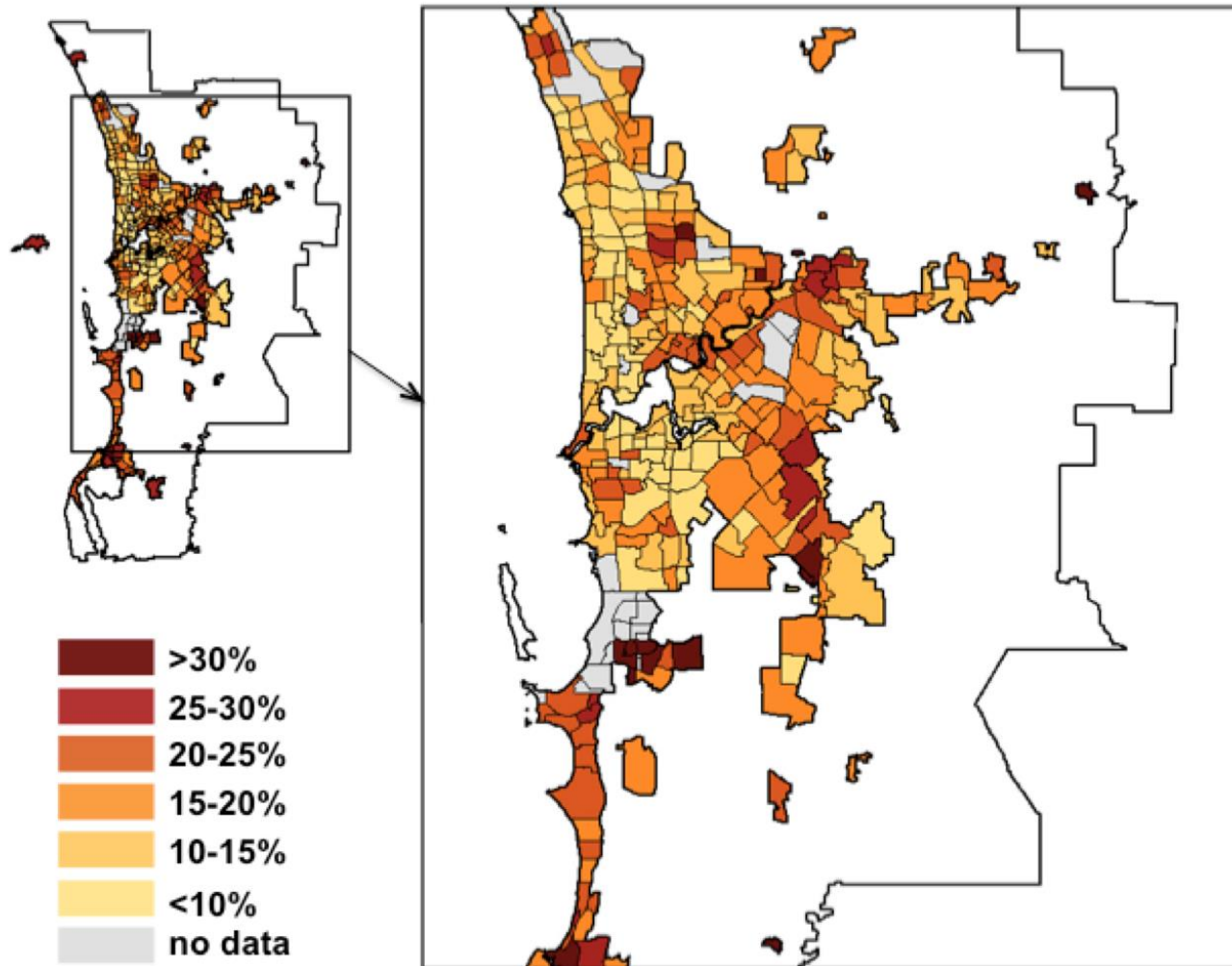
Women in poorly-connected areas face more difficult compromises

Differences in male and female workforce participation by suburb, Sydney 2011



Poor access to job leads to poor social outcomes

Percentage of disaffected youth, Perth, 2011



The divide between people and jobs has big consequences

In outer suburbs people earn lower incomes on average, and are more likely to be employed on casual basis.

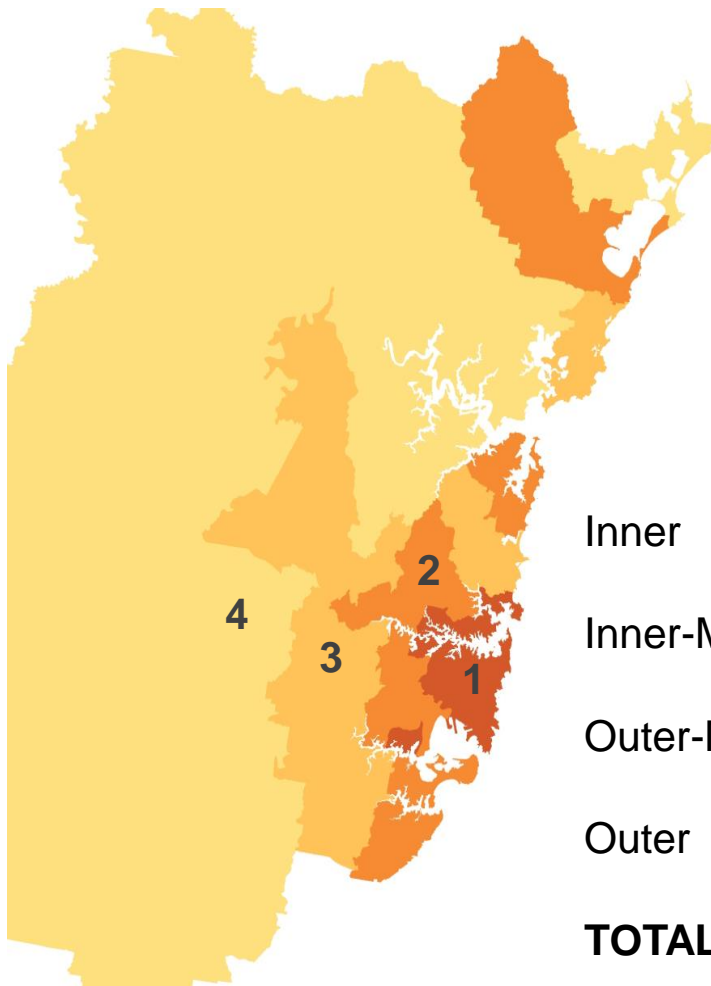
Harder for women caring for children in outer areas to participate in the workforce.

Longer commutes result in:

- Higher living costs of thousands of dollars a year
- Pressure on family life
- Lower well-being

Many people want to trade off location against price and dwelling type

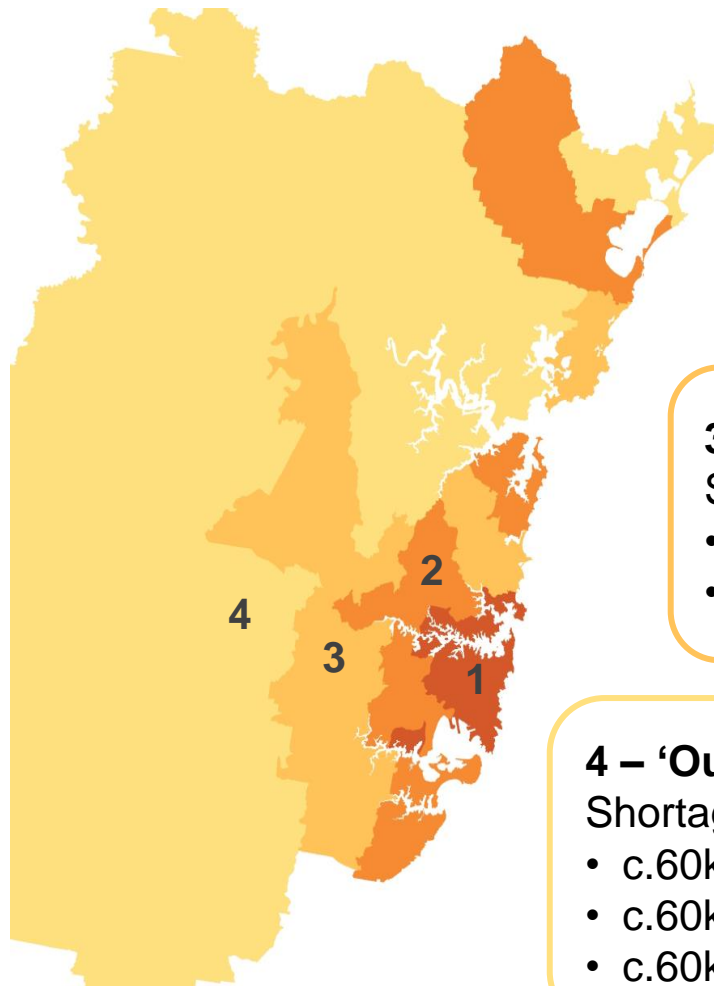
Desired trade-offs between location and house type - Sydney



	Semi-Detached	Up to 3 storeys	4 storeys & above	TOTAL
Inner	9%	4%	2%	20%
Inner-Middle	9%	7%	4%	26%
Outer-Middle	12%	7%	4%	30%
Outer	10%	6%	5%	25%
TOTAL	41%	25%	15%	100%

The market is supplying less medium density than people want

Comparison between preferences and availability - Sydney



2 – ‘Inner-Middle’ Zone

Shortages of:

- c.80k **semi-detached** dwellings
- c.80k **apartments** in 4 storey + buildings

3 – ‘Outer-Middle’ Zone

Shortages of:

- c.80k **semi-detached** dwellings
- c.80k **apartments** in 4 storey + buildings

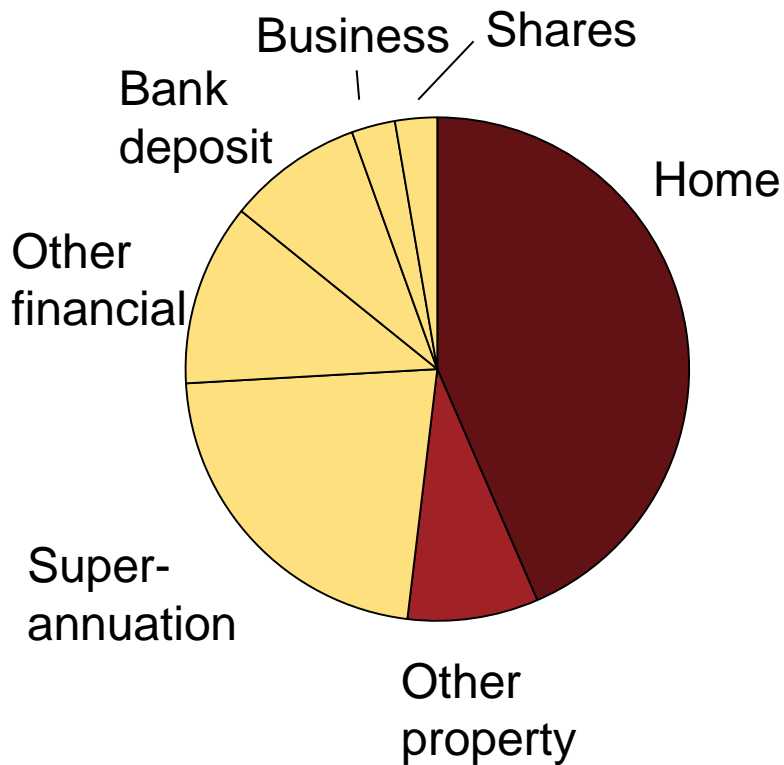
4 – ‘Outer’ Zone

Shortages of:

- c.60k **semi-detached** dwellings
- c.60k **apartments** in buildings up to 3 storeys
- c.60k **apartments** in 4 storey + buildings

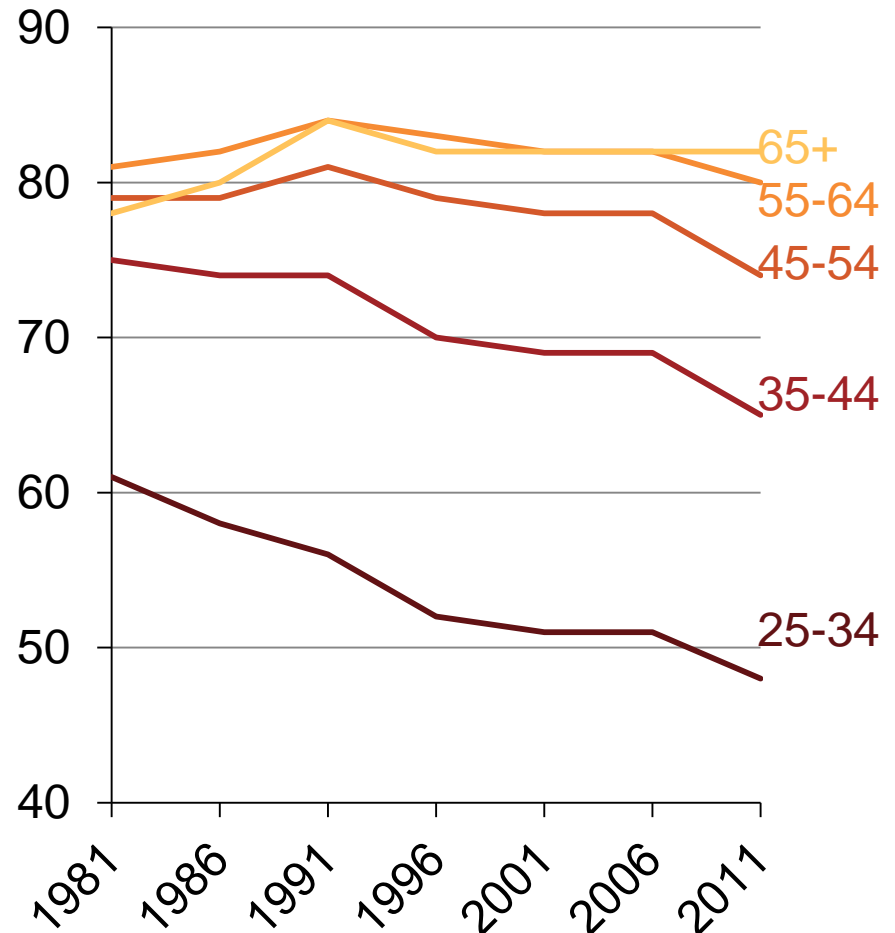
Wealth is dominated by home ownership, but home ownership rates are falling

Composition of household wealth, 2010



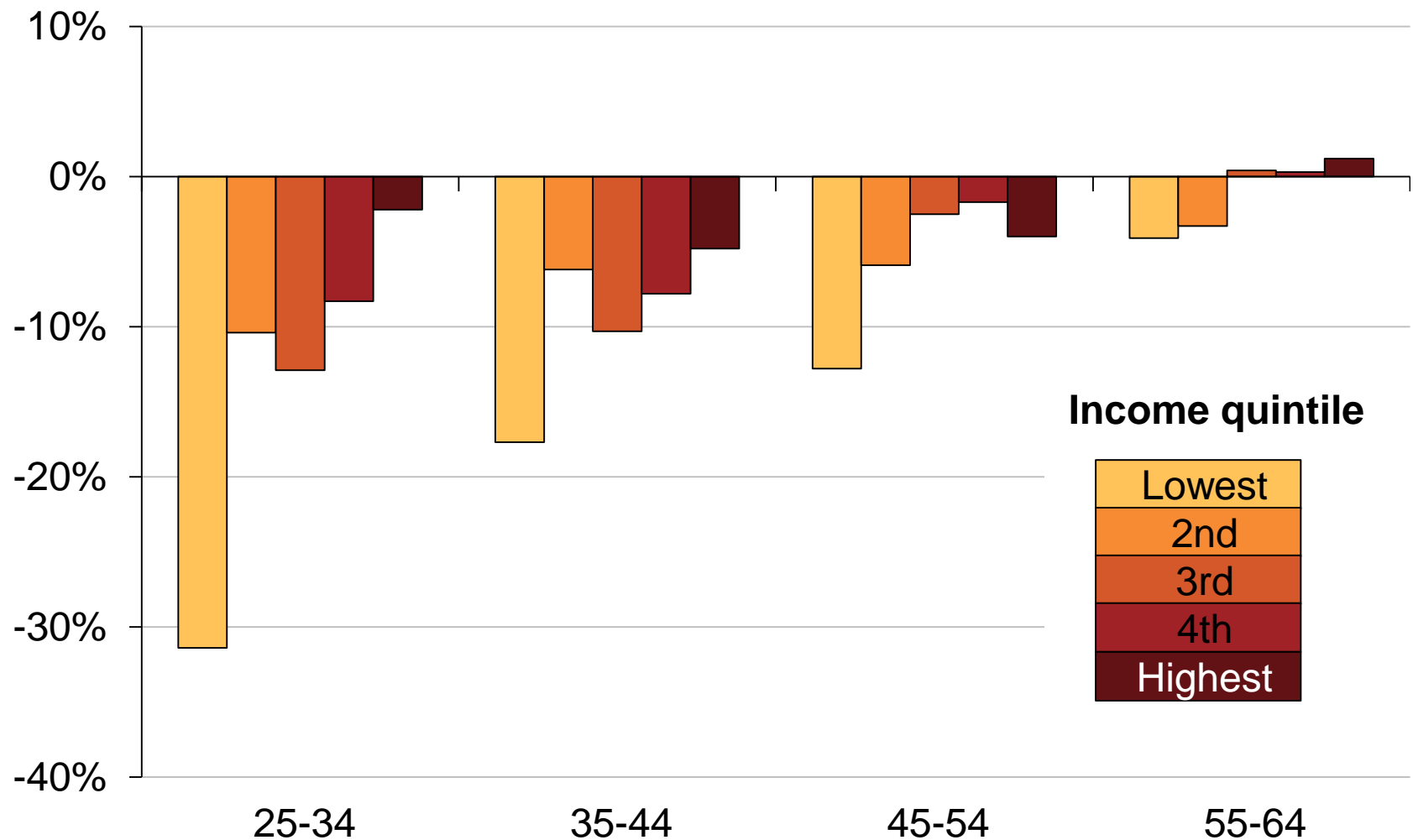
Home ownership rate by age

Per cent



Home ownership rates have fallen fastest for young people on low incomes

Percentage point change in home ownership rates, 1981 to 2011



City limits

Australia's economy is increasingly dominated by services produced in cities

Australian cities are nearing their limits

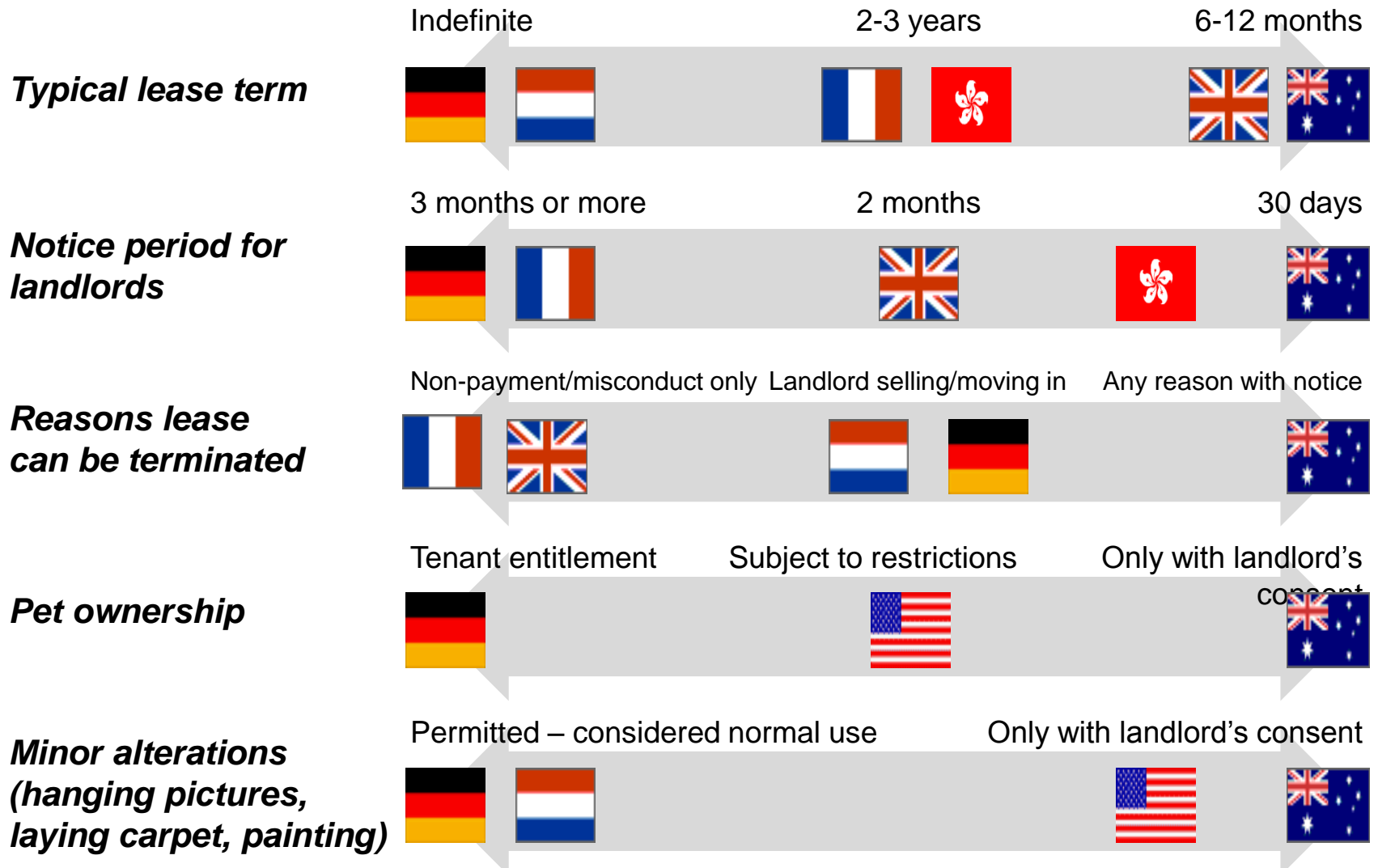
Planning policy needs to adjust to changing patterns of work

- Planning policy results in developers failing to build people the housing they want.
- Planning policy *is* economic policy: middle ring medium density development is probably the largest single lever for both economic growth and social equality
- Residential tenancy policy needs to adjust to lower rates of home ownership

Tax policy should encourage rather than discourage home ownership

Renting closer to jobs is a worse option than owning in Australia

International comparison of rental conditions



City limits

Australia's economy is increasingly dominated by services produced in cities

Australian cities are nearing their limits

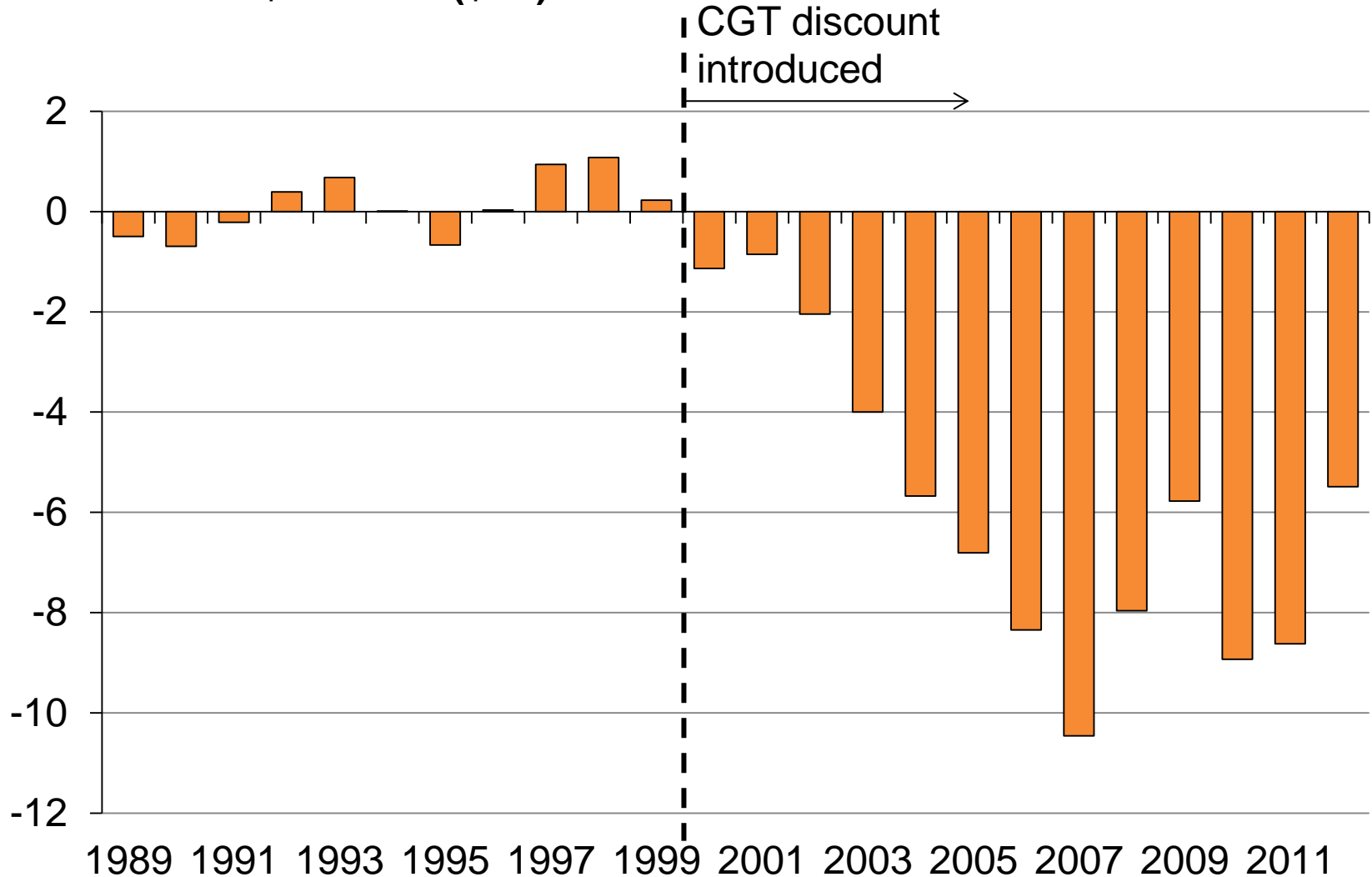
Planning policy needs to adjust to changing patterns of work

Tax policy should encourage rather than discourage home ownership

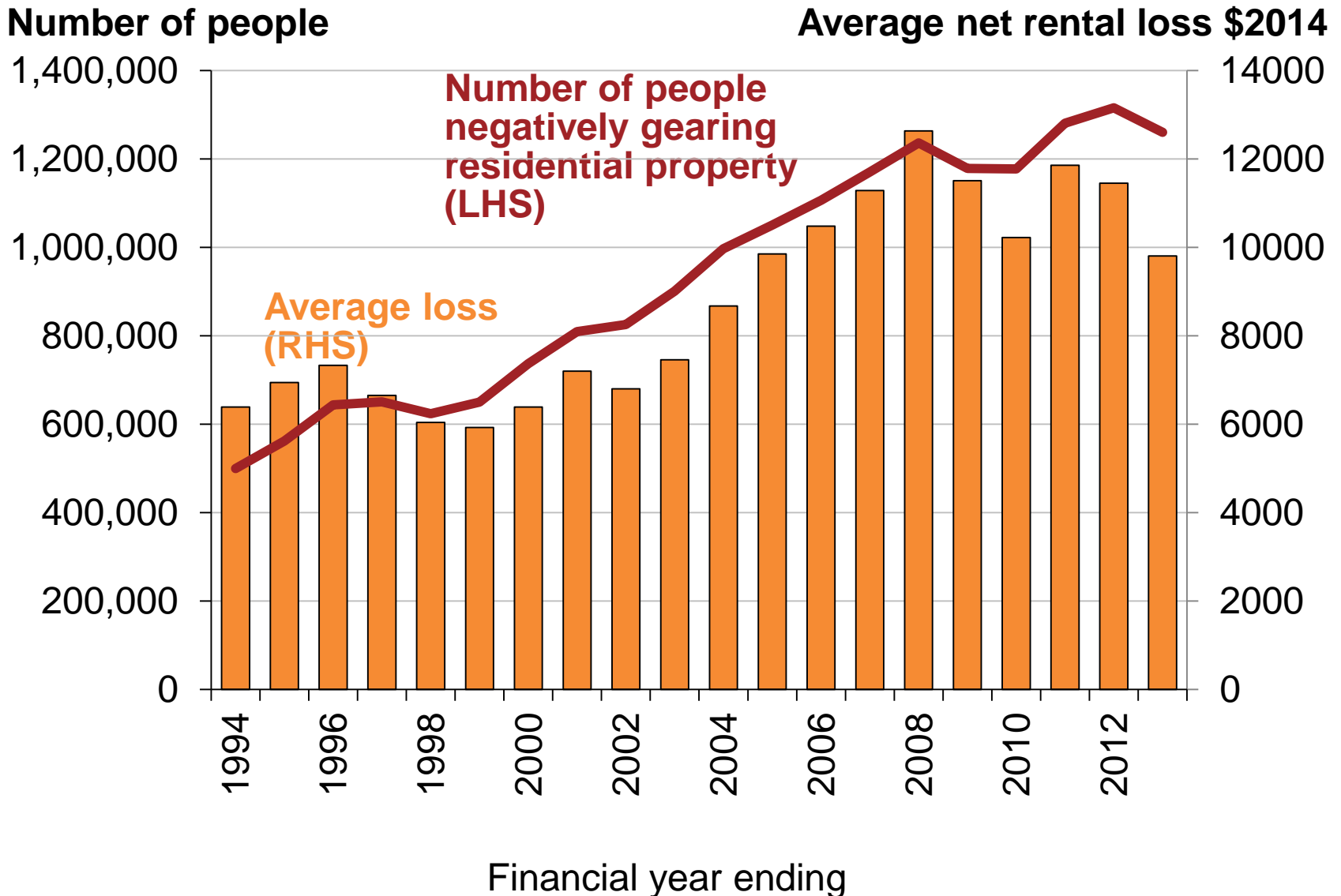
- CGT discounts and negative gearing are encouraging investors rather than occupiers
- Property taxes are a better means to raise revenue than the alternatives, and would improve housing affordability

Collective losses became large after the CGT discount was introduced

Total net rent \$ 2013-14 (\$bn)

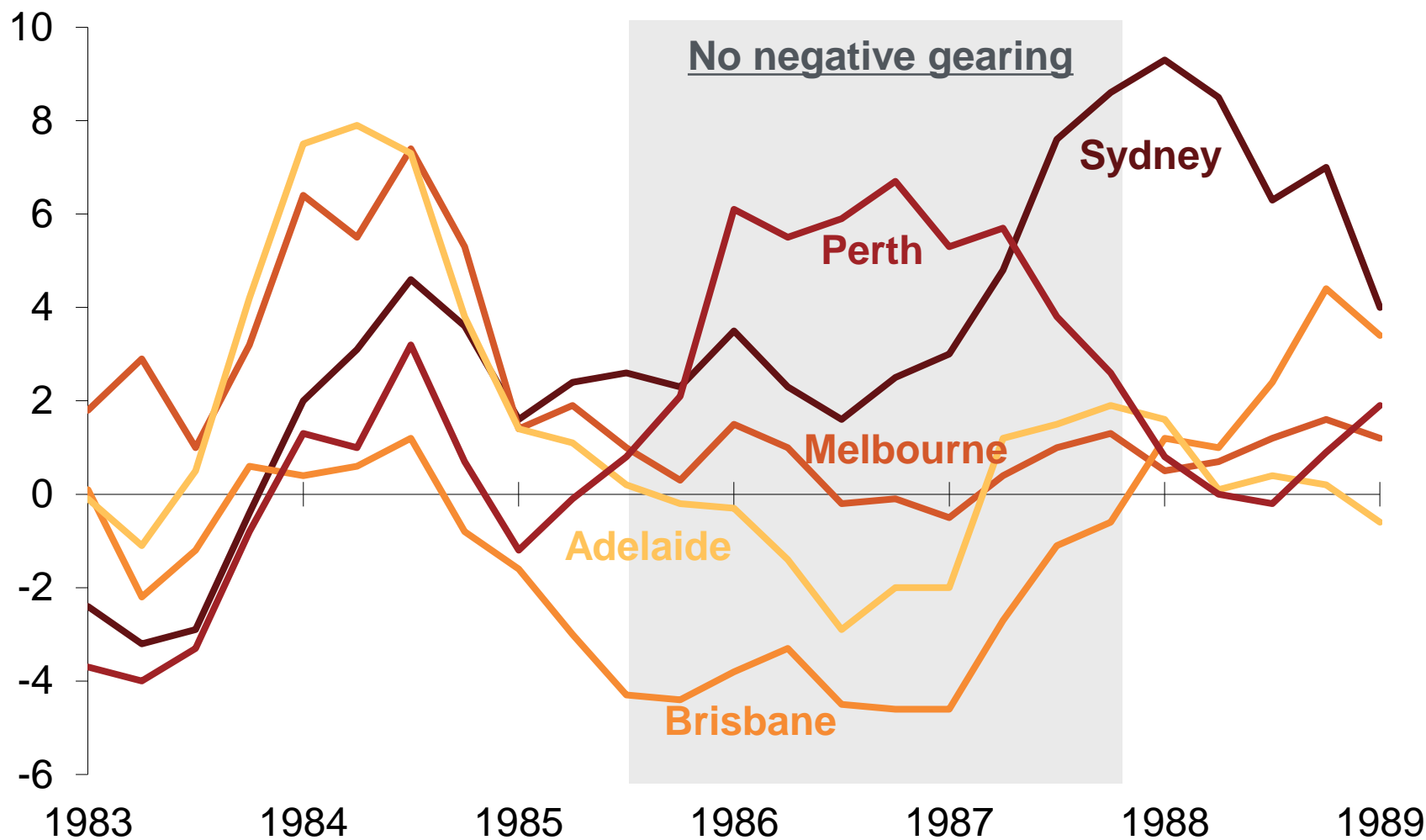


More landlords are negatively gearing and average losses are growing



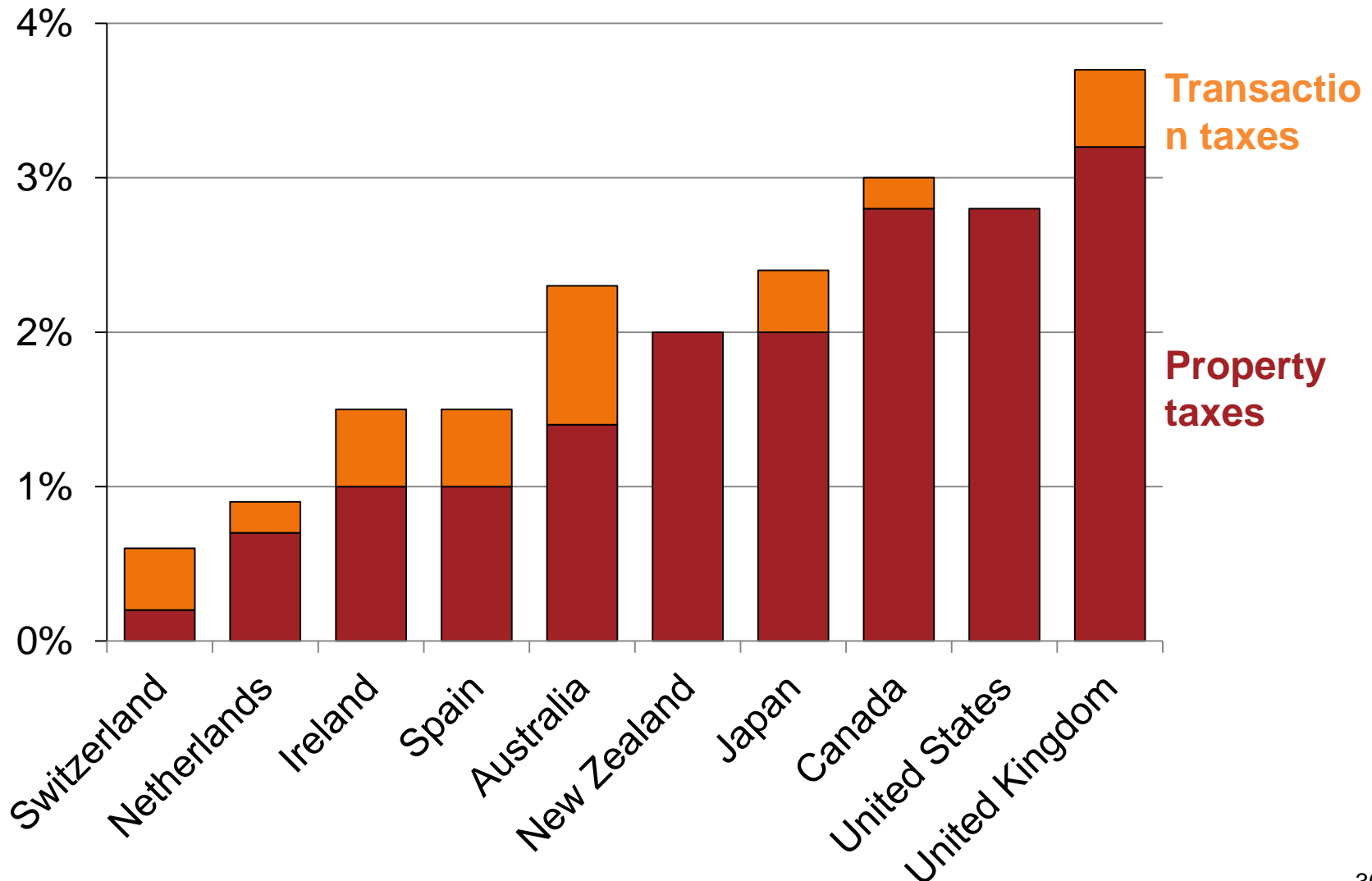
Limiting negative gearing in the 1980s did not appear to increase rents outside Sydney

Real change in rents, percentage change from year earlier



Australia has lower property tax revenues than some comparable countries

Taxes on property and transactions, per cent of GDP



Conclusions

- Australia's economy is more knowledge-intensive than ever
- City centres are vital for knowledge-intensive activity and economic growth
- Our cities have not adjusted well to these changes in the economy
- This is bad for the economy and bad for opportunity
- Housing, transport, and tax policies can support or hinder access to jobs, and choice for both employers and employees

City limits

Australia's economy is increasingly dominated by services produced in cities

- Services are growing much faster than other sectors
- Big cities now dominate the economy
- More jobs are concentrated in the centre of big cities, while new housing is primarily at the edge

Australian cities are nearing their limits

- Big cities are dividing geographically
 - Inner cities have much better education levels, access to jobs, high incomes
 - The divide is increasing, particularly disadvantaging women
- Many people want to make different housing choices
- Home ownership is falling for all ages under 55, particularly those on low incomes

Planning policy needs to adjust to changing patterns of work

- Planning policy results in developers failing to give people the housing they want.
- Planning policy *is* economic policy: middle ring medium density development is probably the largest single lever for both economic growth and social equality

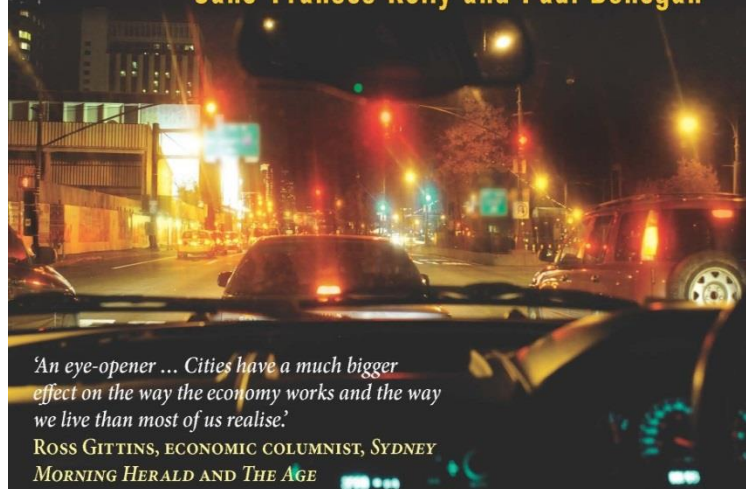
Tax policy should encourage rather than discourage home ownership

- CGT discounts and negative gearing are encouraging investors rather than occupiers
- Property taxes are a better means to raise revenue than the alternatives

CITY LIMITS

Why Australia's
cities are
broken and how
we can fix them

Jane-Frances Kelly and Paul Donegan



'An eye-opener ... Cities have a much bigger effect on the way the economy works and the way we live than most of us realise.'

ROSS GITTINS, ECONOMIC COLUMNIST, SYDNEY
MORNING HERALD AND THE AGE