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## **Public Infrastructure: Solutions for Moving People**

**Submission by the Bus Industry Confederation  
House of Representatives Infrastructure and  
Communications Committee Inquiry into Public  
Infrastructure Planning and Procurement**

**April 2014**

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## **About the Bus Industry Confederation of Australia**

The Bus Industry Confederation (BIC) is the peak national body representing the interests of Australian bus and coach operators and suppliers to the industry. As the primary voice of the bus and coach industry the BIC works with all levels of Government, regulatory authorities, strategic partners, our industry and the community to:

- Encourage investment in public transport infrastructure and services.
- Coordinate and make more effective existing Federal, State and Local Government policies and programs that relate to passenger transport.
- Improve public understanding of the contribution made by the bus and coach industry to Australia's economy, society and environment.
- Ensure that the accessibility and mobility needs of Australians are met, regardless of where they live or their circumstances.
- Ensure that buses and coaches operate safely and effectively.

## **About this Submission**

This submission addresses a number of the key questions posed by the Terms of Reference for the Inquiry.

The basis of responses in this submission is two reports produced by the Bus Industry Confederation with Professor John Stanley from the University of Sydney Institute of Transport and Logistics Studies. The reports referred to in this submission are *Moving People Solutions for a Growing Australia* and *Moving People Solutions for a Liveable Australia*. These reports and other BIC policy and research can be found at the Ozebus website [www.ozebus.com.au](http://www.ozebus.com.au)

## **What initiatives are operating around Australia at local and state government levels that might lower the cost of planning approvals and reduce timeframes for delivery of projects?**

Various models of public infrastructure provision exist, including:

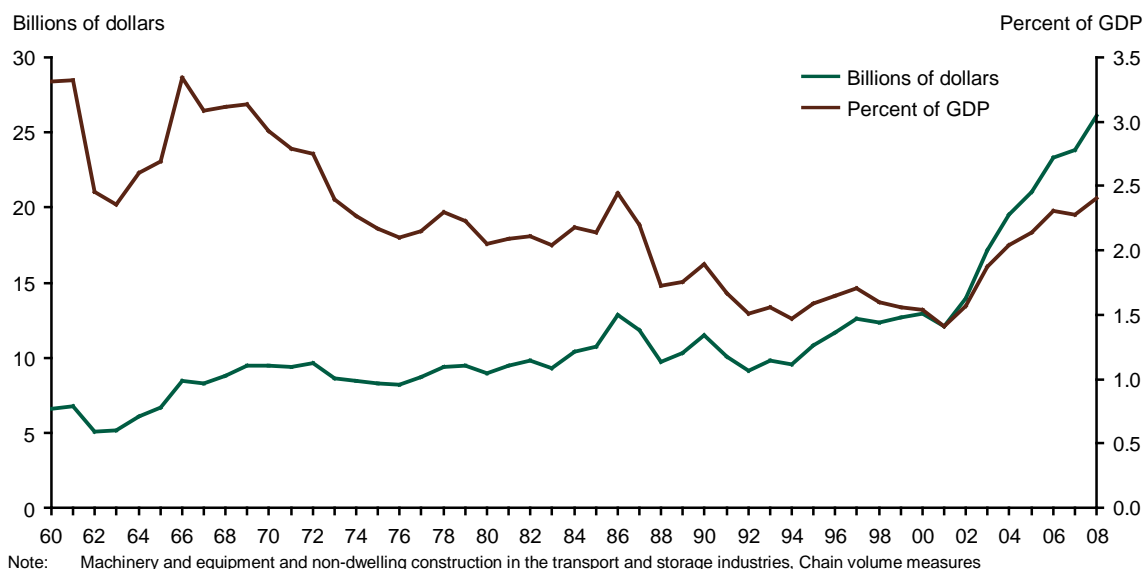
- direct government provision and operation
- the creation of Government Trading Enterprises (GTEs) or corporations as legally separate entities from government, and which may be subject to Australian Corporations Law
- the creation of competitive market frameworks for some infrastructure services, such as electricity, gas and communications (although a range of matters such as the pricing, income streams and service standards are still subject to government regulation by various regulators)
- the privatisation of some government-owned infrastructure assets
- the granting of concessions or franchises to private companies to provide public infrastructure subject to government regulation
- the involvement of the private sector in the operation and financing of new public infrastructure under different types of long-term contractual arrangements, including different types of 'public private partnership' (PPP) models.

## Are local, state and federal governments adequately considering the infrastructure challenges that they face and do they have long term plans in place to deal with those challenges?

Figure 1, from our 2010 report *Moving People: Solutions for a Growing Australia*, shows that the transport infrastructure share of GDP declined from around 2.5 to 3.0 per cent in the period from 1960 to the mid 80s, to about 1.5 per cent at the turn of the century, but has recovered since that time.

Pricing shortcomings in land transport are a major barrier to efficient use of existing infrastructure and send poor signals as to where infrastructure development is needed. Section 4.3 of our *Moving People: Solutions for a Liveable Australia* report (attached) examined the question of pricing in some detail, including estimates of relevant external costs.

**Figure 1: Transport infrastructure fixed capital formation (FY1960-2008)**



**Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (2008), *Australian System of National Accounts*, Cat. no. 5204.0, ABS, Canberra.**

In our 2012 publication, *Moving People: Solutions for a Liveable Australia*, we noted that the road traffic task continued to grow strongly over the 1986 to 2006 period, even though road expenditure was flat in real terms (see Figure 2, from that report).

The dramatic decline in the transport infrastructure investment share of GDP, and flat road expenditure levels in real terms over an extended period, while the transport task has continued to grow, is consistent with increasing congestion levels on roads and public transport services and is a major reason why many commentators now argue that Australia has a substantial transport infrastructure backlog. For example, if road expenditure had grown at the same rate as population over the period shown in Figure 2, total road expenditure would have been \$35 billion higher, in constant prices, in aggregate over that period. However, pressure on roads is more accurately reflected in growth in the road task. Had road expenditure in real terms grown at the same rate as vehicle kilometres of travel (VKT), which is still well below the growth rate in road freight, total road expenditure would have been about \$75 billion higher in aggregate. That is equivalent to about five years total spending on roads, suggesting a substantial backlog<sup>1</sup>. The impact of heavy road vehicles on road condition, and the growth rate in freight traffic, suggests that the actual backlog could be much larger again. Comparable estimates are not able to be produced for rail/public transport, because of data differences between modes.

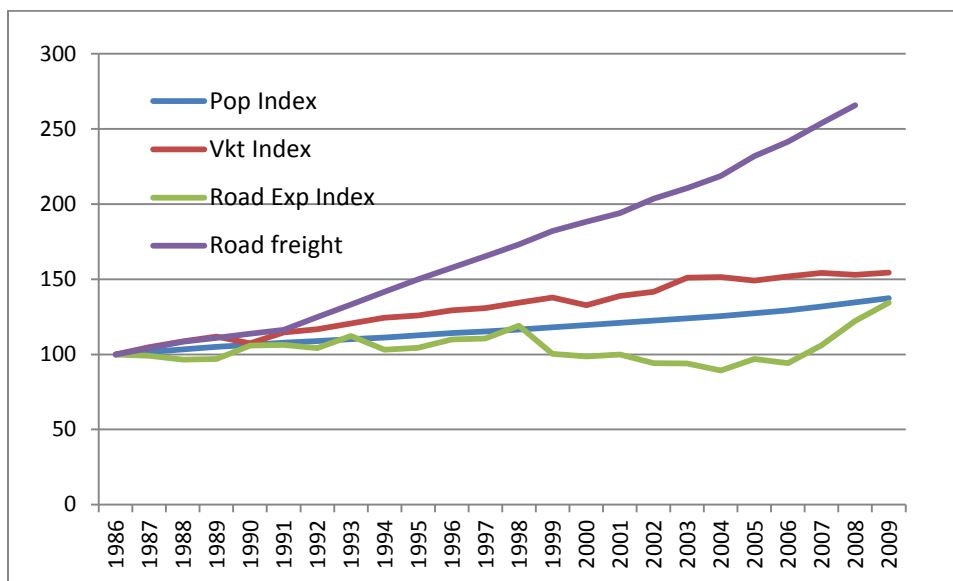
<sup>1</sup> Detailed cost benefit analyses of individual projects are required, of course, to identify relevant backlogs. Expenditure levels are only a rough first indicator of prospective changes in condition.

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The transport investment 'hole' resulting from the decline in share of infrastructure investment spending has been recently assessed by NIEIR<sup>2</sup> at \$111b, which is consistent with the numbers set out above. This is of a similar order to the transport projects in the Infrastructure Australia 2013 priority list, which totalled \$82-91b as at June 2013 across all Infrastructure sectors but were dominated by land transport proposals. It is no surprise, therefore, that transport projects figure prominently in the Infrastructure Australia priority project funding lists.

**Figure 2: Growth in road traffic task and road expenditure, relative to population growth (1985-86 = 100)**



Source: BITRE (2012).

Of more relevance to the current investigation are the following considerations:

1. the pervasive influence of unpriced external costs (such as congestion, air pollution, accidents, greenhouse gas emissions) and benefits (e.g. agglomeration economies) in land transport and the corresponding lack of proper price signals to guide both individual travel behaviour and land transport infrastructure investment decisions towards efficient solutions. With external costs dominating in urban areas (being estimated at a net cost of \$27b in *Moving People: Solutions for a Liveable Australia*, as set out later in this submission), the neglect of pricing of these externalities systematically leads to excess infrastructure needs being apparent on the road side and under assessment on the public transport side;
2. the absence of a set of accepted transport infrastructure/service quality indicators (KPIs), to demonstrate whether network/service performance is improving, receding or staying the same means there are no overarching indicators of relative 'needs', which trigger project/program identification. The lack of such needs indicators introduces an increased element of chance into the needs identification and performance assessment process that is used by jurisdictions and will increase the prospects of under or over investment;
3. allied to the previous point, poor land use/transport planning and needs identification practices (a matter to which we return below), which mean that there is little assurance that the best set of infrastructure opportunities have been identified or are being implemented, compound the problem of lack of accepted performance indicators. This is accentuated by the increasing tendency of some state governments to withhold the results of project evaluations.

<sup>2</sup> NIEIR (2013). *State of the regions 2012-13*, Report prepared for Australian Local Government Association, Canberra.

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More open needs identification, performance assessment and project evaluation processes should help to tackle these problems.

BIC's *Moving People: Solutions for a Liveable Australia* pointed out that COAG asked the COAG Reform Council to undertake three tasks in relation to capital cities, the first of which was to review State and Territory capital city strategic planning systems against nine agreed criteria. An Expert Advisory Panel was appointed to assist the Council in these tasks. The CRC report was important because it pointed out that no city had planning systems that were fully consistent with the various criteria that had been agreed by COAG; most jurisdictions were 'partially' or 'largely consistent' with most criteria.

Subsequently, a comprehensive assessment of the state of play in terms of development of strategic plans and converting them to infrastructure priorities was provided by the work of Infrastructure Australia

*Moving People Solutions for a Liveable Australia* argued that a particular focus of improving land use transport integration should be on taking **an integrated approach to place**. In a paper to the Thredbo 13 Conference<sup>3</sup> in Oxford in September 2013, Professor John Stanley showed that this will often throw up different priorities to those that emerge from the 'big project culture', which seems dominant in Australian urban planning and infrastructure pipeline development at present (partly because of the Infrastructure Australia infrastructure review and recommendation processes).

**Recommendation: It is vital that, in our city infrastructure thinking, the focus shifts from big projects to networks and systems that are designed to help meet the COAG high level objectives for our cities.**

This will encompass big projects but much more, such as protecting and enhancing critical and extensive networks of arterial roads, which currently risk being swamped by the emphasis on a few big projects, and paying much more attention to making the middle suburbs of our cities function more efficiently, as the knowledge economy increases the importance of these areas.

We need better city strategic planning, which should be accompanied by cross-sectoral intergovernmental funding agreements to help implement the resulting strategic plans (discussed later in our submission), including their infrastructure and service components, recognising the roles of public and private sectors. The private sector should be closely involved throughout the full course of this work, rather than simply being invited to bid for a few big projects at the end of a planning process undertaken by others or, as is unfortunately all too common, bid for projects that have little foundation in any comprehensive integrated strategic planning process. If such involvement is open, then questions of information asymmetry should not be of concern.

Institutional design for land use/transport integration frequently concentrates on integration within one particular level of government. However, if service impacts (benefits and/or costs), service delivery responsibilities and/or funding obligations cross jurisdictional boundaries between levels of government, then institutional arrangements also need to facilitate and manage this cross governmental involvement for effective integration, even if service delivery responsibilities lie largely (or entirely) at one particular level of government (as is common). COAG and Infrastructure Australia processes recognise this complexity, particularly as between the Commonwealth and State Governments. However, current Federal arrangements for our cities are fragmented and under resourced, relative to the national significance of cities.

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<sup>3</sup> Go to <http://www.thredbo-conference-series.org/> for more information.

## **For governments that are engaging in long term planning for future infrastructure investment, are they taking steps to protect the land and corridors that are needed to deliver those infrastructure projects in the future?**

The BIC believes the definition of “national significance” in needs to take into account the importance of our cities and regions to the national economy and the national cost of social and environmental externalities such as congestion even when it is experienced at a local level.

The redefinition of ‘national significance’ within Infrastructure Australia’s processes will allow smaller urban renewal projects to be included in long term infrastructure and strategic urban plans from State Governments and the Commonwealth Government.

We believe there is scope for Infrastructure Australia and the Commonwealth Government to address a number of gaps not only in nationally significant infrastructure development, but also small to medium scale local infrastructure projects under the value of \$100 million.

As Infrastructure Australia stated in its 2012 report to COAG, these smaller scale projects, built within a framework of strong strategic planning principles have the potential to improve the liveability and viability of our major cities, towns and regions.<sup>4</sup>

There is potential for a wider recognition within the definition of infrastructure, and consequently the development of infrastructure, for urban public transport infrastructure to be recognised as delivering national benefits at a local level. This comes through the myriad of environmental, social and economic benefits produced by public transport system improvements that alongside delivering travel time, financial and health benefits to individual users also deliver congestion and emissions reduction, social inclusion and productivity benefits to the whole nation.

BIC strongly supports the Council of Australian Governments’ (COAG) national objective to ensure Australian cities are globally competitive, productive, sustainable, liveable, socially inclusive and well placed to meet future challenges and growth (COAG 2009)<sup>5</sup>. The BIC believes that place-based urban transport system development to support pursuit of this national objective, with a focus on people movement, should include:

- ensuring that adequate trunk public transport capacity is available to facilitate growth in the central city and movement around the central city. This is about sustaining locational agglomeration economies and, for the largest cities, will mainly mean ensuring that there is sufficient trunk rail capacity to cater for mass movements at a satisfactory service level.

In some cases and in the smaller cities, Bus Rapid Transit may often be the preferred solution, as demonstrated in Brisbane. This transport policy direction also means ensuring that walking and cycling opportunities are provided to support use by central/inner urban residents and by others travelling to this area. This will support greater dwelling density in the centre. Peak people movement to/from central cities is not effectively undertaken by car, so transport policy should ensure that public transport, walking and cycling have priority over improved car access.

Increasing parking charges and limitation of car parking spaces can support these policy directions and, longer term, road pricing reform should be implemented.... If major new central area bypass roads are built, direct access/egress to/from the central city should not be available in close proximity, because of the adverse impact this would have on PT use. The central area is not the major location for jobs, residences or most activities. Its importance should not be overemphasised within the context of the total transport budget

- road use priority being given to light rail, tram and trunk bus services, plus walking and cycling, in inner suburbs, as part of transport network management plans and to support higher densities along transport corridors ensuring high quality road capacity exists to support circumferential operation of road-based PT systems in middle and outer suburban areas, crossing radial rail lines and joining up activity centres.

<sup>4</sup> Infrastructure Australia, 2012, Progress and Action, June 2012 Report to the Council of Australian Governments, Australian Government Canberra.

<sup>5</sup> Council of Australian Governments (2009). *Communique*. 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2009.



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High frequency trunk PT services should be provided along these circumferential corridors and high quality opportunities for walking/cycling should be provided within and to/from activity centres. This should help to increase the PT/walk/cycle mode share for work and non-work journeys, most of which are not to the CBD but are within home LGA or to a neighbouring LGA. Improving accessibility should assist in promoting job growth in activity centres, as part of an integrated

- providing local PT services to transport nodes/activity centres, at a frequency that will help to facilitate social inclusion ... relevant local PT service frequencies should certainly not be any less than hourly from 6.00am to at least 9.00pm, with 30 minute frequencies being preferred. Alignment of frequencies between local and trunk PT services is important to maximise patronage potential, such that if rail is operating on 15 minute headways, connecting buses should operate on a multiple of 15 minutes
- a high priority being attached to walkability/cyclability within and to/from local centres, to support greater use of more sustainable travel modes and also assist development of more compact settlement forms, particularly in the middle and outer suburbs (inner suburbs are already typically characterised in this way)
- providing high quality trunk PT services between outer growth suburbs and the most proximate employment hubs, ensuring that road capacity is sufficient to meet these PT service needs (if rail is not available). In many cases this will mean improving trunk PT service between outer suburbs and middle suburbs, where jobs are more readily available, while also seeking to increase the availability of local (non-transport) services and of jobs in growing outer suburbs, to reduce the need to travel.

These are the kinds of directions that should be expected from integrated capital city strategic planning processes, nuanced by local circumstances, with efficient infrastructure programs being a key output, rather than simply a number of big projects. Integrated strategies, such as those recently produced by South Australia for Adelaide, Victoria for Melbourne and NSW for Sydney are starting to approach the expectations for integration outlined above but still tend to be weak on their understanding of the importance of the middle suburbs in the knowledge economy and weak on linking neighbourhood level functioning to the broader strategic directions.

## **How can Australia increase or deepen the competitive market for infrastructure provision and funding in Australia?**

We identify pricing signals and institutional arrangements as keys to deepening the market for infrastructure provision and funding in Australia.

### ***Pricing Signals***

Economic theory recognises that, in a competitive market economy, the existence of external costs and benefits creates a situation where the market decisions of individual consumers and producers no longer add up to an efficient outcome for society. Market prices do not reflect these externalities and there will be too much (negative externality) or too little (positive externality) production of the good or service that causes the externality.

In a submission to the Australian Tax Forum 2011, Stanley and Hensher (2011) pointed out that, in land transport, most discussion of external costs has focused on the external costs of road use. The typical external costs that are usually considered in this context are:

- congestion
- greenhouse gas emissions
- local air pollution
- noise pollution
- the external cost of accidents
- road damage.

It is arguable that high community dependence on motor vehicles increases risks of social exclusion for many people, which suggests that there is also a social exclusion external cost of road use (Stanley et al., 2011). Energy



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insecurity is also increasingly being considered as a negative externality of fossil fuel dependence associated with motor vehicle use (Parry and Small 2005).

The most comprehensive early Australian examination of external costs of road use was probably the Bus Industry Confederation's submission to the 2001 Commonwealth Fuel Tax Inquiry, a submission whose preparation was assisted by ExternE project consultant, Paul Watkiss (BIC 2001), who was also a co-author of the important UK report on the external costs of road use (Sansom et al. (2001). That submission estimated the total external costs of road transport in Australia at \$30 billion (Table 1).

Revenues collected by governments from road users were estimated at \$11.5 billion, well below the total external costs. Stanley (2010) updated these costs and revenues and estimated the total external costs of road use at over \$40 billion, with revenues at \$16 billion, suggesting a wider total deficit than a decade ago, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: Total External Costs of Road Transport and Road-Related Revenues**

Cost/Revenue Item	2001 BIC est. (\$b)	2010 Stanley est. (\$b)
<b>COSTS</b>		
Road expenditure	4.6	14
Congestion	12.8	10
Air pollution	4.3	4 (inc. noise)
Climate change	2.4	5
Noise	1.2	(in air pollution)
Accidents	5	10
<b>Total Costs</b>	<b>30.3</b>	<b>~43</b>
<b>REVENUES</b>		
Commonwealth excise	12	
Less diesel fuel rebate	-2	
Less DAFGS	-0.7	
Registration fees	2.2	
<b>Total Revenues</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>ROAD "DEFICIT"</b>	<b>~20</b>	<b>~27</b>

Source: BIC (2001); Stanley (2010)

The main conclusions to be drawn from this brief overview of research on road user revenues and expenditures and on the wider external costs of motor vehicle use are that:

- there is now a long history of quantifying the external costs of transport
- the focus of this quantification has been on the external costs of road use
- Australian road users do not meet the full social costs of their travel choices and it is increasingly arguable that they may not even meet the direct road infrastructure/servicing costs associated with their road use this suggests that the current set of road user charges do not recover sufficient revenue from road users

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- bus is an exception to this generalisation, because of the social benefits it produces, which are not recognised in road charging regimes and which would justify lowering of road use charges, until a reformed road pricing system is in place
- road infrastructure/servicing costs tend to be dwarfed by other external costs of road use, which suggests that road use charging regimes should have a much broader focus than simply seeking to recover only road damage costs and, in Australia's case, explicitly only heavy vehicle road damage costs
- the gap between the total and marginal social (or external) costs of road use in Australia, and current road user charges, is increasing, suggesting that there is increasing urgency for reform of road pricing (in both charge levels and the charging base)
- the growing international literature on the externalities of road use, and increasing implementation of congestion pricing schemes, suggests that there is likely to be a growing incidence of such initiatives in the coming decade.

Australian road users need to pay more for their use of roads and, to improve the efficiency of resource use, the basis for setting charges should be broadened to include external costs of travel. While excise is not closely linked to congestion costs, which are the major reason why road user charges need to be reformed, increasing fuel excise is seen as a first step in the direction of a reformed pricing system. This will encourage some behaviour change in the direction that is required to lower external costs and will generate additional revenue for the Federal Government. These additional revenues, raised by increasing fuel excise, should be fully hypothecated for land transport purposes, strengthening expenditure/pricing/funding links. The ultimate aim should be abolition of fuel excise and vehicle registration charges and their replacement by variable road use charges, as proposed in Moving People.

In summary, then, a first set of steps towards implementation of road pricing reform in Australia should include:

1. immediate indexation of current fuel excise rates, such that they at least keep pace with future inflation
2. in the near future, implementing a step change in those fuel excise rates (14c/L is proposed), as an improved proxy for recovering marginal costs of road use<sup>6</sup>
3. changing the way existing toll roads are priced, to incorporate a congestion premium and to deliver more consistent network charging on tolled routes (giving clearer price signals to users, as supported recently by Infrastructure Australia, 2012)
4. imposition of tolls of heavily congested sections of untolled freeways, to ease congestion and generate revenue for improvement initiatives.
5. reducing road use charges levied on bus, in recognition of the external benefits from use until such times as a comprehensively reformed road pricing regime is implemented.

Long term, BIC sees mass, distance, location charging as the ideal solution for all modes, replacing excise and registration charges, because of the flexibility that it provides to vary charges for road use to more accurately reflect the marginal social costs of road use (for example):

- road damage that relates to vehicle mass and dimensions and to the roads where the travel takes place
- congestion that is location specific
- air pollution and noise costs that are also location specific
- the distance users travel, which will affect the quantum of their social costs.

A suitable community consultation would need a two to three year period to cover such issues as:

<sup>6</sup> Increasing fuel excise is only a short to medium term measure. It has recognised weaknesses, particularly the loose connection between fuel use and external costs. For example, electric vehicles are not charged, which is appropriate in terms of their performance with respect to some externalities (e.g. environmental benefits) but not for others (e.g. congestion, accident costs).

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- why road pricing needs to change
- the options for change
- how these options will impact on various stakeholders (where scenarios would be useful in describing expected outcomes)
- what will happen to revenue raised from the charges
- what measures might be implemented to mitigate particular adverse impacts
- how privacy will be protected if comprehensive mass, location, distance charging is adopted.

***Institutional Arrangements***

At the risk of gross over-simplification, the states currently have most (about 80%) of the responsibility for infrastructure provision but only a minor proportion (about 20%) of the available revenue. Taxation arrangements mean that the federal government is a major beneficiary of projects that improve productivity, as is the case with most transport infrastructure investment. This vertical fiscal imbalance may be good for macro-economic management but builds transactions costs into infrastructure development and delivery processes and probably gives the federal government a greater influence over infrastructure priorities than might result if decisions were more closely aligned with the incidence of investment benefits and costs, instead of being so dependent on revenue raising capacity. Greater reliance on user pays/beneficiary pays approaches, as we proposed above, could improve the alignment of revenue raising potential with benefit/cost incidence, because revenues should flow more closely to the level of government with the functional responsibility (which should be based on primary benefit/cost incidence).

If the level of government responsible for infrastructure and service delivery had revenue sources available to it that were more closely aligned with the costs involved, more efficient planning processes should be expected. Reforming transport (and more particularly road) pricing arrangements, to better reflect marginal social costs, and then using the behavioural responses that flow there from to help guide investment decision taking requires realignment of revenue flows, which could involve the establishment of state-based 'transport funds'. If prices better reflected the relevant marginal social costs, then revenues from user charges and value capture (for example) could be paid into such transport funds, at a state level, and disbursements made there from, in accord with decisions of a suitably qualified board.

The major focus would be at state level, since that best captures relevant benefits and costs, but federal priorities could be built in through an intergovernmental funding agreement that specifies, among other things, the revenue flows that the Federal Government is willing to commit to particular state-based transport funds and federal expectations in consequence of these revenue flows. A similar specification would be needed to cover state government involvement, setting out revenue commitments that the state is prepared to provide and delivery expectations associated with these funding flows.

The need to reform land transport pricing in Australia should be complemented by reforms to the way transport funding is arranged. With respect to cities, we propose the establishment of state-based land transport funds, which would receive revenue from users, value capture and government (federal and State, and possibly local in some situations) and implement priorities that have emerged from integrated land use/transport plans, that include ten year transport infrastructure plans. Tying strategic planning processes closely to pricing and funding arrangements should help drive improvements in strategic planning processes and help deliver better outcomes.

The way we see the land use/transport plans operating is summarised in Figure 3, which is taken from Professor Stanley's 2013 lecture material at ITLS, University of Sydney. Figure 4 then suggests how this might be linked to funding.

The emerging UK experience with Single Local Growth Funds (SLGFs) is in the general direction BIC is proposing but goes even further and is well worth consideration, in terms of better integrating strategic planning processes and funding flows. The SLGF provides Local Enterprise Partnerships (or LEPs), which include local business leaders, local authority leaders and other partners) with a potential national revenue stream to pursue priorities that are agreed through a strategic economic planning process. It provides for a wider span of national level infrastructure funding flows than simply transport, through 'Growth Deals' with local areas, to support activity in those areas. For example, 'City Deals' have been negotiated with core cities such as Greater Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and others). The funding pool is provided over a ten year period, for competitive bidding by local areas, with the LEPs

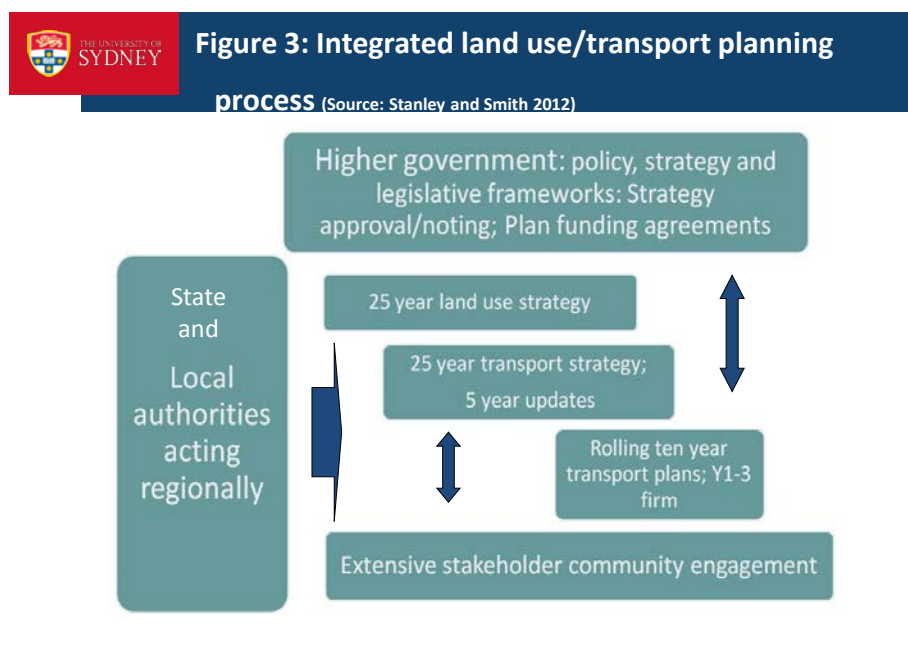
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having responsibility for spending on the basis of the strategic economic plans. As noted in HM Treasury (2013), Investing in Britain's Future (p. 68) the SLGF model provides

*... LEPs with the flexibility to tackle the barriers to growth in their areas and provide influence over the key levers of transport, skills and housing. As area's allocation from the SLGF will be available to be spent on the priorities LEPs and their partners have determined in their strategic economic plans.*

The emerging UK model takes ideas such as those embedded in Figures 3 and 4 further along the integration pathway. To that extent, they are very worthy of close consideration. They are one logical outcome to institutional design from taking a broad view of the requirements for integrated thinking and delivery.

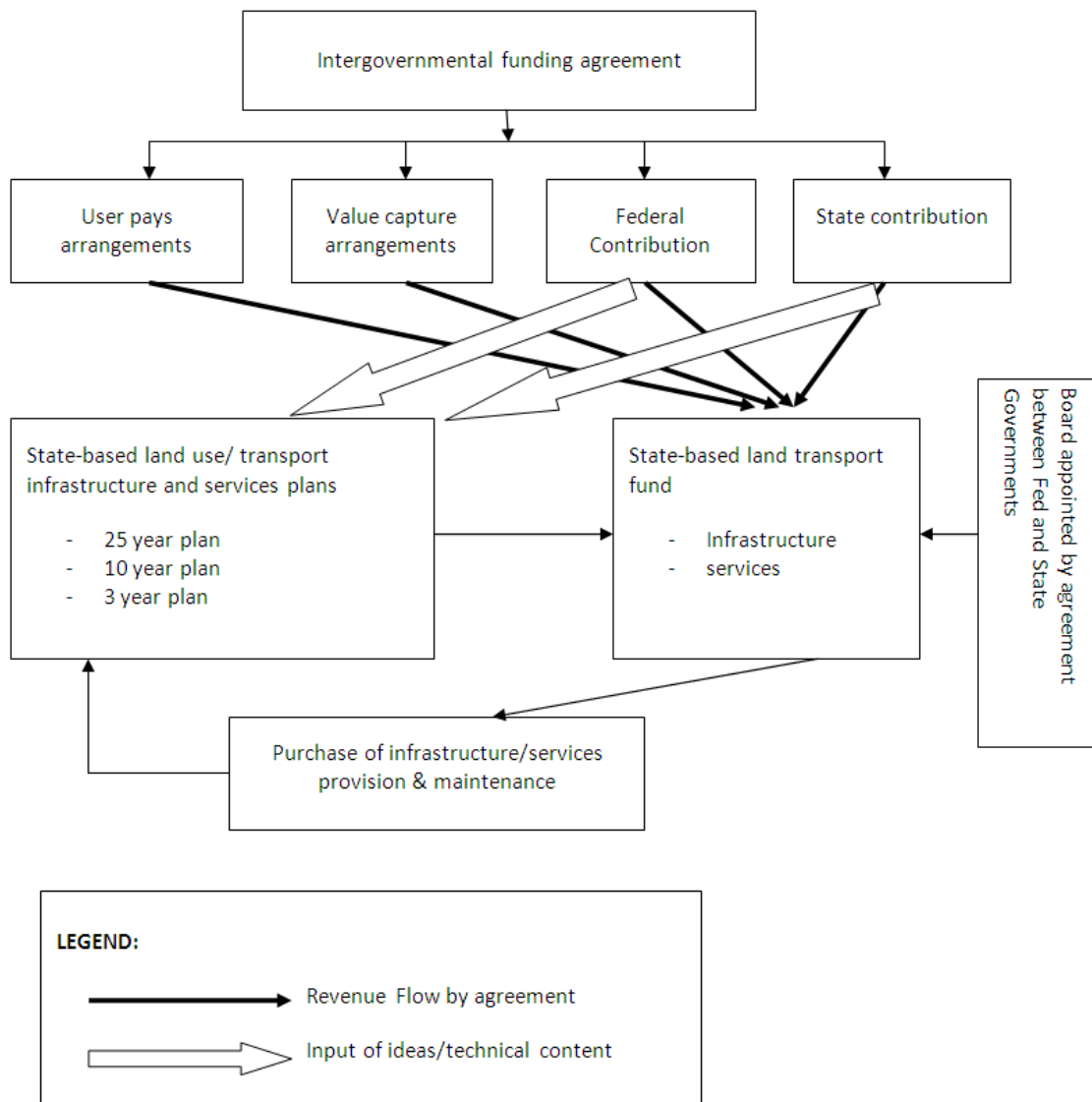
**Figure 3: Proposed Institutional Arrangements for Integrated Land Use and Transport Planning**



As noted, Figure 4 suggests how the integrated land use/transport planning process would link to a dedicated land transport fund. The major advantages of the proposed approach are that it would closely link strategic planning with infrastructure and services prioritisation and also with pricing and funding/financing. The latter effect would be helped by the land transport fund being managed by a skills-based board, accountable for delivering outcomes in line with the brief set out in the proposed intergovernmental agreement and arising from the integrated land use/transport planning processes. This could be the result of strategic economic plans if one goes down the UK pathway. The fundamental principles underlying this proposed approach are:

- aligning pricing with marginal social costs
- aligning infrastructure priorities with the results of integrated land use/transport strategic planning processes, where partnerships are a key element in developing and implementing the plan
- aligning funding with revenue streams that (partly) flow from marginal social costs and value capture mechanisms (beneficiary pays), supplemented by government funding contributions for functions seen as community service obligations, such as support for base public transport service levels to help assure social inclusion and for functions seen as delivering significant external benefits
- increased professionalism in decision-taking, guided by more open strategic planning processes
- increased transparency and accountability in planning and decision-making.

**Figure 4: Indicative Land Transport Fund**



Source: Stanley 2012