

Australia, the Capital Cities, and Sydney: Socioeconomic Change and Spatial Structures in a Globalizing Economy

1. Introduction
2. The global, Southeast-Asian Pacific,
and national context
3. Capital cities compared, the 1980s and 1990s
4. Sydney's global links and local spatial structures

1. Introduction

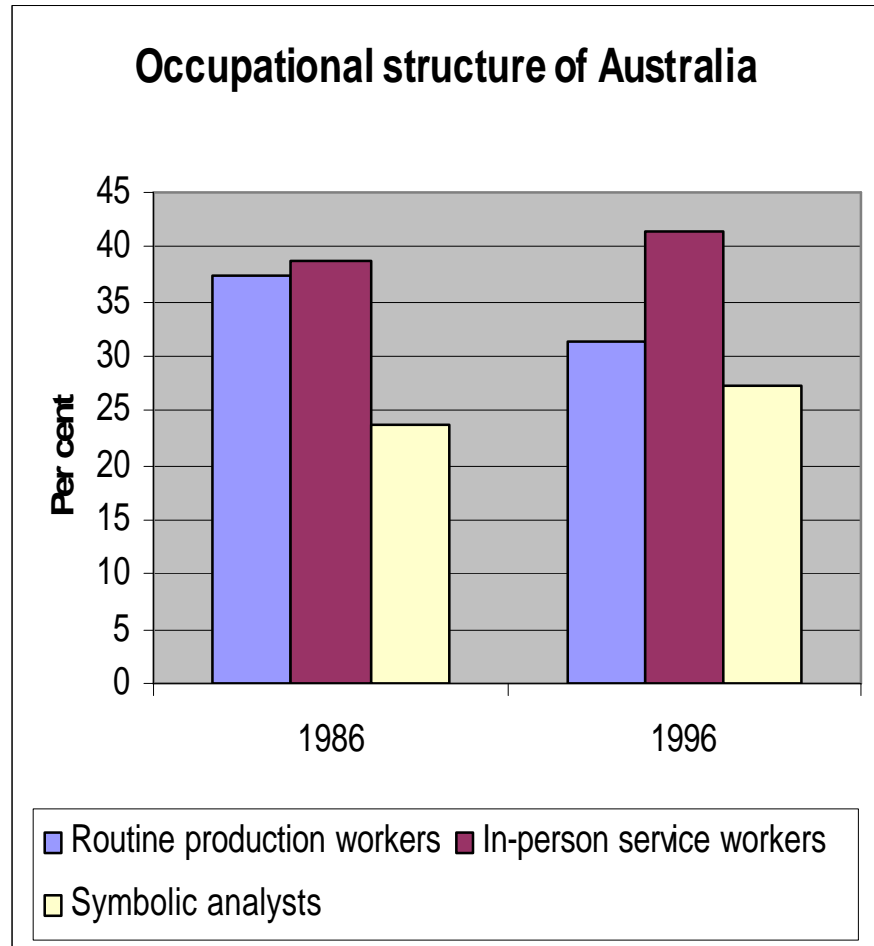
- ***Socio-cultural change***: changing household structures, aging of population, increased female labor participation, value change
- ***Technological change***: information & communication technologies in production/consumption
- ***Organizational change*** in firms:
 - internal: integration of functions, decentralization,
 - external: disintegration, global sourcing, networks
- ***Political change***: deregulation, liberalization in many markets/countries
- ***Structural economic change***:
 - industries: towards 'services', 'information'
 - occupations: towards knowledge based activities
- > ***Geographical shifts*** of economic activities:
global, national, regional/urban level
- > ***'mosaics of unevenness'*** (M. STORPER)

Structural change, six categories and
employment trends (SINGLEMAN 1978)

- *extractive industries*: agriculture, mining (-)
- *transformative industries*: manufacturing, utilities,
construction (--)
- *distributive services*: wholesale and retail trade,
transportation, storage, communication (=)
- *producer services*: insurance, banking, engineering,
business services, research&development (?) (++)
- *social services*: public administration, defense, health,
welfare, education (=)
- *personal services*: domestic, repairs, recreational,
entertainment (-/+)

Occupational categories (R. REICH 1992) and change in Australia

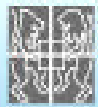
- *routine production work*: low-skill jobs, threatened by international competition and automation,
- *in-person services*: low-skill jobs, handling persons directly, or goods, *not* threatened
- *symbolic-analytic services*: high-skill jobs, individually handling information (problem identification and solving, strategic brokerage)
- Classification/data for *Australia* (O'Connor/Stimson/Baum 2001)



2. The global, Southeast-Asian Pacific, and national context

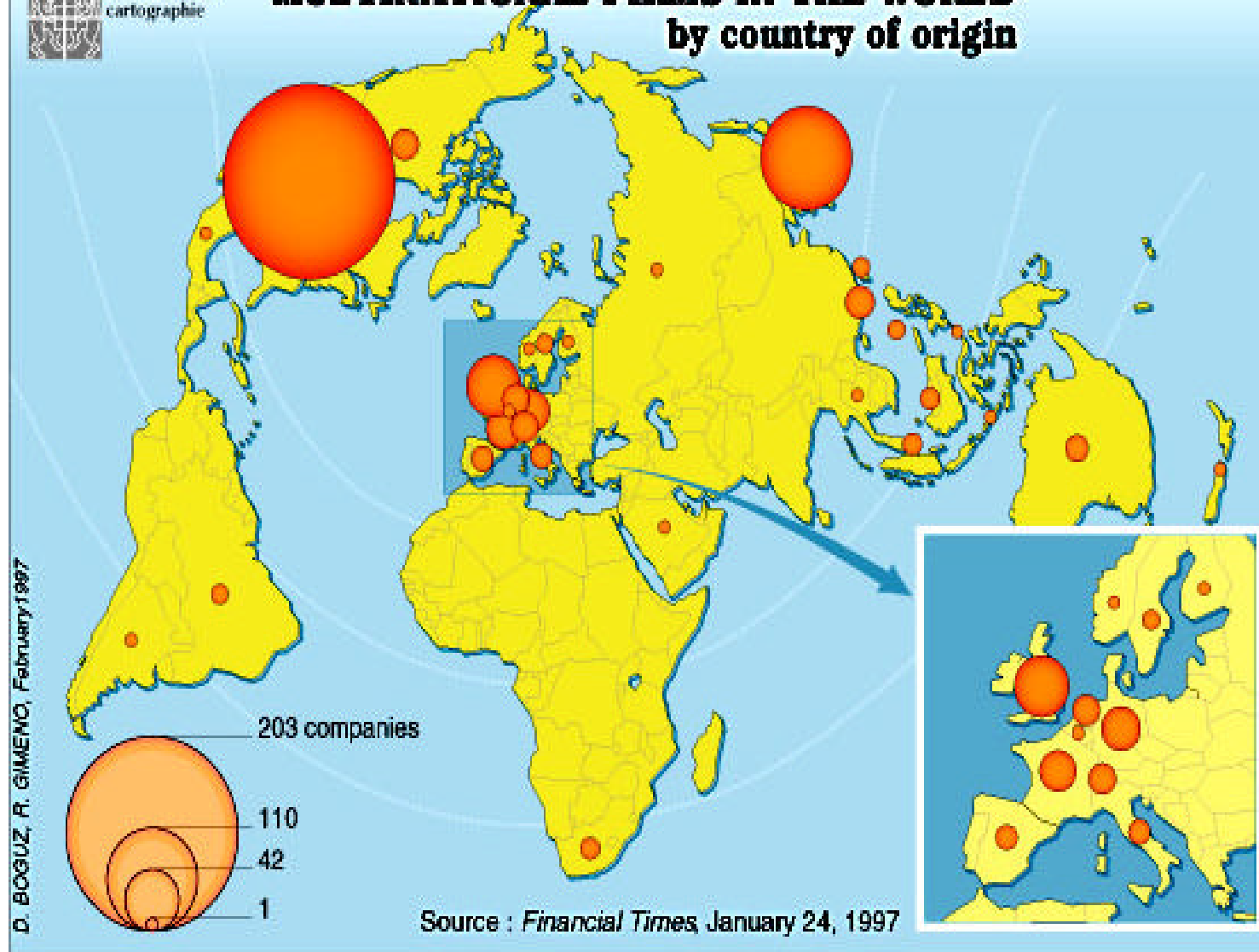
Economic globalization

- ‘*real*’ economy:
 - world trade increases faster than world GDP
 - steep increases in world FDI
 - world FDI increases faster than world exports
- exploding *financial* transactions
 - e.g. international currency: about 2 trillion US\$/ per day



SCIENCES PO
cartographie

MULTINATIONAL FIRMS IN THE WORLD by country of origin



D. BOGUZ, R. GIMENO, February 1997

Fordism and post-Fordism, globalization and localization

- ***Fordism*** (Regulation theory e.g. A. LIPETZ)
 - industrial organization: taylorism, mechanization, high integration
 - macroeconomic structure: mass production/mass consumption
 - system of rules: stable work contracts / welfare state
- ***'Golden age'*** ended around 1975, followed by slow ('unbalanced') growth, rising unemployment, globalization, external volatility
- ***Post-Fordism***
 - internal: integration, decentralization, automation
external: desintegration, outsourcing
 - quality, design, meaning / differentiation
 - flexibility / workfare state

The ,new‘ competition

- *comparative* advantage loosing importance:
natural resources, cheap labor, location (climate, geography), easy to imitate,
- *competitive* advantage (socially created):
knowledge, skill, innovation, R&D
 - M. PORTER ,diamond‘ approach: factor input conditions, national competition, demanding customers, clusters of interlinked industries
 - B.-A. LUNDVALL: learning economy (individuals, regions, nations)
 - OECD: Knowledge-based economy

Examples of continued high localization

- ***Industrial districts*** (SMEs, specialized, collaborative):
 - ‚Third Italy‘ (fashion, furniture, machine tools, ..)
 - Southern Germany (machine tools, surgical instruments), Downtown LA (textiles),
 - ***High technology districts***: Silicon Valley, Silicon Alley NYC (Internet), Sophia Antipolis (Southern France)
- ***Central business districts***: Manhattan, ‚The City‘ of London, Sydney
- ***Company towns***: Toyota City, Seattle (Boeing, Microsoft), Stuttgart (Mercedes), Ludwigshafen (BASF)

Causes: agglomeration economies, reduced transaction costs (negotiating, monitoring, trust), labor markets (specialization, pooling, tacit knowledge)

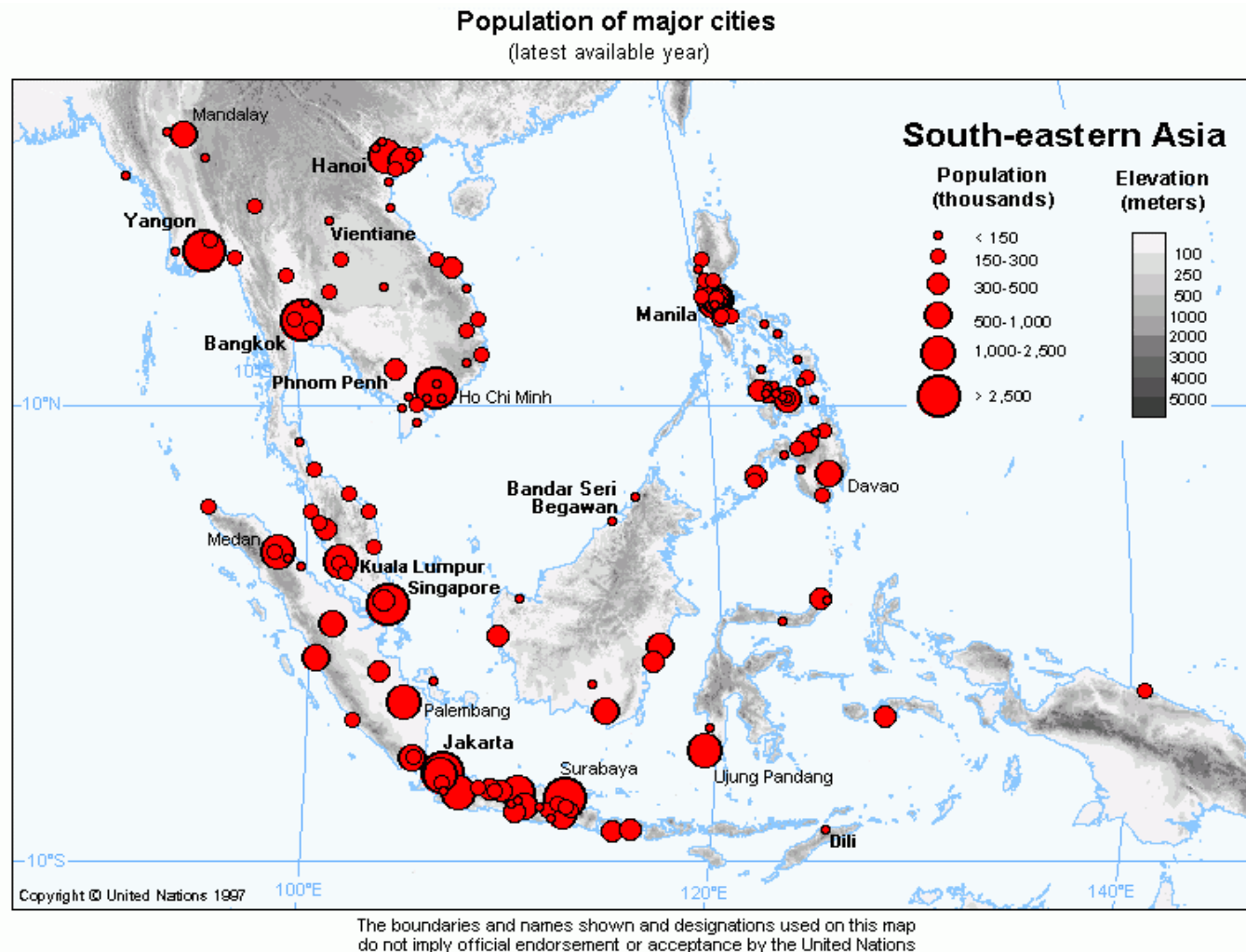
Southeast-Asia Pacific

Demography and economy of large countries in Southeast Asia

| Country | Population | | | Gross domestic product | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-------|------|-------------------|
| | in Mio. 2001 | Growth rate ¹ 2000-2005 | Den- sity per sq km | per capita 1998 (in \$) | Growth rates (in %) | | | |
| | | | | | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 ¹ |
| Australia | 19.4 | 1.0 | 2 | 20125 | 5.0 | 4.7 | 3.0 | 4.0 |
| Indonesia | 214.8 | 1.2 | 112 | 478 | 3.7 | -13.7 | 0.8 | 4.8 |
| Malaysia | 23.6 | 1.7 | 71 | 3317 | 7.5 | -7.5 | 5.8 | 8.5 |
| Philippines | 77.1 | 1.9 | 257 | 894 | 5.2 | -0.4 | 3.3 | 3.9 |
| Thailand | 63.0 | 1.1 | 123 | 1890 | -0.4 | -9.4 | 4.2 | 4.3 |

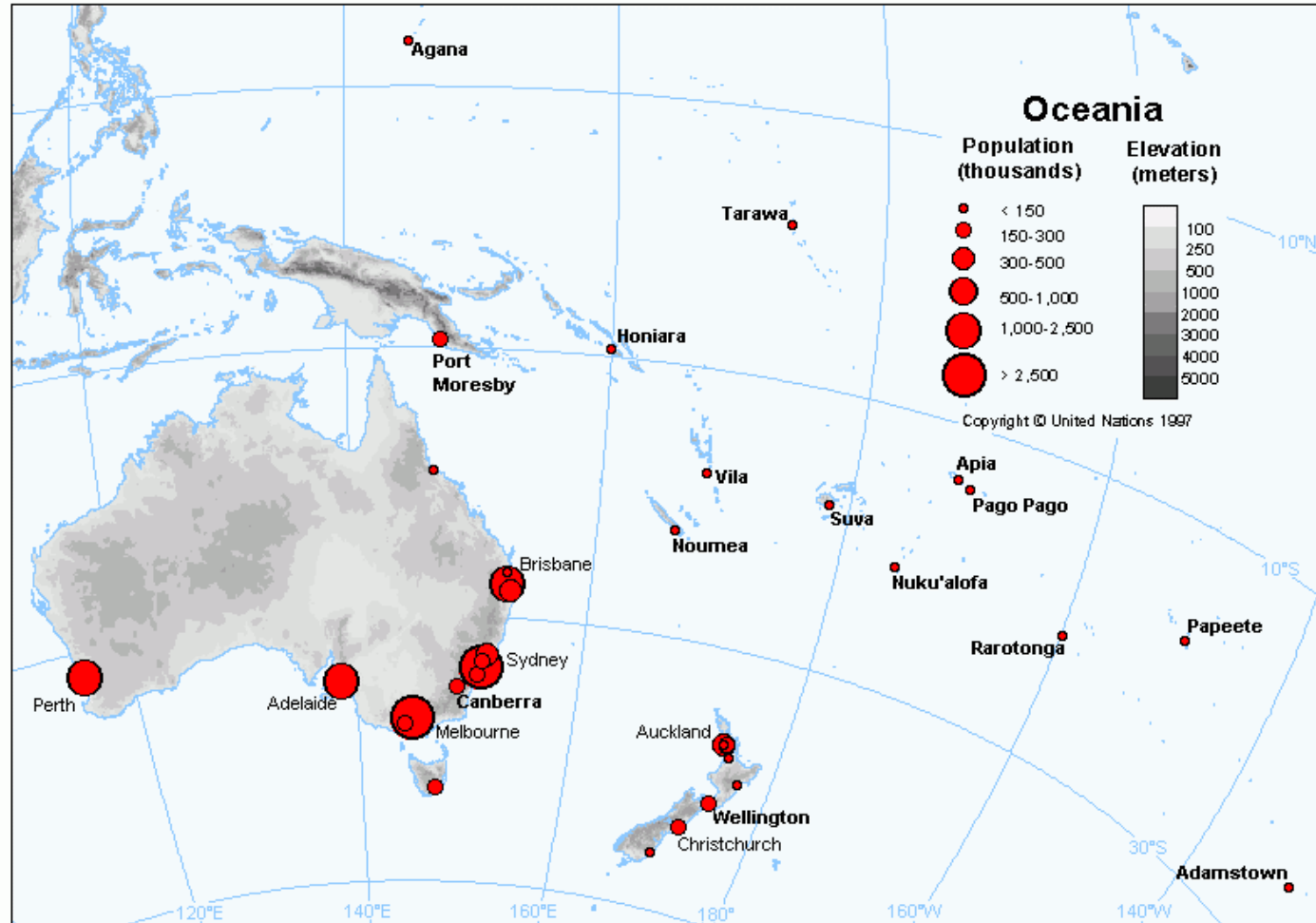
¹ estimated

Distribution of major cities in Southeast Asia



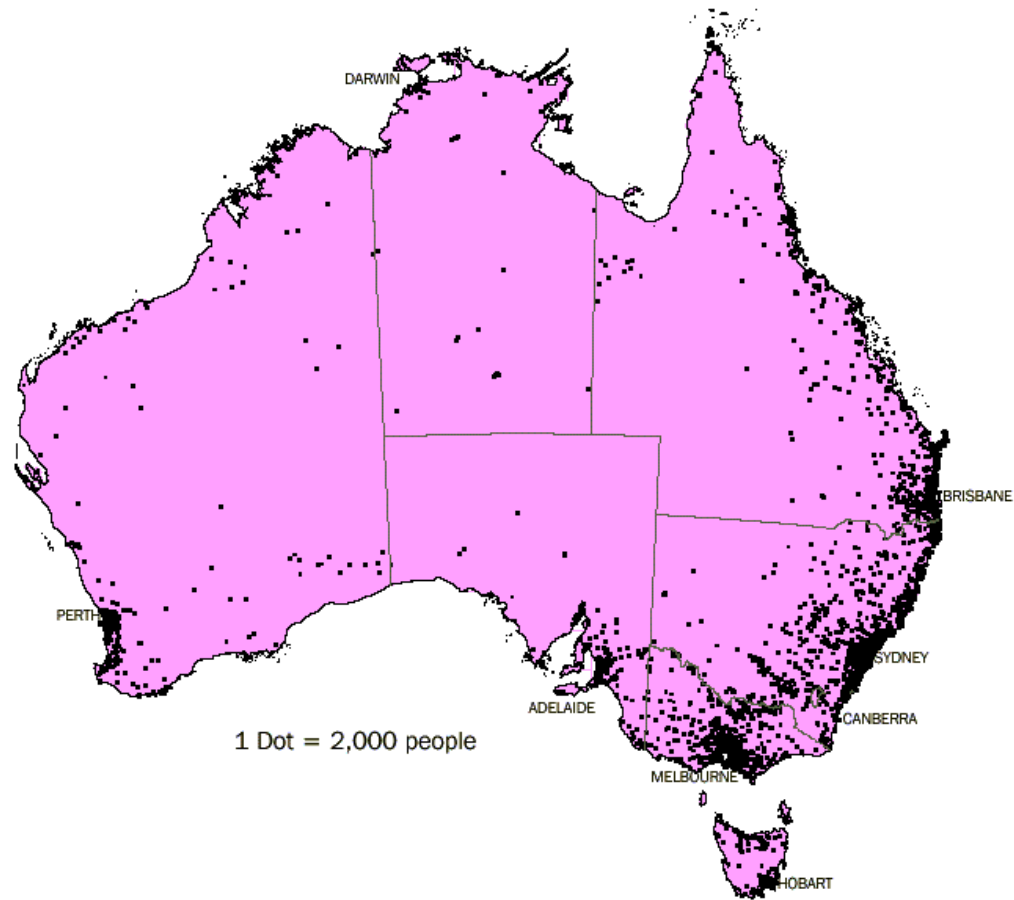
Australia's urban system

Population of major cities
(latest available year)



The boundaries and names shown and designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations

Distribution of Population (1999)



(a) Estimated resident population.

Source: *Regional Population Growth, Australia 1998-99* (3218.0).

Major population centers

| Major population center <i>Capital City Statistical Division</i> | Population 1994 | Share in % | Population 1999 | Share in % | Annual Growth Rate |
|---|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Sydney | 3769600 | 21.1 | 4041400 | 21.3 | 1.4 |
| Melbourne | 3213000 | 18.0 | 3417200 | 18.0 | 1.3 |
| Brisbane | 1455200 | 8.2 | 1601400 | 8.4 | 2.0 |
| Adelaide | 1071700 | 6.0 | 1092900 | 5.8 | 0.4 |
| Perth | 1246300 | 7.0 | 1364200 | 7.2 | 1.9 |
| Hobart | 194500 | 1.1 | 194200 | 1.0 | 0.0 |
| Darwin | 79000 | 0.4 | 88100 | 0.5 | 2.3 |
| Canberra | 301100 | 1.7 | 309900 | 1.6 | 0.6 |
| other | | | | | |
| Newcastle | 454200 | 2.5 | 479300 | 2.5 | 1.1 |
| Gold-Coast | 321900 | 1.8 | 391200 | 2.1 | 4.3 |
| Canberra-Queanbeyan | 337400 | 1.9 | 348600 | 1.8 | 0.7 |
| Wollongong | 250500 | 1.4 | 262600 | 1.4 | 1.0 |
| Sunshine Coast | 142200 | 0.8 | 172900 | 0.9 | 4.3 |
| Geelong | 151600 | 0.8 | 156100 | 0.8 | 0.6 |
| Townsville | 119200 | 0.7 | 127200 | 0.7 | 1.3 |
| Cairns | 97800 | 0.5 | 114000 | 0.6 | 3.3 |
| total | 13205200 | 74.0 | 14163199 | 74.7 | 1.5 |
| Australia | 17854700 | 100.0 | 18966800 | 100.0 | 1.2 |

Source: ABS (2001b), own calculations.

Industrial structure and change

| | Employed persons | | | Gross value added | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| | 1998/99 (1000) | Growth 1993-99 (%) | Share 1998/99 (%) | 1998/89 (bill.\$) | Growth 1993-99 (%) | Share 1998/99 (%) |
| Goods producing industries | | | | | | |
| - Agriculture | 421.8 | 3.2 | 5.0 | 19.0 | 16.6 | 3.1 |
| - Mining | 79.6 | -11.0 | 0.9 | 23.9 | 26.3 | 3.9 |
| - Manufacturing | 1082.5 | -0.9 | 12.2 | 73.8 | 9.8 | 12.5 |
| - Electricity, gas, water | 64.7 | -29.8 | 0.8 | 13.5 | 4.2 | 2.2 |
| - Construction | 634.1 | 13.6 | 7.4 | 34.3 | 32.8 | 6.0 |
| - Subtotal | 2282.7 | 1.9 | 26.3 | 164.5 | 16.5 | 27.7 |
| Service industries | | | | | | |
| - Wholesale trade | 506.7 | -0.7 | 5.9 | 31.2 | 39.0 | 5.4 |
| - Retail trade | 1298.5 | 16.5 | 15.2 | 31.1 | 25.1 | 5.6 |
| - Accommodation, restaurants | 411.3 | 18.4 | 4.8 | 13.3 | 27.3 | 2.2 |
| - Transport, storage | 408.7 | 12.7 | 4.8 | 31.4 | 24.8 | 5.6 |
| - Communication | 151.4 | 13.9 | 1.8 | 18.9 | 61.1 | 2.9 |
| - Finance, insurance | 319.9 | 0.9 | 3.5 | 37.7 | 40.4 | 6.6 |
| - Property, business services | 945.0 | 47.2 | 10.9 | 59.5 | 38.3 | 10.3 |
| - Government admin., defense | 345.3 | -6.2 | 3.9 | 22.9 | 7.1 | 4.1 |
| - Education | 603.5 | 9.3 | 7.2 | 26.5 | 7.8 | 4.5 |
| - Health, community services | 817.4 | 15.3 | 9.3 | 33.0 | 16.1 | 5.8 |
| - Cultural, recreational | 209.3 | 25.2 | 2.5 | 10.5 | 17.6 | 1.8 |
| - Personal and other | 338.7 | 16.3 | 3.8 | 12.9 | 24.1 | 2.3 |
| - Subtotal | 6355.7 | 15.2 | 73.6 | 329.3 | 27.4 | 57.0 |
| - Other ¹ | - | - | - | 90.0 | - | 15.3 |
| Total | 8638.4 | 11.4 | 100.0 | 493.8 | 23.5 | 100.0 |

Australia's industrial performance vs. OECD countries (DISR 1999)

- ***I&CT infrastructure***: Australia leading
- ***Human capital***: below average in many indicators
 - public expenditure (% of GDP) on formal education lower
 - duration of on-the-job-training shorter
- ***Production and technology***: mixed
- - good ranking for patenting activity
- - overall: R&D expenditure (% of GDP) low

Causes:

- ‚scarcity of networks of production and innovation‘
- much economic activity rather low tech, missing links
- concentration (few SMEs), MNCs, small internal market

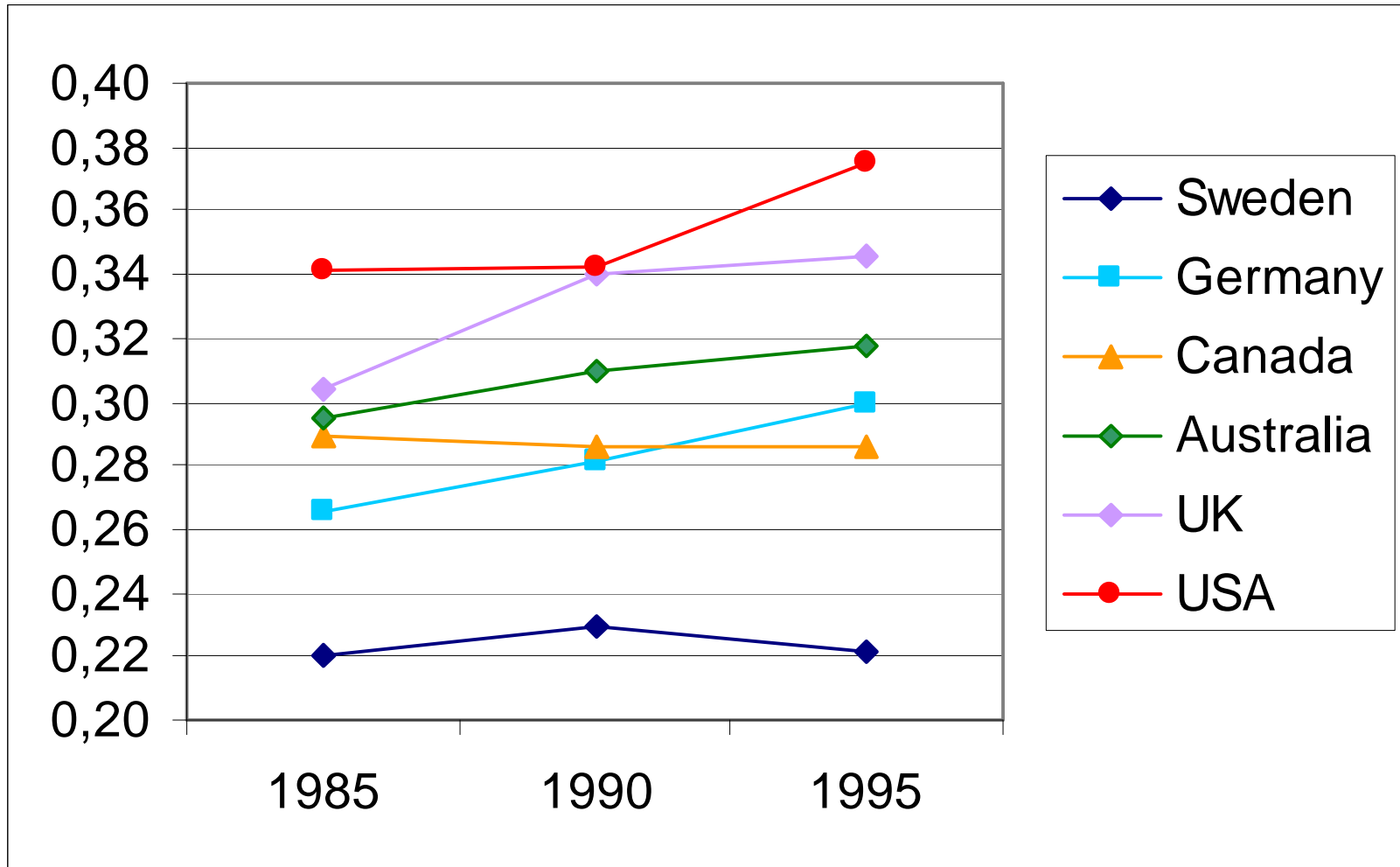
International trade and capital investment

- ***Exports***: still dominated by resource based products (minerals, fuels, agricultural products)
 - share of ETMs increasing constantly
- ***Imports***: high technology products (computers, telecom. equipment, aircrafts, motor vehicles, pharmaceuticals)
- Exports of ***services***: Australia, an advanced country ?
 - dominated by travel and transport (75%)
 - deficit in producer services
- ***Foreign direct investment*** (1990-98 cumulated, bill. US\$)
 - inflows: 55.6 (like Germany)
 - outflows: 27.6 (like Finland)
 - > deficit: 28.0 (similar to Poland, Greece, Spain)

Politics: deregulation - liberalization

- From *one of highest* protection/regulation to *lowest*
- *Tariff protection* reduced within 30 years from 35% to 5%
- *Deregulation* of financial markets since 1983
- *Liberalization* of foreign capital movements
(except: acquisition of real estate by foreigners)
- *Deregulation* of labor market
 - Labor government: *accord* with trade unions (1984-93)
(new technologies, training schemes)
 - increasing temporary and casual employment
 - late nineties: only 1/3 of workforce with standard work day/week
 - 1996 Workplace Relations Act: decentralized, workplace-based bargaining for wages/conditions

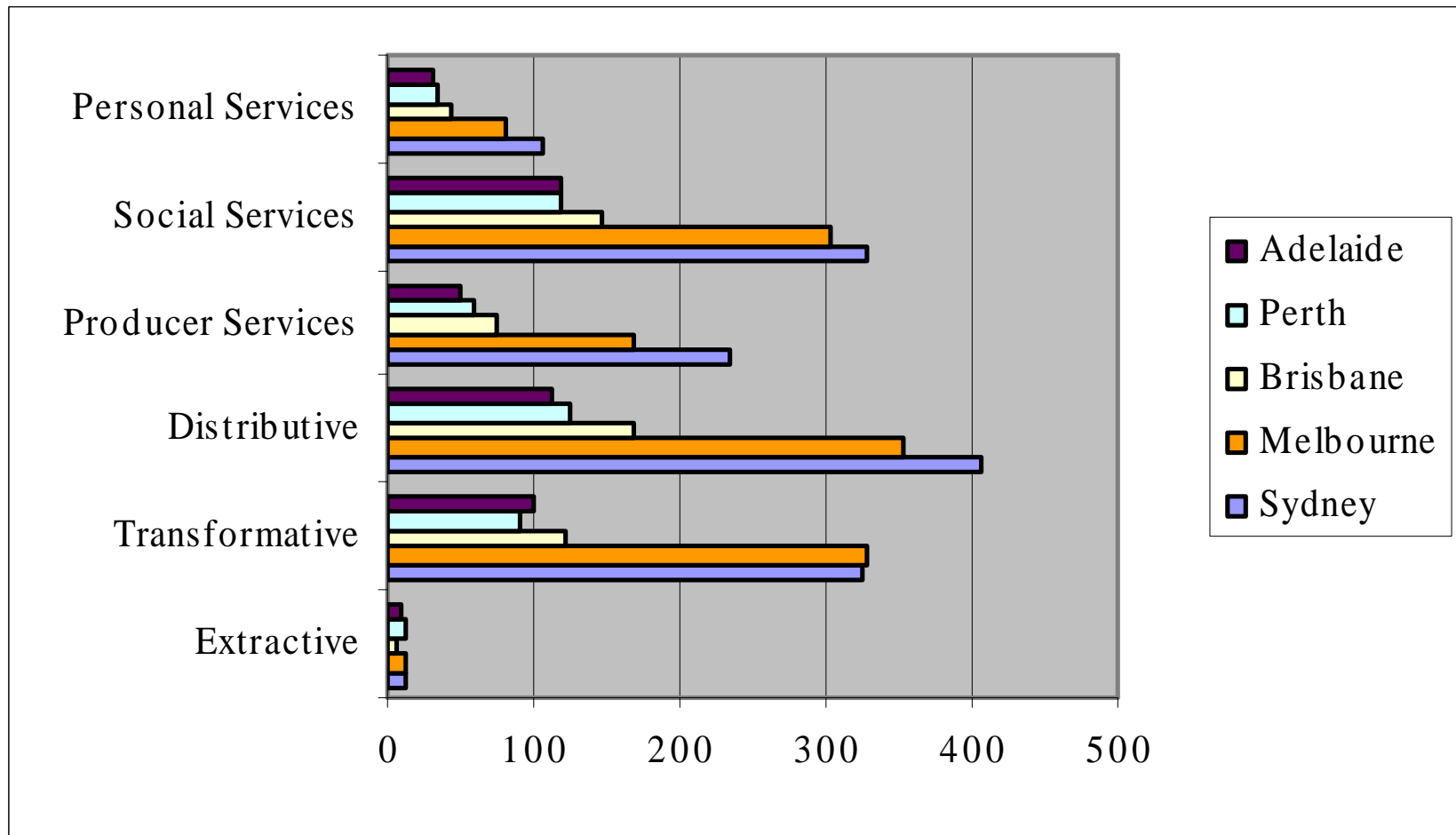
Inequality of income distribution (Gini-coefficient)



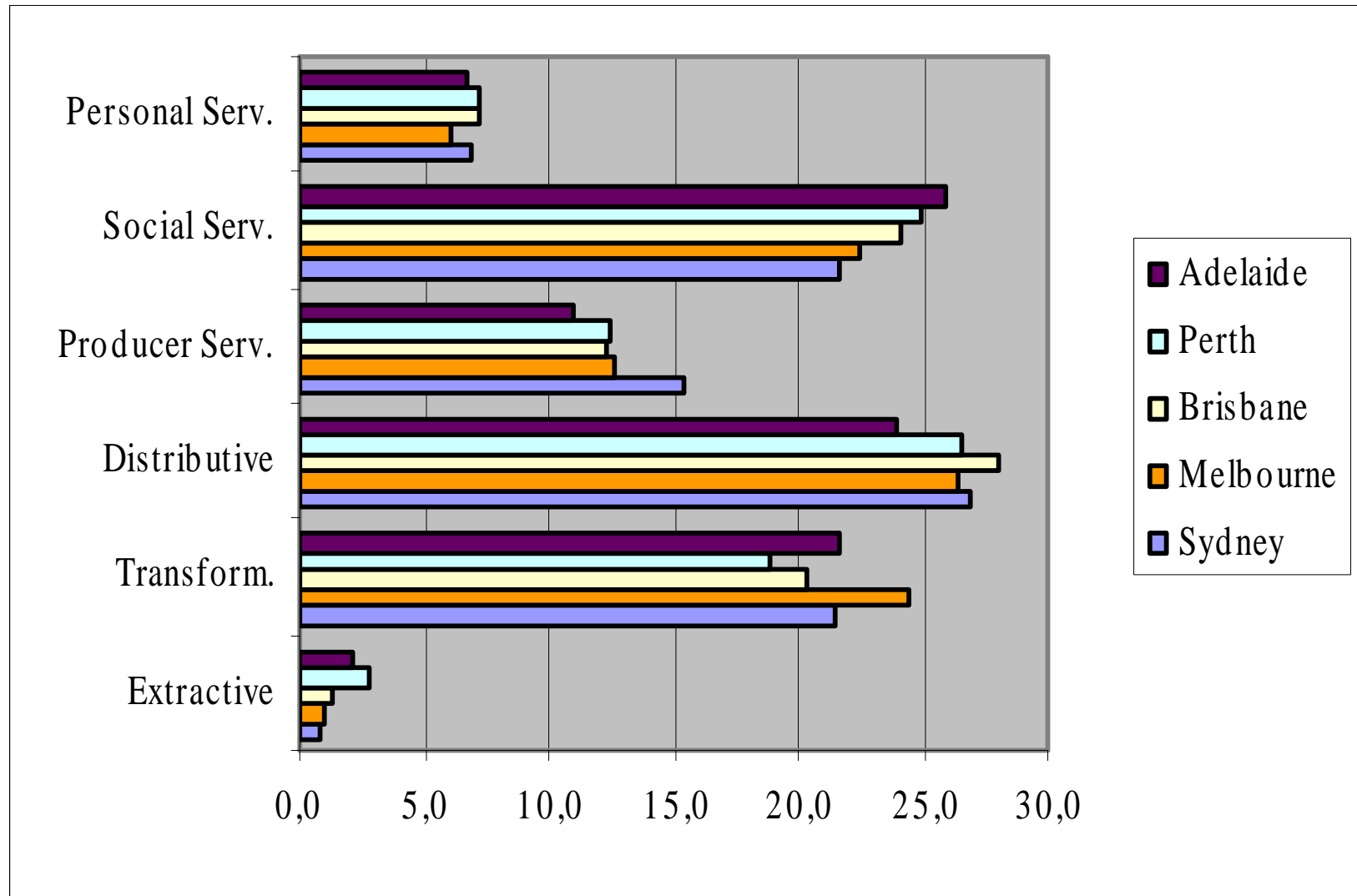
3. Capital cities compared: the 1980s

Employment in cities by industry

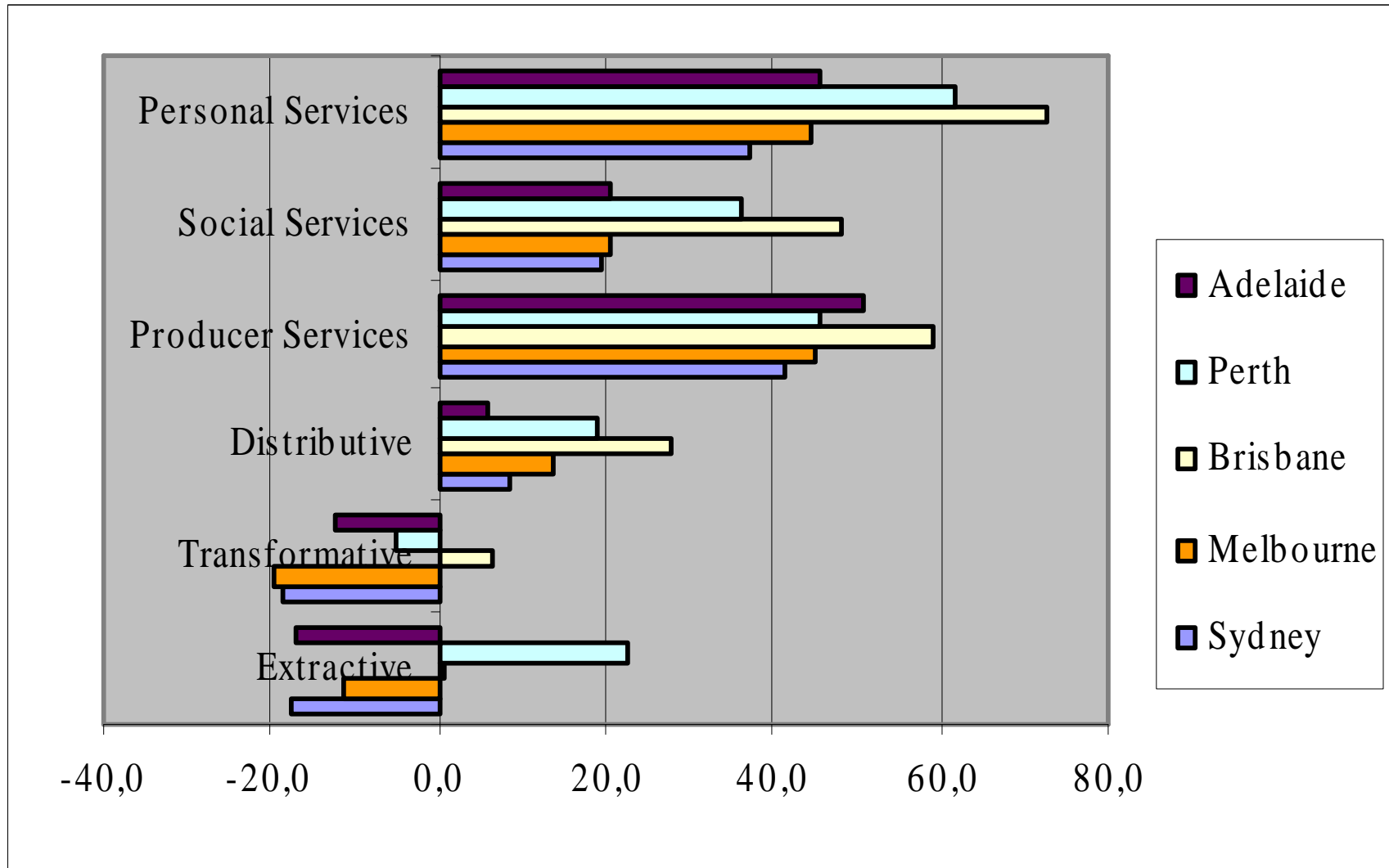
a) Absolute number in 1991 (1000)



b) Share of industries 1991 (% of total)

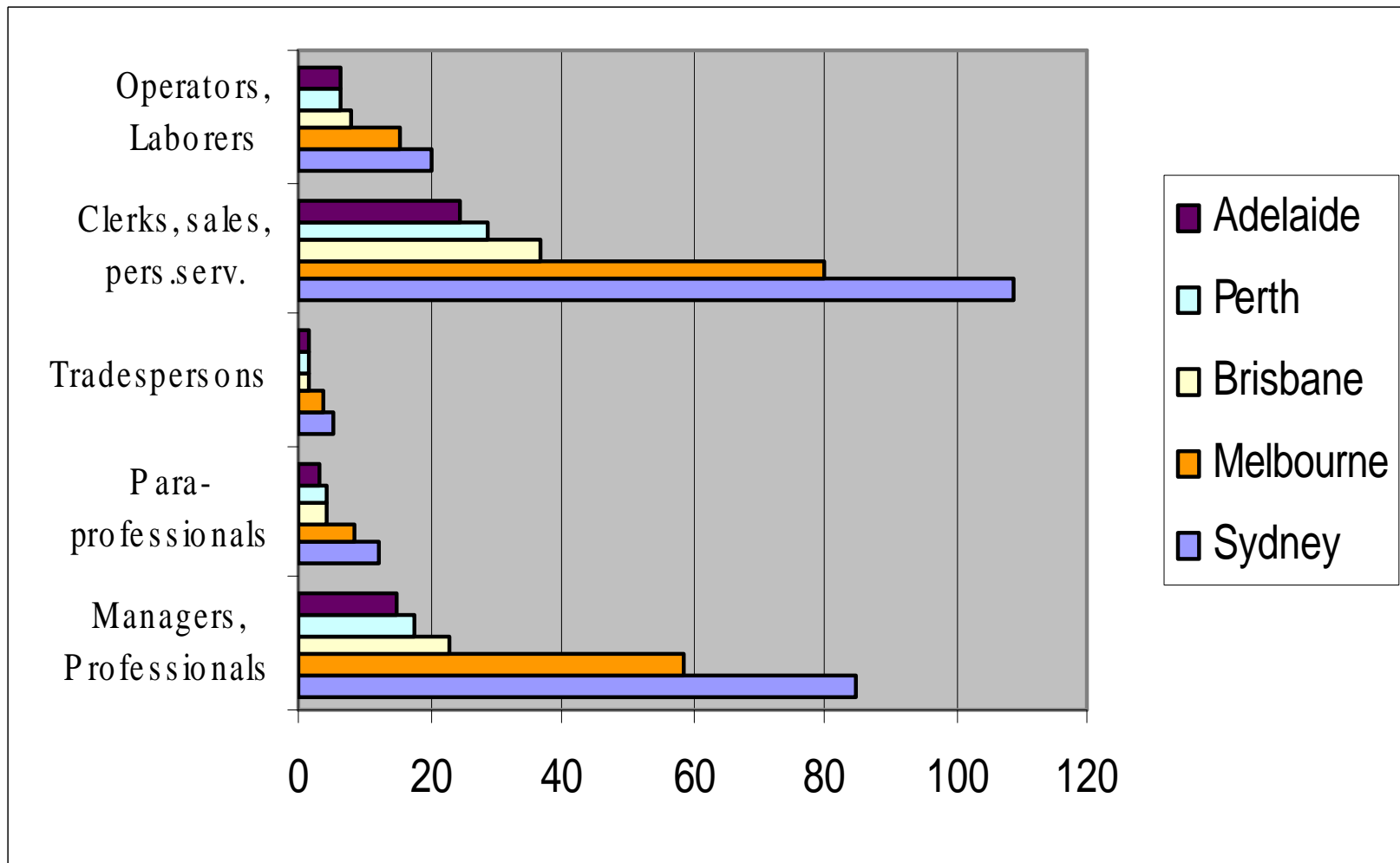


c) Change 1981-1991 (%)

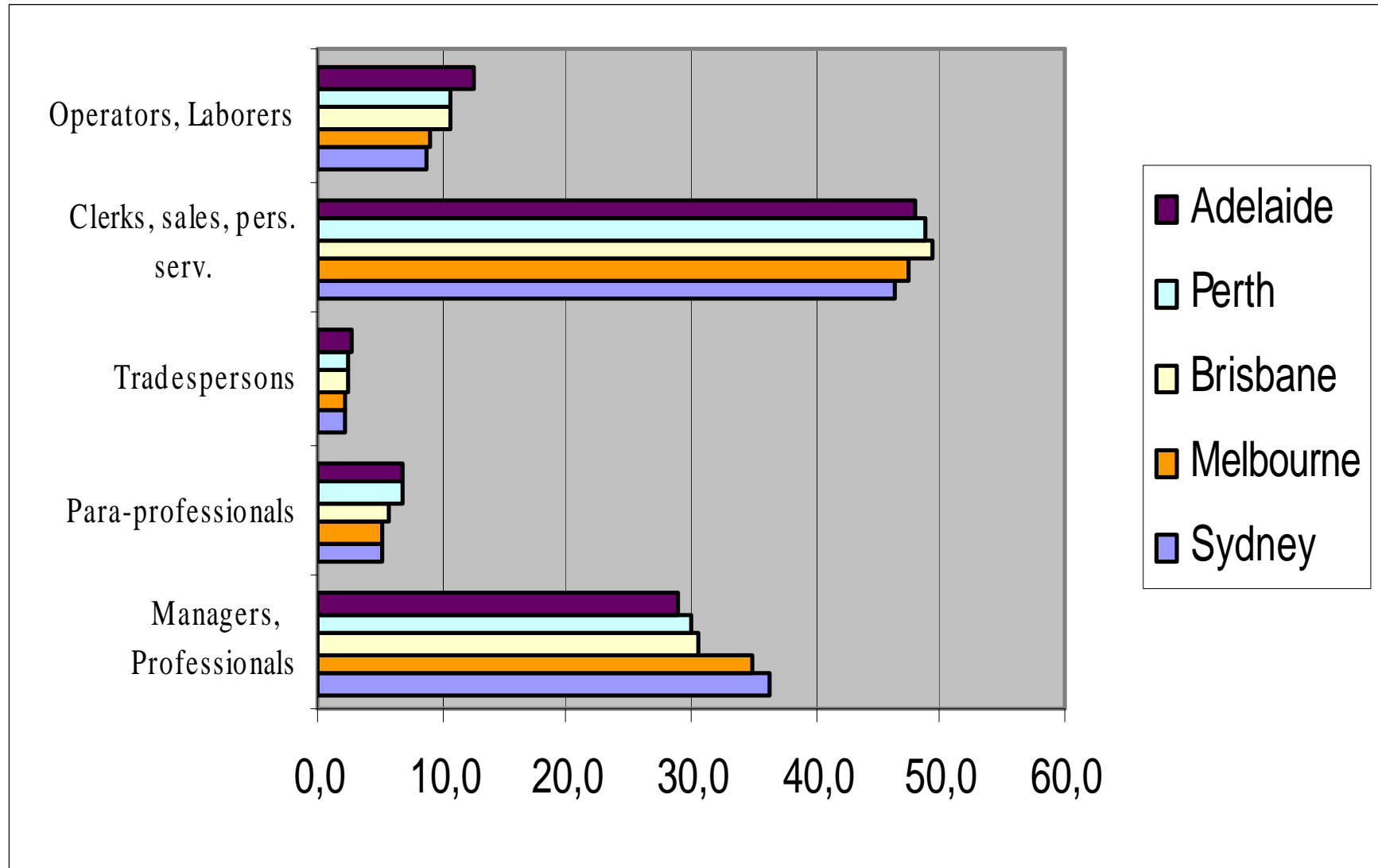


Occupational structure of producer services (1991)

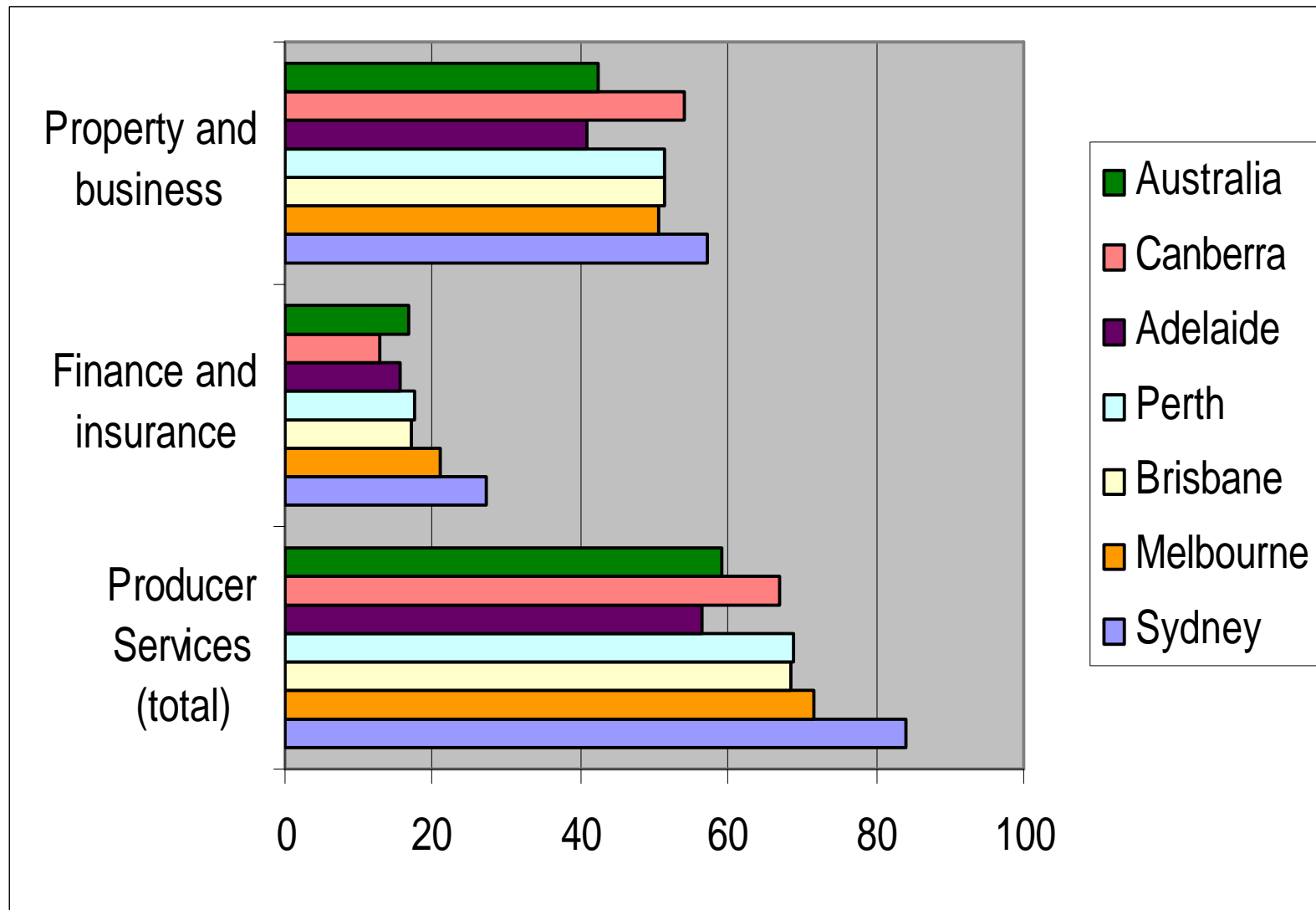
a) absolute numbers (1000)



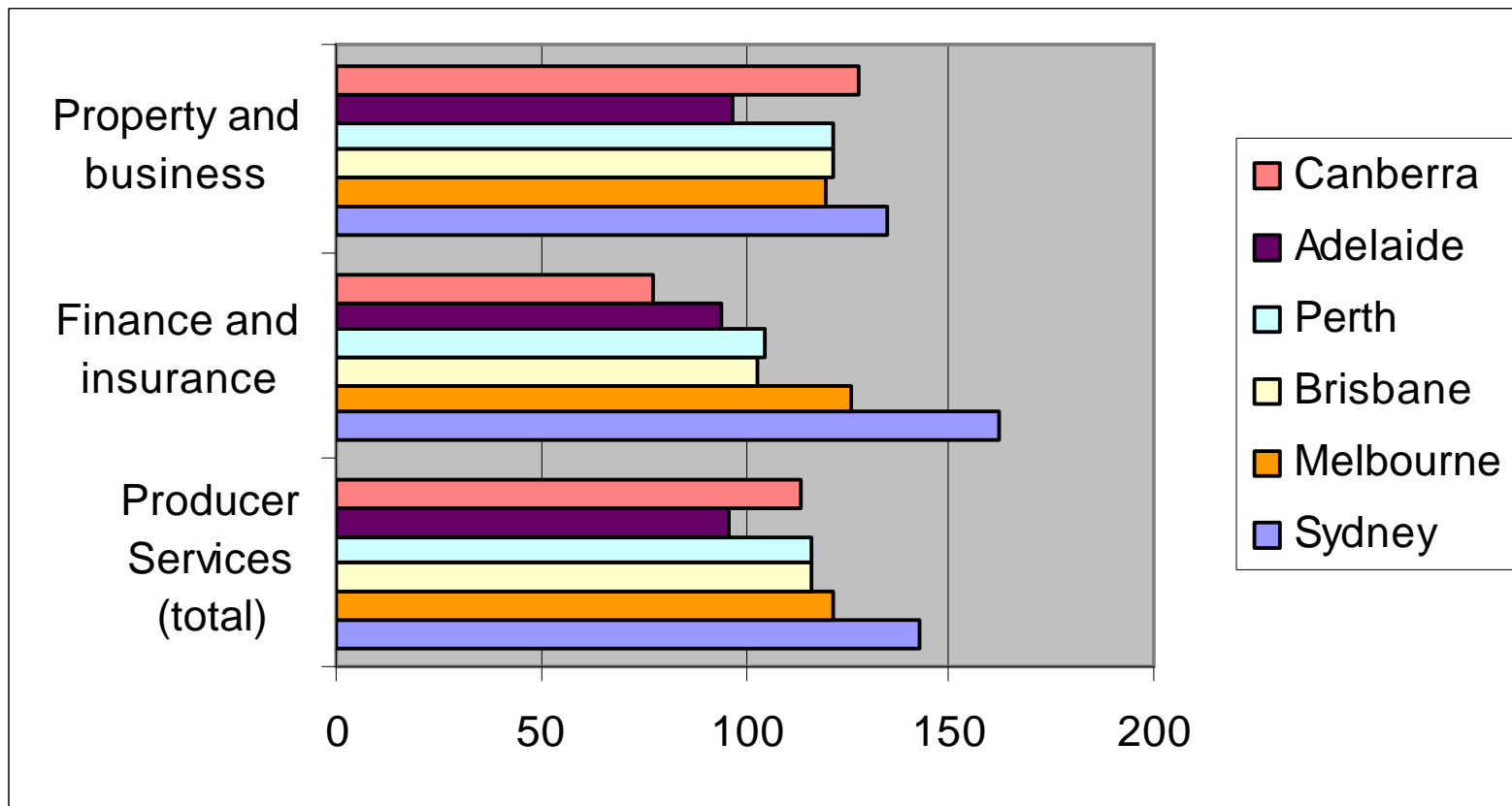
b) Share of occupations (% of total)



The 1990s: Number of service workers per 1,000 residents (1996)



Index for number of service workers per 1,000 residents (Australia=100)

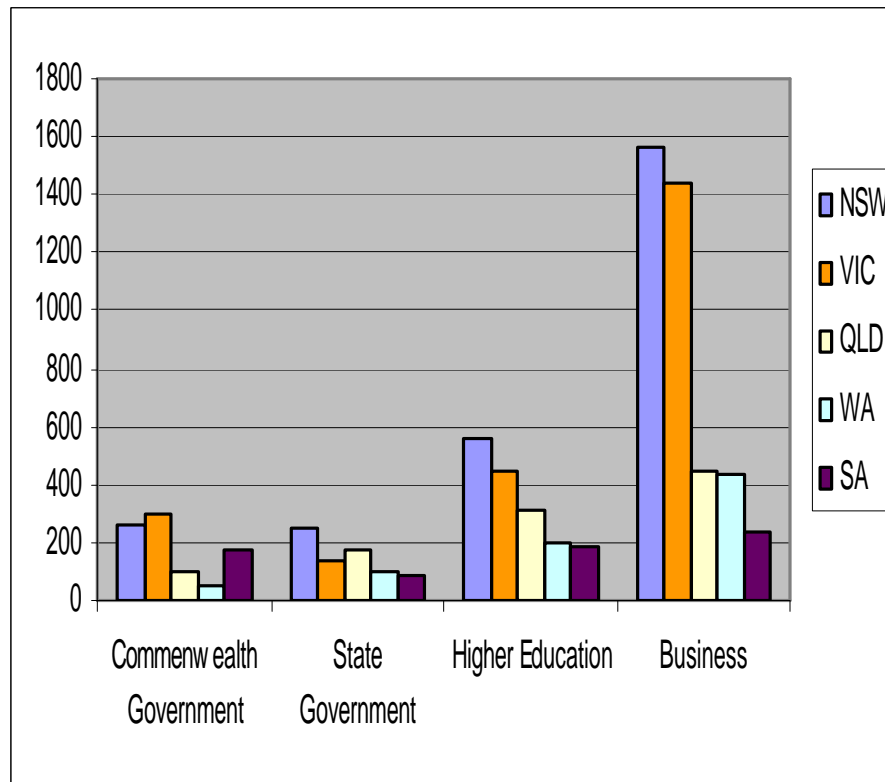


Location of headquarters and office rents in capital cities

| | No. of headquarters of top 100 firms 1995 | Estimated nominal office rents \$ per sq. Meter 1999 |
|-----------|---|--|
| Sydney | 54 | 625 |
| Melbourne | 33 | 300 |
| Brisbane | 3 | 350 |
| Adelaide | 4 | 210 |
| Perth | 4 | 425 |
| Hobart | 2 | n.a. |

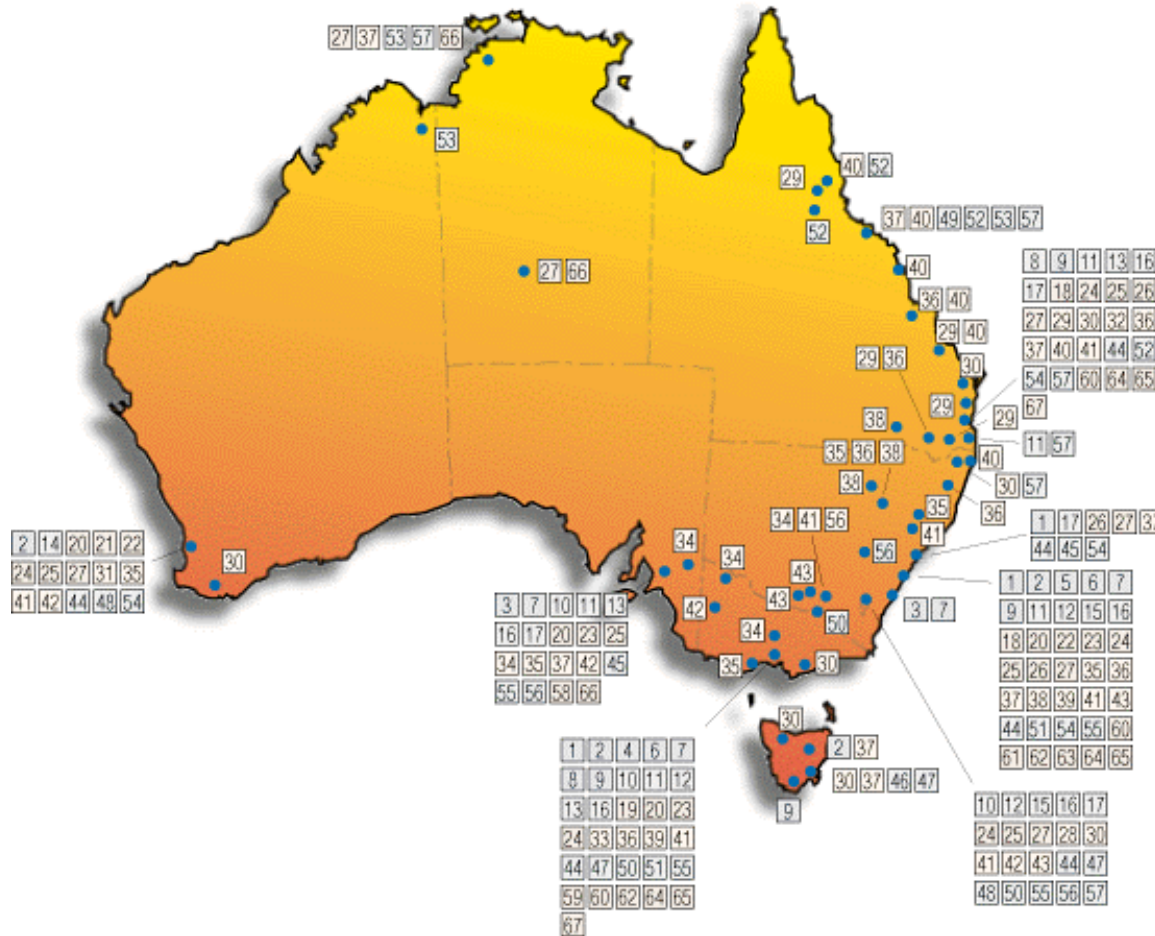
- **Headquarters:** decision making, strategic functions, highest pay levels in corporate hierarchy
- **Office rents:** composite indicator for valuation of space by firms

Distribution of research & development expenditure by funding institutions and state



- NSW/Sydney leading
- *per capita* Victoria leads in business R&D
- but: regional differences smaller than for other indicators

Locations of Cooperative Research Centers



- CRCs: joint public private financing
- potential nuclei of innovation

No. in region

- Sydney 44
- Melbourne 34
- Brisbane 28
- Canberra 20
- Adelaide 20
- Perth 16

4. Sydney's global economic links and local spatial structures

Headquarters, producer services and financial activities

| | Sydney | Mel- bourne | Bris- bane | Ade- laide | Perth | Hobart | Can- berra |
|-------------------------|--------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------|--------|---------------|
| RHQs of MNCs (%) | 61.8 | 28.5 | 3.0 | 3.9 | 2.7 | - | - |
| Freight for- warders | 240 | 157 | 60 | 51 | 55 | 6 | - |
| Foreign banks | 155 | 27 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - |
| Bank head offices | 39 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 |

- ***Financial sector:*** Australian Reserve Bank / Stock Exchange, Sydney Futures Exchange, etc.
- ***Producer Services:*** 1990 of top 20 multinationals (accounting, advertising, consulting, international real estate management), *shares (%)*:
Sydney:39, other:10, Hong Kong:32, Tokyo:13, Singapore:6

Global links

- ***Sydney's sea ports:***
 - handling 12% of Australian imports, but 40% of exports
 - 200 of the top 500 exporter firms located in Sydney
 - Sydney's harbor is 'Sydney's heart' (M. DALY)
- ***Sydney's airport:***
 - double number of internat. destinations (152) and internat. departures per week (297) than Melbourne or Brisbane in mid 90s
 - ranked by millions of passengers
 - 14 Mio. in mid 90s (24th in the world)
 - 21 Mio. in 1998 (below 30th)
- ***Telecommunication:***
 - High-speed data lines: Sydney (44%), Melbourne (33%), esp. in CBDs
 - Internat. business 'traffic': Sydney (50%), Melbourne (26%)

Culture industries

- *Definition of cultural 'products'*:
 - manufactures from traditional sectors (e.g. jewelry, clothing, furniture),
 - personalized transactions (theater, tourist services),
 - hybrid forms (music recording, film production, design, architecture).
- In spite of their *heterogeneity* in 'substance, appearance and sectoral origins' they all '*function* at least in part as personal ornaments, modes of social display, aestheticized objects, forms of entertainment and distraction, or sources of information and self-awareness'.
- Even in cities like Los Angeles culture industries are now (measured by employment) *larger than high tech industries*.

Allen J. Scott (1997)

Culture industries in Sydney

- ***Media and publishing industries***

% of national employment

Sydney 36

Melbourne 19

Brisbane 9

- ***Film and television*** production:

- 56% (of national output) in NSW, plus

- 450 film groups

- Fox studio

- post-production, special effects, animation firms

- ***Problems:***

many small firms, high competition, access to and cost of high-bandwidth telecommunication

Inventory of World Cities

| World city type | Score | Cities * |
|-----------------|-------|---|
| Alpha | | |
| | 12 | London, Paris, New York, Tokyo |
| | 10 | Chicago, Frankfurt, Hong Kong , Los Angeles, Milan, Singapore |
| Beta | | |
| | 9 | San Francisco, Sydney , Toronto, Zurich |
| | 8 | Brussels, Madrid, Mexico City, Sao Paulo |
| | 7 | Moscow, Seoul |
| Gamma | | |
| | 6 | Amsterdam, Boston, Caracas, Dallas, Düsseldorf, Geneva, Jakarta , Johannesburg, Melbourne , Osaka , Prague, Santiago, Taipei , Washington |
| | 5 | Bangkok , Beijing , Montreal, Rome, Stockholm, Warsaw |
| | 4 | Atlanta, Barcelona, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Budapest, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Istanbul, Kuala Lumpur , Manila , Miami, Munich, Shanghai |

Source: Beaverstock et al. (1999)

*) Cities of the Asian Pacific region marked in boldface.

World cities compared

- ***GaWC Inventory:***
 - for 122 cities *scores* (from 1-3) calculated in:
 - accountancy, advertising, law, banking
 - according to no. of ‘significant presences’ of large firms
 - > ***55 world cities*** remain, ranked between 4 and 12 each
 - > Sydney is a beta level world city
- ***Economist Intelligence Unit (late 90s):***

Organization and management structures of 8‘000 MNCs in Asia Pacific, *Regional offices* and *Regional Headquarters*

| | <i>% of total locations in</i> |
|-----------|--------------------------------|
| Hong Kong | 35 |
| Singapore | 30 |
| Sydney | 5 |

Classifying communities of metro areas / Sydney

- **Comparison** of 'opportunity' and 'vulnerability' of single communities (LGAs/SLAs) *within* cities using socio-economic indicators -> also comparison *between* cities
 - **Cluster analysis:**
 - classifying of (*most similar*) SLAs into (*most different*) **clusters** (groups) by hierarchical clustering procedure
 - Problem: no single optimal solution, determination of correct **number** of clusters
 - **Discriminant analysis:** improving results, determination of
 - 'best' variables (discriminating most between clusters)
 - summary discriminant scores for single communities
 - mean discriminant score for clusters
- > method for **reducing complexity of multidimensional data set**, result: meaningful clusters of objects (SLAs)

Results (BAUM, STIMSON, O'CONNOR, MULLINS, REX 1999)

- **Data base:**
 - 25 indicators for socio-economic condition of *resident population* in communities, 3 types of settlements: small regional towns, large regional cities and towns, large (mega) metropolitan areas
- for *mega metro areas*: 240 SLAs clustered into *nine* clusters

Clusters of metro regions

(No., mean discriminant scores, labels)

| Opportunity clusters | | | | Mar- ginal cluster | Vulnerability clusters | | | |
|--|--|--|---|--|--|---|---|---|
| 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 8 |
| 193.73 | 90.81 | 45.62 | 41.87 | -11.82 | -40.89 | -114.72 | -164.24 | -187.53 |
| Global econ- omy/ high income cluster | Subur- ban expan- sion cluster | Transi- tion- al/gentri- fying cluster | Public sector mode- rate oppor- tunity. Cluster | Subur- ban mar- ginal cluster | Outer metro vulner- able growth cluster | Subur- ban social disad- vantage cluster | Peri- urban extrac- tive in- dustry based cluster | Ex- tremely vulner- able old manu- factur- ing cluster |

| Variables | Opportunity clusters | | | | Margin cluster. | Vulnerability clusters | | | | Metro average |
|---|----------------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | | 5 | 7 | 4 | 9 | |
| | Global economy | Suburban exp | Trans./G entrifying | Public sector | Suburb. marg. | Outer vulner.: | Sub. urb. disadv. | Extrac-tive ind. | Extremely vuln. | |
| highest (positive) value lowest (negative) value | | | | | | | | | | |
| Structural economic change | | | | | | | | | | |
| % Change in employment | 13.7 | 90.5 | 11.1 | -0.8 | 26.4 | 88.9 | 9.0 | 30.4 | -4.7 | 22.9 |
| Point change in unemployment | -0.6 | -0.1 | -1.5 | 1.8 | 0.8 | -2.9 | 0.6 | -1.5 | 4.4 | 0.2 |
| Point change high income hhs. | 12.9 | 13.5 | 11.2 | 6.6 | 9.9 | 9.0 | 6.6 | 7.4 | 5.5 | 9.4 |
| Population Change | | | | | | | | | | |
| Residential turnover | 40.4 | 43.3 | 46.2 | 36.0 | 37.3 | 49.5 | 37.7 | 41.6 | 35.9 | 40.3 |
| Occupational characteristics | | | | | | | | | | |
| % Symbolic analysts | 43.3 | 22.2 | 38.7 | 38.4 | 23.0 | 18.3 | 20.3 | 33.3 | 20.8 | 29.3 |
| % In-person service workers | 37.5 | 44.5 | 38.7 | 38.2 | 43.2 | 42.5 | 43.6 | 33.0 | 42.7 | 40.8 |
| % Routine production workers | 19.0 | 32.6 | 22.6 | 22.5 | 33.4 | 37.9 | 35.9 | 33.5 | 36.2 | 29.5 |
| Industry employment char. | | | | | | | | | | |
| % Extractive | 1.2 | 6.3 | 1.4 | 1.7 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 27.8 | 2.1 | 3.9 |
| % Transformative | 13.7 | 22.5 | 13.7 | 15.1 | 23.5 | 22.9 | 23.5 | 16.2 | 26.1 | 19.5 |
| % Distributive | 27.6 | 29.9 | 28.0 | 26.6 | 21.1 | 29.7 | 30.1 | 22.8 | 30.3 | 28.9 |
| % Producer services | 24.7 | 12.1 | 19.6 | 17.0 | 12.8 | 11.3 | 11.3 | 6.4 | 11.4 | 15.1 |
| % Social services | 23.2 | 19.6 | 26.0 | 29.5 | 19.9 | 18.2 | 21.2 | 17.9 | 20.3 | 22.2 |
| Human capital | | | | | | | | | | |
| % Persons with a degree | 28.7 | 8.7 | 23.5 | 22.1 | 9.5 | 5.4 | 7.2 | 5.6 | 9.2 | 14.6 |
| % Persons with basic educ. | 12.3 | 25.3 | 11.8 | 11.5 | 20.3 | 27.5 | 22.7 | 28.0 | 15.9 | 18.2 |
| Income | | | | | | | | | | |
| % High income households | 40.7 | 31.6 | 26.2 | 31.7 | 26.0 | 16.1 | 18.9 | 14.2 | 15.6 | 25.9 |
| % Low income households | 12.8 | 11.4 | 21.5 | 15.9 | 15.9 | 22.0 | 22.7 | 23.7 | 25.7 | 18.6 |
| Unemploy./labor f. partic. | | | | | | | | | | |
| % Youth unemployed | 10.1 | 13.8 | 18.4 | 14.8 | 15.2 | 25.0 | 21.1 | 18.1 | 24.6 | 17.2 |
| % Unemployed | 4.7 | 6.7 | 9.5 | 7.0 | 8.1 | 13.9 | 11.4 | 9.2 | 14.5 | 9.0 |
| Female labor participation | 55.7 | 58.9 | 52.6 | 54.3 | 53.5 | 45.0 | 47.2 | 47.4 | 42.4 | 51.6 |
| Socioeconomic disadvant. | | | | | | | | | | |
| % Single parent families | 7.9 | 9.0 | 9.5 | 9.0 | 9.9 | 12.0 | 11.2 | 8.1 | 11.3 | 9.7 |
| % Recent arrivals | 4.7 | 2.0 | 6.0 | 3.5 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 0.7 | 3.8 | 3.4 |
| % Aged 65 + | 14.0 | 6.0 | 12.9 | 13.8 | 9.9 | 14.1 | 13.5 | 12.2 | 17.4 | 12.6 |
| Housing (% of households) | | | | | | | | | | |
| In public rental households | 1.6 | 3.3 | 5.9 | 5.6 | 4.1 | 6.4 | 7.4 | 2.4 | 6.8 | 4.9 |
| With rental hardship | 13.7 | 16.6 | 25.0 | 19.8 | 21.3 | 25.3 | 29.6 | 26.3 | 28.8 | 22.7 |
| With mortgage hardship | 1.9 | 2.3 | 3.5 | 2.6 | 3.2 | 5.4 | 4.7 | 8.2 | 6.4 | 3.8 |

Clusters of SLAs in inner Sydney region



Clusters of SLAs in outer Sydney region

