

Dispelling development charge myths and misconceptions



Municipal Finance Officers'
Association of Ontario

8/23/2013

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A few myths and misconceptions about municipal development charges (DCs) have held up the pressing matter of DC reform in Ontario. This is a companion piece to MFOA's report "Frozen in time: Development charges legislation still underfunding infrastructure 16 years and counting." That report articulates the case for reforming the *Development Charges Act, 1997*. In this background, we unpack the following misconceptions:

1. DCs are 'high' because municipalities provide services at "gold plated" service levels that were not provided to existing residents.
2. Residential DCs can increase the price of some kinds of housing.
3. Non-residential and industrial DCs can make municipalities less economically competitive than they would be without DCs.
4. Some growth-related capital should be paid for through property taxes.

1. Development Charges are 'high' because municipalities provide services at 'gold plated' service levels that were not provided to existing residents.

DC critics suggest that municipalities use DCs to increase service levels in newly developed areas of a community. They suggest that these 'gold plated' service standards are higher than those provided in established communities. The *Development Charges Act, 1997* ("DCA 1997" or "the Act") prevents gold plating.¹ If 'gold plating' is suspected, a DC bylaw can be appealed to the Ontario Municipal Board. The ten year average service standard articulated in the 1997 Act depresses, not inflates, service levels.

DC increases are driven by general cost escalation, elimination of conditional grants for infrastructure and new provincial legislation and regulations.

General cost escalation

Significant capital cost increases have forced many municipalities to update their DC rates early to ensure that they are collecting enough revenue to fund the works identified in their DC background studies. Table 1 compares the capital costs for works identified in the Town of Oakville's 2003 DC background study with the identical works in the 2008 study. The table shows an average cost increase of 67% with a number of projects showing over 100% cost increases within the five year period.²

Table 1: Comparison of Roads Costs for Projects Carried Forward from 2004 to 2009 DC Study: Town of Oakville

¹ References to DC legislation in this report include Ontario Regulation 82/98.

² Table 1 also highlights the inability of the development charge index to reflect this steep level of price escalation. As demonstrated by column six, 19% of the cost escalation from 2003-2008 is not captured by the index.

Project	Gross Cost 31/12/2008 \$Mil	Gross Cost 31/12/2003 \$Mil	Nominal Change %	Adjusted for DC Index 40.2% \$Mil	Change Beyond Index %
Chartwell Road	\$ 5.058	\$ 2.553	98%	\$ 3.579	41%
Cornwall Road	\$ 5.299	\$ 2.483	113%	\$ 3.480	52%
Eighth Line	\$ 1.208	\$ 0.550	119%	\$ 0.771	57%
Eighth Line	\$ 1.123	\$ 0.588	91%	\$ 0.824	36%
Fourth Line	\$ 3.439	\$ 2.682	28%	\$ 3.760	-9%
Fourth Line	\$ 28.164	\$ 12.942	118%	\$ 18.144	55%
Great Lakes Boulevard	\$ 2.957	\$ 1.897	56%	\$ 2.660	11%
Iroquois Shore Road	\$ 2.230	\$ 0.883	152%	\$ 1.238	80%
Iroquois Shore Road Exten. (Part A mid- town)	\$ 6.153	\$ 2.760	123%	\$ 3.870	59%
Lakeshore Road West	\$ 4.693	\$ 2.287	105%	\$ 3.207	46%
Lower Base Line	\$ 9.430	\$ 8.706	8%	\$ 12.206	-23%
North Service Road	\$ 1.345	\$ 0.759	77%	\$ 1.065	26%
North Service Road (Part C - Mid-Town)	\$ 4.202	\$ 2.041	106%	\$ 2.861	47%
Sixth Line	\$ 1.336	\$ 0.563	137%	\$ 0.789	69%
Sixth Line	\$ 1.211	\$ 0.506	139%	\$ 0.709	71%
South Service Road	\$ 1.643	\$ 0.754	118%	\$ 1.057	55%
South Service Road	\$ 5.185	\$ 2.261	129%	\$ 3.169	64%
South Service Road	\$ 13.790	\$ 5.805	138%	\$ 8.137	69%
South Service Road (Part B - Mid-Town)	\$ 5.379	\$ 2.660	102%	\$ 3.728	44%
Speers Road	\$ 0.474	\$ 0.517	-8%	\$ 0.724	-34%
Third Line	\$ 0.491	\$ 0.401	22%	\$ 0.563	-13%
Third Line	\$ 0.503	\$ 0.401	25%	\$ 0.563	-11%
Third Line	\$ 0.411	\$ 0.226	82%	\$ 0.317	30%
Third Line	\$ 3.661	\$ 3.567	3%	\$ 5.001	-27%
Wycroft Road	\$ 11.937	\$ 4.531	163%	\$ 6.352	88%
Wycroft Road	\$ 52.863	\$ 41.494	27%	\$ 58.171	-9%

Wyecroft Road	\$ 3.538	\$ 1.835	93%	\$ 2.572	38%
TOTAL	\$ 177.725	\$ 106.652	67%	\$ 149.516	19%

Source: Hemson Consulting. Comparison of roads costs for projects carried forward from 2004 to 2009 development charge study: Town of Oakville. Unpublished raw data. Toronto, ON

Elimination of conditional grants

There is a broad consensus that “upward pressure on development charge revenue is a result of fiscal pressure that municipalities face due to reduction in funding from senior levels of government” (Amborski, 2011, p. 5). Conditional grants reduced DCs because the 1997 Act requires that they be applied to the total, gross cost of a project, lowering the project costs to which DCs would apply. The loss of growth-related capital grants meant that more of the cost of growth-related works is paid for by DCs.

New legislation and regulations

New provincial legislation and regulations can increase municipalities’ infrastructure costs by mandating the provision of new services or increasing the standards at which existing services are provided. Because most municipal services involve infrastructure, the ‘cost of compliance’ to new requirements often manifests in the cost of infrastructure. The infrastructure costs associated with new legislation and regulations will continue to be reflected in DC rates.³

The DC regulations recognize that, in many cases, the service levels prescribed in the 1997 DCA fall below the service levels required in other legislation.

“If the average level of service determined is lower than the standard level of service required under another Act, the standard level of service required under the other Act may be deemed for the purposes of paragraph 4 of subsection 5 (1) of the Act to be the average level of service” (O. Reg. 82/98, s. 4 (3)).

In other words, there is one instance in which the 1997 DCA permits municipalities to exceed the backward looking average service standard for calculating DCs: where other provincial legislation requires a higher service standard to be met.

2. Residential DCs can increase the price of some kinds of housing.

Some critics suggest that DCs make newly built housing (new builds) less affordable. The premise of this argument is that DCs are fully captured in the price of new builds and thus paid by new home buyers. The extent to which developers can pass on DCs depends on a number of factors that vary over time, place and housing market (Nowlan, 2004; Huffman, Nelson, Smith, & Stegman, 1988; Ihlanfeldt & Shaughnessy, 2004;

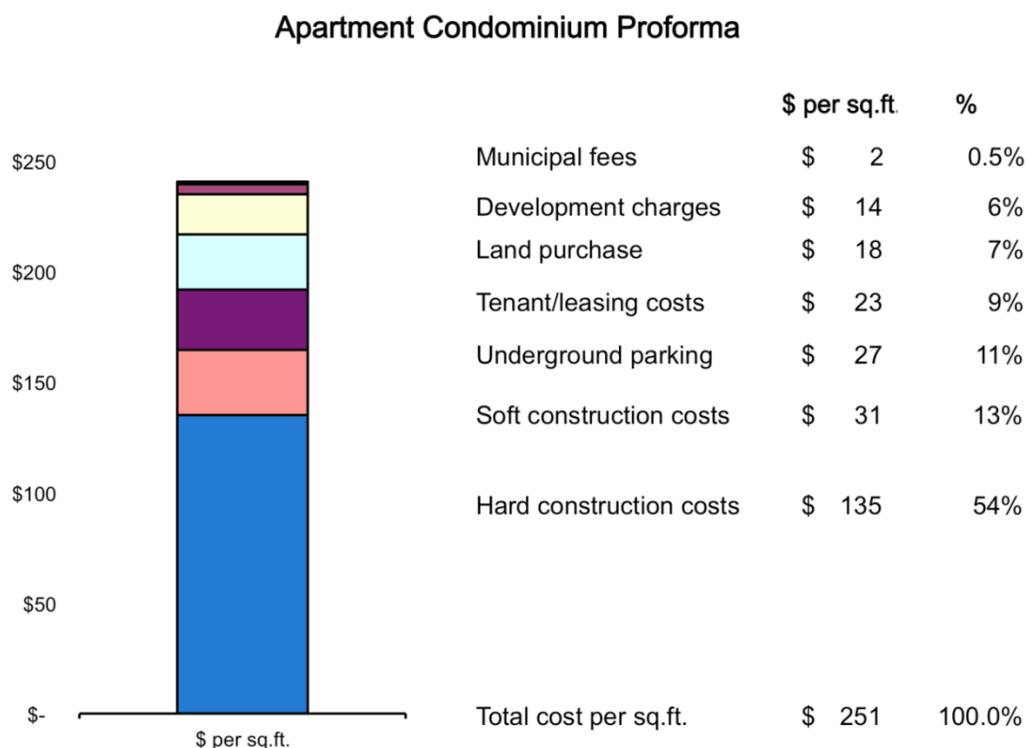
³ See pages 8-9 in the MFOA report ‘Frozen in time: Development charges legislation underfunding infrastructure 16 years and counting’ for specific examples of provincial policies that increase municipal infrastructure costs.

Skaburskis, 1990). Many studies question the assumption that 100% of a DC will be passed on to 100% of unit purchasers.

Many factors influence the cost of housing. Land costs (supply and demand), construction costs, housing demand by type, real interest rates, availability of mortgage financing, speculation, income levels, consumer confidence, government regulations and broader economic conditions can all be significant drivers of house prices. One study that looked at a broad range of factors driving housing costs concluded that “development charges represent a minor component of overall housing costs when compared to land and construction costs” (Watson & Associates, 2004, p. 12).

Graph 1 is a pro forma of development costs for apartments in York Region. DCs represent approximately 6% of the total cost per square foot.

Graph 1: Apartment condominium pro forma



Source: Royal LePage Advisors

Source: "Making It Happen! The York Region Centres and Corridors Study" prepared by The Planning Partnership for the Region of York, November, 2002.

Other critics argue that significant fluctuations in DC rates have affordability implications. Table 2 shows the variation in house prices and DC amounts in certain high growth areas over fourteen years. As a percentage of new house prices, DCs increased 0.2% in Ottawa, 2.1% in Durham, 4% in Waterloo, 1.8% in York, 1.8% in Peel and 2.2% in Halton from 1996 to 2010.

Table 2: Summary of development charges as a percentage of housing price for a single detached executive two-storey (in current dollars)

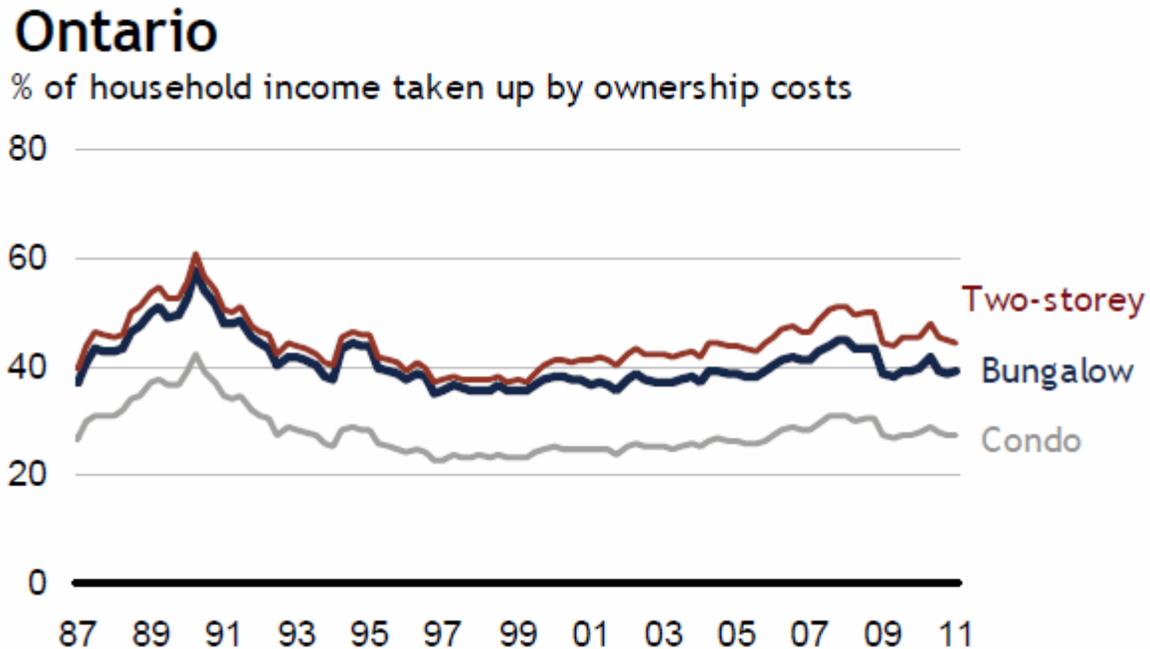
Municipality/ Year	Housing Price	Development Charge	DC as a % of Housing Price
Ottawa (Nepean) - 1996	230,000	11,477	5.0%
Ottawa (Nepean) - 1999	240,000	12,265	5.1%
Ottawa (Nepean) - 2004	339,000	18,941	5.6%
Ottawa (Nepean) - 2007	380,000	20,985	5.5%
Ottawa (Nepean) - 2010	440,000	22,693	5.2%
Durham (Whitby) - 1996	185,000	12,739	6.9%

Durham (Whitby) - 1999	215,000	15,917	7.4%
Durham (Whitby) - 2004	275,000	20,921	7.6%
Durham (Whitby) - 2007	281,611	23,737	8.4%
Durham (Whitby) - 2010	341,200	30,873	9.0%
Waterloo (Cambridge)- 1996	183,000	6,610	3.6%
Waterloo (Cambridge)- 1999	198,000	10,179	5.1%
Waterloo (Cambridge)- 2004	274,500	14,286	5.2%
Waterloo (Cambridge)- 2007	349,020	15,343	4.4%
Waterloo (Cambridge)- 2010	313,669	23,890	7.6%
York (Vaughan) - 1996	280,000	19,631	7.0%
York (Vaughan) - 1999	320,000	18,886	5.9%
York (Vaughan) - 2004	416,000	23,213	5.6%
York (Vaughan) - 2007	470,500	27,010	5.7%
York (Vaughan) - 2010	475,000	41,749	8.8%
Peel (Mississauga) - 1996	220,000	12,078	5.5%
Peel (Mississauga) - 1999	270,000	15,776	5.8%
Peel (Mississauga) - 2004	415,645	20,411	4.9%
Peel (Mississauga) - 2007	396,200	25,728	6.5%
Peel (Mississauga) - 2010	465,000	34,164	7.3%
Halton (Oakville) - 1996	248,000	14,889	6.0%
Halton (Oakville) - 1999	275,000	14,431	5.2%
Halton (Oakville) - 2004	350,000	21,652	6.2%
Halton (Oakville) - 2007	425,000	25,127	5.9%
Halton (Oakville) - 2010	614,250	50,495	8.2%

Source: Development Charges Subgroup. (2007). Report to the PMFSDR Infrastructure Table. Toronto, ON: Government of Ontario; municipal development charge bylaws; "Housing Now" CMA reports from Canada Housing and Mortgage Corporation.

Graph 2 illustrates the percentage of household income allocated to home ownership, one measure of housing affordability, in Ontario as of May 2011. Notwithstanding recessionary spikes in the early 1990s and late 2000s, the cost of home ownership as a percentage of income has remained relatively stable, averaging approximately 35% of household income from 1987 to 2011. Under the 1989 DCA's full cost recovery regime for DCs, house prices, as a percentage of income, fell almost 20% across three housing types.

Graph 2: Affordability of housing in Ontario



Source: RBC Economics & Research, Housing Trends and Affordability, May 2011

Many factors influence the affordability of new housing; it is not productive to isolate DC rates from the larger context of the economy, housing market and other influences on affordability.

Further, suggesting that DCs make new builds less affordable obscures homebuyers' choice about which kind of housing to purchase, which municipality to live in as well as the financial impact of not levying DCs on other municipal tax and fee rates charged to all tax and ratepayers.

3. Non-residential and industrial DCs can make municipalities less economically competitive than they would be without DCs.

Critics argue that DCs impact economic development prospects directly and indirectly. According to critics, DCs on employment lands, (non-residential DCs) impact location decisions for employers and, consequently, relatively high DCs may put a municipality at a competitive disadvantage to attract non-residential development. The indirect impact builds on the premise that residential DCs increase house prices. Critics argue that higher house prices lead to a lack of affordable housing for people in lower paying

jobs. They argue that employers may not want to settle in areas where they do not have access to an appropriate labour force (Amborski, 2011).⁴

Regarding the argument that DCs impact economic development directly, a large body of literature is devoted to investigating how firms make locational and business expansion decisions. While DCs could be one of many factors influencing a firm's decision to locate or expand in a particular community, it does not appear that current non-residential DCs are a barrier to economic development.

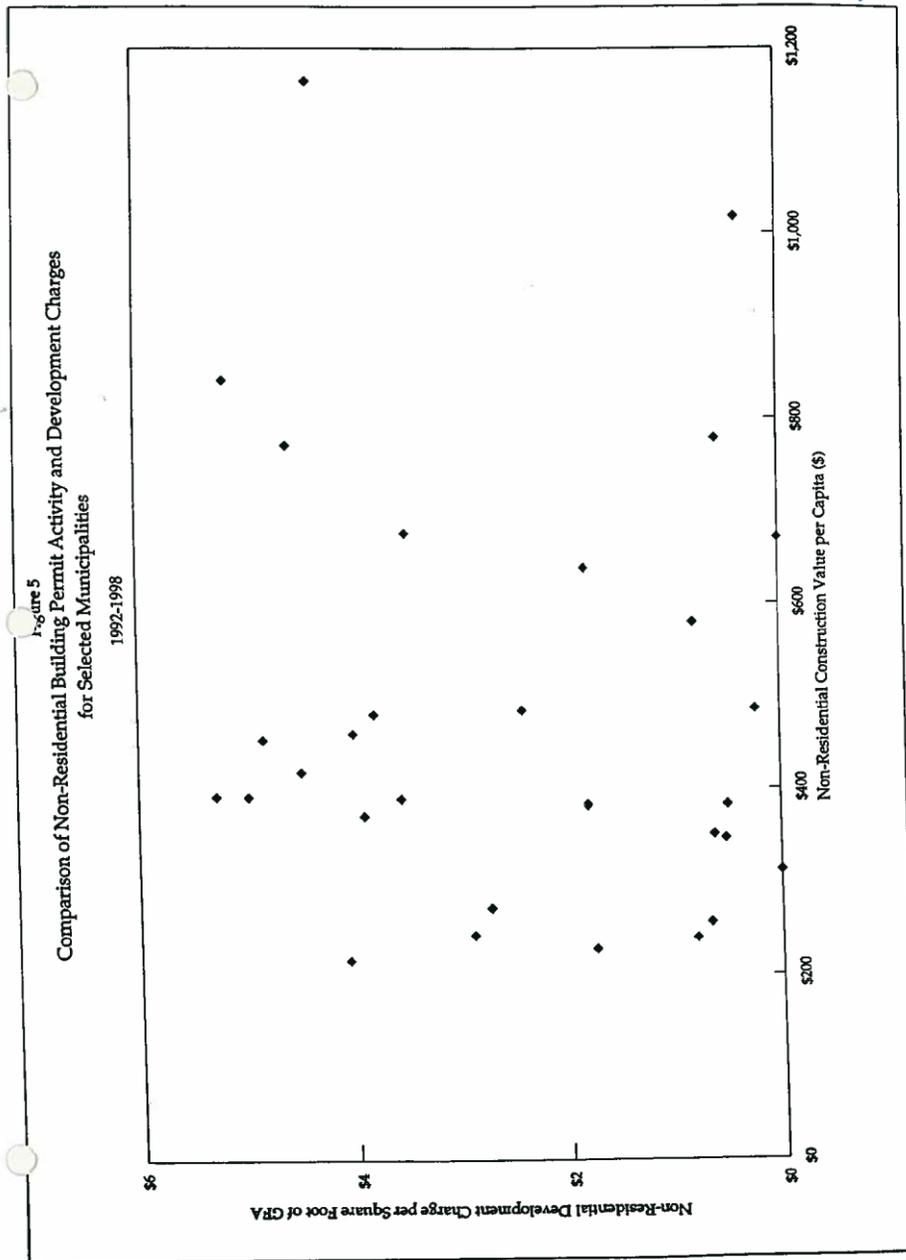
In her paper, "Does the Imposition of an Industrial Development Charge Affect Site Selection," Dean argued that

"There does not appear to be any correlation between industrial construction activity and the development charge. An examination of the cost of land in selected municipalities does not seem to suggest any relationship to the development charge amount. The information gathered thus far would suggest that there is no correlation between the amount of development charges and location decisions" (Dean, p. 13).

The scatter graph below plots the non-residential DC rate per square foot and the value of non-residential building permits per capita. The dispersion of the data points suggests that the correlation between DC rates and economic development, seen through the lens of non-residential building permit value, is not statistically significant.

⁴ As the issue of whether or not DCs impact the affordability of new builds was addressed in section 2, this section will focus on the first claim about competitive disadvantage.

Graph 3: Scatter graph correlating non-residential DC rates and the value of non-residential DC permits



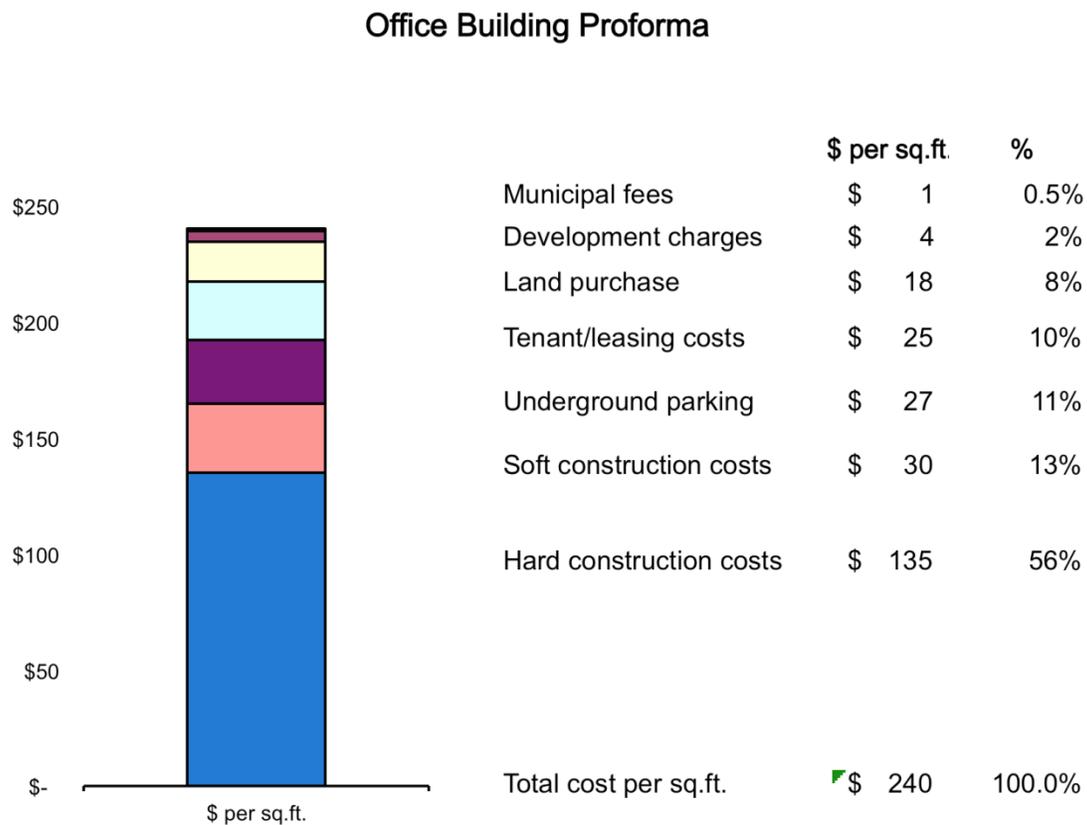
Source: Dean, Linda. *Does the Imposition of an Industrial Development Charge Affect Site Selection?* Term Paper: Public Administration 913A Economics and Policy Development.

Rather, factors such as the quality of services and infrastructure, among others, appear to be much more significant when firms make locational decisions, as the following quote echoes,

“Statistical analyses have not identified any clear and direct linkage between the level of development charges and construction activity for non-residential development...Development charges are part of the overall project cost and locational decision, but rarely appear to be critical to the decision to locate in one municipality vs. another. Each company’s decision is the result of an interplay of their own unique requirements, and market conditions...The municipality should consider its strengths and weaknesses with respect to the non-financial factors in competing municipalities (e.g. available well located serviced land, access to transportation, quality of life, cost and quality of labour), as these are often the most significant considerations in business location decisions” (Watson & Associates, 2004, p. 5, 9-10).

Graph 4, below, shows a pro forma of the costs of building new office space in York Region. Development charges account for 2% of total costs.

Graph 4: DCs as a percentage of costs for office space



Source: Royal LePage Advisors

Source: *“Making It Happen! The York Region Centres and Corridors Study”*
prepared by The Planning Partnership for the Region of York, November, 2002.

Many Ontario Government funding programs and capital plans have articulated the economic value of infrastructure investment. In regard to impact fees, the American version of DCs, sources note that “impact fees act as an investment in the community, spurring economic growth through the timely provision of new infrastructure and the expansion of buildable land” (Nelson & Moody, 2003, p. vi).

Relatively high DCs can be positively correlated to high growth. An example was given in Phase 1 of Metropolitan Toronto’s Industrial Land Strategy Study. It was based on:

“[a] compendium of official plan industrial and related policies summarizing industrial land use policies in the 43 local and seven regional municipalities in the study area ... The analysis suggests that while development charges may have a modest impact on the distribution of industrial activities within the study area, the impact on location decisions is moderated by a number of more important criteria including: the relative location of customers, suppliers and employees, access to inter-regional expressways, local roads that can easily accommodate truck traffic, public transit access for employees, proximity to similar firms, attractive and visible sites, room for on-site expansion, and proximity to business services, restaurants and ancillary retail activities. The municipalities with lower development charges only benefit when there is a virtual saw-off among the other factors affecting industrial development decision making. Since development charges are a one time charge they have little impact on the decision making of many industrial tenants except to the extent that the development charge may be capitalized in a tenant's rent. The pattern of recent industrial development activity bears this out since some municipalities with high development charges have also had high values of industrial building permits issued in recent years” (Metro Planning, 1996, p. iii, 29).

There are costs of doing business in any community. If DCs were a major barrier, then we would expect to see higher rates of development in the communities that do not use DCs. The proposition that DCs could be a competitive disadvantage for a municipality can also be tested against non-residential building permit data for Ontario municipalities. The provincial Financial Information Return houses data on the number and value of building permits issued by municipality per year. Many municipalities with comparatively high non-residential charges issued many high value building permits for both residential and non-residential development in 2010. Brampton, for example, has the second highest charge in Peel Region and it has the fourth highest number of permits issued and third highest permit value in the Region (FIR data).

Overall, we could not find evidence indicating that current non-residential DCs are a barrier to economic development.

4. Some growth-related capital should be paid for through property taxes.

Groups concerned by DC amounts often cite 'alternative' financing sources for growth-related capital that could be employed to reduce the DC amount. One of the most common 'alternatives' considered is property taxes. DC critics phrase this argument in terms of funding certain services through property taxes and others through DCs. "If we consider property versus people-related services, it is the people-related services that may be most appropriately financed via property taxes rather than property-related services" (Amborski, 2011, p. 37). According to this perspective, property taxes are more appropriate to pay for people related services because there are broad and indirect community benefits associated with people-related services.

Attempts to divide services into people-related and property-related service categories are contested. In 1977, the Blair Commission on Taxation reached the following conclusion:

"[I]t is evident that the differentiation between so-called services to land and services to people is wholly irrelevant: there is, in any perspective whatsoever, no such thing as "services to land"; there are only services demanded by people. While the nature of these services may require digging or other similar activity, it is the presence of people and their concomitant demands that give rise to an expenditure" (Blair Commission, 1977, p. 3).

The use of property taxes to fund growth-related capital was an issue the implementation of lot levies and DCs was meant to resolve. "The adoption of DCs was intended, in part, to be an improvement upon the old way of doing things, when growth-related infrastructure was paid for out of general municipal taxation revenues" (Blais, 2010, p. 92). The pre-lot levy regime was seen as unfair to existing ratepayers, who could neither choose nor control growth, but had to pay for it through taxes and other municipal rates. Unit purchasers in newly developed areas, on the other hand, choose to locate in newly developed areas in full view of the costs.

American research has found impact fees to be more appropriate tools to fund growth-related capital than property taxes. "Property tax revenues increasingly fail to cover the full costs of the infrastructure needed to service new development...Impact fees, like user fees, offer a more efficient way to pay for infrastructure than general taxes, and ensure benefits to those who pay them" (Nelson and Moody, 2003, p. vi).

The Region of Waterloo determined that current taxpayers will replace \$6 billion of existing assets over the next fifty years. The Region also needs to add \$1 billion of assets for growth over the next ten years. While DCs will be used to implant the \$1 billion of growth-related capital, it will need another \$1 billion for replacement through the property tax base. Existing ratepayers may not be able to pay a greater share of growth-related capital because they have large bills already; they are paying the operating, maintenance repair and replacement costs of the first round of growth-related capital, the full lifecycle costs of the municipal asset base and 1997 DCA restrictions,

including ineligible and discounted services and a backward looking service level calculation for growth-related infrastructure.

Conclusion

This report has dispelled several DC myths, including

- 1) DCs foster “gold plated” service standards that were not provided to existing residents, thereby inflating DCs,
- 2) Residential DCs increase the price of some kinds of housing,
- 3) Non-residential and industrial DCs can make municipalities less economically competitive, and
- 4) Growth-related capital should be paid for through property taxes instead of growth itself.

The development industry has conveyed the need for sustained investment in infrastructure and the economic benefits of construction and development to the Ontario Government. Municipalities are in agreement about the need and the benefits; it is with the financial sustainability of growth in mind that we now urge the provincial government to view DC reform as the middle ground to satisfying the need for investment with the need for sustainability.

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