

Cities Research Series

Scott Baum · Emma Baker ·  
Amanda Davies · John Stone ·  
Elizabeth Taylor

# Pandemic Cities

The COVID-19 Crisis and Australian  
Urban Regions

# **Cities Research Series**

## **Series Editor**

Paul Burton, Gold Coast campus, Cities Research Institute, Griffith University,  
Southport, QLD, Australia

This book series brings together researchers, planning professionals and policy makers in the area of cities and urban development and publishes recent advances in the field. It addresses contemporary urban issues to understand and meet urban challenges and make (future) cities more sustainable and better places to live. The series covers, but is not limited to the following topics:

- Transport policy and behaviour
- Architecture, architectural science and construction engineering
- Urban planning, urban design and housing
- Infrastructure planning and management
- Complex systems and cities
- Urban and regional governance
- Smart and digital technologies

Scott Baum · Emma Baker · Amanda Davies ·  
John Stone · Elizabeth Taylor

# Pandemic Cities

The COVID-19 Crisis and Australian Urban  
Regions



Springer

Scott Baum  
Griffith University  
Brisbane, QLD, Australia

Amanda Davies  
School of Social Sciences  
University of Western Australia  
Perth, WA, Australia

Elizabeth Taylor  
Urban Planning and Design  
Monash University  
Clayton Victoria, VIC, Australia

Emma Baker  
School of Social Sciences  
University of Adelaide  
Adelaide, SA, Australia

John Stone  
Architecture, Building and Planning  
University of Melbourne  
Parkville, VIC, Australia

ISSN 2662-4842  
Cities Research Series  
ISBN 978-981-19-5883-0  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-5884-7>

ISSN 2662-4850 (electronic)  
ISBN 978-981-19-5884-7 (eBook)

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2022

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors, and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

# Foreword to Pandemic Cities by Baum et al

Viral infections and other transmissible diseases have forever shaped cities, literally and metaphorically. The recent or perhaps still current COVID pandemic prompted many commentators and politicians to speak of its scale and impact as unprecedented. This revealed their lack of historical understanding and exemplified a rather disturbing tendency to neglect important lessons from history.

This latest contribution to the *Cities Research Series* provides a valuable corrective to such a limited historical awareness. As a unique collaboration among some of Australia's leading scholars of city life and urban processes, it explores many of the most important areas impacted by the pandemic, including housing, work, mobility and population change.

It is sometimes said that momentous events like the pandemic act like Barium Meals, revealing features that otherwise are not visible or apparent. While many urban scholars have been cataloguing the inequalities and inequities of urban life for centuries, the last few years have shown us the extent of many urban vulnerabilities that have often been ignored by policymakers and city leaders. We have become more acutely aware of the essential services delivered by some of our lowest paid workers, of the mental stresses that occur when we are unable to socialise, especially in green spaces, and the fragility of many of the supply chains on which we have come to depend. But we have also learnt that when we have to, we as individuals and as members of communities and our governments can choose to do things very differently. We can house street homeless people in inner city hotels, we can provide financial support to everyone without means of testing, we can change the way we work (including academics) very quickly, and we can develop vaccines and other medicines much more quickly than we have done previously. Of course, many of these measures are extremely costly, and building those costs into ongoing budgets might not be feasible. But, we have learnt that these are choices we make rather than impossibilities.

I am delighted that this book, drawing on the collective expertise of five renowned urban scholars in Australia, provides some historical insights, trenchant contemporary analysis of the impact of the pandemic on Australian cities and provocative

questions about the future of our cities. While focussed on the Australian experience, the book will be of interest and value to those who live in and study cities around the world.

Prof. Paul Burton  
Series Editor  
Cities Research Institute  
Griffith University  
Southport, QLD, Australia  
[p.burton@griffith.edu.au](mailto:p.burton@griffith.edu.au)

# Preface

This book highlights the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on cities. The COVID-19 pandemic and the associated economic and social impacts have been felt around the world. In large cities and other urban areas, the pandemic has highlighted a number of issues from pressures on urban labour and housing markets, shifts in demographic processes including migration and mobility, changes in urban travel patterns and pressures on contemporary planning and governance processes. Despite Australia's relatively mild COVID exposure, Australian cities and large urban areas have not been immune to these issues. The economic shutdown of the country in the early stages of the pandemic, the sporadic border closures between states, the effective closure of international borders and the imposition of widespread public health orders that have required significant behavioural change across the population have all changed our cities in some and the way we live and work in them in some way. Some of the challenges have reflected long-standing problems including entrenched inequality in labour markets and housing markets; others such as the impact on commuting patterns and patterns of migration have emerged largely during the pandemic. This book, co-authored by experts in their field, outlines some of the major issues facing Australian cities and urban areas as a result of the pandemic and sets a course for the future of the cities we live in.

Brisbane, Australia  
Adelaide, Australia  
Perth, Australia  
Melbourne, Australia  
Melbourne, Australia

Scott Baum  
Emma Baker  
Amanda Davies  
John Stone  
Elizabeth Taylor

# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>COVID-19 and Australian Cities: When the Pandemic Came to Town</b>	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	The Pandemic Comes to Town	2
1.3	About This Book	6
	References	7
<b>2</b>	<b>Population Challenges and Change in Pandemic Cities</b>	9
2.1	The Big Population Questions for COVID Cities	9
2.2	Fortress Australia and International Migration	10
2.3	Sea Change, Tree Change, or No Change: Internal Migration	15
2.4	Where to Next for Australia's Population	18
	References	20
<b>3</b>	<b>COVID-19 and the Social Structure of Cities: The Forgotten Vulnerable</b>	21
3.1	Introduction	21
3.2	The Forgotten Vulnerable: Lost in Space	23
3.3	It Wasn't Only Case Numbers That Were Haunting the Forgotten Vulnerable	30
3.4	Singling Out the Forgotten Vulnerable	30
3.5	The Continued Disadvantage of the Hidden Vulnerable	34
	References	37
<b>4</b>	<b>The Great Job Reshuffle: How COVID-19 Changed Urban Labour Markets</b>	39
4.1	Introduction	39
4.2	The Australian Economy and the Onset of COVID-19	40
4.3	The Unequal Labour Market Burden of the Pandemic Shutdown	42
4.4	Some of Us Jumped on Our Scooters	48
4.5	Some of Us Started Working in Our Pyjamas	50

4.6	Essential Workers: Not All Heroes Wear Capes .....	59
4.7	What Now for the COVID Job Shuffle? .....	60
	References .....	61
<b>5</b>	<b>Housing and the Pandemic .....</b>	<b>65</b>
5.1	Housing Outcomes in the Pandemic City .....	65
5.2	COVID-19 Adding to the Housing Crisis .....	66
5.3	Marginal Housing and Homelessness During COVID-19 .....	67
5.3.1	Governments to the Rescue .....	70
5.4	COVID-19 and Rental Financial Stress .....	71
5.4.1	Governments to the Rescue .....	76
5.5	Housing and the Post-pandemic City .....	78
	References .....	78
<b>6</b>	<b>Moving Around the COVID City .....</b>	<b>81</b>
6.1	COVID-19 and the Transport Reshuffle .....	81
6.2	We Fell Out of Love with Buses (and Other Public Transport) .....	84
6.3	We Retreated to the ‘Safety’ of Our Cars .....	86
6.4	We Got Active .....	88
6.5	After the Reshuffle .....	91
	References .....	92
<b>7</b>	<b>Planning the COVID City .....</b>	<b>95</b>
7.1	Planning the COVID City .....	95
7.2	‘Pop-Up’, Fast Track, and Re-opening the Centre to Cars: Australian Planning Reforms in Response to COVID .....	96
7.2.1	‘Pop-Up’ and Active Transport Responses .....	96
7.2.2	Re-opening the City to (COVID-Safe?) Cars .....	97
7.2.3	‘Fast Tracking’, ‘Resetting’ and Continuing Erosion of Public Engagement .....	99
7.3	COVID Responses: Implications for Sustainable Transport and Compact Urban Form .....	101
7.4	Planning and <i>Crisis</i> : Implications of COVID Responses for Practice and Research .....	107
	References .....	112
<b>8</b>	<b>The Future of COVID Cities .....</b>	<b>115</b>
8.1	Are We There yet? .....	115
8.2	The Post-pandemic City .....	116
8.3	What Have We Learned .....	119
8.4	Where to from Here? .....	122
	References .....	122

# About the Authors

**Scott Baum** is trained as an economist and sociologist with research interests in labour market economics, urban sociology and urban and regional development and change. He is currently a member of the Cities Research Institute and the School of Environment and Built environment at Griffith University, Queensland, Australia. He has published widely in the international literature, and his latest book 'Methods in Urban Analysis' was published by Springer in 2021.

**Emma Baker** is a Professor of Housing Research at the University of Adelaide. Her work examines the health and human impacts of housing and location in urban and regional environments, producing academic, as well as policy-relevant research. Driving this work is a conceptual focus on housing and location as a social determinant of health and an interest in analyses that utilise longitudinal, spatial and administrative big data.

**Amanda Davies** is a human and population geographer with research expertise in demographics, migration and regional development. She is currently the Head of Social Sciences at the University of Western Australia and has extensive applied research networks with government and industry partners. Amanda's work has been published in leading international journals and cited in government reports and resulting policy related to regional development.

**John Stone** is a Lecturer in Transport Planning in the Urban Planning Program in the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning, University of Melbourne. His research seeks to improve public transport performance in Australian cities through a greater understanding of the professional practice and the political and institutional context for public transport planning in similar cities in Canada and in German-speaking Europe. Since completing his Ph.D. in 2008, his work here and at the Swinburne Institute for Social Research has been funded through grants including an ARC Discovery Project and a Commonwealth Endeavour Research Fellowship. This work follows over 20 years of engagement with public transport management in Melbourne that has included work in local government and the community sector.

**Elizabeth Taylor** is a Senior Lecturer in Urban Planning and Design at Monash University. Taylor's research explores links between urban planning, housing markets and locational conflict. Often using spatial and historical perspectives, her research develops an understanding of long-term urban change and the role of policy settings in it. She was previously a Vice Chancellor's postdoctoral research fellow in the Centre for Urban Research at RMIT University and a McKenzie fellow at the University of Melbourne, as well as working in consultancy and government research roles.

# Chapter 1

## COVID-19 and Australian Cities: When the Pandemic Came to Town



### 1.1 Introduction

As we sit to write these opening lines, it is incredible to think back over the last two years and realise that you never really know what is coming around the corner. January 2020 and Australia had just come off one of the most prolonged droughts in history and was coming to the tail-end of catastrophic bushfires that impacted urban and country people alike. On the political front, our then Prime Minister had gone AWOL to Hawaii for a family holiday. Then in a relative blink of an eye, things changed. And changed in a big way. Although many, including journalist Laurie Garrett (1994), predicted the arrival of a new global pandemic as far back as the 1990s, no one really could have known when, how and what form such a new pandemic might take. Like another addition to the four horsemen of the apocalypse, Australia and the world was now faced with a global pandemic. We didn't know it at the time, but we would be living with the virus for a considerable period.

In late December 2019, the Chinese government notified the World Health Organisation of a mysterious cluster of pneumonia cases in the city of Wuhan in the Hubei province. Cases of the virus, which became known as COVID-19, began to increase—seemingly slow at first, then very rapidly from late January. The Chinese Government responded on 23 January 2020 by rolling out a massive program of testing, contact tracing and home-quarantining of people. Residents of the Hubei province were required to follow strict spatial isolation. Travel, employment, education, recreation and social gatherings were restricted to prevent the spread of the new virus. To some extent, the measures introduced in Hubei province were a sign of what was to come in cities worldwide. While these measures undoubtedly curbed the geographic spread of the virus, by 30 January, following 7,711 reported COVID-19 cases in China and 170 deaths, the World Health Organisation declared the coronavirus a Global Public Health Emergency. It was not until March 11 2020, that they announced the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak as an international pandemic (Cucinotta and Vanelli, 2020).