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Trends in the prices of rurality

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Highlights

- ◆ Rurality is defined by distance and population density.
- ◆ The price of transporting goods from one location to another has generally been declining over time. Thus, there has been a relative decline in the price of rurality, with respect to the movement of goods. This implies a greater ability for rural areas to compete with urban areas. One example is the spread of manufacturing jobs towards rural areas.
- ◆ The price of communicating information from one location to another has generally been declining over time. Again, there has been a relative decline in the price of rurality, with respect to communication flows. (However, the decline of telecommunication prices may even have been greater in urban areas.)
- ◆ The price of moving people from one location to another has generally been increasing over time. This suggests a relative increase in the price of rurality, with respect to transporting people. Thus, for example, the price of tourism visits to rural Canada is increasing, relatively.
- ◆ Thus, the price of rurality in terms of the flows of goods and information appears to be declining but the price of rurality in terms of the flows of people appears to be increasing.

Introduction

Rural is defined by distance and density. Density refers to the number of people per square kilometre and a higher density (i.e. a bigger town or city) implies that higher-order¹ services would exist in this location. Distance is a measure of the time and money cost to access these services. Thus, places

1. A "higher-order" service describes the presence of a brain surgeon in a metro hospital compared to a family physician in a smaller hospital or a professional hockey team compared to a Pee Wee team at the local rink.

with lower population density and longer distances would be more rural².

2. Note that the distances to access different services or different markets are different. Thus, one's measure of rurality would change, depending upon whether one was considering access to a monthly ballet performance or access to a curling rink or access to a sizable number of organic restaurants to market your organic farm products.



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Given the crucial role of distance in our understanding of rurality, it is important to know whether the price of distance is going up or down over time. We are all aware that the time needed to travel across Canada has declined from many months for fur traders travelling in a canoe (in the 1700s) to many days for travellers on a cross-Canada train (in the late 1800s) to many hours for travellers on a jet airplane (in the early 2000s). The time cost has declined – how much has the money cost declined?

The objective of this bulletin is to document the trend in the price to move goods, information and people across space.

Trend in the price of transporting goods

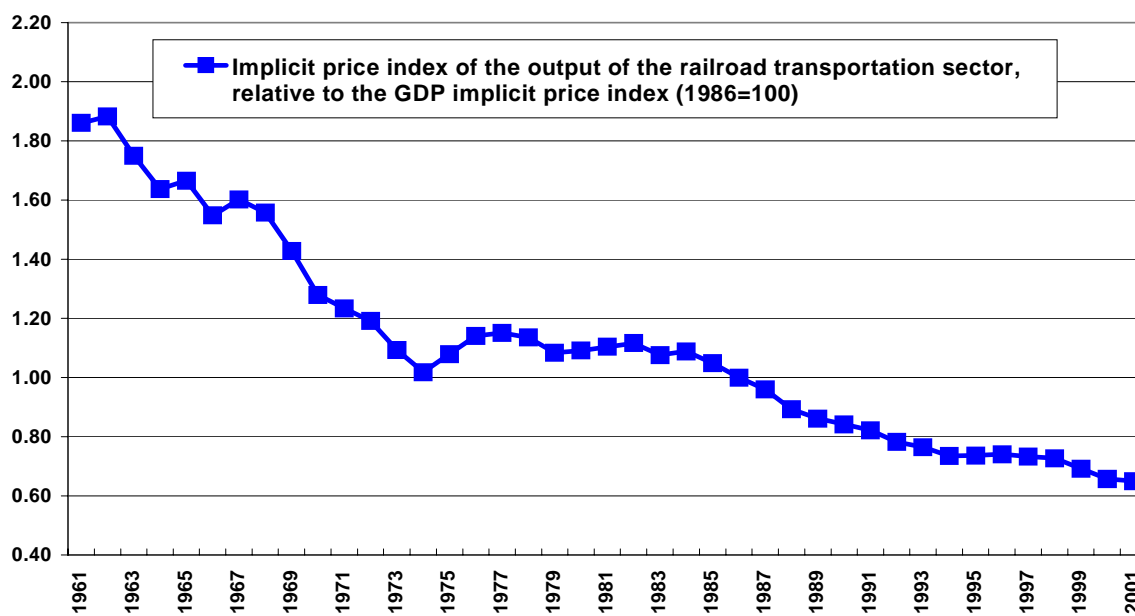
In general, the price of transporting goods has declined over time.

Note that we identify a “decline” or an “increase” by comparing the price of a specific item compared to the price trend for all items – thus, we talk about the trend in relative prices, which means the trend in the price of a specific item, *relative to* the trend in prices of all items. For details on our methodology, see Appendix A.

As noted, we see a decline in the price of transporting goods over time. For example, barring a couple of upward blips, the price of transporting goods by railroad has fallen continuously since the early 1960s (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Railroad transport prices have fallen since the 1960s



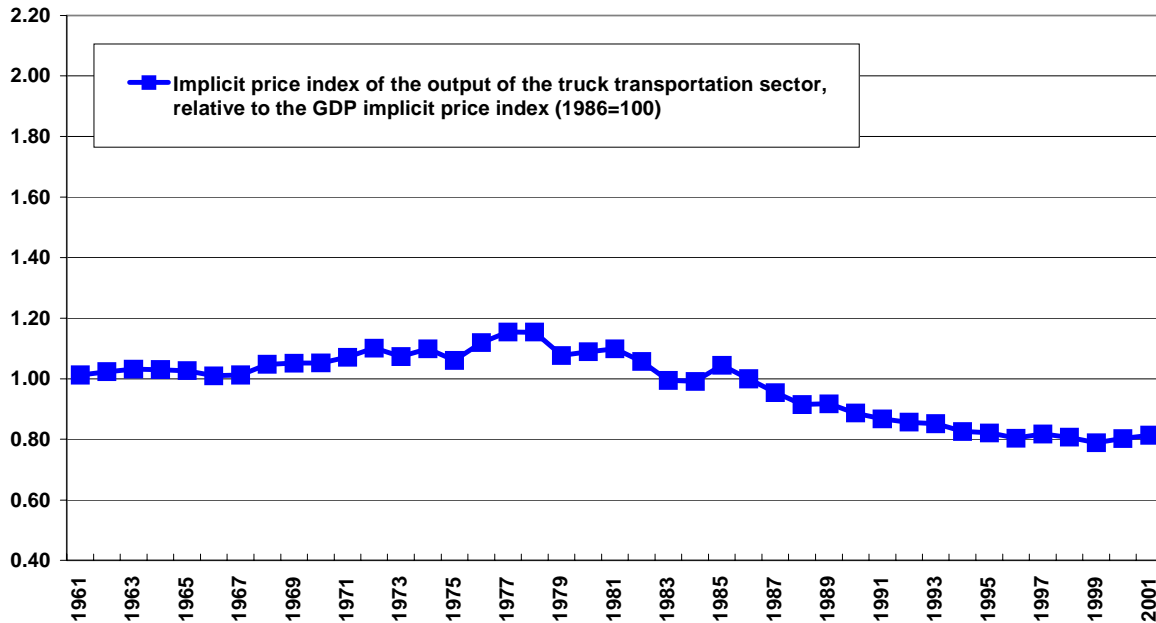
Source: Statistics Canada, GDP Implicit Price Index.

The price of transporting goods by truck increased, marginally, up to the end of the 1970s, but has been

decreasing since that time (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Truck transport prices have fallen since the late 1970s



Source: Statistics Canada, GDP Implicit Price Index.

As noted by Glaeser and Kohlase (2004) and Rietveld and Vickerman (2004), one reason for a decline in the price of transporting goods is the

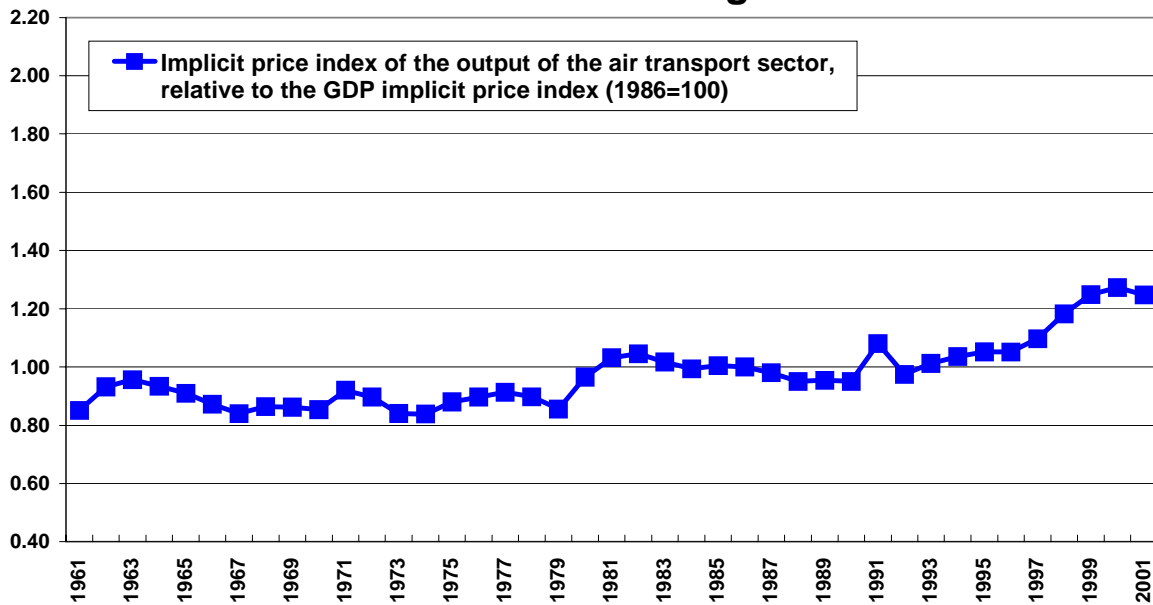
trend to increased efficiencies (and thus declining costs) for trans-shipments (i.e., loading, unloading, less time in temporary storage, etc.).

The trend in the price of transportation (people and cargo combined) in the air transport sector was flat in the 1960s and in the 1970s, higher but

flat in the 1980s and early 1990s, but has been increasing in recent years (Figure 3).

Figure 3

Air transport sector prices were flat in the 60s and 70s, higher but flat in the 80s and increasing in the 90s



Source: Statistics Canada, GDP Implicit Price Index.

Thus, we see that the price of moving goods by rail or by truck has been falling whereas the price of

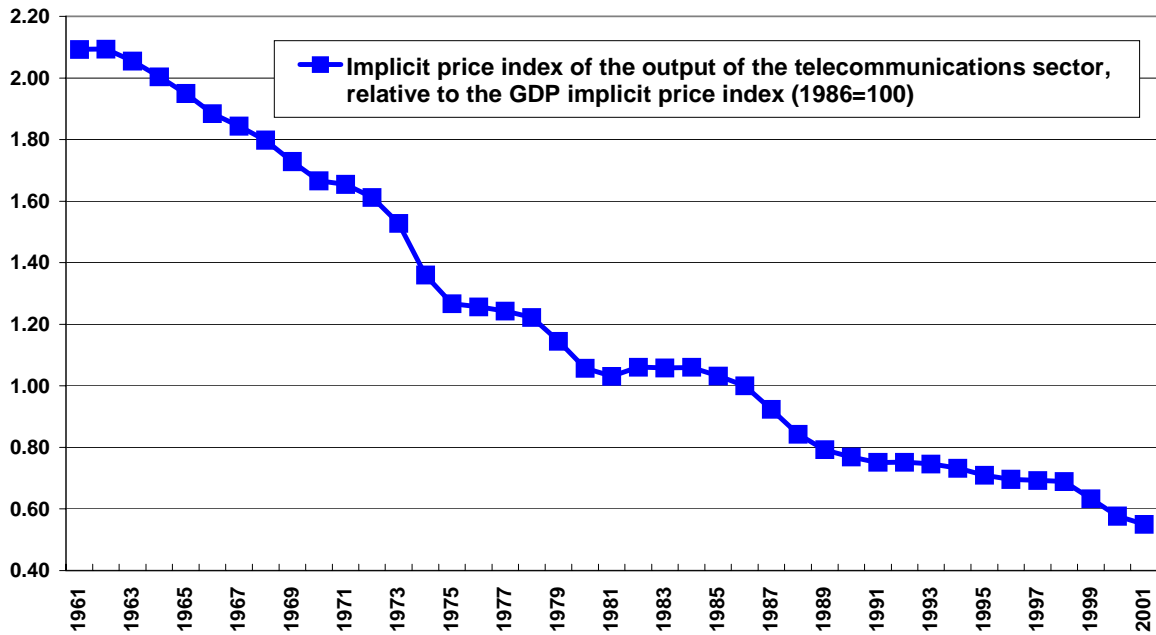
transporting goods (plus people) by air transport has been increasing in recent years.

Trend in the price of communicating information

The price of services provided by the telecommunications sector has fallen continuously since the 1960s (Figure 4).

Figure 4

Telecommunications prices have fallen since the 1960s

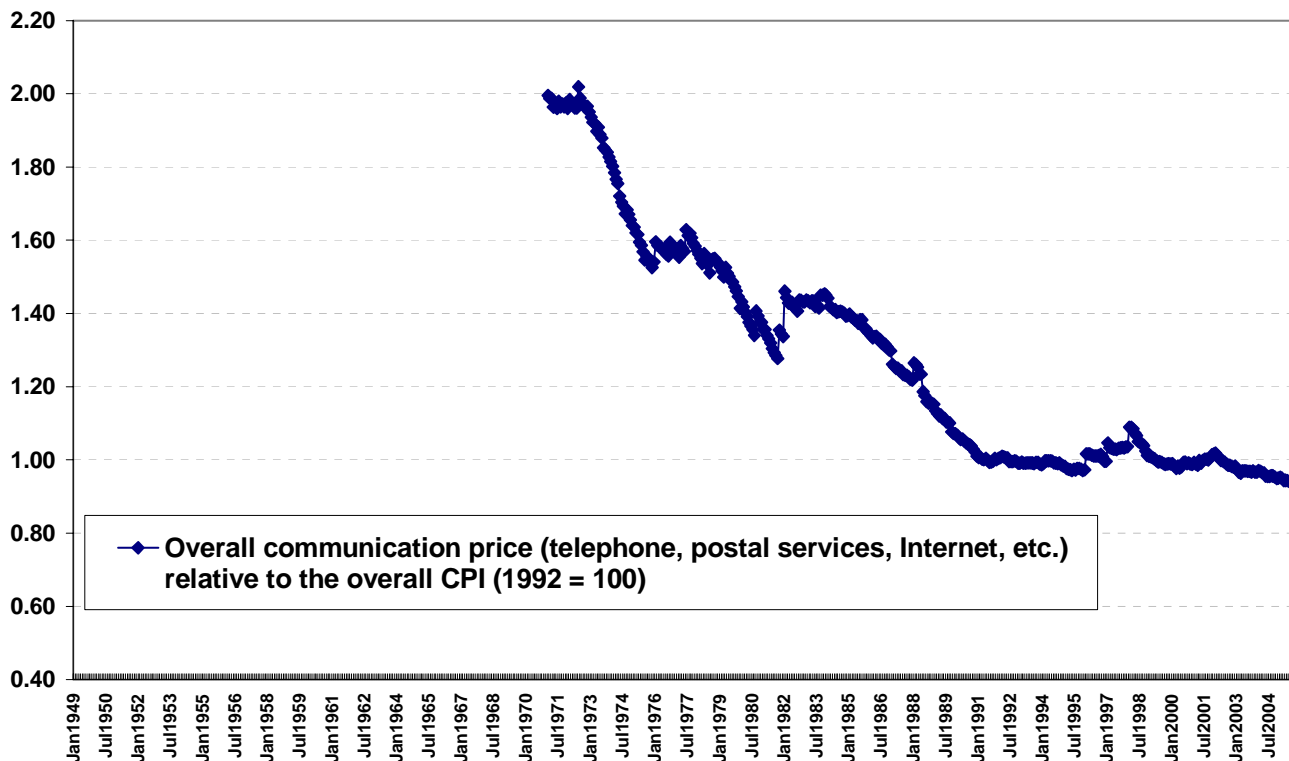


Source: Statistics Canada, GDP Implicit Price Index.

From the point of view of prices paid by consumers, we find a similar trend. The prices paid by consumers, as measured by the Consumer Price Index, for overall telecommunication

services (i.e., telephone, postal services, Internet, etc.) fell quite consistently up to the 1990s, but has been relatively flat since that time (Figure 5).

Figure 5 Dramatic fall in communication prices up to the 1990s, but flat since then



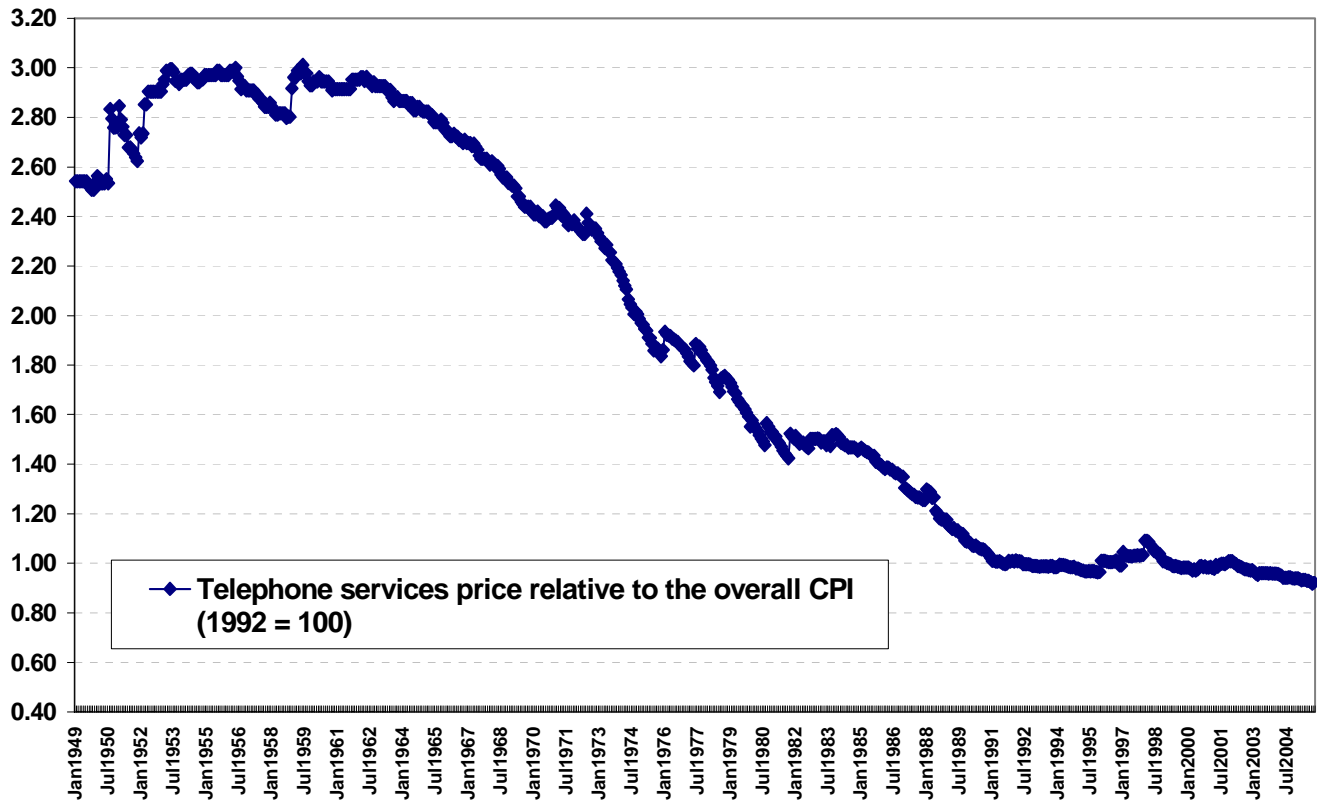
Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

Certainly, the decline in the price of telephone services has been a major component of the decline in price of telecommunication services – note the continuous decline from the early 1960s

through to the end of the 1980s, and that prices have been relatively flat since the early 1990s (Figure 6).

Figure 6

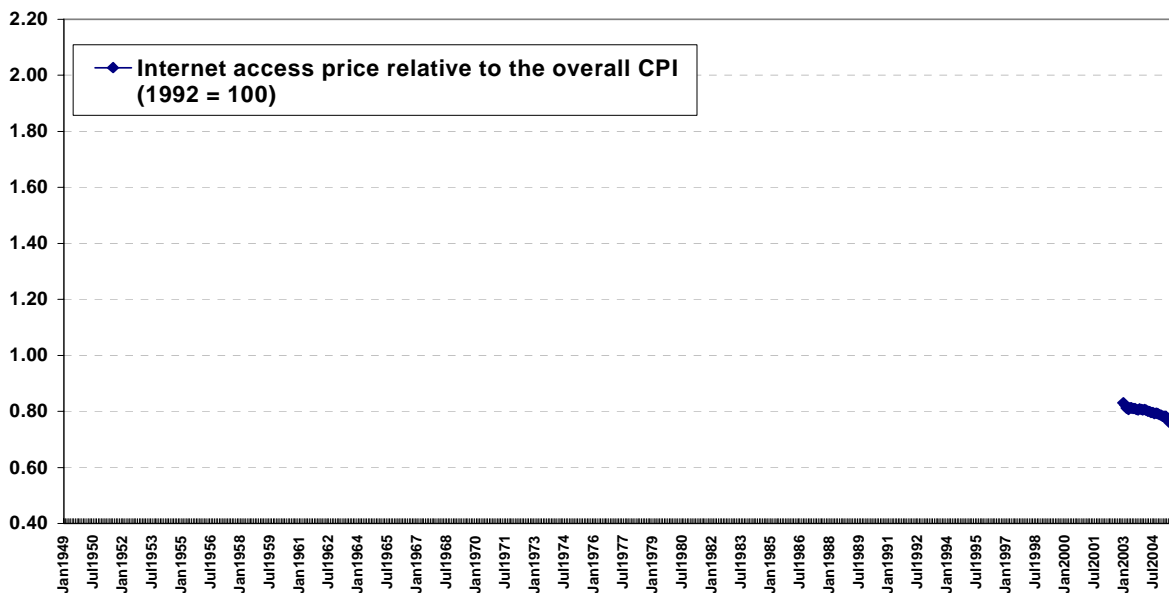
**Price of telephone services fell, relatively,
from the start of the 1960s to the end of the 1980s**



Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

The Internet is new – and its price has been declining in recent years (Figure 7).

Figure 7 **The price of accessing the Internet has declined in recent years**



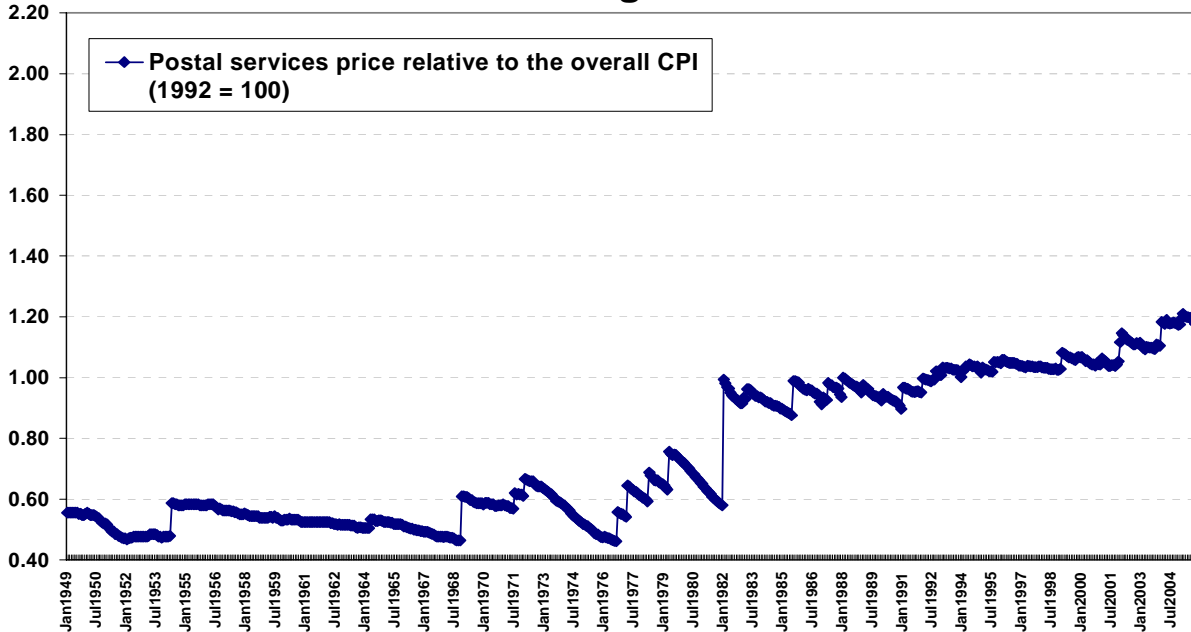
Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

Although the overall price trend for communication services has been declining (Figure 5), the price of postal services has been

increasing since the mid-1970s (Figure 8). The price of postal services is essentially the price of stamps for letters and for parcels.

Figure 8

The price of postal services has been increasing since the mid-1970s



Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

Thus, with the exception of postal services, the overall price of communicating information across space has been declining.

The overall decline in the price of transferring information implies a decline in the price of this dimension of rurality. It is relatively less expensive

for rural-to-urban and rural-to-rural and urban-to-rural communication. However, it is possible that the price of urban-to-urban communication has fallen even faster. As anecdotal evidence, we might ask, “who got Broadband first?”

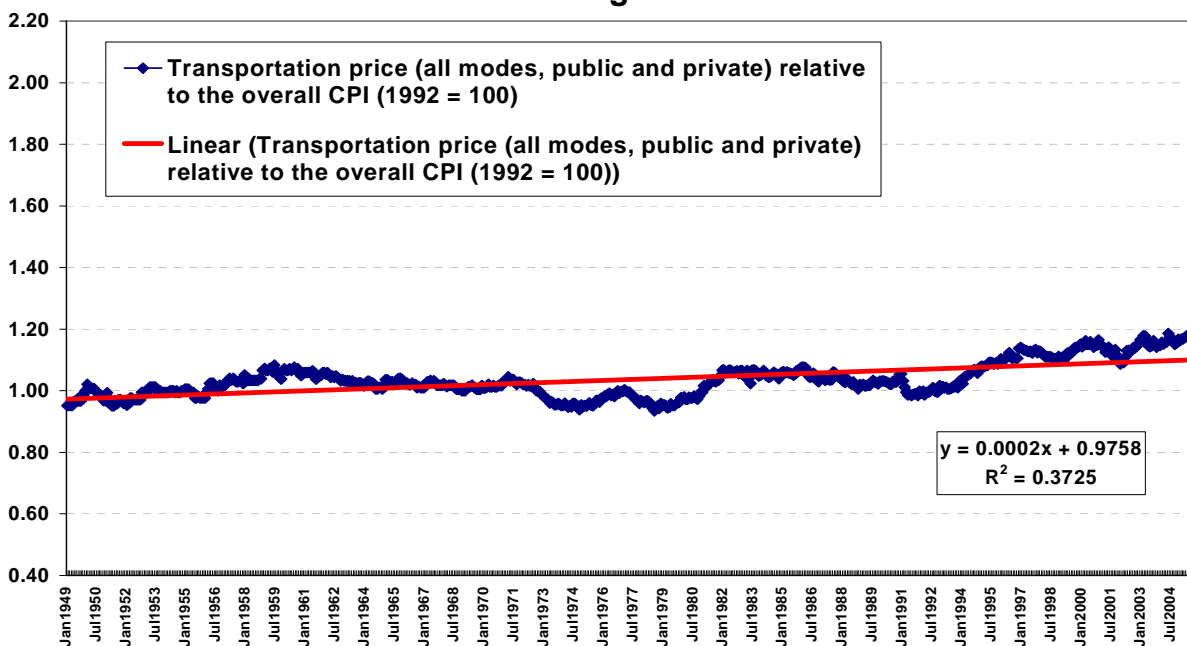
Trend in the price of moving people

From the point of view of transporting people, the price of transportation services purchased by consumers has increased, albeit marginally, over time (Figure 9). However, this long run trend has varied over time. Transportation prices increased in the 1950s, fell throughout the 1960s and 1970s, jumped with the energy price shock of the early 1980s, but then fell throughout the 1980s before generally increasing since the start of the 1990s. Overall, the price of transportation services has increased (relative to the overall trend of consumer

prices) although there were long periods of price decline.

Note that Figure 9 is scaled to be consistent with the scaling of the other charts so that the magnitude of the relative price change can be compared across charts. Between the low price month of December, 1991 (index = 0.992) and the higher price month of September, 2005 (index of 1.22), the price of transporting people (all modes, public and private) increased by 23 percent, relative to the overall trend in prices.

Figure 9 The price of transporting individuals increased throughout the 1990s



Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

An individual may choose either public transportation services (buses, trains, airplanes) or private transportation services (mainly, operating a private vehicle) in order to travel from one location to another. In general, the price of both public transportation services and private transportation

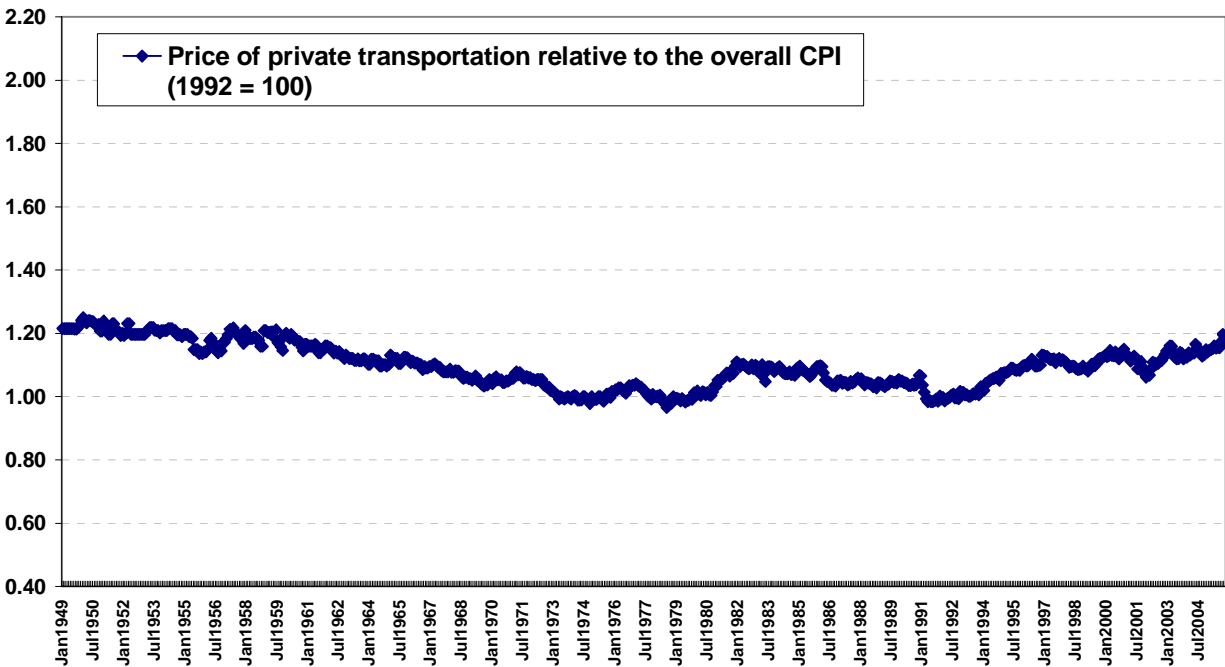
services has been increasing since the beginning of the 1990s.

Price of private transportation services

The major component of transport costs faced by consumers is the cost of travelling in private vehicles (mainly automobiles). The overall price of private transportation fell almost continuously

during the 1950s, the 1960s and the 1970s (Figure 10). The price jumped with the energy price spike of the early 1980s but fell from this higher level during the later 1980s. However, the price of private transportation has been increasing since the beginning of the 1990s.

Figure 10 Price of private transportation for individuals fell from the end of WWII to the end of the 1970s; but prices have been increasing in the 1990s and 2000s



Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

There are three major components of the overall price of private transportation³:

- a) the price of gasoline;
- b) the price of purchasing a new vehicle; and
- c) the price of insuring the vehicle.

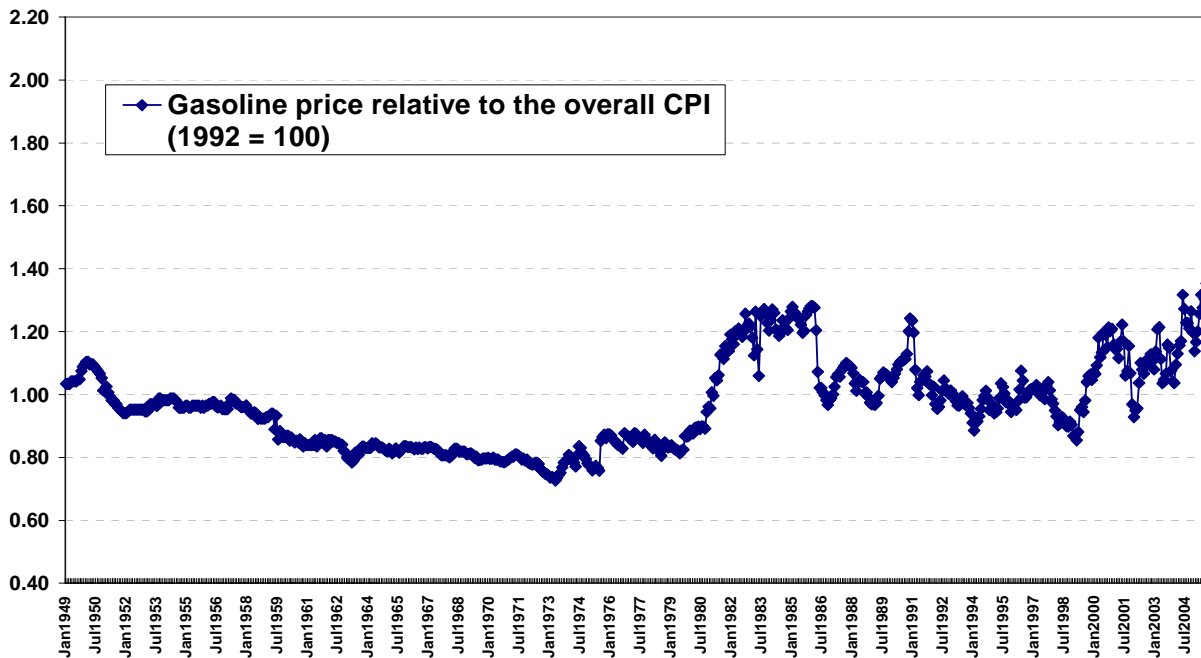
We will look at each of these components in turn.

3. The price of “parts, maintenance and repairs” has not changed over time, relative to the trend of the overall Consumer Price Index (chart not shown). Note also that the level of expenditure on gasoline is about double the level of expenditure on “parts, maintenance and repairs.” The level of expenditure on insurance is about 1.5 times the level of expenditure on “parts, maintenance and repairs” (see Statistics Canada (2004), Table A, p.52).

The price of gasoline fell, relatively, during the 1950s and the 1960s and the 1970s – it spiked sharply in the early 1980s, generally declined

from this peak during the 1980s and 1990s, but has been relatively higher in the 2000s (Figure 11).

Figure 11 Gasoline prices -- up in the early 1980s, then a decline to the late 1990s and generally up in the 2000s



Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

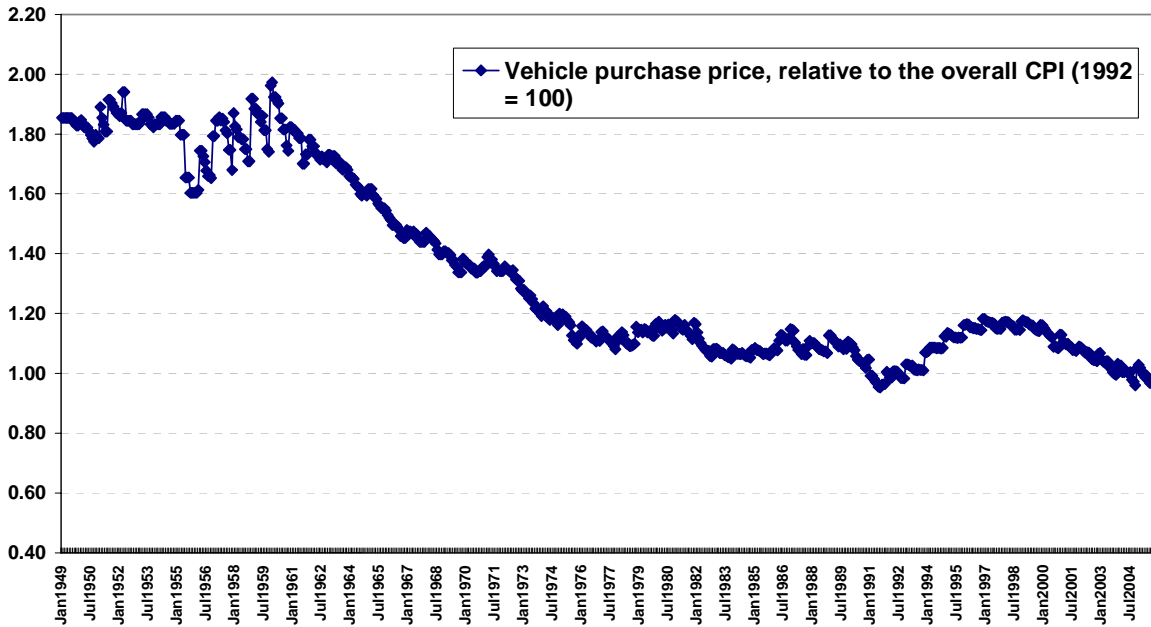
The price of petroleum has spiked in recent months. There have also been petroleum price spikes in the past. Petroleum price increases will impact all modes of transportation. We expect the

fallout from the recent price spikes to be similar to past price spikes and we expect the longer-run trends in relative transportation prices, as identified in this bulletin, will persist.

The price of purchasing a new vehicle, relative to the overall price of consumer goods and services, has been generally decreasing since the beginning

of the 1960s, albeit with a slight upward movement during the early 1990s (Figure 12).

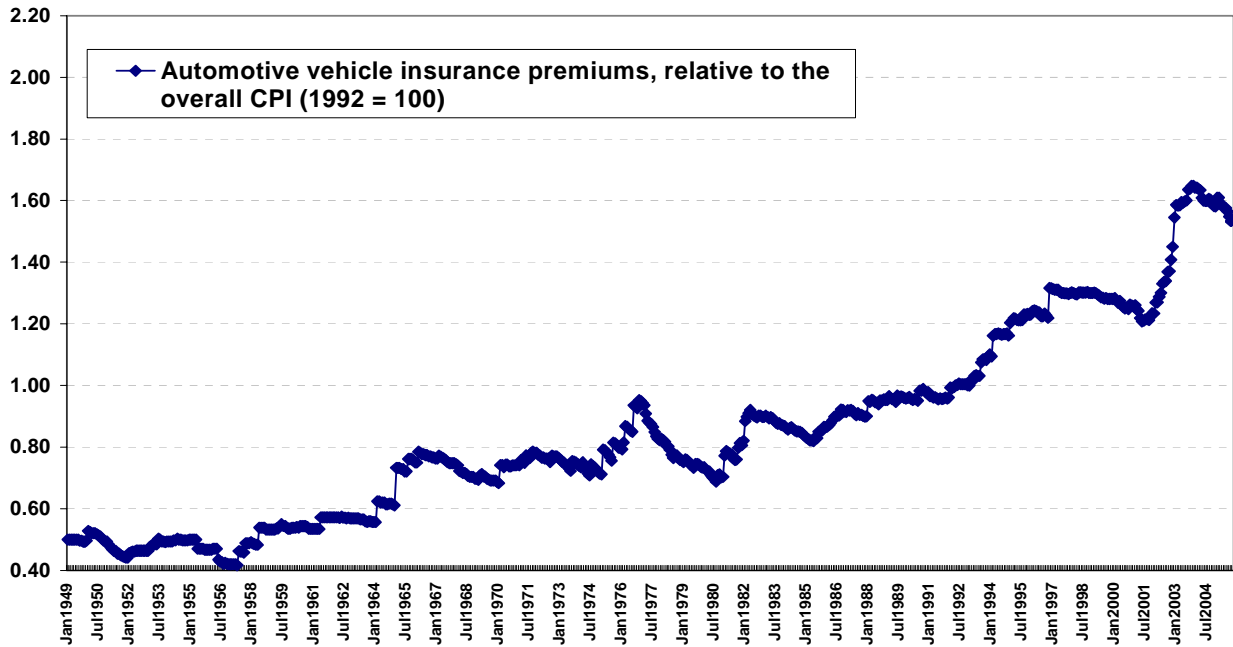
Figure 12 The price to purchase a vehicle has been declining, generally, over time



Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

One important aspect of private transportation, the price of insuring the vehicle, has been generally and persistently increasing overtime (Figure 13).

Figure 13 The price of automobile insurance as been increasing, generally, over time



Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

Thus, in spite of the decline in the price of purchasing a new vehicle, the price of transporting individuals across space has

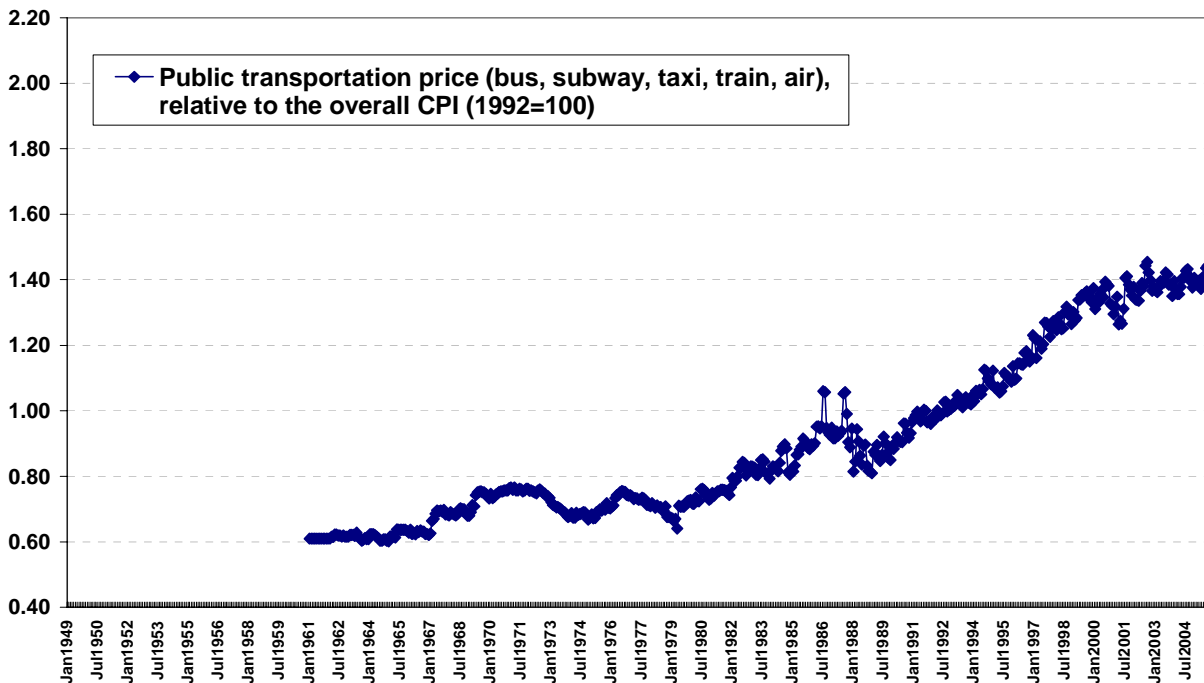
increased, due in part to the relative increase in gasoline prices in recent years and due to the increase in insurance prices.

The price of public transportation services

Overall, the price of public transportation faced by individuals has been increasing over time (Figure 14). This contrasts with the decline in the price of

private transportation from the 1950s to the 1980s before the increase in prices back to the relative level of the early 1960s (Figure 10). Here, we see that the price of public transportation in the 2000s is double the level of the 1960s.

Figure 14 The price of public transportation faced by individuals has been increasing since the 1960s

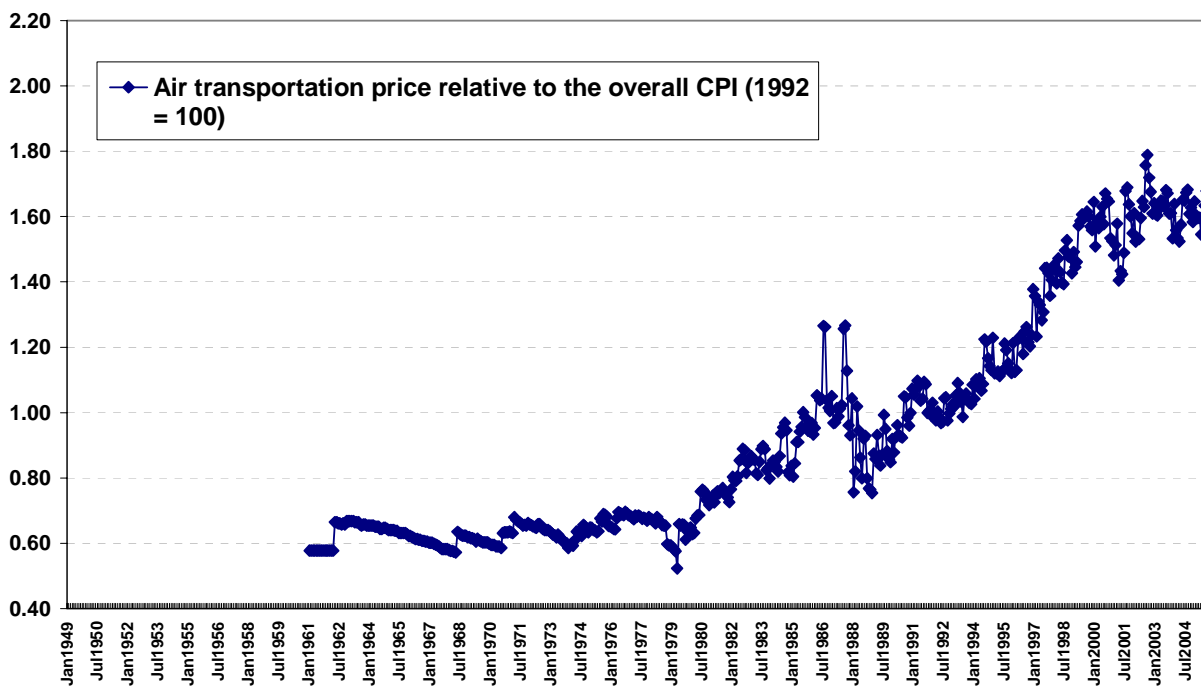


Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

One component of the basket of public transportation services purchased by consumers is air transport flights. This includes both domestic and international flights. Air transportation prices paid by individuals were relatively stable (compared to the trend for all prices) during the 1960s and most of the 1970s (Figure 15). Since the energy price jump in the early 1980s, the price

of airline travel faced by consumers has been increasing, relative to the average price of goods and services purchased by consumers. The prices paid by consumers in 2004 were double the prices paid in the 1970s – however, output prices for moving people AND cargo (Figure 3) were only 50 percent higher in 2001, compared to the 1970s.

Figure 15 Price of transporting people by air has been increasing since the early 1980s



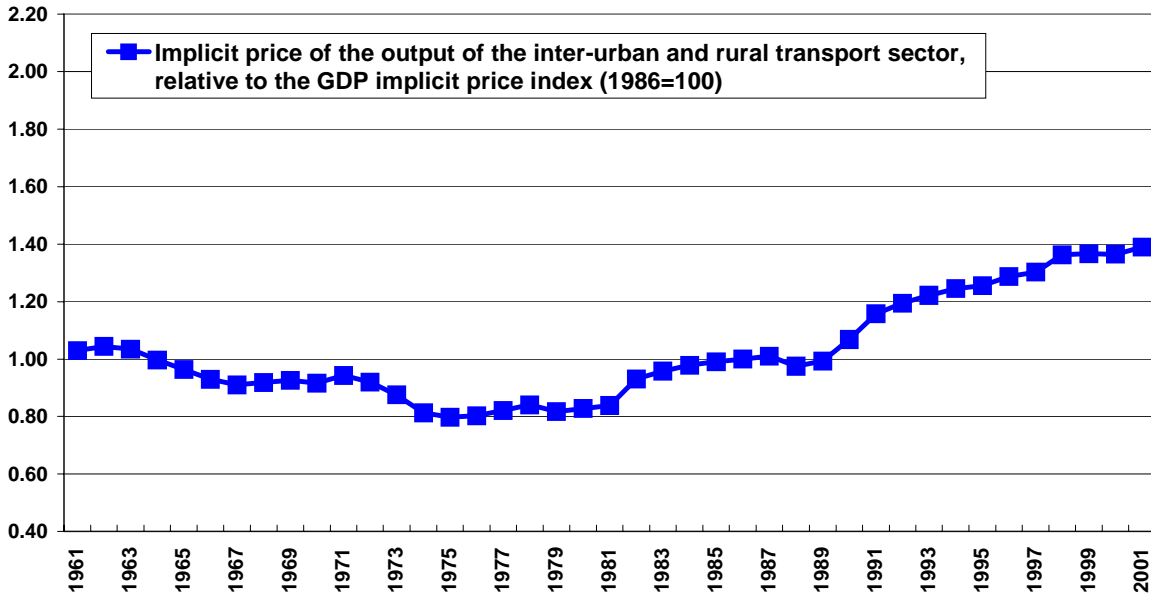
Source: Statistics Canada, Consumer Price Index, CANSIM database.

The price of moving people via inter-urban and rural bus systems fell in the 1960s and in the

1970s but has been increasing since that time (Figure 16).

Figure 16

Inter-urban and rural bus passenger prices fell during the 1960s and 1970s, but increased in the 1980 and the 1990s



Source: Statistics Canada, GDP Implicit Price Index.

Overall, the price of transporting people by public transport has increased more than the price of transporting people by private transport.

location to another has been increasing over time. Variations over time are partly due, but not solely due, to variations in the price of petroleum.

Summary

Rurality is defined by distance and (population) density. A decline in the price of distance would indicate a decline in the price of rurality and, in consequence, a greater ability for rural areas to compete with urban areas.

The decline in the price of transporting goods over time is one reason for the increase in the geographic spread of the production of components for manufactured goods – which are transported from various locations to the assembly plant (often using “just-in-time” delivery systems). This dovetails with the ongoing trend of larger manufacturers outsourcing part of their production processes to smaller, independent companies. The geographic spread of enterprises which manufacture components of the final product is due, in part, to the decline in the price of transporting goods.

In general, the price of transporting goods from one location to another has been decreasing over time and the price of transporting people from one

The price of transferring information has also declined over time. Consequently, there has been a decline in the price of rurality with respect to communication flows. However, the urban price of transferring information may have declined more – Who got Broadband first?

Interestingly, in contrast to the above, the price of transporting people has increased over time. Certainly, the price of public transportation (by bus, train or plane) has increased almost continuously. The price of private transportation (generally, the price of purchasing and operating an automobile) declined from World War II to the 1990s, which is one factor explaining the relative increase in automobile travel, relative to travel by bus, train or plane. However, the price of automobile travel has been increasing since the beginning of the 1990s.

The decline in the price of transporting goods is one factor explaining the spread of manufacturing jobs

into rural areas (Baldwin *et al.*, 2001). Rural Canada has always had manufacturing jobs (fish processing, smelting, sawmills, pulp and paper plants, etc.) but some of the newer manufacturing jobs are part of the network of just-in-time delivery systems. To the extent that the price of transporting goods might be expected to decline in the future, manufacturing jobs would be expected to continue to spread into rural areas.

The increase in the price of transporting people, if it should continue, would have important implications for rural. The price for city folks to travel to rural areas will increase – for example, the price of a tourism visit to rural Canada would increase, relatively. Also, the price for rural folks to travel to urban areas will increase – for example, the price of commuting to metro jobs would increase, relatively, which may reduce the speed of urban sprawl.

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Appendix A

The trend in prices to transport goods, information and people: Data sources and methodology

In this bulletin, we monitor the price of rurality in terms of the trend in the prices to move goods across space, to transmit information across space and to move people across space. Two alternative sources of price trends are examined.

The Input-Output tables in the Canadian System of National Accounts produce estimates of the value of output at current and constant prices for each industrial sector of the economy. An implicit price index for each corresponding output estimate is then obtained by taking the quotient of the current price estimate of the output value to its corresponding constant price value. The price trend for each sector's output is measured as the change over time in its implicit price index. For the purpose of this paper, the focus is on industries that provide transportation services and telecommunication services. These services transport goods and information across geographical space. We compare these price trends to the price trend for all (both consumption and investment) goods and services (i.e. the overall GDP implicit price index) to determine if the price of transporting goods and information is increasing or decreasing, relative to prices for the overall economy.

If the price of the output of the transportation or information services sectors is declining, relative to the GDP deflator, we would then infer that the price of distance is declining. Since rurality is distance (at least in part), we would suggest that the price of rurality is declining. However, our data refer to Canada as a whole. It is probable, in the case of information services, that the price in urban areas has declined more than the price in rural areas. Thus, the price of distance, with respect to the movement of information across geographic space, may be falling *more* in urban

areas. Unfortunately, although we may show that the price of communicating information across geographic space may be falling, we have no evidence to indicate whether urban or rural is gaining relatively (except the anecdotal observation – who has broadband?). Nevertheless, a decline in the price of providing telecommunication services will indicate that the price of this component of rurality is declining and rural areas are closer (in terms of information transfer) to other places than they used to be. Admittedly, urban areas may now be even closer to each other than they used to be.

The Consumer Price Index (CPI) measures the trend in the price of goods and services purchased by consumers. Individual consumers purchase transportation services and telecommunication services. By comparing these price trends to the trend of the overall Consumer Price Index, we can determine if the price of transporting individuals and the price of communication among individuals is increasing or decreasing, relative to the price of the overall basket of goods and services purchased by consumers as defined by the CPI. The data in our charts are monthly data from January, 1949 to October, 2005.

It is important to note one conceptual difference (there are many more) between implicit prices as computed by the national accounts and the CPI. Implicit prices as calculated by the national accounts are Paasche price indexes and as such use a basket of goods and services which changes over time (flexible basket). In contrast, the CPI is a fixed basket price index, which means that the index reflects the change over time in the price of an unchanging combination of goods and services. In the case of the former, given that the basket of items changes from period to period, any measured price change may capture not only the change in the price of the items but can also reflect the change in the composition of the basket. For this reason one cannot conclude that inflation as defined by an implicit price index is a measure of “pure” price change. In the case of the latter, the basket of

products is fixed and the resulting measure of price change is by construction “pure” because there can be no compositional shifts in the basket. In spite of this difference between the implicit price index and the CPI, the trends in prices for similar and thus comparable products remain relatively the same over time.

For example, the corresponding implicit price index for the output of the air transport sector may be higher in a given year if the sector shipped goods or people longer distances (i.e. there was a shift in the output mix) during that year compared to the previous year. We suspect that this explains in part the rise for the price of output for the air transport sector. Nevertheless, we expect that if the output mix (e.g. short-distance versus long-distance trips) were held constant, we would still witness an

increase in the price of transporting goods and people in the air transport sector.

The conceptual base of the CPI is on the other hand different. The price trends of the CPI refer to an unchanging mix of items in the consumer’s basket of goods and services. Thus, for air travel, the CPI measures the price of a ticket for a specified trip between two specific locations even if consumers should change their travel habits. We acknowledge that some consumers at some times benefit from “seat sales” – but we are suggesting that the general upward trend in CPI air transport prices for a specified trip confirms and supports the general upward trend for the GDP implicit deflator for a similar product (where the mix may change over time) of the air transport sector.

Appendix B

A note on the demand for rurality

Our bulletin on the trends in the prices of rurality invites a discussion of the “demand for rurality” and the “supply of rurality”. We might offer a simple model of our hypothesis of the underlying dynamics.

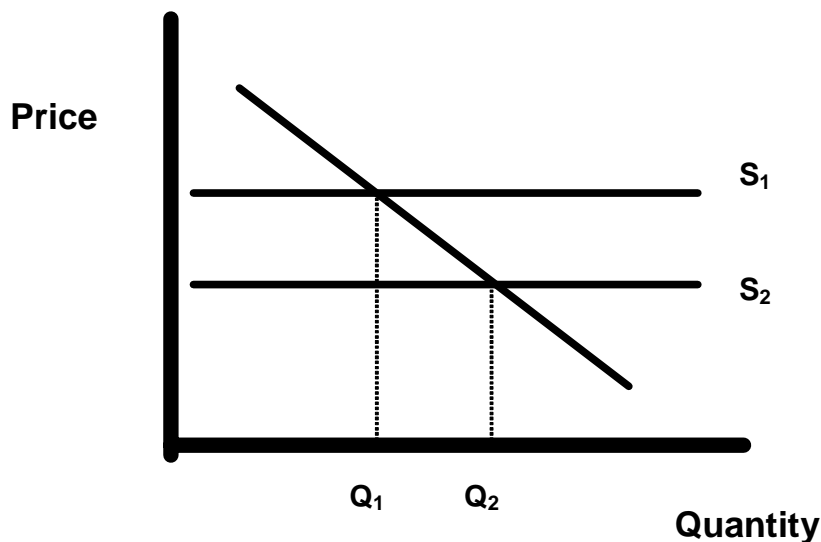
We would suggest the cost (i.e. the price of supply) of moving goods or information or people is not determined within rural Canada – rather, the cost or supply price (largely determined by technological developments elsewhere in the world, but also influenced by the world price of petroleum) is determined by factors outside rural Canada. Thus, a horizontal supply curve is hypothesized – an

increase or a decrease in the quantity supplied of moving goods or information or people would be possible at essentially the same price.

With regard to the demand for rurality – in our case, the demand for moving goods or information or people across space – we expect the usual downward-sloping demand curve, where a larger quantity would be demanded at a lower price.

We suggest that the trend in the prices reported in this bulletin is (largely) due to a shift upwards or downwards in the supply price (or “cost”) of moving goods, information or people. Thus, if the supply curve shifted down, say from S_1 to S_2 in Figure B1, then we would expect an increase in the quantity demanded for the given good or service – say, from Q_1 to Q_2 .

Figure B1



We might consider a shift in the demand curve. For example, if the incomes of consumers increased, we might expect a shift to the right in the demand for rurality, implying consumers would consume a

higher quantity of rurality (e.g. move more information or move more people) at the given supply price.

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