



Final Report: 25 March 2026

Economic Assessment of Proposed Commercial Development for Fast-track Referral

Prepared for:
RP Financial

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1. Executive Summary

Context

RP Financial (the **applicant**) seeks to develop a commercial-led project at 100 Halsey Street within Wynyard Quarter, in central Auckland. Two options are currently being considered with different economic profiles in terms of upfront investment, ongoing employment, and strategic infrastructure outcomes. Both options yield substantial commercial floorspace across five new buildings. However, Option B provides for a datacentre and supporting electricity infrastructure, which is offset by less commercial floorspace than Option A.

To expedite delivery, the applicant is seeking referral of the proposal under the Fast-track Approvals Act 2024 (**FTAA**). To assist, this report provides a high-level assessment of the proposal's economic effects – under both options – to inform consideration of the referral criteria in section 22 of the Act. The assessment focuses on the scale and nature of the proposal's one-time development impacts, the ongoing employment and economic activity expected to be sustained at maturity, and a range of wider economic effects associated with intensification in a strategic, city centre location.

Key Findings

One-Time Economic Impacts

Both development options will involve substantial one-time increases in activity through further detailed planning and design, the provision of all necessary infrastructure, and building construction. Specifically, the development of **Option A** is estimated to generate the following one-time impacts:

- 2,715 FTE-years of employment (e.g., 388 workers employed full-time for seven years each);
- Around \$425 million in GDP; and
- Approximately \$244 million in wages and salaries.

Conversely, **Option B's** development – which costs about \$500 million more than option A due to the data centre and electricity infrastructure – is estimated to generate the following one-time impacts:

- 4,870 FTE-years of employment (e.g., 696 workers employed full-time for seven years each);
- Around \$766 million in GDP; and
- Approximately \$443 million in wages and salaries.

Ongoing Economic Activity

Once fully established, the proposal's commercial and retail elements will sustain significant ongoing activity. In fact, the proposal is estimated to sustain the following annual impacts at maturity:

- Employment for approximately 1,700 to 1,830 FTEs (depending on the option);
- Around \$432 to \$463 million in annual GDP; and
- Approximately \$198 to \$214 million in annual wages and salaries.

In addition to the quantifiable one-time and ongoing economic impacts summarised just above, the proposal will also generate a range of wider economic benefits, including the following:

Efficient Intensification of the City Centre

The proposal enables more intensive use of a centrally located site within Auckland's highest-value employment area. Concentrating additional office development there helps support higher productivity activities and employment growth without displacing activity to less accessible locations.

Support for Major Infrastructure Investment

By locating additional employment floorspace within walking distance of high-capacity rapid transit, including the City Rail Link, the proposal supports the continued functioning and return on investment of regionally significant transport infrastructure and reinforces the city centre's role as Auckland's primary employment hub.

Agglomeration and Cluster Effects

Wynyard Quarter already hosts a concentration of professional, technology, creative, and public-sector activities. The proposal strengthens these existing clusters, supporting labour pooling, knowledge spillovers, and collaboration between firms.

Commercial Market Competition and Supply Responsiveness

The addition of new commercial floorspace in a prime city centre location supports competition in the commercial property market. This reduces the risk of supply constraints, encourages timely development, and improves market responsiveness over time.

Spatial Alignment of Employment and Population Growth

The proposal supports closer alignment between employment growth in the city centre and the growing residential population in and around the CBD and inner suburbs. This reduces commuting distances, supports labour market efficiency, and contributes to reduced congestion and emissions.

Enabling Higher and Better Land Use

The proposal enables a shift toward more intensive and higher-value use of centrally located land, consistent with the principle of highest and best use in an urban context, which is a precondition for economic efficiency to hold in the underlying market.

Investment Signalling Effects

Delivery of multiple new commercial buildings in Wynyard Quarter sends a clear signal of confidence in the long-term role of the city centre as Auckland's primary employment location. This can help catalyse complementary private investment and support ongoing public investment in infrastructure and public realm improvements.

Accelerated Delivery via FTAA

Finally, the FTAA provides a streamlined approval pathway with reduced consenting risk and shorter statutory timeframes than conventional Resource Management Act processes. This will materially accelerate delivery of the proposal, bringing forward both construction-phase economic stimulus and long-term employment and productivity benefits.

2. Introduction

2.1. Context

RP Financial (the **applicant**) seeks to develop a commercial-led project at 100 Halsey Street within Wynyard Quarter, in central Auckland. The proposal comprises the staged development of five buildings across the site, while retaining the recently constructed Travelodge Hotel. The development is intended to deliver a high-quality employment precinct within Auckland's city centre, incorporating predominantly commercial office activities alongside a limited amount of ground-floor retail intended to support on-site workers and contribute to street-level activity.

The site is located within Auckland's primary employment area and forms part of a precinct that has experienced sustained employment growth and commercial intensification over time. Wynyard Quarter, especially, has emerged as a major focus for office development, supported by substantial public investment in transport and public realm infrastructure, plus its proximity to the wider CBD.

An initial concept for the site focuses on a predominantly commercial office development across the five proposed buildings (**Option A**). However, the applicant is also considering an alternative configuration in which the development uses approximately 6,900 m² of commercial space in Building 2 to accommodate a data centre and associated electrical infrastructure, including a ground floor substation (**Option B**). Under this alternative scenario, the remaining buildings would continue to accommodate commercial office uses consistent with the broader masterplan for the site.

To expedite delivery, the applicant is seeking referral of the proposal under the Fast-track Approvals Act 2024 (**FTAA**). To assist, this report provides a high-level assessment of the proposal's economic effects under both development options to inform consideration of the referral criteria in section 22 of the Act. The assessment considers the scale and nature of the proposal's one-time impacts, the ongoing employment and economic activity it is expected to sustain once fully built out, and a range of wider economic effects associated with intensification in a city centre location. Where relevant, the assessment compares the economic implications of the two potential development configurations described above.

2.2. FTAA Referral Criteria

The FTAA is a new, permanent Fast-track approvals regime. The purpose of the Act is to facilitate the delivery of infrastructure or development projects with significant regional or national benefits. Under section 22 of the Act, proposals may be referred to an expert panel for Fast-track consenting where the Minister is satisfied that the project meets the purpose of the Act.

In considering whether to refer a project, the Minister may consider a range of factors set out in Section 22(2)(a). To assist decision makers, this report provides an assessment of the proposal against two of those criteria from an economic perspective. Specifically, it considers whether the project:

- ii. Delivers new or supports existing regionally/nationally significant infrastructure
- iv. Will deliver significant economic benefits.

2.3. Structure of this Document

The remainder of this document is structured as follows:

- **Section 3** describes the subject site and summarises the proposed development.
- **Section 4** outlines the economic context for the proposal.
- **Section 5** estimates the one-time impacts of the proposal's future development.
- **Section 6** estimates the annual impacts of non-residential activities sustained onsite.
- **Section 7** considers a range of wider economic effects arising from the proposal.
- **Section 8** considers the wider impacts associated with the proposed data centre.
- **Section 9** outlines how the FTAA process would materially accelerate delivery of the proposal.
- **Section 10** provides concluding comments and a checklist against the FTAA referral criteria.

3. About the Proposal

3.1. Site Location & Description

The subject site is located at 100 Halsey Street within Wynyard Quarter, on the western edge of Auckland's city centre. Wynyard Quarter forms part of the city centre's waterfront precinct and has emerged as a major focus for commercial development and employment growth over the past two decades. The site benefits from proximity to the Viaduct Harbour, the wider CBD, and major public transport infrastructure, including the City Rail Link stations within walking distance.

The site sits adjacent to the Amey Daldy Park and a Travelodge Hotel. It is surrounded by a combination of established commercial, hospitality, and public realm uses that characterise Wynyard Quarter as a mixed-use employment precinct.

Figure 1: Site Location within Wynyard Quarter

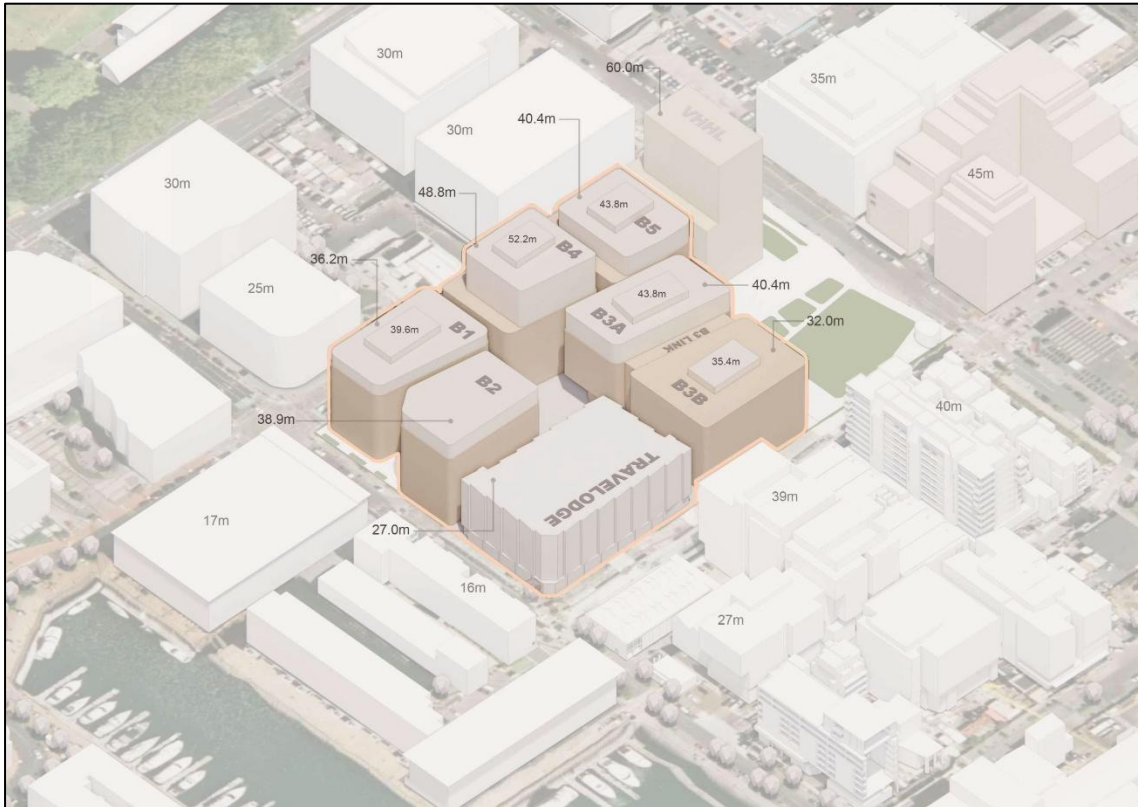


3.2. About the Proposed Development

The proposal involves the staged development of five buildings on the site, while retaining the recently constructed Travelodge hotel. The project aims to deliver a commercial-led precinct within Wynyard Quarter that integrates with the surrounding street network, public realm, and existing land uses.

The development is predominantly office in nature, with a portion of ground-floor areas intended for retail uses, such as cafés and small-format services, designed to support workers and visitors and reinforce Wynyard Quarter's role as a mixed-use employment precinct.

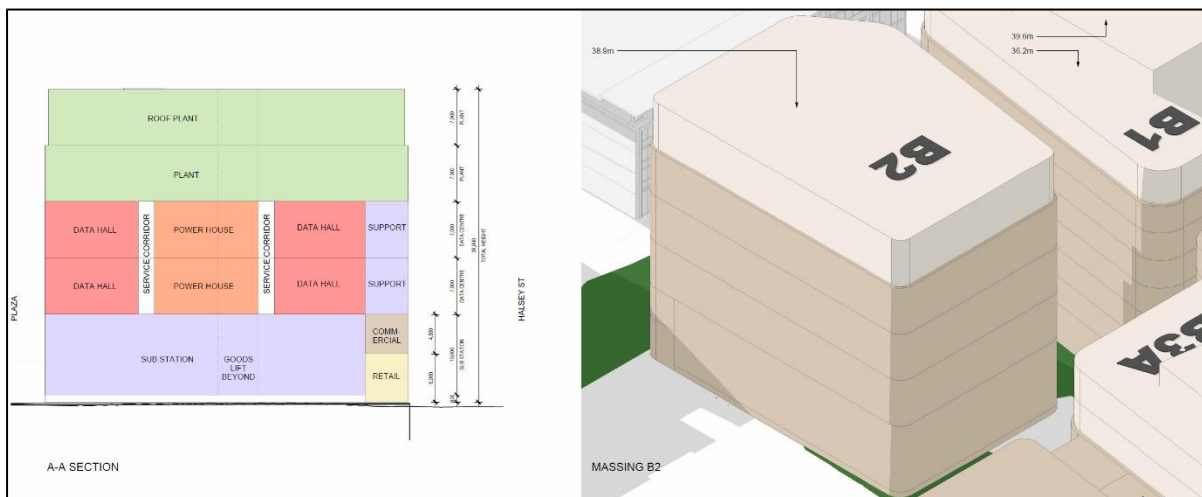
Figure 2: Indicative Massing and Layout at 100 Halsey Street



Two potential development options are currently being considered for the site. These differ only in relation to the use of Building 2, while the overall structure and built form remain broadly consistent.

- **Option A – Commercial Office Development:** Under this option, Building 2 is fully developed as conventional commercial office buildings, with some ground-floor retail.
- **Option B – Data Centre Development:** Under an alternative configuration, Building 2 would instead be used for a data centre and associated electrical infrastructure, including ground floor substation, retail and commercial uses, with data centre and support floors above.

Figure 3: Indicative Massing and Section for Proposed Data Centre (Building 2)



3.3. Option A – Anticipated Yields

Table 1 summarises the anticipated floorspace yields by building and by level for Option A. In total, it provides for in the order of **80,000 m²** of gross floor area (**GFA**). This comprises:

- **Commercial office:** The majority of total GFA, predominantly located above ground level across the five buildings; and
- **Retail:** Ground floor activities concentrated at street level, accounting for approximately 20 percent of total ground-floor floorspace, or 2 percent of total floorspace.

Table 1: Indicative Floorspace Yields by Activity Type – **Option A**

Category	Total GFA (m ²)	Share of GFA
Commercial	78,400	98%
Retail	1,600	2%
Total	80,000	100%

3.4. Option B – Anticipated Yields

Under Option B, while the building envelope remains broadly the same, the internal use of Building 2 differs significantly. The ground level would contain electrical infrastructure associated with the substation, while upper levels would accommodate the data centre server halls and associated support spaces.

Retail and commercial activity along the Halsey Street frontage is proposed to be retained. Consistent with Option A, it is assumed that approximately 20 percent of total ground-floor floorspace across the development would be allocated to retail uses, resulting in the same share of retail GFA.

The estimated GFA for the data centre and associated infrastructure was estimated based off client planning documents showing its potential location and building footprint. Indicative floorspace yields by activity type are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Indicative Floorspace Yields by Activity Type – **Option B**

Category	Total GFA (m ²)	Share of GFA
Commercial	71,500	89%
Data Centre ¹	6,900	9%
Retail	1,600	2%
Total	80,000	100%

¹ Excludes ground-floor retail GFA.

4. Auckland City Centre Context

4.1. About the Auckland City Centre

The Auckland city centre forms the heart of the regional and national economies and sits atop the commercial centres hierarchy in the Auckland Unitary Plan (AUP), as reflected in its bespoke zoning as Business – City Centre Zone (CCZ). Once referred to as the central business district (CBD), the recent shift to the term “city centre” better reflects its increasingly diverse roles and functions. These include its emergence as a major residential growth node, plus its integral role as the centre of the region’s fast-recovering tourism economy.²

In 2012, a Central City Masterplan (CCMP) was formed to guide the area’s future use and development.³ It explained that the city centre effectively comprises a cluster of distinct areas, each with its own characteristics. This concept was also carried through into a recent refresh of the CCMP, which defined the city centre to comprise the various precincts shown in the figure below.

Figure 4: City Centre Precincts in the 2020 CCMP



² <https://www.aucklandccmp.co.nz/about-the-city-centre-masterplan-ccmp/geography-of-the-ccmp/>

³ <https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/content/dam/ac/docs/plans/place/city-centre-masterplan-2012-print-version.pdf>

Each precinct has its own distinct look and feel, often catering for a specific housing and job market. This may be due to its location within the city centre and/or the presence of a foundational activity, like the two universities that anchor the learning quarter.

4.2. Economic Importance

According to Infometrics,⁴ the city centre generated nearly \$35 billion of GDP in the year to March 2025. Despite occupying only around 0.002 percent of New Zealand’s total land area, it accounted for approximately 21 percent of Auckland’s regional GDP and about 8 percent of national GDP. Over the past decade, city centre GDP has grown faster than both regional and national benchmarks, averaging 4.7 percent per annum compared with 3.1 percent regionally and 2.5 percent nationally. Currently, the city centre accommodates around one in six regional jobs (16 percent), up from about one in seven (around 15 percent) in 2000.⁵

As New Zealand’s primary commercial location, the city centre hosts a high concentration of finance, insurance, legal, and professional services firms. Employment in these high-value industries is around three to six times more concentrated than the corresponding regional and national averages. Reflecting this industry mix, GDP per worker in the city centre is approximately \$224,000, materially higher than the regional average of \$169,000 and the national average of \$156,000.

4.3. The Growing Importance of Wynyard Quarter

Within Auckland’s city centre, there have been notable shifts in the spatial patterns of population and employment growth. To demonstrate this, we obtained detailed population and employment data for the 17 SA2s that span the city centre, including Wynyard-Viaduct, as delineated in **Appendix A**.

Table 3 combines population and employment counts to indicate changes in the overall level and concentration of activity across each city centre SA2 between 2000 and 2025.⁶

Table 3: City Centre Population + Employment Counts by SA2 in 2000 & 2025

City Centre SA2s	2000	2025	Change	CAGR
Wynyard-Viaduct	4,530	26,965	22,435	7.4%
Quay Street-Customs Street	9,780	27,560	17,780	4.2%
Victoria Park	7,790	18,700	10,910	3.6%
Shortland Street	4,630	14,550	9,920	4.7%
Hobson Ridge North	9,880	18,705	8,825	2.6%
Hobson Ridge Central	1,280	4,480	3,200	5.1%
Anzac Avenue	3,550	5,920	2,370	2.1%
Symonds Street West	3,730	6,005	2,275	1.9%
Auckland-University	4,660	6,895	2,235	1.6%
Queen Street	17,020	19,195	2,175	0.5%
Queen Street South West	6,230	7,895	1,665	1.0%
Symonds Street North West	3,170	4,590	1,420	1.5%
Karangahape East	1,560	2,655	1,095	2.1%

⁴ Most of the statistics in this section were sourced from <https://rep.infometrics.co.nz/auckland-city>

⁵ Statistics New Zealand Business Demography, February 2025.

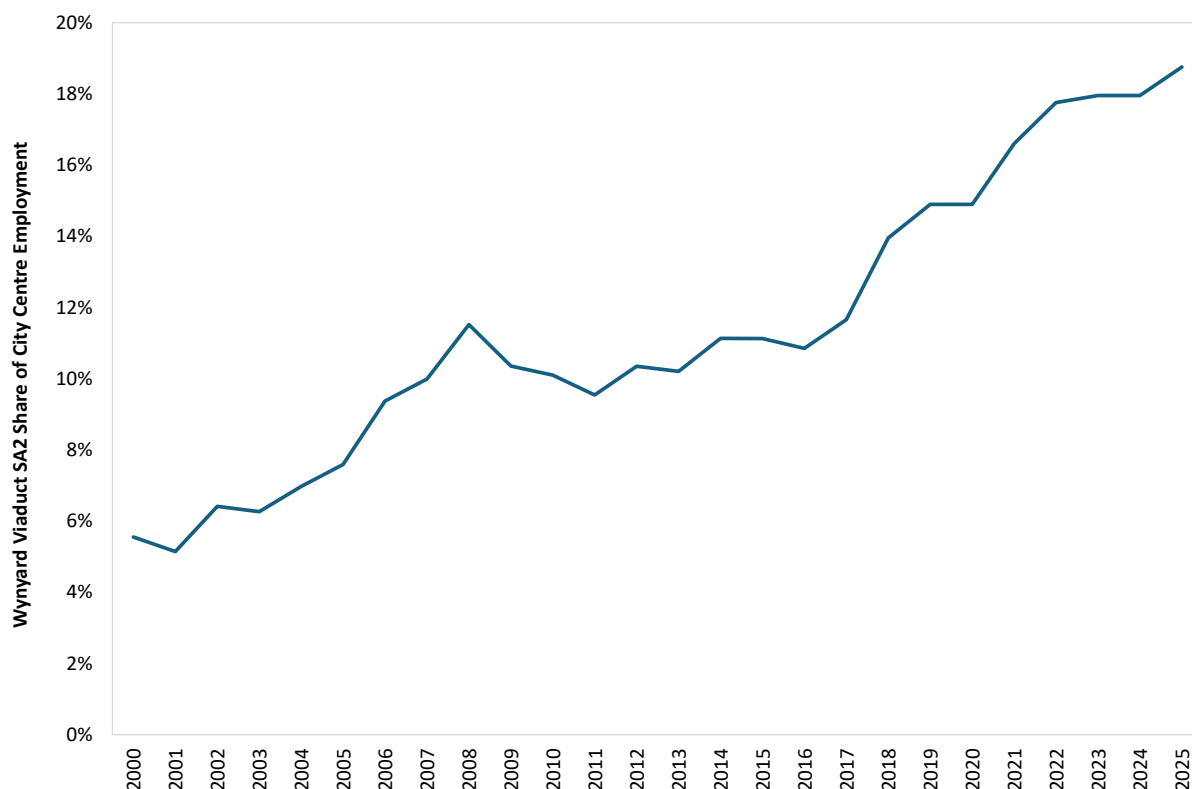
⁶ This is the largest date range available.

City Centre SA2s	2000	2025	Change	CAGR
The Strand	1,140	1,965	825	2.2%
Symonds Street East	2,740	3,255	515	0.7%
Karangahape West	2,750	2,600	-150	-0.2%
Hobson Ridge South	2,940	2,745	-195	-0.3%
City Centre Total	89,380	176,705	87,325	2.8%

As we can see, growth has been concentrated along the waterfront, with the Wynyard-Viaduct and Quay Street-Customs Street SA2s accounting for nearly half (46%) of the collective city centre population and employment growth over the last 25 years. At the other end of the spectrum, K Road West has fewer residents and workers than 25 years ago, while mid-town has grown much slower than downtown.

Figure 5 provides an alternative view. It plots Wynyard Viaduct SA2's share of city centre employment from 2000 to 2025, which more than tripled from 5.5 percent to 18.8 percent over that period.

Figure 5: Wynyard Viaduct SA2 Share of Auckland City Centre Employment from 2000 to 2025



Together, these trends illustrate a clear re-orientation of city centre growth toward the waterfront and, in particular, Wynyard Quarter. The sustained increase in Wynyard-Viaduct's share of city centre employment reflects both its capacity to accommodate large-format commercial development and its attractiveness as a location for higher-value, knowledge-intensive activities. In this context, the proposal is well aligned with observed spatial patterns of employment growth and reinforces an established trajectory by introducing new activity into a rapidly emerging part of the city centre.

5. One-Time Impacts of Development

This section estimates the one-off economic impacts associated with the construction and development of new buildings and infrastructure enabled by each development option.

5.1. Introduction

The development enabled by the proposal will generate significant one-off economic activity during the construction and development phase. These impacts arise from expenditure on planning and design services, civil works, building construction, and associated infrastructure provision.

As outlined in Section 3, two potential development options are currently being considered:

- **Option A: Commercial Office Development**, where the entire development is fully commercial with predominantly office space, and the remainder retail.
- **Option B: Data Centre Development**, where Building 2 accommodates a data centre and associated electrical infrastructure, alongside a small amount of ground-floor retail.

Because these options involve different types and scales of capital investment, the associated construction-related economic impacts differ between the two scenarios.

5.2. Methodology

We quantified the one-time economic impacts using a technique called multiplier analysis, which traces the impacts of additional economic activity in one sector – such as construction – through its supply chain to estimate the overall impacts, including flow-on effects. These comprise two parts:⁷

- **Direct impacts** – which capture all on-site and off-site activities directly related to the proposal's development, e.g., builders and their various subcontractors and suppliers, some of which will be on-site, and some of which will be off-site.
- **Indirect effects** – which capture additional (supply-chain) impacts arising when businesses working directly on the project source goods and services from their suppliers, who in turn may need to source goods and services from their own suppliers, and so on.

These economic impacts are measured in various ways, including:

⁷ In some applications of multiplier analysis, induced impacts are also reported. These represent the additional economic activity generated when workers employed directly or indirectly by a proposal spend their wages and salaries in the wider economy. While such spending does create some additional demand, much of it would have occurred anyway, since many workers (particularly those with specialist skills) would likely be employed elsewhere in New Zealand absent the proposal. For this reason, induced effects tend to overstate the economic benefits. Including them can also lead to implausible results, such as suggesting that every dollar of expenditure generates more than one dollar of GDP. In practice, the economy cannot expand indefinitely, as firms face limits on available labour and resources. These constraints, along with rising prices, prevent such outcomes. Accordingly, this assessment reports only direct and indirect effects.

- **Contributions to GDP (or value-added)** – GDP measures the difference between a business’ inputs (excluding wages and salaries) and the value of its outputs. It captures the value that a business adds to its inputs to create its own outputs, hence the term “value-added.”
- **Total FTEs** – which equals the total number of full-time equivalent workers (FTE) employed.
- **Total Jobs** – which is the total number of people employed, i.e., including both part-time and full-time workers.
- **Total wages and salaries** – which equals the total amount paid in wages and salaries.

For example, when a construction firm wins a new project, they will subcontract various parts of the build to other companies, such as glaziers, tilers, plumbers, electricians, etc. Those subcontractors, in turn, will then usually need to source additional materials and services from their suppliers, who may then need to source materials and services from their suppliers, and so on. Multiplier analysis enables the impacts of these supply chain interactions to be captured to estimate the overall impact of the new building project, including its direct and flow-on (supply chain) effects.

5.3. Limitations

While multiplier analysis is a widely used tool for estimating the wider economic effects of industry activity, it has several limitations that should be borne in mind when interpreting results:

- **Fixed relationships:** Models assume fixed input-output ratios between industries and do not capture technological change, substitution, or efficiency improvements over time.
- **No price or capacity constraints:** The framework assumes that supply can expand to meet increased demand without affecting prices, wages, or resource availability. In reality, constraints (e.g., limited skilled labour) may dampen the scale of impacts.
- **Average industry structure:** Input-output coefficients are based on national industry averages. Where a project’s cost structure differs materially relative to industry norms, results may diverge from actual outcomes.
- **No feedback effects:** Broader economy-wide feedback loops (such as inflationary pressures or exchange rate effects) are not captured.

These limitations mean that multiplier analysis should be viewed as providing indicative estimates of the scale and distribution of economic impacts, rather than precise forecasts.

5.4. Development Assumptions

Our analysis incorporates various assumptions about the likely scale and cost of future development. Because reliable information was available on likely commercial (and data centre) yields, we started with those. Specifically, we first estimated the costs of all building and datacentre construction. Then, we estimated planning and consenting, and earthworks and infrastructure costs as percentages of those. Specifically, we estimated that planning and consenting costs would equal about two percent

of total construction costs for Option A, with earthworks and supporting infrastructure costs equalling 20 percent of construction costs (based on our experience with similar developments elsewhere). In addition, Option B incurs significant one-off planning, design, consenting and civil work costs related to the data centre and substation, which the project team have provided.

Finally, based on the location and nature of the proposal, we assume that 85 percent of the direct and indirect national one-time impacts accrue to the Auckland region,⁸ with the other 15 percent flowing to the rest of New Zealand.

5.5. Summary of Development Costs

Table 4 summarises the estimated development costs for each option based on the assumptions set out above, and incorporating the latest building consent costs.⁹ The commercial, data centre, and substation construction costs reflect direct construction expenditure only, i.e., they exclude planning, design, and consenting costs, and civils and infrastructure costs, which are incorporated within the respective line items. To be conservative, substation expenditure excludes contingency, consistent with the treatment of the other development cost estimates in the table below.

Table 4: Summary of Estimated Development Costs (\$ millions)

Development Activity	Option A	Option B
Planning, design, and consent	\$10	\$50
Civils and infrastructure	\$104	\$199
Commercial construction	\$520	\$475
Data centre construction	n/a	\$420
Substation construction	n/a	\$22
Total Cost ex GST	\$634	\$1,167

Finally, these costs were mapped to sectors of the national economy then overlaid with the latest economic multipliers¹⁰ to derive the one-off impacts of development of each option, as set out below.

5.6. Option A: Estimated Impacts on GDP, Jobs, and Wages

Table 5 presents the one-time impacts of Option A's development based on the methodology, inputs, and assumptions described above. All activities are assumed to occur over a seven-year period.

In summary, we estimate that:

- Future planning, design, and consenting will create full-time employment for seven people over the seven-year development period, generating total wages and salaries of \$5 million;

⁸ In some countries, regional I-O tables are commonly used to estimate subnational economic impacts. However, in New Zealand, the regions are generally too small and economically interlinked to produce reliable standalone I-O tables. Regional data is often sparse, outdated, or lacks the industry granularity required for robust modelling. Accordingly, we have used national multipliers and attributed a share of national impacts to the Auckland region.

⁹ Build costs were based on average values over the two years to December 2025 in the Auckland Region, as reported in building consent data.

¹⁰ Multipliers were derived by Insight Economics using Stats NZ source data, including the Annual Enterprise Survey, Linked Employer-Employee Data, Quarterly Employment Survey, and Monthly Employment Indicators.

- Land development (including infrastructure provision and all other civil works) will create full-time work for 65 people, with \$43 million paid in wages and salaries; and
- Construction will provide full-time work for 316 people, with \$196 million in wages & salaries.

Table 5: **OPTION A:** One-Time Economic Impacts of Development (spread over seven years)

	Planning & Design	Infrastructure & Civil Works	Construction	Development Totals
Annual Jobs				
Direct impacts	5	30	65	100
Indirect impacts	3	39	272	314
Total	8	69	337	414
Annual FTEs				
Direct impacts	4	29	62	95
Indirect impacts	3	36	254	293
Total	7	65	316	388
Total Wages \$m				
Direct impacts	\$3	\$20	\$45	\$68
Indirect impacts	\$2	\$23	\$151	\$176
Total	\$5	\$43	\$196	\$244
Total GDP \$m				
Direct impacts	\$5	\$28	\$77	\$110
Indirect impacts	\$3	\$40	\$272	\$315
Total	\$8	\$68	\$349	\$425

Overall, Option A's development is estimated to provide full-time work for approximately 388 people for seven years, generating \$244 million in wages and salaries, and boosting GDP by \$425 million.

5.7. Option B: Estimated Impacts on GDP, Jobs, and Wages

Next, Table 6 presents the one-time impacts of Option B's development based on the methodology, inputs, and assumptions described above. As discussed, Option B involves the same overall building envelope as Option A but with a different internal configuration for Building 2, which accommodates a data centre and associated substation infrastructure in place of a portion of the commercial office floorspace. The figures presented below therefore represent the total one-time impacts of Option B's development as a whole, not an increment over Option A. The difference between the two options reflects the net effect of the additional data centre and substation infrastructure, offset by a modest reduction in commercial floorspace. All activities are assumed to occur over a seven-year period.

In summary, we estimate that:

- Future planning, design, and consenting will create full-time employment for 35 people over the seven-year development period, generating total wages and salaries of \$25 million;

- Land development (including infrastructure provision and all other civil works) will create full-time work for 124 people, with \$81 million paid in wages and salaries; and
- Construction will provide full-time work for 537 people, with \$337 million in wages and salaries.

Table 6: **OPTION B:** One-Time Economic Impacts of Development (spread over seven years)

	Planning & Design	Infrastructure & Civil Works	Construction	Development Totals
Annual Jobs				
Direct impacts	24	57	189	270
Indirect impacts	16	75	381	472
Total	40	132	570	742
Annual FTEs				
Direct impacts	21	55	182	258
Indirect impacts	14	69	355	438
Total	35	124	537	696
Total Wages \$m				
Direct impacts	\$16	\$38	\$121	\$175
Indirect impacts	\$9	\$43	\$216	\$268
Total	\$25	\$81	\$337	\$443
Total GDP \$m				
Direct impacts	\$25	\$54	\$200	\$279
Indirect impacts	\$15	\$77	\$395	\$487
Total	\$40	\$131	\$595	\$766

Overall, Option B's development is estimated to provide full-time work for nearly 700 people for seven years, generating \$443 million in wages and salaries, and boosting GDP by \$766 million.

6. Ongoing Impacts of Future Uses

This section estimates the annual economic impacts of future onsite activities enabled by each option once the development is fully completed.

6.1. Introduction

In addition to the one-off economic impacts associated with the proposal's development, the uses enabled by the completed buildings will sustain ongoing economic activity over time. These activities will generate employment and contribute to economic output in the form of annual GDP and wages.

Because the two potential development configurations proposed differ in their underlying land uses and employment characteristics, their ongoing economic impacts also differ. This section therefore estimates the annual economic impacts associated with each option.

6.2. Methodology

We estimated the potential annual economic impacts of future activities enabled by the proposal by:

1. Overlaying GFA-per-worker ratios onto the estimated commercial and retail floorspace to derive total employment supported onsite at full build-out.¹¹
2. Allocating these roles to their respective industries.
3. Applying the same economic multipliers used in Section 5 to translate future ongoing employment into corresponding measures of annual GDP, wages and salaries.

For the data centre scenario, employment was estimated using an industry benchmark of approximately 0.35 operational jobs per MW of installed IT capacity, based on a review of comparable developments. This ratio was applied to the project's end-state IT capacity to estimate the scale of operational employment supported by the facility.

6.3. Limitations

All figures represent the total scale of economic activity that could occur onsite once the development is fully established. It is important to note that the results presented here represent **gross economic impacts**, some of which may have occurred elsewhere in the absence of the proposal. We have not attempted to quantify the extent of any displacement. Additionally, employment estimates for the data centre scenario are based on industry benchmarks and may vary depending on operational practices, automation levels, and tenancy arrangements.

¹¹ Typical office employment densities in New Zealand range from around 20 to 25 m² of GFA per worker for predominantly office-based uses. While the proposed buildings are expected to be largely office in nature, a higher and more conservative ratio of 40 m² per worker has been adopted to allow for the possibility of lower-density layouts, shared spaces, and any potential non-office commercial functions. For retail floorspace, a ratio of 50 m² per worker has been assumed, consistent with standard benchmarks for retail activities.

6.4. Inputs & Assumptions

Under Option A, the proposal enables approximately 80,000 m² of commercial floorspace. Under Option B, Building 2 accommodates a data centre, and consequently introduces a new category of associated digital infrastructure employment.

Table 7 shows the floorspace and GFA-per-worker ratios used to estimate employment supported onsite at full build-out for both options. The development under Option A could sustain employment for approximately 2,100 workers at full build-out. Under Option B, the development's commercial and retail floorspace would support employment for approximately 1,850 workers. In addition, the data centre component is assumed to support operational employment based on an industry benchmark of 0.35 jobs per MW of IT capacity. Applying this ratio to the facility's end-state capacity of up to 88 MW indicates approximately 30 operational jobs associated with the data centre.

Table 7: High-Level Estimation of Floor Areas and Workers

Activity	Total GFA (m ²)		Future Workers	
	Option A	Option B	Option A	Option B
Commercial	78,400	71,500	1,960	1,790
Retail	1,600	1,600	30	30
Data Centre	n/a	6,900	n/a	30
Total	80,000	80,000	1,990	1,850

6.5. Option A: Annual GDP, Jobs, and Wages

The table below summarises the annual economic impacts of future activity enabled by Option A in terms of FTEs employed, GDP contributed, and wages generated.

Table 8: Option A: High-Level Estimation of Annual Economic Impacts by Activity

Activity	Jobs	FTEs	GDP \$m	Wages \$m
Commercial	1,960	1,808	\$461	\$213
Retail	30	23	\$2	\$1
Totals	1,990	1,831	\$463	\$214

In summary, under Option A, the development could sustain the following activity on an ongoing annual basis:

- Around 1,831 full-time equivalent jobs;
- Approximately \$463 million in annual GDP; and
- Around \$214 million in annual wages and salaries.

6.6. Option B: Annual GDP, Jobs, and Wages

Next, we summarise the annual economic impacts of future activity enabled by Option B, as presented in the table below.

Table 9: High-Level Estimation of Annual Economic Impacts by Activity

Activity	Jobs	FTEs	GDP \$m	Wages \$m
Commercial	1,790	1,652	\$421	\$194
Retail	30	23	\$2	\$1
Data Centre	30	26	\$9	\$3
Totals	1,850	1,701	\$432	\$198

Under Option B, the development would sustain the following activity on an ongoing annual basis:

- Around 1,701 full-time equivalent jobs;
- Approximately \$432 million in annual GDP; and
- Around \$198 million in annual wages and salaries.

6.7. Wider Ongoing Employment Impacts

Beyond the direct employment sustained on site, the ongoing commercial and retail activities enabled by the proposal will generate wider economic effects across the Auckland economy.

Under both options, the concentration of employment in Wynyard Quarter will support demand for a wide range of professional, technical, and business support services, reinforcing existing industry clusters within the city centre. In the case of the data centre scenario, the development would also contribute to Auckland’s digital infrastructure ecosystem, supporting technology-enabled activities and strengthening the city’s role as New Zealand’s primary digital services hub.

Over time, the scale and stability of employment supported by the proposal will contribute to labour market depth, skills development, and productivity in Auckland’s primary employment centre, consistent with the city centre’s role as the region’s highest-value location for knowledge-intensive activity.

Additionally, given the site’s proximity to rapid transit and established amenities, a moderate share of household expenditure is likely to occur locally, strengthening agglomeration benefits and supporting the vitality of the surrounding precinct.

7. Wider Economic Impacts

This section considers a range of wider economic impacts of the proposal. The following benefits apply under both development options, unless otherwise stated.

7.1. Wider Benefits of Intensification

The city centre is Auckland's most accessible and highest-value location, making it inherently suitable for taller buildings and higher employment densities over time. Concentrating office development in this location enables more intensive use of scarce land, supports higher productivity activities, and maximises agglomeration benefits associated with proximity between firms, workers, and services. In a largely built-out CBD, intensification through height is the primary mechanism for accommodating growth without displacing activity to less accessible locations.

7.2. Support for Major Infrastructure Investments

The proposal helps leverage substantial public investment already made or committed in and around the CBD, including the City Rail Link and major public realm upgrades at Wynyard Quarter's Headland Park (Te Ara Tukutuku). For instance, by locating additional employment floorspace within walking distance of high-capacity rapid transit, the proposal improves the return on these investments by increasing patronage, reducing car dependence, and supporting mode shift. This alignment between land use and infrastructure investment is central to achieving efficient urban outcomes.

7.3. Public Realm Improvements

The proposal incorporates a range of on-site public realm improvements that enhance amenity, permeability, and street-level activity within Wynyard Quarter, thereby reinforcing its role as a mixed-use waterfront precinct. It introduces a fine-grained network of new and upgraded pedestrian laneways running through the site, improving mid-block connectivity between Halsey Street, Daldy Street, Gaunt Street, and the wider waterfront precinct. Active ground-floor frontages are distributed along key street edges and internal lanes to support pedestrian activity throughout the day and improve perceived safety. The development also incorporates landscaped setback areas with tree planting, seating, and high-quality paving, providing informal spaces for rest and social interaction and complementing nearby public assets such as Amey Daldy Park. Together, these elements strengthen the quality and functionality of the public realm and support the higher employment densities enabled by the proposal by improving the attractiveness for workers, visitors, and adjacent businesses.

7.4. Commercial Market Competition

By enabling additional commercial capacity in a prime city centre location, the proposal supports competition in the market. Increased competitive pressure reduces the risk of landowners exercising "market power" through delayed development or inflated rents, and encourages more timely and efficient delivery of employment space. This is consistent with NPS-UD emphasis on competitive land markets as the cornerstone of economic efficiency.

7.5. Spatial Matching of Population & Employment Growth

The proposal supports better spatial alignment between employment growth in the city centre and the rapidly growing residential population in and around the CBD and inner suburbs. Locating offices

close to where people live reduces average commuting distances, lowers transport costs, and improves labour market matching. Over time, this contributes to reduced congestion, lower emissions, and improved workforce participation.

7.6. Agglomeration Benefits with Surrounding Land Uses

Wynyard Quarter already hosts a concentration of high-value professional, technology, creative, and public sector activities. Additional office development strengthens these clusters and enhances knowledge spillovers, labour pooling, and collaboration between firms. Proximity to hospitality, retail, and recreational uses further reinforces agglomeration benefits by supporting informal interaction and improving the overall functioning of the precinct as a place of work.

7.7. Enabling Higher & Better Land Uses

The proposal enables a shift toward more intensive and higher-value use of centrally located land, consistent with the principle of highest and best use in an urban context, which is a precondition for economic efficiency to hold in the underlying market.

7.8. Investment Signal Effects

Finally, we note that delivery of multiple new commercial buildings in Wynyard Quarter sends a clear signal of confidence in the long-term role of the city centre as Auckland's primary employment hub. Over time, this can help spur on, accelerate, or bring forward complementary private investment in adjacent commercial, residential, and service activities, and support continued public investment in infrastructure and public space. Such signalling effects are particularly relevant in the context of post-pandemic recovery for the CBD.

8. Wider Impacts of Proposed Data Centre

This section considers wider impacts associated with the potential development of a data centre on the site.

8.1. Electricity Demand and National Contribution

The proposed data centre represents a significant new electricity demand within Auckland's central city. Based on the current project specifications, the facility would initially provide approximately 35 MW of IT load capacity, supported by a dedicated high-voltage electricity connection.

Total electricity consumption for a data centre is typically higher than the IT load itself due to additional energy requirements for cooling, power conversion, and other supporting systems. The facility is designed to achieve a power usage effectiveness (PUE) of approximately 1.3, meaning total facility electricity demand is approximately 30 percent higher than the IT load.¹²

On this basis, a 35 MW IT load facility would have a total operational demand of approximately 46 MW, or circa 48 MVA of power supply capacity. Assuming continuous operation, this equates to annual electricity consumption of approximately 400 GWh per year.

For context, New Zealand's total electricity consumption is approximately 40,000 GWh per year, meaning the facility would account for roughly 1.0 percent of national electricity demand once operational.¹³

At full end-state capacity, the facility is expected to support up to 88 MW of IT load. At the same PUE of 1.3, this implies total operational demand of approximately 114 MW, or circa 120 MVA of power supply capacity, equivalent to around 1,000 GWh of electricity per year. At this scale the facility would account for approximately 2.5 percent of national electricity consumption, representing a substantial new source of electricity demand within the national generation and transmission system.

Beyond the scale of electricity consumption, the demand profile associated with data centres is also relevant to the operation of the electricity system. Data centres typically operate continuously and maintain relatively stable power demand in order to support uninterrupted digital services. This results in a high load factor and a stable baseload demand profile, with limited daily or seasonal variability relative to many other industrial or commercial loads.

From a system perspective, large and predictable electricity loads can support more efficient utilisation of generation and transmission infrastructure by reducing volatility in demand and improving system load factors. In practice, this type of demand can contribute to smoothing daily demand profiles and supporting the efficient operation of electricity generation assets and transmission networks. As a result, large-scale digital infrastructure developments such as data

¹² For context, benchmarking assumptions used in the Cushman & Wakefield *Asia Pacific Data Centre Construction Cost Guide (2025)* assume a PUE of 1.5 for a typical data centre operating at full capacity, while newer, purpose-built facilities increasingly target PUE values of 1.3 or below.

¹³ Source: www.mbie.govt.nz/building-and-energy/energy-and-natural-resources/energy-statistics-and-modelling/energy-publications-and-technical-papers/energy-in-new-zealand/energy-in-new-zealand-2025/electricity

centres are often viewed as providing a stable source of electricity demand within the broader energy system.

8.2. Contribution to Auckland as a Digital Infrastructure Hub

The proposal would strengthen Auckland's position as New Zealand's primary digital infrastructure hub by adding large-scale, centrally located data centre capacity in the country's largest technology market. Auckland already accounts for more than half of national tech-sector GDP, employs over 68,000 people in the sector, and hosts 60 percent of New Zealand's top 200 technology companies.¹⁴ In that context, the delivery of a significant data centre facility, with the potential to scale materially over time, would increase the city's capacity to support cloud computing, enterprise hosting, digital service delivery, and other data-intensive activities, with the ultimate scale and classification of the facility dependent on the nature and requirements of the tenants and IT workloads it supports.

In addition, the proposal is well aligned with a rapidly growing global demand for data centre capacity. A recent analysis by Boston Consulting Group (BCG) notes that global computing capacity is expected to more than double by 2030, driven in large part by the rise of generative AI, which is forecast to grow at a compound annual rate of 38 percent between 2025 and 2030.¹⁵ This is creating demand not only for very large-scale training facilities, but also for low-latency compute infrastructure located close to end users; the type of capacity that a centrally located Auckland facility is well positioned to provide.

BCG's analysis identifies a range of computing workloads that can be serviced from New Zealand-based data centres, depending on their latency requirements. For workloads requiring round-trip times of less than 50 milliseconds, Auckland-based facilities can serve both domestic needs and Australia's east coast. This includes applications critical to the banking, financial services, and insurance sectors, such as real-time fraud detection and payment authorisation systems, as well as disaster recovery and business continuity services. For workloads with slightly less stringent latency requirements (up to 200 milliseconds), the serviceable market extends across the wider Asia-Pacific region, encompassing enterprise systems, virtual desktop and remote application streaming, and recommendation and personalisation engines.

Beyond these established enterprise workloads, a centrally located data centre facility also positions Auckland to serve the broader corporate office market as organisations increasingly adopt AI-enabled workflows. The growing use of AI assistants, knowledge search and retrieval tools, real-time meeting copilots, and AI-powered voice agents all require locally hosted, low-latency compute capacity. As AI becomes embedded in everyday business operations, demand for nearby data centre infrastructure to support these applications is expected to grow significantly.

8.3. Foreign Direct Investment and Technology Sector Growth

The provision of large-scale digital infrastructure can support wider economic development by strengthening a region's attractiveness for technology-related investment. Many international technology firms consider factors such as data centre availability, connectivity, and power

¹⁴ Source: <https://aucklandeconomicdevelopment.com/invest/key-industries/technology>

¹⁵ Boston Consulting Group, *Data centres as strategic infrastructure: unlocking value for NZ Inc*, February 2026.

infrastructure when evaluating potential locations for cloud services, digital platforms, and regional operations.

New Zealand's proposition as a data centre location extends well beyond its domestic market. The country is part of a growing international fibre-optic network, with sub-sea cable connections directly to both Australia and the United States, and additional cables, including the Honomoana cable to Australia and the United States (expected 2026) and the Tasman Ring Network to Australia (expected 2027), scheduled to come online in the near term. This connectivity means that Auckland-based data centre infrastructure can serve not only local demand but also a share of the wider regional and global market.

These connectivity advantages are complemented by a broader set of competitive strengths that position New Zealand favourably for international digital infrastructure investment. New Zealand offers a stable political and regulatory environment, ranking second globally on The Economist's Democracy Index and first on the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Index.¹⁶ It has a robust data privacy framework recognised by the European Union as providing an adequate level of data protection, a status held by only a small number of jurisdictions, enabling the free flow of data between New Zealand and the EU without additional safeguards.¹⁷ The country also has access to competitively priced, predominantly renewable electricity, with industrial firm-level renewable PPA prices in the range of NZ\$90-120 per MWh; competitive with or below those in Australia, the Nordics, the United States, and the EU.¹⁸ Expanding Auckland's data centre capacity therefore has the potential to reinforce the city's role as a digital services hub and support continued growth in the technology sector. By improving the availability of high-capacity data infrastructure, the proposal may enhance Auckland's ability to attract and retain digital businesses, including international firms seeking to establish or expand operations in New Zealand.

While the direct operational workforce associated with data centres is typically modest relative to their capital investment, their broader economic significance lies in their enabling role. The development would contribute to the digital infrastructure ecosystem that underpins innovation, technology sector expansion, and the attraction of foreign direct investment in New Zealand's largest urban economy. BCG estimates that if New Zealand captures even a modest share of the rapidly growing global data centre market (600 MW of capacity under a base-case export scenario) this could generate up to \$70 billion in economic activity to 2035, encompassing construction, equipment, energy, maintenance, and upstream supply chain effects.¹⁹

8.4. Value of Bringing Power Forward for the Wider Precinct

Electricity infrastructure is a prerequisite for most forms of urban development. Commercial buildings, residential development, hotels, retail activities, and digital infrastructure all require sufficient electricity supply capacity before construction can proceed. This section provides a high-level view of

¹⁶ The Economist, Democracy Index, 2024; World Bank, Ease of Doing Business rankings, 2020; cited in BCG (2026).

¹⁷ BCG (2026). New Zealand's data privacy framework is recognised by the European Union as providing an 'adequate level of data protection', a status only granted to a small number of jurisdictions.

¹⁸ BCG (2026), Exhibit 9.

¹⁹ BCG (2026), Exhibit 12.

the potential economic implications of the project by outlining what would happen if it did not go ahead (the counterfactual), and development capacity scenarios arising from the project proceeding.

Counterfactual Scenario

Electricity supply to central Auckland is delivered through Vector’s distribution network, which connects to the national transmission grid at several Grid Exit Points (**GXP**), including the Hobson Street GXP. Electricity is then distributed through a network of high-voltage cables and zone substations supplying the CBD and surrounding areas. Three Hobson zone substations currently supply the city centre area. Table 10 summarises selected information on these substations, including their current utilisation of firm capacity.²⁰

Table 10: Selected Hobson Zone Substations – Capacity and Utilisation²¹

Substation	Current Peak Load (MVA)	Installed Firm Capacity (MVA)	Utilisation of Firm Capacity
Hobson 11/11 kV	8.9	25	36%
Hobson 22/11 kV	12.6	15	84%
Hobson 22 kV	52.6	80	66%

Vector states that these substations do not currently face firm capacity constraints within the next five years under baseline demand forecasts. This suggests that the current network configuration is expected to be sufficient in the near term, and therefore the counterfactual is no significant additional firm capacity over the next five years.

Development Capacity Potential

While the proposed data centre represents a large new electricity load, the associated substation infrastructure provides significantly more supply capacity than required by the facility itself. Under the end-state configuration, approximately 30 MVA of the substation's installed capacity would be available to Vector for distribution to the wider Wynyard Quarter precinct. At Stage 1, Vector has indicated that the spare precinct capacity allocated through the substation is sufficient to meet the long-term electricity demands of Wynyard Quarter once fully developed. This means the substation infrastructure delivered as part of the data centre project would effectively resolve the precinct's future electricity supply requirements, removing a potential constraint on further development in the area.

This capacity can be translated into indicative development potential using typical engineering benchmarks for peak electricity demand in commercial buildings. Engineering guidance suggests that peak electricity demand densities for commercial buildings typically range between approximately 80 and 150 watts per square metre, depending on building services and equipment intensity.²²

Applying a planning utilisation factor of 80 percent, the 30 MVA of available precinct capacity equates to approximately 24 MW of useable capacity. At typical commercial demand densities, this could

²⁰ Firm capacity is a guaranteed, non-interruptible level of power supply or transmission available on demand, regardless of weather or time.

²¹ Available here: <https://blob-static.vector.co.nz/blob/vector/media/vector-2024/electricity-asset-management-plan-2024-combined-final-updated.pdf>. See Appendix 9: Forecast Capacity

²² Sources: www.ashrae.org/technical-resources/ashrae-handbook; www.cibse.org/knowledge-research/knowledge-portal/guide-f-energy-efficiency-in-buildings

support roughly 160,000 to 300,000 m² of additional commercial-equivalent development within the precinct. While these figures are indicative and should be confirmed through detailed electrical engineering design, they provide an order-of-magnitude estimate of the development capacity that the proposal's electricity infrastructure could unlock for the wider area.

Economic Implications of Bringing Power Forward

If electricity infrastructure is delivered earlier than anticipated under the baseline network investment programme, development that relies on that infrastructure may also occur sooner. This brings forward construction activity and the associated employment, income, and economic output. The timing effect can be economically material, particularly in high-productivity locations such as central Auckland, where even modest acceleration of development can generate significant economic activity earlier than would otherwise occur.

9. Project Acceleration

This section describes how the FTAA process would accelerate delivery of the proposal. These acceleration benefits apply to both development options, although the larger capital investment under Option B implies a greater absolute quantum of economic activity brought forward.

9.1. Timing of Economic Benefits

The proposal will progress considerably faster through the FTAA than would otherwise be the case. The FTAA establishes a streamlined approvals pathway with tighter statutory timeframes, coordinated decision-making, and, importantly, no merits-based appeals on decisions made by Fast-track Panels.

In contrast, obtaining consent via the standard Resource Management Act pathways would likely involve a multi-stage and potentially appeal-prone process, resulting in substantial delays. Similarly large proposals often experience extended processing timeframes due to public notification, hearings, and Environment Court appeals.

The FTAA (as strengthened by the Fast-track Approvals Amendment Act 2025) is specifically designed to accelerate nationally and regionally significant projects, reduce consenting uncertainty, and bring forward the timing of economic activity. For the proposal, this means enabling the project to commence much sooner than under a conventional consenting pathway, thereby bringing forward the one-off construction-related stimulus, the ongoing operational economic benefits, and any wider benefits outlined in this report.

10. Conclusion and Checklist

10.1. Conclusion

The proposal will deliver substantial and enduring economic benefits to Auckland under either development configuration. It enables the efficient intensification of a centrally located site within Wynyard Quarter, delivering a high-quality employment precinct in one of the city centre's most accessible and high-value locations.

Under Option A, the development provides approximately 80,000 m² of predominantly commercial office and retail floorspace. This option maximises employment density and supports a larger ongoing workforce within the city centre. Development is estimated to generate around 2,715 FTE-years of employment, \$425 million in GDP, and \$244 million in wages and salaries during the construction phase. Once fully built out, it is expected to sustain approximately 1,830 FTEs, \$463 million in annual GDP, and \$214 million in annual wages.

Under Option B, the development incorporates a data centre and supporting electricity infrastructure, resulting in slightly reduced commercial floorspace but introducing nationally significant digital infrastructure. This option generates substantially larger one-time impacts, including around 4,870 FTE-years of employment, \$766 million in GDP, and \$443 million in wages and salaries during development. At maturity, it is expected to sustain approximately 1,700 FTEs, \$432 million in annual GDP, and \$198 million in annual wages, alongside additional strategic benefits associated with digital infrastructure provision.

In both cases, the proposal delivers a range of wider economic benefits. These include supporting agglomeration effects within Wynyard Quarter, improving alignment between employment growth and major transport infrastructure investment, and reinforcing the city centre's role as Auckland's primary employment hub.

Option B provides additional strategic advantages by strengthening Auckland's position as a digital infrastructure hub, supporting technology sector growth, and enabling significant electricity infrastructure capacity that may unlock further development within the wider precinct.

The proposal also directly supports existing and committed regionally significant infrastructure by concentrating employment and economic activity within Auckland's rapid transit catchment, including the City Rail Link. This improves utilisation and long-term returns on public investment in transport infrastructure. Finally, enabling delivery through the FTAA would materially accelerate both development scenarios, bringing forward construction-related economic stimulus and long-term productivity and employment benefits.

On balance, both options deliver significant economic benefits and meet the relevant referral criteria under section 22(2)(a) of the FTAA, with Option A maximising ongoing employment outcomes and Option B providing greater upfront economic stimulus and additional strategic infrastructure benefits. On this basis, the proposal is strongly supported on economic grounds.

10.2. FTAA Criteria Checklist

The following table shows where each sub-criterion in Section 22(2)(a) of the FTAA is addressed in this report, along with the project's estimated economic benefit significance with respect to them.

Table 11: Assessment Against Section 22(2)(a) Criteria of FTAA

Ref	Criterion	Signpost	Assessment Summary
(i)	Identified as a priority project in government plans or strategies	Not assessed	n/a
(ii)	Delivers new or supports existing regionally/nationally significant infrastructure	Section 7	■■■■□
(iii)	Increases housing supply, addresses housing needs, or contributes to a well-functioning urban environment	Not assessed	n/a
(iv)	Delivers significant economic benefits	Sections 5 – 7	■■■■■
(v)	Supports primary industries, including aquaculture	Not assessed	n/a
(vi)	Supports development of natural resources, including minerals and petroleum	Not assessed	n/a
(vii)	Supports climate change mitigation (e.g., reducing greenhouse gas emissions)	Not assessed	n/a
(viii)	Supports climate change adaptation, reduces risk from natural hazards	Not assessed	n/a
(ix)	Addresses significant environmental issues	Not assessed	n/a
(x)	Consistent with local/regional planning documents and spatial strategies	Not assessed	n/a

Legend

■■■■■ = Strong

■■■■□ = Moderate

■■■□□ = Limited

■■□□□ = Minor

■□□□□ = Very minor

Appendix A: City Centre SA2 Boundaries

Figure 6: City Centre Statistical Area 2 (SA2) Geographic Boundaries

