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Grease to the wheel or a spanner in the works?
Reflecting on the legacy of 40 years of property-led regeneration in Tyne and Wear

Inaugural public lecture by Professor Paul Greenhalgh, Department of Architecture and Built Environment at Northumbria University

### Introduction

- Restructuring from heavy industrial to post industrial economy
- Physical legacy & transformation
- 4 decades of interventions
- Multiple limited life bodies
- Learning lessons from past
- All unattributed images are from North East Regeneration Archive

http://neregenarchive.online



Teesside Archive 1987



#### Home: NERA archives

Many 1990s regeneration agencies that operated in the North East of England have been wound up. Their legacy, as recorded in documents published during their lifetime, is dispersed, unprotected and is not in the public domain. Project NERA seeks to digitize such documents and make them accessible. The archive includes documents available to download as pdfs, and links to filmed footate. Hard cooles may also be available on locales.

NERA holds documents that have been created by the following organisations:

- BNG Bridging Newcastle Gateshead Neighbourhood Renewal Pathfinder (2003-2010)
- . Consett Project Genesis
- East Durham Task Force (1991)
- Grainger Town Partnership (GTP) heritage-led regeneration Newcastle's historic core (1997-2003)
- Newcastle upon Type regeneration initiatives
- one NorthEast, the Regional Development Agency (1999 201





#### REGENERATION

`reversing economic, social, and physical decline in areas where market forces will not do this without support from government.'



(CLG 2009)

#### URBAN REGENERATION

`a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.'



(Roberts & Sykes 2000)

'concerted social, economic and physical action to help people in neighbourhoods experiencing multiple deprivation reverse decline and create sustainable communities. It isn't property development by another name. Property development happens through market forces. Physical urban regeneration requires public sector financial support which is only given to benefit deprived communities.'

(Chris Brown, Chief executive, Igloo Regeneration, 2006)

#### PHYSICAL REGENERATION

'work on the physical fabric of an area where such work forms part of a strategy to promote social, physical and economic improvements in a given locality, rather than just redevelopment driven solely by market forces. Such work may range in scale from major developments to simple refurbishments of public sector housing.'

(Commission for Racial Equality 2007)

## Early influences & provocations



- Newcastle Business Park wins RICS Urban Renewal Award 1992
- o job creation claims & ignoring displacement
- glass half full or half empty?
- underpinning theory & methods:
  - Geography matters (Massey, 1980)
  - Uneven Development (Smith, 1984; Harvey, 1985)
  - Structure and Agency (Healey & Barrett, 1990)
  - Panacea or placebo? (Turok, 1992)
  - More than bricks and mortar (Robinson, Lawrence & Shaw, 1993)
  - Measuring spatial impacts of UDCs (Deas et al, 1996)



# Have you ever wondered....



- what is the biggest shopping centre in Europe doing in Gateshead?
- why was the longest factory in Europe built on Scotswood Road at around the same time?
- what is the largest office park in the U.K. doing in North Tyneside?

# Government area based initiatives



`Tyne and Wear has been the testing ground for government policy, a seedbed for a highly diverse range of public policies aimed at ameliorating the impacts of industrial decline and the particular problems posed by urban deprivation, and as such has been in receipt of a vast range of diverse policy instruments.'

(Robinson, 1994)

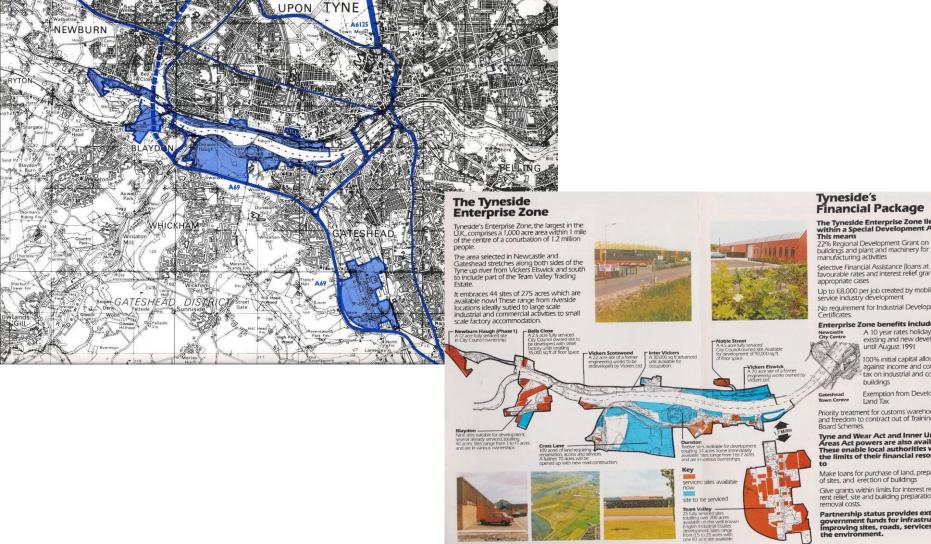
North East England is one of the most intervened in regions of the UK having benefitted from the following Area Based Initiatives (ABIs):

- 2 Urban Development Corporations (UDCs): Teesside and Tyne and Wear, both 1987-1998
- 5 designations of Enterprise Zones (EZs): Tyneside & Hartlepool (1981-91); Middlesbrough (1983-1993); Sunderland (1990-2000); East Durham (1995-2005); Tyne Riverside (1996-2007)
- Direct intervention by English Estates (EE) & English Partnerships (EP)
- 4 City Challenges: Newcastle West End, North Tyneside, Stockton & Sunderland
- Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) area based projects including Grainger Town & East Gateshead
- Garden Festival (Gateshead 1990)

## Tyneside EZ 1981-1991

NEWCASTLE





#### Tyneside's **Financial Package**

The Tyneside Enterprise Zone lies within a Special Development Area.

22% Regional Development Grant on buildings and plant and machinery for manufacturing activities

favourable rates and interest relief grants) in appropriate cases

Up to £8,000 per job created by mobile service industry development

No requirement for Industrial Development

#### Enterprise Zone benefits include

A 10 year rates holiday on existing and new developments

until August 1991 100% initial capital allowances

against income and corporation tax on industrial and commercial buildings

Exemption from Development Land Tax

Priority treatment for customs warehousing and freedom to contract out of Training

Tyne and Wear Act and Inner Urban Áreas Act powers are also available. These enable local authorities within the limits of their financial resources

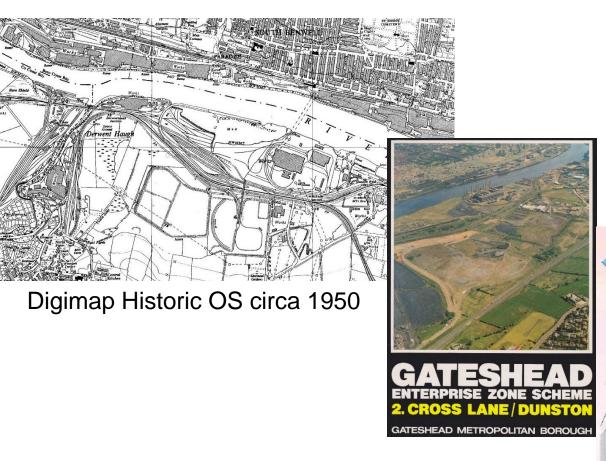
Make loans for purchase of land, preparation of sites, and erection of buildings

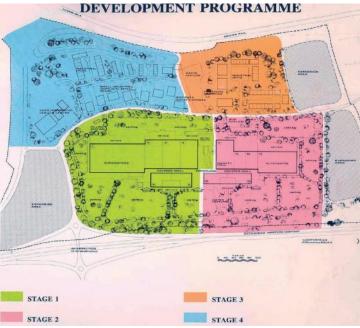
Give grants within limits for interest relief, rent relief, site and building preparation and

Partnership status provides extra government funds for infrastructure improving sites, roads, services and the environment.

#### What did this site become?

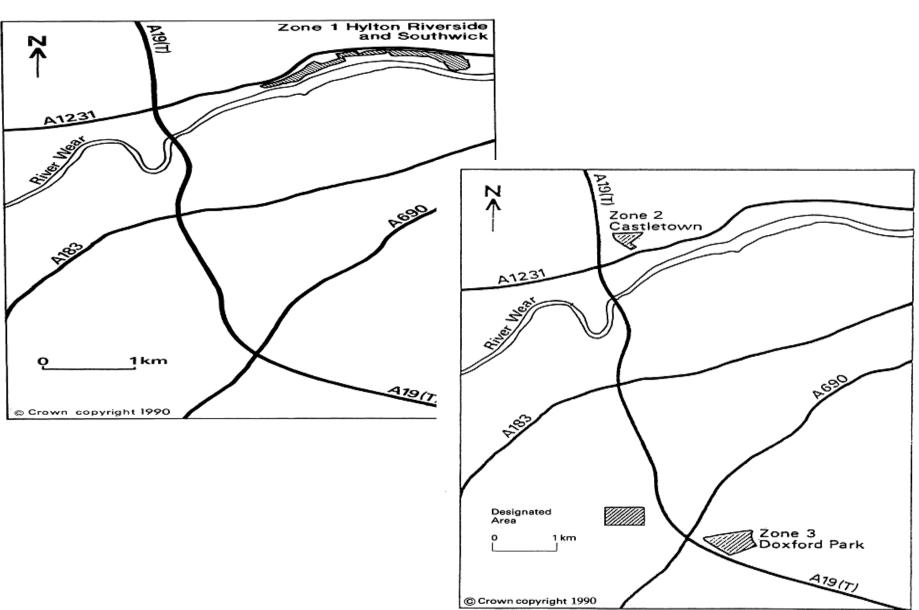






### **Sunderland 1990-2000**



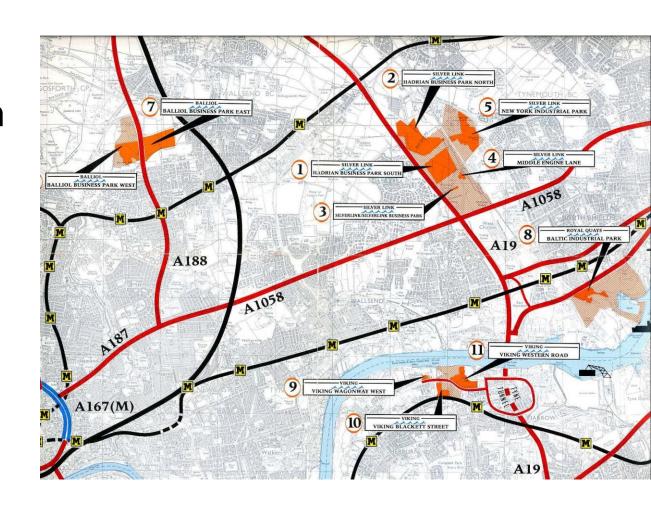


## Tyne Riverside 1996-2007



#### Comprised:

- o Balliol/Quorum
- Silverlink
- Hadrian (renamed Cobalt)
- New York
- Royal Quays
- Viking



### **EZ** incentives



- capital allowances
- rates relief
- simplified planning
- reduced statistical requirements
- speedier administration
- exemption from industrial training board levies
- priority given to applications for inward processing relief,
- exemption from development land tax (abolished in 1986)

(LGP&L & Finance Acts 1980)

## Impact of incentives



#### Rates Free:

- 10 year rates holiday for all existing occupiers in EZs
- intended to reduce occupancy costs for tenants/occupiers
- What do you think EZ landlords did in response?
- Approximately half incentive clawed back by landlords via higher rents
- In EZs with no pre-existing buildings, much of period elapsed before buildings became available for occupation
- When rates holiday expired occupiers were saddled with imposition of business rates and higher rents

#### Capital Allowances:

- 100% tax allowances for spend on buildings/fixed plant & machinery
- EZ trusts allowed high net worth individuals to invest tax free
- Lack of transparency about cost to taxpayer
- Benefitted investors, landowners & developers
- Golden contracts' extend life of capital allowances by 10yrs

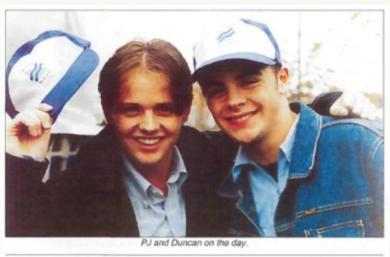


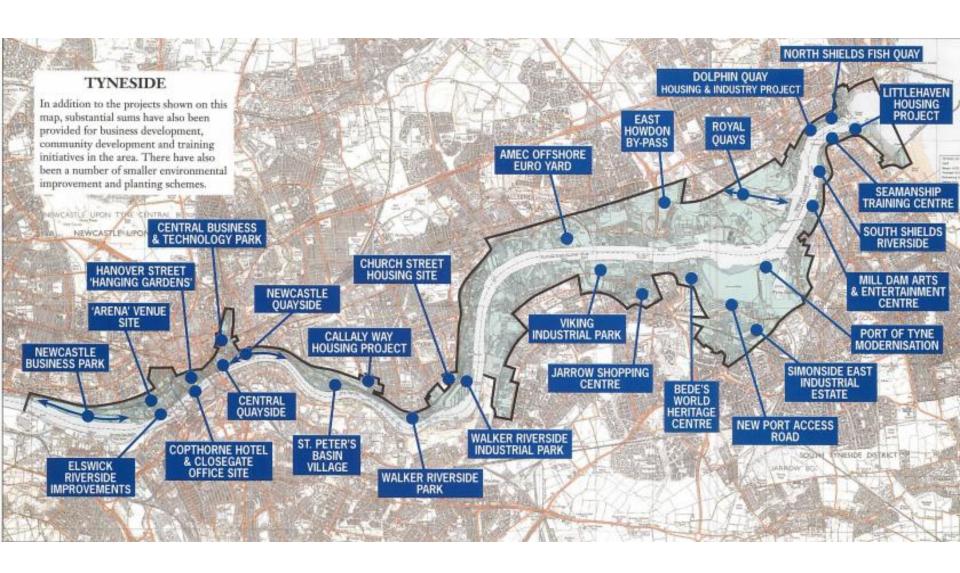
#### Tyne and Wear Development Corporation Archives

The Tyne and Wear Development Corporation (TWDC) was established in 1987 to develop land on the banks of the River Tyne and the River Wear in England. Its flagship developments included the regeneration of the East Quayside in Newcastle, Royal Quays in North Tyneside and St Peter's in Sunderland. During its lifetime 10,700,000 square feet of non-housing development and 4,550 housing units were built. Around 33,707 new jobs were created and some £1,115m of private finance was leveraged in. Circa 1,287 acres of derelict land was reclaimed and 24 miles of new road and footpaths put in place. The Chairman was Sir Paul Nicholson and the Chief Executive was Alastair Balls. It was dissolved in 1998.

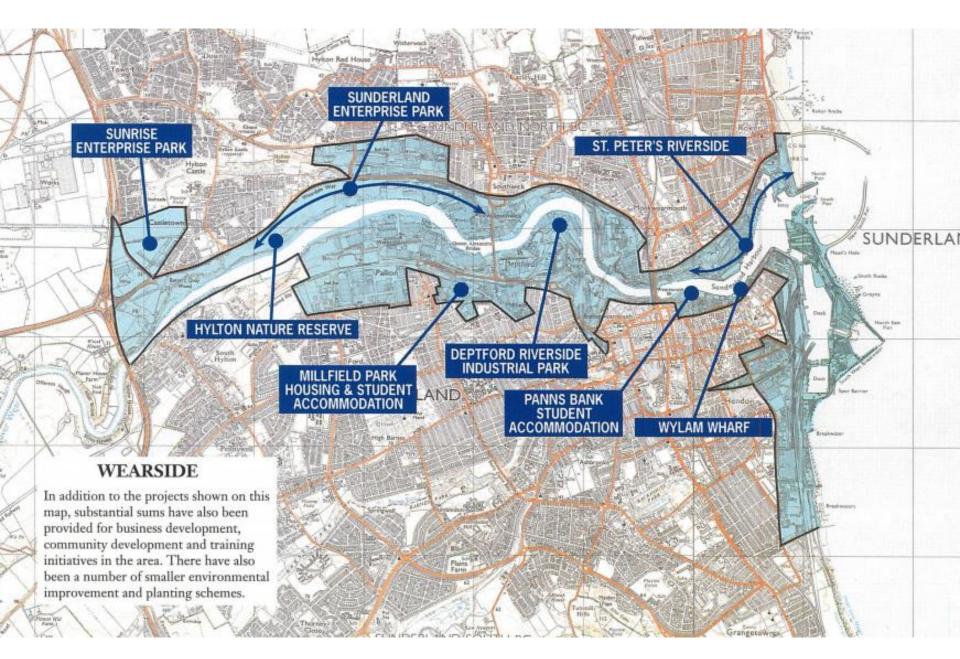
Full access to the archives has been requested by NFRA.





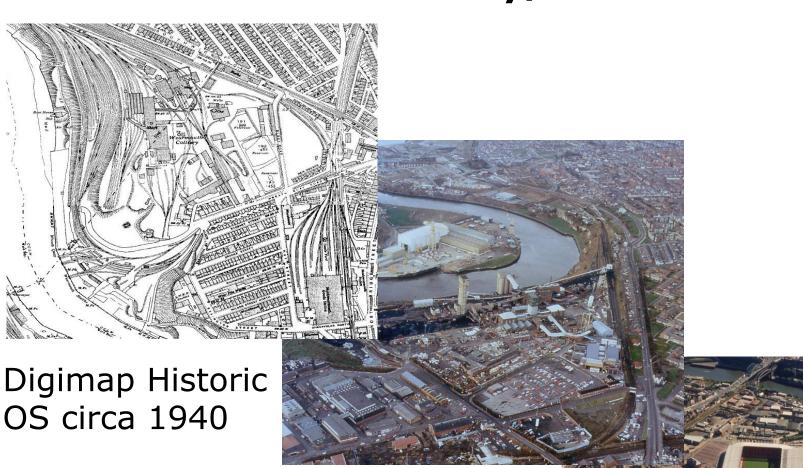


TWDC Tyneside Urban Development Area & major projects



TWDC Wearside Urban Development Area & major projects

## Wearmouth Colliery/SoL: TWD Northumbria University Newcastle



### **Urban Development Corporations**



UDC Remit and Powers (LGP&L Act 1980):

- pursue development of land and property
- assemble development sites using compulsory purchase powers
- use capital funds to 'pump prime'
- reclaim and remediate derelict and contaminated land
- Act as Development Control Authority in UDA
- Pursue master planning
- Invest in infrastructure and services/utilities
- To (boldly?) go where the private sector will not go
- De-risk sites to facilitate private sector investment and development

Question: which leg of the '3 legged stool' of regeneration do you think was missing?

#### **Urban Development Corporations**



UDCs got the job done but were controversial because:

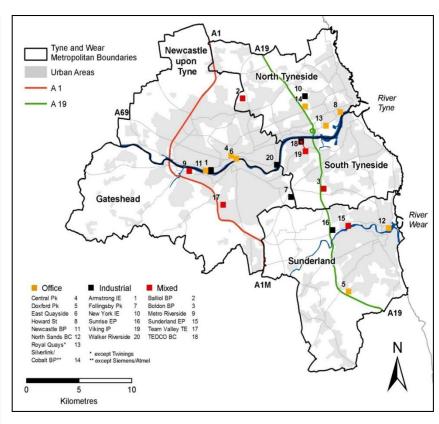
- generously funded at time when local authorities rate capped by Conservative Government – less money overall going into deprived areas; giving with one hand, taking away with the other
- usurping of Local Authorities deployed Development Control and Compulsory Purchase powers in Urban Development Area (UDA) – operated fiefdoms outside of local democracy
- lack of accountability and transparency accountable only to SoS Environment, who appointed Chief Executive, Chair & Board
- o financial incentives mainly benefitted investors and developers
- o flagship projects encouraged displacement and relocations
- `trickle down' did not work pursued narrow remit in single minded way; local population last to benefit from activities; failed to relieve unemployment and deprivation

(paraphrasing MacGreggor and Pimlott 1991 & Atkinson and Moon 1994)

## T&W study: 22 developments



No	Development	Profile	L.A.	ΕZ	UDA	EP	Condition
1	Armstrong Industrial Estate	Industrial	NC	✓	✓		DI
2	Balliol Business Park	Office/Industrial	NT	✓		✓	GR
3	Boldon Business Park	Office/Industrial	ST			✓	DC
4	Business Innovation Centre	Incubator	S	✓			DC
5	Central Business & Technology Park	Office/Incubator	NC		✓		DR
6	Doxford International Park	Office	S	✓			GR
7	East Quayside	Mixed use	NC		✓		DD
8	Follingsby Park	Industrial	G				DR
9	Howard Street	Incubator/Mixed Use	NT				DCom
10	Metro Riverside Park	Office/Industrial	G	✓			DI
11	New York Industrial Estate	Industrial	NT	✓		✓	GR
12	Newcastle Business Park	Office	NC	✓	✓		DI
13	North Sands Business Centre	Incubator	S			✓	DI
14	Royal Quays	Mixed Use	NT	✓	✓		DD
15	Silverlink Business Park	Office/Industrial	NT	✓			GR
16	Simonside East Industrial Estate	Industrial	ST		✓		DR
17	Sunderland Enterprise Park	Office/Industrial	S	✓		✓	DC
18	Sunrise Enterprise Park	Industrial	S	✓	✓		GR
19	Team Valley Trading Estate	Mixed Use	G	✓		✓	GR
20	TEDCO Business Centre	Incubator	ST		✓		DI
21	Viking Industrial Park	Industrial	ST	✓	✓	✓	DI
22	Walker Riverside	Industrial	NC		✓	✓	DD



#### **Local Authority Code**

G	Gateshead
NC	Newcastle
NT	North Tyneside
ST	South Tyneside
S	Sunderland

#### **Condition Code**

DD	derelict docks
DC	derelict colliery
DCom	derelict commercial
DI	derelict industrial
DR	derelict railway
GR	greenfield

# Newcastle Business Park: TWDC/EZ/Dysart





Tyne & Wear Archives 1962



Aerial images of site during remediation and development (NERA)



### **Armstrong Centre to NBP (Dysart)**





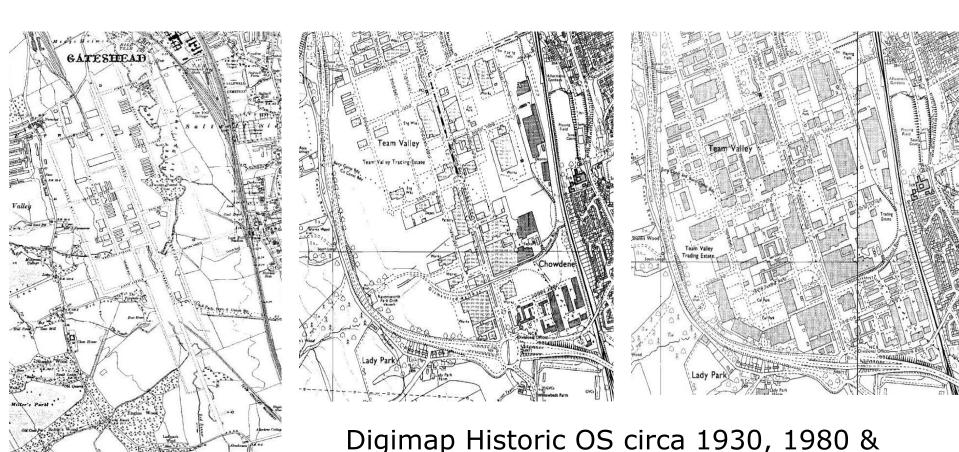
Commerce, Light Industry, Leisure and Retail"





#### Team Valley Trading Estate: EE/EZ





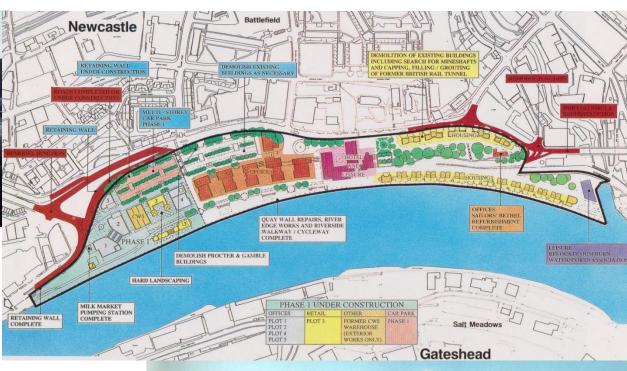
Team Valley was (one of) the first purpose built industrial estate in the U.K. It has been home, continuously for 80 years, to English Estates/English Partnerships/Homes and Communities Agency/Homes England North East Office

1990

## East Quayside: TWDC/AMEC





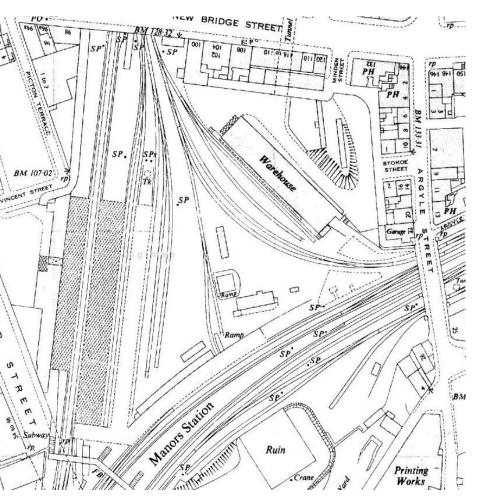


Terry Farrell Masterplan



## Manors: TWDC



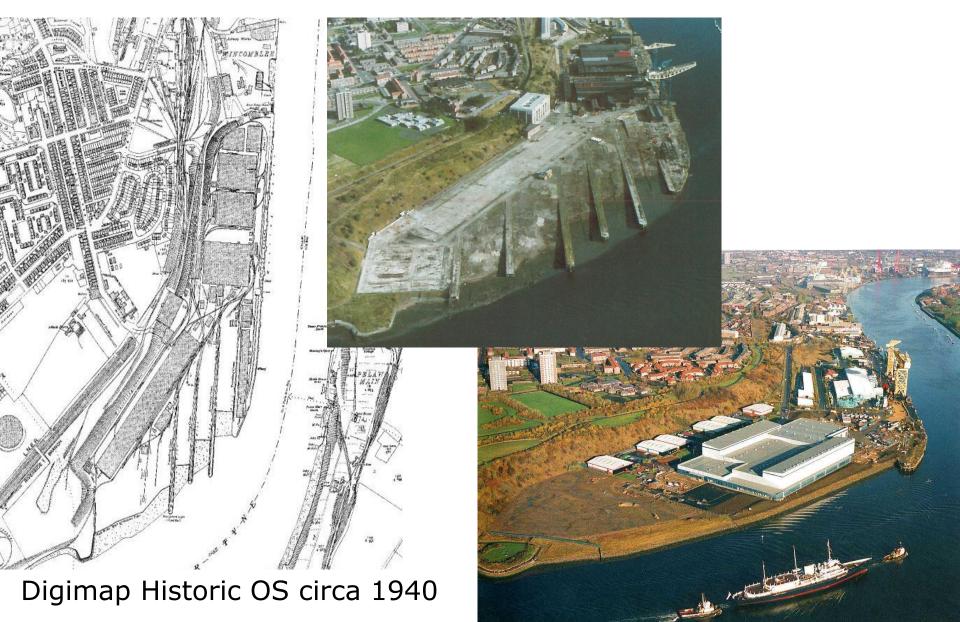




Digimap Historic OS circa 1950

## Walker Riverside: TWDC/EP





## Royal Quays – TWDC & EZ

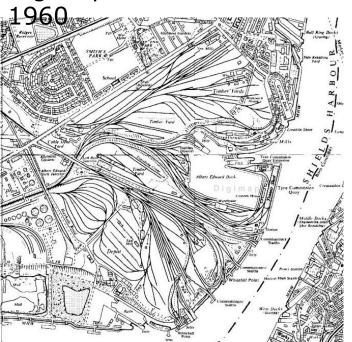




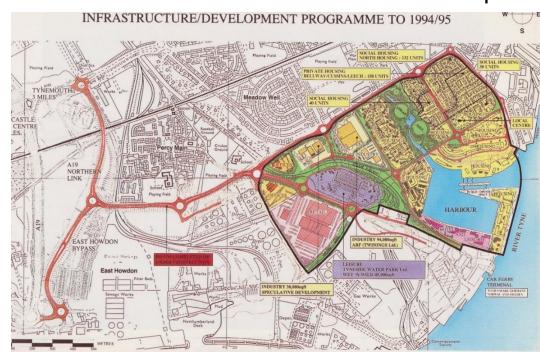




Digimap Historic OS circa



TWDC Masterplan





## Northumbria University NEWCASTLE

# Viking: TWDC & EZ





# Sunderland Enterprise Park: TWDC & EZ





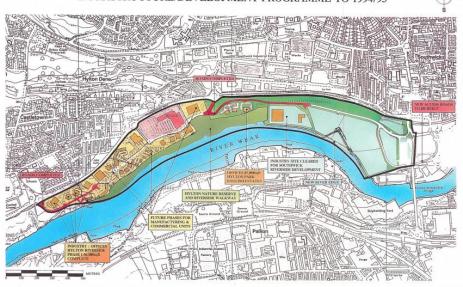




Digimap Historic OS circa 1910



SUNDERLAND ENTERPRISE PARK INFRASTRUCTURE/DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME TO 1994/95



# Cobalt/Silverlink/New York: EP/EZ/Highbridge







93 acres of which 57a EZ;
2.5 million square feet of floorspace across 29 buildings accommodating 14,000 people http://cobaltpark.co.uk/articles/growth-is-the-name-of-the-game-for-cobalt-parkhttp://cobaltpark.co.uk/articles/21st-century-new-town

# Balliol/Quorum: EP/EZ/Grantside





# Doxford International: EZ/Akeler





Wyn Construction Ltd.



# Urban policy interventions & (un)intended consequences?

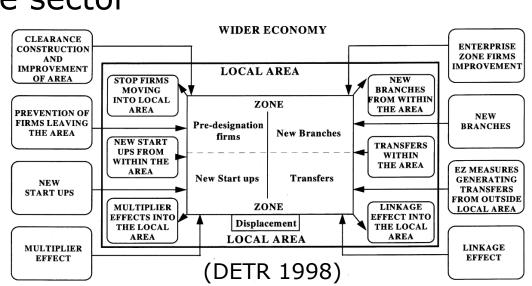


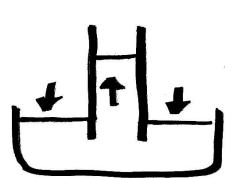
- Post-industrial economic restructuring
- Urban Policy initiatives the spatial fix
- Create hot spots to encourage new capital investment - dynamic equilibrium
- Side effect of displacement hollowing out Examples in North East:
  - Newcastle City Centre > NBP & East Quayside = Grainger Town Project (to repair the damage done)
  - Stockton High Street > Stockton Retail Park = Stockton City Challenge (ditto)
  - Washington (not so) New Town > Sunrise & Sunderland Enterprise Park
  - Sunderland City Centre > Sunderland Enterprise & Doxford Parks = Sunderland ARC/Sunniside Project

# Two tier property market



- Honey-potting incentivising one area over others
- On zone/off zone markets (DETR 1998)
- Positive and negative externalities
- o Mis-match right space in right place?
- Crowding out of private sector
- Displacement
- Spillover effects
- Branch plant risk







### Displacement and Chaining

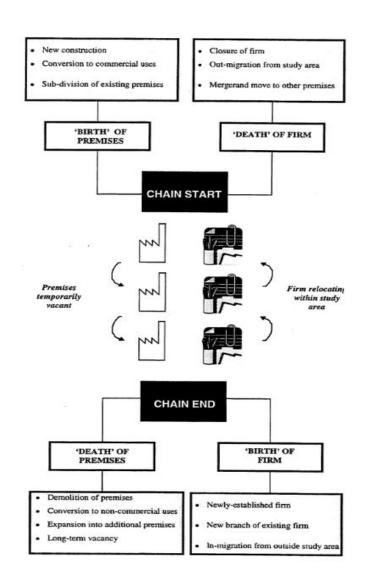
'Displacement can be associated with a move from within the local economic area which leaves behind a vacant or demolished building or one which was converted to non-commercial use.

As long as premises are ultimately reoccupied by commercial uses, a relocation cannot simply be considered to represent displacement.

Only when a chain ends in vacancy, or the demolition of premises within the metropolitan area, can one determine that intervention has generated negative displacement.

The relevant event is therefore not the immediate move of a business to a property development but the net effect of the completed chain.'

(Department of the Environment Transport and the Regions 1998a p136)





# **Property Market Filtering**



'the construction of new premises will generate its own filtering system. When firms move into new premises other firms will move into the premises made vacant by the initial decision to relocate. This will release other premises further down the chain that are likely to be older and will be suitable for small firms with limited resources.'

(Valente & Leigh 1982)

What happens to the rung at the bottom of the property ladder?

# Chaining Method

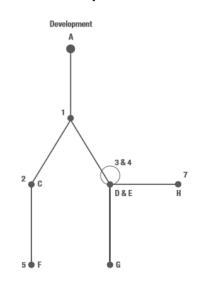


- How much net new additional activity is generated?
- 2. What are the consequences of encouraging displacement?
- 3. Who are the winners and losers?
- 4. What is the spatial distribution and impact of spillover?
- 5. Does investment in one area diminish or stimulate surrounding areas?
- 6. Identify status and origin of occupiers of new developments
- 7. Where did transfers and branch relocations originate? (first moves)
- 8. Occupiers move up the ladder (filtering) follow occupier chains to their end points
- 9. What happens to the bottom rung?
  - a) absorbed by new start up firms ©
  - b) Remain vacant (3)
  - c) Redeveloped for change of use ©

### Chaining theory in practice







#### Database

Unique identifier	Chain number	Link number	Consolidation	Previous occupier	Current occupier	Chain end
1	34	1		Α	В	
2	34	2	Yes	В	С	
3	34	2	Yes	В	D	
4	34	3		D	E	
5	34	3		С	F	End
6	34	3		D	G	End
7	34	4		E	Н	End

Robson et al (1998) Evaluation of impact of Leeds, Bristol and Central Manchester Development Corporations. London. DETR

Greenhalgh and King (2010) 'The application of GIS to analyse occupier chains and property market filtering'. London. RICS



## T&W chaining in numbers

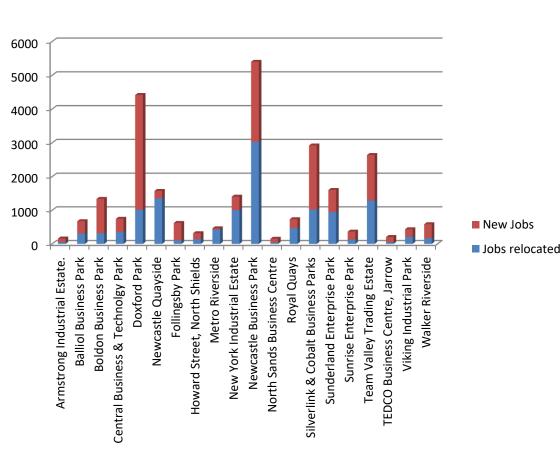
- ❖ 567 buildings accommodating 800 firms employing ~27,000 people
- ❖ on ~1200 acres of land
- telephone survey of 510 occupiers
- ❖ 52% had relocated within Tyne and Wear
- generating 251 occupier chains
- creating 376 chain ends
- 36% of which resulted in vacant property
- ❖ stimulated ~1200 property transactions



## Tyne & Wear job creation



510 firms (32 null responses)



Origin of jobs	Number of jobs		% of all jobs
Jobs created by expansion	5,370	37.5	
Jobs created by new firms	8,950	62.5	
Total new jobs created	14,320		53.5
Relocated jobs	12,446		46.5
Total of all jobs	26,766	100	100

# **T&W Chaining results**



Development Name	use Chains e in v property Chains e in occ property % of occu relocating			Chains in cha	n <del>x</del>	Occupied chain ends a % of all	veragingth n) acan acan ds		Chain length by number of links			
pment	of occupiers ocating	s ending occupied	ending vacant	ains ending change of	Š	ed ends as all	nt chain as % of	ge of move	1 link	2 links	3links	4 links
Armstrong I.E.	43	3	2	1	0	50.0	33.3	3.1	5	0	1	0
Balliol B.P.	77	6	2	0	0	75.0	25.0	3.5	5	3	0	0
Boldon B.P.	58	10	14	1	0	40.0	56.0	6.2	17	7	1	0
Central Park	52	10	6	1	0	58.8	35.3	1.8	9	7	1	0
Doxford Park	39	15	5	0	0	71.4	23.8	5.3	13	7	1	0
East Quayside	80	7	10	4	0	33.3	47.6	1.2	14	6	1	0
Follingsby Park	38	3	0	0	0	100.0	0.0	2.5	3	0	0	0
Howard Street	42	8	3	2	0	57.1	21.4	2.5	12	2	0	0
Metro Riverside	67	8	6	1	0	53.3	40.0	5.2	9	3	1	2
New York I.P.	50	8	5	3	0	50.0	31.3	6.4	8	6	1	1
Newcastle B.P.	53	25	11	13	0	51.0	22.4	4.5	22	18	9	0
North Sands	33	8	3	0	0	66.7	25.0	6.3	10	2	0	0
Royal Quays	73	9	9	0	0	50.0	50.0	6.9	14	2	2	0
Silverlink B.P.	74	8	10	1	0	42.1	52.6	6.6	10	6	2	1
Sunderland E.P.	53	26	18	2	0	56.5	39.1	6.0	27	11	6	2
Sunrise E.P.	40	2	3	0	0	40.0	60.0	10.5	1	3	1	0
T.V.T.E.	51	23	9	7	3	52.3	20.5	4.8	29	12	3	0
TEDCO	28	14	4	0	0	77.8	22.2	4.7	16	2	0	0
Viking I.E.	56	4	6	2	1	30.8	46.2	4.4	8	4	1	0
Walker R.	50	1	4	0	1	16.7	66.7	4.9	5	1	0	0
Total or average	53	198	130	38	5	53.6	35.9	4.9	237	102	31	6

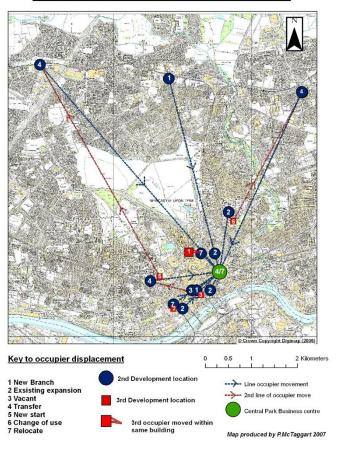
251 chains + 125 splits = 376 chain ends ~1100 links

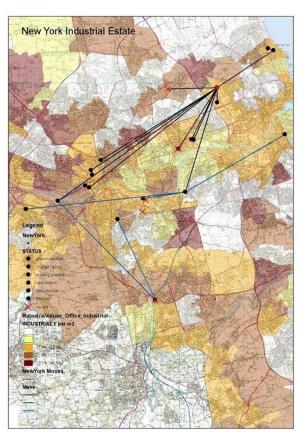
- High level of market excitation
- Strong filtering effect
- Hollowing out identified

### Mapping displacement in T&W

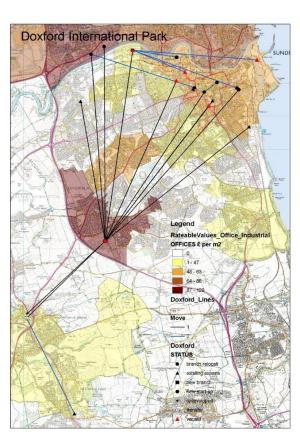


#### Mapping business displacement, (Study area, Newcastle Central Business park)





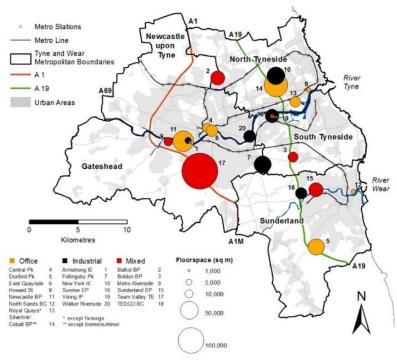
Greenhalgh & King 2010



### GIS analysis of chaining data

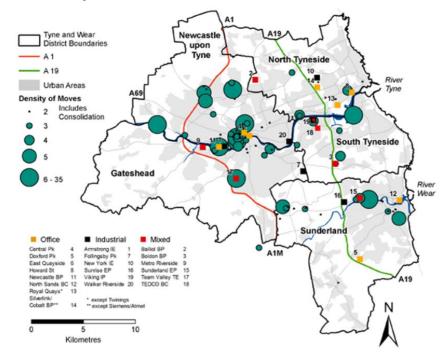


### Development scaled by floorspace



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### Density of moves

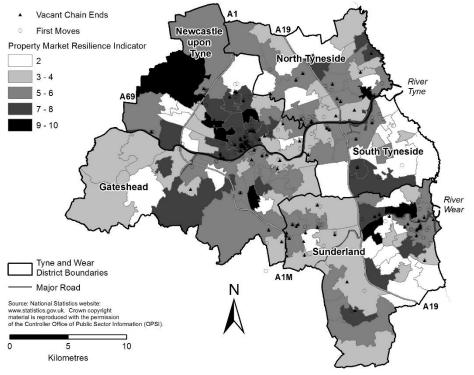


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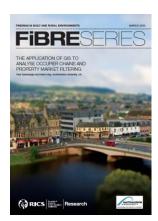
- funded by RICS Research Trust
- used Geographical Information System (GIS) to model property occupier displacement and property chains in Tyne and Wear
- exploit other datasets to characterise locations where occupiers relocate from and where property voids persist
- enhanced understanding of impact of occupier displacement on commercial property markets.

### Adding value to the data





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Urban Studies at 50

Developing an Indicator of Property Market
Resilience—Investigating the Potential of
GIS to Analyse Business Occupier
Displacement and Property Market
Filtering: A Case Study of Tyne and Wear
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What is significant about the locations where there are concentrations of first moves or vacancies?

#### **Indicator Datasets**

Rateable values (proxy for strength of local property market)

3 yr VAT Registration (proxy for strength of local business base)

Combined to give **Property Market Resilience Index** 

#### See:

RICS (2010) FiBRE paper 'The application of GIS to analyse occupier chains and property market filtering'

RICS (2010) Research Report of the same name

Greenhalgh & King (2013) Developing an Indicator of Urban Resilience. *Urban Studies*. 50 (2). pp. 372-390

# Significance of research

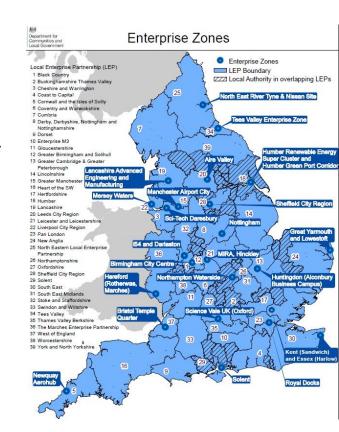


- Chaining technique is an effective way of investigating the spatial impact of unintended consequences of area based interventions
- Displacement and spillover effects can be identified
- T&W study captured spatial pattern and incidence of displacement and absorption through market filtering
- Demonstrated potential to use GIS to analyse and show spatial manifestation of market filtering
- Need to introduce notions of resilience and vulnerability to understanding of commercial property market dynamics
- Potential to use PMRI to anticipate spatial effects and unintended consequences of interventions in land and property markets and prepare strategies (in advance) to ameliorate negative impact
- Consider interventions that may generate less displacement and fewer negative externalities

## The spatial fix returns



- 45 EZ clusters in England, 8 in Wales & 18 Enterprise Areas in Scotland (Ward, 2020)
- Business Rates Retention growing the rates base
- Mayoral Development Corporations:
  - South Tees Development Corporation tackling legacy of former SSI steel works pursuing CPO of 1732 acres
- Freeports see Government consultation (closes 20 April 2020)
- the return of gap funding proposed Commercial Property Investment Fund
- The end of 'Assisted Areas' status
- Future interventions may be constrained by EU State Aid Rules ('level playing field' bone of contention in post Brexit trade deal negotiations)
- ABIs may be needed as part of Government's 'levelling up' agenda to address chronic inequality in U.K.



### How full is your glass?





For what it is worth, here are some of my thoughts:

- Started off as glass half empty/sceptical about area based initiatives;
- Research revealed high incidence of boundary hopping, transfer & displacement in T&W;
- BUT also growth of firms as they filter up the property ladder and absorption of vacant premises by new start-ups;
- AND increased level of market excitation at least something was going on rather than stagnation!
- There were side-effects/unintended consequences such as hollowing out of existing town and city centres;
- ❖ HOWEVER the holes created opportunities for some locations to become more diversified and resilient through change of use of commercial premises to residential/leisure (see Grainger Town Project documents on NERA);
- New developments have increased number of residents whose patronage is essential to local businesses and services;
- Which ties in nicely to ongoing research with colleagues into adaptive re-use of buildings, smart cities and town/city centre futures

# Thank you for your attention



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## The 6 CS (Robson et al 1994)

- 1. the counterfactual problem of assessing what might have happened in the absence of government intervention
- 2. the confound problem arising from the fact that outcomes can be affected by many public policies (attribution)
- the contextual problem that local authorities' areas (places) started the period from very different conditions (path dependency)
- 4. the contiguity problem associated with the fact that intervention in one area can have positive 'spill over' or negative 'shadow' (side) effects on adjacent areas
- the combinatorial problem that public assistance has been delivered to places in differently constituted packages of programmes
- 6. the changing choice problem which arises from the fact that the sets of places targeted to receive preferential assistance alters over time and across different programmes

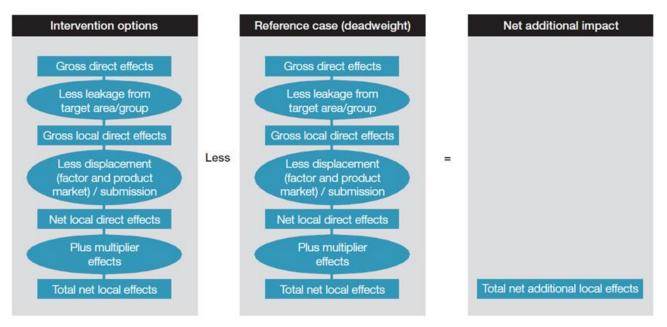
(Department of the Environment 1994a p4)



# Additionality

'as any (occupier) chain that ends with one of the following: the creation of a genuinely new business; the establishment of new net activity through the creation of a new branch or through expansion, merger or reorganisation; relocations where the in-moving business derives from outside the local economy'.

(DETR 1998)



### Lessons from EZ evaluation

- What we learnt from EZ experiment:
- encourage construction of employment space that would not otherwise be built in marginal locations
- cause displacement & boundary hopping
- Sites should be accessible and require infrastructure investment ahead of designation
- Land should be in public sector ownership to avoid windfalls to private owners
- They distort land and property markets
- They are expensive



# Additional thoughts

- Slow turnover of fixed capital (especially Real Estate)
- Maintain process of 'dynamic equilibrium'
- Promote temporal displacement
- High propensity to occur at urban level
- Spatial fix instrument of crisis management
- Differential levels of development
- Anticipate side-effects and unintended consequences of interventions in land and property markets
- Develop strategies to ameliorate negative impacts