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ON DEVO
MATTERS

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Welcome

Kevin Ward and Francesca Gains

A lot has happened since then Chancellor George Osborne first coined the term “Northern Powerhouse” back in 2014, not least two changes of government and the Brexit vote. Yet despite this economic and political upheaval, the great devolution experiment continues apace with Greater

Manchester given ever greater powers and the city region’s ten boroughs welcoming their new Mayor Andy Burnham just under 12 months ago.

It is also three years since we published *On Devo*, a collection of short essays which speculated on what devolution might mean for Greater Manchester. Given what has happened inside and outside of this city region since, we thought it was an opportune time to revisit the key themes we discussed back then and to see what has changed - and what has not - in the intervening period.

What is striking from this collection of commentaries from academics at The University of Manchester are the recurring themes. These appear and reappear across the areas of policy which we outline - namely culture, economy, education, democracies, health and transport.

A first theme is devolution as a means of tackling inequalities and embracing the concept of inclusive growth. Precisely how can Greater Manchester’s version of devolution create space for thinking policy differently,

Devolution creates the pre-conditions for a more inclusive future, and it is now up to policymakers in the different areas of policy to bring this future to fruition.

in terms of growing the economy while also ensuring that this growth is used to address inequalities?

Secondly, the very structure of devolution and precisely how the Mayor’s office is organised. Just how should the city region’s governance be restructured? How should his office be organised to deal with

the range of challenges the city region faces? And, again, to what extent does the structure around devolution afford Greater Manchester the space to think differently, and what are the constraints?

Thirdly, the importance of building on what already exists and what has worked over the years. Devolution has not happened overnight. Instead many of the tools which city region policymakers have had to work with pre-existed the various devolution deals. So, what lessons can be drawn from past policies in Greater Manchester and elsewhere? What does success look like, and does success look different depending on who you are and where you are?

Finally, the importance of ensuring that all voices are heard. Looking ahead there is a need for the future of Greater Manchester to be an inclusive one. Devolution creates the pre-conditions for a more inclusive future, and it is now up to policymakers in the different areas of policy to bring this future to fruition. The stakes could not be higher!

Kevin Ward is Professor of Human Geography and Director of the Manchester Urban Institute

Francesca Gains is Professor of Public Policy and Head of Politics

Can Devo Manc help address inequalities across the cultural sector?

Jenny Hughes

As we know from Manchester's vibrant musical and theatrical heritage, arts have an important role to play in terms of the economic and social flourishing of the city.

Yet the creative sector is beset by deep and entrenched inequalities with a large proportion of people never accessing cultural institutions. This arises from a general preconception that these places, and the programmes of work they support, are not relevant, affordable or accessible.

In terms of people working in the creative industries, there is also evidence of inequality. For instance in the last year or two the acting profession has itself come under particular scrutiny, with access routes to acting as a career, and to working in the theatre in general, at risk of becoming closed to all but the most economically privileged. These inequalities are limiting. The dramatic stories told on stage are increasingly less likely to reflect the diverse experiences of communities that host theatres.

A decade of austerity in the UK also means that the issue of inequality across the arts has become far more pressing and prevalent, with spaces being shut down, left empty or open for much less time because of budget cuts.

Devolved answers?

Does devolution present an opportunity to help address inequalities across the sector? Might there be ways of making more of this great chance to use our globally-renowned cultural institutions to bring benefits to all?

One of my fears around devolution is that the wider region is effectively being 'cut loose' against the backdrop

of an austerity agenda that is still very much alive and well, internationally, nationally and regionally. Devolving powers and responsibility risks only further entrenching the inequalities that already exist across the cultural sector.

To counter this we need to put accessibility and equality at the heart of the debate. How exactly can cultural institutions open their doors more effectively? How can we ensure that a drive for social and economic justice is at the heart of this discussion?

Commons model

In attempting to answer these questions I've been drawn to a 'commons' model which puts the equality question at the heart of assessing what cultural resources are available and what can be done with them. In times of austerity we have seen a rise of the commons as the sources of support for cultural and social initiatives have diminished, and communities have come together to find ways of sustaining threatened projects, including cultural initiatives.

The commons presents a different way of thinking about the economy, one which is well-being and justice oriented. The arts sector has a long tradition of co-operative working and engaging with communities, and the commons concept relates to these core principles.

Commons resources can be space, money and time - but also cultural traditions, performances and networks in a place.

By 'commons' I mean things that belong 'equally to more than one' - the resources attaching to a place or population, organised in ways that hold those resources

The arts sector has a long tradition of co-operative working and engaging with communities, and the commons concept relates to these core principles.

open to all. ‘Commoning’ refers to the practices, that we can develop together, which make use of, replenish and protect those commons.

Examples

There are already examples of commons-style initiatives around us. For instance many community initiatives and arts projects have cultural democracy at their heart, and work closely with others to share resource and increase access. Two recent international initiatives are worth commenting on further - [HowlRound](#) in the US, and the famous Teatro Valle occupation in Rome.

HowlRound is a centre for the theatre commons and a free and open online network that provides a knowledge commons that encourages freely sharing intellectual and artistic resources and expertise. It explicitly aims to confront some of the inequalities that characterise the theatre industry. HowlRound refers to the name of the noise created when the sound from a loudspeaker is fed back into a microphone.

Teatro Valle, a prestigious theatre and opera house in Rome, was shut down by local authorities in 2011 and deemed too expensive to run in a broader context of austerity in Italy. Adopting the slogan ‘Like water and

Many community initiatives and arts projects have cultural democracy at their heart, and work closely with others to share resource and increase access.

air, culture is a commons’ a group of artists and citizens staged a three-year occupation of the theatre, during which they managed the theatre as a ‘common good’.

Teatro Valle became world-renowned as an experimental social, cultural and performance commons, sustained by a small fee that

individuals paid in order to become a commons member and by donations from supporters. Over the three years of the occupation, the ‘communards’, as they called themselves, developed a vibrant and diverse programme of work, including playwriting workshops, dance and theatre training, original productions, workshops on crisis and creativity, theatre productions with children, public assemblies, talks and debates, and a renovation and repainting programme.

Commons for Manchester?

So what might a cultural commons for Greater Manchester look like? In the spirit of the commons, I’m afraid the answers to this question are not for one person to author or authorise. Instead I look forward to being part of discussions about culture, commons and equality as the devolution debates continue.

Dr Jenny Hughes is Head of Drama

Devolution, culture and democracy

Abigail Gilmore

There have been successive calls to increase participation nationwide in arts and culture for some 20 years now. Yet there remain several factors which thwart this objective at both a national and local level.

In particular arts and cultural funding from local authorities is hard-pressed, with continued cuts to non-statutory services and a national decline in Lottery income challenging old models for Arts Council funding.

Yet analysis of the annual ONS Taking Part [survey](#) continues to show that many communities simply don't engage with publicly funded arts and culture, and in some sectors participation and attendance of cultural venues is decreasing. Participation in the creative economy is also similarly problematical with the fault lines of gender, ethnicity, social class and disability clearly defining the borders of access and meritocracy.

However latest data shows that the number of schools offering arts subjects as part of the curriculum continues to decline. Yet social class and social capital have a role in both providing and preventing access to the arts, so the likelihood is that this will only lead to more entrenched inequality in the future, leading ultimately to the point where only those who can afford to invest in arts education will be able to enter the cultural workforce.

Challenges

What is to be done? How can more localised cultural policy under devolution tackle these deep-rooted challenges?

One hope is for a more coherent ecosystem for talent development and progression in the creative economy which coordinates activities from early

years through school to apprenticeships, further and higher education, and professional development.

Another is further connectivity across policy areas (including transport, green infrastructure, education) in city regions such as Greater Manchester, to plan in cultural participation which takes into account the interests and values of communities across a diverse city region, not just those of the few.

Art of devolution

Devolution of authority should be an opportunity to address structural inequalities, through locally sensitive policies which support inclusive cultural democracy. Cultural democracy here does not mean greater access to art provided by other people, but rather access to the means of cultural production for all.

This debate is not new. Back in 2016 the Art of Devolution conference in Manchester considered the implications of the Northern Powerhouse and the devolution agenda for arts, culture and the creative economy. Bringing together leading arts professionals, policymakers and academics, the conference examined the cultural turn towards the North and the impacts on the arts sector of place-based funding. It considered whether policy models

which are focused on capital development, such as flagship venue investment and city of culture years, are more likely to increase competition and exclusion rather than promote collaboration and inclusion. Delegates also asked how devolution might re-route the pathways to inclusion and promote new political spaces for community representation and participation.

Arts and cultural funding from local authorities is hard-pressed, with continued cuts to non-statutory services and a national decline in Lottery income.

The words of community artist and arts consultant Gerri Moriarty that day are as relevant today as they were back then. As she remarked: “If a cultural vision for the North does not build on the radical history of the North, it will be built on sand. If it does not concern itself with vigorously promoting cultural democracy and meaningful inclusion, it will be hollow. And if it does not aim to pay serious attention to the needs and aspirations of small and medium scale cultural organisations, independent and emerging artists and of a wide variety of different kinds of communities, it will fail.”

Creative strategies

So what has happened since and what are the prospects for cultural democracy and a creative economy that’s built on inclusion and altruism across the city region?

The election of Andy Burnham as Mayor is seen as a good fit for the arts and cultural sector as he was previously Secretary of State with the Department of Culture, Media and Sport and a champion of local cultural diversity. However nationally there remains a matryoshka doll set of strategies within which there is a place-based, instrumental agenda for arts, culture and the creative economy.

For instance the new [Industrial Strategy](#) highlights place-based funding and the creative industries as a high-growth sector, and triggered the [Bazalgette review](#) which attempted to tease out priorities and raise the profile of the sector.

The Arts and Humanities Research Council is funding eight place-based research clusters and a national Policy and Evidence Centre through the [Creative Industries Clusters programme](#). There is also the [Audience for the](#)

The new Industrial Strategy highlights place-based funding and the creative industries as a high-growth sector.

[Future initiative](#) which will provide investment through university-industry creative partnerships in R&D and technological innovation.

Greater Manchester strategy

Closer to home the [Greater Manchester Strategy](#) – ‘Our People, Our Place’ - identifies

a culture and leisure strategy as within its top ten priority themes, and also identifies the creative and media sector - as part of the broader digital sector - as a prime sector for investment and growth.

The strategy aims to raise the quality of cultural venues across the region in order to contribute to place-making and quality of life. It includes targets for increasing participation in cultural events and venues by 5% per annum, and for raising the culture-based visitor economy to £8.8bn by 2020.

Manchester City Council’s Cultural Leaders group has also launched its own strategy which aims to make Manchester the most culturally democratic place in the UK.

Strategic thinking

Arts, culture and creativity are often seen as an add-on, and their non-statutory status means public funds are difficult to justify locally unless significant returns on investment can be evidenced.

But this is not the case in Greater Manchester where culture is already at the heart of strategic thinking, and hard-won investment is coming into the city centre, allied to the ‘gifts’ of the Northern Powerhouse and the work of arts leaders in squaring up to Whitehall and demanding a slice of the action.

These were top-down decisions, however. The challenge in making cultural policy which is truly democratic and inclusive will now be to create the



infrastructure for representation and participation in decision-making which can attract and harness resources that support community-based and led activities, not just city centre venues, with affordable living and training for artists and creatives, and pathways to progression from the ground up.

Dr Abigail Gilmore is a Senior Lecturer in Arts Management and Cultural Policy and Head of the Institute for Cultural Practices

Why we must stop excluding young people in English devolution deals

Sarah Marie Hall and Laura Pottinger

Manchester's new Mayor oversees newly devolved key areas including housing, transport and policing. The city is also the first English region outside of London to be given devolved fiscal powers, a process that began in April 2016 with new powers in the devolution of health and social care services from national government to regional decision-makers.

But as part of this devolution drive are young people's voices being heard? Are we doing enough to ensure young people are represented in decisions that will affect their future?

A starting point should be to ask how this process for devolution actually came about. Who has been involved in the various stages of decision-making? And whose voices count in these ongoing political and economic debates?

When back in 2014 then Chancellor George Osborne first announced plans for northern cities to form a 'Northern Powerhouse', had young people been consulted? Were they asked if they wanted devolution for Manchester, or what they might want from it?

Powerhouse Pioneers

Local campaigns, such as Powerhouse Pioneers led by Manchester's leading youth engagement charity [RECLAIM](#), have raised concerns about the audibility of young people's voices in Northern Powerhouse and Devo Manc. They highlight that ensuring young people are at the centre, rather than at the periphery, of discussions about Manchester's Devolution (or, indeed, the 'Midlands Engine'

or 'One Yorkshire') is one way in which equitable social change and inter-generational justice may be achieved.

This requires listening to young people and providing a voice for their narratives. Asking about, and observing, their role in political participation and social change. And representing these experiences in their own words.

Working with RECLAIM to incorporate and encourage such youth engagement in economic and political debates, in 2016 we began our two-year ESRC-funded research project Powerhouse Pioneers Promoting Political Participation. With this project we work alongside the campaign, and the young people leading it, to trace the impacts of RECLAIM's current work. By doing so, we hope to encourage meaningful and sustained youth engagement in discussions about, and transitions towards, the Northern Powerhouse and other related English devolution agreements.

By shadowing and supporting Powerhouse Pioneers, which brings together over 30 young people from the ten boroughs of Greater Manchester, by the end of the project we will have produced an in-depth evaluation of campaigning activity, and a series of resources including a toolkit, manifesto and film, each created in collaboration with young people. We have also engaged in peer writing sessions with young people and co-written a journal article.

**Are we doing enough
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Voices ignored

Of course, it is not only discussions about the Northern Powerhouse and Devo Manc where young people's voices have been absent or, worse still, ignored.

With any big political, social or economic change, it seems that government and policymakers need to learn how to listen to and integrate young and, in particular, working-class voices, and to do so from inception.

Debates about Brexit instantly spring to mind here.

In the immediate wake of the leave result, media and popular commentary highlighted three significant inter-generational issues.

Firstly, the low proportion of people aged 18-24 thought to have voted - although initial estimates have since been disputed and a higher turn-out reported. Secondly, the apparent strong link between age and how people voted with those aged 45 plus voting by a majority of at least 56% (increasing to 60% of those aged 60+) to leave, while the majority of younger voters wanted to remain. Thirdly, the future impacts of the result on young people not yet old enough to vote, whose opinions were not represented.

In response a group of young people affiliated with RECLAIM developed their own campaign #TeamFuture as a result of their frustration at feeling locked out of debates and decisions about Brexit.

The campaign endeavours to represent and champion the voices of working-class young people – politically, socially and culturally – to develop a grass-roots youth movement that can encourage those in power to incorporate and consider the views of future generations.

We cannot help but wonder who are considered to be ‘the public’, and whose opinions are being counted and heard in the Brexit debate.

Bold aspirations

As researchers with expertise in social justice we cannot help but wonder who are considered to be ‘the public’, and whose opinions are being counted and heard in the Brexit debate. Are we doing enough to ensure young people are represented in decisions that will affect their future?

To address these pressing questions and concerns in the context of Devo Manc, our project evaluates the impacts of current work being undertaken by RECLAIM’s Powerhouse Pioneers, turning lessons from this campaign into supportive resources for stakeholders in cities across the North of England, and also engages in discussions with young people about the Northern Powerhouse and political devolution.

By working with young people to co-produce a campaign manifesto and a short film on their experiences and priorities for Manchester’s devolution we hope to lead by example, showcasing creative, youth-led activities to incorporate and project the views of young, working-class residents.

These activities are geared towards a much broader and more ambitious goal. Namely, to promote the political participation of young people in these socially, economically and politically significant debates.

If, like the Powerhouse Pioneers campaign, we are encouraging young people to reach their potential and to be bold in their aspirations and remain hopeful about the possibilities for change, then as academics we too should share this important goal.

Dr Sarah Marie Hall is a Lecturer in Human Geography

Dr Laura Pottinger is a Postdoctoral Researcher in Human Geography

Devolution, dialogue and civic intelligence

Joanne Tippett

Greater Manchester devolution offers tremendous opportunities for rethinking how we deliver public services and make changes in our city region. But are we embracing enough perspectives?

My research over many years has shown that when more voices are heard, and everyone has the opportunity to make an active contribution, the more chance we have of uncovering key issues and developing solutions that are likely to work.

I've found that the most interesting ideas often come from outside the 'usual suspects', whether that be from someone who is looking at things from a different perspective due to their organisational focus, or from a community member who may initially have felt they have nothing to add to the conversation.

When it comes to the Devo Manc agenda, there are key questions to ask. Are we engaging with a wide enough range of stakeholders - and particularly those who will be affected by the decisions - as well as the decision-makers? Are we looking for synergies across different issues such as health, environment, skills and employment, and place-making? Are we engaging effectively?

All voices

A consistent research theme throughout my career has been what happens when you do actually hear the voices of those who are impacted by decisions? I asked myself this question when I was working with villagers in Lesotho in the mid-90s at a time of persistent drought. I wanted to find out what people were already doing, what worked and mattered to them, and then to develop new solutions and ideas together.

By engaging with people in this way, local people were able to change a barren landscape in their village into an agro-forestry plot full of fruit trees, vegetables and – crucially – fodder for cattle. Small design interventions stemming from local knowledge made this possible. The methods I developed back then have since evolved into my Manchester-based social enterprise, Ketso.com, which aims to provide tools for effective and creative engagement worldwide.

Mixed picture

In terms of devolution in Greater Manchester, the picture around engagement so far appears rather mixed. There have been a lot of attempts to engage with citizens, and this is commendable. But we need to embed more holistic and effective engagement into our decision-making, to make devolution work as well as it might. Not only do we need more dialogue, we need to find ways to make the many conversations that we are having add up to form a coherent picture over time.

There is a real opportunity for the Mayor's office to become a central hub for all of this information. But how well structured is the data that is coming in? Does it lend itself to being put together so that we can find patterns and enable great ideas to emerge around specific places, sectors and issues?

There are some key questions that policymakers must ask. What are we hearing from people over time, in any area or context? What have people said in past consultations, and are we linking up with that so we don't just ask people the same questions again?

If we don't learn from what has gone before, and communicate about that, we

In terms of devolution in Greater Manchester, the picture around engagement so far appears rather mixed.



risk increasing consultation fatigue and a weary sense that no-one is really listening. This can be a big barrier when it comes to building up a true picture of a neighbourhood and its assets.

Being creative

Human creativity is perhaps our most under-utilised resource in solving the many problems facing us as a society. This means we have to look not only at who we are engaging with, but how. We need to create the right setting and structure for effective creativity and thinking.

How do we best enable people to access their creativity? How can we link ideas and actions so that we learn from what has happened in the past? How do we make the ideas accessible for others to use, so that we can find synergies across sectors, and find savings from avoiding duplicated efforts?

We need to grasp the nettle of devolution. That means not getting hung up on precisely how much money comes

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in from Whitehall, or whether a possible change of government could make a difference. Indeed there is a danger that devolution will become too dependent on politics. I think we need to guard against that mentality, and instead focus on working with what we already have.

Doing things differently

My impression thus far is that devolution is part of a wider and constructive move towards doing things differently. This can, for instance, be seen in terms of the sustainability agenda with Manchester looking to become a leading green city region. Indeed the forthcoming Mayor's Green Summit in Manchester will be a perfect opportunity to take stock of our journey to becoming a carbon-neutral city region, and what we need to do to achieve this ambitious target. It is one example of how creative and effective engagement with a whole range of stakeholders is a vital and exciting part of turning this vision into reality.

Dr Joanne Tippett is a Lecturer in Spatial Planning

Towards a new industrial strategy

Diane Coyle

There is much to welcome in the government's recent [Industrial Strategy white paper](#), focusing as it does on research and innovation, education and skills, infrastructure, place, and the business environment – all fundamental to long-term prosperity.

The paper highlights some 'grand challenges' such as: using Artificial Intelligence (AI) and data; issues around low carbon energy and growth; dealing with an ageing society; and mobility. These are issues that chime with the recent findings of the Industrial Strategy Commission, of which I was a member.

The paper also includes a range of more specific proposals covering innovative sectors of the economy such as life sciences, aerospace and AI where it has identified the potential for high productivity performance. The intention is to build out from these areas of strength in the economy, and over time consider how to improve performance in lower productivity - but important - sectors such as retail and hospitality.

New emphasis

All of this is unsurprising. What is particularly welcome is the emphasis the new strategy puts on place, and the importance of raising productivity and growth around the whole of the UK.

The regional dispersion of growth, productivity and incomes in the UK compared to any other developed economy is a recent discovery in Whitehall, prompted by the push for devolution from English cities (especially the Northern Powerhouse) and underlined by the geography

of the EU referendum result and votes at last year's General Election.

The regional divergence matters because if productivity in the UK as a whole is to increase, driving long-term prosperity, it will have to increase more in areas other than London and the South East, given how congested they are already. An economy cannot fly on only one engine.

The Industrial Strategy document has some intriguing hints, such as reference to a 'rebalancing toolkit' in making decisions about investment in transport infrastructure. We argued strongly in our Industrial Strategy Commission report that the current method of appraising such investments rewarded already successful places by using current market prices (high London wages and land prices) and taking no account of the potential strategic importance of some projects in raising productivity – and hence market prices – elsewhere.

Strategic approach

A more strategic approach to appraisal would allow for the possibility, when it comes to big projects out of London, of step changes in market prices, and hence the likely benefits of the project.

What is particularly welcome is the emphasis the new strategy puts on place, and the importance of raising productivity and growth around the whole of the UK.

Perhaps the new toolkit will address the London bias of appraisal methods which strongly support projects such as Crossrail 2, an addition to an already dense and efficient public transport system, as opposed to upgrading northern rail,

for which a case has to be argued - even though it could transform the labour market and business opportunities across the North if a distance the same length as London's Central Line could be made commutable.

'Rebalancing' is an unfortunate metaphor, as the UK's infrastructure needs upgrading everywhere. But the needs of areas outside London and the South East are underestimated.

Concerns

There are two concerns about the new approach. One is that there is still a need to devolve far more decision-making away from Whitehall and Westminster. Skills policies are one area we argued should be decentralised, as the knowledge about what skills employers need is known locally, not centrally.

It is disappointing that Whitehall successfully resisted this move, and it will hamper the success of skills policies. Local authorities, certainly the new English combined authorities, also need to be given the fiscal freedoms to cope with their still shrinking budget allocations from Whitehall. They also need the authority to fund and build social housing where it is needed, and need more say over health priorities in their areas. In too many areas of policy the centre does not know enough to deliver public services suited to the differing needs of very different city regions.

The other concern is whether the new strategy will be firmly embedded in government and sustained. Business and local decision-makers are keen supporters of a new, strategic approach to the country's economic challenges. But there is still resistance at the centre, nor is it clear how

Skills policies are one area we argued should be decentralised, as the knowledge about what skills employers need is known locally, not centrally.

much political consensus there is either inside or outside the Conservative Party.

Mistakes of past

One of the most disastrous aspects of past economic policies is that successive governments frequently reversed decisions taken by their predecessors, without good reason.

This has marred everything from further education to energy policy, areas where people are making decisions looking 20 years ahead or more while facing extraordinarily damaging political uncertainty.

This means the institutional framework for industrial strategy is vital and the government is setting up an Industrial Strategy Council composed of business people, investors, and some experts. However this falls short of what we advocated in our report, which was an independent body similar to the Office of Budget Responsibility, with an expert staff and its own budget, to hold political decision-makers to account.

As such the new Council will need to build on the initial proposals to embed a more strategic approach to how government and the private sector together can act to improve living standards and meet major social and economic challenges. Above all, it will need to sustain the emphasis being put on place, to build on the momentum created by devolution to the new mayors, and to help businesses around the country respond to the varying challenges Brexit will pose to different industries and sectors.

If it can achieve this, then we will really be able to welcome the new Industrial Strategy.

Diane Coyle is Professor of Economics



Are we ready for regional banking?

Marianne Sensier

The long-term sluggishness of the UK's economy outside London, and its slower recovery from the recession, has been widely reported. Only London and the South East have returned to pre-crisis levels of income per head, and the regional imbalances become even more extreme if you start comparing sub-regional areas.

For instance, the [ONS](#) estimates GVA (Gross Value Added) per head in 2016 ranged from £318,673 in Camden and the City of London down to just £13,655 on the Isle of Anglesey. Even across city regions such as Greater Manchester there are sharp variations. In central Manchester the figure was £33,573, while it was £16,529 for Bolton and Wigan.

Funding gaps

Some of the blame for this disparity can be levelled at the UK's financial system which is so concentrated and controlled from London. This leads to a geographical skew in the nature of capital markets which, in turn, creates funding gaps particularly for firms in peripheral locations.

For instance the [Competition and Markets Authority](#) found in 2015 that 80% of all business current accounts were provided by just four banks - Lloyds, RBS Group, Barclays and HSBC. A subsequent government [report](#) from the Department for Business Innovation & Skills also found that there were significant barriers to entry for new banks entering this market, such that an oligopoly market exists and low levels of SME customer satisfaction are reported. Few SMEs switch banks as few alternatives exist.

The Greater Manchester Business [Survey](#) has also consistently found that one of the main barriers to growth for business is access to finance (22% said this was the case in 2015/6), and young firms (less than three years old) in particular find this to be a problem.

In the most recent survey 36% of firms said they had difficulty accessing finance as they did not meet the criteria or the process took too long. Some of the reasons given for firms seeking finance were to increase cashflow to support growth (27%) and for capital equipment and vehicles (26%), both essential components for increasing a firm's productivity.

What other countries do

The US, Canada, Japan and other European countries have regional banks. For instance the German regional banking system comprises of Sparkassen, Landesbanken and credit co-operatives, and the diverse bank framework effectively shielded the savings banks during the financial crisis and allowed them to increase lending to SMEs. The German economy experienced only a mild recession during 2008 in output and employment, and many German regions were resistant to recession and did not experience job losses.

In the UK a few local banks have been established to lend to SMEs with the support of local anchor

institutions. For instance Warrington Borough Council has a 33% stake in the Redwood Bank, and Cambridge and Counties Bank was formed as a partnership between Cambridge and Cambridgeshire Local Government Pension Fund and Trinity Hall, Cambridge

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University. A Hampshire Community Bank has support from four local councils and four universities, while Burnley Savings and Loans is an example of a bank that also takes in local savings. But there is a need to go much further.

Devolution

With devolution Greater Manchester has an opportunity to encourage investment and inclusive growth by setting its own policy agenda.

In the first instance it should look at setting up a community bank and taking advantage of the work of the Community Savings Bank Association (CSBA) which, with the backing of the RSA's Inclusive Growth Commission, already has plans to create a UK wide network of 19 mutually owned community banks.

The community bank could become pivotal in the local financial network. For example, the Chamber

The regional bank model is working in many other countries and is beginning to have some traction in the UK.

of Commerce offers training and the Manchester Growth Company already provides loans and advice to business through Business Finance Solutions. The bank could help with financial inclusion for low-income communities by

working with the credit union sector and help them to overcome problems of attracting middle-income savers.

The evidence presented here is at least suggestive of a need for additional finance in Greater Manchester to support the growth of local SMEs and social enterprises. The regional bank model is working in many other countries and is beginning to have some traction in the UK.

Having a stable local finance sector could be a core pillar for creating more sustainable local economic growth and employment opportunities for local communities where businesses sign up to fair working conditions and pay the living wage.

Marianne Sensier is a Research Fellow in Economics

A system-wide approach to tackling inequalities

Ruth Lupton

Education and skills are central to Greater Manchester's vision of inclusive economic growth, yet there remains no 'system' to address deeply entrenched educational inequalities across the city.

The facts are stark. In 2016 there was a gap of 17 percentage points in the city between levels of development of pupils on Free School Meals (FSM) and others in the early years, widening to 22 percentage points at Key Stage 2, 27 percentage points at the end of Key Stage 4, then 26 points at age 19. Only 23% of 15 year-olds eligible for FSM had gone on to university by age 19, compared with 41% of their peers.

Across the city there are also very large variations in outcomes. For example, 50% of pupils in Trafford entered university in the latest cohort compared with 31% in Tameside and 33% in Salford. 74% of five-year-olds in Trafford had reached a good level of development compared with 61% in Oldham and 63% in Rochdale and Tameside.

This matters because for those not following the university route their futures are much less secure. Over 60% of pupils on FSM do not achieve A*-C grades in English and Maths at GCSE, and many of these do not make progress to a higher level of learning between age 16 and 18. There are also big differences in adult qualifications between areas, signalling large differences in opportunities and life chances.

System-wide approach

Closing these socio-economic gaps would have a transformative effect on individual lives and on education levels overall. Yet the city region has very few powers

to tackle them. Instead powers rest via a combination of local authorities, national/regional bodies, and groups of schools. For instance across Greater Manchester there are now 76 Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs) and 42 different Teaching Schools.

One result of this state of affairs is that it is hard to find any detailed cross-age analysis of the issues to be tackled. As such, our recent [report](#) at the Inclusive Growth Analysis Unit has proposed some ways in which devolution might be used to develop a new system-wide approach.

Where to start? Well, the city should definitely draw on the experience of the Greater Manchester Challenge which ran from 2008 to 2011, a campaign which aimed to raise standards in schools across some of the most deprived areas of the region. Its evaluation showed the benefits of a positive, trusting and supportive approach, and of a campaign which built on and shared expertise already in the system. It also showed the benefits of using system-wide data, and focusing on disadvantage.

The Challenge only covered the school system, but it did demonstrate the value of shared understanding and commitments, suggesting that the same approach for the whole education and skills system could be beneficial.

50% of pupils in Trafford entered university in the latest cohort compared with 31% in Tameside and 33% in Salford.

Doing something different

However, notwithstanding the benefits that could be gained from such an approach, city-region collaboration on its own will not solve educational inequalities which are persistent in English education. They reflect socio-economic divisions

outside school, which have effects early in life and persist through each stage of education.

And while the early years are important, research also demonstrates the negative impact of policy decisions such as: an inadequate distribution of school resources in response to need; lack of investment in further and adult education; and narrow performance measures.

Doing something different in Greater Manchester will require more than carrying out existing policies more vigorously in order to drive up standards. At the school level, there is promising evidence on multi-agency approaches and strength-based pedagogies as well as on specific interventions. More broadly, academics have argued for the need to understand and dismantle the factors outside the school system that create inequalities, to focus on resource distribution and to identify measures and incentives that support more equitable outcomes.

What the Mayor could do

What could Manchester's Mayor feasibly do? My view is that he needs to set out a vision and strategy for education and skills as a whole, linked to Greater Manchester's social as well as economic objectives.

Doing something different in Greater Manchester will require more than carrying out existing policies more vigorously in order to drive up standards.

He needs to develop new structures to bring all aspects from cradle to career into one system, work with partners to develop oversight and coordination of system resources, and develop analysis and intelligence capacity at the city region level.

He also needs to develop better measures which capture

a wider range of outcomes, make maximum use of system capacity, and set up a knowledge-sharing hub, working with the Regional Schools Commissioner to identify schools in need of support, while also working more closely with universities.

And he also needs to consider how resources could be distributed within the system to focus more effort on the most disadvantaged people, institutions, and places which are the keys to success, while also supporting place-based multi-agency approaches to address the 'social determinants' of educational underachievement.

Some progress is being made towards these objectives, for instance with the establishment of a new Education and Employability Board for Greater Manchester. But there is much work to be done. I sincerely hope 2018 will see education very much coming to the top of the Mayor's in-tray.

Ruth Lupton is Professor of Education and Head of the Inclusive Growth Analysis Unit



Education in Greater Manchester - time for an inclusive turn

Mel Ainscow

Despite the efforts of successive governments over the last 20 years, home background is still the best predictor of success within the English education system. This means that children and young people from low income backgrounds are more likely to experience barriers to their progress. The big challenge, therefore, is to make our education system inclusive.

Recognising this challenge, researchers from across The University of Manchester have been making efforts to analyse the nature of the problem, proposing new ideas that can assist policymakers and practitioners in finding more effective ways of moving forward.

One [report](#) from the Inclusive Growth Analysis Unit, which forms the substance of the previous article in this publication by Ruth Lupton, takes a specific look at the situation in Greater Manchester. It argues that overall educational attainment in Greater Manchester is close to national levels, but that too many people are left behind. It notes that gaps are wide in the early years and widen through school and into adulthood. It goes on to argue that Greater Manchester, like England as a whole, is being held back by these inequalities. It concludes that there is a need to do something different.

Another [report](#) that I co-authored argues that the 'something different' should be based on the experience, knowledge and wisdom that already exists within the system. Using examples from different parts of the country, it shows how some practitioners and policymakers are making sense of a highly uncertain education landscape, and finding ways to use current policies and the spaces these create to move in more equitable directions.

Children and young people from low income backgrounds are more likely to experience barriers to their progress.

Coherent strategy

These actions are indicative of what can happen when what schools do is aligned within a coherent strategy with the efforts of other local players – families and communities, businesses, universities and public services, and third sector organisations.

I led an earlier initiative - which Ruth Lupton also alluded to - called the Greater Manchester Challenge (2008-11), which demonstrated the benefits of city region wide cooperation as a means of moving the education system forward in relation to equity in education. As a result, it received considerable attention in this country and overseas. An independent evaluation of the initiative concluded that a factor contributing to its success was its ethos of trust, support and encouragement.

Mayoral possibilities

The appointment of the Greater Manchester Mayor opens up exciting possibilities to build on this earlier success in order to take an inclusive turn. With this in mind, I am pleased to have been appointed as the independent chairman of the new Greater Manchester Education and Employment Board. Its purpose is to coordinate educational developments across the city region.

For me, the guiding vision for the Board should be that of a high-performing system which is at the forefront of developments to find more effective ways of breaking

the link between poverty, low attainment and limited life chances. Central to this vision would be the idea of a self-improving local system, driven by school leaders and involving practitioners at all levels, that takes collective responsibility



for the quality of education across Greater Manchester. Importantly, this must involve all maintained schools, voluntary aided schools, academies and free schools.

It will also be vital to involve other stakeholders including businesses, higher education institutes, health and social care professionals, sports and arts organisations, religious groups and the voluntary sector. This recognises that closing the gap in outcomes between those from more and less advantaged backgrounds will only happen when what happens to children outside - as well as inside - school changes. This means ensuring that all children receive effective support from their families and strengthening this support through community involvement.

Stakeholders

All of this has major implications for the various key stakeholders within education systems. In particular, teachers, especially those in senior positions, have to see themselves as having a wider responsibility for all

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children, not just those that attend their own schools.

It means, too, that there have to be effective arrangements to coordinate partnership working. This is a worrying aspect of the current national policy context, with its emphasis on school autonomy, competition and new

governance structures that can sometimes discourage schools from working with others.

There are therefore significant implications for national policymakers. In order to make use of the power of collaboration as a means of achieving greater equity in our schools, policy needs to foster greater flexibility at the local level in order that practitioners have the space to analyse their particular circumstances and determine priorities accordingly.

This means that the government must recognise that the details of policy implementation are not amenable to central regulation. Rather, these have to be dealt with by those who are close to and, therefore, in a better position to understand local contexts.

Mel Ainscow CBE is Emeritus Professor of Education

Inclusive ageing strategies for an inclusive Manchester

Elaine Dewhurst

“Old friends, sat on their park bench like bookends”.

The lines from this song (Old Friends) on Simon and Garfunkel’s concept album, Bookends, create an evocative image of two old men sitting on opposite ends of a park bench wrapped in their overcoats protecting themselves from the cold winter wind and silently breathing in the sounds of their city.

It is a powerful reminder of the isolation and exclusion associated with ageing, from which older people in Manchester are not immune. Indeed statistics reveal that older people in Manchester are more likely to spend part of their remaining years (which are on average almost four years fewer than their counterparts in the rest of England) in poor health, with greater levels of disability, suffering deprivation and increasing isolation.

Tackling such isolation and exclusion is central to creating an inclusive Manchester where older residents can feel part of the integral beat of their city.

Rethink

Achieving inclusion requires, firstly, a fundamental rethink of our perceptions of older people and to embrace the opportunities presented by our ageing population.

All too often older people are treated as passive, dependant, vulnerable and in need of assistance. Focus is, often reactively, placed on the challenges of an ageing population and on the resulting strain on public resources including healthcare, transport, housing, employment and mental health provision.

Yet as the United Nations has said, embracing a more

proactive and opportunity-focused approach would allow us to recognise the ability of older people. The older generation should, owing to their wealth of experience, knowledge and skills, be viewed as one of our greatest untapped resources.

Here in Manchester such a perception shift would allow for greater inclusion of older people in important decision-making and would also pave the way for the development of active age mainstreaming policy – namely a specific policy to protect and empower older people.

Policy tools

Since the adoption of the Madrid International Action Plan on Ageing at the United Nations Second World Assembly on Ageing in 2002, age mainstreaming has been lauded as an essential policy tool.

Age mainstreaming in Manchester would ensure that public action would be viewed through the prism of the older person, providing insight into their specific concerns and ensuring more inclusive policy implementation.

Altering perceptions and establishing effective age mainstreaming requires considerable commitment from policymakers to develop partnerships with older people, particularly those most acutely affected by individual policy developments.

It requires the avoidance of top-down activity and the development of a platform from which older people can become partners in decision-making, ensuing accountability and sensitivity to the concerns of older people. Establishing such partnerships, and providing a forum from which

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the voices of affected people can be effectively heard, is key to ensuring the success of age mainstreaming and the resultant inclusion associated with such partnerships.

Benefits

In tangible terms, there are many practical benefits to residents of all ages in embracing the opportunities presented by the older population in Manchester and of adopting age mainstreaming.

Ageing perspectives present opportunities to reframe and redevelop the local environment in many ways: to challenge negative stereotypes and combat age discrimination in employment, education and healthcare; to promote existing legal initiatives around flexible working; and to transform local services for all residents, whatever their age.

In Manchester, there is capacity for many significant initiatives such as: investing in sustainable and accessible transport through the local transport plan (reducing the isolation caused by existing inaccessible transport links and costs); building accessible, affordable and serviced housing (improving

In tangible terms, there are many practical benefits to residents of all ages in embracing the opportunities presented by the older population in Manchester and of adopting age mainstreaming.

quality of life); and by integrating health and care services more fully and prioritising mental health (improving mental and physical health and reducing the potential for poorer quality care).

Additionally, older workers can be equipped to fill labour, skills and experience gaps and bring

fresh perspectives to businesses countering negative perceptions about older workers. They can also help reinvigorate workplaces through flexible work practices. Existing obstacles to achieving these goals, such as age discrimination, skills decline and lack of support for flexible working, could also be addressed more strategically at a policy level.

There is a sense of inevitability in *Old Friends* that isolation, loneliness and exclusion are an inevitable part of ageing. Perhaps by embracing the opportunities presented by the ageing population and by giving older people in Manchester a clear voice through age mainstreaming, we can create a city which challenges and overcomes these inevitabilities through inclusion and partnership.

Dr Elaine Dewhurst is a Senior Lecturer within the Manchester Institute for Collaborative Research on Ageing

Health and social care devolution – the experience so far

Anna Coleman and Kath Checkland

A great deal of hard work, energy and commitment has been put into Greater Manchester’s health and social care devolution since its announcement in 2015. But this ‘transformation programme’, as it has been coined, remains complicated and there is a very long way to go before the intended major change is realised.

Those involved are ambitious and committed, but difficult issues must still be resolved. Cooperation between local organisations is likely to generate winners and losers. Changes may bring unexpected consequences. And keeping the whole system operational while still meeting national targets in a context of constrained budgets is a huge problem across the NHS.

One particular issue is that all of the organisations collaborating in the Greater Manchester Health and Social Care Partnership have retained their existing statutory responsibilities. It has therefore been necessary to develop new organisational and governance structures to allow the intended large-scale changes required to be discussed and agreed by the Partnership.

In a [recent report](#), the Partnership argued that in some areas these changes are making things better. For instance, it highlighted satisfaction with GP services, noted how quickly planned operations were being carried out, and also singled out the quality of care for people who have had a stroke. However, it also recognised that

improvements were needed in areas such as urgent and emergency care, and in consistently meeting national standards for cancer care.

Structure

Since the Partnership was established there has been a focus on place-based planning of services, improving population health, transforming community services, and on the standardisation of both acute and specialist care and of back office functions and clinical support. An impressive list of Memoranda of Understanding, strategies, plans, programmes, visions, and charters have been developed. But, and it is a big but, most have yet to be implemented.

One must remember these are ambitious targets, emphasising the need for joined-up and improved access to services, standardisation of care, and the pooling of budgets between health and social care. In particular, three key objectives have formed out of these plans and strategies.

Firstly, the need to pool health and social care resources so that they are managed through an integrated Single Commissioning Function in all ten districts of Greater Manchester. Secondly, the establishment of ten Local Care Organisations integrating provision across the districts. And thirdly, establishing new models of hospital provision where hospitals work together across Greater Manchester at a much greater scale than ever before to a set of consistent quality standards.

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Challenges

Making all this happen is not straightforward. The legislative architecture underpinning the NHS is not particularly helpful to those wanting to work together in this way.

Competition law, VAT rules and a system of oversight

which regulates each organisation separately, are all issues. Primary legislation will be required to change many of these things, and there is apparently little appetite for this in government.

Greater Manchester is not alone in its ambitions to create a more joined-up health and social care system. Across England, health and social care commissioners and providers are coming together in 37 Strategic Transformation Partnerships (STPs) to encourage place-based planning of health and care, and Greater Manchester is one of these. Policy is also moving fast to encourage deeper collaboration, such as with the creation of [Integrated Care Systems](#). These include both devolved health and care systems (including Greater Manchester) and those areas previously designated as ‘shadow accountable care systems’. From 2018, these systems will serve around one in six people in England.

However Greater Manchester has a head start with these policy developments and can build upon a strong and positive history of successful collaboration across both health and social care. Furthermore, the hard work associated with creating governance structures has been started.

Existing legislation provides significant challenges, and some issues will require government action to resolve.

We also now have an elected Mayor who can provide a single visible point of accountability for the city region. Although he has no direct control over health and care, the way the Partnership is set up suggests that a strong relationship with the Mayor’s office is being developed.

Hard work

However progress on healthcare devolution remains slow. Existing legislation provides significant challenges, and some issues will require government action to resolve.

On the other hand, functioning collaborative structures have been built and additional investment secured, including mental health funding and investment in primary care. 24/7 access to primary care has been rolled out, £275m of ‘transformation funding’ has been invested, and a locally controlled [work and health programme](#) agreed.

And the devolution we are seeing in Greater Manchester is now at the forefront of changes happening across England. Indeed the success of the NHS as a whole seems to rest upon these new models of collaboration improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the system.

So what is happening in Greater Manchester right now will continue to be of interest far beyond its borders.

Dr Anna Coleman is a Senior Research Fellow in Healthcare Policy

Kath Checkland is Professor of Health Policy and Primary Care

Integrating Greater Manchester's transport in a sustainable way

Michael Hodson and Andrew McMeekin

As Mayor Andy Burnham remarked in a recent keynote speech on transport, lack of access to affordable and convenient public transport means that more than half of journeys in Greater Manchester are made by private car and 80 per cent of those car journeys are made solo. As other studies have shown, an extraordinary 87% of trips made by car across Greater Manchester are under 10km, while around a third of its residents travel solely by car and never use any other means of travel.

Faced with such statistics devolution undoubtedly creates a real opportunity to be bolder on transport in order to get the city moving. There is a definite sense that business as usual is not an option. Our transport system needs a radical rethink and needs it now.

What is also clear however is that the market-based response we have seen across the rail, and especially bus network, has simply not worked. There is a need for viable and attractive transport alternatives so that people leave the car at home.

Where to start?

Burnham himself has proposed a Greater Manchester Strategic Transport Board to coordinate improvements across the region's transport networks. He has promised reform of bus services - which he says have suffered as a result of a "failed, free market experiment" - by pushing for lower fares, integrated contactless payment, and more comprehensive coverage across the city. He has also commissioned Transport for Greater Manchester to carry out a 'Congestion

Conversation' with motorists, cyclists, pedestrians, and public transport users.

In terms of tackling congestion he says he is open to any idea except a congestion charge. "Until we have delivered major improvements to other modes of transport, and given people a genuine alternative to the car, you cannot hit them with an unavoidable tax simply for going to work," he recently said.

Indeed this was precisely the reason why voters rejected a congestion charge in the city a decade ago. City leaders wanted to introduce a charge before any viable alternative was put in place. It was classic jam tomorrow.

Integration

The failed congestion charge bid showed how the concept of an integrated transport system - one which enables people to leave their cars at home and move seamlessly between different modes of transport - is fundamental to Greater Manchester's transport strategy.

But this move towards integration faces challenges on all sides. One of the biggest is how this can be achieved when the governance of Greater Manchester's existing multiple transport networks is so fragmented.

The rail network is a complex mix of private and public interests and one which Transport for Greater Manchester has very little control over, while the bus

system has been deregulated since 1986, meaning routes and fares are largely at the whim of the operators.

On the surface of it Greater Manchester now has an impressive looking tram system, built on the basis of central government funds. But, it is

There is a definite sense that business as usual is not an option. Our transport system needs a radical rethink and needs it now.

expensive to use and coverage is limited. The fact remains that around five times as many people use buses compared to trams. For instance in 2016/17 passenger numbers on Metrolink increased by more than 10% to almost 38 million journeys, while bus journeys fell slightly to 201 million.

With the new Bus Services Act there is an opportunity to tackle issues around buses. In particular, the Act allows elected mayors to set the terms and conditions under which bus companies operate, and also allows them to partially re-regulate services by creating franchise schemes similar to those operated by Transport for London. It will certainly be interesting to see what happens over coming months and the extent to which Burnham is prepared to take on operators.

Integrating sustainably?

There is a pressing need for an integrated transport system to improve mobility for Greater Manchester's existing citizens. But this need faces even greater challenges from Greater Manchester's highly ambitious economic growth targets.

With plans for up to 50,000 more homes across the city region by 2040, demand for transport will only further rise. It has been calculated that for peak hour car trips to remain at current levels, by 2040 around 68,000

Current levels of economic activity are contributing to air pollution in parts of Greater Manchester that breaches legal limits.

additional trips will need to be made by public transport, walking or bike.

Meanwhile current levels of economic activity are contributing to air pollution in parts of Greater Manchester that breaches legal limits. In particular, air quality is poor close to major roads. It also remains

unclear how targets for reductions in carbon emissions from transport in Greater Manchester by 2020 are to be met.

Be bold

This is precisely why the city's transport strategy needs to be bolder in addressing its stated social and environmental goals. Making public transport far more affordable for all, and better tailoring transport infrastructure development to actual and projected mobility patterns beyond the city centre, will be key.

Addressing the fragmented governance of Greater Manchester's transport systems and the competing vested interests operating within them is critical. The challenge of turning strategies into practice, when partial devolution still leaves strong dependencies on national government, remains significant. But Greater Manchester and its Mayor cannot afford not to grasp the nettle this time.

Dr Michael Hodson is a Senior Research Fellow at the Sustainable Consumption Institute

Andrew McMeekin is Professor of Innovation at the Sustainable Consumption Institute



Addressing the bias in transport investment

Graham Winch

Three years ago, when the then Coalition government published its [Northern Transport Strategy](#), I remarked that I hoped politicians would remain as committed to the project after the General Election as they were before it.

In the intervening period a lot has happened. Most notably Brexit and the departure of Northern Powerhouse champion George Osborne as Chancellor; further devolution; progress on the new high speed North-South rail line HS2; and the election of city mayors. So where do we stand today? Are our politicians still as committed to the great Northern transport project?

Investments

That Strategy document back in 2015 built on some investments that were already underway and which have since been completed. These included the Northern Hub project from Network Rail, which electrifies large stretches of the regional rail network and provides crucial interconnectivity through Manchester, and construction of the Mersey Gateway Bridge.

Among a number of new recommendations the Strategy proposed, for instance, feasibility studies for new road and rail tunnels under the Pennines between Sheffield and Manchester. Today this is just one example where a lot of work still needs to be done.

Trans-Pennine links also came under the spotlight during the more recent launch of a major [strategy](#) consultation by Transport for the North (TfN). Their report made reference to the tunnels project as part of an ambitious £69bn

transport plan for the North, laying out a revised plan for a shorter and cheaper road tunnel to Sheffield.

TfN's report also called for a number of other important transport investments across the region up to the year 2050 including: junctions and extra platforms off the HS2 from London at key points like Manchester Piccadilly and Leeds; a new line from Manchester's HS2 spur to Liverpool via Warrington; improved rail services between Manchester, Leeds, Hull, Liverpool, Sheffield and Newcastle; boosted capacity at Manchester Piccadilly station; and increased use of smart ticketing.

The total cost of these investments amounts to £2.3bn a year, which compares with current transport investment in the region of around £1.4bn a year. So we need to nearly double the rate of investment in transport for the Northern Powerhouse.

HS2

Progress around HS2, including a recent £300m government cash injection to allow TfN to plan for rail work around the high speed line, is to be welcomed. But we need to go much further.

The two 'arms' of HS2 and the global connectivity offered by Manchester Airport are vital if the full potential

The two 'arms' of HS2 and the global connectivity offered by Manchester Airport are vital if the full potential of the region is to be realised.

of the region is to be realised. Investments in HS2 and Northern Powerhouse Rail (NPR) *across* the North will help generate accelerated economic growth for the region with Manchester at its effective heart.

The central challenge here is to ensure that Manchester Piccadilly is built as a through station sub-surface rather than

the current plans for a surface turn-back station. This would provide superior connectivity across the North and with the Airport. And it would also release land for development that could help to pay for NPR.

The Airport is profoundly important for the whole region, hosting over 60% of regional air traffic. Quick and easy access to it is therefore crucial for both business and leisure travel internationally. The Airport has been, and will continue to be, the key to Manchester's potential. The ten-year redevelopment that recently began is a vital investment, supported by the World Logistics Hub and Airport City developments.

Value

It is just one example of how investment in Northern transport is definitely worth it, paying for itself and more, and helping to redress regional economic imbalances. However we must always ensure that project selection is carefully and transparently done based on realistic estimates of costs that are exceeded by clearly specified socio-economic benefits.

In this regard Mayor Andy Burnham should lobby and campaign central government to redress the bias in

The Airport has been, and will continue to be, the key to Manchester's potential. The ten-year redevelopment that recently began is a vital investment.

investment appraisals towards stimulating, rather than following, economic growth.

Numerous other challenges remain. For instance we need to ensure that NPR opens at the same time as HS2 arrives in Manchester and Leeds and fully interconnects with Liverpool. NPR will require considerable political energy to ensure that plans for Crossrail

2 in London do not starve it of investment funds.

In terms of our road network important enhancements are already taking place, but major investment is needed to ease congestion on the M60 and M62 in the North West quadrant. A major challenge for the future will also be to look at the options for congestion charging in central Manchester within the inner ring road, with enhanced charges or even bans for the more polluting vehicles.

One of the other issues for the Mayor is that seizing the transport opportunities is not actually within the devolution arrangements. But, building on the example of successive Mayors of Greater London, there is much to be done in campaigning and lobbying in order to make Greater Manchester's voice heard in Whitehall, and to address the bias in present investment appraisal methods.

Graham Winch is a Professor at Alliance Manchester Business School

Analysis and ideas on devolution from The University of Manchester

www.mui.manchester.ac.uk/devo-manc

www.manchester.ac.uk/policyblogs

mui@manchester.ac.uk

[@UoMUrban](https://twitter.com/UoMUrban)

policy@manchester.ac.uk

[@UoMPolicy](https://twitter.com/UoMPolicy)

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Manchester Urban Institute

policy@manchester