



The University of Manchester

A New Approach to Education, Training and Skills in Greater Manchester: Building Capacity for Individual, Workplace and Civic Prosperity

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Introduction

This paper was commissioned by the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) to inform the Independent Prosperity Review, which is itself informing the policy-making process for GM's Local Industrial Strategy (GMLIS).

Our brief was to consider what GM should aim to change in education, training and skills and what the system might ideally be like, and to examine priorities for reform with the primary aim of seeking to reduce inequalities. We were also asked to consider what opportunities are or are not offered by devolution.

The paper is a 'think-piece'. It draws on our knowledge of education, training and skills policy and workforce development in the UK and internationally, as well as our research in the GM context. It suggests how GM might build a stronger, fairer and more holistic approach in which more young people, adults and workplaces succeed, and fewer are left behind.

Reframing the Education and Training 'Problem' in GM

Starting from a Different Point

The Education and Training (E&T) system in Greater Manchester needs to change, but not for the reasons often put forward.

In recent years, the prevailing narrative in GM has tended to be that:

- our education system is underperforming relative to the national average and that the objective should be to catch up, a view currently reflected in the targets set in the 2017 GM strategy to raise educational attainment levels to at least the national average.
- our qualifications profile in the working age population is also low relative to the national average, both in relation to the proportions of people with higher level qualifications (too low) and the proportion with no or low qualifications (too high)

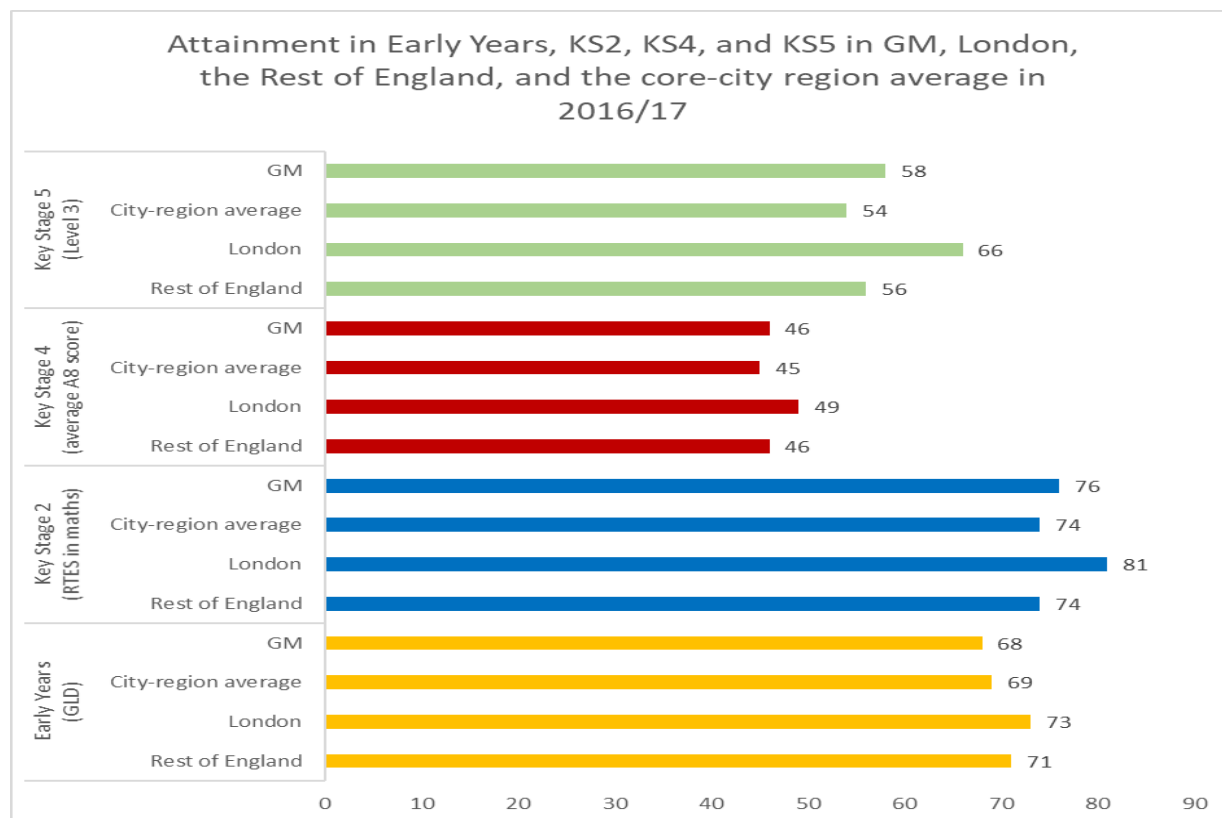
A key proposition in this paper is that system reform in GM needs to start from a different point, reframing the E&T problem. We say this for two reasons.

First, the gaps are not as large as is sometimes believed, nor are they all a result of the current E&T system. Taking education gaps first, while there have historically been larger gaps to the national figure, and there are performance issues in some parts of the city-region and some institutions (GMCA 2018), all current educational gaps are currently small. When compared to other city-regions and to the rest of the country (except London), GM does better in all phases of education (5-19) apart from early years (see Figure 1). This suggests that overall GM does not have a failing system relative to others and also that the attainment gains to be made from catching up with national average would be small. The issue of comparison with London in the school system is the subject of a suite of earlier papers (MacDougall and Lupton 2018a) and we return to it briefly later.

For the working age qualifications profile, compared to the national average there is a slightly larger gap in terms of working age adults (35%) qualified to NVQ Level 4 and above than nationally (38.3%), and there remains a gap in terms of the proportion of the working age population with no qualifications (9.6%

compared with 7.6% nationally) but not for low qualifications (NVQ level 1 only). Again, London is exceptional (with only 6.8% with no qualifications and 51.8% with Level 4 and above)¹. The working age qualifications profile is of course affected by the outcomes of previous E&T systems and labour demand as well as by graduate retention rates and skilled labour migration as well as by the performance of GM's current E&T system.

Figure 1: Educational Attainment in GM Compared to Other Areas



Source: IGAU analysis submitted to the Independent Prosperity Review

Notes: Rest of England= England minus London and Greater Manchester. London's educational performance is exceptional. Using the RoE figure, alongside London and GM, allows us to compare GM both with London and with the RoE outside of London. City Region Average is a population-weighted average of English city-regions excepting London and Greater Manchester

Second, this focus on gaps to the national figure distracts us from a bigger problem: the performance of the English E&T system, the shortcomings of which are mirrored in GM.

While benchmarking to the national average is a normal and expected approach for sub-national governments in the context of a highly centralised E&T system, devolution for GM presents an opportunity to depart from this approach. A city-region seriously concerned with transformation needs to raise its sights beyond the national average and begin to address some of the problems that are common to the English system and holding GM back from the achievement of its ambitious economic and social objectives.

¹ For this reason, we contend that a more illuminating analysis is not to compare GM to the national figure including London but to the Rest of England and to London separately, as well as to other city regions (as in Figure 1) but this is not something we have had time to do for adult qualifications for this paper. This analysis would likely show that GM is fairly typical of other city regions, but very different in comparison to London.

Key Problems in English Education and Training

Much has been written about the shortcomings of the English E&T system, and we cannot attempt a complete review here. We focus on five related issues we believe to be critical to the GM situation and particularly to the Independent Prosperity Review and LIS:

- a) the separation of the 'education system' from the 'vocational training system' and the workplace;
- b) the variability in quality and availability of post-16 pathways for GCSE 'low attainers' and non-A Level students;
- c) the varying capacity of workplaces (of all types and sizes) to create effective learning environments;
- d) an overreliance on early phases of education at the expense of a lifelong approach;
- e) the propensity of the school system to reproduce rather than overcome socioeconomic inequalities.

The **education system and the vocational training system are not considered to be part of the same system**. By this we mean that that a sharp academic-vocational divide determines how post-16 provision is structured, funded and valued for **both** young people and adults. Schools and sixth form colleges are classed as 'academic' institutions providing a linear pathway through to university entrance. In contrast and despite their substantial A Level and higher education provision, Further Education (FE) colleges retain the long-standing image as 'providers of last resort' (Bailey and Unwin 2014). A third very mixed category includes the independent Training Providers, and a fourth, community adult education, both of which overlap with FE). This hierarchy reflects traditional assumptions about 'academic' versus 'practical' knowledge' and occupational skill levels. It is manifested in the varying wage returns to qualifications and their educational and labour market currency (McIntosh and Morris 2016). The 'level' descriptors mask the wide variability in knowledge-based content and formal learning involved, particularly at Levels 2 and 3. Young people absorb this division from an early age, but it kicks in hard at 16 with GCSE results. All 16 year-olds are legally required to remain in some form of E&T until age 18, yet England lacks a coherent full-time upper secondary education system that embraces both academic and vocational provision (Kuczera and Field 2018). Instead, **non-A level students and GCSE 'lower attainers' are offered pathways of variable duration (full or part-time), quality and value** (Evans 2015). This creates confusion when 16 year-olds are making critical decisions about their futures, creates problems for monitoring their progress, encourages a 'revolving door' of pathway switching and 'treading water', and contributes to drop-out. At 19, the divide starts to widen further as, now classed as 'adults', individuals trying to improve their educational attainment, retrain or upskill are cut adrift from most government-funded full-time and some part-time E&T provision, apart from apprenticeship.

Analysis of the OECD's skills assessment surveys (PISA and PIAAC) has shown that those countries with strong upper secondary vocational provision have been more successful than England both in producing higher levels of skills and continued improvement in basic skills (literacy and numeracy) between the ages of 15 and 27 (Green and Pensiero 2016; Kuczera, Field and Windisch 2016). Moreover, those countries with a strong concept of upper secondary education, which includes vocational education and training (VET), have made greater progress than England in tackling the academic-vocational divide by developing a hybrid approach which affords both academic and vocational qualifications educational and labour market currency (OECD 2017; Deissinger et.al. 2013). Whilst Level 3 BTEC Diplomas and the AAT Advanced Diploma in Accounting have been included in the UCAS tariff for many years, most Level 3 vocational qualifications

(VQs) have not². This reflects the considerable variation in content and number of ‘guided learning hours’ at Level 3. Recently more VQs have been added, but inclusion in the tariff does not guarantee that individual universities will accept them (Fuller and Unwin 2012). This problem seems only partially to be tackled by the new T levels. Currently, the DfE website states that “Students who achieve a T Level will get a certificate recognised nationally by employers which will set out what they have achieved as part of the programme”. It is not clear whether employers will be recognising a T Level student’s completion of an upper secondary level of education and/or some form of occupational competence. The website also states that “T Levels are expected to replace many of the vocational and technical education qualifications currently offered to post-16 technical education students”, an aspiration that was also raised for the 14-19 Diplomas introduced in 2008 and withdrawn in 2013. To compete with A Levels, BTEC Diplomas and VQs that act as a ‘licence to practise’ (e.g. Level 3 Dental Technology), any confusion about the educational or labour market currency of T Levels will be highly problematic for young people, parents, E&T providers and employers. We discuss later in this paper how GM might address these problems by developing a local approach to hybridity with employers and universities.

One consequence of this situation is its perpetuation of socio-economic inequalities and contribution to low social mobility. Perhaps equally problematic in the current context is the **separation it engenders between E&T and the workplace**. The education system has been seen as needing to provide a ready made supply of well prepared workers, **neglecting both the importance of the workplace as a site for learning**, and with it the employers’ role and the influence of labour demand on incentives for prospective workers. Low quality jobs with low demand for and utilisation of skills are a barrier to the development of skills through the education and training system. Findings from the latest British Skills and Employment Survey show that between 2012 and 2017, the growth of skills demand has slowed and the levels of discretion afforded to employees over their work tasks declined (Henseke et.al. 2018). Employer investment in training stands at half the EU average and fell by 13.6 percent in real terms between 2007 and 2015 (Dromey and McNeil 2017) This is a contributor to the UK’s low productivity relative to many other EU countries and GM’s rate of 88% of the UK average (ONS 2018; Bughin 2018; Crafts 2018; Forth and Aznar 2018; GM Labour Market and Skills Review 2017/18).

The disconnect between the education system, the training system and the workplace presents a barrier to the development of local economic development strategies integrating supply and demand for skills. Education and training providers are responding to centrally-driven accountabilities and funding, which prioritise learner numbers regardless of whether there is demand for those skills and qualifications in the local labour market. Correspondingly, there tends to be little focus on changing the workplace (management practices, investment in training, progression opportunities) as a strategy for stimulating demand for more as well as new forms of E&T to increase skills levels. Despite the problems highlighted above, many workplaces (of all types and sizes) do create effective learning environments that recognize the learning potential of their employees (Felstead and Unwin 2016). They work well with E&T providers to organize high quality training programmes. **The challenge is to harness this expertise and experience.**

A fourth problem with the E&T system is **an overreliance on early phases of education** to resolve problems of low and unequal educational outcomes, in place of a lifelong learning approach, reflected in a long run decline in post-16 and adult funding. In 1990–91, spending per student in further education was nearly 50%

² See: <https://www.ucas.com/advisers/guides-and-resources/information-new-ucas-tariff-advisers>

higher than spending per student in secondary schools, but it is now 8% lower (Belfield et al 2017; Belfield et al. 2018). Funding for adult education and apprenticeships fell by 45% in real terms between 2009 and 2018 (Belfield et. al. 2018). These authors also show that different FE funding systems have different underlying principles. Hence, 16-18 funding reimburses providers based on government estimates of cost, but the advanced learner loan system for adults aged 24 and over requires them to cover course costs without any protection against low earnings. The loan system and the rise in HE tuition fees both contributed to the dramatic collapse in the number of part-time undergraduates (down 51% between 2008/09 and 2015/16) and the reduction in the numbers of adults enrolling on Level 3 and 4 programmes. The rise in fees, and hence the decision by the HE sector to increase recruitment to Degrees has also affected the supply of sub-degree programmes, notably Foundation Degrees, HNCs and HNDs, which had been seen as central to increasing technical and applied professional expertise (Phoenix 2018; see also progress report from the Civic University Commission³). Funding changes have also hit apprenticeship numbers. Since the introduction of the Apprenticeship Levy in 2017, the number of 'starts' in GM has fallen in line with the national trend. Although the GM Labour Market and Skills Review 2017/2018 notes the year-on-year fluctuations in starts, monitoring the impact of the levy is critical because, as the IFS notes, despite the fact that only 2% of employers will pay the levy, at least 60% of employees are likely to be working for a levy-paying employer. Again reflecting the national picture, the number of apprenticeships for 16-18 year olds has fallen (47% are aged 25+) raising questions about the sustainability of this route for school leavers.

In arguing that there has been an overemphasis on early phases, we are not disputing the evidence of the importance of investment in the early years for later life outcomes, nor of the value of public investment in high quality schools. But the neglect of later stages is a mistake for two reasons. First, the individual, social and economic determinants of educational attainment do not disappear at the end of educational phases. There is a continuing need to support learners throughout their educational journey, which may mean increasing funding for those who have got behind as they progress through the system. Second, the economic challenges we face demand an emphasis on stocks as well as flows. Two thirds of the workers who will be in the labour market in 2030 have already completed compulsory education (Dromey and McNeil 2017). They are a key resource. But the current system barely focuses on the upgrading of skills for existing workers. As Fuller and Unwin (2017) have demonstrated, apprenticeship is typically being used to accredit existing skills of employees (particularly at Level 2) rather than developing substantive levels of new and higher skills. Existing workers are of course a diverse group whose needs and barriers to training have been documented in many studies, but they continue to be treated as a homogenous group.

Some of the effects of this lack of attention to lifelong learning have been revealed in our current work, funded by the Nuffield Foundation, on young people who do not achieve a grade C (now 4) in English and Maths GCSE. Nationally, the majority of these young people do not make progress in English and Maths between 16 and 18, and 10% are not in a sustained education, training or employment destination six months after their GCSEs (Velthuis et al. 2018).⁴ In our recent project on construction skills training in GM (Lupton et al. 2018), we found very limited opportunities and a lack of clear progression pathways for adult learners, and the same problems about lack of progression were highlighted by stakeholders in a consultation on the E&T system under devolution that we jointly ran with New Economy in 2015. The GM Labour Market and Skills Review 2017/18 also points to these problems. The majority of FE provision in 2016/17, including apprenticeship, was at or below Level 2 (195,850 learners compared to 93,290 at Level 3

³ See: <https://upp-foundation.org/report-identifies-a-crisis-in-adult-education-as-a-major-threat-to-the-uk-economy/>

⁴ In a later phase of the project, we will be able to produce similar data for GM.

and 4,730 at Level 4 and above)⁵. Given the very challenging funding environment for vocational training and the demands coming from a changing labour market and for better productivity and economic growth, GM will need to find local solutions to build a more robust platform for progression that will increase skills at Levels 3, 4 and 5. This includes supporting people already in the workforce at Levels 2 and 3 to move on to Level 4 and 5 programmes.

The final key issue we focus on is the **propensity of the school system to reproduce rather than counteract socio-economic inequalities**, meaning that despite decades of policy effort by successive governments, socio-economic gaps in education remain very wide and little progress has been made on social mobility (Social Mobility Commission 2017). This is not a GM problem particularly. In fact, GM tends to do rather better than the national figure in terms of the attainment of disadvantaged students.⁶ It is a widely documented problem of the English system, which is also characterized more generally by highly differentiated outcomes. International studies of student achievement in the last 15 years have consistently established that England has among the widest gaps between higher and lower achievers of any OECD country and a longer ‘tail’ of low achievement, suggesting that more young people are being left behind in a system in which the average performance is close to the OECD average.

This is not a problem that can be solved by school improvement or even by broader education policy on its own. Most of the causes of educational inequalities lie outside the school/college: in inequalities in material resources; in the practical and emotional challenges of living in poverty; in the different educational, social and cultural capital deployed by different social class groups; and in the economic opportunities available in different places, and their impact on future expectations. These issues can be seen as the ‘social determinants’ of educational achievement gaps, and policy efforts to reduce education gaps need to focus on these as much as they do on education. However, education policy is also missing the mark. The current and recent focus is largely on tackling failing schools, improving teaching and leadership, and implementing specific and short-term interventions that are demonstrated to ‘work’. But these occur in a broader context: one of narrowing curriculum design, less forgiving assessment, a high level of pressure on schools to deliver increasing levels of attainment particularly in English and Maths, and an increasingly fragmented and competitive system. Research demonstrates that these wider policies are leading to a range of practices that create failure and marginalisation for the most disadvantaged learners (Reay 2017). These include: exclusion and social sorting within institutions (Kutnick et al. 2005, Gillborn and Youdell 2000); the deployment of the least experienced teachers to the learners who need the most support (Allen et al. 2016); standard and limited ‘pedagogies of poverty’, focused on behaviour management; and rote learning of basic facts, tests and marking, which neither engage nor stretch students who do not have access to a wide range of other educational resources (Lupton and Hempel-Jorgensen 2012).

Evidence on Academisation also suggests that this is not, per se, a route to a higher equity system. Some large Academy chains working mainly in London have been particularly successful overall and with disadvantaged learners. However, there is considerable variability between Academy chains and some schools are not in chains (Hutchings et al. 2014). Although there remains collaboration between schools (and between schools and colleges), ‘Academisation’ has also had the effect of making collaboration at the local

⁵ These data use level descriptors behind which sit a complex range of different programmes. What we cannot see from these figures, for example, is how much of the Level 2 provision is in English and maths, either GCSE resits for 16-18 year olds or basic skills provision for adults, how much is Level 2 provision with a clear progression route to Level 3, how much apprenticeship etc.

⁶ See evidence submitted by IGAU (A.Macdougall) to the evidence review.

level more difficult in an increasingly fragmented system with multiple non-geographic federations all with their own objectives, policies and ambitions and a much smaller ‘middle tier’ providing structures for connection and knowledge mobilisation (Kerr and Ainscow 2017).

Our argument here is that these more systemic issues need to be adequately addressed in order to give individual interventions a chance to add up to significant changes in educational opportunities. While this is a big task, there is evidence and examples to draw on – for example a large body of work on ‘productive pedagogies’ (Hayes et al. 2005, Munns et al. 2013), and international examples of systems which manage much lower rates of exclusion by packing resources around children with additional needs and by focusing on development rather than external assessment (Sahlberg 2015, Crehan 2016). Ofsted’s recent acknowledgement that its focus on performance data rather than on processes of teaching and learning has contributed to reductive curriculum design is also a significant signal that the status quo can be changed.⁷ We obviously do not have space in this paper for a detailed review of policy alternatives across the many areas involved. Should there be in interest in addressing these more systematic issues, we are willing and able to provide such material and further policy/practice recommendations.

Towards a New Approach

The Goal: System Transformation

Our critique of the English E&T system is not meant to imply that there are no policies that have been successful nor that there are not excellent initiatives co-produced by the range of public and private sector actors who interact on a regular basis within the system. Our claim is that, **as a whole**, the system is not functioning optimally to produce the desired outcomes in relation to enabling individuals to fulfil their potential, ensuring a skilled and adaptable population, and reducing inequality across the lifecourse. In this context, attempts to do better within the existing frame can have a limited impact. Good initiatives are often short-term because they rely on individual energy and commitment or seed corn funding. More fundamentally, attempts to improve outcomes without tackling more fundamental system problems can sometimes make things worse, increasing pressure on learners, diminishing their engagement and enjoyment, or directing them into sub-optimal choices. To give just one example, pressures on schools to raise standards (i.e. examination results) can lead to the practice of ‘off-rolling’ students who cannot contribute to aggregate results. Ofsted has calculated that 19,000 Year 10 pupils in 2016 did not progress to Year 11 in 2017 in the same secondary school, with Academies appearing to lose more pupils proportionally than local authority schools, with the latter also absorbing more of those who moved schools.⁸

For this reason, we propose that what is needed is not just more initiatives (although we do propose some), nor a focus on raising outcomes to the national average, but an expanded and more ambitious strategy for E&T that shifts away from transitory and siloed supply-side initiatives and generic targets to build a more stable and resilient model capable of contributing to shared prosperity across GM.

The challenge of change is considerable. In effect the E&T ‘system’ operates through **six different subsystems**. These deal with learners of different ages, divided at later stages by whether learners are on academic or vocational tracks (Table 1).

⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/amanda-spielman-speech-to-the-schools-northeast-summit>

⁸ See: <https://educationinspection.blog.gov.uk/2018/06/26/off-rolling-using-data-to-see-a-fuller-picture/>

Table 1: Funding and Delivery Arrangements in the Education and Training System: A Summary

	Key Subsystem Features
Early Years Education	Private, voluntary and LA providers (including school reception classes); working to national curriculum and assessment targets; inspected by Ofsted. Funded by parents and by government for entitled groups (3 and 4 year olds and some 2 yr olds).
Primary	LA schools. Academy schools (independent, state funded). Private schools. Working to national assessment targets. Academies can determine curriculum. Inspected by Ofsted. Funded by government (parents in case of private schools) on per pupil basis plus premia for certain pupils with additional support needs.
Secondary	As for primary but primary and secondary schools in an area are not necessarily connected and each has end of phase targets.
16-18	Main state funding block from Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) covers school sixth forms, Sixth form colleges, FE colleges, independent training providers, Special Post-16 Institutions (SPIs), special schools, special academies, local authorities (LAs); employer contributions to apprenticeships (both levy and non-levy) and to equipment for vocational provision; 16-19 bursary for disadvantaged students working to national guidelines for 'study programmes' and maths and English provision for young people without GCSE grade C, but colleges can determine balance of academic/vocational provision; inspected by Ofsted (and FE Commissioner for colleges); strong competition between providers for 16-18 year olds.
19+ not in higher ed	Range of provider types (as per 16-18); Adult Education Budget (ESFA) fully funds basic skills courses and first Level 2 or 3 vocational qualifications for 19-23 year olds; Adult Advanced Learner loans; some flexibility for providers to fully fund low-waged adults; separate funding for Offender Learning and Skills Service; full cost provision; employer contributions to apprenticeships (both levy and non-levy) and to equipment for vocational provision; inspection as for FE colleges plus from professional bodies (e.g. General Dental Council) for 'licence to practise' provision; outside government funding, full freedom to design curriculum.
Higher Education	Provision based in universities (including private) and some FE colleges; Office for Students funding plus student fees cover teaching costs; research funding from Research England; wide range of other funding (e.g. employers, alumni, benefactors etc); increasing battle over autonomy as government sets targets (e.g. graduate destinations; satisfaction; research assessment etc).

Each of these its own problems of fragmentation and competition - for example between schools, sixth form and FE colleges and apprenticeship providers - which inhibit local collaboration. Each also has different accountabilities and targets, geared to the end of their particular phase, which provide different and sometimes perverse incentives. For example, primary schools are incentivized to focus on teaching to the test in order to maximise performance on standard benchmarks, rather than concentrating on preparing students for the demands of the secondary curriculum. Each system has different funding mechanisms, which makes it hard to build progression pathways. Workforce supply and development also varies. Many workplaces, as we noted above, sit outside the system, although many are connected. Every subsystem includes a marketised approach involving provider competition and the need to diversify funding streams.

The challenge as we see it is not so much to improve the individual transitions between one subsystem and the next, but to see the six subsystems as connected areas of learning within **a single framework designed for lifelong learning and progression** (whether this is academic or vocational or both), **and for greater equity**. Moreover, improving E&T provision and outcomes alone will not be sufficient – E&T also needs to be

aligned with efforts to improve job quality, skills demand and utilisation, and workplace management.

Drawing on Mazzucato's (2018) concept of the 'entrepreneurial state', we argue that meeting this challenge is a role for the state (in this case the local state in the form of the GM Mayor and Combined Authority). The state should not be confined to correcting market failures, but have an active role in shaping a 'symbiotic' ecosystem that actively recognises and supports co-production.

The Devolution Opportunity

Narrowly defined in terms of the transfer of powers and funds from central government, devolution (in itself) represents very few opportunities for this kind of transformation (Keep 2016). The only budget area to be devolved (from 2019/20) is the Adult Education Budget (AEB), about half of which is earmarked for provision of courses to which learners are legally entitled to funding (English, maths, first levels 2 and 3, courses for unemployed people and traineeships) and the remainder for other courses/training including what was formerly known as 'community learning'. Control over apprenticeship funding and commissioning is not devolved and nor is funding for early education, schools, sixth form colleges or FE colleges (for education for 16-18 year olds). Given the lack of city-region devolution in the E&T system, most policy commentators working in this area have made proposals relating to the North as a whole, LEPs or local authorities, or the DfE's Opportunity Areas. We summarise recommendations from recent relevant reports⁹ in Appendix 1, since they provide useful context and some useful suggestion for the GM policy conversation, even though not generally focused on the city-region level.

However, we argue that seen more broadly, devolution presents a significant opportunity. Devolution, in our view, is not a phenomenon confined to a shift downwards from central government of specific powers and budgets. It needs to be seen more broadly as a shift to a new mode of urban governance, with strategic coordination and decision-making also moving upwards from individual local authorities, and with new networks, links and partnerships formed vertically and horizontally (Lupton et al. 2018, forthcoming). Its objectives, as set out by Core Cities (2013) are: to enable cities to reform services locally according to the needs and strengths of local places; coordinate across services and join them up locally, enabling greater focus on prevention; and to link economic and social policies, designing economic policies in order to improve living standards and reduce social and spatial inequalities, and social policies in order to drive productivity increases and stimulate growth. Blond and Morrin (2014) argue that place-based integration is in fact the only way in which complex and interlocking social problems and challenges can effectively be addressed and costs reduced; decades of vertically 'siloes' social policies emanating from individual Whitehall departments having been demonstrably not up to the job.

As Greater Manchester's devolution experiment develops, we are also seeing a greater emphasis on the potential it offers for a broader collaborative approach with local organisations working together on local problems. As the Greater Manchester Mayor argued recently, devolution is "*not just a series of technical changes to the machinery of Government. It has had a profoundly positive effect on the culture of our city-region. It has created a new energy; a sense of possibility; a shaft of light in an otherwise gloomy political scene. It has allowed us to give a level of engagement to our leaders in business, the universities, the faith and voluntary sectors in developing new policy solutions that you can never provide from a national level*" (Burnham 2018). His comments capture what Ayres (2016) has described as a new form of 'informal governance' driving change in devolved city-regions, and Lorne's description of "a shift from contractual to

⁹ We exclude our own reports and those produced by GMCA, since these may be regarded as already 'in the system'.

relational modes of interaction” and a system of “managed consensus” in GM Health and Social Care devolution, and may be linked to Haskel and Westlake’s (2018) recent analysis of the increasing importance of ‘intangible assets’ in both the economy and society . Whilst these authors emphasise the continuing importance of ‘tangible assets’ such as transport, housing, manufacturing plant etc (which might be seen as the traditional stuff with which city leaders are concerned), they also focus on the complementary value of social networks, social relations, expertise, ideas and knowledge sharing.

The argument we develop in this paper is that while the devolution of some powers in some policy areas has been necessary to enable system change locally and to kick-start these governance shifts, it is not the case that further devolution of powers is necessary in every case to enable further change. Processes of collaborative urban governance have been developed and demonstrated. While we recognise that some further powers may be needed to enable some local solutions to be developed in E&T, we also argue that there is considerable scope for change within existing powers if GM applies the wider learning from devolution in other policy areas.

The Example of Health and Social Care

Greater Manchester’s approach to health and social care devolution exemplifies how place-based thinking is being put to work in practice.

A key point to bear in mind is that the origin of health and social care devolution is not a general belief that devolved solutions are better. It arose in the context of national moves to health and social care integration in order to address rising costs and effect a fundamental shift to preventing ill-health rather than treating poor health. Designing integrated services at the local level is an experiment in dealing with long-standing and seemingly intractable problems in the national system. This makes it an interesting example in relation to the E&T system.

Figure 2 sets out the health and social care transformation plan diagrammatically. The diagram shows three levels of managed collaboration, of slightly different kinds, signalled by the headings to the left of the diagram.

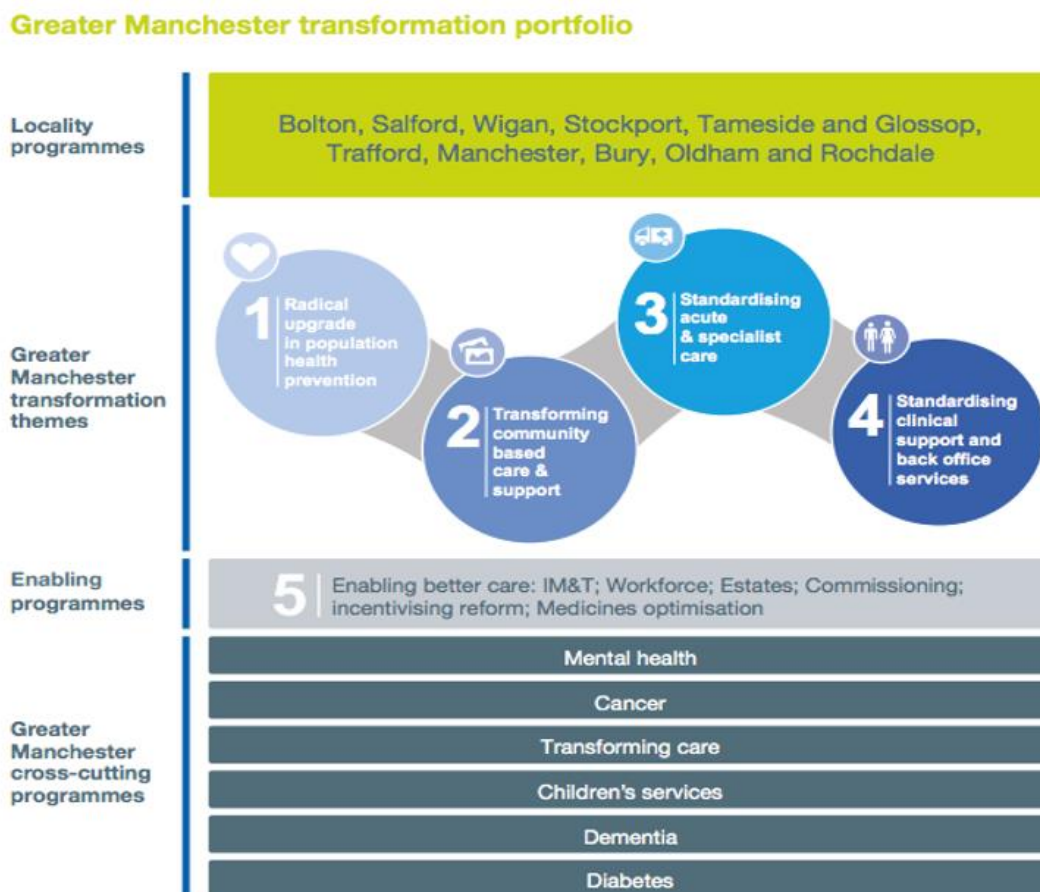
The top row is **locality-based**, with the establishment of local care organisations with integrated health and social care budgets and a single commissioning framework to respond to local needs.

The middle section describes five **transformation themes**, at the GM level. These address key aspects of the system that need to change in order to achieve a step change in outcomes and resource use (themes 1-4) and a set of enabling programmes involving reorganising system resources and mechanisms, such as Information Management and workforce development (Theme 5). Many of the actions under the transformation themes involve voluntary cross-GM collaboration with organisations buying into GM-wide standards and programmes such as primary care standards. The GM Early Years Delivery Model is another example of a similar approach.

Finally, there are **cross-cutting** themes. These cross-cut in the sense that they involve a GM wide approach, bringing multiple organisations together. However they are perhaps more accurately described as ‘specific challenges’ or issues of concern, such as cancer and diabetes. These have involved the development of cross-organisation strategies, including, in some cases, piloting new interventions before rolling out across GM. For example, a GM wide cancer strategy has been developed to support earlier diagnosis, improved and standardised and support for living with and beyond cancer. A pilot programme involving a free health check

and scan service for smokers and ex-smokers in supermarket car parks is being rolled out across GM following successful evaluation.

Figure 2: The System Transformation Approach in GM Health and Social Care



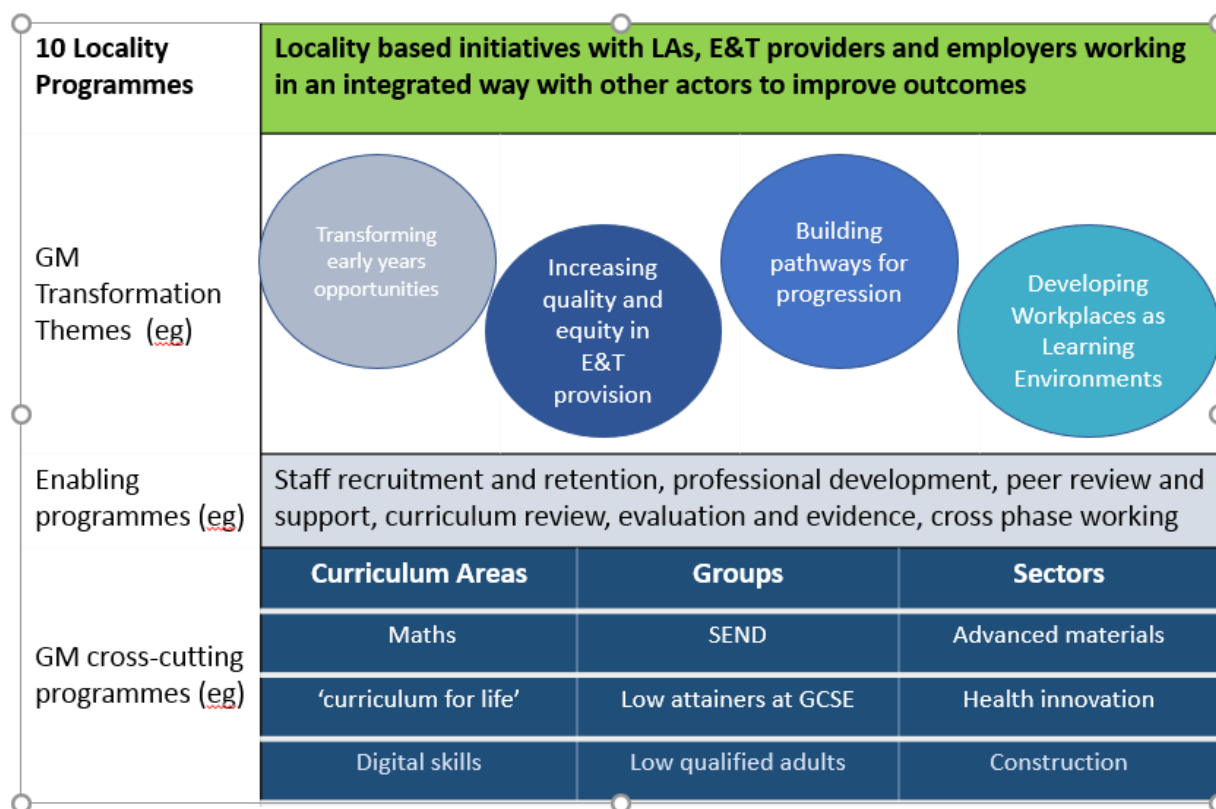
Of course, in the health and social care arena, there are substantial tangible assets to be deployed - a £450m Transformation Fund as well as the ability to pool budgets and combine organisations, backed by central government, which is promoting health and social care integration nationally. However, the model suggests both the possibility of a holistic approach to a complex, multi-organisation system and the potential of mobilising intangible assets in a place-based collaboration. While there remain multiple institutions involved in this system, and they remain accountable to NHS England and bound by NHS frameworks and quality standards, there is an attempt here to create a symbiotic ecosystem in which challenges within and between subsystems can begin to be addressed through a co-production approach.

A Whole System Transformation Approach to Education and Training

We propose that a similar approach could be taken to the E&T system, embracing the six current E&T subsystems and workforce development. In Figure 3 we provide an illustration.

The diagram mimics the Health and Social Care diagram, showing the same three levels of managed collaboration.

Figure 3: Example of A System Transformation Approach for GM Education and Training



Locality-based programmes in the E&T case could operate at a variety of different spatial scales, neighbourhoods as well as local authorities. The key issue is that they would involve multiple organisations working collaboratively to promote E&T outcomes in an area. There are numerous examples of such programmes in the history of area-based policy in the UK and abroad (Kerr and Dyson 2014), and in recent reviews of practice (Kerr and Ainscow 2017). They can involve: agreeing shared sets of outcomes; developing new or different measures of success; pooling budgets to fund locality wide services; sharing resources; developing curriculum pathways or pedagogic approaches in collaboration; agreeing to share responsibilities for specialist provision rather than competing to provide it at all sites; establishing boards or panels to monitor and manage exclusions; and participating in shared professional development programmes. Different organisational forms are found. One possibility in the current system is the formation of 'hard' federations of schools and colleges, although softer collaborations are more likely. The key point about including them in the diagram is that GM would seek to support and guide this kind of locality working and to share models and expertise.

Transformation themes would be identified as the key issues needing to be addressed in order to shift the dial at the GM level. We show some possible examples in the diagram. A key area to note here is the enabling programmes that might be needed to support the other transformation themes. In education as in health and social care, these may include workforce supply and development programmes, information and data management, or better use of assets and resources. These offer the potential for local organisations to address, collectively, some of the 'elephants in the room' – issues like curriculum design, progression and exclusions – and to collaborate across phases.

We suggest that in the E&T case, **cross cutting programmes** might be usefully divided into three kinds, concerned with:

- specific **curriculum areas** – which would span phases enabling cross-phase professional learning and innovation in curriculum design and pedagogies to enable progression.
- **specific groups**, for example children and adults with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities, disadvantaged students, low attainers at GCSE, low qualified adults, those with ESOL needs, or older workers.
- particular **economic sectors**, enabling demand-led training pathways to be developed across areas and phases, and tackling issues of high quality workplaces and employment practices as well as issues of training supply.

In our recommendations, we make specific suggestions for initiatives and programmes that might be developed in these areas, and which address some of the problems we identified earlier in the paper. We could develop these and others more fully, including drawing on UK and international examples of similar programmes, should GMCA want to pursue them. Our purpose here is to indicate how GM might move to a more systemic approach.

Making it Happen

Our thinking here leads us to recommend that GM deploys its GMLIS review process to go beyond silo-based education and skills initiatives. The starting point is to lay the foundations for a more integrated and expansive E&T system capable of demonstrating to central government the benefits of city-region-scale approaches for educational outcomes, economic development, productivity and inclusive growth. Before turning to specific recommendations, we make some general points about how GM might move from the current situation to the kind of approach outlined here.

First, leadership would be a key issue and we make some suggestions of how this might be approached in the next section, given the current GM context.

Second, it will be necessary to create the conditions for the co-production of new policy and practice based on knowledge across the system and for collaboration across LA and subsystem boundaries. This may involve some re-alignment of portfolios and groups but the point here is not the creation of new committees or ‘talking shops’. Co-production is an active process. The emphasis is on an R&D approach with professionals working together to design practical solutions to pressing problems.

Third, it is clear that, while many changes could be achieved by reprofiling existing resources within the system, some aspects would need new resources. These might take the form of new funds from central government or pilot projects. GM has the scale and diversity of institutions and types of provision to be regarded as a ‘test bed’ for new ideas. Wherever possible, GM should be setting up pilot projects accompanied by robust evaluation processes, some of which could attract government funding given that valuable evidence will be produced of use at a national level.

Fourth, we do not think that in the first instance, there is any call for new devolved powers. GM is at the early stages of thinking about its E&T system holistically. In many cases, the first stage is to understand how the system is working now and what needs to change. It may be the case that specific calls for powers, or

for flexibilities within current powers, arise from that, but that is not necessarily the case. For example, analysis of why schools are adopting practices which lead to increased exclusion might reveal fear of Ofsted or Academisation. This might lead to calls for sub-regional powers over inspection, but it might also be the case that stronger collaboration around professional development, alternative provision and support services might be effective. GM might want to ask DfE for some flexibilities around inspection as part of pilot projects to explore different approaches. We have signalled where these kinds of implications arise in our recommendations. If not signalled, we think the actions can be taken within existing powers, although sometimes requiring calls for extra resources.

Fifth, we recognise that within the context of a centralised system, lines of accountability lie outside GM, and financial incentives are determined by national programmes, so the desire and capability to collaborate around GM goals, practices and standards will be constrained. Not all of this is a bad thing. In education, there are strong arguments for some national standardisation (for example, of qualifications) to enable geographical mobility, so it is to be expected that system actors will always be responding in large part to national not just local demands, pressures and incentives. However, as our ESRC-funded co-production project with New Economy demonstrated, there is a powerful latent willingness to collaborate and maximise expertise across GM, and this is also evidenced in the experience of the GM Challenge. Educators and trainers are primarily in their jobs in order to achieve the best for learners, and they are powerfully aware of the limitations of current systems. They tend to welcome collaboration where it serves learners' interests, and where it supports their work in cost-efficient ways (for example, buying into wider professional development programmes rather than having to seek these out individually themselves). A key issue will be to start with programmes which demonstrably add value to the existing system and which recognise professional concerns, i.e. with approaches that promote a self-improving system, rather than imposing new layers of bureaucracy and control.

Finally it will be necessary for the system to become a **learning system** and to this end we make two particular suggestions.

One is the need to develop the capacity (jointly with E&T providers) to learn from other systems in the UK and internationally. GM should not have to 'reinvent the wheel'. In particular, it will be important to learn from the London experience. Although the evidence suggests that London's educational success is not principally down to policy change but to compositional factors¹⁰, it is widely agreed that the city-region-wide systemic approaches taken under the London Challenge have strengthened the system in beneficial and long lasting ways. A thorough review of the evidence from the London Challenge is included in Macdougall and Lupton (2018b). The Challenge only included schools, so is incomplete from our perspective but nevertheless instructive. Key points include:

- A "Tri-level" approach with the alignment of national, local and school level drivers of improvement close working between officials, ministers and advisers
- 'Figurehead leadership' to provide vision and inspiration and galvanise support from practitioners and policy-makers
- A powerful sense of moral purpose and a positive framing
- Effective coordination, brokering, matching, deployment

¹⁰ Surprisingly, the stronger economy and labour market in London has not been systematically explored as a factor in its success.

- Use of system-wide data to identify key priorities and to link schools into similar ‘families’ as a basis for collaboration
- Engagement of experienced school leaders as advisors, working with schools in a bespoke way or as Kidson and Norris (2014) put it, “the appointment of credible professionals to play a challenge and support role to their peers”.
- Fostering of school-to-school collaboration.
- A focus on disadvantage and narrowing attainment gaps, and on ‘Keys to Success’ schools and key boroughs facing the deepest challenges. These schools and boroughs were seen as key to driving improvement across the whole system.

Less well known than these school improvement elements are system capacity initiatives including: changes to Inner London pay scales which increased the threshold payments for experienced staff to encourage them to stay on; the Chartered London Teacher (CLT) scheme (for which over 40,000 teachers registered); professional development programmes focusing on the London context; making good use of Advanced Skills Teachers, who worked four days a week in their own school and one in other schools; and physical and virtual teacher networks such as a pan-London EAL group (Bubb 2014) . The Vice Chancellors of London universities also appointed a Higher Education Champion for London, who chaired a new group named SHELL (School-Higher Education Links in London) to coordinate partnership activities with every school and FE college. Many of these initiatives could be considered in the GM content and operationalised at relatively low cost.

A second way in which to strengthen the system as a learning system is to develop mechanisms for keeping the broad goals in view. Using the concept of ‘productive systems’ (Felstead et.al. 2009) could be helpful here. The GM E&T system is itself part of a national system and so subject to various forms of regulation and interference in the same way as a private sector company might be subject to the demands of its shareholders or to the family or individual that owns it. This structure facilitates and hinders the stages of production required to ensure education and training can be delivered and reshaped according to specified goals and need. The complementarities, range and depth of expertise and tensions within the productive system shift and change, but the latter tend to dominate conversations and so progress becomes stifled. Our gaze is deflected from analyzing (and understanding) fundamental questions such as: is the curriculum appropriate and stretching learners; do we have enough qualified teachers and trainers and how we can support their professional development; why are some employers providing much richer learning environments for their existing staff and their trainees and what can we learn from them; and what is preventing individuals from progressing and workplaces from raising their skill levels in GM? Answering these questions depends on knowledge and understanding of how the E&T system in GM is working now, rather than yet more forecasts of how skills will change or how many technicians or computer programmers will be needed in the future.

To develop better system intelligence, using an analytical tool such as Fuller and Unwin’s (2004) Expansive-Restrictive Framework can help to monitor how far the system (or an organisation or programme of learning) is moving away from its goals and sliding towards a more restrictive approach to E&T. Importantly, too, it enables questions to be asked about the efficacy of the goals and whether they are themselves too ambitious or too limited. Developed and adapted over a number of years with E&T providers, employers and trade unions, the framework is intended to be a **working document** allowing users to populate the

columns with their own goals and challenges. We have adapted the framework to show how this type of tool could be deployed to for GM's purposes, and we show this in Appendix 2.

Recommendations

To begin to establish a systematic approach to the E&T system, we recommend that:

- 1) GMCA develops a dedicated executive leader (i.e. someone whose sole job is to develop this work, similar to the role of the Chief Officer of the GMHSCP) to support the political portfolio holder for Education, Skills, Work & Apprenticeships.
- 2) It makes a symbolic statement of intent to reshape the GM E&T system to improve it and support children, young people, adults and employers to fulfil their potential: the RSA's City of Learning initiative could be a catalyst.
- 3) It aligns its various boards for early years, education and employability and skills and employment more clearly within a 'whole system structure' and brings them together to deliberate on how they might increase cross-phase working.
- 4) It increases its capacity for cross GM and whole system analysis and knowledge sharing. This will necessarily include quantitative data analysis, with increased capacity to be able to understand progression across phases, not just aggregate outcomes at the end of phases. But it must also include developing better knowledge of how the system is working currently, drawing on practitioner knowledge, existing practice, and research focusing on key groups and issues of concern. An initial step might be to run a cross-GM series of workshops to pool intelligence, identify gaps in expertise, and increase intelligence capacity.¹¹ Methods and capacity to review the operation of the system (such as the expansive/restrictive model) will also be needed.
- 5) It develops, in collaboration with DfE, capacity for learning about other systems.
- 6) It begins to develop a transformation model similar to that in Health and Social Care and to identify some key themes for collective action.
- 7) It identifies funds and resources to establish, support and evaluate a handful of locality based collaborative programmes (mini Opportunity Areas), working with DfE, Ofsted, the RSC, BEIS, Unionlearn and others to enable them to develop innovative solutions to the challenges and issues identified here.
- 8) It establishes a set of 'task and finish groups' to examine key issues in the education system which are producing inequalities: such as rising numbers of exclusions and 'teaching to the test', and to develop cross GM responses. This should be supported with research evidence.
- 9) It establishes a GM Education Research and Practice Collaborative bringing together universities, Teaching and Research Schools and other partners to create a hub for conducting, synthesising and sharing education research to support policy and practice.

We now outline a set of specific initiatives, clustered under four themes, that could be developed to start to demonstrate the effectiveness of cross-GM action on specific challenges. None of these initiatives require new powers, though, in some cases, the evidence they generate may suggest that further development would not be possible without new powers.

¹¹ A similar approach is being used as part of the Early Years Strategy development.

A. **Building a systematic approach to E&T for growth sectors** (an example of a sector approach as suggested in Fig 3). Starting points could include:

- i) Review of curriculum content of vocational qualifications at Levels 2, 3, 4 and 5 to ensure robust ladders for progression, including how far their labour market currency depends on attaining a competence level only achieved through a work placement (e.g. NVQs in construction).
- ii) Identification of which qualifications are classed as ‘licences to practise’, where they are delivered, how they are funded, whether they can be expanded, and how they might contribute to curriculum development (for example, in relation to (iii) below).
- iii) Colleges and universities to work together on sector-based curriculum pathways – aligned with a review of Applied HE provision and its alignment with provision at Levels 3 and 4. This could be the catalyst for developing a GM ‘hybridity’ approach in which employers and universities explore which vocational qualifications are suitable for dual currency.
- iv) Review of GCSE English and maths requirements and whether these are unnecessarily blocking access to vocational training.
- v) Review of employer investment in training in the sector and how it could be promoted through business support; use (and possible pooling) of Apprenticeship Levy funds; procurement and planning powers; and other means.
- vi) Local development of pre-16 programmes where appropriate and sector focused initiatives with schools and communities¹².
- vii) Career advancement/skills escalator programmes to encourage and support adult retraining (involving advice and guidance, support with funding, childcare and transport).

B. **Strengthening employer involvement and increasing the number of high quality workplaces operating as effective learning environments** (an example of a transformation theme in Fig 3). Such initiatives would need to be linked with other GM programmes around ‘good work’ including the Employer Charter, business support programmes and the anchors approach. Starting points could be:

- i) A GM-wide initiative to build an evidence base of workplaces that create and provide quality learning environments and use this to share their expertise. This could be done through the peer review model used by some Group Training Associations and companies within supply chains.
- ii) Build on the experience of GM’s successful ‘Talent Match’ programme to replicate previous initiatives involving the BBC in GM and public sector bodies in Southampton to relax standard recruitment requirements for young people and adults with low educational attainment to apply for apprenticeships in occupational fields where they might flourish (see Guile and Lahiff 2013; Fuller et.al. 2013). This could be aligned with a pilot programme involving FE colleges and training providers to establish which sectors might benefit from an Accreditation and/or

¹² Oldham Opportunity Area is piloting a construction sector initiative along these lines

Recognition of Prior Learning initiative to enable adults to gain recognition for and progress beyond their existing skill levels. This could involve piloting a 'digital badge' to record individual competence.

iii) A pilot programme to encourage public and private sector organisations to offer career mentoring and workplace visits (showcasing how the workplace is changing) to a number of young people equivalent to their number of employees.

C. Revitalising adult education, particularly through outreach activities for disadvantaged areas of GM. This could include:

i) A challenge to the four GM universities to embrace their 'civic' role (as outlined in the Civic University Commission report) and work with FE colleges and community adult education providers. This could link to well-established initiatives such as 'Service learning' and 'students as educators'.

ii) A cross-sector approach to Family Learning including inter-generational programmes focused on digital technologies.

D. Making workforce development a central strand of GM's E&T strategy. These could include:

i) An initiative to promote and develop the technical and professional expertise in colleges and training providers through closer engagement with employers and universities (e.g. through the Catapult Centres). A model for this could be the Regional College example in The Netherlands where colleges act as 'knowledge sharing hubs' – employers and students work together on solving business-related problems and challenge.

ii) A Chartered GM teachers/trainer programme to raise the status of these professionals and identify/implement professional development bespoke to the GM context.

iii) A new GM Challenge-type school-school collaboration programme, supported by experienced advisers and using experienced teachers in support roles working across clusters of schools.

Conclusion

In this necessarily highly condensed think piece, we have argued that GM needs to start from a different point in analysing its E&T system. As we have identified, the challenges GM faces mirror the problems with the English system as a whole and should not be framed in terms of how many points we are slipping behind national averages. The ideas we have presented here can be supported with further evidence and further developed, but we hope that they can, at this stage, contribute to GM policy development by offering a coherent approach to system reform. Pursued successfully, they could begin to enable GM to lead the way in demonstrating why the restrictive straightjacket imposed by the national E&T productive system is no longer viable.

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Appendix 1: Summary of Recommendations From Recent Reports on Education in the North

Children's Commissioner: Growing Up North (March 2018)

1. Children's prospects should be placed at the heart of the Northern Powerhouse and given the same attention as economic regeneration
 - Each local area to establish a forum similar to a LEP with all the bodies working with children.
 - Central Government to devolve powers and funding for services for children, to areas that make compelling bids that they will innovate and integrate to improve provision for children.
2. Government should provide additional investment in the most disadvantaged areas to support local councils and partners to improve children's outcomes and life chances (e.g through an innovation funding scheme)
3. Extra support for families to give their children the best start in life. Additional early years investment with a focus on early intervention. Government to support 'Family Hubs' in areas of disadvantage.
4. Earlier identification of special educational needs should be a public health priority (and therefore funded by the NHS and coordinated by Health and Well Being Boards)
5. A new northern schools programme (over 10 years) should be established to improve leadership and governance, boost recruitment and dramatically improve children's attainment in the most disadvantaged areas
6. Revise (broaden) the Role of the RSC to become coordinators of good practice and improvement to support schools (this recommendation arises from the evidence that there is no capability/powers/structure to coordinate system-wide school improvement)
7. Every local area needs to have a plan to ensure children are in apprenticeships, training or education until 18.
8. Local Enterprise Partnerships need to expand their programmes to bring employers and schools together to widen children's horizons and open up job prospects.
9. Arts, culture and sports bodies should prioritise funding for children with disadvantaged backgrounds

Educating the North: Driving Ambition Across the Powerhouse (Northern Powerhouse Partnership) February 2018

Recommendations (mainly for Central Govt and mainly seeing "the North" as the unit of organisation)

1. **On Early Years**, an additional £300m govt funding to support integrated place-based services and investment to increase the number of families taking up the 2 year-old offer.
2. **On Disadvantage**, reform Pupil Premium to better target funding for disadvantage by allocating more to pupils eligible for free school meals throughout their schooling. A wider and longer commitment to Opportunity Areas overseen by the establishment of a new Northern Powerhouse Schools Improvement Board.
3. **On school improvement**: establish locally-led clusters for school improvement, to share services more effectively, supported by local government. Simplify the Northern Regional Schools Commissioners areas to establish three: North West, Yorkshire and North East & Cumbria, working within frameworks and plans set by the Northern Powerhouse Schools Improvement Board.

4. **A Northern centre of excellence on transformational schools in disadvantaged communities** that provides research and evidence on how to turn around failing schools and leave them sustainably improved. This would include a focus on retaining excellent teachers and high-quality professional development in the most challenging schools funded initially by the £42m Teacher Development Premium pilot announced in the 2017 Budget.
5. **On links with employers:** Every Northern business to mentor or otherwise meaningfully reach out on careers and enterprise skills to at least the same number of young people as they have employees
6. **On careers:** Bespoke careers guidance and workplace-based learning for those receiving Pupil Premium funding and with greater needs
7. **On accountabilities:** All schools to be measured, alongside Further and Higher Education providers, for the employability and eventual success of their learners at age 25 compared to their previous attainment. This shifts the focus to long-term achievement rather than short term measures of success.
8. **On post compulsory education and training:** Establish the North as the world's leading centre for degree and higher-level apprenticeships, with up to one in five of our students pursuing them in the future. Improve the application system for apprenticeships. Metro Mayors and areas receiving further devolution deals to control the Adult Education Budget as well as overall vocational education spending from 16 -18.

Social Mobility Commission: State of the Nation Report (November 2017)

Recommendations

1. Every local authority should develop an integrated strategy for improving disadvantaged children's outcomes and Pupil Premium funds should be invested in evidence-based practice
2. Local authorities should support collaboration between isolated schools, subsidise transport for disadvantaged young people in isolated areas and encourage Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEP) to follow the North East LEP's approach to improving careers support for young people
3. Central government should launch a fund to enable schools in rural and coastal areas to partner with other schools to boost attainment
4. Regional School Commissioners should be given responsibility to work with universities, schools and Teach First to ensure that there is a good supply of teachers in all parts of their regions
5. The Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy should match the Department for Education's £72 million for the opportunity areas to ensure there is a collaborative effort across local education systems and labour markets

A Northern Powerhouse Schools Strategy: Independent Review by Sir Nick Weller (November 2016)

Recommendations (mainly focused on what DfE should do)

1. **On teacher (and leader) supply:**
 - a. DfE needs to better understand vacancy rates, churn and local need
 - b. A new Teach North scheme to attract and retain talented newly-qualified teachers in disadvantaged schools in the North
 - c. Northern Powerhouse cities should take the lead on regional marketing initiatives to attract teachers to live and work in the North
 - d. DfE should consider how it can enhance existing and new leadership initiatives and programmes in the North

2. On **Academies**, Weller identifies the slower pace of Academisation and the relative lack of large MATs a problem. He recommends
 - a. In addition to an outstanding or good judgement, standalone conversion to academy status should be restricted to schools with strong evidence of progress over three years;
 - b. The governing boards of standalone academy trusts (SATs) and small MATs of 1–3 academies should consider amalgamating with others
 - c. National consideration should be given to RSC resourcing in areas where there are endemic issues, including issues with previous decision-making;
 - d. Local authorities should encourage and facilitate the growth of strong and effective Multi Academy Trusts
 - e. DfE should support training and mentoring for MAT leaders in Northern cold spots
 - f. DfE should do more to help strengthen MAT governing bodies
3. **On system Leadership and supporting good practice:**
 - a. National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) should press ahead with plans to enable the best schools with good Ofsted judgements to apply to become Teaching Schools and NLEs as soon as possible.
 - b. DfE should bring together schools who have a track record in closing the disadvantage gap and raising attainment of the most disadvantaged pupils to report on what works effectively for different schools and circumstances.
4. **On Early Years:** DfE should commission research into the Northern Early Years gap and identify schools which are successful in closing it
5. On **Curriculum**, Weller proposes a stronger focus on literacy and numeracy and a more academic curriculum.
6. **On Funding:**
 - a. DfE should reform funding to ensure schools with high concentrations of students with special educational needs are fairly funded;
 - b. DfE should provide local authorities with additional support and funding (including capital) so they can ensure Special School provision is sufficient to meet demand, particularly in ‘cold spot’ areas.

Appendix 2: Analysing E& T using an expansive/restrictive framework approach

EXPANSIVE GOALS	RESTRICTIVE GOALS
Education framed as an holistic process across the lifecourse for all citizens.	Education as an age-bound set of stages with built-in exclusion.
Cross-organisational workforce development central to business growth and well-being.	Workforce development limited to certain employees and roles.
E&T programmes build a platform for progression.	E&T programmes are terminal.
High focus on monitoring programme boundaries to check progression.	End of programme attainment treated as secure measure of success or failure.
Professional expertise distributed across E&T system recognised and deployed.	Use of professional expertise limited to consultations rather than basis for co-production.
Assessment for learning provides continuous support for all learners.	Assessment used for selection and outcome checking.
E&T providers given GM seed corn funds and pool resources to work on collaborative projects.	Autonomy of providers and competitive ethos dominate.
E&T providers and employers co-produce programmes adapting to changes in subject knowledge, new learning technologies and work processes.	Delivery of E&T programmes limited to prescribed curricula and specific competences.
GM-badged professional development programme co-produced with teachers and trainers, universities and business associations.	Professional development limited to information on regulatory changes and occasional industrial updating.
Use of 'Licence to practise' qualifications expanded and used as 'test cases' for curriculum development	Only qualifications receiving national funding influence curriculum. Licence to Practise qualifications undervalued.
Employers have access to business support and training needs analysis experts to align workforce development with their business goals.	Employers treated as homogenous group with expertise to identify training needs and programmes.
Management training promoted and supported through GM-wide strategy.	Management training regarded as private in-house issue.
Potential for vocational teachers and trainers to participate in GM-wide R&D-related activity.	R&D put in separate silo to vocational training.
Informal learning nurtured through initiatives that create GM-wide learning spaces and networks	Informal learning invisible and urban spaces for knowledge sharing diminished
Family and intergenerational learning nurtured	Role of families in education undervalued