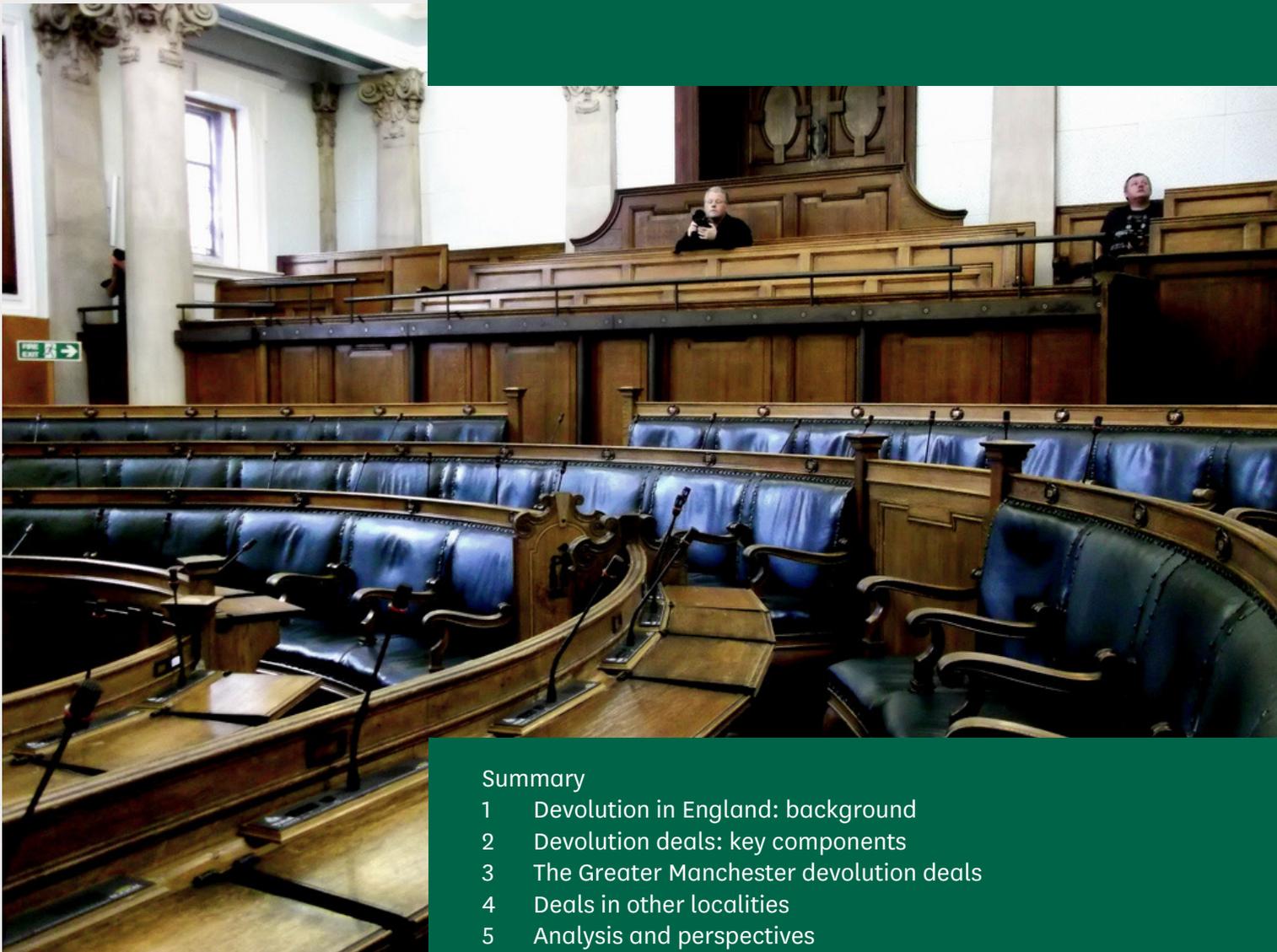


Research Briefing

8 March 2024

By Mark Sandford

# Devolution to local government in England



## Summary

- 1 Devolution in England: background
- 2 Devolution deals: key components
- 3 The Greater Manchester devolution deals
- 4 Deals in other localities
- 5 Analysis and perspectives
- 6 Further reading

Appendix 1: powers devolved in devolution deals

Appendix 2: participants in devolution deals

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# Contents

<b>Summary</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1 Devolution in England: background</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1 English devolution: 2010-15	6
1.2 Devolution deals: the Cameron / May administrations	6
1.3 Devolution deals: the Johnson administration	7
1.4 Devolution deals to date	8
Table 1: Devolution deals	9
1.5 Deals: ‘Level 4’ and trailblazer deals	10
1.6 The Levelling Up White Paper	11
1.7 Implementation of deals	13
1.8 Budgets and staffing	14
<b>2 Devolution deals: key components</b>	<b>15</b>
2.1 The purpose of devolution deals	15
2.2 Deals: the ‘menu’	16
Investment funds	16
Adult Education Budget (AEB)	17
Business support	18
Fiscal powers	18
Transport	19
Planning and land use	20
Housing	20
2.3 The ‘specials’	21
Police and fire	21
Justice	22
Health	22
2.4 Financial governance	23
<b>3 The Greater Manchester devolution deals</b>	<b>25</b>

3.1	The Greater Manchester Agreement	25
3.2	Health devolution in Greater Manchester	26
<b>4</b>	<b>Deals in other localities</b>	<b>29</b>
4.1	London	29
	Further proposals in London	29
4.2	Cornwall	30
4.3	Yorkshire	30
4.4	North East / North of Tyne	32
4.5	Pan-Northern activity	33
<b>5</b>	<b>Analysis and perspectives</b>	<b>34</b>
5.1	Governance	34
5.2	Commentary	34
5.3	Extending devolution	36
<b>6</b>	<b>Further reading</b>	<b>40</b>
	<b>Appendix 1: powers devolved in devolution deals</b>	<b>42</b>
	<b>Appendix 2: participants in devolution deals</b>	<b>44</b>

## Summary

This briefing paper summarises the main developments regarding the process of devolution of powers to local government within England since 2014. It covers the devolution deals agreed between the Government and local areas up to March 2024, including the powers to be devolved, the procedures required for devolution to take place, and reactions to the policy from the local government and policy-making worlds. It also outlines the proposals for additional devolution found in the Government's Levelling Up White Paper, published in February 2022.

Section 1 of the briefing paper provides a historical overview of the policy from 2014 onwards, including links to key documentation. Section 2 sets out the powers, and some details of funding, that have been transferred to Mayoral Combined Authorities (MCAs) and local areas via devolution deals. Section 3 provides details of the devolution arrangements in Greater Manchester, which form the most substantial deals negotiated to date.

Section 4 sets out additional information on features of deals in other selected geographical areas. Section 5 provides some references to commentary on the policy agenda of devolution to local government in England.

This briefing addresses the debate around devolution of power to local government in England only. Local government is a devolved matter in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The Library has also published briefings on the [Cities and Local Government Devolution Bill](#) of 2016 and its [progress through Parliament](#). Information on the Greater London Authority, and the transfer of additional power to the Mayor of London as part of the devolution agenda, can be found in the Library briefing [The Greater London Authority](#).

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# 1 Devolution in England: background

## 1.1 English devolution: 2010-15

The 2012 report [No Stone Unturned: in Pursuit of Growth](#) (‘the Heseltine report’) recommended the merging of various national funding streams to provide a single devolved fund for economic development. This was followed by several think-tank reports during 2014 making proposals for the transfer of additional powers to local authorities, or to local areas.

Following the ‘no’ vote in the September 2014 Scottish independence referendum, the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, announced that, alongside proposals for additional devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland:

It is also important we have wider civic engagement about how to improve governance in our United Kingdom, including how to empower our great cities — and we will say more about this in the coming days.<sup>1</sup>

## 1.2 Devolution deals: the Cameron / May administrations

The first ‘devolution deal’ was announced by the Government and the Greater Manchester Combined Authority in November 2014. Following the 2015 General Election, the then Chancellor, George Osborne, gave a speech on 14 May in which he outlined the then Government’s approach:

Here’s the deal:

We will hand power from the centre to cities to give you greater control over your local transport, housing, skills and healthcare. And we’ll give the levers you need to grow your local economy and make sure local people keep the rewards.

But it’s right people have a single point of accountability: someone they elect, who takes the decisions and carries the can.

So with these new powers for cities must come new city-wide elected mayors who work with local councils.

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<sup>1</sup> See BBC, [David Cameron’s statement on the UK’s future](#), 19 September 2014

I will not impose this model on anyone. But nor will I settle for less.<sup>2</sup>

The Government indicated subsequently that Government departments were expected actively to consider devolving powers wherever possible:

3.15 The government is committed to building strong city regions led by elected mayors, building on the ground-breaking devolution deal with Greater Manchester in November 2014. The Chancellor has asked all relevant Secretaries of State to proactively consider what they can devolve to local areas and where they can facilitate integration between public services...<sup>3</sup>

The Government received [38 bids for devolved powers](#) from groups of local authorities by 4 September 2015.<sup>4</sup> The Local Government Chronicle produced [a map of proposals](#) in different parts of England as of February 2017, followed by a [further one in March 2020](#) and [another in July 2023](#).

The pace of the devolution agenda slowed during the premiership of Theresa May. The Conservative manifesto for the 2017 General Election stated:

For combined authorities that are based around our great cities, we will continue to support the adoption of elected mayors, but we will not support them for the rural counties.<sup>5</sup>

## 1.3

## Devolution deals: the Johnson administration

Government's tone toward devolution changed under Boris Johnson's administration. Mr Johnson made a speech in Manchester on 27 July 2019 saying:

I do not believe that, when the people of the United Kingdom voted to take back control, they did so in order for that control to be hoarded in Westminster.

So we are going to give greater powers to council leaders and to communities.

We are going to level up the powers offered to mayors so that more people can benefit from the kind of local government structures seen in London and here in Manchester.

We are going to give more communities a greater say over changes to transport, housing, public services and infrastructure that will benefit their areas and drive local growth.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> HM Treasury, "[Chancellor on building a Northern powerhouse](#)", 14 May 2015

<sup>3</sup> HM Treasury, [A country that lives within its means](#), 2015, p. 15

<sup>4</sup> This figure included bids from Cardiff, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Inverness; and the deals that had already been agreed at that point with Greater Manchester, Sheffield, West Yorkshire and Cornwall. The geographical areas of some of the bids overlapped with one another e.g. North and East Yorkshire vs West Yorkshire.

<sup>5</sup> Conservative Party, [Forward Together](#), 2017, p32

<sup>6</sup> Prime Minister's Office, [PM speech at Manchester Science and Industry Museum](#), 27 July 2019

At the Conservative Party conference in September 2019, the Chancellor, Sajid Javid, announced a white paper on English devolution. This succeeded a commitment to a ‘devolution framework’ from Mr Javid in November 2017 when he was Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government.<sup>7</sup> The commitment to a white paper was repeated in the 2019 Conservative Party manifesto,<sup>8</sup> in the Queen’s Speech of 19 December 2019, and in several answers to Parliamentary Questions.<sup>9</sup>

On 6 May 2021, the Government announced that the devolution white paper would become the Levelling Up white paper.<sup>10</sup> The White Paper was then published in February 2022 (see section 1.6 below). The [Levelling-Up and Regeneration Act 2023](#) subsequently received Royal Assent in October 2023.

## 1.4 Devolution deals to date

As of March 2024, devolution deals have been agreed with 22 areas. Most recently, six deals were agreed in late 2022, four in late 2023, and a further three in early 2024. Further devolution to Greater London has also taken place (see section 4.1).

The Levelling Up White Paper set out a ‘devolution framework’, with three ‘levels’. Level 1 constituted informal joint working between authorities; Level 2 was available to a single county or unitary authority, but without an elected mayoralty. Level 3 referred to a single institution with a directly-elected mayoralty. A second edition of the framework introduced Level 4 (see section 1.5 below).

Level 3 deals provide access to the broadest range of powers.<sup>11</sup> The framework states that:

- Powers available only in Level 3 deals include a consolidated transport budget; key route network of roads; brownfield funding; an investment fund (see section 2.2); employment support programmes; Mayoral Development Corporations; Police and Crime Commissioner responsibilities; a public health duty; and the power to set a precept on council tax and a supplement on business rates;

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<sup>7</sup> Nick Golding, “[Javid: Devo framework to provide 'clarity and consistency'](#)”, Local Government Chronicle, 21 November 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Conservative Party [2019 manifesto](#), p29

<sup>9</sup> For instance, see [PQ 27042 2019-21](#), 12 Mar 2020; [PQ 15037 2019-21](#), 24 Feb 2020. See also Jon Bunn and Martin George, “[Jenrick confirms no health devo in 'levelled up' deals](#)”, Local Government Chronicle, 2 October 2019

<sup>10</sup> Jessica Hill, “[Devolution reforms to be replaced by levelling up white paper](#)”, Local Government Chronicle, 6 May 2021. See also, for example, [PQ HC 6299 2021-22](#), 27 May 2021

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p140

- Bus franchising, the Adult Education Budget, compulsory purchase powers, a role in resilience, and planning of the UK Shared Prosperity Fund will be available in Level 2 and Level 3 deals.

Most devolution deals have included the establishment of a mayoral combined authority (MCA). Three (Norfolk, Suffolk and Cornwall) have been agreed with a single local authority. Two forthcoming deals (East Midlands in 2024, Greater Lincolnshire in 2025) involve the creation of a combined county authority. This is a new legal structure found in the [Levelling-Up and Regeneration Act 2023](#). Combined county authorities have only upper-tier (county and unitary) councils as members, whereas mayoral combined authorities have all councils in the areas as members.

As of March 2024, level 2 deals have been agreed with Cornwall, Lancashire, Surrey, Warwickshire and Buckinghamshire.

The core powers held by different devolved areas are set out in Appendix 1. Details of the local authorities participating in each devolution deal area can be found in Appendix 2.

**Table 1: Devolution deals**

	Devolution deal agreed	Bid document
<a href="#">Greater Manchester</a>	<a href="#">3 Nov 2014</a> <a href="#">27 Feb 2015</a> <a href="#">8 Jul 2015</a> <a href="#">25 Nov 2015</a> <a href="#">16 Mar 2016</a> <a href="#">Trailblazer 15 Mar 2023</a>	Not published
<a href="#">Sheffield City Region</a>	<a href="#">5 Oct 2015</a> <a href="#">12 Dec 2014</a>	Not published
<a href="#">West Yorkshire</a>	<a href="#">18 Mar 2015</a> <a href="#">13 Mar 2020</a>	Not published
Cornwall	<a href="#">27 July 2015</a> <a href="#">2 December 2022 (rejected)</a> <a href="#">22 November 2023</a>	<a href="#">March 2015</a>
<a href="#">North-East North of Tyne</a>	<a href="#">23 Oct 2015 (rejected)</a> <a href="#">24 November 2017</a> <a href="#">28 December 2022</a>	<a href="#">2015 (undated)</a> <a href="#">None published</a>
<a href="#">Tees Valley</a>	<a href="#">23 Oct 2015</a>	Not published
<a href="#">West Midlands</a>	<a href="#">17 Nov 2015</a> <a href="#">23 Nov 2017</a> <a href="#">Trailblazer 15 Mar 2023</a>	<a href="#">July 2015 (PDF)</a>
<a href="#">Liverpool City Region</a>	<a href="#">17 Nov 2015</a> <a href="#">16 Mar 2016</a>	<a href="#">2015 (PDF)</a>

<a href="#">Cambridgeshire / Peterborough</a>	<a href="#">20 Jun 2016</a>	Not published
Norfolk / Suffolk	<a href="#">20 Jun 2016 (rejected)</a> (East Anglia: <a href="#">16 Mar 2016</a> ) <a href="#">8 Dec 2022</a> (Norfolk) <a href="#">8 Dec 2022</a> (Suffolk)	<a href="#">4 Sep 2015 (Suffolk - PDF)</a> ;
<a href="#">West of England</a>	<a href="#">16 Mar 2016</a>	Not published
Greater Lincolnshire	<a href="#">16 Mar 2016 (rejected)</a> <a href="#">22 Nov 2023</a>	<a href="#">4 Sep 2015</a>
East Midlands	<a href="#">30 Aug 2022</a>	
York & North Yorkshire	<a href="#">1 Aug 2022</a>	
Lancashire	<a href="#">22 Nov 2023</a>	
Hull / East Yorkshire	<a href="#">22 Nov 2023</a>	
Buckinghamshire	<a href="#">6 Mar 2024</a>	
Warwickshire	<a href="#">6 Mar 2024</a>	
Surrey	<a href="#">6 Mar 2024</a>	

Four of the areas listed in Table 1 negotiated devolution deals in the past that were subsequently rejected. These were in Greater Lincolnshire;<sup>12</sup> Norfolk / Suffolk;<sup>13</sup> the North-East; and Cornwall. Each of these areas now has a devolution deal scheduled to take effect by 2025.

## 1.5 Deals: ‘Level 4’ and trailblazer deals

In March 2023 the Government published new ‘trailblazer’ deals that would be made available to the mayors in [Greater Manchester](#) and the [West Midlands](#). Full details of these can be found in the Library research briefing [Trailblazer devolution deals](#). The trailblazer deals committed to a single financial settlement for each area, to begin alongside the next Spending Review in 2025. They also provided additional powers around housing and skills, plus some commitments to co-design of policy around careers and cultural funding. Both areas will be expected to strengthen their accountability processes, including convening a quarterly committee of all MPs in their area to scrutinise the Mayor.

In November 2023 the Government published a document entitled [Technical paper on the Level 4 devolution framework](#). This sets out a procedure through

<sup>12</sup> Lincolnshire County Council, “[Council Leader intends to say ‘no’ to a Mayor for Greater Lincolnshire](#)”, 11 November 2016

<sup>13</sup> George Nobbs, “Whatever this is, it is not devolution”, *Municipal Journal*, 15 November 2016;

which areas with directly-elected mayors can apply for additional powers, and a list of powers that would be available. The Government refers to this as ‘level 4’. In March 2024, level 4 powers were offered to Liverpool City Region, West Yorkshire and South Yorkshire.<sup>14</sup>

In addition, the Government published a trailblazer deal in March 2024, for the (new) North-East authority.<sup>15</sup> The North-East will receive a single pot for housing and regeneration; set the strategic direction of the Affordable Housing Programme; and provide additional transport funding and drive ticketing integration between different transport modes. The North-East will also be expected to convene committee sessions permitting local MPs to scrutinise the mayor, as planned for Greater Manchester and the West Midlands.

‘Level 4’ powers are drawn from the new powers made available to Greater Manchester and the West Midlands in their trailblazer deals published in March 2023. However, not all of the trailblazer powers are available to level 4. Areas seeking a ‘level 4’ deal must be able to “provide confidence in the capacity, governance and culture of the institution to manage its activities effectively and take on further powers”. They would be required to commit to implementing the [Scrutiny Protocol](#) within a year of taking on the new powers.

Level 4 deals will not, at present, include access to the ‘single financial settlement’ that has been offered to Greater Manchester and the West Midlands.

Previously, between 2015 and 2020, devolution bids, or expressions of interest / prospectuses, were published for [Gloucestershire, Cheshire and Warrington Cumbria, Leicestershire; North and East Yorkshire; Surrey and Sussex; Greater Essex; Derby, Nottingham and their hinterlands; Hampshire and the Isle of Wight](#);<sup>16</sup> and [Devon / Somerset](#) (PDFs).

In July 2021, the Local Government Association published a guide, jointly authored with the consultancy Shared Intelligence, for member authorities seeking devolution deals.<sup>17</sup> The Institute for Government published a report with a similar theme in July 2023.<sup>18</sup>

## 1.6

## The Levelling Up White Paper

The Government published the [Levelling Up White Paper](#) on 2 February 2022. The White Paper included a framework directed at areas seeking devolution

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<sup>14</sup> DLUHC, [Update on Level 4 devolution: Confirmation of eligibility for West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, Liverpool City Region and the West Midlands](#), 1 Mar 2024

<sup>15</sup> DLUHC, [North East deeper devolution deal](#), 6 Mar 2024

<sup>16</sup> BBC, [“Solent combined authority bid ‘scrapped’, councils say”](#), 5 October 2018

<sup>17</sup> LGA / Shared Intelligence, [Devolution deal to delivery](#), July 2021

<sup>18</sup> Akash Paun, Duncan Henderson and Peter Hourston, [The art of the devolution deal](#), Institute for Government, July 2023

deals; Government commitments to negotiate further deals, including ‘county deals’, with a number of areas; and clarification on a number of elements of devolution policy. This followed the then Prime Minister’s [speech on levelling up on 15 July 2021](#), and a letter from MHCLG to all local authorities stating that it was open to new bids for devolved powers from county areas.<sup>19</sup>

One of the twelve ‘missions’ set out by the Levelling Up White Paper is to ensure that “by 2030, every part of England that wants one will have a devolution deal with powers at or approaching the highest level of devolution and a simplified, long-term funding settlement”.<sup>20</sup> The White Paper also sets out a rationale for devolution of power within England:

Mayors have already shown how strong local leadership can enhance economic and other opportunities in urban areas, and we will ensure that the model is strengthened, extended and adopted more widely. With a direct mandate, fixed term, convening power, a clear incentive to demonstrate economic improvement and accountability for extending opportunity, mayors work for their communities. And meaningful devolution of power and responsibility for economic growth to an accountable local leader has been proven to help once declining areas to recover.<sup>21</sup>

The narrative around the framework also states that:

- Future devolution deals will only be agreed with county and unitary authorities, covering “a sensible FEA [functional economic area] and/or a whole county geography”.<sup>22</sup>
- Devolution deal areas must have a population of at least 500,000.<sup>23</sup>
- Local government reorganisation is not a prerequisite for a devolution deal.<sup>24</sup>
- Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) will be integrated into bodies with devolved responsibilities where they exist. This is to take effect from April 2024.<sup>25</sup>
- The Government plans to establish a new independent body focused on “data, transparency and robust evidence”.<sup>26</sup> This became the [Office for Local Government](#) (OFLOG), which launched in July 2023.
- The White Paper promised a “new accountability framework”, which will provide forums such as Mayor’s Question Times in which local people and local media can hold authorities to account for their performance. In

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<sup>19</sup> See [MHCLG letter to local authorities](#), 15 Jul 2021

<sup>20</sup> DLUHC, [Levelling Up the United Kingdom](#), 2022, pxxviii

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pxxvii

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p137

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p137

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p143

<sup>25</sup> See DLUHC, [Integrating Local Enterprise Partnerships into local democratic institutions](#), April 2022

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p138

March 2023 the [English Devolution Accountability Framework](#) was published.<sup>27</sup>

## 1.7

### Implementation of deals

Devolution deals are negotiated in private between the Government and local authority leaders. Once the deal document has been agreed and published, each council involved must then itself approve its participation in the deal.

Devolution of powers, and the creation of MCAs, has been implemented via Orders passing through Parliament, using powers in the [Cities and Local Government Devolution Act 2016](#). Some elements of the devolution deals do not concern statutory functions, and therefore do not require Orders. The deal documents themselves are not statutory.

Six combined authorities held mayoral elections in May 2017, one in 2018, and one in 2019. Seven elections were held in 2021, one in 2022, and nine are scheduled for 2024 (as is the next Mayor of London election).<sup>28</sup> A list of current mayors can be found in the Library briefing paper [Directly-elected mayors](#).

Until 2021, mayoral elections used the Supplementary Vote system. This was replaced by First Past the Post from May 2023 onwards, in accordance with section 13 of the [Elections Act 2022](#).

The Government has published seven annual reports as required under the 2016 Act.<sup>29</sup> These contain details of deals concluded and funding provided to combined authority areas. They do not provide comprehensive details of all funding received by combined authorities.

In May 2021 the Government published an [evaluation of English devolved institutions](#). In addition to mayoral combined authorities, the evaluation covered the Greater London Authority (which is governed by separate legislation) and Cornwall. The report stated that:

- Establishment, legal compliance, building relationships and developing capacity has taken the new devolved institutions considerable time;
- Public awareness of metro-mayors is high, with 72% of survey respondents stating that they knew who their metro-mayor was;

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p139

<sup>28</sup> For detailed results, see the Library briefing papers [Local election results 2017](#), [Local election results 2018](#), [Local election results 2019](#), and [Combined authority mayoral elections 2021](#).

<sup>29</sup> See DCLG, [Secretary of State's annual report on devolution 2015-16](#), 2 December 2016; DCLG, [Secretary of State's annual report on devolution 2016-17](#), 10 January 2018; MHCLG, [Secretary of State's annual report on devolution 2017-18](#), 10 March 2019; MHCLG, [Secretary of State's annual report on devolution 2018-19](#), 22 April 2020; MHCLG, [Secretary of State's annual report on devolution 2019-20](#), 16 March 2021; MHCLG, [Secretary of State's annual report on devolution 2020-21](#), 28 February 2022; MHCLG, [Secretary of State's annual report on devolution 2021-22](#), 30 March 2023

- Metro-mayors differed considerably in the priorities and activities undertaken since their election;
- The devolution agenda has been fragmented since its inception, making it appear confusing to local stakeholders.

## 1.8 Budgets and staffing

Combined authority budgets are small compared with local authority spending. Details of annual budgets, staffing, and senior level staff in mid-2023 can be found in the Institute for Government’s report [The art of the devolution deal](#).<sup>30</sup>

The unaudited accounts for 2020/21 for the nine mayoral combined authorities indicated the levels of income and expenditure set out in Table 5. These figures are derived from the entries in the accounts marked “income and expenditure analysed by type” or “by nature”. The combined authorities that have significant transport systems exhibit considerably higher spending levels than those that do not.

**Table 2: combined authority income and expenditure, 2020/21**

Mayoral combined authority	Income	Expenditure
Greater Manchester	£1931m	£1958m
West Midlands	£456m	£453m
Liverpool City Region	£577m	£593m
Tees Valley	£238m	£196m
Sheffield City Region	£225m	£185m
West of England	£104m	£102m
Cambridgeshire & Peterborough	£140m	£156m
North of Tyne	£171m	£140m
West Yorkshire	£523m	£393m

<sup>30</sup> Akash Paun, Duncan Henderson and Peter Hourston, [The art of the devolution deal](#), 2023, p54-56. See also previous figures from 2019 in Sarah Calkin, [“Growth in combined authority workforces revealed”](#), Local Government Chronicle, 16 April 2019

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## 2 Devolution deals: key components

### 2.1 The purpose of devolution deals

There is no definitive statement of the aims and purposes underlying the Government's devolution policy. The 2021 evaluation of devolved institutions stated that a literature review had identified three principles:

- Economic growth: including the promotion of local growth, the achievement of various versions of spatial and sectoral balance, and fair distributional outcomes for all;
- Better and more integrated public services: more efficient, and better matched to local preferences including offering holistic solutions and equity of outcomes;
- Enhanced public engagement and accountability: the promotion of engagement and participation as part of a healthy democracy, and being closer to the decision makers.<sup>31</sup>

On 8 November 2021 Michael Gove, then newly appointed as Secretary of State for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, stated that “helping to strengthen and improve local leadership” was one of four elements of the Government's levelling up agenda. The others were improving living standards; improving the quality of public services; and helping to restore and enhance pride in place.<sup>32</sup>

The 2019-20 and 2018-19 annual reports on devolution state that “Devolution within England aims to provide local areas with the levers they need to boost productivity in local economies and improve and integrate public services”.<sup>33</sup> The Prime Minister said, in [his speech on 15 July 2021](#):

...my offer to you [is]: come to us... with your vision for how you will level up, back business, attract more good jobs and improve your local services. Come to us with a plan for strong accountable leadership and we will give you the tools to change your area for the better.

In a letter to the chair of the Housing, Communities and Local Government Committee in January 2021, Luke Hall, the minister for local government, said:

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<sup>31</sup> BEIS, [Evaluation of devolved institutions](#), May 2021, p16-17

<sup>32</sup> Housing, Communities and Local Government Committee, [Oral evidence: HC 818](#) (PDF, 281K), 8 November 2021, Q1

<sup>33</sup> MHCLG, [Secretary of State's annual report on devolution 2019-20](#), 2021, p4

Levelling up all areas of the country remains at the centre of the Government's agenda. We want to devolve and decentralise more power to local communities, providing an opportunity for all places to level up.... Mayoral devolution has strengthened local leadership and institutions, devolving key powers over transport, planning, skills and funding away from Whitehall so that they are exercised at the right level to make a difference for local communities.<sup>34</sup>

## 2.2 Deals: the 'menu'

The devolution deals agreed to date can be characterised as consisting of a 'menu with specials'. A number of powers, programmes and budgets have been made available to most areas, but each deal also contains a few unique elements or 'specials' (often consisting of commitments to explore future policy options). The following sections outline the nature of the 'menu' powers that have been made available to most of these areas. The exact powers devolved can be seen in the deal documents (see section 1.4 for links).

The contents of the devolution deals agreed since 2022 indicate that the 'menu' has changed slightly since the inception of the policy in 2015. The later deals include less mention of matters such as work and health, employment support, business support services, and spatial development. There are more references to brownfield housing, net zero, heat network zoning, and digital connectivity.

### Investment funds

Each Level 3 deal includes an investment fund of between £15 million and £48 million annually (see Appendix 1). The Government permits MCAs to bring this funding together into a 'single pot' alongside transport funds, the Adult Education Budget, and the City Region Sustainable Transport Settlement.

Additional local funding for economic growth and regeneration was available during the 2010s from the Regional Growth Fund and then the Local Growth Fund. The LGF was administered by Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), and it was also included in the single pot where the LEP and MCA share boundaries.<sup>35</sup> Further information is available in the Library briefing papers on [Local Enterprise Partnerships](#) and [Local Growth Deals](#). As noted above, LEPs are to be integrated into MCAs or county councils in devolved areas by 2024.

A number of MCAs were 'intermediate bodies' for EU structural funding, which means that they, instead of the Government, took decisions about which public and private bodies to give EU structural funds to until April 2021.

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<sup>34</sup> HCLG Committee, [letter from Minister for Local Government providing an update on the Government's devolution programme](#), 22 Jan 2021

<sup>35</sup> DCLG, [National Local Growth Assurance Framework](#), January 2019

The November 2017 Budget announced the Transforming Cities Fund. One half of the £1.7 billion fund was made available to the then six mayoral combined authorities on a per capita basis. The other half was available to other areas on a competitive bid basis. The funding was extended to the 2022-23 financial year in the November 2018 Budget, but this has since been overtaken by the [City-Region Sustainable Transport Settlements](#), which will run from 2022 to 2027.

## Adult Education Budget (AEB)

The Adult Education Budget was devolved to most MCAs from the 2019-20 financial year.<sup>36</sup> Grants are provided to MCAs based on the academic year (beginning with August 2019 – July 2020). Grant levels for the 2021-22 financial year can be found on the [Department for Education's website](#). The AEB has also been made available to areas with Level 2 deals.

The Adult Education Budget funds adult learners obtaining qualifications in circumstances set out on the ESFA webpage [Adult education budget devolution](#). Some elements of the AEB are statutory entitlements: the devolved authorities are required to continue to fund these. The Government issued statutory guidance to MCAs in July 2018.<sup>37</sup>

A Memorandum of Understanding between the Government and the then six MCAs receiving AEB funding was published in January 2019, stating that the AEB funding would form part of their 'single pot'.<sup>38</sup> In contrast, the grant letter to the Mayor of London includes a provision ring-fencing the AEB grant to the purposes of the grant or related purposes, and a provision permitting unspent funds to be reclaimed by the Government unless they are earmarked for future years' AEB spending.<sup>39</sup>

The Memorandum of Understanding also covers matters such as minimum national standards, data sharing, protocols when education providers suffer financial difficulties, and it notes elements of the regime which will not be devolved to MCAs.<sup>40</sup> Additionally, the MCAs will be required to report on their progress each January with delivering the AEB.<sup>41</sup>

In January 2021 the Department for Education published a white paper entitled [Skills for Jobs: Lifelong Learning for Opportunity and Growth](#). This proposed the introduction of Local Skills Improvement Plans, building on the

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<sup>36</sup> See the Commons Library debate pack [Skills devolution in England](#), 19 January 2018, for further details.

<sup>37</sup> Department for Education, [Exercising devolved adult education functions](#), July 2018

<sup>38</sup> Department for Education, [Devolution of adult education functions from academic year 2019-20: memorandum of understanding](#), January 2019, p9

<sup>39</sup> Department for Education, [Delegation of adult education: letter to the Mayor of London](#), 6 December 2018; see paragraphs 9 and 10 in particular

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p6

<sup>41</sup> The reporting requirement can be found in MHCLG, [National Local Growth Assurance Framework](#), January 2019, p57-58

work of MCAs' skills advisory panels.<sup>42</sup> These are to be led by local employers and providers. MCAs are to have only a consultative role in the creation of Local Skills Improvement Plans. More detail is available in the Library briefing paper [FE White Paper – Skills for Jobs: Lifelong Learning for Opportunity and Growth](#).

## Business support

All Local Enterprise Partnerships across England operate 'growth hubs'. These were established in the wake of the abolition of the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), and the support service Business Link, in 2011. Growth Hubs work to provide businesses with potential for growth with access to specialist services, such as legal, IT and accountancy support, and access to local universities. They also work with small and medium enterprises to identify their support needs, and provide networking and direct support opportunities in response.

Where combined authorities and LEPs operate in practice as a single organisation, the growth hub forms part of the combined authority's operations. Growth hubs receive core funding from BEIS for their operations. This amounted to £22 million across England in 2021-22. They have also secured funding from other sources in the past, such as the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Growth hubs provide economic intelligence to BEIS on a regular basis.

## Fiscal powers

Greater Manchester, Cornwall, Liverpool, West of England and West Midlands have been permitted to retain 100% of business rate revenues since 2017 (see the Library briefing paper [Reviewing and reforming local government finance](#)). Some MCAs also have the power to add a supplement of up to 2% on business rates, subject to approval in a referendum by a majority of ratepayers. This power has not been used to date.<sup>43</sup>

All MCAs, apart from the West of England, have the power to impose a precept on council tax bills – that is, an extra sum on the bill. Deals with individual local authorities do not include this power, as they already raise funds from council tax.

Greater Manchester has raised a mayoral precept from 2018/19, Liverpool City Region from 2019/20, and Cambridgeshire & Peterborough from 2022/23. As yet, MCAs have not been subject to any threshold under the council tax

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<sup>42</sup> Department for Education, [Skills Advisory Panels: guidance on the role and governance](#), December 2018, p4

<sup>43</sup> Regulations were passed during 2018 bringing some combined authorities within the ambit of the Business Rate Supplements Act 2009 – see Appendix 1. A supplement requires approval in a referendum by a majority of ratepayers both by number and by rateable value.

referendums regime (see the Library briefing paper [Council tax: local referendums](#)).

Where the elected mayor is also the Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) for the area, they also have the PCC's power to raise a precept. Funds from the PCC precept must be used for policing and kept separate from any 'general' precept that is raised. The mayors of Greater Manchester and West Yorkshire have PCC powers. The mayors of South Yorkshire, York & North Yorkshire and the West Midlands will take on these powers from May 2024.

## Transport

Many deals include the power to introduce bus franchising, which would allow local areas to determine their bus route networks and to let franchises to private bus companies for operating services on those networks (see the Library briefing paper on the [Bus Services Act 2017](#) for further details). Greater Manchester began to introduce bus franchising in late 2023. Liverpool City Region, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and Cambridgeshire & Peterborough are assessing the franchising option. Combined authorities are all subject to the requirements set out in the [Bus Service Improvement Plans guidance](#) published in May 2021, which requires all local transport authorities to pursue either bus franchising or an Enhanced Partnership scheme (an alternative initiative within the 2017 Act).<sup>44</sup>

In August 2021 the Government issued [guidance on the City Region Sustainable Transport Settlement](#). This is a new fund of between £4.2bn and £6.8bn, to be shared between eight MCAs over five financial years (2022-27). It did not cover the North of Tyne or Cornwall, though the North-East deal of December 2022 included a funding allocation of £563m from the CRSTS. It has also been referred to as the 'Intra-Urban Transport Fund'. The eight MCAs are invited to bid to the fund for investments that drive growth; level up services; and work towards decarbonising transport, in line with national priorities. The latter include reducing particulate emissions and promoting cycling, walking and bus use. The guidance anticipated funding being allocated in autumn 2021. Allocations will replace the Transforming Cities Fund for 2022-23 for the successful MCAs.

The guidance states that the Government wants to "simplify the funding landscape" and "move towards greater consolidation of funding streams", citing the transport settlement in Greater London as the eventual model.<sup>45</sup> Other existing funds, such as the Major Road Network and Large Local Majors fund and the local electric vehicle charging infrastructure funds, will remain in place.

Each original devolution deal included a unified multi-year transport investment budget, and most commit to improving joint working between the

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<sup>44</sup> DfT, [Bus Service Improvement Plans: guidance](#), 11 Oct 2021

<sup>45</sup> DfT, [City Region Sustainable Transport Settlements: guidance for mayoral combined authorities](#), Aug 2021, p1

combined authority and Network Rail, Highways England, and (where relevant) plans for the HS2 railway line. Some deals include a ‘key route network’ of local roads to be controlled by the combined authority.<sup>46</sup> These comprise major roads currently managed by the participating local authorities.

In July 2021 the Government published [a consultation on giving additional powers to MCAs over key route networks](#), principally giving MCAs highway authority powers. This would assist the promotion of, for instance, bus priority networks and air quality measures across local authority boundaries. In February 2022, the Levelling Up White Paper raised the possibility of transferring taxi and private hire vehicle licensing, and the Bus Service Operators Grant (BSOG), to MCAs that seek them.<sup>47</sup> These options were repeated in the Government’s [technical paper on the Level 4 devolution framework](#), published in November 2023.

## Planning and land use

Many of the deals negotiated in 2015-16 include the power to create a spatial plan for the area, and/or the power to establish Mayoral Development Corporations. A statutory spatial development strategy was also included in the West Yorkshire deal agreed in 2021, but the concept has not featured in the deals negotiated in 2022. The West of England [halted work on its spatial plan](#) in May 2022 following disagreements between member authorities, and disagreements have been reported around Greater Manchester’s spatial strategy, [Places for Everyone](#).

Some MCAs may use Compulsory Purchase Orders, with the consent of the local authority in which the land or property is located. Four Mayoral Development Corporations have been established: South Tees, Hartlepool and Middlesbrough (Tees Valley) and Stockport (Greater Manchester).

## Housing

In early 2018, ‘housing deals’ were agreed with Greater Manchester (see section 3.1), West Midlands, and the West of England. West of England’s deal included £3m capacity funding, a possible deal on affordable housing, and the intention to “accelerate housing delivery to 7,500 homes per year”.<sup>48</sup>

A housing deal was also been agreed with [Oxfordshire County Council and its districts](#) in 2018. This does not have any implications for governance in Oxfordshire: it formed part of the Government’s plans for growth in the Oxford – Cambridge – Milton Keynes corridor.

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<sup>46</sup> This type of road is currently managed by upper-tier local authorities, and therefore they are already managed by the deal authority in Cornwall, Norfolk and Suffolk.

<sup>47</sup> DLUHC, [Levelling Up the United Kingdom](#), 2022, p179

<sup>48</sup> MHCLG, [Outline of interim housing package for the West of England](#), 21 March 2018

The Government then made funding available to seven MCAs from the Brownfield Housing Fund in spring 2021. This is set out in Table 3:<sup>49</sup>

<b>Table 3: Brownfield Housing Fund</b>	
<b>MCA</b>	<b>Funding</b>
Greater Manchester	£96,999,805
Liverpool City Region	£44,643,420
North of Tyne	£23,853,618
South Yorkshire	£40,340,322
Tees Valley	£19,352,315
West Midlands	£108,031,802
West Yorkshire	£66,778,719

In February 2022, the Levelling Up White Paper announced allocations of £120 million from the Brownfield Housing Fund to the same seven MCAs.<sup>50</sup> It was not fully clear whether this constituted additional funding on top of the 2021 allocations. A press release in January 2022 also stated that an additional £30 million would be awarded to Greater Manchester, Tees Valley and West Midlands MCAs to help the development of disused brownfield land.<sup>51</sup> Allocations from the Brownfield Housing Fund also featured in the six deals agreed in 2022.

## Previous grant programmes

A number of grant programmes directed at MCAs have now ceased, such as a 2017 iteration of the Work and Health Programme and the Apprenticeship Grant for Employers. Funding associated with Local Industrial Strategies ended following the dissolution of the Industrial Strategy Council in March 2021.

## 2.3 The 'specials'

Devolved powers in the following areas have been offered to a more limited selection of combined authorities:

### Police and fire

In Greater Manchester and West Yorkshire, the elected mayor is also the Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC). In Greater Manchester, the elected mayor is also the Fire and Rescue commissioner.

<sup>49</sup> [PQ HC 69580 2021-22](#), 4 Nov 2021

<sup>50</sup> DLUHC, [Levelling Up the United Kingdom](#), 2022, p210

<sup>51</sup> DLUHC, [20 town and city centres in England transformed through ambitious regeneration projects](#), 30 Jan 2022

The elected mayor of the York and North Yorkshire MCA will also control policing, and fire and rescue. The mayors of South Yorkshire and West Yorkshire will assume PCC powers after the election on 2 May 2024.

Earlier, a [consultation on the WMCA absorbing the West Midlands PCC](#) took place in early 2019.

## Justice

Greater Manchester signed [a memorandum of understanding](#) with the Ministry of Justice in 2019 regarding developing an integrated rehabilitation service.<sup>52</sup> This aligned with the Mayor of Greater Manchester's focus on homelessness prevention, adult education and public health, and also with Greater Manchester's [integrated healthcare custody service](#).

## Health

The chief executive of the NHS, Simon Stevens, said in December 2015 that 'not many' other areas (alongside Greater Manchester) were likely to take on health responsibilities in the near future.<sup>53</sup> A document entitled [NHS Devolution: Proposed Principles and Decision Criteria](#), published in September 2015, sets out the NHS's preferred approach to proposals for health and social care integration.

In 2021 the Department of Health published a white paper entitled [Integration and Innovation](#), which set out plans for statutory Integrated Care Systems (covering health and social care) across England.<sup>54</sup> These were introduced by the [Health and Care Bill 2021-22](#). This does not have any immediate implications for combined authorities. Early versions of the policy suggested that clinical commissioning groups (CCGs) would see their geographies restructured to align with upper-tier local authorities. The Government published [a policy paper in July 2021](#) which made some adjustments, but some CCGs that do not follow upper-tier local government boundaries will remain in place.<sup>55</sup>

The GLA published a document in November 2017 setting out its intentions under health devolution in London.<sup>56</sup> These will include:

- establishing a London Estates Board, to involve local government and other bodies in strategic NHS estates decisions. This will also mean that proceeds from land sales can be reinvested in the healthcare system;

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<sup>52</sup> See also [HCDeb 4 Jun 2019](#) c5-6WS

<sup>53</sup> David Williams, "[Exclusive: Stevens casts doubt over NHS devolution outside Manchester](#)", Health Service Journal, 14 Dec 2015

<sup>54</sup> DHSC, [Integration and Innovation](#), 11 Feb 2021. See also DHSC, [Joining up care for people, places and populations](#), 9 Feb 2022

<sup>55</sup> DHSC, [Integrated care systems boundaries review: decision summary](#), 22 Jul 2021

<sup>56</sup> GLA, [Health and Care Devolution: What it Means for London](#), November 2017

- ensuring funds from the ‘sugar levy’ are used to tackle obesity in London;
- Greater local design of health-related employment support services;
- A London Workforce Board, to co-ordinate training between health and social care staff, promoting more integrated roles to support an integrated model of care.

This follows a series of pilots in 2015-16 exploring health and social care collaboration between groups of London boroughs, the GLA, and London CCGs.<sup>57</sup>

The GLA and the Greater Manchester Combined Authority have operated a Work and Health Programme, which provides targeted employment support, since 2018. More information is available in the Library briefing paper [Work and Health Programme](#).

## 2.4 Financial governance

MCAs are subject to considerable assurance requirements. In essence, these are forms of financial governance intended to ensure that they deliver agreed outputs effectively.

The majority of the devolution deal documents include specific requirements for locally-led evaluations of all policies. The following text, from the Liverpool City Region deal, is a representative example. Similar paragraphs appear in the deals concluded in 2022:

Liverpool City Region Combined Authority will work with the government to develop a full implementation plan, covering each policy agreed in this deal, to be completed ahead of implementation. This plan will include the timing and proposed approach for monitoring and evaluation of each policy and should be approved by the DCLG Accounting Officer.<sup>58</sup>

DLUHC’s accountability system statement states that combined authorities must operate a “local assurance framework”, and that the investment funds would be scrutinised by an ‘external expert panel’.<sup>59</sup> This is a reference to the five-yearly ‘gateway reviews’ that will monitor MCAs’ use of their investment funds. These gateway reviews were commissioned jointly by the Treasury and the relevant combined authority. Future instalments of the investment fund will be made available only if the Treasury “is satisfied that the independent assessment shows the investment to have met the objectives and contributed to national growth”.<sup>60</sup> As of August 2021, six MCAs had passed their first

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<sup>57</sup> HM Treasury, [London health devolution agreement](#), 15 December 2015. See also Heather Jameson, “‘Giant leap’ for capital care after health deal is unveiled”, *Municipal Journal*, 17 Dec 2015

<sup>58</sup> DCLG, [Liverpool City Region devolution agreement](#), 2015, p17

<sup>59</sup> DLUHC, [DLUHC accounting officer system statement 2023](#), 2023, paragraph 5.7

<sup>60</sup> HM Treasury, [Greater Manchester Agreement](#), 2014, p5

gateway review and the second tranche of their investment funds had been released.<sup>61</sup>

In addition, the National Local Growth Assurance Framework (NLGAF) includes new assurance guidance for MCAs operating a 'single pot'.<sup>62</sup> The NLGAF also specifies that MCAs should have produced 'devolution agreement documents' and 'baseline implementation plans'. Annexes to the NLGAF also give details of specific requirements relating to transport, housing, and adult education funding assurance. The requirements for 'gateway reviews' of investment funds remain in place.

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<sup>61</sup> A draft of Tees Valley's gateway review [was published in November 2020](#) [PDF]. Other areas have not published their reviews.

<sup>62</sup> MHCLG, [National Local Growth Assurance Framework](#), 2019, p14-15. The NLGAF also covers assurance requirements for LEPs.

## 3 The Greater Manchester devolution deals

This section outlines the devolution deals agreed with the Greater Manchester Combined Authority.

### 3.1 The Greater Manchester Agreement

Five different deals have provided the following powers for the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA):<sup>63</sup>

- A consolidated, multi-year transport budget;
- A Housing Investment Fund of £300m over 10 years, making loans to housebuilders (and thus being self-sustaining over time);
- Powers to produce a statutory spatial strategy; to introduce Mayoral Development Corporations; make Compulsory Purchase Orders; set a Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL); and establish a non-statutory Land Commission;
- Police and crime, fire and rescue, and waste
- Devolved business support budgets (now funded locally following the cessation of national programmes);
- Power to restructure further education in Greater Manchester;
- Control over EU structural funds, up to their cessation in March 2021;
- A Life Chances Investment Fund, incorporating funding from Troubled Families, Working Well, and joint work on children's services;
- Full local retention of business rate revenue;
- £28 million to develop a new Work and Health Programme, running between 2018 and 2024;<sup>64</sup>
- An agreement on [devolution of powers associated with the justice system](#);
- A £50 million 'land fund' for remedial work to brownfield sites; capacity funding of 'up to £8 million'; and £10.25 million for the Collyhurst Estate.<sup>65</sup>

This agreement was contingent on adoption of the statutory spatial framework. Media reports in March 2019 indicated that the Government had

<sup>63</sup> HM Treasury, [Greater Manchester Agreement](#), November 2014, p. 1

<sup>64</sup> GMCA, [Working Well](#), no date

<sup>65</sup> MHCLG, [Outline of a housing package for Greater Manchester](#), 21 March 2018

withdrawn the funding on offer in the housing deal with Greater Manchester. This was in response to changes in the spatial framework, that would reduce the number of completed homes by 11% over a 20-year period.<sup>66</sup>

Analysis of the progress of devolution in Greater Manchester can be found in Kieran Walshe et al., [Devolving health and social care: lessons from Greater Manchester](#); and Ruth Lupton et al., [City-region devolution in England](#). The GMCA itself produced a paper in November 2018 entitled [The Emerging Impact of Devolution](#).

Tony Lloyd (now MP for Rochdale) acted as ‘interim mayor’ between 29 May 2015 and the election of Andy Burnham on 4 May 2017.<sup>67</sup>

In a letter to the Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee on 26 July 2018, Andy Burnham stated that the cost of the Greater Manchester mayoralty was £2.0m, made up of £732,000 for ‘direct support’ for the Mayor and £1.3m in funding for Mayoral priorities.<sup>68</sup>

## 3.2 Health devolution in Greater Manchester

The Government published the [Greater Manchester Health and Social Care Devolution Memorandum of Understanding](#) on 27 February 2015.

This paper envisaged a new Greater Manchester Health and Social Care Partnership Board (GMHSPB), which would produce a joint health and social care strategy for Greater Manchester.

The GMHSPB ran in shadow form in 2015-16, before going live in April 2016. It has two sub-groups: a Greater Manchester Joint Commissioning Board (JCB) and an Overarching Provider Forum. Members of the former are the 10 Clinical Commissioning Groups (CCGs) in Greater Manchester; the 10 Greater Manchester boroughs; and NHS England. Members of the latter are service providers: acute care trusts, mental health trusts, ambulance trusts, LMCs (local medical committees), and others.

Through the JCB, strategic decisions regarding commissioning of health and social care services in Greater Manchester are agreed by NHS England, CCGs, and local political actors. A strategy was published in December 2015, followed by [a partnership prospectus in March 2019](#), and a [further document was published in 2021](#) in response to the Government’s planned legislation to introduce Integrated Care Systems from April 2022. The JCB commissions health and social care services across Greater Manchester on behalf of its

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<sup>66</sup> Jessica Middleton-Pugh, “[Government withdraws £68m housing deal](#)”, Place North-West, 26 March 2019

<sup>67</sup> See the [Greater Manchester Combined Authority \(Amendment\) Order 2015](#) (SI 2015/960).

<sup>68</sup> PACAC, [Letter to the Chair from Andy Burnham regarding the cost of the Greater Manchester mayoralty](#), 26 July 2018

constituent organisations, pooling the pooled commissioning budgets of the CCGs and the social care budgets of the boroughs.<sup>69</sup>

At local (borough) level, Health and Wellbeing Boards, made up of representatives from CCGs and boroughs, ensure that health and social care services are provided in a joined-up fashion, in line with the GMHSPB's Strategic Sustainability Plan.

The GMHSPB does not constitute a wholesale transfer of functions or funds from the NHS to local authorities, or vice versa. The proposals were implemented via section 75 of the [National Health Service Act 2006](#), which permits agreements to share functions and budgets between NHS bodies and local authorities.

Criteria for national intervention in the Greater Manchester devolved arrangements were published in March 2016.<sup>70</sup> A [dedicated website](#) covering new arrangements for health and social care has also been established. Greater Manchester was awarded £450 million health service transformation funding over five years (2016-21).<sup>71</sup>

A report from Manchester Business School, published in 2018, found that the health system in Greater Manchester had yet to diverge substantially from the national system, with national priorities still playing a major role in local decision-making.<sup>72</sup> A report in 2022, published in the *Lancet*, found that the health devolution system in Greater Manchester had had a small but measurable effect on life expectancy in the region.<sup>73</sup>

The Mayor of Greater Manchester does not have any formal role in the health and social care devolution arrangements. However, by virtue of his office it would be expected that he would have considerable influence on its decision-making, and that the GMCA will work closely with the health authority structures.

Helen McKenna, of the King's Fund, has suggested that health and social care integration in Greater Manchester could have a transformative effect:

Although what is currently happening in Manchester is technically more a case of delegation than devolution, particularly as formal accountabilities will remain with the national NHS bodies, it is nevertheless a far cry from 'business as usual'....In exchange for more of a say over its own future, Greater Manchester is promising to deliver changes to health and care services that we and many others have long been calling for... But what makes Greater Manchester's devolution project so exciting is the fact that their ambitions go much further than the integration of health and social care to consider public

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<sup>69</sup> See the Greater Manchester Commissioning Strategy, [Commissioning for Reform](#), 2016

<sup>70</sup> See Greater Manchester Combined Authority, [Accountability Agreement](#) (paper 5b), 18 March 2016

<sup>71</sup> David Paine, "Greater Manchester receives £450m to spur health transformation", *Local Government Chronicle*, 21 Dec 2015

<sup>72</sup> Kieran Walshe et al., [Devolving health and social care: lessons from Greater Manchester](#), Manchester Business School, 2018

<sup>73</sup> Philip Britteon et al., [The effect of devolution on health: a generalised synthetic control analysis of Greater Manchester, England](#), *Lancet* 7:10, pp844-852

services in the round. This creates the opportunity to look beyond the role of health services in determining health outcomes to the (far more influential) wider social determinants of health – for example, the roles of early years, education, employment and housing.<sup>74</sup>

The HCLG Committee’s October 2021 report [Progress on devolution in England](#) suggested that appetite existed elsewhere in England for devolution of responsibility for health:

“We heard there was an appetite to “take on more of the decision making” in Lancashire, Cheshire and Merseyside. This echoed the Metro Mayor of Greater Manchester, Andy Burnham’s, pronouncements in 2018 that he wanted “the ability to opt out of the activity tariff in the NHS”. It also appears there is appetite for types of health devolution in the combined authorities of Liverpool City Region, Tees Valley and West Yorkshire. There was also support expressed for the integration of London Ambulance Service into mayoral oversight, and the creation of a “London Health Commissioner, with dedicated resources” to co-ordinate all of London health matters and advise the Mayor of London.”<sup>75</sup>

This perspective was reflected in the report of the independent Commission on Health Devolution, published in August 2020, which said:

“Comprehensive health devolution should be adopted as the most viable solution for radical reform of social care through integrating local social care and public health services with NHS (physical, mental and acute care health) services, and delivering a ‘health in all policies’ approach to other services such as housing, employment, transport, education, the environment and economic development.”<sup>76</sup>

The Health Devolution Commission report also proposed an ‘annual joint mandate’ for the Secretary of State and each devolved area health leader, together with “health and prosperity scrutiny committees” in devolved areas, and a statutory public health role for metro-mayors and other leaders of devolved areas.

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<sup>74</sup> Helen McKenna, “Devo Manc is a far cry from ‘business as usual’”, [Manchester Policy Blogs](#), 1 April 2016

<sup>75</sup> HCLG Committee, [Progress on devolution in England](#), HC-36 2021-22, 1 October 2021, p40

<sup>76</sup> DevoConnect, [Building Back Health and Prosperity](#), August 2020, p5

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## 4 Deals in other localities

This section highlights notable features of the devolution of power in localities within England other than Greater Manchester. It does not cover all of the areas with devolution deals or all of the powers devolved.

### 4.1 London

Greater London is not a combined authority and it is not covered by the [Cities and Local Government Devolution Act 2016](#). Alongside the ‘devolution deals’ agenda, negotiations have progressed for devolution to London of many of the powers noted in section 2 above (where these were not already devolved to the GLA), treating the GLA in practice in an equivalent way to the mayoral combined authorities.

The Government published a [memorandum of understanding on further devolution to London](#) in March 2017, alongside the Budget. A memorandum of understanding entitled [Working towards Justice Devolution to London](#) was published in March 2018. This proposed joint responsibility for various probation functions and victim services to pass to a London Justice Devolution Board.

#### Further proposals in London

The London boroughs and the GLA have published a number of proposals for further devolution to London.<sup>77</sup> In November 2015, a joint document produced by the Mayor, London Councils, and the London LEP, entitled [Skills Devolution to London](#), was submitted to the Government. This contained a series of high-level outcomes sought for the skills system in London by 2020. A further document entitled the ‘[Call for Action](#)’ was published in late 2019 by the GLA and London Councils, expanding and reiterating these demands.

In July 2016, Sadiq Khan reconvened the London Finance Commission in the wake of the June 2016 vote to leave the European Union.<sup>78</sup> Its final report, [Devolution: a capital idea](#), was published in January 2017. The report recommended the devolution of several taxes to London government, such as stamp duty, Air Passenger Duty, Vehicle Excise Duty, together with a share of income tax and VAT revenue. A tourism tax was also proposed. The report

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<sup>77</sup> These proposals have not been formally published. See also the London Assembly report [A New Agreement for London](#), September 2015

<sup>78</sup> See GLA, [London Finance Commission](#)

stated that any tax devolution would be ‘revenue neutral’ at the point at which tax powers were passed to Greater London.

## 4.2 Cornwall

A devolution deal with Cornwall was agreed in July 2015.<sup>79</sup> The deal was agreed with Cornwall Council, the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly LEP, and the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly NHS Trust (the Isles of Scilly Council itself is not a signatory, though they are represented on the ‘leadership board’ of local public bodies). The deal did not require a combined authority or elected mayor to be established: the powers were devolved to Cornwall Council. The deal follows Cornwall Council’s publication of a document entitled [The Case for Cornwall](#) in March 2015.

Cornwall Council published [an impact assessment in 2019](#) setting out the effects of the devolution deal to date. The Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) analysed the progress of this deal in a publication entitled [Why Devolution Matters: the case of Cornwall](#), published in March 2021. Cornwall was also early to progress the joint delivery of health and social care services between Cornwall Council and NHS Kernow CCG.

Cornwall subsequently negotiated a county deal, published in December 2022, which was to include a move to a directly-elected mayoralty. However, the council abandoned the deal in spring 2023 after a public consultation showed considerable disquiet about the prospect of a mayor.<sup>80</sup> This deal was replaced by a ‘level 2’ deal alongside the 2023 Autumn Statement (see section 1).

## 4.3 Yorkshire

Limited devolution deals were agreed with the West Yorkshire and the Sheffield City Region combined authorities in March 2015 and December 2014 respectively.<sup>81</sup> A further deal, including provision for a directly-elected mayor, was agreed with the Sheffield City Region in October 2015. Further deals have since been agreed with West Yorkshire in March 2020, York and North Yorkshire in August 2022, and Hull and East Yorkshire in November 2023. This means that the whole of Yorkshire will be covered by mayoral deals by May 2025 (excepting the parts of Yorkshire that were transferred to neighbouring counties in the 1974 local government reforms).

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<sup>79</sup> HM Treasury, [Cornwall Devolution Deal](#), July 2015

<sup>80</sup> Cornwall Council, [Consultation on the proposed Cornwall Devolution Deal](#), February 2023

<sup>81</sup> See Deputy Prime Minister’s Office, [‘Oyster-style’ cards for Sheffield as Deputy PM agrees devolution deal](#), 12 December 2014; [HCDeb 18 Dec 2014](#) WMS 141

The delay between those two deals was due to extended debate about the appropriate geographies of devolution in Yorkshire. This began when the Sheffield City Region launched a consultation in mid-2016 on two district councils from outside Yorkshire becoming full members. This would have meant electors in those councils taking part in the mayoral election. The two were Bassetlaw (in northern Nottinghamshire) and Chesterfield (in Derbyshire). Chesterfield Borough Council does not share a boundary with the Sheffield City Region, though both councils, along with three others, were ‘associate members’ of the combined authority.

Derbyshire County Council launched a judicial review of Chesterfield’s participation in the Sheffield deal. The case was heard on 11-12 November 2016. The judge found that the consultation was defective and ordered that it be rerun.<sup>82</sup> This led to the Sheffield City Region mayoral election being delayed by a year, to 2018. Subsequently, Chesterfield and Bassetlaw withdrew their applications for full membership of the Sheffield city region.

On 18 September 2017, Barnsley and Doncaster opposed a statutory consultation on the devolution deal, stating that they would seek to take part in a pan-Yorkshire deal.<sup>83</sup> On 22 December 2017, the two authorities published the results of local referendums held on the two options:

**Table 4: Barnsley and Doncaster community poll results**

	Barnsley	Doncaster
Yorkshire-wide deal	84.9%	85.2%
Sheffield City Region deal	15.1%	14.8%
Turnout	22.4%	20.1%

## ‘One Yorkshire’ proposals

In consequence, the idea of a pan-Yorkshire devolution deal acquired fresh impetus.<sup>84</sup> The then Minister for the Northern Powerhouse, Jake Berry, [indicated in July 2017](#) that the Government would not agree to a pan-Yorkshire deal. He said in a letter to the Sheffield City Region Combined Authority that:

...consent by the 20 councils for such an approach is very unlikely. Nor do I believe that a deal and governance across the whole of Yorkshire, given its scale and diversity, would in practice deliver the benefits that the proponents of such a deal seek.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> See the full judgment at [R \(Derbyshire County Council\) v Barnsley, Doncaster, Rotherham and Sheffield Combined Authority](#), EWHC 3355 2016

<sup>83</sup> See [the minutes of the meeting](#) on the Sheffield City Region website.

<sup>84</sup> LGC Briefing, [Devolution by judicial review](#), 11 November 2016; James Reed, [“Fresh attempt to revive Yorkshire-wide devolution”](#), Yorkshire Post, 16 November 2016

<sup>85</sup> Quoted in David Paine, [“Yorkshire devo dissenters seek deal for ‘coalition of the willing’”](#), Local Government Chronicle, 22 June 2017

The Government reiterated this position in [an adjournment debate in the House of Commons](#) on 10 October 2017. However, subsequent negotiations suggested that the Government would be willing to see a One Yorkshire deal replacing the Sheffield deal, provided that all participating authorities agreed, the Sheffield deal was implemented, and the Sheffield City Region mayor had served his or her initial term of office.<sup>86</sup>

Dan Jarvis MP was elected as mayor of the Sheffield City Region on 3 May 2018. When he announced his candidacy, Mr Jarvis said that he intended to remain an MP and to work towards establishing a One Yorkshire devolution deal. Mr Jarvis announced in September 2021 that he would not seek re-election in May 2022.<sup>87</sup>

Eighteen local authorities submitted a proposed deal under the title of ‘One Yorkshire’ to the Government in January 2018.<sup>88</sup> A single Mayor and combined authority covering Yorkshire would be established. This would require the existing combined authorities to be wound up or merged in to the new one.

The Government rejected the ‘One Yorkshire’ proposal in January 2019 via a letter to Dan Jarvis. Subsequently, the Sheffield City Region agreed to proceed with the devolution deal that had been previously agreed in 2015. The Government agreed in turn that “subject to certain provisos, councils would be free to leave the city region and join an alternative wider Yorkshire deal” in 2022.<sup>89</sup> As noted above, subsequently four separate mayoral devolution deals have emerged across Yorkshire; and the district councils in northern Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire will form part of the East Midlands deal from 2024.

## 4.4

### North East / North of Tyne

A devolution deal for ‘North of Tyne’ was announced in the 2017 Budget.<sup>90</sup> The participating councils are Newcastle City Council, Northumberland County Council and North Tyneside Council. This deal was agreed after the failure of the original North-East devolution deal on 7 September 2016. [The residual North-East Combined Authority](#) (Durham, Gateshead, Sunderland and South Tyneside) remained in existence, without a devolution deal.

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<sup>86</sup> See the House of Commons Library debate pack [Yorkshire devolution](#), 8 January 2018; [a Westminster Hall debate on 9 January 2018](#), debates in the [House of Lords on 17 October 2018](#) and [5 November 2018](#), and an oral question in the Commons on [6 November 2018](#).

<sup>87</sup> BBC, [Dan Jarvis: MP to stand down as South Yorkshire Mayor](#), 20 Sep 2021

<sup>88</sup> See [Yorkshire Devolution Agreement Submission](#), January 2018

<sup>89</sup> Jessica Hill, [“Updated: South Yorkshire leaders break the devolution deadlock”](#), Local Government Chronicle, 25 March 2019. See also [https://twitter.com/christophe\\_read/status/1126032544519151616](https://twitter.com/christophe_read/status/1126032544519151616) (a tweet from the leader of Rotherham Borough Council).

<sup>90</sup> See NotCA, [North of Tyne ‘minded-to’ devolution deal](#), November 2017

The three councils formed the North of Tyne Combined Authority (NoTCA) in shadow form from summer 2018. Norma Redfearn, the directly-elected mayor of North Tyneside Council, was appointed interim mayor in December 2018. The Labour candidate, Jamie Driscoll, won the mayoral election on 2 May 2019.

In December 2022, a further deal was published covering the original seven local authorities involved in 2016. This will include a new mayoralty for this area, with a first election in May 2024. A new combined authority will absorb the current NoTCA and NECA, the North-East LEP (which always covered the seven-authority area), and the Nexus passenger transport system in the former Tyne & Wear metropolitan county. Some reports during 2022 indicated that Durham Council was considering a county deal, but ultimately it decided to participate in this wider deal.

## 4.5 Pan-Northern activity

A number of initiatives have been launched at the level of ‘the North’ as a unit. Though there is no standard definition of ‘the North’, the area covered is normally Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Cumbria, Durham and Northumberland, and the associated cities. The initiatives include:

- The statutory body [Transport for the North](#);
- The [Northern Powerhouse Partnership](#), a private group aiming to increase investment, with support from the Government;
- a ‘Council of the North’ or ‘NP11’, launched by the Government in June 2018. This is an advisory body made up of the chairs of the 11 Local Enterprise Partnerships in the area;<sup>91</sup>
- The [Northern Transport Acceleration Council](#), launched in July 2020 by Grant Shapps, the Secretary of State for transport;
- the Convention of the North, a conference first held in Newcastle in early September 2018 for politicians and stakeholders.<sup>92</sup> [The most recent event](#) was held in February 2022.

Partnership bodies have been established in other regions in the form of the [Midlands Engine](#) and [Western Gateway](#).

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<sup>91</sup> William Eichler, “[Whitehall launches new Council for the North](#)”, LocalGov, 9 July 2018

<sup>92</sup> Convention of the North report, 6 September 2018

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## 5 Analysis and perspectives

### 5.1 Governance

MCA elected mayors have differing degrees of power over different matters. In most areas, they have an effective veto over decisions made by the combined authority. Mayoral budgets are, in most cases, subject to rejection by cabinet members on a two-thirds majority. Where powers to create a spatial strategy are available, this requires unanimous approval from the mayor and combined authority members.

This contrasts with the situation in London (see the Library briefing paper [The Greater London Authority](#)). The Mayor of London can take decisions without reference to the London boroughs. The London Assembly only has the power to veto a small number of high-level Mayoral decisions. Professor Francesca Gains, of the University of Manchester, suggested the following reasons in support of elected mayoralities:

The visibility of a mayor means the public knows who to hold to account for the spending decisions now to be made in and across the region. Being directly elected will keep the mayor responsive to all communities.<sup>93</sup>

### 5.2 Commentary

The Housing, Communities and Local Government Committee published a report in October 2021 entitled [Progress on devolution in England](#). The report recommended the production of a devolution framework, which “should include a set of principles committing the Government to devolution as an evolving process with a forward direction”.<sup>94</sup> The report also recommended greater public consultation regarding devolution proposals, and suggested that the Government commission research on options for additional fiscal devolution or assignment of revenues. It proposed greater devolution in areas such as housing, planning, education, energy and the environment, and advocated adopting [the proposals of the Health Devolution Commission](#). The report also noted witnesses’ view that “different government departments displayed starkly differing levels of commitment to devolution, resulting in

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<sup>93</sup> Francesca Gains, “The making of the Greater Manchester mayor – what next?”, [On Devo](#), policy@manchester, 2015, p. 6

<sup>94</sup> HCLG Committee, [Progress on devolution in England](#), HC-36 2021-22, 1 October 2021, p3

uneven rates of devolution in different policy areas, and causing negotiations to be siloed and inflexible”.<sup>95</sup>

Similarly, a report from the All-Party Parliamentary Group on English Devolution in July 2021 recommended that the Government should move away from “piecemeal, fragmented and short-term interventions” towards “integrated employment and skills offers”, health and social care integration, and new taxation powers for local authorities. It recommended a “National Devolution Baseline” of powers to be available to all local authorities by default. It also recommended greater openness to secondments between local authorities and Government departments; and the establishment of local Public Accounts Committees and/or Regional Select Committees to bolster accountability.<sup>96</sup>

In addition, reports on or covering English devolution have been published by Onward (2022);<sup>97</sup> the Institute for Government (2022);<sup>98</sup> the Industrial Strategy Commission (March 2021);<sup>99</sup> the UK2070 Commission (July 2020);<sup>100</sup> Lord Heseltine (July 2019);<sup>101</sup> and the LIPSIT project at the University of Surrey.<sup>102</sup>

The Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee launched an enquiry in 2020 entitled [The Evolution of Devolution](#). This produced a report entitled *Governing England* in October 2022.<sup>103</sup> This expressed concerns about an extremely complex system of governance in England, but one that was also very centralised. It also criticised a “ubiquitous process of bidding for pots of money” which was “wasteful of precious local resources”.<sup>104</sup>

The IPPR published a report in August 2021 entitled [Northern mayors: 100 days of a new term](#). It noted a number of recent initiatives from metro-mayors:

The 2021 mayoral elections across England increased the majorities of those incumbent mayors who exercised visible power and adeptly wielded soft powers, which often drew more attention than use of formal MCA powers... Increasingly acting as stewards of their places, northern mayors are clearly working beyond their devolution deals’ constraints.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p.17

<sup>96</sup> APPG on Devolution, [Levelling-up Devo: the role of national government in making a success of devolution in England](#), July 2021, pp8-9

<sup>97</sup> Adam Hawksbee, [Give Back Control: Realising The Potential Of Mayors](#), UK Onward, June 2022

<sup>98</sup> Akash Paun, Alex Nice and Lucy Rycroft, [How metro mayors can help level up England](#), Institute for Government, July 2022

<sup>99</sup> Industrial Strategy Council, [Devolution and Governance Structures in the UK](#), May 2021

<sup>100</sup> UK2070 Commission, [Go Big. Go Local](#), July 2020; see also the Commission’s earlier report [Make No Little Plans](#), published in February 2020

<sup>101</sup> Lord Heseltine, [Empowering English Cities](#), West Midlands Combined Authority, July 2019

<sup>102</sup> LIPSIT, [Achieving Levelling Up](#) (November 2020) and [Delivering Levelling Up](#) (October 2021): this is an academic consortium led by the University of Surrey

<sup>103</sup> Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee, [Governing England](#), HC0463 2022-23, 13 Oct 2022

<sup>104</sup> As above, p3

<sup>105</sup> Marcus Johns, [Northern mayors: 100 days of a new term](#), IPPR, 2021, p7

The IPPR also suggested that “we are seeing a new style of political leadership that directly addresses local people and crafts narratives about place, local pride, and belonging”.<sup>106</sup>

A report from the LSE examining progress in Greater Manchester as of late 2018 claimed that much social policy change is being driven by a series of ‘partnership boards’, which seek to harmonise policy between actors within the city, not just in those areas that are devolved:

...these are not official reporting structures on the whole but partnership groups set up to work collaboratively to achieve a set of city-region goals through better coordination, standardisation and service reform.<sup>107</sup>

The IPPR’s Commission on Economic Justice published its final report in September 2018. This proposed four ‘regional economic executives’, covering the North, Midlands, South-East and South-West. These would be governed by an indirectly-elected council of local authority members, and would be responsible for industrial strategy, infrastructure planning, inward investment and immigration.<sup>108</sup> These would sit above a comprehensive pattern of combined authorities with revenue-raising powers and substantial responsibilities.

## 5.3 Extending devolution

A number of reports in the late 2010s and early 2020s advocated extending and/or standardising the process of English devolution, including the provision of broader powers to more geographical areas.

The think-tank the Centre for Progressive Policy published a report in November 2023 entitled [Funding Fair Growth](#). This proposed that 2% of income tax revenue (£5.6bn per year) should be transferred to upper-tier authorities (including MCAs where they exist). This should be followed by 2% of corporation tax and VAT revenue. In total these sums would make up £11.8bn by 2026-27. Half of the income tax revenue would be retained in the authority in which it was raised, 40% redistributed amongst authorities, and 10% would be ring-fenced for capacity building.

The Centre for Cities and the Resolution Foundation published a report in November 2023 entitled [In place of centralisation](#). This report proposed an advanced devolution deal for Greater London, Greater Manchester and the West Midlands. The mayoralties would receive powers over spatial planning (including a new ‘flexible zoning’ planning system), commuter railways, waste management, licensing and the night economy. The report also proposes assigning a varying share of income tax receipts to the three areas, together

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p10

<sup>107</sup> Ruth Lupton, Ceri Hughes, Sian Peake-Jones and Kerris Cooper, [City-region devolution in England](#), LSE, November 2018

<sup>108</sup> IPPR, [Prosperity and justice: a plan for the new economy](#), September 2018, p232-253

with full retention of business rates revenue and control over the business rates multiplier. The mayors would also have full freedom to reform council tax in their areas.

The Kennedy School, at Harvard University, published a report in October 2023 entitled [Why hasn't UK regional policy worked?](#) Amongst its key findings, the report concluded that “the UK government in Whitehall has relied too heavily on centralised approaches to driving up productivity and delivering more balanced regional growth in England”, and that “current cross-party support for the Combined Authority model in England means the institutional basis for regional growth is stronger than it has been for a long time”.<sup>109</sup> This research also published [interview transcripts with dozens of leading actors](#) in the UK’s political and economic worlds.

In November 2022 the Labour Party published a report from its “Commission on the UK’s Future”, chaired by former prime minister Gordon Brown. This made a number of proposals for extending devolution within England:

- Powers for metro-mayors to devise local skills improvement plans and to devolve and consolidate a number of skills and careers-related funding streams;
- Devolving the administration of JobCentre Plus to local authorities, combining this with employment support and community health services;
- Greater support for bus franchising, including by municipally-owned companies, and more scope for local partnerships to shape local rail services;
- Mayors to establish energy efficiency requirements on new buildings, and to lead on retrofitting and increasing electric vehicle charging points;
- Greater powers to license landlords; to develop vacant sites via compulsory purchase powers; and to regulate short term lets and holiday homes;
- Greater fiscal flexibility, accompanied by stronger accountability, possibly via local public accounts committees;
- A power for local authorities to introduce “special local legislation” into Parliament.<sup>110</sup>

Sir Keir Starmer gave a speech on 5 January 2023 in which he said that devolution proposals would be introduced in the first King’s Speech of a Labour government, via a “take back control bill”.<sup>111</sup> A Labour [‘policy platform’ published online](#) in October 2023 made a number of references to

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<sup>109</sup> Dan Turner, Nyasha Weinberg, Esme Elsdon and Ed Balls, [WHY HASN'T UK REGIONAL POLICY WORKED? The views of leading practitioners](#), Kennedy School M-RCBG Working Paper 216, October 2023

<sup>110</sup> Labour Party, [A New Britain: Renewing our Democracy and Rebuilding our Economy](#), November 2022

<sup>111</sup> Becky Morton, [Keir Starmer embraces Brexit slogan with 'take back control' pledge](#), BBC, 5 Jan 2023. See the text of the speech at Labour Party, [Keir Starmer New Year's speech](#), 5 Jan 2023

devolving additional powers to mayoralities. It suggested that a Labour administration would seek to involve metro-mayors and local authorities in:

- Improving housing, in particular tackling fuel poverty and insulation
- Economic growth planning
- Employment support
- Local rail services and bus franchising

The centre-left think-tank IPPR published a report in February 2017 entitled [Rebooting Devolution](#). This argued for a framework of powers that could be taken on by local authorities. These would be accessible alongside additional accountability requirements (though elected mayors are not regarded as essential). The report argued for local bodies to cover county areas in most cases:

...any proposed devolution area must be based around existing institutions and a shared sense of place. ... there is little merit in creating new structures across a large economic area that means little in the public imagination...<sup>112</sup>

In similar terms, Reform's report [Vive la devolution](#) argued for decentralisation of public services commissioning to 38 devolved bodies across England. Lord Heseltine published a report entitled [Empowering English Cities](#) in July 2019, commissioned by the existing mayoral combined authorities, which argued for additional powers for mayoral bodies.

IPPR published a further report in February 2020 entitled [The Devolution Parliament](#). This advocated further devolution to city- and county-regional areas across England, plus devolution of powers related to economic planning and growth to four 'mega-regions': North, Midlands, South-East (including London) and South-West.

The Local Government Information Unit produced a report in 2017 entitled [Beyond Devolution](#), produced following several meetings of a Local Democracy Network. It recommended that:

- A Mayors' Senate should be established, giving directly elected mayors from individual and combined authorities a firm constitutional role, shaping Brexit and scrutinising legislation.
- A Local Finance Commission, led by local government, should carry out a systematic review of how local areas are funded based on the expertise, knowledge and experience of local leaders.

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<sup>112</sup> Jack Hunter, [Rebooting devolution: A common sense approach to taking back control](#), IPPR, 2017, p10

- A constitutional settlement should be pursued in order to provide a framework and consistency over the roles and responsibilities of central and local government.
- An immediate ‘devolution reboot’ to continue devolving power to the cities and regions of England.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> LGIU, [Beyond Devolution - the final report of the Local Democracy Network](#), October 2017

## 6 Further reading

Resolution Foundation / Centre for Cities, [In place of centralisation](#), October 2023

Centre for Progressive Policy, [Funding fair growth](#), October 2023

Dan Turner, Nyasha Weinberg, Esme Elsdon and Ed Balls, [Why hasn't UK regional policy worked? The views of leading practitioners](#), Kennedy School M-RCBG Working Paper 216, October 2023

New Local, [A Labour Vision for Community Power](#), September 2023

Commission on the UK's Future, [A New Britain](#), December 2022

Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee, [Governing England](#), HC0463 2022-23, 13 Oct 2022

Adam Hawksbee, [Give Back Control: Realising The Potential Of Mayors](#), UK Onward, June 2022

Akash Paun, Alex Nice and Lucy Rycroft, [How metro mayors can help level up England](#), Institute for Government, July 2022

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Lord Heseltine [Empowering English Cities](#), July 2019

Ruth Lupton, Ceri Hughes, Sian Peake-Jones and Kerris Cooper, [City-region devolution in England](#), LSE, November 2018

Chris Naylor and David Buck, [The role of cities in improving population health: international insights](#), King's Fund, June 2018

Kieran Walshe et al., [Devolving health and social care: lessons from Greater Manchester](#), Manchester Business School, 2018

Reform, [Vive la devolution: devolved public services commissioning](#), November 2017

LGIU, [Beyond devolution: the final report of the Local Democracy Commission](#), October 2017

National Audit Office, [English devolution deals](#), HC948 2015-16, April 2016

Ed Hammond, [Cards on the table: English devolution and governance](#), Centre for Public Scrutiny, March 2016

Joe Randall and Jo Casebourne, [Making devolution deals work](#), Institute for Government, February 2016

Grant Thornton, [Making devolution work](#), November 2015

Independent Commission on Local Government Finance, [Financing English Devolution](#), LGA/CIPFA, February 2015

Mark Morrin and Phillip Blond, [Restoring Britain's City States: Devolution, Public Service Reform and Local Economic Growth](#), ResPublica, February 2015

City Growth Commission, [Human Capitals](#), [Connected Cities](#), [Powers to Grow](#), [Unleashing Metro Growth](#) [four papers], RSA/Core Cities Group, 2014

Lord Heseltine, [No stone unturned in pursuit of growth](#), BIS, 2012, plus [Government response](#), 2013



		East Midlands	York & N Yorkshire	Cornwall (2023)	Norfolk (2022)	Suffolk (2022)	North-East (2022)	Hull & E Yorkshire	Greater Lincolnshire	Lancashire	Devon / Torbay	Bucks	Warwickshire	Surrey
<b>Type</b>	Type of authority	MCCA	MCA	C	C	C	MCA	MCA	MCCA	CCA	CCA	C	C	C
<b>Transport</b>	Consolidated transport budget													
	Bus franchising													
	Joint working with GBR													
	Bus Services Improvement Grant													
	Local roads network													
<b>Skills, employment, health</b>	Joint working with UKTI													
	Business support services													
	Adult Education Budget													
	Work and Health													
<b>Land and housing</b>	Public land commission / joint assets board													
	Compulsory purchase powers													
	Mayoral Development Corporations													
	Planning call-in powers													
	Consultation on strategic planning applications													
	Housing grant fund													
	Spatial strategy													
<b>Public services</b>	Children's services													
	Supporting Families / Working Well													
	Police and Crime Commissioner													
	Fire service													
<b>Finance</b>	Investment fund (per year)	£38m	£18m		£20m	£16m	£48m	£13.34m	£24m					
	100% business rates revenue retention													
	UK Shared Prosperity Fund													
	Business rates supplement													
	Council tax precept													
	Community Infrastructure Levy													

Powers in light green are held by upper-tier authorities.

‘Type of authority’ denotes a devolution deal to a mayoral combined authority (MCA); combined county authority (CCA); mayoral combined county authority (MCCA) or county deal (C).

## Appendix 2: participants in devolution deals

Devolution deals: participants			
Deal	Full members	Associate members	Authorities rejecting deal
Greater Manchester	Manchester; Salford; Tameside; Oldham; Trafford; Stockport; Bolton; Rochdale; Bury; Wigan		
Liverpool City Region	Liverpool; Wirral; Knowsley; St Helens; Sefton; Halton		
Sheffield City Region	Sheffield; Doncaster; Rotherham; Barnsley	Chesterfield; Bassetlaw; North-East Derbyshire; Derbyshire Dales; Bolsover	
West Yorkshire	Leeds; Calderdale; Bradford; Kirklees; Wakefield	York	
West Midlands	Birmingham; Sandwell; Dudley; Wolverhampton; Walsall; Coventry; Solihull	Redditch; Nuneaton & Bedworth; Tamworth; Cannock Chase; Telford & Wrekin	

Deal	Full members	Associate members	Authorities rejecting deal
Tees Valley	Darlington; Middlesbrough; Hartlepool; Stockton-on-Tees; Redcar & Cleveland		
Cornwall	Cornwall		
Cambridgeshire / Peterborough	Cambridgeshire; Peterborough; Huntingdonshire; Fenland; East Cambridgeshire; South Cambridgeshire; Cambridge City		
West of England	Bristol; Bath & North-East Somerset; South Gloucestershire		North Somerset
North-East	Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Northumberland; North Tyneside; Gateshead; Durham; Sunderland; South Tyneside		
Norfolk	Norfolk		
Suffolk	Suffolk		
York & North Yorkshire	York; North Yorkshire		
East Midlands	Derbyshire; Derby City; Nottinghamshire; Nottingham City		
Hull / East Yorkshire	Hull City; East Riding of Yorkshire		
Greater Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire; North-East Lincolnshire; North Lincolnshire		
Lancashire	Lancashire; Blackpool; Blackburn with Darwen		

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