



RUSTAT CONFERENCES
JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

UK North South Divide Conference Report

Rustat Conference held on
Thursday, 26 November 2015

Rustat Conference rapporteur: Eli Keren

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UK North South Divide

Thursday, 26 November 2015

Agenda

08.30-09.20 Registration - Prioress's Room, Jesus College, Cambridge

09.30 Welcome, Upper Hall, Jesus College, Cambridge

Professor Ian White, Master, Jesus College, Cambridge, Chair, Rustat Conferences, Van Eck Professor of Engineering, University of Cambridge

09.35 Overview and Historical Background to North South Divide

Chair: Professor Peter Williamson, Judge Business School, University of Cambridge; Advisory Board, Rustat Conferences; Fellow, Jesus College

- Dr Stephen Counce, University of Central Lancashire, Historian of the North South Divide

09.50 Northern Powerhouse: Overview of main issues and challenges. Will infrastructure and transport provide solutions?

Chair: Professor Peter Williamson

- Luke Raikes, Research Fellow, IPPR North

- Richard Threlfall, Partner, Head of Infrastructure and Construction, KPMG

10.50 Break - Upper Hall, Gallery

11.15 Why does the North South Divide Exist? What does this mean for policy?

Chair: Prof Simon Szreter, Professor of History and Social Policy, University of Cambridge

- Paul Swinney, Senior Economist, Centre for Cities

- Prof Claire Warwick, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Research), University of Durham; representing N8

12.20-13.30 Lunch Master's Lodge, Jesus College (enter via the Prioress's Room)

13.35 Is there a divide in education, skills and culture? If so, what are the solutions?

Chair: David Goodhart, Chair of Advisory Board, Demos

- Professor Simon Burgess, Professor of Economics, Director, Centre for Market and Public Organisation, Bristol University

- Laura Dyer, Executive Director, Arts Council England

14.35 Break - Upper Hall, Gallery

14.55 Will devolution solve divisions between North and South?

Chair: Paul Swinney, Senior Economist, Centre for Cities

- Hilton Dawson, The North East Party

15.50 Final Comments

Chair: Professor Peter Williamson, Judge Business School, University of Cambridge

16.00 Close



Rustat Conferences Jesus College Cambridge

The Rustat Conferences are an initiative of Jesus College, Cambridge, and chaired by Professor Ian White FREng, Master of Jesus College. The Rustat Conferences provide an opportunity for decision-makers from the frontlines of politics, the civil service, business, the professions, the media, and education to exchange views on the vital issues of the day with leading academics.

Founded in 2009, Rustat Conferences have covered a variety of themes including: *The Economic Crisis; The Future of Democracy; Cyber Security; Manufacturing in the UK; The Geopolitics of Oil and Energy; Drugs Policy; Organisational Change in the Economic Crisis; Cyber Finance; The Understanding and Misunderstanding of Risk; Food Security; Transport and Energy, Inequality and Big Data*. In addition to acting as a forum for the exchange of views on a range of major concerns, the conferences provide outreach to a wider professional, academic, student and alumni audience through the publication of reports. The conferences are named after Tobias Rustat (d.1694), a benefactor of Jesus College and the University.

Acknowledgements

We thank the Rustat Conferences Foundation Members for their generous support, all the speakers and chairs and the following for their advice and assistance with the Rustat Conference on the North South Divide: Professor Anna Vignoles, Professor Peter Williamson, IPPR North, Centre for Cities, the Jesus College Development Office, Helen Harris and Eli Keren.

Chatham House Rule and Rustat Conference Report

Please note the conference is conducted under the Chatham House Rule. The conference report will however reveal the identity and affiliation of speakers and discussants unless they request otherwise. The procedure is as follows: the Rustat Conference rapporteur, Eli Keren, will circulate a draft version of the report and anyone mentioned or quoted in it may remove the attribution. Once this procedure is complete the report is published via the Rustat Conferences website.

Twitter #NorthSouthDivide #NorthernPowerhouse #Rustat @JesusCollegeCam



Rustat Conferences



Rustat Conferences Foundation Members

The Rustat Conferences are supported through a mix of sponsorship and a membership scheme that was launched in 2013-14 - details of this can be found at www.Rustat.org. We are very grateful to the Rustat Conferences Foundation Members for their generous support:

Dr James Dodd - James's career has concentrated on the financing and management of companies in the fields of telecommunications and technology. He serves on a number of boards in these areas and is active in supporting a number of academic projects and charities.

Harvey Nash is an executive recruitment and outsourcing group. Listed on the London Stock Exchange, and with offices across the world, it helps organisations recruit, source and manage the highly skilled talent they need to succeed in an increasingly competitive and innovation driven world.

KPMG is a global network of professional firms providing Audit, Tax and Advisory services. It has more than 155,000 outstanding professionals working together to deliver value in 155 countries worldwide.

Laing O'Rourke is a privately owned, international engineering enterprise with world-class capabilities spanning the entire client value chain. It operates an integrated business model comprising the full range of engineering, construction and asset management services, delivering single-source solutions for some of the world's most prestigious public and private organisations.

McLaren Racing Ltd has a reputation for efficiency and professionalism. Working within a fast-paced environment and to the highest standards, its highly skilled workforce operates primarily in the areas of manufacturing, engineering and race team as well as logistics and support.

Mr Andreas Naumann is a senior executive in the financial industry. Outside the professional sphere, he is keenly interested in subjects like urbanisation, youth unemployment, education and foreign policy. He supports the Rustat Conferences as a private individual.

Sandaire Investment Office - SandAire and Lord North Street came together in April 2014 to combine their businesses, both of which specialise in looking after the investment assets of very wealthy families, charities and endowments.

Maria and David Willetts

Rustat Conference on UK North South Divide

Jesus College, Cambridge, 26 November 2015

Executive Summary of Conference Sessions and Discussions

1. History of UK North South Divide

From the onset of the Industrial Revolution, the North became dominant in the UK's global trade in manufactures, due to its unusual entrepreneurial networks of family firms. After 1918, however, burgeoning nationalism abroad and a return to the gold standard stunted trade, while new consumer-oriented industries located in the Midlands and the South flourished. The resulting stagnation caused the modern North South divide to emerge. Examining the region's erstwhile strengths and failures is a good starting point for rebalancing the nation's economy and returning the North to prosperity.

2. The Northern Powerhouse & Infrastructure

In order to implement effectively the government's Northern Powerhouse policies, the North must be wary of simply cloning London's economics for fear of cloning with them London's vast socioeconomic issues. While the North is currently poorer and less productive than the national average, its economy is not as weak as many in the South assume. Rather than focusing solely on economic growth, the North must focus on education, job creation and pay at the bottom of the economic scale. The North's struggling transport network must also be remedied, both through connections with the South and through connections within the North, if the economy is to be galvanised. The North and South could greatly and mutually benefit from an improved high speed rail link between them.

3. Origins and Implications of the UK North South Divide

The UK's economy has made a seismic shift from the manufacture of goods to the manufacture of knowledge. Many Northern cities have failed to reinvent themselves, swapping coal mines for call centres without taking advantage of new knowledge-based occupations, while limited funding in R&D in N8 universities means that the North struggles to keep the knowledge it does produce from draining to the South. Many of the nation's Northern cities have found themselves locked in a trap by which low-knowledge environments lead to a cycle of low paid skills. A greater priority in R&D spending and a greater interest in newer models of business and the knowledge economy have the potential to contribute greatly to the North's economic recovery.

4. The Divide in Education, Skills and Culture

London can act like a drain on the UK's human resources, particularly of graduates and skilled workers. To tackle this, Northern cities would benefit from creating environments that students and future workforces wish to stay in, discouraging them from reaping the rewards of Northern universities without contributing to the Northern economy thereafter. Pupil performance in London schools is recognised to be very high, however it is unclear to what extent this is due to various policies or practices applied in London schools, as opposed to the pupils themselves, with a high fraction likely to be the children of immigrants with high aspiration and motivation (outside London, White British students make up 81% of the total, compared to 34% in London). The arts also feel a drain on resources to the South, though the simple distinction between 'North' and 'South' breaks down when discussing culture because the issues facing the UK's arts scene do just not concern geographical location, but rather vary with a multiplicity of identities and cultures, which can lead to divides within the North or the South as great as those between them.

5. Devolution as a Solution to North South Divide

The current plans for devolution to Northern cities feel to regional political movements and parties like Southern politicians playing politics with the North. Is this just a question of perception or are substantial powers being granted to the region? While devolution has been defeated by public vote in the North historically, the same was at one time true of Wales. Today, there is no movement in Wales in favour of reversing devolution, and as part of the UK, much of the North is crying out to be granted the same breadth of democracy as has been extended to other regions of the same country. What is the capital of the North? Just as the North does not want to be governed from London, neither does it wish necessarily to be governed from Manchester.

N.B views expressed in this report and summary reflect the conference talks and discussions and not necessarily those of Jesus College Cambridge Rustat Conferences.

Session 1: History of the North South Divide

Chair: Professor Peter Williamson, Judge Business School, University of Cambridge; Advisory Board, Rustat Conferences; Fellow, Jesus College
- Dr Stephen Caunce, University of Central Lancashire, Historian of the North South Divide

Twice before the twentieth century, a 'Near-North' consisting of Lancashire and Yorkshire reinvented an outdated regional economic model. First, in 1555, its inhabitants acknowledged that they lived on infertile moorland where peasant farming was impossible. As an alternative, they produced cloth and other manufactured goods, and they traded for food, but Southern wool traders had made it illegal for small manufacturers like them to buy their own wool. Parliament agreed to exempt them through the 'Halifax Act' because they seemed irrelevant to the mainstream economy. This act granted them the freedom to make what they could of their peculiar circumstances.

In 1720, Daniel Defoe was amazed by the results: a determined entrepreneurial culture had arisen across the Pennines. Since 1850, many writers have theorised about how peasant societies could spontaneously discard feudal shackles, failing to realise that in the area most consistently associated with early factory-based manufacturing, tiny populations meant that communities here generally had no resident lord and no priest. People of necessity governed themselves, with 'yeomen' forming the dominant social group. Absentee lords saw their rent rolls soar, so few resisted. As global trade steadily increased, Northerners seized opportunities others disdained, avoiding London interests rather than competing with them. Britain's political stability provided security, and they embraced the 'rule of law'. Most notably, though their trade depended on markets, urban life was rejected, and merchants never sought to control production.

By 1780, it was the success of this home-based manufacturing which forced a second reinvention. High demand for cloth and edge tools allowed simple and cheap inventions to increase productivity without creating unemployment. A unique landscape generated abundant small, reliable streams, allowing unusual access to water power. Cotton manufacture, copied from eastern imports, offered sensational opportunities if prices stayed low, reinforcing interest in machinery. Widespread and accessible coal allowed a seamless transition into true factories without requiring heavy investment in transport before the new system was established. Combining semi-skilled labour with increasingly sophisticated, semi-automatic machinery to produce mass-market products was arguably the true heart of industrialisation as a revolutionary event, rather than stepping up craft-based systems. Moreover, despite periodic hard times, workers maintained a significant share of the proceeds, so producers became consumers and even founded the consumer co-operative movement, further fuelling their booming economy.

Concurrently, increasing population caused towns to crystallise out of an over-crowded countryside. National reform offered a new governance system quite unlike that maintained in London. They remained free from central government interference, and mutuality was a general driver of development. Most based themselves around particular

trades, avoiding the cut-throat competition that Marx had predicted: they were rivals and partners, not enemies. These innovative northern upstarts developed impressive trades around the world.

After the First World War, however, external factors destroyed this international trading model, initiating the modern North South divide when no successful third reinvention followed. Wartime disruption had fostered widespread nationalism, even in India, and customers refused Northern goods regardless of their price. Furthermore, peace created a misplaced speculative boom in cotton manufacturing, saddling it with huge debts and destroying the value of capital investments built up over many decades. Returning to the gold standard then raised export prices to impossible levels. Investment collapsed, diversification faltered, and the merchant networks that had coordinated Northern manufacturing withered. Modern consumer goods industries increasingly opened in the South and Midlands.

The North did not become a disaster zone, however. Its economy is not bankrupt, unemployment is low, and most people enjoy a superior material standard of life compared to their grandparents, and to much of the contemporary world. The North should neither be written off, nor treated as a London-style economy gone wrong. Its internal logic was always based on fragmentation and networking, characteristics once again seen as virtues.

Session 2: The Northern Powerhouse and the Infrastructure of the North

Chair: Professor Peter Williamson

- Luke Raikes, Research Fellow, IPPR North

- Richard Threlfall, Partner, Head of Infrastructure and Construction, KPMG

The Southern mindset often views the North as a barren place, but while the North is currently poorer and less productive than the national average, its economy is not as weak as many in the South assume. In the pre-recession years, the North actually grew faster than the rest of the UK excluding London. The North's rural areas have a healthy labour market, unemployment rates below the national average and markedly higher levels of life satisfaction. The North carries significant assets: 29 universities and 8 major ports that underpin the national balance in trading goods. Clearly the North is not in decline as many would have it, rather it is London that greatly skews the statistics of the South against the North's favour, but at the same time the North's assets are clearly not being exploited to their full potential.

Considering the overwhelming extent to which London skews the economic statistics of the entire South of England, it is easy to believe that, in order to flourish, the North simply needs replicate London's policies. A closer examination can swiftly undermine this notion. It is London, not the North, which relies heavily on government spending and public sector jobs. In total, the average London household receives £899 more value from public services in education, public transport and the NHS than the average household in the North. It can be argued that this discrepancy stems from London salary weighting or from the higher housing and living costs of the nation's capital, but these factors are not mitigating circumstances but part of the problem. Much of this spending is put to poor use: London has some of the highest poverty and unemployment rates in the UK, prohibitively high housing costs and the lowest level of life satisfaction of anywhere in the country. And while graduates may flock to London, young people in their twenties are the only age group that shows net inward motion to London; without international migration London's population would actually be in decline. London is a testament to the fact that strong economic growth and public investment do not equate to ubiquitous prosperity. Should the North seek to emulate London's economy, it will find itself saddled with all the same issues, similarly hidden behind the façade of growth.

Concerning the government's 'Northern Powerhouse' agenda for reforming the economy in the North of England, the chancellor's plan can have merit, but it falls short in a number of respects, particularly its over-reliance on supposed agglomeration economies. It seems to seek to join up the Northern cities into a 'London of the North', but fails to understand that the appeal of the North lies often in how unlike London it is. Having extensively analysed the government's plan, IPPR North, a think tank based in and concerned with the North of England, has put forward its own, alternative and ambitious plan for Northern prosperity. This plan places education and skills as a top priority as

well as transport and infrastructure. IPPR have also stated that the North needs to focus not just on economic growth, but on job creation and pay at the bottom of the income distribution, neither of which automatically follow.

The North is already an economic powerhouse in its own right. All the components of a booming economy are already present, but they are not being exploited, and the North is not operating to capacity. Nowhere is this more evident than in production. At 31% less than that of the US, the UK's productivity is a low baseline, but the productivity of the North falls short both of that of London and of the national average. One aim of the Northern Powerhouse agenda is to not only bring that productivity up to the national average but to exceed it. While education, skills, and investment in R&D are all sure to be pivotal factors in the North's resurgence, none of the benefits of these can be implemented in the absence of a strong and interconnected system of transport.

Improving connectivity between two locations improves the way in which they do business and hence increases the economic output of both. Even in the case of an economic discrepancy between two linked locations, whereby some analysts worry that the stronger economy will drain the weaker, recent studies suggest that both stand to benefit. Looking specifically at the case of HS2, though the North and Midlands would benefit from a Southern link more than London would benefit from a Northern one, a report published by KPMG concluded that both the North and the South would benefit greatly and mutually from the link.

Further to this, not only does the North need greater connectivity to the South in order to restore its once-thriving economy, but more effort must also be spent on connectivity within the North. The North's great cities are very close together geographically, but their interconnectivity remains very poor and, in business terms, they remain distant.

Though there is much talk about revolutionary new transport schemes to unite the North, but there is a great divide between the scope of what is being discussed and the current state of implementation. KPMG propose four prerequisites to the effective application of these ideas:

- (1) to determine the *right* solutions for the proposed HS3 rather than relying on the fastest or most convenient ones;
- (2) for the government to accept those solutions and act on them;
- (3) for the North to be able to access the funds required to implement these investment decisions, which could involve moving towards a political landscape in which more of that funding is devolved;
- (4) to execute the schemes more effectively than the existing transport scene would foreshadow.

Session 3: Origins and Implications of the UK North South Divide

Chair: Prof Simon Szreter, Professor of History and Social Policy, University of Cambridge

- Paul Swinney, Senior Economist, Centre for Cities

- Prof Claire Warwick, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Research), University of Durham; representing N8

Though politicians will generally claim that the UK North South divide is either 5 or 10 years old depending on how long ago the opposition party was in power, in practical terms the divide has existed for a century at least. Much of the root cause of the divide lies in the great changes that have swept the country in the last century and the very different ways in which the North and the South responded to them.

One hundred years ago, the North was a cheap place to conduct business and source labour, its economy fuelled by unskilled labour, by manufacturing and trade. The world has become significantly smaller since then. Today, East Asia is the most attractive region for those seeking cheap labour, and the UK's manufacturing capabilities have been outclassed and overwhelmed on the international market. The think tank Centre for Cities draws a distinction between methods of dealing with urban economic change: many Northern cities simply replicated their existing economies with new roles, while other cities, particularly in the South, reinvented themselves completely. Doncaster, for example, is one of the fastest growing cities in England and Wales, but the huge scale of job creation has not proportionally boosted its economy – Doncaster is an example of a replicator. The city swapped one form of low-skill job for another, replacing coal mines with call centres, without changing the way they conduct business to keep pace with the modern world. London, by contrast, reinvented itself. London made the change from goods production to knowledge production by way of new jobs that did not exist prior to the modern age of data and online commerce. In truth, these knowledge-based positions could be based anywhere, yet companies are choosing to pay London's extortionate prices to be located as close to the city centre as they can afford. These businesses are less concerned with the cost of land and labour as they are with proximity and access to knowledge.

Though this effect is now understood, many of the nation's Northern cities have found themselves locked in a trap by which low-knowledge environments lead to a cycle of low paid skills. Agglomeration based on access to low skilled workers tends to be less attractive to the new and emerging knowledge-focused industries, which favour agglomeration based on skilled workers and knowledge networks. Without the power to draw in new business models, cities are left with no option but to replicate their economies, leading to job growth in routinised and less in knowledge-based jobs, feeding back into the cycle, while cities that successfully reinvented themselves grow from strength to strength.

Policy must adapt itself to the country's new economies rather than continuously harking back to previous business models and trying to resuscitate economics that are no longer relevant. Laws such as the 1934 Special Areas Act, which encouraged Northern manufacturing, and the restrictions on office building in London and Birmingham in

the 1970s weigh the new economy down without reigniting the old one. In order to balance the country, modern policy must prioritise the minds of the country's workers and must work on the infrastructure needed to allow those skilled workers to access the population densities of city centres. Only by reinventing themselves can the North's cities once again compete with those of the South East.

The North South divide is a complex and nuanced subject with no single root cause and no one-shot solution. In order to fully understand the divide and hence be better equipped to dismantle it, it must be approached from a number of different angles. One often-overlooked contributing cause is the discrepancy between North and South in the fields of research, innovation and development. There is no denying that the North has infrastructure problems, with spend-per-head on transport 25 times higher in London than in the North East, but this trend is mirrored in research and development. In the North East, research institutions receive 2% of the national average research and development spend, while the South East receives 52%. Health inequality can leave Northern and Southern individuals with a 15-year discrepancy in life expectancy, while the poorest student in the North has an 11% disadvantage in attainment when compared to the poorest student in London – a disadvantage from which those students will never recover.

Among the Russell Group universities, every £1 spent by the government in investment in research and development has produced £100 of economic and social impact. And yet R&D spending is inexplicably low in this country, and what spending does exist is geared strongly towards the South East. London universities are often highly funded due to their being very large, while other universities such as Oxford and Cambridge, benefit from great endowment incomes which allow them to shield themselves better from inconsistencies in government spending. Northern universities, by contrast, suffer from sub-critical mass and much smaller endowments. This discrepancy in investment further widens the North South divide. Global businesses can easily find the expertise they're looking for in London due to the critical mass of knowledge-based skilled workers. In the North, they know they'll have to work a little harder, and there is no incentive for them to do so. Again, this feeds into a system whereby the South is consistently favoured over the North, and the North is unable to break the cycle and achieve its potential. Funding R&D in the North would allow Northern students who want to stay in the North to do so, whereas currently they have few choices besides draining down to London. Research must be funded on excellence wherever it is found, not based on concentration, accepting that knowledge can be found in small pockets and is not intrinsically linked to agglomeration.

Session 4: The North South Divide in Education, Skills and Culture

Chair: David Goodhart, Chair of Advisory Board, Demos

- Professor Simon Burgess, Professor of Economics, Director, Centre for Market and Public Organisation, Bristol University

- Laura Dyer, Executive Director, Arts Council England

Taking a more detailed look at the economics of education and skills in the North South divide, analysis can be broken down into two main areas of interest: where skills are employed and how skills are produced.

To fully understand where skills are employed, attention must be paid to where people who intend to pursue higher education live, where they choose to study and, most importantly, where they choose to work having completed their studies. The North of England offers a range of fantastic universities, but their long-term impact on the economy of the North will be lessened if young people spend three years there before heading South to work. Only approximately 12% of graduates stay and work in the city they studied in, while around a quarter return to their home cities on completion of their studies and half live, study and then work all within the same region. Data from the Higher Education Funding Council for England suggest that the number of graduates heading to London is on the rise. Clearly, where graduate skills are being put to use is only partially related to where graduate skills are being produced. Access to jobs and quality of life play key roles in graduate dispersion and must also be taken into account.

Turning to skill production, the two most important factors in the effective education of young people are teacher effectiveness and pupil motivation. Regarding the former, thought must be focused on what attracts teachers to certain locations, which could be as simple as the wages they might expect to earn or the quality of life to be found there, or the attitudes of the students they might expect to teach in different regions. An important source of pupil motivation is the rate of return on their education, primarily the pay gap between skilled and unskilled jobs. A second source of motivation is intrinsic and depends more on the aspirations and ambitions of individuals than on the perceived rate of return.

There is a continuing debate on the relative performance of London's schools compared to the rest of the country. Pupil performance in London schools is undoubtedly very high, however it is unclear to what extent this is due to various policies that apply to London schools or practices that London schools engage in, as opposed to the nature of the pupils themselves, with a high fraction likely to be the children of immigrants with high aspiration and motivation. White British students have the lowest rate of progress through secondary school, while pupils with Black African, Bangladeshi and Indian ethnicities, for example, show some of the highest progress rates. Outside of London, White British students make up 81% of the total, compared to 34% in London, so it stands to reason that schools inside London could significantly outperform the rest of the country based on this factor alone.

Based on this information, it is put forward that increasing skills in areas that lack them will require Northern cities to be able to attract excellent teachers and to be able to retain the graduates that study in the North. Both of these can be achieved through city renovation: make the city a nice place to live, and people of all ages will want to live in it.

It would be false to claim that the North South divide is not reflected in the nation's arts scene, however the UK's cultural values suffer from many great divides, and geography is just one of them. At times, the simple distinction between 'North' and 'South' breaks down when discussing culture because the issues facing the UK's arts scene do not concern geographical location but rather vary with a multiplicity of identities and cultures, which can lead to divides within the North or the South as great as those between them.

Despite this, the North South divide's sway over the UK's arts scene can be clearly felt. Though it is on the rise, the North and the Midlands have more areas of low levels of engagement with the arts than much of the rest of the country. This is unsurprising as levels of engagement often follow economic trends. Between the London-centric tone of national newspapers and the lack of arts funding and opportunities in smaller cities, many young aspiring artists feel no choice but to make the move to London.

Arts Council England has been endeavouring to shift their funding for arts and museums away from the hotspot of London and towards other locations, particularly those in the North, but the postcodes of organisations are not a good proxy for understanding their reach. Every region has its own 'London', its own centres of infrastructure that tend to receive the bulk of arts funding, be it Birmingham in the Midlands, Bristol in the South West, Manchester in the North West or Newcastle in the North East, but this has significant implications for rural areas and smaller towns that are often overlooked despite the rich cultural experiences on their doorsteps.

The area that receives the highest level of arts funding from Arts Council England outside of London is Birmingham. Birmingham also has some of the lowest levels of arts engagements in the UK. The issues that face the arts and culture run deep and are intricately complex, they cannot be solved simply by balancing expenditure. A strong focus on children and young people can greatly boost engagement with the arts later in life, and the most effective way of insuring an even and thorough spread of opportunity is through contact at school. Alongside top-down large infrastructure and policy initiatives, the country needs bottom-up development work with communities, and particularly with young people, to truly heal some of the country's persistent divides.

Devolution as a Solution to the North South Divide

*Chair: Paul Swinney, Senior Economist, Centre for Cities
- Hilton Dawson, The North East Party*

A democratic and Northern-led devolution has the potential to be of remarkable benefit to the entire United Kingdom, not just the North. The Northern Powerhouse, by contrast, is not devolution, but is a Southern solution being foisted upon the North, one that the North did not ask for and one that the North may not necessarily consider the best path to economic prosperity. The various regions of the North have their own independent identities, dialects and senses of community, and there are many who feel that the Northern Powerhouse was designed by individuals who either do not understand or do not recognise this fact. Some would go as far as to say that not only is the Northern Powerhouse not a step towards devolution, but is a distraction from it.

The current devolution bill before Commons is very focused and most of its clauses relate to the creation of an elected mayor. In this way, the bill is less about devolving power to the North and more about playing politics in the South – ‘This is Tory policy... it is all about challenging the Labour hegemony [in the North].’

The question that must be asked is simple: Will devolution solve the issues that divide the North from the South? Unfortunately, the answer is not such a simple one. There is a worry that devolution would create divisions within the North. Though not unfounded, these fears become moot in light of the indication that while devolution *might* create new divisions, the chancellor’s Northern Powerhouse plan is much more likely to. Bringing HS2 to Leeds risks detracting from the already poor rail links between London and the North East. And just as the North does not want to be governed from London, neither does it wish to be governed from Manchester, a city even less accessible by rail link to certain areas of the North than the nation’s capital.

The case for devolution is best made by its existing success. Devolution has been met with distrust by the cynical public. It has been proposed and defeated in both the North and in Wales. By contrast to the North, Wales later voted in favour of devolution by a narrow margin. Several years later, Wales voted to expand it. Today, there exists not one political party in Wales that would vote to reverse devolution. The citizens of the North are understandably frustrated at being denied the same democracy that was granted to Wales, offered instead a Southern plan for Northern prosperity. Ultimately, there are a great many who feel that the Southern government has no real interest in Northern devolution, or indeed Northern politics in general, but that Westminster politicians are simply serving their own ends.



Speaker and Chair Profiles

Professor Ian White FEng, Master, Jesus College, Cambridge, Chair, Rustat Conferences

Professor White is Van Eck Professor of Engineering, and the Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. He is also Head of Photonics Research in the Electrical Division in Engineering, and Chair of the Rustat Conferences. Ian White began his time at Cambridge by being awarded the BA in 1980, and the PhD in 1984. After being appointed a Research Fellow and Assistant Lecturer at Cambridge he then moved to the University of Bath to become Professor of Physics in 1990. In 1996, Professor White moved to the University of Bristol, becoming Head of the Department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering in 1998. He returned to Cambridge in October 2001 as Van Eck Professor of Engineering. Professor White's current research interests are in the area of high speed communication systems, optical datacommunications, laser diodes for communications and engineering applications and RF over fibre systems.

Stewart Arnold

Stewart Arnold is a cofounder and now Deputy Leader of a civic regionalist party -Yorkshire First. The party was formed in April 2014 to fight the European Parliament elections in May that year. In the General Election this year, Yorkshire First stood in 14 parliamentary seats and put up a further 40 candidates for the local elections held on the same day across Yorkshire. Stewart is a director of his own advocacy campaigns and communications company (Stratton Park Associates) in the East Riding of Yorkshire. He also teaches part time at the University of Hull's Business School.

Professor Iain Buchan

Iain Buchan is Professor in Public Health Informatics and leads the Centre for Health Informatics at the University of Manchester. Nationally, he is Director of the MRC Health eResearch Centre of the UK's Farr Institute for Health Informatics Research. He has over twenty years' experience in Health Informatics, with backgrounds in Clinical Medicine, Pharmacology, Biostatistics and Public Health. His research is focused on harnessing large-scale linked health data to build usefully complex models of health and care. He leads a multi-disciplinary research team that is deep in statistical and software engineering methodology. He writes software (e.g. www.statsdirect.com) as well as working at higher levels of abstraction and leadership in advancing reproducible, larger scale health science. He is a Fellow of the American College of Medical Informatics, the top international fellowship in the field. In the context of the English North-South divide he has published widely cited work on health inequalities and lead the Health North Connected Health Cities proposal that has been announced in two recent Budget speeches as part of "rebalancing the economy" investments.

Professor Simon Burgess

Simon Burgess is a Professor of Economics at the University of Bristol and Director of CMPO (Centre for Market and Public Organisation, www.bris.ac.uk/cmppo/), an ESRC Research Centre. He is also Director of CUBeC (Centre for Understanding Behaviour Change, www.bris.ac.uk/cubec/), funded by the Department for Education. Simon is a labour economist. He completed his PhD in Oxford in 1987 with Steve Nickell. His current research interests are in the economics of education, including market-based education reforms

(such as school performance tables, school accountability, choice and competition), the importance of teachers, and admissions and access to high-performing schools. He also works on ethnic segregation in schools, and the educational performance of minority students. Previously, he worked on the analysis of poverty and household income dynamics, incentives in organisations, job tenure, employment and unemployment dynamics, and a few other topics. He has served as Dean of Research of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law at Bristol, and as an elected member of the Royal Economic Society's Council, the Royal Economic Society's Committee for Women in Economics, and an elected member of the Board of the European Society of Population Economics. He is currently a member of the Scientific Steering Committee for the 2012 Birth Cohort Study. Simon is a Research Fellow of CEPR and of IZA in Bonn. For more information: www.efm.bris.ac.uk/ecs/home.html

Dr Stephen Caunce

Dr Stephen Caunce is a native of south Lancashire, with a BA from University College, London, and a PhD from Leeds University. He recently retired as a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Central Lancashire in Preston, but continues to research, write and give lectures in many different settings. He previously taught at Leeds University and the Open University, covering topics ranging from global economic development to the long-term history of technology. This followed twelve years working in museums, which led to collaborative work with the heritage sector, including the creation of an innovative BA in History Museums and Heritage, and culminating in an association with the regeneration-related Pennine Lancashire Museums Partnership Project between 2012 and 2015. His PhD investigated the lives of farm horsemen in Yorkshire, largely by taping oral testimony. His research since then has explored other aspects of the transformation of the north of England between 1600 and 1939, taking a holistic approach and emphasising the experience of ordinary people. He has published two academic books, and various articles and essays on farming, the woollen industry, northern identity, and northern urbanisation.

Hilton Dawson

Hilton Dawson founded the North East Party from a public meeting in Newcastle upon Tyne in November 2013. He is delighted with the progress that it has made to win four local council seats and stand four credible candidates at the General Election. Rooted in fishing and mining communities of Northumberland and Durham, Hilton left the Labour Party after 35 years to pursue devolution through the creation of political party dedicated to empowering the people of North East England. A registered social worker Hilton has experienced devolution across the UK as the former CEO of BASW (British Association of Social Workers) and General Secretary of the Social Workers Union (SWU). He has taken part in 'London-centred policy making' as Chair of the National Academy of Parenting Practitioners (NAPP) and Chief Executive of children's charity Shaftesbury Young People.

Hilton campaigned for devolution as Labour MP for Lancaster & Wyre (1997- 2005) and Deputy Leader of Lancaster City Council. In Parliament Hilton led the All Party Parliamentary Group for Sudan visiting the country and engaging with politicians and policy makers on all sides. Hilton has a degree in philosophy/politics from Warwick and a social work qualification from Lancaster.

Laura Dyer

Laura Dyer is Executive Director, Arts Council England. She joined the Arts Council in 2000 as part of the merger of the ten regional arts boards in her role as Chief Executive of East Midlands Arts Board. Until 2010 when she became Executive Director Midlands and South West she held the post of Executive Director, East Midlands. During her time in the East Midlands Laura led a capital development programme which transformed the region's cultural landscape. Over £130 million has been invested in the creation of six new arts and cultural facilities. As a member of the Executive Board she has also taken on a number of national roles, including acting as lead for human resources for four years.

After postgraduate studies at Essex University Laura started her career in the arts in a number of theatre and community arts companies before moving into large outdoor events programming at the Garden Festival

Wales. She went on to work for local authorities, firstly as an Arts Development Officer in Norfolk where she led the redevelopment of King's Lynn Corn Exchange, one of the first Lottery funded buildings in the East. Later, as Head of Arts in Croydon, she managed the Croydon Clocktower and established the Croydon Summer Festival.

David Goodhart

David is Chair of advisory board of the think tank Demos. David is the founder and former editor of Prospect magazine, which he set up in 1995. David has grown Prospect into Britain's leading current affairs monthly and he remains the magazine's editor-at-large. David is a prominent figure in public debate in the UK. He is a well-known broadcaster, author, commentator and journalist who regularly contributes to the Guardian, the Independent, the Times and the Financial Times. Before Prospect, David was a correspondent for the Financial Times for 12 years - including a stint in Germany during the unification period. David published a book, *The British Dream*, about post-war multiculturalism, national identity and immigration.

Dr Tim Leunig

Dr Tim Leunig is Associate Professor in Economic History at the LSE, and a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Society of Arts. He is also Chief Analyst and Chief Scientific Adviser at the Department for Education and Special Adviser on Housing at the Department for Communities and Local Government. He holds a PhD in Economics.

Luke Raikes

Luke joined the think tank IPPR North, part of the Institute for Public Policy Research, in 2013. At IPPR North he has published papers across a range of policy areas from apprenticeships to transport policy, however the main focus of his research is on devolution and the North-South divide. Prior to this Luke worked as an Economic Analyst for New Economy – the Greater Manchester Combined Authority's economic research agency. He conducted research into the city-region's economy, as well as various elements of cities policy and economic development. The focus of his research was on unemployment, skills and wages within the city-region. Luke graduated from the University of Manchester in 2010 with a degree in Politics Philosophy and Economics. Luke is also a Councillor on Manchester City Council.

Paul Swinney

In his role as Senior Economist, Paul leads on the data analysis undertaken by the Centre. He has a particular interest in research on the spatial development of city economies, private sector growth, and enterprise. His current work focuses on the role that city centres play in the wider city economy, the evolution of out of town employment sites and what this means for economic growth.

Paul is a regular media commentator, including print, radio and TV, and has spoken at conferences across the UK on subjects relating to the performance of city economies. He has an economics degree from Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge and a Postgraduate Certificate in Econometrics from Birkbeck College.

Professor Simon Szreter

Simon Szreter, M.A. Ph.D, is Professor of History and Public Policy in the History Faculty, University of Cambridge; and Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. He is a founding member of the History and Policy Network and Managing Editor of its electronic journal, www.historyandpolicy.org - History and Policy is a network, whose principal partners are Cambridge University History Faculty, and the Institute for Contemporary British History in King's College, London.

Simon Szreter teaches modern British economic and social history since 1700 and the comparative history of population, development and environment in Britain, Africa, India and China. His main fields of research are demographic and social history, the history of empirical and official social science and the relationship between history, development and contemporary public policy. His principal previous publications are:
- *Fertility, class and gender in Britain 1860-1940* (Cambridge U. Press 1996);

- *Changing family size in England and Wales 1891-1911: place, class and demography* (co-authored, Cambridge U. Press 2001);
- *Categories and contexts. Anthropological and Historical Studies in Critical Demography* (co-edited, Oxford U. Press 2004);
- *Health and Wealth. Studies in History and Policy* (Rochester U. Press 2005).
- *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution, Intimate Life in England 1918-1963*, co-authored with Kate Fisher (Cambridge University Press 2010).
- *History, Historians and Development Policy. A Necessary Dialogue*, co-edited with C.A. Bayly, V.Rao and M. Woolcock (Manchester University Press 2011; Orient Black Swan 2012)
- *The Big Society Debate. A New Agenda for Social Welfare?*, co-edited with Armine Ishkanian (Edward Elgar 2012)
- *Registration and Recognition. Documenting the Person in World History*, co-edited with Keith Breckenridge; Foreword by C.A. Bayly. Proceedings of the British Academy 182 (Oxford University Press 2012)

He has authored numerous articles in leading historical, social science, medical and development journals, including *Population and Development Review*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *World Development*, *Journal of Development Studies*, *Social; History of Medicine*, *Economic History Review* and *The Lancet*.

In 2009 he was the first non-American awarded the Arthur Visellear Prize by the American Public Health Association for distinguished contributions to the history of public health. *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution* was long-listed for the 2011 Samuel Johnson Prize.

Richard Threlfall

Richard is UK Head of Infrastructure, Building and Construction at KPMG. He has over 20 years' experience in the financing and structuring of infrastructure projects. His particular focus is advising on transactions for public and private clients in the transport and utility sectors. Before joining KPMG, Richard was at Citigroup, and before that was employed as a civil servant at the UK Department for Transport where he held positions in the road, rail and aviation directorates. Between 1996 and 1998 he was Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Transport and the Deputy Prime Minister. Richard's contacts are across the UK infrastructure, construction and transport markets and his clients include Network Rail, High Speed 2 and Highways England. He has advised on some of the UK's most complex projects including HS1, Thames Tideway and the Mersey Gateway Bridge.

Richard is a Fellow of the Institution of Civil Engineers. He also chairs the Advisory Council of The Infrastructure Forum, which is an independent think-tank which brings together organisations with involvement in UK infrastructure from public, private and regulatory perspectives.

Professor Claire Warwick

Claire is Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Research) at Durham. She chairs the Research Committee and is a member of Senate, the University Executive Committee, Academic Progression Committee and is in attendance at the Finance and General Purposes Committee.

She studied Classics and English at the University of Cambridge, and was awarded her PhD in 1995. After working in electronic publishing, for Chadwyck Healey, she took up a postdoctoral position at Oxford University, shared between the Faculty of English and the Humanities Computing Unit. She then moved to the University of Sheffield as a lecturer in the Department of Information Studies, in 1998. In 2002 she moved to UCL, as a lecturer in electronic communication and publishing, and was awarded a chair in Digital Humanities in 2011. While at UCL she was Vice-Dean Research for the Faculty of Arts and Humanities from 2009-13; Director, then Co-Director of the Centre for Digital Humanities, from 2009-2012 and was Head of the Department of Information Studies from 2011-2013. She then became Graduate Tutor for the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, and Deputy Director and Head of Training of the London Arts and Humanities Partnership- an AHRC-funded Doctoral Training Partnership, with Kings College London, and the School of Advanced Study- from 2013-14.

Her research is concerned with the way that digital resources are used in the humanities and cultural heritage; in the use of social media in these areas; in reading behaviour in physical and digital spaces; and in the infrastructural context of Digital Humanities. She has served on the Executive Council of the Association for Computing and the Humanities and was chair of the International Programme Committee for Digital Humanities 2009. She is also a member of the advisory board for the British Library's BL Labs initiative, and for CLARIN and DARIAH-DE and is the only British member of the Conseil Scientifique du Campus Condorcet in Paris.

Professor Peter Williamson

Peter is Honorary Professor of International Management, Fellow Commoner and Director of Studies in Management at Jesus College. His research interests include Globalisation and its implications for corporate strategy; strategies for success in China and the internationalisation of Chinese companies and their global impact, merger and acquisition strategy and post-merger integration; business ecosystems and the management of networks of strategic alliances; strategies for a carbon-constrained world.

Professor Williamson has wide experience in research, consulting and executive education as well as serving as a non-executive director and chairman of both publically listed companies and new ventures in industries as diverse as whisky, textiles, hedge fund management and Chinese software. He has lived and worked in Australia, France, Hong Kong, Singapore, Switzerland and the United States, before returning to Britain to join Cambridge Judge Business School where he is Academic Director of the Advanced Leadership Programme and Jesus College, where he is Director of Studies in Management. He currently serves as a non-executive director of the global renewable energy firm Green Gas International B.V. and non-executive chairman of the technology-enabled training company Imparta Ltd.

Professor Williamson was formerly with the Boston Consulting Group in London, and Merrill Lynch. He serves on the editorial boards of *European Management Journal*, *Business Strategy Review*, and *Academy of Management Learning and Education*. Peter has acted as consultant on business strategy, mergers and acquisitions, and international expansion to numerous companies, governments and international organisations throughout the Asia-Pacific region as well as in Europe and North America. He has experience in China since 1983, assisting numerous multinationals and joint ventures, and more recently, Chinese companies venturing abroad.



UK North South Divide - Participants List

Thursday, 26 November 2015

	Stewart	Arnold	<i>Deputy Leader</i>	<i>Yorkshire First</i>
	Jon	Beard	<i>Director of Undergraduate Admissions</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
	Helena	Blair	<i>CUSU Access and Funding Officer</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
	Carl	Bourne	<i>Corporate Development Director</i>	<i>Rolls-Royce</i>
Prof	Iain E.	Buchan	<i>Clinical Professor in Public Health Informatics, Health eResearch Centre, Farr Institute for Health Informatics Research</i>	<i>Manchester University</i>
Prof	Simon	Burgess	<i>Professor of Economics and Director, Centre for Market and Public Organisation</i>	<i>University of Bristol</i>
Dr	Christopher	Burlinson	<i>Fellow and Director of Studies in English</i>	<i>Jesus College, Cambridge</i>
	Oliver	Cardinali	<i>Policy and Public Affairs Officer</i>	<i>The Sutton Trust</i>
	Tomás	Carruthers	<i>CEO</i>	<i>Social Stock Exchange</i>
Dr	Stephen	Caunce	<i>Historian and author</i>	<i>University of Central Lancashire</i>
	Nick	Chism	<i>Global Head of Infrastructure and Government; Foundation Member, Rustat Conferences</i>	<i>KPMG</i>
	John	Cornwell	<i>Director, Science & Human Dimension Project, Rustat Conferences</i>	<i>Jesus College, Cambridge</i>
	Jonathan	Cornwell	<i>Rustat Conferences</i>	<i>Jesus College, Cambridge</i>
	Andrew	Daniels	<i>Managing Director</i>	<i>Degree 53, Manchester</i>
	Hilton	Dawson	<i>Former Member of Parliament; Leader</i>	<i>North East Party</i>
	Laura	Dyer	<i>Executive Director</i>	<i>Arts Council England</i>
Dr	Harold	Elletson	<i>Former Member of Parliament; Chairman</i>	<i>Campaign for the North</i>
	Tom	Forth	<i>Associate at ODI Leeds</i>	<i>Open Data Institute</i>
	Stuart	Fox	<i>Foundation Member, Rustat Conferences; Investment Manager</i>	<i>Sandaire Investment Office</i>
	David	Goodhart	<i>Chair, Advisory Board; author and journalist</i>	<i>Demos</i>
Dr	Timo	Hannay	<i>CEO, Founder</i>	<i>School Dash</i>
	Helen	Harris	<i>Communications Manager</i>	<i>Jesus College, Cambridge</i>
Prof	Stephen	Heath	<i>Professor of English and French Literature and Culture; Fellow, Jesus College</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
	Matt	Joyce	<i>Progression Manager</i>	<i>Harton Technology College South Shields</i>

	Anatole	Kaletsy	<i>Chairman, Gavekal Dragonomics; Chair</i>	<i>Institute of New Economic Thinking INET</i>
	Eli	Keren	<i>Rustat Conferences Rapporteur</i>	<i>Rustat Conferences, Jesus College</i>
	Martin	Kettle	<i>Mission and Public Affairs Division</i>	<i>Church of England</i>
Dr	Michael	Kitson	<i>University Lecturer in Global Macroeconomics</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
Dr	Tim	Leunig	<i>Associate Professor of Economic History, LSE; Chief Scientific Adviser</i>	<i>Department for Education</i>
	Tom	Levinson	<i>Head of Widening Participation</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
	Andrew	Martin	<i>Novelist and journalist</i>	
Prof	Walter	Menzies	<i>Visiting Professor, Liverpool University; Chair</i>	<i>Manchester and Pennine Waterway Partnership</i>
	Michael	Parsons	<i>Foundation Member, Rustat Conferences; Client Relationship Manager</i>	<i>Sandaire Investment Office</i>
	Ed	Penn	<i>Schools Liaison Officer</i>	<i>Jesus College, Cambridge</i>
	Laura	Olsen	<i>Special Projects Manager</i>	<i>CBI - Confederation of British Industry on secondment at KPMG</i>
	Luke	Raikes	<i>Research Fellow</i>	<i>IPPR North</i>
	Dave	Simpson	<i>Guardian Music Critic, author; Lecturer</i>	<i>University of Huddersfield</i>
Dr	Catherine	Sumnall	<i>Director of Studies in Geography</i>	<i>Jesus College, Cambridge</i>
	Paul	Swinney	<i>Senior Economist</i>	<i>Centre for Cities</i>
Prof	Simon	Szreter	<i>Professor of History and Public Policy; Fellow, St John's College</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
	Richard	Threlfall	<i>UK Head, Infrastructure, Building and Construction</i>	<i>KPMG</i>
	Rebecca	Walsh	<i>Chief Executive</i>	<i>The Voices Foundation</i>
Prof	Claire	Warwick	<i>Pro-Vice-Chancellor Research, representing N8 Research Partnership, a collaboration of the eight most research intensive Universities in the North of England: Durham, Lancaster, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield and York</i>	<i>University of Durham, and N8</i>
	Paul	Westbury	<i>Foundation Member, Rustat Conferences; Technical Director</i>	<i>Laing O'Rourke</i>
	Danni	White	<i>Wolfson College; researching representations of the North of England in literature.</i>	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
Prof	Ian	White	<i>Master; Chair, Rustat Conferences; Van Eck Professor of Engineering</i>	<i>Jesus College, Cambridge</i>
	David	Willets	<i>Foundation Member, Rustat Conferences</i>	
	Maria	Willets	<i>Foundation Member, Rustat Conferences</i>	
Prof	Peter	Williamson	<i>Professor of International Management; Advisory Board, Rustat Conferences</i>	<i>Cambridge Judge Business School University of Cambridge</i>