



IMPLEMENTATION OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

**Combined Authorities: A new model of Governance in
England? A solution to the housing crisis?**



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INTRODUCTION

Combined authority: a new model of governance in England, toward autonomous local planning

Half of the population live in cities, and the number is rising continuously. To organise cities and metropolis, spatial planning is the keystone of modern society. We will focus on England, who created a new model of governance, the combined authority, which is defined by the *Town and Country Planning* as an attempt to change democratic representation areas from existing administrative boundaries to those based on economic geographies.

There is nearly no literature about the change brought by Combined Authorities. Government do reports states the advantages of becoming one : more financials, more policies, areas that are easier to plan. They have a metropolis like government, and thus have enough autonomy and legitimacy to help their constituent districts in each of their specific stakes. ... But there is literature about the changes brought by them is spare at least. That is why we will work on answering a very simple but important question : is it worth for a local authority to join a Combined Authority ?

We will try to answer our question by analysis all the advantages of being part of a Combined authority, and specifically on their impact on one of the greatest challenge of modern days metropolis : houses production. England needs to increase its production of houses, and be especially careful to build mixed type of housing, to help those lower in the housing ladder. Both France and England are living through a houses crisis. In the last 30 to 40 years, the production of houses did not reach the needs. It led to house prices becoming too expensive in regard to standard incomes. It became necessary to take risky mortgage loans to become owner, which makes it hard to meet the repayments, often with dire consequences. Of course, the quality of the houses as to be taken into account as well. In fact, poor quality or inadequate housing tends to be associated with poorer outcomes for people, whether that relates to the health impacts of living in damp or overcrowded conditions or the impact poor housing can have on children's attainment at school.

A solution to the housing crisis could be the creation by the central government of UK In 2009, of a new governmental agency that cover 3 to 50 local authorities: Combined Authorities. They are a joint effort from the central government and local authorities to decentralise one of the most centralised country in the world. Local authorities have supposedly a better grasp of local planning, as they face the challenges of planning ultra-urbanised cities directly.

Shortly after the creation of the first combined authority, Greater Manchester Combined Authority, the central government abolished the Regional agencies, non-departmental public bodies whose role was to take charge of the economic development of each region. It was the only public body with a size relevant to do regional planning. It left the England with only 2 official administrative layers (apart from Combined Authorities) : the state of England led by the central government, and districts led by local authorities. Their reaction was to plan more closely together. Many started producing Joint Local Plan and Local Enterprise Partnership on their functional areas. The bottom-up method of regional planning will not last long, as the role of Combined Authorities is to take charge regional planning and of the Joint Local Plan and Local Enterprise Partnerships.

Combined authorities have a legal statute, are run by elected member and have powers devolved from the central government. They are voluntary basis; any local authority who think it would benefit from being part of one can join it. Consequently, combined authorities are expected to cover the economic functional region. However, local authorities do not always agree to join in. The result is that combined authorities' boundary can differs from their economic functional area, and thus relationships between combined authorities and district are complex.

The stake we will focus on in this study is the development of dwelling, in order to support the population growth and tackle the affordable housing crisis. It is a stake representative of many other England districts. Our core hypothesis is that **districts that are part of combined authority are better equipped to do spatial planning than those that are not part of a combined authority**, because of their closer relationship to the government and the devolution they receive.

Combined authorities are supposed to have more planning tools, and more financial means. They are also supposedly more cost-effective administrations. We will compare two case study of urban development of dwellings in two different districts, one part of a Combined authority, and one not, in order to discover if being part of a combined authority bring non-neglectable change in the way dwellings are produced. Then we will analyse all the devolution deals available - contracts between central government and combined authority, of all the Combined Authorities, to determine if they all have the same advantages and the sale devolution. it will help us determine which Combined authority as the most “change potential”, is the more able to impact the production of dwellings.

Our main hypothesis can be decline in 3 sub-hypotheses:

H1 : Combined authority have larger portfolio of planning tools.

H2 : Combined authority have more financial means.

H3 : Combined authority are more autonomous, which mean they are more able to adapt to the particularities of their territories, and innovate.

We will not include London in our study, as it is too different from the other combined authorities to be studied together. London has a quasi-federal government, with its own bureaucracy and a 16 billion-a-year budget. (Emmerich, 2017).

1. History and analysis of England Regional planning

Before dealing with the research, the reader needs to understand the background in which combined authorities are evolving.

1.1. *England compared to French Institutional layers*

1.1.1. *Generalities*

In this part, we will do a brief explanation of England's institution and compares it to the French's "mille-feuille administratif". We will then cover the history of strategic planning in the last 35 years. We will explain the abolition of Regional Agencies and the appearance of combined authorities.

The United Kingdom is composed of 4 countries: England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland. The 3 later have great autonomy from the central government, consequently they differ greatly in their institutions. In this report, we will be focusing on England.

The history of the region of French and England are very similar. After WWII, both country had to rebuild themselves. To do so, England created the distribution act of industry 1945 (Wannop 1993) while in France there was a national planning framework. Both were strongly in favour of the development of industries. The reasons behind were that once back on track, industries could work with the government to rebuild the country.

On one hand, France had planning permission in 1943, a few years before England. The government saw regional planning as a devolution tool. Therefore, in 1963, France created the DATAR (Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régional), with the mission to conceive and apply regional planning (Coppin, 2001).

On the other hand, England's first law about planning was the Town and Country Planning act in 1947, that stipulated that planning permission had to be signed before a development could happen (Wannop 1993). It gave local authorities the power to decide if areas were to be built or not. However, the government in the 1950s was antipathetic to regional planning. Therefore, up until the 1970s, regional planning was only composed of a few advisory documents, mostly studies instead of actual planning.

For both England and in France, the 1970's represented the high tide of regional planning, before its decline in the 80's, because of the economic crisis. The way they answered the crisis however, is very different.

French government tend toward decentralisation, and strong regional planning. They devolved powers toward the regions (Coppin, 2001) to answer the crisis locally. They conceived a politic of pole of competitiveness, in order to enhance competitiveness between the different regions and make their key city internationally attractive (with some success with Lyon, Strasbourg, Lilles, Nantes, Marseille, Toulouse, etc.). Instead, England preferred strategic planning over regional planning (Wannop 1993), which may be linked to the fact that they had a Keynesianism government with a free market economy.

Where France has region with financial tools and power in skills, transport, business, energy, culture and environment. English region had Regional Agencies driving only business and skills developments. What's more, those were abolished in 2010 (Boddy & Hickman, 2013), which left a gap in the administrative layers of England.

After 2010, Districts and counties were the only two subnational government of England. Both have a rather local scale, they could be associated to the French Commune and Department. Even if there are no administrative layers similar to French's region: standing between local and central government, the cities are much bigger than theirs French's relatives. They have an average population of 139,480 on 562 km², against 1,720 inhabitants on 13 km² for French's cities (Demazière, 2017), so the cities are more able to have strategic planning.

Table 1: Table of comparison of english and french institutional level, adapted from Geppert 2017

England institutional layers	French institutional layers
United Kingdom	France
/	"Région"
County	"Département"
Combined Authorities	"Métropole"
/	"Communauté de communes"
Parishes/district	Commune

Geppert explain in her paper “Spatial Planning in the Rescaled Metropolitan” that French institutional design could be compared to a mille-feuille: “the more layers of puff pastry, the more cream, the better the cake, until it gets indigestible”. Relations between levels are complex, with overlapping competencies and competing policies (Geppert, 2017).

France has three levels of subnational government: municipalities, counties and regions. In addition, France have municipal groupings, which have become quasi-subnational governments. They are able to collect taxes and have financial levels and decisional integration, like combined authorities, but they are a lot smaller and have less power devolved. Even though, the trend is to devolve more and more power toward the municipal groupings and the region.

English institutional layers are less complex. The Parishes are negligible, so it only has two layers: the district and the counties. However, the governance is at best chaotic, with some counties sharing more or all their policies with their districts and some who are completely separate. Overall, the institutional layer as a case by case approach, led by an history of institutional reforms and an ultra-liberal approach.

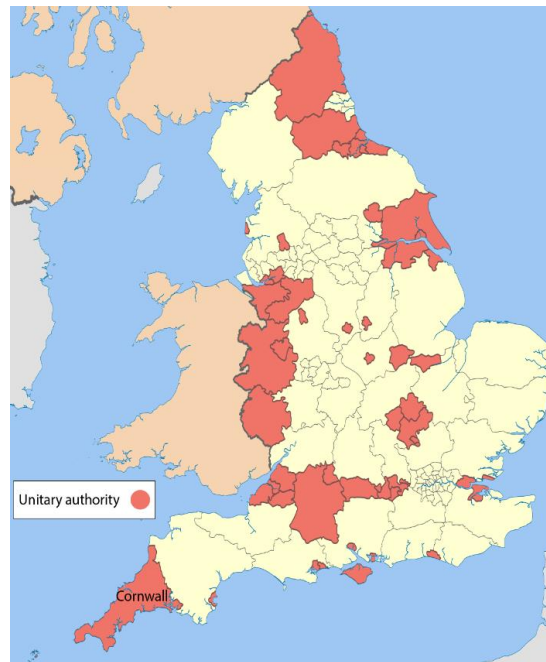
1.1.2. Parish, the exception

Parishes are only important in the rural areas. They could be considered as the smallest institutional layer, but do not cover the whole of England: only about a third of England’s population live in a parish. A Parish’s size range from a small village of a few hundred inhabitants to a medium-sized city. The range of their powers is rather short. It includes community transport, the ability to give grants to the local associations and the maintenance of local roads and public buildings (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010).

1.1.3. Counties, a chaotic geography

Counties are used for administrative, geographical, cultural or political demarcation. They have a chaotic geography: they can be divided into 83 metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties, or 48 ceremonial counties. They either possess a single tier government: unitary authorities, or two-tiers government: divided between districts and counties, with sharing of governance. A combined authority is allowed to include districts from different counties, but it cannot cut apart a district.

Figure 1: Map of the unitary authorities of England from Carte1 [2017]



There were 6 major counties between 1972 and 1986. They had a two-tier structure, with powers divided between the metropolitan districts and the metropolitan county. They were abolished so their authorities disappeared, but the counties themselves remained. The 6 ex-metropolitan counties are now part of different combined authorities. (Baker & Wong, 2013)

1.1.4. District, smallest subdivision of England

Districts cover the whole of England, they are the smallest layer of institutions. There are currently 2 different types of districts, with 2 special cases: London boroughs and metropolitan district (Department for Communities and Local Government, no date a). Non-metropolitan districts, also called shire district, are the most common type of district. They usually have a population from 20,000 to 200,000. Local government is divided between the county council and the council of the different districts of the county. The county council has power over education, social service, libraries, main roads, public transportation, policing and fire service, trading standards, waste and strategic planning.

Districts work as a complementary institutional layer. They have very local powers: local planning, local roads, council housing, local markets and fairs, leisure services and parks... but also more global responsibility such as environmental health, recycling, and tourism (Department for Communities and Local Government, no date a).

Unitary authorities are a fusion of district and counties. They were created out of non-metropolitan districts with the goal of gaining efficiency. They are usually located in medium or large cities, or in counties that have only one district. Unitary authorities do not divide powers between council and districts: they have one council who is responsible for competences from both counties and districts.

Since the abolition of both the metropolitan county councils and the Greater London Council, Metropolitan districts and London borough are effectively unitary authorities as well. (Department for Communities and Local Government, no date a).

In our research dissertation, we will study the unitary authority of Cornwall because it has a devolution deal, and we will compare it to the combined authority.

1.1.5. LEP, local level administration, out of the boundary of administration

Apart from standard administrative power lies the LEPs, or Local Enterprise Partnerships. Established outside local government, they manage the EU and government budgets provided through growth and devolution deals. They have been a major mechanism for central control at local level. However, LEPs have never been formalised through legislation and questions are increasingly asked about their unaccountable organisations, appointment processes, and decision-making. They are also not compliant with EU regulations for the management and distribution of funds.

Through the LEPs the Government is attempting to demonstrate local decision-making while remaining as the managing body. The town and country planning states that the powers and funds allocated to the LEP's should have been passed to local authorities in 2013, if not earlier. The recent proposals set out in the Government's 'Industrial Strategy Green' that LEP's are placed in Combined Authorities to assist in their running represent an attempt to maintain these controls following devolution, although they still may not pass the EU test of democratic accountability. (Janet Mophet, 2017)

1.2. The houses prices became a problem, consequences of a political approach

In this part, we will seek to understand the factors that led to the current houses crisis. France experience a housing crisis in Paris, and in some southern cities. In England, the crisis is at its worst in London. In 2010, 134 000 homes were built. It was the lowest number since the Second World War. It represents less than half of the projected growth in households, which is 272,000 pa. (City of Poole, 2013)

The data suggests that up to 52% of residents cannot afford to get on the property ladder. According to the caritative association 'the Shelter', They estimate houses prices to be 7 times the average income. If wages had gone up at the same rate as house prices, across England the average salary would be £29,000 higher annually! Since house are so expensive, the population need to make mortgage loan in order to buy one. As it is a risky operation, and especially during the economic crisis of 2007. Many were not able to meet their monthly payment, with the consequence of having their homes repossessed. 28,900 homes were repossessed across the UK in 2013.

The causes of the affordable housing crisis can be found in the monetarism paradigm that emerge in the 70's - 80's, following the Keynesianism. The era was characterised by the oil crisis of 1973 and 1979, a lack of resources of state, the beginning of globalisation, and the emergence of new industrial countries. It was seen by economists as an economic contradiction that the state interfered with the market. While Margaret Thatcher was the prime minister, in the 80', she adopted the ideas of "Richesse des nations", a text a Adam Smith written 2 century ago as a reaction to the failures of the Keynesianism economy. His ideas are based on French economist's studies (France's economists were seen as the best of Europe in the 18th). To sum up his work, he encourages the market's freedom in all its form. According to him, the sum of individual interest, exercise in a context of complete freedom, will eventually achieve the general interest.

Margaret Thatcher government applied a politic of "non-interventionism", which mean the market was completely free. What's more, the role of local authorities changed. The government had an ideological distaste of the public sector : they were the concrete form of the negative "interfering state". Thatcher worked to privatise local authorities, and Urban Development Corporation were thought as an alternative model.

In this context, districts and counties were exhorted to place the enterprises in the centre of their politics.

As always, economic crisis seems to be the motor of political turnaround. In 2007, the UK was hit by a global financial crisis, it triggered a meltdown in the banking system 12 months later and the first recession in 17 years. (D. Hodson and D.Mabbett, 2009)

It is possible to find a discernible New Keynesianism in the current economic policy paradigm, and the latest product of this paradigm are the combined authority.

1.3. Development corporation, the hope for urban planning in the 80'

In the 80's, the urban policy was complex and had very few resources. Urban Development Corporations were created by the 1980 Local Government, Planning and Land Act and became the most significant element of urban policy in England and Wales. UDCs, represented in the 80's an amalgam of enterprises controlled by the central government, the future of urban planning. They were seen as a de-bureaucratized forum of urban planning.

In August 1992, John Redwood, the local government minister, committed to back the Urban Development Corporation. With this, the conservative government's urban policy focus on the UDCs, with much more results.

The objectives of the UDCs are written down in the section 136 of the Act 'to secure the regeneration of its area, by bringing land and building into effective use, encouraging the development of existing new industry and commerce.

There are 4 generations of urban development corporations (Imrie, R., & Thomas, H., 1998):

- First generation 1981: London Docklands, Merseyside,
- Second generation 1987: Black Country, Cardiff Bay, Teeside, Trafford Park, Tyne and Wear
- Third generation 1988/89: Bristol, Sheffield, Central Manchester, Leeds
- Fourth Generation - 1992/93: Birmingham Heartlands, Plymouth

They are no longer existent.

1.4. Combined authorities : a part of the strategic planning's history

1.4.1. History of regional devolution

Strategic planning has long been at the heart of the post-war statutory planning framework across the United Kingdom. From 1968, this took the form of 'structure plans' prepared by county councils or lower tier local authorities working together to produce joint spatial plans.

The 80's was Thatcher's era, it was strongly market-oriented, and there was no regional planning at all. There was a change of course In the 1990s: regions were widely seen as an appropriate scale for policy intervention and regulation in Britain. Regional government office and regional policy frameworks were established to pursue regional planning and development agendas. (Baker & Wong, 2013).

A report from Parkinson in 2004 stated that as far as European cities were concerned, England cities underperform (Parkinson, 2004). Therefore, metropolisation was seen both as an alternative to the Regional Assemblies and as a way to devolve powers to cities, so they could have more international value. Consequently, central government did a shift of control: they empowered local communities and local government (Conservatives, 2009). It led to the apparition of city-region.

The New Local Government Network - a think tank that seeks to transform public services, revitalise local political leadership, and empower local communities - proposed the creation of four large city-regions for Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Greater Manchester (New Local Government Network, 2005). Others city regions followed. The government started to devolved power to them until 2010, when the central government removed regional government and with it, all specifically larger-than-local strategic component within the English planning system.

Boddy and Hickman explain in their article 'The demise of strategic planning?', that the loss of region was seen as dramatic and the abolition of regional planning had a even larger impact. The gap between national and local levels became huge. With on one side the local planning authorities and on the other the Secretary of State. As it was impossible for the two structures to work efficiently together, schemes stop coming forward. It meant less housing, less growth, and subsequently fewer investments for major development. (Boddy and Hickman, 2013).

The government later created some type of documents for sub-regional scales, like Business-led Local Enterprise Partnership, that could be seen as a sort of replacement of Regional Development Agencies (Boddy and Hickman, 2013). And a few years after, they created a new governmental mode called combined authority, with the first one being Greater Manchester. The Government's approach, as set out in the National Planning Policy Framework, state that strategic issues are to be set out in local plans, and local authorities have a 'duty to cooperate', in order to meet development needs that cannot be done within local administrative boundaries. (Community and local government, 2012). However, the duty to cooperate can be legally overpass: it asked for the local authorities to meet regularly to speak about their project, however, they are not required to sort out any type of agreement (Department for Communities and Local Government, no date b). Devolution began toward combined authorities through devolution deals.

Even though there were no Regional Agencies, local authorities felt confident in their abilities to work together. They produced joint local plans that cover large areas, it filled the void created by the disappearance of regional planning (Boddy and Hickman, 2013). In their papers 'The Delusion of Strategic Spatial Planning', by Baker and Wong, they explain that the government approach was seen as a major shift from the previous "top-down, target-driven approach" of spatial planning to a more "local oriented style" (Baker & Wong, 2013).

1.4.2. Apparition of Combined Authorities

Combined authorities are tools made by the government to manage regional planning and align economic boundaries with democratic leadership, while conserving a strong presence, via accountability and funding. Each of the newly formed CAs is established by its own Parliamentary Order and has a directly elected mayor with their own set of powers. These powers are likely to increase over time, as they have for the Mayor of London. Let us explore the reason of their apparition.

The first is through research based on Krugman's new theories of economic geography. It states that mercantile models of international trade were now not the sole proponents of economic growth, with trade between major economic areas within countries being equally important. This view was contested by Peck, Theodore and Brenner, who argued that these new state spaces were political constructions

introduced to undermine existing administrative and political unities, particularly based on regions. However, this view has been countered by the second driver: research has shown that where there is alignment between economic geography and democratically accountable governance with a strong and identifiable leader, then there is a clear and additional contribution to national GDP.

In addition, there is already a legal framework for social, economic and territorial 'cohesion', called the Structural Funds for lagging areas. The new cohesion approach is edge to edge and the programme is being used to reinforce the operation of these new economic areas in practice, through a programme of Integrated Territorial Investment strategies.

The last driver for these reforms has come through the United Nations' new urban agenda, which is promoting the role of stronger mayoral governance for cities to address action on climate change and create more resilient places. This has also been reinforced through the EU's Covenant of Mayors. (Janet Mophet, 2017)

1.4.2.1. Combined authority is a devolution tools

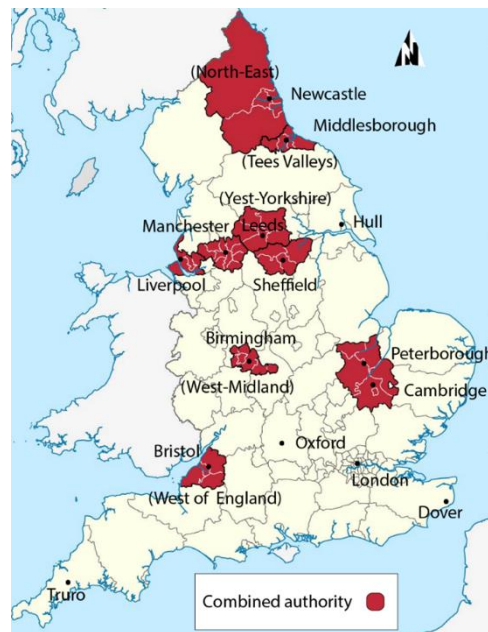
England is one of the most centralized countries in the world, especially since the abolition of Regional Agencies. Decisions are taken in Westminster that affects areas far away from London. Therefore, combined authority is a way to devolve powers to these areas, so they can govern themselves.

The UK government first tried to give more power to regional government: Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland now have a legislative assembly or parliament. After the English Regional Government refusal, United Kingdom decided to empower the greatest cities or city region.

As it is seen as easier to empower combined authorities than cities (Townsend's, nd), they were introduced in England outside Greater London by the Local Democracy, Economic Development and Construction Act 2009 (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009).

The devolution to the combined authorities is detailed in a document signed by the local authorities, the LEP, the secretary of state that is called the devolution deal. They are supposed to evolve over time. They all share some characteristics: skills, economic growth, transport... (devolution deal of Bristol, 2016)

Figure 2: Map of the combined authorities Carte 2 [2017]



As of today, Combined authorities cover less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of England. They are more present in the north, which is more industrial and suffered more from the deindustrialisation, than in the south.

1.4.2.2. *Structure of a combined authority*

Combined authorities are a legal structure made up of local authorities. They can take functions transferred to them by an Order, or any functions that its constituent authorities agree to give away. Their boundaries can cover part of counties, but never part of districts. The combined authorities are always created with the agreement of the Secretary of State (Sandford, 2017).

The executive of a combined authority consists of one representative of each constituent authorities, there can be representative of the Local Enterprise Partnership, and a directly-elected mayor if there is one (Sandford, 2017).

1.4.2.3. *Number of combined authorities created up to date*

Nine combined authorities have been established so far, of which six have in place directly elected mayors. These combined authorities are, from the oldest to the newest: Greater Manchester, Liverpool City Region, Tees Valley, West Midlands, West of England and Cambridgeshire / Peterborough.

Two combined authorities don't have any devolution deals.

- West Yorkshire combined authority have decided to work on a devolution deal with the government in August 2017. It is still in a work stage. (BBC, 2017)
- North-east had disagreements over the devolution deal. It was supposed to be signed in 2016, the problem was funding and uncertainty caused by the Brexit. The deal was voted down by local authorities in Gateshead, Sunderland, Durham and South Tyneside. However, another devolution deal is in work stage.

Many local authorities try to become CA but didn't succeed. Norfolk and Suffolk combined authority had their devolution deal refused and consequently the creation of their combined authorities was rejected as well by the Secretary of State (BBC, 2016a) (BBC, 2016b). On the other hand, Lincolnshire devolution deal was rejected and instead a proposal for a County-promoted unitary council was done, which is another way to promoted joint-work.

1.4.2.4. *Metro-mayor*

During 2014-16, the Government negotiated devolution deals via the creation of mayoral combined authorities. It was done via Orders under the 2009 and 2016 Acts, specifying the functions, powers and constitutional structures of individual combined authorities (Sandford, 2017). Combined authority who wanted a metro-mayor could also elect one.

The metro-mayor is to provide leadership. He/she has ultimate responsibility for the power that was devolved. Its usual range of powers are mainly over transport and planning. He/she exercise his/her functions autonomously, though he/she and the cabinet are scrutinised by a Scrutiny Pool.

The mayor has to consult the combined authority on his/her strategy, which may be rejected if two-thirds of the members agree to do so. However, he/she has a veto vote on any decision of the combined authority. They act as advisors and provide support in their area of expertise.

As the combined authority is informally supposed to replace Regional Agencies, for which the local authorities had created Local Enterprise Partnership, the mayor can be asked to be a member of it. (devolution deal of Bristol, 2016)

The first combined authority was Greater Manchester Combined Authorities, in 2011. It was a few years earlier than the others thanks to its very close relationship with the government. In fact, the 10 local authorities of the combined authorities had already join local plan together and had been devolved power from the government.

1.4.3. Description of combined authorities and unitary authorities with devolution deals

In the following table, the first 6 lines are the combined authorities that possess a metro-mayor, Sheffield should be the seventh one. The 6 are: Cambridgeshire and Peterborough, Greater Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Tees Valley, West of England and West Midlands (Hambleton, 2016).

We also studied the devolution deal of Cornwall, a unitary authority that might have been a combined authority if its legal statutory was different. If Cornwall was a two-tier authority, where counties and district share the local government, then the district could have combined. As they were already fused in a unitary authority, it wasn't possible.

Although not a designated Combined Authority, and with no directly elected mayor, Cornwall is working with an EU ITI programme, as all the Combined Authorities, at least until the UK leave EU. The Cornwall ITI is a territorial strategy and investment programme set within EU and UK objectives. It includes a SWOT (strengths weaknesses opportunities threats) analysis for Cornwall and a delivery programme that allocates funds. Although it is set out as a local programme, it is operated by an UK Government managing body that has primary responsibility to the European Commission. Following the UK referendum on membership of the EU, in which Cornwall voted for Brexit, the Leader of Cornwall Council wrote immediately to the European Commission requesting that the funds delivered through the ITI be

maintained following the UK's departure. The Government has guaranteed funding to Cornwall and others using these funds in LEPs until Brexit leave EU in 2019. (Janet Mopphet, 2017)

Table 2: Key facts about combined authorities, from (Calkin, 2017) (Bunn, 2017a)

Combined Authority	Population (2016)	Area (km ²)	Nb of local authorities	Metro-Mayor	Chief executive	Planned staff
Cambridgeshire & Peterborough	841,300	3400	7	James Palmer (con)	Martin Whiteley	17
Greater Manchester	2,765,100	1,280	10	Andy Burnham (lab)	Earmonn Boylan	2,074
Liverpool city region	1,524,500	720	6	Steve Rotheram (lab)	Not yet appointed	850
Tees Valley	667,500	880	5	Ben Houchen (con)	Andrew Lewis	54
West of England	909,000	900	3	Tom Bowles (con)	Not yet appointed	37
West Midland	2,833,600	900	18	Andy Street (con)	Deborah Cadman	372
Unitary authority of Cornwall	549,500 (2015)	3500	1	Chairman = Mari May	Kate Kennally	12,429 (2014)
Sheffield	1,358,200 (2015)	1500	9	No	No	NA
North East	1,945,400 (2015)	8500	7	No	No	NA
West Yorkshire	2,252,300 (2015)	2000	6	No	No	NA

The population of combined authorities are high, with an average population of 1.25 million. The smallest combined authorities are Tees Valley, Cambridge and Peterborough and the West of England, with a population close to the one of Cornwall. The area of combined authorities varies greatly, from 720 km² in Liverpool city region combined authority to 8500 km² in the North-East combined authority. The number of local authorities is also very different from one to the other, ranging from 3 for the West of England to 18 for the West-Midland. Are those scales relevant for a 'local' institutional layer?

The workforce of the combined authorities with a metro-mayor range from 17 permanent staff in Cambridgeshire and Peterborough to more than 2,000 in Greater Manchester (but it includes 1422 firefighters). Cornwall has a high number of staff because it is a unitary council. It needs salaried workers to provide services that are not in a combined authority area of competences, such as schools, social services, rubbish collection or roads management. The average number of staff (without Greater Manchester and Cornwall), is 266. (Calkin, 2017) (Bunn, 2017a).

For the other combined authorities, there is no information on their staff. Overall, there is less transparency about their strategies and their inner organization, two characteristics that shows that they are less able to govern themselves than combined authority with a metro-mayor. The causality between stronger combined authority and the presence of a metro mayor could be that a mayor means more devolution from the central government, or it is because the mayor brings a huge value to the combined authority, or it could be that stronger combined authorities were more temps to accept to have a metro mayor.

1.4.3.1. *Greater Manchester Combined Authority*

Greater Manchester is the first of the combined authority. It was formed in 2011 and its first devolution deal was negotiated in 2014. All of them seems to have been successful since It now has 4 devolution deals. The city of Greater Manchester is one of the country's most successful city-regions. Home to more than 2.7 million people and with an economy bigger than that of Wales or Northern Ireland.

Greater Manchester already had very close relationship with the central government before the appearance of combined authorities. It had the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities (AGMA), Formed after the demise of the metropolitan counties in 1986. The AGMA has continued to be a strong organisation through which all ten local authorities in Greater Manchester work together. When new initiatives have come along, such as multi-area agreements (MAAs), the Labour Government's forerunner to Combined Authorities, they have been absorbed into the AGMA's structures. The same has been true of the Greater Manchester LEP, which has become part of the overall decision-making process. When the AGMA meets, it sets its agenda to suit its own purposes and then takes decisions within the appropriate organisational governance framework for that item, rather than having a series of separate meetings.

No other part of England apart from Teesside has had this type of continuity and pattern of working, although some have a basis of joint working through other initiatives, such as Greater Birmingham's work on transport. (Janet Mophet, 2017)

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority is composed of ten councils : Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan.

Greater Manchester have had 4 devolutions deals. The first one was mainly about devolving health and care to the combined authority, which was before dealt by the Greater Manchester city region. Greater Manchester has a very close relationship with the government, its directly elected mayor is the only one to have received devolution over police and justice policies. The combined authority hold power over planning, business, transport, justice, health and care and education. Its governance is close to what we might expect from a metropolis. It is maybe the highest profile of the Cas. (Janet Mophet, 2017)

However, Greater Manchester suffered from the national affordable housing crisis. Since the housing market crashed in 2008, it's been hard for home buyers to get a mortgage and for developers to find funding. It means only around 3,000 new homes are being built every year, far fewer than they need.

1.4.3.2. West of England combined authority

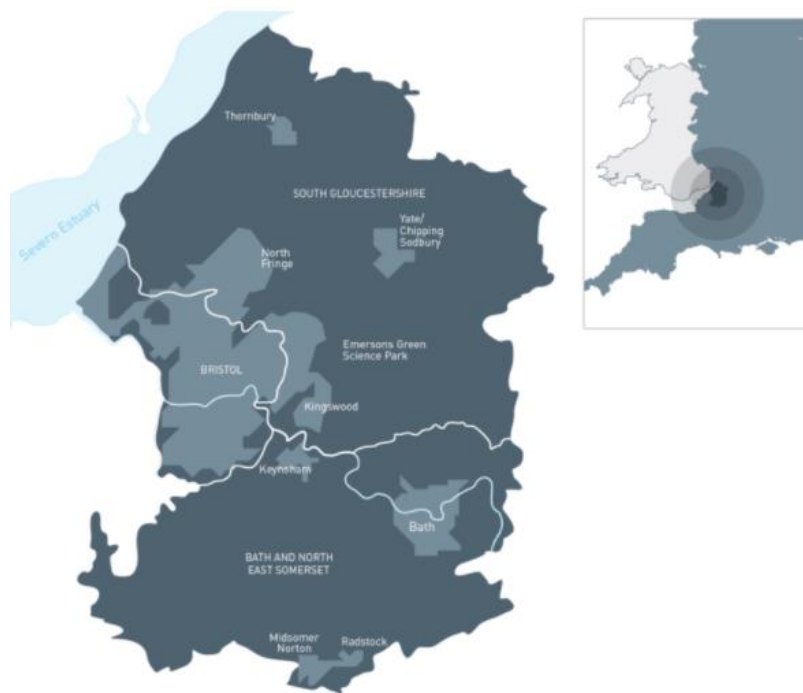
The West of England combined authority has an economy worth over £31 billion a year. Its population is over 1 million people and it possess over 43,000 businesses. It is an internationally competitive region.

Bristol council is part of the West of England along with the Bath & North East Somerset Council, the North Somerset Council and the South Gloucestershire. We will have a detailed analysis of the strength and weakness of this CA combined authority that we will focus on in this research dissertation. The West of England geography closely matches the functional economy of the city region (85 percent of people that work here also live here).

We will focus our study on the West of England combined authority because one of the four districts of the functional area of the West of England refused to join the

combined authority. It should be interesting to study its relationship with its surrounding communities.

Figure 3: Map of the west of England combined authority Carte 3 [2017]



This map shows the built-up area on the territory of the combined authority, in lighter grey. Bristol is the largest city by far. The government commit to develop the Emerson Green Science Park in the devolution deal of the West of England combined authority, which is located at its east (West of England combined authority, 2016).

Bristol is the 10th largest city in Great Britain and one of the ten 'Core Cities' in the South-East of England, with a surface area of 110 km² (City of Bristol a, 2015) and an estimated population of 454,000 inhabitants. Bristol has a rapidly growing and changing population, the population is estimated to have risen by 46,700 people (11.8%) between 2004 and 2015 (City of Bristol a, 2015). It was awarded the European Green Capital of 2015 and was named the best place to live in the UK by the Sunday time. Bristol has an industrial and merchant history. Nowadays, it is one of the wealthiest city in England.

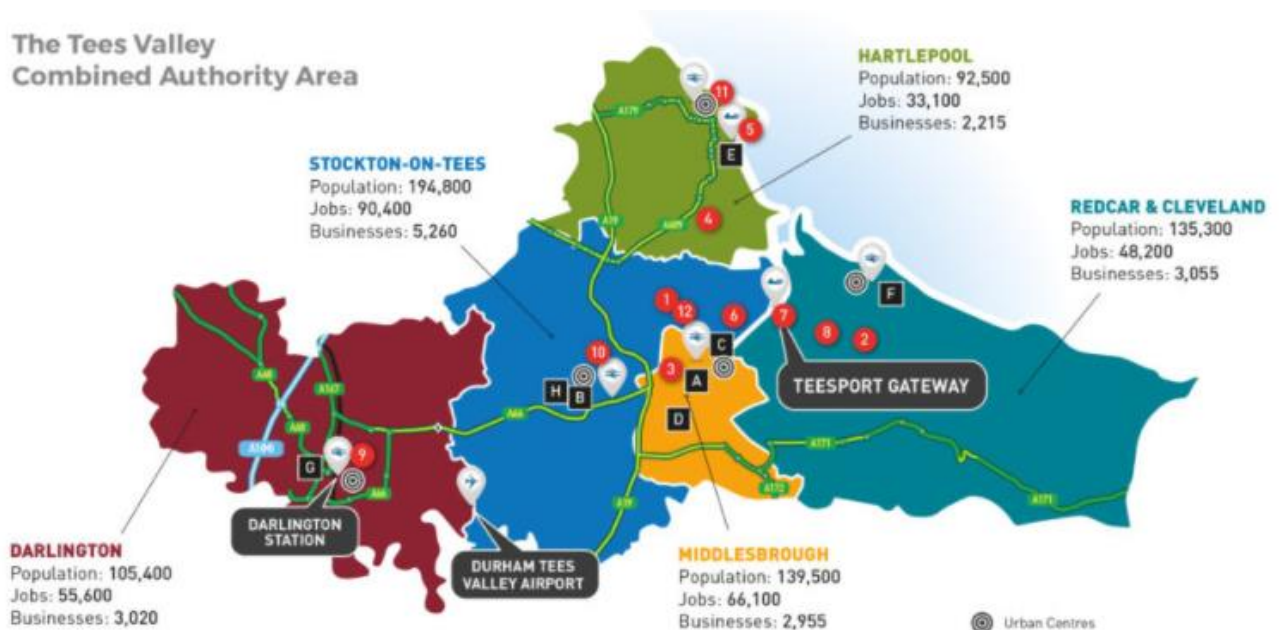
Bristol is governed by a council of 70 elected citizens and by a mayor with a four-year rotation. (City of Bristol, 2011) It is now part of the West of England combined authority.

1.4.3.3. Tees Valley

The Tees Valley combined authority is located in the North-East of England, between North Yorkshire and the County of Durham. It covers an area of 304 square miles and had a population of 667,500 people in 2016. It is strongly industrial oriented, poorer than the South of England, and less resilient against economic crisis. It will be interesting to see how it deals with its surrounding communities.

The Tees Valley combined authority is made of 5 councils: Darlington Borough Council, Hartlepool Borough Council, Middlesbrough Borough Council, Redcar and Cleveland Borough Council and Stockton-on-Tees Borough Council.

Figure 4: Map of the Tees Valley combined authority from Carte 4 [2017]



Tees valley doesn't possess one big city-region like Bristol. But it is a world-renowned industrial centre with a history of business and industry, the core of its economy. The central government is trying to support the area by creating a North Powerhouse.

The area is described as beautiful and diverse, with stunning countryside and coastline. In addition, the housing pressure is less here than in the richer part of England. Average house prices in the North East are the lowest in the UK and nearly half the national average. The Lonely Planet labelled them the "most exciting, beautiful and friendly region in England" and Stockton-On-Tees was ranked 5th in the best place to live in the UK in 2015. (tees valley combined authority website, 2017)

Key facts about the Tees Valley economy

- Total of £1.346 billion capital expenditure in Tees Valley since 2011 (£6.5 million a week)
- £174 million of investment secured through schemes like the Local Growth Fund, Investment of £764 million in Enterprise Zone projects since 2011
- Over 8,000 jobs secured since 2011
- Durham Tees Valley Airport offers flights to Aberdeen and Amsterdam, as well as specialist freight and training facilities
- Teesport handles around 500,000 TEU of container traffic a year and has unique deep sea and short sea capabilities

1.4.3.4. Cambridgeshire and Peterborough

The Cambridgeshire and Peterborough Combined Authority is made up of 8 organizations: Cambridge City Council, Cambridgeshire County Council, East Cambridgeshire District Council, Fenland District Council, Huntingdonshire District Council, Peterborough City Council, South Cambridgeshire District Council and the Greater Cambridge, Greater Peterborough Local Enterprise Partnership.

It will work with the Norfolk and Suffolk area on a range of strategic issues that deliver economic growth to East Anglia. It will include transport and skills. There will be a Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Peterborough and Suffolk Joint Committee to officialise the partnership. They propose to deliver 29.000 homes in the period 2016-2021.

Cambridge is internationally renowned for its world-leading university and its global strengths in technology and life sciences. Peterborough is one of the fastest growing cities in the country, with strengths in environmental goods and services, financial services, digital, food and drink.

The population of the area contains more residents over the age of 75 than the average for England, like Cornwall, and it is expected to increase.

1.4.3.5. Sheffield City Region

The Sheffield City Region Combined Authority is made of the councils of Sheffield, Rotherham, Barnsley and Doncaster whilst also including the councils of Bassetlaw, Chesterfield, North East Derbyshire, Derbyshire Dales and Bolsover as “non-constituent” members.

Its Local Enterprise Partnership was part of the first wave of LEPs established in 2010 and has been one of the strongest performers since then (Sheffield city region combined authority devolution deal, 2014).

Sheffield was within the first to submit plans for its Combined Authority, which was established in April 2014. Sheffield have since made a second devolution deal, that established five Executive Boards that have delegated decision making powers from the Combined Authority.

1.4.3.6. Liverpool city region combined authority

Its cabinet include the Metro Mayor, the five local authority leaders of Halton, Knowsley, Sefton, St Helens and Wirral Councils, the Liverpool City Council and the Chair of the Local Enterprise Partnership.

Liverpool, the heart of the combined authority, has been awarded the European Capital of Culture in 2008. It's devolution deal include to give a culture function to the combined authority.

The objective of its devolution deal is to ensure that it stay at the heart of the Northern Powerhouse. Consequently, the deal established the Festival for Business as a vital feature for the city.

It will lead a joint asset board that was previously held by the regional agencies (abolished in 2010). it shows once again that combined authority purpose is to fill the gap left by the regional agencies.

1.4.3.7. West-Midland

The combined authority is formed by Birmingham City Council, City of Wolverhampton Council, Coventry City Council, Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council, Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council, Solihull Metropolitan Borough Council and Walsall Metropolitan Borough Council.

The mayor has specific areas of responsibility, including local transport and the region's 'more and better homes' agenda.

Apart from the combined authority, it plans to propose a single Strategic Economic Plan, that will replace the 4 Local Enterprise Partnerships that are on the area, but on the whole area.

1.4.3.8. North-East combined authority and West Yorkshire Combined Authority, the two CA without a devolution deal

The West Yorkshire Combined Authority is composed of the councils of Bradford, Calderdale, Kirklees, Leeds, Wakefield and York councils and the Leeds City Region Enterprise Partnership (LEP). Its main goal is 'inclusive growth' to ensure the population an economic prosperity.

It should have soon a devolution deal, with a help from the government to do a science and innovation audit - a survey of cutting-edge innovation taking place in industry and the public sector. They have been conducted to better inform central Government of regional strengths for potential future funding streams, and to assist with foreign direct investment. (Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy, 2017)

North-East combined authority is composed of the councils of County Durham, Gateshead, Newcastle, North Tyneside, Northumberland, South Tyneside and Sunderland. It is the largest combined authority. Its goal is to make the North-East a location for business activity and enhance the skills of the population.

Both North-East and West-Yorkshire combined authority have not an elected mayor nor do they have a devolution deal yet, even though it is in a negotiation process for both. As the devolution deal is the main document we will use to compare the different combined authorities, we will not study these two-combined authorities further on.

1.4.3.9. Cornwall, the unitary authority

First, we will describe the unitary council of Cornwall, that we will use later as a base of comparison.

For Cornwall, the devolution deal was signed by the Unitary council, the Cornwall isles of Scilly Local Enterprise Partnership and the Kernow Clinical Commission group. Cornwall is the first rural authority in the country to be offered a devolution deal (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017).

Its administrative centre is Truro. The area's Gross Domestic Product is less than 75% of the national average, with employment being mostly low paid and seasonal. In addition, Cornwall's economy is held back by underemployment and higher than average economic inactivity. It is the only Less Developed Region in England.

Cornwall is currently facing demographic challenges. The population of Cornwall contains more residents over the age of 75 than the average for England, and it is supposed to continue to grow significantly.

In his devolution deal, the Homes and Communities Agency commits to provide a comprehensive listing of all land and property assets held within Cornwall by the Agency Local partners will be able to withdraw from a transfer of responsibility if they judge the cost to be prohibitive (devolution deal Cornwall, 2015).

2. Definition of the research subject

2.1. Definition of some key concepts, to get a better understanding of the subject

In this part, we present the knowledge and terminology essential for the proper understanding of our analysis.

2.1.1. Strategic Planning and Regional Planning

We have been talking about regional and strategic planning in many occasions in the first parts of our work, and we will continue to do so in our analyses. It is important that we detail those two terms.

On one hand, regional planning is the “balancing of resources to modify standards of living, and reduce disparities in economic conditions in the different parts of the nation” (Wannop, 1993). It is essentially a devolution approach. On the other hand, strategic planning is about resolving issues and local problems of growing metropolitan cities, enhancing their economy and social relationship, and solving political disputes (Wannop, 1993).

Strategic planning is to focus on a territory, to get the most out of it, without considering the surrounding areas. Whereas regional planning is to look at the large picture, and to help the less developed territories get to the level of the others.

If both policies are implemented on a same area, a regional policy will try to equilibrate resources, whereas strategic planning will use the best potential of places, usually capital city and metropolis. By definition, a regional policy will tend toward decentralisation and a strategic policy toward centralisation.

However strategic planning and regional planning are not exactly opposite: it is possible to have both working together at the same time, if they are on different scales. If regional planning is the national policy and strategic planning the local policy, then the country will try to devolve from its capital cities, and enhance local competition.

2.1.1.1. *Best size of the functional territories*

One important scientific issue we encounter in this research thesis, is how to define the best size for a functional territory. To be more specific, the question is how to get the fastest, most adapted, most efficient answer to any issue of the local territory. And also, how to get the most cost-efficient administration, how to enhance best the identity of the territories, and have the best services to the inhabitant, how to develop the fastest and with the least environmental, human and financial cost or risk.

The literature on the subject is at best sparse and uneven. With a strategic planning approach, the territory will develop the fastest possible. However, using strategic planning on every territory cause strong competition for resources (resources in the large sense). The disruption can lessen the potential of development of the territories.

We need to answer this question because we need to know if the areas that combined authorities cover is the best choice. Theoretically, one of the reason the Combined authorities were created in the first place was to go beyond administrative boundaries. With them, it becomes possible to plan on functional areas instead on administrative areas, to a certain point. Combined authorities can encompass local authorities of different counties, but district as to be taken in as a whole. It means that theoretically, combined authority cover functional territories with “good” size. Since proving the opposite will be difficult, we must agree to this supposition for the moment.

If we follow the common sense, the best way to do spatial plan is to combine the two approach of strategic planning and regional planning, at two different scales. Regional planning on a larger scale, and strategic planning on local scale, to enhance local objects of the territories while letting other grow as well.

In order to advanced we will define the best size of the territory, not on a metric scale, but in relation to the level of resources, and motivation of the authorities.

2.1.2. *Definition of a Metropole*

A consensus for ‘larger-than-local’ governance first appeared in the 1969 ‘Maud Report’ and has gradually taken importance over time. The point is that those types of government can try new methods to tackles theirs stakes. They are thus better equipped to experiment, learn from theirs mistakes, and eventually innovate.

2.1.2.1. *Three mains characteristics*

A metropole has 3 main characteristics: it must have a legitimacy, it must be autonomous, and it must cover a relevant area (Lefebvre, 1998).

The strongest legitimacy is obtained democratically, with a direct and universal election of the leaders. Having legitimacy will let the metropolitan government's decisions be listened to and acted upon.

A metropolis must be autonomous. The autonomy means that the metropole has the resources to govern itself. It must have financial means, but also the skills and workforce needed (Lefebvre, 1998).

The primary goal of a metropole is to have a local and adaptable power, more efficient and cost-effective than the central government (Sandford, 2016). In order to do that the metropole must cover a relevant area. The question of the ideal size of metropolises has not been answered yet. In France, metropolises are smaller than in England, with populations ranging from 200,000 to 1.8 million (except the Grand Paris) (Demazière, 2017). In UK metropole will usually have a population of around 1 to 2 million inhabitants.

In this report, we will define that a relevant area for a metropole is one that cover the economic functional area. In other word, the relevant area is the one people work and travel on a day to day basis.

2.1.2.2. *Two theoretical models of metropolis*

The different metropolises can be categorised in two theoretical models: supra and intra-communal. The main difference between the two model is the way legitimacy is obtained. The first model has a direct election, which mean a strong legitimacy, whereas in the second the leaders are elected from a pool of local mayors. Consequently, the inhabitants are not choosing the mayor, so they will not feel obliged to follow his leadership, the legitimacy is poor.

In addition, intra-communal metropole often lack in financial autonomy. Their resources usually come from the different districts under it, and from grants from central government. In both case, the metropole is an additional administrative layer, because the districts beneath still exists (Lefebvre, 1998). Lefebvre add that in practice

metropolis will be somewhere between these two models, as intra-communal will try to become more like supra-communal.

2.1.2.3. *Order*

The order is a legal act, under the Cities and Local Government Devolution Act 2016 (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2016). They are signed by both Houses of Parliament, in an “affirmative procedure”. They must then be approved by the Secretary of State. It is essential for the official recognition of a combined authority.

By way of example, the West of England Combined Authority Order 2016 has eight parts and six schedules. As for devolution, additional Orders for each combined authority should be drafted.

2.1.2.4. *Devolution deal*

A devolution deal is a contract between local authorities and the central government with the key ambition of strengthening governance in local areas. They are negotiated in private between Government teams and local authority leaders. It is signed by the constituent local authorities.

The first devolution deal was announced by the Government and the Greater Manchester Combined Authority in November 2014 (Sandford, 2016). They are supposed to evolve over time, to receive more devolution.

The House of Commons explain in their briefing papers that the main impact of the devolution deals should be on EU funding, as it will pass from the local authorities to the combined authorities with the deals. The Government has stated that it will guarantee any spending of these funds that is agreed before the UK leaves the EU (Sandford, 2016). Which contribute to calm the local authorities afraid to join a CA because of fear of the current political background, due to the BREXIT.

The government recognises that strong governance is essential for the combined authorities to be able to use the devolution of powers it receive. That is why the devolution deals agreed to date have some flexibility in the power devolved. The content of the deals varies depending on the unique characteristics of the combined authority. A number of items have been made available to most areas, but each deal

also contains a few unique elements (typically consisting of commitments to explore future policy options) (Sandford, 2016).

The items are as follow:

- Education system, Skill;
- Business support, Work Programme;
- EU structural funds;
- Fiscal powers;
- Integrated transport systems;
- Planning and land use (Sandford, 2016).

Devolution only come from national level, the local authorities are not expected to give away their function without agreement. (Bristol Devolution deal, 2016)

As we will see further on, overall, all devolution look very similar. The structure of the devolution deal is made by the government itself, not by the combined authority, with very little room for innovation.

2.1.3. What are the advantages of having an autonomous metropolitan government?

We talked about the definition of metropolitan government, and how they are related to Combined authorities, because being one is very important to understand the capacities, the strength, of a CA. In this part, we will explore the links between autonomy and spatial planning. Our goal is to show that autonomy is an advantage for project management and innovation.

The autonomy of the territories is claimed in Europe in the late 80s. Claims begin in 1989, in a post-socialist context, in Central Europe, for free elections and more autonomy for local authorities.

Federal states are more advanced in territorial autonomy, especially Germany, who possess a 'Lander' organization, where each 'Lander' is nearly a government on its own. Strong central states like England are slowly adopting the approach. England created "combined authority" with a certain amount of autonomy.

In a state without local autonomy, everyone is treated the same, and spatial planning tend not to be adapted to the unique characteristics of each territory. In a government

that have autonomy, the population can manage locally, to tackle their specific issues. The combination of specific tackles and autonomy can lead to innovation. In France, autonomy of the territories is part of its decentralisation goals since 1982.

2.1.4. Common misunderstanding surrounding the notion of Autonomy

2.1.4.1. Autonomy and Autarchy

Autarchy represent the absolute power over others. If it is a way to achieve autonomy, there is no direct link between 'autonomy' and 'power'. Autonomy is not about power over other, but about freedom.

2.1.4.2. Autonomy and self-determination

Self-determination is defined in politics as the right of peoples to rule themselves, independently of any foreign influence. It is the right to freely choose one's conduct and opinions. The self-determination is a step toward being autonomous.

2.1.4.3. Autonomy and Autarky

Autarky is an adjective defining state that have achieve an absolute sufficiency. A country in autarky does not need a relationship with the outside world. It is usually a country with a closed economy, unrelated to the outside world. As the other term, it is a step toward the ideal of autonomy.

2.1.5. The definitions of Autonomy

2.1.5.1. Fundamental definition of autonomy

The word autonomy comes from the Greek, 'self' means 'for oneself' and 'nomos' means 'law'. We can therefore translate autonomy by 'the right for an object to govern itself, according to its own laws". Thus, an autonomous object is accountable only to itself. The historian Thucydides (III, XLVI) describe the autonomy as a population rebelling to gain independence and becoming independent.

Platon describes the autonomy as a type of relation. According to him, autonomy is defined as the deliberate choice to exercise one's free will, and thus to freely assume relations with the outside world.

Autonomy is also a concept close to popular sovereignty as described by Montesquieu and Diderot, or the social contract of Rousseau: an obedience to laws and constraints

freely consented. Autonomy is thus at the interface between the object (in our case the combined authority) and the outside (the other governmental organizations). In their opinion, the relationship between the autonomous objects and the outside world is supposedly based on issues of general interest.

Over time, the notion of autonomy has evolved, taking more and more into account the importance of the notion of relationship. In the scientific world, to define living organisms, Jaque Mélése explained that autonomy cannot exist without relation to the outside world: "autonomy can exist only in relation and in relationships, to an environment to which the organization is connected ... If a term of contradiction to the autonomy is the dependency, another is the disjunction, to be autonomous supposed to be in relation. ". Thus, the notion of relation is considered as an integral part of autonomy, especially in the context of complex organisms, such as a living being (or a territorial organization).

To sum up, the concept of autonomy is the result of contradiction between the "law of me" and the "law of others". It is a paradox, with the advantages of both laws. Therefore, we will define autonomy as an ideal that must be sought by everyone. In the case of governmental organisation, autonomy is a 'contract' between two organizations, one being superior to the other, where the first let the second a complete freedom.

2.1.6. An autonomous Combined authority?

Combined authority is not only a territory, it is also a political organization, with specific stakes, and with an identity, an architecture

Political autonomy is characterized by sufficiency, the free choice of its relations and **independence**, without constraints coming from outside. For Lefèvre, within the framework of a territorial organization, autonomy is its ability to resolve issues that it considers important. The historian Thucydides (I, XXVII) defines **sufficiency** as the fact of needing no one.

In architecture, the autonomy is link to the form of buildings. Autonomy is an ideal for certain types of buildings, such as theaters, museums, town halls ... Autonomy is not only about energy sufficiency, or carbon footprint. An autonomous building is a building independent of the city, a building that does not integrate with urban continuity, which

stands out. A building that has an **identity**. The autonomous buildings have the peculiarities of having several functions, like the city of music of Geneva, which was conceived as a city center: with different users in the same space, on a multitude of temporal references.

To summarize, the autonomy of a territory can be defined as an ideal with three components: independence, sufficiency and identity. An autonomous territory is an **independent** territory, self-**sufficient**, with an **identity** of its own.

2.1.6.1. *Autonomy and Communism*

The question of the autonomy of country and territories is central to social democratic ideology. It has been threatened many times in the 20th century. It was considered a primordial tool for the emancipation of the population.

"The Social Democratic Party aspires to national autonomy in the state" Otto Bauer.
"Without the autonomy and unity given to each nation, the international union of the proletariat cannot work toward peace and smart cooperation", Engels in 1893, about Poland and Ireland.

At the end of the 19th century, the workers' movement tried to define the concept of autonomy in the pluri-national country: Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, the Soviet Union, etc.

The Congress of Austrian Social Democracy, in 1899, lays down the foundation of a profound debate around territorial autonomy. On one hand, nation, defined as group of populations sharing an identity, should own a territory and have a national autonomy (and not be govern by the social-democrat of the Soviet Union). This vision, called territorial autonomy, meant that there must be a multitude of different country. On the other hand, there was an ideology around extraterritorial cultural autonomy, where the social-democrat ideology was implanted, by the Soviet Union, through culture: architecture, sport (Sokol in Czechoslovakia), intellectual games, arts, etc. Consequently, extraterritorial cultural autonomy led to a loss of autonomy of nations, in favour of a 'higher' ideology.

The same debate can be transpose today, between a 'federalist' vision, where the state is divided into a province corresponding as much as possible to the ethnic limits and a

centralist vision of the Social Democratic Party. A debate strongly linked to the state proliferation that happened in the 90's in Europe.

Lenin claimed that territorial autonomy within the Soviet was a tool to tackle nationalist aspirations. According to Lenin, it is necessary to recognize the right of nations to self-determination, in order to keep them from feeling the need to use it. Lenin and Stalin both opposed the federalisation of the party, and the independence of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party.

Otto Bauer, on the other hand, was really in favor of territorial autonomy. He defended the right of autonomy of the population that didn't own a territory. In regions of interethnic cohabitation, he worked to define the boundary of each country. Nevertheless, he refused this right to the Jews of Central Europe, which he considered as a nation "without history". According to him, the cultural autonomy of nations must be local and follow a "principle of the personality", where the patriots manage their own country autonomously.

To summarize, autonomy was a tool to rally population to the Soviet Union. However, they understood that to be able to be autonomous, the territory had to have an identity. This is why they tried to separate Europe in different countries following the cultural and ethnic diversity. It was unrealizable because people were scattered and mixed in many areas.

2.1.6.2. *Component of autonomy*

- Independence: The independence of a territory implies that the organization or the higher spatial and political organization allows it to act as it wishes, as long as it does not concern common issues or interests.
- Sufficient: Sufficiency can be separated into two sub-components. On one hand, economic and functional sufficiency, or the capacity to act. Having the means to tackle the stakes the autonomous object wishes to address. On the other hand, legal sufficiency, or the legitimacy to act. For Lefèvre, legitimacy is an essential characteristic of the city, because it is what will its decisions listened to and acted upon.
- The identity of a territory is another way of expressing what Lefèvre describe as the territorial hold of metropolises. The autonomous territory must cover a coherent

surface. There must be a unity. The identity of the territory must be such that the territory can freely interact with the outside world, without internal constraints.

2.1.6.3. *Autonomy in the world*

Autonomy is a primordial concept for any people thinking of becoming independent. It is a central question of the Quebec and Catalan separatist.

The Zapatista movement is an example of the advantages of a territory to be autonomous. For more than 20 years, they had autonomy provided by the government, rooted in political institutions and social organizations in which the population participates. They created a new social, economic and political practices, by enhancing citizen participation.

2.1.6.4. *How to become an autonomous territory ?*

There are many points to address to become more autonomous. How can a community be the source of the laws that govern it? Is it possible to have an autonomous territory without making it an independent state? Can we imagine a confederal or subordinate organization? Does autonomy characterize only the external relations of the territories, or also the homes and professions?

The Greeks did not answer these questions. They stuck to the idea of self-determination of territories, more precisely cities, without seeking the limits or the conditions.

To conclude, autonomy has always been an important concept in our society. It was used to define the right of the Greek peoples, to propagate the social-democratic ideology, to justify independentist movements and finally to optimize the management of the resources of the territorial organizations and for the sustainable development (autonomous buildings).

2.1.7. Are combined authority metropolises?

Tomas work on metropolitan government in 2017 reveals that a big obstacle to the creation of metropolis is the resistance from other levels of government (in our case, districts). Metropolis tend not to cover all the necessary policies to be independent: they tend to work with 'hard' policies, such as urban planning, public transport and infrastructure, and to leave 'soft' policies like education, health and social services to other jurisdictional boundaries. They rarely have direct election. The metropolis are usually run by a group of municipal's official, and public participation is very low. Since they have poor legitimacy, they have difficulties making binding decision, which makes it even more difficult to find solutions on a metropolis scales. Metropolis are also very dependent of the national government for the revenue. Tomas explains that even Greater London is largely dependent on subsidies. (Tomas, 2017)

To go back to our topic, a combined authority is a joint effort of local authorities and central government to have a more efficient administration. Let's continue with Lefebvre definition ; the 3 key characteristics of a metropolitan government is the legitimacy, the autonomy and the relevancy of the size of its territory ; Combined authorities has similarities with the definition of metropole: a strong legitimacy that comes from two directions: the top thanks to contracts with the central government and the population thanks to the direct election of the combined authority mayor. It fit the supra-communal model. However, in practice the mayors are unknown by the population. The elections had participation rates of about 20%, and if asked the question, the standard Bristol citizen will answer that they don't know who the mayor of the West of England Combined Authority is (the current mayor is Tim Bowles from the conservative party).

The autonomy, needed to be a metropolis government, is granted by the devolution deal, which provide, among other things, an investment fund ranging of around 30 million per year for 30 year, and promises from the central government to work with the combined authorities on specific task like enhancing the Bristol and Bath Science park (Devolution deal of Bristol, 2016), or producing a science and innovation audit in Tees Valley (Tees Valley devolution deal, 2015). This fit the intra-communal model. In addition, the central government still has a strong presence. In fact, combined authority has numerous obligation toward the central government. They have to produce an implementation plan, their results and spending plans are scrutinised, they have to process financial risk assessment ...

Lastly, combined authorities include local authorities that were already collaborating, usually through Local Enterprise Partnership or older organizations like metropolitan county council, sub-regional plans, etc. If the combined authority covers a relevant area, it is by luck, because its constituent local authorities were already working together on a relevant area. However, some local authorities did not agree to the devolution deal, and did not take part in the combined authority. It is the case of the West of England combined Authority, but through my interviews I heard that it wasn't an unique case.

2.2. Research topic

Government reports states that Combined authorities are better tuned to do spatial planning than local authorities. On one hand, they are a joint effort of the central government and local authorities to give more power to the latest, a joint effort to have a more cost-effective administration, and are devolved powers and finances. On the other hand, within the Combined Authorities there might be challenges for local authorities working together, particularly in those fields that are already challenging, such as housing, where the duty to co-operate has previously been problematic. (Janet Mophet, 2017)

We will try to demonstrate the effect of combined authority on spatial planning, and more specifically on the development of dwellings, with a practical example. We will compare two urban development of dwellings, that are trying to tackle affordable housing crisis, and will analyse different criterias to determine the effect of being part of a combined authority on the development of dwellings.

Garden village would have been convenient as case study. They are supposed to be a smaller version of garden village, with about 4,000 dwelling (garden village contain 30,000). The term "garden-village" contain a high marketing value, but also incorporate key-values of sustainability and quality of life. They are utopian visions of integrating dwelling, economy, public spaces, and environment altogether. However I encountered a methodology issue, because my research need cases that are representative of England. Garden villages are part of a governmental program, with 10 million pounds' investment fund. As such, they are not representative of England cities.

For my research to be relevant, the case study need to be relatively similar: They must face similar issues and have similar ambitions. The results of my comparison will be more representative of the reality if the two cities have similar statistic in regard of the population number, the average income, and the number of dwelling built annually and the need of dwelling.

Usually, those stats are research by the local authorities, and can be found in the core city strategy - a document that covers the need of development on the local authorities and its surrounding over a 20 years' time frame. We also used the office of national statistic for more general information about the cities.

Our practical example of urban development that is not part of a combined authority will be Poole a large size city close to Bournemouth. It will be compare with a development in Bury, a district that is part of the Greater Manchester combined authority. With their population of around 150 – 200k, they will be use as an example of the effect of being part of a Combined authority on the production of dwellings.

We will analyse the cities via information on their population spectrum, housing needs, theirs projects of dwellings development, and if sites viable for potential development were found through media, research papers and official documents. We will also consider the spatial tools available and used by each city, which will help us explain the results of our analyses.

Combined authorities have more financial means, and are devolved policies from the central government, so they have an advantage in planning development. However, they are political object, with a strong surveillance from the government and they are political objects. It can hasten the decision-making process. As in Godley green, where the government provided a funding of 10 million pounds for a garden village located on the green belt *before* the development was approved by the combined authority and the land-owners themselves.

To find general information about combined authorities, our angle of attack will be their devolution deals, as they give indications on their strength and particularity. We will focus on the investment fund, the commitments they get from the central government, the selective policy, the share of power between the metro mayor and the combined authority, and the strategic planning devolved by the central government.

In order to clarify the results of our analysis, we will establish a scale and a rank that evaluate the strength of their network and alliances, and the overall capacity of the combined authority to tackle their stakes. The Combined Authority that are best ranked are the better equipped to rule themselves. With this valuation system, the max grade is 20. Having a 20 over 20 does not mean that the combined authority has achieved perfection. It would, however, mean that the combined authority is, compared to the others, in advance in all the parts necessary to be autonomous.

- The 4 Combined authority that have a spatial planning policy have 6 points.
- The presence of a metro-mayor automatically give 2 points.
- Then, if the policies devolved are varied, and if there are partnerships in each of the policies, the combined authority can get at most 4 points. We took particular attention to the network in transport and in economic, when marking the coherence of the network.
- Having more than devolution deal is a proof that the first one was successful, it can give either 1 or 2 points, (Greater Manchester got 5 devolutions deals).
- The investment from the central government, either in the form of an investment fund, or in the lending of experts, can give at most 4 points. We believe that the help from the government is as important as the coherence of the network of the combined authority.
- Lastly, we give at most 2 points for the Health and Care policy, it is a stake for the quality of life in the combined authority. We wanted to mark this policy along with the coherence of the network, giving more point to combined authority who had this policy. But it is more relevant to separate it, because it is a stake with short-term expectancy whereas what we looked into in the network was the capacity to run itself on the long-run.

3. Analysis of 2 case studies

To get hold of the difference brought by the Combined authorities, we focus on the pro's and con in the housing development field. We will look into two cities, Poole and Bury, and analyses the way the combined authority of GM affect Bury in comparison to Poole, who is not part of one.

3.1. Legal framework of the housing process

The legal framework of the housing process is orienting the development of housing locally, in order to increase the national production. On one hand, The National Planning Policy Framework removes targets for the delivery of new housing of local authorities to ensure their local planning arrangements meet the demand for market and affordable housing in their areas. On the other hand, the housing strategy, called "Laying the Foundation" is supposed to increase the production of houses nationally and to implement reforms of affordable housing, including new affordable rent tenures, use of flexible and fixed term tenures and an increase in discounts for 'Right to Buy'.

The Homelessness Act 2002 places a duty on local authorities to review homelessness in its local area and publish a strategy outlining how it will tackle and prevent homelessness.

What changes most in the last few year is the Community Infrastructure Levy. A new mechanism for calculating and collecting contribution payments on planning for the local authorities. It let the local authority decide of areas where to implement the Levy, and the % of development cost for each area. It is an useful tool to orient development in the areas that needs it the most.

3.2. Poole, a city representative of England medium city

The housing crisis has been felt at a local level in Poole, in 2010/11 there were 257 new homes built and in 2011/12 this reduced to 187. (City of Poole, 2013)

Poole is a city close to Bournemouth, in the South of England. It has a high-quality environment, accessible countryside and beaches, good schools, low crime rates. The Borough of Poole, in common with much of the UK, is growing and changing.

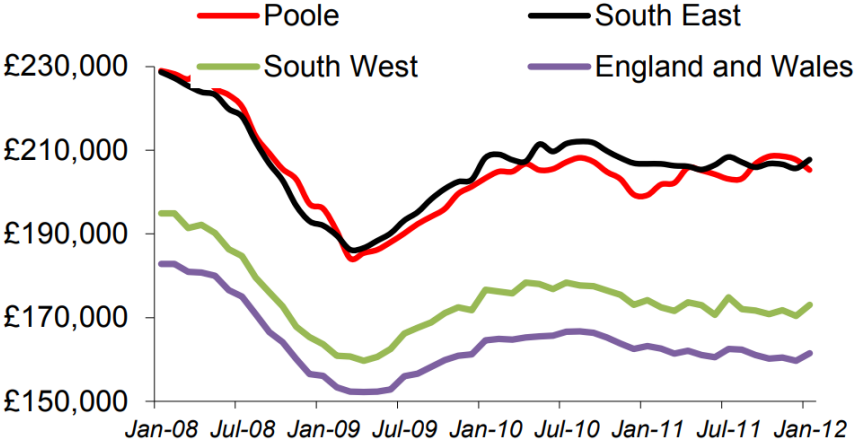
Meeting the housing needs of Poole, now and in the future, is important to residents, the Council, Dorset Local Enterprise Partnership and its other partners. It has, as many England cities, an aging population, with aging needs.

3.2.1. Housing

High quality homes across a range of tenures can help attract highly skilled people to locate in the area as well as accommodating the key workers essential to the prosperity of the town. The Dorset Local Enterprise Partnership has a housing subgroup which is working together to identify housing opportunities to improve the local economy. There are a number of ‘stalled sites’ where planning permission has been granted which, were they to be unlocked, could generate significant economic benefit.

Median house prices locally are nine times the salary of median incomes in Poole, thus home ownership is out of the reach of many people. In England the median price of homes is 7 times the median income, so Poole is a more affected by the houses crisis than average. Housing affordability, as conventionally understood by the above ratio, has long been a problem in Poole and shows little sign of a solution. The average rent levels in Poole remain high in relation to average incomes and are ranked 33/153 5 where number 1 is the most expensive.

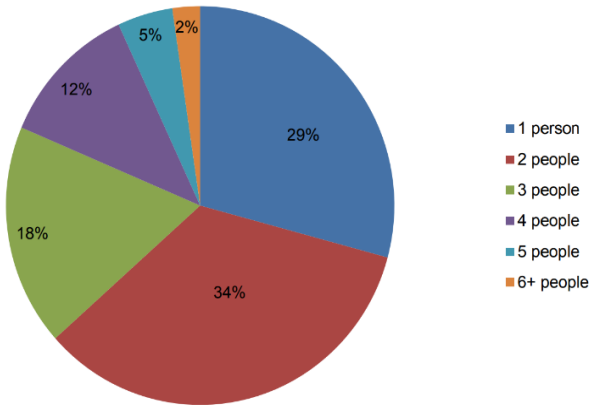
Figure5: Prices of homes in Poole in 2008-2012 from City of Poole, 2017



Twenty-five percent of households within the borough are reliant on the rental market (both private and social). In Poole, the owner occupation rate in fell from 78% to 70% of all households between 2001 and 2011, which is the same rate as in Bury. This is mirrored in an increase in those renting from a private landlord or letting agency, which grew from 8% to 15% of households. It is close to the average of owner occupation rate of England, which is at 60%.

Poole is currently aware of 231 empty properties across the borough. 19 of those properties have been empty for 10 years or more and 212 have been empty between 2-10 years. Poole does not currently have a policy for dealing with empty properties, in order to develop a policy the priorities of addressing empty properties would need to be understood.

Figure 6: Private sector by household size in Poole



Property Type	No. sampled	Average	Median
Studio	31	479	475
Room only	53	351	347
1 bed	231	573	570
2 bed	675	716	695
3 bed	355	885	850
4+ bed	99	1,203	1,100
ALL	1,444	750	700

The average monthly income for a couple is of around £3,070. Assuming they rent a 2- bedroom house at medium rent level, they'd be spending 23% of their net income on rent. If they rent a 3- bedroom house, at median rent, they'd be spending 28% of their net income on rent. The average income of Poole is higher than the national average income by 25%.

The median rent for 97 3-bedroom properties in Poole is around £995 per month and the mean rent is around £1,150.

3.2.2. Population

Poole's population is ageing. Older people aged over 65 will become an increasingly significant proportion of the population. Numbers of over 65s are estimated to increase by 9,200 to 39,300 by 2025. The fastest growing age groups in the entire population will be those aged 75-84 and 85 and over. By 2025, there could be an additional 6,700 people aged 75 and over. Poole's population is older than Bury's population, and both are a little older than the national average. This age shift is due to a combination of factors: increased life expectancy, and the fact that large numbers of people born in the 1950s and 60s are now reaching 'older age'. The majority of older people in the borough enjoy relatively good health and will live until the end of their lives in their own homes, maybe needing adaptations and other forms of help and advice to cope as they get older. The priority for many older people in Poole is to stay independent and live at home for as long as they can. A high proportion of older people are homeowners (around 80% in Poole).

All these factors make Poole a city representative of a medium size city in England, which will make it possible for us to use as a comparative. We are interested to see if Bury, that we will present now, has a more ambitious strategy of dwelling and if it has more spatial tools.

3.2.3. Planning tools of Pooles

Poole as a tool to help plan the city and to manage the development of dwellings. Most notably, the "Empty Homes Strategy" published in 2016 is an action plan, containing both engagement and enforcement options. It is an ongoing success of new empty homes being brought back into use through intervention. Strategy and staffing resources are now being rolled out across Bournemouth and Poole, and houses are being exchanged and occupied across both areas. The council of Poole also organizes Landlord Conferences to encourage good practice and share information across the sector, which in turn help to create partnerships and links between the councils and the landlords. In addition, the council has implemented an integration plan for shared services with neighbouring councils.

One of its best achievements nonetheless, was the Poole Homelessness Trailblazer project funding, which secured £450k over two years for homeless prevention activity.

The Council's role in the housing field is to:

- Identify regeneration sites for future development and housing;
- Manage on-line consultation with the inhabitants to help identify priorities, to manage Housing Applicant Focus group;
- Ensure there are suitable future housing options available through a review of current sheltered homes in the social sector
- Develop clear approaches which improve the quality of private rented housing
- Deliver an adaptation grants service, supporting assistive technology and home improvement services to enable people to live safely in their own homes as their needs change
- Help residents to benefit from national schemes to make their homes warmer and more energy efficient.
- Investigate any complaints made about the condition or standard of properties in the private sector. This includes private rented housing, owner-occupied and social housing through a registered housing provider.

The Council's housing stock is managed by the Poole Housing Partnership (PHP) which is an Arms Length Management Organisation (ALMO), set-up under the Government scheme to bring investment for improvements to homes across the Borough of Poole. (City of Poole, 2017) (city of Poole, 2018)

3.2.4. Project

Poole priorities are to make best use of its land, assets, sites, to prevent homelessness and to improve health and wellbeing through housing. It is to do so by demonstrating creativity and innovation in the delivery of schemes, by creating partnerships, and by promoting paid work,

The Borough of Poole has already recognised that in order to meet its local housing needs it has to actively contribute rather than rely solely on contributions through the planning process. In April 2012, the council made a commitment to use Borough of Poole property assets and land to deliver at least **100** affordable housing units utilising Council own land and assets and continue to identify and enable the provision of further new affordable homes by 2018

Four sites have initially been identified as phase one and further work is underway to identify other development opportunities on Council land or assets. A project group has been formed and two registered housing providers have made commitments in their development programmes with the Homes & Communities Agency to provide Poole with a development partner. The development sites already identified are expected to deliver approximately 60 units by March 2015 as well as identifying more development sites.

3.2.5. Measures to manage and encourage supply

Poole has continued to see a rise in the number of homelessness approaches in each of the past 3 years. 2011/12 saw a 32% increase (176 to 232), with 2012/13 not showing any sign of change in demand. The footfall of households presenting with homelessness issues remains high. A range of homelessness prevention tools is employed to enable people to stay in their homes, through negotiation or mediation techniques, or help them find a new home. 388 households were assisted into alternative private sector housing in 2012/13.

- Deliver 54 new extra care units by 2016
- Assist 60 households to move to smaller Council homes by March 2015
- Monitor private rented housing complaints and enforcement action
- Monitor medium to long term housing register trends to assess the impact of supply and policy changes
- Delivering front line housing advice to both clients and landlords to prevent homelessness by providing debt advice, deposit loans, floating support, employment support, effective multi agency casework practices and other services
- Supporting rough sleepers into accommodation through the outreach programme which incorporates the “No Second Night Out” model.

The position for affordable housing mirrors the supply overall. During 2004-2007 the borough delivered 643 affordable homes, however during the following four years between 2008-2011 it was only possible to secure the delivery of 336 units which is some 48% reduction from the previous four years. Due to the government relying too heavily on the private development market through the planning system, to provide significant contributions towards affordable housing.

The legal framework of housing is adapted locally with a Corporate Strategy 2012-2015, which Sets out a number of outcomes and activities which link to housing, particularly an aspiration that Housing in Poole meets the needs of more people. The document commits the Council to: within the next three years, aim to deliver 100 units of affordable housing using our own land and assets. Work with Poole Housing Partnership to ensure that council homes are maintained to their current high standard and to create opportunities to build new affordable homes. Develop a housing strategy and action plan which meets priority needs.

The council also adopted a Core Strategy, which sets out an objective to meet Poole's housing needs and provide the right homes in the right places. Also contains the Council's Affordable Housing Policy which establishes needs and delivery mechanisms.

Among the local tools to enhance development of affordable housing, there is the planning process "Commuted Sums" : within the Council's affordable housing policy there is a cascade approach to negotiations where the council can agree a financial contribution towards affordable housing. It is normally only considered as a last option in lieu of any affordable housing being secured : the numbers involved are too low to make it practical for either on-site or off site provision or the scheme is financially marginal.

Through the identification of sites and assets, Poole's council found sites expected to deliver approximately 50 units in 2012. It is anticipated that the continued focus and commitment to the delivery of these units will ensure that further sites will be identified and used to provide at least another 50 units to meet the target of 100. The regeneration master plan goes in the same direction. It covers a number of 'brown field' (previously used land) sites which have been identified as suitable for re-development. The plan covers a number of long term infrastructure requirements for continued economic growth in Poole. The plan includes provision for investment in retail and business space as well as housing. The anticipated numbers of new homes across all the regeneration sites is 3500 by 2026 and a proportion of these should be affordable homes.

One important planning tool is represented by the partnerships the council has with landlord, and the leverage it has on them. Poole Housing Partnership secured funding

of £35.4million for homes across Poole. This, along with additional investment from the Borough of Poole's resources, meant that a total of £50-60 million was available up to 2010 for improving the Council's housing stock. The stock is managed and maintained via ring-fenced account called the Housing Revenue Account and consists of 4600 rented homes and 548 leasehold homes. The effect is increased since the review of Housing Revenue Account". The Council no longer pays a large sum back to central Government from rents every year but is able to use surpluses to fund services, major works projects and new build schemes. This is called 'headroom'. Poole is in a position of starting to finance new affordable housing using undeveloped corner or infill plots and under- utilised garage sites. It is anticipated that this headroom will also be used to fund conversion work at a sheltered scheme to produce a new extra care housing scheme.

In the same way, the purchase programme provide investment to help secure either new build units or street purchases that could then accommodate any necessary adaptations to meet the household's needs. The programme has assisted two households so far into suitable long term housing that would otherwise not been available through the current housing stock.

3.3. Bury, a city part of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority

Situated just north of Manchester, Bury covers an area of 9,919 hectares (24,511 acres). The population is of 185 000, about the same size on Poole. It is located within six township areas each with their own character and history that the Council is keen to preserve. Public health is an issue, the Borough's Joint Strategic Needs Assessment shows a 10 years gap in male life expectancy between the most deprived areas and parts of the Borough which are least deprived. Borough's population has grown at a steady pace over the years and is set to rise from 185,060 to around 221,000 in the next 20 years. However, the proportion of older people will increase from 15% to over 20% of the population, with particular emphasis on the very elderly.

Andrew Cardwell, director of Cardwell's estate agents, said: "Bury has a superb countryside, a greatly improved town centre including the historic Bury market, superb travel links via motorway and Metrolink, popular schools and colleges, excellent employment opportunities and wonderful leisure, sport and recreational facilities."

“Bury is fantastic. It has everything me and my family need, great schools, lots of parks and it’s still so close to Manchester” (City of Bury, 2012)

3.3.1. Housing

The Housing Need & Demand Assessment 2011/12 demonstrated the need for additional housing in the Borough across all tenure types. The aim is to deliver 400 new homes (net) per annum for the next 20 years.

The 2011 Census recorded 81 000 residential dwellings in the Borough of which 78 000 were occupied by one or more resident. Of the total housing stock, 8 000 of these were Council-owned, social rented housing and 4 000 belonged to housing associations. 70 000 dwellings or 90% of the total housing stock are houses or bungalows, with most occupied properties being either 2-bedroom (25 000) or 3-bedroom (35 000) in size. Given that there are an estimated 25 000 single person households in the Borough, under occupancy could soon become an issue as housing costs and the impact of welfare reform increases demand for smaller properties.

With only 7 000 (10%) 1-bedroom, occupied dwellings identified, of which 3 000 are Council-owned rented dwellings, major pressures on the market are anticipated unless a greater number of smaller units – at affordable cost – become available. At the other end of the spectrum, the demand for larger dwellings from the BME and Jewish communities is likely to put pressure on the 13 000 (15%) 4- bedroom.

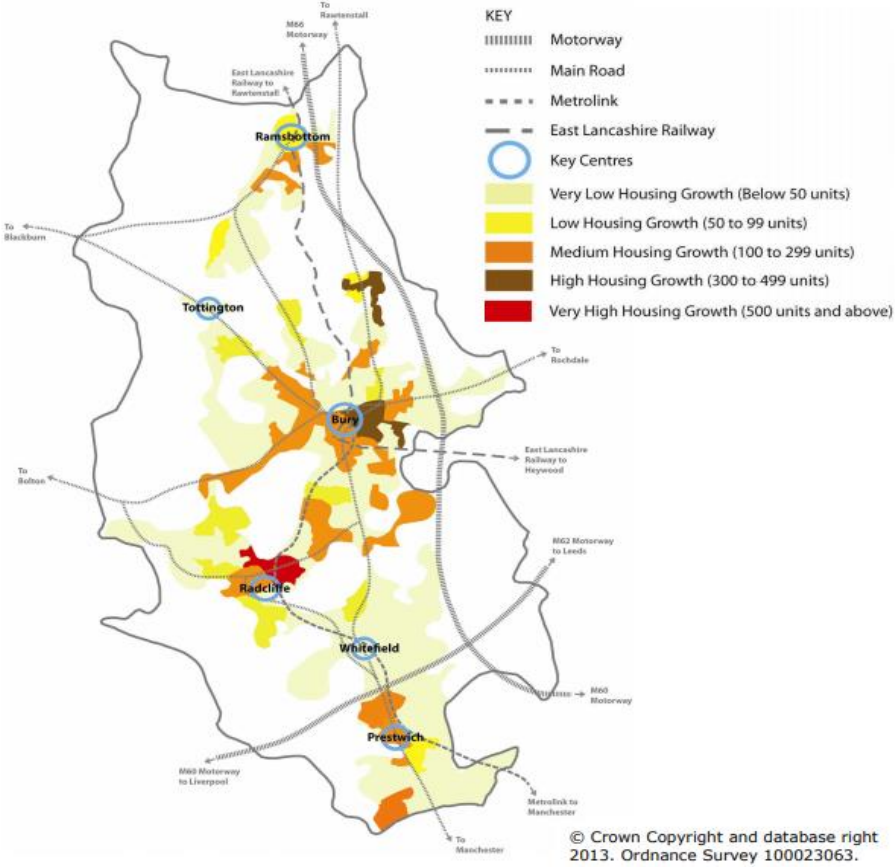
The information above come from Housing strategy of Bury, we observe that the document is more throughout than for Poole. We have detailed information on the dwelling stock, that are not available in Poole or inexistent in Poole. Having precise information about the housing stock is important to estimate the need of housing and the types of housing needed.

The focus of development is on townships where housing land is already available or where the Council wants regeneration. As Bury is constrained by the green belt, it is important that the areas are not over developed.

The average house in Bury will cost about £171 000, which is less than in Poole (£210 000). But depending on the area, price varies greatly, one estate agent recently sold a detached property in Lowerscroft for £575,000.

According to the Office for National Statistics, as of November 2017, the average UK house price reached £226 000. Poole and Bury are a bit under the average price, but if we take London out of the equation, the average goes down and the national average become similar to the price in Poole (City of Bury, 2012).

Figure 7: Map of the development of Bury



Bury’s plan is to have high density building in the center and to have low and medium density of housing in the neighbour towns. We observe here a case of planning together with the surroundings cities, which, if we take apart the case of Bournemouth, is not the case for Poole. Bournemouth is a bigger and more attractive city than Poole, that and the geographical closeness of the two cities brought them to work together. However, Poole do not take into account the need and planned development of its neighbour when building its own strategy. Having a broad view of the territory and the way it changes is necessary to estimate the real need in housing. Thus, Bury as a better view of the need of its territory than Poole.

The need for housing is defined in the “Housing supply Bury’s emerging Local Plan“. It proposes an increase of 6,800 dwellings between 2012/13 to 2028/29 (an average of 400 dwellings per annum). The council has identified sufficient land for this purpose. The vast majority of these additional housing units are likely to be delivered by the private sector, because the Spatial Strategy allows for housing growth across all the urban areas (city of Bury, 2014).

3.3.2. Tools not from CA from bury

To develop the 400 dwellings pa, Bury has many tools at its disposition. the Council introduced a planning policy in 2004 where 25% of units on larger developments have to be made available at affordable levels. In most cases this means at a discounted sale price. To help development going through, the Homes and Communities Agency can secure investment through funding and bids. The section 106 arrangements let the council influence projects with a legislative back-up : they are legal agreements between Local Authorities and developers to obtain planning permissions in counterpart of obligations.

The council also commit to the provision of housing services through fundings. Around £12 million per annum are being channelled into Six Town Housing, an Arm’s Length Management Organisation (ALMO), which was set up in 2005 to manage the housing stock owned by Bury Council. Six Town Housing provide a wide range of services to around 8000 homes in Bury including.

To support delivery, a range of resources exists:

- The existing Council Capital Programme, e.g. Disabled Facilities Grants
- Existing Housing Public Sector Capital Programme - currently based upon historic “Major Repairs Allowance” levels and Disabled Facilities Adaptations
- Identification of any available resources / headroom within the business plan
- Prudential Borrowing – by the Council
- Borrowing by Six Town Housing Limited
- External Funding Opportunities – e.g. Homes & Communities Agency
- Partnership Working – e.g. engaging with other housing providers in the Borough

3.3.3. Urban planning tools specific of combined authority

3.3.3.1. Finance

The Local Government Finance Bill 2016-17 will give directly elected mayors of combined authority powers to levy an infrastructure supplement on non-domestic ratepayers in their area. This means that an addition to business rates can be levied to provide funding for “a project that the authority is satisfied will promote economic development in its area”. It is a tool combined authorities that will help them attain their ambitions and get ahead of non-combined authorities. The decision to levy must be made by the mayor, although relevant authorities with more than one directly elected mayor can exercise this power jointly. Which will probably be used for larger transport projects. Mayors will also have powers to raise business rate supplements for initiatives such as business improvement districts. Overall Combined authority will have a real leverage via levy, to get the fund necessary for their projects. (Janet Mopet, 2017)

Caution have to be taken, because urban planning tools from the government has an history of failure. Even though government initiatives have provided financial tools to developers, there isn't yet any sign of significative growth in the sector. The 2013 Budget has also put forward a further range of options aimed at supporting house buyers. However, experience has shown that government measure tends to result in an increase of house prices and in a larger gap between prices and household incomes. Guaranteeing lending and/or borrowing is not sustainable and risks a return to sub-prime lending – which created the banking crisis of 2007 (city of Bury, 2014).

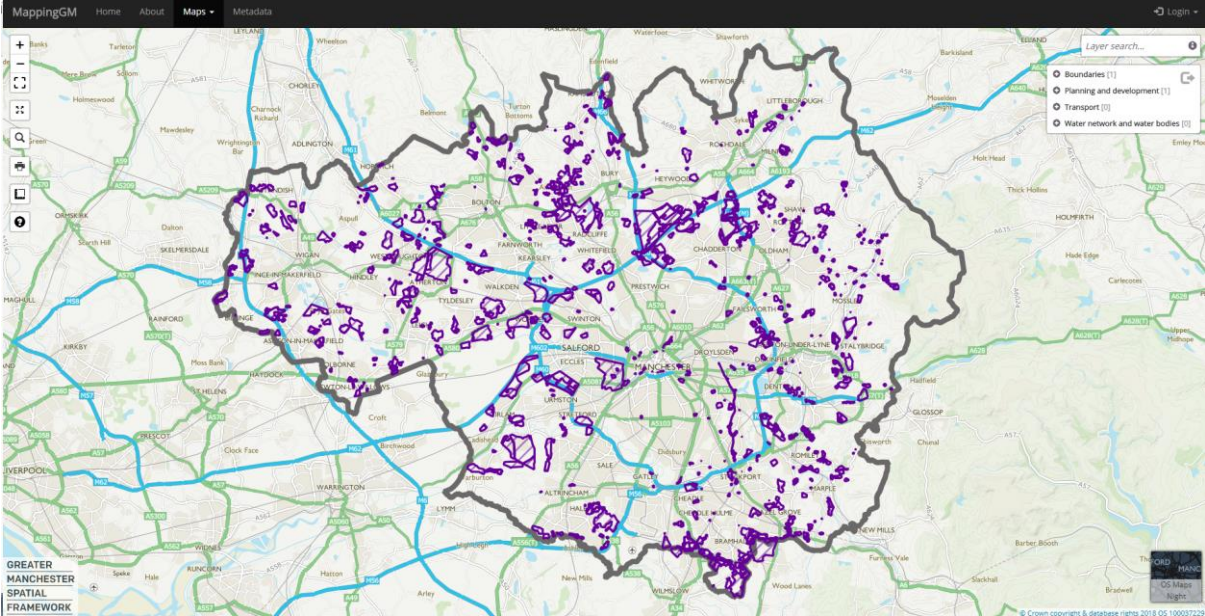
3.3.3.2. Spatial strategy

Hopefully, the fact of being part of a CA gives tools to help tackles local challenges. Thanks to its strong relation with the government's Homes and Communities Agency, Greater Manchester Combined Authority will be able to provide financial opportunities, like the greater Manchester housing fund, and the Housing Market Monitor, an up-to-date overview of the Greater Manchester housing market; property prices, rental market and new-build statistics.

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority have spatial tools that cover a rather large area. It encompasses all participant local authority, and all the borough of GM (it is the same with London's authority).

The Combined authority as develop an interactive map, public and online, with all the proposition of development on GM, and its districts. Which is an useful tool of communication with the public, and give the stakeholder a clear view of the global strategy.

Figure 8: Interactive map of Greater Manchester



The Combined authority also produce a Core strategy plan of action. With one of the objective is to “Provide for a significant increase in high quality housing provision at sustainable locations throughout the city, to both address demographic needs and to support economic growth.”

One of its course of action will be to reduce the number of empty houses. The combined authority produced a small campaign of sensitisation to inform owners of empty houses what they might gain by renting. “An empty home costs an average of over £7,000 a year in lost rent, taxes, insurance and other charges. Add on the costs of disrepair and vandalism and the figure gets even higher.” (combined authority website). The GMCA also remind the owner that they can sell they house to a private agent, or rent it out, in case they didn’t know, and inform the owners that they can get advice from the local council. (all contact information is on the website of the combined authority).

The Council wishes to diversify the housing offer through a policy framework which supports economic growth by creating a more balanced housing market and increase

levels of owner occupation from 46%, which is much lower than the national average of 70%, to 60% by 2015.

The combined authority also has created different tools to tackle empty homes. Owners can get an 'empty house loan' interest free to repair or improve your property. Or, it can apply to a 'leases and repair' if its house is empty since more than 6 months. An association will manage the tenancy, makes the place ready to live in, and finds tenants. The owner also get a guaranteed rental income, minus the repair and management cost. It is also possible to sell the house to this association. They will repair the house (it will reduce the purchase cost) and use it as they want.

In order to tackle the crisis, the city has produce a spatial framework that proposed the development of 225 000 dwelling over the next 20 years (until 2038). It is supposed to provide the land for jobs and new homes across the city region. The first draft was published for public consultation in October 2016. It was successful, with about 27000 response. The largest type of concern was about the amount of greenbelt land allocated for development. According to the combined authority, this was the single biggest issue which was raised during the consultation process. Among the other responses, there was a need for new housing of all types and of a plan to provide housing, concerns around effects on the environment and air quality, happiness from for potential of job creation the framework provided, and a need to link developments to infrastructure improvements

The redrafted spatial framework will aim to make the most of Greater Manchester's brownfield sites and reduce the impact on greenbelt and how to enhance and protect the quality of the natural environment, conserve wildlife and tackle flood risks. There will be a 12 weeks' public consultation in summer 2018.

At the core of the spatial framework lies the stake of building enough houses. To help deliver on this aspiration, Greater Manchester combined authority made the choice of releasing fewer, but larger, sites that have the scale needed to create entirely new neighbourhoods. They must be of good quality, but also bring some great benefits to neighbouring communities. They named this type of development a Garden City Suburb, to follow the trend of creating garden city.

The Greater Manchester Combined authority have a few conditions to make sure that the development will go has planned. There must be a master plan agreed with the

local planning authority, the development must be carefully phased, with supportive infrastructure, facilities and environmental measure. If there are houses, there must include affordable, social or shared ownership housing, with a mix of housing type and density. Finally, the development must reduce the risk of flooding and Co2 emission on the scale of the combined authority.

3.3.4. Bury has more dwelling built than Poole

Poole is planning to develop 600 dwellings pa, which a lot more than Bury, whose plan is to build 400 pa. However, Poole is failed completely to attain its objective, with only 100 sites found in the 4 years since it published its plan. Bury, on the other hand, has found sites able to develop 270 dwellings pa, about 11 times more than Poole. Both are way behind the need of housing that they defined in their core strategy, but attain each year more than 65% of its housing need whereas Poole only attain 4%.

Table 4: Key-numbers of Bury and Pole

	Bury	Poole
Population	180 000	150 000
Housing need pa in the core strategy	400	600
Development planned by the council (site found) pa	270	25

The spatial planning tools for Bury and Poole have differences. It explains differences in the development of dwellings in Poole and Bury, even though they close in size, in population and in housing need.

The difference can be explained by the advantages, both financial and in spatial tools, brought to Bury by the combined authority of Greater Manchester.

The result of our research let us expect that the housing crisis is still growing, but it might grow slower, thanks to the combined authorities.

4. Strengths and Weaknesses of the combined Authorities

In this part, we will show the result of our analysis. Since the reader may not have deep knowledge of England, here are some relevant information about the different combined authorities.

This comparison will not include the devolution deals of North East and West Yorkshire combined authority, for the sole reason that they are none available. They retire from the deals because they feared the BREXIT will negatively impact the Combined authority. However, the government have seem to succeed in convincing them otherwise, because they are both working on one. they should be Combined authorities in late 2018-early 2019, if everything goes as planned.

4.1. Construction of a grid of analysis

In order to understand how combined authorities worked, and what their differences and similarities were, we tried to compare their devolution deals. We compared Cambridge & Peterborough, Greater Manchester, Liverpool, Tees Valley, West of England, Sheffield and West Midland, using a set of criterias.

- Selective policy, because it establishes a standard and it is measurable. It shows how much the devolution deal are identical to each other's and their lack of flexibility.
- Funding programmes and public investment, because it enables the implementation of policies. It shows, how much the government trust the combined authority, and how much it is ready to devolve. It also gives relative information on the supposed strength of the combined authority. Tees Valley, who received an investment fund of 15 million per year for 30 years, is supposedly weaker than the West of England combined authority, who have double that amount.
- Extra-local policy networks, because they represent opportunities to share knowledge
- Localized networking and alliances, because they mean durability. It gives information about which policies the combined authorities are really interested about, and it give relative information about their strength, depending of the coherence of their network.

I also noted the presence of a metro-mayor and their powers, the policies of the combined authorities, the presence of a spatial competence, the level of commitment toward the government and if there was further devolution. It gives information about the capabilities of the Combined authorities to run themselves, and gives potential explanation of the differences between the CA.

The criteria I used to compare the devolutions are resumed in the following Table 5:

Table 5: Table of criteria

Criteria	Definitions
Funding programmes and public investment	Financial grant for the next 30 years and promises to work for the development of the area
Selective policy	The different matters that are being devolved
Governance	Mayor election, presence of cabinet
Power of the metro-mayor	Competence the mayor has over the combined authority
Power of the combined authority	Competence the combined authority has
Spatial competence	Type of power that the combined authority and the mayor have over planning and housing
Commitment from the combined authority or local authorities	Obligations the combined authority have toward central government
Further devolution	Presence of more than one devolution deal
Localized networking and alliances	The different organisation the combined authority is working with

4.2. Comparison of the different combined authorities

Out of the 7 combined authorities that have a devolution deal, only 2 have received further devolution: Greater Manchester has got 4 further devolutions and Liverpool one, about transport, business rate, children’s service, health, housing and justice. It makes it the second combined authority in regard to the number of policies covered. West Midland, West of England, Sheffield, North East and West Yorkshire are currently working with the government to have a devolution deal, be it the first, or a further one.

4.2.1. Governance

All combined authority with a metro mayor has a cabinet made of a representative of councils and, for Cambridge & Peterborough and West Midlands, Local Enterprise Partnerships. In the other combined authorities, the LEP are non-voting members.

Sheffield and West-midland have constituent local authorities, that have a right to vote and have one representative in the cabinet, and non-constituent local authorities.

The mayor is directly elected, so he/she is not a member of any local council. In some case, he/she is requested to become a member of the Local Enterprise Partnership. He/she officially has a role of leadership and decision-taking and a veto vote on any decision. Mayors has a lot of freedom in their role. In fact, their opponents claim that the role of mayor is publicly unclear. Effectively, they made political promises that are outside their official role

4.2.2. Metro-mayor

The power of the combined authorities is shared between the mayor and the cabinet. There are actually 6 combined authorities with a metro-mayor, Sheffield should be the seventh one when its third devolution deal is signed, in late 2018.

In the devolution deals, the role of the mayor is to lead the combined authority. They have some powers over the combined authorities. The management of the transport budget, power over key roads network, the ability to franchise bus service, the spatial planning policy and housing policy - mayoral development corporations, an investment fund for housing, sometime joint asset boards... The major difference between the 6 mayor's is that the one of Greater Manchester is also the police and crime commissioner.

Despite the devolution they received, which are written in black on white on the devolution deals, the different mayors took actions out of their role, once elected (Calkin, 2017). For example, Greater Manchester, West Midlands and Liverpool mayor have taken actions to tackle homelessness, even though it is not a mayoral responsibility or one over which they have direct powers. Nevertheless, homeless is a problem in these territories, and these mayors have made political promises to tackle the issue once elected (Calkin, 2017). Their opponents are correct to said that the role of the metro-mayor is unclear.

All mayors will have responsibilities for transport, housing, regeneration, and skills and business advice. All except the Mayor of the West Midlands will have powers in strategic planning, which will see a new generation of strategic plans emerge in England. All have responsibilities for culture and the arts, except the Mayors for Cambridgeshire and Peterborough and the West of England. Three have responsibility for energy – in Liverpool, Tees Valley, and the West of England. The Greater Manchester Mayor will have specific powers in health, which have been the subject of a side arrangement through a memorandum of understanding. In Cambridgeshire and Peterborough there has been an agreement that a new degree-awarding university will be located in Peterborough. (Janet Mophet, 2017)

The mayors have been building relationships and alliances since their election. The West of England mayor and the Tees Valleys mayors have met with 4 ministers in their first 100 days of being elected. Peterborough and Cambridge's mayors have met 4 secretaries and 2 ministers in the same amount of time. The most popular mayor is the one of West-Midland. He has had twice as many official meeting with ministers as any others elected mayors in their first 100 days in office (Calkin, 2017).

Calkin state in his article about the metro-mayor that some had played more important role than other: "Greater Manchester and the west midland (mayor's) have demonstrated their potential is huge." (Calkin, 2017)

Another article of Calkin stated the "most significant achievement" of each mayor. It says that the West of England mayor has launched a regional strategy in business, transport, housing and universities. Liverpool actions have been weaker than the one of West of England, mostly because Liverpool city region doesn't have a spatial planning policy. Liverpool has been trying to tackle homelessness with a housing first approach. However, since it doesn't have a spatial planning policy, thus have no power over land, its approach is to locate the homeless in community houses, and to use the Compulsory Purchase Order to increase the number of shelters (Blood & al, 2017). A rather expensive and inefficient approach overall.

West Midland mayor has negotiated a second devolution deal with the central government. The article says that it is not surprising given the considerable amount of political capital the government invested in his mayoral campaign (Calkin, 2017).

Cambridge and Peterborough mayors has delivered a plan for 253 homes, thanks to its spatial planning policy.

4.2.3. Policies

4.2.3.1. Selective policy

The government have fixed the different policies devolution deal (Sandford, 2016). As the combined authority had no autonomy over the structure of the devolution deal, there was little innovation. In fact, there are several similarities in the policy of the devolution deals agreed to a date.

4.2.3.2. Common policies

- **Economic growth:** Every combined authority worked closely with the United Kingdom Trade and Investment agency, which help the foreign enterprise to settle in the United Kingdom. For example, Tees Valley established an employment support system and works with the government to reduce the impact of the industrial closure.
- **Skills funding:** adult and child's skill funding
- **Transport budgets and buses:** franchise bus service, key road network
- **Health and care:** Work with the government to improve the integration of health and care. They produced a business plan with the Greater Manchester Clinical Group and worked with the government to establish a Life chance investment fund for the troubled families. On a lesser scale, West of England also tackles this issue by producing a National work and Health programme, to help the unemployed with disabilities. The Greater Manchester combined authority has received the control of the 6 billion budget for health and care, that had been devolved to Manchester city. (Greater Manchester, Cambridge & Peterborough, Cornwall, Liverpool, West of England)

These policies, except spatial planning, are present in every devolution deals. It represents a broad range of policies overall but doesn't let much flexibility.

Some combined authorities also have a few policies that are not on the available policy item made by the government. They must have been from special agreements during

the devolution deal negotiation. Ms Hickman said in our interviews that negotiations are made behind closed doors by the leader of local authorities and government representative. It would be very interesting to get information about what is said during these negotiations.

Here is an exhaustive list of the policies that were agreed in a devolution deal even though they weren't part of the authorised list made by the government.

4.2.3.3. Special policies

- **Culture:** The Department of Culture and the Arts Council England will work with the combined to enhance the heritage of the combined authority (Tees Valley, Liverpool, Cornwall).

Liverpool combined authority have this policy because it was elected European Capital of Culture in 2008. Tees valley, on the other hand could have taken this policy to enhance its attractivity. The North-East of England has the lowest population growth of UK, with + 6,000 people in 2015, it is so in part because it suffered from the economic crisis of 2007, but also because of its image. It is seen as an industrial place, and even though it as very cheap housing, people do not move there. (Population Estimates, 2015).

- **Energy and Environment:** Work with the government on a low-carbon strategy with the Department of Energy and Climate Change. (West of England, Tees Valley, Liverpool, Cornwall, Greater Manchester).

Sheffield, Cambridge and Peterborough and West-Midland don't have an energy policy, maybe because they are the biggest combined authorities in local authorities, respectively 9,7, and 18. Producing a plan for them is harder because of the sheer size of their territory.

Tees valley and West of England have respectively 5 and 3 local authorities, so a much smaller territory. The other 2 combined authorities with an energy policy are Liverpool, who is also a rather small combined authority, with 6 local authorities, and Greater Manchester, the exemption that confirm the rule.

- **Justice:** Work with the government to strengthen the joined up local criminal justice services. (Greater Manchester, Liverpool)
- **Public estate:** A government agency will help with the management of the public estate, which in Cornwall is part locally owned and part nationally owned. (Cornwall)

- **Community safety:** Work with Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub, Victims' Hub, Troubled Families programme and the government to reduce domestic violence, child sexual abuse and elderly violence in Cambridge & Peterborough. (Cambridge & Peterborough)
- **Public reform:** Work with the government on prisons, hospitals, drug treatment facilities, etc. with the government in West Midland. (West Midland)

Overall there are a lot of policies, covering a very large part of running a local government. However, the policies are all treated in the same way: a partnership with the government to look at the issue and draft a plan. It doesn't let much room for local initiative.

4.2.3.4. Spatial policy

We place most importance in the ability to produce a spatial framework on the scale of the combined authority, because it gives access to the land and give the possibility to do spatial planning, the coordination of practices and policies affecting spatial organization. It means the combined authorities can plan over the border of the local authorities. It let the combined authority a chance to do some strategic planning that can be relevant for the whole combined authority.

The European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning declared that it gives geographical expression to the economic, social, cultural and ecological policies of society. This practice is essential for long-term, sustainable answers to the common stake of any territory: joining economic growth, housing needs, quality of life, and protection of the environment.

Spatial planning really is an important tool for the local authority, difficult to give away to the metro-mayor. That might explain why only 4 devolution deals have spatial policies: it must have brought to many oppositions. 2 of the 4 are the last combined authority to be formed (Calkin, 2017), so maybe we will see more spatial planning policies in the new combined authorities.

Even though the 6 combined authority that has a metro mayor have one or more Mayoral Development Corporation, agencies lead by the metro-mayor that seek to prioritise economic development and housing on the under-developed land. Some combined authorities have additional spatial tools, like regional framework, brownfield

register, or compulsory purchase order, whereas Cornwall doesn't have any spatial competence.

The Greater Manchester combined authority has a Land Commission (as Liverpool and Cambridge & Peterborough) that oversee the utilisation of the public-sector estate, and create a database of all public sector land to deliver more than 10,000 new homes per annum. The Land Commission is jointly chaired by the Mayor and Housing Minister, and will include Ministers from key land-owning Departments. For Greater Manchester and Cambridge & Peterborough combined authorities, which have investment fund for housing, this tool is efficient to provide housing, because it has both a fund and a partnership with the government.

4.2.4. Funding programmes and public investment

What doesn't fall in the hand of the metro-mayor is for the cabinet. They all manage their investment fund over 30 years and an adult education budget and all the policies that are not planning or transport.

Every combined devolution deals involve an investment fund for 30 years from the central government. It varies between 15 million per year for the Tees Valley combined authority to 36.5 million per year for the West Midland combined authority. This investment fund is supposed to help the combined authority to have the means to run themselves. Alongside the fund, they have the authorization to raise a levy, to retain business rate and to borrow money. If the combined authority has a metro-mayor, it will be able to raise a precept on constituent authorities' council tax bills (Sandford, 2017).

Apart from the investment fund, the devolution deals sometimes have other funding programmes and public investment from the central government.

In **West of England** combined authority, the government commits to 30 million investment fund per year for 30 years and to working with the West of England Combined Authority and local partners to realise the economic potential of the Bristol and Bath Science Park and the Junction 21 Enterprise Area Food Enterprise Zone.

On the other hand, the central government is cutting financial support to Bristol and neighbouring authorities. The Bristol city council financial support will go from 201 million pounds in 2010 to 45 million pounds in 2019. A difference of 156 million pounds,

or a 78% cut in financial support. Hambleton admits that as the combined authority as another tool to receive fund, like control of the business rate, the gap is less than that. But it is still a “gaping fiscal chasm”. (Hambleton, 2016)

In **Cambridgeshire and Peterborough** combined authority, it commits to an investment fund of 20 million per year for 30 years, for a £70 million investment over five years for housing for Cambridge and a £100 million investment on housing and infrastructure for greater Cambridge. The government will also collaborate with the combined authority to improve the Digital Infrastructure.

In **Cornwall**, there is no investment fund for 30 years, but there is still a commitment from the government. Cornwall will, with the devolution deal, got a 16 million investment to build a new road in Camborne. In addition, the Homes and Communities Agency will list all land and property assets held within Cornwall by the Agency, in order to help develop new dwellings.

All the combined authorities stated next will have one shared commitment: help to achieve a Science and Innovation Audit.

In **Liverpool city region** combined authority, the government commits to a 30 million investment fund per year for 30 years and to improve the culture, with a business model for the museums; the transport infrastructure, with a Special Rail Grant Settlement for the Mersey rail network.

In **Tees Valley** combined authority, it commits to a 15 million investment fund per year for 30 years and to supporting the economic growth with ‘Her Majesty revenue.

In **West Midlands** combined authority, it commits to a 36.5 million investment fund per year for 30 years and to support the Growth Strategy and Midlands Engine for Growth, to fund Curzon Street Enterprise zone and the east side metro extension.

In **Greater Manchester** combined authority, it commits to funding a 300 million for a housing investment, an investment fund of 30 million per year for 30 years. The investment fund will enable the Trafford Metro link extension to be funded

In **Sheffield city region** combined authority, the government commit to an investment fund of 30 million over 30 years. It also commits on the creation of a Northern Powerhouse; the development of Phase Two of the HS2 network, a high-speed

railway, and collaboration on a Trans North rail enhancement and Trans Pennine Road Tunnel and to give contact of embassy and consulate.

Cornwall, which is not a combined authority, have not received an investment fund over 30 years. Therefore, it is advantageous for the local authority to form one, at least in a financial point of view.

In every devolution deal, the government commit itself to invest in their industries, infrastructure, culture and their international recognition. The deal with the most devolution is the one of Greater Manchester Combined authority. It has the highest investment fund, with 300 million for housing. Next is Cambridge & Peterborough, with investment half as big for housing, Cambridge has a history of working with the government.

The devolution deals have a lot of agreement of partnership with different governmental agencies and departments to enhance the industries, the infrastructure, the culture and the international recognition. The commitment sometimes seems more like partnerships between government and combined authority than anything else. Having a working relationship with the government is an efficient way of adapting the devolution deal to the needs of the territory. It permits to have a focus on railway, powerhouse, or a science and innovation audit, etc.

4.2.5. Commitment

The devolution deal also asks for a commitment from the combined authority. Every step, every action they do as to be scrutinised and evaluate by the government. They have to produce an implementation framework for the investment fund, to do a financial risk assessment, and a Gateway assessment.

We really see the difference between the combined authorities and the others, Cornwall commitments don't imply to be scrutinised by the government. It has to meet the public target in housing, to implement a bus system ticket that covers the whole county, to deliver jobs and a low carbon enterprise zone and to do a full review of their land holding. The government ask Cornwall for results, and it let them free card.

4.2.6. Partnerships

In the devolution deal, the combined authorities state when they are collaborating with other organisations on each and every action and plan they prepare. Some are collaborating a lot more than other, some don't have any partnership in functions they got devolution in. Studying the network of the combined authority gives information about the strength, and the extent of their network. Consequently, on their ability to have impactful actions. I tried to give a value to the different combined authorities based on the quantity and quality of their network.

4.2.6.1. West of England

This combined authority is soaring, with one of the fastest growing population of England. In its economic growth policy, it is working with

- Department for Business, Innovation and Skills and Department for Work and Pension;
- United Kingdom of Trade and Investment, it helps the foreign enterprise to settle in UK;
- Careers and Enterprise Company, connect student and employers;
- National Careers Service, provide information, advice and guidance;
- Foreign Direct Investment survey, collects financial information relating to direct investment in the UK by enterprises located abroad;
- Local Enterprise Partnership of West of England; which manage the West of England Growth Hub;

In its transport policy, it is working with the Department for Transport and the Network Rail, the company managing the trains network, and with the Department of Energy and Climate on its energy policy. It also has partnerships with the regional public bodies of South Wales and Highways England, two of its neighbours.

To sum up, West of England has an intense focus on its economic growth, with 7 partnerships with various organizations, mostly governmental agencies. However, it does not have partnerships on any other of its policies, (Skills, Spatial Planning) it just states that the government will work with them. West of England is not isolated from its closest neighbours, which is a positive sign, but it has no link with the others combined authorities. In a meeting with the combined authority, I learned that their

relationship with their surrounding communities was only informal. Overall it has a weak network.

4.2.6.2. Tees Valley

It is located in the North, it suffers from des-industrialisation and really need a strong economic growth policy. In its economic growth policy, it is working with.

- Department for Business Innovation and skills and Department for Work and Pension;
- Local Enterprise Partnership of Tees valley;
- United Kingdom of Trade and Investment, it helps the foreign enterprise to settle in UK;
- SSI Task Force Jobs and Skills Fund, that collect and advertise job offer;

In its transport policy, it is working with the

- Department of Transport;
- Rail North, an organization that brings together local transport authorities across the North of England and that manage two rail franchises, TransPennine Express and Northern Rail.
- It is a new member of Transport for the North.

Tees Valley is also working with the Department for Education, to improve the skills of the population, and with the Arts Council England and Her Majesty Revenue and Custom to enhance the culture of the territory; with the Department of Climate and Energy on its energy policy.

Tees Valley is not working with any other local authorities and have a lesser network in business. Nevertheless, it has a strong network, answering each of his policies.

4.2.6.3. *Liverpool city region*

This combined authority is located in the North-West of England. Warrington and West Lancashire Councils, two neighbours, are Associate Members of the Combined Authority. In its economic growth, it is working with the

- Department for work and pension;
- Liverpool Local Enterprise Partnership, which manage the Liverpool city region's Growth Hub
- Careers and Enterprise Company, connect student and employers;
- National Careers Service, which provide information, advice and guidance;
- United Kingdom of Trade and Investment, it help the foreign enterprise to settle in UK;
- International Festival for Business;
- Local Enterprise Partnership

In its health and care policy it is working with the Clinical commissioning group and the NHS England, which oversees the budget, planning, delivery and day-to-day operations, to implement health and care service.

It also works with Her Majesty Revenue and Custom for its culture policy; with the Office of Gaz and the Department of Energy and Climate change for its energy policy; with the Local colleges and providers and the Regional School Commissioner on its skill policy; with Merseyside and Cheshire Police and Crime Commissioners on its justice policy.

To sum up, Liverpool has strong partnerships and alliances for its economic growth and also has a network in health service, culture and energy, but not with any transport organization. It has include two communities as associated member of the combined authority. Overall it has the tools to run itself in an efficient way.

4.2.6.4. *West Midland*

It is a very big combined authority, with 18 local authorities and 4 Local Enterprise Partnerships. For its economic growth, it has partnerships with the

- Department for work and pension;
- United Kingdom of Trade and Investment, it help the foreign enterprise to settle in UK;
- Automotive Investment Organisation, it works with overseas investors to increase investment into UK Automotive;
- Local Enterprise Partnership

On its transport competence, it will work with

- The Department for Transport;
- High Speed 2 Ltd, the company responsible for developing the high speed rail network;
- Highways England, the company managing the motorway and major roads and Network Rail, the company managing the trains network.

On its health and care policy, it will work with

- The local Clinical Commissioning Groups
- NHS England
- the Work and Health Unit nationally to enable timely health-based support.

The West Midland combined authority is working with the Government Property Unit, to have more cost-effective service, for its public service reform policy; with the local college and providers and the Regional School Commissioner for its skill policy.

West Midland doesn't have a spatial planning competence, but it is working with the Homes and Communities Agency, a governmental agency who fund affordable housing and help create communities.

Overall, West Midland combined authority has a strong network, with partnerships in every policy. It as a weaker network in the economy than average, with only 4 partnerships, but it has 3 partnerships in transport, as Tees Valley combined authority,

which is a lot. But if feel like Tees Valley have better partnerships, because it is a new member of Transport for the North, so it should be more able to take actions.

Again, there is no relationship with the surrounding communities or with the other combined authority stated in the devolution deal.

4.2.6.5. Greater Manchester

It is the oldest combined authority and the one with the most devolution deals. It is a bit of a special case, its first devolution deal was made before the government gave an official structure to the contract, so it focused on the health and care implementation but didn't have devolution in a lot of areas. The others devolution deals it received gave it the usual policies: skills, economic growth, transport, etc. But it also has Justice, health and care and Spatial planning policies. In its economic growth policy, it is working with the

- Departments for Business, Innovation and Skills, Department for Work and Pensions;
- United Kingdom of Trade and Investment, it help the foreign enterprise to settle in UK;
- Greater Manchester Local Enterprise Partnership, Growth Hub

It is working on its housing plan with the Homes and Communities Agency for its spatial planning policy; with the Departments of Education and local schools on its skill policy; with the Department of Energy and Climate Change on its energy policy; with the Department for Transport and the Rail industry on its transport policy; with Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service and the Community Rehabilitation Company on its justice policy;

In its health and care policy, it is working with the

- Greater Manchester Clinical Commissioning Groups;
- Public Health, an international, multidisciplinary peer-reviewed journal;
- Local Authority social care, Greater Manchester combined authority has control of the budget of health and social care.

To sum up, the combined authority doesn't have a good economic network, but it has a few partnerships on each of its policies. It is a coherent and strong network. However, there are still no partnerships with its neighbours.

4.2.6.6. Peterborough and Cambridge

It has a joint collaboration with the Norfolk and Suffolk areas. It is only combined authority to have a partnership with another territory written down in its devolution deal. In its economic growth policy, it is working with the

- Department for work and pensions;
- United Kingdom of Trade and Investment, it helps the foreign enterprise to settle in UK;
- Greater Cambridge Greater Peterborough Local Enterprise Partnership.

It is working on its health and care policy with

- Clinical Commissioning Group;
- NHS, which oversees the budget, planning, delivery and day-to-day operations to implement health and care services;
- England and the Health and Work Unit;

It is working with the West Anglia Main Line Task Force, an organization that improves the West Anglia main line and the Department for Transport on its transport policy; with the Homes and Communities Agency and the Community Land Trusts on its spatial planning policy; with the Regional Schools Commissioner, local education stakeholders on its skills policy; with the Multi-agency Safeguarding Hub and the Victims' Hub on its community safety policy.

Overall, Peterborough and Cambridge combined authority have a coherent network, with partnerships for each of its policies. The area in which it stands out, compared to the others, is its health and care policy, with 3 partnerships. Even though it hasn't as much devolution as Greater Manchester (who has complete control on Health and Care), it has a strong network that will probably help it achieve a strong health and care policy.

4.2.6.7. *Sheffield*

This combined authority has two devolution deals, the third one was refused because of political reason. In its economic growth policy, it is working with:

- Department for work and pension;
- United Kingdom of Trade and Investment, it helps the foreign enterprise to settle in UK;
- Careers and Enterprise Company, connect student and employers;
- National Careers Service, provide information, advice and guidance;
- Foreign Direct Investment survey, collects financial information relating to direct investment in the UK by enterprises located abroad;
- HMRC, to assist with understanding the City Region's export market;
- Smart Specialisation Advisory Hub, which does national and local research and Innovation;
- Skills Bank, invests in skills and expertise to drive business growth;
- Bank for international settlement.

In its skill policy, it is working with:

- Regional Schools Commissioner;
- Local colleges and providers;
- Education Funding Agency;
- Skill funding agency.

To sum up, a very strong network of both skills and economic growth. It has the biggest network in the economy, with 9 different organisations. It doesn't have any partnership in transport, nor in spatial planning, however. It seems Sheffield is a very specialised combined authority, but how can it run itself properly without partnerships and alliance in every area? Overall it is a weak network.

As an element of comparison, I will also value the network of **Cornwall**, a unitary authority. In its economic growth policy, it is working with the

- Department for Work and Pensions;
- Aerohub Enterprise Zone;
- Innovate UK, drive growth by working with companies to de-risk, enable and support innovation;

- Enterprise Europe Network
- Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Local Enterprise Partnership, Cornwall and Isles of Scilly's Growth Hub.

It is working with the Government Property Unit and the Homes and Communities Agency on its public estate policy; with Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs and Historic England on its culture policy; with NHS England and the Health Local Estates Forum on its health and care policy; with Skills Bank initiative and the STEM (science technology engineering and mathematics) ambassador school on its skills policy; with the Department of Energy and Climate on its energy policy. It has no partnership on its transport policy.

Cornwall has a strong network in the economy and has some partnerships on each of its policies. In a network point of view, Cornwall is as strong as some combined authorities. The difference is that it has less devolution about each of his policies, so it will not be able to do as much as the combined authority. Still, it shows that the creation of a combined authority is not essential to receive devolution and to be able to run itself efficiently.

[4.3. Ranking of the combined authority](#)

To go further in my analyses, I choose criteria that influence the capacity of combined authority to act upon their stakes. I then marked all criteria for each combined authority. I could then give them a rank, the ones with the best grade being the best combined authority in term of capacity to rule itself. With this valuation system, the max grade is 20. However, the evaluation system was created by myself for the sole purpose of enhancing the difference between the combined authorities that possess a devolution deal. The grades a subjective at most. Having a 20 over 20 does not mean that the combined authority has achieve perfection. It would, however, mean that the combined authority is, compared to the others, in advance in all the parts necessary to be autonomous.

- The 4 combined authority that have a spatial planning policy have 6 points.
- The presence of a metro-mayor automatically give 2 points.

- Then, if the policies devolved are varied, and if there are partnerships in each of the policies, the combined authority can get at most 4 points. We took particular attention to the network in transport and in economic, when marking the coherence of the network.
- Having more than devolution deal is a proof that the first one was successful, it can give either 1 or 2 points, (Greater Manchester got 5 devolutions deals).
- The investment from the central government, either in the form of an investment fund, or in the lending of experts, can give at most 4 points. We believe that the help from the government is as important as the coherence of the network of the combined authority.
- Lastly, we give at most 2 points for the Health and Care policy, it is a stake for the quality of life in the combined authority. We wanted to mark this policy along with the coherence of the network, giving more point to combined authority who had this policy. But it is more relevant to separate it, because it is a stake with short-term expectancy whereas what we looked into in the network was the capacity to run itself on the long-run.

Table 6: Evaluation of Combined Authorities on their spatial autonomy

Criteria	Greater Manchester	Cambridge and Peterborough	West of England	Sheffield	Liverpool	West Midland	Tees Valley	Cornwall
Spatial planning policy	6	6	6	6	0	0	0	0
Successful devolution	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
Coherent network	2	4	2	2	4	2	1	3
Investment from the government	4	4	3	3	3	3	2	1
Health and Care policy	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
Metro mayor	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	0
Total	18	17	13	12	11	8	5	4

The strongest is the Greater Manchester combined authority, with 18 points, because it received a lot of devolution and has both a coherent network and a lot of public

investment from the government and run in a completely autonomous way its health and care policy.

The second one is the Cambridge & Peterborough combined authority, with 17 points because it received more public investment than the others (except Greater Manchester) and have received great devolution in health and care.

The third one is the West of England, with 13 points, because it has a strong network in economy and in transport and because it is one of the richest area of England. However, it lacks partnerships in skills and in spatial planning.

The fourth one is Sheffield, with 12 points, because it has a strong network in skills and the biggest network in economy. However, it doesn't have any partnerships in transport nor in spatial planning. It is about as able to run itself as West of England, but it doesn't have a metro mayor (yet).

The fact that those four combined authorities have a spatial planning policies make them very similar to what a metropolis should have in autonomy.

The fifth one is Liverpool, with 11 points, thanks to its second devolution deal, that increased his range of policies. It has a coherent network as well, with partnerships in each of his policies, however, it doesn't have a spatial planning policy which shows that it isn't ready to govern itself on the long run.

The sixth is West-Midland, with 8 points, the largest in local authorities. I give it this rank because even if it as really strong networks, with partnerships in every organisation, and devolution in health and care, it also has a policy to improve the efficiency of his public service, which means that it is so inefficient that the government will reorganise it. It will add stress on a combined authority already struggling with governing a very big territory. In addition, it doesn't have a spatial planning policy, which we believe is essential for the autonomy of the combined authority.

The last one is the Tees Valley, with 5 points. Even if it has a coherent network, the investment fund it received from the government is very low, which mean that it might not have a lot of potential for growth, or it might be because the government don't trust it to be able to govern itself. In both case, it is a negative sign. What's more, it is one of the poorer area of England, where the government commit to improve the economy.

Cornwall is far behind the combined authority in autonomy, with only 4 points. First because it is the poorer area of England, then because its devolution is unclear. Without any investment from the government, and only small promise of help (mostly in the housing policy). It also has, as the West Midland, a policy about improving public service. The positive sign is that it has a coherent network.

5. Reluctance from local authorities to form combined authorities

Our hypothesis about the reluctance to join a combined authority is that the relationships between combined authorities and local authorities are unequal. One local authority alone will seem weak in comparison to a group of local authorities working together. In addition, combined authorities have powers and financial help from the government. Consequently, local authorities fear to get overwhelmed by combined authorities. (Townsend, nd).

5.1. There is no devolution

The article of Hambleton on the super-centralisation of the English state explains that the UK is planning for the state when the globalising economy requires planning for the cities. The turning point may have been with the Rates Act of 1984 of the Conservative Prime Minister Thatcher, which let the government decide how much tax local authorities could apply on their territory. At least 60% of local authority revenue requirements come from locally decided taxes (Hambleton, 2016).

Even though the government is publicly saying it is devolving powers, Ministers are choosing which localities can benefit from the devolution deals, and what funding goes to which areas. Combined authorities were imposed a metro-mayor when they didn't want one (Hambleton, 2016).

Can combined authority be part of a devolution approach, when the directly elected mayors of combined authorities and the councillors who work with them will be, despite their local electoral legitimacy, expected to be directly answerable in their results, to Ministers in Whitehall? In Hambleton point of view, elected local councillors should be free to design and develop alternative forms of governance for combined authorities.

5.2. Local authority's leaders fear to lose power locally if part of a combined authority

Local authorities seem to be reluctant to join combined authorities. In West of England combined authority, North Somerset was supposed to join but refused to sign the devolution deal. Different arguments can explain this choice.

Even though the combined authorities come with investment fund ranging from 15 to 40 million a year for the next 30 years, and that the central government promise to work with them, many local authorities think that devolution deals lack financial benefit from (Townsend, nd).

Another argument for the reluctance of local authorities is the established rivalries and jealousy that every organisation possess. There always are problems of personal rivalries and interests of councillors. For Alan Townsend, the most widespread stated reason for the failure of proposals lay in councillors, arguing and voting against their 'subordination' to a mayor, even though agreements typically require the mayor to achieve a two-thirds majority of the leaders of the authorities in the combined authority, which otherwise continue as before. Specifically for combined authority, councillors are afraid to be at a disadvantage from the central city in term of decision-making and economic competition. (Townsend, nd).

The answer of the government to opposition doesn't led to more trust. In the case of the metro-mayor election, West-Midland's population voted against it in a referendum in 2012 (58%), but were still imposed a metro-mayor. According to Bill Etheridge (UK Independence party), it is a betrayal of democracy to have impose a mayor to the combined authority.

Finally, local authorities are afraid of the possible change in the political background link to the Brexit. The devolution deals in the North East, in Norfolk and Suffolk, and in Greater Lincolnshire have collapsed because of uncertainty from the government to continue the devolution deal after the Brexit.

[5.3. Good practice guide for better-combined authorities](#)

The first point is clarity. The rationales and principles of decentralisation are cloudy. The government should produce a 'decentralisation road map' to have a better strategy for decentralisation.

The second point is the network. It is necessary for the combined authority to share knowledge, experience and practice through a network, exactly like the network of the European green capital. It should be composed of the combined authorities, and others similar governmental structure abroad, like the French metropole or the Italian metropolis. It would permit combined authority to cooperate on planning issues that cross administrative boundaries and coordinate strategic priorities (Boddy & al, 2013)

The third point is freedom. Boddy and Hickman said in their article about The impact of the abolition of Regional Spatial Strategy in a growth region, that there should be more strict assessment of the result of the combined authority. But doing so would only keep them from trying new type of governance. **The combined authority should have the right to be wrong.** There should be more freedom about the assessment of delivery. If it is normal that there is an appraisal of the results of the combined authorities. It shouldn't be the government that assess them. An independent assessment would avoid political bias, as some metro-mayor are conservatives and others are liberal-democrats. That is why the government should establish a Decentralisation Commission, with independence and authority to assess combined authority and develop new models of intermediate governance arrangement with variable functions, geography, powers, resources and accountabilities.

With these 3 points taken into account in the next devolution deals, combined authorities would become much stronger.

CONCLUSION

This research dissertation was for me the occasion to discover England's spatial planning. We had to investigate England administration, politics and economy to understand the role Combined authority were supposed to have. We tried to link the combined authority to the French "metropolis" and to build a "guide" on "how to be a metropolis", that we hope might be useful for both countries.

We asked ourselves if combined authorities were better armed to tackle the affordable housing crises. Because they have governmental funds and are devolve powers and spatial planning tools.

We discovered that combined authorities a tool to bring local authorities together to form functional region outside the administrative boundaries of counties. However local authorities show reluctance to join, both because it means giving up power to a larger authority, and because the political background is particularly unstable, because of the BREXIT.

To answer our research question, we compared 2 cities, similar on every point, except that one is part on the Greater Manchester Combined authorities and the other isn't. We discover that both did not attain the housing need they themselves defined in their core strategy, but Bury, from the CA, was much closer to the objective than Poole.

To get information on the combined authority, we mainly extracted data from devolution deals, contract between combined authorities and the central government that define the devolution and range of action of each combined authority. We found information that led us to value the strengths of the combined authorities: They all have a strong legitimacy, that could be improve by clarifying the role of the metro-mayor, and they are more or less autonomous, depending of the combined authority. We used the information acquired to grade and then give a rank to each of them, from the most autonomous to the least. Without surprises, the combined authority closest to the ideal of a metropole is the Greater Manchester combined authority, for it was a combined authority before the concept existed. It already had devolution from the central government and overall very close links with it.

My reflexion was enriched by interviews, which let me discover that combined authorities do not have any formal network together. They speak together informally, and exchange information, but there are no official joint plan or collaboration between them, even though some are very close geographically.

We found that devolution deals are a rigid structure that force the combined authority to deal with many functions, even if the way they handle their network shows that some would have like to have less. The shape of their network shows which policies really interested each combined authority. Some only have partnerships in only 2 or 3 policies, whereas other have partnership in all of them. They all had 1 or 2 special policies, like Justice or Health and Care. What is still unclear is how far the mayors will be able to overcome their boundary issues through strategic planning.

The Government has started to make annual reports of the progress of the CA. It will be interesting to see what progress is made in future. It is expected that all the directly elected mayors will meet on a regular basis, and their combined powers and budgets will be significant in influencing central government decision-making.

In addition to all the expected challenges of working together in these new CAs, directly elected mayors will have other, more local issues to address. The Centre for Cities has suggested that the challenges for the incoming mayors will be related to the future for the UK outside the EU.

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RESUME

Combined authority is a new model of governance that can be linked to the notion of metropolitan government. They are a tool to devolve power from the central government and reduce the distance between urban planning and local territory. It is a top-down approach, with many incentives from the government, in the form of investment funds, and the promise to help the development of the districts that joins the movement.

Key-words : Combined authority ; Metropolis ; Devolution deal