



A Manifesto for the North

Foreword

There have been too many platitudes written about the North, and too many partial and piecemeal policies that have done little to reverse the decades of decline. For years, a combination of indifference and fatalism has left local leaders with a monopoly on power content to administer decline, and thus they must share some of the blame.

Similarly though, we have had national politicians who have relentlessly prescribed a medicine that harms the patient yet further, or else kills them altogether. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to say that we have progressively and aggressively only ever applied two solutions to the north, statism, or the untrammeled free market. Neither has worked, with some parts of the north visibly damaged by both.

But instead of repeating the familiar history of Northern poverty, exclusion, educational failure, crime and life expectancy, the time has come to make a decisive break with the past. We need Northern leaders to collaborate beyond city and region, to come together as a Council of the North and demand systemic and transformational change from the Westminster government. The north needs massive investment at scale and across multiple sectors at the same time. It needs to recreate its entire economic ecosystem and start making 'Whole North' choices and 'Whole North' investments.

Of all the post-war innovations and attempts at reversing abject decline, the Northern Powerhouse has come closest to what is needed. With its mixture of place-based devolution and connectivity, it has at last created an international brand and vision that has shifted the perception of what might be possible. In this way it has finally created the vehicle that might serve as a conduit for massive private sector investment.

These are welcome developments, but we must go further and faster. For instance, on transport we must get going on a direct high-speed east to west line. More generally, the city-region devolution deals should be seen as an opening not a final offer from central government – with the decentralisation of investment decisions greatly expanded in scope and scale.

Post-Brexit, we must not lose the north once more. We must maintain the urgent reinvention of our country. We must demand from those who would be our leaders that they mirror their paeans to social justice with a New Deal for the North, a new deal equal in scale and ambition to what FDR offered a struggling America in the 1930's. Nothing less will do, nothing less will deliver. During the 19th century life in the North was fundamentally changed as prosperity and widespread economic growth was attained. It has achieved this transformation once before and it can do so again. ResPublica offers the ideas herein as its contribution to the promise, and resurrection, of the North.

Welfare & Employment

Across the UK employment rates are at a historic high, with almost 2.4 million jobs created between 2006 and 2015. Yet across the North of England just 360,000 jobs have been created during the same period. Levels of employment, economic activity, unemployment and job density remain below the national average and at broadly the same level as they were 10 years ago, before the financial crisis. Some Northern cities have prospered but for too many workers in the North, wages have failed to increase and lag behind the national average. The North and many of its cities in particular, are amongst the UK's lowest wage and highest welfare economies.

High levels of welfare dependency and failing employment programmes are holding back the North from realising its growth potential. A complete Northern rework of the welfare and employment system is needed to structure employment provision around the industries that already exist in the North as well as those that it wants to create.

Devolve the advisory functions of JobCentre Plus. There is considerable dead weight in the system with most people finding employment by their own means, and little evidence that standard services can help people who need it most even in the best of labour market conditions - over 90% of JSA claimants enter employment within 52 weeks.¹ Personal support to help the long-term unemployed and those with complex needs should be decoupled from the process of benefit administration. Job centres should be opened up to competition and allow trusted agencies to provide support. Devolving employment services could provide a more integrated and holistic system that can not only help people into work but help support them to stay in work.

Devolve welfare benefits to achieve parity with Scotland. Northern cities should seek to develop an 'ask' of government to devolve the same benefits as Scotland now has including: Benefits for carers, disabled people and those who are ill; Benefits which currently comprise the Regulated Social Fund; and Discretionary Housing Payments, as well as discretionary powers to create new benefits and top-up 'reserved' benefits. This would allow places to create flexible and bespoke solutions to the benefits and employment support needs of individuals in the North.

Allow new earn-back mechanisms for benefits (including JSA/ESA/IB) to incentivise reduced benefit claimant rates.

Devolved cities and combined authorities should seek to develop an 'ask' of government to retain a share of the financial savings resulting from reductions to the benefit claimant bill. This 'earn-back' from the Treasury should be re-invested in local programmes to further reduce unemployment.

Retain a share of growth in National Insurance Contributions. NI contributions relate directly to the local workforce. Establishing a local payback mechanism across the North to allow cities and towns to retain a share of NI contributions through employment growth will create the potential for a new mechanism for investment to help self-fund and self-finance investments in local infrastructure.

Introduce a 'Tax Free Allowance' for voluntary work. Volunteering should be rewarded beyond remuneration of expenses. A 'Tax Free Allowance' – with an adjustment to the existing income tax base, depending on hours and contributions – would provide a flexible package to allow individuals to tailor paid work and voluntary hours to meet their needs and provide a social benefit to society.

Education/Skills

Improving the skills of the working population is central to achieving the ambitions of the Northern Powerhouse. Skill levels vary across the North although the overall proportion of residents with higher-level qualifications (31%) is below the national average (36%) and significantly behind London (49%) and the South-East (40%). It is this disparity that in part explains the difference between the North and other areas in the levels of Knowledge Intensive Jobs, productivity (GVA per worker) and overall growth. Raising skill levels will require improving attainment across all phases of education and training in the North.

Create a Northern Teaching Premium to provide and package incentives to attract and retain top teaching talent in the North. Far too many children in the North leave school without the qualifications and skills they need to compete in the job market. Northern schools are, on average, lagging behind London. Reversing the cycle of educational underperformance will address inequalities and improve life outcomes for children in the North, helping to drive a new economy and allowing for greater access to the opportunities arising from future growth. The research evidence tells us that in-school interventions make the greatest difference to improving educational outcomes, and this means excellence in teaching. At the same time our failing schools in the North are struggling to recruit the highest calibre teachers – either at postgraduate or senior levels. A Northern Teaching Premium should include:

- Opportunities for teachers to gain a step up on the housing ladder within a commutable distance of their school
- Financial assistance with student debt
- A "Teach Later" programme for 40+ career changers and returners to the North
- · Fast track professional development to accelerate advancement and provide a pathway to Higher Education institutions
- Bursaries for PhD students to teach in secondary schools

Establish a world class 'MIT of the North'. There are 23 universities in the North, six of which rank in the top 20 for research excellence nationally. However, there are no Northern Universities within the top 50 of World Class universities and only three within the top 100. The North needs a top ranking global university focussed on STEM / Applied Science and with strong links to industry. A MIT for the North could be realised by existing universities in the North working together with the shared intention of increasing their global ranking in research, international outlook, knowledge transfer and industry funding. This does not necessitate one particular University becoming the host of such an institution, but instead could mean that STEM-focussed departments could all contribute to R&D and funding, under the same named banner. Alternatively a Northern Oxbridge campus or world class institute of technology, such as Massachusetts, California or Zurich could be encouraged to establish a presence in the North of England in a new University Enterprise Zone or Innovation District.

Develop a graduate retention scheme for North. Universities and industries in the North should develop a graduate retention programme that can harness talent. This should be a scheme that bridges across industries in the North to enable graduates to move between firms within and across sectors – depending on occupational or sector specialisms – to experience a breadth and depth of experience. Such a programme could incorporate a specific industrial focus (e.g. a 'Tech First' route) to address recruitment and skills needs in the North. It could also include advanced apprenticeship opportunities and operate on an employer levy.

Develop a 40+ Offer with a Re-Training fund. To encourage career changers and returners to the North. Devolved cities should utilise their new powers over skills provision to design an appropriate training fund, a Personal Learning Account or Career Development Loan, equivalent to current student finance deals.

Introduce a Mayor's Fund to improve social mobility. All Metro-mayors candidates in the North should commit to a Mayor's Fund. This should operate along the lines of the London Mayor's Fund to raise donations from corporate sponsors, foundations and philanthropists in the North. The fund should invest in Wellbeing, Skills and Employment and Enterprise programmes to empower children and young people from disadvantaged backgrounds to succeed in school and acquire the skills they need to secure employment, and progress their careers.

Housing

The Northern Powerhouse agenda has so far focused on transport infrastructure and business investment. What is missing is a model to meet the housing demand the Northern Powerhouse will need across all tenures to truly flourish. Across the North, housebuilding is not providing the types of housing needed to meet the growth aspirations of cities, and is failing to reverse community decline. Thousands of homes stand empty, but we are not building the homes and places families want to live in. This is accelerating rather than the addressing the brain drain to London and the South East. At the same time, there are signs of a property investment boom in Manchester that threatens to bring the problems of London's housing market to the North's cities without generating productive returns for the city as a whole. We need to make better use of existing property to tackle community decline, meet aspirations of home ownership, and deliver housing that supports economic growth across the North.

Give Northern cities and localities the right to create pan-regional regeneration partnerships to lead housing development to meet local economic priorities across the entire North. These bodies would push regeneration across the North by pooling devolved powers and holding control of financing and land, would be protected from planning permission for schemes being called in by the Secretary of State, and would be funded through capturing uplifts in land value. They would enable the meeting affordable housing targets at the regional rather than local level, and would open out the benefits of devolution beyond urban hubs.

Give flexibility to localities on affordable housing and Starter Home targets to kick start regeneration. There is no one size fits all approach to the UK's housing crisis - national targets rarely match with local needs. To join up efforts to regenerate communities and deliver new housing, power should be handed to Northern cities and localities to allow redevelopment of empty housing stock to count towards affordable housing and Starter Home targets.

Allow major Northern cities to retain Stamp Duty Land Tax receipts to meet their housing needs by investing in pan-regional regeneration partnerships:

- Fund building to meet demand that will follow the growth of Northern economies. With housebuilding in the North slowing over the last decade, the five biggest city regions Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, Liverpool and Sheffield will face a shortage of 86,220 homes by 2030. Local retention of Stamp Duty receipts would allow 53,175 homes in the top five city regions to be financed by 2030. We propose city regions get the power to retain stamp duty receipts to support building of new homes to close this gap.
- Private Rented Sector Funds through retention locally of the Stamp Duty levy for Buy-to-Let. The North's great cities Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle need a high quality, thriving private rented sector for young professionals to attract and retain the highly skilled workforce they need to flourish. Retention of the Government's new stamp duty levy for Buy to Let would provide seed funding to attract institutional investment to boost quality and supply in this vital part of the housing market.

Health

A step change in the health of the population of the North is urgently necessary if the Northern Powerhouse is to grow to its full strength. Across the North, too much potential is lost through higher than national average levels of ill health and earlier onset of 'life limiting conditions'. A North-South divide in rates of illness and poor health has existed for many decades but it remains a stark fact that a baby girl born in Manchester can expect to live for 15 fewer years in good health than a baby girl born in the London Borough of Richmond.

Poverty and its impacts, as well as lifestyle factors, are widely recognised root causes of the health inequality gap. The hallmarks of poverty, including unemployment, insecure employment, poor quality and poorly heated housing, affordability of good food and more limited access to high quality antenatal and early childhood services all contribute to poor health.

Importantly, many of these wider determinants of health lie outside the health and care system. Getting 'upstream' and achieving an assertive focus on prevention requires building health into the full range of public policies, better partnership working and local control of the levers of good health.

Introduce Whole Family Help for Health. Building on the multi-disciplinary approach taken in innovative programmes like Troubled Families, Whole Family Help for Health takes a compassionate, constructive, whole-family approach to managing issues around excess weight and provides incentives for participation.

Local authorities in the North should work with the school nursing service and General Practice to identify children in the early years of primary school and work with their families through a multidisciplinary team to tackle the whole family's weight and overall health profile. The number of obese children doubles between the start and end of primary school. Working with early primary children and their families will intervene early to tackle weight and health issues before it becomes more difficult to do so in later years.

Create a Community Health Kickstarter Fund. So many of the factors that determine poor health lie outside the health system, spread across the full range of public and community services: housing, education, employment, transport, planning, community groups and charities. There is little clear incentive for any one agency to take assertive action even though there is now a suite of interventions, particularly on housing, employment and social isolation, that have proven positive impacts on health care demand reduction.

Combined authorities in the North should have the right to submit a business case seeking Government commitment to a kickstarter investment fund in community health improvements. Governments readily invest in Infrastructure Development Funds. A community health fund similar to this would provide the seed capital to introduce a host of evidence based interventions outside the traditional health field at scale and at pace to achieve improvements in health, wellbeing and reductions in demand.

Allow local tax raising powers for health. Combined Authorities across the North should have the right to request localised tax raising powers to fund improvements in the health and social care system. It is widely recognised that the health system is under huge strain from increasing demand and stagnant budgets. At the same time, the social care budget has been hard hit by local government funding cuts. Subject to a local referendum, Combined Authorities in the North who have taken responsibility for the devolved health system should be able to levy a health and care tax to provide additional funding for health and care in that city region. In this way it expands on the social care precept.

Reduce system cost for supported housing. Supported housing provides a stable foundation from which vulnerable citizens can receive support and establish productive lives. Without supported housing, many residents are very likely to end up homeless or their condition exacerbated - all leading to greater interaction with health (A&E in particular) and community services and much greater cost to the public services system as a whole.

As an 'invest to save' intervention, combined authorities in the North should be invited to submit a business case for a ten year exemption of supported accommodation from current plans to reduce the Local Housing Allowance to the equivalent of market rates to ensure supported housing remains financially viable and an effective method of preventing uncontrolled demand on other public services.

Use data better for better health. Central government should give Northern city-regions access to the wealth of data its departments hold about individuals. Doing so would enable them to monitor the markers of later ill health and identify those most at risk. This data could inform the design of health programmes to intervene early, before problems become debilitating for the individual and costly for the public sector. The upcoming Digital Economy Bill will create a firm legal footing for data sharing, so now is the time to let city-regions access government data to help improve the health of all.

Energy

The North is no stranger to energy innovation, from Hull's offshore wind turbine manufacturing to Drax Power Station's conversion to biomass. But legacy issues need to be tackled if the North is to be an energy leader. Many still suffer fuel poverty and cold homes, issues which must be tackled quickly and affordably. Distributed generation and storage projects find connecting to the grid expensive and difficult. Development of new energy resources, whether wind or shale gas, is complicated by a tangle of national and local planning policy. Smart meters promise to reduce bills, but without network operators able to actively manage the system, their benefits will be limited. The North needs bold ideas to create an energy system that can increase efficiency and investment and reduce bills and delays.

Localise Climate Change Levy receipts to combined authorities. The receipts from the tax, which is levied on non-domestic users, should be ringfenced for local schemes to make non-domestic premises more energy efficient. This would provide a reliable source of funding, and putting both CCL receipts and efficiency schemes in the hands of the same body would enable them to proactively target premises most liable for the tax for efficiency improvements.

Devolve the funding and delivery of energy efficiency and fuel poverty measures. Fuel poverty costs Northern councils money through demand for healthcare and housing. Energy efficiency program delivery (the Energy Company Obligation) should be pooled at the combined authority level and payments varied according to whether households were likely to be in fuel poverty. This would allow local organisations, which have a better knowledge of which homes should be targeted, to be competitive in the ECO brokerage market.

Introduce open tendering for Distribution System Operators, with invitations for energy storage capability.

DECC has expressed a desire to move from Distribution Network Operators (DNOs) to Distribution System Operators (DSOs), who provide active management and balancing of the local grid. Open tendering would allow local energy SMEs, community organisations, and municipal companies to offer their energy capabilities and assets. Inviting proposals for local energy storage would encourage the creation of local energy storage companies, developing the North's supply chain and capabilities in this important area. It will also ensure the DSOs do not have excessive monopoly power.

Regulate for a pared-down, 'local supply' licence. Current rules mean that even the smallest electricity suppliers have to comply with the regulations of the national electricity market. Suppliers who operate within limited parts of the North, who do not need to make use of the national transmission network and balancing mechanisms, should be able to supply electricity under a local license. This would cut red tape and aid in developing strong local economies across the North, as well as a more distributed energy system.

Create a Northern Energy Wealth Fund from the proceeds of shale gas and other energy resources. The North of England is on the cusp of a new phase in energy production. Planning permission has been granted for shale gas extraction under Lancashire. Extracting just 10% of the gas in the Bowland Shale there could be worth up to £136bn. There also remains significant potential for onshore wind. And new modular nuclear technology promises cheap, rapid-deployment baseload power generation. It is essential that the tax receipts from resources are kept in

the North. We recommend that a Northern Energy Wealth Fund be created for the Northern Powerhouse to retain these receipts and invest in the prosperity of the region. An Investment Board, headed by leaders of the combined authorities, should be established to decide how best to allocate these funds.

Create a geothermal energy strategy for the North. A programme to develop finance sources and priority projects for using geothermal resources should be introduced. The UK as a whole underutilises geothermal sources, and in the North particularly former mines could be reused as sustainable sources of heat power for whole communities. In this way, the North's industrial legacy can once again create prosperity through energy and through supply chains. Cornwall has already identified that 100% of its energy demand could be met through geothermal, and the North must now look to its own ground resources. The Weardale Granite alone contains 220,000 terawatt hours of thermal energy – an amount similar to the world's energy demand for a year.

Transport - Infrastructure

There is now an established consensus that the Northern Powerhouse will become a reality only if Northern intercity connectivity is transformatively upgraded. The route plans for HS2 provide a crucial North-South link for a number of the North's major cities, but offer only limited linkages beyond these favoured locales within the North itself. Long inter-city journey times, as well as concerns regarding capacity and reliability for both inter-city and intraregion transport, remain barriers to faster and more evenly distributed economic growth.

Yet Northern infrastructure needs go beyond just transport; as we outline elsewhere in this manifesto, there are equally pressing requirements in areas including housing and energy. If left unchecked, these – together with the more well documented transport inadequacies – will form different but equally significant barriers to fully realising both the macro and household-level benefits of a whole-region economic growth strategy for the North of England. Delivering on Northern infrastructure needs presents an opportunity to reverse the decades-old trend for the North's most enterprising individuals and businesses to move south, and to inspire a new wave of Northern entrepreneurship to drive the economy.

Connect the Northern cities from Liverpool to Hull via a 'TransNorth' rail line. We call for the construction of a high speed east-west rail line connecting Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Hull and Newcastle, in order to take advantage of the unique potential for polycentric urban agglomeration offered by the scale of the Northern economy. This echoes similar calls from both Transport for the North and the National Infrastructure Commission. This route should where possible make use of new infrastructure due to be constructed as part of HS2; but Government, having given the go ahead for the Manchester-Leeds section of the TransNorth line in the Budget, must now commit to making further funding available in the short run to deliver this route in its entirety, via the construction of new track where necessary.

Devolve selected fiscal powers to help fund transport upgrades within and between Northern cities. While investment in Northern inter- and intra-city transport is a national infrastructure priority, its relative importance to the local economies of the North is even greater. Moreover, those best placed to evaluate which investments are most urgently needed are the political representatives of those cities. By tying the process of fiscal devolution for Northern cities to investment in transport, local leaders will be empowered to propose, plan, finance, and deliver these improvements themselves. As a starting point, cities should retain their local employer National Insurance contributions and use these receipts as capital to finance borrowing and fund local transport investments.

Beyond buses: Devolve TfL-style powers to elected Mayors. The Buses Bill, announced in the Queen's Speech, will allow those city regions with directly elected mayors to franchise bus services within their region. While a step forward, we believe that far more wide-ranging powers should also be devolved, with all powers available to Transport for London (including roads, rivers, and cycle superhighway powers) also available to the elected mayors and their administrations. This will help to create the smart, integrated local transport networks which will facilitate the movement of people within the city region and catalyse regional economic growth.

Establish Infrastructure for the North alongside Transport for the North. Transport for the North has done invaluable work in securing recognition of investment in Northern transport capacity as a national infrastructure priority. Yet there are many other localised infrastructure deficiencies which will hamper the creation of a fully flourishing Northern Powerhouse, in policy areas such as housing and energy. Establishing a separate body, with a similar structure to Transport for the North but a broader remit covering these wider infrastructure needs, with the task of assessing the scale of these deficiencies and suggesting a targeted programme of investment to rectify these, would allow for the development of an integrated Northern infrastructure strategy.

Innovation

Innovation is the most important factor in increasing long-term productivity. For the private sector, that means higher output, greater returns and more trade. For the public sector, it means better services and better outcomes for citizens. Therefore, it's vital that both have systems in place to allow the cultivation of disruptive ideas and concepts. With its leading universities and dynamic cities, the North has the potential to be a font of innovation. However, in some areas it significantly lags behind. The North West and North East are the second and third worst English regions in terms of firms involved in innovation, according to the UK Innovation Survey. Now is the time for the North to up its game and become a global innovator.

Create city-region incubator programmes for start-ups in Northern specialisms. Northern cities should procure and run provide time-limited accelerator programmes for high-potential start ups in existing Northern specialisms, such as energy and advanced manufacturing. These would build on existing local strengths, using the assets of local universities and technical colleges. They would provide co-working space, intensive mentoring, and investment for the most promising firms. Currently, the North lacks the right finance and networks for local start-ups to develop their ideas into viable businesses.

Establish a Northern Digital Service. A pan-Northern Digital Service should be created, to provide a shared platform for automating council services that all cities and councils could use. This would reduce the cost of every council designing separate systems, but maintain local discretion over services. The 'NDS' would work with councils to make all their data freely accessible and usable by public services, whether city-region or pan-Northern.

Create a lead member for innovation on every city-region cabinet. Successful innovation requires good 'convening power', working across the network of innovators in private, public, and third sectors. The strong mandate of a lead member could provide this. It would also create a driver of innovation in every city-region, who could collect evidence and implement best practice.

Change planning guidance to encourage innovation districts. The Local Development Plan process should identify areas characteristic of 'Innovation Districts' and put in place measures to support them. These could include public realm enhancements and transport links. To encourage the vibrant culture that attracts high-skilled workers and businesses, incentives should be created for cultural development. These could include a grant for firms in target sectors who locate in the district, or liberalised licensing conditions.

Offer North-wide financial incentives for business. Tax incentives should be offered to specific sectors on a North-wide basis, to reduce the relative cost of locating there. This would attract high-volume, large-workforce businesses, albeit potentially low-value ones. Taxes that could be offered relief include National Insurance, Climate Change Levy, Business rates, Plant tax, CIL, and others.

Culture

The North of England has a rich cultural heritage, anchored by a deep sense of civic ownership and fuelled by a wealth of unique and diverse talent. Communities across the North are building on this cultural heritage and cultivating distinctive offerings that complement rather than compete with the capital. Measures are now needed to enable cities, citizens, communities, creative organisations and industries to develop their unique contribution, and both attract and retain cultural talent that so often leaks to the capital.

For Northern towns and cities, culture and the arts have the potential to be a powerful driver of urban development and place-making. As the Government's recent white paper identifies, culture can bring huge benefits through helping to provide improved wellbeing and a better quality of life, and also through opportunities for economic and social mobility. Support for the North's cultural offering can therefore provide not just a major rebalancing of investment in cultural assets and access to the arts, but also a major driver of economic development.

Devolve cultural funds to Northern towns and cities and re-balance the distribution of investment in cultural infrastructure. Places across the North need more fiscal and decision-making powers to advance a cultural offering that is both distinctive and attractive. This move should aim to rebalance the distribution of investment in cultural infrastructure – currently Londoners benefit at the rate of £65.18 per head for investments in cultural infrastructure, compared with £4.91 per head for the population based outside the capital – but also to give places greater flexibility on how they evolve centres of excellence, and attract and retain talent.

Give cities and localities the power to curate their cultural curriculum. Access to and participation in culture and the arts is vital to enabling children and young people to flourish. The cultural heritage, needs and offer will be different in different places, and our education system should reflect this – particularly in the North, where there is a stronger civic connection to local cultural assets and activities. A locally agreed syllabus should be set by local cultural leaders, and seek to open up opportunities for greater collaboration between schools and nearby cultural outlets.

Establish a Northern Cultural Tsar and a joint strategy for arts, culture and tourism in the North. A Cultural Strategy for the North should enable Northern towns and cities to discern their distinctive cultural offer, establish centres of excellence and co-ordinate on cultural investment. Each city should seek to identify and advance its unique cultural contribution to prevent unnecessary competition and curate a diversity of experiences. The Strategy should also review and upgrade transport links between towns and cities, to enable greater access for those limited by time and money to travel to cultural hubs. The Northern Cultural Tsar should champion this Strategy and seek to attract major roving festivals and competitions to the North.

Appoint Cultural Ambassadors to work with other non-capital cities abroad. A bilateral relationship between the Northern cities and London is unlikely to add value due to the radically different and global offer that the capital city provides, and with which other British cities simply cannot compete. A Cultural Ambassador should promote and represent the distinct cultural interests of their Northern city to attract investment, help grow the visitor economy and learn from best practice outside of the UK.

Develop 'Cultural Quarters' in all Northern cities. These should provide workspace, accommodation and tax breaks for artists to help create a 'Berlin of the North' in every city centre. Studio space in Cultural Quarters should be protected from developers looking to convert city centre properties into flats and office space – a growing concern as cities become more prosperous. Studio space could be provided by dedicated foundations set up to hold artist's studios in trust. Bespoke rent regimes in these areas should also be introduced to keep costs low for tenants.