

Give me Liberty!



A guide for a progressive alliance

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Chapter 1 – Introduction and local government.

What needs to be done?

- Pursue Liberty, meaning pursuing freedom from needless oppressive and restrictive forces by limiting excessive freedoms which harm others, and (or) limits others peoples' opportunities.
- Breaking the concentration of power, wealth, control, ownership and access to services, especially education.
- Reducing inequality in market shares and control of wealth.
- Enabling people to pursue their interests and talents with greater freedom and chance of success.
- Making social democracy viable for a rapidly changing 21st-century world.
- Making technology work for people by making it a liberating force.
- Finding a way to do more for public services with less money (until sufficient revenue can be raised).
- Finding a way to create this society whilst meeting our environmental needs.
- Create, promote, empower and sustain more civil society groups, otherwise known as social capital. Bringing these groups into the heart of policymaking, governance and our economy.
- Creating an economy based more on relationships rather than contractual agreements.
- Seeking to protect liberty by protecting local communities' interests. This will be partly done through giving local communities power and self-determination. Protecting community will help to protect the value of the social, the common good.

The first question regarding what needs to be done should never be one of pure ideology, but one of radical pragmatism. There is no doubt that a person's viewpoint underpins their understanding of the world and therefore impacts their vision of what the problems are, how bad they are and what needs to be done in order to fix them. Considering this, let me tell you what I think my current viewpoint is of politics. I think I can be broadly described as a left-libertarian, someone who recognises the need and uses of government but prefers to pursue smaller state, local government and people-powered solutions where possible. This fully identifies with the values of the Labour Party but does not want to see the Labour Party dragged into the large centralisation nationalisation model of the past for ideological satisfaction. Above all, it does not want Labour to be the populist party of opposition and undeliverable promises. Finally, this book approach is designed as a blueprint for a possible progressive alliance.

I feel left-libertarians broadly would agree on the bullet points above and in essence, we argue the best way to make people equal, increase prosperity for most and to give people liberty is through delivering more governance at a local level and more empowerment of individuals over their own lives. This means putting more resources in the hands of people, allowing people to organise their communities and above all finding newer ways to break the monopolies that limit our society's potential. When necessary this can mean nationalisation, but often nationalisation of old industries will not work due to increased global competition and rapidly changing technology requiring at least some private investment. Instead, newer more modern ways must be found to deliver improvements. On top of this, Nationalisation is easily undone and does not often produce the lasting transformative change we want to see.

Unlike right-wing liberals, we commit ourselves to valuing community and collective action to solve some of our problems. Empowering local communities to organise their society and empowering these groups to increase economic activity in their area is an essential element to our policy objectives. This is because there is greater evidence to show that increased activity

within collective social groups produces a wide range of social benefits and also collective action, which we will go onto argue can help break monopolies, increase competition in markets, produce greater freedoms and help create a society people generally want. Society will increasingly be based around more concerns about protecting freedoms and opportunities to a greater number of people, broadly known as the common good.

Our society faces problems, which all societies will face as time progresses, but what is the nature of these problems? Essentially, as left-libertarians, we see a lot of society's problems coming about through a lack of liberty. Liberty is defined as pursuing freedom from needless oppressive and restrictive forces by limiting excessive freedoms which harm others, and (or) limits other peoples' opportunities. This problem has arisen through a problem broadly known as the tragedy of the commons (Hardin: 1968). This issue is where you have a society that has divided ownership of its land into several different sections where different peoples have as much freedom to manage their section as they wish. Naturally, people seek to pursue their own perceived rational self-interest in a competitive world which usually means a pursuit of maximising their profit. Problems arise over time when people realise that the actions they take to maximise their gains impacts all people in different sections of the land negatively. However, no one section feels they can stop this action in fear of falling behind, being outcompeted and suffering a decline in living standards. Moreover, this assumes people are aware of this self-harm, but in an increasingly interdependent, globalised, connected and complex world where information is not always available in time many individuals may find it near impossible to understand how the rational pursuit of their self-interest may actually hurt their interests. For instance, think of the great recession and how people not knowing full information resulted in an inability to avoid economic disaster. Whether people know, or do not know, over time this repeating exercise of people pursuing their own rational choice ends up harming us all, such as with environmental degradation or loss of unsustainable resources. Therefore, people naturally

pursuing their rational choice actually results in pursuing an end scenario where all end up worse off and without their optimal, or even desired, outcome. This left unchecked will understandably result in a society where people will have fewer opportunities and will be more restricted, ending up in an end position where you achieve exactly the opposite of what you wanted, a free society. This is in essence the structural flaw of our society which we argue has led to serious issues like the Great Recession, rising inequality levels and an inability to tackle Climate Change. This flaw not effectively being tackled along with the erosion of civil institutions is the major challenge we face. These types of collective problems are generally thought of as very hard to solve and have not had to be tackled globally in our history. But, due to climate change and ever unstable markets, the 21st century has brought us the great challenge of solving these collective problems. How to overcome these issues? Pursue liberty, the common good and governance and economic structures that are more based on the common good. To do this, we must also restore civil society and relationships and finally acknowledge that our actions as individuals add up and have big impacts on society as a whole. This is why we say throughout this policy book “give me liberty”.

Many people in the Labour party will dismiss us as Tories that don't belong in the party. However, we would argue that what we have mentioned are all Labour values all people in the Labour Party should get behind, that of Liberty, Community and Equality.

How our views are compatible with the three core Labour values of Liberty, Community and Equality.

The answer to this question does not need a detailed explanation, but must be put here to justify this strand of thought within the Labour party. The most obvious way our views are compatible is through New Labour and its commitment to Equality of opportunity, where Labour pursued greater equality and liberty in our society through giving people opportunities, enabling them to pursue their interests and talents. Therefore, giving people greater capacity to get a job that

will make a positive difference to their, families and communities lives is in the Labour tradition. I, and other people I went to school with, have benefited immensely from such Labour traditions. For example, the secondary school I started in 2005 had around a 15-20% 5 A* -C GCSE pass rate, by the time I left in 2010 it had a 55% success rate. This improvement is even more impressive considering the reforms implemented did not start until 2007. So in three academic years, there was a 40% improvement. This means four more in ten of my school friends would get the grades they needed to go onto higher education, and thus be able to access more opportunities. On top of this, the university Labour built allowed more routes into higher education for disadvantaged students of Hastings, such as carers. Moreover, it also created more avenues into the teaching profession and higher-paying in-demand jobs. Therefore, whether we like it or not young people in Hastings&Rye are the result of New Labour's commitment to education as a liberalising force. Like people in their 30s are Thatcher's children people in their 20s are New Labour's children. Myself, I would say I am a product of New Labour. The trick is to learn from the mistakes New Labour made where government policymaking became too centralised and administrative, where it ignored the social and the common good. But of course, there should not be a deviation from successes, such as their commitment to education as a liberalising force. Instead, this should be expanded on, creating more liberalising forces. This is where our voice fits in the Labour Party. We will now also go on to highlight how we can help to contribute to Labour's thought through arguing Labour should stress the importance of liberty for the majority in order to overcome its internal contradictions of thought. Therefore, allowing it to more successfully fulfil its values.

Why pursuing Liberty can overcome these contradiction in Labour thought.

In a recent short book published by the Fabians, the writer Jason Brock rightly identifies that Labour should have three commitments underpinning its broad outlook as a party, Equality, Community and Liberty (Brock 2017). This article correctly highlighted that Equality and

Liberty can be in constant conflict with each other, which rather begs the question how can we function as a party with such internal contradictions constantly battling each other? This also applies to the country as well as the party and the policies it makes.

In fact, these contradictions take place nowhere more than in the Labour Party where the internal contradictions of views occur with every new Leader being elected. Labour at the moment seems to emphasise commitments of equality over Liberty, which I will go on to argue is the wrong direction for the 21st Century. The commitment to equality overshadows that of Liberty and undermines equality as a result. Let us take the policy of free tuition fees. Free tuition in theory makes everyone equal because no matter what your background you can get free tuition, thus putting everyone on equal footing and creating no barriers in accessing education. The theory certainly has a noble goal and is better than the current system, but it does not eliminate barriers to education. For example, barriers can exist more with extra costs of education, rather than just tuition fees, which are basically free if you never get a job over £21K (soon to be £25K). The actual cost barriers in higher education are housing and living costs, alongside education costs like textbooks and technology costs. From my personal experience, these costs are far more a barrier to University education than any tuition fee is, especially when going into postgraduate studies. The desire for equality has trumped Liberty, liberty being freedom from needless oppressive and restrictive forces. Rather than pursuing total Equality of outcome, we should acknowledge some students face more barriers to education than others. This gives us the sad fact not all students are equal and some are more disadvantaged than others, regardless of the cost of tuition. Personally, I would advocate a University graduate tax which could better help with living costs for students, especially ones likely to be disadvantaged. This would give students the freedom to study without fearing or experiencing large financial barriers. For instance, this could eliminate the need for students to work longer hours which gives them less time to study and submit work than other students

have; thus helping to reduce inequality. Here we can see actually Liberty is preferable to the equality policy. This is why this book argues to pursue Liberty rather than pursuing equality because it is only by pursuing a society where we can have liberty that we can realistically have a society where people can have access to the same opportunities. Some will still argue such thinking is not consistent within the Labour Party, yet even if this is the case then such thinking could still be used as a blueprint for a new progressive party.

We shall come back to this debate later, but the argument above shows why pursuing Liberty is the most preferable option, especially for the 21st century where globalisation might make people increasingly unequal. This book at its most simplistic level says Labour and the country should pursue liberty and we say “give me Liberty.”

Earlier we mentioned one way to do this could be to reform governance systems to include more people in decision-making, especially at the local level where civil society can be involved. This book now explores how this can be done through local government reforms.

The Regions and Regional Authorities

The policy of regional governance aims to give current Westminster powers to a lower level of government, which is designed to be held at a regional level.

Regional governance can be hard to define, but one could give pre-existing examples, namely the authorities of London, Scotland and Wales. Northern Ireland is slightly different due to historical differences and the Good-Friday agreement. The three authorities of London, Scotland and Wales could be seen as a good basis for devolved regional government. If we take London, with the highest population of around 8 million, we can say that a devolved administration with such a large population is clearly capable of handling major devolved powers. The increased integrated travel network over London has often been a key feature from

all London Mayors and highlights the ability for politicians with regional sized populations to produce better-localised infrastructure when given the necessary powers to do so.

What is the aim of regional government?

- Breaking up some of the biggest monopolies to encourage greater competition.
- Encouraging innovation in policy throughout the UK.
- Tailoring policy development to different local areas with different local needs throughout the UK.
- Tackling inequality.
- Encouraging the concentration of wealth, power and markets to be spread across the UK. (Otherwise known as the dispersion of wealth, power and market control).
- Tackling problems Westminster has been reluctant to address.
- Bringing civil society groups into governance in England, enabling more informed policy-making, whilst empowering community groups to help create the changes we stated needed to happen at the start of this book.

The creation of regional government is more than just a policy of devolution. The policy is designed to do several things. It is designed to create regional authorities that can deal with problems Westminster has been to be unable to deal with and realistically could be carried out at a lower level. It is so often said that Britain remains one of the most centralised governance systems in the western world, especially in England, and parties often agree that devolution needs to happen (Conservative Manifesto: 2015, Labour Manifesto: 2015). Yet, it mostly has not happened. Yes, it is time to break the biggest monopoly in all of England, governance by Westminster.

In the sporadic attempts to implement devolution in England, most notably London, we can see real improvements in certain features that have benefited the capital immensely, such as Transport for London (TFL) improvements. The breaking of infrastructure and transport controls Westminster once had over London has enabled this very distinctive region of ours to innovate better transport policy that suits its unique needs. This has generated the changes needed for a global city and has created greater economic connectivity and activity, helping London's continued growth and enabling it to continue thriving, despite the huge pressures a mega-city like London faces. Meanwhile, places elsewhere lag behind in good sustainable infrastructure development, creating a scenario where several reports indicate that infrastructure and transport development in the UK is not sufficient enough (Armitt: 2016). For example, there are still many smaller towns cut off from economic activity, reducing efficiencies and productivity, enabling the cycle of inequality to flourish. Where can this stark difference come from? Yes, from the fact London generates so much money it effectively subsidises every other region in the UK, but also through its creation and innovations from the London Assembly and London Mayors. Hopefully, by breaking the Westminster monopoly of infrastructure and transport controls regions across the UK can follow London's model of having smaller more deliverable localised projects that connect near-by areas. This will help to connect poorer areas to where economic activity resides, enabling better productivity, growth and potentially tackling inequality levels.

The increased powers

1. Infrastructure spending powers.
2. Powers of rail and highways, motorways and road developments.
3. Management of education and the promotion of new polytechnics and skills.

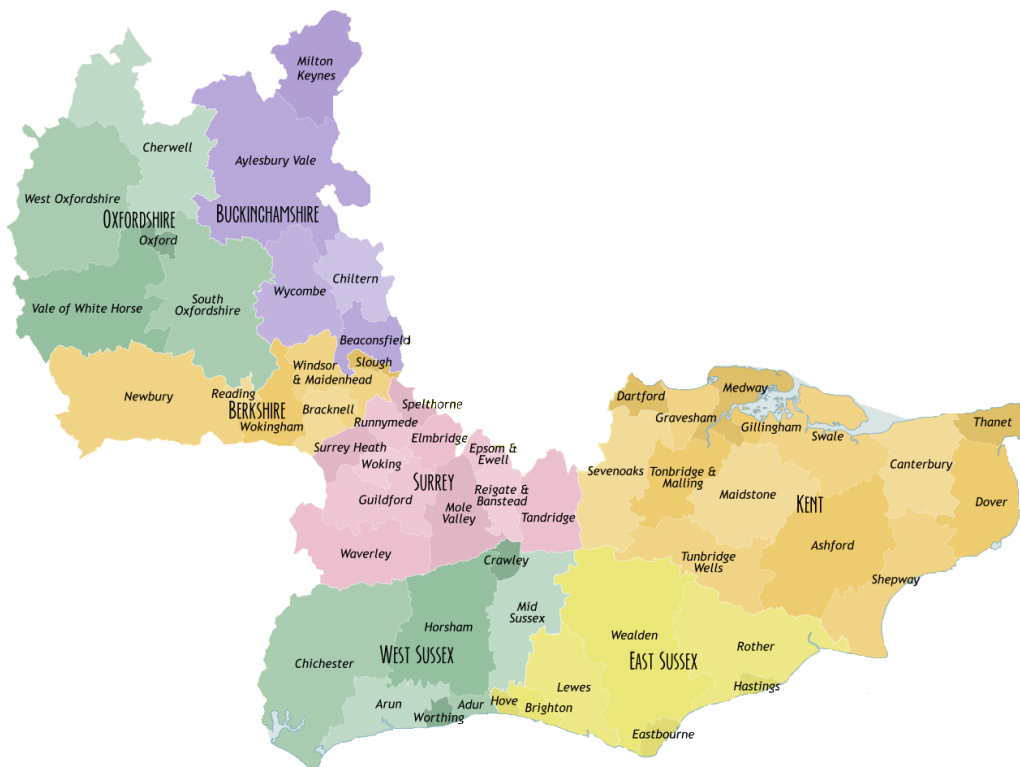
4. Control and direction of funding for skills agencies and programmes within regional boundaries.
5. Connecting deprived areas with less deprived areas in the region. Otherwise known as creating regional links, or twinning.
6. Environmental and energy spending.
7. Responsibility for controlling pollution and pursuing lower pollution levels.
8. Responsibility for maintaining and promoting use of national parks that fall within regional boundaries.
9. Sports, culture, arts and National museums (that exist within regional boundaries).
10. Encouraging market competition e.g. Community and regional banking.
11. Increased controls over emergency services, gambling and drinking.
12. Local elections, broadcasting, representation/ representatives and control of their wages, or (and) expenses.
13. Responsibility for promoting agriculture, forestry and fishing communities. They also would be responsible for monitoring how much communities perform and scrutinising performance.
14. No powers of localised taxation levels, local government taxation to be kept at the county and city council level.
15. No power of referendums, which can only be granted by Westminster national governments.

Southern Eastern Region.

Total Population →	6,541,491
Berkshire	670,680
Buckinghamshire	102,038
East Sussex	617,158
Kent	1,801,211
Oxfordshire	669,829
Portsmouth City	211,758
Surrey	1,269,016
Sussex	110,541
West Sussex	1,089,260

The map below shows us the geographical area that could be called a region, the South East region. The total population would be around 6.5 million, which is comprised of the population within the counties outline in the table. The Southern Eastern region would stretch from Oxfordshire (Oxford), to the

bottom of East Sussex and Kent, (Hastings & Dover). The actual shape of the South East may look very odd, considering Hampshire is not attached to it, which we shall come to later. One reason I would argue this region should be shaped like this is it can produce a wide variation of different areas and peoples. One problem within England is the large division of opinions, services and peoples representation.



We can see that this shape of the South East would easily produce competing voices. It would give a variety of university based cities, with small towns without university institutions. It

would therefore also help to produce a mixture of different views and might force these different areas to work together in order to produce better outcomes for the South East, consequently creating greater opportunity for these different areas to interact and understand each other more. This possibly could help to produce outcomes that will bridge the increasing divide within Britain. Also, the difficulty of getting from, let's say Oxford to Hastings, where it is quicker to go from London to Oxford than to Hastings by train (which is a long journey anyway), might highlight the need for better regionalised infrastructure projects better connecting less well-off places to more affluent places within regions. Therefore, this approach designed to improve infrastructure within England.

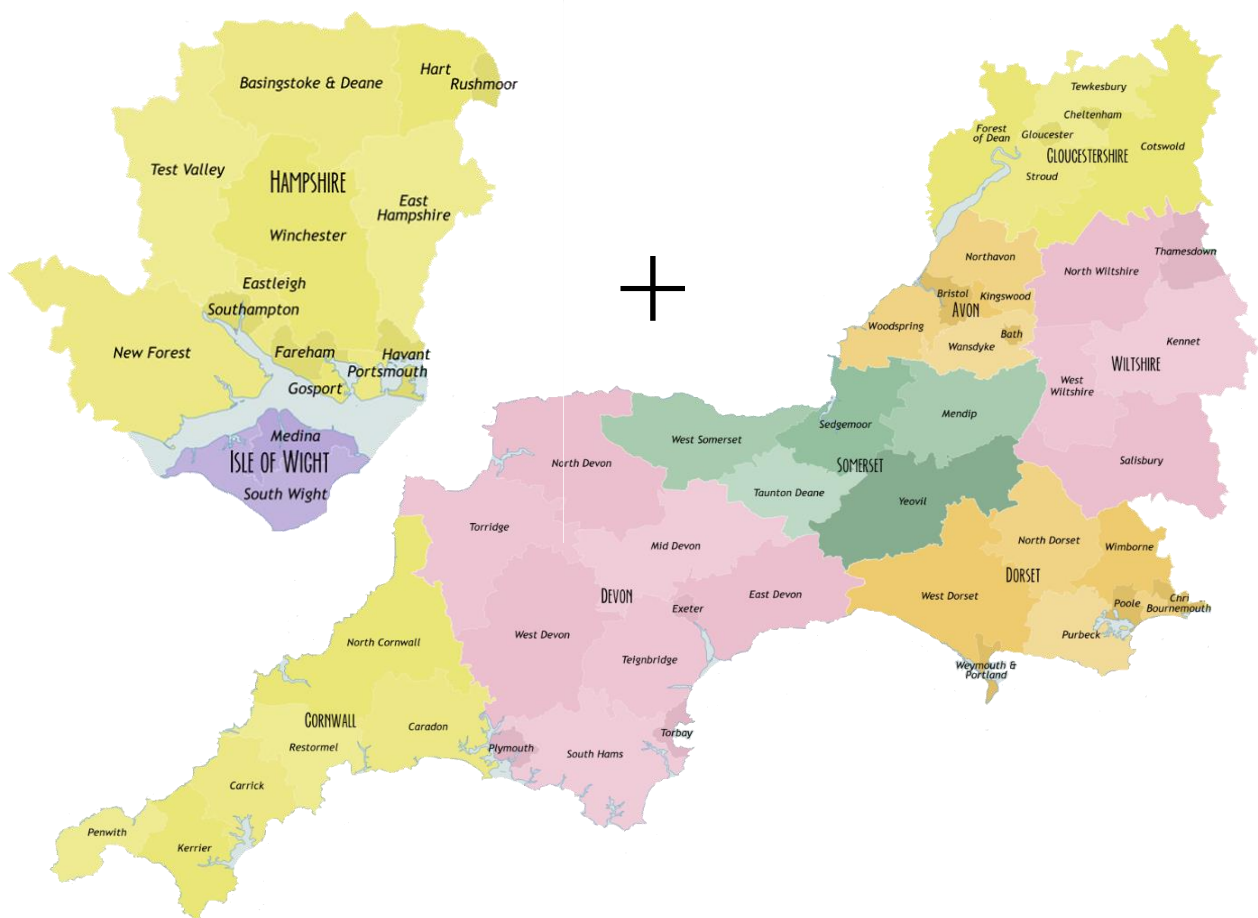
As a result, this might help improve upon Britain's puzzling productivity situation where many young people with skills, which benefited from which were gained since New Labour came to power, have been forced to move to cities, due to large inequality levels resulting in them having little options in smaller towns where they grew up. This movement towards liberal university cities helps to create an increased concentration of wealth and skills, producing greater inefficiencies as smaller towns lack skills they need to be economically competitive. This means they find it harder to compete for higher wage jobs and private investment, resulting in those with skills left in these towns unable to secure higher paid jobs that utilise their skills. This again creates inefficiencies, resulting in lower than expected productivity and lower wage growth. It is a fact that not all who have benefitted from increased university provisions can live in the city, so connecting Oxford to Hastings to provide shorter journeys to an economic centre would enable partnerships between places. It would encourage wealth to be spread and jobs to be based where skills currently are. This enables a better chance to utilise skills, gain productivity and increase wage growth for as many as possible.

South Western Region.

South West	7,243,877
Bristol City	449,328
Cornwall	463,058
Devonshire	1,169,162
Dorset	467,624
Gloucestershire	1,099,087
Hampshire	2,159,421
Somerset	732,944
Wiltshire	703,253

Here is the South West region, we can see it has a population of 7.2 million and that Hampshire has been added to the area traditionally thought of as the South West of England. Hampshire has been added to the South West as the population in the South East, with Hampshire present, was approaching 9 million, bigger

than London’s population. This possibly would make it a far too big region to manage. The South West’s population is relatively low, around 5 million, so by adding Hampshire it balances out close to the South East’s population and London’s population. This theoretically makes it much more manageable for a new authority to handle.



One such new power an authority could handle is environmental spending. Such controls could be a designated pot of money given to each region to fund green energy projects. Firstly, this would help enable the spread of green energy jobs, a future technology that could help increase the amount of high paid, technical jobs, possibly resulting in more sustainability economies across the UK. Secondly, it could help introduce competition and innovation into the energy market that current monopolies, or nationalisation, might not allow. For example, greater investment into renewable energy could introduce competition through allowing more private companies to compete in the market. Companies delivering renewable, and therefore alternative, energy supplies could set cheaper energy prices that could push more people away from the current monopolies that exist and towards a model of greater competition, hopefully helping to drive prices down in the long-term. This also creates a more sustainable energy model in the future, whilst of course helping to meet needed emission targets and better quality environments in the future. The regions that best deliver competition and renewable energy schemes could be rewarded with increased subsidies for renewable energy, further incentivising all areas of the country to be energy sustainable and environmentally friendly. Also, regional government could help set up cooperatively owned energy companies, with a focus on promoting renewables. This again would help increase competition in the market and could increase economic activity for deprived areas. Finally, regional areas would also be given power to control national parks which fall within their regional boundaries, in this case Dartmoor and Exmoor. This could potentially help create greater regional identities and provide opportunities for local areas to advertise themselves better and create economic activity within the region. It could also help manage other environmental problems, like bee and insect population. As local areas have different environmental issues a localised approach could target solutions better than national approaches might.

Eastern England Region.

Total Population →	6,118,931
Bedfordshire	654,984
Buckinghamshire	688,124
Cambridgeshire	841,218
Essex	1,696,706
Hertfordshire	727,505
Norfolk	694,234
Norwich City	190,744
Suffolk	625,416

This is the Eastern region of England. It has a total population of around 6 million people, which is fairly similar to other regions. It comprises an area commonly known as East Anglia, Cambridge, Essex, Bedford and Buckinghamshire. These areas can be quite different, with varying populations that may want different things

and have contrasting views on what direction the country should go in. This again would make it ideal for bringing the country together politically on several key issues and allow for a shared decision-making process on these issues. This could reach more of a consensus within British politics, allowing the country to go forward in a more agreeable direction. One such issue could be the direction of education services. Regional government could have certain responsibilities regarding skills, apprenticeships and education services. As mentioned earlier with infrastructure spending responsibilities you could connect different places to each other, such as Oxford to Hastings. This could also be the same with universities, such as Cambridge being connected to deprived towns without universities or a good FE sector.



There are also examples where universities could step in deprived towns where universities are closing. An Example of this exists within the South East in Hastings, where the University Campus is closing down. Universities from elsewhere could set up specialised departments aimed at promoting high quality university's in deprived towns losing its education centres. This could be fulfilled by Oxford, Sussex or Kent University for example. Cambridge & Essex could fulfil the same roles in the East of England. These specialised campuses/ departments could only give places to people living in deprived areas or come from authorities known to have a lack of social mobility and good education services. To add a real incentive for this to happen universities willing to engage in these projects, and those who are most successful in doing so, should get a large boost in points towards all university league tables, especially ones emphasizing teaching and research quality. Reintroduction of polytechnic universities could be achieved through regional government as well. Regional government could be responsible for creating and promoting new polytechnics. This could be done through using old polytechnics, or current universities well-known for good vocational and practical skills the economy is in desperate need of, and converting them into vocational-only institutions. Polytechnics would probably have to be called something else to avoid past negative stigmas, but the principles would remain the same. These institutions would be beacons for vital practical skills needed within the economy. Campuses that are closing down could alternatively be made into creative arts based centres, preparing students for careers in growing technology and media industries that could help to change deprived areas through offering skills that could attract higher wage businesses. Regional governments could also help with the scrutiny of schools between Ofsted inspections, and encourage Parent Teacher Associations (PTA's) in schools marked as underperforming to help raise standards. Regions could also carry out skills programmes that could target skills gaps more effectively as different areas often require different skills. This

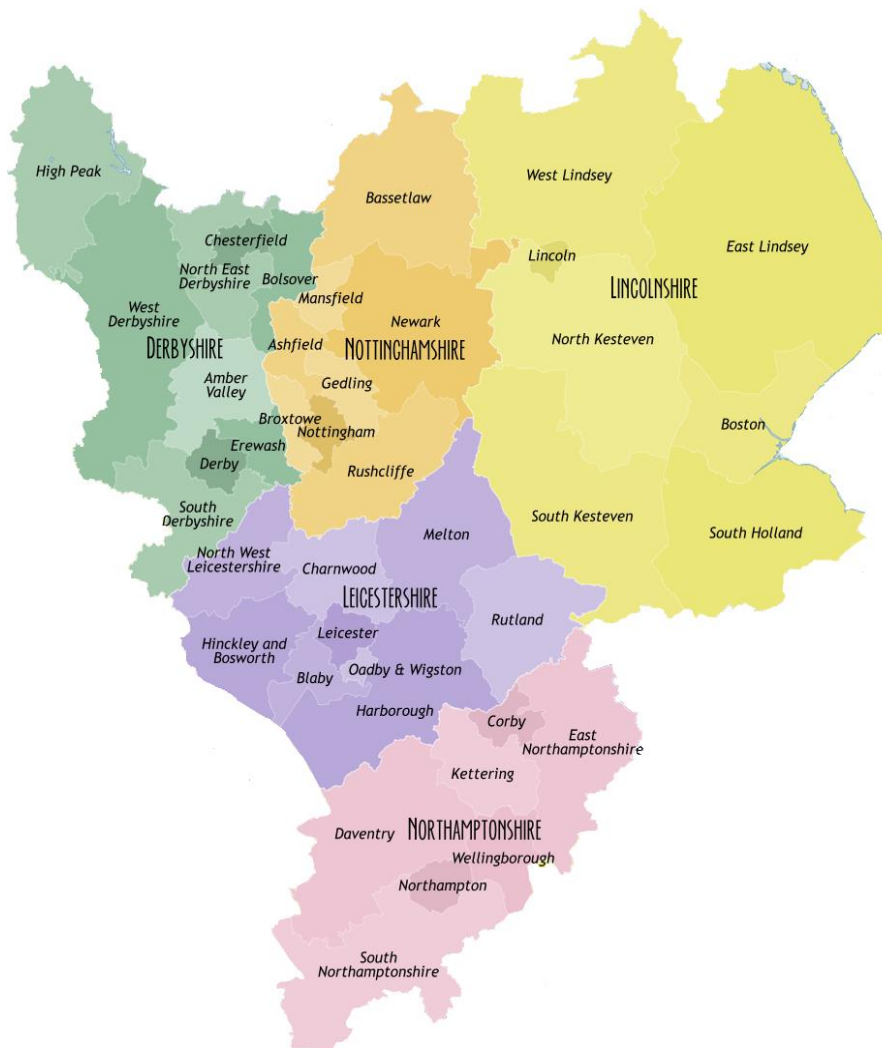
could all help put skills where they are needed in the economy, helping to tackle Britain’s productivity problems.

East Midlands Region.

East Midlands	4,351,161
Derbyshire	754,724
Lancashire	91,909
Leicestershire	1,055,982
Lincolnshire	500,333
Northamptonshire	823,464
Nottinghamshire	1,124,749

This area would be known as the East Midlands region. It would have a 4.3 million population according to current parliamentary constituency statistics. It would comprise, Derbyshire, Leicester, Lincolnshire, Northampton and Nottinghamshire.

This area would have a lower population than the other regions which highlights a potential issue with regional government where some regions will have significantly higher populations than other areas. This possibly produces issues with allocating resources with some people potentially having more representation than others.



Another power and responsibility that could be looked at is sport, health and well-being. Regional government could have similar responsibilities over sports as schools. Responsibilities over sports provision, health and well-being could also cover children in schools. Regional governments could scrutinise sports in schools, promote after-school sports activities and promote continued participation in sports after leaving school. Ratings of schools' quality could also give greater consideration to how well schools engage in sports clubs, and Ratings of schools' quality could also give greater consideration to how well schools engage in sports clubs, and carry out sports provisions within the school. This could help change the culture of a lack of engagement in sport, which is encouraging a less healthy lifestyle. This is putting pressures on the NHS in the long-term with increased health complications becoming more likely due to longer inactivity rates. The creation of regional sports centre events and programmes could help also tackle inactivity problems. Regions could compete with each other, with the best regions getting cash rewards for the best programmes. Moreover, they could learn from each other with regions that show the most successful programmes and health innovations could provide useful test cases that could encourage the best policies to spread throughout the regions. Also, different areas tend to have different health problems so a more localised approach could encourage a more targeted strategy towards health problems. This could help to tackle a wide range of health problems in the most serious areas, helping ease pressures on the NHS within specific locations that will help release the strain on the NHS across the regions and the country. Regional government could also help raise funding for sports venues, or compulsory purchase empty buildings, which could be used as sports venues. This would put this money into the community where the money will be most needed and could have the biggest health benefit.

West Midland Region.

West Midlands	6,001,594
Birmingham	1,192,012
City of Wolverhampton	266,816
Herefordshire	725,245
Shropshire	389,157
Staffordshire	1,742,752
Warwickshire	1,027,848
Worcestershire	657,764

This would be the West Midlands region, with a population of around six million people. It would include areas like Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcester and Herefordshire.

This again has a similar population size to most of the regions selected in this study with the population being significantly lower than London's. This again shows that similar regional powers to that London has could be delivered across the UK. On top of similar powers London currently has, further powers over culture, arts and heritage could be given at a much more local level. Like with sports, arts culture and heritage centres could be set up within regions, giving greater powers to promote this at a local level across the UK. Like with increased ownership over sports facilities regional governments could be the institution that organises increased participation within the arts.



There could be compulsory purchasing of large buildings/ community centres that would enable arts communities to host events, raise revenue, and create their own projects. The aim of this would not be to create more art but to create a sense of community, ownership, identity and control over peoples' interests. It would also encourage these groups to become self-funded, and in the end allow local art projects to generate revenue for areas. This could also inspire people to pursue interests and talents they may have. This would encourage a lifestyle of more self-fulfilment, which could help tackle the growing mental health problems the country faces. This could also be done with heritage groups where those interested in promoting local history and culture would have greater ownership of exhibitions and heritage assets. Again, this is more than just about letting amateur enthusiasts run local cultural services. It is much more designed to create self-funding, self-sustained community groups that will break monopolies that lower-tier councils have over these sectors many people care about. There has been a lot of examples of wasting money within these sectors, which has led to a lack of funding for these services. Such an example I have seen is in my hometown of Hastings where the council pays a lot of money for private advisors to advise Hastings Museum whilst volunteers work on projects for free. Hastings Council has also paid over £30k a year for someone to manage Hastings Castle, a structure that barely has two walls and no roof. Meanwhile, museums have closed down in the local area due to a lack of funding. Putting these services back into the hands of local people who care about their heritage would encourage better practice and use of public money, whilst also helping to preserve tourist attractions for the local area. This, therefore, increases economic activity, whilst also proving a sense of citizenship, community and associational membership democracy.

Greater Yorkshire Region.

Yorkshire	4,811,513
City of York (NY)	206,856
East Yorkshire	201,402
North Yorkshire	780,545
South Yorkshire	1,650,619
West Yorkshire	1,972,091

This area would be known as the greater Yorkshire region. The area would cover a population of 4.8 million people. Although the population for this area is smaller than other regions, it would allow for

representation of a distinct region of the country. If it is too small, it could be paired with the Northern region, which appears later in this chapter. It comprises all areas of Yorkshire that would cover areas like hull (also known as Humberside), York, Leeds and Bradford, and finally areas like Doncaster.



Earlier we mentioned how regions could introduce competition in the energy market. Now we can consider other ways competition could be introduced, for example, regional governments could be responsible for establishing community or regional banking. This would offer more economic choices for people outside the current monopoly the big high street banks have in the UK economy. These banks could offer more responsible lending, with better deals on savings too. These banks could also offer different options for buyers in the housing market,

especially for first-time buyers. Regional authorities in the long term could encourage organised local community banking, which could take the form of credit unions or democratic banking. Therefore, policy could be possibly increasingly made by its shareholders, who would be the people who had their money in this bank. Importantly, economic initiatives and freedoms like these would give people greater choice than they currently have, therefore introducing much-needed competition into the market. Regional governments could also focus upon regeneration projects to help keep public services that people want to be kept open. The classic example is a local post office closing where already devastated high streets are forced into a deeper sense of deprivation through large shops, like post offices and high street banks closing because of changing technology and ownership. Here a solution could be provided through regional government being in charge of regeneration. Empty units could be taken over by the regional government and run in a way the community wants it to be. For example, the local post office closing and leaving a large empty unit on a high street, could be taken over by the regional government and run as a multi-purpose store where the post office could be kept intact, but other services could also be run. For example, this is where a regional bank, or community bank, could be set up and run in the interests of local people. The interests of local people could be decided through attaining shares in the business that could be given when a customer joins. Each customer would gain an equal number of shares. This could be increased after a defined time of being a customer with the post office/ bank. This would also introduce services back into deprived high streets and also would increase competition into a market people want.

Greater Lancashire Region.

North West	7,243,113
Cheshire	854,562
Chestershire	189,572
Greater Manchester	2,388,767
Lancashire	1,825,622
Lincolnshire	415,599
Liverpool	498,824
Manchester	365,063
Merseyside	705,104

The Greater Lancashire Region, which could also be broadly known as the North West, would have a typical regional population of 7.2 million. It would comprise the big Northern cities of Manchester and Liverpool. Lancaster would be at the North of the region and former places, Like Manchester, which

were known as the greater Lancashire Area would also former the Greater Lancashire region. Attached to this region would be Cheshire, thus making it into an area with a big enough population to be a similar-sized region to other places within the UK. With Brexit, a few powers that the EU had over the UK will return home. The UK must figure out a way to enforce all the EU regulations, as we will keep almost all of them whilst also needing to find a way to promote the industries these powers relate to.



Regional governments could be introduced at the best possible time as they could oversee such powers returning home. Agriculture will be a huge issue to manage once we leave the EU, and currently, it is not clear if we will remain a member of the common agricultural policy. Therefore, even at the most basic of settlements, we will have kept the regulations, through the great repeal bill, where the UK will copy EU law. This still means that this will have to be handled somewhere and regional government could be the method to do this. At the more complicated end, we could no longer be members of the common agriculture or fisheries policies. This would be the harder version of Brexit that would mean the UK will have to implement any new markets or regulations it wishes to create. This would then somehow need to be enforced, regulated and supported. The regions could be a localised way of doing this. It would also allow different regions to be focused on industries that rely on some services more. Some would be affected more by agricultural changes than fishing changes for example. After Brexit is complete there may be a transition period or a very quick change, and either way, these industries will need to be supported and promoted in a sustainable way so they can succeed in the long-term. Regional government could have this responsibility and could be given powers to do this. One way regional government could support the fishing industries, if the UK opts to withdraw from the common fisheries policy, could be to have close contacts with the fishing community. They could give government detailed reports of what people working in the industry think quotas should be and how the industry could be made more successful. This would give fishing unions, workers and business owner's far greater power than they have now which would help represent those communities that heavily voted for Brexit. This could also be done for the agriculture sector where business owners, unions and workers in the industry could have an effective say over their industries, possibly making the industry more successful. Also, the regional approach could allow flexibility in the industry,

allowing different parts of the UK that may need different rules and regulations to adapt their industry in a way that will make these industries successful throughout the UK.

Northern Region.

North East	3,696,197
Cheshire	182,908
City of Sunderland	277,150
Cumbria	516,135
Derbyshire	187,813
Durham	1,180,278
Lincolnshire	270,600
Newcastle	666,722
Northumberland	414,591

This is what the most Northern region in England will look like under this studies plan of regional government. Due to the way the country is shaped and the disproportionate spread of the population this region’s population is quite a lot smaller than it is elsewhere. This region could be linked to the

Yorkshire region, but if we learnt anything with Brexit we found that different areas of the country need greater representation and a feeling of being listened to. As a result, it may not matter that much that different regions have wide variances in their populations.



Now that we are on the topic of representation it is a good time to discuss how the regions could conduct elections. Part of the reason behind creating regional government is to give greater power, identity and self-determination over key policy areas to more people throughout the UK. Therefore, it is important that the regions actually represent a diversity of views, and enables the building of consensus so that money is spent in a way that will benefit those that feel they do not currently benefit from the current political and economic structures. This policy as a result states that any elections that take place should be done under a proportional system. This would allow for a greater number of voices to be heard and would allow disaffected people in “safe seats” to be able to feel their vote will go towards a voice that will actually represent them. This may also help tackle political and economic inequality by providing the ability to have representation on issues like infrastructure spending decided at a more local level. This could also result in money going towards smaller more deliverable projects that will benefit people who feel that they are not supported or represented. It could also help direct resources towards economically deprived areas, or areas considered as safe seats, that may have not received adequate infrastructure investment for some time. As mentioned earlier this may help increase economic productivity and tackle economic inequality. It would also be important to ensure that regional government does not allow some parts of the region to dominate over other parts. Therefore, it is right that all areas within a region should have representation. It would also be important to learn from the mistakes of devolution in the past by not calling any representative body a parliament. It should avoid the creation of a first minister and instead aim for these representative bodies to be regional authorities that is like a higher level county council or city council. Also, this could be achieved by making the regional authority not overtly political, but rather a body to decide how to allocate money on key services. It should also use its time and resources to empower people at a local level and try and introduce competition in markets that will benefit the average consumer.

London (The Capital Region).

London	8,439,092
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The capital region already exists and clearly has a devolved authority, with its own mayor in charge as the head of the authority. London's population would be the largest of the regions, with a population of around 8.5 million. This would be the easiest of all the regions to give extra powers to and could be a model for other regions to follow when they get devolution.

We should note what London's existing powers are:

- Culture: Covering, design, music, fashion, artwork, film and dance.
- Development powers to regenerate or develop land.
- Economy and business powers to drive jobs, growth and encourage investments in industries.
- Supporting medium and small businesses and entrepreneurship.

- Controls over infrastructure development, finance and the economy. Organising business partnerships, supporting specific industries, such as science and technology.

Emergency planning, community safety, emergency response and emergency planning (for major incidents). This also covers preparation for new threats and hazards and public safety in buildings. The authority is also responsible for meeting regularly to decide on strategy on these issues and manage project budgets.

- Environment: pollution and air quality, biodiversity, energy, noise, waste and recycling, climate change, parks and green spaces.
- [Health](#): health and social care, health at work, health at school, nutrition and exercise, travel and environment and mental health - Reviews the Mayor's health strategy, recommends improvements and tests them to ensure they can be delivered effectively. Publishes a variety of research reports on the impact of health changes.
- [Housing](#): homelessness, overcrowding, the quality of London's housing, housing supply, the private rented sector. The London Assembly reviews the Mayor's housing strategy, recommends improvements and tests its effectiveness.
- [Policing](#): The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) is the strategic body that oversees policing and in the capital on behalf of the Mayor. Sets the strategic focus and budget, ensures the service is efficient, monitoring the activities of criminal justice services and holding them to account.
- [Regeneration](#): covering, high streets and town centres, outdoor spaces, digital infrastructure and community projects. The Mayor works with businesses, London's councils and London's Enterprise Panel to deliver these services.
- [Transport](#) – Transport for London, TFL manages London, most key public transport services, like busses, which everyone outside London will notice due to the unique way it

operates. All information gained on how this authority organises itself was obtained via this website: (<https://www.londonelects.org.uk/im-voter/what-mayor-london-and-london-assembly-do>).

As we can see the powers London has are quite wide and it has the ability to make significant changes, shape the capital's identity and help encourage competition and market efficiencies. London has used its power extensively and generally used it very well, for example, the improvements in TFL. Therefore, it is entirely conceivable that more areas in the country, with a population of less than 8.5 million, could manage these powers and produce the same benefits across the UK. London could be the model for new regional authorities to follow where similar powers, structures and representation could be implemented. London could have extended powers to lobby government and ask for bills that are needed in London most, such as clean air legislation. This could prompt policy-making where it is needed most and could achieve positive outcomes for parts of the UK when the central government isn't willing to legislate.

However, before moving on it should be stated that local government in London is not perfect and the smaller London boroughs could be merged into larger ones, or into a single unitary authority. The lack of a unitary authority at the most local level has led to a scenario where car parking rules can be different on opposite ends of the street, highlighting how a lack of a united local government has reduced the effectiveness of local service delivery. Local services within a unitary system could be kept under this model in cases where a localised delivery helps improve council performance, such as with recording statistics about the local population so services can be better targeted and delivered.

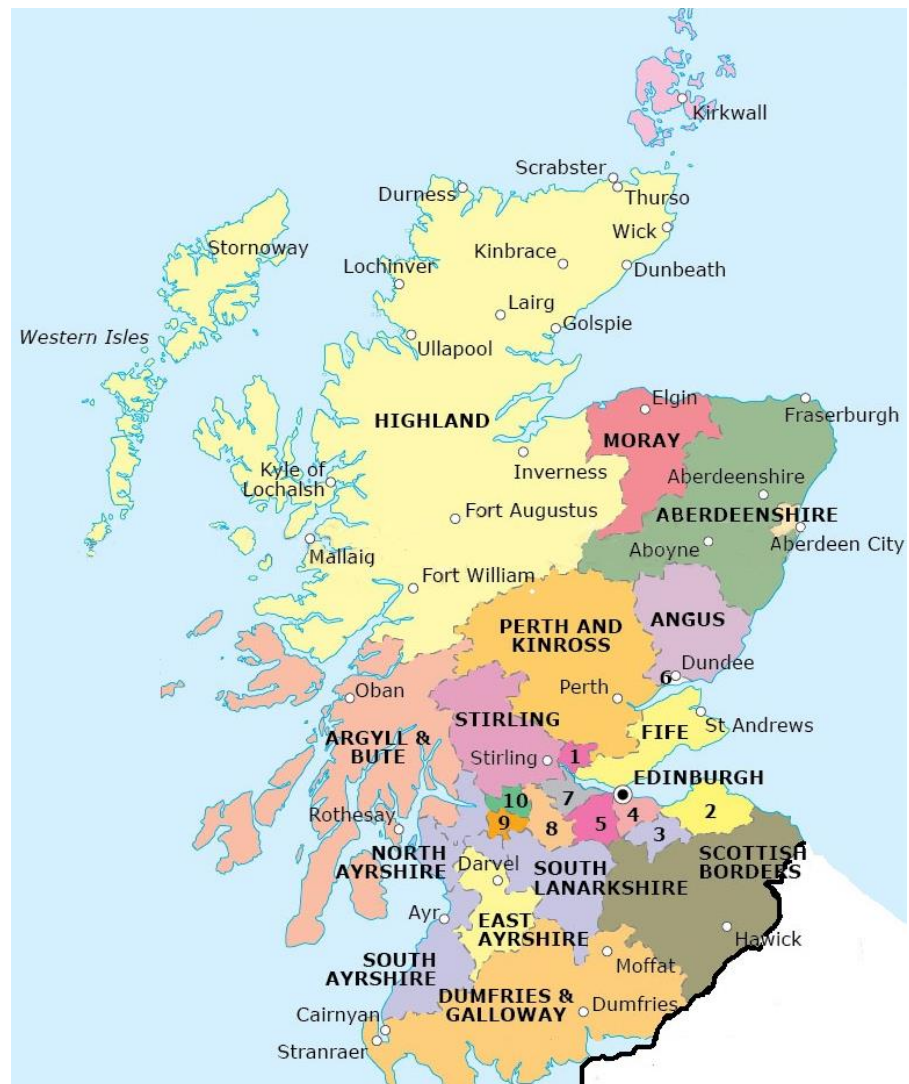
Overall, the London model of local service delivery has been a positive example of devolution and the document aims to bring this model of local government to the UK regions. Before doing this the document will look at other examples of devolution, Scotland and Wales, before explaining the best method of how to implement devolution to the UK regions.

Scotland

North Scotland
Aberdeenshire
Dunbartonshire
Dundee
Fife
Lanarkshire
Perthshire
Scottish Highlands
Scottish Islands
Stirlingshire
Sutherland

Mid Scotland
Ayrshire
Edinburgh
Lanarkshire
Linlithgowshire
Renfrewshire
Scottish Islands
South Lanarkshire

South Scotland
Ayrshire
Berwickshire
Dumfriesshire
Edinburgh
Lanarkshire
Renfrewshire
Wigtownshire



Lessons need to be learnt from Scotland when devolving power not to make regional parliaments, but rather authorities like London where powers are carried out similarly to a local authority. This avoids the creation of first ministers and parliaments which can make devolution more about party political struggles than it does about using the powers given to it. Moreover, it avoids destabilising independence movements gathered around regional identities that can be exploited for political purposes which can cause a huge amount of political, economic and cultural uncertainty. People may laugh at the idea of regions breaking away from the country, but when I was born, in 1993, people might have well laughed at the SNP coming close to

independence, or Plaid Cymru being so large in the Welsh parliament or the rise of UKIP, who was an obscurity in the 90s. There are indeed independence movements in regions, notably Cornwall and Yorkshire, and yes these are unlikely to gain traction, but could one day gather momentum.

Keeping away from this model of devolution and sticking towards the model of the London council styled model is going to be the aim of this policy document. Therefore, regional governments must focus on policies and service provision. Parliaments often focus on political party representation, which would distract from the key aim of devolution, to make policy better at a local level.

On the matter of Scotland itself, it is only fair to state any devolved powers that regional governments acquire, that is not already under the authority of Scotland, should be given if they choose to have it. However, this would need to be decided in Scotland and could not be forced onto Scotland. In order to acquire the stated regional powers, along with more powers such as Social Care and welfare powers some have demanded, Scotland would have to adopt a more regional model of government. This would mean that the position of the first minister would need to go and a more council/ London Assembly model would need to be adopted. This is because the number of powers the regions will have will be in some ways greater than current devolved Scottish powers and we do not want more powers to become part of the political game-playing all national parliaments, including Westminster, creates. An assembly model would be required to attain these new stronger and more widespread powers. It is important to note that the same powers would be offered to Wales with the same conditions attached to it.

In terms of funding, it needs to be simply stated that Scotland spends way more than it takes in, and does it at an unsustainable level. Moreover, it does this despite being the beneficiary of an unfair funding formula, the Barnett formula. Therefore, not only does spending on Scotland

need to be looked at, but so does the Barnett formula, which can be said to unfairly distribute money to Wales and NI, with Scotland gaining.

Finally, on the issue of Scottish independence, we can say, especially in the aftermath of Brexit, that there needs to be much clearer rules on referendums. In the case of the specific referendum conundrum of Scottish independence, it would be said the same proposed rules should be placed on it as with any other referendum. These rules can be seen in greater detail in the House of Commons reform chapter, but broadly speaking there should have to be a two-thirds majority vote to have another referendum, with at least a 60% threshold agreement. This means that at least 60% would have to vote “yes” in another Scottish Independence referendum in order for it to be enacted. This will avoid the close 50-50% debate hampering Brexit. There would also need to be a clearer manifesto/ document plan detailing the exact policies and processes that will happen if a change vote is achieved. This should make referendums a lot smoother in the future and on the issue of Scottish independence avoid independence being granted with a slight 50%+0.1 majority. This would avoid an instance where remain would win three referendums bringing no permanent result, but one referendum resulting in a small pro-Independence vote determining the future of Scotland.

Wales

North Wales	797,966
Clwyd	455,941
Deeside	146,271
Denbighshire	71,226
Gwynedd	60,940
Montgomeryshire	63,588

Mid Wales	2,38,849
Ceredigion	74,642
City of Swansea	164,207

South Wales	2,156,932
Brecknockshire	151,503
Cardiff City	386,229
Carmarthenshire	356,444
City of Swansea	94,661
Glamorgan	533,121
Gwent	76,000
Monmouthshire	393,501
Pembrokeshire	165,473



Wales already has its own assembly and like Scotland, this can't be changed without large resentment from people within these Kingdoms towards Westminster.

National Assembly for Wales Powers:

- 1.) Agriculture, Forestry, Animals, Plants, food safety and Rural Development,
- 2.) Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings,
- 3.) Culture,
- 4.) Trading Standards and Economic Development (including managing transport, economic development and regeneration which powers to provide grants and support businesses)
- 5.) Education and Training (education (including the provision of nursery, primary, secondary and higher education),
- 6.) Environment and waste (including public health, animal welfare, noise and light pollution, dog fouling, maintenance of national parks and litter etc.
- 7.) Fire and rescue services and Fire safety,
- 8.) Food,
- 9.) Health and Health services,
- 10.) Highways and Transport – (the Highways Act

1980), 11.) Housing, 12.) Local government (civil registration services, Libraries, births, deaths and marriages, coroners, cremation and burials), 13. Trading standards and licensing (including responsibility for alcohol licensing, taxis, public entertainment and gambling). 14.) Public administration 15.) Social welfare and services, 16.) Sport leisure and Recreation, 17.) Tourism, 18.) Devolved taxes, 19.) Housing and strategic town and Country Planning, 20.) Emergency planning, Water and flood defences, 21.) Welsh Language.

Wales tends to have fewer powers than Scotland at any one given time, even though they started off on the same structure and understanding of devolution. Scotland having more power than Wales cannot be justified, and therefore Wales should have the option of having more powers to be on equal status as Scotland. More powers could be given to Wales, like London, such as greater environmental controls and the ability to lobby Westminster for changes of the law in their region they want if Westminster refuses to take action on specific issues. As with the Barnett Formula Wales should get a fairer share than it currently gets, especially as it has more clearly stated that it wants to remain in the United Kingdom. This would help give long-term planning and funding choices to future governments, which is sometimes needed in policymaking. Also, considering Scotland has been allowed to spend a significantly higher proportion of this income, allowing it to grow and invest in services more than Wales, perhaps Wales should be given concessions allowing it to do the same for a time period as well. This will reflect past unfair imbalances which has not favoured Wales and left it more undeveloped and less invested than it could have otherwise been.

Finally, it is important to note that Wales voted for Brexit too, therefore it is important to come up with a Brexit plan that can ideally reflect what people in this part of the country voted for, most notably greater controls on migration. It is important that Labour recognises poor results in Wales and that Wales cannot be taken for granted, especially learning the lessons from losing in Scotland. Yes, this is a Labour heartland, but not as strong as it once was, and ignoring

people’s concerns, which partly led them into voting Brexit, is probably not wise, and one of the worst things Labour could do. Therefore, coming up with a Brexit plan that can be successful is something that should be pursued. See the Brexit Chapter for one plan and policy solution on how this could be possible.

Northern Ireland

NI	2,000,000
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Constituency
Belfast East
Belfast North
Belfast South
Belfast West
East Antrim
East Londonderry
Fermanagh & South Tyrone
Foyle
Lagan Valley
Mid Ulster
Newry & Armagh
North Antrim
North Down
South Antrim
South Down
Strangford
Upper Bann
West Tyrone



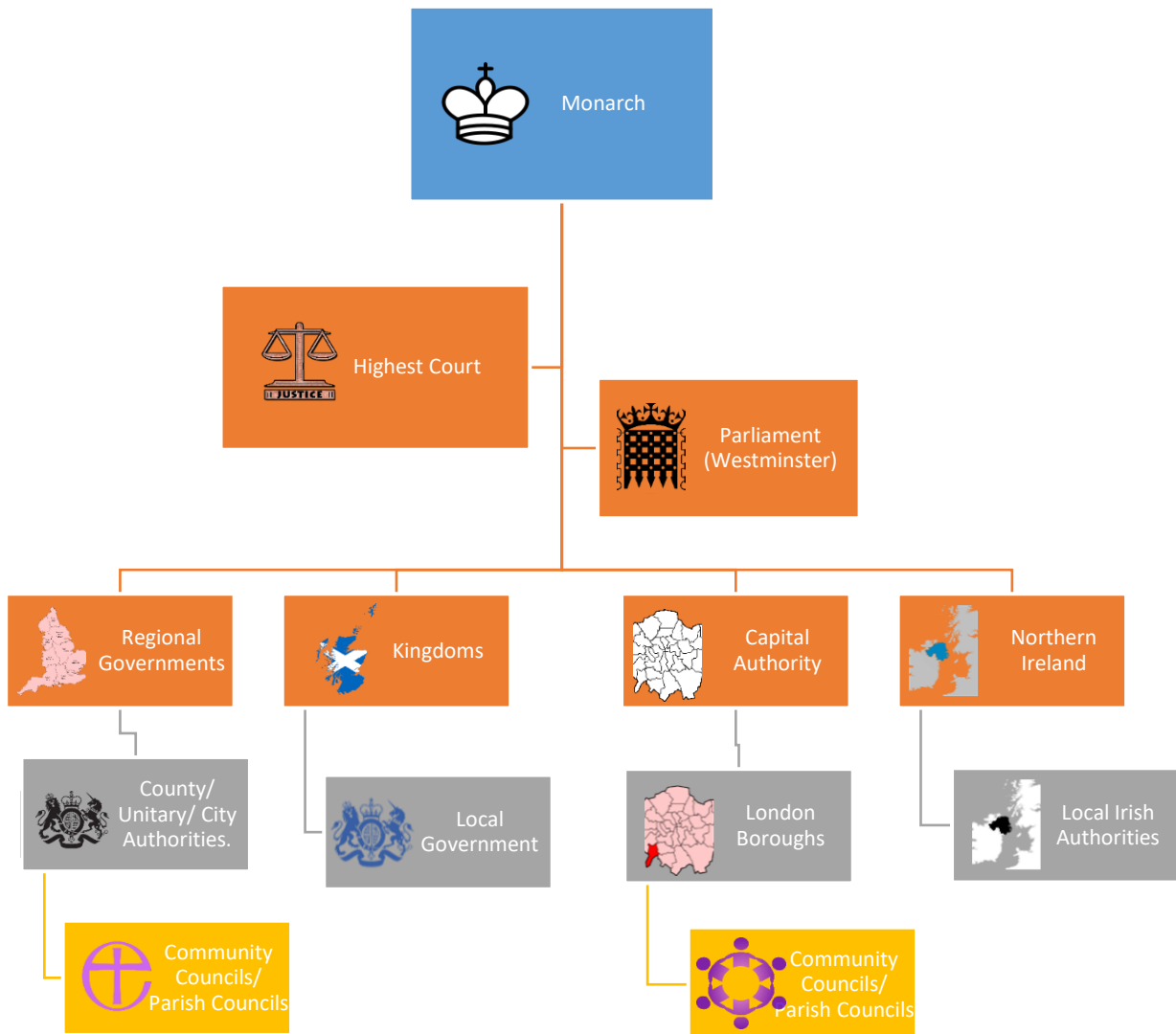
Obviously, this part of the kingdom is Northern Ireland, which under the Good Friday agreement has its own parliament and powers. It is of course designed to force parties to share power which is honoured as long as the agreement is kept. However, due to a contentious energy policy and the DUP deal with PM May there are plenty of reasons to argue that this agreement has been broken, which has thrown this devolved institution into chaos. Several things need to be prioritised in order to bring back this agreement. Firstly, any solution must

avoid enforcing a hard border in Ireland, resulting in those that wish to preserve a sense of connection to the UK mainland. Secondly, the Good Friday agreement may need to be extended to fully define what the exact rules are for all Irish parties are when engaging with the House of Commons and working alongside a Westminster government. Thirdly, a future Labour government would have to repair the damage that has been done with the DUP and May deal.

Yes, it must be acknowledged that the DUP being offered money for their constituencies were representing their constituents' interests and once this was offered they were hardly going to turn it down. However, it must also be acknowledged the UK government was wrong to carry out the deal in the first place. Finally, the UK government may need to offer legislation covering what deals are not acceptable by incoming governments with Irish political parties in the commons, offering guarantees that this sort of deal will not be repeated in an extended Good Friday agreement that will be kept to by future governments. This of course should be a priority for any Labour government which should come above any other devolution changes to show the UK government really does care about the situation in Northern Ireland. Hopefully restoring good faith, governance and peace to Northern Ireland for the long-term, like New Labour agreed to do last time, can establish better outcomes for the nation. In terms of Brexit and the NI border, which will perhaps be the biggest sticking point, please see the Brexit Chapter on how Northern Ireland can be given a workable deal.

Now we have outlined the theory and principles behind regional government we will now go on to discuss how it could be implemented in practice within the UK.

The New Structure of Government in the UK.



The New Structure:

The top of the structure of the UK governing system remains unchanged, with the monarch symbolically being the head of state. The Law is the next highest authority, with parliament just underneath it, with of course the ability to change and make new Laws. Underneath this level is the upper tier of local government, and all these would be on equal footing with each other, ideally having very similar powers. These would be, Regional governments, Kingdom authorities, like the Scottish and Welsh assemblies and the Capital region authority, the London Assembly. Northern Ireland would be on the same level, but would only have powers it decides

it wants to have, ensuring not to infringe upon the Good Friday agreement, which means Northern Ireland cannot have any new powers imposed on them without the agreement of their authority.

The Second Tier of local government is the next level. For the new regions, the second tier would be County Councils, unitary and City Council authorities within the selected region. The Welsh and Scottish assemblies would still have the local government structure they have now, whilst London would merge its London Borough system into a unitary authority. All councils merging into a unitary authority would have to share political power evenly to ensure no democratic deficit occurs. If this means boundaries have to be redrawn then an independent boundary commission could do this and politicians would be obligated to implement boundary changes, regardless of how much power they have. Northern Ireland local institutions would of course remain unchanged and in the hands of the Northern Irish assembly.

The third tier of local government would be community and parish councils. Towns at the old borough level would have community councils and smaller villages that still have the old parish system could keep the Parish Councils. The diagram does not show a lower third-tier level of local government for the Kingdoms of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This is because they have control over their local government structures within their country and would have to opt to make the changes suggested in this policy chapter themselves. London would have community councils as they have similar structures to that of local government around the UK and would be the basis for regional government. This means that if regions have community councils, London probably should as well. What community councils are, and how they will work will be discussed later in this chapter.

Why this needs to happen.

Regional Government

At the start of this chapter, when we introduced the regions I outlined the possibility regional government could help to tackle some of our biggest problems. This, alongside the need to represent peoples' culture and identity better, are the reasons why I feel regional government needs to happen. Representing peoples' different identities and giving people greater agency over their lives needs to happen because of what Brexit showed us.

The reason why tackling some of our biggest problems through regional government is obvious, it is because Westminster has failed to tackle a lot of problems. Regional government would give another authority a chance to tackle key issues, which theoretically could deliver better results. Let us quickly recap the issues, infrastructure spending, education development, economic development, increasing market competition, environmental controls, control of local government spending, regeneration of deprived areas, sports, culture, heritage, national parks and development of skills.

These powers if used wisely could deliver greater infrastructure spending and projects to all areas of the country, improve competition in energy markets, focus on tackling inequality and environmental problems, whilst also giving people more control over culture and their identity. All of this could help to tackle a wide range of problems that have long existed and recently been highlighted with the Brexit vote.

Centralising second Tier local government (County and Borough Authorities).

One problem with local government is that in the UK there is a wide range of different types of authorities, ranging from metropolitan borough councils, non-metropolitan borough councils, city councils, county councils, unitary authorities and at lower levels forms of parish councils. Therefore, the ability for residents to understand which authority deals with what service is often made more difficult than it needs to be. I have talked to local councillors at a non-metropolitan borough level and a county council level who say most of their casework involves dealing with issues that the borough council does not have authority over. This

crucially shows that people find it hard to go to where their problems can be best dealt with, resulting in councillors working impossible tasks to get casework sorted that they have little power to deliver on.

This may limit councillors' ability to help their residents which might explain why some feel local government has no power and why turnout is so low in local elections. Furthermore, you could argue that local government needs to be made more uniform and centralised to enable more efficient services. One issue of having the county council and borough system underneath it is it often deals with the same people in two different ways. When I worked as a finance administrator for the Children Disabilities service for East Sussex County Council you could often see that people were being dealt with by two different authorities, which escalated costs unnecessarily and made services being delivered slower and inefficient. This is not to mention the increased stress on people who could be in dire situations receiving a slow service. By bringing together these different authorities and creating one authority could make problems like this easier to handle, thus enabling greater efficiency.

Furthermore, by basing certain services across counties, or regions, we could soon see the emergence of joined-up working where different organisations that deal with the same people and affect the same people work a lot more closely. Desirably, these people will be based in the same building. For example, Regional government could instruct this to happen with the powers it would be given. Alternatively, to become more self-sufficient County/ unitary authorities could most likely do this themselves through merging these institutions and services which are often based in different parts of the same county. This would be the obvious way to protect services under persistent lower budgets. For example, I worked in a building dedicated to serving children with disabilities that often had terrible trouble in accessing the health plans of these disabled children as the health and education side of their services were based in

different buildings. Indeed, sometimes there appeared to be hostility in supplying us with necessary information.

This also gets into the tricky situation with different institutions having different and unconnected administration systems, which means even when information was shared records often did not match, which caused a painstakingly long process of going through lists of young persons who were on both systems. This understandably delayed important information getting to the correct people, delaying management decisions which caused greater inefficiencies and waste of money.

Therefore, by centralising local government institutions, like Health Education and Social services, this could potentially provide the incentive to create these linked up administration systems and services. This could not only speed up services, saving costs but also provide more efficient services.

Finally, this could also save much needed specialised services that are naturally high-cost services, like the Children with Disabilities service. When talking to social workers I realised that there was a real fear, and possibility, that their services would be dispersed to a local social service level. This would mean each borough would in effect have a dedicated disability social worker, but not a dedicated department, possibly resulting in children with specialised needs being overlooked within the system. This would save money but would undermine years of work social workers had done with families, resulting in a potential wastage of resources and a poorer quality service over the long term. Centralising smaller institutions like this into bigger county-wide local government authorities, with wider institutional services connected to it (like health and Educations Services), could provide the opportunity to keep these types of services intact. This keeps the good work of civil servants on the front line, whilst making the savings that will have to be made.

There are more examples of how this is already happening at a borough level. For example, Eastbourne Borough Council and Lewes Borough councils are merging to create one larger local authority, in effect moving to half the size of the county council into one borough. The catch to this merge is that Eastbourne Borough council are losing 10% of its workforce, whilst I also believe Lewes is losing roughly the same amount of its workforce. Potentially, this means that housing and heritage services are being stretched across larger distances, but with half the workforce they initially had, putting an already strained system under a lot more pressure. This merge has become politically possible due to the large amount of Lib-Dem councillors, but it is has also become possible due to the financial situations that many borough councils face. This rather raises the point of why merge borough councils together into county council size, when you could just merge borough services under county council control. Although too late for these boroughs this type of restructuring could potentially save jobs that are being eliminated, whilst saving local services and putting less strain on civil servants. This makes services generally more connected, and possibly more efficient as well.



A Progressive Alliance?

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