CITIES OUTLOOK 2024: BRIEFING

Background

This briefing presents a summary of findings from the Centre for Cities 2024 report - '*Cities Outlook 2024'.* The Centre for Cities is an independent, non-partisan research organisation which produces data-driven research and policy ideas for the largest cities and towns in the UK, to help address challenges and generate opportunities and prosperity for local people. The annual Cities Outlook report focuses on the condition of the UK's largest 63 cities, as well as special topic analysis – in 2024 the special topic is how places have fared since 2010.

- A summary of how Exeter and Plymouth have performed across a variety of different indicators including population, skill levels, housing, innovation, broadband connectivity, and wages, as well as comparisons with historical comparator cities.
- Highlighted points from this year's special topic analysis on how places have fared since 2010.

Key messages

- Overall, Exeter's performance in this year's key indicators remains comparatively strong with over a third of indicators in the top third of the 63 largest cities and towns in the UK. Plymouth performs less well, with over half of indicators in the bottom half.
- Exeter remains one of the smallest cities covered by the report – the city is in 60th for population size, a one rank decrease from the last three years. Population growth between 2012 and 2022 was 4th in the country, an increase from 10th in 2023's report. Plymouth is firmly higher at 38th.
- Exeter dropped from 33rd to 45th position for number of business start-ups. Business stock from 29th position to 30th position. Plymouth also saw decreased start-ups, dropping to 59th of 63, although stock stayed stable in 61st.
- GVA per hour in Exeter dropped in position from 21st to 24th with the figure decreasing from £36.30 in 2020 to £33.30 in 2021. In Plymouth it dropped from £31.00 to £29.20, and from 49th to 53rd rank.
- Exeter has remained 3rd for low claimant count the latest data (November 2023). It has decreased by 0.1 percentage point since November 2022. Plymouth saw a 0.1 percentage point increase and moved from 16th to 17th.
- Exeter historically performs poorly on the ratio of private to public sector jobs: it currently sits at 58th of 63 cities and large towns, below Plymouth at 53rd. Exeter's performance on private Knowledge Intensive Business Services improved from 39th to 31st, while Plymouth improved from 55th to 53rd.

- Exeter is in 8th position when looking at new economy firms per 10,000 working age population, an improvement from 10th in the previous report. Plymouth moved from 59th place to 48th. This includes emerging knowledge-intensive sectors such as FinTech and advanced manufacturing.
- Exeter has low levels of residents with no formal qualifications: it holds 5th position for this measure with 3.5% of working age residents. Meanwhile, Plymouth performs very poorly in comparison in 54th.
- Plymouth has seen an increased percentage of residents with NVQ level 4+ qualifications, but a decrease in rank from 33rd to 40th. The Exeter ranking for residents with NVQ Level 4+ has slipped a little from 13th to 14th, but Exeter traditionally performs well on this measure.
- Performance for pupils achieving between 9 and 4 in GCSE English and Maths has dropped from 9th to 11th in Exeter, and 38th to 39th in Plymouth.
- Compared to the 2023 edition, Plymouth jumped from 61st to 48th in terms of weekly workplace earnings whilst Exeter has dropped from 42nd position to 43rd.
- Housing stock growth in Exeter has improved in ranking 18th to 5th, whereas Plymouth dropped from 51st to 60th. House prices remain relatively stable compared to the national patten as Exeter still holds 15th position for mean house prices, and Plymouth moved two places upwards to 34th. Exeter's housing affordability ratio, however, remains one of its worst indicators at 57th. Plymouth's affordability stayed higher and stable at 33rd.
- Exeter has well-ranked management of its greenhouse gas emissions at 13th for emissions per capita, but this is ranked lower than Plymouth in 9th. The number of days of poor air quality per year is only ranked 44th in Exeter and 48th in Plymouth.
- Exeter's level of connections to 30+ Mbps broadband is poor at 52nd. Plymouth is solidly better on this measure but not high-performing at 43rd.
- The special focus area for *Cities Outlook 2024* is how cities and large towns have fared since 2010, and the challenges for the next government.

Produced by Gabrielle Climie, Regional Impact Team, Exeter Innovation (EI) - February 2024

1. Exeter rankings at a glance

Exeter's ranking on each indicator is presented in Table 1: the city features in the top half of the rankings for 11 indicators. For both Exeter and Plymouth, claimant count, no formal qualifications, greenhouse gases, air quality, and housing affordability, the ranking has been reversed for this summary as the default ranking puts the highest levels at the top and this is counterintuitive paired with measures tracking good performance.

Table 1: Summary of indicator rankings: Exeter

High (1-21)	Mid-ranking (22-43)	Low (44-63)
Low claimant count (3rd)	Employment rate (23rd)	Air quality (44th)
Population growth (4th)	GVA per hour (24th)	Business start-ups (45th)
Low no qualifications (5th)	Business stock (30th)	Broadband connectivity (52nd)
Public-funded services jobs (5th)	Private KIBS (31st)	Business closures (52nd)
Housing stock growth (5th)	Workplace earnings (43rd)	Housing affordability (57th
New economy firms (8th)		Ratio private/public jobs (58th)
GCSEs (11th)		Manufacturing jobs (59th)
GHG emissions (13th)		Population size (60th)
High-level qualifications (14th)		
House prices (15th)		

It is among the 'top 10' (out of 63 cities) for:

- Low claimant count (%)
- Population growth 2012-2022
- Low levels of residents with no formal qualifications
- Housing stock growth
- Public-funded services jobs
- New economy firms

It is also in the 'top third' (out of 63 cities) for:

- GCSEs in Maths and English, graded 9-4
- Low greenhouse gas emissions
- Residents with level 4+ qualifications
- Mean house prices

Exeter sits in the lowest third for a small but notable number of indicators: this includes business start-ups, housing affordability, the ratio of private to public jobs, population size, manufacturing jobs, air quality and connections subscribed to 30+ Mbps broadband. Population size is related to the fact that Exeter has always been a very small city, and housing affordability has been a consistent challenge. The ratio of public to private jobs is also a consistent pattern.

2. Plymouth rankings at a glance

Plymouth's ranking on each indicator is presented in Table 2: the city features in the top half of the rankings for 4 indicators.

Table 2: Summary of indicator rankings: Plymouth

High (1-21)	Mid-ranking (22-43)	Low (44-63)
Public-funded services jobs (9th)	Housing affordability (33rd)	Employment rate (46th)
GHG emissions (9th)	House prices (34th)	Population growth (48th)
Manufacturing jobs (9th)	Population size (38th)	New economy firms (48th)
Low claimant count (17th)	GCSEs (39th)	Air quality (48th)
	High-level qualifications (40th)	Workplace earnings (48th)
	Broadband connectivity (43rd)	GVA per hour (53rd)
		Private KIBS (53rd)
		Ratio private/public jobs (53rd)
		Low no qualifications (54th)
		Business start-ups (59th)
		Housing stock growth (60th)
		Business closures (60th)
		Business stock (61st)

Plymouth is among the 'top 10' for:

- Public-funded services jobs
- Low levels of greenhouse gas emissions
- Manufacturing jobs

It sits in the top third of cities for low claimant count.

Plymouth sits in the lowest third for more than half of its indicators. One influence on this could be the high levels of traditionally lower paid roles in manufacturing and the public sector and the low GVA per hour, as well as that Plymouth has one of the worst levels of residents with no qualifications in the country.

3. A look at Exeter and Plymouth

Table 2 compares the positions for Exeter and Plymouth across all the city rankings. Exeter largely ranks more favourably than its neighbour on most indicators with a few notable exceptions:

- GHG Emissions – This is fairly close, but Exeter produces 0.3 tons additional greenhouse gases despite the size difference between the two cities.
- Housing affordability ratio – The difference in house prices is not matched by higher incomes: it is more expensive in both numerical and real terms to buy a house in Exeter.
- GVA total – This is affected by Plymouth having a considerably higher population than Exeter.
- Ratio private/public sector jobs – These are also close in value, but this is a consistent pattern of being in Plymouth's favour
- Digital connectivity – Plymouth has a slightly (1.5%) higher rate of connections subscribed to 'superfast' 30+ Mbps broadband than does Exeter.

Table 2: Comparison of Exeter and Plymouth rankings

Exeter more favourable ranking than Plymouth	Broadly the same	Exeter less favourable ranking than Plymouth
Claimant Count (3rd vs 17th)	Air quality (44th vs 48th)	GHG Emissions (13th vs 9th)
GCSEs (11th vs 39th)		Housing affordability (57th vs 33rd)
Population growth (4th vs 48th)		GVA (47th vs 51st)
New economy (8th vs 48th)		Ratio private/public sector jobs (58th vs 53rd)
High-level qualifications (14th vs 40th)		Digital broadband connectivity (52nd vs 43rd)
House prices (15th vs 34th)		
Housing stock growth (5th vs 60th)		
GVA per hour (24th vs 53rd)		
Business stock per 10,000 pop (30th vs 61st)		
Business starts per 10,000 pop (45th vs 59th)		
Workplace earnings (43rd vs 48th)		
Business closures per 10,000 pop (52nd vs 60th)		
No formal qualifications (5th vs 54th)		
Employment rate (23rd vs 46th)		

4. Size

Exeter has risen to 60th position in terms of total population. The city's population growth is among the highest in 4th position, up from 10th. This is a considerable jump from the 2023 edition of this report in terms of growth, but only one position in total size. Plymouth's population size has remained at the same ranking of 38th nationally, the same drop of a single place as seen in the 2022 report, and its population growth remains poor, dropping by one ranking.

Table 3: Exeter and Plymouth size measures, rankings, and ranking changes

	Exeter			Plymouth		
	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank
Population change (%), 2012-2022	14.40%	4th	↑	3.50%	48th	↑

5. Economy, business, and innovation

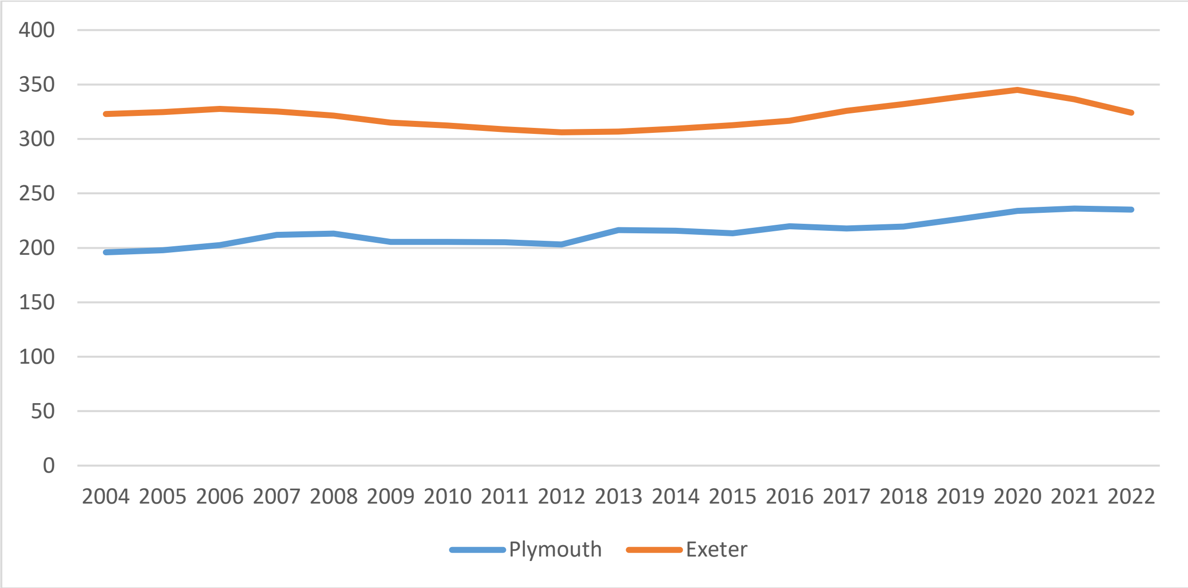
Exeter has struggled comparatively over the previous year, with reduced rankings over each of the categories in this section. Business churn, a sign of a dynamic economy, is limited and below the median for both start-ups and closures, while business stock is only just above the median. Plymouth has kept the same ranking for both closures and stock but saw decreased ranking for GVA and business start-ups.

Table 4: Exeter and Plymouth economy, business and innovation measures, rankings, and ranking changes

	Exeter			Plymouth		
	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank
Business start-up (per 10,000 pop.), 2022	40	45th	↓	35.8	59th	↓
Business closures (per 10,000 pop.), 2022	36.7	52nd	↓	32.8	60th	↔
Business stock (per 10,000 pop.), 2022	324.2	30th	↓	235.1	61st	↔
GVA per hour (2021)	£33.30	24th	↓	£29.20	53rd	↓

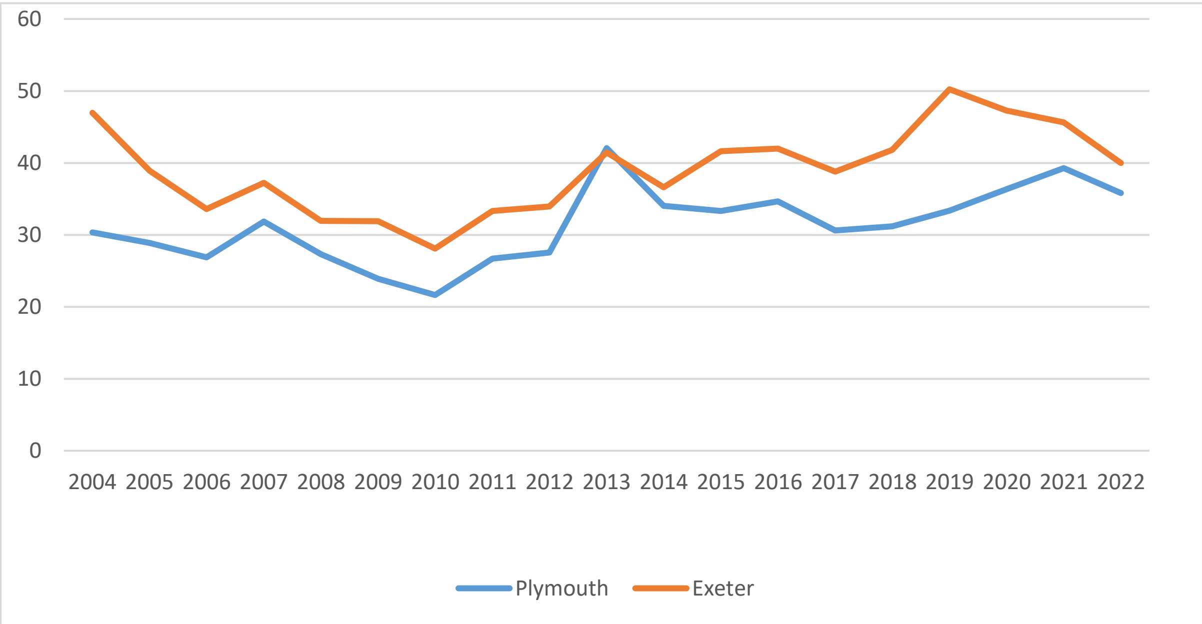
The business stock per 10,000 population had seen a prior upwards trend, but this is starting to change for both Exeter and Plymouth as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Business stock per 10,000 population; Exeter & Plymouth: 2004 to 2022



Exeter has seen notable drops in start-ups, and Plymouth saw the same over the past year. Start-ups have seen some changes locally over the past years, with previous low points in 2010: despite the decreases in Exeter, start-up levels remain well above this (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Business start-ups per 10,000 population; Exeter & Plymouth: 2004 to 2022



Exeter ranked 52nd highest for business closures, a decrease of one rank from the previous year. This is the equivalent of 36.7 closures per 10,000 population, an increase of 3.1. Unlike measures such as the claimant count and poor air quality, this has historically been ranked from highest to lowest by the Centre for Cities due to its role in measuring business churn as an innovation indicator.

Plymouth performs less well with regards to the business indicators, with no rankings above 50. This means that business churn in Plymouth remains low. For business stock, Plymouth remains low in the rankings in 61st position.

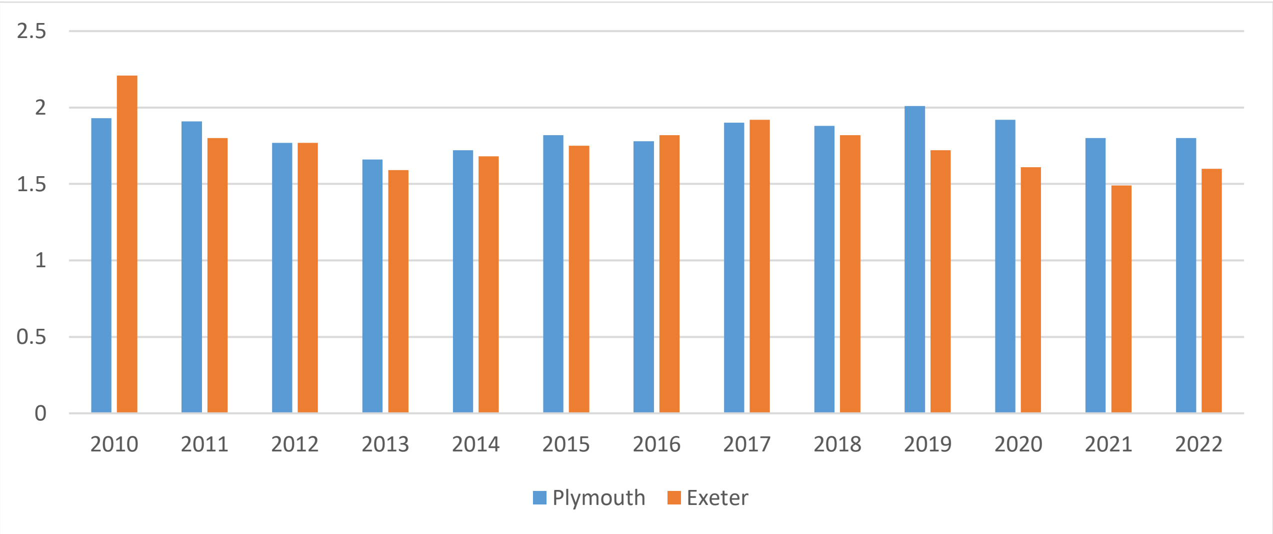
6. Jobs and employment

Exeter's performance in the jobs and employment measures has consistently improved for every measure except claimant count, where it already had one of the lowest claimant counts in the country. The ratio of private to public sector jobs remains comparatively poor but Exeter has improved its rank by one position over the past year. Plymouth saw lower rankings for both employment and claimant counts, as well as continuing to perform poorly on the private to public sector ration and knowledge intensive business services.

Table 5: Exeter and Plymouth jobs and employment measures, rankings and ranking changes

	Exeter			Plymouth		
	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank
Employment Rate, 2023 (%)	76.70%	23rd	↑	71.90%	46th	↓
Claimant count (%), November 2023	1.9%	3rd	↔	3.3%	17th	↓
Ratio private/public sector jobs, 2022	1.6	58th	↑	1.8	53rd	↑
Private Knowledge Intensive Business Services (%), 2022	11.40%	31st	↑	7.20%	53rd	↑
New Economy firms 2023 (per 10,000 working age population)	33.2	8th	↑	16.5	48th	↑

Figure 3: Ratio of private to public sector employment: 2010 to 2022



7. Skills and wages

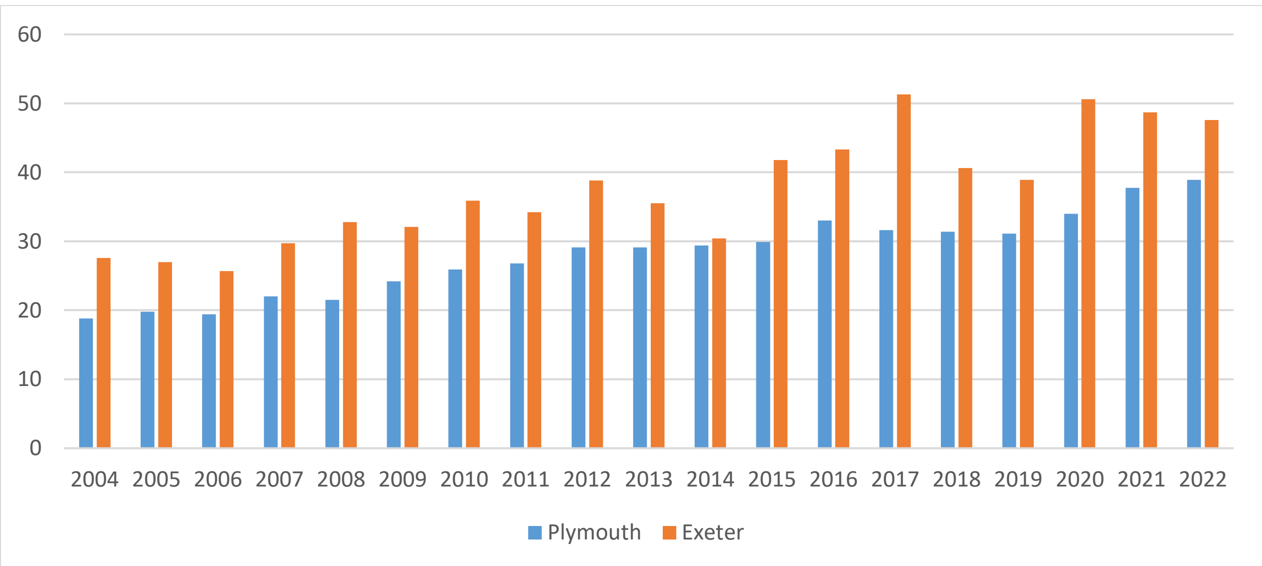
Exeter has seen a one rank in its ranking for the percentage of residents with at least a level 4 qualification, while Plymouth has dropped by 7 ranks. Exeter has seen a strong improvement in terms of lower levels of residents with no formal qualifications with the 16-rank jump corresponding to a 2.5 percentage point decrease in this factor. Exeter and Plymouth both saw decreases in ranking for pupils achieving a 9-4 in English and Maths, but these were only a two rank and one rank decrease respectively.

Table 6: Exeter and Plymouth skills and wages measures, rankings and ranking changes

	Exeter			Plymouth		
	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank
Residents Level 4+ qualifications (%), 2022	47.60%	14th	↓	38.90%	40th	↓
Residents no formal qualifications (%), 2022	3.50%	5th	↑	10.70%	54th	↓
Pupils achieving 9-4 grades in Maths & English at GCSE (%), 2023	68.50%	11th	↓	60.60%	39th	↓
Weekly workplace earnings (£), 2023	£596	43rd	↓	£584	48th	↑

Figure 4 illustrates the general direction of change in qualifications above NVQ Level 4 in both Exeter and Plymouth, highlighting the degree of difference between the two cities.

Figure 4 : Percentage of working age population with a qualification at NVQ4+: 2004 to 2022



Exeter's higher proportion of workers with at least a qualification of NVQ Level 4 or above is likely linked to the presence and performance of its local university. The cities ranking highest for this metric are, unsurprisingly, cities with world-ranking universities Group – Edinburgh (73.2%), Oxford (70.7%), Cambridge (65.9%), Dundee (65.9%), and York (60.3%).

Wages in Exeter and Plymouth sit firmly in the lower half of the table. Plymouth has seen a considerable jump in rank, however, from 61st to 48th. Regional impact affects cities as well, and outside of the South East and London, wages tend to be lower.

8. Housing, environment, and connectivity

The most expensive house prices in 2022 were more than twice the UK average of £285,000[1] at £692,906 (London), while the least expensive city (Burnley) had house prices less than half the national average (£128,545). Exeter and Plymouth's rankings have remained relatively stable for their mean house prices: Exeter remained at 15th position, while Plymouth moved upward from 36th to 34th.

Table 7: Exeter and Plymouth housing environment and connectivity measures, rankings and ranking changes

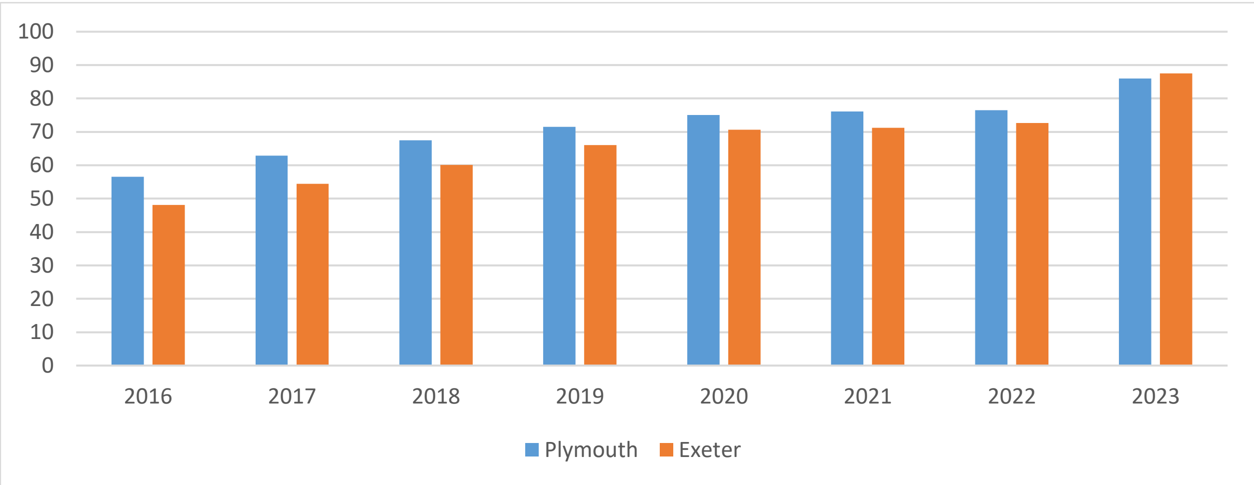
	Exeter			Plymouth		
	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank	Latest	Latest Rank	Change in rank
Housing affordability ratio, 2023	11.5	57th	↓	8	33rd	↔
Mean house prices (£), 2023	£345,200	15th	↔	£232,600	34th	↑
Housing stock growth (%), 2021-2022	1.30%	5th	↑	0.30%	60th	↓
GHG emissions per capita (tons), 2021	3.8	13th	↓	3.5	9th	↑
Number of days a year of poor air quality, 2021-2022	21	44th	↓	22	48th	↓
Connections subscribed to 30+ Mbps broadband (%), 2023	86.00%	52nd	↑	87.50%	43rd	↑

1 UK House Price Index - Office for National Statistics (ons.gov.uk)

This edition of the Centre for Cities *Cities Outlook* has altered the measure for CO2 emissions to cover greenhouse gas emissions more generally. Exeter has dropped on this measure, while Plymouth has increased. Another key environmental measure is air quality: both Exeter and Plymouth performed drastically worse on this measure over the past year than they had previously. Exeter dropped from 23rd to 44th, while Plymouth dropped from 8th to 48th.

Internet connection is now an essential part of modern life: while the direct limitations of pandemic mitigation measures may have faded, existing trends towards digitalisation were accelerated and show little sign of stopping. Broadband connectivity is an indicator of how well the area's population can access important online services including the government portal, online GP services and a large number of job applications, as well as enabling social and cultural engagement. Exeter saw a distinct improvement in ranking, moving from 59th to 52nd, but connectivity remains comparatively poor. Plymouth saw a small improvement in ranking, moving from 45th position to 43rd. The best performing cities for superfast broadband connectivity are Cardiff (92.6%), Crawley (92.2%) and Luton (92.2%), whilst the worst performing is Sheffield (79.6%). Figure 5 illustrates the speed of this change.

Figure 5 Connections subscribed to 30+ Mbps, 2016 to 2023



8. Exeter's performance compared with other similar cities

Table 9 and Table 10 show a snapshot of the key performance indicators for Exeter, Plymouth and other historic comparator cities with similarities to Exeter, as determined by Exeter City Council. It also compares Bristol, as this is a local comparator cities. Figures in parentheses show each city's ranking within this group of eight cities for any given indicator. Exeter performs best among these in Housing stock growth (equal to Bristol in terms of percentage). Plymouth had the lowest level of greenhouse gas emissions. Exeter doesn't perform worst on any measure of these but is second worst on four measures. Plymouth is in last for five different measures, and second last on a further four.

Table 8: Indicators compared with comparator cities: Size, Business and employment.

City	Population 2022	Population Change (%) 2012-2022	Business Start-ups 2022 (per 10,000 population)	Business stock 2022 (per 10,000 population)	GVA per hour 2021 (£)	Claimant Count Nov 2023 (%)	Ratio Private to Public Sector Jobs 2022	Private [1]KIBS 2022 (%)
Bristol	773,789 (1)	10.7% (4)	48.3 (2)	359.9 (2)	£36.61 (3)	2.8% (4)	2.5 (3)	20.0% (1)
Cambridge	146,995 (6)	17.9% (1)	38.1 (6)	331.6 (5)	£36.80 (2)	1.9% (=2)	1.4 (8)	17.7% (2)
Exeter	134,939 (7)	14.4% (3)	40 (4)	324.2 (6)	£33.26 (4)	1.9% (=2)	1.6 (7)	11.4% (5)
Gloucester	133,522 (8)	8.1% (5)	35.2 (8)	283.5 (7)	£28.25 (8)	3.5% (7)	1.8 (5)	10.0% (7)
Norwich	278,397 (2)	7.4% (6)	40.2 (3)	335.7 (3)	£37.04 (1)	2.9% (5)	2.6 (2)	13.7% (3)
Peterborough	217,705 (4)	15.4% (2)	70.3 (1)	369.8 (1)	£33.10 (5)	5.2% (8)	3 (1)	10.7% (6)
Plymouth	266,862 (3)	3.5% (7)	35.8 (7)	235.1 (8)	£29.15 (7)	3.3% (6)	1.8 (5)	7.2% (8)
York	204,551 (5)	2.7% (8)	39.8 (5)	331.9 (4)	£32.08 (6)	1.7% (1)	1.9 (4)	13.1% (4)

[1]Knowledge intensive business services

Table 9: Indicators compared with comparator cities: Skills, wages, and housing

City	Population with level 4 Qualification or Above 2022 (%)	Population with No Formal Qualifications 2022 (%)	Pupils Achieving 9-4 in Maths & English GCSEs 2023 (%)	Average Weekly Earnings 2023 (£)	Mean house price 2023 (£)	Housing Stock Change (%) 2021-2022	GHG Emissions per Capita 2021 (tons)	30 Mbps or higher internet connections 2023 (%)
Bristol	53.9% (3)	5.8% (6)	63.6% (6)	£694.00 (2)	£375,915 (2)	1.3% (=1)	4.4 (5)	89.1% (3)
Cambridge	65.9% (1)	4.1% (4)	76.3% (1)	£760.80 (1)	£574,969 (1)	1.1% (3)	3.8 (=2)	91.1% (1)
Exeter	47.6% (5)	3.5% (2)	68.5% (4)	£596.10 (7)	£345,219 (4)	1.3% (=1)	3.8 (=2)	86.0% (7)
Gloucester	36.0% (7)	5.5% (5)	71.6% (2)	£605.40 (6)	£250,914 (7)	0.7% (6)	3.8 (=2)	89.3% (2)
Norwich	53.1% (4)	3.8% (3)	65.8% (5)	£632.40 (4)	£296,157 (5)	0.8% (5)	4.8 (7)	86.8% (6)
Peterborough	34.5% (8)	10.6% (7)	59.1% (8)	£625.10 (5)	£252,546 (6)	1.1% (4)	5.4 (8)	88.6% (4)
Plymouth	38.9% (6)	10.7% (8)	60.6% (7)	£583.90 (8)	£232,586 (8)	0.3% (8)	3.5 (1)	87.5% (5)
York	60.3% (2)	3.0% (1)	70.2% (3)	£637.20 (3)	£345,689 (3)	0.4% (7)	4.4 (5)	81.9% (8)

9. How places have fared since 2010

The *Cities Outlook* produced by the Centre for Cities covers a special topic for the year. For the 2024 edition this special topic is how places have fared since 2010. This section focuses on economic performance and what challenges this will pose for the party to form the next government. As the 63 cities and large towns covered by the *Cities Outlook* form 9 percent of land but 63 percent of economic output and host 72 percent of high-skilled jobs, the urban focus will be a key concern for how the UK economy fares through the rest of the 2020s and beyond.

What are the key changes since 2010?

Most cities have experienced a jobs boom since 2010: this was true for all but two of 62 different cities and large towns in the UK. The exceptions were Aberdeen and Worthing, while London led the increase, followed by Luton, Reading, Cambridge and Milton Keynes. Exeter had the 7th lowest job growth rate overall (5th when not counting the decreases), while Plymouth had the 31st highest.

Productivity growth was very low across most cities and large towns. At the national level, productivity increased by an average of 0.6% in real terms, down from 1.5% between 1998 and 2010. Plymouth saw a decrease in real output per hour between 2010 and 2021, while Exeter saw an increase of only 0.3%. When compared to the high levels of job growth, this suggests that most of the job growth has been in low-income roles.

Housing has become less affordable in most cities, with cities in the Greater South East tending to see the greatest deterioration. Exeter was also in the top 10, along with Bristol. Only five cities saw an improvement: Middlesborough, Newcastle, Sunderland, Blackpool and Aberdeen.

Policy churn has also been notably present over the past 14 years, with policy moving from ‘rebalancing the economy’ to the Northern Powerhouse to local industrial strategies to Levelling Up. This poses challenges for a coherent approach to grapple with regional inequality. However, policy churn was also present in the 1998 to 2010 period, and indeed historically before that.

Impacts

The scale of job growth in London has meant that the total share of British jobs continues to cluster in the Greater South East. For every one job created elsewhere in Britain, 1.2 were generated in the Greater South East. In 2010, 38.8% of all jobs were located in this region, but this rose to 40.8% in 2022. Despite policies around levelling up, the north-south divide continues to widen.

Poor productivity growth has resulted in restricted disposable income growth. Only London saw growth in disposable income grow faster between 2010 and 2022 than between 1998 and 2010. For every £1 increase per head outside of the Greater South East between 2010 and 2022, incomes rose by £2.36 within that region. This affects those at the bottom end of the income scale the most.

The Centre for Cities uses child poverty as a proxy to illustrate that relative poverty has become an increasingly large issue since 2014 (the earliest date for which data is available). Exeter and Plymouth both saw a decrease in children living in absolute poverty between 2014 and 2021. Every city in the UK except Belfast has seen an increase in the proportion of children in relative poverty. In 2021, six cities had over a third of children in households in relative poverty. In 2014, there were no cities in this position. This is also reflective of the changing nature of poverty: in-work poverty has been increasing across the UK. Exeter had among the lowest percentage point increases of children living in relative poverty between 2014 and 2021 (2.2-point increase), with Plymouth only slightly higher (2.6-point increase). However, they were both in the top half of cities and large towns for the percentage of children in relative poverty from working households.

The key result is that while most places are better off than they were in 2010, they are also worse off than if pre-2010 trends had continued. At the national level, on average people were cumulatively £10,200 worse off than they would have been if pre-2010 trends had continued. For Plymouth, this figure was 16,340 while for Exeter it was 16,990: the two cities are next to each other in this list.

Policy Implications

The Centre for Cities emphasises the need for consistency and stability in sub-national economic policy, as well as the importance of prioritising productivity growth. They specifically praise two recent policy initiatives as signs that this is possible:

- Combined authorities with directly elected mayors
- The Levelling Up White Paper

The recommendations that they give for the next government are:

- Sticking with the levelling-up agenda and its focus on improving the performance of the largest cities outside London
- Continue with devolution
- Reform the planning system