

5 MISSIONS FOR A BETTER BRITAIN



BREAKING DOWN THE BARRIERS TO OPPORTUNITY



MISSION DRIVEN GOVERNMENT: BREAKING DOWN THE BARRIERS TO OPPORTUNITY

Labour's fifth mission in government will be to break down the barriers to opportunity for every child, at every stage and shatter the class ceiling.

Each of Labour's missions is built on the strong foundations of economic stability, national security, and secure borders.

We will track our progress on this mission through three stages of education. We will:

- 1.** Boost child development with half a million more children hitting the early learning goals by 2030.
- 2.** See a sustained rise in young people's school outcomes over the next decade, building young people's life skills.
- 3.** Expand high quality education, employment and training routes so more people than ever are on pathways with good prospects by 2035.

THE CHALLENGE

The promise we tell our children and grandchildren is that if you work hard, you'll be able to get on, no matter what your background.

We tell them that everyone has the opportunity to make the most of their ability and get a career doing what they do best and love the most. We should all have that same opportunity and be able to enjoy a good life, with a good job and a secure home; the foundations of a high standard of living.

But Britain is currently failing on that promise.

A child's upbringing has a strong influence on where they end up and parents will always want to ensure their children can build the best life they can. However, at the moment, one element of a child's background – how well off their family is – is a disproportionate driver of the life they can build.

Someone who grew up receiving free school meals – roughly someone who grew up in the poorest tenth of families – earns just over half as much as their better-off peers by age 28. According to the Institute for Fiscal Studies, sons from the most affluent families were on average around 19 percentiles higher in their adult earned income ranking than sons from the most disadvantaged families.³ For daughters, this rises to 27 percentiles.

Evidence shows that education is the primary determinant of where children fall on the income distribution relative to their parents. 71% of the rank-rank association between children's and their families' incomes can be accounted for by education for both men and women. However, the remaining 29% is likely attributable to wider inequalities. These can include factors such as wider social networks, access to internships, and broader inequalities such as race.

If we are to tackle this challenge, we need to break down the barriers that hold people back, and reform childcare and education. An entrenched class system with low socio-economic mobility and opportunities to develop skills available to just some, not all, is holding back economic growth.⁴

1 https://ifs.org.uk/sites/default/files/output_url_files/WP202226-Intergenerational-income-persistence-evidence-for-the-UK.pdf

2 See Annex

3 https://ifs.org.uk/sites/default/files/output_url_files/WP202226-Intergenerational-income-persistence-evidence-for-the-UK.pdf p. 12

4 <https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/inequality#:~:text=Introduction%20to%20inequality,helps%20countries%20in%20tackling%20inequality>

OUR MISSION

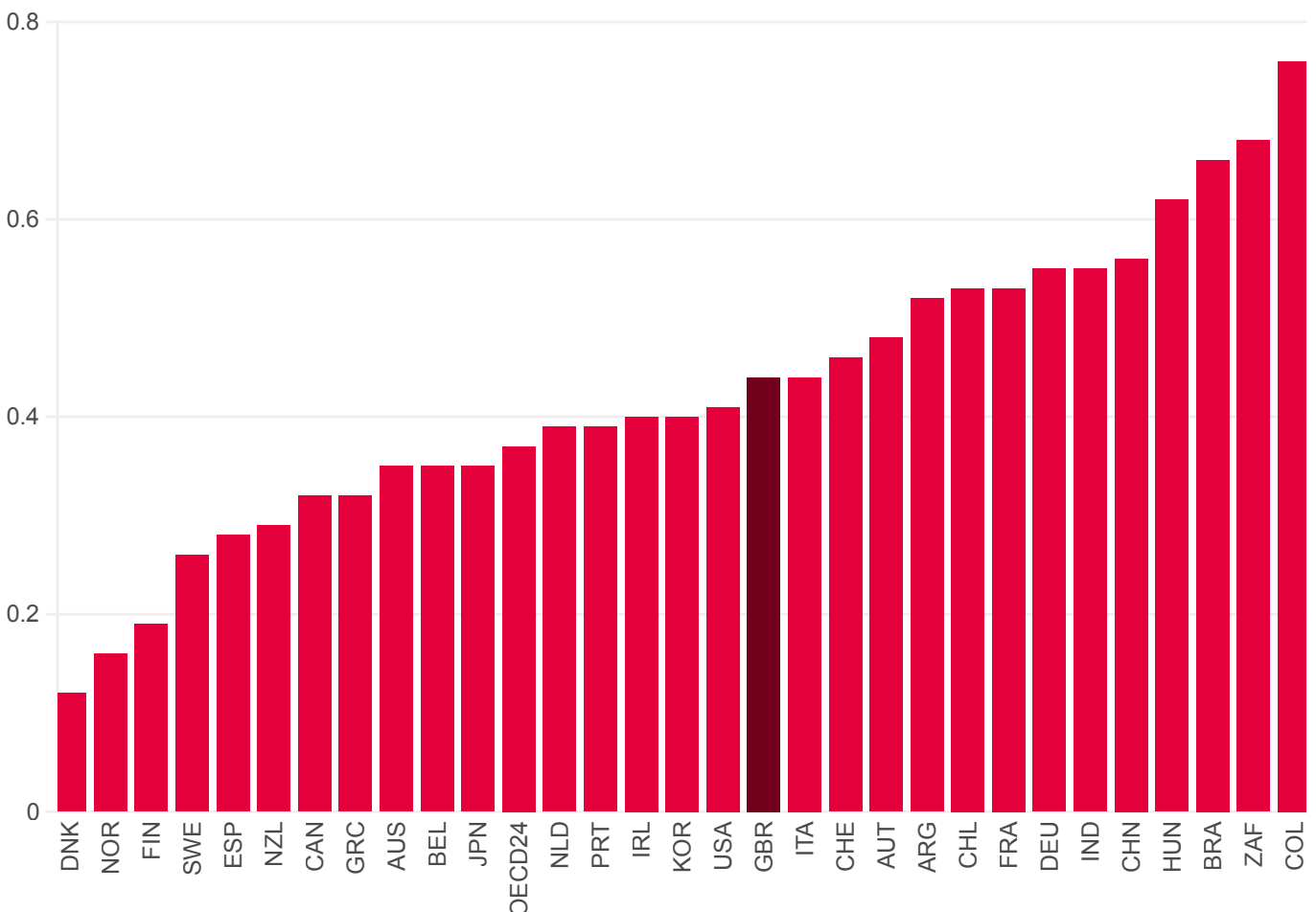
Labour will shatter the class ceiling in Britain

By reforming our childcare and education systems, Labour will boost opportunities for everyone, and our economy, and make sure there is no class ceiling on the ambitions of young people in Britain.

Labour will change Britain so that children's future earnings are no longer limited by those of their parents. We will measure our progress by assessing reductions in intergenerational income persistence. This economic measure allows us to find the association between the earned income rank of a child with the earned income rank of their parents. In government, we will develop this data collection and analysis, and periodically update it to ensure we can map progress over time.⁵

Labour will make Britain one of the fairest countries in the OECD, reducing levels of intergenerational income persistence to that of countries like Denmark, Finland and Norway, over future generations. There is little data on income mobility in Britain compared to similar countries over time. Labour in government will ensure this is measured, assessed and reported on consistently, to track our progress, first to turn the tide on income persistence, and then take us to Scandinavian levels over time.

● Intergenerational income persistence



⁵ See Annex

We have the tools to achieve this mission, through breaking down barriers to opportunity. To do this, Labour will:

1. Make security the foundation of opportunity

Britain's success relies on everyone having the chance to get on, but currently too many people are held back by the lack of a secure job, secure home, a safe community and public services that aren't there when you need them. Labour's missions will tackle these barriers, giving everyone security.

2. Reform childcare and early years support so children have the best start in life

Children's earliest years are crucial to their development and their life chances. By the time they start school, children eligible for free school meals are already five months behind their peers.⁶ By ensuring families have the early support they need, we can provide every child a firm foundation that sets them up for life.

3. Deliver a broader education and the highest standards in schools

Too many children are being let down, leaving school without essential reading, writing or maths skills. Too many are denied the opportunity to participate in arts, digital and sports subjects that develop life skills, like communication, teamwork, and digital skills, which are essential for their futures. Labour will raise school standards for all our children. We'll ensure every child has the core knowledge and skills they need as part of a broad curriculum, delivered by recruiting and training thousands more expert teachers.

4. Provide pathways to good prospects for all

Right now, too many young people leave education without the qualifications they need and without high quality pathways onto apprenticeships, higher level education, or into good secure jobs. By pushing decisions on skills spending out of Westminster we'll ensure local communities are able to join up training and job opportunities, with training routes coordinated between colleges and universities.

5. Spread opportunity beyond education

Conservative governments have been content to lock people out of too many spheres by cultural and social capital, allowing a class ceiling to remain intact for internships, prestigious jobs and in some cases, to getting on. Housing and job insecurity are barriers for too many people from disadvantaged backgrounds. Labour will turn this tide, delivering the opportunities everyone deserves.

OUR MISSION PLAN

1. Make security the foundation of opportunity

Breaking down the barriers to opportunity for every child cannot be done by the education system alone. Our mission can only be achieved if we also tackle poverty, an ailing economy and the chronic insecurity embedded in over 13 years of Conservative Government.

Labour's missions in government, and our wider policy platform, will tackle this insecurity and deliver the secure foundations every family needs.

Labour will enact the socio-economic duty in the Equality Act: Under section 1, public bodies are required to adopt transparent and effective measures to address the inequalities that result from differences in socio-economic status. This will ensure breaking down barriers to opportunity and tackling inequality is at the heart of all our Government's work.

⁶ Government data available [here](#), headline school readiness data available [here](#).

Child poverty reduction: Dedicated professionals across our education system go above and beyond every day to deliver for our children, but the barriers that too many children face – from the lack of a secure home, to not having books to read or pens to draw with – are not theirs to fix.

As part of the Opportunity Mission cross-government task force, we will involve child poverty reduction specialists at the heart of this work. Labour will put a focus on reducing child poverty at the centre of how we secure opportunity for children and young people from every background and every corner of our country.

Delivering on our missions:

1. Growth in every part of the country.

No one deserves to grow up in poverty, and no child should have their future life chances limited or held back by the circumstances into which they were born. Labour's first mission in Government will secure the highest sustained growth in the G7 – with good jobs and productivity growth in every part of the country making everyone, not just a few, better off. Growth will give families the solid foundations of economic security and prosperity that they need to access new opportunities

2. Making Britain's streets safe

By making Britain's streets safe, halving serious violence, and raising confidence in the police and the criminal justice system to its highest levels, we will remove the fear and insecurity that blights so many lives. The impact of persistently high levels of crime continues to be felt by so many communities.

By delivering our mission to make Britain's streets safe, we will empower communities to feel hope for their futures. With 13,000 more neighbourhood police and PCSOs back on our streets, and reformed mandatory national standards, training and vetting procedures, we will rebuild trust in policing and the criminal justice system.

3. An NHS fit for the future

Through making the NHS fit for the future and ensuring it's there when you need it, we will give our society the foundations of accessible healthcare, focused on delivering for the long term.

With a focus not just on the National Health Service but a 'neighbourhood' health service, Labour will move care out of hospital and into the community so more people can access the care they need more quickly, close to home. We will ensure the NHS can take advantage of cutting edge technology and new medicines, rather than forcing staff to work with pagers and fax machines. And we will move our focus to preventing ill-health with public health measures like banning the advertising of junk food to children. Through this, we will build an NHS that is there when people need it; with fewer lives lost to the biggest killers; in a fairer Britain, where everyone lives well for longer.

4. Clean energy superpower

Labour's Green Prosperity Plan will unlock new jobs, investment and economic growth across our country, supported by private investment in industries of the future and further devolution so communities can really take back control.

Labour will act fast to lead the world with clean and cheap power by 2030. We will establish GB Energy - a new home-grown, publicly-owned champion in clean energy generation - to build jobs and supply chains here at home. Moving to a decarbonised economy will provide good, well-paying jobs in gigafactories, clean steel plants, renewable-ready ports, green hydrogen and energy storage, giving more people opportunities across our country.

Labour will also tackle all the inequalities that pervade our society

Inequality is often compounded for people who face multiple disadvantages. Under the Conservatives, 8.2% of Black Caribbean students received three A grades or better, compared to 20.7% of white students, while Black children are now more than twice as likely to be growing up in poverty as white children.

Labour believes in opportunity for everyone, and we recognise the intersections where class and other characteristics meet. Labour will act to ensure that the increased barriers to opportunity for women, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people, LGBT+ people, and disabled people are broken down too.

The next Labour government will be committed to eradicating the gender pay gap, bringing forward a Race Equality Act, and protecting LGBT+ people by strengthening hate crime legislation, and producing policies in partnership with disabled people that have dignity and respect at their heart.

Education to spread opportunity

Education is at the heart of our mission to spread and expand opportunity. From our earliest years, through to learning or retraining as adults, gaining knowledge, skills, qualifications, and exploring our interests and abilities enables us all to build the lives that we want and the society that we share.

Today, the best education our country has to offer is not available to every young person. The opportunity to learn and train as an adult is limited and available to too few.

Labour's mission to spread opportunity means both enabling everyone to access the opportunities that excellent education brings, and giving everyone opportunities throughout our education system.

Our plan to achieve this sets three long-term, measurable goals for this mission that we will work towards and be held accountable for. The goals are:

- 1.** To boost child development with half a million more children hitting the early learning goals by 2030.
- 2.** To see a sustained rise in young people's school outcomes over the next decade, building young people's life skills.
- 3.** To expand high quality education, employment and training routes so more people than ever are on pathways with good prospects by 2035.

2. Reform childcare and early years support so children have the best start in life

Labour will boost child development with half a million more children hitting the early learning goals by 2030

- Pre-pandemic, 71.8% of children were achieving "a good level of development at the end of Reception", meaning they have reached the expected level in the early learning goals in the prime learning areas of personal, social and emotional development; physical development; and communication and language, and the early learning goals in the specific areas of mathematics and literacy. This has fallen to 65.2% in the latest 2021/22 data.⁷
- This percentage will rise over the period as the impact of Labour's policies take effect, with 90% of children hitting the metric by 2030.

The Conservatives have failed to deliver for families and for children. New parents are too often unable to see their health visitors or get the early help and advice that would enable them to thrive as a family. The hours model for funding childcare has failed families, with providers forced to raise prices for hours that fall outside of a family's entitlement, making childcare a huge cost to bear, yet some providers are still being left with no choice but to close. There are two children for every Ofsted-registered early years childcare place across England, and up to 11 children per place in some areas.

These costs create barriers for parents wanting to work more hours or take on new jobs, disproportionately hitting women's employment and opportunities.

⁷ (Note the DfE says the 2021 data should not be compared to previous years because the EYFS was updated, however, [OHID does so in graphs here](#))

At the same time, the Conservatives have neglected the importance of childcare as education that sets children up for school and for life, particularly affecting children from lower-income backgrounds.

Families are essential for giving children the best start. The role of government should be to help every family succeed, through delivering high quality childcare and early support for new families, good healthcare and spaces for children to play, learn and develop in every part of the country.

Labour will give every child a healthy start and ensure parents get the support and advice they need

Health visitors: Labour will support every family, by training thousands more health visitors, to reduce inequalities, promote health and wellbeing, and ensure families have the resilience, attachment and support they need to grow together. This will end the postcode lottery that families face in getting support, improve continuity of care, and allow stronger and more productive relationships between families and health visitors which ensure that those who need support can access it easily.

Mental health support: We know that parental mental ill-health can have a huge impact on children from their earliest years. If parents experience mental health problems in pregnancy or the first year of a baby's life, this can affect the way they are able to bond with and care for their child, affecting children's intellectual, emotional, social and psychological development.⁸

Labour will bring down waiting times for mental health treatment for everyone who needs it, through recruiting thousands more mental health professionals and providing an open access hub for young people in every community to ensure early intervention is available to all. This support will help parents when they need it, and ensure they are better equipped to bond with and look after their children.

Childcare as education: For Labour, childcare must be more than just a facility that allows parents to work more hours. It is about providing every child with the best start in life; an early years education which sets them up for school and supports child development. Extensive evidence shows the positive impact of high-quality early education on long-term educational, behavioural and social outcomes, and on closing the gap for children in low-income households.⁹

With falling school rolls across many parts of the country, now is the time for fresh and imaginative thinking about how we integrate early years education and childcare with the wider school experience our children have and how we set them all up for the best start to life.

A plan to tackle the availability of childcare:

- **Delivering new childcare places:** Across the country there are significant childcare deserts where families are unable to find the childcare they need, and local authorities report significant challenges in delivering their 'sufficiency duties' – ensuring sufficient availability of childcare in their local authority. The government is adding to parents' childcare hours entitlements but is doing nothing to make more childcare places available for families when and where they need them. Labour will address the supply side of childcare, not just create more demand.

Working with the early years and childcare sector we will look to build capacity, and as a first step Labour will remove legislative barriers to local authorities opening new childcare provision.

- **Workforce reform:** The Conservatives have announced new entitlements for parents but have no plan to build the workforce needed to deliver this, while existing staff are leaving the profession in droves. Labour will work with the early years and childcare sector to ensure professionals are provided with opportunities for high quality training and recognised for the skilled work they are doing.

Standards: Labour's wider plan to reform Ofsted, and replace headline grades with new report cards will also apply to early years settings, ensuring parents have a richer understanding of the education and care their child will receive and reducing pressure on early years practitioners.

⁸ <https://learning.nspcc.org.uk/children-and-families-at-risk/parental-mental-health-problems#skip-to-content>
Education Endowment Foundation. Early Years Evidence Store.

⁹ <https://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/support-for-schools/evidence-for-the-early-years/early-years-evidence-store>
Tackling Disadvantage in the early years, House of Commons Education Select Committee. <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmeduc/1006/1006.pdf>

Developing early communication skills: Communication skills are essential throughout life and the foundations of these skills are developed during the early years and the first part of primary school. Delayed development of communications skills can have serious knock-on consequences for children's learning, while there is good evidence that spoken language skills are strongly associated with children's literacy, numeracy and educational attainment.¹⁰ Stronger communication skills are also associated with better behaviour at school and improved long-term outcomes.¹¹

To ensure every child develops the strong foundation in speech and language development that sets them up to achieve, Labour will equip every school with funding to deliver evidence-based early language interventions. For example, the Nuffield Early Language Intervention – which provides small group language teaching sessions – has been shown to significantly improve the language skills of Reception pupils (aged 4–5).

Children's Number: At the moment information about children is disconnected. Parents provide information to one professional and then find they have to repeat themselves over and over, as information is not shared with others. Children's records become disconnected, with important information stored on one system not accessible to professionals working off another. Existing unique pupil numbers track academic attainment but do not help coordinate the services that support children.

Labour will improve coordination between education, social care and the wider services that support families by piloting the expansion of a children's number like the NHS number that stays with children not just for their school career but for their whole childhoods, ensuring that their needs are better met, and any issues are addressed early.

3. Deliver a broader education and the highest standards in schools

A sustained rise in young people's school outcomes over the next decade, while building young people's life skills

Measuring improving attainment and outcomes is complex:

- The current overlapping accountability metrics from the end of primary and secondary school – from key stage 2 results, to Progress 8, EBacc entries and attainment and destination measures – consider different outcomes and can include different pupils from within a school cohort.
- One single measure is not going to capture the breadth of a child's experience and outcomes from the beginning of primary to the end of secondary school. As we move to a system of report cards for school inspection, we will identify the most effective measures and information to include in this.
- We will aim to capture children's attainment as they progress through the school system. Our starting point will be Progress 8 which contextualises performance relative to pupils' prior attainment.

Under the Conservatives, young people have experienced a narrowing of the curriculum. Across primary and secondary schools, Ofsted has repeatedly warned against 'teaching to the test' but this is exactly what the Conservatives have prioritised. Creative and vocational subjects are too often being squeezed out, while at the same time too many children are going through their whole school career without developing core English or maths skills, while employers report too many young people lack communication, teamwork and problem-solving skills.

The ability to deliver a high standard of education for every child is being severely undermined by a crisis in recruitment and retention of school staff, including support staff through to headteachers and leaders. Conservative mismanagement has left staff overworked, overstretched and undervalued, with more teachers leaving our schools last year than started initial teacher training. This means that under the Tories high standards are for some of our children, not all of them.

10 UCL and Save the Children. Early Language Development and Children's Primary School Attainment in England and Maths. Research Findings. <https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/content/dam/gb/reports/policy/early-language-development-and-childrens-primary-school-attainment.pdf>

11 All Party Parliamentary Group for Oracy. Speak for Change. https://oracy.inparliament.uk/files/oracy/2021-04/Oracy_APPG_FinalReport_28_04%20%284%29.pdf

Labour wants to see high and rising standards for every child, to boost outcomes and opportunities. Labour is clear that we must focus on closing gaps in outcomes between children eligible for free school meals and their more advantaged peers, but we must also go further and deliver better outcomes for every child and young person. That includes tackling the barriers to attainment for children with special educational needs and disabilities.

Since 2015, there has been virtually no improvement in the number of young people achieving essential Maths and English GCSE qualifications that unlock future opportunities.¹² The attainment gap between children on free school meals and their peers had started widening before Covid¹³, and is now the biggest it's been for a decade.¹⁴

Working with our country's brilliant school staff, Labour will ensure all children get a strong grounding in the basics: reading, writing and maths, as part of a broad education which ensures all young people can also enjoy music, sport, art, drama, and develop the knowledge and skills they need to thrive throughout life.

A broad and enriching education for every child

Curriculum and Assessment Review: For Labour, high standards in the basics of reading, writing, and maths are essential. When governments lose focus on this, it is too often children from the most disadvantaged backgrounds who lose out.

Labour will build on the hard work and skill of thousands of subject specialist teachers who have developed a rich knowledge curriculum, brought alive the excitement of their subject and sequenced knowledge so that it builds pupils' conceptual understanding.

From this strong platform, we must build a broad education that enables children to thrive. Subjects like music, art, sport or drama, that build confidence and skills such as communication, critical thinking, problem solving and teamwork, must be available to all our children not just some.¹⁵ These are skills employers value and which parents know help their children to achieve, while creative and vocational subjects can also boost young people's engagement in their education. Yet our curriculum has failed to keep up with the pace of change. The teaching of digital skills and navigating online platforms is out of step with the reality of young people's lives. Parents report concerns about the absence of teaching of basic life skills such as budgeting or interview skills.¹⁶

Employers report that too many young people leaving education do not have the basic skills – communication, teamwork, problem solving – needed to thrive in the workplace.¹⁷ There are also immense gaps in the technical skills needed to thrive in some sectors such as green technology, life sciences, digital and creative industries, where there are huge numbers of vacancies that can't be filled, holding back our economy.

In Government, Labour will therefore urgently commission a full, expert-led review of curriculum and assessment that will seek to deliver a curriculum which is rich and broad, inclusive and innovative, and which develops children's knowledge and skills. Our assessment system must respond to this and ensure we fully capture young people's knowledge and abilities.

Labour's Curriculum and Assessment Review will consider children's education and experiences from the beginning of primary through to the end of compulsory education.

Our commitment is to implement changes with enough time for schools, teachers, parents and students to plan ahead, in contrast to previous reforms to the curriculum and assessment.

12 <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/data-tables/permalink/464ed0dd-8258-495a-437d-08db462637b9>

13 EPI report 2020: "Progress in closing the gap has been stalling over the last five years and it is now widening." https://epi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/EPI_2020_Annual_Report.pdf

14 Key stage 2: "The disadvantage gap index has increased from 2.91 in 2019 to 3.23 in 2022." <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/key-stage-2-attainment>

Key stage 4: "The KS4 disadvantage gap index has widened compared to 2020/21, from 3.79 to 3.84. It is now at its highest level since 2011/12." <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/key-stage-4-performance-revised/2021-22>

15 House of Lords. Youth Unemployment Committee. Skills for every young person. <https://committees.parliament.uk/publications/7988/documents/82440/default/>

16 Qualifications counting in 2023 KS4 performance tables https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1148986/KS4_performance_points_2023 ods

17 <https://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/education-evidence/teaching-learning-toolkit/oral-language-interventions>

Labour's Curriculum and Assessment Review will be based on the following principles:

- 1. An excellent foundation in core subjects of reading, writing, and maths.**
- 2. A broader curriculum**, so that children don't miss out on subjects such as music, art, sport and drama.
- 3. A curriculum that ensures young people leave school ready for work and ready for life**, building the knowledge, skills and attributes young people need to thrive. This includes embedding digital, oracy and life skills in their learning.
- 4. A curriculum that reflects the issues and diversities of our society**, ensuring every child is represented.
- 5. An assessment system that captures the full strengths of every child and the breadth of curriculum**, with the right balance of assessment methods whilst maintaining the important role of examinations.

The review will be based on lessons learned from international best practice and expert research. It will support teachers' innovation and professionalism, enabling them to adapt how they teach the core national curriculum to their children's lives and life experiences. Following this review, all state schools, including academies, will be required to teach the core national curriculum. This will give parents certainty over the core of their children's education.

Reforming accountability: This review will necessarily look at the current range of accountability metrics under which schools currently operate and ensure that these support and align with a reformed curriculum and assessment system. We recognise that this review will take time to draw its conclusions and for recommendations to be implemented.

Therefore, as a first step towards encouraging all young people to study a broad curriculum through to the end of secondary school, one of the non-EBacc subjects included in pupil's Progress and Attainment 8 should be a creative or vocational subject.¹⁸ This can help schools to encourage a broad curriculum for young people and recognises the value of creativity in young people's education.

Preparing young people for a digital future: Young people will need to understand developing technologies, such as AI and their implications, be able to use them, shape them and understand their opportunities and risks. Labour's curriculum review will embed digital literacy and skills throughout children's learning and ensure the computing curriculum reflects the pace of technological change.

As jobs change with technological advances, it's essential that young people are equipped with a strong foundation in not only literacy and numeracy but analytical, problem solving, creative and interpersonal skills that will enable them to adapt to change.

As technology develops, we will work with schools, colleges, universities and unions to explore where it can support improvements in educational attainment and outcomes, including those of young people with special educational needs and disabilities. Working with parents and professionals we will look to harness technology for the benefit of staff and learners.

Improving communication skills (oracy): A significant barrier to young people getting on in life is an inability to speak up, to express their views, to ask for help, to persuade others, to collaborate successfully. These vital speaking skills are becoming even more important in the workplace and yet are not always taught in schools.

These speaking skills – known as oracy – can deepen children's understanding, analytical skills and engagement leading to better classroom outcomes. Oracy's contribution to accelerating academic progress has been evidenced by the Education Endowment Foundation.¹⁹ Drawing on this evidence, Labour's Curriculum and Assessment Review will explore how to weave oracy into lessons throughout school. Children with poor language at age five are six times less likely to reach the expected standard

¹⁸ Qualifications counting in 2023 KS4 performance tables https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1148986/KS4_performance_points_2023.ods

¹⁹ https://www.nfer.ac.uk/media/5143/teacher_supply_and_shortages.pdf

in English at age 11 than those with good language at that age, and 11 times less likely to achieve the expected standard in maths.²⁰

The ability young people have to articulate themselves, justify, persuade, challenge and explain, are crucial to the world of work, working in a team and navigating the modern world. Labour wants to help every child find their voice.

World-class teaching

To deliver a broad curriculum that's rich in knowledge and skills, we need world-class teaching for every child and excellent support staff enabling our children to thrive.

Under the Tories, standards have been allowed to slip and school staff have been overworked, overstretched and undervalued to a point that more teachers left our schools last year than started initial teacher training.

This is leading to gaps, which mean high standards are for some of our children not all of them:

- ▶ More than one in four Physics lessons in the last year had been taught by a non-expert teacher.
- ▶ Nearly one in five French, German, Drama and DT lessons in the last year had been taught by a non-expert teacher.
- ▶ More than one in ten maths lessons in the last year was taught by a non-expert teacher; 45% of schools last year reported at least some maths lessons were taught by non-specialist maths teachers.²¹

Labour will fix this. We will ensure every child has world-class teaching by supporting a profession of excellent teachers, encouraged to develop as experts in their field, and valued for the work they do. We will recognise and respect the work of our school support staff who deliver crucial learning support, especially for children who face the greatest barriers to engaging with education.

Recruiting more, high quality teachers: There is a wealth of evidence demonstrating that within schools, improving teacher quality is the most significant factor to improve children's outcomes.²²

Labour will use money raised from ending private school tax breaks to:

- ▶ Recruit over 6500 new teachers to fill vacancies and skills gaps across the profession.
- ▶ Introduce a requirement for all new teachers coming into schools to hold or be working towards qualified teacher status, as part of the guarantee that every child will be taught by a qualified professional.

In order to attract the teachers that our children need, we will value rather than belittle the teaching profession, once again making teaching something of which people want to be part. Yet we must build on this, working with schools and senior leaders to tackle workloads which are seeing teachers working on average 48 hours a week and leaders over 56 hours, with an expanded workforce, and reform of Ofsted.²³

Retaining excellent teachers and leaders: Labour will re-establish teaching as a profession, that is respected and valued as a skilled job which delivers for our children and our country. Reinstating the requirement for qualified teacher status is one step towards this, but we must go further, including learning from other professions on how they structure pay, progression and ongoing training to attract and retain their workforce.

The rate of attrition²⁴ among our current teaching workforce is a barrier to delivering an excellent education for every child with experienced teachers, who can act as mentors for the next generation of staff, continually leaving our schools. We must stop this exodus from the classroom if we are to build the expert, world-leading teaching profession our children need.

²⁰ For example: <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/7915/1/DCSF-RR028.pdf> / <https://www.oecd.org/education/school/34990905.pdf>

²¹ Department for Education. Working lives of teachers and leaders – wave 1. April 2023. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1148571/Working_lives_of_teachers_and_leaders_wave_1_core_report.pdf

²² <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2023/jun/08/teachers-england-schools-figures-department-education-survey>

²³ <https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10149734/>

²⁴ <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/regional-department-for-education-dfe-directors/about>

Labour will do this by:

1. Enabling teachers to develop their skills so they're confident, expert practitioners; better able to support children with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND), develop pupils' spoken language skills, or to respond to new technologies in the classroom.
 - Labour recognises the value of the Early Career Framework (ECF) for supporting and building the professionalism of new teachers, but we must learn from and improve implementation. Labour will revise delivery of the ECF, maintaining the grounding in evidence, to ensure the highest standards of professional development for new teachers.
 - Labour will work with schools to deliver a 'Teacher Training Entitlement', including backfilling roles so teachers at every stage of their career can be released for training, and ensuring guidance is available on evidence-based, high-quality professional development.
 - Labour will introduce a new mentoring framework for new headteachers and school leaders, working with the profession to spread best practice and ensure that new headteachers are supported during their first years on the job.
2. Ensuring spending on bursaries and incentives to attract and retain staff is being done in line with evidence of best practice.
 - Labour will review bursaries to ensure the £181 million a year the Government spends on incentivising people into teaching is being best used to attract and critically to retrain teaching staff.
 - Labour will restructure teacher retention payments into one payment scale incorporating different factors such as subject and geography, based on evidence showing incentive payments are an effective means of retaining teachers with knowledge and expertise.²⁵
 - On top of this, Labour will introduce a new Early Career Framework retention payment upon completion of the updated Framework recognising the professional development staff have undertaken.
3. We need to recognise the importance of experienced classroom teachers in delivering a high standard of education. We will work with the profession to develop high-quality pathways for teachers and school staff who wish to move into leadership positions, and value the expertise of experienced classroom practitioners with routes for professional recognition. This should include recognising the important role of mid-career teachers in supporting and bringing on the next generation of teachers and school staff.

Tackling key barriers to learning

Supporting children with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND): Too often our education and care systems are not meeting the needs of children with SEND, leaving them without the support to thrive. By joining up services and improving data use, Labour will work to identify children's needs earlier so that intervention supports child development earlier. Labour recognises the essential role of school support staff in supporting children with special educational needs and disabilities. Labour will work to improve the inclusivity and expertise in mainstream schools, alongside ensuring that special schools are able to support children with the most complex needs, breaking down barriers to education.

Mental health support for young people: Poor mental health is a key barrier to learning. One in four young people aged 17 to 19 have a mental health problem, up from one in ten in 2017. We cannot continue to allow the early, formative years of our children and young people to be blighted by poor mental health and months-long struggles to access inadequate support services. Young people's mental health matters for their education, as well as for their wellbeing.

²⁵ <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/data-tables/permalink/006385db-f665-4b8c-936f-08db6e4a05c2>

Labour will put specialist mental health professionals in schools, so every young person has access to early support, resolving problems before they escalate. Every community will have an open access mental health hub for children and young people, providing early intervention through drop-in services, and Labour will bring down CAMHS waiting lists by recruiting thousands of new staff.

Children's social care: More children than ever are in the care system and their outcomes are getting worse. The next Labour government will work to better support them and to tackle profiteering by private children's homes. We will support kinship and foster carers who provide vital loving relationships for children. Across government and society, Labour will work to ensure that care-experienced people are better supported to achieve their aspirations.

Youth mentors: Labour will introduce 1:1 mentors for children in Pupil Referral Units, building on successful pilot programmes, to provide personal, academic and career guidance when young people need it most.

Breakfast clubs in every primary school: For children, school life is about much more than the grades they leave with. It's about the friends they make, the skills they develop and how they are supported to develop as people.

Evidence shows breakfast clubs improve children's learning and development, boosting performance in maths and reading, alongside improving behaviour and attendance. Funded breakfast clubs provide opportunities for children to play, learn and socialise at the start of the school day.

These measures, from improving mental health support to introducing breakfast clubs, are key to tackling the rise in behavioural challenges and numbers of children missing school. This network of services and support is crucial to enabling schools to provide the best start for every child.

Expanding experiences: The Conservatives do not understand that learning continues outside the classroom. The closure of libraries, leisure centres, youth services and sports clubs has stripped opportunities away from our children.

The Department of Culture, Media and Sport's Taking Part Survey, which tracks the participation of children aged 10 and 15 in a range of cultural activities shows just how much opportunities have narrowed over the last decade. Participation among children age 10 in theatre and drama activities has declined by nearly 50%, music participation is down more than a third and competitive sporting activities down 13% with a 16% decline in schools.

High standards for every child means an experience-rich education as well as one which delivers an excellent foundation in our core subjects, in maths and English, whilst building young people's confidence, teamwork and problem-solving skills.

Supporting ongoing school improvement

To raise standards across our schools, Labour will work in partnership with parents and families as well as school staff.

To deliver improvement, we need to understand what's working well and where we can do better for our children. Parents should know where their child's school excels and where there's room to improve. Where a need for improvement is identified, school leaders and staff must be supported to deliver change.

Reforming Ofsted: School inspection should be part of delivering this change. Yet the Tories have built a school system where inspection is both dreaded and ineffective, too often identifying challenges felt schools but stemming from Academy Trusts. This leads to high stakes pressure for staff, but low information for parents.

Ofsted must be clear what improvement looks like so school leaders and staff are better equipped to deliver for young people. Labour will deliver a renewed focus on school improvement, not just for those schools that are struggling but for every school because they should never stop improving.

To support this, Labour will:

- Replace headline Ofsted grades with a new system of school report cards, that tell parents clearly how well their children's school is performing. Report cards will:
 - identify where schools' practice is improving and where there are weaknesses, including where schools which are doing well can continue to improve.
 - reflect how well schools are supporting the attainment and inclusion of pupils eligible for free school meals and with special educational needs and disabilities, to ensure that everything possible is being done to break down the barriers to opportunity and close the attainment gap.
- Work with Ofsted to bring Multi-Academy Trusts into the remit of inspection, recognising their role in driving much of what happens in schools.
- Introduce a new annual review of safeguarding, health and safety, attendance and off-rolling.

Labour will engage with experts across the education system, and with parents and school communities on this new system. Working together, we will ensure report cards capture the breadth of school life, while retaining triggers for intervention when serious failure is identified, because Labour will never stand by as children are failed.

Regional School Improvement Teams: Support for school improvement is patchy. The Conservatives have created a mess with disparate parts of the system geared to pick up on issues in narrow siloes, and no one holding primary responsibility for delivering high and rising standards across all schools, including the majority rated as 'good' under Ofsted's current system. For Labour, 'good' isn't good enough; we will strive for ongoing improvement in every school.

The government's approach has been to blur improvement and regulation, with the Department for Education's Regional Directors responsible for addressing underperformance and providing 'ongoing support',²⁶ but the levers at their disposal are focused primarily on accountability: changing structures and management rather than in-school support to improve. Labour will redress this balance: expecting high standards for our children but crucially providing the support needed to deliver them.

Labour will therefore establish a new set of regional improvement teams, to work as partners with schools in responding to areas of weakness identified in new Ofsted school report cards. These teams, coordinated by civil servants, will offer schools support, drawing on the expertise of teachers and leaders across the education system by boosting peer-to-peer learning and spreading examples of best practice throughout the system. This will learn from successful school improvement programmes such as London Challenge, and spread evidence-based practice.

These teams will not pursue regulatory or structural change, but will bring together oversight of improvement programmes, work with the profession to ensure schools know what support is available to them.

4. Provide pathways to good prospects for all

Expand high quality education, employment and training routes so more people than ever are on pathways with good prospects

- Labour wants all young people to complete compulsory education with a firm foundation and will ensure that 80% of young people are qualified to Level 3 (A-Level equivalent) by 2035, with an interim target of 75% by 2030.
- Labour will reverse the decline²⁷ in the number of young people moving into sustained education, employment or training after completing their 16 – 18 education. We will aim for over 85% of young people to be in a sustained destination by 2030, including more young people who have

²⁶ <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/progression-to-higher-education-or-training/2020-21g>

completed a level 3 qualification moving onto higher level education and training, with over 70% moving onto higher level opportunities by 2030.²⁸

- ▶ By spreading opportunities for older learners, Labour will ensure that 3 million adults are supported to improve their basic skills over the next decade.

The Conservatives have overseen more than a decade of decline in skills and training opportunities, which is making Britain poorer and denying individuals the chance to learn and upskill. Government chaos has meant there is no plan for boosting Britain's skills, while the skills system has become fractured and inaccessible to people who need it.

Young people are missing out on professional careers advice, leaving the information and support they get on their future options and opportunities down to who they know, not what can help them thrive. Universities and colleges, which should be engines of growth and opportunity across our towns and cities, are being belittled and let down by a government which has no plan and no vision for adult education or training.

Businesses wanting to upskill or train staff are being held back by a lack of flexibility within the system. The Conservatives' Apprenticeships Levy has seen £3.5 billion in funding going unspent since its introduction,²⁹ even as businesses report growing skills shortages and people can't find the training opportunities they want.

The result is: businesses unable to fill job vacancies, held back by a lack of people with the skills they need. Our public services, like the NHS, are experiencing growing skills shortages. Young people leaving compulsory education are too often unable to find high quality apprenticeships, training or job opportunities.

Labour believes education should be available to everyone all our lives long. We will take the Conservatives' chaotic piecemeal approach to education and skills, and create a new skills system, providing pathways for people at every stage of their lives to learn, retrain or refresh their skills, boosting opportunities for individuals' job prospects, income and our wider economy. We will continue to be informed by the report of Labour's Council of Skills Advisors.³⁰

Engaging young people in future opportunities

Careers advice and work experience: Around half of young people report feeling unprepared for their futures.³¹ Young people are desperate for opportunities, and want to do well in life with a secure job that they enjoy and can be proud of. Yet seven in ten miss out on professional careers advice, with information and guidance too often dependent on who they know and their parents or family's networks.

Professional advice and guidance for young people can expand horizons, open up opportunities and help young people make informed decisions about their futures. Research shows that high quality, evidence-based careers advice could deliver an average increase of 31% in the chances of young people securing a sustained education, employment or training outcome, among the most disadvantaged schools.³² Increased encounters with employers during secondary school – such as through work experience – is associated with a lower probability of becoming not in education, employment or training (NEET) and higher earnings.³³ The Gatsby benchmarks have been a good start in raising the importance of linking young people to the workplace and Labour will build on them.

To ensure every young person gets exposed to a range of career opportunities and are supported with expert advice and guidance, Labour will:

27 <https://www.cityandguilds.com/news/february-2023/only-four-per-cent-of-employers-are-spending-their-full-apprenticeship-levy-funding>
28 Labour Council of Skills Advisors. Learning and skills for economic recovery, social cohesion and a more equal Britain. <https://labour.org.uk/skillsreport/>

29 <https://www.cbi.org.uk/media-centre/articles/half-of-young-people-do-not-feel-prepared-for-world-of-work-cbi-accenture-hays-survey/>
30 CEC. 2021. The benefits of Gatsby Benchmark achievement for post-16 destinations. https://www.careersandenterprise.co.uk/media/z10bgoa0/1488_destinations_report_v4.pdf

31 <https://www.educationandemployers.org/research/its-who-you-meet-why-employer-contacts-at-school-make-a-difference-to-the-employment-prospects-of-young-adults/>

32 84% of research identified as either 'world-leading' or 'internationally excellent'. Research Excellence Framework. 2022. New evidence highlights world-leading quality of university research. Available at: <https://ref.ac.uk/guidance-and-criteria-on-submissions/news/new-evidence-highlights-world-leading-quality-of-uk-university-research/>

- Train over a thousand new careers advisors, and ensure all careers advisors have up-to-date knowledge of post-16 pathways, to give every young person access to professional advice and guidance at their school or college;
- Deliver two weeks' worth of high-quality work experience for every young person at secondary school or college, coordinated locally by careers advisors and hubs.

Additionally, there are excellent examples where schools are working to expose children from an early age to a broad range of careers, setting high aspirations and encouraging children from all backgrounds to be ambitious about their futures.

Case study:

Rhyl Community Primary School's Raising Aspirations Programme works with employers like Mercedes, The Crick Institute, Google and the Ritz bringing employers into the school, talking to children, meeting successful role models and showing children that these careers and opportunities are for them. Labour will work to support schools in undertaking this engagement work with employers, including through Careers Hubs and expanding employer engagement links.

High quality pathways for young people: Labour believes every young person should have access to high quality vocational and technical training pathways. That is why Labour supports the introduction of T-levels, enabling young people to develop skills that will help them to thrive, meet employers' needs and support a growing economy.

However, the Conservatives' mismanagement of the introduction of T-levels, and transition from applied general qualifications, is putting both sets of qualifications at risk. Without Ministers getting a clear grip on this process now, they risk creating new barriers for young people. The next Labour government will ensure all students are able to complete their qualifications and will review the diversity of options at Level 3 before making changes.

Creating a functioning skills system

Over the last decade, the Conservatives have failed to create a coherent skills system. There has been initiative overload, with short-term programmes piled on top of one another, creating a confused and confusing landscape for people wanting to train, businesses wanting to recruit new talent or support employees to upskill, and providers trying to deliver the courses that individuals and employers need.

A national plan for skills: To bring together this fractured landscape and create a shared national ambition to boost Britain's skills, Labour will establish Skills England, bringing together central and local government, businesses, training providers and unions to meet the skills needs of the next decade across all regions.

Skills England will work across government departments and with both the Industrial Strategy Council and Migration Advisory Committee to identify skills and labour needs, drive forward training opportunities and ensure that skills policy is aligned with wider needs of the economy. Working collaboratively, Skills England will engage with skills agencies across the devolved nations and identify levers to encourage businesses to invest in skills, with a particular focus on ensuring Britain has the skills needed to meet wider ambitions set out in the Industrial Strategy and Labour's Green Prosperity Plan.

Meeting local skills needs: Under the Conservatives, businesses have been left unclear about what training programmes are available to their employees, and unsure what skills particular training programmes can help develop. Individuals have faced a myriad of options, but it is not clear what best suits their interests and needs. Further education colleges have been increasingly stretched, while they have experienced ever-increasing restrictions on how funding can be spent and on which programmes, meaning financial imperatives too often do not align with skills needs.

Labour will simplify this landscape. We will combine and devolve adult education budgets to current and future Mayors and combined authorities, and simplify the funding landscape for colleges to better enable them to deliver on local skills needs and priorities. Labour will reform Jobcentre Plus ensuring greater local involvement in the delivery and design of Jobcentre arranged employment support, coaching and training.

Such devolution and simplification need to go hand-in-hand with clear outcomes and accountability. Labour will set high expectations and working with Skills England and combined authorities, develop outcome agreements to ensure there is clear accountability for skills spending, which aligns to economic priorities. Meanwhile, we will increase flexibility and enable decisions on skills and training opportunities to be taken by local and regional communities.

Skills England will bring together partners with a drive to give coherence and direction to our skills landscape, not replicate existing functions. Therefore, Skills England will also work with current regulatory agencies to ensure their roles are supporting a responsive and collaborative skills system. It will engage with the Institute for Apprenticeships and Technical Education (IfATE) and the Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) to address bureaucracy around the approval of qualifications and time lag between the need for programmes being identified and becoming available to learners. In working with IfATE, Skills England will hold responsibility for maintaining a list of accredited non-apprenticeship courses which businesses can spend Growth and Skills Levy money on, to ensure they are of a high quality.

Growth and Skills Levy: Labour will give businesses the flexibility they're asking for to train their workforce and deliver growth. We will start by turning the Tories' failed Apprenticeships Levy into a 'Growth and Skills Levy' so it can be used on the greater range of training courses that businesses tell us they need, so adults can gain new skills and businesses can grow.

Under this system companies will have the freedom to use up to 50% of their total levy contributions on non-apprenticeship training, with at least 50% reserved for apprenticeships. Small and medium size employers who do not currently pay the apprenticeships levy will continue to receive 95% co-payments.

Skills England will hold a list of approved qualifications on which businesses can flexibly spend their levy money, developed in collaboration with devolved authorities, businesses, unions and wider experts. This will include:

- ▶ Modular courses in priority areas, which lie at the core of our industrial strategy, including digital and green skills, social care and childcare, that would boost training opportunities with a view to supporting national ambitions such as the transition to net zero.
- ▶ Functional skills and pre-apprenticeships training, helping tackle key skills gaps especially around basic digital skills that hold back individuals and organisations.

As the development of technology and digital skills changes the way we work, individuals will need more regular, flexible access to training. This flexible approach, encouraging modular learning alongside apprenticeships, could help enable non-apprentices to get access to and training in using the latest technologies. Labour's changes will create opportunities in this changing landscape and ensure that individuals who are starting out alongside those who are already well skilled can get access to training courses.

Case study:

At the University of Sheffield's AMRC Training Centre, apprentices based in local businesses are able to train on the latest machinery, developing knowledge, skills and techniques that will see them excel as they move into full-time employment. However, too many of their non-apprentice colleagues are unable to access training programmes that would give them such exposure to new technologies, and the knowledge and skills to take that back into their workplaces. Enabling more flexibility in the Apprenticeships Levy, could open-up pathways for more workers to get this exposure through undertaking modular or short-course programmes.

Tertiary education delivering Labour's Missions: The Conservatives have neglected our colleges and picked fights with our universities, while failing to use their capacity to boost our nation's economy. Universities and colleges should be beacons of excellence in their teaching and support for learners, spreading the benefits not only of knowledge and skills, but also of the wider value of learning throughout life – Labour will support them to create the learning opportunities Britain needs.

Labour will harness the possibilities of the Lifelong Loan Entitlement working across higher and further education to ensure that courses are available which meet skills needs and that providers are supported in communicating opportunities to potential learners and employers.

In working with colleges and universities to spread opportunity, we will also support achievement of Labour's wider missions, in particular growing the economy and delivering an NHS fit for the future. Our universities and colleges are essential engines of regional growth and opportunity, bringing jobs and prosperity to local communities, and attracting students from across the globe.

Our world-leading universities and the research they undertake should be a source of pride and are one of Britain's great strengths. The 2021 Research Excellence Framework found that the vast majority of UK university research was either 'world-leading' or 'internationally excellent'.³² University spinouts, which commercialise this innovation, can directly drive-up economic growth and productivity. However, we lag behind countries like the United States in generating and scaling spin-outs. A Labour government will track spin-outs from universities with a dashboard to identify what's working and where there are barriers. As recommended by Labour's Start-Ups Review, we will work with universities to ensure there are a range of options on founder-track agreements helping to boost spin-outs and economic growth.

Universities are anchor institutions and, at their best, are civic actors working with partners across local and regional communities to respond to the needs of that place. We welcome the work of the Civic University Network to establish a peer-review learning to support and expand the work of universities in responding to the needs of their local community.

Partnering through tertiary education: There are numerous examples of universities and colleges collaborating and complementing one another, working together for the benefit of local communities, economies and our country. Labour will encourage this approach to partnership working.

Across the country, local leaders in education are taking on the challenge and responsibility for meeting local skills needs and collaborating to ensure barriers to accessing education – from geography to childcare needs – are tackled.

Case study:

There are brilliant examples of colleges and universities working together, from West Nottinghamshire College and Nottingham Trent University collaborating on training nurses for the local hospital, to Exeter College and University of Exeter's Memorandum of Understanding clearly demarcating responsibility for different qualification levels, to bigger projects such as the creation of London South Bank University Group, which now incorporates South Bank Colleges and London South Bank University under one governance structure – retaining and celebrating the individual identities and specialisms of each component part while developing seamless educational pathways between them for the benefit of learners at all stages. This should be celebrated and encouraged, but too often the fractured and competitive landscape the Conservatives have built for 13 years makes such collaborative efforts harder not easier.

Current work on encouraging effective collaboration across the system has identified four key barriers which can largely be summarised in the categories of funding structures, regulation, demarcation and incentive alignment.^{33 34}

Through simplifying and devolving funding, as well as working with regulatory agencies, a Labour government will seek to remove barriers to collaboration throughout the system.

³³ <https://www.smf.co.uk/publications/study-buddies/>

³⁴ <https://collegecommission.co.uk/going-further-and-higher>

The regulatory landscape that covers higher and further education is complex, burdensome and bureaucratic. A Labour government will undertake a period of review, with the aim of streamlining regulation and ensuring that regulators are supporting cooperation and collaboration between colleges and universities. We will learn from proactive approaches to supporting 'articulation agreements', which ensure that students are able to have learning recognised and can move seamlessly between institutions overcoming barriers to make accessing learning easier.

A fairer deal for students and graduates: British universities are world-renowned centres of learning and research, attracting the best and brightest from across the globe, which spread opportunity across their communities. But the Conservatives' tuition fees system has long been broken and their latest set of reforms will make it worse, and less fair on women and lower earners. Higher loan repayments not only eat away at pay for young graduates just as they're starting out on their working lives, but also put off older learners from accessing retraining or upskilling. Under the Conservatives' changes, future nursing graduates will repay around £60 more a month. The Tories' choices are hammering the next generation of nurses, teachers and social workers; of engineers, of designers and researchers.

Labour will reform this system to make it fairer and ensure we support the aspiration to go to university. Many proposals have been put forward for how the government could make the system fairer and more progressive, including modelling showing that the government could reduce the monthly repayments for every single new graduate without adding a penny to government borrowing or general taxation. Reworking the present system gives scope for a month-on-month tax cut for graduates, putting money back in people's pockets when they most need it. For young graduates this is a fairer system, which will improve their security at the start of their working lives and as they bring up families.

We will build on the legacy of the last Labour government's target for 50% of young people to go to university to reverse the trend of declining numbers of adults participating in education and training. We'll press on and ensure that the ambition for any young person to pursue higher education, regardless of background or geography, is realised.

5. Spreading opportunity beyond education

Spreading opportunities through education is the most important tool we have in building a fairer Britain where your future is not limited by your background. But it is not a silver bullet on its own.

The Great Gatsby Curve shows us that in societies where the gaps between the richest and the poorest are greatest, people from lower income backgrounds are less able to move up the economic ladder. And those who are not from privileged backgrounds face particular disadvantages when accessing housing and employment opportunities. Labour will reform both to break down barriers to opportunity.

Housing: The high cost of housing in Britain restricts access to career opportunities, as a shortage of housing around successful economic clusters prices out many workers looking to live and work near them. Many people avoid taking the choice to start a career in a sector where, through progression, they may eventually earn higher salaries, because they face years or even decades in expensive and poor-quality housing that leaves them with little left over at the end of the month. Meanwhile, young people with family who already own property near these job opportunities can take career risks, grasp opportunities and set themselves on a path to success.

Labour will tackle the housing crisis by building more houses, and reversing recent Tory planning changes that are set to see housebuilding levels fall to their lowest level since the Second World War. We will build more affordable houses, reforming arcane compulsory purchase rules and spurring a new generation of development corporations to support delivery. We will help first-time buyers onto the ladder, introducing a new comprehensive mortgage guarantee scheme and giving them 'first dibs' on new houses in their area. We will also make renting more secure with our Private Renters Charter.

Good, secure jobs: British business has a proud history of expanding opportunities for people across our regions and nations, but as the world has changed the Tories have failed to ensure rules and regulations keep pace with the modern labour market.

Our labour market traps too many people in low-paid, insecure work with little route to progression. According to one estimate, only one in six low-paid workers progresses into higher paying roles, with the majority unable to escape a cycle of low-pay and insecurity.³⁵

Labour's New Deal for Working People will tackle low-paid, insecure work, including a ban on zero-hours contracts, measures to tackle one-sided flexibility, support for collective bargaining and stronger enforcement of rights and regulation. We will ban unpaid internships outside formal education or training courses, so that those who can't afford unpaid work aren't locked out of opportunities from certain career pathways.

35 <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-great-escape-low-pay-and-progression-in-the-uks-labour-market/>

ANNEX

Funding this work: All of Labour's policies are fully costed, fully funded, and subject to our fiscal rules.

Labour in Government will make political choices in favour of spreading opportunity to every child. We will levy VAT on private schools and end their business rates exemption, and spend that money improving standards and opportunities for the over 9 in 10 children attending state schools. We will invest nearly £1bn of the money raised from ending tax breaks for private schools in the package of policies in this paper, supporting a broad, enriching and excellent education for every child, recruiting and retaining thousands more teachers, reforming Ofsted and improving schools, and expanding careers advice and work experience.

Measuring fairness in Britain: intergenerational income persistence

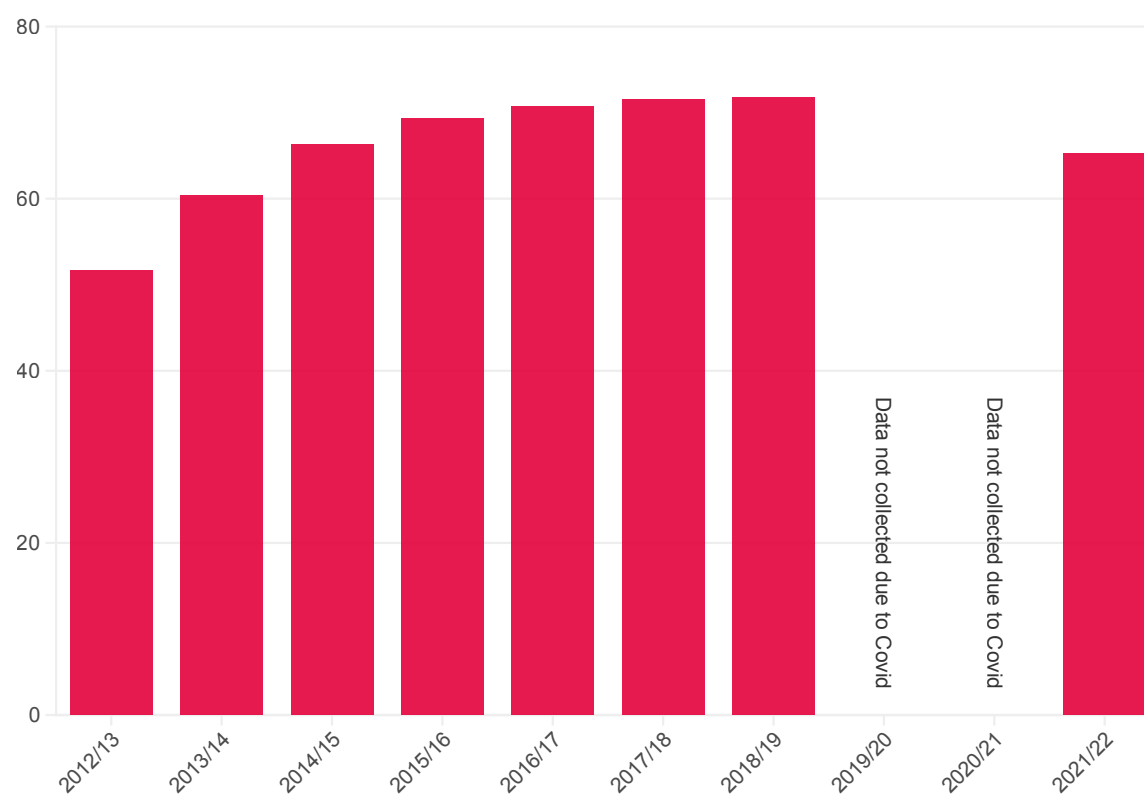
Labour will ensure that a child's future income is not held back by that of their parents, to ensure that your background doesn't determine your future.

While the UK currently has American-style levels of income persistence, significantly higher than the OECD average, Labour will take us to Scandinavian-style levels over time, measuring our progress through regular intervals.

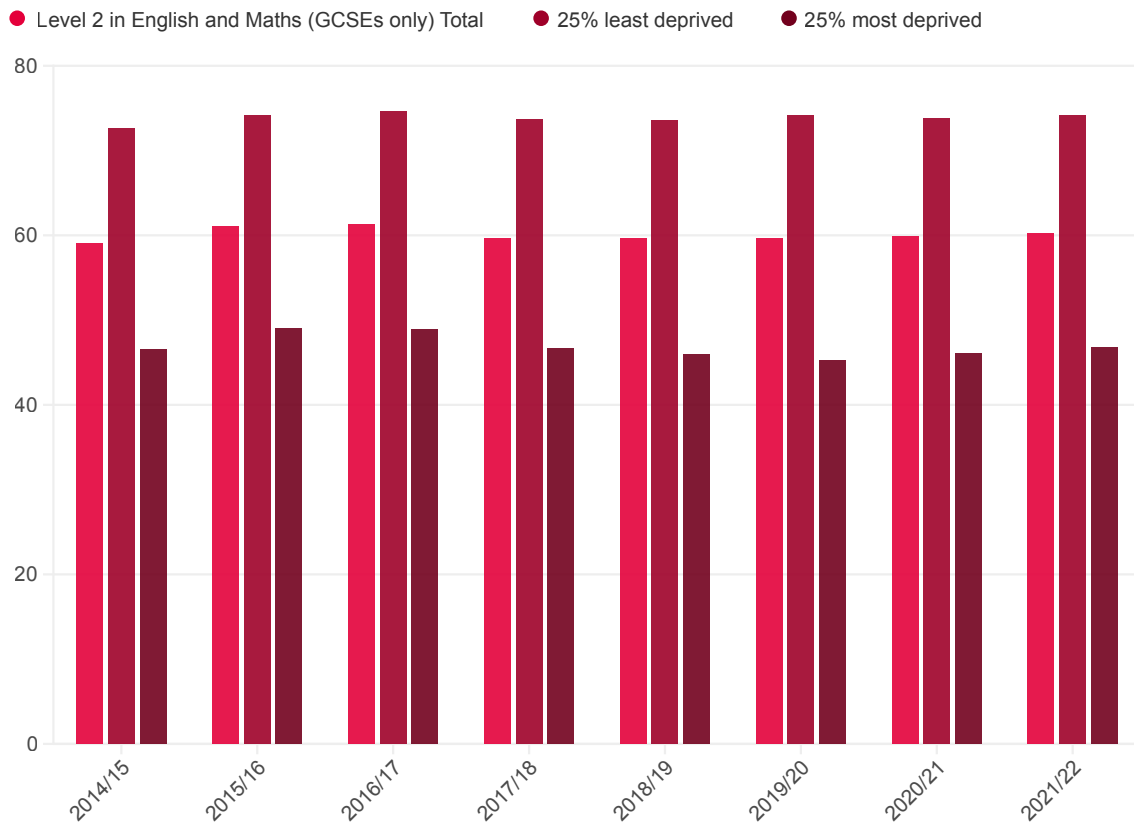
Labour will ask the Social Mobility Commission to record and analyse this data, working with other key bodies, to periodically update Britain's intergenerational earnings elasticity data to produce a time series with which to measure our progress. Learning from analysis using the Longitudinal Education Outcomes data, which tracks cohorts of school leavers into adulthood, we will collect data which provides the insight required to both better measure progress on intergenerational income mobility and the impact of government policy. We will also work to ensure that our progress relative to other countries is recorded and analysed, to ensure we can track the impact of our work, and learn from international best practice.

Child development over time in England between 2012/13 and 2021/22

● Percentage of children with a good level of development

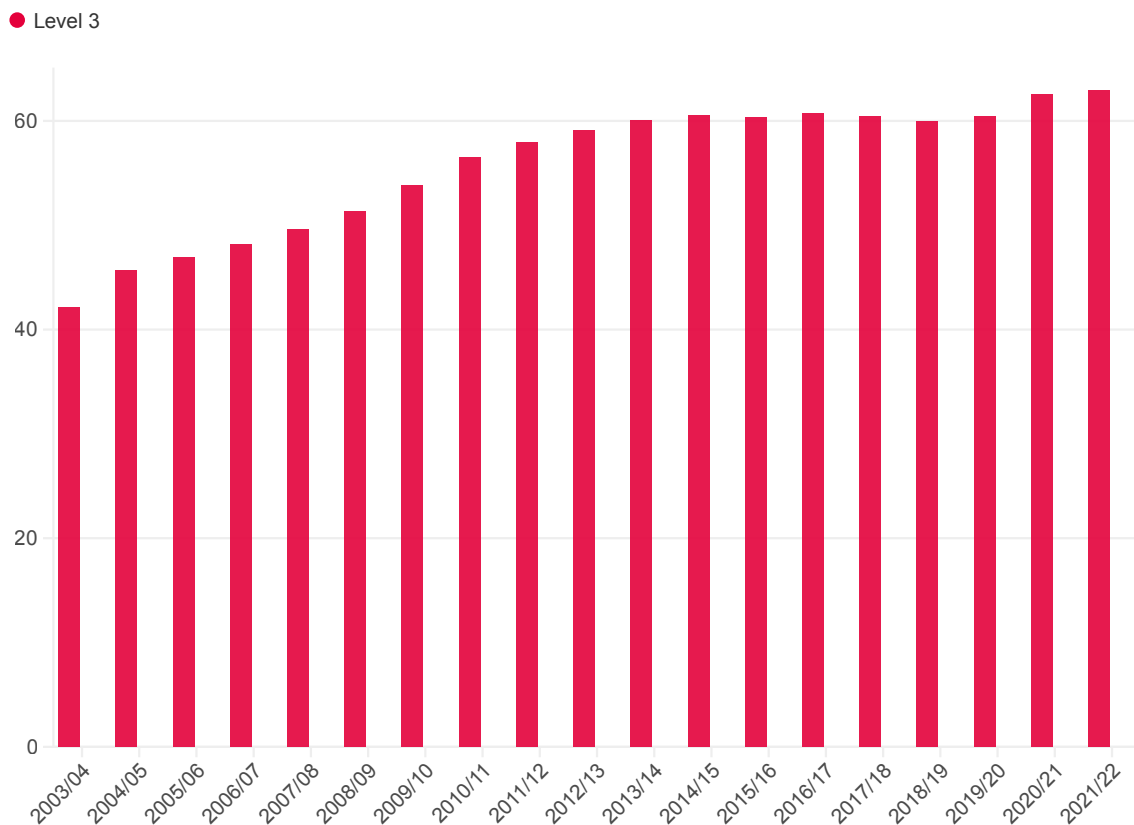


Level 2 Attainment Gap



Source: <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/data-tables/permalink/464ed0dd-8258-495a-437d-08db462637b9>

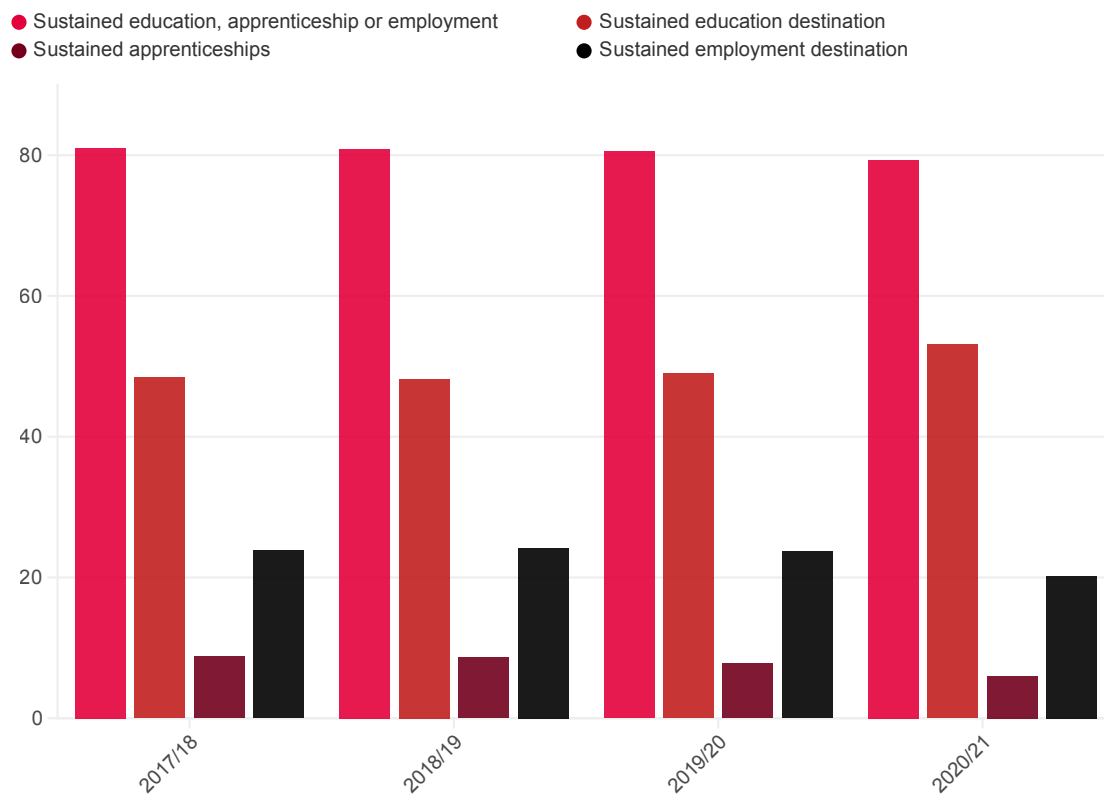
Progress has flatlined under the Conservatives: percentage of 19 year olds with Level 3 attainment



Source: <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/data-tables/permalink/4e846f23-7b60-4bbc-02db-08db73cc87eb>

A lack of progress in sustained destinations

Percentage of students continuing to education, apprenticeships or employment destinations in the year after completing 16-18 study in schools and colleges in England.



Source: <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/data-tables/permalink/6e73e611-0b7c-486a-8abd-08db7860a436>