

YOUR CHILD'S EDUCATION UNDER CORBYN:

Less safe.

More strain.

Fewer opportunities.

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FOREWORD

In 2010 our education system was suffering after 13 years of Labour mismanagement. One third of pupils were leaving primary school unable to read, write and add up properly. The number of pupils studying the core academic subjects at GCSE had halved.

Over the past nine years Conservative-led governments have transformed the quality of our schools, so that every child, no matter their background or where they live, gets the best start in life.

We have focused relentlessly on raising school standards.

We have introduced a challenging new primary curriculum, so that children are prepared to start secondary school.

We reformed phonics, leading to a dramatic improvement in children's literacy skills. 82 per cent of pupils are now meeting the expected standards in phonics, up from 58 per cent in 2012 – meaning more children getting off to a strong start in reading.

Our structural revolution, including free schools and academies, has led to more high performing schools. 86% of schools are now rated good or outstanding, up from 68% in 2010.

And we are going further – investing in our schools with an additional £14 billion over the next three years.

But all of that is now at risk.

This research shows the shocking impact that Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party would have on our children's futures.

Labour's ideological obsession with stifling freedom means they would abolish free schools and academies, and enforce a 'common rule book' on schools. They would take power away from parents and teachers and hand it to local bureaucrats – and school standards would fall.

Labour's plans to abolish independent schools and remain in the EU with continued free movement would significantly increase the demand for places in schools, often at short notice – and Labour cannot say how they would pay for this.

But most dangerous of all is Jeremy Corbyn's plan to scrap the independent, impartial, education inspectorate – Ofsted. Ofsted inspects schools, childcare providers, adoption and fostering agencies, and children's social care services. Ofsted is vital to raising school standards and keeping all children safe – particularly the most vulnerable and disadvantaged.

The choice at this election is clear. Increased investment in schools and rising standards with the Conservatives, or children with fewer opportunities, less safe, and in schools with lower standards under Labour.



Rt Hon Gavin Williamson CBE
Secretary of State for Education

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document outlines for the first time the risks a Jeremy Corbyn government would pose to your child's school, education and future.

It has found that under a Corbyn-led government:

CHILDREN WOULD BE LESS SAFE

- Every school would go without an Ofsted inspection.
- 75,000 children in care would have no independent checks ups on their safety.
- 152 different school inspection regimes would have to be set up across the country.

SCHOOLS WOULD BE PUT UNDER STRAIN

- 363,000 more children would need to be educated in our schools.
- £9.1 billion more would have to be spent educating these additional children.

PUPILS WOULD HAVE FEWER OPPORTUNITIES

- Millions of pupils now in good or outstanding academies would lose their school place.
- 133,000 children would lose out on a place at a free school.
- 100,000 children in independent schools would be moved into state schools at short notice.

LABOUR WOULD PUT CHILDREN AT RISK

Ofsted provides impartial and comparative information to parents and teachers about the quality of education, training and care provided by schools and local authorities. Ofsted is trusted by parents and teachers to provide independent information about their child's school, and the National Audit Office say Ofsted provides 'valuable independent assurance about schools' effectiveness and as such is a vital part of the school system'.¹

But Labour have said they 'will scrap Ofsted' and instead 'all schools and education providers will be subject to regular "health checks" led by local government'. Such a move would create a conflict of interest, with local councils responsible for inspecting their own services, and put children in danger, lowering standards and reducing safeguards.²

Parents and teachers trust Ofsted

Despite Labour's claims, Ofsted is overwhelmingly viewed as a force for good and improvement for schools by parents, teachers and headteachers – proving that Labour's attempt to abolish it is purely ideological and against the public interest.

- 6 in 10 parents think Ofsted is **a force for improvement and a trusted judge of standards**, and 9 in 10 parents know the Ofsted rating of their child's school.³
- 68 per cent of parents agreed with the statement '**Ofsted is a valuable source of information about education in your local area**'.⁴
- 61 per cent of teachers whose school has been inspected by Ofsted feel that the final judgement reached by the inspection team was a **fair and accurate assessment**, this has remained the same since last year.⁵
- 84 per cent of headteachers said that the **outcome of their school's most recent inspection was fair**.⁶
- 44 per cent of headteachers said that their school's most recent inspection had **led to improvements**, compared with just 28 per cent who said that it had not, and 71 per cent agreed that inspectors provided **useful feedback** during and at the end of the inspection visit.⁷
- Ofsted's post-inspection survey of schools inspected since 2015 found that 91 per cent thought the inspection findings would **help the school to improve**.⁸

What would be missed under a Labour government?

Ofsted not only inspects schools to provide high-quality information for parents and teachers, it also intervenes to protect children who are being let down in the rare instances where this happens – who would fall through the cracks under Labour's plans.

Ofsted also covers other services, such as regulating and reporting on the 75,000 children that are in care. Local Authorities are responsible for ensuring and overseeing the effective delivery of social care services for children, but Ofsted are the independent inspectors overseeing see how their children's services are performing.⁹

- Ofsted has **uncovered more than 500 unregistered education settings** over the past three years, covering thousands of pupils. Some of the schools were in an appalling condition with rat traps, exposed wires and open sewers, Ofsted inspectors said 'In one, pupils were left to play computer games all day, while in another inspectors found children in every classroom repeating religious texts with no other apparent education going on'. In 71 cases Ofsted issued warning notices where they suspected the settings were operating illegally. 39 settings changed to comply with legislation, 15 were closed, 9 were registered, 4 needed no further action and 4 needed further investigation.¹⁰
- Ofsted revealed that more than half of parents at a school in Essex thought that **bullying was not being dealt with**. The short comings of the school were revealed when parents responded to an Ofsted survey, and over half of parents thought the school was not effective when dealing with bullying. This led to the school taking action to improve.¹¹
- Ofsted immediately shut down Plaistow's children home after reports that children were not being sufficiently safeguarded. The report found that 'staff who had been recorded **shouting at and slapping children** and allegedly withholding food, remained working in the home'.¹²

Labour would let local authorities mark their own homework

Ofsted provides impartial and consistent assessments across the country, meaning that a parent anywhere can check the quality of their child's school and know it is an accurate and comparative assessment.

But Labour would replace Ofsted inspections with local authority run 'health checks'. According to Labour 'these health checks will be led by local government, with councils providing this check for neighbouring authorities where this is appropriate'.

This would make it harder for parents to have confidence in their school's quality by:

- Removing Ofsted's clear school grading system, meaning **parents would have less accessible information about the quality of their school**. At present, Ofsted ranks schools as inadequate, requires improvement, good or outstanding – meaning parents can quickly establish the quality of their child's school. But Labour have said they would 'abolish the headline grading system currently used by Ofsted' – allowing local authorities to rate schools however they want.¹³
- Creating 152 different inspection system across England, making it **more difficult for parents to compare schools across different areas**. Labour's plans to replace Ofsted's standardised grading system would make it impossible for parents to compare them across the country.¹⁴
- Omitting the vital other services that Ofsted inspects – such as local authority-run children's services for the most vulnerable. Labour's plan to abolish Ofsted and replace it with local authority inspections only covers education providers and omits the vital other services that Ofsted inspects – such as teacher training, early years providers and local authority-run children's services for vulnerable children. This would mean the other inspections Ofsted carries out such as **initial teacher training, childcare and adoption and fostering agencies, and local authority children's services would go unregulated**.¹⁵

Ofsted can be trusted to be impartial and reveal its findings - local authorities have been known to cover up their own failings. Forcing them to inspect their own services would be a conflict of interest:

- A Rochdale council leader lied to the inquiry about his knowledge of **a sex abuse scandal at a council-run school**. An IICSA report concluded that Richard Farnell's claim that he was unaware of the sexual exploitation of boys at a residential school in the town 'defies belief, and describes staff at the council-run school as 'complacent and arguably complicit' in the abuse of boys, which was treated as normal.¹⁶
- Rotherham Council **ignored child abuse and was rife with 'bullying, sexism, suppression and misplaced political correctness'**. A report by the Victims' Commissioner found that misplaced political correctness by Rotherham Council combined with a staggering culture of denial allowed more than 1,400 vulnerable girls to be routinely abused by gangs of Asian men.¹⁷
- Senior figures on Rotherham Council tried to cover up the theft of 21 laptops containing personal details about child abuse victims. Rotherham council admitted staff tried to **cover up the theft of 21 laptops containing sensitive data about child abusers and their victims** by not reporting the security breach to the Information Commissioner's Office. In addition, they were 'not completely open' with the ICO when the regulator launched an investigation after a Rotherham Advertiser story about the theft.¹⁸
- Councils failed to run background checks on taxi drivers who took kids to school, and went on to **abuse children as young as five**. Drivers in South Ribble, Lancashire, were accused of violating children while carrying out council-funded school runs, according to an interim review of the licensing by South Ribble Council.¹⁹

Scrapping Ofsted would risk putting children in danger - especially the most vulnerable and disadvantaged. Every parent deserves independent and accurate information about the quality of their child's education.

LABOUR WOULD PUT SCHOOLS UNDER STRAIN

Corbyn wants to retain freedom of movement and integrate independent school pupils into the state sector. This would send pupil numbers soaring by hundreds of thousands over the next decade, pushing schools to the brink and costing the taxpayer billions more to keep our education system going.

Pupil numbers would soar under Labour, pushing school capacity to the brink

On independent schools, in September 2019 the Labour Party Conference passed a motion resolving that the next Labour general election manifesto would commit to ‘integrate all private schools into the state sector’ and to redistribute their ‘endowments, investments and properties’.²⁰

Labour’s own constitutional rules says that motions agreed by Conference are part of Labour’s programme, and this policy has been backed the Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell, Labour Party Chairman Ian Lavery, the Shadow Schools Minister Mike Kane and a spokesperson for Jeremy Corbyn.²¹

Labour’s 2019 General Election Manifesto says they will ‘close the tax loopholes enjoyed by elite private schools and ... ask the Social Justice Commission to advise on integrating private schools and creating a comprehensive education system’.²²

In the short term, this would mean more pupils in the state school sector. In the long term this could lead to all independent school pupils being put into the state funded sector, driving up classroom sizes and putting our state schools under strain.²³

This would lower standards across the board by:

- Putting **100,000 more pupils** into the state funded education sector by pricing parents out of independent schools, costing the taxpayer almost **£500 million more per year** just to maintain current average per pupil spending levels of £5,994. Over the long-term Labour want to integrate all independent school pupils into the state sector, which could add 580,000 more pupils into the state sector.²⁴

A majority Conservative government will introduce an Australian-style points-based system to control immigration, whereas Labour have pledged they will continue with freedom of movement.²⁵

Our new system gives us real control over who is coming in and out. It allows us to attract the best and brightest from all over the world. Only by establishing immigration controls and ending freedom of movement will we be able to attract the high-skilled workers we need to contribute to our economy, our communities and our public services.

There will be fewer lower-skilled migrants and overall numbers will come down. And we will ensure that the British people are always in control.

In contrast, the Labour Party Manifesto says that ‘if we remain in the EU, freedom of movement would continue. If we leave, it will be subject to negotiations, but we recognise the social and economic benefits that free movement has brought both in terms of EU citizens here and UK citizens abroad – and we will seek to protect those rights’. This would potentially place significant financial and physical burdens on our schools, affecting class sizes, demand for places and staffing requirements.²⁶

New research has revealed that by remaining in the EU – the taxpayer would have to pay an additional £8.6 billion over the next decade to educate the extra 263,000 children of school age that would come from the EU into our schools.

Continuing free movement

By remaining in the EU and retaining freedom of movement, net immigration would sit at 257,000 per annum in 2020, rising to 268,000 per annum by 2029. 30 per cent of this is EEA migration, at ~80,000 p.a.²⁷

EU migrants currently have a dependency ratio – the number of dependents (i.e. children) per migrant – of 0.13. Assuming this dependency rate remains the same between now and 2029, this would mean:

- **33,000 new dependents** would be arriving in the UK in 2020, rising to **35,000 new dependents** by 2029. Between 2020 and 2029 this would mean a cumulative total of **340,000 new dependent children** in the UK.²⁸
- If only dependents of school age – between 4 and 18 – are included, this generates a figure of **26,000 in 2020**, rising to a cumulative **total of 263,000 by 2029**.²⁹

The costs of educating extra children under free movement

Per pupil spend for 2018-19 in England was £5,994. Our calculations work on the assumption that school funding per pupil will remain the same - in reality it will rise in line with inflation, and most likely in accordance with policy, meaning that our cost projections will be an underestimate.³⁰

- At a cost of £5,994 per pupil, the additional annual cost for educating the school age dependants of new migrants under EU free movement rules would be **£156 million in 2020**, rising to **£1.6 billion by 2029**.
- The cumulative total cost of educating the population of newly arriving school age EU dependant migrants by 2029 would be **£8.6 billion over the next decade**.³¹

Teacher workload would increase, putting classrooms under pressure

Labour's policy to abolish SATs and push up pupil numbers would drive up teacher workload, increase classroom sizes and cost the taxpayer billions.

With larger classes, fewer teachers and without additional funding, standards would fall and children's education would suffer.

Since 2010 an additional 12,000 teachers have been recruited for our schools, and the average number of working hours for teachers has fallen by five hours a week over the past three years.

But Labour would undo this progress and increase classroom pressures:

- By **abolishing SATs and league tables** – the principal measure of primary school performance. This would mean teachers and parents would have no way to measure the progress pupils make throughout secondary school (Progress 8, the key secondary school accountability measure, is based on SATs results) and which schools are not performing well enough.³²
- Labour supporting unions have said **scrapping SATs would increase teacher workload**. The General Secretary of the NASUWT said: 'Wales, some years ago, said it was abolishing the test, and when we ended up looking at the situation after that, what we found was that they had got workload-intensive teacher assessment, and actually more tests than they had had before [the original tests] were abolished'.³³
- **More teachers will leave the profession** if class sizes increase and their workload also increases. By abolishing standardised testing and increasing pupil numbers, teachers would be more likely to leave the profession.³⁴

Labour would put our schools under critical strain by increasing teacher workload and driving up pupil numbers – inevitably lowering standards and costing children the good education they deserve.

LABOUR WOULD REDUCE OPPORTUNITY

Every child should have access to a great education – so they can get the qualifications they need for a prosperous future, while learning in an environment where they will be happy and fulfilled. Since 2010, our academies and free school reforms have raised standards in our schools – meaning a record number of children are now getting a good education.

But Labour wants to strip away these reforms and put all schools into the control of local authorities – which would lower standards and lead to more children leaving school without the skills they need to get on in life.

Labour have confirmed they would reduce school choice by:

- Scrapping the free school programme, **depriving thousands of children of good or outstanding school place**. Since 2010 the free schools programme has created over 133,000 school places, but Labour want to scrap the programme.³⁵
- Ending the successful academy programme, **which educates 4.2 million pupils** across primary, secondary and special schools. Only 12 per cent of sponsored academies were rated good or outstanding before converting, now 71 per cent are, meaning **380,000 more pupils are in good or outstanding schools**.³⁶
- Abolishing independent schools – as already set out – would put **100,000 pupils more pupils in to the state education system in the short term**. In addition Labour's long-term plan is to abolish independent schools completely, passing additional costs onto parents and driving up class sizes in state funded schools.³⁷
- Centralising schools further, with a 'common rulebook' **removing any variation between schools**. This would take choice away from parents and power away from the teachers who know how best to teach their pupils.³⁸
- Forcing University Technical Colleges and Studio Schools to close, **meaning almost 20,000 fewer young people would be able to study vocational subjects**. UTCs and Studio Schools educate 18,579 14-19-year olds with a focus on vocational subjects and working in businesses. UTC 16-19 year old students improve their English and Maths results more than students in the state sector, and educate more SEND pupils than the national average.³⁹

Free schools have transformed education for pupils

Our free schools programme, introduced nearly a decade ago, has transformed education for children all over the country, wherever they live and whatever their ability. But Labour have said they will 'end the inefficient free schools programme' and called them a 'colossal waste of money'.⁴⁰

This is despite the evidence showing that:

- They have overwhelmingly **benefited children living in the most deprived communities**, with over 40 per cent being set up in the 30 per cent most deprived communities, and 18 per cent dedicated to special needs or alternative provision.⁴¹
- They are **highly rated by Ofsted**, with 84 per cent rated good or outstanding, and 30 per cent rated outstanding. In 2018-19, four of the top 10 Progress 8 scores for state-funded schools in England were achieved by free schools.⁴²
- For the third consecutive year, they are the **highest performing school type** at Progress 8, with an average score of 0.21, meaning children at free schools make more progress than their peers elsewhere.⁴³

Academies have turned around failing schools

Academies have improved educational performance by giving autonomy to front-line teaching professionals and holding those professionals to account for the outcomes they achieve for young people. But a Corbyn led government say they would 'start by immediately ending the Tories' academy programme'.⁴⁴

This is despite the evidence showing that:

- Our academies programme has turned around schools that were previously failing. Only 12 per cent of sponsored academies were rated good or outstanding before converting, now 71 per cent are rated good or outstanding after converting, meaning **380,000 more pupils are in good or outstanding schools**.⁴⁵
- Sponsored academies are **performing far better** than the local authority schools they replaced. Of the ones that have been open for over 4 years, the percentage of pupils achieving level 4 in reading, writing and maths has risen from 65 per cent to 76 per cent. For those open 3 years, from 59 per cent to 68 per cent, for those open 2 years, 61 per cent to 71 per cent, and for those open 1 year, 66 per cent to 71 per cent.⁴⁶

Our structural reforms have created more highly performing schools

Despite the overwhelming evidence showing the high standards free schools and academies have delivered for pupils, Labour have said they will end these programmes and revert all schools back into local authority control. This would mean thousands of pupils would underperform compared to their current standards.

- **Pupils at free schools and academies make more progress** on average than pupils at other types of school, with an average Progress 8 score of +0.03, meaning pupils at the end of KS4 have made more progress through secondary school than the national average. Local authority run schools have an average Progress 8 score of -0.03, meaning that pupils at the end of KS4 have made less progress through secondary school than the national average.⁴⁷

The cost of Labour's plans to end school choice

Labour's ideological obsession with closing high performing schools would impact on the quality of children's education. Abolishing free schools and academies and subjecting all schools to a 'common rulebook' would take power away from frontline professionals and prevent headteachers and teachers being able to try new things and do things differently to raise standards.

If free schools and academies were abolished, and assuming all schools achieve the results currently achieved on average at local authority maintained schools, then fewer children would achieve the qualifications they need to get on in life.

5,000 fewer students would pass their A Levels, and 3,000 fewer would achieve the best results

- In local authority maintained mainstream schools, 77.1 per cent of students achieved at least 2 A Levels, and 17.1 per cent achieved grades AAB or better. In academies and free schools, 79.6 per cent of students achieved at least 2 A Levels, and 18.7 per cent achieved grades AAB or better.
- In 2018-19 there were 191,936 A Level students. If all these students performed at local authority maintained mainstream schools' standards, then 147,983 students would achieve at least 2 A Levels and 32,821 would achieve AAB.
- But if all these students performed at academies and free schools standard, then 152,818 students would achieve at least 2 A Levels and 35,950 would achieve AAB, a difference of 4,835 and 3,129 respectively.⁴⁸

Over 12,500 more pupils would leave school without passing their English and Maths GCSEs

- In local authority maintained mainstream schools, 42.1 per cent of pupils achieved a grade 9-5 in their English and Maths GCSEs, in academies and free schools, 44.5 per cent of pupils did.
- In 2018-19 531,993 pupils left KS4 from state-funded mainstream schools. If all of these pupils performed at local authority maintained mainstream schools' standards, then 223,969 pupils would finish KS4 with passes in English and Maths.
- But if all these pupils performed at the academies and free school standard, then 236,737 pupils would finish with English and Maths passes, a difference of 12,768 pupils.⁴⁹

Over 6,000 more 5 and 6 year olds would fail to meet the required phonics standard

- In local authority maintained mainstream schools, 82 per cent of pupils met the required phonics decoding standard, but in academies and free schools, 83 per cent met the standard.
- In 2019 there were 643,862 year 1 pupils. If all these pupils performed at local authority maintained mainstream schools standards then 527,967 pupils would meet the required phonics standard,
- But if all these pupils performed at free schools and academies standards, then 534,405 pupils would meet the required phonics standard, a difference of 6,439 pupils.⁵⁰

Labour's ideological obsession with closing down well performing schools would do nothing to help our children – and would cost thousands the opportunity to get a world class education.

ANNEX A

Table 1

Movement	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029
EU Free movement	257,000	258,000	258,000	259,000	260,000	261,000	263,000	264,000	266,000	268,000
Dependants p/a EU fm	33,000	33,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	35,000	35,000
Dependants cumulative (EU fm)	33,000	67,000	100,000	134,000	168,000	202,000	236,000	270,000	305,000	340,000
Dependants age 4-18 cumulative (EU fm)	26,000	52,000	78,000	104,000	130,000	156,000	183,000	210,000	236,000	263,000

Table 2

Cost	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029
EU FM p/a	£155,844,000	£3311,688,000	£467,532,000	£623,376,000	£779,220,000	£935,064,000	£1,096,902,000	£1,258,740,000	£1,414,584,000	£1,576,422,000
Cumulative (EU FM)	£155,844,000	£467,532,000	£935,064,000	£1,558,440,000	£2,337,660,000	£3,272,724,000	£4,369,626,000	£5,628,366,000	£7,042,950,000	£8,619,372,000

Table 3

By 2029	EU Free movement
Demand for primary places	154,381
Demand for secondary places	108,619
New primaries required (or equivalent)	547
New secondaries required (or equivalent)	112
Cost of new primaries	£2,017,622,628
Cost of new secondaries	£1,517,633,136
Total cost	£3,535,255,764

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