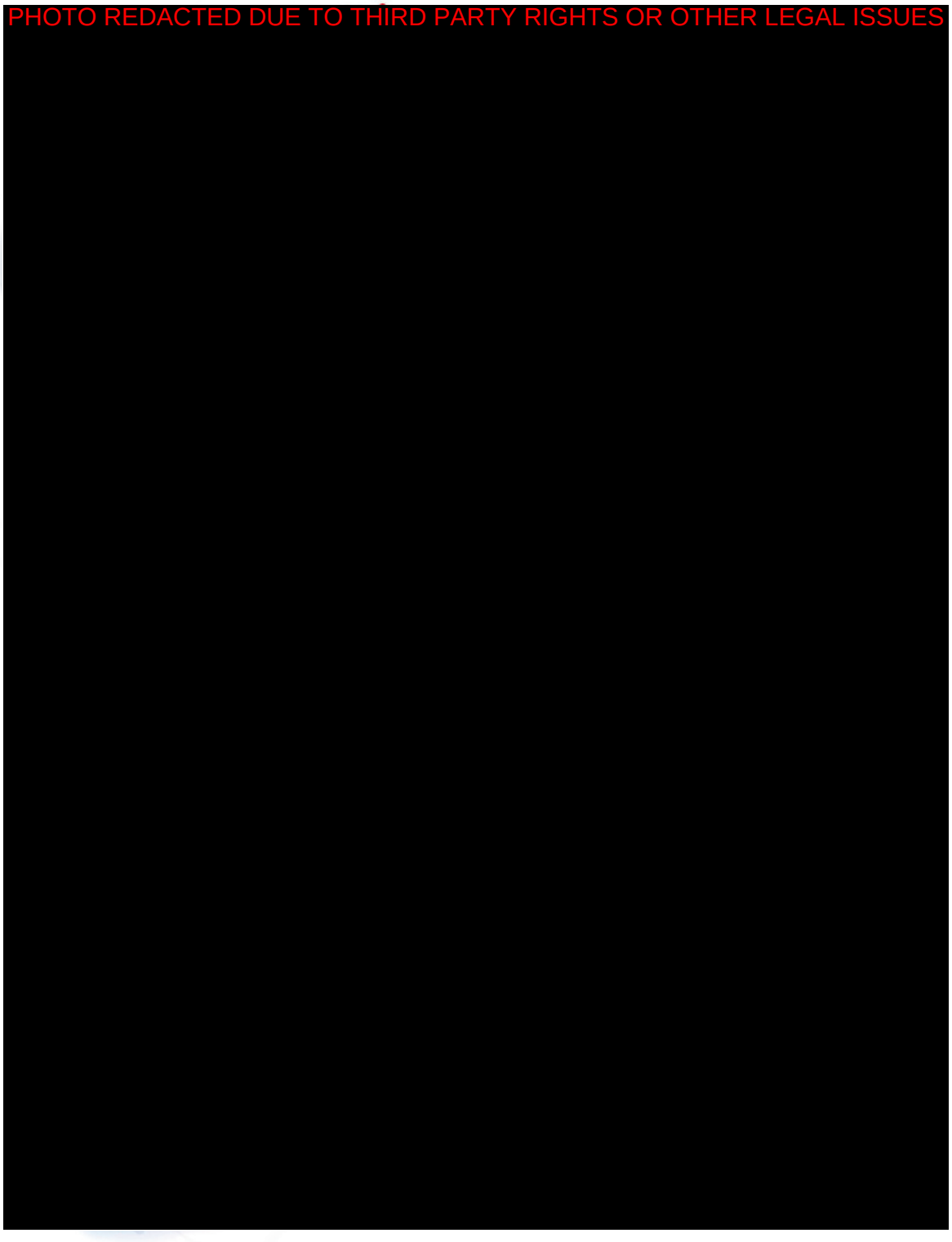
Social Mobility Commission

State of the Nation 2017:
Social Mobility in Great Britain



Social Mobility Commission

State of the Nation 2017: Social Mobility in Great Britain

Presented to Parliament pursuant to section 8(B)6 of the Life Chances Act 2010

November 2017

About the Commission

The Social Mobility Commission is an advisory non-departmental public body established under the Life Chances Act 2010 as modified by the Welfare Reform and Work Act 2016. It has a duty to assess progress in improving social mobility in the UK and to promote social mobility in England. It consists of up to ten commissioners, supported by a small secretariat.

The Commission board comprises:

- The Rt Hon Alan Milburn (Chair)
- The Rt Hon Baroness Gillian Shephard (Deputy Chair)
- Paul Gregg, Professor of Economic and Social Policy, University of Bath
- David Johnston, Chief Executive of the Social Mobility Foundation

The functions of the Commission include:

- Publishing an annual report assessing improvement in social mobility in the UK
- Providing published advice to ministers on matters relating to social mobility
- Undertaking social mobility advocacy.

The Commission is supported by a secretariat comprising: Paul Johnston, Anna Bird, Erika Boak, Rachael Millar, Kirsty Walker, Gene Ward, Mohammed Bentaleb and Sabia Akram.

This publication is available at www.gov.uk/government/publications

Any enquiries regarding this publication should be sent to us at the Social Mobility Commission, Sanctuary Buildings, 20 Great Smith Street, London, SW1P 3BT.

ISBN 978-1-5286-0100-9

CCS101729354 11/17

Printed on paper containing 75% recycled fibre content minimum

Printed in the UK by the APS Group on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office

Contents

Foreword iii

Chapter 1: Key Findings 1

Chapter 2: Early Years 19

Chapter 3: Schools 39

Chapter 4: Youth 55

Chapter 5: Working Lives 75

Chapter 6: English Regional Snapshots 95

Chapter 7: Scotland and Wales 121

Appendix 1: Social Mobility Index Methodology 155

Appendix 2: Overall Ranking of English Local Authority Areas 167

Foreword

Britain is a deeply divided nation. Those divisions take many forms. Class, income, gender, race. In recent years, each has been the subject of much scrutiny. But one form of division that has received far less attention is that based on geography. In this, our Fifth Annual Report, we focus on this neglected place-based divide.

We do so through the prism of what we have called the Social Mobility Index. Using 16 indicators, the index assesses the education, employability and housing prospects of people living in each of England's 324 local authority areas. The index highlights where people from disadvantaged backgrounds are most and least likely to make social progress. A similar approach is taken in Wales, although we have had to use some different data so the index there is not comparable with that in England. The same is true of Scotland, where there is still less data available, and it is especially limited in measuring the prospects of those from disadvantaged backgrounds. There is a separate chapter on Scotland and Wales but the bulk of the report and remainder of this Foreword focuses on England.

In our previous annual reports we have focused on our country's lamentable social mobility track record. It has become obvious that the scale of the problem extends well beyond the bottom decile in society or the few thousand youngsters who miss out on a top university. There is a fracture line running deep through our labour and housing markets and our education system. Those on the wrong side of this divide are losing out and falling behind.

In the labour market, major changes over recent decades have imprisoned five million workers – mainly women – in a low pay trap from which few find escape: only one in six of those workers who were low paid in 2006 had managed to find a permanent route out of low pay a decade later. At the other end of the labour market, our country's professions – despite considerable effort to widen the pool of talent from which they recruit – remain remarkably unrepresentative of the public they serve: only 6 per cent of doctors, 12 per cent of chief executives and 12 per cent of journalists today are from working-class origins.

In the housing market, owner occupation – one of the foundations for higher levels of social mobility – has fallen by 17 per cent in the last decade among the under-44s, as their household incomes have grown at only half the rate of their housing costs. Over recent years, our education system has benefited from significant investment in early years, rising standards in schools and growing numbers of working-class youngsters getting a university place, but there remains an entrenched and unbroken correlation between social class and educational success: the income gap is larger than either the ethnicity gap or the gender gap in schools. In short, Britain's deep social mobility problem, for this generation of young people in particular, is getting worse not better.

The divide is not just an economic or social one. It takes the form of a widening geographical divide. The Social Mobility Index reveals a growing gulf between our country's great cities (especially London) and those towns and counties that are being left behind economically and hollowed out socially. England is a small country with a large and growing gap between those places that offer good opportunities for social progress – what we have called social mobility hotspots – and those that do not – the coldspots. Some parts of the country are far more conducive to social mobility than others:

- Disadvantaged children are 14 percentage points less likely to be school-ready at age five in coldspots than hotspots: in 94 areas, under half of disadvantaged children reach a good level of development at age five.
- 51 per cent of London children on free school meals achieve A* to C in English and maths GCSE, compared with an average of 36 per cent in all other English regions: in Westminster 63 per cent get good English and maths GCSEs, but in the Isle of Wight only 27 per cent do.
- In Kensington and Chelsea, 50 per cent of disadvantaged youngsters make it to university, but in Hastings, Barnsley and Eastbourne, the university participation rate for this group falls to just 10 per cent.
- One-quarter of young people are NEET (not in education, employment or training) in South Ribble compared with 1 per cent in North Hertfordshire.
- In 71 largely rural areas, over 30 per cent of people earn below the voluntary living wage: average wages in the worst-performing area, West Somerset, are £312 a week, less than half those in the best-performing areas of Wandsworth, Richmond upon Thames and Westminster.
- In Bolsover, just 17 per cent of residents are in professional and managerial occupations compared with 51 per cent in Oxford.
- In Blaby, Rochford and Harborough, 80 per cent of families own their home but in Tower Hamlets the figure is just 18 per cent.

The chances of someone from a disadvantaged background getting on in life is closely linked to where they grow up and choose to make a life for themselves. It has been commonplace in recent decades to think of this geographical divide in terms of a north/south divide. The Social Mobility Index paints a more complex picture than that. There is a stark social mobility postcode lottery in our country today.

There are five key trends that our analysis has identified.

Firstly, the biggest divide is between London (and the commuter belt areas around it) and the rest of the country. London's formidable global economic strength and excellent schools make it the index's biggest winner. The capital provides more opportunities for its residents – including its poorest ones – to progress than elsewhere. London accounts for nearly two-thirds of all social mobility hotspots in the index. The best-performing areas of the country for social mobility are Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth and Hackney. London contains no coldspots, although it is not all plain sailing. The capital has entrenched pockets of deprivation, while high housing costs together with the prevalence of low-paid employment are structural barriers to achieving a higher level of social mobility.

Secondly, the inner cities of our country are no longer the worst-performing areas for social mobility, though they are not yet the engines of social mobility they have the potential to be. Over recent decades, our cities – both north and south – have grown and have regenerated. They have benefited from considerable public policy focus since the 1980s – on economic development and public transport in particular. These efforts have borne fruit for our cities' young people who now have access to more post-16 education institutions, more teachers for specialist A-level subjects, more universities, more employers and more quality jobs. Housing costs, however, can be high, deprivation can be commonplace and low-paid work can be the norm for city residents. In most major cities, fewer than half of families with children own their own home. They find themselves trapped between high living costs and low pay. Nor, outside of London, are our cities' schools performing nearly as well as they should. Overall, as a consequence, we conclude that our major cities, although they are not at the bottom of the table, punch substantially below their weight on a broad range of social mobility measures.

Thirdly, the new social mobility coldspots in our country are concentrated in remote rural or coastal areas and in former industrial areas, especially in the Midlands. There, youngsters from disadvantaged backgrounds face far higher barriers to improved social mobility than those who grow up in cities and their surrounding hinterland. Perhaps unsurprisingly only 13 per cent of disadvantaged young people in former industrial areas and 14 per cent in remote rural coldspots progress to university compared with 27 per cent in hotspots. Many of these places combine poor educational outcomes for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds with weak labour markets that have a greater share of low-skilled, low-paid employment than elsewhere in England. Just one-quarter of residents of these coldspots have managerial and professional jobs compared with over one-third in hotspots. Remote rural and coastal areas also suffer from poor connectivity by transport, restricting opportunities still further. Meanwhile, former industrial areas are struggling to throw off decades of decline. It is perhaps not surprising that the bottom five coldspots are Carlisle, Corby, Weymouth and Portland, Newark and Sherwood, and West Somerset, which is overall the worst part of the country for social mobility.

Fourthly, there is no direct correlation between the affluence of an area and its ability to sustain high levels of social mobility. While affluent areas tend to outperform deprived areas in the index, a number of places buck the trend. Some of the most deprived areas in England are hotspots, including most of the London boroughs at the top of the index. Outside of London, Slough is a hotspot despite being in the most deprived 40 per cent of areas. Conversely, some affluent areas are among the worst for offering good education and employment opportunities to their most disadvantaged residents. Some of the coldspots are among the least deprived areas in the country – for example, Cotswold and West Berkshire. Disadvantaged youngsters in these areas can be somewhat neglected, especially if they are dispersed across isolated rural schools. Similarly, some affluent places have high levels of low pay despite high average salaries. In St Albans, for example, half the population are in well-paid professional roles, but a quarter earn below the voluntary living wage.

Fifthly, local policies adopted by local authorities and employers can positively influence outcomes for disadvantaged residents. Two decades ago, London's state schools were routinely described as the worst in the country. Now they are the best. The education attainment of disadvantaged children has dramatically improved thanks to initiatives like London Challenge and the combined efforts of local councils, teachers and governors. Similarly, until recently, the North East had some of the worst careers advice in the country. Today, it is leading the way on good-quality careers advice – a consequence of collaborative efforts to improve performance. Richmond upon Thames has almost doubled the number of low-income children reaching school-readiness (from 36 to 61 per cent) in the last three years, partly as a result of a local authority-led campaign to improve support for disadvantaged children. Islington Council has invested in paying the London living wage and so helped 6,000 of its residents escape low pay in the last two years. Our report highlights many examples of areas that are bucking the overall trends through the adoption of innovative approaches and best practices.

This last point is key. All too often the debate about social mobility becomes polarised between those who succumb to a weary sense of inevitability about our powerlessness to challenge the global forces that are reshaping the social landscape and those who subscribe to the theory that change can only happen if the whole global economic system is turned upside down. Both positions we believe to be counsels of despair. There is enough evidence from around the world, in our country's own history and, contemporaneously, in local areas to know that, with the right approach, the transmission of disadvantage from one generation to the next can be broken.

There is, however, a mind-blowing inconsistency of practice. It is the breeding ground for the local lottery in life chances that exists today. It is, of course, a matter for local decision-makers to attune their policies and priorities to the needs of their local communities. In a heavily resource-constrained climate, local councils are continually having to make difficult choices about where to allocate resources and focus efforts in order to get the biggest bang for their buck. But all too often schemes start up and then wither away. Initiatives often lack scale. Experience is usually not pooled. Most worryingly of all, evidence about what works to improve social mobility is, at best, not properly embedded in local policies and programmes. At worst, it is ignored. When that happens, precious public resources are wasted and the potential for social progress is lost.

We make a series of recommendations, drawing on some of the best practice we have witnessed in different parts of the country, to correct those deficiencies. We suggest, for example, that:

- Every local authority should develop an integrated strategy for improving disadvantaged children's outcomes and that pupil premium funds should be invested in evidence-based practice.
- Local authorities should support collaboration between isolated schools, subsidise transport for disadvantaged young people in isolated areas and encourage Local Enterprise Partnerships to follow the North East Local Enterprise Partnership's approach to improving careers support for young people.
- Local authorities should all become accredited living wage employers and encourage others in their communities to do likewise.

None of this is to suggest that the answer to our country's social mobility lottery lies purely in the hands of local communities. National governments have a leading role to play in tackling the local lottery in social mobility. We make a number of specific recommendations to the UK government; for example, that:

- It should launch a fund to enable schools in rural and coastal areas to partner with other schools to boost attainment.
- Regional School Commissioners should be given responsibility to work with universities, schools and Teach First to ensure that there is a good supply of teachers in all parts of their regions.
- The Department for Business Energy & Industrial Strategy should match the Department for Education's £72 million Opportunity Area fund to ensure that there is a collaborative effort across local education systems and labour markets.

But something far bigger is needed. There is currently no overall national strategy to tackle the social, economic and geographical divide that the country faces. There is much talk about healing division and pursuing social justice. But the government is understandably heavily focused on Brexit and seems to have little headspace to inject the necessary energy and focus to match words with deeds. That is not to say we do not welcome initiatives such as the 12 Opportunity Areas that have been created by the Department for Education to help parts of the country that have fallen behind, or the devolution deals that seek to empower local councils and communities to develop policies appropriate to their areas. Initiatives like the Northern Powerhouse, the Midlands Engine and High Speed Two rail network (HS2) are welcome steps towards bridging our country's geographical divide. We urge the government to ensure that implementation of the industrial strategy marries economic and social policies and delivers an effective place-based approach to change.

These are all important pieces of the jigsaw but they lack an overall frame or shape. Overcoming the divisions that exist in Britain requires far more ambition and far bigger scale. A less divided Britain will require a more redistributive approach to spreading education, employment and housing prospects across our country. The UK now has greater regional disparities in economic performance than any other European country. The reasons for that are often historic and long-standing. They cannot be corrected by central government alone, but current patterns of public spending are, if anything, exacerbating the divide not healing it. One estimate suggests that the north of England is £6 billion a year underfunded compared with London. The capital's transport spending is more than three times greater per head than that of the East Midlands, the South West or North East. Even when HS2 and the Northern Powerhouse initiatives are taken into account, more than half of planned transport spend will go to London with less than 2 per cent going to the North East and just over 3 per cent to the East Midlands. Similarly, in 2016/2017 London spent about £1,000 more per pupil on local authority-maintained schools than the South East, the South West or the East Midlands, the three regions with the lowest attainment scores for disadvantaged pupils. The new schools funding formula will help to narrow these disparities but will not eliminate them.

Of course, the better-off parts of our country contain deep pockets of disadvantage. London is a good example. There is a need for ongoing investment in education, transport, housing and employment to improve local prospects of social mobility. But overall there is currently a mismatch between where public money goes and where it is most needed. No-one doubts the political difficulties in redistributing resources but if the rhetoric of a fairer Britain is to become reality the nettle must be grasped. We suggest that government should set out a new objective over a ten-year period to target an increasing proportion of public resources into those parts of the country that have been most left behind. The focus should be on local areas, rather than simply economic regions, since the new social mobility lottery we highlight in this report is based on specific areas of the country. The government should then report annually on the progress it is making.

It should report, too, on how the balance of spending is changing within regions as well as between them. The North East, for example, overall currently receives a relatively generous level of funding for government services per head of population compared with some other parts of the country. But it is heavily skewed towards welfare spending (taking almost half of the region's total), while just 6 per cent goes to stimulating the regional economy through investment in science, employment and transport. By contrast, only one-third of London's spending goes on welfare, with 12 per cent devoted to economic stimulation. Changing that imbalance will require central government to develop a much more holistic approach to tackling place-based inequality. It should develop a strategy for doing so, based on clear targets and fundamental reforms to our country's education system and labour and housing markets.

Tinkering with change will not do the trick. A new level of effort will be needed to tackle the phenomenon of left-behind Britain. The country seems to be in the grip of a self-reinforcing spiral of ever-growing division. That takes a spatial form, not just a social one. London and its hinterland are increasingly looking like a different country from the rest of Britain. They are moving ahead, as are many of our country's great cities. But too many rural and coastal areas and the towns of Britain's old industrial heartlands are being left behind. It is time to challenge the decades-long assumption that Britain can get by with unbalanced economic growth.

The growing sense that we have become an us and them society is deeply corrosive of our cohesion as a nation. The analysis in this report substantiates the sense of political alienation and social resentment that so many parts of modern Britain feel. Whole tracts of our country feel left behind, because they are. Whole communities feel that the benefits of globalisation have passed them by, because they have. Whole sections of society feel they are not getting a fair chance to succeed, because they are not. It cannot go on like this. If we want a genuinely United Kingdom, not an ever more divided one, a new approach will be needed.

Rt Hon Alan Milburn
Chair

Rt Hon Gillian Shephard
Deputy Chair

Chapter 1: Key Findings

- A stark social mobility postcode lottery exists in Britain today, where the chances of being successful if you come from a disadvantaged background are linked to where you live.
- There is no simple north/south divide. Instead, a divide exists between London (and its affluent commuter belt) and the rest of the country – London accounts for nearly two-thirds of all social mobility hotspots.
- The best-performing local authority area is Westminster and the worst-performing area is West Somerset.
- The Midlands is the worst region of the country for social mobility for those from disadvantaged backgrounds – half the local authority areas in the East Midlands and more than a third in the West Midlands are social mobility coldspots.
- Some of the worst-performing areas, such as Weymouth and Portland, and Allerdale, are rural, not urban; while some are in relatively affluent parts of England – places like West Berkshire, Cotswold and Crawley.
- Coastal and older industrial towns – places like Scarborough, Hastings, Derby and Nottingham – are becoming entrenched social mobility coldspots.
- Apart from London, English cities are punching below their weight on social mobility outcomes. No other city makes it into the top 20 per cent of hotspots.
- Some of the richest places in England like West Berkshire deliver worse outcomes for their disadvantaged children than places that are much poorer like Sunderland and Tower Hamlets.
- Social mobility gaps open up at an early age with disadvantaged children 14 percentage points less likely to be school-ready at age five in coldspots than in hotspots: in 94 areas fewer than half of disadvantaged children are ready for school aged five.
- Outside London, disadvantaged pupils lose out: 51 per cent of London children on free school meals achieve A* to C in English and maths GCSE, compared with an average of 36 per cent in all other English regions.
- In some coldspot areas, participation in higher education falls to just 10 per cent.
- Disadvantaged young people are almost twice as likely as better-off peers to be NEET (not in education, employment or training) a year after GCSEs – up to a quarter of young people are NEET in South Ribble.

1.1 Introduction

Social mobility is about ensuring that everyone has the opportunity to build a good life for themselves regardless of their family background. In a socially mobile society, every individual has a fair chance of reaching their potential. But in today's Britain, where you start from has a big influence on where you end up. Indeed, for young people it seems that the link between demography and destiny is becoming stronger rather than weaker.

But Britain's social mobility problem is not just one of income or class background. It is increasingly one of geography. A stark social mobility postcode lottery exists today, where the chances of someone from a disadvantaged background getting on in life is closely linked to where they grow up and choose to make a life for themselves.

There has been much focus in recent years on the divisions of income and class that exist in our country but far less on the geographical divide in opportunity. In this State of the Nation report we aim to redress that. Our focus is on the place-based social mobility lottery. In England, we have ranked all 324 lower-tier local authorities[1] according to a range of social mobility indicators. This analysis highlights those parts of the country that are social mobility hotspots and coldspots. We have not been able to perform the same detailed analysis in Scotland and Wales due to data constraints, but we have nonetheless done some ranking to highlight geographical variations in outcomes in those countries.

The Social Mobility Index, which is at the heart of this report, provides a unique picture of England's social mobility problem at the local level (see Figure 1.1 and Table 1.1). It builds on the initial version of the index that we published in January 2016.[2] The overall picture is complex, but the broad patterns are clear – and very similar to the initial version of the index.

London (and the commuter belt areas around it) is massively advantaged compared with the rest of the country. Children, including those from disadvantaged backgrounds, achieve excellent results at school and benefit from better further and higher education opportunities. If you live in or near London, you have a much higher chance of being a high earner than anywhere else in the country.

In contrast, disadvantage has become entrenched in certain areas of the country. Isolated rural and coastal towns and former industrial areas feature heavily as social mobility coldspots. Young people growing up in these areas have less chance of achieving good educational outcomes and often end up trapped by a lack of access to further education and employment opportunities.

Our report highlights examples of areas that buck these overall trends – often due to strong local initiatives involving the local authority and other organisations working in partnership to improve life outcomes for people living in their area. The report highlights examples of best practice and contains recommendations for how both national and local governments can work to improve social mobility prospects locally.

1 In some areas of England, local government is divided between a county council (upper tier) and a district council (lower tier), which are responsible for different services. In other areas, there is a single unitary authority. There are 201 district councils and 123 unitary authorities plus the City of the London and the Isles of Scilly. We excluded the City of London and the Isles of Scilly because their size (and the small number of individuals covered by the indicators we look at) makes valid comparisons with other English local authorities impossible.

2 Social Mobility Commission (2016) *The Social Mobility Index*. www.gov.uk/government/publications/social-mobility-index

How the index works

The index measures social mobility prospects in each area through 16 key performance indicators. These allow us to assess which parts of the country have the best social mobility outcomes (the hotspots) and which have the worst (the coldspots). These indicators span each major life stage, from early years through to people's working lives. The indicators show what happens in the early years, where significant gaps open up between children from disadvantaged backgrounds and their more fortunate peers. We then track how this is translated into differences in educational attainment in the school years and then into different outcomes as young people prepare for the labour market. Finally, we look at the very different opportunities people have in their working lives in terms of the availability of top jobs, the prevalence of low pay and the likelihood of getting a foot on the housing ladder.

This updated index is not wholly comparable with the previous one we published in 2016.That is because the key performance indicators have been updated to reflect the government's decision to adopt new flagship school measures at key stage 2 and key stage 4. We have also incorporated three-year averages and other technical changes to improve the robustness of the index. A more detailed explanation of our methodology can be found in Appendix 1.

We were unable to directly compare Scotland and Wales with England as there is currently much less relevant public data on social mobility available in Scotland and Wales compared with England. We have therefore examined geographical variations in outcomes in Scotland and Wales in a separate chapter.

Figure 1.1: Map of performance against all social mobility indicators

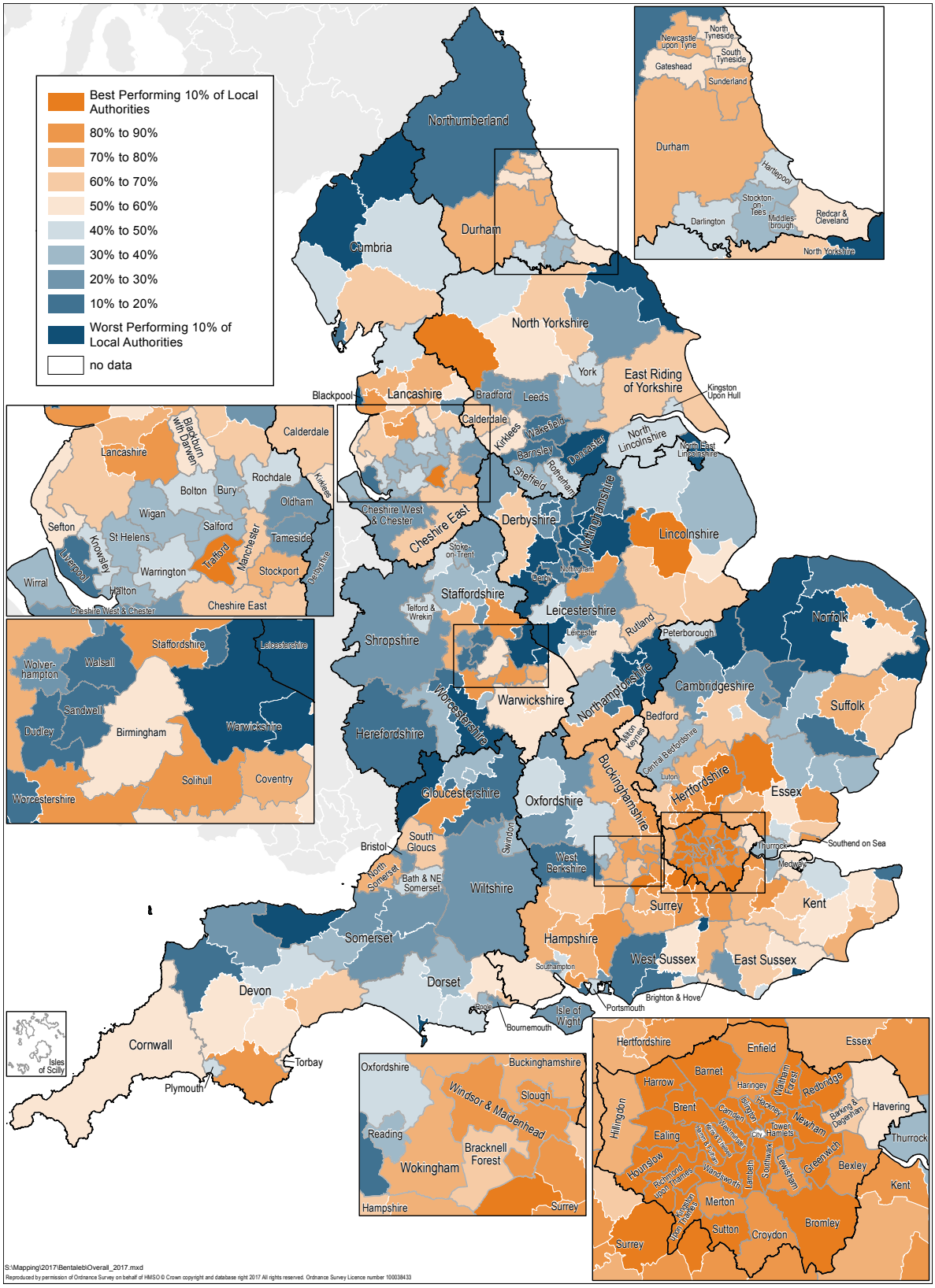


Table 1.1: The best and worst performers against all social mobility indicators

Hotspots			Coldspots		
Rank (best)	Local authority area	Region	Rank (worst)	Local authority area	Region
1	Westminster	London	1	West Somerset	South West
2	Kensington and Chelsea	London	2	Newark and Sherwood	East Midlands
3	Tower Hamlets	London	3	Weymouth and Portland	South West
4	Wandsworth	London	4	Corby	East Midlands
5	Hackney	London	5	Carlisle	North West
6	Redbridge	London	6	Allerdale	North West
7	Islington	London	7	Wellingborough	East Midlands
8	Hammersmith and Fulham	London	8	Ashfield	East Midlands
9	Barnet	London	9	Derby	East Midlands
10	Ealing	London	10	Mansfield	East Midlands
11	Greenwich	London	11	Waveney	East of England
12	Newham	London	12	Blackpool	North West
13	Southwark	London	13	Nottingham	East Midlands
14	East Hertfordshire	East of England	14	South Derbyshire	East Midlands
15	Camden	London	15	Wychavon	West Midlands
16	Hounslow	London	16	North East Lincolnshire	Yorkshire and The Humber
17	Lambeth	London	17	Fenland	East of England
18	Epsom and Ewell	South East	18	North Warwickshire	West Midlands
19	Waltham Forest	London	19	East Northamptonshire	East Midlands
20	Uttlesford	East of England	20	Hinckley and Bosworth	East Midlands
21	Kingston upon Thames	London	21	Crawley	South East
22	Harrow	London	22	Forest of Dean	South West
23	Sutton	London	23	Amber Valley	East Midlands
24	Trafford	North West	24	Kettering	East Midlands
25	Elmbridge	South East	25	Breckland	East of England
26	Surrey Heath	South East	26	Hastings	South East
27	Broxbourne	East of England	27	Doncaster	Yorkshire and The Humber
28	Bromley	London	28	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	East of England
29	North Kesteven	East Midlands	29	Nuneaton and Bedworth	West Midlands
30	Brent	London	30	Scarborough	Yorkshire and The Humber
31	Richmond upon Thames	London	31	Norwich	East of England

Hotspots			Coldspots		
Rank (best)	Local authority area	Region	Rank (worst)	Local authority area	Region
32	Craven	Yorkshire and The Humber	32	Great Yarmouth	East of England
33	Lewisham	London	33	Wakefield	Yorkshire and The Humber
34	Haringey	London	34	Barnsley	Yorkshire and The Humber
35	Fareham	South East	35	Northampton	East Midlands
36	Brentwood	East of England	36	Leicester	East Midlands
37	Woking	South East	37	Northumberland	North East
38	St Albans	East of England	38	Chichester	South East
39	Chorley	North West	39	Bolsover	East Midlands
40	Croydon	London	40	Chesterfield	East Midlands
41	Merton	London	41	Broxtowe	East Midlands
42	Rushcliffe	East Midlands	42	Torridge	South West
43	Stroud	South West	43	Gloucester	South West
44	Welwyn Hatfield	East of England	44	Tamworth	West Midlands
45	Slough	South East	45	Barrow-in-Furness	North West
46	Reigate and Banstead	South East	46	Gosport	South East
47	Bexley	London	47	Erewash	East Midlands
48	Bromsgrove	West Midlands	48	Worcester	West Midlands
49	South Hams	South West	49	Walsall	West Midlands
50	Lichfield	West Midlands	50	Thanet	South East
51	Dartford	South East	51	Liverpool	North West
52	Mole Valley	South East	52	Wyre Forest	West Midlands
53	Enfield	London	53	Gedling	East Midlands
54	Fylde	North West	54	Herefordshire, County of	West Midlands
55	Windsor and Maidenhead	South East	55	Babergh	East of England
56	Chiltern	South East	56	Sandwell	West Midlands
57	Tandridge	South East	57	Cotswold	South West
58	Tonbridge and Malling	South East	58	Arun	South East
59	Solihull	West Midlands	59	Bassetlaw	East Midlands
60	Runnymede	South East	60	West Berkshire	South East
61	Hertsmere	East of England	61	Forest Heath	East of England
62	Maldon	East of England	62	North Norfolk	East of England
63	Southend-on-Sea	East of England	63	Dudley	West Midlands
64	East Hampshire	South East	64	Ipswich	East of England
65	Hart	South East	65	Cannock Chase	West Midlands

1.2 The regional picture

There is no simple north/south divide in opportunity. If anything, the major divide that exists in England today is between London (and its commuter belt) and the rest of the country. The economic strength of the capital means that it offers opportunities that other parts of the country struggle to compete with.

London's dominance

London accounts for nearly two-thirds of all social mobility hotspots in the index. Out of a total of 32 London local authority areas, 29 are hotspots and there are no coldspots. No other city apart from London makes it into the top 20 per cent of best-performing local authority areas.

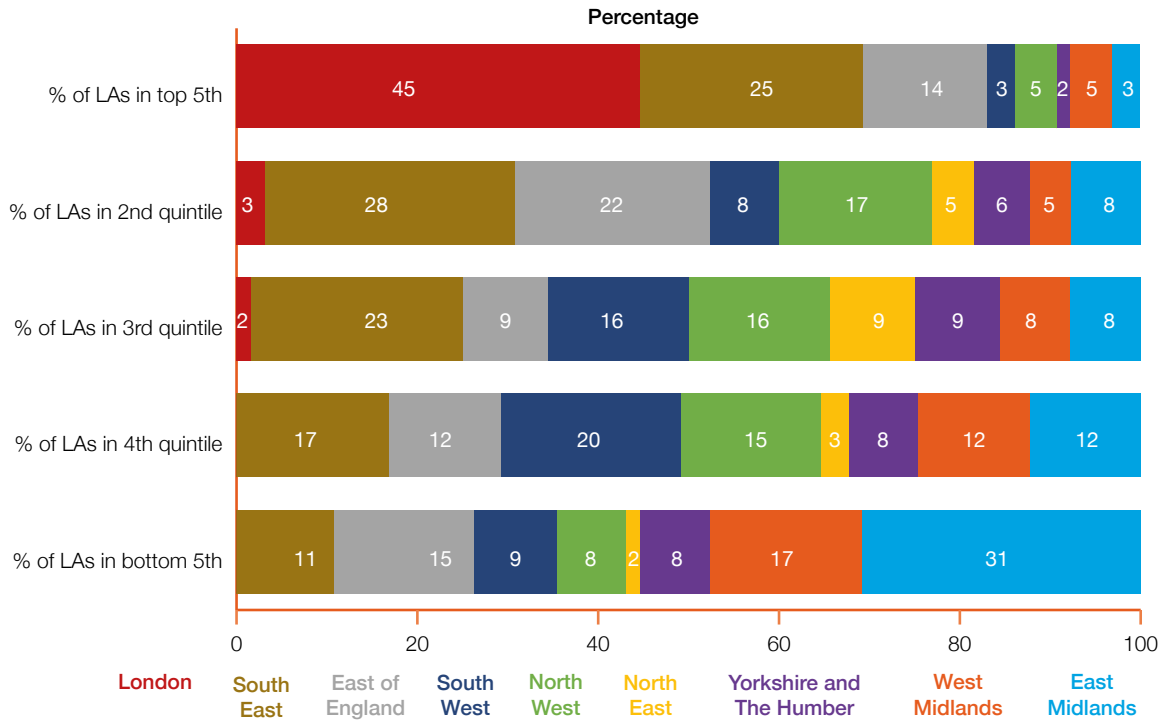
The huge gap between London and the rest of the country is most evident in the first three life stages – disadvantaged children growing up in London are more likely to be school-ready at age five, achieve far higher educational outcomes at school and are about twice as likely to go to university than their peers in other parts of the country. They are far more likely to progress into a professional or managerial job as an adult. Despite benefiting from access to top jobs, however, London's performance in the working lives life stage is less positive because of high housing costs that are beyond the reach of ordinary families and the large number of low-paid workers in the capital.

The commuter belt areas outside London also benefit from proximity to it. The South East has the second highest number of hotspots after London – almost all of which are in affluent areas just outside the city. These areas not only have easy access to London's employment and education opportunities, but also benefit from lower house prices.

Other regions

The other English regions outside London fare badly in the index. Most contain at least one coldspot. Some regions fare worse than others, as Figure 1.2 demonstrates, showing the percentage of local authorities (LAs) within each performance quintile.

Figure 1.2: Percentage of local authorities (by region) within each performance quintile



The Midlands

The Midlands provides the worst opportunities for social progress for those from disadvantaged backgrounds. Half the local authority areas in the East Midlands and more than one-third in the West Midlands are coldspots, while there are only five hotspot local authority areas in the whole of the Midlands.

The East Midlands performs worse than the West Midlands. It has the lowest social mobility scores in the country – with the worst outcomes for disadvantaged children during early years, school and youth life stages. In the West Midlands, outcomes for disadvantaged people are below average at every life stage, but not as poor as those seen in its eastern neighbour.

The East Midlands suffers from low-quality secondary schools, poor transport links and significant rates of low pay. In the East Midlands, almost one in three secondary schools that children eligible for free school meals attend is judged less than good by Ofsted, and the region has the lowest attainment and university entry rate for disadvantaged young people.[3]

The region does contain pockets of good performance. Rushcliffe, Rutland, Harborough and North Kesteven have above-average outcomes at key stage 2 and key stage 4 and excellent access to quality schools. Likewise, some parts of the West Midlands have relatively strong GCSE scores (e.g. in Bromsgrove and Solihull) and it has high university entry rates for people from disadvantaged backgrounds – especially in its cities.

Northern England

Overall, the northern regions have fairly low performance across the social mobility indicators. As with the Midlands, the wider region suffers from poor transport links, which makes it harder for people at all life stages to access opportunities.

The picture is not uniform. The North West has some of the lowest outcomes for disadvantaged five-year-olds, while the North East has some of the highest. The North East continues to have above-average primary school outcomes for disadvantaged children, while Yorkshire and The Humber has some of the worst. In working lives, the northern regions underperform the rest of the country. Overall, they have fewer high-quality jobs than the national average and lower pay.

Nonetheless, some areas of northern England have made rapid progress on a number of social mobility indicators. The North East has achieved the highest uptake of the two-year-old offer for disadvantaged children and has halved youth unemployment since 2014, while adult unemployment in the region has also fallen.[4] The area is also leading the way on careers support for young people in local schools and colleges. Broader progress should be possible if other regions follow the North East's lead, and if planned transport investments and economic regeneration projects take hold.

3 Ofsted (2016) Ofsted issues warning about education in the East Midlands. Press release, 7 June. www.gov.uk/government/news/ofsted-issues-warning-about-education-in-the-east-midlands. Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment in England: Attainment by age 19 in 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2016. Department for Education (2017) *Widening participation in higher education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017

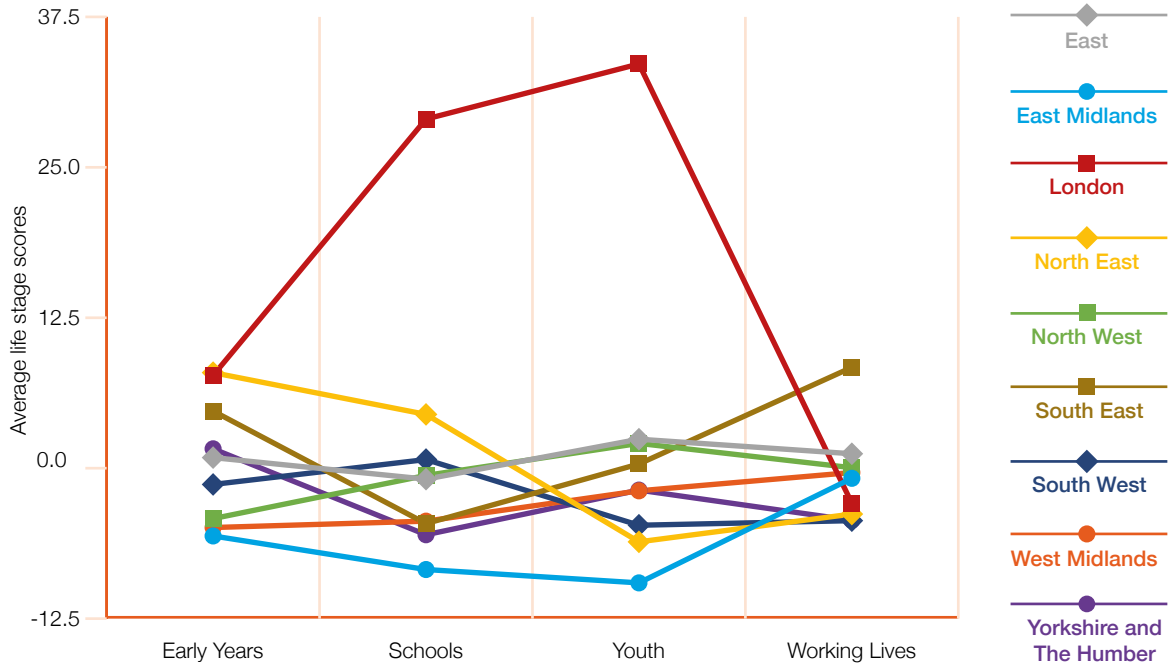
4 ONS (2017) X02 Regional labour market: Estimates of unemployment by age. www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peoplenotinwork/unemployment/datasets/regionalunemploymentbyagex02

Worst and best areas

The best local authority areas for social mobility are located in London. Westminster tops the list, followed by Kensington and Chelsea, and Tower Hamlets. These areas have some of the best schools in the country – as well as more extra-curricular opportunities than most other areas – and significantly outperform other local authority areas on educational outcomes for disadvantaged young people from the early years onwards. Even these top performers have issues, however – notably unaffordable housing and relatively high rates of low pay.

The worst area in the country is West Somerset, which performs particularly poorly on the early years and working lives indicators. Disadvantaged people in the area are limited by low levels of local opportunities and poor transport links to neighbouring districts. The area is now one of the government's 12 Opportunity Areas – and will benefit from local initiatives that bring together local stakeholders to deliver tailored solutions to the area's problems.

Figure 1.3: Average life stage scores by region



Note: Lines do not depict actual trends but are presented to make it easier to track the regions across the life stages.

The impact of devolution

The advent of combined authorities has created new drivers of change within England. Local authorities have collaborated in Greater Manchester, Liverpool City Region, Tees Valley, the West of England, Cambridgeshire and Peterborough, and the West Midlands. In these six combined authorities, metro mayors were elected in May 2017 with devolution deals based on 30-year investment funds, ranging from £450 million to £1.1 billion.[5] London and Cornwall also have devolved agreements, while a number of other negotiations for additional deals are ongoing.

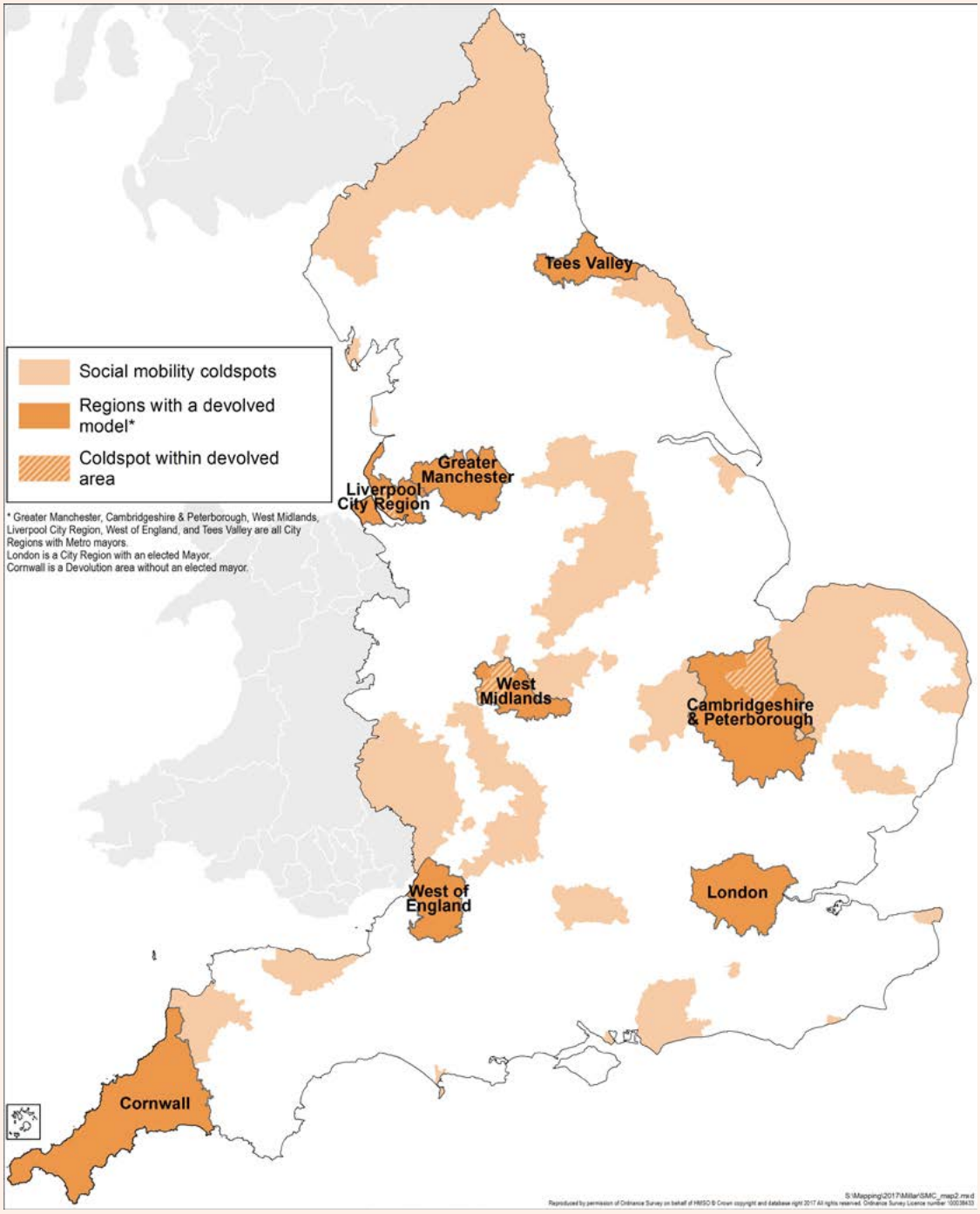
These deals devolve budgets and responsibility from national government. This includes powers over housing, transport and skills – crucial areas for unlocking social mobility, particularly in an individual's working life. They also enable local partnerships through additional funding and a voice within national government through their combined authority metro mayors.

While a welcome move, not all the negotiations and bids from local areas have been successful and, as a result, many areas are not covered. In fact, the city regions with metro mayors cover only 17.5 per cent of the population of England.[6] In the areas covered, the majority are not social mobility coldspots – only five out of 65 coldspots are part of these deals and the opportunities they bring. Some areas have Regional Growth Funds and City Deals, but it is the additional leverage of combined areas that is most likely to unlock social mobility across the country.

5 Centre for Cities (2016) Everything you need to know about metro mayors: an FAQ. www.centreforcities.org/publication/everything-need-know-metro-mayors

6 Social Mobility Commission calculation based on data from: ONS (2016) Population Estimates for UK: mid-2016. www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/annualmidyearpopulationestimates/mid2016. DevoConnect (2017) Devolution Population Map. http://devoconnect.co.uk/devolution-map

Figure 1.4: Social mobility coldspots mapped against regions with a devolved model

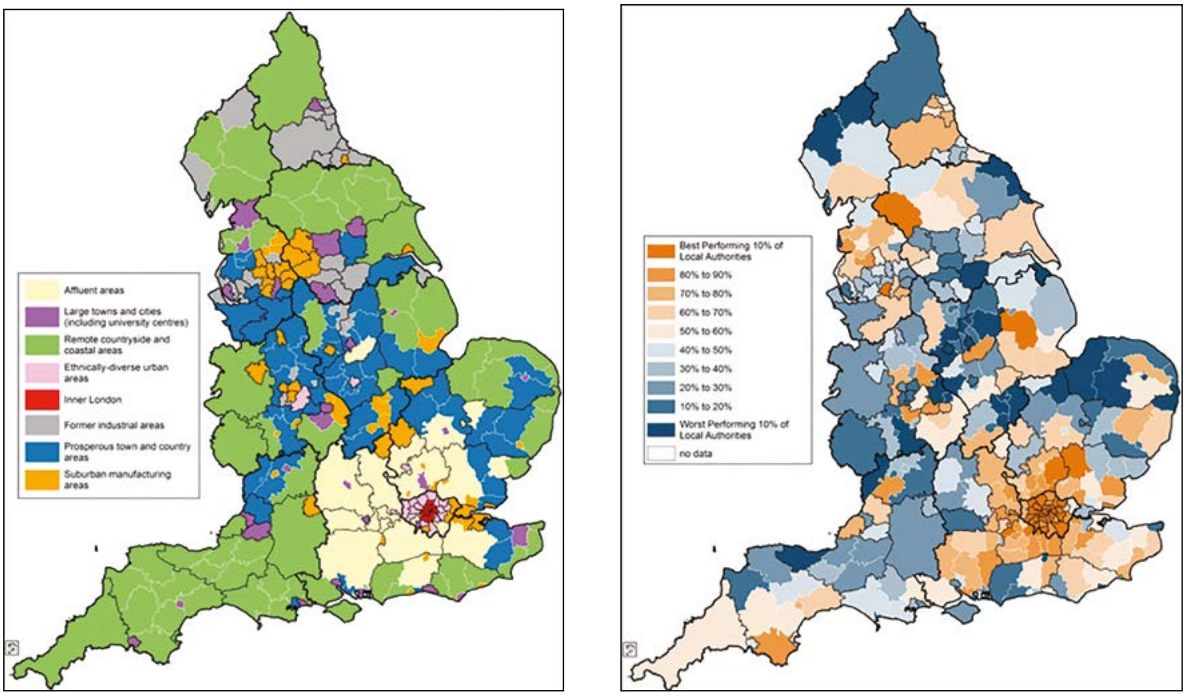


1.3 Social mobility in different types of place

The index paints a picture of a social mobility postcode lottery where the type of area people grow up in shapes their life chances. To examine the impact of area type on social mobility, we drew on analysis carried out by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), which classifies local authority areas by 'supergroup' type (see Figure 1.5), and mapped this against our index.

This analysis shows that people who grow up in a remote rural or coastal area or in a former industrial area face far higher barriers to improved social mobility than those who grow up in cities and their surrounding hinterland. Many of these areas combine bad educational outcomes for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds with weak labour markets that have a greater share of low-skilled, low-paid employment than elsewhere in England. Remote rural and coastal areas also suffer from poor connectivity by transport, so restricting opportunities still further.

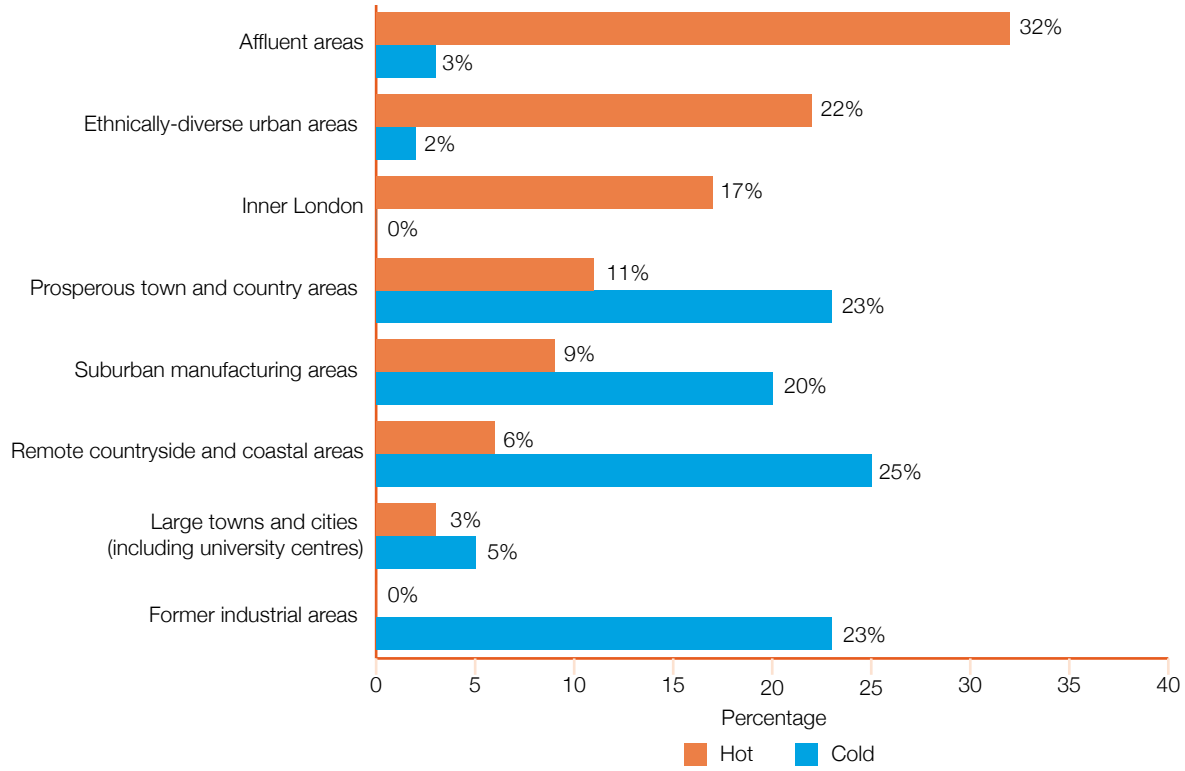
Figure 1.5: Office for National Statistics supergroups and Social Mobility Index results



Note: We have adjusted the names of the ONS supergroups.

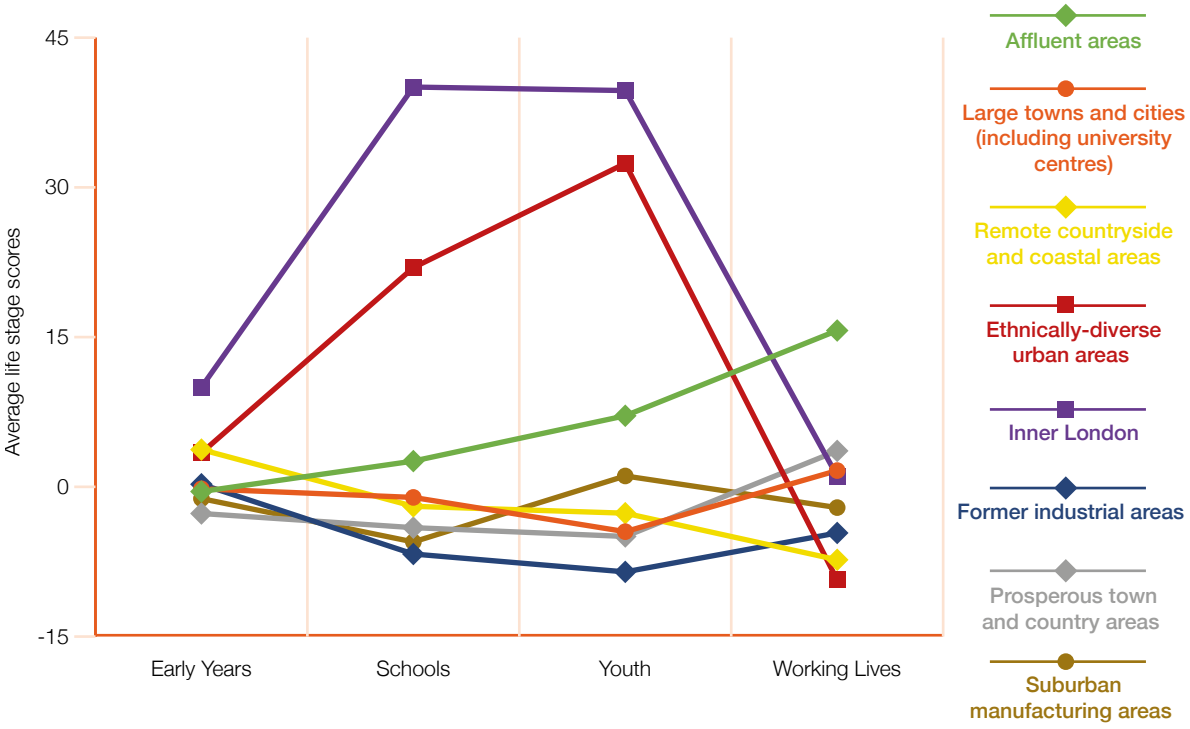
As Figure 1.6 demonstrates, city areas and affluent parts of the country contain a high proportion of hotspots. Meanwhile, remote coastal and rural areas and former industrial areas do badly.

Figure 1.6: Percentage of hotspots and coldspots in different types of area



Meanwhile, our analysis shows that, while urban areas perform well in most of the life stages – early years, school and youth, the prospects for disadvantaged people living in cities change sharply in their working lives (Figure 1.7). In London, the main reason for this is that the high cost of home ownership leads to very few families owning their own homes. There are other factors at play too, such as the high proportion of residents in low-paying jobs in many London boroughs and in our country's great cities.

Figure 1.7: Average life stage performance by area type



Note: Lines do not depict actual trends but are presented to make it easier to track the areas across the life stages.

Coastal and rural areas

The residents of coastal areas, which make up over a fifth of England's local authority areas, experience extremely poor outcomes for social mobility. Over a quarter of these areas are social mobility coldspots and only 6 per cent are social mobility hotspots. One explanation for this is that many parts of the coast suffer from poor transport links, both in terms of public transport and roads. This is explored further in Chapter 5.

Schools in highly deprived coastal rural areas have a significantly higher proportion of unqualified secondary school teachers than do those in affluent inland rural areas (7 per cent compared with 4.6 per cent). Young people then have limited post-16 opportunities – many of the worst-performing areas are about an hour each way from the nearest university by public transport – and often even further from a selective university.

With the exception of Copeland and Suffolk Coastal, all coastal areas are in the bottom decile for working lives. This conclusion is supported by recent analysis, which found poorer outcomes in work for coastal residents[7] including higher rates of low pay and more unemployment. Economic growth also tends to be weaker in coastal communities, compared with other parts of Great Britain.[8]

Former industrial towns

Our indicators show that older industrial towns with a mining or manufacturing legacy, such as Barnsley and Mansfield, also do very badly for social mobility. For post-industrial towns, 23 per cent are coldspots, while there are no hotspots (Figure 1.5). Many of these areas have suffered from a lack of regeneration and few high-paying industries are located there. As a result, they often have relatively limited job opportunities and clusters of low pay. In these areas, both school quality and educational aspirations can also be lower.[9] In Knowsley, for example, disadvantaged children have no chance of going to a good or outstanding secondary school. Accordingly, disadvantaged young people in post-industrial areas are half as likely to achieve two or more A-levels (or equivalent) by 19 and almost half as likely to go to university compared with those in more socially and ethnically diverse urban areas.

Major cities (excluding London)

Major cities punch substantially below their weight on a broad range of social mobility measures from early years through to working lives (Table 1.2). In part, this may reflect the fact that cities have a higher proportion of the most deprived areas than the rest of England, with a higher prevalence of all types of deprivation.[10]

Cities tend to have lower-quality childcare than rural areas and this can be prohibitively expensive for poorer families. Use of early education is also lower in cities and overall outcomes are below par.

This is reflected in disappointing performance in schools too. In Birmingham, only just over a third of children on free school meals achieve the expected standard at key stage 2. The Attainment 8 score per pupil on free school meals in Leeds, Sheffield, Liverpool and Newcastle ranges from 35.6 to 39, while in London it is 45.

7 Corfe S (2017) *Living on the Edge: Britain's coastal communities*. Social Market Foundation. www.smf.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Living-on-the-edge.pdf
8 Corfe S (2017) *Living on the Edge: Britain's coastal communities*. Social Market Foundation. www.smf.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Living-on-the-edge.pdf
9 Cabinet Office (2008) *Aspiration and Attainment Amongst Young People in Deprived Communities*. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090113230527/http:/www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/109339/aspirations_evidence_pack.pdf
10 ONS (2016) *Towns and Cities Analysis, England and Wales, March 2016*. www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/housing/articles/townsandcitiesanalysisenglandandwalesmarch2016/2016-03-18

Table 1.2: The ranks on the index of the metropolitan districts of England, without London

Local authority area	Region	Overall rank	Early years	Schools	Youth	Working lives
Newcastle upon Tyne	North East	92	53	49	231	189
Manchester	North West	121	276	48	64	218
Birmingham	West Midlands	136	296	123	28	188
Sheffield	Yorkshire and The Humber	212	213	254	156	124
Bristol, City of	South West	228	263	128	291	86
Leeds	Yorkshire and The Humber	246	209	234	281	108
Southampton	South East	247	94	202	316	213
Liverpool	North West	274	311	242	137	176
Leicester	East Midlands	289	318	183	102	296
Nottingham	East Midlands	312	304	172	308	287

The situation is better at the youth life stage, where young people in cities have access to more post-16 education institutions, more teachers for specialist A-level subjects, more universities, more employers and better-quality jobs. Many of these opportunities are limited or entirely lacking in rural areas or isolated ex-industrial towns – especially for those without the money or confidence to travel to neighbouring areas.

However, even in areas where there are prestigious universities and more options for young people, the residents of cities are not necessarily benefiting. For example, Bristol and Southampton both have prestigious universities, but only one in 60 disadvantaged young people from those cities goes to a highly selective university.

As adults, residents in cities can face high housing costs and a higher cost of living than is seen in many rural areas. Even though housing in urban areas in the north of England is cheaper than in rural areas of the south, in most major cities fewer than half of families with children own their own home. Many residents of cities are not in the top jobs that can often be associated with city living. They find themselves trapped between high living costs and low pay.

Affluent and deprived areas

Affluent areas tend to outperform deprived areas on our social mobility indicators, but a number of places buck this trend. Some of the most deprived areas in England are hotspots, including most of the London boroughs at the top of the index. Outside of London, Slough is a hotspot despite being in the most deprived 40 per cent of local authority areas. This shows that local policies adopted by local authorities and employers in deprived areas can influence outcomes for disadvantaged residents.

At the same time, a number of affluent areas perform very poorly in relation to their disadvantaged residents. Some of the coldspots are among the least deprived areas in the country, for example Cotswold and West Berkshire. Disadvantaged youngsters in these areas can be somewhat neglected, especially if they are dispersed across isolated rural schools. Similarly, some affluent places have high levels of low pay despite high average salaries. In St Albans, for example, half the population are in well-paid professional roles, but a quarter are on low pay.

1.4 Life stage overview

Of England's 324 local authority areas, not one performs well across all four life stages. Even when comparing the three stages of education – early years, school and youth – few areas demonstrate consistently high performance. Just four areas are in the top 10 per cent for all three stages of education. Performance on the schools and youth indicators are strongly correlated, but there is only a weak link between early years and schools. This is because many areas with high-quality early education have very poor primary and secondary schooling for disadvantaged pupils (for example, the Isle of Wight). This can make it hard for high-attaining children to sustain academic successes as they move through school.

Early years

The early years of a child's life have a lasting impact, but there are stark differences in early education opportunities across the country. In coldspots for early years, disadvantaged five-year-olds are 14 percentage points less likely to be school-ready than in hotspots.

The South East is the top-performing region at this life stage, with five times as many hotspots as any other region. This is due in part to high levels of affluence as well as good-quality childcare. London also has high development outcomes for disadvantaged children (almost 10 percentage points above the average), in spite of issues with childcare quality. However, there are 94 local authority areas (29 per cent of the country) where less than half of disadvantaged five-year-olds reach a good level of development.

Areas with the best support for disadvantaged children have high-quality preschool settings, effective promotion and use of early education, evidence-based support for parents, and integrated health and education services. In 11 local authority areas, almost all early education is good or outstanding, while in the coldspots about one in ten settings requires improvement. Uptake of the free early education offer for disadvantaged two-year-olds ranges from 39 to 96 per cent across England. Parenting support is limited in most areas and often ill evidenced. And only half of authorities have a clear strategy for improving disadvantaged children's outcomes.

Schools

Schools should provide children with the skills and confidence to succeed educationally and in the labour market, but there are substantial inequalities in educational attainment linked to social disadvantage and place. The attainment gap between disadvantaged and better-off pupils widens during a child's schooling. In England as a whole, only 39.2 per cent of pupils on free school meals achieve A* to C in English and maths GCSE, compared with 67 per cent for all other pupils.

Over the past decade, London has broken away from the rest of England when it comes to the educational attainment of disadvantaged children. They do far better than comparable pupils in any other region at both primary and secondary school. Over half (51 per cent) of children on free school meals in London achieve A* to C in English and maths GCSEs, compared with 36 per cent in the rest of England. Disadvantaged children in the coastal area of Arun do over three times worse at primary school than those in Kensington and Chelsea (19 per cent achieve the expected standard at key stage 2, compared with 60 per cent).

London schools have enjoyed better financial resources, but they have also benefited from good leadership, a strong stock of quality teachers, professional development, a diverse school population, strong school partnerships, better access to cultural opportunities and a plethora of government initiatives.

Outside London, disadvantaged children that grow up in deprived rural and coastal areas and former manufacturing areas do particularly badly. Children on free school meals in Knowsley have no chance of going to a good or outstanding secondary school, while in Hackney all children on free school meals go to strong schools. The most deprived coastal rural areas have one and a half times the proportion of unqualified secondary teachers that the least deprived inland rural areas have.

Youth

The effect of postcode on prospects is most acute in this life stage. Disadvantaged young people in urban areas – especially those in London – tend to have above-average outcomes. In fact, disadvantaged Londoners are almost twice as likely to enter university as those in other areas. By contrast, rural isolation can have major consequences for youth social mobility, as it limits access to further education, higher education, and a range of inspiration and support activities from employers, universities and charities.

In remote rural and coastal areas, disadvantaged young people are half as likely to gain two or more A-levels (or equivalent qualifications) and half as likely to enter university as those in our country's major cities. There are six local authority areas in the country where just 9 to 11 per cent of disadvantaged young people go to university – less than half the average rate. These areas tend to have limited access to higher education locally, which restricts choice for low-income youngsters who wish to live at home while studying.

There are also differences in access to opportunity across the regions. The North East and East Midlands have the lowest performance on the youth social mobility indicators. In both areas, careers support has – until recently – been the lowest in the country. Both regions also have fewer high-level apprenticeships and fewer large employers than other regions, which tends to mean fewer entry-level jobs.

Working lives

The Home Counties in the South East and East of England perform best at this life stage. Working residents in many of these areas benefit from the clustering of high-skilled, high-paid jobs, but also have higher than average rates of home ownership than in many other parts of the country, due to greater levels of affluence.

Rural and coastal areas do the worst in this life stage as many are cut off from access to top jobs, leading to low rates of pay. Average wages in the worst-performing area, West Somerset, are £312 a week, less than half of those in the best-performing areas of London. Many coastal and rural areas experience poor transport links – in the most rural areas, travel to work times are nearly four times that of urban residents.

Access to good jobs is an important driver for working lives outcomes as it leads to higher wages and, often, better prospects for pay progression. High-paying knowledge-based industries are highly spatially concentrated around London and the South East, which limits access and opportunity for people outside of these areas.

But low pay is pervasive throughout the country, with 5.2 million people in England paid less than the voluntary living wage, and in 71 largely rural areas more than 30 per cent of people earn below this living wage level.

High housing costs are also a major barrier to social mobility. There is a stark north/south divide for housing affordability, with urban areas in the north of England offering more affordable housing than rural areas in the south. But it is urban areas across England that fare worst in terms of home ownership. London, in particular, has very few families with their own homes, as few as 18 per cent in Tower Hamlets.

Chapter 2: Early Years

- There are stark differences in early education opportunities across the country: in 94 areas, less than half of disadvantaged children are school-ready by age five.
- Eleven local authorities have almost all 'good' or 'outstanding' preschool settings, while in the coldspots about one in ten settings 'requires improvement'.
- Disadvantaged children in the best areas are twice as likely to reach a good level of development at age five, compared with similar children in the worst areas. Three London boroughs – Hackney, Haringey and Newham – have almost eliminated the development gap between disadvantaged children and their better-off peers.
- Poor performance is not concentrated in any type of area, and similar places perform very differently – likely reflecting the role of local authorities and the importance of parenting.
- The South East region is the top performer on early years indicators with high development outcomes and good-quality childcare.
- Disadvantaged children in London outperform peers in the rest of England – probably due to learning at home, since childcare use and quality are lower than elsewhere.
- Parenting support on child development is very limited in most local authorities and often not based on strong evidence.
- Uptake of the free early education offer for disadvantaged two-year-olds ranges from 39 to 96 per cent across England. About 80,000 children – 29 per cent of eligible two-year-olds – are missing out.

Recommendations

- Every local authority should develop an integrated strategy for improving disadvantaged children's outcomes. This should include:
  - quality improvement support for early education settings, including collaborative working groups, tailored advice and comprehensive training for early years teachers
  - driving uptake of the early education offer for disadvantaged two-year-olds and ensuring that they do not lose places to children eligible for the 30-hour offer
  - ensuring that all parenting support programmes are evidence based and experimenting with ways to offer effective advice to more parents.
- Early education and childcare providers should invest pupil premium funds in evidence-based practice using the Early Education Foundation's toolkit.

2.1 Introduction

Experiences in the first few years of life play a critical role in shaping later development. In fact, learning and development at this stage matters more than at any other.[1] Children from poorer backgrounds have worse development outcomes than their more affluent peers during the early years.[2] For many children, this translates into worse educational outcomes throughout their school careers and later lives.[3]

The quality of early education and support received by disadvantaged children varies widely depending on where a child is born, as do early development outcomes. Children in 11 of the best areas in England benefit from almost universally 'good' or 'outstanding' preschool settings, while in the coldspots more than one in ten settings 'requires improvement' (12 per cent).[4] Outside preschool, there are also wide disparities in the availability and quality of parenting programmes, health services, family support and housing conditions for young families.[5] Partly as a result of these differences, disadvantaged children in the best areas for early years outcomes are more than twice as likely to reach a good level of development at age five compared with similar children in the worst areas (69 per cent in Lewisham versus 30.5 per cent in West Somerset over the last three years).[6]

Today, there are still 94 local authority areas – 29 per cent of the country – where less than half of disadvantaged children reach school-readiness at five, and 26 areas of the country where the proportion of children reaching school-readiness has reduced over the last three years.[7] By contrast, almost a fifth of local authority areas have greatly increased the number of poorer children reaching school-readiness at five when compared with 2014 (by 15 percentage points or more).[8]

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Percentage of nursery providers rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted.
- Percentage of children eligible for free school meals achieving a 'good level of development' at the end of the Early Years Foundation Stage (DfE data).

1 Department for Education (2014) *Students' Educational and Developmental Outcomes at Age 16: Effective pre-school, primary and secondary education (EPPSE 3–16) project.* www.gov.uk/government/publications/influences-on-students-development-at-age-16
2 Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Results: 2017.*
3 Department for Education (2014) *Students' Educational and Developmental Outcomes at Age 16: Effective pre-school, primary and secondary education (EPPSE 3–16) project.* www.gov.uk/government/publications/influences-on-students-development-at-age-16
4 Social Mobility Commission analysis based on three years of Ofsted data.
5 Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?.* Department for Education (2013) *Evaluation of Children's Centres in England (ECCE): Strand 3: Delivery of Family Services by Children's Centres.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/224096/DFE-RR297.pdf.
Early Intervention Foundation (2016) *Foundations for Life: What works to support parent child interaction in the early years.* www.eif.org.uk/publication/foundations-for-life-what-works-to-support-parent-child-interaction-in-the-early-years/
6 Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Results: 2017.*
7 Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Results: 2017.*
8 Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Profile Results: 2017.*

Figure 2.1: Map of performance against early years social mobility indicators

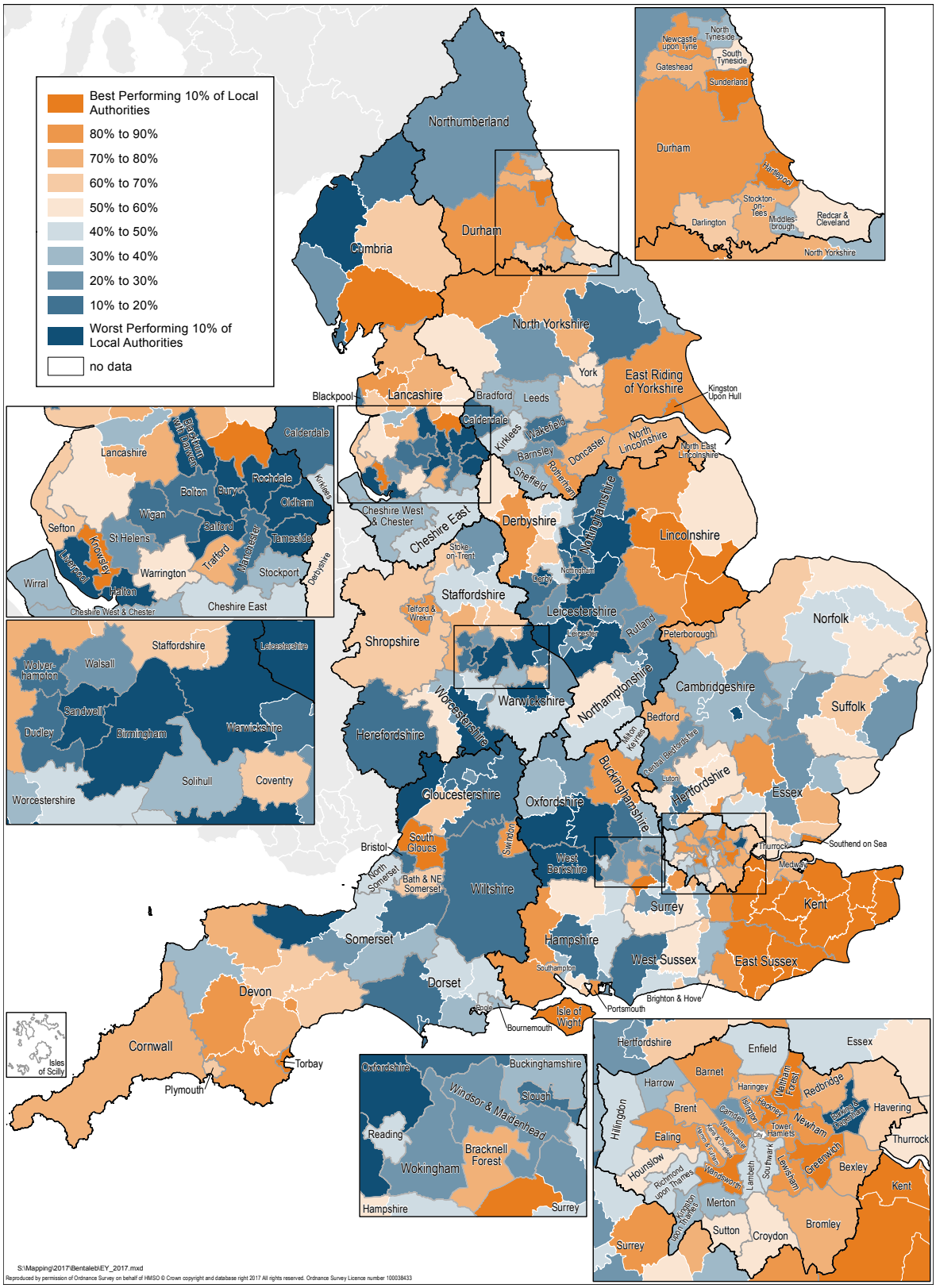


Table 2.1: The best and worst performers against early years social mobility indicators

Hotspots			Coldspots		
Rank (best)	Local authority area	Region	Rank (worst)	Local authority area	Region
1	Isle of Wight	South East	1	West Somerset	South West
2	South Holland	East Midlands	2	Bury	North West
3	Knowsley	North West	3	Vale of White Horse	South East
4	Dover	South East	4	Derby	East Midlands
5	Torbay	South West	5	Wychavon	West Midlands
6	Greenwich	London	6	Halton	North West
7	North Kesteven	East Midlands	7	Leicester	East Midlands
8	Boston	East Midlands	8	West Berkshire	South East
9	Dartford	South East	9	Harborough	East Midlands
10	Shepway	South East	10	Tameside	North West
11	Wandsworth	London	11	Sandwell	West Midlands
12	Sunderland	North East	12	Ashfield	East Midlands
13	South Gloucestershire	South West	13	South Oxfordshire	South East
14	Hackney	London	14	Liverpool	North West
15	Maidstone	South East	15	Charnwood	East Midlands
16	Rossendale	North West	16	Oldham	North West
17	Swale	South East	17	Hinckley and Bosworth	East Midlands
18	Canterbury	South East	18	Cambridge	East of England
19	Waltham Forest	London	19	Oxford	South East
20	Thanet	South East	20	Newark and Sherwood	East Midlands
21	Wealden	South East	21	Nottingham	East Midlands
22	Hartlepool	North East	22	Barking and Dagenham	London
23	Hastings	South East	23	Rushcliffe	East Midlands
24	Sevenoaks	South East	24	North Warwickshire	West Midlands
25	Surrey Heath	South East	25	Allerdale	North West
26	Tonbridge and Malling	South East	26	Warwick	West Midlands
27	Southend-on-Sea	East of England	27	Rochdale	North West
28	Rother	South East	28	Forest of Dean	South West
29	Ashford	South East	29	Birmingham	West Midlands
30	Tunbridge Wells	South East	30	Salford	North West
31	Kingston upon Hull, City of	Yorkshire and The Humber	31	Blackburn with Darwen	North West
32	South Lakeland	North West	32	Bassetlaw	East Midlands

Analysis

There are large regional differences in the distribution of hotspots and coldspots for this life stage – with southern regions doing much better than regions in the Midlands and the north of England (Table 2.1). The South East alone accounts for half of the early years hotspots. This is due in part to lower levels of poverty than in most other areas, as well as above-average preschool settings and more affordable childcare than in London. By contrast, the worst areas for early attainment are largely concentrated in the East Midlands and North West, in areas where poverty is higher and preschool quality is lower.[9]

The geography of the early years hotspots and coldspots differs from that of most other life stages and shows few clear patterns. Very similar areas have radically different outcomes. For example, Knowsley is the third best-performing local authority, while neighbouring Halton and Liverpool are both bottom performers and St Helens is also a poor performer. This is likely to be because parenting and the home environment matter more than external opportunities at this stage – and also because local authorities can significantly influence outcomes by effective support of disadvantaged families.[10]

In contrast with later life stages, urban areas do not significantly outperform rural areas. In fact, early years hotspots include a number of rural, isolated and coastal areas.[11] This is partly because cities tend to have lower-quality childcare than rural areas as well as prohibitively expensive childcare for many poorer families.[12] Use of early education is also lower in cities due in part to demographics, as use of preschool education tends to be lower among people from ethnic minority communities.[13] In rural areas, distance to a formal preschool setting is not always a problem because friends and family can often offer high-quality informal childcare at this life stage.[14] Indeed, informal childcare tends to offer better benefits for children's verbal ability than group settings, though it is less strong at socioemotional development than formal group settings.[15]

Deprived areas do not consistently underperform on the early years indicators. Of the ten most deprived areas in the country, three are early years hotspots (Knowsley, Hartlepool and Hastings) and three are coldspots (Birmingham, Liverpool and Nottingham). Childcare quality in deprived areas does tend to be somewhat lower on average, but disadvantaged children in these areas are often placed in better-quality settings, including maintained nurseries which are concentrated in deprived areas.[16] Likewise, deprived areas are more likely to have a local Sure Start centre.[17] These systems may help counter the problems deprived areas face in the

9 McGuinness F (2016) *Poverty in the UK: Statistics*. House of Commons Library, research briefing. http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN07096

10 Department for Education (2017) *Study of Early Education and Development (SEED): Impact study on early education use and child outcomes up to age three.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/627098/SEED_ECEC_impact_at_age_3.pdf. Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*

11 ONS (2011) *2011 Census: Population density, local authorities in the United Kingdom*. webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160110165323/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_304116.pdf

12 Department for Education (2017) *Education and Childcare*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/615810/Digest_Childcare___Education_May2017_FINAL.pdf

13 Department for Education (2010) *Exploring the Flexibility of the Free Entitlement to Early Education: Research among Parents*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/184083/DFE-RR217.pdf

14 Department for Education (2017) *Education and Childcare*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/615810/Digest_Childcare___Education_May2017_FINAL.pdf. Department for Education (2010) *Exploring the Flexibility of the Free Entitlement to Early Education: Research among Parents*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/184083/DFE-RR217.pdf

15 Department for Education (2017) *Study of Early Education and Development (SEED): Impact study on early education use and child outcomes up to age three*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/627098/SEED_ECEC_impact_at_age_3.pdf 2017

16 The British Association for Early Childhood Education (2015) *Maintained Nursery Schools: The state of play report*. www.early-education.org.uk/sites/default/files/Nursery%20Schools%20State%20of%20Play%20Report%20final%20print.pdf

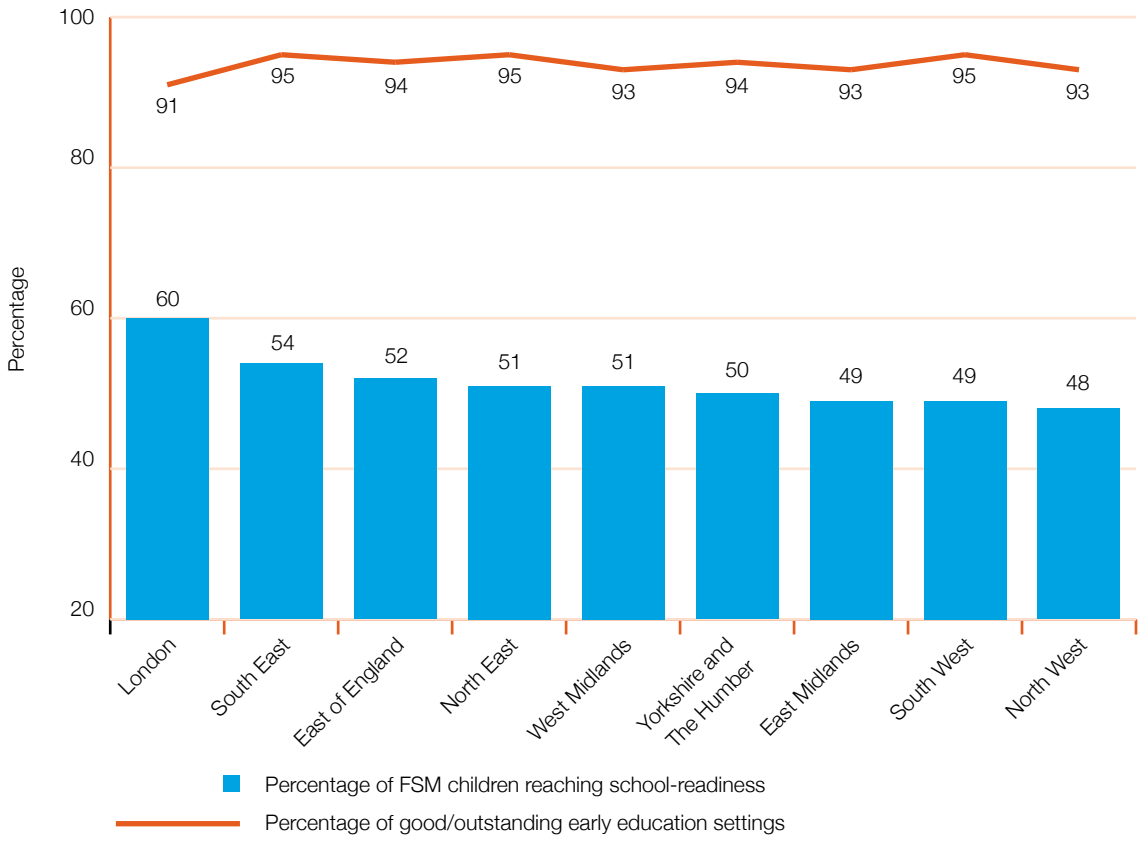
17 Bate A, Foster F (2017) House of Commons Library, research briefing, *Sure Start (England)*. http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7257

early years: lower use of early education, worse housing and worse health, all of which hinder educational outcomes.[18]

Regional performance

Comparing the regions on the early years indicators (Figure 2.2), London is a clear outlier with by far the highest development outcomes for disadvantaged five-year-olds (based on the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile results), but also the worst childcare quality (based on Ofsted inspections). Outside London, the South East has the highest inspection outcomes for early education settings and also the best outcomes for disadvantaged children, while the North West has the worst Ofsted ratings for early education and also the worst outcomes for disadvantaged children (Figure 2.2). The East of England and the North East show strong performance on both indicators. However, broader patterns are not clear; some areas with high-quality childcare still underperform in terms of development outcomes. This reflects the importance of other factors, such as health, housing and learning at home on children's outcomes.[19] It also reflects the relatively small variance in Ofsted inspection results across most regions.

Figure 2.2: Regional performance against early years social mobility indicators



Sources: Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP) Results*. Ofsted (2017) *Childcare providers and inspections as at 31 March 2017*.

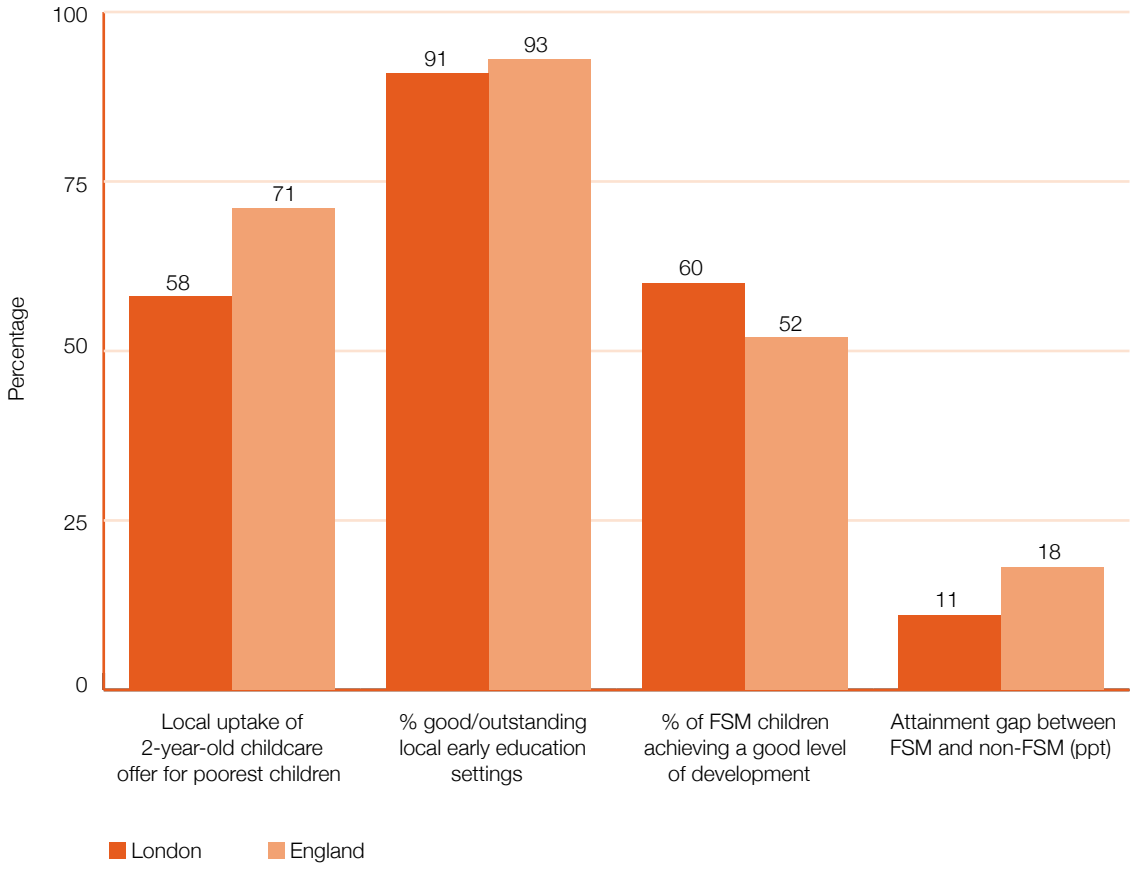
18 NatCen (2013) *People Living in Bad Housing – numbers and health impacts*. https://england.shelter.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/726166/People_living_in_bad_housing.pdf

19 NatCen (2013) *People Living in Bad Housing – numbers and health impacts*. https://england.shelter.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/726166/People_living_in_bad_housing.pdf. Dearden L, Sibieta L, Sylva K (2010) *The Socio-economic Gradient in Early Child Outcomes: Evidence from the Millennium Cohort Study.* www.ifs.org.uk/publications/5472

The London paradox: higher outcomes despite lower use of early education

London is a story of extremes when it comes to early outcomes and it is worth exploring in more detail (Figure 2.3). It has by far the highest development outcomes for disadvantaged children (6 percentage points ahead of the next best region, the South East), despite slightly worse preschools than other regions and substantially lower use of early education (over 10 percentage points lower than the average). Similarly, London also has the smallest attainment gap between disadvantaged children and their peers – at 11 percentage points overall and almost zero in three boroughs – Hackney, Haringey and Newham – while the national average is 18 percentage points.

Figure 2.3: London's performance on early years social mobility indicators



Sources: Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP) Results*. Ofsted (2017) *Childcare providers and inspections as at 31 March 2017*.

Good outcomes in London are likely to be due to better learning at home and outside preschool, which is known to have a stronger impact on early attainment than preschool.[20] This may be due to a mix of demographic factors, parenting styles, social capital and the breadth of opportunities on offer in London (e.g. parent and baby classes, museums, libraries, art galleries etc).[21]

20 Dearden L, Sibieta L, Sylva, K (2010) *The Socio-economic Gradient in Early Child Outcomes: Evidence from the Millennium Cohort Study*. www.ifs.org.uk/publications/5472. Cabinet Office (2008) *Aspiration and Attainment amongst Young People in Deprived Communities.* http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090113230527/http:/www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/109339/aspirations_evidence_pack.pdf

21 Burgess S (2017) *Understanding the Success of London's School*s. Centre for Market and Public Organisation Working Paper No. 14/333. www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/cmpo/migrated/documents/wp333.pdf. Greaves E, Macmillan L, Sibieta L (2014) *Lessons from London Schools for Attainment Gaps and Social Mobility*. Research report for the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission. Blanden J, Greaves E, Gregg P et al. (2015) *Understanding the Improved Performance of Disadvantaged Pupils in London*, Social Policy in a Cold Climate Working Paper 21.

In spite of good outcomes in London, 40 per cent of low-income children are still not achieving a good level of development at age five – and better preschools would give those children a significant development boost.[22] Possible reasons for low-quality childcare and limited use of childcare in London include cost and insufficiency of childcare places.[23] Childcare costs in London are a third higher than the UK average, which prevents low-income families from benefiting. Additionally, at 32 places per 100 children, London has the second lowest number of places per child in the country – and care is particularly insufficient for younger children.[24]

However, local authorities in London can and should do a lot more to boost availability, uptake and quality of childcare. Currently, childcare use varies dramatically across London – with uptake of childcare for three and four-year-olds ranging from 59 per cent in Westminster to 87 per cent in Hackney.[25] It is worth noting that Hackney – where there is no attainment gap between advantaged and disadvantaged children – also has the highest use of childcare at ages three and four (though not yet at two), given that early education helps close the gap.[26]

Hackney's performance stands out in a number of ways. Since 2011, the council has had a ten-year strategy in place to boost children's outcomes, and this has increased focus and collaboration on the issue. A local network of preschools and schools facilitates regular knowledge sharing, while a range of other organisations – including housing estates – are also involved in the effort (see Hackney case study). This enables joined-up thinking, for example relocating children's centres to be nearer to the people who need them most. These efforts have helped Hackney improve outcomes for disadvantaged children and eliminate the attainment gap.

22 Department for Education (2017) *Study of Early Education and Development (SEED): Impact study on early education use and child outcomes up to age three.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/627098/SEED_ECEC_impact_at_age_3.pdf

23 McNeil C, Cory G (2017) *The Future of Childcare in London: Devolving funding for greater affordability, access and equality*. IPPR. www.ippr.org/research/publications/the-future-of-childcare-in-london2017

24 McNeil C, Cory G (2017) *The Future of Childcare in London: Devolving funding for greater affordability, access and equality*. IPPR. www.ippr.org/research/publications/the-future-of-childcare-in-london2017

25 Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Results*. Main tables: SFR29/2017.

26 Taggart B, Sylva K, Melhuish E et al. (2013) *Effective Pre-school, Primary and Secondary Education Project (EPPSE 3-16+)*. Department for Education (2013) *The Early Education Pilot for 2-year-old Children: Age 5 follow up.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/221778/DFE-RR225.pdf

Hackney: Pembury Estate's ten-year plan to boost child outcomes

Following the 2011 London riots, the Pembury Estate in Hackney received bad press focusing on young people who participated in the riots. In response, Hackney set up the Pembury Children's Community, modelled on the Harlem Children's Zone in New York, to transform outcomes for every child and young person on the estate. The ten-year programme has three strands: the early years and primary school, secondary school, and support for parents. This was one of a number of local programmes designed to boost early years outcomes.

In the early years, the programme focuses on family literacy and improving access to childcare and related services. The programme offers free books every month for children up to four years old, as well as breakfast and after-school clubs. As part of the programme, the local children's centre relocated to the estate and offers childcare and other support sessions four days a week. The programme also includes extra outreach to families, for example parenting courses, as well as greater capacity at a local nursery and a 'Ready for School' project.

In addition to helping parents with childcare, the programme offers other services to parents, including careers advice, one-to-one support for job interviews and adult learning courses (e.g. numeracy, literacy, IT). There are also regular coffee mornings and a peer support group for fathers.

A core strength of the programme is the collaborative approach, which includes partnerships between housing, the children's centre, local schools and youth services. Collaboration also occurs with other areas, including three best practice sessions a year, organised by Save the Children.

Early data from 2016 showed that the Pembury Estate programme had helped parents find work and improve their relationships with their children.

More information:
www.eif.org.uk/case-study/pembury-childrens-community-east-london/

Integrated support for disadvantaged children by area

The level of local authority leadership, focus and integrated support for disadvantaged children varies widely across the country – with many coldspots likely to have far poorer leadership on this issue.

The Childcare Act 2006 places a duty on councils to improve outcomes for all children, reduce inequalities and ensure sufficient, high-quality early years provision. This requires joined-up thinking because learning, development and health are inextricably linked for the under-fives.[27]

However, Ofsted research in 2016 found that more than half of local authorities visited did not take a coordinated, strategic approach to supporting disadvantaged children.[28] Even where a strategic plan was in place, around a third of authorities had no specific targets for improving disadvantaged child outcomes. In many areas, education and health teams within the same council did not know that the other was completing the same assessments for the same children. Likewise, many early years workers expressed confusion about their role in supporting school-readiness.[29]

Local leaders – across both health and education – require a deeper understanding of disadvantaged children's needs and an integrated strategy for supporting them. This demands strong leadership and ownership (see case study), but a quarter of councils have no one with responsibility for disadvantaged children's outcomes. However, in the best local authorities, Ofsted found that leaders not only had specific responsibilities relating to disadvantaged children, but also that almost every early years worker could articulate their role in supporting disadvantaged children, and that information sharing across services was effective.

Local leadership and integrated support for disadvantaged children

In one local authority area that performs strongly on our early years social mobility indicators, accountability for addressing the needs of disadvantaged children and families touches every layer of leadership, from the council cabinet to the early years classroom. This authority also has an elected member of the council in charge of tackling disadvantage. The role is considered so critical that this individual holds no other responsibilities.

A standing agenda item on each executive committee meeting ensures that issues of disadvantage are never forgotten and that initiatives can quickly be followed up. The elected member holds bi-monthly meetings with key leaders across education, health and social care to challenge them about their approaches and ensure shared accountability. In turn, these leaders have created their own 'community champions' from each neighbourhood. These community champions act as the leaders' eyes and ears on the ground and as advocates for their work, communicating with hard-to-reach members of the community.

More information:
www.gov.uk/government/publications/helping-disadvantaged-young-children-ofsted-thematic-report

27 Childcare Act 2006. www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/21/contents
28 Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*
29 Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*

Use of early education by area

Early education has been proven to boost outcomes for disadvantaged children – more so than for better-off children.[30] Yet disadvantaged children are still less likely to benefit from early education than better-off peers in most areas of the country.[31] An outlier here is Richmond upon Thames – the local authority that has improved poorer children's outcomes the most dramatically since 2014.[32] In Richmond upon Thames, use of early education for the poorest two-year-olds has consistently outstripped the national average by a wide margin.[33] Richmond's take-up of the two-year-old education offer began at 85 per cent in 2015 – versus just 58 per cent nationally – and has now reached 90 per cent (compared with 71 per cent nationally).[34]

However, in many areas of the country, free preschool for the poorest infants is still underused, despite clear evidence that it can help close the gap between disadvantaged children and their peers.[35] Indeed, take-up for two-year-olds from low-income families ranges from 39 per cent in Tower Hamlets to 96 per cent in Halton.[36] Generally, London and the South East have struggled to boost usage, with take-up around 10 percentage points below the national average. Preschool use is also lower in deprived areas, partly because maternal employment tends to be lower.[37]

This low take-up is a huge missed opportunity. In 2015, around 80,000 children missed out, equating to £200 million in investment that failed to reach the children for which it was intended.[38] Today almost a third (29 per cent) of eligible two-year-olds are still missing out.[39]

Reasons for low take-up of early education vary from area to area, but often include poor understanding of the benefits of early learning, concerns about the quality of childcare, or parents' decisions to stay with their child – as well as insufficiency of childcare places in some areas.[40] Given the considerable benefits of early education, many local authorities have found ways to address each concern – including 'stay and play' in which parents remain with children at preschool while the child benefits from socialising and qualified teaching (see Newcastle upon Tyne case study). Other authorities report positive results from sharing information on the benefits of early learning and on required teacher standards and qualifications in preschool.

30 Taggart B, Sylva K, Melhuish E et al. (2013) *Effective Pre-school, Primary and Secondary Education Project (EPPSE 3-16+)*. Department for Education (2013) *The Early Education Pilot for 2-year-old Children: Age 5 follow up.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/221778/DFE-RR225.pdf
31 Department for Education (2017) *Education Provision: Children under 5 years of age in England, January 2017.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/education-provision-children-under-5-years-of-age-january-2017
32 Department for Education (2017) *Education Provision: Children under 5 years of age in England, January 2017.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/education-provision-children-under-5-years-of-age-january-2017
33 Department for Education (2014, 2015, 2016) *Early Years Foundation Stage Results*.
34 Department for Education (2017) *Education Provision: Children under 5 years of age in England, January 2017.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/education-provision-children-under-5-years-of-age-january-2017
35 Department for Education (2017) *Study of Early Education and Development (SEED): Impact study on early education use and child outcomes up to age three.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/627098/SEED_ECEC_impact_at_age_3.pdf
36 Department for Education (2017) *Education Provision: Children under 5 years of age in England, January 2017.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/education-provision-children-under-5-years-of-age-january-2017
37 Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*
38 Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*
39 Department for Education (2017) *Education Provision: Children under 5 years of age in England, January 2017.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/education-provision-children-under-5-years-of-age-january-2017
40 Department for Education (2010) *Exploring the Flexibility of the Free Entitlement to Early Education: Research among parents*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/184083/DFE-RR217.pdf. Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*

Newcastle: Door-to-door campaign to boost uptake of the two-year-old childcare offer

Newcastle upon Tyne wanted to boost uptake of the free early education offer for the 40 per cent poorest children. The council conducted bespoke research to understand local reasons for low uptake and discovered that the main reason was lack of awareness or experience of childcare. The council then developed a tailored strategy to address concerns.

The council worked to promote an increased awareness of available childcare options in parents' immediate community and also communicated how childcare helped improve outcomes for children. They worked closely with childcare providers to empower them to increase take-up. Additionally, they partnered with Sure Start children's centres, where staff knew parents in 'stay and play' sessions. On top of this, they targeted families using data from the Department for Work and Pensions to identify those who were eligible but had not taken up the offer.

The council sent letters to eligible, but not placed, families, and then followed up with door-to-door visits. They spoke to eligible parents to encourage them to take advantage of the free education offer – using tailored messages designed to counter the main objections.

Posters, leaflets and social media were also used to promote the childcare offer. Additionally, partners in health, social care and the voluntary sector formed part of a city-wide and partner-wide approach to reaching hard-to-reach families and communities.

As a result, uptake of two-year-old education places rose from 76 to 92 per cent in Newcastle. This is far above the national average of 71 per cent.

One of the main challenges for local authorities is getting this information out to parents. Most authorities that have successfully boosted use of early childcare have used intensive door-to-door campaigns to inform parents – often with the help of parent volunteers (see Lincolnshire case study). Effective promotion of the scheme by all early years workers, including health visitors, GPs and schools, is also critical – and this requires service integration and joint training from the local authority. Similarly, using 'opt out' rather than 'opt in' principles (i.e. automatically signing up eligible families) helps to reduce the number of forms that disadvantaged parents must fill out and boosts the use of services.[41]

41 Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*

Lincolnshire: Parent volunteers spreading the word about early education

Lincolnshire's children's centres use parent volunteers – organised by the Parent Champions programme (funded by the Department for Education and managed by the Family and Childcare Trust) – to reach disadvantaged families and encourage them to use the free two-year-old childcare offer and other family services.

Volunteers receive training on local services and how to explain the benefits of early education for both children and families. Volunteers then signpost families to a variety of services including early years, health, adult learning and volunteering. Volunteers report that parents often respond better to the informality of talking to another parent rather than a member of staff. As a side benefit, the programme also helps parents who volunteer to gain confidence and re-enter the job market.

The Parent Champions directly support around 600 families in Lincolnshire each year. Thanks partly to the programme, take-up of the two-year offer in Lincolnshire has been far higher than the national average – starting at 68 per cent (versus 58 per cent nationally) and currently at 78 per cent (versus 71 per cent nationally). Additionally, in the first year of the programme's operation, the vast majority of all 39,556 eligible children in the county registered for early education places. Lincolnshire also saw an increase of nearly 22 per cent in the number of visitors to children's centres.

Parent Champion programmes are also present in Bradford, Brent, Redbridge and Wandsworth, among other places.

Preschool quality by area

Use of early education can only provide a significant boost to disadvantaged children's outcomes when the quality is consistently high. Numerous studies have shown that childcare quality has a significant impact on disadvantaged children's outcomes, and also that quality matters more for disadvantaged children than others.[42] But quality varies a fair amount by region. In the best areas, almost all preschool settings are rated 'good' or 'outstanding' by Ofsted, while in the coldspots one in ten settings is in need of improvement. Similarly, in the most prosperous areas, only 8 per cent of children are in early years provision that is less than good, while in the most deprived areas this figure more than doubles, to 18 per cent – though quality differences between such areas are closing.[43]

Local authorities can play a key role in boosting early education quality in their area, but support and oversight for early education varies greatly across local authorities. Most local authorities offer continuing professional development (CPD) for early years teachers, as well as advice on best practice and knowledge-sharing sessions with other early education workers. However, the quantity and quality of CPD are patchy.[44] A recent survey found that half of early years teachers feel that there is not enough CPD available locally and a third feel that the quality of local CPD is insufficient – often due to lack of training at different levels. Many cite reductions in local authority training as a problem, as well as difficulty getting to training. New funding rules may help here by requiring providers to take a more proactive role in purchasing CPD.

42 Taggart B, Sylva K, Melhuish E et al. (2015) *Effective Pre-school, Primary and Secondary Education Project (EPPSE 3-16+)*. Department for Education (2013) *The Early Education Pilot for 2-year-old Children: Age 5 follow up.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/221778/DFE-RR225.pdf

43 National Audit Office (2016) *Entitlement to Free Early Education and Childcare.* www.nao.org.uk/report/entitlement-to-free-early-education-and-childcare

44 National Day Nursery Association (2016) *Workforce Survey 2016*. www.ndna.org.uk/NDNA/News/Reports_and_surveys/Workforce_survey_2016.aspx

Camden: Early Years Quality Improvement Team

The Early Years Quality Improvement Team (EYQIT) in Camden adjusted its support for local providers to fit around Ofsted's role as the arbiter of quality. In addition to statutory support for maintained settings, the team proactively supports private, voluntary and independent (PVI) settings through tailored advice and collaboration with other providers. Following budget cuts, the team is more selective about which training sessions each setting can attend and also relies more on best-in-class settings to offer advice to other settings. This is possible because the team assigns a personal adviser to each setting and this person knows the setting's strengths and weaknesses very well – enabling them to facilitate connections.

Camden no longer has a support group for PVI settings rated as 'requires improvement' or 'inadequate,' but previously offered termly advice sessions and a collaborative action group. The group is no longer needed because, currently, Camden has just one PVI setting that is not rated 'good' or 'outstanding'.

For PVI settings rated 'good' or 'outstanding', the team offers a voluntary partnership agreement setting out the support and benefits to which settings are entitled, including:

- Access to a fully funded CPD programme.
- Access to the Early Years Professional/Teacher Network run with Islington.
- Access to advice on procedures, qualifications, courses, and drop-in EYFS advice surgeries as well as regular updates on early years policy and issues.
- Support with projects such as forest schools; Sustained Shared Thinking and Emotional Well-being (SSTEW); Study of Pedagogical Effectiveness in Early Learning (SPEEL); and Movement Environment Rating Scale (MOVERS).
- Support with self-evaluation.
- An annual conference.
- Peer-to-peer mentoring.
- A list of settings that exemplify best practice in specific areas and which can offer advice to other settings struggling in that area.

In return for these benefits, members agree to attend the termly briefings, accommodate annual visits from the EYQIT advisers and implement a collaboratively developed action plan. The annual visit sometimes incorporates an audit of practice, which might include joint observation of teaching, a review of the learning environment, or moderation of tracking and recording children's progress.

'Outstanding' settings can also attend a termly forum with advanced content (though this is currently on hold while the team redefines priorities in light of high inspection grades). The session also encourages the settings to disseminate best practice and work with settings rated 'requires improvement' or 'inadequate'.

Childminders receive an equitable partnership model, with more forums and training arranged in the evening and Saturday to better suit their business model.

Thanks in part to the team's work, nearly every PVI setting is 'good' or 'outstanding', while 97 per cent of childminders are 'good' or 'outstanding'. However, funding changes now threaten Camden's approach to supporting settings.

A number of authorities are finding low-cost ways to offer both CPD and other knowledge-building efforts. In Lewisham, for example, the local authority organises monthly networking sessions at outstanding preschools around the area. Some other authorities, such as Camden, go further and play a very proactive role in observing settings and providing tailored advice on improvement areas (see case study). A number of authorities also put extra requirements on local preschools. Islington, for example, requires all private and independent early education providers to meet the same teacher-to-child ratios as maintained nurseries. Islington has seen particularly good improvements in disadvantaged children's outcomes as a result of higher use of early education.

Early education settings can also play a key role in boosting teaching quality for disadvantaged children – both at their own setting and beyond. Settings should use the Early Education Foundation's toolkit for advice on evidence-based activities to invest in (see case studies).[45] Funding, such as the pupil premium for disadvantaged children, provides additional resources to support this. On top of this, some best practice early education settings lead efforts to raise standards and share best practices across their area.

Hackney and Derby: Two nurseries' use of the pupil premium

Comet Nursery School and Children's Centre in Hackney recently won the Early Years Pupil Premium Award for effective evidence-based practice to support disadvantaged children. Harrington Nursery School in Derby was the runner-up. Both nursery schools seek maximum impact from Early Years Pupil Premium (EYPP) funds by considering the needs of all their disadvantaged children and developing tailored support packages rather than opting for a one-size-fits-all approach.

In Hackney, teachers have strategic discussions about each of their children's needs, referring to the latest research on best approaches for support. In Derby, teachers identify each disadvantaged child's individual learning barriers by visiting children at home – to understand their home environment and observe them at ease – as well as observing them at nursery.

In 2016, Derby used the funds for three support groups: a group with speech and language needs, a group lacking experience and a group needing nurture support. In Hackney, the nursery school identified language as a critical challenge, but realised that children faced a range of barriers to communication. For example, some children had limited vocabulary due to lacking experiences and low confidence. As such, the school developed several strands of support, including one to bring children new experiences where they would learn new words (e.g. taking them to a restaurant, a forest school or an aquarium for the first time). By taking children on these trips in small groups, teachers could also focus more on each individual, providing extra encouragement to those with less confidence.

To track impact, teachers take a baseline measure of each child's performance on the Early Years Foundation Stage before the interventions start and then run formal assessments over the year. In 2016, Derby's programmes helped deliver significant or outstanding progress in 11 areas of the early years curriculum, while in Hackney children's communication and language development has improved steadily.

More information:
www.cometnurseryandcc.co.uk/website/early_years_pupil_premium_eypp/215241
www.harrington.derby.sch.uk/about-us/early-years-pupil-premium

45 Education Endowment Foundation (n.d.) *Early Years Toolkit*. https://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/evidence-summaries/early-years-toolkit/

Parenting support by area

What happens at home is critical for early years outcomes. Indeed, home learning is known to be one of the biggest influences on child outcomes – more important even than learning at preschool.[46] Better learning at home is part of the explanation for London's outperformance on early education outcomes despite below-average use of formal early education.[47] Local authorities can improve what happens at home through informal advice, formal parenting programmes, and 'stay and play' sessions at children's centres where parents pick up on techniques from teachers. But provision of all forms of advice appears to be patchy around the country.

Britain has 17 evidence-based parenting programmes on offer – including Incredible Years, Triple P and Family Foundations – but the availability and quality of parenting classes vary dramatically by area.[48] Surveys of children's centres show huge disparities in the types, reach and quality of parenting programmes on offer around the country.[49] In 2011, a survey revealed that about half of the 509 children's centres polled did not offer any evidence-based parenting programmes, while the other half did. On top of this, data shows wide variance in the number of courses offered and the number of parents reached. A 2012 survey found that, in many children's centres, evidence-based programmes only reached about 20 or so families a year.[50] The same work also revealed differences in the number of staff per centre and the degree of fidelity to the programme's intended design. Given Sure Start closures and funding cuts since 2012, the availability and quality of services are not likely to be much better today.

However, a number of local authorities are experimenting with innovative new means of increasing the scale and reach of evidence-based classes. Both Cheshire East and Sheffield, for example, have new programmes designed for mass audiences that aim to normalise parenting classes for the entire local population, as well as integrating the advice with other services (see case studies). These programmes both require thorough evaluation, but early feedback is positive.

Additionally, the Department for Education recently announced a £5 million trial of home learning interventions in the north of England. A range of other organisations are also trialling new approaches to improve learning at home, including Save the Children's 'Wonder Words' programme designed to make home learning easier and more fun for parents.

46 Dearden L, Sibieta L, Sylva, K (2010) *The Socio-economic Gradient in Early Child Outcomes: Evidence from the Millennium Cohort Study*. www.ifs.org.uk/publications/5472. Department for Education (2017) *Study of Early Education and Development (SEED): Impact study on early education use and child outcomes up to age three.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/627098/SEED_ECEC_impact_at_age_3.pdf

47 Burgess S (2017) *Understanding the Success of London School*s. Centre for Market and Public Organisation Working Paper No. 14/333. www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/cmpo/migrated/documents/wp333.pdf. Greaves E, Macmillan L, Sibieta L (2014) *Lessons from London Schools for Attainment Gaps and Social Mobility*, Research Report for the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission. Blanden J, Greaves E, Gregg P et al. (2015) *Understanding the Improved Performance of Disadvantaged Pupils in London*, Social Policy in a Cold Climate Working Paper 21.

48 Early Intervention Foundation (2016) *Foundations for Life: What works to support parent child interaction in the early years*. www.eif.org.uk/publication/foundations-for-life-what-works-to-support-parent-child-interaction-in-the-early-years/

49 Department for Education (2005) *The Impact of Children's Centres: Studying the effects of children's centres in promoting better outcomes for young children and their families*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/485346/DFE-RR495_Evaluation_of_children_s_centres_in_England__the_impact_of_children_s_centres.pdf

50 Department for Education (2005) *The Impact of Children's Centres: Studying the effects of children's centres in promoting better outcomes for young children and their families*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/485346/DFE-RR495_Evaluation_of_children_s_centres_in_England__the_impact_of_children_s_centres.pdf

Sheffield: parenting classes on a mass scale

Like many councils, Sheffield runs evidence-based parenting programmes, namely Triple P and Incredible Years. In September 2016, Sheffield launched a new Triple P 'light touch' programme aimed at bringing parenting support to a mass audience. The new programme involves seminars for up to 200 parents as well as intimate discussion groups. The aim is to provide parents with easy-to-access one-off support alongside the more intensive help.

In 2015, Sheffield supported over 500 parents, but realised there were far higher numbers of parents who would benefit from support. The parenting team had also seen an increase in demand for parenting support – with two-thirds of referral cases from the early intervention service citing parenting or home learning problems – and so decided to experiment with ways to increase access. To deliver new levels of support, the parenting team reduced the number of longer programmes on offer by a third – with a plan to evaluate this new approach.

The seminars are 90-minute talks delivered in partnership with schools. Schools help promote the event and provide the venue, while the parenting team provide the expert speakers. Five secondary schools are involved and seminars occur once a fortnight on average. There are six types of seminars – three for parents of children aged 12 and under (positive parenting; raising confident and competent children; and raising resilient children), and three for parents of teenagers (raising responsible teenagers; raising competent teenagers; and getting teenagers connected – social activities).

Meanwhile, the discussion groups are more intimate, with small groups of up to 12 people in two-hour sessions led by a parenting specialist. These are also split into groups for parents of younger children and groups for parents of teenagers. Topics include dealing with disobedience, managing family conflict and developing good bedtime routines. While the seminars operate on a drop-in basis, parents have to sign up to the discussions or be referred.

The new formats are accompanied by a publicity campaign, using social media to promote the events and the importance of good parenting. This means the council now provides a five-level programme of parenting support – publicity (level one), seminars (level two), discussion groups (level three), group programmes including Triple P and Incredible Years (level four) and specialist programmes tailored to those who need extra support, such as the victims of domestic abuse (level five).

Sheffield is currently evaluating the impact of this new approach. Early feedback shows that the approach is popular. Seminars are already reaching many parents who missed out in the past, as they did not need the longer course or were unable or unwilling to commit the time. For example, the council had not previously engaged the local Slovak community, but the shorter discussion groups have effectively reached these parents.

More information:
www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/working-support-positive--437.pdf

Cheshire East: 12-stop parenting journey for all

Cheshire East Council has remodelled its children's centre offer to create a 12-stop journey that gives all parents access to advice and support. The timeline provides parents with a definitive route through the first five years – from pre-birth to the start of school. At each key point, the council provides families with the opportunity to speak to a relevant key worker such as a health professional, children's centre worker or a member of the early years team. The council also distributes leaflets with helpful advice about parenting and child development.

The 12 stops incorporate standard elements of the Healthy Child programme and additional support and guidance:

1. Antenatal – a health visit to talk about the mother and family's health.
2. Antenatal – an advice session on preparing for the arrival of the baby and on the local children's centre.
3. Shortly after birth – a health visit to talk about the mother and baby's health.
4. Four to six weeks – a health visit to support mother and baby and identify whether other help is needed.
5. Nine to 16 weeks – an opportunity to meet families of a similar age at a children's centre.
6. Four to seven months – a session at the local children's centre offering advice about making the home safe, communication and weaning.
7. Nine to 12 months – an opportunity to discuss the child's health and development with a health visitor.
8. From 12 months – a play session exploring how parents can support language development.
9. Eighteen to 24 months – a fun and active session introducing 'five-a-day'.
10. Two years – the integrated review with a member of the health visiting team.
11. Three to four years – a play session with an opportunity to find out about helping the child to play, read and write at home.
12. Before school – Ready, Steady, Play session to support school-readiness.

In addition to the universal offer of support for all children 0 to 5, each stop is an opportunity to identify families in need of targeted support and refer them to appropriate services early on.

Roll-out began in April 2016 and extended to the entire area in July 2017. Some 150 front-line staff received training on the new approach. Except for the training and leaflets, the approach relies on existing budgets. Early feedback is positive.

2.2 Conclusion and recommendations

It is clear what drives positive development outcomes for disadvantaged children in the early years: strong promotion and take-up of the free childcare offer, high-quality preschool settings, effective training and advice for childcare workers, evidence-based support for parents on home learning, and integrated family services.[51] However, regional disparities in all of these services remain too large – contributing to differences in outcomes for disadvantaged children across areas.[52]

Local authorities' role in supporting disadvantaged children is paramount, as they are responsible for the sufficiency of high-quality childcare and reducing inequality. There is very little consistency in the degree to which each council focuses on early years outcomes for the disadvantaged – or the level of leadership, collaboration and rigour applied. Local authorities need to develop clear strategies for boosting poorer children's outcomes in partnership with all early year services as well as preschools. Government should also do more to ensure that local authorities carry out this role, via increased funding and accountability structures.

It is particularly important for local authorities to focus on disadvantaged children today as changes to child benefits and government-funded childcare both take hold, to ensure that neither change negatively impacts development outcomes.[53] If budget-constrained local authorities reduce funding for early years services, recent progress in early outcomes may reverse and greater challenges may emerge later in school.

Recommendations

- Every local authority should develop an integrated strategy for improving disadvantaged children's outcomes. This should include:
  - quality improvement support for early education settings, including collaborative working groups, tailored advice and comprehensive training for early years teachers
  - driving uptake of the early education offer for disadvantaged two-year-olds and ensuring that they do not lose places to children eligible for the 30-hour offer
  - ensuring that all parenting support programmes are evidence based and experimenting with ways to offer effective advice to more parents.
- Early education and childcare providers should invest pupil premium funds in evidence-based practice using the Early Education Foundation's toolkit.

51 Department for Education (2017) *Study of Early Education and Development (SEED): Impact study on early education use and child outcomes up to age three.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/627098/SEED_ECEC_impact_at_age_3.pdf. Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*

52 Ofsted (2017) *Unknown Children – Destined for Disadvantage?*

53 Institute for Fiscal Studies (2017) *The Impact of Tax and Benefit Reforms on Household Incomes.* www.ifs.org.uk/publications/9164

Chapter 3: Schools

- Geographical differences in attainment for children on free school meals (FSM) have increased over the past decade despite government efforts to boost learning for disadvantaged children.
- London has broken away from the rest of England and disadvantaged children there do better than pupils in any other region at both primary and secondary school, despite the fact that London has the highest levels of childhood deprivation in the country.
- Children from disadvantaged backgrounds who go to school in former manufacturing urban areas, such as Kettering and Doncaster, have among the poorest outcomes.
- Remote countryside and coastal areas also perform badly: over a fifth of the bottom 20 per cent of local authority areas for school outcomes are in these areas.
- School quality is hugely variable: disadvantaged children in Knowsley have no chance of going to a secondary school rated 'good' or 'outstanding', while in Hackney all children on free school meals go to strong schools.
- The most deprived coastal rural areas have one and a half times the proportion of unqualified secondary teachers that the least deprived inland rural areas have.
- Areas with low attainment among secondary pupils on free school meals tend to have higher teacher turnover.
- Schools in densely populated urban areas benefit from support from nearby 'outstanding' schools but schools in rural and coastal areas are isolated and unable to tap into partnership infrastructure for support.

Recommendations

- Regional School Commissioners should be given responsibility for monitoring and managing the supply of teachers within their regions and should work with universities, schools and Teach First to develop sub-regional strategies with the right incentives to attract, recruit and keep teachers, offering region-wide opportunities for development and progression.
- The government should launch a fund for schools in rural and coastal areas to explore innovative approaches to partnerships with other schools in order to boost attainment.
- Regional School Commissioners should work with the combined authorities to ensure coherence between skill development and local industrial strategies.

3.1 Introduction

Schools should provide children with the skills and confidence to succeed educationally and in the labour market, but there are substantial inequalities in educational attainment which are linked to social disadvantage and place. The attainment gap between disadvantaged and better-off pupils, which starts in the early years, widens during a child's schooling with long-term, detrimental consequences for social mobility.

At key stage 4, only 39.2 per cent of pupils on free school meals achieve grades A* to C in GCSE English and maths, compared with 67 per cent for all other pupils. The average Attainment 8 score per free school meal pupil is 39, compared with 51.6 for all other pupils.

High-quality teaching is the most influential factor on a child's learning at school, so the placement of quality teachers throughout England is essential for educational equality. But there are major challenges with the way teachers are recruited, particularly in isolated areas. In coastal rural areas, which are highly deprived, 7 per cent of secondary teachers are unqualified, compared with 4.6 per cent in more affluent inland rural areas.

Another key factor is the ability of schools to form strong partnerships with other schools in the area; this helps drive up standards. In high-performing areas, schools often work together sharing expertise and resources to boost attainment.

Finally, there have been long-standing inequalities in the way funding is distributed in England. It is recognised that school funding and capital investment have had a positive impact on standards in London schools while other regions have lost out.

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Percentage of children eligible for free school meals attending a primary school rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted (three-year average 2015–17).
- Percentage of children eligible for free school meals attending a secondary school rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted (three-year average 2015–17).
- Percentage of children eligible for free school meals reaching the expected standard in reading, writing and maths at the end of key stage 2 (2016).
- Average Attainment 8 score per pupil eligible for free school meals (2016).

Attainment 8 measures the average achievement of pupils in up to eight qualifications including English (double weighted), maths (double weighted), three further qualifications that count in the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) and three further qualifications that can be GCSE qualifications (including EBacc subjects) or any other non-GCSE qualifications on the approved list.

Figure 3.1: Map of performance against school social mobility indicators

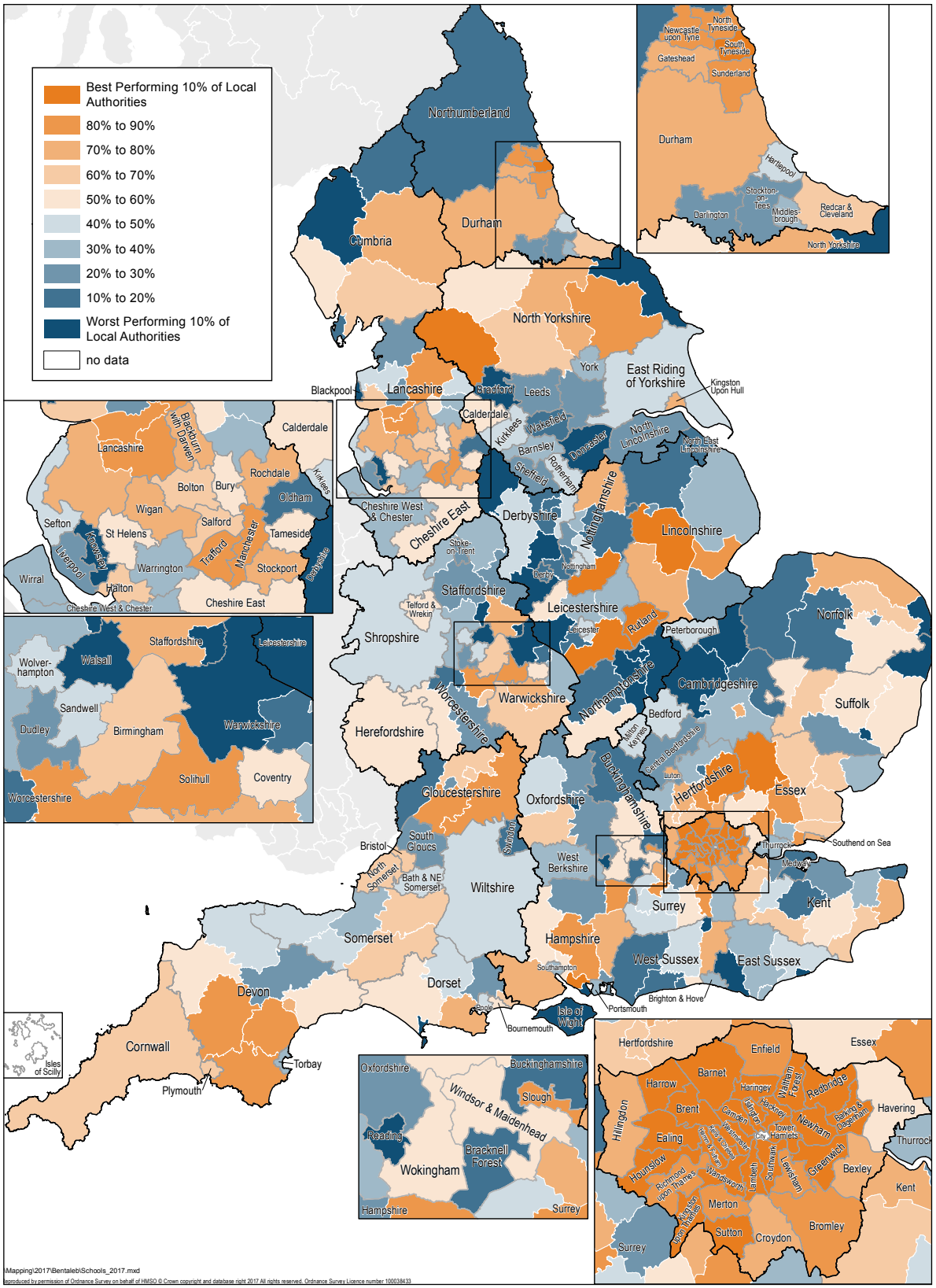


Table 3.1: The best and worst performers against school social mobility indicators

Hotspots			Coldspots		
Rank (best)	Local authority area	Region	Rank (worst)	Local authority area	Region
1	Kensington and Chelsea	London	1	Corby	East Midlands
2	Hackney	London	2	Wellingborough	East Midlands
3	Westminster	London	3	Gosport	South East
4	Newham	London	4	Amber Valley	East Midlands
5	Tower Hamlets	London	5	Isle of Wight	South East
6	Lambeth	London	6	Fenland	East of England
7	Wandsworth	London	7	Crawley	South East
8	Southwark	London	8	Waveney	East of England
9	Redbridge	London	9	Weymouth and Portland	South West
10	Camden	London	10	Scarborough	Yorkshire and The Humber
11	Barnet	London	11	Huntingdonshire	East of England
12	Hammersmith and Fulham	London	12	South Derbyshire	East Midlands
13	Islington	London	13	Allerdale	North West
14	Harrow	London	14	Kettering	East Midlands
15	Rushcliffe	East Midlands	15	Lewes	South East
16	Hounslow	London	16	Doncaster	Yorkshire and The Humber
17	Sutton	London	17	Hinckley and Bosworth	East Midlands
18	Ealing	London	18	Blackpool	North West
19	Rutland	East Midlands	19	High Peak	East Midlands
20	Waltham Forest	London	20	Hastings	South East
21	Greenwich	London	21	Bradford	Yorkshire and The Humber
22	Fareham	South East	22	Reading	South East
23	Harborough	East Midlands	23	East Northamptonshire	East Midlands
24	Kingston upon Thames	London	24	North Warwickshire	West Midlands
25	Uttlesford	East of England	25	Oxford	South East
26	Brent	London	26	Tamworth	West Midlands
27	Haringey	London	27	Knowsley	North West
28	Barking and Dagenham	London	28	Ipswich	East of England
29	South Tyneside	North East	29	Great Yarmouth	East of England
30	East Hertfordshire	East of England	30	Walsall	West Midlands
31	Craven	Yorkshire and The Humber	31	Cannock Chase	West Midlands
32	North Kesteven	East Midlands	32	Northampton	East Midlands

3.2 Analysis

London tops the league for disadvantaged children

London is way ahead of the rest of the country when it comes to the education of disadvantaged children, despite the fact that it has the highest levels of childhood deprivation in England.

Almost three-quarters of the best local authority areas in the top 10 per cent are in London, which performs well in both primary and secondary education. Twelve of the best places are in inner London where 26 per cent of secondary pupils are on free school meals, compared with the national rate of 13 per cent.

London schools have benefited from visionary leadership, greater resourcing, a stock of quality teachers, professional development, a diverse school population, strong school partnerships and better access to cultural opportunities. The capital has also been helped by many government initiatives such as the National Strategies, the London Challenge, Teach First and the academies programme. These were London focused or started in London, enabling new education policies to be implemented over a longer period.[1]

Inner London is in a category of its own for primary schools with substantially higher attainment at key stage 2 among disadvantaged children. London schools are known to have developed strong system leadership and positive school cultures that have been crucial in lifting attainment.[2] This helps to explain London's exceptionally high performance in some of the most deprived boroughs in England.

Rural, coastal and former manufacturing areas perform badly

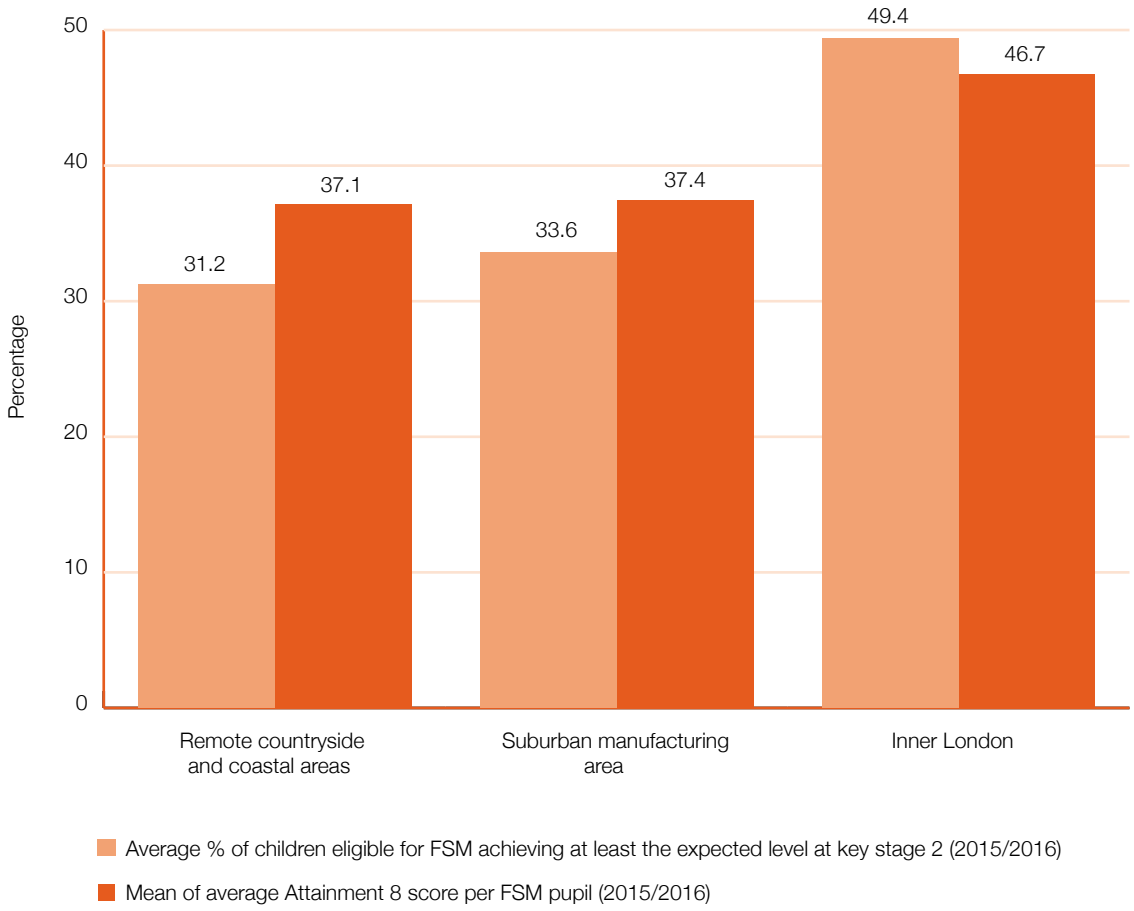
A common feature of local authority areas in the lowest 10 per cent is that substantially fewer children on free school meals attend secondary schools rated 'good' or 'outstanding', compared with those who attend 'good' or 'outstanding' primary schools.

Just over half of the 32 worst local authority areas are urban, mainly in the Midlands. These are places such as Kettering and Tamworth, which were former manufacturing hubs that have struggled to regenerate. Other urban low performers are suburban areas with high levels of unemployment such as Wellingborough and Medway.

Low performance is also characteristic of deprived coastal areas or towns in semi-rural areas. These areas have an ageing population, suffer from socioeconomic deprivation and inter-generational unemployment. Indeed, rural and coastal areas make up a high proportion of the lowest performers in primary schools (e.g. East Dorset, Arun and Scarborough) as well as secondary schools (e.g. Allerdale, the Isle of Wight and Waveney).

1 Baars S, Bernardes E, Elwick A et al. (2014) *Lessons from London Schools: Investigating the success,* CfBT Education Trust, Centre for London.
2 Baars S, Bernardes E, Elwick A et al. (2014) *Lessons from London Schools: Investigating the success,* CfBT Education Trust, Centre for London.

Figure 3.2: Percentage of children eligible for free school meals achieving the expected level at key stage 2, and average Attainment 8 score per pupils on free school meals by selected type of area (2015/16)



Note: This data is based on an average across local authority districts and does not take account of population sizes.

Performance in the East Midlands is polarised, with four local authority areas in the top 10 per cent and nine in the bottom 10 per cent (over a quarter of the total). Rushcliffe, Rutland, Harborough and North Kesteven – all in the top 10 per cent – perform fairly well at both primary and secondary level. In contrast, the poorly performing areas in the region are characterised by low attainment at key stage 2 and low access to quality secondary schools. Only 14 per cent of children on free school meals attend 'good' or 'outstanding' secondary schools in South Derbyshire, compared with 100 per cent in Rushcliffe.

The fact that secondary school attainment is so low among disadvantaged children outside London is a major challenge for social mobility. This is partly due to children's narrow aspirations in many deprived communities, which can reduce further during secondary school, impacting attainment.[3] Research from the US shows the importance of building a sense of belonging and positive connections in order to boost attainment.[4] Due to concerted local leadership and strong school–community links, London boroughs have been more successful in building these all-important local connections than remote and coastal areas with declining economies where secondary attainment is among the lowest.[5]

3 Cabinet Office, Communities and Local Government, Department for Children, Schools and Families (December 2008) *Aspiration and attainment amongst young people in deprived communities. Analysis and discussion paper.* http://lx.iriss.org.uk/content/aspiration-and-attainment-amongst-young-people-deprived-communities-analysis-and-discussion

4 Tough P (2012) *How Children Succeed.* Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

5 Wiseman J, Davies E, Duggal S et al. (2017) *Understanding the changing gaps in higher education participation in different regions of England.* Research report.

There are some exceptional examples of strong educational performance despite underperformance in the surrounding areas. For example, South Tyneside is the only area in the North East in the top 10 per cent. The area benefits from strong local leadership and has found good ways of working with local employers such as motor manufacturing and creative and digital companies.

The case study below shows the importance of fostering skills for the world of work even during primary school, thereby strengthening relevance and boosting aspirations.

Increasing the relevance of learning to the world of work in Morecambe Bay Community Primary School, Lancashire

Enabling Enterprise has worked with Morecambe Bay Community Primary School and other schools in deprived areas of England to prepare children for the world of work by strengthening eight soft skills. The aim is to build this approach throughout the school curriculum, including assessing progress.

The soft skills are: teamwork; leadership; staying positive; aiming high; listening; presenting; problem solving; and creativity. These skills were identified based on academic research on the competencies needed for success with employers and for further and higher education.

Teachers use a rigorous assessment at the start and end of each year to track progress. This helps to maintain a focus on skills as teachers see tangible benefits. Students on the programme make on average 1.2 levels of progress a year versus 0.85 for those not on the programme. A '1' is the expected level of skill development required to be met each year, based on employers' desired skill levels.

Quality primary and secondary schools are not distributed evenly across England

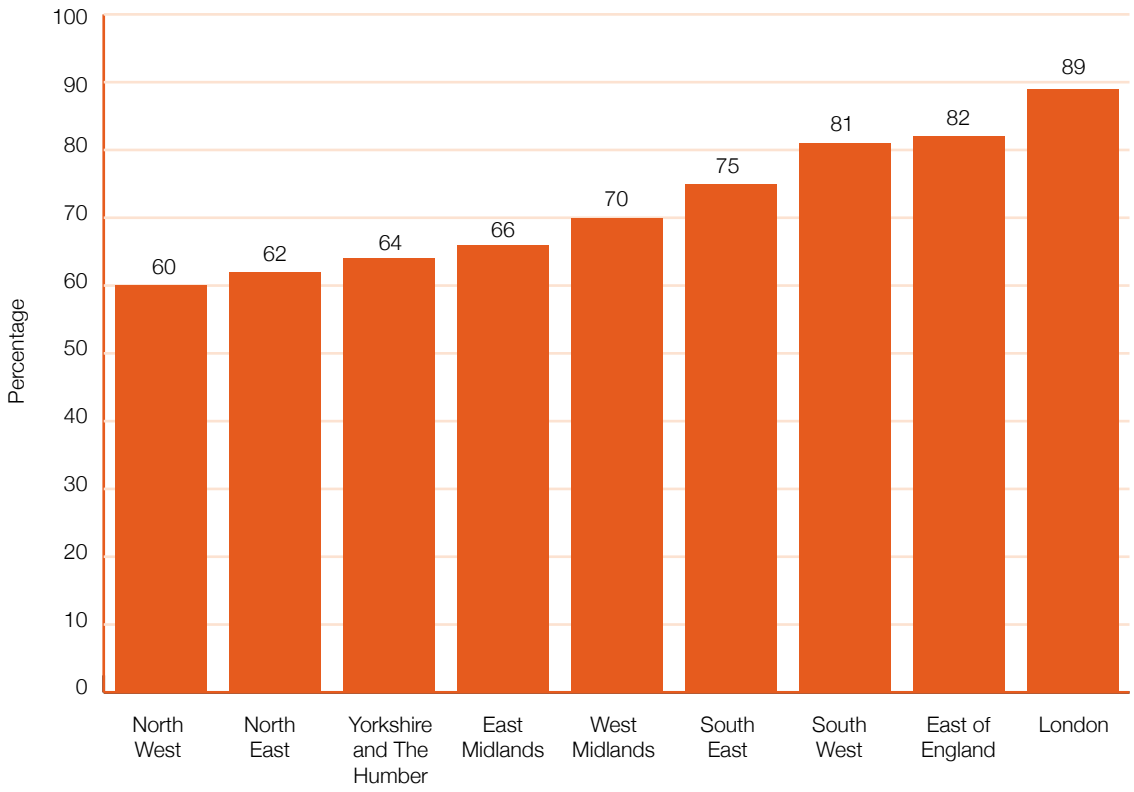
The index shows that very few regions and types of areas have strong performance for disadvantaged children at both primary and secondary level.

In many parts of England, it is much more difficult for disadvantaged children to access quality secondary schools than quality primary schools. In the vast majority of local areas (90 per cent), 70 per cent or more of pupils on free school meals attend a decent primary school. However, this is the case for only 60 per cent of areas at secondary level. This shows that as the educational stakes get higher, it becomes more challenging for disadvantaged children to access quality schools.

London and the North West boast exceptionally high levels of access to strong primary schools, with 93 per cent and 92 per cent of disadvantaged children attending respectively. The North West, however, fails to maintain this trend at secondary level and, in fact, has the lowest attendance for disadvantaged children at quality schools. This is due in part to the lack of formal and informal partnerships between secondary schools – most schools in Greater Manchester are not in multi-academy trusts or in federations.

More broadly, disadvantaged children in the north of England have substantially poorer access to quality secondary schools than in other English regions. Between 60 and 64 per cent of children on free school meals attend decent secondary schools in the North West, the North East and Yorkshire and The Humber, while over 80 per cent of disadvantaged children in London, the East of England and the South West access strong secondary schools.

Figure 3.3: Percentage of pupils on free school meals attending 'outstanding' or 'good' secondary schools by region (three-year average 2015–17)



% FSM pupils attending a secondary school rated 'outstanding' or 'good'

Teachers in deprived areas are less qualified and more likely to leave

A critical factor in top school performance is the number and quality of available teachers. Inner London has the lowest proportion of primary pupils to teachers with a ratio of 18.2 to 1 – almost three pupils fewer per teacher than the regions with the highest proportion of pupils. The area also has the lowest secondary pupil–teacher ratio at 13.1 to 1.[6]

Schools in deprived or remote areas often struggle to recruit teachers, and where they do manage, they often lack the highest-quality applicants. This is especially true of science and maths teachers outside London. In fact, some schools have given up trying to recruit subject specialists.

Coastal rural areas, which are highly deprived, have one and a half times the proportion of unqualified secondary teachers that inland rural areas with low levels of deprivation have (7 per cent compared with 4.6 per cent). Moreover, a lower proportion of hours are taught by specialists at secondary level in the most deprived areas: 89.4 per cent compared with 91.3 per cent in the most affluent areas.[7] It is noteworthy that disadvantaged children in coastal schools make less progress between the end of primary school and GCSE than those in other schools.[8]

6 Department for Education (2016) *Schools Workforce in England 2010 to 2015: Trends and geographical comparisons.* http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/27180/

7 Department for Education (2016) *Schools Workforce in England 2010 to 2015: Trends and geographical comparisons.* http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/27180/

8 Thompson D (2015) The pupil premium group in coastal schools, is their rate of progress really any different to schools with similar intakes. *Education Datalab*. https://educationdatalab.org.uk/2015/04/the-pupil-premium-group-in-coastal-schools-is-their-rate-of-progress-really-any-different-to-schools-with-similar-intakes/

In addition to the challenge of securing a quality teaching force, a secondary teacher in the most deprived area is 70 per cent more likely to leave.

An analysis of teacher supply and turnover shows that there is much greater stability in the teacher workforce in more affluent areas. Meanwhile, more than one in five schools in former industrial areas, such as Dudley and Sandwell in the West Midlands, and almost one in three schools in Thurrock in the East of England (a suburban manufacturing area) has a vacancy or temporarily filled post. These areas are in the bottom half of the index. This compares with the rate for all schools in England, where 12 per cent have a vacancy or temporarily filled post.

In fact, in some regions where there is high and continuous teacher turnover, there can be a negative effect on disadvantaged children's attainment. It is important to note that London bucks the trend with the highest teacher turnover and the highest Attainment 8 score. This is due to a unique set of circumstances, including the fact that teacher vacancies tend to be shorter and therefore have less impact. The East Midlands has the lowest Attainment 8 score of 36.4 per pupil on free school meals and the third highest proportion of vacancies and temporary positions (excluding London). The West Midlands, the North West and the North East are the highest-performing Attainment 8 regions for poor children and have the second, third and fourth lowest levels of negative teacher turnover.

The opposite is the case in remote rural and coastal areas, which attract fewer new teachers. In fact, they face the reverse problem – little infusion of new blood into the teaching workforce. This is because of the limited number of schools in these areas and restricted non-teaching employment options due to depressed local economies. This leads to stagnation where schools may have a waiting list of teachers interested in serving these communities but the posts are filled for years at a time.[9] This means schools do not benefit from new ideas and approaches.

Apart from London, teachers tend to stay in the same region if and when they move schools. This ranges from 77 per cent of teachers in the East Midlands who stay in the region to 89 per cent in the North East.[10] In London, almost half of teachers move to a different region, probably because of the cost of housing.

This points to the importance of having a region-specific strategy for training and developing the local teaching force. The strategy should consider the location of teacher training institutions as well as appropriate incentives as a way of promoting teaching locally. In Cornwall, for example, schools are joining forces through the Kernow Teaching Schools Alliance to recruit teachers. There is a higher number of applicants where there are more schools involved, which enables greater competition, ensures the right fit for the teacher, school and community and offers greater progression for teachers.[11]

9 Ovenden-Hope T, Passy R (n.d.) *The Challenge of School Improvement in Coastal Regions in England.* Peninsula Observatory for Pedagogy and Practice, Cornwall College, Plymouth Institute of Education, Plymouth University.

10 Department for Education (2017) *Analysis of Teacher Supply, Retention and Mobility.* http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/29122/

11 The trusts involved in this recruitment drive are Atlantic Centre of Excellence Multi-Academy Trust, Newquay Education Trust and Trenance Learning Academy Trust.

A regional approach to improving teacher quality in the Sheffield City Region, Partnerships for Attainment

The Sheffield City Region suffers like other areas from increasing numbers of teachers leaving the profession and challenges in attracting a quality teaching force. Eighteen per cent of schools in Doncaster have either a vacancy or a temporarily filled post.

In response to the absence of a sustainable and quality teaching force in the area, which is specifically affecting attainment among disadvantaged children, Sheffield Hallam University is spearheading a joined-up, regional approach to teacher recruitment and retention: Partnerships for Attainment will cover Sheffield, Rotherham, Barnsley and Doncaster.

This will be a new, collaborative approach for initial teacher education providers – universities, schools and Teach First – in which teacher education programmes and early career support are based on the needs of schools and the region.

For the first time, initial teacher education places will be allocated based on medium-term planning and in a coordinated way, with priority given to schools in hard-to-reach areas.

Continuing professional development opportunities for recently qualified teachers will take account of the specific educational needs in the region such as teaching in areas of high deprivation, and teaching refugees and high achievers.

When operational, the initiative is expected to provide more than 2,000 teacher training places a year, to cover more than 600 schools and to provide continuing professional development to existing teachers in all the Partnerships for Attainment area schools.

Although the focus is on the Sheffield area, partners are committed to sharing the new and best practice developed through this initiative to other areas of the country with similar social mobility challenges.

Source: Sheffield Hallam University (2017) *Partnerships for Attainment: Harnessing the power of a region-wide network to increase the achievement of all children in the Sheffield City Region*.

Quality school partnerships are essential for boosting attainment

Over a fifth of the bottom 20 per cent of local authority areas for school outcomes are in remote countryside and coastal areas, while over a third of the top 20 per cent are in London or other densely populated urban areas. In remote countryside and coastal areas, the average Attainment 8 score among disadvantaged children at key stage 2 is only 31.2 per cent, compared with 49.4 per cent in London.

Part of the reason for this disparity in performance is the comparative ease of developing partnerships in these different types of areas and, in particular, the possibility of partnering with 'outstanding' schools.

Strong partnerships between schools should be the lifeblood of a system in which more control has been handed over to schools. Partnerships have been a key government strategy for school improvement[12] and are essential for the professional development of leaders. They

12 House of Commons Education Committee (6 November 2013) *School Partnerships and Cooperation*. Fourth Report of Session 2013–14.

can also increase the impact of excellent head teachers.[13] Research shows that in a sample of schools in federation partnerships (including academies) and individual control schools with similar characteristics, the federation schools demonstrated improved performance two years after joining a federation compared with the control schools.[14]

It is important to note that being in a partnership is not the solution per se, since the quality of partnerships varies greatly and depends on the capacity of the sponsor as well as the geographical proximity of schools.

Multi-academy trusts are currently the favoured mechanism for school partnerships, but they are not distributed equitably across England. Over three-quarters of primary and secondary academies are in multi-academy trusts[15] but, since academies only make up one-third of all schools, this represents a small proportion of schools in formal partnerships. Local authority-maintained schools may also be in education trusts supported by businesses or charities, federations or clusters, although the partnership infrastructure is less formal.[16]

Sponsored academies were initiated in London and therefore the capital boasts larger and higher-attaining multi-academy trusts than other parts of England. Moreover, partnerships were the bedrock of the London Challenge and other City Challenges leading to significant improvements in attainment. Indeed, due to the closeness of London schools and the dense population of the city, the culture of partnerships pre-dated the London Challenge and they are associated with the improvements in attainment for children on free school meals.

The north of England and rural, coastal areas, however, have comparatively few multi-academy trusts and formalised school partnerships. In Lancashire and West Yorkshire, only 19 per cent of all schools (academies and local authority-maintained schools) are either in a multi-academy trust or an equivalent education trust, compared with 35 per cent in north east London and the East of England.[17] In the north it is 23 per cent, compared with 28 per cent for the whole of England. This means a core part of the infrastructure for school-to-school support is not in place.

A key feature of effective partnerships is the geographical proximity of schools in order to share expertise and resources, boost standards and develop local solutions, as the example of the Cabot Learning Federation shows. This is a challenge for schools in sparsely populated areas since the distances to other schools are greater, increasing the costs and potentially reducing the benefits of partnerships. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the bottom 5 per cent in the index are heavily concentrated in coastal and rural areas.

13 House of Commons Education Committee (6 November 2013) *School Partnerships and Cooperation*. Fourth Report of Session 2013–14.
14 Chapman C, Muijs D, MacAllister J (2011) *A Study of the Impact of School Federation on Student Outcomes*. National College for School Leadership.
15 Currently, there are more than 21,540 state schools of which 7,234 are academies (this includes free schools, university technical colleges and studio schools). Almost one-quarter of academies are stand-alone while over three-quarters are in multi-academy trusts which commonly have three to five academies.
16 Approximately 3.3 per cent of local authority-maintained schools are in equivalent education trusts, although this may be under-reported by schools.
17 Department for Education, *EduBase.* http://ea-edubase-api-prod.azurewebsites.net/edubase/home.xhtml

Turning around failing schools in Bristol, Cabot Learning Federation

The Cabot Learning Federation is a multi-academy trust which was established in the Bristol area in 2009. It is made up of 15 academies serving 8,000 children and has a particular focus on equity.

In 2009, it took on two maintained secondary schools with below par performance, which were relaunched as the Bristol Brunel Academy and the Bristol Metropolitan Academy. Both schools were under-subscribed, attainment was below standard with between 19 and 29 per cent of pupils achieving five or more GCSEs at grades A* to C, including English and maths, behaviour was poor and both schools suffered weak reputations. At Bristol Met, around a third of students received free school meals and the deprivation indicators were in the highest quintile nationally.

New head teachers were recruited and a new ethos of high expectations was set for all children. Partnerships with the University of the West of England, Business in the Community, Bristol Works and Airbus particularly benefited children on the pupil premium. There was strong investment in professional development for teachers, bringing all subject teachers together regularly across the Federation to share best practice.

As a result of the focus on raising aspirations, learning from other schools in the trust, lifting standards and linking education and employability, the Bristol Met Academy now has the highest Progress 8 score in Bristol as well as a reducing attainment gap. Destinations data shows poor students access the most challenging courses as frequently as their better-off peers. Both schools received 'good' Ofsted judgements with significant strengths in leadership and personal development, behaviour, welfare and outcomes.

Key lessons from the experience include:

- The need for a strong learning culture among the staff and a strong sense of system leadership, where leaders are committed to learning and supporting colleagues beyond the school.
- The need for a long-term vision and change management expertise to enable sustained school improvement as well as quick wins.
- The need for quality professional development for teachers.
- The need for an understanding by all staff of the challenges faced by low-income families, with systems and practices that mitigate the effects of social disadvantage.

A further challenge is that the school improvement strategy assumes the existence of an 'outstanding' school, which can boost the performance of surrounding schools. This assumption is invalid in some rural areas and calls into question the appropriateness of the existing partnership model. Moreover, a lack of other schools reduces positive competition to raise standards.[18] Nevertheless, there are some rural areas that are breaking the mould and partnering despite the challenges. Cornwall is a good example of this.

18 Ofsted (2012) *Unseen Children: Access and achievement 20 years on*. Evidence report.

Connecting teachers in remote schools in Cornwall

Deprived coastal towns face multiple issues linked to geographical isolation, weak economies and multi-generational underemployment or unemployment. The absence of professional opportunities can make these areas less attractive to teachers with partners. Educational challenges are characterised by a lack of partnerships, difficulties recruiting staff (for core as well as specialist subjects), low student aspirations and unengaged families.

As a result, the Cornwall College Group secured funding to deliver a programme of continuing professional development in partnership with the Institute of Education and Edge Hill University. The programme supported new teachers in 12 primary schools with a high proportion of disadvantaged children. It focused on: understanding the impact of socioeconomic disadvantage on schools and pupils; skills and teaching practice; and processes, structures and career pathways for teachers, with a strong coaching component.

Initial findings of the pilot, evaluated by Sheffield Hallam University, indicate that participation in the programme enabled newly qualified teachers to develop their knowledge and skills in relation to literacy and other classroom practices. The teachers have remained teaching and have forged strong pathways towards middle leadership positions.

Sources:

Education Endowment Foundation (2017) *Retain: Early career teachers' continuing professional development*.

Ovenden-Hope T, Passy R (2015) *Coastal Academies: Changing school cultures in disadvantaged coastal regions in England*. Plymouth University and Cornwall College Group.

Ovenden-Hope T, Blandford S (2017) RETAIN: Teacher Retention Programme, Meeting with Department for Education, 30 August 2017.

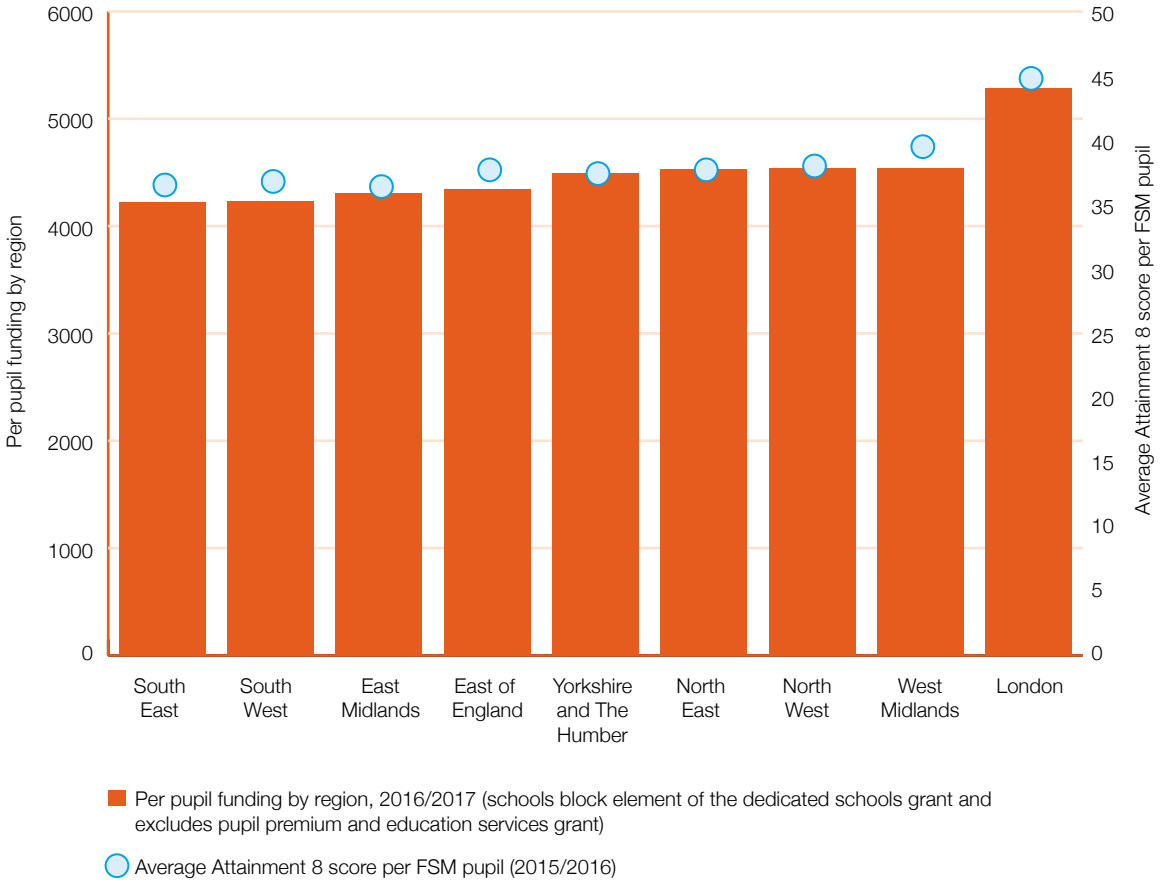
Funding and investment have contributed to higher standards in London

London local authority areas dominate the top 20 per cent of the schools index. This is likely to be linked to their high levels of funding compared with the rest of England over the past 20 years. In 2012, Tower Hamlets – a star performer on the index – received approximately £8,000 per pupil through the dedicated schools grant allocation[19] compared with Leicestershire which received almost half as much.[20] By 2017, this disparity had reduced and London's favourable treatment is likely to reduce further when the new funding formula comes into effect. Nevertheless, London schools will continue to receive the highest levels of funding overall.

Figure 3.4 suggests a potential link between per pupil funding by region and attainment of pupils on free school meals at key stage 4. London, the West Midlands, the North West and the North East all have the highest levels of per pupil funding and the highest key stage 4 attainment. Moreover, research shows that school funding and investment in school buildings was one of the enabling factors which boosted performance in London.[21]

19 Funding allocated to local authorities for the schools they manage, not including the pupil premium or the education services grant allocations.
20 Perera N, Andrews J, Sellen P (2017) *The Implications of the National Funding Formula for Schools*. Education Policy Institute.
21 Baars S, Bernardes E, Elwick A et al. (2014) *Lessons from London Schools: Investigating the success*. CfBT Education Trust, Centre for London.

Figure 3.4: Per pupil funding by region (2016/17) and average Attainment 8 score per pupil on free school meals by region (2015/16)



Source: Perera N, Andrews J, Sellen P (2017) *The Implications of the National Funding Formula for Schools*. Education Policy Institute.
Note: Funding includes the schools block element of the dedicated schools grant and excludes the pupil premium and education services grant.

3.3 Conclusion and recommendations

Educational attainment among children on free school meals is strongly linked to the type of area they grow up in. Disadvantaged children living outside London and particularly in deprived rural and coastal areas and former manufacturing areas have the odds stacked against them when it comes to accessing quality teachers and attending vibrant schools with strong links to other schools and employers.

London outperforms every other region in England in relation to attainment among disadvantaged kids. This is due to the history and culture of partnerships, strong political and local leadership, a steady supply of quality teachers as well as comparatively generous funding. Over time, London schools have put in place strong systems to raise the attainment of disadvantaged children.

London's strong performance is a testament to teachers' and schools' efforts to lift standards as well as past governments' commitment to breaking the link between demography and educational destiny. Unfortunately, there has been less success in more rural and coastal areas where attainment among children on free school meals has languished. These schools are isolated and often do not have the support of nearby 'outstanding' schools.

The increased control schools have over their own management has undoubtedly benefited schools in thriving areas which are able to recruit and develop strong teachers. Schools which are geographically isolated have struggled to secure quality teachers or invest in them. Indeed, the decentralisation and fragmentation of the teacher recruitment and development system has led to greater polarisation in the performance of schools based on the type of area they are in.[22,23]

Recommendations

- Regional School Commissioners should be given responsibility for monitoring and managing the supply of teachers within their regions and should work with universities, schools and Teach First to develop sub-regional strategies with the right incentives to attract, recruit and keep teachers, offering region-wide opportunities for development and progression.
- The government should launch a fund for schools in rural and coastal areas to explore innovative approaches to partnerships with other schools in order to boost attainment.
- Regional School Commissioners should work with the combined authorities to ensure coherence between skill development and local industrial strategies.

22 Sheffield Hallam University (2017) *South Yorkshire Futures Proposal*.
23 Clifton J, Round A, Raikes L (2016) *Northern Schools: Putting Education at the Heart of the Northern Powerhouse*. IPPR North.

Chapter 4: Youth

- A smooth transition from school to work is critical to an individual's future success, but disadvantaged young people's chances vary widely by region.
- Urban areas outperform the rest of England in terms of outcomes for disadvantaged young people, with London dramatically out in front on every youth social mobility indicator.
- Isolated rural and coastal areas are dire for youth social mobility outcomes. Disadvantaged young people in these areas can find themselves trapped, as they have limited access to education and employment opportunities and lack the means to move home or travel to access them.
- In youth social mobility coldspots, disadvantaged young people are almost twice as likely to be NEET (not in education, employment or training) after GCSEs, half as likely to gain two or more A-levels (or equivalents), and half as likely to enter higher education, compared with those living in hotspots.
- Careers support varies widely across regions and, until recently, has been particularly limited in the North East and East Midlands – the two regions with the worst social mobility performance in this life stage.
- The North East and East Midlands also have fewer high-level apprenticeships and fewer employers than other regions, and this tends to mean fewer entry-level jobs.
- There are six local authority areas where only about one in ten low-income young people enters higher education – less than half the national average. These areas often have limited access to higher education locally, which restricts choice for low-income youngsters who wish to live at home while studying.

Recommendations

- Local Enterprise Partnerships should follow the approach of the North East Local Enterprise Partnership, which works to improve careers support for young people by facilitating collaboration between employers, schools and colleges via joint groups and websites.
- Universities should play a more active role in their local community by encouraging local employers to hire graduates and organising student volunteering in isolated areas nearby.
- Government should develop education and skill policies to better support disadvantaged young people in isolated areas; for example, by targeting any unused apprenticeship levy funds at regions that have fewer high-level apprenticeships.

4.1 Introduction

The years following school are critical for social mobility because this is when young people make key choices about their life. Those who struggle during the transition from school to work often face lifelong difficulties. Indeed, of those who do not make it into education, employment or training at 16, almost half will still be NEET at age 17, and many will continue to feel the consequences of being NEET into adulthood.[1]

Disadvantaged young people's options and outcomes lag behind their better-off peers and vary dramatically across the country. While 61 per cent of the latter cohort get two or more A-levels, this figure is just 36 per cent for disadvantaged youngsters.[2] It drops to 20 per cent in several coldspot areas.[3] Similarly, while 41 per cent of better-off young people attend university, only 24 per cent of disadvantaged young people do.[4] In six local authority areas, this figure is as low as 10 or 11 per cent.[5] Finally, while 5 per cent of better-off young people become NEET within one year of their GCSEs, 12 per cent of disadvantaged young people do so.[6] In South Ribble, 26 per cent of disadvantaged youngsters are NEET.[7]

The evidence on what enables social mobility for the young is clear: access to a range of high-quality education institutions; good careers advice; frequent interactions with universities and employers; and labour market preparation during school, college or university.[8] Unfortunately, these opportunities are not consistent across the country. Many isolated areas have no school sixth forms and fewer specialist teachers, meaning disadvantaged young people can miss out on the opportunity to study specific facilitating A-levels or science, technology, engineering and maths subjects.[9] A number of isolated areas also have limited higher education options, and limited outreach from employers.[10]

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Percentage of young people eligible for free school meals who are in education, employment or training (positive sustained destination) after completing key stage 4 (DfE data).
- Average points score per entry for young people eligible for free school meals at age 15 taking A-level or equivalent qualifications (DfE data).
- Percentage of young people eligible for free school meals at age 15 achieving two or more A-levels or equivalent qualifications by the age of 19 (DfE data).
- Percentage of young people eligible for free school meals at age 15 entering higher education by the age of 19 (DfE data).
- Percentage of young people eligible for free school meals entering higher education at a selective university (most selective third by UCAS tariff scores) by the age of 19 (DfE data).

1 Wolf A (2011) *Review of Vocational Education – The Wolf Report*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/180504/DFE-00031-2011.pdf. Bell D and Blanchflower D (2009) *Youth Unemployment: Déjà vu?* IZA Discussion Paper No. 4705. http://ftp.iza.org/dp4705.pdf
2 Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment in England: Attainment by age 19 in 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/603920/SFR16_2017_V2.pdf
3 Data provided by the Department for Education for Social Mobility Commission analysis.
4 Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
5 Data provided by the Department for Education for Social Mobility Commission analysis.
6 Department for Education (2017) *Destinations of KS4 and KS5 Pupils: 2015 (revised)*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/destinations-of-ks4-and-ks5-pupils-2015-revised
7 Data provided by the Department for Education for Social Mobility Commission analysis.
8 Hooley T, Matheson J and Watts AG (2014) *Advancing Ambitions: The role of career guidance in supporting social mobility.* Sutton Trust. http://derby.openrepository.com/derby/bitstream/10545/333866/1/Advancing%20Ambitions%20-%206.11.14.pdf. Gibbons S and Vignoles A (2009) *Access, Choice and Participation in Higher Education*. http://cee.lse.ac.uk/ceedps/ceedp101.pdf
9 Allen R, Parameshwaran M and Thomson D (2016) *Social and Ethnic Inequalities in Choice Available and Choices Made at Age 16*. Social Mobility Commission. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/574708/SMC_social_and_ethnic_inequalities_in_post_16_report.pdf
10 Gibbons S and Vignoles A (2009) *Access, Choice and Participation in Higher Education*. http://cee.lse.ac.uk/ceedps/ceedp101.pdf

Figure 4.1: Map of performance against youth social mobility indicators

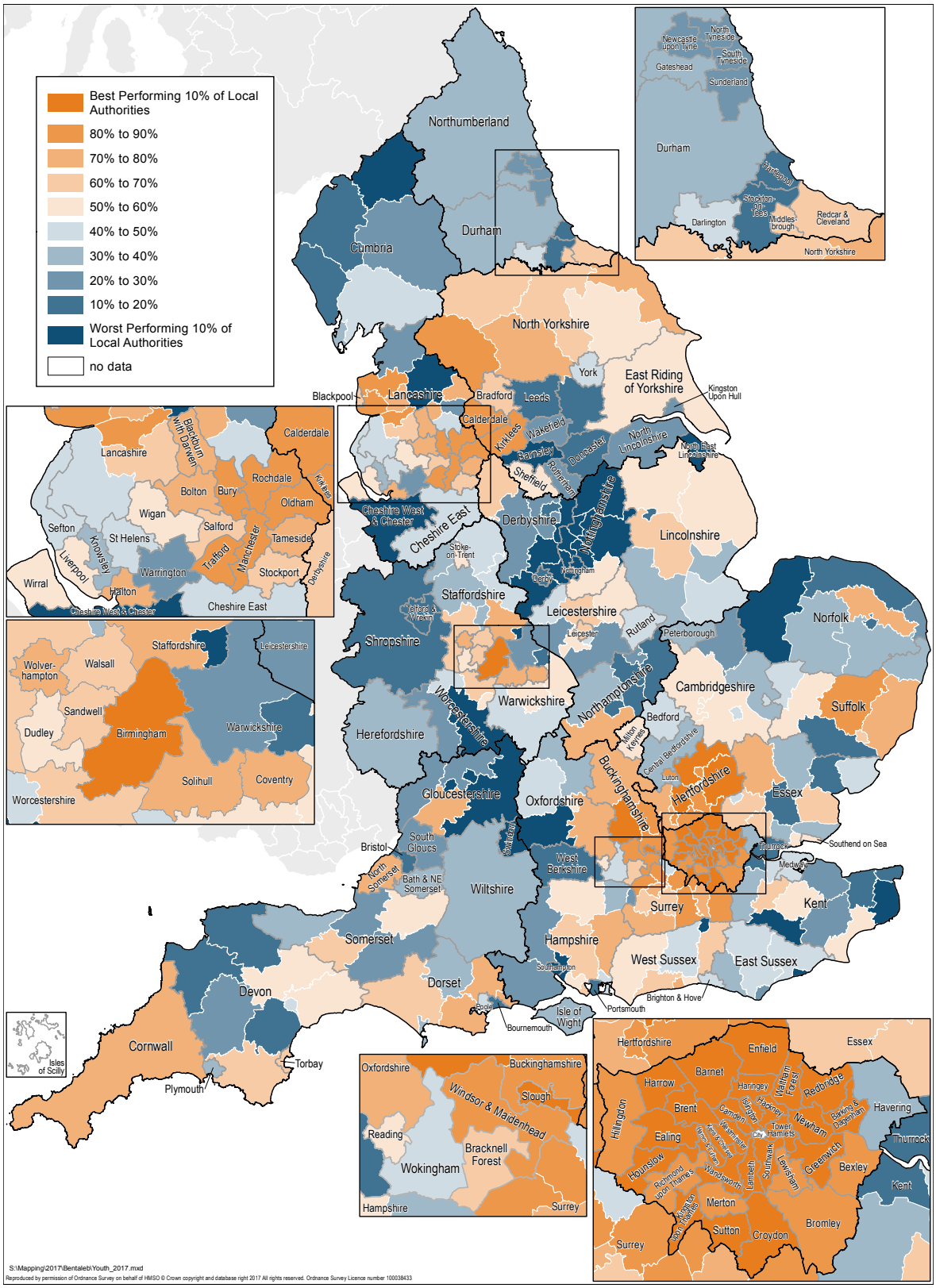


Table 4.1: The best and worst performers against youth social mobility indicators

Hotspots			Coldspots		
Rank (best)	**Local authority area**	**Region**	**Rank (worst)**	**Local authority area**	**Region**
1	Westminster	London	1	Newark and Sherwood	East Midlands
2	Redbridge	London	2	Cotswold	South West
3	Kensington and Chelsea	London	3	North East Lincolnshire	Yorkshire and The Humber
4	Tower Hamlets	London	4	Dover	South East
5	Ealing	London	5	Carlisle	North West
6	Harrow	London	6	Ashfield	East Midlands
7	Newham	London	7	Hastings	South East
8	Brent	London	8	Swindon	South West
9	Hounslow	London	9	Southampton	South East
10	Waltham Forest	London	10	Gedling	East Midlands
11	Wandsworth	London	11	Amber Valley	East Midlands
12	Hackney	London	12	Broxtowe	East Midlands
13	Islington	London	13	Ribble Valley	North West
14	Barnet	London	14	Cheltenham	South West
15	Southwark	London	15	Worcester	West Midlands
16	Haringey	London	16	Bassetlaw	East Midlands
17	Camden	London	17	Nottingham	East Midlands
18	Slough	South East	18	Barnsley	Yorkshire and The Humber
19	Lambeth	London	19	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	East of England
20	Croydon	London	20	Vale of White Horse	South East
21	Enfield	London	21	Erewash	East Midlands
22	Hammersmith and Fulham	London	22	Cheshire West and Chester	North West
23	East Hertfordshire	East of England	23	Tunbridge Wells	South East
24	Sutton	London	24	South Derbyshire	East Midlands
25	Barking and Dagenham	London	25	Gloucester	South West
26	Kingston upon Thames	London	26	Bolsover	East Midlands
27	Wycombe	South East	27	Crawley	South East
28	Birmingham	West Midlands	28	Wychavon	West Midlands
29	St Albans	East of England	29	Mansfield	East Midlands
30	Broxbourne	East of England	30	Tamworth	West Midlands
31	Greenwich	London	31	Eastleigh	South East
32	North Hertfordshire	East of England	32	Copeland	North West

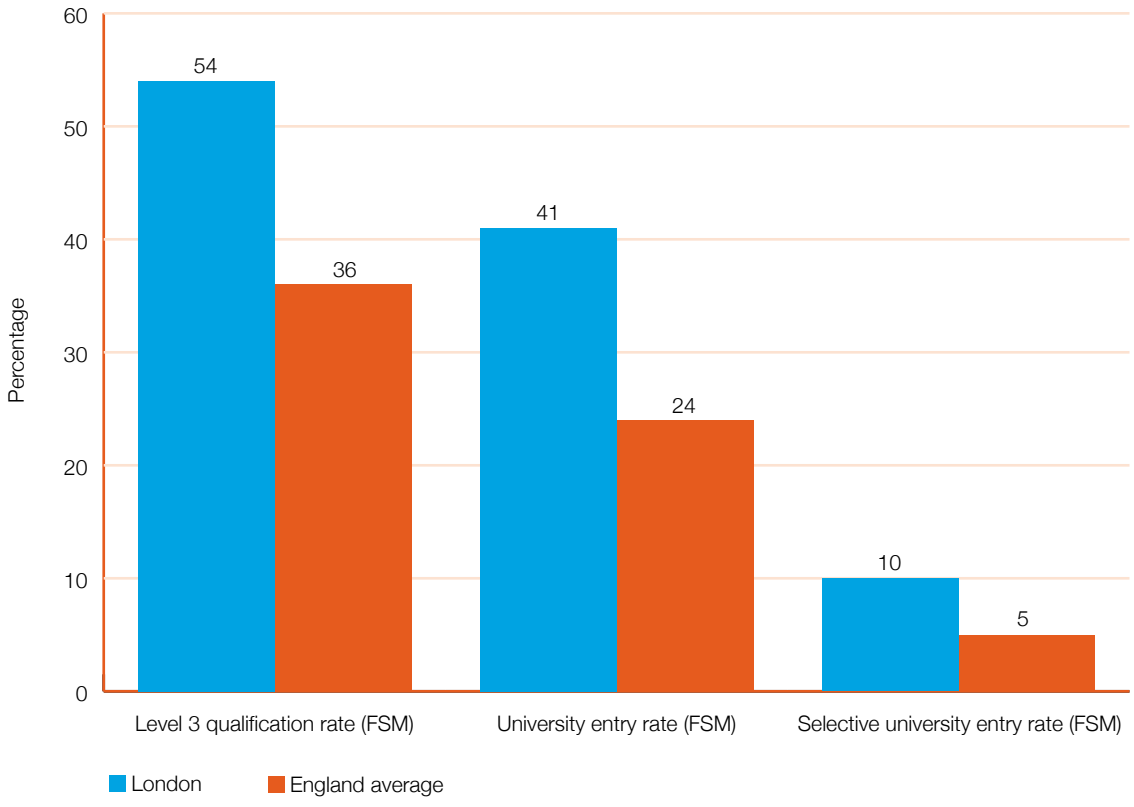
4.2 Analysis

The hotspots for disadvantaged young people are almost all located in Greater London (Table 4.1). The remaining few, bar one, are in London's commuter belt. Birmingham is the only area outside Greater London to make the top 10 per cent of local authority areas for youth social mobility.

London's lead over other areas, which emerges during the early years and increases during school, reaches its peak during youth. This is because disparities in available opportunities become particularly stark during this life stage. For this reason, London dramatically outperforms all other regions on every youth social mobility indicator (Figure 4.2): low-income Londoners are about a third more likely to gain two or more A-levels, nearly twice as likely to enter university and twice as likely to enter a selective university.[11]

At the other end of the index, a third of the coldspots for disadvantaged young people are in the East Midlands. The North East is the second worst performer overall at this life stage, although it has fewer coldspots than the South East. The East Midlands fares worst at academic attainment and university participation, while the North East has the worst youth unemployment and selective university entry rates.[12]

Figure 4.2: London's performance on youth social mobility indicators compared with the national average



Sources: Social Mobility Commission analysis, based on data from: Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment in England: Attainment by age 19 in 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2016. Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017.

11 Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment by Young People aged 19 in 2016.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2016. Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017. Selective university entry rates are previously unpublished data provided by the Department for Education.

12 Social Mobility Commission analysis using data provided by the Department for Education.

Isolated rural areas and post-industrial towns perform poorly

Urban areas outperform other types of area in terms of outcomes for disadvantaged young people (Figure 4.3). Indeed, the hotspots for youth social mobility are about twice as populated as the coldspots.[13] London and ethnically diverse urban areas perform particularly well, but strong performance is not just down to demographics.[14] Urban youngsters also have better life chances due to more opportunities. For example, city dwellers have access to: more post-16 education institutions; more teachers for specialist A-level subjects; more universities; more employers; and more charities.[15] Many of these opportunities are limited or entirely lacking in rural areas or isolated former industrial towns. However, it should also be noted that disadvantaged city dwellers in deprived communities do not always access a city's wider opportunities. This might explain the poor performance of Southampton, Nottingham, Leeds and Bristol on our youth social mobility indicators.

Those who face the biggest barriers to success are disadvantaged youngsters in very hard-to-reach or sparsely populated areas. Indeed, nine of the ten worst-performing local authority areas are poorly connected (often coastal) or sparsely populated. In such areas, disadvantaged youngsters not only have fewer local services, but also receive less support from universities and other third-sector organisations. The problem is not just travel time. Remote schools often have too few low-income pupils to be eligible for outreach from employers or universities – meaning that those pupils slip through the net. This suggests the need for new flexible models of support in rural areas.

Finally, isolated or rural areas also suffer from weaker partnerships between local organisations – due in part to the distance between them. London and most other major cities have benefited from large-scale initiatives to improve disadvantaged young people's outcomes – such as the London Challenge or equivalents in Birmingham and Manchester. These initiatives have brought extra focus, leadership and resources to the issue.[16] Today, rural areas and isolated post-industrial towns have the greatest need for extra investment, collaboration and focus on disadvantaged young people's outcomes (Figure 4.3).

Local authorities and other stakeholders in rural or isolated areas need to take more consistent action to improve access to opportunities. This can involve better transport links; better systems for ensuring rural schools receive outreach from service providers; and better connections between schools, charities, universities and businesses. Local Enterprise Partnerships, metro mayors, or universities are all well positioned to lead such efforts.

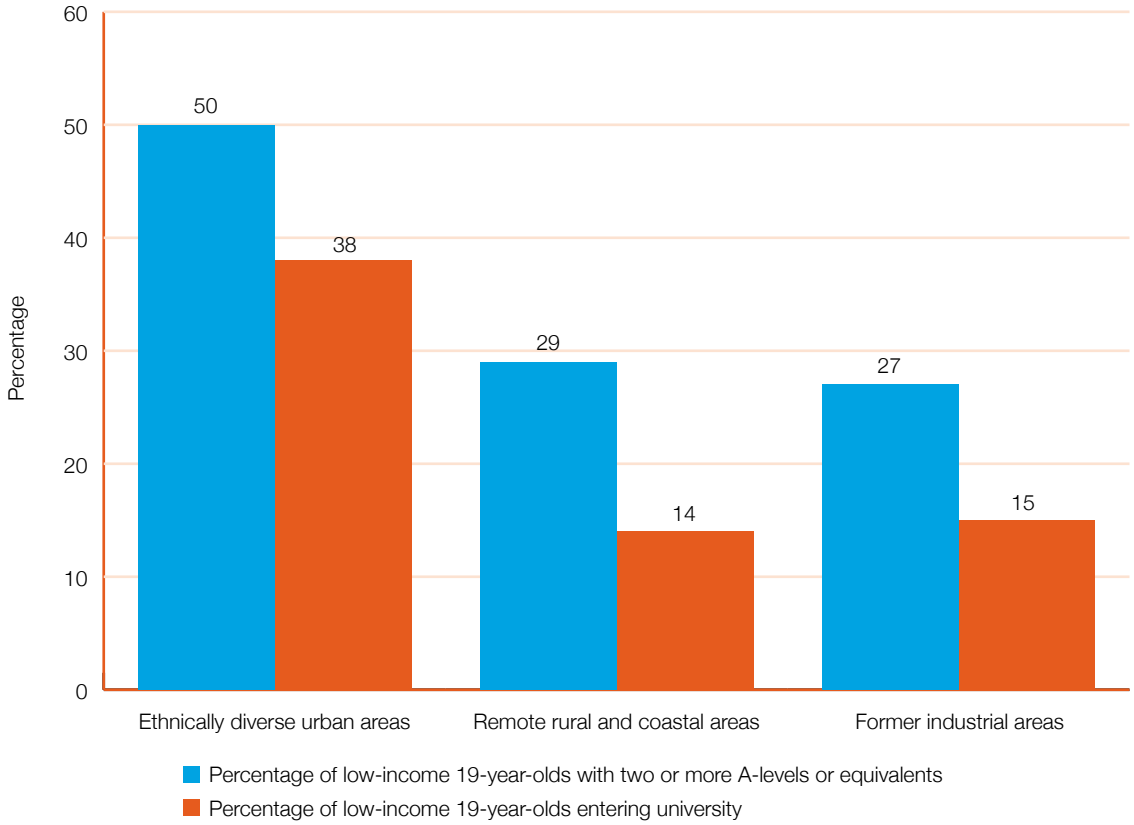
13 ONS (2017) *Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland*. www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/populationestimatesforukenglandandwalesscotlandandnorthernireland

14 Burgess B (2017) *Understanding the Success of London School*s. Centre for Market and Public Organisation Working Paper No. 14/333. www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/cmpo/migrated/documents/wp333.pdf. Blanden J, Greaves E, Gregg P, Macmillan L and Sibieta L (2015) *Understanding the Improved Performance of Disadvantaged Pupils in London*. Social Policy in a Cold Climate Working Paper 21.

15 Department for Transport (2015) *Journey Time Statistics 2015 (revised).* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/628988/journey-time-statistics-2015-revised.pdf

16 Blanden J, Greaves E, Gregg P, Macmillan L and Sibieta L (2015) *Understanding the Improved Performance of Disadvantaged Pupils in London*. Social Policy in a Cold Climate Working Paper 21.

Figure 4.3: Average performance on youth social mobility indicators by area type



Source: Social Mobility Commission analysis based on three years of data from the Department for Education.
Note: All figures are approximate, based on an average of all districts in each Office for National Statistics (ONS) area type, which does not take account of population sizes.

In South Yorkshire, for example, Sheffield Hallam University has taken on leadership of region-wide social mobility (see case study). In Surrey, the county council undertook a scheme that helped to reduce youth NEET rates by 59 per cent through holistic support for attainment, aspiration and the transition from school to work (see case study). Finally, charities can play their part by developing effective models for outreach to disadvantaged young people in remote areas (see Brilliant Club case study), which can include recruiting local volunteers, online classes, or local teacher training support. The government's 12 Opportunity Areas and national collaborative outreach programmes are also boosting local collaboration on support for disadvantaged young people.[17]

17 Higher Education Funding Council for England (2017) National Collaborative Outreach Programme (NCOP) [web page]. www.hefce.ac.uk/sas/ncop

Yorkshire: South Yorkshire Futures programme for attainment raising

The South Yorkshire region has below-average university access for disadvantaged pupils relative to their attainment. A host of local organisations have been working on this problem. The South Yorkshire Futures programme is a new initiative led by Sheffield Hallam University that aims to improve collaboration across the region. It marks a step change in the university's mission to lead locally and to work with others who share a commitment to improving social mobility.

South Yorkshire Futures does not seek to substitute existing or planned initiatives. Rather, it seeks to bring more joined-up leadership across the region, building on excellent work already being undertaken by, for example, Regional School Commissioners, multi-academy trusts, teaching school alliances and local authorities.

The programme runs from the early years through to progression into further education, higher education and work. Sheffield Hallam University provides a strategic framework that helps parties to collaborate and focus on shared goals.

In early years, the programme focuses on parenting support and knowledge exchange for preschool settings. At school, the programme supports teacher training and retention, and also guarantees a minimum university outreach offer for all schools and colleges – no matter how isolated they are. Finally, at the transition stage, the programme helps to build young people's social capital and employability skills.

The programme launched in September 2017, but early successes include better connections between local stakeholders, and new conversations with partners who can contribute to supporting the programme's objectives.

Surrey: 14–19 plan to improve attainment and participation

Surrey County Council's 14–19 plan aims to ensure that all young people have equal opportunities to access learning or employment. The plan addresses barriers to participation through financial assistance and early intervention. Interventions focus on health and wellbeing as well as attainment and participation. Action takes place via partnership between local schools, colleges, employers, voluntary organisations and higher education. Additionally, the council uses commissioning opportunities to reduce youth NEET rates, by ensuring that all contractors meet an agreed number of apprentices under the age of 24. A scheme that offers grants for employers hiring apprentices under the age of 19 has also generated a lot of demand.

The programme includes one-on-one support for young people at risk of becoming NEET in Years 11 and 12, and this has a 92 per cent success rate. It also includes case management for all young people who become NEET. This involves one-on-one support from a family officer who takes young people to look at colleges or universities, plus a 'ready for work' re-engagement programme.

From 2009 to 2014, the programme helped to reduce youth NEET rates by 59 per cent, enabling Surrey to have the lowest NEET rate in England in 2014 – up from 25th. In 2016, Surrey's youth NEET rate (1.5 per cent) was still the best rate, based on comparison with statistical neighbours (other areas with large cohorts of young people).

Brilliant Club's rural tutors network

The Brilliant Club works with 10,500 pupils each year across England, Wales and Scotland – a fifth of whom are in rural schools (about twice the national average).[18] Through its Scholars Programme, the charity recruits, trains and places doctoral and postdoctoral researchers in schools to deliver programmes of university-style tutorials, which are supplemented by two university trips.

To make its programmes available to any school that needs them, The Brilliant Club has significantly expanded its network of tutors and university partners over the last six years. Starting off in a single school in London in 2011, the Scholars Programme now works in 550 schools in every region and nation of the UK. The charity's outreach is enabled by flexible school targeting criteria and a widespread network of tutors.

A basket of targeting criteria prevents schools in remote areas from missing out. For a school to be eligible, 55 per cent of the group a tutor works with must meet one of three criteria: pupil premium eligibility, deprivation based on postcode or parents who did not go to university. Most schools are able to find sufficient numbers of pupils who meet these criteria (usually seven pupils out of a group of 12) – even those schools with relatively few disadvantaged pupils. To increase its coverage in rural and coastal areas, the Brilliant Club conducts outreach work – for example, through local authorities, multi-academy trusts and other networks of schools.

While any PhD researcher can apply, the Brilliant Club actively recruits tutors from 30 partner universities around the country. Brilliant Club staff provide training for tutors through regional training weekends, support them remotely in developing their tutorial courses and handle the administrative aspects of placing them in a school. Tutors are employed directly by the charity, which pays them £500 per placement, plus travel expenses. This financial compensation – combined with the professional development offered to tutors, and the sense of a shared mission across the charity – is an important way of encouraging tutors to make the journey to more isolated schools. Tutors have been known to make a 300-mile round trip from their homes to deliver weekly tutorials.

Overall, Brilliant Club participants have far higher university entry rates than the national average – 58 per cent of disadvantaged pupils on the programme enter university, compared with 11 per cent of equivalent pupils nationally. Pupils who take part in the Scholars Programme are significantly more likely to gain a place at a highly selective university than their peers with similar GCSE-level attainment and sociodemographics.

More information: www.thebrilliantclub.org

Careers advice and employer outreach by region

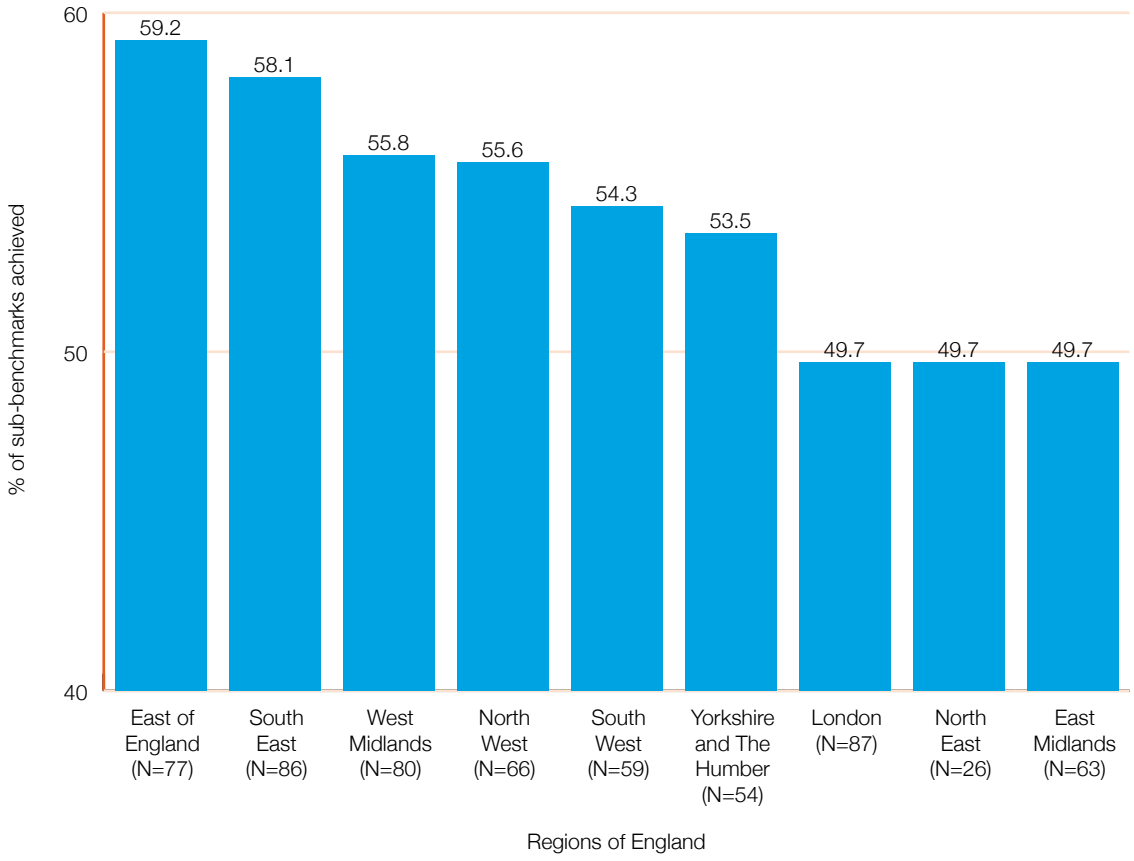
Youth coldspots tend to have lower post-16 study rates and worse employment outcomes for disadvantaged young people. Careers support is known to improve participation rates, but is very patchy around the country.[19] As a result, disadvantaged young people – who may not have access to informal networks of people who can provide guidance and work experience – are less likely to make the best decisions for their careers and are less prepared for the labour market.

18 Bayliss J and Sly F (2009) Children and Young People around the UK. *Regional Trends* 41 (1): 2–30. Office for National Statistics. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/rt.2009.2

19 Hooley T, Matheson J and Watts AG (2014) *Advancing Ambitions: The role of career guidance in supporting social mobility*. Sutton Trust. http://derby.openrepository.com/derby/bitstream/10545/333866/1/Advancing%20Ambitions%20-%206.11.14.pdf. The Careers & Enterprise Company (2017) *State of the Nation 2017*. www.careersandenterprise.co.uk/sites/default/files/uploaded/careers-enterprise-compass-state-of-the-nation.pdf

For example, the North East region had (until recently) the worst youth employment of all English regions (Figure 4.5), and data suggests that careers support was also unusually poor, exacerbating the problem. Indeed, a small audit of 16 North East schools and colleges found that half failed to meet a single one of the eight Gatsby careers advice benchmarks – critical careers advice requirements based on international standards – putting the set considerably below the national average (79 per cent of English schools meet one benchmark).[20] Data from the Careers & Enterprise Company indicates that the North East is still equal bottom for careers support, along with the East Midlands and (surprisingly) London (Figure 4.4).[21] Teach First has also found that pupils in the north of England are less likely to complete work experience placements than those in London and the South East.[22] Of surveyed pupils in London, 49 per cent said that they had completed two or more work experience placements between the ages of 11 and 18, compared with 37 per cent in the north of England.

Figure 4.4: Regional careers support: percentage of Gatsby careers support sub-benchmarks achieved



Source: The Careers & Enterprise Company, *State of the Nation 2017*. www.careersandenterprise.co.uk/sites/default/files/uploaded/careers-enterprise-compass-state-of-the-nation.pdf.

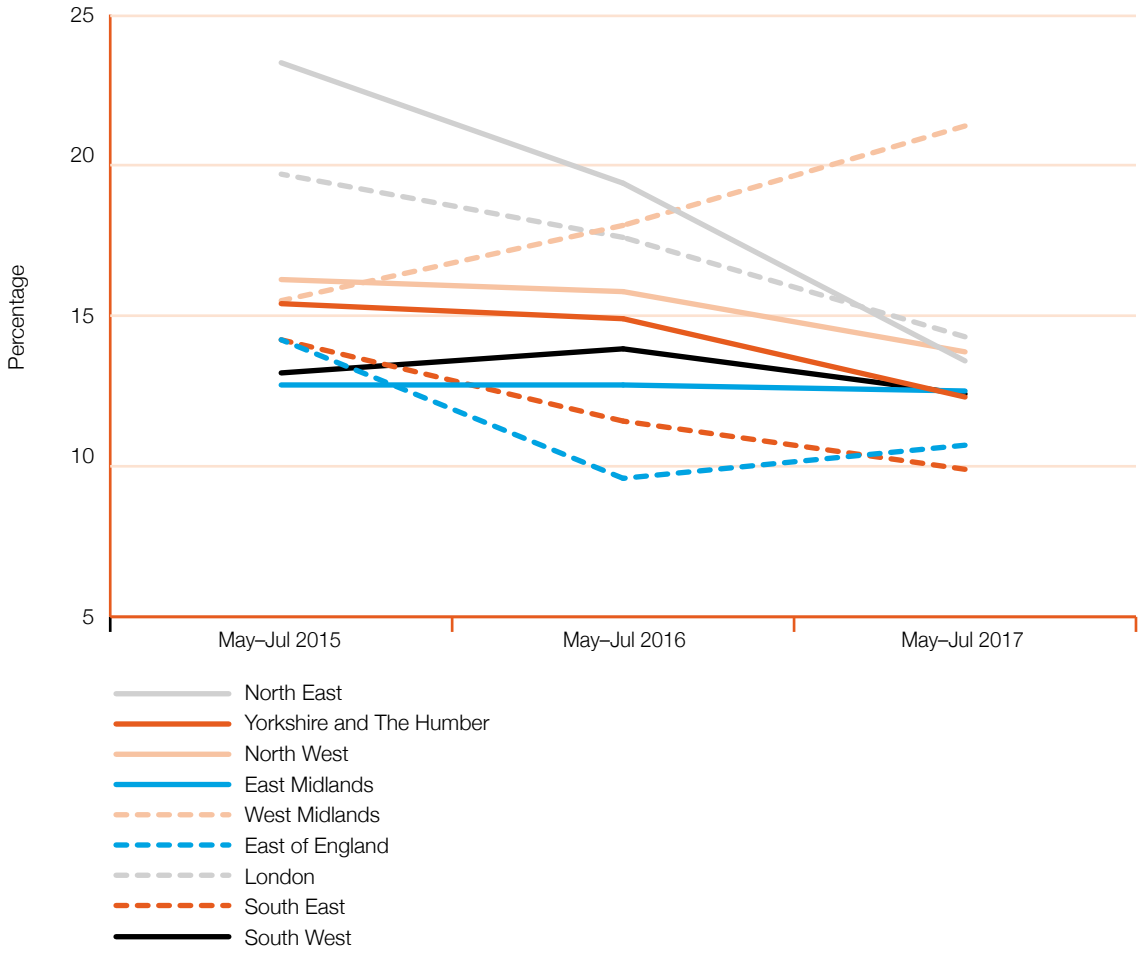
However, emerging data from small-scale surveys suggests that careers support is improving rapidly in the North East – due largely to a concerted effort by the North East Local Enterprise Partnership, schools and businesses to improve both advice and employer outreach for young people. A local initiative helped all 16 participating schools and colleges achieve four or more Gatsby benchmarks – far above the national average (see case study). What is more, 60 per cent of North East schools have committed to achieving the Gatsby benchmarks – significantly higher than the national figure of 4 per cent.[23]

20 Gibson R (2016) *Career Benchmarks: National Pilot*. Sir John Holmon (2016) *Good Careers Guidance*. www.gatsby.org.uk/uploads/education/reports/pdf/gatsbygoodcareerguidance8pagea5.pdf
21 The Careers & Enterprise Company (2017) *State of the Nation 2017*. www.careersandenterprise.co.uk/sites/default/files/uploaded/careers-enterprise-compass-state-of-the-nation.pdf
22 Teach First (2017) *Impossible? Improving careers provision in schools.* www.teachfirst.org.uk/sites/default/files/2017-10/Careers-policy-report.pdf
23 Data provided by the North East Local Enterprise Partnership.

Concerted local efforts, of which careers support is one element, have also led to major successes in terms of youth unemployment in the North East. Local youth unemployment has almost halved since 2015 (Figure 4.5) – falling faster than overall unemployment in the region (which fell from 9 per cent to 6.4 per cent over the same period).[24]

The North East example bears out a finding in the broader data on careers support: even schools in areas with weak local labour markets can provide high-quality support.[25] These are often the very areas in which careers support is most critical, since research shows that young people in deprived communities often have lower educational aspirations, which then has an impact on both academic attainment and employment outcomes.[26] The government's new careers strategy should help to address inequalities here by aiming for high-quality careers provision in every school or college in the country.

Figure 4.5: Youth unemployment rates by region (2015–17)



Source: ONS (2017) *X02 Regional labour market: Estimates of unemployment by age*. www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peoplenotinwork/unemployment/datasets/regionalunemploymentbyagex02.

24 ONS (2017) X02 Regional labour market: Estimates of unemployment by age. www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peoplenotinwork/unemployment/datasets/regionalunemploymentbyagex02

25 The Careers & Enterprise Company (2017) *State of the Nation 2017*. www.careersandenterprise.co.uk/sites/default/files/uploaded/careers-enterprise-compass-state-of-the-nation.pdf

26 Cabinet Office (2008) *Aspiration and Attainment Amongst Young People in Deprived Communities*. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090113230527/http:/www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/109339/aspirations_evidence_pack.pdf

North East: Implementation of Gatsby's careers advice benchmarks

In 2015, the North East had the highest percentage of NEET youth in the country. As part of its new North East economic plan, the North East Local Enterprise Partnership aimed to ensure that all 170 local secondary schools and colleges met the Gatsby benchmarks – eight critical careers advice requirements, based on international standards. The benchmarks include personal guidance tailored to each pupil, work experience, and encounters with employers, further education and higher education.

The Local Enterprise Partnership began a two-year pilot of intensive activity with 16 schools and colleges, but ended up working with at least 70. The first step was for schools and colleges to audit their current performance against the Gatsby benchmarks using the nationally available Compass tool to identify gaps and next steps. Of all pilot schools and colleges, none fully achieved more than three benchmarks and half did not achieve a single one. However, the data showed where schools partially achieved a benchmark and what to do next – enabling action.

To help schools and colleges to improve careers provision, the Local Enterprise Partnership facilitated local partnerships, rather than delivering services directly. They set up a regional network of local schools, colleges and businesses to which 120 businesses signed up. They also organised working groups on common challenges, which they identified using the Compass tool data. To help schools navigate the confusing landscape of careers service providers, the Local Enterprise Partnership created a single directory of locally available providers and their costs. They also set up a news bulletin to keep all schools informed of emerging opportunities.

The group learned that some activities were best achieved together, for example better use of local labour market information to inform pupils' career choices. Likewise, on more challenging elements of the Gatsby careers benchmarks – such as incorporating careers advice into all elements of the curriculum – schools shared exercise ideas with each other. Some schools also began to share careers advisers or to pool resources and jointly purchase new tools, such as data systems to track pupils' destinations. This allowed most schools to redeploy existing resources or tweak existing activities to achieve the benchmarks.

After two years, 85 per cent of schools and colleges in the pilot fully achieved six or more Gatsby benchmarks, while three schools achieved all eight benchmarks. Progress has been particularly stark at underperforming schools or colleges. A local pupil referral unit for excluded students transformed its students' destinations, while an inner-city school (Excelsior Academy) achieved its highest ever proportion of university and apprenticeship starts – all by redeploying existing resources. The Local Enterprise Partnership now has pledges from 60 per cent of local schools and colleges to achieve the Gatsby benchmarks and is closer to its goal of commitment from all schools and colleges in the region.

Thanks partly to this initiative and broader support for young people, youth NEET rates for the entire North East region have already nearly halved since 2015 – falling from 23.4 to 13.5 per cent, below both London and West Midland rates.

More information:

www.nelep.co.uk/improving-skills/north-east-ambition-2

www.gatsby.org.uk/education/focus-areas/good-career-guidance

Apprenticeships and entry-level jobs by region

Apprenticeships are a more common path into employment for young people in many youth coldspots, but they are often of lower quality than in the hotspots.[27] The worst-performing regions for youth social mobility – the North East and East Midlands – have the lowest proportion of advanced or higher-level apprenticeship starts in the country (at around 40 per cent versus 46.5 per cent in London).[28] This is a problem because lower-level apprenticeships lead to lower pay and have lower chances of converting into a full-time role.[29]

On top of this, even where higher-level apprenticeships are available, many areas do not advertise opportunities effectively. This means that the best opportunities often go to those with good contacts rather than to those who need them most. Indeed, better-off families are 2.5 times more likely to know about degree-level apprenticeships than others.[30] When it comes to degree-level apprenticeships in particular, employers often apply their traditional graduate recruiting criteria – which can exclude able disadvantaged students without the social capital or academic profile demanded.

Additionally, there is an emerging risk that the apprenticeship levy (which applies only to large employers) will lead to disproportionate levels of apprenticeship spend in cities, where many big businesses are located. This may widen the disparity in available opportunities between urban and rural areas.

Coldspots also suffer from more limited employment opportunities in general. Indeed, the two regions with the lowest youth social mobility scores – the North East and the East Midlands – have the fewest employers of any region. The North East has 70,000 employers and the East Midlands 177,000, compared with 506,000 in London.[31] The North East has particularly low numbers of employers per resident and also fewer large companies, which is a problem for the young as very small enterprises can be less open to and knowledgeable about hiring and training young workers, even the highly skilled.[32]

Local stakeholders can undertake a number of actions to begin to tackle these problems. Both Lincoln University and Sheffield Hallam University are engaging local companies to coach them on hiring and training practices for graduates or young apprentices (see case studies). In other areas, local groups are coming together to develop plans and targets for improving the diversity of apprentices or getting more disadvantaged young people into work. These efforts work best when employers, educators and youth services collaborate on holistic programmes of support for all young people, as well as planning extra interventions for those in the most need.

The government's new apprenticeship diversity hubs are a good example of local action. The Department for Education and the Education & Skills Funding Agency are working with Local Enterprise Partnerships to bring together groups of public and private sector employers to improve black and minority ethnic representation in apprenticeships in local areas. The activity has only just begun, but awareness of local issues is being increased as a first step towards addressing them.

27 The North East has the highest number of apprenticeship starts per 1,000 of the 16+ population in the country, while London has the lowest. Department for Education (2017) *Apprenticeships by Geography, Age and Level: Starts 2005/06 to Q1 2016/17*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/592143/apprenticeships-starts-by-geography-level-and-age.xlsx

28 Department for Education (2017) *Apprenticeships by Geography, Age and Level: Starts 2005/06 to Q1 2016/17*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/592143/apprenticeships-starts-by-geography-level-and-age.xlsx

29 Department for Education (2015) *Apprenticeship Evaluation 2015: Learner and Employer Surveys*.

30 Chartered Management Institute (2017) *The Age of Apprenticeships*. www.managers.org.uk/~/media/Files/PDF/Infographics/Age-of-Apprenticeships-infographic-August-2017.pdf

31 ONS (2017) *UK Business; Activity, Size and Location: 2017*. www.ons.gov.uk/businessindustryandtrade/business/activitysizeandlocation/bulletins/ukbusinessactivitysizeandlocation/2017

32 Department for Business, Innovation & Skills (2016) *Business Population Estimates 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/business-population-estimates-2016

Lincoln: University-led economy development to create graduate jobs

Lincoln has lower rates of skilled work and lower average wages than the East Midlands average. Part of the challenge is that many local employers are small organisations with little experience of hiring graduates. In the 2000s, Lincoln University realised that graduate employment outcomes were limited by the local economy and decided to take action. Lincoln's Vice Chancellor began to engage and support existing businesses, while also attracting new businesses to the area. The project began with a regeneration of the campus and an increase in student numbers, which helped to generate 5,000 new local jobs over a ten-year period.

In addition, the university consulted local businesses to ensure that they were able to find people with relevant skills locally and encourage them to take on more graduates. This included helping small local businesses to design graduate recruiting and training programmes, as many had never hired a graduate before. The university engaged 500 local companies in several key industries, such as food and farming, to understand their skill needs and to develop relevant skill-building programmes. They then modified the content of courses and research plans to meet employers' needs. The university also opened up a National Food Manufacturing Centre, which offers work-based training and degree apprenticeships in food manufacturing, among other programmes. Similarly, a new School of Engineering was launched to meet the skill needs of Siemens – a local employer considering moving out of the area due to insufficient skills.

To attract new businesses, the university partnered with the Local Enterprise Partnership on innovation and worked with the local council on a range of joint ventures (e.g. a local arts festival and science and innovation park), and opened a new College of Science and Engineering to build hard-to-find skills. The new School of Engineering engaged all engineering businesses in the region, as well as their supply chains, and delivered research for a wide range of organisations.

As a result, Lincoln has benefited from a range of new investments in the area, including new offices opened up by Bifrangi and other companies. The partnership with Siemens also led to further investment from the company in the area, including a new factory. In terms of graduate employment, 50 new engineering posts have opened in the area, a number of local businesses have set up new graduate training programmes, and new high-tech companies have located on the science park and started taking paid interns and graduates.

Sheffield: Ensuring diversity in degree apprentices

Sheffield Hallam is one of the universities leading the way with degree apprenticeships, but has identified low levels of diversity among apprentices. The university found that many employers apply their traditional graduate recruiting model to hiring apprentices and often demand very high levels of social capital and very high academic grades – above the average requirement for a degree at Sheffield Hallam. The university decided to work with employers to encourage and enable them to recruit from a broader pool of applicants.

In September 2017, the university launched a pilot programme to help local disadvantaged pupils secure degree apprenticeships. The plan is to use the national collaborative outreach programme to identify 160 pupils with the potential to become an apprentice and then offer specialist advice and support to those pupils. This will include six learner preparation events and three recruitment events – with a large pool of employers that Sheffield Hallam will source. As part of this programme, Sheffield Hallam will also inspire and help employers to improve their recruiting processes, ultimately producing a toolkit.

Already, Sheffield Hallam reports that informal conversations with employers have prompted some to rethink their recruiting models for degree apprentices, although it is too soon to see clear results.

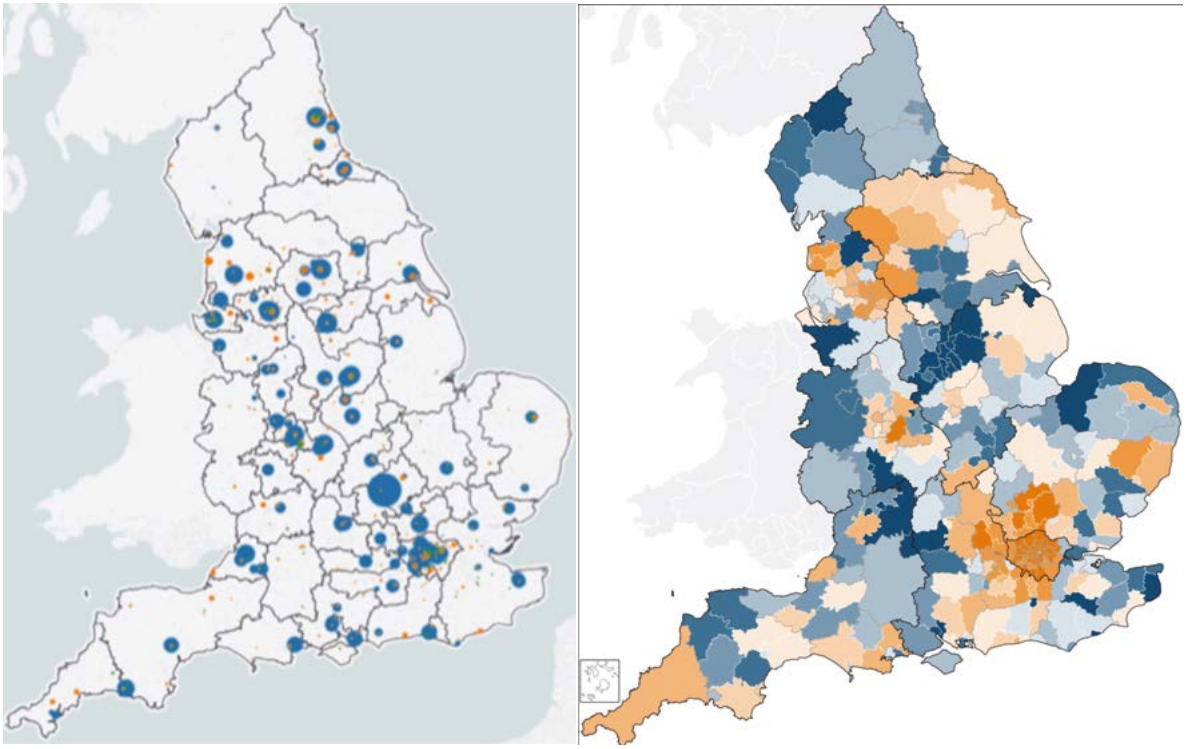
Access to higher education by region

The youth hotspots all have access to a broad range of nearby universities, while most coldspots have limited access to higher education – restricting choice for low-income youngsters who often wish to (or can only afford to) live at home while studying. In most of the ten worst-performing local authority areas for youth social mobility, many parts of the locality are about an hour each way from the nearest university by public transport – and often even further from a selective university.[33]

As Figure 4.6 shows, there are many areas of the country that have no higher education institutions, not even a further education college offering degree-level courses.[34] The map of areas with no higher education mirrors the map of youth social mobility coldspots fairly closely. Clusters of low provision appear in the South West, Yorkshire and The Humber, and coastal areas of the South East and East of England, among other areas. These are areas where university participation from local youngsters is also low.[35] It should be noted, however, that participation rates are also low in several university cities, such as Bristol and Southampton. Proximity to a university is not always enough to ensure wide participation – partly because attainment is a larger determinant of university access than distance to a university.[36]

33 Social Mobility Commission analysis.
34 Social Mobility Commission (2016) *State of the Nation 2016: Social mobility in Great Britain*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/569410/Social_Mobility_Commission_2016_REPORT_WEB__1__.pdf
35 Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
36 Gibbons S and Vignoles A (2009) *Access, Choice and Participation in Higher Education*. http://cee.lse.ac.uk/ceedps/ceedp101.pdf

Figure 4.6: Undergraduate numbers at higher education institutions in England and youth coldspot areas



Source: Higher Education Funding Council for England (2017) *Local HE profiles 2014–15*. www.hefce.ac.uk/analysis/maps/lg/.
Notes: On the left-hand map, blue dots are higher education institutions, orange dots are further education colleges, and green dots are alternative providers. The size of the dot represents the number of students. On the right-hand map, dark blue areas are coldspots and dark orange areas are hotspots.

Nevertheless, young people in areas with no higher education provider have no choice but to move out if they want to attend university. This can deter some students without the funds, confidence or desire to leave their local community. Such areas also tend to have fewer local graduates and may receive less outreach from universities – both of which adversely affect young people's aspirations.[37]

Even in areas with a university, however, there is great inequality across the country. In many areas, there is only one local provider, often with limited course offerings or below-average teaching and employment outcomes. This is a problem for disadvantaged students in particular, since proximity is the single biggest factor in determining their choice of university.[38] Indeed, disadvantaged young people are more likely to study at home than better-off peers.[39] As a result, disadvantaged students in many isolated parts of the country, such as Carlisle or Hartlepool, are limited by what is on offer at the only university within reach.

Local authorities, schools and universities can all help compensate for limited access to higher education. Local authorities can offer travel bursaries to enable poorer youngsters to study degree courses at further education colleges. Universities can partner with further education colleges or open satellite campuses in areas with no higher education, as Coventry University did in Scarborough (see case study). The national collaborative outreach

37 Social Mobility Commission (2016) *State of the Nation 2016: Social mobility in Great Britain*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/569410/Social_Mobility_Commission_2016_REPORT_WEB__1__.pdf. Department for Education (2017) *Understanding the Changing Gaps in Higher Education Participation in Different Regions of England*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/604393/Higher_education_understanding_participation_gaps.pdf

38 Gibbons S and Vignoles A (2009) *Access, Choice and Participation in Higher Education*. http://cee.lse.ac.uk/ceedps/ceedp101.pdf

39 Department for Education (2017) *Understanding the Changing Gaps in Higher Education Participation in Different Regions of England*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/604393/Higher_education_understanding_participation_gaps.pdf. Department for Business, Innovation & Skills (2014) *Learning from Futuretrack: studying and living at home*. www.hecsu.ac.uk/assets/assets/documents/Futuretrack_BIS_Learning_from_futuretrack_studying_and_living_at_home.pdf

programme also helps to ensure that university outreach goes to areas with lower-than-expected university entry based on local GCSE results. Finally, schools can also play their part by giving young people the chance to travel outside their area and broaden their horizons. This can involve work experience away from home as well as university visits (see Dyke House case study).

Scarborough: Coventry's satellite campus and locally relevant courses

In 2014, Coventry University opened a new Scarborough campus in an area where young people were cut off from higher education. The campus offers courses that match local employers' needs and are compatible with work and caring responsibilities.

Scarborough offers 'life-shaped learning', not a traditional university schedule. Modules are taught in blocks of four hours a day, five days a week, with an assessment at the end of the module. As modules are in either morning or afternoon slots, students can combine study with work or caring responsibilities. Rolling start dates also allow students to begin studies in September, November, January, February or April, and finish within eight months. This flexibility means that students with an unexpected change in circumstances – sickness, job loss, pregnancy – can stop studying for a few modules, and then resume when ready without jeopardising grades, delaying studies an entire year, or dropping out.

The courses on offer take Coventry University's existing content and match it to Scarborough's local needs. Some courses were developed bespoke to meet the needs of local employers, including an Applied Health course co-developed with the local NHS trust.

To widen participation and improve job outcomes, the university updated the traditional three-year degree model. After the first year, students receive a Higher National Certificate (HNC); after the second year, a Higher National Diploma (HND); and after the final year a full degree. This enables students to enter para-professional jobs after a year of study. In addition, the university offers a Foundation year to help local people without A-levels or other level 3 qualifications to enter the university.

Scarborough currently has a few hundred students, but by 2020 Coventry University projects that more than 2,000 will be studying at the campus.

More information: www.coventry.ac.uk/scarborough

Hartlepool: Dyke House College's horizon-widening programme

Dyke House College is situated in Hartlepool, a small coastal town in the North East. The community is largely white working class and the geographical location has led to little social mobility. Historically, students often displayed low aspirations, and progression was heavily defined by offerings in the immediate area. Based on GCSE attainment, fewer pupils continued onto A-level study than the national average. Coastal isolation also meant that travelling to open days and university outreach events was often difficult, creating extra barriers to higher education outside the Tees Valley.

The school's Aspirations Programme works across Years 4 to 13 to combat the impact of coastal isolation on students. The pre-16 Aspirations Programme includes internal projects and programmes delivered by external partners. Internal programmes embed higher education in the school culture via regular, targeted interventions. This begins in Year 4 with a project to introduce the concept of higher education and skills-based learning. The flagship Future Scholars programme invites academics to give lectures for the highest-attaining pupils as part of a weekly programme to encourage a love of learning and introduce academia beyond the curriculum. In addition, the Aspire to Be programme works with Durham University to coordinate students to mentor Year 8 pupils to create personal relationships and dispel myths regarding higher education. Partnerships with charities such as the Brilliant Club provide extra opportunities for super-curricular learning.

As part of the Aspirations Programme, the school also organises visits to universities such as Newcastle and Cambridge, as well as work experience outside Hartlepool in order to ensure that students are open to opportunities outside of their locality.

The school's Sixth Form opened in 2014 to improve the progression of its pre-16 students into post-16 study. Sixth Form interventions begin with a Personal Development Plan – a termly one-to-one mentoring session to discuss future progression pathways and arrange tailored activities. A broader tutor programme gives students an understanding of post-18 options, thanks to guest speakers from a range of higher education institutions, apprenticeship providers and foundation degrees. Students pursuing highly selective courses also attend weekly super-curricular groups, while aspiring medics and Oxbridge candidates receive extra support.

In 2016/17 over 78 per cent of Year 7–11 students were involved in at least one programme or university visit. The Sixth Form also celebrated their first ever places attained at Oxford and Cambridge universities. A further 25 per cent of all offers resulted from involvement in widening participation schemes. University partnerships are key to these accomplishments and integral to ensuring that coastal isolation does not indefinitely equate to limited progression to higher education.

For more information: www.dykehousecollege.com

4.3 Conclusion and recommendations

The effect of postcode on prospects is most acute in this life stage. Disadvantaged young people in thriving urban areas – especially those in London – tend to benefit from better opportunities and better outcomes than young people in other areas. By contrast, rural or coastal isolation can have major consequences for youth social mobility, as it limits access to further education, higher education, and a range of inspiration and support activities from employers, universities and charities. This is especially true of isolated post-industrial towns. Disadvantaged young people in isolated areas are often trapped – they cannot afford to move out, but have inadequate opportunities available locally.

The government has a number of policies in place to address regional inequalities. The new schools funding formula, for example, will offer extra funds to schools in sparsely populated areas, while apprenticeship providers will also receive a cash payment for training people from the most deprived areas. Local stakeholders can also improve access to opportunities for disadvantaged youngsters in isolated areas by encouraging collaboration between rural schools and local employers, universities and third-sector organisations.

Recommendations

- Local Enterprise Partnerships should follow the approach of the North East Local Enterprise Partnership, which works to improve careers support for young people by facilitating collaboration between employers, schools and colleges via joint groups and websites.
- Universities should play a more active role in their local community by encouraging local employers to hire graduates and organising student volunteering in isolated areas nearby.
- Government should develop education and skill policies to better support disadvantaged young people in isolated areas; for example, by targeting any unused apprenticeship levy funds at regions with fewer high-level apprenticeships.

Chapter 5: Working Lives

- The Home Counties in the South East and East of England perform best at this life stage, with residents benefiting from the clustering of high-skilled, high-paid jobs and levels of affluence leading to higher than average rates of home ownership.
- High housing costs are a major barrier to social mobility with a stark north/south divide for housing affordability: as few as 18 per cent of families own their own home in parts of London.
- In contrast to earlier life stages, London does not dominate: nearly one-third of its boroughs fall in the bottom quintile, mainly due to unaffordable housing costs.
- Rural and coastal areas do worst overall in this life stage as many are cut off from access to top jobs, with poor transport links resulting in travel-to-work times nearly four times those in urban areas. Despite this, planned government spending per person on transport projects is £1,943 in London, but £680 in the North West, £212 in the South West and £190 in Yorkshire and The Humber.
- Two-thirds of high-skilled, knowledge-based jobs are located in cities, and in England one in three of these jobs is in London. But high housing costs and low pay for many city residents mean that only 12 per cent of towns or cities make it into the top 20 per cent of social mobility hotspots in this life stage.
- Low pay is pervasive throughout the country, with more than 30 per cent of residents in 71 largely rural areas earning below the voluntary living wage: average earnings in West Somerset are £312 a week but £670 in Wandsworth.

Recommendations

- Central government should put social mobility and place at the heart of the industrial strategy, with a focus on rebalancing economic and work opportunities.
- Central government should rebalance the national transport budget to deliver a more equal share of investment per person and contribute towards a more regionally balanced economy.
- The Department for Education and the Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy should collaborate on Opportunity Areas, aiming to improve educational attainment and labour market opportunity in coldspot areas.
- The Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy should match the Department for Education's £72 million Opportunity Area fund to boost quality employment in coldspot areas.
- Local government should develop a new deal with employers and educators for inclusive employment, based on jointly agreed local social mobility action plans, using the Social Mobility Employer Index as a framework for employer action.
- Local government should support and incentivise accredited voluntary living wage employers and ensure that the local council is also accredited.

5.1 Introduction

We are a divided country when it comes to access to quality jobs. London dominates the national landscape of employment, with more than one in five of all jobs in England based there.[1] The gap widens when examining the highest-paid jobs, as nearly one in three of England's high-skilled, knowledge-based jobs is in London.[2]

Having a decent job is not the only factor at play when it comes to adult life. Social mobility depends on people having sufficient financial resources to be able to build a good life for themselves and their families. This means earning a decent wage but there are 71, mostly rural, areas where more than 30 per cent of people earn below the voluntary living wage, which is now £8.75 per hour and £10.20 in London.[3]

Poor transport links, particularly for areas on the coast, make it hard for people to access good-quality employment without relocating. Living in a disconnected area can lead to worse social mobility outcomes in an individual's working life.

Being able to afford to live and progress also means having a stable and secure home. We measure this by assessing property ownership. But it has become very difficult for people to get on the property ladder particularly without family support, with over a third of first-time buyers relying on the 'bank of mum and dad'.[4] Regionally, home ownership rates are extremely varied. Our analysis finds that buying a home will cost the average person nearly 30 times their income in the London borough of Kensington and Chelsea, compared with three times their income in other parts of the country.

The indicators in this life stage measure the labour market and housing outcomes that shape people's experiences in their working lives. There are huge geographical variations in quality work opportunities and access to home ownership.

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Median weekly salary of employees who live in the local area, all employees (full time and part time) (ONS data).
- Average house prices compared with median annual salary of employees who live in the local area (ratio) (ONS data).
- Percentage of people that live in the local area who are in managerial and professional occupations (Standard Occupational Classification groups 1 and 2) (ONS data).
- Percentage of jobs that are paid less than the applicable Living Wage Foundation living wage (ONS data).
- Percentage of families with children who own their home (Census 2011 data).

1 NOMIS (2017) Workforce jobs by industry (SIC 2007) – seasonally adjusted.
2 High-skilled, knowledge-based jobs defined by 'Professional, scientific and technical activities', see NOMIS (2017) Workforce jobs by industry (SIC 2007) – seasonally adjusted.
3 The voluntary living wage is the only rate that is independently calculated each year based on the real cost of living. It is overseen by the Living Wage Foundation and Living Wage Commission (www.livingwage.org.uk/sites/default/files/Living%20Wage%20calculation%20paper.pdf).
4 Social Mobility Commission (2017) *The Impacts of Family Support on Access to Homeownership for Young People in the UK*. www.cchpr.landecon.cam.ac.uk/Projects/Start-Year/2016/Research-impact-family-support-access-homeownership-young-people-UK/family_support/DownloadTemplate

Figure 5.1: Map of performance against working lives social mobility indicators

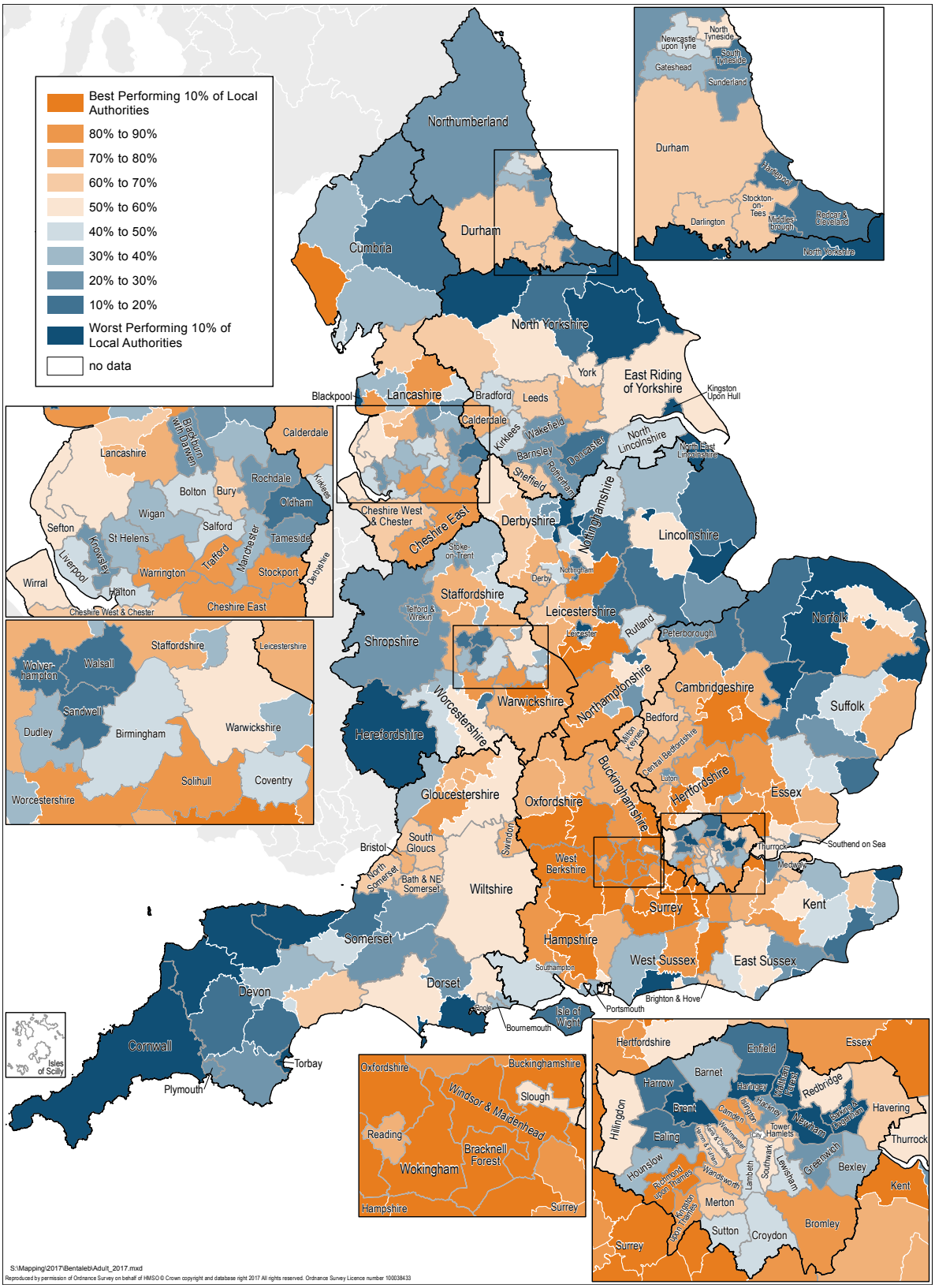


Table 5.1: The best and worst performers against working lives social mobility indicators

Hotspots			Coldspots		
Rank (best)	Local authority area	Region	Rank (worst)	Local authority area	Region
1	Wokingham	South East	1	West Somerset	South West
2	Rushcliffe	East Midlands	2	Newham	London
3	South Cambridgeshire	East of England	3	Boston	East Midlands
4	Elmbridge	South East	4	Brent	London
5	Surrey Heath	South East	5	North Norfolk	East of England
6	Windsor and Maidenhead	South East	6	Waltham Forest	London
7	Winchester	South East	7	Forest Heath	East of England
8	Vale of White Horse	South East	8	Breckland	East of England
9	Brentwood	East of England	9	Thanet	South East
10	St Albans	East of England	10	Weymouth and Portland	South West
11	Epsom and Ewell	South East	11	Mansfield	East Midlands
12	Hart	South East	12	Torbay	South West
13	Guildford	South East	13	Richmondshire	Yorkshire and The Humber
14	Warwick	West Midlands	14	Haringey	London
15	Chiltern	South East	15	Blackpool	North West
16	West Berkshire	South East	16	Torridge	South West
17	Richmond upon Thames	London	17	Barking and Dagenham	London
18	South Oxfordshire	South East	18	Bolsover	East Midlands
19	Copeland	North West	19	Waveney	East of England
20	Waverley	South East	20	Kingston upon Hull	Yorkshire and The Humber
21	Spelthorne	South East	21	North Devon	South West
22	Harborough	East Midlands	22	Cornwall	South West
23	Reigate and Banstead	South East	23	Norwich	East of England
24	Oxford	South East	24	Lincoln	East Midlands
25	Bracknell Forest	South East	25	North East Lincolnshire	Yorkshire and The Humber
26	East Hertfordshire	East of England	26	Scarborough	Yorkshire and The Humber
27	Basingstoke and Deane	South East	27	Arun	South East
28	Mole Valley	South East	28	Ryedale	Yorkshire and The Humber
29	South Bucks	South East	29	Leicester	East Midlands
30	Blaby	East Midlands	30	Purbeck	South West
31	Dartford	South East	31	Herefordshire	West Midlands
32	Mid Sussex	South East	32	Enfield	London

5.2 Analysis

The Home Counties perform far better than anywhere else when it comes to home ownership, jobs and wages. Nearly half of local authority areas in the South East score in the top quintile and one-third in the top 10 per cent. In contrast to the earlier life stages, London does not dominate. Instead, nearly one-third of its boroughs fall in the bottom quintile. While Londoners have similar rates of top jobs as residents in the commuter belts, they experience the most unaffordable housing in the country.

The residents of Yorkshire and The Humber are most likely to experience poor working lives outcomes, with nearly a quarter of local areas in this region ranking in the worst-performing 10 per cent in England. The availability of top jobs is crucial to determining success at this life stage, but these jobs are clustered in London and the South East. In these areas, 35 per cent of people are in professional employment, compared with 26 per cent in Yorkshire and The Humber and the North East.

The type of area also has an impact on opportunities available, with residents of coastal and rural areas experiencing the worst outcomes overall. Low numbers of residents of these areas are in high-paying jobs and they earn lower than average rates of pay. Poor connectivity, both within and between areas, limits choices for residents in their working lives. The city areas, particularly many city centres, also perform poorly due to low rates of home ownership and lack of affordable housing for residents, but also because of low numbers of city residents in top jobs. For example, only 23 per cent of residents in Stoke-on-Trent have top jobs, far lower than the 30 per cent average.

Some areas offer poor social mobility prospects across all working life measures. In these areas, residents face high costs of housing alongside poor outcomes on jobs and pay. These are West Somerset, Torbay and Thanet, all areas on the south coast. Surprisingly, given their proximity to high-paying industries and higher pay, some Greater London boroughs such as Newham also score poorly on all working lives measures. This is because housing remains extremely expensive in these areas, but few residents are in top jobs, pulling average wages down.

The range of measures in this life stage bring out the contrasting outcomes in different areas of the country, and also between residents within these areas. As a stark example, despite nearly half of residents in St Albans holding professional jobs, a quarter do not even earn the living wage. The story is similar in other prosperous areas and in affluent London boroughs.

The role of transport

The residents of England's coastal areas experience extremely poor outcomes for social mobility in their working lives. With the exception of Copeland and Suffolk Coastal, all coastal areas are in the bottom decile. This chimes with recent analysis which found poorer outcomes in work for coastal residents,[5] including higher rates of low pay and higher unemployment. Economic growth also tends to be weaker in coastal communities, compared with other parts of Great Britain.[6]

One of the main reasons why these areas, spanning over a fifth of England's local authorities, experience worse outcomes is that they all suffer from poor transport links. The role of transport is critical in connecting people to jobs and wider services.

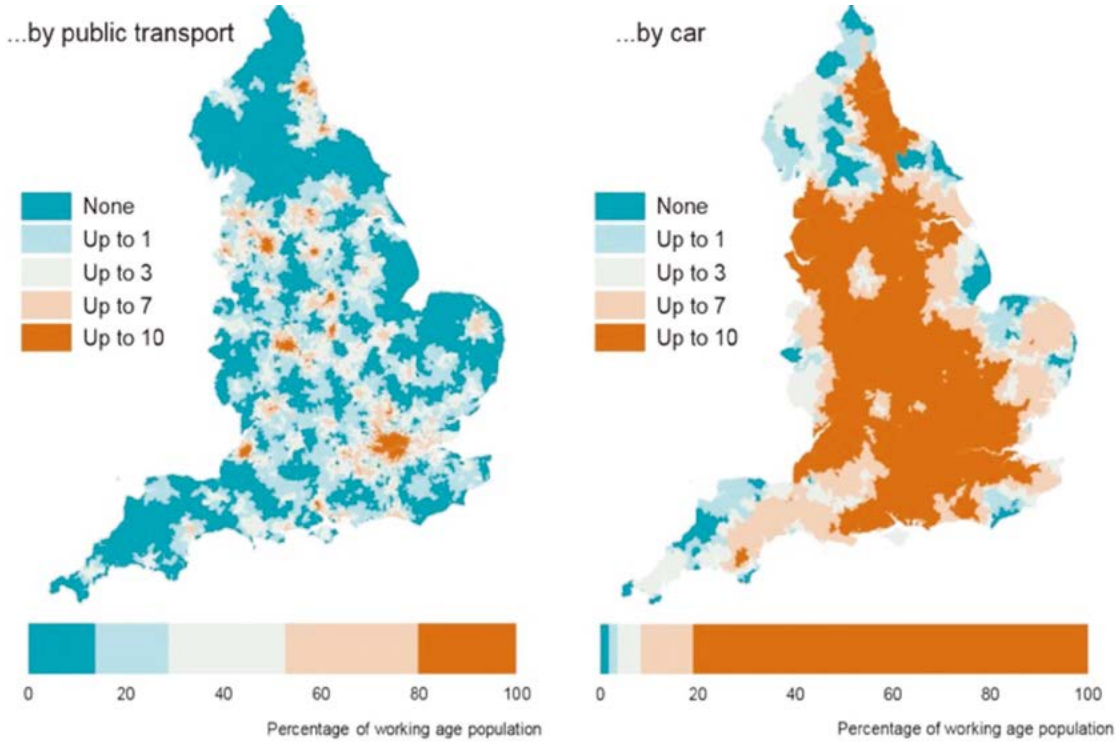
The geographical barriers in place for people living in coastal and rural areas can be significant as a result of poor public transport links. Some pockets of England, including the worst-performing areas such as West Somerset, are not served well enough by public transport.

5 Social Market Foundation (2017) *Living on the Edge: Britain's coastal communities*.
6 Social Market Foundation (2017) *Living on the Edge: Britain's coastal communities*.

In the most rural and isolated areas, it can take an average of 1 hour 46 minutes to travel to work on public transport. The equivalent time for urban residents is 28 minutes, nearly four times less.[7] This has a detrimental impact on an individual's ability to get on in life, restricting access to employment and services such as Jobcentres and adult learning services.[8]

Access to a car can have a substantial impact on the working lives of rural residents by more than halving this travel-to-work time. But car ownership can be unaffordable for people on low incomes. Only 52 per cent of people in the lowest household income group have access to a car, compared with nearly 90 per cent in the highest household income group.[9] The road infrastructure also affects connectivity, as this determines options for local residents. The maps in Figure 5.2 depict the areas of disconnection by public transport and car, illustrating that areas on the coast face disconnection for all types of transport. This also demonstrates the important role of car ownership. A car allows access to employment within 45 minutes for 80 per cent of the working population, compared with 20 per cent by public transport.

Figure 5.2: Average number of large employment centres accessible within 45 minutes by public transport or car



Source: Department for Transport (2016) *Road Use Statistics Great Britain 2016*, statistical release. www.licencebureau.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/road-use-statistics.pdf

Being well connected by transport links can open up options and opportunities in working lives. The residents of the Home Counties, for example, benefit from being within reach of London's rich job market while living in more affordable housing than is available in the capital. The South East region benefits from 22 per cent of England's motorway network, as well six airports and three major ports.[10]

England's cities have also benefited from a number of large-scale initiatives to boost investment in infrastructure and stimulate economic growth in recent years. These initiatives, including Northern Powerhouse Rail, the High Speed Two rail network (HS2) and Crossrail,

7 Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2015) *Rural Accessibility 2015.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/rural-transport-travel-and-accessibility-statistics
8 Department for Transport (2016) *Transport Statistics 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/576095/tsgb-2016-report-summaries.pdf
9 Department for Transport (2016) *Road Use Statistics Great Britain 2016*, statistical release. www.licencebureau.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/road-use-statistics.pdf
10 Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2010/2011) Portrait of the South East, *Regional Trends* 43.

will boost urban mobility, allowing people to travel more efficiently in and between cities. These initiatives can have wide-ranging benefits for people from all backgrounds in the regions they affect, as set out in the following case study of the impact of HS2 in Birmingham.

Birmingham: HS2 and the STEM Progression Pathway

The impact of HS2 in the West Midlands region has been valued at £4.4 billion. This includes employment forecasts for Birmingham estimating an additional 29,000 jobs created by 2026, with more at the start of HS2. Many of these will be high-skilled STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) jobs associated with the development of HS2 and other related industries. The National College for High Speed Rail, which has been established to train the future HS2 workforce, is located across two campuses in Birmingham and Doncaster.

Given the scale of this estimated impact, Birmingham City Council and the West Midlands Combined Authority have developed the Midlands HS2 Growth Strategy. At the heart of this is an ambition for inclusive growth. This aims to deliver an efficient, high-skilled economy in ways that reduce social and economic inequalities.

To actively manage this aim, the Learning and Work Institute was commissioned jointly by Birmingham City Council and Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council to develop a strategy to enable the lowest-skilled and least-advantaged residents in these areas to progress towards high-skill, high-value jobs. A STEM Progression Pathway project developed the following model:

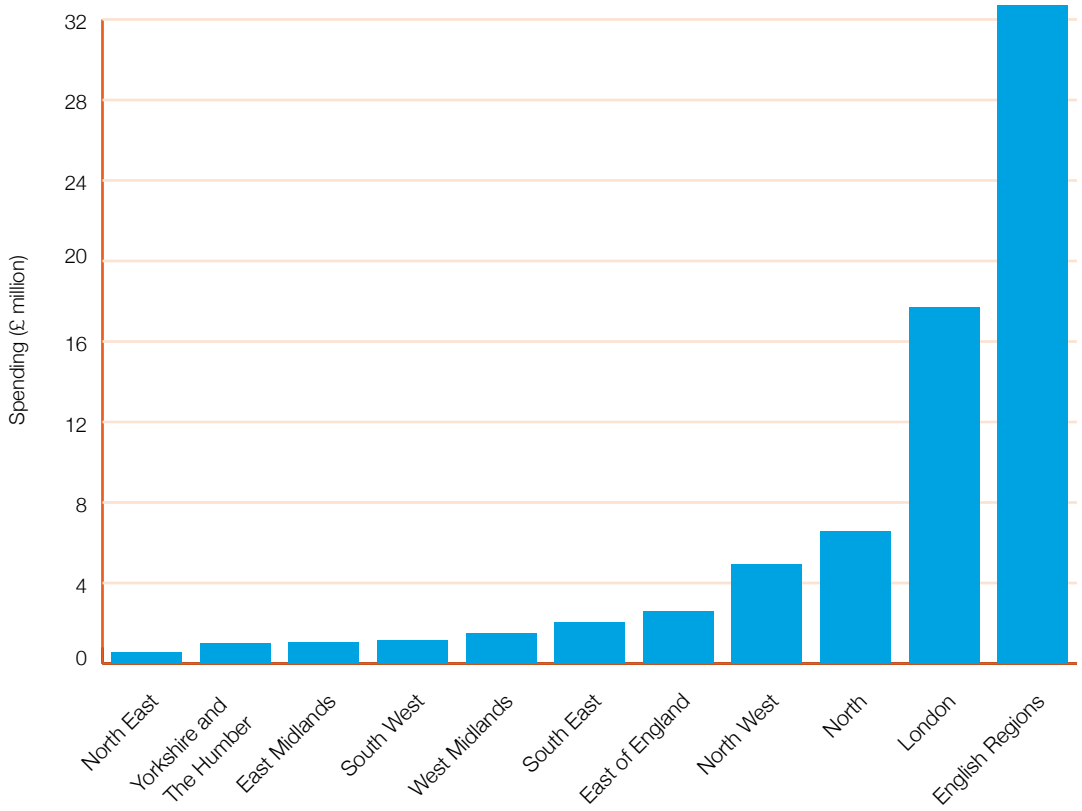
- Routes into the National College for High Speed Rail at all different starting points, from a Level 2 feeder course to a diploma course at Level 5 leading to a postgraduate certificate.
- A particular focus on entry into STEM for local people with the lowest levels of qualifications and skills, and the highest levels of disadvantage. Using a Citizens' Curriculum approach, this is an adult skills offer which gives people a broad set of skills in employability more generally; with the inclusion of STEM skills.
- Outreach and engagement activities targeted at specific groups under-represented in the industry, as well as those facing higher levels of exclusion from the workplace. This also includes people recently made redundant from the local manufacturing sector and public sector workers who are at risk of redundancy.
- An interface with employers, including talks from local employers, work experience placements, ongoing careers guidance, action planning, and taster sessions to enable learners to gain an understanding of learning opportunities.

Source: Learning and Work Institute (2017) *Progression Pathways into STEM careers: A strategy for Birmingham.*

But the country's rural and isolated communities are not benefiting in the same way from this transport expansion. Figure 5.3 shows huge regional disparities in spend per person on current or planned projects. In London this is £1,943, in the North West £680; but in Yorkshire and The Humber it is only £190 and in the South West just £212. This risks widening the barriers that poor transport connections can have on working lives. Disconnection negatively impacts on both jobs and housing.[11]

11 Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2016) *Overcoming Deprivation and Disconnection in UK Cities*.

Figure 5.3: Annual spending on transport, 2016/17 onwards, £ per capita



Sources: Institute for Public Policy Research North (2016) *Analysis of HM Treasury and the Infrastructure and Projects Authority*: National Infrastructure and Construction Pipeline Spreadsheet, Autumn 2016 update. ONS (2016) *Subnational Population Projections for Local Authorities in England*.

These regional disparities are also apparent in the official statistics on government spending. Data on transport spend from 2011 to 2016 shows that the disproportionate spend in London has increased. In 2011/12, spend in London was just over nine times greater than in the region with the lowest spend, the North East. In 2015/16, the gap had grown to nearly 11 times more.[12] Although this does not account for population size, it demonstrates a greater investment per person in London, and that this has been increasing.

Access to good jobs

One of the key reasons why transport matters is the regional imbalance in the location of good, well-paid jobs. Given that two-thirds of high-skilled, knowledge-based jobs are in cities,[13] poor connectivity means that they are hard to reach for people out of travelling distance. In disconnected areas, such as Richmondshire in North Yorkshire, only 18 per cent of residents are in top jobs.

Our indicators show that older industrial towns with a mining or manufacturing legacy, such as Sunderland and Mansfield, also do very badly on the proportion of well-paid jobs. At the same time, cities that continue to have manufacturing industries, including Wolverhampton and Peterborough, score poorly, as do many of the coastal and rural areas. Many former industrial areas have suffered from a lack of regeneration which has led to few growing knowledge-based industries locating there. While some of these areas have an existing manufacturing base, such as Sunderland where more than one in six jobs is in that sector,

12 HM Treasury, *Public Expenditure Statistical Analyses 2017*. Table 9.8e: Identifiable expenditure on economic affairs (of which: transport (1)) by country and region, 2011–12 to 2015–16. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/public-expenditure-statistical-analyses-2017

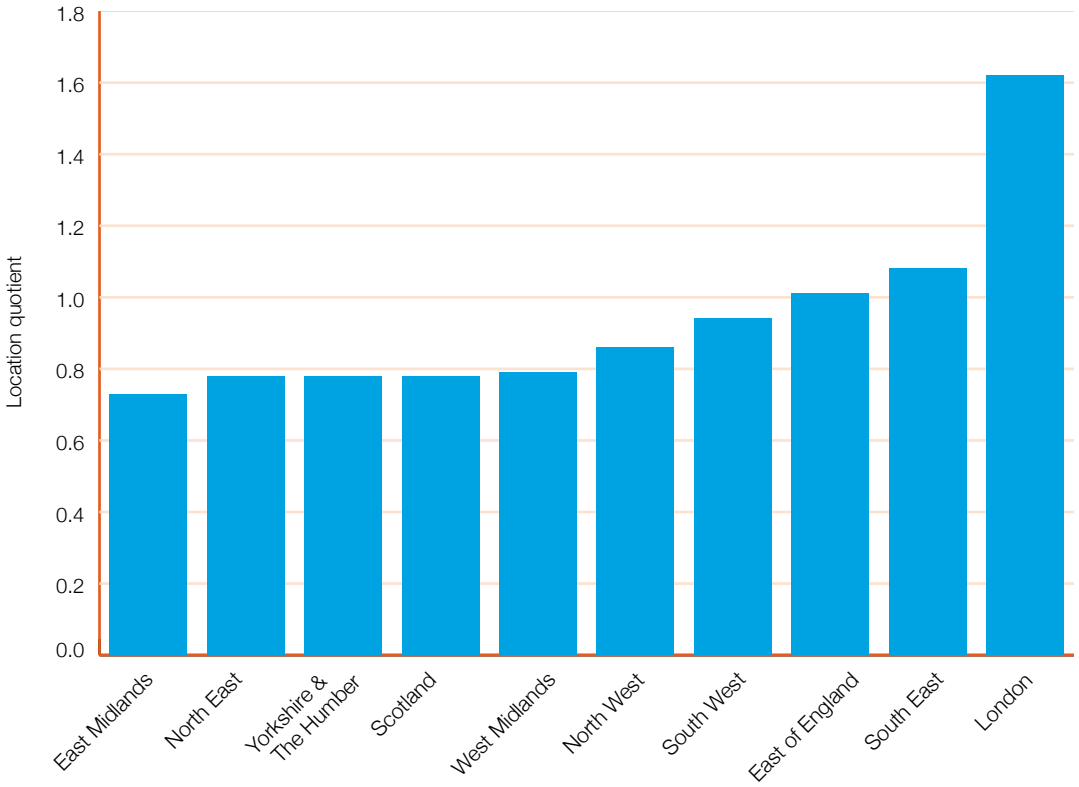
13 Centre for Cities (2016) What the geography of jobs in England and Wales tells us about the modern economy, blog, 10 March. Statistic is based on jobs in England and Wales.

others have high proportions of administrative roles which generally offer lower rates of pay. Even in manufacturing, 17 per cent of people earn below the voluntary living wage.[14]

Access to good jobs is an important driver for working lives outcomes as it leads to higher wages and, often, better prospects for pay progression. A number of the high-paying knowledge-based industries are highly spatially concentrated around London and the South East. University towns and cities in the south of England – Oxford, Cambridge, Reading and Brighton – benefit from high proportions of knowledge-based work in areas such as digital and research and development, which means that these areas have some of the highest rates of top jobs and pay.

There is a sector cluster effect of professional, scientific and technical activities (including law and engineering) in London and the South East. Figure 5.4 illustrates the location of professional and technical jobs by region. It shows that London's share of professional, scientific and technical jobs is over one and half times that of the rest of England, even after the size of the labour market is factored in.

Figure 5.4: Location of professional, technical jobs



Source: ONS (2017) *The Spatial Distribution of Industries in Great Britain: 2015*. www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/articles/thespatialdistributionofindustriesingreatbritain/2015

As a result, local governments face major challenges in attracting spatially clustered industries to locate or relocate in their area. Employers' location choices can have a significant impact on bringing jobs and economic growth to an area. One example of an area that has attracted a large employer in an industry new to the area is West Somerset with EDF Energy's Hinkley Point nuclear power station.

14 Resolution Foundation (2017) *Low Pay Britain 2017*.

West Somerset: EDF Energy's Hinkley Point nuclear power station

Hinkley Point C aims to be the first nuclear power station to be built in the UK for more than 20 years, with plans to generate low-carbon electricity to power around 6 million homes for 60 years. The decision to locate it on the coast of Somerset meant that the nuclear construction industry has been re-started in an area of low wages and limited employment.

Currently, there are 2,500 people working on-site in a range of civil engineering roles together with a huge number of additional supporting positions. Around half of the employment generated from this is filled by local residents, many of whom are from West Somerset. A number of infrastructure improvements are also being delivered including substantial improvements to the road network and the creation of park and ride facilities.

Hinkley Point C will create employment in the area for around 60 years after it has been constructed, creating 900 permanent jobs. During construction around 5,600 people will be employed on site at peak, including approximately 1,000 new apprenticeship opportunities.

Although this is at the beginning of a long-term programme of construction and delivery, EDF Energy estimates that over £4 billion will go into the regional economy over the lifetime of the project. For example, almost 4,000 local businesses have registered their interest as potential suppliers, which will serve to accumulate expertise in the high standards demanded of nuclear construction. This is supported by the opening of a new Energy Skills Centre and a Construction Skills Centre in partnership with the local Bridgwater & Taunton College, and the construction of the southern hub of the new National College for Nuclear.

Source: EDF Energy (2016) *Hinkley Point C, Building Britain's Low-carbon Future.*

The tendency for quality jobs to be geographically concentrated is mirrored when it comes to internships, which are becoming an essential part of accessing professional employment. Fifty-eight per cent of internship vacancies posted online were in London.[15] While this in itself is a barrier for many people outside London, many internships are unpaid which further locks disadvantaged young people out of these jobs. Most do not have the means to afford travel and accommodation, which can cost £1,000 a month in the capital.[16] Graduate jobs are also highly concentrated in cities.

This geographical clustering can lead to stalled aspiration in rural areas with disadvantaged young people less able and willing to travel long distances than their more affluent peers. This means that opportunities can be limited to local areas.

Low pay

Like top jobs, low-paid jobs – such as in retail and food services – are also concentrated in particular areas of the country. One of the consequences of this is that low pay is more concentrated in these areas. More than four in ten people in West Somerset and Weymouth and Portland earn less than the voluntary living wage compared with one in four nationally. This is an average of £312 a week for West Somerset residents – less than half of the earnings of the five best paid areas in England, such as Wandsworth where average weekly earnings are £670.

When low pay is examined by region, London and the South East have lower rates of their overall workforce earning below the living wage, as Table 5.2 shows.

15 Institute of Public and Policy Research (2017) *Internships: The inbetweeners*.
16 Sutton Trust (2014) *Internship or Indenture*. www.suttontrust.com/research-paper/internships

Table 5.2: Regional spread of jobs paying below the voluntary living wage

Authority	Number/proportion earning below real living wage	
	Jobs (thousands)	Percentage
England	5,213	23%
Outer London	424	28%
East Midlands	510	28%
Yorkshire and The Humber	564	26%
West Midlands	583	26%
North East	254	25%
North West	709	25%
South West	536	24%
East of England	574	24%
London overall	796	20%
South East	687	19%
Inner London	369	14%

Source: ONS (2016) *Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings* – Number and percentage of employee jobs with hourly pay below the living wage, by parliamentary constituency and local authority, UK, April 2015 and 2016. Table: Work Geography 1a LWO1.

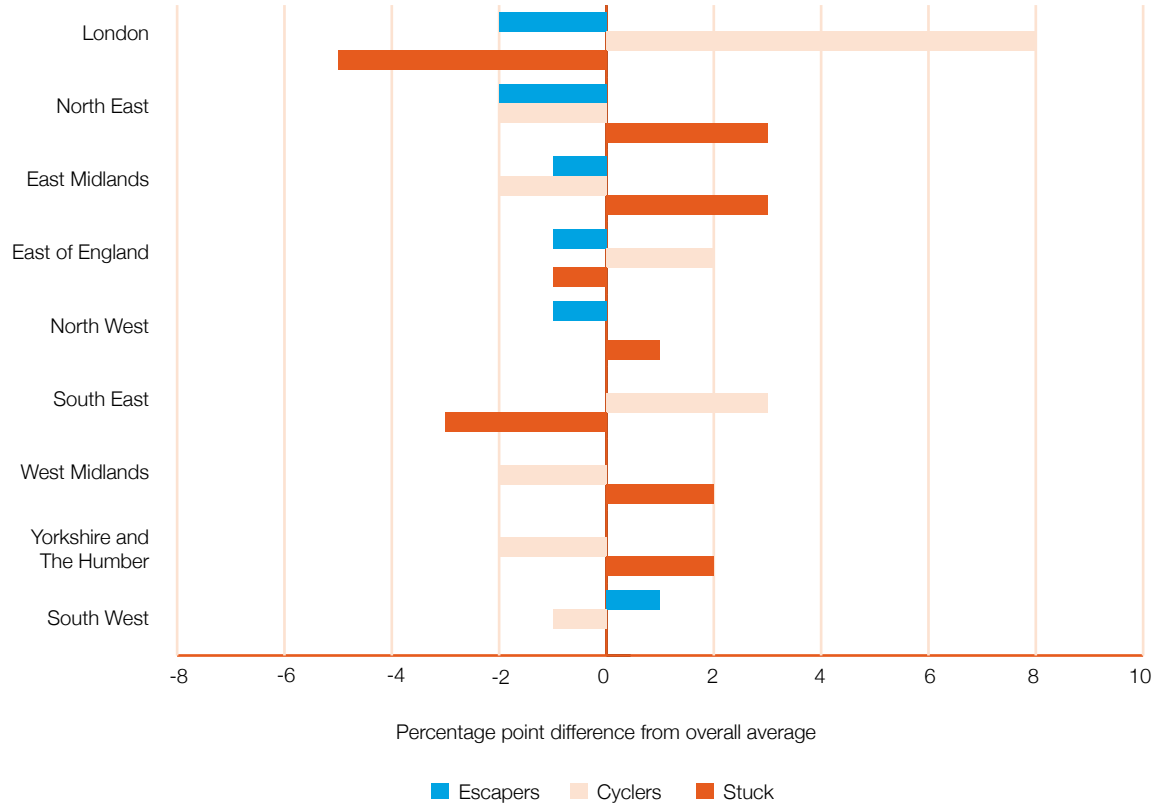
Three sectors make up 57 per cent of low-paid jobs – restaurants and hotels, retail and wholesale, health and social care.[17] These jobs are more prevalent in certain parts of the country. In West Somerset, for example, jobs in these sectors make up 52 per cent of the total jobs in the area, compared with 36 per cent in England overall and only 24 per cent in the best-performing area of this life stage, Wokingham.[18] One in four jobs is in accommodation and food services, compared with one in 20 in Wokingham.

The proportion of people getting stuck in low pay over a decade also follows a regional trend, which is largely in line with the rates of low pay in the area (Figure 5.5). Research undertaken for the Social Mobility Commission in 2017 found that the North East has the highest proportion of people stuck in the low pay trap – 3.4 percentage points higher than the average across Britain. This is also the region with the highest proportion of zero hours contracts[19] which offer, on average, lower rates of pay than permanent contracts.

The patterns of low pay highlight that Londoners are more likely to cycle in and out of low pay. This may be because a volatile labour market and the high cost of living in London push up the low pay threshold. However, it also demonstrates that low pay is pervasive regardless of region. There are 5.2 million people in England paid less than the voluntary living wage – nearly 40,000 more than last year.[20]

17 Resolution Foundation (2017) *Low Pay Britain 2017*.
18 NOMIS (2016) Labour Market Profile – West Somerset, Employee jobs by industry. www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157382/report.aspx
19 ONS (2017) *Labour Force Survey* – Zero-hours contracts data tables. Table: April to June 2017; EMP17: Level and rate of people on zero-hours contract, by region.
20 ONS (2016) *Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings* – Number and percentage of employee jobs with hourly pay below the living wage, by parliamentary constituency and local authority, UK, April 2015 and 2016. Table: Work Geography 1a LWO1.

Figure 5.5: Low pay status, defined by two-thirds of the median, in 2016 by region – percentage point difference from overall average



Source: Social Mobility Commission (2017) *The Great Escape*. Resolution Foundation analysis of New Earnings Survey Panel dataset.

Despite the concentration of low-paid jobs in certain parts of the country, local authorities have a role in boosting pay prospects for residents. In London, for example, Islington Council has been investing in paying the London living wage, which has helped reduce numbers of residents earning below that level from 14 per cent in 2014 to 11 per cent in 2016 – which is 6,000 fewer people. In Brent, the council has created incentives through a business rate relief scheme.

Islington: The voluntary living wage in social care

Twenty-one per cent of people working in social care in Britain earn below the voluntary living wage.[21] Islington Council has spent an extra £1 million to pay its domiciliary care staff the voluntary living wage, including all care workers who are contractors for the council. As a result, it is estimated that the council's overall relative spend has gone down by approximately £0.5 million since its introduction. In addition:

- A total of 509 Islington care staff have benefited.
- Of these, 80 are Islington residents.
- The largest group of beneficiaries are black, Asian and minority ethnic women, aged 41–59.
- Islington home carers are now getting their travel time paid at the London living wage as well as their contact time.
- Carers have a guaranteed minimum number of hours (i.e. no zero-hour contracts).

21 Resolution Foundation (2017) *Low Pay Britain 2017*.

Brent: Voluntary living wage business rate relief scheme

Brent became the first local authority in the country to offer a business rates discount to all organisations that became accredited London living wage employers in 2015/16. The council offers this at five times the accreditation fee paid to the Living Wage Foundation. The council wrote to all local businesses about the discount scheme, at the same time as writing about the increase in business rates in March 2017. It also offered a number of incentives to businesses which become accredited, such as:

- 15 per cent off membership of West London Business, one of London's largest chambers of commerce.
- A free trade stall at Brent Civic Centre.
- Free advertising in the Brent Business newsletter.
- Free, one-hour, one-to-one business advice session with a business consultancy.
- Invitations to London living wage events.

Although this scheme has not yet been evaluated, if successful it will offer other councils a practical solution for helping to address the low pay of their residents.

Towns and cities

Our indicators find that towns and cities score worse on the numbers of residents working in high-skilled jobs compared with residents living outside towns and cities.[22] Residents in urban areas also face high housing costs and low rates of home ownership. Only 12 per cent of towns or cities make it into the top 20 per cent of social mobility hotspots in this life stage. As shown in Figure 5.6, of England's major cities (excluding London), none scores highly and two – Nottingham and Leicester – fall into the bottom quintile.

22 Excluding London.

Figure 5.6: The working lives ranks of England's 11 metropolitan districts

Note: The scale is from 1 (best) to 324 (worst), with the best-performing area being Bristol, at 86th.

This reflects a broader issue of deprivation and poverty in urban areas. Cities have a higher proportion of the most deprived areas than the rest of England, with a higher prevalence of all types of deprivation.[23] The low rates of professional employment echoes analysis by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation that local jobs do not necessarily mean local employment, as in many poorer areas jobs are filled by residents from more prosperous areas.[24] For those in low-paid jobs,[25] only 17 per cent will escape low pay in a decade, demonstrating a significant issue when compounded with soaring costs of living, particularly in cities.

The low rates of top jobs for residents of cities and towns can partly be explained by examining the skills base within towns and cities: 24 per cent of people aged 16 and over have a Level 4 qualification or above, compared with the average for England as a whole, of 27 per cent.[26] Lower skills lead to lower pay and this is particularly the case when comparing people with and without degree-level qualifications. Analysis undertaken for the Social Mobility Commission in 2014 found that a degree significantly boosts a person's likelihood of pay progression, while basic and intermediate qualifications are important in terms of helping people get into work.[27]

Local authorities can have a significant role in setting the direction for skills acquisition in their areas. This is particularly effective in areas that have undertaken a mapping exercise of supply and demand of local skills and prioritised the upskilling of low-skilled residents as a result. The combined authorities have an additional lever for shaping adult skills. As part of the devolution deals, each area is being given devolved responsibility for the adult education budget. The Greater Manchester Combined Authority has taken steps to align this responsibility with local skills and productivity needs.

23 ONS (2016) *Towns and Cities analysis, England and Wales*. www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/housing/articles/townsandcitiesanalysisenglandandwalesmarch2016/2016-03-18
24 Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2016) *Overcoming Deprivation and Disconnection in UK Cities*.
25 Defined as hourly earnings below two-thirds of the median hourly wage, excluding tips, commissions or other premium payments.
26 ONS (2011) *Census: Qualifications and students, local authorities in England and Wales*. Table KS501EW.
27 Social Mobility Commission and Resolution Foundation (2014) *Escape Plan: Understanding who progresses from low pay and who gets stuck*.

Greater Manchester Combined Authority: Our People, Our Place: The Greater Manchester Strategy

Our People, Our Place, the strategy for Greater Manchester, was published in August 2017. This set out a vision 'to make Greater Manchester one of the best places in the world'. In it, the combined authority recognised the role of working-age adults in contributing to a productive economy and set out an aspiration to increase support for people of working age seeking access to skills or retraining to enter and sustain employment.

The combined authority undertook extensive research into the labour market and a detailed skills analysis to map current skills delivery against priority growth sectors. This found a mismatch between sector skills need and current provision. In particular, there was a lack of high-quality specialisation for further education provision at Level 4 and above. There are particular challenges for the region as Greater Manchester has employment and skills levels below the national average and only 37 per cent of residents with no qualifications are in work.

With newly devolved powers for allocating skills funding, which had previously been under the control of the Education and Skills Funding Agency, the combined authority is undertaking a skills commissioning process. Under the leadership of the Greater Manchester Skills Executive, this process has been refined to ensure that skills capital is not just deployed to provide local high-quality facilities, but also as a key enabler in the delivery of the wider inclusive growth and skills agenda. Funding will be awarded in three strands: large redevelopment of further education, priority sectors, and smaller investment projects.

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority has set the following goals to be achieved by 2020:

- A total of 70,000 more working-age residents with Level 4+ (degree level or equivalent) qualifications – an increase from 34.6 per cent of the working-age population in 2016 to 38.3 per cent.
- At least 50,000 fewer working-age residents with qualifications below Level 2 – a reduction from 27.7 per cent of the working-age population in 2016 to 24.6 per cent.
- More than 40,000 residents per annum to start an apprenticeship, and the achievement rate for apprenticeship programmes to reach 75 per cent – in comparison with 30,379 apprenticeship starts in 2015/16, and an achievement rate of 66.4 per cent.

Sources:

Greater Manchester Combined Authority (2017) *Greater Manchester Skills Capital 2017-20: Commissioning Prospectus.*

Greater Manchester Combined Authority (2017) *Our People*, *Our Place: The Greater Manchester Strategy*.

Greater Manchester Combined Authority (2016) *Greater Manchester Work & Skills: Strategy and Priorities 2016 to 2019*.

Contact: Gemma Marsh, Assistant Director – Skills (Policy, Strategy & Delivery), Gemma.Marsh@greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk

Housing

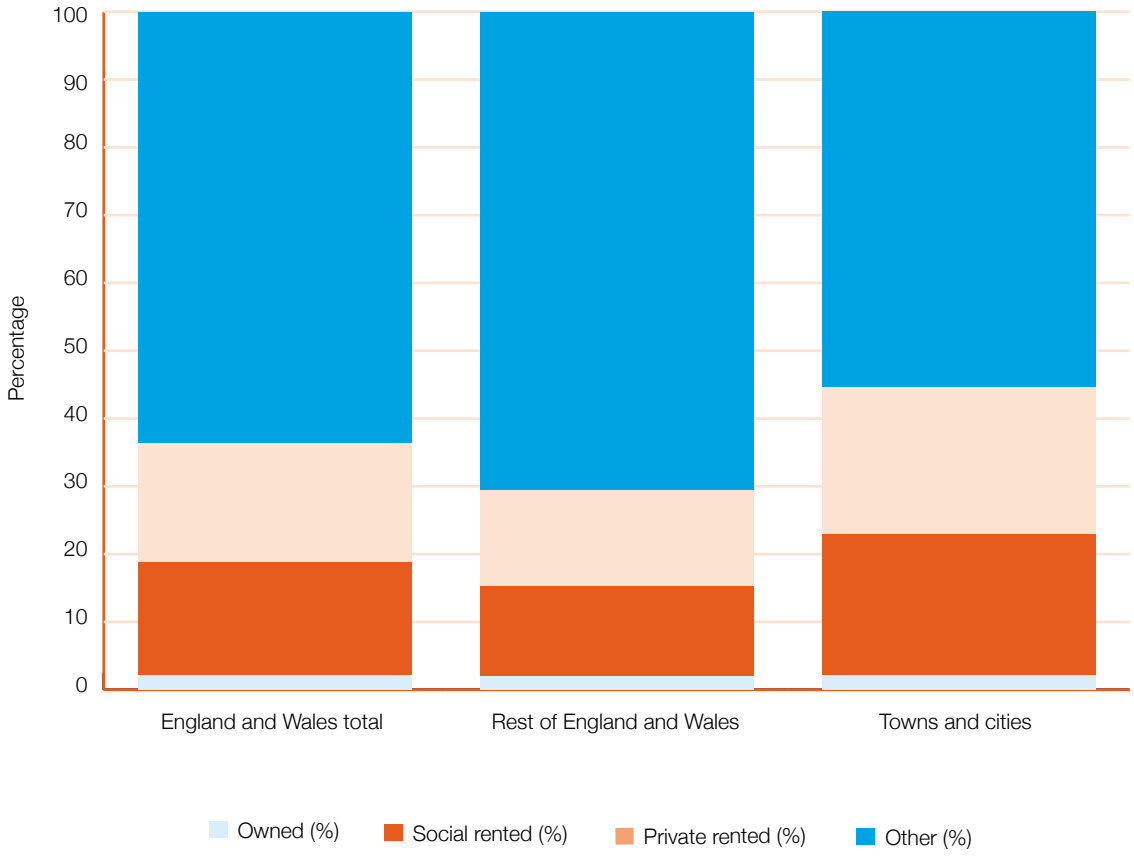
Young people are increasingly relying on the 'bank of mum and dad' to get a foot on the housing ladder. Over a third of first-time buyers in England (34 per cent) now turn to family for a financial gift or loan to help them buy their home, compared with one in five (20 per cent) seven years ago. A further one in ten relies on inherited wealth.[28]

This means that those without family wealth are struggling to get a foot on the property ladder and are often saddled with higher household costs, given that housing costs are three times more for renters.[29] They are also likely to have fewer savings for retirement, poor-quality housing, worse child outcomes and less involvement with the community.

Housing affordability varies hugely by location, with a stark north/south divide. Urban areas of the north of England offer, on average, more affordable housing options than rural areas in the south. Low earners in the south face the challenge of high housing costs, particularly where they are within commuting distance of London. Only 18 per cent of families own their own homes in Tower Hamlets. In Manchester, rates are still only 39 per cent and in Nottingham 43 per cent.

Figure 5.7 illustrates how this impacts on household tenure, with renting 15 per cent higher in towns and cities than in the rest of England. Both social and private renting are far higher, with just over half of families owning their own homes in cities and towns.

Figure 5.7: The proportion of households by tenure



Note: 'Other' includes households with shared ownership (part-owned and part-rented) and households living rent-free.

28 Social Mobility Commission (2017) *The Impacts of Family Support on Access to Homeownership for Young People in the UK*.
29 Resolution Foundation (2017) *Home Affront*.

To some extent, this reflects the general prosperity of the residents, given that cities have high numbers of low-income families and younger people. This can act as a Catch-22 situation for low-income city residents, who face housing costs that are three times higher than costs for home owners. Understandably, they struggle to save to get on the home ownership ladder. In contrast, there are high rates of second homes in rural areas, reflecting greater prosperity. The South West accounts for 21 per cent of all second home ownership.[30]

In areas such as Plymouth, the local authority has recognised the issues faced by low-income residents through private renting and supported the supply of affordable housing to enable greater security and lower household costs.

Plymouth City Council: Increasing the supply of affordable housing

In Plymouth, an estimated 75 per cent of renters in the city are unable to save more than £100 a month towards a deposit. To address this issue, Plymouth City Council refreshed its strategic framework in 2016, the Plymouth Plan for Homes, which sets out its ambition to work with a range of housing providers to deliver 5,000 affordable homes over the next five years.

This included partnering with Rentplus, a company that provides a hybrid affordable housing tenure which is both affordable rent (80 per cent of the market rent) and low-cost home ownership. The Rentplus model is designed to assist low-income working families to access affordable housing and provides a route to home ownership that is otherwise unavailable to them.

Under the Rentplus model, tenants are given security of tenure with five-year renewable assured shorthold tenancies. Rentplus homes are let at an affordable rent or the local housing allowance level, whichever is lower, including a service charge. The lower rent and security of tenure gives people the opportunity to clear any debt, build a good credit history and save to buy their home.

Tenants have the opportunity to buy their home after five, ten, 15 or 20 years, depending on their financial circumstances; at this time, they are given a deposit of 10 per cent of the property's market value by Rentplus. Rentplus homes are managed by a local housing association, which provides the same landlord services, including the repair and maintenance of the home. This means that the tenants have no additional or unexpected costs while they are renting the property. When homes are sold, they are replaced on a one-for-one basis through the scheme, to ensure a revolving stock of affordable homes.

Source: Local Government Association, Housing and Planning, case study 6. *Plymouth City Council – supporting access to home-ownership.*

30 Department for Communities and Local Government (2016) £60 million boost for communities affected by second homeownership, press release. www.gov.uk/government/news/60-million-boost-for-communities-affected-by-second-homeownership

5.3 Conclusion and recommendations

The labour market in England is highly polarised. People with higher qualifications and skills enjoy greater job security, higher levels of prosperity and better prospects of social mobility. Those without, find it hard to escape a world of constant insecurity, endemic low pay and little prospect of social progress.

And, as our research shows, geography plays a big role in determining an individual's chance of securing a well-paid job and becoming a home owner. London and the South East benefit from a clustering of highly paid technical and professional jobs, while rural, coastal and current or former industrial areas have a clustering of low-paying jobs.

Despite this, people living in towns and cities are also facing barriers to success as high housing costs combined with a prevalence of low-paid jobs hold people back from progressing. But it is the residents of England's most isolated rural and coastal communities that experience the worst outcomes in their working lives overall, as they are often disconnected from opportunity both by poor transport links and the availability of good jobs. This is likely to be exacerbated by the high concentrations of declining industries in rural areas which could limit opportunities further.[31] The Home Counties, on the other hand, deliver the best outcomes as they benefit from decent transport, access to the top jobs and higher rates of home ownership.

Local governments will have the best insights into the barriers that hold back people from disadvantaged backgrounds in work and housing. They can collaborate with employers to develop plans to deliver a workforce that meets local skills requirements through partnerships with schools, universities, adult skills bodies and colleges. National government can help by focusing on overcoming the peripherality problem that holds back too many coastal and rural areas. London currently gets nearly eleven times more public spending on transport than the North East. Government needs to be much more proactive in spreading investment and opportunity to the regions where it is most needed. Similarly, central government can do more to help address high housing costs and low levels of home ownership in the more deprived parts of the country.

31 ONS (2017) *Employment characteristics of local authorities (Great Britain, 2015*). www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/adhocs/007606employmentcharacteristicsoflocalauthoritiesgreatbritain2015

Recommendations

- Central government should put social mobility and place at the heart of the industrial strategy, with a focus on rebalancing economic and work opportunities.
- Central government should rebalance the national transport budget to deliver a more equal share of investment per person and contribute towards a more regionally balanced economy.
- The Department for Education and the Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy should collaborate on Opportunity Areas, aiming to improve both educational attainment and labour market opportunity in coldspot areas.
- The Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy should match the Department for Education's £72 million Opportunity Area fund to boost quality employment in coldspot areas.
- Local government should develop a new deal with employers and educators for inclusive employment, based on jointly agreed local social mobility action plans, using the Social Mobility Employer Index[32] as a framework for employer action.
- Local government should support and incentivise accredited voluntary living wage[33] employers and ensure that the local council is also accredited.

32 See: www.socialmobility.org.uk/index
33 See: www.livingwage.org.uk/accredited-living-wage-employers

Chapter 6: English Regional Snapshots

6.1 Introduction

Social mobility outcomes vary enormously across the English regions – with every region except the North East including social mobility hotspots as well as coldspots. Each region has its own challenges and opportunities.

Unlike many other Western European countries, England has no regional tier of government, and mechanisms to encourage action at a regional level are relatively weak. The government's approach to devolution is a welcome effort to respond to this issue and encourage coordinated action across multiple local authorities. There are also regional and sub-regional initiatives that bring stakeholders together across local authority boundaries. In practice, however, devolution is limited in its coverage and very few social mobility coldspots are covered by these deals. Regional disparities continue to grow within England.

There is no doubt that local action can make a real difference: for example, the North East Local Enterprise Partnership has transformed careers support at local schools/colleges from the worst provision in the country to some of the best. In addition to the devolution deals, the government is also stimulating local stakeholder action in 12 areas through its Opportunity Areas initiative.

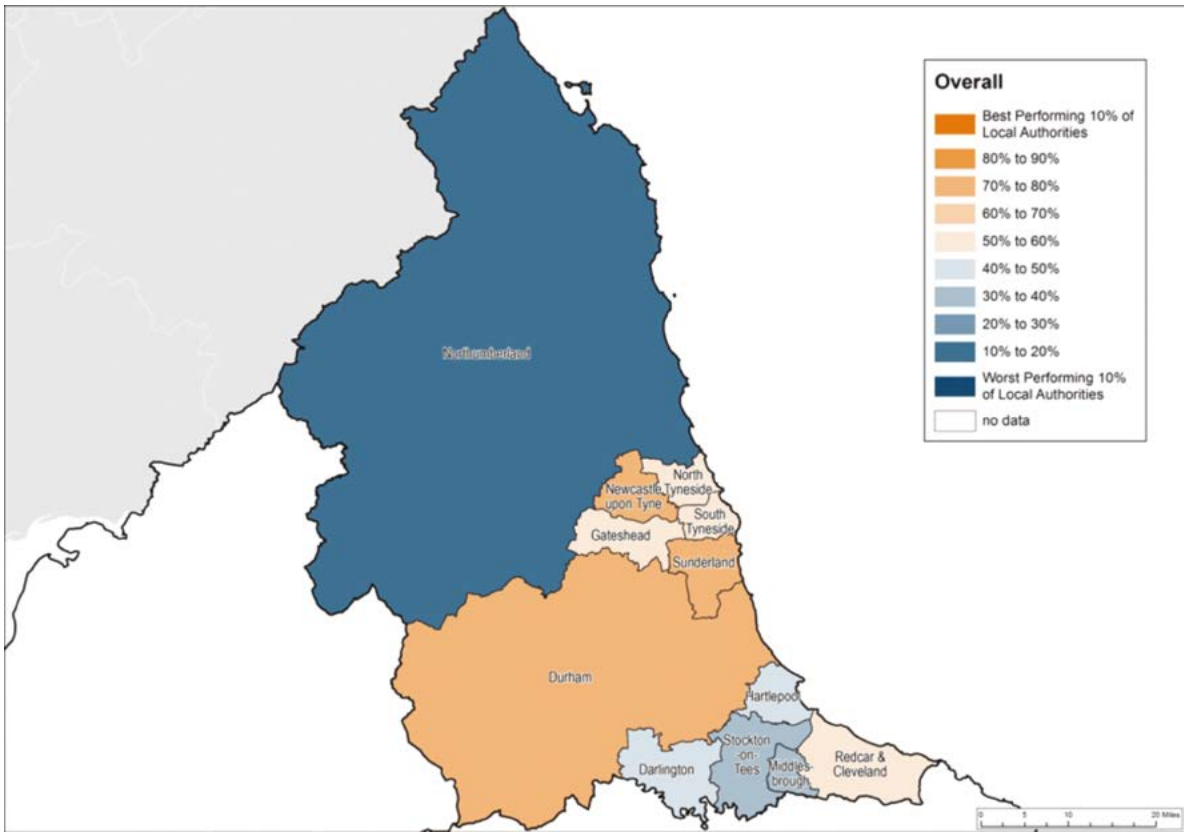
Recommendations

- Combined authority mayors and local government leaders should put social mobility at the heart of economic and educational development and take coordinated action to tackle the social mobility challenges of their areas by each developing a ten-year social mobility strategy with clear progress measures.
- This should include a focus on improving transport links to social mobility hotspots in rural and coastal areas.
- Schools should work with local employers to meet the key Gatsby careers support benchmarks (a set of critical careers support requirements based on international standards) and to ensure that all young people are well prepared for work.
- Local government should develop shorter-term action plans with employers, educators, universities and other key local stakeholders to improve opportunities for local disadvantaged people.

6.2 North East

- The North East performs well for disadvantaged children early in life, but does worse than other regions in later life stages.
- County Durham is the best-performing district in the North East at rank 79 in terms of the social mobility indicators, while Northumberland performs worst at rank 288 out of 324.
- Regional strengths include very strong uptake of early education for two-year-olds from poor families and slightly above-average primary school attainment for disadvantaged pupils – as well as rapidly improving careers support for young people.
- The region suffers from comparatively low access to quality secondary schools for disadvantaged children, high drop-out rates for disadvantaged youngsters, and the highest levels in the country of people stuck in low pay.

Figure 6.1: Map of North East performance against social mobility indicators



The North East is the second best performer on social mobility indicators during the early years and primary school, but is the second worst performer on indicators for youth and working lives. The region has no hotspot areas, but also no coldspots – due partly to mixed performance across the life stages. In fact, the region has the largest disparity between outcomes for disadvantaged people during the school years and afterwards. This means that early educational successes often go to waste, partly because high-quality job opportunities are more limited than in other areas.

Good outcomes for disadvantaged children have recently been bolstered by the region's effective roll-out of the free education offer for two-year-olds from low-income families. Uptake is at 81 per cent, compared with 71 per cent nationally – thanks to well-coordinated efforts to inform all parents of the offer and demonstrate its benefits (see case study on Newcastle upon Tyne's approach in Chapter 2).[1] Additionally, Ofsted ratings for both preschools and primary schools are positive.

However, early outcomes do not always translate into success in adolescence and beyond. While two-fifths of children on free school meals achieve the expected standard at key stage 2, the average Attainment 8 score per pupil on free school meals is only 37.8, compared with the national score of 51.6 for all other children. In youth, the region currently offers the worst opportunities for disadvantaged youngsters. It has the worst drop-out rates after GCSE and the worst entry rates to selective university for disadvantaged young people.[2] Until recently, it also had the worst careers support in schools and colleges – though a wide-scale initiative to improve advice and employer outreach via commitment to the Gatsby careers support benchmarks is rapidly changing this.

However, problems continue into working lives – with low levels of pay and the second lowest employment levels in the country.[3] Compared with all people on low pay in Britain, residents of the North East are the most likely to be continuously stuck in low pay over a decade. In terms of living conditions, house prices are, on average, more affordable than in other regions, but the average rate of home ownership for families is the lowest in the country, except for London.

Part of the explanation for poor social mobility in youth and working lives is that the North East comprises many isolated towns and former industrial areas. Across England, these areas struggle most at social mobility because new industries have been slow to replace mining and manufacturing, while poor transport links make opportunities difficult to reach.

Outcomes vary widely across the region – including between seemingly similar districts. In Darlington, for example, less than half of disadvantaged pupils attend a secondary school that is rated 'good' or 'outstanding', while in South Tyneside more than 90 per cent do – and South Tyneside's Attainment 8 score per pupil on free school meals is accordingly 5.5 points higher. The worst-performing district at secondary level, Northumberland, is the least deprived but is the most sparsely populated, making it more challenging to deliver support for dispersed disadvantaged youngsters.[4] Northumberland suffers from the worst key stage 4 performance, the highest drop-out rates after GCSE, and among the lowest rates of university entry for the region.[5]

Despite all this, the region has made some progress in recent years. Youth unemployment has halved since 2014 and adult unemployment has also fallen in that time.[6] This is partly due to the region's investment in supporting the transition from school to work. For example, the North East Local Enterprise Partnership area is coordinating delivery of the Gatsby careers support benchmarks. A full 60 per cent of local schools have committed to achieving the benchmarks, compared with 4 per cent nationally.

1 Department for Education (2017) *Provision for Children under 5 Years of Age in England, January 2017.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/622632/SFR29_2017_Text.pdf
2 The Careers & Enterprise Company (2017) *State of the Nation*. Department for Education (2017) *Key stage 5 – national and local authority tables:* SFR 01/2017. Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
3 Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2017) *X02 Regional Labour Market: Estimates of unemployment by age*. www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peoplenotinwork/unemployment/datasets/regionalunemploymentbyagex02
4 VONNE (n.d.) *Index of Multiple Deprivation 2015: North East information*. www.vonne.org.uk/sites/default/files/files/resources/North%20East%20IMD%20info.pdf
5 Department for Education (2017) *Revised GCSE and Equivalent Results in England, 2015 to 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/revised-gcse-and-equivalent-results-in-england-2015-to-2016
6 ONS (2017) *X02 Regional Labour Market: Estimates of unemployment by age*. www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peoplenotinwork/unemployment/datasets/regionalunemploymentbyagex02

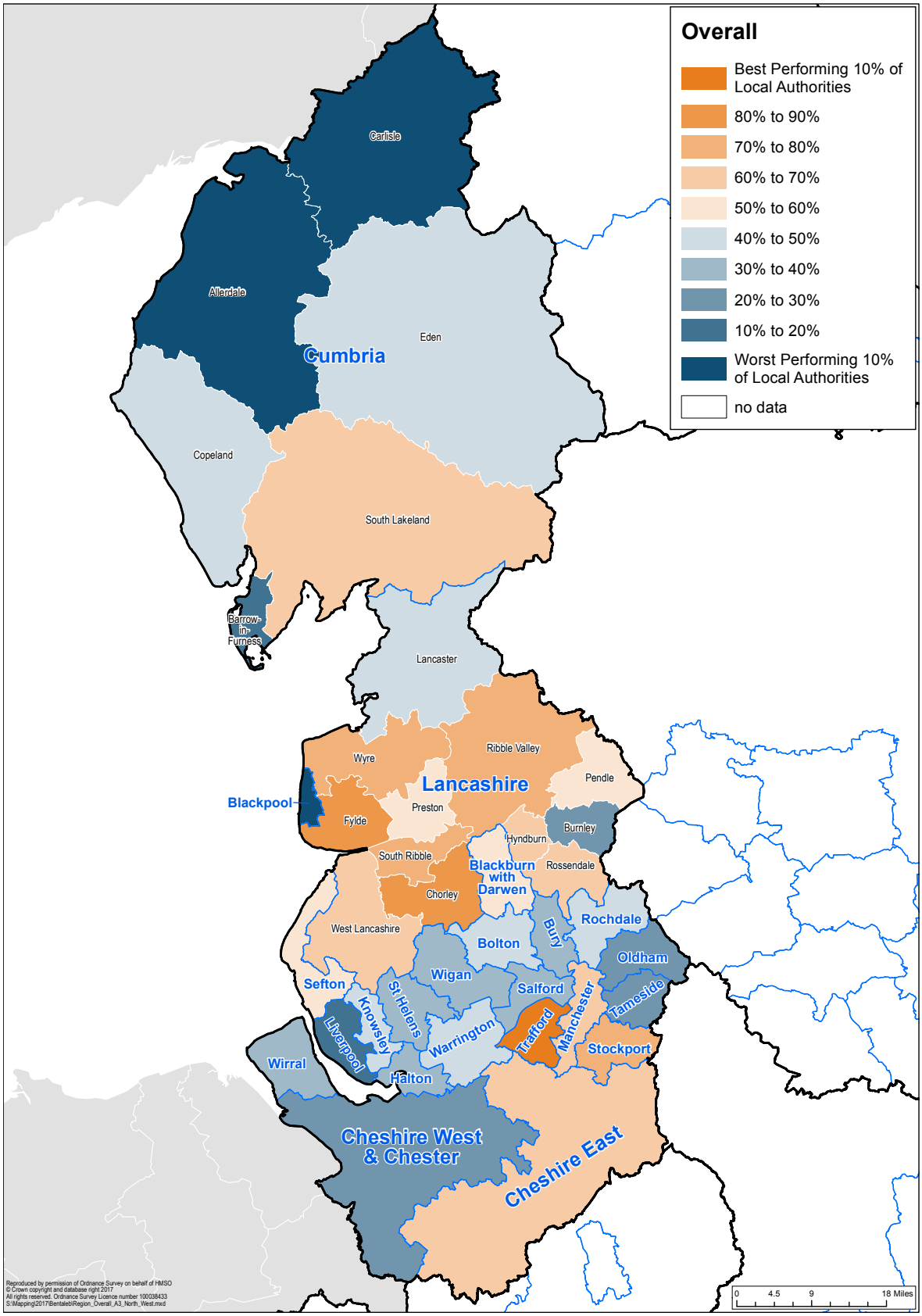
Looking forward, regional efforts by the Local Enterprise Partnerships could continue to boost outcomes. This includes efforts to bring more jobs to the region as well as programmes to improve links between business and education. The North East received some boosts to infrastructure in the 2017 Autumn budget, and a devolution deal to create a second combined authority in the North East has been announced. But, the government's industrial strategy needs to ensure that more is done to support local development through place-based initiatives. The planned Northern Powerhouse Rail would enable people to travel from Newcastle to Leeds in an hour, but the North East does not directly benefit from many of the major national infrastructure projects, such as the High Speed Two rail network (HS2).[7] More investment is needed to improve transport connections in the area.

6.3 North West

- The North West performs poorly in terms of social mobility indicators, with the lowest levels of school readiness for disadvantaged five-year-olds, below par performance in schools and comparatively weak results in working lives. The region fares better on outcomes for youth, with the third highest proportion of young people on free school meals achieving two or more A-levels and with good access to university.
- The region has a high degree of variability, with Trafford as the best-performing district ranked 24, while Carlisle, Blackpool and Barrow-in-Furness (former industrial areas) perform worst within the region and are in the bottom 20 per cent in England.
- Education attainment among children on free school meals is below national levels despite the high proportion of primary schools ranked 'good' or 'outstanding'.
- The devolution deals for Greater Manchester and the Liverpool City Region, together with the Northern Powerhouse initiative, have generated political leadership and collaboration across the area, mobilising resources for transport, housing, public services and jobs.

7 Transport for the North (n.d.) *Initial Integrated Rail Report*. www.transportforthenorth.com/wp-content/uploads/TfN-Factsheet-Initial-Integrated-Rail-Report.pdf

Figure 6.2: Map of North West performance against social mobility indicators



The North West has benefited from strong political focus through the Northern Powerhouse initiative, with devolution delivering a £900 million 30-year investment fund each for Liverpool City Region and Greater Manchester combined authorities. This will help to address the fact that the Liverpool and Manchester sub-regions include some of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England. The North West is also due to benefit from major national infrastructure projects, including the Northern Powerhouse Rail and HS2.

In addition to urban deprivation, the region hosts coastal deprivation. Indeed, some of the area's worst social mobility coldspots are on the coast. With a highly transient population and various social issues, Blackpool is the seventh most deprived local authority district in England. It has struggled to mobilise the requisite resources to tackle deprivation and regenerate following its glory days as a seaside town in the 1960s.[8] One in five disadvantaged young people is not in education, employment or training, among the highest in England.

In the region more broadly, less than half of children eligible for free school meals are school-ready at the age of five, the lowest score of any region. This is despite the fact that the region has the third highest uptake of the free two-year-old offer of early education and early years provision that is of similar quality to that in other regions. This suggests a need to focus on improving the home learning environment.

Primary and secondary school attainment for children on free school meals are below national levels. Just over one in three disadvantaged pupils achieves the expected standard at key stage 2. In fact, the region needs to raise attainment both in its deprived coastal towns and in its cities. In Liverpool, just over a third of disadvantaged pupils achieve grades A* to C in English and maths GCSE. Knowsley is one of the worst performers in England. None of the six secondary schools is 'good' or 'outstanding' and there are no sixth-form colleges in the area, although there are plans to change this. In 2016, an education commission was launched in Knowsley to drive school improvement drawing on national best practice.

The North West has also struggled, like many others, to recruit and retain good-quality teachers and leaders. Indeed, teachers are in such short supply that schools compete for teachers rather than being able to select the best teacher from among a range of candidates.[9]

The region has the lowest proportion (60 per cent) of children on free school meals in 'good' and 'outstanding' secondary schools. It is widely acknowledged that getting all disadvantaged children into 'outstanding' schools will not be sufficient to close the attainment gap[10] since many more tailored interventions are needed – most importantly, sustained exposure to excellent teaching.

The Tutor Trust is a local charity making an important contribution in this area by providing university students as academic tutors for disadvantaged children in 300 schools in the Manchester area. There is strong evidence in the schools being supported that this has accelerated children's learning.

The North West has the third highest proportion of young people on free school meals achieving two or more A-levels (or equivalent qualifications) and, accordingly, the third highest percentage of young people on free school meals attending university. The urban areas of the Greater Manchester area perform very well on youth social mobility indicators, but the more isolated areas of Cumbria underperform significantly.

8 Centre for Social Justice (2013) *Turning the Tide: Social justice in five seaside towns*.
9 Ofsted (2016) *Education and Skills Annual Report, Regional Information Pack: North West*.
10 Clifton J, Round A, Raikes L (2016) *Northern Schools: Putting education at the heart of the Northern Powerhouse*. Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) North.

The North West School Improvement Partnership Board was formed to address these issues and drive performance in the region. It involves local authorities, teaching schools and Regional School Commissioners and focuses on school improvement, teacher supply and teacher training. In the future, an Education and Employability Board will be created for Greater Manchester. It will aim to boost growth through employability and skills, strengthen education outcomes, support school-to-school improvement and seek multi-academy trust sponsor engagement while pushing the boundaries on the devolution deal. This is a greatly needed initiative for the region. The Liverpool City Region likewise has an Employment and Skills Board to boost employment, skills and productivity.

The majority of the North West is made up of suburban manufacturing areas and former industrial areas, which results in comparatively poor outcomes for employment as well as low aspirations in some parts of the region. A quarter of jobs are paid below the voluntary living wage in the North West, compared with 23 per cent in England. This ranges from 17 per cent of jobs in Manchester compared with over double that amount in Blackpool at 36 per cent. There is a clear need for better routes for progressing out of low pay, as well as more better-paid entry-level jobs to mitigate the number of people entering their working lives on such low rates of pay.[11]

Reflecting the variation within the region, some parts of the North West have a high proportion of top jobs. In Trafford, 41 per cent of people are in managerial and professional occupations, compared with less than one in five of Knowsley's working residents. Copeland has the highest median weekly salary in the region (and among the highest in England) in part due to impressive economic growth linked to the Moorside nuclear power station and the National Grid's north west coast connections project leading to large-scale investment in infrastructure and housing. The area also benefits from tourism to the Lake District. Nevertheless, Copeland has weak outcomes for disadvantaged young people, with only 13 per cent entering higher education by the age of 19.

Other parts of the region have seen investment in industries such as the digital, graphic and creative sectors. The BBC moved to the Ship Canal area in Salford and Trafford in 2011 and has formed a media hub with ITV. This has brought investment and regeneration to areas with high levels of poverty and deprivation. In Liverpool, there has been a recent regeneration of the port, which brings expertise and jobs in the shipping industries, construction and trade. The region is also seeking to promote science and innovation, enterprise and business services as well as manufacturing.[12]

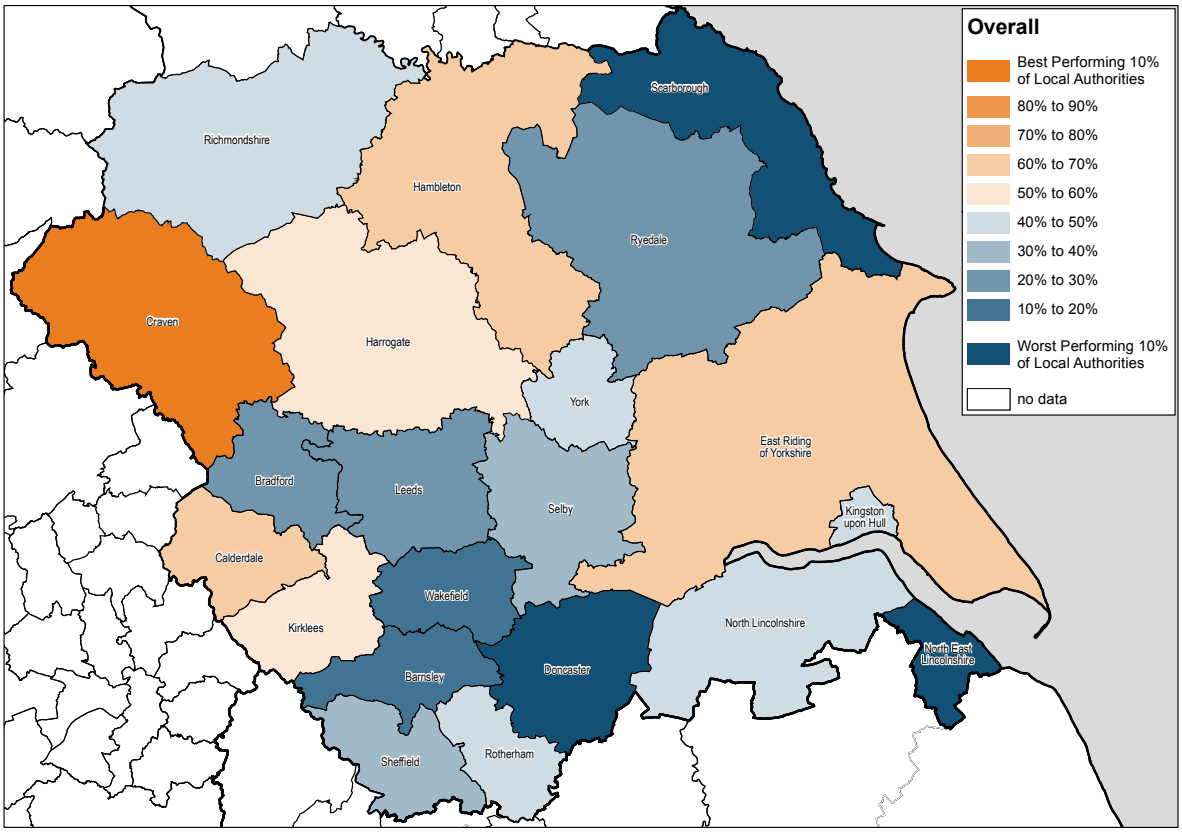
Strikingly, Manchester has the lowest rates of families with children owning their own home in the region at 39 per cent, compared with 76 per cent in the Ribble Valley.

11 Clifton J, Round A, Raikes L (2016) *Northern Schools: Putting education at the heart of the Northern Powerhouse*. IPPR North.
12 Greater Manchester Combined Authority (2017) *Greater Manchester Strategy* (draft).

6.4 Yorkshire and The Humber

- The Yorkshire and The Humber region performs poorly in terms of social mobility, with below-average outcomes from early years through to working lives.
- Craven is the best-performing district in the region at rank 32, while North East Lincolnshire, Doncaster and Scarborough languish in the bottom 10 per cent for England.
- Well-established university towns, such as York, Sheffield and Leeds, perform surprisingly badly across the education life stages with poor outcomes in the early years and primary school and only one in five (or fewer) disadvantaged young people attending university.
- One positive factor is housing affordability, with 63 per cent of families owning a home in the region.
- No devolution deal has yet been struck for the West Yorkshire or South Yorkshire combined authorities, highlighting divisions within the region.

Figure 6.3: Map of Yorkshire and The Humber performance against social mobility indicators



Craven is the only district in Yorkshire and The Humber in the top 20 per cent of the index. It was named the happiest place in which to live by the Office for National Statistics based on a number of measures, including inflation, employment and retail. Over 90 per cent of disadvantaged children attend strong nurseries, primary and secondary schools. Almost two-fifths of people have managerial and professional occupations and 71 per cent of families with children own a home.

Unfortunately, Craven is an exception within the region. At the other extreme, Doncaster faces multiple challenges, including high transport costs, poor connectivity, low access to digital technology and the draw of neighbouring areas and the world beyond Doncaster.[13] This is reflected in particularly poor outcomes among disadvantaged youth, with among the lowest rates in England for those entering selective universities. Only one in 50 of all disadvantaged young people in Doncaster enters selective universities, compared with almost one in four in England as a whole.

Even well-established university towns in the region, such as York, Sheffield and Leeds, do not perform particularly well across the life stages, with poor outcomes in the early years and primary school and below-national rates for university attendance.

Half of disadvantaged children in Yorkshire and The Humber do not make a strong start in life and are not ready for school by the age of five. In Ryedale, only 37 per cent are school-ready – among the lowest percentage in England.

Getting into good-quality schools is also challenging for children on free school meals in Yorkshire and The Humber, with the third lowest rates of access to decent primary and secondary schools. With fewer than one in three children on free school meals achieving the expected standard at key stage 2, the region has the lowest primary attainment in England. This drops to fewer than one in five in Scarborough and Selby. This may reflect the fact that, at 18.2, the pupil–teacher ratio in Yorkshire and The Humber is the second highest in England.

Local education experts have identified that one of the root causes of low attainment is the difficulty in attracting and retaining good teachers.[14] To tackle this issue, local universities and teacher training institutions have joined forces to re-organise teacher training through a sub-regional initiative called Partnerships for Attainment.

Young people also have substandard outcomes in the region. Among disadvantaged young people, only 19 per cent go to university, compared with 24 per cent for England. This drops to 10 per cent in Barnsley, which is among the lowest in England. In York, Sheffield and Leeds, up to only one in five disadvantaged young people attends university (below the national average of 24 per cent). Nevertheless, this reflects some of the highest proportional increases in higher education participation in England over the last ten years.[15]

The region has the joint highest rate in England (at 17 per cent) of disadvantaged people who are not in education, employment or training after key stage 5. Bradford has one of the highest youth unemployment rates in England at 26 per cent while York has one of the lowest (11.4 per cent).[16] The catering and hotel sectors offer the most employment opportunities for young people; however, these sectors are known to offer low pay and little progression. Indeed, the region's low educational attainment has been linked to broader challenges within the economy to create high-quality jobs which in turn stimulate aspirations.[17]

13 Independent Commission on Education and Skills in Doncaster (2016) *One Doncaster: The report and recommendations of the Independent Commission on Education and Skills in Doncaster*.
14 Sheffield Hallam University (2017) *South Yorkshire Futures Proposal*.
15 UCAS (2016) *End of Cycle Report 2016*. UCAS Analysis and Research.
16 EY (2016) *Stark Variations in Youth Unemployment Levels Across Yorkshire and The Humber Could Impact Local Economic Growth*, August 2016. www.ey.com/uk/en/newsroom/news-releases/16-08-30---stark-variations-in-youth-unemployment-levels-across-yorkshire-and-the-humber-could-impact-local-economic-growth
17 Sheffield Hallam University (2017) *South Yorkshire Futures Proposal*.

These issues are being addressed head on through the emerging Opportunity Areas in the North Yorkshire Coast, Bradford and Doncaster, which seek to mobilise partners to boost standards and raise aspirations, creating greater social mobility for young people. In addition, Sheffield Hallam University recently launched South Yorkshire Futures, a new programme to improve social mobility across the sub-region.

Yorkshire and The Humber performs particularly badly in relation to working lives outcomes. Nearly a quarter of local authorities in this region rank in the worst-performing 10 per cent of authorities for this life stage – with Richmondshire and Kingston upon Hull performing the most poorly, in part due to much lower rates of home ownership compared with the rest of the region.

Yorkshire and The Humber has the third joint highest percentage of jobs which are paid less than the real living wage at 26 per cent, with only York, Sheffield, Leeds and Calderdale having rates of less than 25 per cent. The region has lower than average rates of residents in top jobs and median weekly salaries are also relatively low. There is a need for a broader range of better-quality entry-level jobs and progression routes in the towns and cities throughout the region.[18]

There is evidence of these challenges being addressed through new sub-regional initiatives. Most recently, the Inclusive Growth programme brings together the West Yorkshire Combined Authority, the Leeds City Region Enterprise Partnership and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation to boost businesses and productivity while strengthening the links between large organisations and community organisations, ensuring that the benefits of growth are felt locally and in disadvantaged communities.[19]

However, the region clearly faces a significant social mobility challenge. A good first step would be to find a way to break the devolution deadlock that exists at the moment. This is linked to disagreement among the councils as to how they might best collaborate.

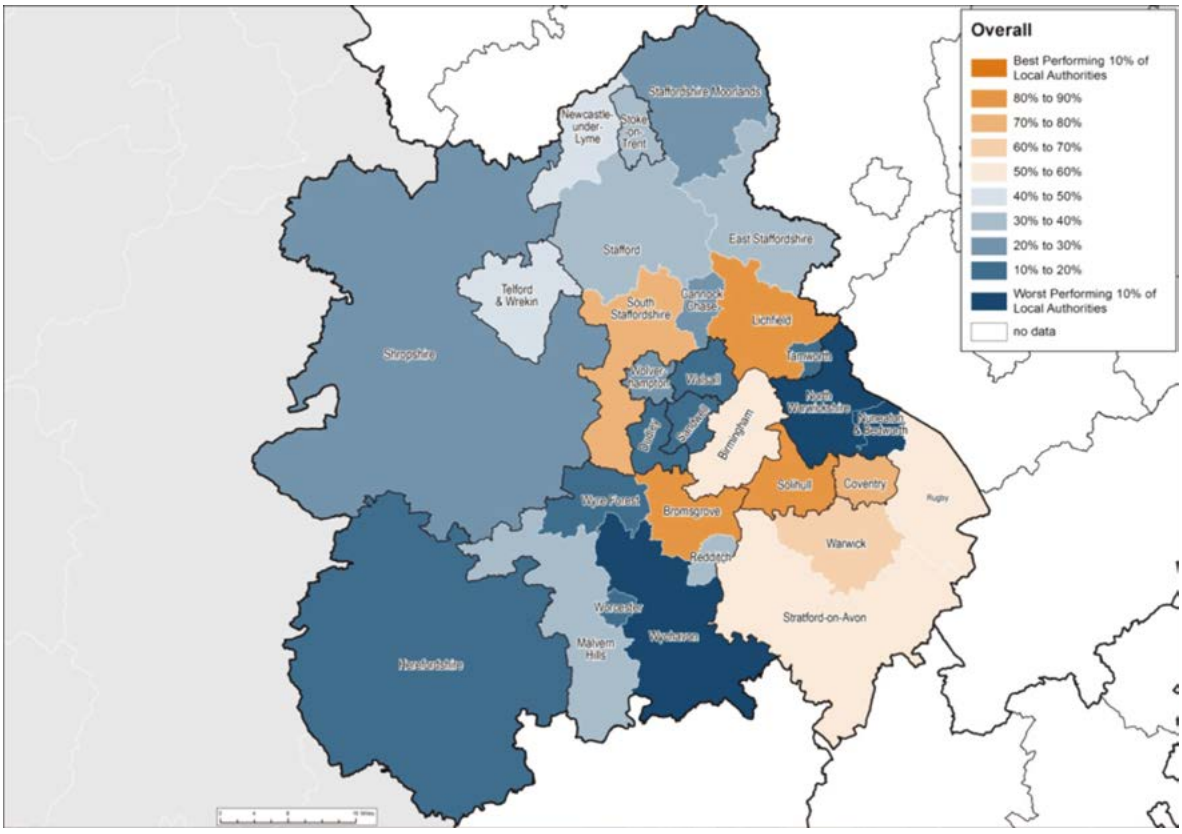
18 Clifton J, Round A, Raikes L (2016) *Northern Schools: Putting education at the heart of the Northern Powerhouse*. IPPR North.

19 Hill N (2017) New Initiative Launched to Generate Inclusive Growth across the Leeds City Region. *Bdaily*, 8 March 2017. https://bdaily.co.uk/articles/2017/03/08/new-initiative-launched-to-generate-inclusive-growth-across-the-leeds-city-region

6.5 West Midlands

- The West Midlands has below-average outcomes during the early years and primary school and slightly below-average youth and working lives outcomes.
- Bromsgrove is the best-performing district in the West Midlands at rank 48 on the overall Social Mobility Index, while Wychavon performs worst at rank 310 out of 324.
- Regional strengths include comparatively strong GCSE scores and high levels of university entry for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds, especially in local cities.
- The region's priorities should be improving poor-quality preschool settings and primary schools, addressing low attainment in rural areas, and tackling rising unemployment – especially in Birmingham.

Figure 6.4: Map of West Midlands performance against social mobility indicators



The West Midlands has below-average performance on social mobility indicators at every life stage except secondary school, but particularly poor performance on the indicators in the early years and primary school. Just three local areas are social mobility hotspots, while 11 are coldspots.

In the early years, the West Midlands has the second worst-quality education in the country.[20] At primary school, the region is also equal bottom in terms of the percentage of pupils on free school meals in primary schools rated 'good' or 'outstanding'. By secondary school, however, the proportion of pupils on free school meals in 'good' or 'outstanding' schools is in

20 Ofsted (2017) *Childcare Providers and Inspections, 2017.*

line with the national average. Despite the quality issues at primary level, the region achieves the second highest Attainment 8 scores after London, thanks in part to high scores in Birmingham (an ethnically diverse area) and Solihull (a prosperous town).[21] In youth, attainment levels for disadvantaged 19-year-olds are slightly above average and the region has the second highest percentage of students on free school meals entering university after London.[22]

Educational outcomes vary widely across the area, partly due to the mix of rural areas and post-industrial cities, such as Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Coventry. On the whole, the urban areas surrounding Birmingham rank in the top third of the country (due to very strong education outcomes), while sparsely populated areas, such as Shropshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire, fall in the bottom third.

In working lives, the West Midlands recently replaced the North East as the region with the worst unemployment rate in the country – due largely to Birmingham, which has the lowest employment of any area in the country.[23] It also has below-average pay and below-average levels of skilled jobs. Indeed, 26 per cent of residents earn less than the voluntary living wage, the third lowest rates of the regions. The Midlands is the only part of the country with rising unemployment – and the increase is particularly worrying in the West Midlands – up from 16 to 20 per cent since 2015.[24] However, the region does outperform in terms of home ownership and affordability of housing, though home ownership for families falls to just over 50 per cent in Wolverhampton and Birmingham.

With the exception of Warwick and Rugby, it is the region's cities that perform poorly for working lives. Rates of pay are, on average, very poor in these areas. The poor state of the local economy is also reflected in the low numbers of residents in top jobs. In Wolverhampton and Sandwell, for example, just one in five people works in a professional and managerial job. One of the reasons for these low rates may be the educational level of the working-age population in these regions as well as poor transport links, which mean residents cannot access employment opportunities in the wider area.

Looking forward, the region's metro mayor and six Local Enterprise Partnerships are working on transport, skills, housing and economic improvement efforts. Investment is focusing on improving local transport links to get the most out of HS2, as well as on house building and business innovation. Additionally, the Department for Education has made Stoke-on-Trent an Opportunity Area and is working on bringing together local stakeholders to develop tailored solutions to local education problems. The area also has a national collaborative outreach programme helping to boost university access for disadvantaged youngsters.

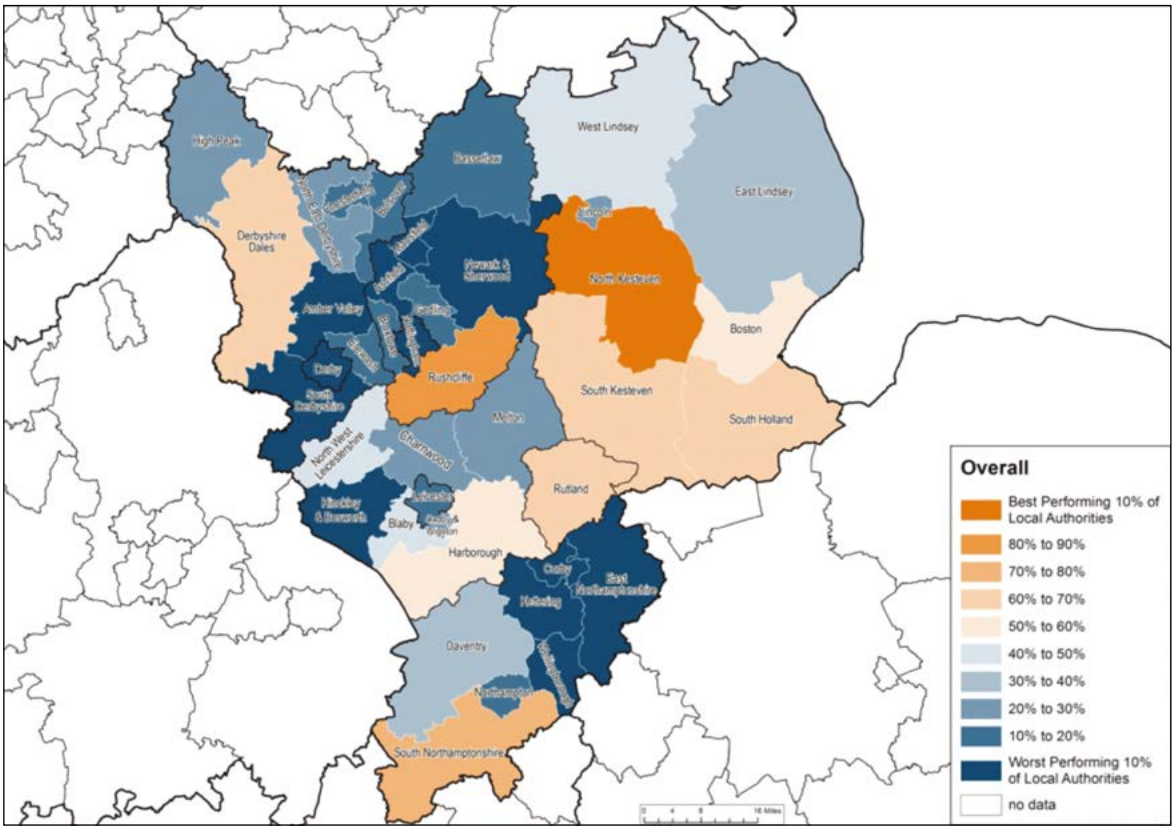
To accelerate progress, the metro mayor should seek to bring together efforts by the various Local Enterprise Partnerships and other groups, such as the national collaborative outreach programme, for a coordinated approach to managing the transition from school to work as well as adult training and high-quality job creation. This should include representatives from across the region to ensure that the combined authority areas do not leave behind others in the West Midlands.

21 Department for Education (2017) *Key stage 5 National and Local Authority Tables: SFR 01/2017*.
22 Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment in England: Attainment by age 19 in 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2016. Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
23 ONS (2017) *X02 Regional Labour Market: Estimates of unemployment by age*. www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peoplenotinwork/unemployment/datasets/regionalunemploymentbyagex02
24 ONS (2017) *X02 Regional Labour Market: Estimates of unemployment by age*. www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peoplenotinwork/unemployment/datasets/regionalunemploymentbyagex02

6.6 East Midlands

- The East Midlands is the region with the lowest social mobility scores in the country – with the worst outcomes for disadvantaged children during all stages of education and average outcomes in working lives.
- North Kesteven is the best-performing district in the East Midlands at rank 29, while Newark and Sherwood performs worst at rank 323 out of 324.
- The region suffers from low-quality schools, poor transport links and significant rates of low pay.
- The region has benefited from several highly engaged universities which are looking to bring local stakeholders together to tackle the region's social mobility issues.

Figure 6.5: Map of East Midlands performance against social mobility indicators



The East Midlands has more social mobility coldspots than any other region and just two hotspots (North Kesteven and Rushcliffe). It is the bottom performer on social mobility indicators in the early years, school and youth, but a middling performer for working lives. The quality of schools in the East Midlands is so poor that Ofsted issued a warning about it in 2016.[25] However, the region's poor performance has often fallen beneath the radar as attention has focused on the challenges faced by northern cities.

25 Ofsted (2016) Ofsted issues warning about education in the East Midlands. Press release, 7 June. www.gov.uk/government/news/ofsted-issues-warning-about-education-in-the-east-midlands

The region has the second lowest proportion of disadvantaged children reaching school-readiness at age five (49 per cent versus 52 per cent nationally) as well as below-average childcare and preschool quality.[26] It is also the joint lowest performer in terms of school inspection outcomes, with almost one in three secondary schools judged less than 'good'.[27] Accordingly, the region has the second lowest GCSE results in England for pupils on free school meals – nearly 65 per cent fail to achieve grades A* to C in English and mathematics. The region's performance falls even lower in youth, with the lowest A-level attainment rate and the lowest university entry rate for disadvantaged people.[28]

However, both school quality and outcomes vary widely across the region. Although the East Midlands accounts for over a quarter of the lowest-performing areas for schools, it also has some of the best. Similarly, although six authorities fall within the ten worst authorities for A-level attainment among free school meals pupils, Rushcliffe and South Northamptonshire are in the top 25 authorities outside London on this measure.[29]

Residents of the East Midlands have extremely varied experiences as adults. The region has pockets of well-paid, high-skilled jobs – such as Rushcliffe – but large areas with low pay. Bolsover, Mansfield and Boston have the fewest residents in professional and managerial jobs in the whole of England. As a result, average wages in these areas are low and 28 per cent of residents earn below the voluntary living wage – the worst rates in the country. The East Midlands' two largest cities, Nottingham and Leicester, are also the worst performing of the country's 11 metropolitan districts in terms of our working lives indicators.

The East Midlands has a number of issues that contribute to low performance at all stages of education and middling performance in terms of employment outcomes. School leadership and collaboration across the region lag behind other areas, and there are few high-quality multi-academy trusts to help.[30] This problem is exacerbated by poor transport links in the area – both between the region's major towns and across rural areas. Limited transport options also make it hard for children and young people to access educational opportunities such as extra-curricular activities or higher education. An additional challenge is that the region comprises several deprived post-industrial areas, such as Mansfield and Nottingham, and these areas tend to have lower aspirations, lower attainment and fewer job opportunities.

In terms of employment, the region suffers from a lack of large employers. Indeed, it has fewer large employers than any other region except the North East – with a few notable exceptions, such as Rolls-Royce. The universities are among the largest employers in the region (Nottingham and Nottingham Trent universities are two of only 90 businesses in Nottingham with more than 250 employees).[31]

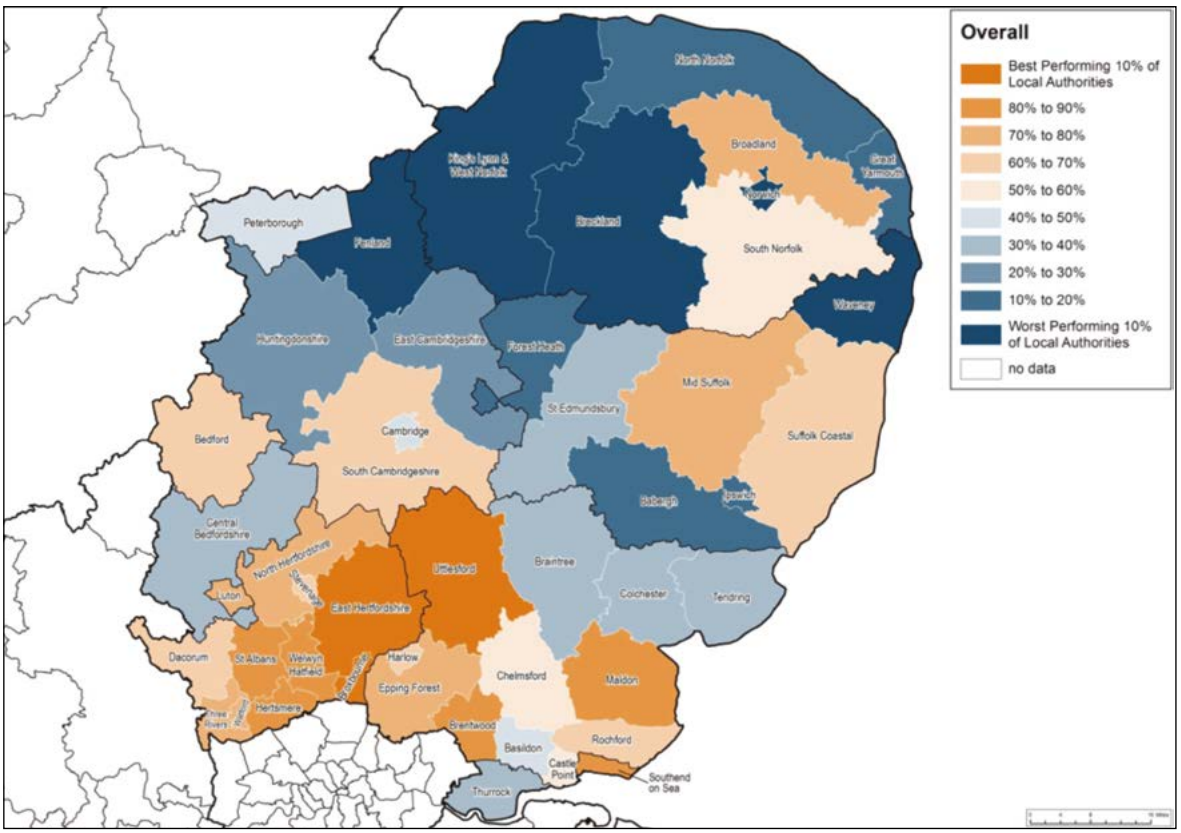
Since Ofsted's warning about low-quality schools, the region has increased efforts to boost quality. The Department for Education has made Derby an Opportunity Area and is working on bringing together local stakeholders to develop tailored solutions to local education problems. The East Midlands Teaching School Alliances have increased use of local working groups and the local national collaborative outreach programme is bringing together universities to support local disadvantaged pupils and boost progression rates. On top of this, HS2 and other local rail investments should help connect people in isolated areas to opportunities – though more investment is still required.

26 Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Results*.
27 Ofsted (2016) Ofsted issues warning about education in the East Midlands. Press release, 7 June. www.gov.uk/government/news/ofsted-issues-warning-about-education-in-the-east-midlands
28 Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment in England: Attainment by age 19 in 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2016. Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
29 Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment in England: Attainment by age 19 in 2016.* www.gov.uk/government/statistics/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2016
30 Ofsted (2016) Ofsted issues warning about education in the East Midlands. Press release, 7 June. www.gov.uk/government/news/ofsted-issues-warning-about-education-in-the-east-midlands
31 Universities UK (2017) *Why Universities Matter for the East Midlands*. www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/policy-and-analysis/reports/Documents/2017/industrial-strategy-east-midlands.pdf

6.7 East of England

- The East of England region has a cluster of highly performing areas near London, while the areas around Norfolk perform worse overall.
- East Hertfordshire is the best-performing area in the region at 14th, while Waveney is the worst performing, ranked at 314 out of 324.
- Regional strengths include a number of high performers in youth and working lives, in particular on access to higher education and employment outcomes.
- The region suffers from poor outcomes for rural residents in the quality of secondary schools, key stage 2 outcomes and in the average wage.
- Pockets of excellence in growing industries, such as digital, and easy access to a number of excellent higher education institutions offer routes for improving opportunities to disadvantaged residents.

Figure 6.6: Map of East of England performance against social mobility indicators



The East of England is an average performer against social mobility indicators in every life stage, but outcomes vary widely across the region. Living in the west of the region, towards London, delivers largely positive results, while the east coast is largely negative, particularly around Norfolk. The county of Hertfordshire performs very well, with all its local authorities ranking in the top 50 per cent.

This divide within the region is seen most definitely in working lives, where the areas near London score particularly highly due to high proportions of people in top jobs and high average wages. In the early years, there is average performance throughout the region, but in both schools and youth there is a range of outcomes in different parts of the region.

In the early years, Southend-on-Sea performs better than the rest of the region, ranking 13th best nationally. It scores highly on both the quality of its nurseries and the development of disadvantaged children at the end of the Early Years Foundation Stage. This may be due in part to early benefits from the recently implemented lottery-funded Better Start campaign. Cambridge, by contrast, is a particularly poor performer. Only 37 per cent of disadvantaged children in Cambridge reach a good standard of development at the end of the Early Years Foundation Stage, 4 percentage points lower than in any other area in the region and far lower than the 52 per cent average nationally. This may be partly because of higher childcare costs in the city.

In the school years, the region performs third worst of the regions at key stage 2. Performance in the region improves in Attainment 8 scores, where young disadvantaged pupils still perform poorly but are in the middle of the rankings when compared with other regions. The total scores for the region mask the poor performers, three in the bottom decile – Great Yarmouth, Waveney and Ipswich – and a number clustered around North Cambridgeshire and the west of Norfolk. When compared with the best performers of the region, there is a significant difference. In Great Yarmouth, only three in ten disadvantaged young people attend a school rated 'good' or 'outstanding', compared with 100 per cent of disadvantaged youngsters in nine areas in the region.

A further issue for some areas of the East of England is the low levels of attainment at key stage 2. East Cambridgeshire has a particular issue, with only 20 per cent of disadvantaged children achieving the required standard. Schools in remote coastal areas and rural areas with an ageing population face a number of challenges which affect children's attainment. These include a weak infrastructure for school partnerships and low aspirations. The three Opportunity Areas in this region are mobilising local stakeholders to address these issues.

In youth, the numbers of young disadvantaged people in education, employment or training[32] are in line with the England average. However, disadvantaged young people in the region are less likely to achieve two or more A-levels (or equivalent qualifications) and less likely to enter higher education than their peers nationally. Only 31 per cent of young people eligible for free school meals were qualified to Level 3 at 19 in 2016, compared with over 36 per cent in England overall. However, within the region this ranges from 20 per cent in North Norfolk to 48 per cent in Luton.

The west of the region, East and North Hertfordshire, St Albans and Broxbourne in particular, have the highest levels of access into higher education, and into the most selective institutions. These areas are well connected, with good transport links and good access to post-16 institutions and jobs. In contrast, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and some parts of Cambridgeshire and Essex, have far fewer good-quality post-16 options and this limits the choices of young disadvantaged people.

In working lives, the London commuter belt and the area surrounding Cambridge pull ahead of the rest of the region. Residents in these areas are more likely to be in managerial and professional jobs, and earn a higher than average median wage, than the rest of the country. Only the South East region delivers similar outcomes for its residents in the London commuter belt. However, in these high-performing areas, the benefits are not felt by all residents. As a stark example, while nearly half of residents in St Albans hold managerial and professional jobs, a quarter do not even earn the voluntary living wage.

32 After finishing key stages 4 and 5.

This is in stark contrast to the outcomes experienced in other areas of the region. In North Norfolk, Forest Heath and Norwich, the majority of residents are earning a lower than average wage. As few as one in five people is in a top job in the poor-performing areas of the region, with as many as four in ten earning below the living wage. In Great Yarmouth, the average wage is £324 a month – nearly half the amount earned in Brentwood. In all areas, at least 50 per cent of families own their home. However, Norwich scores particularly badly on this with only 40 per cent owning their home. This is despite housing being relatively affordable, but it does reflect the poor outcomes of many cities throughout England.

Geographical differences explain some of the variations in outcomes in the region. The areas located nearest to cities, such as London, Cambridge and Norfolk, benefit from good road and public transport links, while poor transport links make accessing education and good-quality jobs challenging in rural and coastal areas.[33] However, deprivation within an area is also impacting on the outcomes, as areas with similar characteristics, such as around Norfolk, achieve very different outcomes. Investment in infrastructure and services in the rural areas of the region has differed.

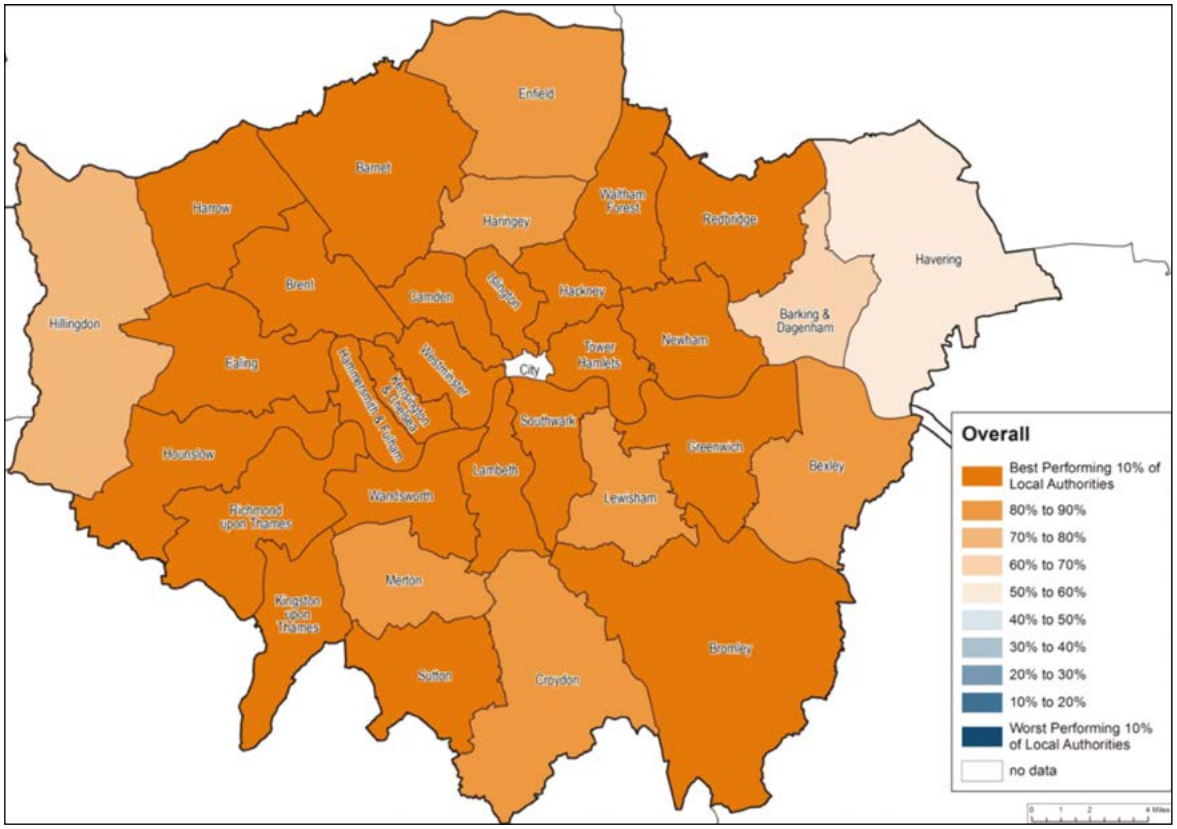
Looking forward, the combined authority for Cambridgeshire and Peterborough spans the region and has a £600 million 30-year investment fund. This should be used to improve outcomes for disadvantaged people from early years to working lives, including delivering better transport links and making housing more affordable. In addition, the area has strengths in technology and research,[34] including the Cambridge Norwich Tech Corridor,[35] and it continues to have strengths in manufacturing. The region has seen recent productivity[36] and employment growth higher than in London, and lower only than in the South East. Three of the 12 Opportunity Areas are in the East of England region. In these areas – Norwich, Ipswich, and Fenland and East Cambridgeshire – there will be tailored delivery plans with the explicit aim of improving social mobility for young people. This provides the region with additional funding and opportunities to test solutions with partner organisations.[37]

33 Department for Transport (2016) *Road Use Statistics Great Britain 2016.* www.licencebureau.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/road-use-statistics.pdf
34 EY (2017) *EY's UK Attractiveness Survey 2017 Time to act: empowering the English regions*.
35 See: www.techcorridor.co.uk/about/
36 Measured by gross value added.
37 See: www.gov.uk/government/publications/social-mobility-and-opportunity-areas

6.8 London

- London delivers the best overall performance in terms of the social mobility indicators with far better education outcomes than all other regions, but poor outcomes in working lives.
- Westminster is the best-performing area of London and also the best in the country, while Havering is worst, ranked 157 out of 324.
- Regional strengths include a clear focus on disadvantaged young people's outcomes as well as the best transport links in the country, high-quality education and high rates of top-paid, knowledge-based jobs.
- Regional problems include unaffordable housing and high costs of living, low pay and high unemployment among 16 to 30-year-olds.

Figure 6.7: Map of London's performance against social mobility indicators



London has more social mobility hotspots than any other region and no coldspot areas at all. London is the second best performer on social mobility indicators in the early years and a clear leader in both schools and youth, but is the third worst performer for working lives. Inner London has particularly high education outcomes at all ages, but it also has the most unaffordable housing in the country – with as few as 18 per cent of families in Tower Hamlets owning their home.

Children in London outperform at every stage of education. In the early years, London has the best development outcomes for disadvantaged five-year-olds.[38] At both primary and secondary level, London's schools are the best in the country and outcomes are equally high.[39] By the end of school, disadvantaged Londoners are 18 percentage points more likely to achieve two or more A-levels or equivalent qualifications than peers elsewhere and those in inner London are almost twice as likely to attend university.[40] In fact, disadvantaged young people in inner London are more likely to enter higher education than better-off peers in the rest of the country.[41]

The stark outperformance of disadvantaged Londoners is unusual. While deprived areas of England tend to perform badly for disadvantaged young people, London clearly bucks this trend.[42] It is also striking that London's high outcomes in the early years are achieved despite the far lower use of and lower quality of early education – as well as difficulties in ensuring that all new parents receive statutory health visits. Tackling these issues could take London's performance to an even higher level.

Some of the region's academic performance can be attributed to parental aspirations and support for their children's attainment.[43] Indeed, a substantial part of the so-called London effect can be explained by demographics – as London has greater numbers of recent immigrants who tend to have higher aspirations and often have children with higher academic attainment.[44] However, studies suggest that ethnicity only partly explains the difference between London and other areas.[45] Another positive factor may be the raised aspirations for all London children due to the influence of people around them and the high visibility of local opportunities.

Other explanations for London's high attainment figures include better social capital, better access to opportunities (both educational and extra-curricular) and more investment in supporting disadvantaged people – along with better leadership and focus on this issue. Initiatives like the London Challenge may have catalysed improvement – increasing both focus and spend on the issue – though London's performance was already improving before this launched.[46]

However, the London story is not all positive. Disadvantaged Londoners face an extremely competitive labour market when they leave education. London has the third highest unemployment rate for both 16 to 24-year-olds and 25 to 30-year-olds. In addition, Londoners struggle with the highest living costs in the country, and unaffordable homes; families in London face the lowest rates of home ownership in the country. Residents of the outer London boroughs have levels of low pay that match those of the East Midlands – 28 per cent earn less than the voluntary living wage. Residents of London are nearly 8 percentage points more likely to cycle in and out of low pay, compared with others. This may be because the volatile nature of the labour market and the high cost of living in London pushes up the low pay threshold.

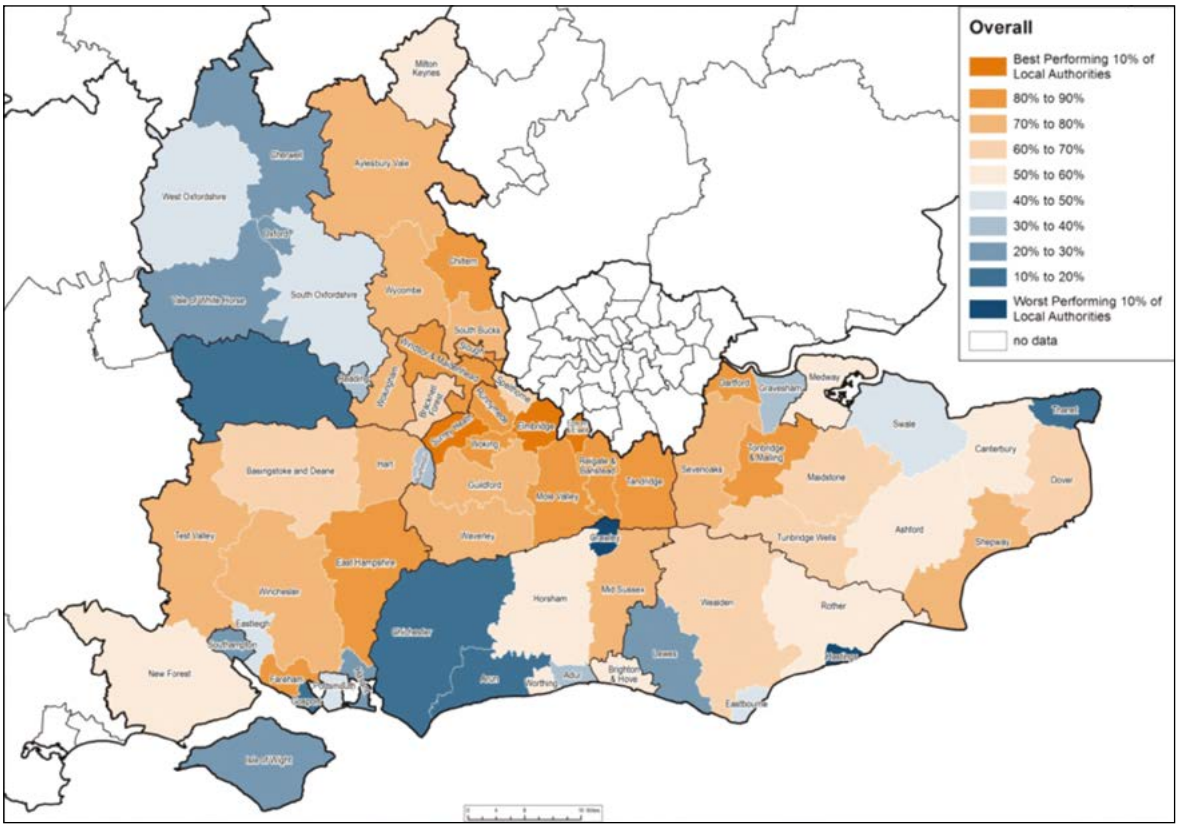
38 Ofsted (2017) *Childcare Providers and Inspections*.
39 Ofsted (2017) *Maintained Schools and Academies: Inspections and outcomes*. Department for Education (2017) *Schools, Pupils and their Characteristics*.
40 Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment in England: Attainment by age 19 in 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2016. Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
41 Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
42 Cabinet Office (2008) *Aspiration and Attainment amongst Young People in Deprived Communities*. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090113230527/http:/www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/109339/aspirations_evidence_pack.pdf
43 Cabinet Office (2008) *Aspiration and Attainment amongst Young People in Deprived Communities.* http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090113230527/http:/www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/109339/aspirations_evidence_pack.pdf
44 Burgess S (2017) *Understanding the Success of London Schools*. Centre for Market and Public Organisation Working Paper No. 14/333. www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/cmpo/migrated/documents/wp333.pdf
45 Greaves E, Macmillan L and Sibieta L (2014) *Lessons from London School for Attainment Gaps and Social Mobility*. Research Report for the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission.
46 Blanden J, Greaves E, Gregg P, Macmillan L and Sibieta L (2015) *Understanding the Improved Performance of Disadvantaged Pupils in London*. Social Policy in a Cold Climate Working Paper 21.

To improve outcomes for disadvantaged young people, London is investing in better housing, higher-quality childcare, programmes to reduce child poverty, education support for disadvantaged young people, more adult training, and schemes for encouraging employer fairness – among other initiatives.[47] London has an opportunity, with its devolved adult education budget from 2019/20, to build on the adult training provision already in place. Given London's employer density, work to encourage businesses to adopt the voluntary living wage and adjust hiring practices to foster diversity are particularly important.

6.9 South East

- The South East has above-average outcomes at every life stage except the school years and is the top performer in working lives.
- Areas closest to London outperform on the social mobility indicators, while isolated areas on the coast often struggle, as do West Berkshire and Oxfordshire.
- Regional strengths include good transport links into London from many parts of the region, high wages and rate of top jobs, and good-quality childcare.
- The region should focus on addressing poor GCSE results and low university entry rates for disadvantaged young people, especially those in coastal areas.

Figure 6.8: Map of South East performance against social mobility indicators



47 Greater London Authority (2017) *The Mayor's Vision for a Diverse and Inclusive City.* www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/microsoft_word_-_final_diversity_and_inclusion_vision_for_publication_lo.pdf

The South East is one of the best regions for social mobility with the second highest number of hotspots after London. However, there are a number of coldspots on the coast and the region's performance is inconsistent both geographically and across the life stages. Outcomes for disadvantaged people are far above average in the early years, considerably below average in the school years, just above average in youth and the best in the country for working lives.

The South East dominates the list of early years hotspots – with strong outcomes plus better childcare than London, though take-up of the free education offer for disadvantaged two-year-olds remains low.[48] At school, however, performance begins to slide – with the second lowest attainment at both key stage 2 and GCSE for pupils on free school meals (Attainment 8) of any region.[49] Too many of the region's disadvantaged children are in schools that are not rated 'good' or 'outstanding' – with particular problems on the Isle of Wight. Three districts in the South East have among the lowest attainment for disadvantaged children at key stage 2 in England: Horsham, South Oxfordshire and Arun. In all three areas, fewer than one in five children achieves the expected standard. In youth, attainment at A-levels is middling for disadvantaged young people and the region has the third lowest entry rate into higher education.[50]

However, the region comes into its own in working lives, with residents enjoying high rates of top jobs, largely due to its proximity to London. Nearly half of local authorities in the South East score in the top quintile and one-third are in the top 10 per cent of authorities based on adult social mobility indicators. Although housing is the second least affordable in the country, it is more affordable than London and families in the region enjoy high rates of home ownership. The majority of the region is well connected by rail and road links into London – offering easy access to the capital's high-paid job opportunities. As a result, the region boasts some of the highest levels of pay in the country, the second highest rate of people with qualifications at Level 4 and above, and the lowest rates of people earning below the living wage at 19 per cent.[51]

In addition to the commuting links into London, the South East has above-average numbers of professional, scientific and technical jobs – second only to London. It benefits from a number of growing hubs of employment, including, but not limited to, Milton Keynes, Reading, Oxford, Brighton and Southampton. The region also benefits from a number of airports, three major ports and 22 per cent of England's motorway network.[52]

The region's inconsistent performance in terms of social mobility reflects its geography. The areas closest to London tend to be very high performers, while isolated areas along the coast struggle, for example Hastings, Arun, Thanet and Gosport. Near London, most localities are very affluent – a factor that correlates with better outcomes for disadvantaged young people in the South East. By contrast, the coast tends to have more rural areas and higher levels of deprivation, both of which contribute to lower performance. A few coastal areas have particularly poor outcomes due to limited transport links – for example rural locations near Margate or Dover.

48 Department for Education (2017) *Provision for Children under 5 Years of Age in England: January 2017*.
49 Department for Education (2017) *Revised GCSE and Equivalent Results in England, 2015 to 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/revised-gcse-and-equivalent-results-in-england-2015-to-2016
50 Department for Education (2017) *Level 2 and 3 Attainment in England: Attainment by age 19 in 2016*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/level-2-and-3-attainment-by-young-people-aged-19-in-2016. Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
51 ONS (2017) *Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings – Resident Analysis*. ONS (2013) *Annual Population Survey – Resident Analysis; Census 2011, Table DC4101EW: Tenure by Household Composition*.
52 ONS (2010/2011) Portrait of the South East, *Regional Trends* 43.

These geographical differences create huge disparities in outcomes. In a well-connected town such as Slough, more than a third of disadvantaged young people go to university, while in coastal areas, such as Hastings or Eastbourne, only a tenth do.[53] In several Home Counties, such as South Oxfordshire or South Bucks, almost half of local people are in professional or managerial jobs and around 70 per cent of families with children own their home. By contrast, in Hastings and Eastbourne less than a third have professional or managerial jobs and only half of families with children own a home.[54]

The region's successes put it in a strong position to tackle its social mobility challenges. It needs to make sure that its strong outcomes for disadvantaged five-year-olds are translated into better results in school. Action is also needed to tackle the region's social mobility coldspots.

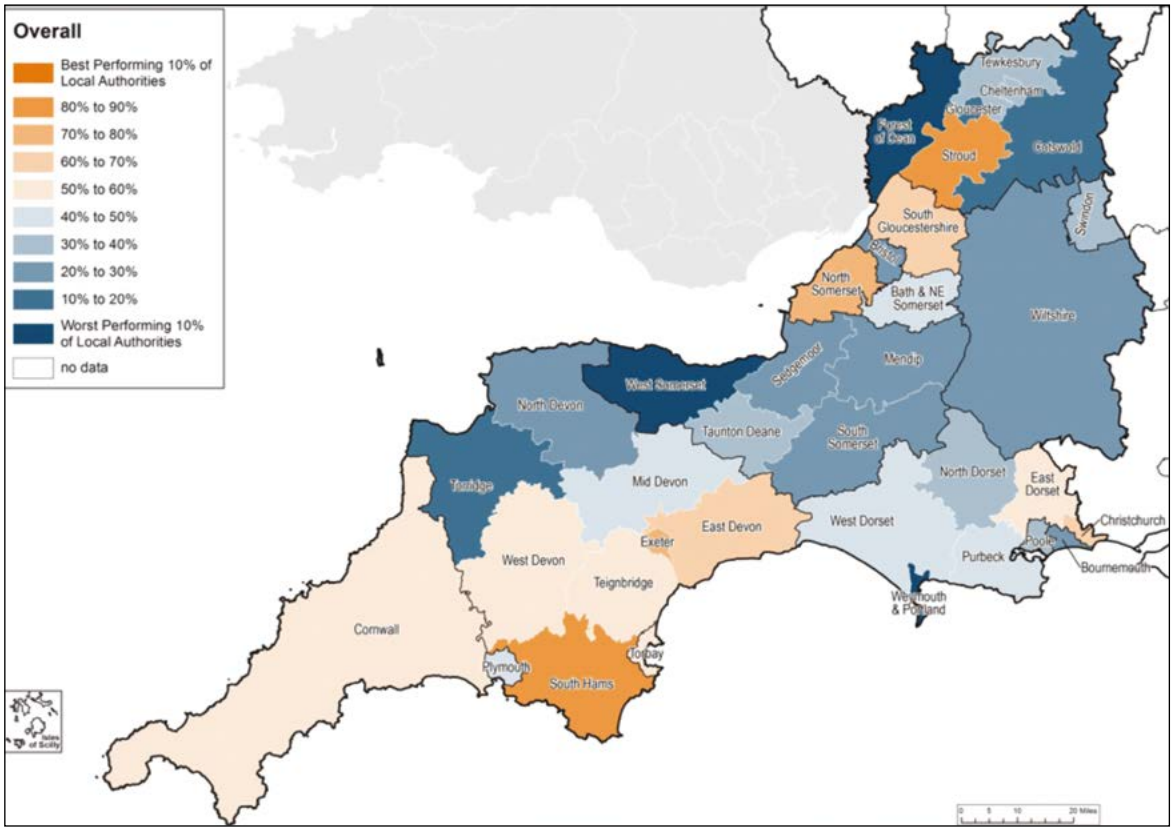
A number of efforts are already under way to boost social mobility. The dense population and geographical proximity of schools in many parts of the South East lend themselves to school partnerships and support networks, which are helping address local issues. Additionally, the region's national collaborative outreach programme is bringing together local employers and graduates as mentors for pupils in isolated, coastal areas – an effort which should help boost university entry rates for this population.[55] Hastings is one of the government's Opportunity Areas and a team of local stakeholders are working on tailored solutions to education problems in the area. Another local body, Transport for the South East, is working on better transport links in isolated areas. Finally, employment and productivity growth is higher in the region than anywhere else in the country, which points to the South East retaining its advantage in working lives.[56]

53 Department for Education (2017) *Widening Participation in Higher Education*. www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2017
54 ONS (2013) *Annual Population Survey – Resident Analysis; Census 2011, Table DC4101EW: Tenure by Household Composition*.
55 Higher Education Funding Council for England (2017) National Collaborative Outreach Programme (NCOP) [web page]. www.hefce.ac.uk/sas/ncop
56 EY (2017) *EY's UK Attractiveness Survey 2017 Time to act: empowering the English regions*.

6.10 South West

- The South West is a varied region in social mobility terms, with its coldspots mostly clustered on the coast.
- It includes West Somerset, which is the worst-performing local area in England for social mobility.
- Stroud in Gloucestershire ranks 43 out of 324, performing the best in the region.
- Regional strengths include high levels of schools rated 'good' or 'outstanding' and excellent early years outcomes in Cornwall and Devon.
- The region suffers from limited provision of higher education and low rates of entry into university. Poor transport links make it challenging to access education and employment opportunities.
- Devolution deals in Cornwall and the West of England are bringing opportunities to improve key areas, such as adult skills, housing and transport.

Figure 6.9: Map of South West performance against social mobility indicators



The South West is a diverse region, running from the country's south-western tip to the Cotswolds Hills. As a consequence, performance against the social mobility indicators is highly varied. Cornwall and Devon perform very well on early years indicators, while the other counties in the region – Somerset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Dorset – all perform poorly. The picture in working lives is reversed as Cornwall and Devon score very poorly on outcomes for jobs, pay and housing.

Overall, the South West has below-average early years outcomes for disadvantaged children.[57] Bristol has some of the lowest-quality childcare in the country, and many of the areas surrounding Bristol also underperform on this measure.[58] The positive outcomes in the coastal counties of Cornwall and Devon are due in part to higher levels of good-quality nursery provision. Torbay ranks as the third best performer in England on the early years indicators, while South Gloucestershire ranks ninth. Both these areas have some of the best early education nationally, due in part to proactive efforts by the local authorities to boost quality.

The number of children on free school meals attending 'good' or 'outstanding' schools is high – over 80 per cent at secondary school and 90 per cent at primary school – but this does not translate into good outcomes. At key stage 2, the gap between the performance of disadvantaged children and their peers is greater than in all other regions except Yorkshire and The Humber. Performance in the region remains poor into Attainment 8, where young disadvantaged pupils perform the third worst of the regions. This may in part be due to the low levels of per pupil funding received in the region.

West Somerset has very poor educational results for disadvantaged children. Only 27 per cent of them achieve the expected standard at key stage 2 and the Attainment 8 score is only 35. The lack of quality jobs and the rurality of the area have a negative impact on schooling. However, it is one of the government's Opportunity Areas and has received targeted support in the past through the Somerset Challenge, drawing on good practice from the London Challenge. The Regional School Commissioner is working to boost the capacity of multi-academy trusts active in the region with a view to increase collaboration between schools.

In the youth life stage, the numbers of young disadvantaged people in education, employment or training after finishing key stages 4 and 5 are in line with the England average. However, young disadvantaged people living in the rural and coastal communities of the region experience below-average outcomes. Only 28 per cent of young people eligible for free school meals were qualified to Level 3 at 19 in 2016. The average in England was over 36 per cent, and in London 54 per cent of young people on free school meals had Level 3 qualifications, demonstrating a significant skills gap.

The region has a number of universities, but there are large areas of the region poorly served by higher education institutions. In areas with no university, or only a high tariff one, young disadvantaged people can be deterred from entering higher education. This may be because of the costs or factors such as lack of confidence or desire to leave their community. In the region, only 15 per cent of disadvantaged youngsters went into higher education, falling to just 10 per cent in Swindon. This compares with an average of 24 per cent in England and 41 per cent in London.

The South West does poorly in terms of working life outcomes. Seven of the 36 local authorities in the region were in the bottom decile of performers for this life stage. The worst performers were all on the coast – West Somerset, Weymouth and Portland, Torbay, Torridge, North Devon, Cornwall and Purbeck. Some of these are all-round poor performers where residents experience low levels of quality jobs, low average wage and relatively costly housing.

In West Somerset, Weymouth and Portland, more than four in ten people earn less than the voluntary living wage, the highest levels in the country and much higher than the national average of one in four. This is an average of £312 a week for West Somerset residents – less than half of the earnings of the five best-paid areas.

57 Department for Education (2017) *Early Years Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP) results by pupil characteristics: 2016*.
58 Department for Education (2017) *Childcare providers and inspections*.

Part of the explanation for poor social mobility in youth and working lives, in particular, is the rural and coastal nature of the South West region. Poor transport links make accessing education and quality jobs challenging. Businesses have an extremely low level of satisfaction with the infrastructure in the South West. Only 5 per cent were satisfied, compared with satisfaction rates at 48 per cent in Yorkshire and The Humber.[59] A lack of connectivity impacts on businesses accessing markets and supply chains, and in connecting people with jobs outside and within the region.

The largest city in the South West is Bristol, which ranks 228 out of 324 in England. This low score is largely down to poor performance in early years and in youth, and low proportions of families who own their home. Disadvantaged young people do very badly in Bristol; for example, very few of them go to the most selective universities in the country despite two of them being nearby. Although the city of Bristol scores relatively poorly, its surrounding areas of South Gloucestershire, Bath and North East Somerset and North Somerset score better.

Looking forward, there is an opportunity to invest the £900 million 30-year investment fund (assigned to the West of England Combined Authority) into initiatives which could boost economic growth for the whole region. The Metro Mayor, Tim Bowles, is being devolved responsibility for the adult skills budget and the post-16 further education system, as well as responsibility for housing and transport. The Mayor of Bristol, Marvin Rees, also has ambitious plans to boost social mobility across the city. Cornwall is the only rural authority with a devolution deal and is developing plans for an integrated transport system and an ambitious employment and skills strategy. These are opportunities for the area to transform its social mobility performance.

59 CBI (2017) *Foundations for Growth, CBI/AECOM Infrastructure Survey 2017*.

Chapter 7: Scotland and Wales

7.1 Scotland

Introduction

The Scottish Government has a tradition of focusing on poverty and deprivation, with less attention paid to social mobility. In recent years this has changed, with policies designed to narrow the educational attainment gap, widen access to further and higher education and deliver programmes of modern apprenticeships. When it comes to assessing social mobility at a local level, however, there is currently very little data available. In particular, it is hard to find good ways to compare outcomes at different life stages for children from different social backgrounds. In England, entitlement to free school meals is one (imperfect) way of capturing disadvantage, but, due to universal entitlement in P1 to P3, data is not available on free school meal registrations in the first three years of primary school in Scotland.

As a consequence, the data and tables in this chapter do not lend themselves to as accurate an assessment of life chances by locality as does the English data. Nor are the tables below comparable with those for England, mainly because the only Scottish data we have access to is for all residents, not just the most disadvantaged. The tables therefore come with a health warning: they are much more limited in highlighting which parts of Scotland are best for social mobility and which are worst. Nevertheless they tell a story of how important place is in determining outcomes across different stages of life.

Place matters in Scotland just as it does in England. In this section, we look at how attainment varies across the 32 Scottish local authority areas in the four life stages that make up the Social Mobility Index. There are big variations between different parts of the country, some of which seem to reflect the local level of deprivation while others do not. Where possible, we have also tried to get a sense of the differences in outcomes for local residents by comparing outcomes between the most disadvantaged and least disadvantaged parts of a local authority area. This is not really a measure of how social background affects outcomes, but it is the best approximation available on the basis of existing datasets.

Figure 7.1: Map of Scottish local authority areas

Overview

Since the Scottish indicators added together in Table 7.1 relate to outcomes for all local residents (not just disadvantaged residents), it is not surprising that affluent areas tend to score better than deprived areas on both education and employment outcomes. The two areas that do best when the indicators are combined – East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire – have the greatest percentage of pupils from the least deprived quintile of the SIMD (the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation).[1] The three most deprived areas of Scotland – Glasgow City, Inverclyde and West Dunbartonshire – all report below-average outcomes, though none appears in the bottom fifth across all indicators.

Distinct types of area report very different average outcomes. Rural and semi-rural Scottish areas (based on the Office for National Statistics (ONS) classifications[2]) make up most of the highest-scoring areas across all indicators. By contrast, every major Scottish city outside Edinburgh (Glasgow City, Aberdeen City and Dundee City) reports below-average figures on the indicators we have used – with Dundee falling in the bottom fifth in terms of average figures across all indicators. However, it is former industrial areas that tend to report the lowest outcomes, as is often the case in England. Nine of Scotland's 13 ex-industrial areas have below-average performance on our indicators, and the three areas with the lowest outcomes in Scotland are both ex-industrial according to the ONS classifications (East Ayrshire, Midlothian and Clackmannanshire).

1 Scottish Government (2016) *The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation*. www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/SIMD
2 ONS (2011) *2011 Census Data.* 2011 Census data - Local Authority Districts

Table 7.1: Scottish local authority areas: sum of life stage indicators for all residents

Overall rank score	Local authority area
1	East Renfrewshire
2	East Dunbartonshire
3	South Ayrshire
4	Stirling
5	Perth & Kinross
6	Fife
7	City of Edinburgh
8	Angus
9	Eilean Siar
10	Scottish Borders
11	Argyll & Bute
12	Renfrewshire
13	Falkirk
14	South Lanarkshire
15	North Lanarkshire
16	Shetland Islands
17	Aberdeenshire
18	West Lothian
19	Glasgow City
20	Inverclyde
21	North Ayrshire
22	West Dunbartonshire
23	Highland
24	Orkney Islands
25	Dumfries & Galloway
26	East Ayrshire
27	Midlothian
28	East Lothian
29	Dundee City
30	Aberdeen City
31	Moray
32	Clackmannanshire

Source: Scottish Government (2016) Achievement of Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) Levels data, 2015/2016. www.gov.scot/Publications/2016/12/3546/downloads.
Notes: This table uses data on education and employment outcomes for all residents in each local authority, not just disadvantaged residents. It is not comparable with either England or Wales.
*Rank score is based on a sum of the weighted standardised scores for each of the life stage indicators (see tables below).

Unlike in England, there are several areas that report strong average outcomes for residents across all four life stages, such as East Dunbartonshire and East Renfrewshire (though the same may not be true for disadvantaged residents in these places). There are also a number of areas which report low outcomes at every life stage – including Clackmannanshire.

However, other areas of Scotland show a more mixed picture. Areas that report positive outcomes on the early years indicators tend to report similarly high outcomes on the schools indicators, but this not does always translate into strong scores on youth and working lives indicators. Fife, for example, appears in the top fifth of early years and schools indicators, but is significantly below average for youth and working lives. Angus and Perth and Kinross follow a similar pattern. Meanwhile, a number of cities – such as Aberdeen City and Glasgow City – have relatively low educational outcomes, but very strong performance on the working lives indicators due to greater employment opportunities.

The data source for the early years and schools indicators is Achievement of Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) Levels data, 2015/16. This data collection covers pupils' attainment in reading, writing, listening and talking, and numeracy, based on teachers' professional judgement. This data is experimental statistics (data under development) and has been published to involve users and stakeholders in its development, and to build in quality and understanding at an early stage.

Early years

The indicator that we used in the index for this life stage is:

- Percentage of pupils achieving expected levels in reading, writing and numeracy at P1 Early Level.*

*This data is based on experimental statistics that should be treated with caution.

Table 7.2: Early years indicators: percentage achieving expected levels

Early years rank score*	Local authority area	P1 Reading (81)^	P1 Writing (78)^	P1 Numeracy (84)^
1	Fife	93.8	93.4	96.1
2	Perth & Kinross	91.4	90.2	92.2
3	East Renfrewshire	90.8	88.8	92.1
4	East Dunbartonshire	88.4	85.8	90.0
5	South Ayrshire	86.8	82.8	89.6
6	Angus	84.2	82.8	87.4
7	Scottish Borders	86.0	82.0	86.2
8	Renfrewshire	84.5	81.1	86.3
9	City of Edinburgh	82.5	80.2	86.8
10	Stirling	83.9	79.8	84.7
11	Argyll & Bute	82.2	80.2	84.7
12	Eilean Siar	83.8	82.5	80.3
13	Falkirk	81.2	78.7	85.9
14	North Lanarkshire	80.2	78.9	85.8
15	North Ayrshire	79.8	80.1	85.1
16	West Lothian	80.3	78.5	83.6
17	South Lanarkshire	80.0	78.2	83.0
18	Aberdeenshire	79.5	78.5	82.6
19	Inverclyde	78.6	75.8	83.8
20	Glasgow City	77.3	74.9	82.2
21	West Dunbartonshire	79.4	72.3	81.9
22	Midlothian	75.6	74.0	81.9
23	Shetland Islands	76.9	71.5	81.9
24	East Ayrshire	77.9	73.4	78.0
25	Dumfries & Galloway	75.5	74.7	78.4
26	Clackmannanshire	76.7	73.2	76.8
27	Dundee City	77.8	69.7	78.3
28	Orkney Islands	74.7	69.1	76.0
29	Highland	72.9	67.8	76.7
30	East Lothian	72.7	64.3	74.3
31	Moray	72.2	65.7	67.5
32	Aberdeen City	64.8	64.0	70.9

Source: Scottish Government (2016) Achievement of Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) Levels data, 2015/16. www.gov.scot/Publications/2016/12/3546/downloads.
Notes: This data is based on new teacher assessments which are currently in development. As such, it is classified as experimental statistics and should be treated with caution.
*Rank score has been determined by taking the average performance across all three subject areas.
^Scotland overall.

To measure early years attainment, we have looked at the percentage of all children achieving expected levels in reading, writing and numeracy at P1 Early Level, which is assessed in the first year of school at age five or six. The data is based on new teacher assessments and should be treated with caution. Additionally, this measure is not comparable with the English indicator for the early years, the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile, especially as we looked at performance for disadvantaged children, not all children.

The local area that reports the highest educational attainment for children at age five to six is Fife, which has the highest percentage of P1s achieving the expected level of attainment in reading, writing and numeracy. More than 90 per cent of Fife children achieve the expected level in all three subjects, despite an even spread of pupils from different deprivation backgrounds. The only other areas in which more than 90 per cent of children achieve the expected level are Perth and Kinross and East Renfrewshire. At the other end of the table, Aberdeen City and Moray have the lowest early years attainment, despite low levels of deprivation overall.

The link between deprivation and attainment is clear, but not unbreakable. Although deprived areas tend to report lower attainment, several areas buck the trend. The most deprived authority – Glasgow City – does not report the lowest attainment, while the area with the most pupils in the least deprived quintile – East Renfrewshire – does not report the highest attainment. In fact, Glasgow City, which has more than half its pupils from the most deprived backgrounds, has a reading attainment level that is just 4 percentage points below the national average.

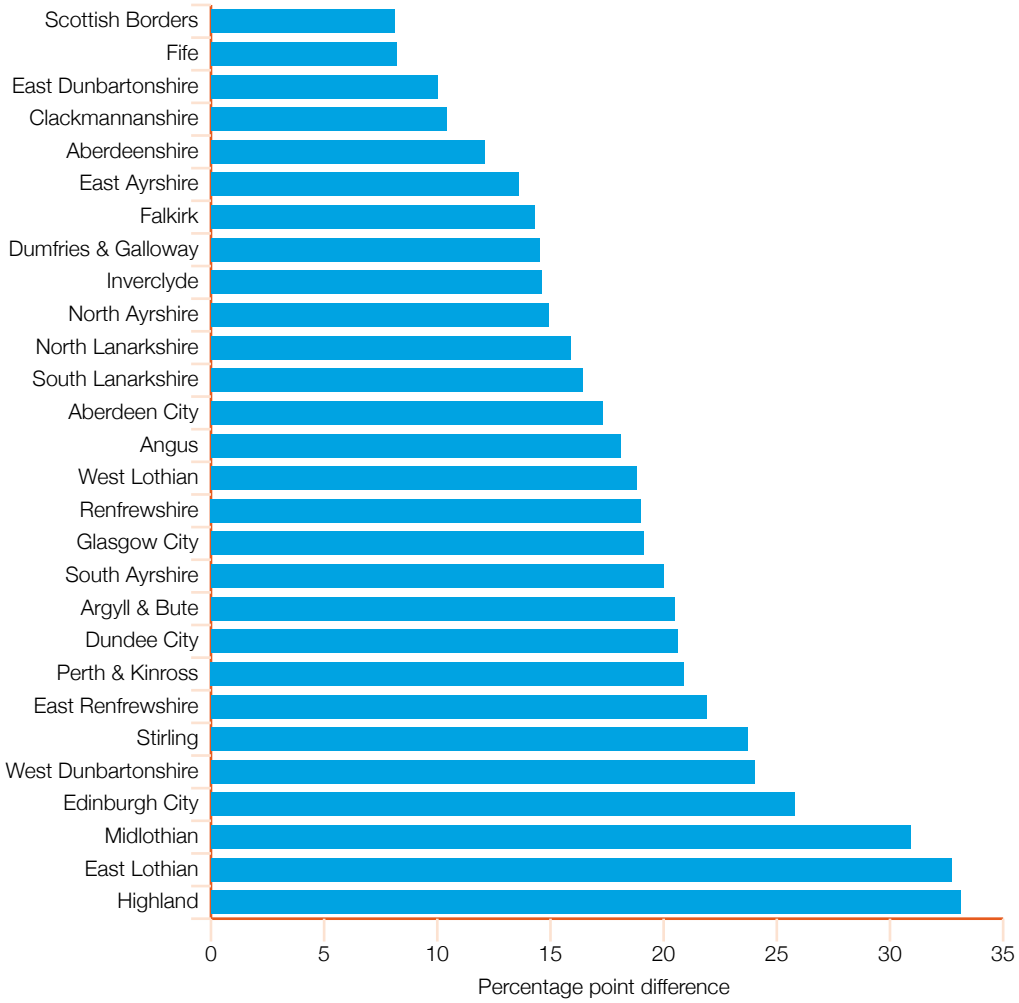
Least and most deprived areas within local authorities

We also considered the attainment gap between pupils in the most deprived and least deprived areas of each local authority. This data is also experimental and should be treated with caution.

Scottish Borders reported the smallest attainment gap between pupils in its most and least deprived areas, while Highland reported the largest gap (Figure 7.2).

Areas with strong early years attainment overall also tend to report smaller gaps in outcomes for deprived and less deprived children. The two areas with the smallest attainment gaps at school – Fife and Scottish Borders – are also top performers for early years outcomes overall. By contrast, the two areas with the largest attainment gaps also have below-average results on early outcomes overall.

Figure 7.2: Average difference between percentage of pupils achieving expected levels in P1 reading and writing in top and bottom SIMD quintile within each local authority area, 2015/16



Source: Social Mobility Commission analysis based on data (by deprivation and local authority) provided by the Scottish Government (October 2017).
Notes: This chart is based on experimental statistics that should be treated with caution.
This chart does not include island authorities or Moray, as they have too few (or no) data zones in quintile 1.

Schools

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Percentage of pupils achieving expected levels in reading, writing and numeracy at P7 Early Level (Scottish Government data, 2015/16).
- Percentage of pupils achieving expected levels in reading, writing and numeracy at S3 Third Level or better Early Level (Scottish Government data, 2015/16).*

* This data is based on experimental statistics that should be treated with caution.

To measure school attainment, we have looked at the percentage of all children achieving expected levels in reading, writing and numeracy at P7 (at the end of primary school) and S3 (at age 14–15). The data is based on new teacher assessments and should be treated with caution.

The local authority which reported the highest attainment of all pupils at P7 and S3 is Angus (see Table 7.3). In Angus, around 80 per cent of all pupils achieve the expected level in reading, writing and numeracy at P7 and more than 98 per cent achieve the expected level in all three subjects at S3. The lowest attainment was reported for Clackmannanshire, where almost a third of pupils do not achieve expected levels across the board. There is a large gap (around 25 percentage points) between the areas with the highest and lowest attainment levels on most of the above indicators.

The authorities reporting the highest attainment on the school indicators tend to be the same areas that report high attainment on the early years indicators. In fact, the same seven authorities report the highest attainment – though S3 results (at age 14–15) are far less correlated with earlier outcomes (either P1 or P7).

Least and most deprived areas

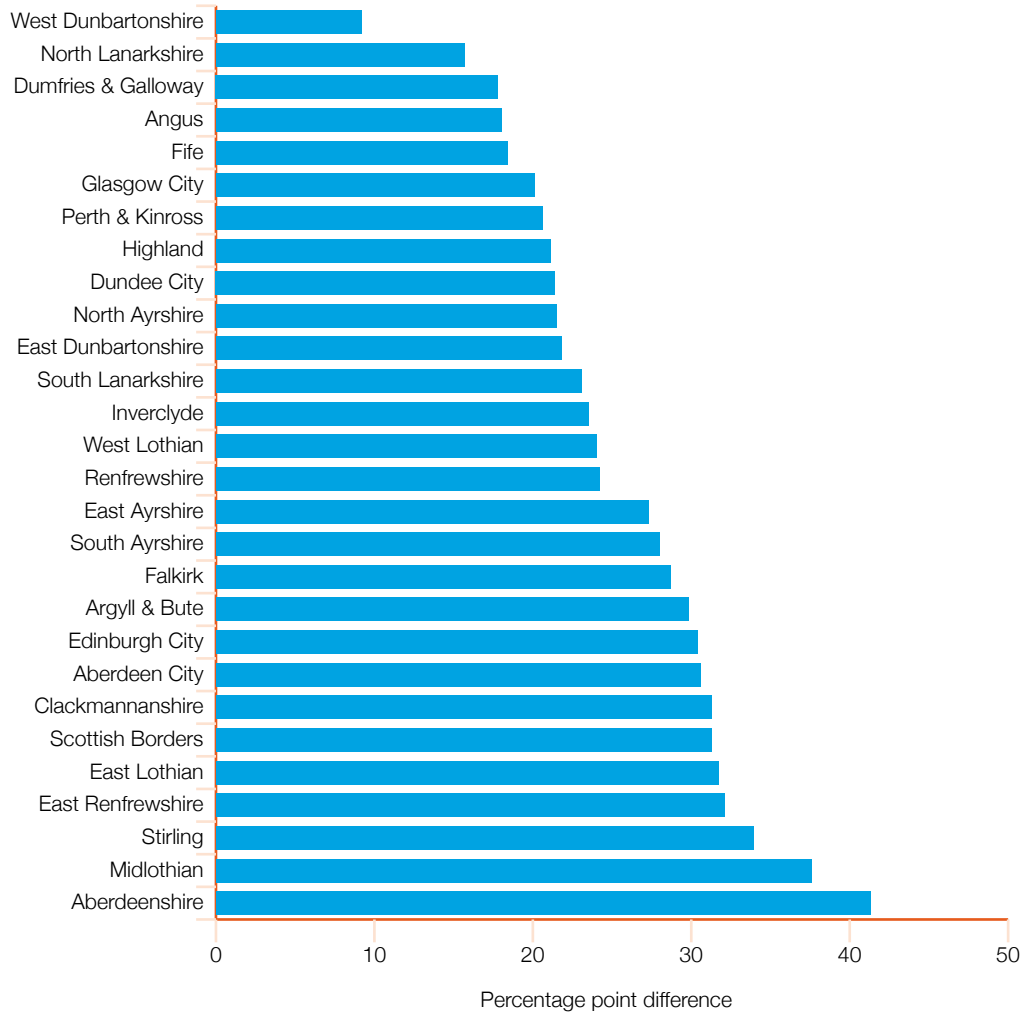
Comparing each area on the attainment gap between its most and least deprived pupils, we see that West Dunbartonshire, North Lanarkshire and Angus all have below-average attainment gaps at both P7 and S3 (Figures 7.3 and 7.4). At the other end of the tables, Aberdeenshire and Midlothian have some of the largest attainment gaps between deprived and less deprived pupils at both P7 and S3 stages. However, there is a fair amount of inconsistency in attainment gaps at primary school (P7) and age 14–15 (S3). Some areas, such as Scottish Borders, report large attainment gaps at P7, but far smaller gaps at S3. Overall, gaps appear to shrink between P7 and S3 levels – though this may be partly due to measurement approaches.

Table 7.3: Schools indicators: percentage achieving expected levels

Schools rank score*	Local authority area	P7			S3		
		Reading 72^	Writing 65^	Numeracy 68^	Reading 86^	Writing 84^	Numeracy 86^
1	Angus	84.3	80.8	79.6	98.0	98.0	96.3
2	East Renfrewshire	85.6	80.9	84.0	93.9	92.5	94.6
3	East Dunbartonshire	82.8	75.0	77.4	98.0	98.2	97.0
4	Scottish Borders	78.6	73.6	73.9	96.7	95.9	94.1
5	South Ayrshire	81.6	75.3	78.5	91.6	90.8	89.3
6	Fife	85.5	78.1	83.9	79.3	76.9	86.0
7	Perth & Kinross	87.1	85.3	86.8	76.9	73.7	78.5
8	Stirling	75.4	70.5	70.4	91.7	90.8	78.4
9	Argyll & Bute	74.7	69.6	65.3	88.9	88.4	89.3
10	Glasgow City	73.1	66.2	69.9	90.8	89.3	86.7
11	City of Edinburgh	76.2	68.6	72.7	85.8	84.8	86.7
12	Falkirk	73.1	65.5	65.7	89.7	89.0	88.1
13	North Lanarkshire	69.9	65.1	65.7	90.1	89.6	88.2
14	South Lanarkshire	72.3	62.7	67.9	89.3	88.5	86.1
15	West Lothian	69.7	63.9	60.2	90.9	89.4	90.1
16	Shetland Islands	68.0	57.1	60.6	95.8	94.6	85.4
17	Renfrewshire	74.6	65.7	70.2	80.3	76.1	87.0
18	Highland	68.5	60.4	60.8	85.7	83.4	82.0
19	Aberdeenshire	63.9	54.8	58.5	86.1	85.7	88.4
20	North Ayrshire	70.1	64.4	70.8	76.0	74.3	81.7
21	Moray	60.3	52.5	50.2	89.4	88.4	87.0
22	Eilean Siar	80.4	74.2	69.2	70.5	67.8	68.4
23	West Dunbartonshire	64.2	57.2	60.5	81.6	80.9	82.7
24	Dumfries & Galloway	67.4	57.4	60.1	79.6	77.8	83.1
25	Inverclyde	69.3	57.9	60.8	78.3	76.3	79.7
26	Dundee City	60.7	51.0	49.4	87.6	86.5	78.7
27	Orkney Islands	64.8	57.8	69.8	82.1	73.4	65.0
28	Midlothian	64.5	54.0	61.0	75.1	71.2	84.3
29	East Ayrshire	59.2	53.9	58.3	77.9	71.6	87.6
30	East Lothian	60.5	51.7	55.6	83.9	80.7	68.3
31	Aberdeen City	56.6	49.3	58.2	71.4	67.2	83.2
32	Clackmannanshire	68.5	58.0	54.5	71.3	68.8	58.0

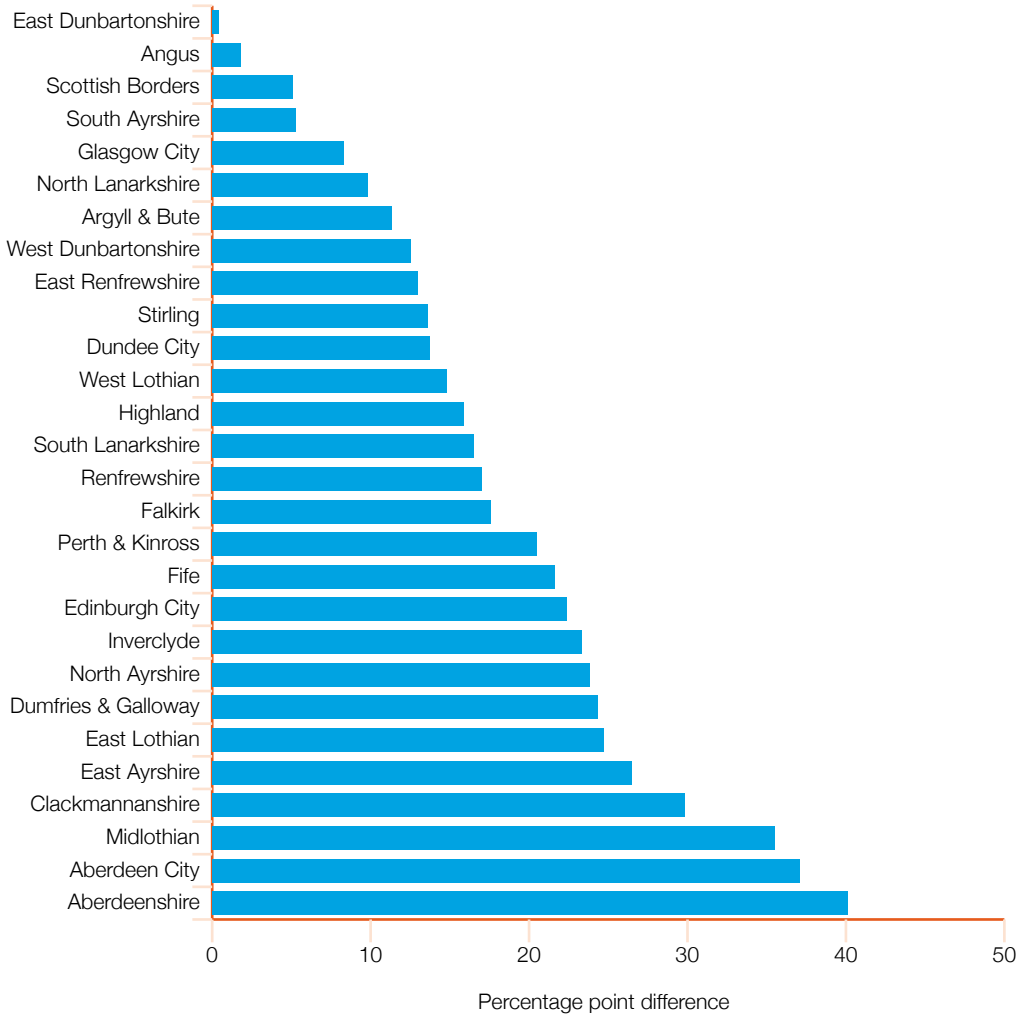
Source: Scottish Government (2016) Achievement of Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) Levels data, 2015/16. www.gov.scot/Publications/2016/12/3546/downloads.
Notes: This data is based on new teacher assessments which are currently in development. As such, it is classified as experimental statistics and should be treated with caution.
*Rank score has been determined by taking the average standardised performance across all three subject areas and then summing across the two indicators.
^Scotland overall.

Figure 7.3: Average gap between percentage of pupils achieving expected levels in P7 reading and writing in top and bottom SIMD quintile, 2015/16



Source: Social Mobility Commission analysis based on data (by deprivation and local authority) provided by the Scottish Government (October 2017).
Notes: This chart is based on experimental statistics that should be treated with caution.
This chart does not include island authorities or Moray, as they have too few (or no) data zones in quintile 1.

Figure 7.4: Average gap between percentage of pupils achieving expected levels in S3 reading and writing in top and bottom SIMD quintile, 2015/16



Source: Social Mobility Commission analysis based on data (by deprivation and local authority) provided by the Scottish Government (October 2017).
Notes: This chart is based on experimental statistics that should be treated with caution.
This chart does not include island authorities or Moray, as they have too few (or no) data zones in quintile 1.

Youth

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Percentage of 16 to 19-year-olds participating (Skills Development Scotland Annual Participation Measure, 2017).
- Percentage of school leavers going on to higher education (Scottish Government, 2015/16).
- Percentage of school leavers who have achieved one or more awards at SCQF Level 5 or better (Scottish Government, 2015/16).

For this life stage, we consider the school leaver participation rate (in higher education, further education, training, work, voluntary work or activity agreements) over the last three years. We also consider qualification levels achieved by the end of school and the number of school leavers entering higher education from each authority.

Overall, East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire report the best youth outcomes (see Table 7.4). Both areas have the highest qualification levels for school leavers, the highest entry rates into higher education and among the highest participation rates. This is not surprising, given that both areas have a higher percentage of affluent areas. At the other end of the table, most areas with lower participation rates also report lower rates of attainment in reading, writing and numeracy. A number of cities feature towards the bottom of the table, including Glasgow and Dundee.

There are large differences between areas. In Clackmannanshire, a third as many school leavers enter higher education when compared with East Renfrewshire. Similarly, the number of young people not participating in education, employment, training or activity agreements is about three times as large in Clackmannanshire as in East Renfrewshire. However, the percentage of young people who are not participating has declined over the past three years across most of Scotland, with the exception of Angus, City of Edinburgh, Scottish Borders and East Renfrewshire where the percentage of pupils not participating increased between 2016 and 2017.

Least and most deprived areas

The areas with the highest attainment at this life stage – East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire – also have smallest difference in outcomes for young people in their least and most deprived areas (Figures 7.5 and 7.6). This may be because all local pupils achieve high levels of qualifications. However, both areas have much bigger participation gaps when it comes to higher education entry – with far fewer school leavers from deprived areas entering than school leavers living in the least deprived areas. Across authorities, participation in higher education tends to have far larger participation gaps between the least and most deprived pupils.

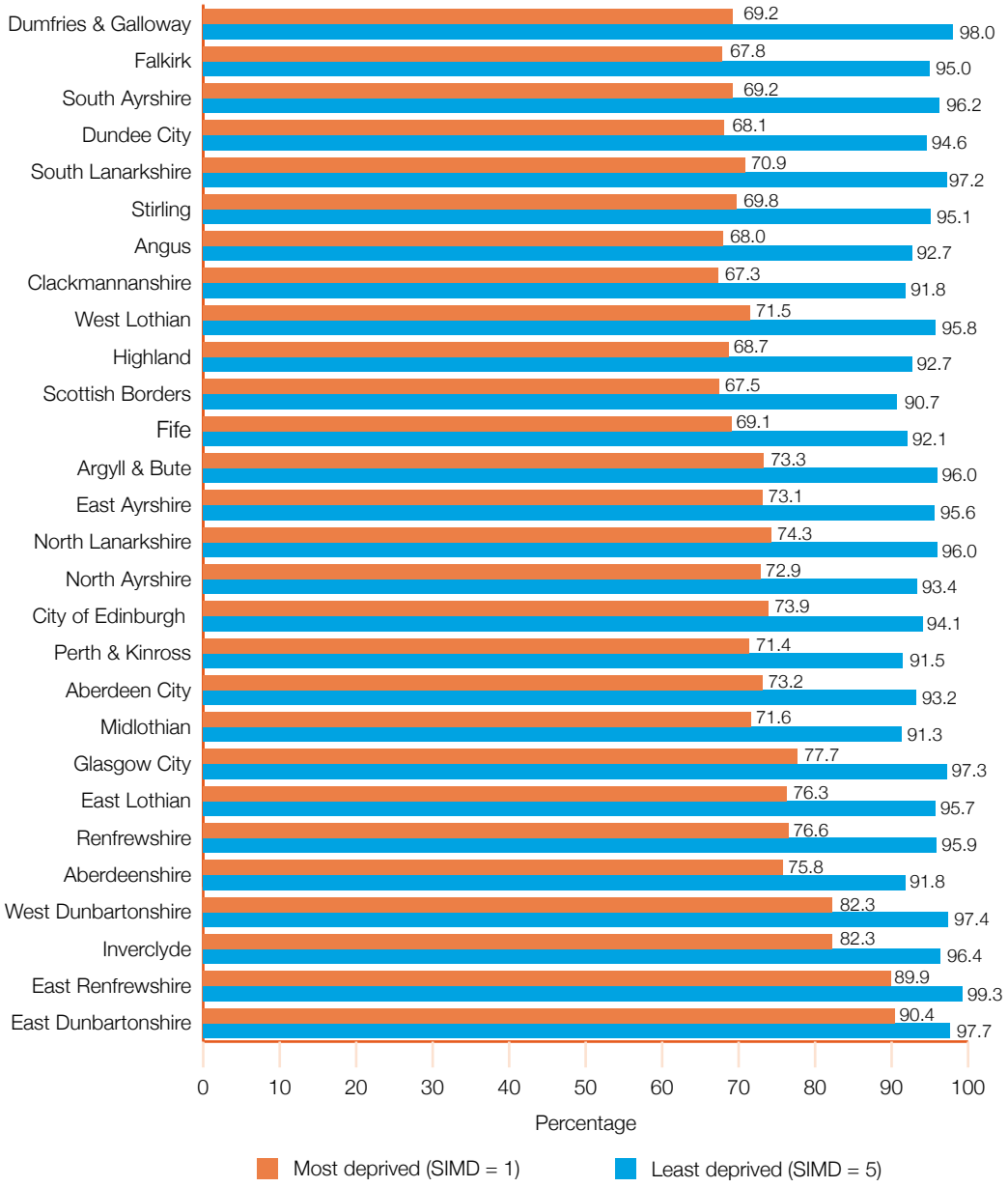
The areas with the largest attainment gaps for school leavers' qualifications are Dumfries and Galloway, Falkirk and South Ayrshire.

Table 7.4: Youth indicators: participation, higher education destination, SCQF 5 outcome

Youth rank score*	Local authority area	% 16 to 19-year-olds participating (three-year average)	% of school leavers achieving 1+ awards at SCQF 5 or better~	% of school leavers going on to higher education
1	East Renfrewshire	95.7	96.8	60.9
2	East Dunbartonshire	95.1	95.8	57.1
3	Eilean Siar	95.4	92.1	40.9
4	Orkney Islands	93.6	92.5	31.8
5	Stirling	92.2	88.2	42.1
6	Aberdeenshire	92.8	88.1	39.9
7	Argyll & Bute	93.0	86.9	38.5
8	Shetland Islands	96.2	87.9	28.3
9	South Ayrshire	90.2	86.7	41.7
10	Highland	92.7	87.0	34.3
11	Inverclyde	90.7	88.7	35.6
12	Renfrewshire	89.9	87.1	38.8
13	Angus	91.1	87.1	35.5
14	Perth & Kinross	92.2	85.7	35.2
15	Dumfries & Galloway	90.1	87.3	35.9
16	Aberdeen City	88.5	84.9	42.2
17	South Lanarkshire	89.6	85.0	39.3
18	Moray	89.7	86.0	37.1
19	East Lothian	90.4	85.0	36.5
20	City of Edinburgh	89.5	85.1	36.5
21	Falkirk	89.3	85.5	35.1
22	West Lothian	89.0	84.4	37.5
23	West Dunbartonshire	87.1	87.8	36.4
24	North Lanarkshire	88.5	85.5	36.0
25	Scottish Borders	91.0	82.6	34.5
26	North Ayrshire	89.3	83.4	35.1
27	East Ayrshire	88.5	83.2	32.9
28	Fife	87.3	82.5	36.0
29	Midlothian	89.2	82.3	29.1
30	Glasgow City	85.9	82.1	31.2
31	Dundee City	86.7	80.0	30.5
32	Clackmannanshire	87.2	79.3	22.4

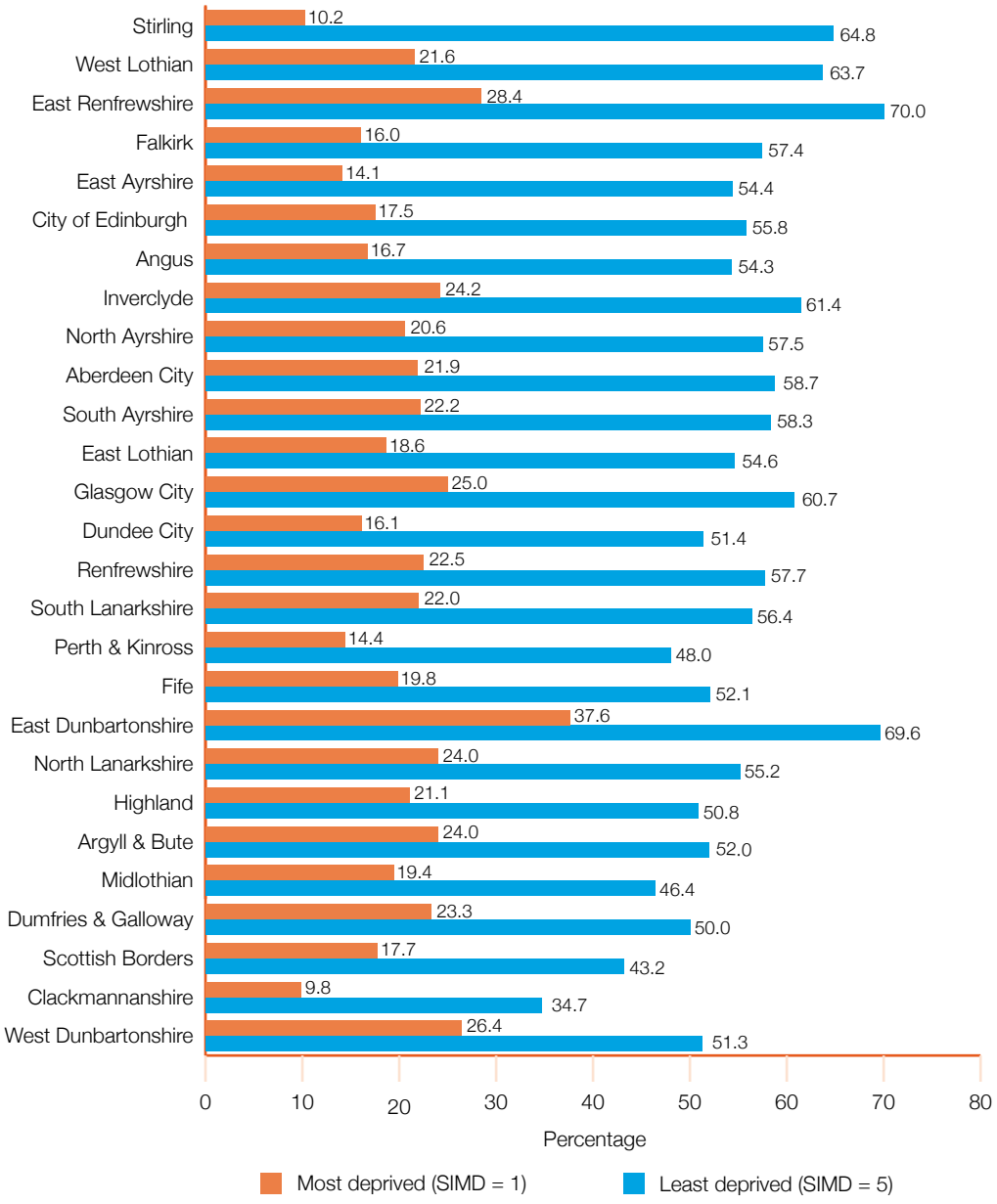
Sources: Three-year average from: Scottish Government (2017) *Annual Participation Measure for 16–19 year olds in Scotland 2017*. www.skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk/publications-statistics/statistics/participation-measure/?page=1&statisticCategoryId=7&order=date-desc.
Summary statistics for attainment, leaver destinations and healthy living, No. 7: 2017 Edition – Attainment and Leaver Destinations. ^Table L2.1 and ~Table A2.2. Skills Development Scotland Annual Participation Measure, 2017.
Note: *Rank score has been determined by standardising the indicators and taking the sum.

Figure 7.5: Percentage of school leavers from the lowest and highest SIMD quintile achieving one or more awards at SCQF 5 by local authority area, 2015/16 (presented from largest to smallest difference)



Source: Social Mobility Commission analysis based on data (by deprivation and local authority) provided by the Scottish Government (October 2017).
Note: This chart does not include island authorities or Moray, as they have too few (or no) data zones in quintile 1.

Figure 7.6: Percentage of school leavers from the lowest and highest SIMD quintile going on to higher education, 2015/16 (presented from largest to smallest difference)



Source: Social Mobility Commission analysis based on data (by deprivation and local authority) provided by the Scottish Government (October 2017).
Notes: Data based on follow-up destinations, where pupils said they were in March. Higher education category contains pupils who are in university or college taking courses that were not available to them at school.
This chart does not include island authorities or Moray, as they have too few (or no) data zones in quintile 1.

Working lives

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Median weekly salary of employees who live in the local area, all employees (full-time and part-time) (Office for National Statistics (ONS) data).
- Average house prices compared with median annual salary of employees who live in the local area (ONS data).
- Percentage of people who live in the local area who are in managerial and professional occupations (Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) groups 1 and 2) (ONS data).
- Percentage of jobs that are paid less than the applicable Living Wage Foundation living wage (ONS data).

Edinburgh is the top-performing area for the working lives stage (see Table 7.5) – with high salaries and high levels of skilled work as well as the lowest rates of people on low pay. The hotspots are mostly cities, which outperform in terms of higher salaries and higher levels of skilled work – though living costs, especially housing, make these areas less positive for disadvantaged people. By contrast, most of the bottom performers are more rural areas with fewer local employment opportunities – such as Dumfries and Galloway or Highland.

Employment opportunities vary widely across Scotland. In East Renfrewshire, median weekly salaries are £100 more than in both Inverclyde and Dunbartonshire. City of Edinburgh has twice as many people in skilled work as does Dunbartonshire (40 per cent versus 19.7 per cent). Likewise, City of Edinburgh has half as many people on low pay as East Renfrewshire (14 per cent versus 30 per cent).

House prices vary from 4.4 times the average salary in East Ayrshire to over 8 times the average salary in Aberdeenshire. However, this variance is far smaller than that in England – where house prices reach 38 times the average salary in Kensington and Chelsea.[3]

Within areas, opportunities also vary dramatically. Both East Renfrewshire and East Dunbartonshire, for example, have among the highest median weekly salaries in Scotland but also the two highest rates of low pay.

3 ONS (2017) *Housing Affordability in England and Wales: 1997 to 2016*. www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/housing/bulletins/housingaffordabilityinenglandandwales/1997to2016

Table 7.5: Working lives indicators: wages, house prices, jobs, voluntary living wage

Working lives rank score*	Local authority area	Median weekly salary of employees who live in the local area, all employees (FT and PT)	Average house prices compared with median annual salary of employees who live in the local area	% of people who live in the local area who are in managerial and professional occupations (SOC 1 and 2)	% of jobs that are paid less than the applicable Living Wage Foundation living wage
1	City of Edinburgh	£457.80	7.9	40.1	14.4
2	East Dunbartonshire	£488.57	7.2	40.9	24.1
3	South Lanarkshire	£436.60	5.0	27.1	18.1
4	Aberdeen City	£466.03	7.4	31.4	17.0
5	Falkirk	£443.23	4.6	26.0	19.9
6	Glasgow City	£410.47	5.3	30.7	17.0
7	Stirling	£439.53	6.5	34.6	21.0
8	East Renfrewshire	£500.45	7.8	41.5	30.0
9	Renfrewshire	£435.03	4.9	26.3	21.0
10	North Lanarkshire	£417.27	4.5	21.5	19.2
11	West Lothian	£423.17	6.1	27.4	19.1
12	West Dunbartonshire	£394.67	4.6	19.7	19.5
13	South Ayrshire	£431.00	5.7	27.2	25.4
14	Dundee City	£390.00	5.4	20.8	17.4
15	North Ayrshire	£414.27	4.5	21.4	25.4
16	East Lothian	£424.90	7.9	31.4	22.0
17	Inverclyde	£389.63	5.0	26.1	22.6
18	Fife	£416.90	5.6	26.7	23.1
19	Scottish Borders	£404.87	7.0	30.8	24.0
20	East Ayrshire	£406.13	4.4	24.8	26.0
21	Aberdeenshire	£426.20	8.3	31.2	21.8
22	Argyll & Bute	£400.60	6.1	27.8	21.4
23	Clackmannanshire	£410.33	5.4	25.4	25.1
24	Midlothian	£408.77	7.4	26.2	20.1
25	Perth & Kinross	£412.87	7.5	29.4	23.9
26	Highland	£400.20	7.3	24.9	21.8
27	Angus	£396.53	6.9	27.9	29.2
28	Moray	£352.57	7.4	21.9	22.7
29	Dumfries & Galloway	£365.47	6.3	21.8	29.8

Sources: ONS (2016) *Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings* - Number and percentage of employee jobs with hourly pay below the living wage, by parliamentary constituency and local authority, UK, April 2015 and 2016. Table: Work Geography 1a LWO1. Registers of Scotland (2017) Quarterly House Price Statistics. www.ros.gov.uk/property-data/property-statistics/quarterly-house-price-statistics.
Notes: This chart does not include island authorities due to limited data.
*Rank score has been determined by taking the sum of the standardised indicators.

Conclusion

Education and employment outcomes vary widely across Scotland – with deprived, post-industrial areas tending to report lower outcomes, while affluent rural areas tend to report higher outcomes. Even within authority areas, there are large gaps in outcomes between the most deprived and least deprived parts of the area. The Scottish Government's focus on narrowing the attainment gap and also widening access to further and higher education is very welcome. Further analysis of attainment gaps by local area could help to direct extra support to areas with the most need, while also focusing local stakeholders on the problem.

7.2 Wales

Introduction

In this section, we look at how attainment varies across the 22 Welsh local authority areas in the four life stages that make up the Social Mobility Index. There is no direct comparison between the index for England and indicators used in Wales. As a result, this section looks at nine indicators – two in the early years, two in the school years, one in youth and four in working lives.

There are large variations between different parts of the country, with top performers fluctuating across life stages, but with some affluent areas performing consistently well. The Welsh Government has a focus on a number of key areas that influence social mobility. In the early years, it has consulted on a ten-year plan. In youth, there are increased numbers of young people going into education full time after ages 16 and 18. In working lives, the Welsh Government has a commitment to reshape employability support for those furthest away from the labour market.

Figure 7.7: Map of Welsh local authority areas

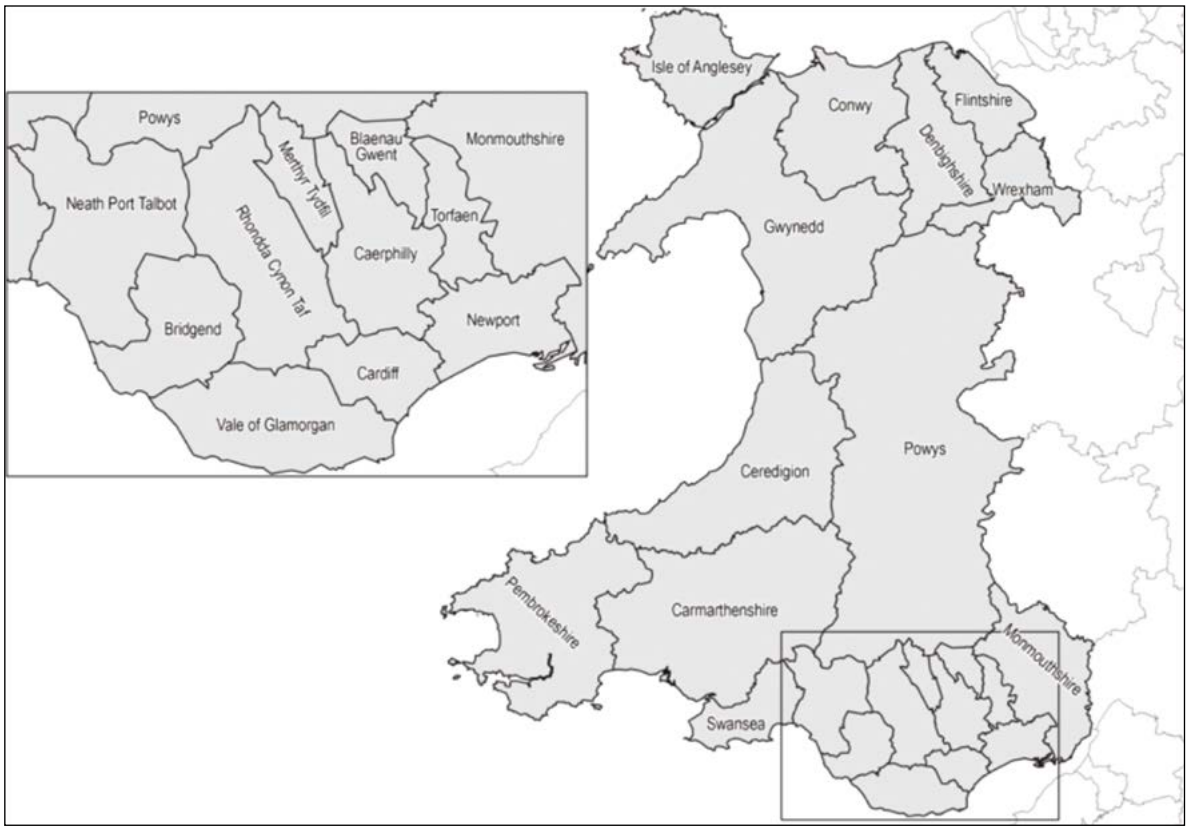


Table 7.6: Welsh local authority areas: sum of life stage indicators

Overall rank*	Local authority area
1	The Vale of Glamorgan
2	Ceredigion
3	Monmouthshire
4	Merthyr Tydfil
5	Bridgend
6	Gwynedd
7	Newport
8	Caerphilly
9	Powys
10	Denbighshire
11	Carmarthenshire
12	Isle of Anglesey
13	Cardiff
14	Swansea
15	Torfaen
16	Rhondda Cynon Taf
17	Flintshire
18	Pembrokeshire
19	Wrexham
20	Blaenau Gwent
21	Conwy
22	Neath Port Talbot

Sources: Welsh Government (2016) Achievement and entitlement to free school meals, 2015 data. Statistical requests. http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/academic-achievement-free-school-meals/ad-hoc-statistical-requests/?lang=en. Careers Wales (April 2017) Pupil Destinations from Schools in Wales. http://destinations.careerswales.com/. ONS (2016) *Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings* - Number and percentage of employee jobs with hourly pay below the living wage, by parliamentary constituency and local authority, UK, April 2015 and 2016. Table: Work Geography 1a LWO1. ONS (2016) Housing Affordability in England and Wales 1996 to 2016. ONS (2016) Annual Population Survey - Resident Analysis. ONS (2016) Estimates of employee jobs paid less than the living wage in London and other parts of the UK.
Notes: This analysis uses fewer indicators than the English analysis and the youth section uses data on all young people (not just disadvantaged young people). This is not comparable with the English data.
*Rank score is based on a sum of the weighted standardised scores for each of the life stage indicators (see tables below).

Overview

The overarching results of the indicators across the four life stages – early years, schools, youth and working lives – show that there is no clear north/south divide in Wales. The social mobility outcomes experienced can vary within a geographically small area. As an example, the north of Wales contains the second worst performer, Conwy, bordering with Gwynedd, a relatively strong performer, and Denbighshire, a middling performer.

Cities are not social mobility engines for their residents in Wales, with Newport scoring the highest out of the main cities while Wrexham scores very badly. A number of the more urban areas in the south also score badly across all the life stages, particularly Neath Port Talbot and Blaenau Gwent. However, it is not the case that rural areas correlate with good performance, as the bottom scorers also include areas such as Conwy and Pembrokeshire. This demonstrates that there is a range of factors in play for individuals in their early years through to their working lives. Living in an area with proximity to an urban centre does allow access to higher rates of better-paid jobs and better wages, but it does not necessarily mean better access to services and facilities. It also does not mean that young people are more likely to achieve a positive destination after school. There are higher proportions of young people not in education, employment or training after Year 11 in Cardiff, compared with rural areas, despite better outcomes in working lives and the presence of a number of higher education institutions.

In working lives, the south of Wales pulls away from the rest of the country, having the majority of jobs and higher wages. The City Deals for the Cardiff Capital Region and the Swansea Bay City Region promise these areas long-term funds of £1.2 billion each. This is projected to deliver around 35,000 new jobs in the next 15–20 years, which should have a significant impact on the Welsh economy.[4]

But high levels of poverty in Wales have an impact on every life stage. Currently, nearly a quarter (23 per cent) of all individuals in Wales live in poverty – higher than in all regions in England and Great Britain, except London and the West Midlands.[5] People growing up poor in Wales have a significant disadvantage in attainment at key stage 4 where there is a 30 percentage point difference between those pupils on free school meals and others, with the more affluent areas also failing their disadvantaged pupils. This affects disadvantaged youngsters through to post-16 choices and in getting good jobs. The lack of good jobs in an area can affect aspiration from an early age. Rural areas can be very isolated in terms of poor provision of both public transport and roads.

4 National Assembly for Wales (2017) *Economy, Infrastructure and Skills Committee Inquiry: City Deals and the Regional Economies of Wales*. Evidence from Office of the Secretary of State for Wales, Annex A. http://senedd.assembly.wales/documents/s65336/23%20Office%20of%20the%20Secretary%20of%20State%20for%20Wales.pdf

5 Poverty is defined as having an income below 60 per cent of UK median income. See: Welsh Government (2017) Household Below Average Income by Year. https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Community-Safety-and-Social-Inclusion/Poverty/householdbelowaverageincome-by-year

Early years

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Number of non-maintained nursery providers rated 'excellent' or 'good' by Estyn.
- Percentage of children eligible for free school meals achieving outcome 5 or above in personal, social cultural diversity and wellbeing development (PSD), language, literacy and communication – English/Welsh (LCE/LCW) and mathematical development (MDT) in combination in the Foundation Phase Indicator (FPI).

Table 7.7: Early years indicators: non-maintained nursery rating, pupils on free school meals achieving outcome 5+ in the Foundation Phase Indicator

Early years rank score*	Local authority area	Number of non-maintained nursery providers rated 'excellent' or 'good' by Estyn^	Total number of non-maintained nursery providers	% of children eligible for FSM achieving outcome 5 or above in PSD, LCE/LCW and MDT in combination in the FPI~
1	Monmouthshire	7	7	82.9
2	Ceredigion	6	6	81.3
3	Pembrokeshire	5	5	81.2
4	The Vale of Glamorgan	1	1	81.1
5	Torfaen	2	2	79.9
6	Powys	8	11	79.2
7	Caerphilly	2	2	78.2
8	Bridgend	6	6	78.0
9	Isle of Anglesey	5	6	77.1
10	Merthyr Tydfil	1	1	76.9
11	Cardiff	5	6	76.6
12	Newport	6	6	76.1
13	Carmarthenshire	5	7	75.5
14	Gwynedd	7	8	75.4
15	Swansea	0	0	74.4
16	Denbighshire	4	5	73.4
17	Blaenau Gwent	2	2	72.0
18	Rhondda Cynon Taf	2	2	71.9
19	Flintshire	6	8	71.2
20	Neath Port Talbot	0	0	69.3
21	Wrexham	8	9	69.2
22	Conwy	4	5	69.0

Source: Welsh Government (2016) Achievement and entitlement to free school meals, 2015 data. Statistical requests. http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/academic-achievement-free-school-meals/ad-hoc-statistical-requests/?lang=en.
Notes: *Rank score based on percentage of pupils on free school meals achieving outcome 5 in Foundation Phase Indicator. ^2015/16 data.

In the early years, Monmouthshire delivers the best outcomes for young disadvantaged children. All of the non-maintained nursery providers were rated 'excellent' or 'good' and nearly 83 per cent of children eligible for free school meals achieved outcome 5 or above in the Foundation Phase Indicator. In comparison, in Conwy (the lowest-performing area in this life stage), only 80 per cent of nurseries achieved 'excellent' or 'good' and just under 69 per cent of children achieved outcome 5 or above in the Foundation Phase Indicator.

There is no strong correlation between rural and urban outcomes at this life stage, with both types of areas having strong and weak performers. There is some correlation between levels of deprivation and early years outcomes. Youngsters from disadvantaged backgrounds in areas with the lowest concentration of deprived places, such as Ceredigion and Monmouthshire, are generally achieving better outcomes than those in areas with some of the highest concentration of deprived places, such as Rhondda Cynon Taf and Neath Port Talbot.[6]

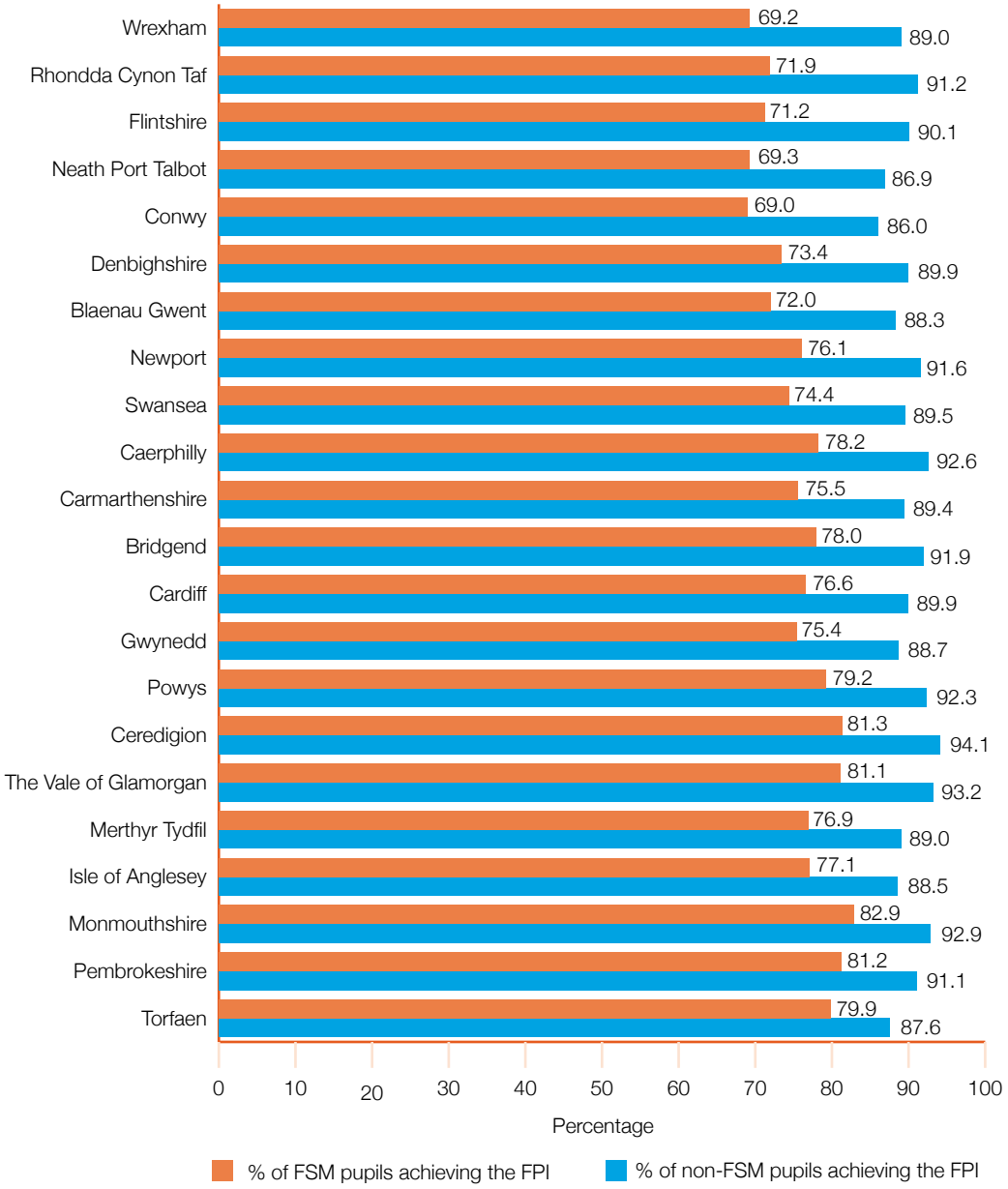
Early years pupils eligible for free school meals

The higher-performing areas for young disadvantaged children also tend to have a smaller attainment gap between children on free school meals and other pupils. Figure 7.8 illustrates the attainment gap, which ranges from a nearly 20 percentage point difference in Wrexham to a less than 8 percentage point difference in Torfaen.

The Welsh Government has in place a number of initiatives for the early years, including a pilot of the 30-hour childcare offer for three and four-year-olds and a requirement on every local authority to have a Family Information Service. In 2014, it published a draft ten-year plan for the early years, childcare and play workforce in Wales, but the final version of this strategy has not yet been published. In the best-performing area, Monmouthshire, the Families First programme provides support, especially to those on low incomes. Its comprehensive offer includes projects on parenting skills, confidence and wellbeing, and coordinated care plans for families. It is organised by the council in partnership with charities and other organisations.

6 Deprivation is defined using the WIMD throughout the report. See: Welsh Government (2014) *Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) 2014*. Revised. http://gov.wales/docs/statistics/2015/150812-wimd-2014-revised-en.pdf

Figure 7.8: Percentage of children achieving outcome 5 or above in PSD, LCE/LCW and MDT in combination in the Foundation Phase Indicator, by free school meal eligibility (presented from largest to smallest difference)



Source: Welsh Government (2016) Achievement and entitlement to free school meals, 2015 data. Statistical requests. http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/academic-achievement-free-school-meals/ad-hoc-statistical-requests/?lang=en

Schools

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals achieving Level 4 or above in English or Welsh (first language), mathematics and science in combination (the Core Subject Indicator (CSI) at key stage 2).
- Percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals achieving the equivalent of GCSE grades A* to C in English or Welsh (first language), mathematics and science in combination (CSI at key stage 4).

Table 7.8: Schools indicators: key stage 2 and key stage 3 outcomes for pupils on free school meals

Schools rank score*	Local authority area	% of children eligible for FSM achieving Level 4 or above in the CSI	% of children eligible for FSM achieving the equivalent of A* to C GCSE in the CSI
1	Ceredigion	78.9	49.1
2	The Vale of Glamorgan	75.7	45.9
3	Denbighshire	77.1	38.0
4	Monmouthshire	78.7	28.6
5	Gwynedd	74.5	40.7
6	Swansea	81.9	36.7
7	Merthyr Tydfil	76.9	40.2
8	Cardiff	79.0	36.2
9	Carmarthenshire	79.0	38.8
10	Newport	76.3	28.0
11	Bridgend	76.8	34.1
12	Powys	75.1	38.3
13	Isle of Anglesey	76.7	27.6
14	Blaenau Gwent	75.4	24.8
15	Caerphilly	79.2	28.0
16	Pembrokeshire	72.0	22.8
17	Flintshire	75.1	32.5
18	Conwy	69.9	37.2
19	Wrexham	75.6	23.1
20	Neath Port Talbot	69.8	33.8
21	Torfaen	74.3	17.9
22	Rhondda Cynon Taf	69.7	31.2

Source: ^ Welsh Government (2016) Achievement and entitlement to free school meals, 2015 data. Statistical requests. http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/academic-achievement-free-school-meals/ad-hoc-statistical-requests/?lang=en.
Note: *Rank score has been determined by taking the sum of the standardised indicators.

In the school years, the poor performers are largely the same as in the early years, indicating that patterns of disadvantage continue throughout the crucial early education and school years. However, there are some significant movements among the top performers. Torfaen moves from being a top performer in early years to the second worst performer in schools. This is largely the result of exceptionally poor outcomes for disadvantaged pupils at key stage 4.

Denbighshire and Gwynedd move from being relatively poor performers in early years to top performers in schools, with particularly strong outcomes at key stage 4, compared with the average. The top performers tend to be in the more rural areas of Wales, while disadvantaged young people score worst in the more urban areas of South and North Wales. These poor-performing areas are also areas with high levels of deprivation that can negatively impact the quality of teaching and the performance of pupils.

School pupils eligible for free school meals

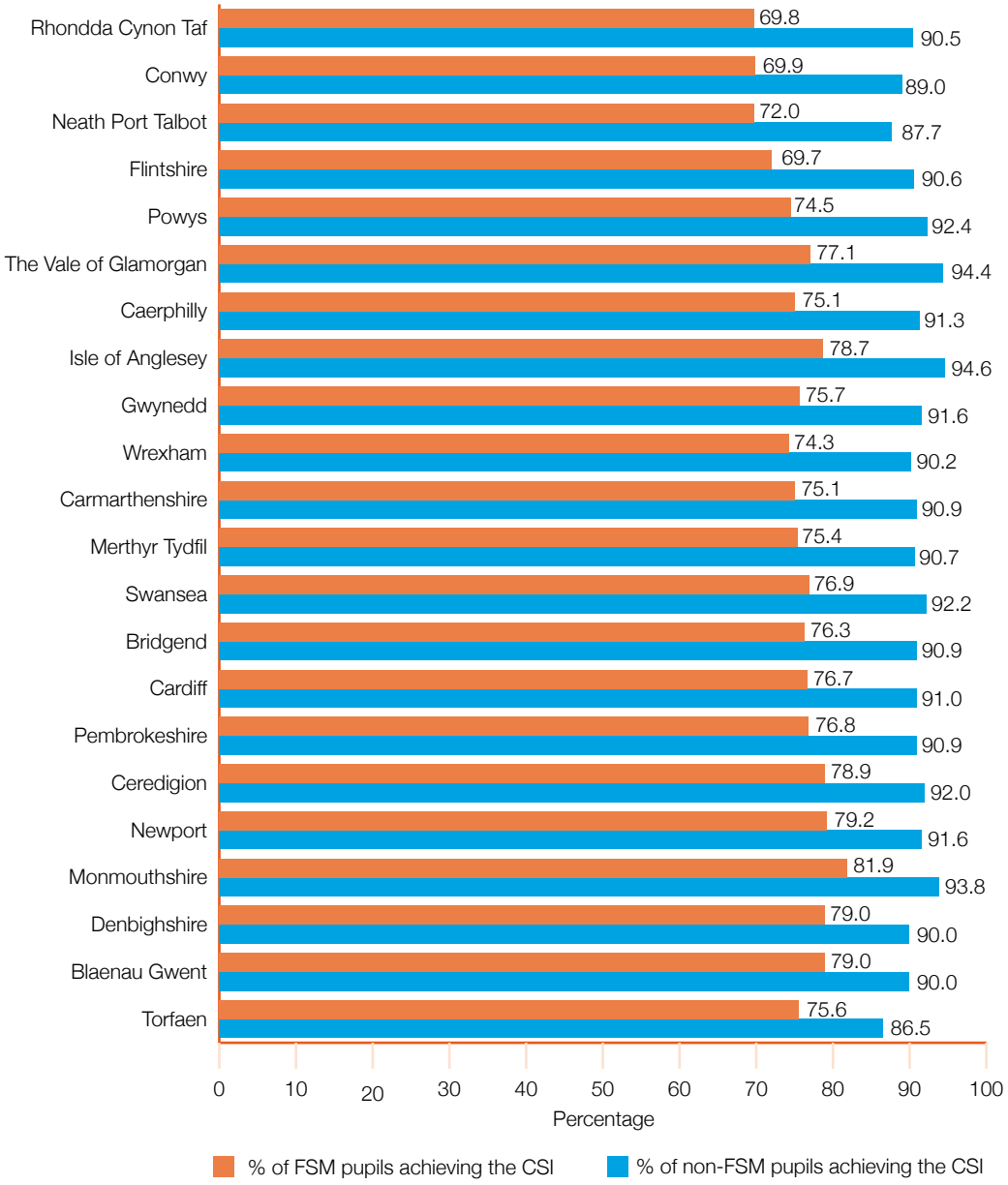
We also considered the attainment gap between pupils eligible for free school meals and those not eligible in each local authority area.

At key stage 2, pupils not eligible for free school meals are outperforming their peers on free school meals by 15 percentage points overall. This gap is lowest in south east Wales, with the exception of Caerphilly, and it is highest in central South Wales, where Rhondda Cynon Taf has the largest attainment gap of nearly 21 percentage points. Generally, there is a smaller gap in attainment in areas where pupils on free school meals are performing relatively well, compared with the overall cohort of free school meals pupils in Wales. However, this is not always the case. Torfaen has the smallest attainment gap, but both pupils eligible for free school meals and those not eligible are performing badly compared with their peers. Figure 7.9 outlines the attainment gap at key stage 2.

At key stage 4 (Figure 7.10), the gap widens significantly. There is a 30 percentage point difference between pupils eligible for free school meals and those not eligible at key stage 4 in Wales. In Torfean, only 18 per cent of pupils on free school meals achieve good grades, which is 55 percentage points lower than the attainment of pupils not eligible for free school meals in Ceredigion. However, this is also far lower than the average for pupils on free school meals, as 33 per cent achieve good grades, and in Ceredigion nearly 50 per cent of pupils on free school meals achieve at least five A* to C grades.

In two of the least deprived areas of Wales, we find the biggest attainment gaps, indicating that these areas are failing their disadvantaged pupils. Monmouthshire has the lowest concentration of deprived areas in Wales but has an attainment gap for disadvantaged pupils of over 41 percentage points. In Pembrokeshire, this gap is over 40 percentage points. The place with the highest concentration of deprived areas, Blaenau Gwent, does relatively well on the attainment gap, but this may be as a result of all pupils scoring much lower than the average. This is not to say that the most deprived areas have the smallest attainment gaps, as areas with a relatively high concentration of deprived places, such as Rhondda Cynon Taf, continue to have a large attainment gap.

Figure 7.9: Percentage of children achieving key stage 2 outcome by free school meal eligibility and local authority (presented from largest to smallest difference)

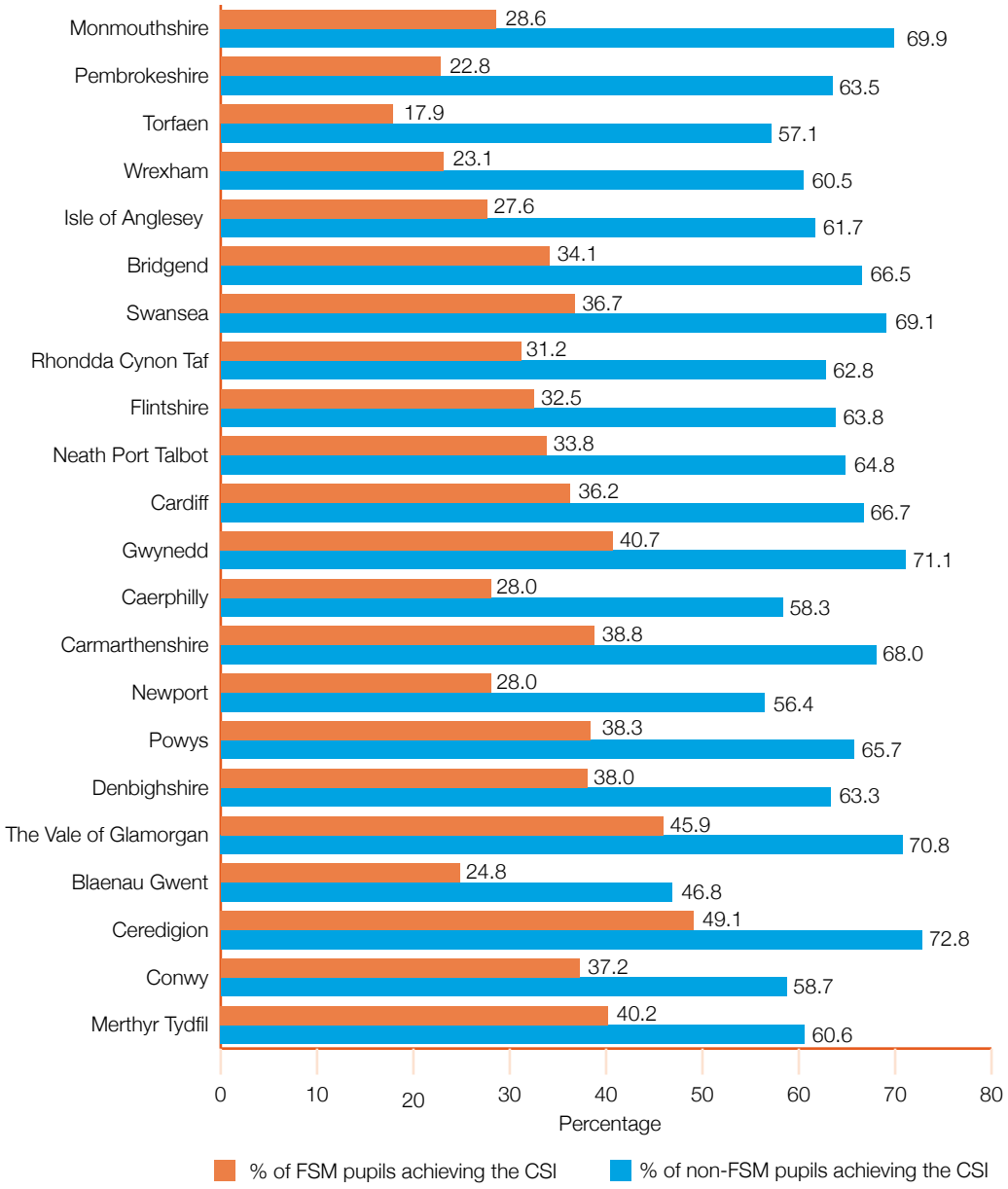


Source: Welsh Government (2016) Achievement and entitlement to free school meals, 2015 data. Statistical requests. http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/academic-achievement-free-school-meals/ad-hoc-statistical-requests/?lang=en.

At key stage 4, both pupils eligible for free school meals and those not eligible perform much better now than they did in 2006/07. However, the attainment gap has grown by 2.5 percentage points. In 2006/07, only 16 per cent of pupils on free school meals achieved good grades compared with nearly 33 per cent now. But the performance of pupils not eligible for free school meals has improved even faster, going from nearly 45 per cent to just over 64 per cent.[7]

7 Stats Wales (2017) *Key Stage 4 Key Indicators by Free School Meal Entitlement and Area*: https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Schools-and-Teachers/Examinations-and-Assessments/Key-Stage-4/ks4keyindicators-by-freeschoolmealentitlement-area

Figure 7.10: Percentage of children achieving key stage 4 outcome by free school meal eligibility and local authority (presented from largest to smallest difference)



Source: Welsh Government (2016) Achievement and entitlement to free school meals, 2015 data. Statistical requests. http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/academic-achievement-free-school-meals/ad-hoc-statistical-requests/?lang=en.

Despite the seemingly large attainment gaps, according to the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2012 results, Wales has a relatively equitable education system. An analysis by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) concluded that the socioeconomic background of students at age 15 in Wales was not as closely linked to performance at school as in other OECD countries. As an example, socioeconomic background explained 10.4 per cent of the variance in students' performance in mathematics, compared with the OECD average of 20.8 per cent.[8]

8 OECD (2014) *Improving Schools in Wales: An OECD Perspective*.

Youth

The indicator that we used in the index for this life stage is:

- Percentage of young people (Year 11 school leavers) who are not in education, employment or training (NEET) (Careers Wales data from April 2017).

Table 7.9: Youth indicators: destinations of Year 11

Youth rank score*	Local authority area	% of Year 11 leavers from schools in Wales known to be NEET
1	Ceredigion	1.0
2	Rhondda Cynon Taf	1.0
3	Merthyr Tydfil	1.0
4	Gwynedd	1.1
5	Wrexham	1.4
6	Bridgend	1.5
7	The Vale of Glamorgan	1.6
8	Conwy	1.7
9	Flintshire	1.7
10	Newport	1.7
11	Denbighshire	1.9
12	Caerphilly	1.9
13	Powys	1.9
14	Torfaen	2.0
15	Monmouthshire	2.0
16	Carmarthenshire	2.1
17	Swansea	2.1
18	Isle of Anglesey	2.3
19	Blaenau Gwent	2.5
20	Pembrokeshire	2.7
21	Cardiff	3.0
22	Neath Port Talbot	3.6

Source: Careers Wales (April 2017) Pupil Destinations from Schools in Wales. http://destinations.careerswales.com/.
Note: *Rank score has been determined by taking the sum of the standardised indicators.

This life stage is based on only one measure, rates of Year 11 leavers from schools who are known to be not in education, employment or training (NEET). As a result, the analyses of the outcomes and social mobility prospects are limited and should be considered in the context of this limitation.

Nevertheless, the rates of young people who are NEET show that deprivation and affluence appear to have less impact on youth outcomes in Wales than they do on other life stages. Relatively affluent areas, such as Pembrokeshire, score poorly, while areas with higher levels of deprivation, such as Rhondda Cynon Taf, score better. However, there is still some correlation. Blaenau Gwent and Neath Port Talbot score poorly in post-16 outcomes, while the more affluent area of Ceredigion does well.

There is no clear distinction between rural and urban areas. The top performers include urban areas of Wrexham and Bridgend, as well as the rural areas of the west coast – Ceredigion and Gwynedd. It does therefore not appear to be the case that living in an urban area in Wales means better outcomes for young disadvantaged people. In particular, living in an urban area does not increase the likelihood of young people being in education, employment or training after Year 11. In fact, Cardiff has the second highest proportion of young people who are NEET. Neath Port Talbot has the highest proportion of young people who are NEET, with rates more than three and a half times those of other parts of Wales.

Higher education

In youth, destinations after 18 also influence social mobility outcomes in an individual's life. In particular, entering a high-tier university can increase opportunities throughout working lives. But, the higher education entry rate is 37.5 per cent in Wales, compared with 42.5 per cent in England.[9] Although this does represent an increase of 1.3 percentage points from 2015 to 2016 for Wales, this is still behind rates in England.

The presence of higher education in Wales is geographically dispersed. There are universities in a number of rural areas, such as Aberystwyth, Bangor and University of Wales Trinity Saint David, but there are rural areas where there are no universities within commuting distance. Young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to travel for university – analysis undertaken for the Social Mobility Commission in 2015 found that high-attaining young people from low-income backgrounds travelled on average 71km, compared with their peers from high-income families who travelled 110km on average.[10] This means that the location of institution matters more for poorer young people, perhaps because they have fewer resources or lack the confidence to travel and relocate.

There are high levels of collaboration between the Welsh universities. The Higher Education Funding Council for Wales established Reaching Wider in 2002 as a collaborative, long-term programme to widen access to higher education. It targets two main groups, including people of all ages living in areas of deprivation (Communities First cluster areas and the bottom quintile of the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation). To facilitate this, three regional partnerships were formed to lead activities in north and mid-Wales, south west Wales and south east Wales. All higher and further education institutions in Wales are members of Reaching Wider partnerships, and local authorities, employers, schools, the voluntary sector and Careers Wales are all partners in the programme.[11]

9 When accounting for population size. See: UCAS (2016) *UCAS Undergraduate End of Cycle Report 2016: UCAS analysis and research*.

10 Social Mobility Commission (2016) *State of the Nation 2016*. Linked NPD-ILR-HESA data analysed by Education Datalab for the Social Mobility Commission, 2015.

11 Higher Education Funding Council for Wales, *Reaching Wider Programme*. www.hefcw.ac.uk/policy_areas/widening_access/reaching_wider_initiative.aspx

Working lives

The indicators that we used in the index for this life stage are:

- Median weekly salary of employees who live in the local area, all employees (full-time and part-time) (ONS data).
- Average house prices compared with median annual salary of employees who live in the local area (ONS data).
- Percentage of people who live in the local area who are in managerial and professional occupations (SOC groups 1 and 2) (ONS data).
- Percentage of jobs that are paid less than the applicable Living Wage Foundation living wage (ONS data).

South Wales dominates the high-performing local authority areas in the working lives indicators. Cardiff tops the rankings, with the second highest number of residents in professional and managerial jobs and far fewer people earning below the living wage than in most of Wales. The areas covering the west coast of Wales – Pembrokeshire, Gwynedd and Ceredigion – score poorly in this life stage. Employment is limited in these areas as nearly half of all jobs are in south east Wales.[12] Low average salaries contribute to these areas having some of the least affordable housing in the country. These outcomes largely follow the urban/rural boundaries in Wales, with the urban areas of the south offering better outcomes for work and housing than the rural and sparse areas of the west coast and central Wales.

Apart from Cardiff, the major cities in Wales do not provide the best outcomes for their residents in their working lives. Newport, Swansea and Wrexham all deliver average outcomes on jobs, wages and housing. This is similar to the outcomes of English cities, which also do badly in this life stage, but a key difference is that whereas in England the most expensive places to live are the cities, in Wales housing is most expensive in the more rural, but affluent, areas, such as Ceredigion, Monmouthshire and Pembrokeshire.

Median weekly salaries are lower in Wales than in England – £393 compared with £434 – which is partly explained by there being fewer top earners to pull up the median. It is also the case that there are fewer top jobs in Wales. Cardiff has the highest proportion of people working in professional services and finance, which are typically higher-paid industries. But Wales as a whole has a high proportion of jobs in retail and wholesale, and health and social care, which are typically lower-paid industries. It also has pockets of manufacturing and agriculture. In Blaenau Gwent, one in five working residents works in manufacturing, and in the valleys nearly one in eleven people works in agriculture, forestry and fishing.

12 ONS (2011) *Census Data Wales, 2011 Census: Industry, local authorities in England and Wales*. Table KS605EW.

Table 7.10: Working lives indicators: salary, house price ratio, professional jobs and voluntary living wage

Working lives rank score*	Local authority area	Median weekly salary of employees who live in the local area, all employees (FT and PT)	Average house prices compared with median annual salary of employees who live in the local area	% of people who live in the local area who are in managerial and professional occupations (SOC 1 and 2)	% of jobs that are paid less than the applicable Living Wage Foundation living wage
1	Cardiff	£418.47	6.4	33.9	19.3
2	Monmouthshire	£483.23	6.7	36.5	25.5
3	The Vale of Glamorgan	£438.80	6.4	33.5	22.7
4	Neath Port Talbot	£399.70	4.2	24.8	22.0
5	Bridgend	£389.87	5.2	25.6	22.4
6	Caerphilly	£397.70	4.9	23.9	22.3
7	Rhondda, Cynon, Taff	£389.80	4.1	24.7	26.8
8	Flintshire	£405.47	5.4	24.2	24.6
9	Newport	£384.77	5.7	28.4	24.5
10	Anglesey	£411.70	6.5	27.9	25.7
11	Merthyr Tydfil	£394.90	4.0	20.5	26.0
12	Carmarthenshire	£382.80	5.2	24.9	25.8
13	Swansea	£389.73	5.2	26.8	27.5
14	Denbighshire	£366.40	5.9	26.8	23.1
15	Torfaen	£414.73	4.9	22.2	23.3
16	Wrexham	£394.10	5.4	25.6	28.2
17	Blaenau Gwent	£373.17	3.5	18.1	30.3
18	Conwy	£385.70	5.6	28.1	32.4
19	Powys	£371.97	6.8	26.7	30.3
20	Ceredigion	£368.93	7.6	26.6	29.4
21	Gwynedd	£342.87	6.3	28.4	32.0
22	Pembrokeshire	£343.97	6.7	26.3	31.6

Sources: ONS (2016) *Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings* - Number and percentage of employee jobs with hourly pay below the living wage, by parliamentary constituency and local authority, UK, April 2015 and 2016. Table: Work Geography 1a LWO1. ONS (2016) Housing Affordability in England and Wales 1996 to 2016. ONS (2016) Annual Population Survey – Resident Analysis. ONS (2016) Estimates of employee jobs paid less than the living wage in London and other parts of the UK.
Note: *Rank score has been determined by taking the sum of the standardised indicators.

A total of 26 per cent of people earn below the voluntary living wage, which is 5 percentage points higher than in Scotland, but lower than in many English regions.[13] But the employment rate in Wales is 3 percentage points lower than the average in England or Great Britain, which is mainly explained by economic inactivity.[14] Despite this, 2017 saw the signing of City Deals for the Cardiff Capital Region and the Swansea Bay City Region, which gave each area long-term funds of £1.2 billion. Cardiff has projected that, over 20 years, it will deliver up to 25,000 new jobs and leverage an additional £4 billion of private sector investment. Swansea predicts that the deal will boost the local economy by £1.8 billion, and generate almost 10,000 new jobs over the next 15 years. If delivered, these should have significant impacts on the Welsh economy in the south and potentially across the country.[15]

Conclusion

Every local authority area in Wales has relative strengths and weaknesses across the life stages. But it is disadvantaged youngsters, particularly in areas with high levels of deprivation, who appear to be losing out most in the crucial early years of their lives and in their school years. In Torfaen, as few as 18 per cent of young people eligible for free school meals achieve the equivalent of grades A* to C GCSE in the Core Subject Indicator. But affluent areas are also failing their disadvantaged pupils, with attainment gaps as large as 41 percentage points in Monmouthshire where seven in ten more advantaged youngsters achieve good grades.

Further analysis on the transition from school into post-16 institutions is required to understand the current destinations for people between ages 16 and 19. Better data would help to identify the barriers in place for young people in Wales, and to pinpoint any coldspot areas where young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are falling behind particularly badly. As parts of the economy in Wales seek to grow, it is paramount that barriers that prevent less advantaged young people from flourishing are understood and acted upon.

13 Resolution Foundation (2017) *Low Pay Britain 2017*.
14 ONS (2017) *A01: Summary of labour market statistics*. Table 22.
15 National Assembly for Wales (2017) *Economy, Infrastructure and Skills Committee Inquiry: City Deals and the regional economies of Wales*. Evidence from Office of the Secretary of State for Wales, Annex A. http://senedd.assembly.wales/documents/s65336/23%20Office%20of%20the%20Secretary%20of%20State%20for%20Wales.pdf

Appendix 1: Social Mobility Index Methodology

Introduction

The Social Mobility Index (SMI) explores how geographical location can affect social mobility for individuals growing up and choosing to live in different areas. The index combines a range of indicators into one figure and uses this to provide a ranking between different areas. It seeks to answer the question: 'What are the differences between different local areas in the chances that a child from a disadvantaged socioeconomic background has of doing well as an adult?'

The index measures social mobility indicators in each major life stage from early years through to working lives. It examines what happens in the early years where significant gaps open up between children from disadvantaged backgrounds and their more fortunate peers. We track how this is translated into differences in educational attainment in the school years, and then into different outcomes as young people prepare for the labour market. Finally, we look at the very different opportunities people have in their working lives in terms of the availability of top jobs, the prevalence of low pay and the likelihood of getting a foot on the housing ladder. In total, we have used 16 key performance indicators (KPIs) to assess which parts of the country have the best social mobility outcomes and which have the worst.

This updated index is not comparable with the previous version of the SMI published in 2016.[1] That is because the KPIs have been updated to reflect the government's decision to adopt new flagship measures at key stage 2 and key stage 4 (KS2 and KS4). We have also incorporated three-year averages and other technical changes to improve the robustness of the index.

We were unable to draw direct data comparisons between England, and Scotland or Wales, as there is currently much less public data available in these countries that can be used to explore variations in outcomes as people from different social backgrounds move through the various life stages. We have therefore examined geographical outcomes in opportunity in Scotland and Wales in a separate chapter (Chapter 7).

Measuring local differences in social mobility

One way of looking at differences in social mobility is to look at actual social mobility outcomes by comparing the incomes achieved in adult life by people who grew up in disadvantaged circumstances in different local areas.

This was the approach taken by a US project that used tax data to create local social mobility measures.[2] This project used linked parental and child tax return data to look at differences in social mobility between very small local areas. However, the necessary linked data is not currently available in the UK.

1 Social Mobility Commission (2016) *The Social Mobility Index*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/496103/Social_Mobility_Index.pdf

2 Chetty R, Hedren N, Kline P et al. (2014) *Where is the Land of Opportunity?* The Geography of Intergenerational Mobility in the United States. http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/assets/documents/mobility_geo.pdf

Birth cohort studies – used by academics to develop measures of social mobility for the UK as a whole – are too small to allow them to be broken down reliably at a local level. Furthermore, the latest available data on social mobility from birth cohort studies in the UK relates to those born in 1970 – attending primary school in the late 1970s, secondary school in the 1980s and entering the labour market in the late 1980s and early 1990s. A measure of local social mobility based on actual outcomes would therefore not be up to date.

The inclusion of a question on social background in the Labour Force Survey[3] allows some exploration of local differences in social mobility, but it is based on where people currently live rather than where they grew up.

Developing the Social Mobility Index

To deal with the issues highlighted above, we created a single Social Mobility Index, which combines 16 indicators that are associated with the chances of someone from a disadvantaged background experiencing upward social mobility. We focus on the following outcomes:

1. Educational outcomes of disadvantaged children

Academic research demonstrates that the key determinant of how successful someone is in terms of securing a good job with a decent salary is the level of educational qualifications they achieve. Accordingly, we have looked at a range of outcomes achieved by children and young people from disadvantaged backgrounds from the early years, through primary and secondary school, to post-16 outcomes and higher education (HE) participation.

2. Outcomes achieved by adults

We have also looked at the outcomes achieved by adults in each area. This allows the index to take into account the prospects that people have of converting good educational attainment into good outcomes during adult life. We have looked at labour market outcomes – average incomes, the prevalence of low-paid work and the availability of managerial and professional jobs. We have also looked at housing market outcomes – the affordability of housing in the local area and the extent to which people are able to enter home ownership when they start a family.

This approach has a number of limitations and it cannot provide a definitive assessment of differences in social mobility by geography. However, it offers a good guide to which areas provide young people from disadvantaged backgrounds with the best opportunity to do well as adults and it can be used to identify differences between local areas in the extent to which disadvantaged young people are likely to be able to fulfil their potential.

3 See: www.ons.gov.uk/surveys/informationforhouseholdsandindividuals/householdandindividualsurveys/labourforcesurveylfs

Indicators

We grouped the indicators into four different life stages: early years, school, youth and working lives. A summary of the indicators used in the SMI is provided in Table A.1 below.

Table A.1: Summary of indicators used in the Social Mobility Index

Life stage	Description	Indicator	Location	Geographical area
Early years	Nursery quality	% of nursery providers rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted	Nursery location	Upper tier (150 local authorities)
	Early years attainment	% of children eligible for FSM achieving a 'good level of development' at the end of the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS)	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
School	Primary school quality	% of children eligible for FSM attending a primary school rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted	School location	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	Secondary school quality	% of children eligible for FSM attending a secondary school rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted	School location	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	KS2 attainment	% of children eligible for FSM achieving at least the expected level in reading, writing and maths at the end of KS2	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	KS4 (GCSE) attainment	Average Attainment 8 score per pupil eligible for FSM	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)

Life stage	Description	Indicator	Location	Geographical area
Youth	Positive destination after KS4	% of young people eligible for FSM who are in education, employment or training (positive sustained destination) after completing KS4	School location (at age 15)	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	KS5 attainment (A-level or equivalent)	Average points score per entry for young people eligible for FSM at age 15 taking A-level or equivalent qualifications	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	Level 3 attainment (A-level or equivalent)	% of young people eligible for FSM at age 15 achieving two or more A-levels or equivalent qualifications by the age of 19	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	HE participation	% of young people eligible for FSM at age 15 entering HE by the age of 19	School location (at age 15)	Upper tier (150 local authorities)
	Top selective HE participation	% of young people eligible for FSM at age 15 entering HE at a selective university (most selective third by UCAS tariff scores) by the age of 19	School location (at age 15)	Upper tier (150 local authorities)
Working lives	Wages	Median weekly salary (£) of employees who live in the local area, all employees (full and part time)	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	House affordability	Average house prices compared with median annual salary of employees who live in the local area (ratio)	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	Occupation	% of people that live in the local area who are in managerial and professional occupations (Standard Occupational Classification groups 1 and 2)	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	Living wage	% of jobs that are paid less than the applicable Living Wage Foundation living wage	Job location	Lower tier (324 local authorities)
	Family home ownership	% of families with children who own their home	Residence	Lower tier (324 local authorities)

Changes in the updated index compared with the original

We have made a number of changes to the index since the initial version was published in January 2016 (Table A.2). Improvements this year include:

- Using three-year averages of data where possible, which makes changes over time more robust and likely to reflect actual trends rather than 'good' or 'bad' cohorts, especially for local authorities with a small number of pupils on free school meals (FSM). Out of 16 indicators, 11 now use three-year averages, and the next version of the SMI will contain three-year averages for the new headline measures as more data will be available.
- Removing excessive influence on the overall score of a local authority through outlier imputation and log transformations.

These adjustments will ensure that, in the future, a change in the overall performance of a local authority in the SMI will reflect a true change rather than random variation in the data or changes in a single cohort of pupils. Due to the differences in methodology and adjustment of various indicators (including new headline measures), this version of the SMI is not comparable with the previous version.

Ranks

The rank of the top and bottom local authorities remains broadly the same; however, there are a small number of local authorities whose rank has changed considerably. These are typically local authorities with a small number of children eligible for free school meals across key headline measures. For these local authorities, a new pupil cohort and changes to headline attainment measures have increased the volatility in the attainment indicator.

Table A.2: Changes to the indicators used in the Social Mobility Index

Life stage	Description	2016 indicator	2017 indicator	Details of change
Early years	Nursery quality	% of nursery providers rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted	Same as 2016	Three-year average
	Early years attainment	% of children eligible for FSM achieving a 'good level of development' at the end of the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS)	Same as 2016	Three-year average
School	Primary school quality	% of children eligible for FSM attending a primary school rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted	Same as 2016	Three-year average
	Secondary school quality	% of children eligible for FSM attending a secondary school rated 'outstanding' or 'good' by Ofsted	Same as 2016	Three-year average
	KS2 attainment	% of children eligible for FSM achieving at least a level 4 in reading, writing and maths at the end of KS2	% of children eligible for FSM achieving at least the expected level in reading, writing and maths at the end of KS2	New headline measure[4] where pupils are assessed on whether they have met the 'expected level'. There have also been changes to the curriculum
	KS4 (GCSE) attainment	% of children eligible for FSM achieving five good GCSEs including English and maths	Average Attainment 8 score per pupil eligible for FSM	New headline measure[5] where students' average grade across eight subjects is calculated

4 Department for Education (2016) *Attainment in primary schools in England: Quality and methodology information*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/577304/SFR62_2016_Qualityandmethodology.pdf

5 Department for Education (2016) *Revised GCSE and equivalent results in England 2015 to 2016: Quality and methodology information.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/584167/SFR03_2017_QualityandMethodology.pdf

Life stage	Description	2016 indicator	2017 indicator	Details of change
Youth	Positive destination after KS4	% of young people eligible for FSM who are not in education, employment or training after completing KS4	% of young people eligible for FSM who are in employment, education or training (positive sustained destination) after completing their GCSEs	Lower-tier data used in this SMI compared with upper-tier local authorities used previously. Indicator used last time was the percentage not in education, employment or training. This time we are using the percentage who are in education, employment or training (positive destination) to avoid excessive disclosure imputation
	KS5 attainment (A-level or equivalent)	Average points score per entry for young people eligible for FSM at age 15 taking A-level or equivalent qualifications	Same as 2016	The average point score has been calculated differently and there has been some change in the qualifications that count towards the average points score[6]
	Level 3 attainment (A-level or equivalent)	% of young people eligible for FSM at age 15 achieving two or more A-levels or equivalent qualifications by the age of 19	Same as 2016	Three-year average
	HE participation	% of young people eligible for FSM at age 15 entering HE by the age of 19	Same as 2016	Three-year average
	Top selective HE participation	% of young people eligible for FSM at age 15 entering HE at a selective university (most selective third by UCAS tariff scores) by the age of 19	Same as 2016	Three-year average

6 Department for Education (2017) *A level and other 16-18 results: Quality and methodology information*. www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/599866/SFR05_2017_Quality_and_methodology.pdf

Life stage	Description	2016 indicator	2017 indicator	Details of change
Working lives	Wages	Median weekly salary (£) of employees who live in the local area, all employees (full and part time)	Same as 2016	Three-year average
	House affordability	Average house prices compared with median annual salary of employees who live in the local area (ratio)	Same as 2016	Three-year average. The ONS now produces a specific release for this
	Occupation	% of people that live in the local area who are in managerial and professional occupations (Standard Occupational Classification groups 1 and 2)	Same as 2016	Three-year average
	Living wage	% of jobs that are paid less than the applicable Living Wage Foundation living wage	Same as 2016	Three-year average
	Family home ownership	% of families with children who own their home	Same as 2016	No change

Methodology

What do we mean by social mobility?

Our methodological approach means we focus entirely on upward social mobility of disadvantaged young people. We look at social mobility broadly, focusing on things associated with short-range mobility (e.g. Attainment 8 scores), mid-range mobility (e.g. obtaining a degree) and long-range mobility (e.g. obtaining a degree from one of the most selective universities in the country).

Definition of disadvantage

There are two ways disadvantage might be defined: either looking at those from low-income backgrounds or looking more broadly at those from working-class backgrounds. Given data constraints, we decided to focus on those individuals eligible for free school meals – the most disadvantaged 15–20 per cent of children.

Level of geography

There were two options in relation to the level of geography: the 150 upper-tier local authorities or the 324 lower-tier local authorities (excluding the City of London and the Isles of Scilly due to data constraints caused by the size of these authorities).[7] We decided to focus on the lower-tier local authorities.

The main advantage of the lower level of aggregation is that many shire counties are extremely large – for example, Kent has a population of 1.5 million and there are five other counties with populations in excess of 1 million – meaning poor performance in some parts of a shire county can be masked by good performance elsewhere.

The main disadvantage is data availability – we were unable to get data for some of the indicators at the local authority district level, and in these cases we had to make the assumption that all districts perform at the same level as the county as a whole.

Measuring outcomes at a local level

We are interested in the life chances of those who grow up in a given local area, so we look at outcomes of all young people by area of residence rather than by the location of the nurseries, schools and colleges that they attend.

While this might seem a subtle difference, movement between different local areas can be common, especially within conurbations, areas where there are selective schools and in post-16 education. For example, in 2014, 56 per cent of 15-year-olds who attended schools in Kensington and Chelsea lived in other local authority areas, and 40 per cent of 15-year-olds who lived in Hammersmith and Fulham attended schools elsewhere.

This can mean that there is a very big difference between outcomes on a residence and on a service location basis, if the attainment of those who enter a local area is very different from those who are educated elsewhere. For example, in 2014, while 67 per cent of young people who lived in Sevenoaks achieved five good GCSEs, including English and maths, only 40 per cent of those who went to school there did. This effect is even bigger when looking at post-16 outcomes given the geographical patterns and academic selectiveness of further education provision: for example, in 2010/11 the average A-level points scores of young people living in Reading was 20 per cent lower than the average A-level points scores of students attending sixth forms or colleges in Reading.

This creates an issue for the index because most headline statistics around educational outcomes are published on a service location basis. For example, headline GCSE data looks at the outcomes achieved by all those attending schools in the local area rather than by those living in the local area. A drawback of ranking areas on the same basis as headline statistics is that local areas that perform well on these measures are, in many cases, not doing well for the children who actually live there – for example, if an area has selective provision, which means that it imports lots of highly able children and exports lots of less academically able children.

Where data for the indicators is not published on a residence basis, we requested it from government departments. However, it was not possible to get data on this basis for some indicators. This means we are taking a mixed approach using a combination of the two different types of indicators.

7 In some areas of England, local government is divided between a county council (upper tier) and a district council (lower tier), which are responsible for different services. In other areas, there is a single unitary authority. There are 201 district councils and 123 unitary authorities (plus the City of London and the Isles of Scilly).

Other data issues

We encountered a number of other minor data issues:

- **Missing data:** Some local authority areas were missing data for some indicators, either because small sample sizes made robust estimates difficult or because of other issues in data collection. Our approach to missing data was to use the local authority's nearest statistical neighbour[8] as a proxy in these cases, based on the Office for National Statistics (ONS) census 2011 local authority classifications.
- **Rounded data:** Data for not in education, employment or training (NEET) statistics and higher education participation was only available rounded to the nearest percentage point. This introduced significant inaccuracies for some of the indicators – for example, on average only 4 per cent of young people eligible for free school meals progress to higher education, so an error that is +/-0.5 percentage points covers quite substantial variation.

Combining different indicators

There are a number of different ways in which the different indicators can be combined together into a single index, from the complex statistical methods used to produce indices such as the English Indices of Deprivation[9] to simply summing the ranks of each area against each indicator to get an overall rank.

In order to combine indicators using different units (percentages, average scores, financial amounts etc.), we use a standardisation procedure to generate a comparable score for each indicator, based on how the performance in each local authority area differs from the average for all local authority areas. We measure this by calculating the number of standard deviations by which the performance of a local authority area differs from the performance of the average (median) authority. Areas that perform better than the average authority are assigned a positive score for that indicator, whereas areas that do worse are assigned a negative score for that indicator. This produces 16 different standardised scores.

In order to avoid individual outliers for a single indicator having an excessive influence over the overall score for a local authority, imputation was conducted where necessary. The imputation approach was to assign values below or above thresholds in the distribution (e.g. 2.5th or 97.5th percentiles) to the maximum or minimum thresholds.

In order to reduce the influence of positively skewed indicators, log transformations were used. Details of any imputation or log transformation conducted are set out in the published spreadsheet.

Assigning weights to the indicators

Weighting the data means that it is possible to attach a different level of significance to different life stages and/or indicators. Simply summing the standardised scores implicitly assumes an equal weighting to each of the indicators. Decisions over how different indicators are weighted are subjective: there is no obvious technocratic way of determining appropriate weights.

8 See ONS (2011) Datasets: Local Authority Districts: Corresponding Local Authorities. www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/geography/geographicalproducts/areaclassifications/2011areaclassifications/datasets

9 Department for Communities and Local Government (2015) *The English Indices of Deprivation 2015: Technical Report.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/464485/English_Indices_of_Deprivation_2015_-_Technical-Report.pdf

With this in mind, we decided to:

- **Weight each of the four different life stages equally:** performance against the early years, school, youth and working lives indicators each accounted for a quarter of the SMI.
- **Weight each of the indicators within each life stage equally:** everything being measured in each life stage was assigned equal importance.

We then calculate an overall standardised SMI using the weighted sum of all of the different indicators and life stages that formed the index.

A positive score indicates that an authority performs better than average and a negative score indicates that an authority performs worse than average. This was used to develop rankings of the different local areas and categorise them as 'social mobility hotspots' (defined as the highest performing 20 per cent of authorities) and 'social mobility coldspots' (defined as the lowest performing 20 per cent of authorities).[10]

The SMI is then used to produce a ranking of local authorities in England, with 1 being the best and 324 being the worst performing. Users should be cautious when putting emphasis on rank places, as they are positional and – unlike the standardised scores – give no indication of the magnitude of differences between different local authorities. Given the nature of the data, local authorities' standardised scores are concentrated around the average-performing local authority (normally distributed around a standardised score of 0), and so large changes in ranks do not necessarily imply a large difference in performance.

Our data and findings

We have published an Excel workbook containing all of the data we used to create the SMI – the indicators, the standardised scores for each indicator and the overall weighted SMI. This includes any unpublished data. We have also published the rankings for different authorities overall, for each life stage and for each individual indicator.

We have included functionality to allow the weights used for the four different life stages and the indicators within them to be altered to make it possible for people to explore the impact of choosing alternative weights, should they wish to do so.

10 Hotspots and coldspots are defined in relation to the overall top and bottom 20 per cent of authorities. In the life stage chapters of this report, we focus on the top and bottom 10 per cent, given that far fewer indicators are used to determine these rankings.

Appendix 2: Overall Ranking of English Local Authority Areas

Note: Orange shading represents hotspots; blue shading represents coldspots.

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
1	Westminster	London
2	Kensington and Chelsea	London
3	Tower Hamlets	London
4	Wandsworth	London
5	Hackney	London
6	Redbridge	London
7	Islington	London
8	Hammersmith and Fulham	London
9	Barnet	London
10	Ealing	London
11	Greenwich	London
12	Newham	London
13	Southwark	London
14	East Hertfordshire	East of England
15	Camden	London
16	Hounslow	London
17	Lambeth	London
18	Epsom and Ewell	South East
19	Waltham Forest	London
20	Uttlesford	East of England
21	Kingston upon Thames	London
22	Harrow	London
23	Sutton	London
24	Trafford	North West
25	Elmbridge	South East
26	Surrey Heath	South East
27	Broxbourne	East of England
28	Bromley	London
29	North Kesteven	East Midlands
30	Brent	London
31	Richmond upon Thames	London

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
32	Craven	Yorkshire and The Humber
33	Lewisham	London
34	Haringey	London
35	Fareham	South East
36	Brentwood	East of England
37	Woking	South East
38	St Albans	East of England
39	Chorley	North West
40	Croydon	London
41	Merton	London
42	Rushcliffe	East Midlands
43	Stroud	South West
44	Welwyn Hatfield	East of England
45	Slough	South East
46	Reigate and Banstead	South East
47	Bexley	London
48	Bromsgrove	West Midlands
49	South Hams	South West
50	Lichfield	West Midlands
51	Dartford	South East
52	Mole Valley	South East
53	Enfield	London
54	Fylde	North West
55	Windsor and Maidenhead	South East
56	Chiltern	South East
57	Tandridge	South East
58	Tonbridge and Malling	South East
59	Solihull	West Midlands
60	Runnymede	South East
61	Hertsmere	East of England
62	Maldon	East of England
63	Southend-on-Sea	East of England
64	East Hampshire	South East
65	Hart	South East
66	North Hertfordshire	East of England
67	Waverley	South East
68	Luton	East of England
69	Winchester	South East
70	South Ribble	North West

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
71	Hillingdon	London
72	Wycombe	South East
73	South Northamptonshire	East Midlands
74	Sevenoaks	South East
75	Mid Sussex	South East
76	Wyre	North West
77	Watford	East of England
78	Three Rivers	East of England
79	County Durham	North East
80	Mid Suffolk	East of England
81	Exeter	South West
82	South Staffordshire	West Midlands
83	Stockport	North West
84	North Somerset	South West
85	Test Valley	South East
86	Sunderland	North East
87	Wokingham	South East
88	Guildford	South East
89	South Bucks	South East
90	Ribble Valley	North West
91	Shepway	South East
92	Newcastle upon Tyne	North East
93	Broadland	East of England
94	Epping Forest	East of England
95	Aylesbury Vale	South East
96	Coventry	West Midlands
97	Hyndburn	North West
98	Tunbridge Wells	South East
99	Hambleton	Yorkshire and The Humber
100	Dacorum	East of England
101	South Cambridgeshire	East of England
102	Warwick	West Midlands
103	Bracknell Forest	South East
104	South Lakeland	North West
105	Rutland	East Midlands
106	East Riding of Yorkshire	Yorkshire and The Humber
107	Wealden	South East
108	Stevenage	East of England
109	Bedford	East of England

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
110	Spelthorne	South East
111	Maidstone	South East
112	South Holland	East Midlands
113	Dover	South East
114	Barking and Dagenham	London
115	Rossendale	North West
116	Suffolk Coastal	East of England
117	Harlow	East of England
118	Basingstoke and Deane	South East
119	Calderdale	Yorkshire and The Humber
120	South Gloucestershire	South West
121	Manchester	North West
122	Cheshire East	North West
123	East Devon	South West
124	Rochford	East of England
125	West Lancashire	North West
126	Derbyshire Dales	East Midlands
127	Christchurch	South West
128	South Kesteven	East Midlands
129	Kirklees	Yorkshire and The Humber
130	Preston	North West
131	Gateshead	North East
132	Stratford-on-Avon	West Midlands
133	Harborough	East Midlands
134	New Forest	South East
135	Harrogate	Yorkshire and The Humber
136	Birmingham	West Midlands
137	Torbay	South West
138	Cornwall	South West
139	Horsham	South East
140	South Tyneside	North East
141	Boston	East Midlands
142	North Tyneside	North East
143	West Devon	South West
144	Pendle	North West
145	Sefton	North West
146	Milton Keynes	South East
147	East Dorset	South West
148	Rother	South East

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
149	Canterbury	South East
150	Ashford	South East
151	Redcar and Cleveland	North East
152	South Norfolk	East of England
153	Teignbridge	South West
154	Rugby	West Midlands
155	Brighton and Hove	South East
156	Chelmsford	East of England
157	Havering	London
158	Castle Point	East of England
159	Worthing	South East
160	Medway	South East
161	Blackburn with Darwen	North West
162	Bath and North East Somerset	South West
163	York	Yorkshire and The Humber
164	Plymouth	South West
165	West Lindsey	East Midlands
166	Darlington	North East
167	West Oxfordshire	South East
168	Warrington	North West
169	Kingston upon Hull, City of	Yorkshire and The Humber
170	Copeland	North West
171	Knowsley	North West
172	Swale	South East
173	Bolton	North West
174	Hartlepool	North East
175	Purbeck	South West
176	Cambridge	East of England
177	Telford and Wrekin	West Midlands
178	South Oxfordshire	South East
179	Richmondshire	Yorkshire and The Humber
180	North West Leicestershire	East Midlands
181	Basildon	East of England
182	Portsmouth	South East
183	Rochdale	North West
184	North Lincolnshire	Yorkshire and The Humber
185	Lancaster	North West
186	Eastbourne	South East
187	West Dorset	South West

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
188	Rotherham	Yorkshire and The Humber
189	Eastleigh	South East
190	Newcastle-under-Lyme	West Midlands
191	Peterborough	East of England
192	Eden	North West
193	Blaby	East Midlands
194	Mid Devon	South West
195	Wirral	North West
196	Selby	Yorkshire and The Humber
197	Bury	North West
198	Poole	South West
199	Tewkesbury	South West
200	Malvern Hills	West Midlands
201	Daventry	East Midlands
202	Redditch	West Midlands
203	Stockton-on-Tees	North East
204	Gravesham	South East
205	Adur	South East
206	Taunton Deane	South West
207	Stafford	West Midlands
208	Wigan	North West
209	St Edmundsbury	East of England
210	Middlesbrough	North East
211	Braintree	East of England
212	Sheffield	Yorkshire and The Humber
213	Salford	North West
214	Colchester	East of England
215	Rushmoor	South East
216	North Dorset	South West
217	Reading	South East
218	Stoke-on-Trent	West Midlands
219	Halton	North West
220	St Helens	North West
221	Swindon	South West
222	Tendring	East of England
223	East Staffordshire	West Midlands
224	Thurrock	East of England
225	Cheltenham	South West
226	Central Bedfordshire	East of England

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
227	East Lindsey	East Midlands
228	Bristol, City of	South West
229	South Somerset	South West
230	Charnwood	East Midlands
231	Mendip	South West
232	Cherwell	South East
233	High Peak	East Midlands
234	Burnley	North West
235	Isle of Wight	South East
236	Oadby and Wigston	East Midlands
237	Shropshire	West Midlands
238	North Devon	South West
239	Lewes	South East
240	Ryedale	Yorkshire and The Humber
241	East Cambridgeshire	East of England
242	Havant	South East
243	Wolverhampton	West Midlands
244	Staffordshire Moorlands	West Midlands
245	Bournemouth	South West
246	Leeds	Yorkshire and The Humber
247	Southampton	South East
248	Cheshire West and Chester	North West
249	Huntingdonshire	East of England
250	Tameside	North West
251	Wiltshire	South West
252	Oldham	North West
253	Melton	East Midlands
254	Bradford	Yorkshire and The Humber
255	North East Derbyshire	East Midlands
256	Vale of White Horse	South East
257	Oxford	South East
258	Sedgemoor	South West
259	Lincoln	East Midlands
260	Cannock Chase	West Midlands
261	Ipswich	East of England
262	Dudley	West Midlands
263	North Norfolk	East of England
264	Forest Heath	East of England
265	West Berkshire	South East

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
266	Bassetlaw	East Midlands
267	Arun	South East
268	Cotswold	South West
269	Sandwell	West Midlands
270	Babergh	East of England
271	Herefordshire, County of	West Midlands
272	Gedling	East Midlands
273	Wyre Forest	West Midlands
274	Liverpool	North West
275	Thanet	South East
276	Walsall	West Midlands
277	Worcester	West Midlands
278	Erewash	East Midlands
279	Gosport	South East
280	Barrow-in-Furness	North West
281	Tamworth	West Midlands
282	Gloucester	South West
283	Torridge	South West
284	Broxtowe	East Midlands
285	Chesterfield	East Midlands
286	Bolsover	East Midlands
287	Chichester	South East
288	Northumberland	North East
289	Leicester	East Midlands
290	Northampton	East Midlands
291	Barnsley	Yorkshire and The Humber
292	Wakefield	Yorkshire and The Humber
293	Great Yarmouth	East of England
294	Norwich	East of England
295	Scarborough	Yorkshire and The Humber
296	Nuneaton and Bedworth	West Midlands
297	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	East of England
298	Doncaster	Yorkshire and The Humber
299	Hastings	South East
300	Breckland	East of England
301	Kettering	East Midlands
302	Amber Valley	East Midlands
303	Forest of Dean	South West
304	Crawley	South East

Rank	Local authority areas	Region
305	Hinckley and Bosworth	East Midlands
306	East Northamptonshire	East Midlands
307	North Warwickshire	West Midlands
308	Fenland	East of England
309	North East Lincolnshire	Yorkshire and The Humber
310	Wychavon	West Midlands
311	South Derbyshire	East Midlands
312	Nottingham	East Midlands
313	Blackpool	North West
314	Waveney	East of England
315	Mansfield	East Midlands
316	Derby	East Midlands
317	Ashfield	East Midlands
318	Wellingborough	East Midlands
319	Allerdale	North West
320	Carlisle	North West
321	Corby	East Midlands
322	Weymouth and Portland	South West
323	Newark and Sherwood	East Midlands
324	West Somerset	South West

CCS1017293504

978-1-5286-0100-9