

**FOR THE  
MANY  
NOT THE  
FEW**

# **THE NHS AND SCHOOLS AT RISK**

**THE TORY THREAT TO OUR PUBLIC SERVICES**



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# 1. Introduction

In just over a week's time, the British people face a decision, between the Tories, who have presided over seven years of failure, underinvestment and mismanagement of the NHS and our schools, and Labour who will protect these vital services we rely upon.

## The Tory threat to the NHS

- Just hours before the Tories launched their manifesto Jeremy Hunt said that the Tories were going to increase NHS spending above and beyond the money they had already promised. However this was not the case. The Tories announced an £8 billion 'increase' which the IFS confirmed is no more than was already planned for at the Spring Budget.
- Last week NHS Providers and Health Service Journal released the latest estimate of the deficit for NHS trusts, which showed that the deficit was between £700 million and £750 million for the financial year to April 2017. These figures clearly show that NHS finances under the Tories are in a weak and unstable state.
- Additionally, Tories have also raided capital budgets. In 2015/16 the Department of Health shifted £950 million from capital spending to revenue, leaving the Public Accounts Committee to say that it could result in 'ill-equipped and inefficient hospitals'. The Tory manifesto now says that they will ensure the NHS has the "buildings and technology it needs", but there is no indication whatsoever whether extra money is being provided.
- This lack of funding has meant that since the 2015 election, things have only got worse. The Tories have failed to meet four key targets since 2015, including A&E, cancer, diagnostic test and ambulance response standards. And things under Theresa May are not getting any better. Since she became Prime Minister in 2016 almost two million people have waited longer than four hours in A&E, almost 450,000 have waited longer than four hours on trolleys and there are nearly 70,000 more people on the waiting list.
- In March 2017, NHS England's Five Year Forward View accepted that funding pressures meant waiting times were likely to grow and that the four hour A&E target would not be met until April 2018. With the Tory manifesto promising no new funding and providing no solutions to address the challenges our NHS faces, our health service is facing another five years of failure. This will lead to patients facing longer waits in A&E and for treatment.
- Labour analysis shows just how bad thing will get for the NHS, with another five years of a Tory government. By 2022 there could be:
  - **5.5 million people on waiting lists in England by 2022; 1.8 million more people than currently waiting.**
  - **Over one million more people waiting longer than four hours in A&E; a total of 3.5 million people by 2022.**
  - **230,000 more people spending more than four hours waiting on a trolley for a bed; a total of nearly 800,000 people by 2022.**

- **11,000 more people waiting over two months for their first cancer treatment; a total of over 37,000 people by 2022.**
- **500,000 more days lost to delayed discharge from hospital; a total of two million days lost by 2022.**
- **1.5 million older and vulnerable people with unmet social care needs.**

### **The Tory threat to our schools**

- The Tory plan for education has failed. Social mobility has gone backwards, under performance in schools is going unchecked, class sizes are soaring and the number of unqualified teachers in schools is rising every year. Spending on education fell by 14 per cent in real terms between 2010 and 2016, and even further cuts to budgets are planned.
- Since 2015 the situation hasn't improved. Class sizes have continued to rise and the Tories have missed their teacher recruitment targets for the fifth year in a row. Last year recorded the highest teacher leaving rate for a decade.
- The Tories say they will give another £4 billion to schools, but the IFS have confirmed this would still mean a cut of 2.8 per cent by 2022. Faced with difficult choices of what to cut, it is the things that really make a difference in education, such as excellent teachers and access to a broad and balanced curriculum, which will be put at risk over the next five years.
- The Education Select Committee have said that in order to make the savings schools could be forced to expand class sizes even further and employ more unqualified teachers who are cheaper. In addition, the school estate is aging fast and the Tories have committed no extra money to build the modern school buildings our children deserve.
- Labour analysis shows just how bad thing will get for our schools, with another five years of a Tory government. By 2022 there could be:
  - **Cuts to per-pupil spending of around seven per cent between 2015-16 and 2021-22.**
  - **650,000 pupils crammed into primary school classes of over 30.**
  - **More unqualified teachers in our schools in England; reaching 41,000 by 2022.**
  - **Families left almost £450 worse off per child as a result of the Tories' plan to scrap free school meals for 1.7 million children.**
  - **The threat of profit-making schools, risking the future of our children.**
  - **Continuing deterioration of school buildings as a result of no extra funding to help the aging school estate.**

Schools and the NHS can't afford another five years of the Tories. That would starve our public services of investment, leading to further decline and patients and children suffering. In this document we reveal the scale of the threat the Tories pose to our NHS and schools.

## 2. Tory failure on the NHS

- Under the Tories our NHS is going backwards and patients are paying the price.
- The Tories promised to protect the NHS, but over the last seven years they have chronically underfunded it and presided over years of failure that has put patient care at risk.
- Despite promising to provide extra funding, their latest manifesto pledge offers nothing above and beyond what has already been promised. The deficit for NHS trusts now stands at between £700 million and £750 million, while the Tories continue to raid capital budgets to plug the gaps, leaving our hospitals ill-equipped, inefficient and with a backlog of maintenance works.
- As a result performance has continued to deteriorate across the board. Patients are forced to wait too long in A&E, on trolleys, for operations and for vital cancer treatment. Meanwhile the Tories have let older and vulnerable people down, with deep cuts to social care leaving them without the support they need. Their latest plans add only more insecurity and mean more people will have to pay for their care with their home.

### **The Tories have not given the NHS the money it needs**

- In their 2015 manifesto the Tories said they would give the NHS £8 billion by 2020.

"We will...spend at least an additional £8 billion by 2020 over and above inflation to fund and support the NHS's own action plan for the next five years."

*Conservative Party Manifesto 2015, Page 37*

- Theresa May initially claimed that the NHS had been given an extra £10 billion, which she said was more than it asked for.

"Simon Stevens was asked to come forward with a five year plan for the NHS. He did that, so that's been generated by the NHS itself. He said that it needed £8bn extra – the government has not just given him £8bn extra, we've given him £10bn extra."

*Theresa May, Interview with Manchester Evening News, 17 October 2016,*

<http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/theresa-came-manchester-asked-three-12039565>

- However, she has been called out by Simon Stevens, Chief Executive of NHS England, who said it would be "stretching it" to say this.

"I think it would be stretching it to say that the NHS has got more than it has asked for."

*Simon Stevens, Public Accounts Committee, Oral evidence: Financial Sustainability of the NHS, 11 January 2017,*

<http://data.parliament.uk/writenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/public-accounts-committee/the-financial-sustainability-of-the-nhs/oral/45122.html>

- The House of Commons Health Select Committee has disputed the figures, putting the increase at £4.5 billion.

"If the spending review period is considered—2015–16 to 2020–21—that increase is £4.5 billion."

*House of Commons, Health Select Committee Report, Impact of the Spending Review on health and social care, 19 July 2016*

[https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmhealth/139/13904.htm#\\_idTextAnchor008](https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmhealth/139/13904.htm#_idTextAnchor008)

- In addition, last week NHS Providers released the latest estimate of the deficit for NHS trusts, which showed that the deficit now stood between £700 million and £750 million for the financial year to April 2017. These figures clearly show that NHS finances under the Tories are in a weak and unstable state.

"NHS Providers has today released an estimate that the year-end deficit for NHS trusts in 2016/17 will be between -£700 and -£750 million. Official figures will be published by NHS Improvement after the general election."

<https://www.nhsproviders.org/news-blogs/news/nhs-providers-hails-estimated-70-year-on-year-reduction-in-nhs-provider-sector-financial-deficit>

### **The Tories' commitment on spending does not match Labour's**

- On the morning of the manifesto Jeremy Hunt confirmed that the Tories were going to increase spending on the NHS above and beyond the promises they had already made.

Jeremy Hunt: Well you will see today a commitment to increase spending on the NHS, but the...

Nick Robinson: Above and beyond, above and beyond the promises you've made?

Jeremy Hunt: You will have to wait and see but you will see a commitment to increase spending on the NHS. Yes above promises that we made to date but, the choice people have is who is going to deliver on these promises; is it a Conservative Party that's just given us 2.9 million extra jobs in the economy each of which pay tax-

*Jeremy Hunt, Today Programme, 18 May 2017*

- However, it took only a few hours for the Tories to break this promise. The Tories' manifesto committed to putting £8 billion into the NHS over the course of the next Parliament.

"First, we will increase NHS spending by a minimum of £8 billion in real terms over the next five years, delivering an increase in real funding per head of the population for every year of the parliament."

*2017 Conservative Party Manifesto, Page 66*

- But, this supposed £8 billion 'increase' is no more than was already planned for at the Spring Budget.

"We estimate that manifesto commitments on schools, NHS and social care leave overall spending broadly unchanged from the March Budget."  
*IFS, Manifesto analysis 2017, Press Conference*

- Having already broken the same promise before, there is no reason why voters can expect the Tories to meet this target in the future.
- The Tory commitment of £8 billion does not match Labour's commitment to £37 billion for the NHS over the course of the Parliament, £10 billion of which will be invested in NHS buildings and equipment.
- Unlike Labour the Tories have no idea of where the £8 billion funding commitment would come from. Just this week, the Conservative MP Dominic Raab, had no answers when asked how they would find the money.

Victoria Derbyshire: Well let's just deal with what the IFS has said - where will the £8bn come from for the NHS?  
Dominic Raab: Well what we've said is that we'll have real term increases each year rising to at least £8bn in the last year -  
Victoria Derbyshire: Where will it come from?  
DR: Well, look we've said things like means testing the winter fuel payment  
Emily Thornberry: Is that going to pay for it?  
Victoria Derbyshire: The IFS said that would be -  
DR: No, no, no.

*Victoria Derbyshire, 29 May 2017*

- The Tories spending plans increase NHS spending by an average of 1.2 per cent per year between 2015/16 and 2022/23, compared with Labour's spending plans that will increase NHS spending by an average of 2.3 per cent per year.

"The NHS needs an average of 1.2 per cent to just keep pace with age-adjusted population growth, the Tories plans means the NHS will get this, but nothing more."  
*IFS, General Election 2017: IFS manifesto analysis, 26 May 2017*

- Under the Tories the UK would face the lowest period of spending increases in NHS history.

"A real increase of £8 billion over the next five years would extend what is easily the lowest period of spending increases in NHS history to 12 years"  
*IFS, General Election 2017: IFS manifesto analysis, 26 May 2017*

- This has resulted in the IFS saying that Conservative plans for the NHS may well be undeliverable.

"Conservative plans for NHS spending look very tight indeed and may well be undeliverable."  
*Institute for Fiscal Studies, Press Release, 26 May 2017 - <https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/9259>*

- While the influential health charity, the King's Fund says that cuts are having an impact on frontline care.

"The budget for NHS England is projected to rise by more than £8 billion in real terms between 2015/16 and 2020/21, technically meeting the manifesto commitment to fund the implementation of the NHS five year forward view. However, the budget for the Department of Health – the definition used by previous governments to measure health spending – will increase by only £4.6 billion over this period. Cuts in areas of health spending that have not been protected are having an impact on frontline care."

*The King's Fund, 12 May 2017, [www.kingsfund.org.uk/publications/articles/government-pledge-nhs-funding](http://www.kingsfund.org.uk/publications/articles/government-pledge-nhs-funding)*

### **The Tories are putting our hospitals and infrastructure at risk**

- The Tories have also raided capital budgets, which pay for vital infrastructure, repairs to buildings and equipment in the NHS.
- In 2015/16 the Department of Health shifted £950 million from capital spending to revenue, and admitted that this will continue to happen in future.<sup>1</sup>
- Earlier this year, the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee said that this practice could result in "ill-equipped and inefficient hospitals".

"The repeated raids on investment funds in order to meet day-to-day spending could result in ill-equipped and inefficient hospitals. Capital budgets cover many essential areas of spending, ranging from keeping facilities up-to-date, rolling out new technologies and investing in new care models. It is therefore concerning that the Department moved £950 million out of its separate £4.5 billion capital budget to its revenue budget in 2015–16, to fund day-to-day activities. The Department accepts that moving money from capital to revenue is not a desirable or sustainable approach, but tells us it will need to do so again to balance its budget in 2016–17 and future years."

*Public Accounts Committee, Financial sustainability of the NHS, 27 February 2017, <https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/public-accounts-committee/inquiries/parliament-2015/financial-sustainability-nhs-16-17/>*

- The Tories have failed to provide investment for capital in the NHS, leaving hospitals with a backlog of maintenance works.

## Hospitals in need of repairs

Freedom of Information requests by Labour reveal that some hospital trusts have experienced infrastructure problems affecting patient care.

**South London and Maudsley NHS Foundation Trust:** The temperature of the ward was so cold that staff were working in their jackets and patients were sleeping in their jackets along with two blankets.

**University Hospitals Coventry & Warwickshire NHS Trust:** There was a leak from the ceiling onto the operating table. Patients had to be re-routed to other theatres. The affected patient had to have precautionary antibiotics.

**Isle of Wight NHS Foundation Trust:** There was a significant leak from decontamination waste pipe causing flooding on level A outpatient department. Endoscopy department out of action for 2.5 days resulting in 12 cancelled lists and fast track patient breaches.

**Royal Cornwall Hospitals:** There was a power cut in resus and back up power failed. Two patients in resus were acutely unwell. One patient was having airway support and seizures attempting cannulation at time of the power failure. The problem lasted for three and a half hours.

**Essex Partnership University NHS Foundation Trust:** There was a failure of wards cold water pump/pressure system which resulted in total loss of water pressure to basins, toilets and showers. The ward was closed and patients were affected and had to be moved.

**Kingston NHS Foundation Trust:** Problem with IT infrastructure resulting in a 40 minute delay to a clinic. Detail - A computer in a clinic room switched itself off twice preventing the doctor from starting the clinic. The doctor reported the problem to the IT helpdesk. The clinic commenced 40 minutes late in a different room.

**Black Country Partnership NHS Foundation Trust:** Cold temperatures during night on ward. Contractors informed and attempted to resolve, however, issue with valve. Extra blankets supplied to patients and portable heaters were provided whilst awaiting repair.

**Royal Surrey County Hospital:** Due to a leak from a pipe only two consoles can be used. Leak is coming through light switch, so had to switch lights off. This is impacting staff doing their job properly due to insufficient lighting. This will also create a delay in booking patients in.

**The Walton Centre NHS Foundation Trust:** The incident was in relation to blocked drains and sewage seeping into a clinical area. This affected 15 patients who were relocated within the same clinical area. The disruption lasted 48 hours, including a deep clinical clean. NB The service was still provided within the clinical area as at the time of the incident, there was spare bed capacity in the unit.

- The cost of eradicating high risk backlog maintenance rose from £458m in 2014/15 to £776m in 2015/16, and the total backlog increased to almost £5 billion in 2015/16 from £4.3 billion in 2014/15.

**Table 8: Backlog Maintenance at Site Level (£ millions)**

	Investment to reduce Backlog Maintenance	% Change Investment to reduce Backlog Maintenance	Cost to eradicate High Risk backlog	Cost to eradicate Significant Risk backlog	Cost to eradicate Moderate Risk backlog	Cost to eradicate Low Risk backlog
2011/12	397.8	-11.6%	296.3	926.4	1,484.8	1,316.3
2012/13	445.4	12.0%	353.1	1,002.0	1,476.5	1,204.3
2013/14	393.4	-11.7%	356.6	1,016.7	1,426.6	1,241.8
2014/15	369.8	-6.0%	458.0	1,062.1	1,551.3	1,266.5
2015/16	352.4	-4.7%	775.5	1,567.9	1,516.4	1,114.9

Source: NHS Digital

Source: NHS Digital, Estates and Returns Information Collection England 2015/16, 11 October 2016  
<http://www.content.digital.nhs.uk/catalogue/PUB21992/est-ret-info-col-2015-2016-Report.pdf>

- The Tory manifesto now says that they will ensure the NHS has the “buildings and technology it needs”, but there is no indication whatsoever that any extra money is being provided, where it would come from or whether it’s included in the £8 billion funding promise they have made.<sup>ii</sup>

### **The Tories have no plan to cope with the pressures facing social care**

- The Tory manifesto put forward no plan to deal with the growing crisis in our social care system. In their manifesto they set out a plan to include the value of your home when assessing how much people should pay for care in their own home. This could force thousands more people to pay for their care.
- The Tories failed to say they’d put a cap on the cost of social care when they announced their manifesto.
- Initially Theresa May defended her social care policy.

“You have a situation where two widows are living side by side in homes of the same value. One of them [has] saved up all their life and has over £23,000 in savings, now finds that they need care in a home and has to pay for that because they are above the current threshold. Then there is [the widow] next door who has perhaps lived the good life and doesn't have those savings and gets in for free. And I think we are equalising home and residential calculations and setting the threshold four times higher at £100,000.

“We are being fair to those who have saved over time.”

Theresa May, Daily Mail, 20 May 2017, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4525158/Theresa-defends-social-care-reforms.html>

- But just four days later, she showed that she was unable to stick to her own manifesto for more than four days.
- The Tory 2015 Manifesto promised to introduce a cap on charges.

"We will cap charges for residential social care from April 2016 and also allow deferred payment agreements, so no one has to sell their home."

*Conservative Manifesto 2015, Page 65*

- However, they later announced that this cap on charges for residential social care would be delayed until 2020.

"In 2010 the previous Government asked Sir Andrew Dilnot to lead the Commission on Funding of Care and Support to make recommendations on how to achieve an affordable and sustainable funding system for care and support for all adults in England. The Commission recommended the creation of a cap system to protect people from the risk of very high care costs. This recommendation was accepted and plans put in place to implement from April 2016.

"This Government still accepts that recommendation and remains firmly committed to delivering this historic change. However, the proposals to cap care costs and create a supporting private insurance market were expected to add £6 billion to public sector spending over the next 5 years. A time of consolidation is not the right moment to be implementing expensive new commitments such as this, especially when there are no indications the private insurance market will develop as expected. Therefore in light of genuine concerns raised by stakeholders, we have taken the difficult decision to delay the introduction of the cap on care costs system until April 2020."

*Written Statement: Care Costs, Lord Prior of Brampton, 17 July 2015*

<https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Lords/2015-07-17/HLWS135/>

- And by failing to put a figure for a cap on social care costs or a date for its introduction, she has only added to the uncertainty for millions of older people and their families.

## **The Tories are failing to meet key NHS performance targets**

- This lack of funding has meant that since the 2015 election, things have only got worse. The Tories are currently failing to meet five key targets, including A&E, referral to treatment, diagnostic test and ambulance response standards.

Failed NHS target	Last met by the Tories
4-hour A&E.....	July 2015
18 week referral to treatment.....	February 2016
62 day cancer waiting time .....	December 2015
6 weeks for diagnostic tests .....	November 2013
18 minute ambulance response for most urgent calls..	May 2015

- And things under Theresa May are not getting any better. Under her government we have seen further deterioration across all areas of care.

### **Under Theresa May almost**

- 1,968,089 people have waited longer than four hours in A&E
- 448,263 people have waited longer than four hours on trolleys
- 19,749 people have waited longer than 62 days for cancer treatment
- 69,968 more people on the waiting list
- 1,162,310 more days have been lost to delayed discharges from hospital

### **More people are waiting longer in A&E**

- The number of people waiting longer than four hours in A&E has increased from just over 350,000 in 2009/10 to 2.5 million in 2016/17.
- Labour introduced the target for 98 per cent of patients to be seen within four hours in A&E departments in 2004. The Tories downgraded this to 95 per cent when they came to power. But they are not even meeting this watered-down target.
- NHS England's target of 95 per cent of patients spending four hours or less in A&E has not been met since July 2015.

YEAR	Total Attendances > 4 hours	Percentage in 4 hours or less (all)
2009-10	353,617	98.3%
2010-11	557,114	97.4%
2011-12	724,943	96.6%
2012-13	901,411	95.9%
2013-14	939,186	95.7%
2014-15	1,421,138	93.6%
2015-16	1,854,980	91.9%
2016-17	2,540,452	89.1%

NHS England, A&E Attendances and Emergency Admissions

### **More people are on waiting lists**

- The total number of patients on the waiting list in March 2017 was 3.73 million compared with 2.42 million in March 2010. When estimates from non-reporting trusts are taken into account, this figure could be as high as just under 3.9 million.<sup>iii</sup>
- Labour introduced the 18 week target to get waiting lists down. When Labour left Government in May 2010, just 209,411 people were waiting longer than 18 weeks for an operation. Most recent data shows that 362,687 people waited longer than 18 weeks for an operation in March 2017.<sup>iv</sup>
- NHS England's target of 92 per cent of patients waiting less than 18 weeks to start treatment has not been met since February 2016.

Patients still waiting for treatment at the end of reporting period (the waiting list)*								
Monthly	Median wait (weeks)	92nd percentile (weeks)	No. within 18 weeks	% within 18 weeks	No. > 18 weeks	No. > 52 weeks	% > 52 weeks	Total waiting (mil)
Mar-10	5.2	18.9	2,205,542	91.1%	214,983	18,494	0.8%	2.42
Mar-11	5.5	20.7	2,196,360	89.4%	259,064	14,355	0.6%	2.46
Mar-12	5.2	17.0	2,252,479	93.3%	161,490	5,149	0.2%	2.41
Mar-13	5.5	16.6	2,508,128	94.2%	153,037	473	0.0%	2.66
Mar-14	5.5	16.9	2,729,396	93.7%	182,046	488	0.0%	2.91
Mar-15	5.6	17.2	2,800,845	93.1%	206,032	475	0.0%	3.01
Mar-16	6.4	18.5	3,205,842	91.5%	298,753	871	0.0%	3.50
Mar-17	6.2	19.5	3,371,966	90.3%	362,687	1,529	0.0%	3.73

\*Three acute trusts did not submit data on incomplete RTT pathways for March 2017. Factoring in estimates based on the latest data submitted for each of these missing acute trusts suggests the total number of RTT patients waiting to start treatment at the end of March 2017 may have been just under 3.9 million patients

Source: NHS England, Consultant Led Referral to Treatment Times

### **More people are waiting longer for cancer treatment**

- The number of people waiting longer than 62 days for cancer treatment following an urgent referral from their GP now stands at over 26,000, up from 13,478 in 2010/11.<sup>v</sup>
- The 85 per cent target for 62 day cancer waiting times has not been met since December 2015.<sup>vi</sup>

Year	Total	Within Standard	Outside Standard	Performance
2010/11	103,598	90,120	13,478	87.0%
2011/12	111,660	97,399	14,261	87.2%
2012/13	116,528	101,632	14,896	87.2%
2013/14	123,543	106,104	17,439	85.9%
2014/15	128,642	107,235	21,407	83.4%
2015/16	136,241	112,206	24,035	82.4%
2016/17	143,987	117,902	26,085	81.9%

*Source: NHS England, Cancer Waiting Times*

### **More people are being left to wait on trolleys in hospital corridors because there is not enough space on overcrowded hospital wards**

- The total number of patients spending over four hours or more on trolleys in hospital corridors because of lack of space in overcrowded hospital wards in 2016/17 is now nine times the level it was when Labour was last in government.
- The total number in 2009/10 was just 62,000, while the figure for 2016/17 has increased dramatically to 560,000.

Year	Number of patients spending >4 from decision to admit to admission
2009-10	61,969
2010-11	93,905
2011-12	108,314
2012-13	152,584
2013-14	168,181
2014-15	304,292
2015-16	388,408
2016-17	560,398

*NHS England, A&E Attendances and Emergency Admissions*

### **The number of days lost to delayed discharge from hospitals has increased**

- Under the Tories, the number of days lost to delayed discharge has almost doubled.
- This means, that despite being well enough to go home, older people are being left stranded on hospital wards because there is nowhere safe to go.

Year	Delayed transfers of care (acute)
2011-12	766,253
2012-13	832,783
2013-14	887,127
2014-15	1,074,711
2015-16	1,180,912
2016-17	1,507,391

NHS England, *Delayed Transfers of Care*, <https://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/delayed-transfers-of-care/>

### **The Tories are letting down older and vulnerable people**

- Older and vulnerable people are being let down. Under the Tories, there have been sustained funding cuts to local authority budgets that pay for social care. £4.6 billion was cut from social care budgets between 2010 and 2015.<sup>vii</sup>
- This has meant there are now 400,000 fewer older people receiving state-funded social care<sup>viii</sup> and around 1.2 million (1 in 8) older people are living with unmet care needs.<sup>ix</sup>

### 3. The Tory threat to the NHS

#### Another five years of the Tories could break our NHS

- The Tories' failure to give the NHS the money it needs has left our NHS in a state of crisis, our hospitals in need of urgent repairs, and patients at risk.
- With the Tory manifesto promising no new funding and providing no solutions to address the challenges our NHS faces, our health service is facing another five years of failure. This will lead to patients facing longer waits in A&E and for treatment.
- Labour analysis shows just how bad thing will get for the NHS, with another five years of a Tory government.

#### Methodology

- With the exception of the number of people on waiting lists, projections have been made using all available data going back to 2010 to project future indicators up to 2021/22. This trend takes account of movement in the data to reach a steady-rate scenario between now and 2021/22.
- For the projection of the number of people on waiting lists, we have used data going back to June 2015, in line with official NHS data and methodology.

#### A&E

- In March NHS England accepted that waiting times were likely to grow.

"Within a given funding envelope there are always limits to what can and cannot be done. While the NHS and the Government remain committed to short waits for routine operations, our new Mandate rightly recognises that there is likely to be continued pressure on waiting times for routine care and some providers' waiting times will grow."

*Next Steps on the NHS Five Year Forward View, Page 12*

<https://www.england.nhs.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NEXT-STEPS-ON-THE-NHS-FIVE-YEAR-FORWARD-VIEW.pdf>

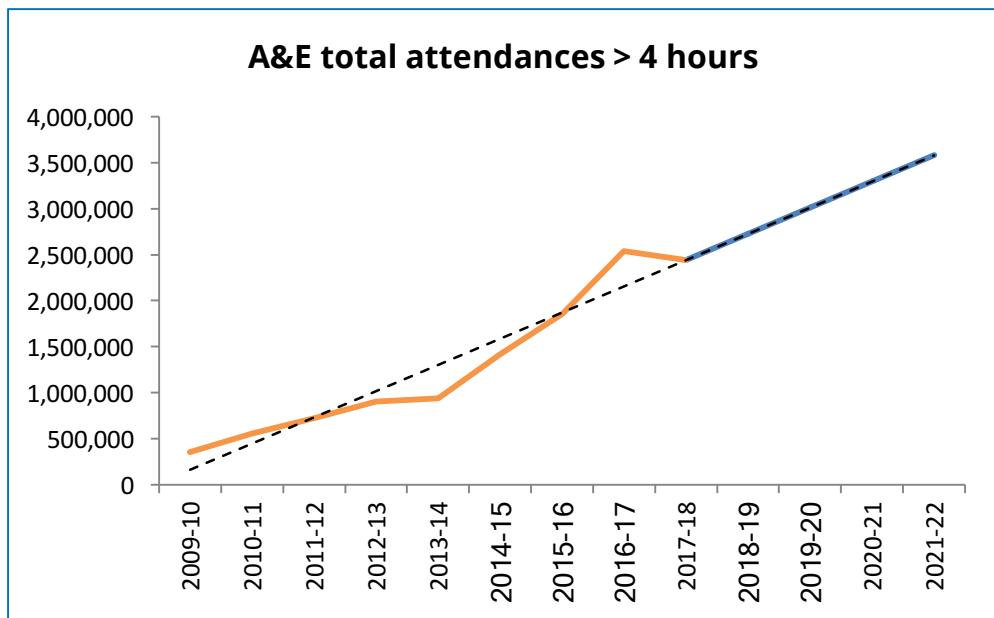
"Trusts and CCGs will be required to meet the Government's 2017/18 mandate to the NHS that: 1) in or before September 2017 over 90% of emergency patients are treated, admitted or transferred within 4 hours – up 15 from 85% currently; 2) the majority of trusts meet the 95% standard in March 2018; and 3) the NHS overall returns to the 95% standard within the course of 2018."

*Next Steps on the NHS Five Year Forward View, Page 14*

<https://www.england.nhs.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NEXT-STEPS-ON-THE-NHS-FIVE-YEAR-FORWARD-VIEW.pdf>

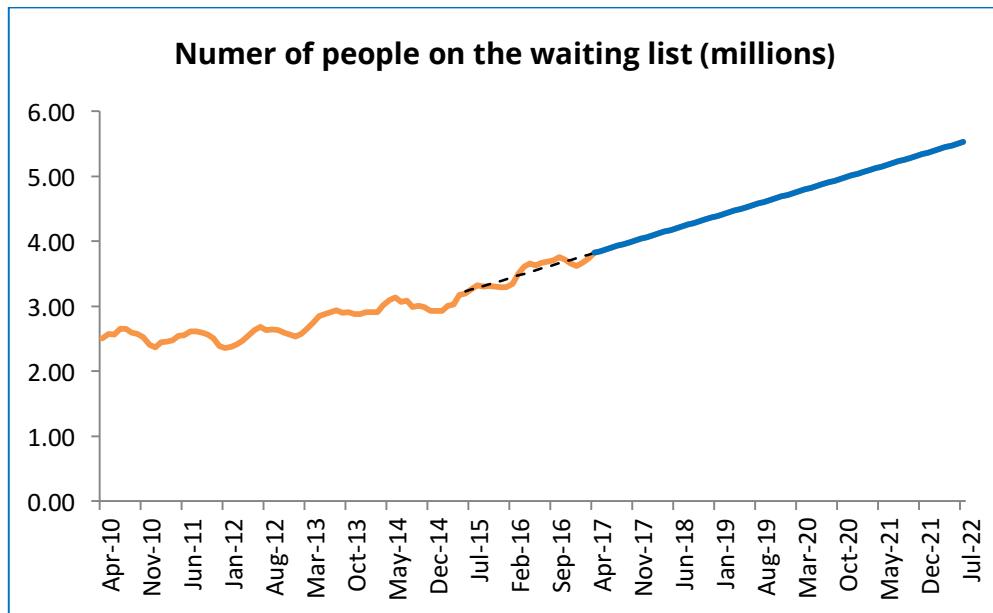
- Labour analysis shows that by 2021/2022 there will be 3,582,439 million people waiting longer than four hours in A&E. This would mean ten times the amount of people waiting longer than four hours in A&E compared to 2009/10.

- This is over a million more people on waiting for longer than four hours in A&E than today.



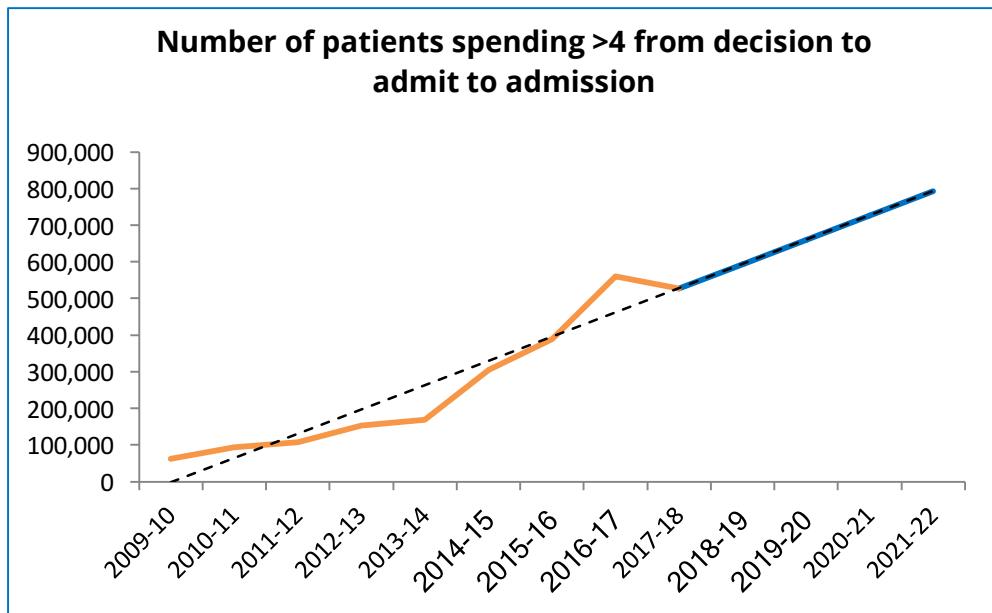
### The waiting list

- By May 2022 there will be 5,473,475 people on the waiting list in England compared to 2.5 million in 2010. There will be 1.8 million more people on waiting lists in England than today.



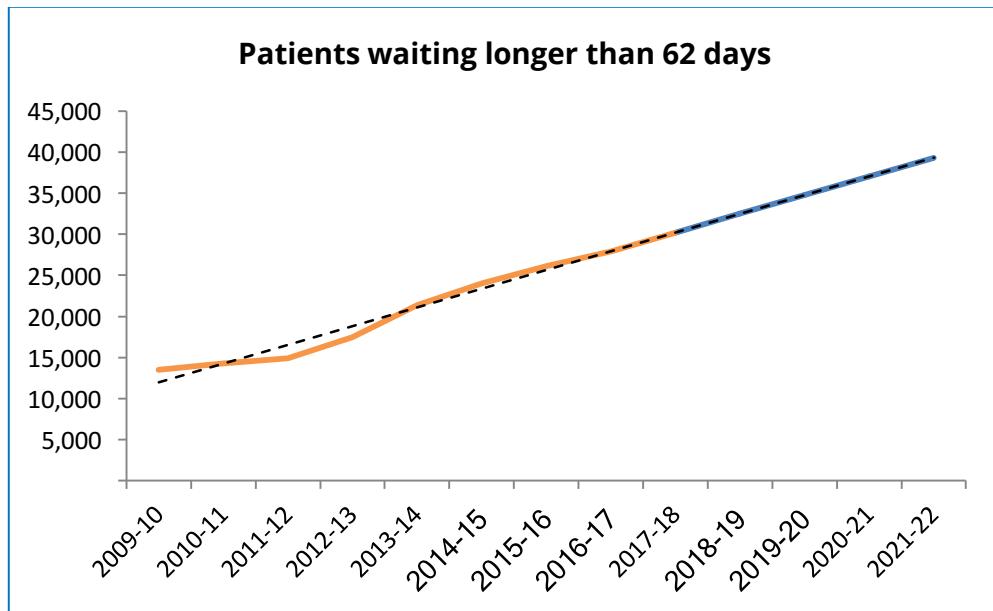
## Trolley waits

- By 2021/22 there will be 792,886 people spending more than four hours waiting on trolleys for a bed on a ward. This is 230,000 more than today.



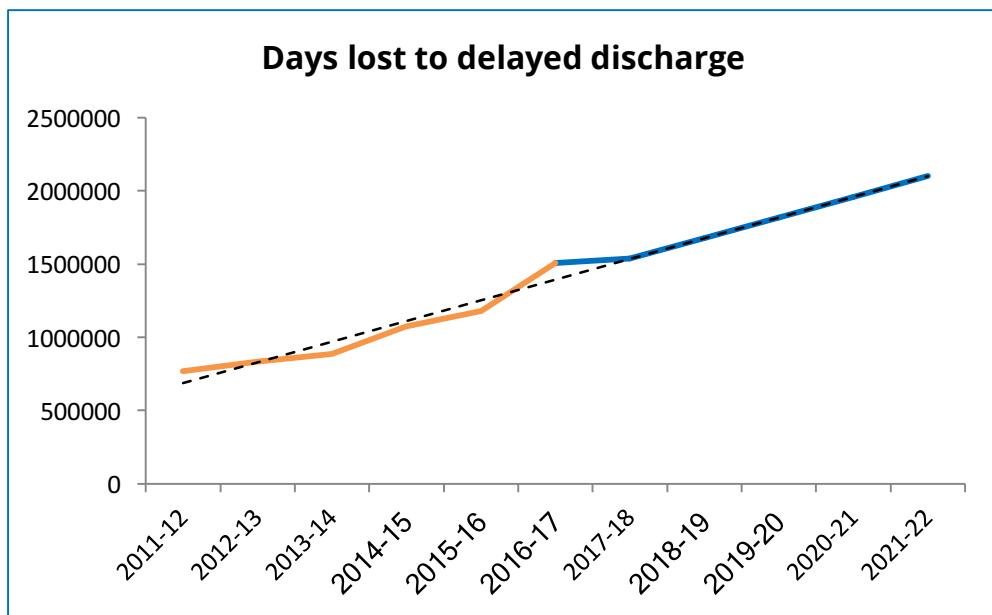
## Cancer

- By 2021/22 there will be over 37,000 people waiting over two months for their first cancer treatment.
- This is over two and half times the number of people waiting for their first cancer treatment compared to 2010. This is 11,000 more than today.



## Delayed transfers of care

- By 2022, 500,000 more days will be lost annually to delayed discharge from hospital. This would mean a total of two million days lost annually by the end of the next parliament.



## Possible charging for NHS services

- With the NHS being promised no extra funding in addition to what has already been budgeted for, the prospect of an NHS free at the point of service is at risk.
- Before the 2015 general election Dr Mark Porter, the council chair of the British Medical Association (BMA), said that whoever took office after the election could inevitably be tempted to bring in charges.

"You say it's politically toxic. It's not, really, is it? Look at dentistry and look at social care. They carry with them exactly the same offer to the public by which the NHS was set up; that we will remove from you – this society, us acting collectively – the terrible fear of bankrupting yourself by having an illness, by needing healthcare.

"And yet we allow people to be bankrupted by social care and we allow people to be deterred from seeking dental care because of charges," Porter said.

"Your question was: could a future government be tempted? Yes, they could, but they must resist that temptation."

*Guardian, 3 April 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/apr/03/basic-nhs-services-could-be-charged-for-after-general-election-bma-chief-says>*

- Conservative MP Sir Edward Leigh, the former Chair of the Public Accounts Committee and who now sits on the Public Accounts Commission, called for an "honest debate" about introducing charges for NHS treatment.

"Sir Edward Leigh, who sits on the Public Accounts Commission, said the Government might have to "think the unthinkable" and charge patients because of increased pressure on A&E departments.

"In terms of A&E we do have problems, particularly with people coming from rural areas. For those of us who rely completely on the NHS this obviously a matter of vital concern," Sir Edward asked ministers during Health Questions in the House of Commons.

"I just wondered whether we should have an honest debate about this, to try and recognise that we do have an ageing population, that our A&E times are stressed, and we may have to either tax people more, or even think the unthinkable, and charge people for non..."

*Sir Edward Leigh, quoted in the Independent, 15 November 2016*

- More recently he said the government should look at 'paying to go and see your GP' and 'paying for accommodation in hospitals'.

"I think that, as in Australia, we could look at paying to go and see your GP and then it being free after that. I think we could look at cancelled appointments. We could look at paying for your accommodation in hospitals"

*Sir Edward Leigh, BBC Radio Lincolnshire, January 16 2017*

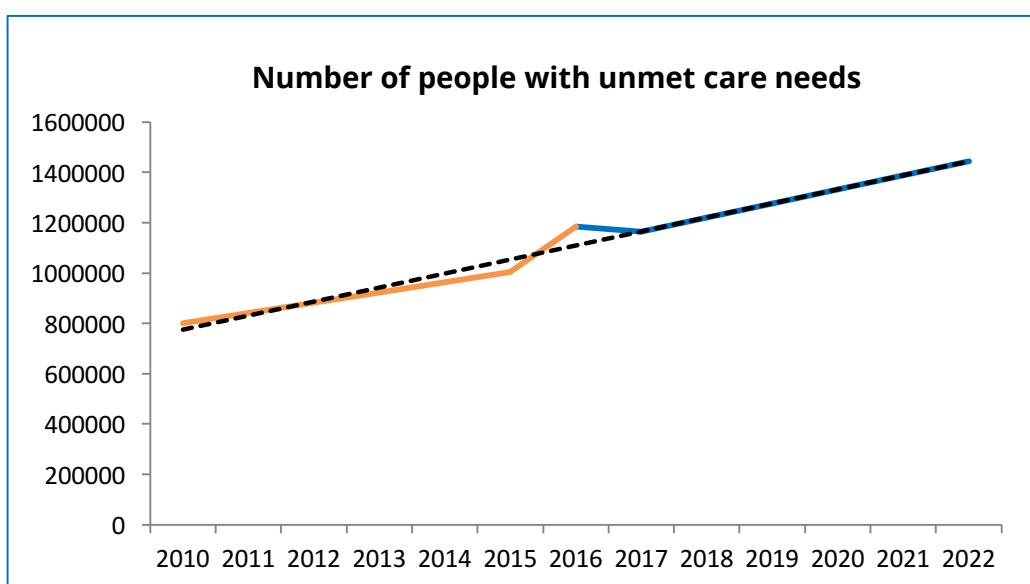
- Dame Kate Barker, Chair of the Commission of the Future of Health and Social Care in England, also said that one option for dealing with the lack of additional money would be to 'introduce charges in some way'.

"I am never quite sure what is meant by "sustainability". If you are asking whether I think the NHS, as people would like to have it—free at the point of use with the present level of GDP going to it—is sustainable for the next 20 years, I agree absolutely with Andrew: it is not. We will be able to have an NHS free at the point of use that meets what people would really want out of it only if more money goes in, which means either that we have to introduce charges in some way or that we raise taxation. This seems to me a very profound political choice."

*Dame Kate Barker, oral evidence to the Lords Select Committee on the Long-Term Sustainability of the NHS, 5 April 2017*

## Older people with unmet care needs

- By 2022, there could be 1,443,850 million older people living with unmet care needs, up from 1.2 million in 2016.<sup>x</sup>



## 4. Tory failure on schools

- Our schools and children's futures are not safe in the hands of the Tories. School budgets are facing cuts for the first time since the mid-1990s and there is an ongoing recruitment and retention crisis in the teaching profession.
- Head teachers have warned that cuts will have dire consequences for parents and pupils. If the Tories get back into government England's schools will be looking at five years of further cuts resulting in fewer teachers, even larger classes, a narrower curriculum, and in some cases a shorter school week.
- Since the relaxation of the rules surrounding teacher qualifications in 2012, the number of unqualified teachers has risen by 52 per cent, while the Tories have missed their teacher recruitment targets five years in a row. Under the Tories, over half a million children are now learning in super-sized classes and being taught by unqualified teachers.
  - There are 538,254 children learning in classes of over 31. Of these, some 40,000 primary pupils are in classes of over 36 pupils and over 16,000 are now in class sizes of at least 40. This category includes class sizes of over 50, 60 and 70.
  - Under the Tories, the number of unqualified teachers teaching in our schools is rising. There are now 22,500 unqualified teachers teaching an estimated 572,225 children in England.
  - The Tories have missed their teacher recruitment target for five years in a row. It is subjects that are essential to our country's economic future such as maths and science that are suffering the most from under-recruitment.

### **Failing teacher recruitment and teacher quality**

- The Tories have failed to recruit and retain enough teachers and have allowed thousands of unqualified teachers into England's schools, risking our children's education.
- Last year the Tories failed to reach their own recruitment target for the fifth year in a row (NB: secondary and primary combined).

Recruitment against target in primary and secondary					
	2012/2011	2013/2014	2014/15	2015/16	2016/2017
Secondary	103%	98%	94%	82%	89%
Primary	96%	99%	89%	112%	100%

Source: *Initial teacher training: trainee number census - 2016 to 2017, November 2016*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/initial-teacher-training-trainee-number-census-2016-to-2017>

- Data shows that nearly one in ten teachers left the profession in 2015: the highest teacher leaving rate in a decade.

	AS AT END MARCH OF THE FINANCIAL YEAR							AS AT NOVEMBER (PROXY FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR)				
	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>Full-time wastage rate</b>	8.2	8.2	7.7	7.5	7.4	6.5	7.2	8.4	8.2	8.5	9.2	9.5

Sources: *DfE school workforce in England: November 2015, 30 June 2016*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2015>

- In 2012, the Tories relaxed the rules and teachers were no longer required to have qualified teacher status. Since then, the number of unqualified teachers has shot up by 52 per cent.

	Unqualified teachers (thousands)				
	Nov-12	Nov-13	Nov-14	Nov-15	% Change
<b>All publicly-funded schools</b>	14.8	17.1	20.3	22.5	52%

Sources: *DfE school workforce in England: November 2015, 30 June 2016*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2015>  
*DfE, School workforce in England: November 2014, 2 July 2015*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2015>  
*DfE, School workforce in England: November 2013, 10 April 2014*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2014>

- An estimated 572,000 pupils are being taught by unqualified teachers in England.

	Number of unqualified teachers	Average class size	Total number of children taught by unqualified teachers
<b>All publicly-funded schools</b>	22,500	25.4	572,225

The average class size is the average size of one teacher classes across all state-funded primary and secondary schools that provided this information in the January 2016 School Census.

Source: Sources: *DfE school workforce in England: November 2015, 30 June 2016*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2015>  
*DfE, Schools, pupils and their characteristics, 28 June 2016*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2016>

### **Under the Tories class sizes have increased**

- Over the last seven years the Tories have chosen to prioritise building free schools, 1 in 4 of which are open in areas where they are not needed<sup>xi</sup>. At the same time there is an ongoing school places crisis. Over 420,000 new school places will be needed by 2020.<sup>xii</sup>
- Over half a million children are now in super-size classes in primary school, as class-sizes continue to rise. Of these, some 40,000 primary pupils are in classes of over 36 pupils and

over 16,000 are now in class sizes of at least 40. This category includes class sizes of over 50, 60 and 70.

**Number of pupils taught by one teacher in state funded primary schools\***

	Class size			
	31 to 35	36+	40+	Total 31+
2014	460,563	39,951	14,671	500,514
2015	481,885	38,560	14,824	520,445
2016	498,152	40,102	16,655	538,254

\*Where data has been recorded for more than one large class, an average has been assumed. For example, if the data recorded a school as having two classes of 36 or more pupils, with 80 pupils across these classes, then 80 has been added to the 40+ class size group.

Sources: *Figures from the underlying datasets - DfE, Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2015 and January 2014, published 11 June 2015 and 12 June 2014, 28 June 2016,* <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-school-and-pupil-numbers>

- Since 2010 the number of infants (key stage 1) taught in classes of over 30 has more than trebled to over 95,800. There are also almost seven times as many 'titan' primary schools (those with over 800 pupils) than there were in 2010.

	Jan 2010	Jan 2016	% change
Number of primary schools with over 800 pupils	16	109	581%
Number of infants taught in classes of over 30	31,265	95,208	204%

Sources: *DfE, Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2010, 13 May 2010* [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/218952/main\\_20text\\_20sfr092010.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/218952/main_20text_20sfr092010.pdf); *DfE, Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2016, 28 June 2016* <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2016>

## 5. The Tory threat to schools

- The Tories promised to give children 'the best start in life', but in reality they have failed our young people.
- Spending on education fell by 14 per cent in real terms between 2010 and 2016,<sup>xiii</sup> and there are further cuts to budgets planned. Faced with difficult choices of what to cut, it is the things that really make a difference in education, such as excellent teachers and access to a broad and balanced curriculum, which could be at risk.
- In their manifesto, the Tories have committed to increasing the schools budget by £4 billion. They claim this will be paid for, in part, by scrapping universal infant free school meals.
- But we know from experience that they don't keep their promises and their spending commitment of £4 billion falls well short of Labour's commitment of £6 billion over the next five years. The Tories won't fix the problems in schools they have created.
- By 2022 there could be:
  - **Cuts to per-pupil spending of around seven per cent between 2015–16 and 2021–22.**
  - **650,000 pupils crammed into primary school classes of over 30.**
  - **More unqualified teachers in our schools in England; reaching 41,000 by 2022.**
  - **Families left almost £450 worse off per child as a result of the Tories' plan to scrap free school meals for 1.7 million children.**
  - **The threat of profit-making schools, risking the future of our children.**
  - **Continuing deterioration of school buildings as a result of no extra funding to help the aging school estate.**

## **The Tories broke their promise to protect per-pupil spending**

- The Tories promised to protect per-pupil spending in their 2015 manifesto.

"Under a future Conservative Government, the amount of money following your child into school will be protected."

*Conservative Party 2015 General Election manifesto, page 34*

- However, under the Tory government, school budgets are being cut for the first time since the mid-1990s. Schools will have to make £3 billion worth of cuts by 2020. The Public Accounts Committee report on the 'Financial Sustainability of Schools' published in March stated that "funding per pupil is reducing in real terms" and schools budgets will be cut by £3 billion (equivalent to 8 per cent) by 2020.

"Schools in England are now facing the most significant financial pressure since the mid- 1990s. Funding per pupil is reducing in real terms. If they are to manage within the funds available, schools will have to find efficiency savings rising from £1.1 billion in 2016–17 to £3.0 billion (equivalent to 8% of the total budget) by 2019–20 because of costs which are outside their control, such as pay rises, higher employer contributions to national insurance and the teachers' pension scheme, and the apprenticeship levy. They will also have to cope with the consequences of reductions in the Education Services Grant and the cost of implementing other policy changes, such as changes to the curriculum and assessment."

*Committee of Public Accounts, Financial Sustainability of Schools, 29 March 2017,*

<https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmpubacc/890/890.pdf>

- While school standards are being threatened by growing class sizes and a recruitment and retention crisis in schools, experts have said that the cuts in school budgets will only make these problems worse.

"To reduce staff costs, schools are likely to increase teachers' contact time and class sizes, rely more on unqualified staff and staff teaching outside of their specialism, and require head teachers and other senior staff to do more teaching."

*Committee of Public Accounts, Financial Sustainability of Schools, 29 March 2017,*

<https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmpubacc/890/890.pdf>

## **The Tories' commitment on spending does not match Labour's**

- In their 2017 manifesto, the Tories have committed to increasing the schools budget by £4 billion. They claim this will be paid for, in part, by scrapping universal infant free school meals.

"We will increase the overall schools budget by £4 billion by 2022."

*Conservative Party Manifesto 2017, page 51*

"In order to fund these commitments, we have taken an important decision. We do not believe that giving school lunches to all children free of charge for the first three years of primary school – regardless of the income of their parents – is a sensible use of public money...under a new Conservative government, schools in England will offer a free school breakfast to every child in every year of primary school... The savings made from this change will be added to the core schools budget, meaning that every penny saved will go towards children's education."

- According to the IFS, this would still represent a cut in per pupil funding between 2017/18 and 2021/22 of just under 3 per cent. Between the period of 2015/16 and 2021/22 the IFS project there will be a 6.9 per cent fall in per pupil spending.

"The Conservatives have committed to "increase the overall schools budget by £4 billion by 2022". Once you strip out inflation, this equates to a real-terms increase in the schools budget of around £1 billion compared with the level in 2017-18. Taking account of forecast growth in pupil this equates to a real-terms cut in spending per pupil of 2.8% between 2017-18 and 2021-22. Adding this to past cuts makes for a total real-terms cut to per-pupil spending of around 7% over the six years between 2015-16 and 2021-22."

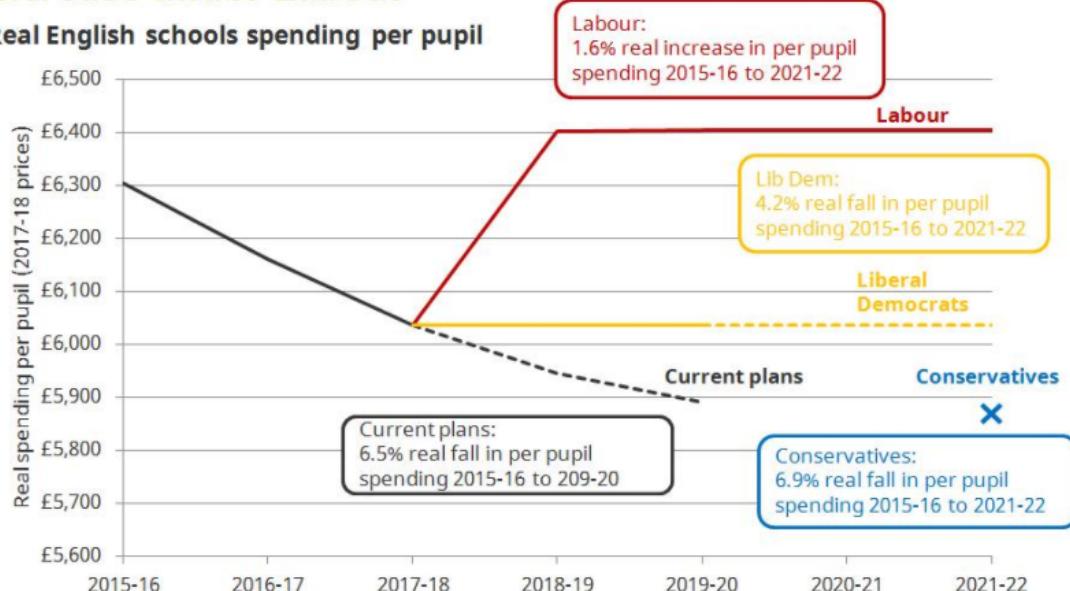
A comparison of manifesto proposals on school spending in England

IFS, 26 May 2017, <https://election2017.ifs.org.uk/article/a-comparison-of-manifesto-proposals-on-school-spending-in-england>

- This compares to a 1.6 per cent real increase in per pupil spending between 2015/16 and 2021/22 under Labour.

## Schools: Real terms spending on schools per pupil would fall under Conservatives but increase under Labour

Institute for  
Fiscal Studies



Source: IFS election analysis, [election2017.ifs.org.uk](https://election2017.ifs.org.uk)

Parties' spending policies

© Institute for Fiscal Studies

- The Education Policy Institute has said that schools facing funding pressures could be forced to narrow the curriculum and reduce the workforce, making some teachers redundant.

"Schools set to lose funding will need time to make savings, which could include: narrowing the curriculum; renegotiating contracts and, where necessary, reducing the workforce and, ultimately, making teachers redundant."

*The implications of the National Funding Formula for schools, EPI, March 2017, p. 14,  
[https://epi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/170314.NFFReportv\\_FINAL.pdf](https://epi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/170314.NFFReportv_FINAL.pdf)*

- The House of Commons Education Select Committee have said that pressures on budgets will lead to more unqualified teachers and larger class sizes.

"To reduce staff costs, schools are likely to increase teachers' contact time and class sizes, rely more on unqualified staff and staff teaching outside of their specialism, and require head teachers and other senior staff to do more teaching."

*Financial Sustainability of Schools, Education Select Committee, p. 6,  
<https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmpubacc/890/890.pdf>*

## **Another five years of the Tories would risk our children's future**

- Projections in this section have been made using all available data going back to 2010 to project future indicators up to 2021/22. This trend takes account of movement in the data to reach a steady-rate scenario between now and 2021/22.

### **More unqualified teachers**

- The EPI have also quantified what cuts would mean for the number of teachers that could be lost in different schools. This suggests that the average real terms loss would equate to almost two teachers in an average primary school and six teachers in an average secondary school.

"These estimated funding pressures amount to an average real terms loss of £74,000 per primary school and £291,000 per secondary school. This equates to almost 2 teachers in an average primary school and 6 teachers in an average secondary school."

*The implications of the National Funding Formula for schools, EPI, March 2017, [https://epi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/170314.NFFReportv\\_FINAL.pdf](https://epi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/170314.NFFReportv_FINAL.pdf)*

- Schools facing budgets pressures could be forced to let go of qualified teachers and employ unqualified teachers. Unqualified teachers can be paid up to £7,000 less than teachers with qualified teacher status.<sup>xiv</sup>
- There has been an 11 per cent rise in the number of unqualified teachers in the last year across all state-funded schools. If the number of unqualified teachers continues to rise at the same rate, there could be over 41,000 unqualified teachers by 2022.

<b>Unqualified teachers (thousands)</b>										
Nov-12	Nov-13	Nov-14	Nov-15	Nov-16	Nov-17	Nov-18	Nov-19	Nov-20	Nov-21	Nov-22
14.800	17.100	20.300	22.500	25.250	27.880	30.510	33.140	35.770	38.400	41.030

Source: *DfE school workforce in England: November 2015, 30 June 2016*,  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-school-workforce>

- Areas that unqualified teachers have no guaranteed training in include<sup>xv</sup>:
  - How pupils learn and how this impacts on teaching.
  - Developments in their subject and curriculum areas.
  - Adapting teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils.
  - Distinctive teaching approaches to engage and support all pupils, including those with special educational needs; those of high ability; those with English as an additional language and those with disabilities.
  - Managing behaviour effectively to ensure a good and safe learning environment.
  - The need to safeguard pupils' well-being.

- More unqualified teachers will threaten school standards.

### **Growing class sizes**

- A survey carried out by the Association for School and College Leaders' (ASCL) found that close to two thirds (63.93 per cent) of school leaders had been forced to increase class sizes in the last 12 months due to budget pressures, and over 70 per cent said that they would be forced to in the future if budgets were cut.<sup>xvi</sup>
- If class sizes were to grow at the same rate we could expect to find over 100,000 more children in classes of 31 and over by 2022 under the Tories.

	<b>Class size X in state funded primary schools</b>			
	31 to 35	36+	40+	<b>Total 31+</b>
<b>2014</b>	460,563	39,951	14,671	500,514
<b>2015</b>	481,885	38,560	14,824	520,445
<b>2016</b>	498,152	40,102	16,655	538,254
<b>2017</b>	517,789	39,689	17,367	557,478
<b>2018</b>	536,584	39,764	18,359	576,348
<b>2019</b>	555,378	39,840	19,351	595,218
<b>2020</b>	574,173	39,915	20,343	614,088
<b>2021</b>	592,967	39,991	21,335	632,958
<b>2022</b>	611,762	40,066	22,327	651,828

\*Where data has been recorded for more than one large class, an average has been assumed. For example, if the data recorded a school as having two classes of 36 or more pupils, with 80 pupils across these classes, then 80 has been added to the 40+ class size group.

*Sources: Figures from the underlying datasets - DfE, Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2015 and January 2014, published 11 June 2015 and 12 June 2014, 28 June 2016, <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-school-and-pupil-numbers>*

### **Deteriorating school buildings**

- England's school estate is aging at a rapid pace. According to the NAO most of it is more than 40 years old, with an estimated 60 per cent having been built before 1976.

"Much of the school estate is more than 40 years old, with an estimated 60% built before 1976." *Capital Funding for Schools, NAO, 22 February 2017, <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Capital-funding-for-schools.pdf>*

*"The Department [for Education] expects that the condition of the school estate will deteriorate in future despite its planned investment. An estimated 40% of the estate was built between 1945 and 1976. The Department expects that many of these buildings will need to be replaced or significantly refurbished soon because they were designed to last 60 years."*

*Capital Funding for Schools, p. 33, NAO, 22 February 2017, <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Capital-funding-for-schools.pdf>*

"The Tory government's own survey has estimated that it would cost £6.7 billion to bring all school buildings to satisfactory or better condition. It will cost a further £7.1 billion to bring parts of school buildings exhibiting minor deterioration from satisfactory to good condition. This is £13.8 billion in total."

*Capital Funding for Schools, NAO, 22 February 2017, <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Capital-funding-for-schools.pdf>*

- Over a quarter (27 per cent) of local authorities reported that their school estate had deteriorated in the last five years.<sup>xvii</sup>
- A survey carried out in January by ASCL found that 84.58 per cent of respondents had not received enough funding to meet the essential needs of their school or college.

"Increasing numbers of students are taught in badly maintained and leaking buildings."

*ASCL, 4 March 2017, [www.ascl.org.uk/news-and-views/news-news-detail.ascl-survey-reveals-scale-of-education-funding-crisis.html](http://www.ascl.org.uk/news-and-views/news-news-detail.ascl-survey-reveals-scale-of-education-funding-crisis.html)*

- The Tories have not committed any extra funding to help rebuild the aging school estate in their manifesto. The next five years will see a serious disintegration of school buildings.

### **1.7 million five, six and seven year-olds will be left without a school meal costing families £450 per child**

- In their manifesto, the Tories claim that their commitment to increase the schools budget by £4 billion will be paid for in part, by scrapping universal infant free school meals.

"In order to fund these commitments, we have taken an important decision. We do not believe that giving school lunches to all children free of charge for the first three years of primary school – regardless of the income of their parents – is a sensible use of public money...under a new Conservative government, schools in England will offer a free school breakfast to every child in every year of primary school... The savings made from this change will be added to the core schools budget, meaning that every penny saved will go towards children's education.

*Conservative Party Manifesto 2017, page 51*

- This would mean an estimated 1.7 million children could lose out.

	<b>No. of children currently receiving UFSMs (Reception, year 1 + 2)*</b>	<b>No. of infants eligible for FSMs*</b>	<b>No. of children that would miss out on a hot lunch*</b>
<b>ENGLAND</b>	2,063,382	302,001	1,761,381

*Source: Schools pupils and their characteristics January 2016, DfE, June 2016,*

*<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2016>*

*\*This is an estimate based on the average proportion of infant school children nationally and by local authority FSM eligibility figures from government datasets.*

- The EPI have estimated that 900,000 of these 1.7 million children will be from the "ordinary working families" the Tories claim to want to help.

"However, free breakfasts seem to have less of a direct impact on disadvantaged children's outcomes than free lunches and will have a smaller impact on family finances - we estimate that around 900,000 children who are either eligible for the Pupil Premium or defined as Ordinary Working Families would lose their entitlement to a free school lunch."

*EPI, 26 May 2017, P.8 <https://epi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/EPI-Manifesto-Analysis-GE2017.pdf>*

- The Government currently spend £2.30 per meal under the UIFSM policy. Over a 195 day school year, this will cost a family £448.50 per child no longer receiving an infant free school meal.<sup>xviii</sup>
- This will have a knock on effect for the schools that have paid to update facilities in order to deliver the policy. The catering sector has estimated that up to 17,000 catering jobs could also be at risk if the policy is scrapped.<sup>ix</sup>

### **The threat of profit-making schools**

- Schools are not getting the funding they need and the Tories' latest spending commitment falls far short of what is needed to address the challenges our education system faces. This raises questions on where the Tories are going to find additional money and raises the spectre of introducing profit-making schools, which will put company profits before our children's future.
- The Tories made an explicit promise in their 2015 manifesto that they would not allow state schools to make a profit.

"We will not allow state schools to make a profit."

*2015 Conservative Party Manifesto, page 34*

- Just two years on, the Tories have removed this and replaced it with an umbrella commitment to partner the private sector and public services.

"We need a partnership between the individual and the wider nation, between private sector and public service."

*2017 Conservative Party Manifesto, page 9*

- They have also said they would introduce 'new funding arrangements' in order to fund specialist maths schools.

"We will introduce new funding arrangements so we can open a specialist maths school in every major city in England."

*2017 Conservative Party Manifesto, page 50*

- Theresa May has previously said that she is open to the idea of allowing private companies to run public services and make a profit from doing so.

"In future, I expect our reform agenda to become even more radical. Yes, the state should make sure that public services are available to all and free at the point of use. Yes, the state should regulate those services to make sure they're provided everywhere and offer high standards. But

too often the state is a poor provider of services, and its monopoly over the delivery of those services must end. A future Conservative government should therefore go further in increasing the number of charities, companies and co-operatives that deliver frontline services. And if allowing those organisations to make a profit means we have a more diverse supply side and better outcomes, then that is something we should consider with an open mind."

*Theresa May, Conservative Home speech, 12 July 2013*

- The UCL Institute for Education says there is no evidence that running schools for profit will deliver improved educational outcomes and that cost-cutting can have a negative effect on outcomes for children.

"Indeed, there is no robust evidence that the disciplines of profit, or profit surrogates, generate educational improvements. Certainly the evidence from Sweden's independent schools and Chile's private schools does not... If companies are to make profits from schools, they have to drive down wages costs which account for 85 per cent or more of schools' running costs. As well as increasing class sizes, they have to consider putting teachers on short term contracts, paying them in term-time only and introducing performance-related pay, or they will look to replacing qualified teachers with computers – blended learning. Such cost-cutting in Sweden's for-profit schools has led to chastening consequences in teaching quality and pupil performance."

*Professor Stephen J Ball, Institute of Education, May 2015,*

*<https://ioelondonblog.wordpress.com/2015/05/07/why-should-we-be-worried-about-profit-making-in-schools/>*

- The IPPR have also found that not-for-profit schools outperform for-profit schools internationally.

"The paper explored the performance of for-profit providers and found that it was at best mixed. In the two national case studies we looked at for-profit schools were outperformed by not-for-profit schools. Given that all the international evidence on school improvement points to the primary importance of school autonomy and accountability and of quality of teaching, rather than school ownership or management model, there is no compelling empirical case for allowing for-profit schools."

*Not for Profit, IPPR, August 2012,*

*[http://www.ippr.org/files/images/media/files/publication/2012/08/not-for-profit-private-sector-englards-schools\\_Aug2012\\_9492.pdf?noredirect=1](http://www.ippr.org/files/images/media/files/publication/2012/08/not-for-profit-private-sector-englards-schools_Aug2012_9492.pdf?noredirect=1)*

## 6. Labour's offer

### On the NHS

Labour will invest in our NHS to give patients the modern fully-funded services they need. The next Labour government will:

- Take one million people off the waiting list by the end of the next Parliament and guarantee that patients can be seen in A&E within four hours.
- Deliver the Cancer Strategy in full by 2020.
- Halt pharmacy cuts and review provision when in Government.
- Fund free parking in the NHS in England by increasing the tax on private medical insurance premiums.
- Invest in children's health, bringing in a new government ambition for our children to be the healthiest children in the world.
- We will invest in our NHS staff, stepping in with a long-term workforce plan for our health service.
- Labour will scrap the NHS pay cap and put decisions on pay back into the hands of the independent pay review body and give our NHS workers the pay they deserve.
- We will legislate for safe staffing levels in our NHS, reintroduce NHS bursaries and make it an aggravated criminal offence to attack staff.
- Labour will guarantee the rights of EU staff working in our health and care services.

### On Schools

With a Labour government schools will receive the funding they need and deliver an education for all. The next Labour government will:

- Invest in schools, making they are properly resourced by reversing Tory cuts.
- Build a National Education Service to support people through education from cradle-to-grave.
- Cap class sizes at 30 for 5-, 6- and 7-year-olds and seek to extend that as resources allow.
- Provide free school meals to all primary school children by introducing VAT on private school fees.
- Scrap the Free Schools programme and reinstate local input on planning for new places.
- Drive up standards by trusting in teachers and supporting staff professionalism to refocus their workload on what happens in the classroom.
- Tackle the teacher recruitment and retention crisis by ending the public sector pay cap, giving teachers more direct involvement in the curriculum.

## Notes

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<sup>i</sup> Public Accounts Committee, *Financial sustainability of the NHS*, 27 February 2017, <https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/public-accounts-committee/inquiries/parliament-2015/financial-sustainability-nhs-16-17/>

<sup>ii</sup> "we will ensure that the NHS has the buildings and technology it needs to deliver care properly and efficiently" Conservative Party 2017 Manifesto, Page 67

<sup>iii</sup> NHS England, Consultant Led Referral to Treatment Times, Timeseries for March 2017 <https://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/rtt-waiting-times/rtt-data-2016-17/>  
NHS England, Statistical Press Notice NHS referral to treatment (RTT) waiting times data March 2017 <https://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/06/Mar-17-RTT-SPN-publication-version.pdf>

<sup>iv</sup> NHS England, Consultant Led Referral to Treatment Times, Timeseries for March 2017 <https://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/rtt-waiting-times/rtt-data-2016-17/>

<sup>v</sup> NHS England, Cancer Waiting Times, National Time Series, Provider Based, October 2009 to March 2017, <https://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/cancer-waiting-times/>

<sup>vi</sup> NHS England, Cancer Waiting Times, National Time Series, Provider Based, October 2009 to March 2017 <https://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/cancer-waiting-times/>

<sup>vii</sup> Association of Directors of Adult Social Services, <https://www.adass.org.uk/autumn-statement-2016-representation-by-adass>

<sup>viii</sup> The Autumn Statement Joint statement on health and social care, King's Fund, Nuffield Trust and Health Foundation, Page 13, November 2017, [https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/sites/files/kf/field/field\\_publication\\_file/Autumn\\_Statement\\_Kings\\_Fund\\_Nov\\_2016\\_3.pdf](https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/sites/files/kf/field/field_publication_file/Autumn_Statement_Kings_Fund_Nov_2016_3.pdf)

<sup>ix</sup> Age UK, November 2016, <http://www.ageuk.org.uk/latest-news/12m-older-people-dont-get-the-social-care-they-need/>

<sup>x</sup> Age UK, November 2016, <http://www.ageuk.org.uk/latest-news/12m-older-people-dont-get-the-social-care-they-need/>

<sup>xi</sup> "76% of open mainstream free schools up to September 2016 are located in areas where there was a need for more school places." DfE, April 2017, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/more-than-130-new-free-schools-to-create-more-good-places>

<sup>xii</sup> Capital Funding for Schools, NAO, February 2017, <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Capital-funding-for-schools.pdf>

<sup>xiii</sup> IFS, February 2017, <https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/8937>

<sup>xiv</sup> Teachers' Salaries, DfE, <https://getintoteaching.education.gov.uk/funding-and-salary/teacher-salaries>

<sup>xv</sup> DfE, Teachers' Standards, July 2011, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/teachers-standards>

<sup>xvi</sup> ASCL, 4 March 2017, [https://www.ascl.org.uk/index.cfm?originalUrl=news-and-views/news\\_news-detail.ascl-survey-reveals-scale-of-education-funding-crisis.html](https://www.ascl.org.uk/index.cfm?originalUrl=news-and-views/news_news-detail.ascl-survey-reveals-scale-of-education-funding-crisis.html)

<sup>xvii</sup> Capital Funding for Schools, NAO, 22 February 2017, <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Capital-funding-for-schools.pdf>

<sup>xviii</sup> UIFSM: guide for local authorities and schools, <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/universal-infant-free-school-meals-guide-for-schools-and-local-authorities>

<sup>xix</sup> The Mirror, 28 May 2017. <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/nearly-17000-school-dinner-staff-10514917>



