

What will be the effect on socio-economic mobility of the UK government's plan to impose value added tax on school fees?

Freya Shah

Chatrabhuj Narsee School, Kandivali, Mumbai

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UK as a sticky society and the background of VAT

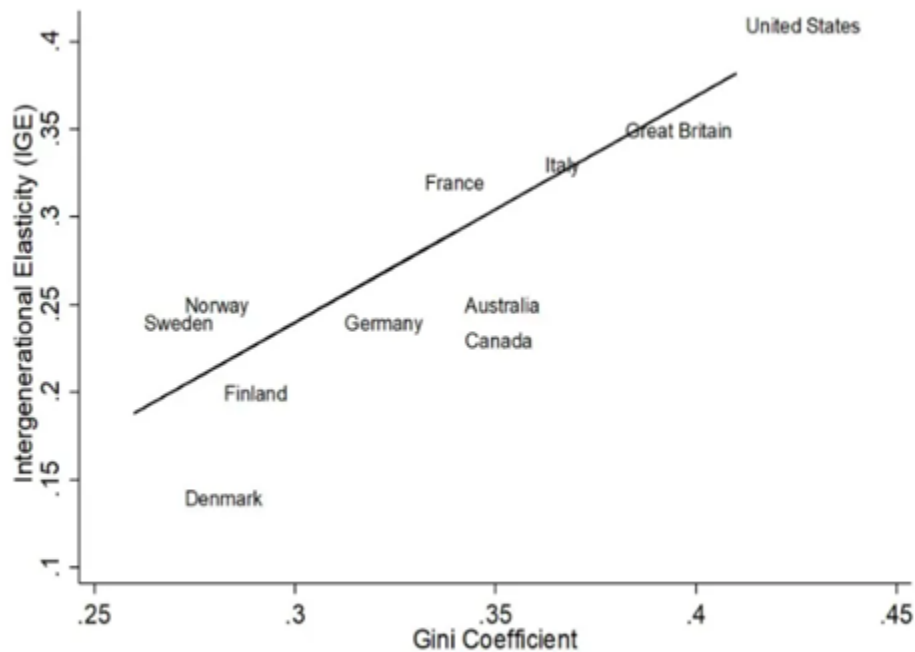
The United Kingdom is a highly “*sticky*” society, where a parent’s socioeconomic status strongly determines their child’s, reflecting low intergenerational mobility and high-income inequality.¹ This aligns with the Great Gatsby Curve, which shows a positive correlation between income inequality and socio-economic immobility. While private schools were previously VAT-exempt under the 1994 Act,² Labour's plan to impose a 20% VAT on fees from January 2025 aims for equity. While the stated goal is to enhance social mobility, this essay will argue that the policy’s complex and often regressive consequences—specifically its disproportionate impact on middle-class families, the likely closure of smaller and more diverse independent schools, and the potential for a strain on the state sector—may, in fact, exacerbate existing inequalities and create an even more entrenched educational divide.

¹ Van Der Erve, Laura, et al. “Intergenerational Mobility in the UK.” *Oxford Open Economics*, vol. 3, no. Supplement_1, Jan. 2024, pp. i684–708, doi:10.1093/ooec/odad064.

²“Private School Fees — VAT Measure.” *GOV.UK*, 15 Nov. 2024, www.gov.uk/government/publications/vat-on-private-school-fees/applying-vat-to-private-school-fees#:~:text=Current%20law,training%20by%20an%20eligible%20body.

Fig. 1.1³

Figure 1: The Great Gatsby Curve



Source: Numbers taken from *Blanden (2011)*

School closures

Lord Livermore, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, stated that the government expects independent schools to absorb much of the 20% VAT, passing on only a limited portion to parents⁴. This assumption draws from Leibenstein’s X-Efficiency Theory, which argues that organisations facing increased costs will reduce inefficiencies and operate closer to their

³ Inequalities, and Inequalities. “Sliding Down the Great Gatsby Curve in Search of the Scandinavian Dream - LSE Inequalities.” *LSE Inequalities - Expert views, opinions and policy debate*, 9 Oct. 2024, blogs.lse.ac.uk/inequalities/2024/10/09/sliding-down-the-great-gatsby-curve-in-search-of-the-scandinavian-dream/?

⁴“Independent School Fees: VAT - Hansard - UK Parliament.” *Parliament.uk*, 2025, hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2024-10-21/debates/B34BC08A-C014-4D8D-B2F9-3272EFB8D527/IndependentSchoolFeesVAT. Accessed 28 June 2025.

productive frontier⁵. However, in practice, this theory disproportionately benefits elite schools, which can reclaim VAT through capital projects or rely on endowments. The Baines Cutler Institute estimates that effective VAT rates for top-tier boarding schools could be as low as 11%. In contrast, smaller day and faith schools—serving middle- and lower-income families—face rates up to 16%, due to higher payroll-based costs and fewer reclaimable expenses. This renders the policy regressive, burdening schools already financially strained.

According to the Baines Cutler report, such pressure leads to “indirect drop-off”, whereby schools are forced to close, merge, or reduce bursaries and diversity, harming educational quality and access. An estimated 5% of pupils will be affected by this phenomenon.⁶ Over 27 schools have already cited VAT as a contributing reason for closure, including Maidwell Hall, Loughborough Amherst, and Ursuline Prep. The Oakleigh House School in Swansea—its *only* private school—shut after over 100 years.⁷ Meanwhile, elite institutions remain untouched, showcasing a two-tier system. Rather than leveling the playing field, the VAT appears to be accelerating inequality by disproportionately forcing closures in vulnerable schools, thereby reducing parental choice and weakening socio-economic mobility.

Being Priced-out

Families’ responses depend on price sensitivity. The inelastic demand for private education which ranges from -0.3 to -0.5 is used as a justification by the Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) to predict a minimal (3-7%) fall in enrolments post VAT in the long term.⁸

The wealthiest 1% who account for approximately half of private school pupils can easily absorb tax; the middle-class families face rising financial strain.⁹ Amid falling living standards,

⁵ Kenton, Will. “X-Efficiency: Meaning and History in Economics.” *Investopedia*, 31 Aug. 2022, www.investopedia.com/terms/x/x-efficiency.asp#:~:text=X%20Deficiency%20posited%20that%20there,motivation%20to%20achieve%20maximum%20utility.

⁶ Independent Schools Council and Baines Cutler Solutions Ltd. *VAT on School Fees - Report*. Sept. 2018, www.bainescutler.com/media/2umbzz1c/isc-vat-full-report-1018-for-circulation.pdf.

⁷ Aumre, Gretlin. “Private School Closures Due to VAT: Complete List of 22+ UK Schools Closing in 2025.” *Amplify by UBIQ*, 20 May 2025, www.getamplified.org/private-school-closure-due-to-vat.

⁸Institute for Fiscal Studies, and Luke Sibieta. “Tax, Private School Fees and State School Spending.” *IFS Report R263*, The Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2023, ifs.org.uk/sites/default/files/2023-07/IFS-Report-R263-Tax-private-school-fees-and-state-school-spending.pdf.

‘cheapflation’ (worsening quality of essentials) and rising inequality,¹⁰ these families are being priced out. A 2024 survey by Saltus Wealth revealed that 71% of high-net-worth parents were reconsidering private schooling and 13% will move their children into state schools.¹¹

Moreover, the ‘inelastic demand’ is specific to school fees on which VAT is applied, but ignores the burden of non-fee overhead costs. Uniforms, transportation, technological resources, extracurriculars and trips are predicted to cost over £20,000 annually.¹² Research from Creditspring shows over 50% of parents struggle with back-to-school costs and 2/5th find them unaffordable.¹³ Loughborough University demonstrates that school supply costs have increased by 16% for primary and 30% for secondary students outpacing inflation (8%) and wage growth (12%).¹⁴ This proves VAT targets aspirational middle-class families and pushes downward mobility. This can increase inequality between the top decile and upper-middle families but is unlikely to affect the lowest income deciles who never considered private schooling.

While the legal liability of VAT rests with parents, the true *economic incidence* depends on how schools adapt. Early reporting shows many private schools pursuing new revenue lines such as venue hire, weddings, and other commercial activities, while others explore tax restructuring schemes or partial absorption of VAT to avoid alienating parents¹⁵. These strategies shift the

⁹Henseke, Golo, et al. “Income, Housing Wealth, and Private School Access in Britain.” *Education Economics*, vol. 29–3, 18 Jan. 2021, pp. 252–68, doi:10.1080/09645292.2021.1874878.

¹⁰ Chen, Tao, et al. *Cheapflation and the Rise of Inflation Inequality*. Working paper, 2024.

¹¹ Saltus. “Saltus Wealth Index – September 2024: The High-net-worth Individual’s View of Their Position, Prospects and Potential | Saltus.” *Saltus*, 9 Nov. 2024, www.saltus.co.uk/wealth-index/reports/saltus-wealth-index-september-2024.

¹² ---. “How Much Is Private Education in the Uk.” *UK Focus Guide*, 15 Dec. 2024, ukfocusguide.com/blog/private-education-uk-cost/?

¹³*Half of Parents Can’t Afford Back-to-school Costs*. www.moneywellness.com/blog/half-of-parents-cant-afford-back-to-school-costs.

¹⁴“It Costs £1,000-a-year to Send Your Child to State Primary School and £2,300 for Secondary School - New Report.” *Loughborough University*, 8 May 2025, www.lboro.ac.uk/media-centre/press-releases/2025/may/cost-of-sending-child-to-school-report/?

¹⁵Wildenberg, Lara. “Private Schools Host Weddings to Boost Revenue after VAT Increase.” *The Times*, The Times, 14 Sept. 2025, www.thetimes.com/uk/education/article/private-schools-host-weddings-boost-revenue-vat-slz8bpmwf.

burden of the tax in different ways: if schools absorb costs by cutting staff or bursaries, the incidence falls on employees and scholarship students, thereby eroding mobility pathways; if parents bear the full cost, enrolments fall more sharply, pricing out middle-income families. In both scenarios, socio-economic mobility worsens. Moreover, when schools reallocate resources away from bursary funding or pedagogy towards commercial diversification, it represents a misallocation of resources — an inefficiency akin to deadweight loss — as educational institutions are pushed into behaving like commercial firms rather than focusing on their social function.

These financially strained families, who are not currently bursary-dependent but may be forced to withdraw their child post VAT without expanded aid, are estimated to be 53,700 by the Baines Cutler Institute. It further predicts one-third (17,500) pupils to drop out over the next 5 years.¹⁶ A survey by the Conservative Post reveals that 63% of independent schools are cutting bursaries due to VAT.¹⁷ The Head of Bolton School, Philip Britton confirmed bursary expansion plans have been delayed due to VAT burden.¹⁸ Edinburgh Academy, Scotland, suspended *all* bursaries and scholarships to cut-costs and prevent fee hikes.¹⁹

These changes push currently strained families and aspirational ones too, making private education more dependent on income, stratified and economically divided which restricts diversity and delays mobility.

Discriminatory effects towards Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND) students and Faith schools

¹⁶Independent Schools Council and Baines Cutler Solutions Ltd. *VAT on School Fees - Report*. Sept. 2018, www.bainescutler.com/media/2umbzz1c/isc-vat-full-report-1018-for-circulation.pdf.

¹⁷ Cp. “Private Schools Forced to Axe Bursaries and Jobs as Labour’s Education Tax Hits Hard.” *Conservative Post*, 15 Mar. 2025, conservativepost.co.uk/private-schools-forced-to-axe-bursaries-and-jobs-as-labours-education-tax-hits-hard.

¹⁸Clarence-Smith, Louisa. “Bursaries Will Be Hit by Labour’s VAT Raid on Private Schools.” *The Telegraph*, 27 Mar. 2024, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2024/03/27/bursaries-will-be-hit-by-labours-vat-raid-on-private-school/?

¹⁹McLaughlin, Mark. “Teachers at Loretto School Face Axe as VAT on Fees Takes Toll.” *The Times*, 27 Apr. 2025, www.thetimes.co.uk/article/teachers-at-loretto-school-face-axe-as-vat-on-fees-takes-toll-wr2tpbgh6?

The policy disproportionately impacts SEND (Special Educational Needs and Disabilities) pupils and faith-based school communities. While children with EHCPs (Education, Health and Care Plans) are VAT-exempt, there are 1.2 million students with SEND without an EHCP, up 4.7% from 2022. Due to bureaucratic delays, only 51% of EHCPs are processed within the legal 20-week timeframe, with regional disparity ranging from just 32% in the East Midlands to 63% in London. The Children's Commissioner has called the EHCP system "in crisis," making exemptions largely inaccessible.²⁰

One parent, cited by MP Bradley Thomas, explained how private education "transformed" her autistic child's life due to personalised support²¹. But now, the family faces being "punished twice"—once by poor state provision, and again by VAT-induced price hikes.

For faith-based schools, the picture is equally grim. Catholic institutions like St. Joseph's Park Hill²² and Kilgraston, which is Scotland's only Catholic boarding school, have shut.²³ The Association of Muslim Schools predicts 75% of Islamic schools may close, warning of "cultural dislocation" and lack of appropriate state-funded alternatives.²⁴ In England, there are just 28

²⁰"Commissioner Calls for Radical Rehaul of the SEND System | Children'S Commissioner for England." *Children's Commissioner for England*, 26 June 2023, www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/news/commissioner-calls-for-radical-rehaul-of-the-send-system.

²¹"Westminster Hall - Hansard - UK Parliament." *Parliament.uk*, 2025, hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2024-10-08/debates/6f4b5f1e-706b-435d-ac05-595ad19f3385/WestminsterHall

²²"Admissions." *St Joseph's Park Hill School*, www.parkhillschool.co.uk/admissions#:~:text=It%20is%20with%20great%20sadness,incredible%20teaching%20and%20staff%20teams.

²³ Herald, Catholic, et al. "Scotland's Only Catholic Boarding School Closes With Immediate Effect." *Catholic Herald - Breaking News and Opinion From the Online Edition of Britain's Leading Catholic Newspaper*, 15 Aug. 2024, thecatholicherald.com/scotlands-only-catholic-boarding-school-closes-with-immediate-effect/#:~:text=is%20%20minutes-.Scotland's%20only%20Catholic%20boarding%20school%20closes%20with%20immediate%20effect,%20Da%20year%20per%20pupil.

²⁴ Pasha, Mahatir. "'We Are Not Eton': The Private Faith Schools Facing Closure Over VAT Changes." *ITV News*, 3 Jan. 2025, www.itv.com/news/2025-01-03/faith-schools-fear-vat-rollout-will-cripple-industry.

state-funded Muslim faith schools²⁵ despite over 400,000 Muslim pupils, leaving most families with no equivalent choice²⁶.

This represents a clear Pareto inefficiency, as the policy aims to improve equity but worsens it for minority and vulnerable groups.

Teaching quality

Quality teaching, which the World Bank identifies as the most influential determinant of learning outcomes in school and thus future socio-economic mobility²⁷ is another aspect affected. The UK government's pledge to hire 6,500 new state schoolteachers²⁸ using revenue from VAT may appear positive, but masks deeper structural problems. A National Education Union (NEU) poll (2024) found that 72% of teachers had considered leaving because of Ofsted-driven workloads, and 90% cited "high workload/stress" as a determinant²⁹ with real-term wages below 2010 levels. Recruitment is faltering—only 62% of the secondary teacher training target was met in 2024/25—and retention is worse, with over 41,000 teachers leaving the state sector, often to work abroad or in non-teaching jobs.³⁰ Struggling headteachers are forcing non-specialist staff to teach classes which increases work pressure and reduces quality of learning.³¹ Additionally,

²⁵ Coughlan, Sean. "Should There Be More Muslim State Schools?" *BBC News*, 6 Oct. 2016, [www.bbc.com/news/education-37484358?](http://www.bbc.com/news/education-37484358)

²⁶ *Meeting the Needs of Muslim Pupils in State Schools: Information and Guidance for Schools Towards Greater Understanding*. The Muslim Council of Britain, 2007, image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Education/documents/2007/02/20/Schoolinfo guidance.pdf.

²⁷ "Education Overview | the World Bank." *World Bank*, 22 April. 2025, www.worldbank.org/en/topic/education/overview.

²⁸ Standley, Nathan. *Bridget Phillipson Begins Push to Recruit 6,500 New Teachers*. 8 July 2024, www.bbc.com/news/articles/clky2zllpw2o.

²⁹ "School Teachers' Review." *School Teachers' Review Body*, report, Crown, May 2025, www.gov.uk/official-documents.

³⁰ McLean, Dawson, et al. "Teacher Labour Market in England Annual Report 2025." *Nuffield Foundation*, 2025, p. 2.

³¹ Henry, Julie. "Newly-qualified Teachers Quit UK for Schools Abroad Due to Abject Pay and Conditions." *The Guardian*, 5 Nov. 2023, www.theguardian.com/education/2023/nov/05/newly-qualified-teachers-quit-uk-for-schools-abroad-due-to-abject-pay-and-conditions#:~:text=Desperate%20headteachers%20are%20increasingly%20forced,York%20University.

hiring 6,500 teachers with competitive salaries would cost £5 billion/year—more than triple the VAT yield.³² If educational quality declines, it will erode human capital and reduce long-run mobility.

Another niche spillover is the rise of homeschooling and private tutoring. Tutors are VAT-exempt if self-employed under the threshold, meaning families facing fee hikes may opt for unregulated, untaxed alternatives. Google searches for “how does homeschooling work” spiked 300% in the July 2024 post-election.³³ Tutoring platforms like MyTutor reported a 27% increase in sign-ups over the previous year, following the VAT announcement.³⁴

The tutoring sector, estimated to be worth 7.5 billion,³⁵ operates in the informal economy—shrinking the VAT and overall base and undermining tax efficiency. This illustrates a Laffer Curve effect: tax rates high enough to suppress formal demand can reduce net revenue.

Tutoring also reintroduces *inequality*. The Sutton Trust notes that higher-income families are two to three times more likely to employ private tuition than low-income families.³⁶

³² Woolcock, Nicola, et al. “VAT on Private Schools ‘Won’t Raise Enough to Hit New Teacher Target.’” *The Times*, 1 Jan. 2025, www.thetimes.com/uk/education/article/vat-on-private-schools-wont-raise-enough-to-hit-new-teacher-target-njmr58zzl#:~:text=A%20Labour%20pledge%20to%20recruit,by%20MPs%20and%20policy%20experts.

³³ Toseland, Marja. “VAT on School Fees Spikes Interest in Homeschooling.” *PA Life*, 30 July 2024, palife.co.uk/editors-picks/interest-in-homeschooling/?

³⁴ Thompson, Emma. “IXL Learning Buys UK Tutoring Platform MyTutor Amid Rise in Digital Education Demand — EdTech Innovation Hub.” *EdTech Innovation Hub*, 29 May 2025, www.edtechinnovationhub.com/news/ixl-learning-buys-uk-tutoring-platform-mytutor-amid-rise-in-digital-education-demand#:~:text=The%20deal%20reflects%20ongoing%20shifts,seen%2C%20supported%20and%20engaged.%E2%80%9D.

³⁵Parent, Independent School. “Surveys Show Demand for Private Tutoring Is Higher Than Ever, Here’s Why.” <https://www.independentschoolparent.com>, 15 May 2025, www.independentschoolparent.com/news-and-events/sponsored/private-tutoring-superprof/#:~:text=Another%20report%20states%20that%20in,subjects%20being%20Maths%20and%20English.&text=According%20to%20a%20survey%20conducted,education%20around%20their%20busy%20schedules.

Geographical inequality among state schools

The Baines Cutler Institute uses primary data from a study of 21 diverse schools and estimates a drop-out rate of 17.1%, 90,800 students, over the next 5 years.³⁷ This trend is already visible; 11,000 students have left independent schools, foregoing the government prediction of 3000³⁸ and many are moving into already burdened state schools.

The government argues that the state system can absorb additional students, citing that 83% of primary and 77% of secondary schools had at least one unfilled place in 2023.³⁹ However, these figures obscure geographical disparities and qualitative shortages.

The Times reports 27 local authorities, ranging from rural to urban areas, being oversubscribed in certain state school year groups – 20 areas have no spaces in Year 7 and 13 regions are full in Year 8⁴⁰. Furthermore, only 11% of primary and 12% of secondary state schools are rated “Outstanding” by Ofsted, compared to the 20% national average, proving a shortfall in quality as well as quantity of schools.

Figure 1.2 depicts various areas with high private school enrollment that have disproportionately low shares of ‘Outstanding’ state schools, all under the national average. This highlights how the displaced pupils are likely to have a poorer quality of education and undermines the assumption that displaced students will seamlessly integrate into the state system.

³⁶ Trust, Sutton. “Extra-curricular Inequalities - the Sutton Trust.” *The Sutton Trust*, 2 Jan. 2020, www.suttontrust.com/our-research/enrichment-brief-private-tuition-extracurricular-activities.

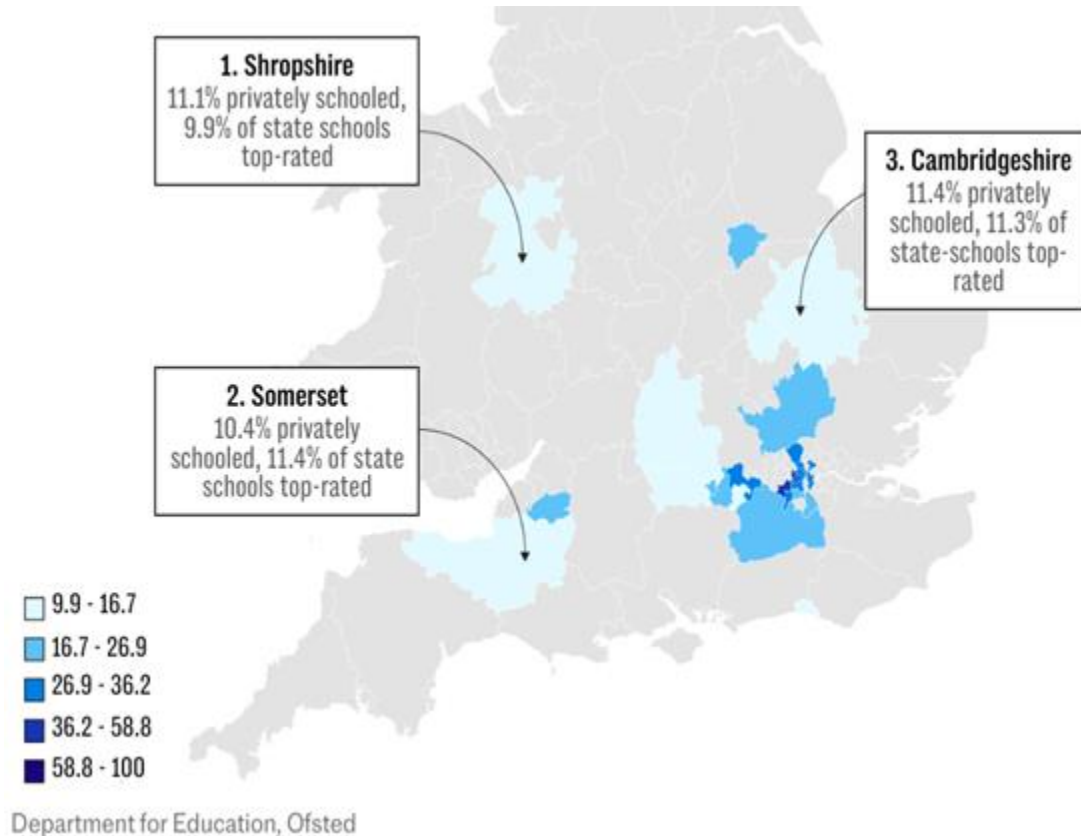
³⁷ Independent Schools Council and Baines Cutler Solutions Ltd. *VAT on School Fees - Report*. Sept. 2018, www.bainescutler.com/media/2umbzz1c/isc-vat-full-report-1018-for-circulation.pdf.

³⁸ McGough, Kate. *Over 11,000 Fewer Pupils at Private School This Year*. 5 June 2025, www.bbc.com/news/articles/c2lk2p7wpr4o.

³⁹ mediaofficer. “VAT on Private Schools: Everything You Need to Know – the Education Hub.” *Blog.gov.uk*, Nov. 2024, educationhub.blog.gov.uk/2024/11/vat-private-schools-everything-you-need-to-know/?

⁴⁰ Allegretti, Aubrey. “Oversubscribed State Schools Have No Room for Private Pupils.” *The Times*, 10 Feb. 2025, www.thetimes.com/uk/education/article/no-spare-state-school-places-private-school-fears-3rd87xqq2?

Fig 1.2



Angela Brennan, a mother in West Lothian, reported that *no* local state schools could offer her child Latin or Economics—subjects commonly taught in independent schools, and she was struggling to find a suitable state school.⁴¹

Economically, this represents a failure of allocative efficiency. A flat 20% tax applied to all schools ignores localised capacity constraints, creating negative externalities for state schools unable to accommodate displaced students. Moreover, a mere 2% uplift in education spending from VAT (£1.5B of ~£63.7B education budget)⁴² is unlikely to resolve infrastructure or staffing deficits—meaning marginal public benefit may be lower than the marginal private harm.

⁴¹ Eastwood, Noah, and Ollie Corfe. “Private School Parents Face Black Hole of ‘outstanding’ State Schools.” *The Telegraph*, 14 June 2024, www.telegraph.co.uk/money/private-school-parents-black-hole-outstanding-state-schools/?

⁴² GOV.UK. “School Funding Statistics, Financial Year 2024-25.” *Service.gov.uk*, 30 Jan. 2025, explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/school-funding-statistics/2024-25.

Global outlook

However, the rationale behind the Labour Party’s VAT policy is principled and rooted in equity. It is an education-centric Pigouvian tax that reflects the principles of progressive redistribution and aims to reduce education attainment gap by reinvesting in the state sector.

Private schooling produces not just academic attainment but social capital and access to elite networks and universities. Reducing private school attendance can dilute the exclusivity of those networks — which may increase equality of access to competitive higher-value positions — but only if the state system provides equivalent pathways (academic preparation, guidance, and university access). Evidence from Cambridge shows that privately educated students earn 6% more on average than their state school counterparts, even when controlled for subject, degree, occupation and alma mater.⁴³ However, the tool of VAT may lead to unintended consequences.

In Greece, a 23% VAT on private schools was applied in 2015—imposed during a bailout agreement which backfired. The government underestimated migration; nearly 25% of pupils exited the private sector, overwhelming already fragile state schools, and it priced out middle-class families. Teachers were laid off, and independent schools shuttered *en masse*. The policy was reversed within a year.⁴⁴ This example serves as a reminder of the unforeseen spillover effects caused by imposing VAT on private schooling.

Denmark⁴⁵ and Sweden,⁴⁶ countries with one of the highest integrational mobility worldwide,⁴⁷ fund private schools partly or completely by government, which allows parents from all income

⁴³ “---.” *University of Cambridge*, 31 Oct. 2014, www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/graduates-who-went-to-private-schools-earn-more-than-graduates-who-did-not-finds-study#:~:text=Graduates%20who%20went%20to%20private,status%20and%20higher%20paying%20occupations.

⁴⁴ The Economist. “Greece Reconsiders a Tax on Private Education.” *The Economist*, 30 Oct. 2015, www.economist.com/europe/2015/10/30/greece-reconsiders-a-tax-on-private-education.

⁴⁵ Medicolink. “All You Need to Know About Private Schools in Denmark.” *Medicolink*, 25 Mar. 2025, medicolink.com/all-you-need-to-know-about-private-schools-in-denmark/#:~:text=Public%20grants%20system,a%20large%20grant%20per%20student.

⁴⁶ “How Do Public and Private Schools Differ in OECD Countries?” *EDUCATION INDICATORS IN FOCUS*, journal-article, Jan. 2024, www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/publications/reports/2024/01/how-do-public-and-private-schools-differ-in-oecd-countries_f196df88/90348307-en.pdf.

levels to have access to their preferred method of education. This differs from the UK VAT policy, as it makes private school further exclusive to the wealthy and restricts the parent's choice of schooling. It violates Article 2 of Protocol 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights⁴⁸—a framework that still influences UK jurisprudence.

Conclusion

Socio-economic mobility is often likened to a *ladder* – in which education serves as a critical rung. Although the UK government's VAT policy is well-intentioned, it has threatened to saw through these rungs for aspirational families while not affecting the 'ultra-rich.' Rather than reinforcing the foundation of opportunity, it risks targeting vulnerable groups, overburdening state schools, excluding communities and leading to poorer and more unequal access to quality education. Thus, the net impact on mobility is not predetermined by the VAT itself but by how the government manages the transition. Without focusing on supply-side capacity and systemic underinvestment, VAT risks being a *fiscal illusion*—aimed to deliver fairness, yet operationalised in a way that reinforces stratification.

⁴⁷ Hutt, Rosamond. "These Are the 10 Countries With the Best Social Mobility." *World Economic Forum*, 20 Jan. 2020, www.weforum.org/stories/2020/01/these-are-the-10-countries-with-the-best-social-mobility/#:~:text=Moving%20up%20the%20socio%2Deconomic,in%20Brazil%20or%20South%20Africa. Accessed 28 June 2025.

⁴⁸ Equality and Human Rights Commission. "Article 2 of the First Protocol: Right to Education | EHRC." *Www.equalityhumanrights.com*, 4 May 2016, www.equalityhumanrights.com/human-rights/human-rights-act/article-2-first-protocol-right-education.