



Department
for Education

Economic returns to GCSEs: region and disadvantage

**Ad-hoc statistics: The potential value to
the UK economy of improving the GCSE
results of disadvantaged pupils by region**

December 2017

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Introduction

This publication presents estimates of the economic value of reducing the disadvantage attainment gap in each region in England, so that it is the same size as the attainment gap in London and improving the attainment of disadvantaged pupils in all regions to the same level as in London.

For each region in England, an 'attainment gap' is calculated which represents the difference in attainment between disadvantaged pupils and their peers. This attainment gap is smaller in London than it is in other regions in England.

Two scenarios are presented. The first scenario calculates the number of extra disadvantaged pupils who would need to improve their GCSE attainment in each region in order to reduce the attainment gap to the same size as it is in London. This number is combined with published lifetime productivity estimates to generate an overall economic value of reducing the attainment gap for each region.

The second scenario outlines the number of extra disadvantaged pupils who would need to improve their GCSE attainment in each region in order to match the attainment of disadvantaged pupils in London. This number is combined with published lifetime productivity estimates to generate an overall economic value of improving the attainment of disadvantaged pupils to the same level as London.

All returns figures are presented as illustrations only.

Main Findings

- In the academic year 2013/14, a greater percentage of pupils who were not disadvantaged achieved at least five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths compared to those who were disadvantaged. This was consistent across all regions of England for both boys and girls and is referred to as the attainment gap throughout this publication (see Table 1 and Table 2).
- The size of the attainment gap is smallest in London at 21 percentage points. In some regions, the attainment gap exceeds 30 percentage points (see Table 1 and Table 2).
- If the attainment gap in all regions could be reduced to the same size as London, this would lead to an increase of around 125,000 disadvantaged pupils achieving the equivalent of five or more GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths if effects were replicated for children currently of school age across England.
- Across the country, if the attainment gap could be reduced to the same size as it is in London, some disadvantaged individuals would increase their lifetime productivity by the equivalent of approximately £110,000 in present value terms for

each pupil who improves their attainment. This would lead to an overall economic benefit of around £12 billion in present value terms over the lifetimes of the individuals analysed.

- Similarly, if disadvantaged pupils in all regions performed as well as disadvantaged pupils in London, this would lead to an overall economic benefit of around £20 billion in present value terms.

Methodology

1. The percentage of pupils who achieve at least five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths is presented in Table 1 and Table 2, based on disadvantage and region for boys and girls in academic year in 2013/14. Data from 2013/14 is used as it is the most recent data for which a regional and disadvantage split is available and is applicable to the published returns estimates. This data was published in January 2015 and is available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/gcse-and-equivalent-attainment-by-pupil-characteristics-2014>

Scenario 1: Closing the attainment gap to the same size as London

2. Subtracting the percentage of disadvantaged pupils who achieve this measure from the percentage of non-disadvantaged pupils who achieve this measure allows the calculation of an attainment gap by region for boys and girls. The size of the attainment gap compared to London is calculated by subtracting the London attainment gap from a given region's attainment gap. This gives the percentage points increase in disadvantaged pupils achieving at least five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths required to reduce the attainment gap to the same size as it is in London.

3. For example, in the North West the percentage of non-disadvantaged boys who achieved at least five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths was 59.2% compared to 29.7% for disadvantaged boys, giving an attainment gap of 29.5 percentage points (Table 1). Subtracting the London attainment gap for boys of 20.7 percentage points from the North West attainment gap for boys gives 8.8 percentage points. Therefore, if the North West increased the percentage of disadvantaged boys achieving at least five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths by 8.8 percentage points then its attainment gap for boys would be reduced to the same size as London.

4. The same data has also been used to calculate the number of pupils who are disadvantaged as a percentage of the total number of pupils (the disadvantage rate) for each region (Table 3 and Table 4).

5. By considering the number of school-aged pupils currently enrolled at schools in England, the number of pupils who will sit GCSEs in the future is calculated. This is shown in Table 5 and Table 6. It is derived by taking the number of pupils in each of the 11 school age cohorts from Year 1 to Year 11. This data was published in June 2017 and

is available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2017>

6. In each cohort, we calculate the number of extra disadvantaged pupils required to achieve at least five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths in order to reduce the attainment gap to the same size as it is in London. This is derived by multiplying the number of pupils who are projected to be in each of the 11 cohorts by the disadvantage rate for each region from Table 3 and Table 4. This figure is then multiplied by the increase in attainment for disadvantaged pupils (the percentage of pupils achieving at least five A*-C grades including English & maths GCSEs) required to match the London Attainment gap from Table 1 and Table 2.

7. For example, in 2018, the overall number of boys projected in Year 11 in the North West is 37, 778 (Table 5). Multiplying this by the disadvantage rate for boys for the North West of 29.8% (Table 3) and then by the 8.8 additional percentage points of disadvantaged boys required to achieve at least five GCSEs A*-C including English and maths from Table 1 yields 991. This means that 991 extra disadvantaged boys in the North West would have to achieve at least five GCSEs A*-C including English and maths in order to reduce the attainment gap to the same size as in London.

8. Across all current school age pupils, this scenario would eventually lead to roughly 125,000 additional disadvantaged pupils achieving at least five GCSEs at grade A*-C including English and maths compared to the counterfactual of the attainment gap remaining at 2013/14 levels.

9. In order to calculate the economic returns of reducing the attainment gap, the number of individuals in each region who achieve this measure (who otherwise wouldn't have) in each year is multiplied by the marginal returns of achieving more than five good GCSEs including English and maths in 2017 prices. These figures are taken from [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/387160/R398A - Economic Value of Key Qualifications.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/387160/R398A_-_Economic_Value_of_Key_Qualifications.pdf) (DfE, 2014). The reported marginal return figures in the paper are £103,000 for men and £105,000 for women. When GDP deflators are used to uplift to 2017 prices, these become £111,000 for males and £114,000 for females.

10. The returns estimates represent the discounted marginal lifetime productivity benefits for individuals who complete more than five good GCSEs including English and Maths as their highest qualifications, compared to individuals achieving anything less. Future cohorts are discounted according to Green Book standards. The results are presented in Tables 7-10.

11. The per pupil weighted return is therefore calculated by taking the total discounted return in one year and dividing by the number of disadvantaged pupils who improved their attainment. In 2018, the per pupil return is around £110,000 in 2017 prices. Future cohorts have a lower present value due to discounting.

Scenario 2: Improving the performance of disadvantaged children in all regions to the same levels as London

12. A **second scenario** where disadvantaged children perform as well as children in London can also be calculated. Under this scenario, the percentage of disadvantaged children in each region who achieve at least five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths is set **equal** to that of London (45% for boys and 52.6% for girls, Table 1). This information can then be used to calculate the required increase in performance of disadvantaged pupils in all regions (Table 1). This in turn can then be used to calculate the increased lifetime productivity for future cohorts if all disadvantaged pupils performed as well as disadvantaged pupils in London. This scenario uses the same pupil figures as the first scenario from Table 5 and Table 6.

13. For example, in 2018, the overall number of boys projected in the North West is 37,778. We multiply this by the disadvantage rate for boys for the North West of 29.8% and then by the 15.3 additional percentage points of disadvantaged boys required to match the attainment of disadvantaged boys in London from Table 1. This means that roughly 1,720 extra disadvantaged boys in the North West would have to achieve at least five GCSEs A*-C including English and maths in order to match the attainment of disadvantaged boys in London.

14. By using the attainment returns from DfE 2014 as before, the number of extra disadvantaged individuals who would pass at least five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths can be multiplied by the associated attainment return to calculate the economic returns. The results are displayed in Tables 11 to 14.

15. The per pupil weighted return is therefore calculated by dividing the total discounted return in one year and dividing by the number of disadvantaged pupils who improved their grade. In 2017, as before the per pupil return is therefore around £110,000 in 2017 prices. Future cohorts have a lower present value due to discounting.

Assumptions

16. The rate of disadvantage will remain constant in each region. The rate of disadvantage in the 2013/14 Key Stage 4 (KS4) cohort is therefore assumed to be a good proxy for future cohorts.

17. All pupils currently enrolled in Years 1 to Year 11 will go on to complete KS4.

18. This analysis does not take into account the impact of future changes in the distribution of attainment resulting from comparable outcomes. As such, the increase in the number of individuals achieving better GCSE attainment may not be observed in future grade distributions. It thus assumes that increased human capital will nonetheless lead to improved earnings, which equivalent effects to those realised through have improved GCSE grades reported in DfE 2014.

19. It is assumed that the labour market value of GCSEs will remain relatively stable in the future and will not be affected by the change of the grading classification system or impacts resulting from improved overall attainment in our scenarios. The five A*-C including English and maths measure is used in this publication as a proxy for the equivalent level of attainment in the 9-1 grading system.

20. It is assumed that the backwards looking estimates of GCSEs presented in DfE 2014 are a good indicator of the labour market value of GCSEs moving into the future.

Tables

| Region | Percentage achieving 5+ A*-C grades inc. English & mathematics GCSEs | | Attainment Gap | Additional ppts disadvantaged achieving 5+ A*-C grades inc. English & maths needed to | |
|--------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| | Disadvantaged pupils | All other pupils | | Match London attainment gap | Match London disadvantaged attainment |
| East Midlands | 28.2 | 54.6 | 26.4 | 5.7 | 16.8 |
| East | 29.2 | 58.2 | 29 | 8.3 | 15.8 |
| London | 45 | 65.7 | 20.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| North East | 28.6 | 59.2 | 30.6 | 9.9 | 16.4 |
| North West | 29.7 | 59.2 | 29.5 | 8.8 | 15.3 |
| South East | 27.9 | 60.6 | 32.7 | 12.0 | 17.1 |
| South West | 29 | 57.3 | 28.3 | 7.6 | 16.0 |
| West Midlands | 31.1 | 58.4 | 27.3 | 6.6 | 13.9 |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 27.5 | 57.1 | 29.6 | 8.9 | 17.5 |

Table 1: Attainment gap for boys

Source: SFR06/2015: GCSE and equivalent attainment by pupil characteristics, Table 6

| Region | Percentage achieving 5+ A*-C grades inc. English & mathematics GCSEs | | Attainment Gap | Additional ppts disadvantaged achieving 5+ A*-C grades inc. English & maths needed to | |
|--------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| | Disadvantaged pupils | All other Pupils | | Match London attainment gap | Match London disadvantage attainment |
| East Midlands | 37.5 | 66.8 | 29.3 | 8.3 | 15.1 |
| East | 38.1 | 69.2 | 31.1 | 10.1 | 14.5 |
| London | 52.6 | 73.6 | 21 | 0 | 0.0 |
| North East | 40.3 | 70 | 29.7 | 8.7 | 12.3 |
| North West | 39.6 | 70.5 | 30.9 | 9.9 | 13.0 |
| South East | 37.8 | 70.3 | 32.5 | 11.5 | 14.8 |
| South West | 36.8 | 68.7 | 31.9 | 10.9 | 15.8 |
| West Midlands | 41.2 | 68.1 | 26.9 | 5.9 | 11.4 |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 36.1 | 67.9 | 31.8 | 10.8 | 16.5 |

Table 2: Attainment gap for girls

Source: SFR06/2015: GCSE and equivalent attainment by pupil characteristics, Table 6

| Region | Number of disadvantaged pupils | Number of non-disadvantaged pupils | Disadvantage rate |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| East Midlands | 5,962 | 19,327 | 23.6% |
| East | 6,874 | 25,546 | 21.2% |
| London | 15,070 | 23,089 | 39.5% |
| North East | 4,599 | 9,619 | 32.3% |
| North West | 11,718 | 27,573 | 29.8% |
| South East | 8,781 | 36,545 | 19.4% |
| South West | 5,818 | 22,132 | 20.8% |
| West Midlands | 9,443 | 22,316 | 29.7% |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 8,052 | 20,930 | 27.8% |

Table 3: Disadvantage rate for boys

Source: SFR06/2015: GCSE and equivalent attainment by pupil characteristics, Table 6

| Region | Number of disadvantaged pupils | Number of non-disadvantaged pupils | Disadvantage rate |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| East Midlands | 5,716 | 18,295 | 23.8% |
| East | 6,661 | 24,620 | 21.3% |
| London | 14,481 | 22,940 | 38.7% |
| North East | 4,421 | 9,025 | 32.9% |
| North West | 11,022 | 26,679 | 29.2% |
| South East | 8,516 | 34,687 | 19.7% |
| South West | 5,405 | 21,446 | 20.1% |
| West Midlands | 9,450 | 21,114 | 30.9% |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 7,840 | 20,290 | 27.9% |

Table 4: Disadvantage rate for girls

Source: SFR06/2015: GCSE and equivalent attainment by pupil characteristics, Table 6

| Region | Year 11 | Year 10 | Year 9 | Year 8 | Year 7 | Year 6 | Year 5 | Year 4 | Year 3 | Year 2 | Year 1 |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| East Midlands | 23,749 | 24,015 | 24,858 | 25,369 | 25,788 | 26,578 | 27,388 | 28,711 | 28,278 | 28,697 | 29,288 |
| East | 31,157 | 31,360 | 32,295 | 33,384 | 33,723 | 34,253 | 35,391 | 37,116 | 36,592 | 37,461 | 38,300 |
| London | 39,661 | 40,106 | 41,693 | 42,671 | 44,119 | 47,224 | 49,773 | 51,459 | 51,651 | 53,504 | 54,081 |
| North East | 13,112 | 13,099 | 13,551 | 13,904 | 14,200 | 14,671 | 14,912 | 15,335 | 15,255 | 15,592 | 15,864 |
| North West | 37,778 | 38,043 | 39,002 | 40,242 | 41,482 | 42,602 | 43,467 | 45,040 | 44,818 | 45,323 | 45,674 |
| South East | 43,868 | 43,627 | 45,287 | 46,482 | 47,109 | 48,137 | 50,124 | 52,277 | 52,112 | 53,556 | 55,005 |
| South West | 26,186 | 26,161 | 27,332 | 27,391 | 27,811 | 28,406 | 29,617 | 30,349 | 30,450 | 30,963 | 31,716 |
| West Midlands | 30,668 | 31,320 | 32,345 | 33,554 | 33,948 | 34,180 | 35,518 | 37,066 | 36,589 | 37,136 | 37,853 |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 27,660 | 28,069 | 28,727 | 29,958 | 30,293 | 31,575 | 32,134 | 33,542 | 33,555 | 34,192 | 34,244 |

Table 5: Numbers of boys in each year group, 2017

| Region | Year 11 | Year 10 | Year 9 | Year 8 | Year 7 | Year 6 | Year 5 | Year 4 | Year 3 | Year 2 | Year 1 |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| East Midlands | 22,734 | 22,604 | 23,401 | 24,148 | 24,604 | 25,345 | 26,069 | 27,107 | 27,010 | 27,504 | 27,793 |
| East | 30,265 | 29,697 | 30,693 | 31,777 | 32,194 | 32,267 | 33,818 | 35,165 | 35,262 | 35,669 | 36,213 |
| London | 38,156 | 39,173 | 40,572 | 41,459 | 42,363 | 45,259 | 47,433 | 50,081 | 49,676 | 50,724 | 51,356 |
| North East | 12,482 | 12,393 | 12,815 | 13,224 | 13,608 | 14,133 | 14,159 | 14,962 | 14,381 | 14,796 | 14,982 |
| North West | 36,259 | 36,093 | 37,193 | 38,673 | 39,260 | 40,411 | 41,257 | 42,688 | 42,831 | 42,967 | 43,658 |
| South East | 41,245 | 41,367 | 42,940 | 43,988 | 44,687 | 46,056 | 47,904 | 49,870 | 49,571 | 50,941 | 51,955 |
| South West | 24,991 | 24,920 | 25,809 | 26,242 | 26,977 | 27,066 | 27,980 | 29,202 | 28,998 | 29,619 | 30,115 |
| West Midlands | 29,783 | 29,663 | 30,558 | 31,660 | 32,266 | 33,190 | 34,045 | 35,146 | 34,887 | 34,821 | 36,258 |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 26,493 | 26,486 | 27,486 | 28,430 | 29,243 | 30,171 | 30,724 | 31,887 | 31,796 | 32,531 | 32,397 |

Table 6: Numbers of girls in each year group, 2017

Source: SFR28/2017: Schools, Pupils and their Characteristics (includes part time and full time pupils, excludes independent schools and non-maintained schools)

| Region | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| East Midlands | £35m | £35m | £35m | £34m | £34m | £33m | £33m | £34m | £32m | £31m | £31m |
| East | £61m | £59m | £59m | £59m | £57m | £56m | £56m | £57m | £54m | £54m | £53m |
| North East | £47m | £45m | £45m | £45m | £44m | £44m | £43m | £43m | £41m | £41m | £40m |
| North West | £110m | £107m | £106m | £106m | £105m | £105m | £103m | £103m | £99m | £97m | £94m |
| South East | £113m | £109m | £109m | £108m | £106m | £105m | £105m | £106m | £102m | £102m | £101m |
| South West | £46m | £44m | £45m | £43m | £43m | £42m | £42m | £42m | £41m | £40m | £40m |
| West Midlands | £67m | £66m | £66m | £66m | £65m | £63m | £63m | £64m | £61m | £59m | £59m |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | £76m | £75m | £74m | £74m | £73m | £73m | £72m | £72m | £70m | £69m | £67m |

Table 7: Discounted lifetime benefit for boys from reducing the attainment gap to the same size as London, by year

| Region | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| East Midlands | £51m | £49m | £49m | £49m | £48m | £48m | £48m | £48m | £46m | £45m | £44m |
| East of England | £74m | £70m | £70m | £70m | £69m | £67m | £67m | £68m | £66m | £64m | £63m |
| North East | £41m | £39m | £39m | £39m | £39m | £39m | £38m | £38m | £36m | £35m | £35m |
| North West | £120m | £115m | £114m | £115m | £113m | £112m | £111m | £111m | £107m | £104m | £102m |
| South East | £106m | £103m | £103m | £102m | £101m | £100m | £101m | £101m | £97m | £96m | £95m |
| South West | £62m | £60m | £60m | £59m | £59m | £57m | £57m | £57m | £55m | £54m | £53m |
| West Midlands | £62m | £60m | £59m | £59m | £58m | £58m | £58m | £57m | £55m | £53m | £53m |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | £91m | £88m | £88m | £88m | £87m | £87m | £86m | £86m | £83m | £82m | £79m |

Table 8: Discounted lifetime benefit for girls from reducing the attainment gap to the same size as London, by year

Source: Calculated from SFR28/2017, SFR06/2015 and DfE 2014

| Region | Total |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| East Midlands | £894m |
| East | £1,374m |
| North East | £894m |
| North West | £2,360m |
| South East | £2,273m |
| South West | £1,102m |
| West Midlands | £1,330m |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | £1,738m |
| Total | £11,964m |

Table 9: Total lifetime benefit for boys and girls from reducing the attainment gap to the same size as London for all school-age children by region

Source: Calculated from SFR28/2017, SFR06/2015 and DfE 2014

| Region | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| England | £1,162m | £1,124m | £1,122m | £1,117m | £1,100m | £1,089m | £1,082m | £1,087m | £1,045m | £1,027m | £1,008m |

Table 10: Total lifetime benefit for boys and girls from reducing the attainment gap to the same size as London for all school-age children by KS4 cohort

Source: Calculated from SFR28/2017, SFR06/2015 and DfE 2014

| Region | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| East Midlands | £105m | £102m | £102m | £101m | £99m | £98m | £98m | £99m | £95m | £93m | £91m |
| East | £116m | £113m | £112m | £112m | £109m | £107m | £107m | £109m | £103m | £102m | £101m |
| North East | £77m | £75m | £75m | £74m | £73m | £73m | £72m | £71m | £68m | £67m | £66m |
| North West | £192m | £186m | £185m | £184m | £183m | £182m | £179m | £180m | £173m | £169m | £164m |
| South East | £161m | £155m | £156m | £154m | £151m | £149m | £150m | £151m | £146m | £145m | £144m |
| South West | £97m | £94m | £94m | £91m | £90m | £89m | £89m | £88m | £86m | £84m | £83m |
| West Midlands | £141m | £139m | £139m | £139m | £136m | £132m | £133m | £134m | £128m | £125m | £123m |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | £149m | £147m | £145m | £146m | £143m | £144m | £141m | £142m | £138m | £136m | £131m |

Table 11: Discounted lifetime benefit from all disadvantaged boys performing as well as disadvantaged boys in London, by year

| Region | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| East Midlands | £93m | £89m | £89m | £89m | £88m | £87m | £87m | £87m | £84m | £83m | £81m |
| East | £106m | £101m | £101m | £101m | £99m | £96m | £97m | £97m | £94m | £92m | £90m |
| North East | £57m | £55m | £55m | £55m | £55m | £55m | £53m | £54m | £50m | £50m | £49m |
| North West | £157m | £151m | £150m | £151m | £148m | £147m | £145m | £145m | £141m | £136m | £134m |
| South East | £137m | £133m | £133m | £132m | £129m | £129m | £129m | £130m | £125m | £124m | £122m |
| South West | £91m | £87m | £87m | £86m | £85m | £83m | £82m | £83m | £80m | £79m | £77m |
| West Midlands | £120m | £115m | £114m | £115m | £113m | £112m | £111m | £111m | £106m | £103m | £103m |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | £139m | £134m | £134m | £134m | £133m | £133m | £131m | £131m | £126m | £125m | £120m |

Table 12: Discounted lifetime benefit from all disadvantaged girls performing as well as disadvantaged girls in London, by year

Source: Calculated from SFR28/2017, SFR06/2015 and DfE 2014

| Region | Total |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| East Midlands | £2,040m |
| East | £2,266m |
| North East | £1,379m |
| North West | £3,582m |
| South East | £3,086m |
| South West | £1,905m |
| West Midlands | £2,691m |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | £3,003m |
| Total | £19,952m |

Table 13: Total lifetime benefit from all disadvantaged pupils performing as well as disadvantaged children in London for all school-age children by region

Source: Calculated from SFR28/2017, SFR06/2015 and DfE 2014

| Region | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2024 | 2025 | 2026 | 2027 |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| England | £1,938m | £1,875m | £1,872m | £1,864m | £1,834m | £1,816m | £1,805m | £1,813m | £1,742m | £1,712m | £1,681m |

Table 14: Total lifetime benefit from all disadvantaged pupils performing as well as disadvantaged children in London for all school age by KS4 cohort

Source: Calculated from SFR28/2017, SFR06/2015 and DfE 2014



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