

Annex: 2019 Conservative manifesto table of pledges

Table of manifesto pledges

Pledge	Rating and analysis
We will start putting our deal through parliament before Christmas	Completed: The EU Withdrawal Bill was introduced to parliament on 19 December 2019 and MPs voted in favour of the second reading on 20 December 2019. The bill became law on 23 January 2020. ¹
We will leave the EU in January	Completed: The UK left the European Union on 31 January 2020. ²
We will keep the UK out of the single market	Completed: The EU–UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) means the United Kingdom has left the EU single market, although the Northern Ireland protocol stipulates that Northern Ireland is still subject to a significant amount of EU single market regulation. ³
We will keep the UK out of any form of customs union	Completed: The UK left the EU customs union at the end of the Brexit transition period. Under the Northern Ireland protocol, Northern Ireland is formally part of the UK's customs territory but is required to apply EU customs law. ⁴
We will end the role of the European Court of Justice	Completed: The TCA ends any formal role of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) for the UK, except where the latter decides to participate in EU research programmes. The ECJ has a role in enforcing EU regulations that apply in Northern Ireland under the terms of the Northern Ireland protocol (although the UK government has proposed removing the ECJ's role in this area). ⁵
We will negotiate a trade agreement next year with the EU	Completed: The government negotiated the TCA, which took effect at 11pm on 31 December 2020. This provides for tariff-free trade between the UK and the EU. ⁶
We will not extend the implementation period beyond December 2020	Completed: The implementation period was not extended beyond December 2020 and the United Kingdom left the EU single market and customs union at 11pm on 31 December 2020. ⁷

Raise the national living wage further still	Completed: The national minimum wage was increased in April 2020 and again in April 2021. ⁸ The October 2021 budget confirmed that it would increase to £9.50 per hour in April 2022. ⁹
We will not borrow to fund day-to-day spending	On track: Thanks to tax increases in March and October 2021 budgets, the government is on track to meet its commitment not to borrow for day-to-day spending in 2024/25. However, this does come after the government borrowed record amounts during the coronavirus crisis. ¹⁰
Public sector net investment will not average more than 3% of GDP	On track: Public sector net investment reached 3.6% of GDP in 2020/21 as GDP was depressed due to the pandemic. But it is forecast to average 2.7% of GDP over the next five years, meeting the commitment of remaining under 3%. ¹¹
If debt interest reaches 6% of revenue, we will reassess our plans to keep debt under control	On track: Record low interest rates mean debt interest is likely to remain far below 6% of revenue. ¹²
Debt will be lower at the end of the parliament	Abandoned: High borrowing in response to the coronavirus pandemic means debt is forecast to be 94.7% of GDP in 2024/25, substantially above the 84.2% in 2019/20. ¹³
£34bn per year by the end of the parliament in additional funding for the NHS – more than £650m extra a week by the end of the parliament	On track: The 2021 spending review confirmed that NHS England spending is planned to be £38.9bn higher in 2024/25 than 2019/20 in cash terms. ¹⁴
Within the first three months of our new term, we will enshrine in law our fully funded, long-term NHS plan	Completed: The government passed legislation to enshrine the funding increase for NHS England in law in March 2020. ¹⁵

Build and fund 40 new hospitals over the next 10 years	At risk: The 2021 spending review increased the amount allocated for the building of 40 new hospitals to £4.2bn, from £3.7bn in the 2020 spending review. ¹⁶ In November 2021, the Health Service Journal reported that the IPA had downgraded its rating to 'red', meaning it "appears to be unachievable and there are major issues with project definition, schedule, budget, quality and/or delivery of benefits, which at this stage do not appear to be manageable or resolvable". ¹⁷ It is worth noting that while the Conservatives have badged the pledge as building 40 "new" hospitals, the plan will only consist of six entirely new hospitals, three of which are non-urgent care hospitals, with the rest being rebuilds or extensions. ¹⁸
Roll out cancer diagnostic machines across 78 hospital trusts to boost early diagnosis	Underway: The NHS will receive £248m to improve diagnostics technology over the next two years, but there is no detail about how this will be spent or in which hospitals. ¹⁹ In August 2020 – the last time a comprehensive update was issued – 69 new scanners had been installed, 10 more were being installed and 75 had been ordered. ²⁰
We are committed to reducing health inequality	At risk: Prior to its dissolution in October 2021, Public Health England analysis suggested that "Covid-19 has replicated existing health inequalities and, in some cases, has increased them". ²¹ The Office for Health Improvement and Disparities, established the same month, is tasked with reducing health inequalities, but it is too soon to tell how much difference this will make. ²²
50,000 more nurses	At risk: In July 2021, there were 14,536 more full-time equivalent nurses than in December 2019, when the manifesto was published, an average increase of 765 per month. If this Parliament extends to May 2024 (53 months) and this rate of increase is maintained, then there will be 40,000 more full-time equivalent nurses by October 2024. The particularly rapid growth between March and September 2020 reflects pandemic measures designed to redraft as many NHS staff back in as possible and lower leaving rates. The pace of staff growth has slowed since September 2020 - although it still remains above the rate of growth pre-pandemic.
Student nurses to receive a £5,000–8,000 annual maintenance grant during their course	Completed: The government introduced the maintenance grants in September 2020. ²³

6,000 more doctors in general practice	At risk: In September 2021, there were 1,841 more full-time equivalent GPs (including locums) than in September 2019. ²⁴ Despite data being available for December 2019 – closer to the election – we have decided to compare September 2021 (the most recent data release) with the same month in 2019 to take into account the seasonal effects of GP numbers. That equates to an average increase of 76 full-time equivalent GPs per month which, if sustained, would mean just over 4,000 more full-time equivalent GPs by May 2024 – 2,000 short of the number promised. In November 2021 the health secretary, Sajid Javid, admitted that the government was “not on course” to deliver this pledge. ²⁵
6,000 more primary care professionals e.g. pharmacists and physiotherapists, on top of 20,000 previously announced	At risk: This is a promise to increase the number of primary care professionals by 26,000 – the commitment to 20,000 more was made in the NHS Long Term Plan in January 2019, which said that there would be 20,000 more by 2023/24, and this government has committed to 6,000 more. ²⁶ There is not a single accepted definition of ‘primary care professionals’ which makes it difficult to judge progress on this commitment. The amount of nurses and staff (excluding GPs) involved in ‘direct patient care’ has increased from 28,900 in Dec 2019 to 30,500 in Sept 2021, an increase of 74 per month. ²⁷ If this were extended 53 months, then the total recruited would be 3,900 – far short of the 26,000 (total) promised in this manifesto.
7,500 extra nurse associates	On track: There were 5,509 nursing associates as of September 2021, compared to 1,488 in September 2019. ²⁸ This is an increase of 167 per month which would result in 9,400 nursing associates by May 2024, above the 7,500 target. We chose to use September 2019 as the baseline because this dataset is only released twice a year, in September and March. September 2019 is therefore the closest data to the election.
Improve staff morale	At risk: Staff morale scored 6.2/10 on the annual 2020 NHS Staff Survey, conducted in October and November 2020, the same as in 2019, although the percentage of staff considering leaving the health service has fallen since 2019. ²⁹ In July 2020, the Department for Health and Social Care published the NHS People Plan, which “puts NHS staff wellbeing at its heart” and sets out practical support for wellbeing. ³⁰ Given the difficulties of Covid and subsequent pressures, staff morale is likely to have declined since autumn 2020. That there was an increase in sick days due to mental health issues in 2021 certainly suggests this. ³¹

Introduce an NHS visa, offering fast track entry, reduced visa fees and dedicated support to allow qualified doctors, nurses and allied health professionals with a job offer to come to the UK with their families	Completed: The government launched the new Health and Care visa scheme in July 2020. ³²
50m extra GP appointments per year	At risk: In the 12 months preceding December 2019, there were 310m GP appointments. Following Covid disruptions, there were 302m appointments in the 12 months preceding October 2021 – 8m fewer than in the most recent year before the manifesto. Given difficulties recruiting more primary care staff (the main constraint on increasing appointments), the government is unlikely to meet this target. ³³
Address the taper problem in doctors' pensions, holding an urgent review within 30 days of the election	Completed: The government raised the annual pensions allowance threshold from £110,000 to £200,000 in the March 2020 budget – allowing doctors and other high earners to earn more before the taper starts – but decided against increasing flexibility, or scrapping the taper entirely, in February 2021. The government estimates the higher threshold will lift most clinicians and general practitioners outside of the taper. ³⁴
Long-term strategy for empowering people with lifestyle-related conditions to live healthier lives	Underway: The Office for Health Improvement and Disparities (OHID) was established in October 2021. The press release accompanying its launch said the OHID “will co-ordinate an ambitious programme across central and local government, the NHS and wider society... to drive improvements in the public’s health”. ³⁵ A specific obesity strategy has been launched but there is no evidence of a holistic strategy to tackle lifestyle related conditions. ³⁶ A specific obesity strategy has been launched but there is no evidence of a holistic strategy to tackle lifestyle related conditions. However, as this part of OHID’s remit has been less directly affected by the pandemic in comparison to the other part (to reduce health disparities) and this pledge’s ambition is limited, promising to publish a long-term strategy rather than achieve measurable change, we have rated it as ‘underway’ rather than ‘at risk’.

Extend social prescribing and expand the National Academy of Social Prescribing	Completed: As of June 2021, there are 1,427 link workers (166 employed in GP offices and a further 1,261 in primary care networks), up from a total of 214 in March 2020. ^{37,38} The National Academy of Social Prescribing was awarded another £5m of funding in August 2020. ³⁹
Overhaul NHS screening and use new technology and mobile screening services to prevent ill health	Underway: NHS X has established the Digital Transformation of Screening (DToS) programme, split into an interim programme that aims to replace the existing cervical screening call and recall service rapidly and safely, and a strategic delivery programme that aims to transform all current and future national screening programmes. ⁴⁰ There is little evidence of how this latter programme is progressing. A new NHS Cervical Screening Management System is scheduled to launch in 2022. ^{41,42}
Focus on helping patients with multiple conditions to have simplified and more joined-up access to the NHS	Underway: The 2019 NHS Long Term Plan pledged that the NHS would be “more joined-up and coordinated in its care”, in part by introducing integrated care systems (ICSs). ⁴³ The government’s Health and Care Bill introduced in September 2021 will put ICSs on a statutory footing. ⁴⁴ If it passes, ICSs will be launched nationwide in April 2022 – although it’s not clear if this reorganisation will achieve the government’s promise to simplify and join-up access to the NHS, as improvements in patients’ experiences will depend on how local organisations, leaders and clinical teams implement the changes. ⁴⁵
Improve hospital food	Underway: The government commissioned an independent review of hospital food, which published its report in October 2020. Following this, the government announced it would establish an expert group of NHS caterers, dietitians and nurses to take forward the recommendations made in the report. The 40 new hospitals which will be built by 2030 will also include modern catering facilities. ⁴⁶
Extend the successful Cancer Drugs Fund into an Innovative Medicines Fund	Completed: NHS England announced the launch of the Innovative Medicines Fund (IMF) along with £680m of ringfenced funding in July 2021. The accompanying press release described the IMF as “build[ing] upon the success of the reformed Cancer Drugs Fund”. ⁴⁷

Improve the early diagnosis and treatment of all major conditions	Underway: The number of cancer diagnoses dropped steeply during the pandemic and still remain below pre-pandemic levels. Between December 2018 and November 2019 there were 291,693 diagnoses and 258,557 between December 2019 and November 2020. The proportion of cancers diagnosed early fell slightly during those time periods, from 55.7% to 53.6%. The government pledged to spend £2.3bn on diagnostic services between 2022/23 and 2024/25, which should increase diagnostic capacity and make it easier to diagnose major conditions earlier. ⁴⁸ But fewer people received cancer treatment during 2020, and if many people come forward for cancer treatment now, the NHS will find it difficult to diagnose and treat cancers quickly.
Legislate so that patients suffering from mental health conditions, including anxiety or depression, have greater control over their treatment and receive the dignity and respect they deserve	Underway: The government published a white paper setting out its plans to reform the Mental Health Act in August 2021, and announced £450m of capital funds to improve mental health facilities in the 2021 spending review. ⁴⁹ It has yet to bring a bill to the Commons to implement changes which require legislation, and says it will do so “when parliamentary time allows”. ⁵⁰
Make it easier for people with learning disabilities and autism to be discharged from hospital and improve how they are treated in law	Underway: The government’s mental health white paper re-affirmed a commitment to change the Mental Health Act so that “neither a learning disability or autism can be considered to be mental disorders warranting compulsory treatment under Section 3 of the Act”. ⁵¹ If passed, this legislative change would fulfil the manifesto pledge.
Bring down operation waiting times	At risk: The median waiting time for an ‘admitted’ (inpatient) hospital elective operation rose from 10.7 weeks in September 2019 to 11.1 weeks in September 2021, largely as a result of the pandemic. ⁵² The backlog of patients on the waiting list for an operation has increased rapidly as a result of the pandemic, from 4.42m in September 2019 to 5.83m in September 2021. ⁵³
Improve A&E performance	At risk: The proportion of patients seen within four hours in type 1 A&Es was 61.9% in October 2021, compared to 74.4% in October 2019 pre-pandemic (and against a target of 95%). ⁵⁴

Imcrease cancer survival rates	At risk: The latest data on cancer survival rates relates to patients diagnosed between 2014 and 2018, although rates are likely to have fallen during the pandemic, when the number of cancer diagnoses fell quickly and there were delays across the health system. ⁵⁵
Hold an annual health technology summit	Yet to start: There is no public evidence of a “health technology summit” having taken place during 2020 or 2021, or any information about a summit planned for 2022.
Make the NHS the best place in the world to give birth	At risk: The UK has relatively high infant and neonatal mortality rates compared to other OECD countries. At 3.7 per 1,000 live births in England and Wales in 2019, the infant mortality rate has remained stable for the past five years. ⁵⁶ Since 2018, the NHS has trialled digitising maternity care records across 20 sites, but this has not been rolled out across the country. ⁵⁷ There are not good metrics to measure whether the NHS is “the best place in the world to give birth”. The 2019 NHS Long Term Plan set a “better births” goal to halve stillbirth and neonatal mortality rates by 2025, based on 2010 rates. ⁵⁸ If post-2010 trends persist, the government will hit its target for reducing stillbirths but not neonatal mortality, the latter of which has hardly fallen since 2010.
Extend healthy life expectancy by five years by 2035	At risk: The Office for National Statistics estimates that life expectancy for males and females will increase by 2.8 and 2.4 years respectively between 2018 and 2043, meaning the government is not on track to meet this target. ^{59,60}
End unfair hospital car parking charges by making parking free for those in greatest need, including disabled people, frequent outpatient attenders, parents of sick children staying overnight and staff working night shifts	Completed: The government has published guidance stating that NHS foundations and trusts must provide free parking for disabled patients, frequent outpatient attenders, parents of sick children staying overnight and staff working night shifts. Trusts were told to implement the guidance by the end of April 2021. It should be noted that the guidance that free car parking for those with the greatest need is only assured for a year and thereafter “DHSC are in principle open to considering other schemes in 2021/22 and beyond”. ⁶¹

Clamp down on health tourism, ensuring that those from overseas who use NHS services pay their fair share, and double the budget for the health tourism enforcement unit	Yet to start: We did not find evidence of any work on this commitment
Increase the NHS surcharge paid by those from overseas to ensure it covers the full cost of use	Completed: In October 2020, the government increased the NHS surcharge from £400 to £624 a year for most visas, to “reflect the cost of providing treatment”. ⁶²
NHS will not be on the table in trade deals – services the NHS provides and the price the NHS pays for drugs not on the table	On track: The Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) contains clauses that makes it harder to roll back private involvement in the NHS by preventing ‘expropriation’, although the UK is able to exempt the NHS through the ‘services and non-conforming measures’ annex that each country agrees on joining the Partnership. ⁶³ The House of Lords International Agreements Committee has raised concerns that the CPTPP’s intellectual property protections might make it hard for the NHS to continue to benefit from procuring generic drugs, thereby exposing it to higher drug costs. ⁶⁴ But the government’s stated negotiating position is that “the UK will ensure that the terms we sign up to uphold the government’s manifesto commitment that the NHS, its services, and cost of medicines are not on the table”. ⁶⁵
£1bn extra of funding every year for more social care staff and better infrastructure, technology and facilities	On track: The 2019 spending review announced an additional £1bn of extra funding planned for every year of the parliament. In the 2021 spending review, a further £5.4bn was announced over the next three years, although this is to meet the cost of government reforms rather than to pay for more staff or better infrastructure. ^{66,67}
Urgently seek a cross-party consensus in order to bring forward the necessary proposal and legislation for a long-term solution for social care	Completed – in part: The government announced social care reform in September 2021 that included a cap on the cost of care, raising the means test threshold and allowing self-funders to purchase care through local authorities. However, the government did not build cross-party consensus on these proposals, with Labour voting against it in the House of Commons. ⁶⁸

The prerequisite of any social care solution will be a guarantee that no one needing care has to sell their home to pay for it	Abandoned: The reform to social care raises the means test threshold to £100k and caps personal care costs at £86k. ⁶⁹ But there are still scenarios in which a person might have to sell their house to pay for care. If for example they had little income, and wealth above £100k that is mostly accounted for by their house, they would still most likely have to sell the house before reaching the cap. It is hard to estimate how many people may have to sell their home under the new system but it is clear that some will. The government has since said that the reforms mean nobody will have to sell their home “in their lifetime” to fund their care due to the deferred payment scheme option, but this already existed before the government announced its reforms. ⁷⁰
Extend the entitlement to leave for unpaid carers to one week	Underway: The consultation on whether to give employees a week of unpaid leave each year to provide care was completed in October 2021, and the government has said it will introduce a week of unpaid leave through legislation ‘when parliamentary time allows’. ⁷¹
Doubling research funding into dementia and speeding up trials for new treatments	Yet to start: The government has not made any specific spending commitments on Alzheimer’s or dementia research. The Alzheimer’s Society called on the government to honour this pledge in October 2021 prior to the 2021 spending review. ⁷² But there was no mention of either Alzheimer’s or dementia in the review. ⁷³
£74m over three years for additional capacity in community care settings for those with learning disabilities and autism	On track: The government allocated £74m over three years for the whole of the UK in the March 2020 budget to accelerate the discharge of people with learning disabilities and autism from hospital and to help move them into more appropriate care settings. ⁷⁴
Provide an extra £14bn in funding for schools, including at least £5,000 per year for each secondary school pupil, £4,000 for each primary school pupil.	On track: The schools funding settlement with minimum funding levels as per the manifesto commitment was published in January 2020. Every secondary school will receive a minimum of £5,000 per pupil from 2020, and every primary school a minimum of £4,000 from 2021/22. The £14.4bn is the cumulative amount schools in England will receive by the end of 2022/23, so not all of it has been provided yet. To support young people’s recovery from the impact of the pandemic, schools will receive an additional £4.7bn in core funding in 2024/25, including £1.6bn in 2022/23 on top of already planned increases from the 2019 spending review. ⁷⁵

Raise teachers' starting salaries to £30,000	Underway: The minimum of the main pay range for qualified teachers was raised by 5.5% in September 2020, but outside London the starting salary is still £25,714. ⁷⁶ In February 2021, the government told the School Teachers' Review Body that it had paused planned pay rises for teachers in 2021/22, and that starting salaries would not reach £30,000 by September 2022. ⁷⁷ In November 2021, the Treasury clarified that the deadline for the increase has been pushed back to 2024, but that the government still intends to raise starting salaries to £30,000. ⁷⁸ The 2021 spending review re-affirmed the commitment to a £30,000 starting salary, but did not provide a timescale for delivery. ⁷⁹
Expand 'alternative provision' schools	Completed: The number of placements in local authority funded alternative provision increased from 26,100 pupils in 2019 to 29,500 in 2020, and increased again to 32,400 pupils in 2021. This covers pupils attending a school not maintained by a local authority for whom the authority is paying full tuition fees. In July 2020, the Department for Education also announced the groups who had bid successfully to open and run 37 new special and alternative provision free schools (part of a wave begun in 2018). These schools are expected to open from September 2022.
Deliver more school places for children with complex Special Educational Needs	On track: In July 2020, the secretary of state for education approved 35 new special free schools, creating 3,000 new school places for children with special educational needs and disabilities. ⁸⁰ These schools are expected to open from September 2022. In October, the government promised £2.6bn between 2022/23 and 2024/25 for new school places for children with special educational needs and disabilities in England. ⁸¹
Continue to build more free schools	On track: In June 2020 there were 508 open free schools; in February 2021 there were 558; as of October 2021 there were 610. ⁸²
Offer an 'arts premium' to secondary schools	Abandoned: The March 2020 budget initially pledged £90m per year to support high quality arts programmes in secondary schools from September 2021, though the funding was never delivered. ⁸³ In September 2021, schools minister Nick Gibb confirmed in parliament that there would not be an arts premium in the September 2021/22 school year, and that it would be subject to that year's spending review. ⁸⁴ The 2021 spending review made no mention of the premium, suggesting that it has been scrapped entirely. ^{85,86}

Review the care system to make sure that all care placements and settings are providing children and young adults with the support they need	On track: The government launched the Independent Care Review in January 2021. ⁸⁷ In June 2021 the review published its 'Case for Change' setting out what the review had heard so far, and what it views the problems with the current system as. ⁸⁸ The review's recommendations are yet to be published.
Improve the Troubled Families programme	On track: The government announced up to £165m of additional funding for this programme in 2020. ⁸⁹ In March 2021, the programme was renamed and moved under the 'Supporting Families' programme, with a new goal to help councils improve their use of data to support families. ⁹⁰ To support this, it is launching the Data Accelerator Fund which will enable councils to bid for a share of £7.9m in data projects over two years.
Not raise the rate of income tax	On track: The government has not increased the rate of income tax, although it has frozen tax thresholds which increases the amount of income tax due. ⁹¹
Not raise the rate of National Insurance	Abandoned: The government has announced the health and social care levy: an increase in all rates of National Insurance contributions of 1.25% from April 2022, and then a new levy on almost the same tax base from April 2023. ⁹²
Not raise the rate of VAT	On track: The government has not increased the rate of VAT. ⁹³
Raise the NI threshold to £9,500 in 2020	Completed: It was announced and legislated for in February 2021 that primary threshold would rise by consumer price index inflation for 2021/22 and is therefore now £9,568 per year, although the secondary threshold (the point when employers start paying NICs) remains below £9,500. ⁹⁴
New £1bn fund to help create more high quality, affordable childcare	Underway: The government allowed local authorities to use free childcare entitlement funding flexibly during the pandemic and funded a £220m holiday activities and food programme for disadvantaged children. The government allocated a further £170m in the 2021 spending review to increase the hourly rate to be paid to early years providers, which it claims "delivers the government's Flexible Childcare Fund commitment", although much of this emergency funding was not designed to expand quality, affordable childcare. ⁹⁵

Keep the existing energy cap	At risk: The energy price cap was raised by £139 in October 2021 due to rising gas prices (reg 96). The formula used by Ofgem to calculate this cap remains the same, although Ofgem is currently consulting on changing the formula in response to the increased volatility of gas prices. ⁹⁶
Give the CMA enhanced powers to tackle consumer rip-offs and bad business practices	Underway: The government has not yet responded to the Penrose review, an independent report by John Penrose MP published in February 2021. The government has said it will “respond in due course”. ⁹⁷ The government opened two consultations related to this pledge in July 2021; looking at a pro-competitive regime for digital markets, and how to deliver competition policy that works for consumers. ^{98,99}
Extend the water rebate for those in the South West	Completed: The water rebate in the south west will continue to be applied in 2021/22. ¹⁰⁰
Keep the pensions triple lock	Suspended: The fall in earnings and change in the composition of the workforce due to the pandemic in 2020/21 led to an anomaly in 2021/22 where average earnings increased by over 8%. To avoid the large cost of increasing state pensions by this much, a double lock was introduced for 2022/23. The state pension would instead rise by whichever was higher: 2.5% or inflation. The government has said it intends to revert back to the triple lock in 2023/24. ¹⁰¹
Keep the winter fuel payment	On track: The government has not made any changes to winter fuel payments. ¹⁰²
Keep the older person’s bus pass	On track: The government has not made any changes to bus passes or other pensioner benefits. ¹⁰³
Conduct a comprehensive review to look at how to fix the issue of workers, disproportionately women, who earn between £10,000 and £12,500 have been missing out on pension benefits	Completed: The government responded to a consultation on pensions tax relief for low earners in October 2021 and in the October 2021 budget announced proposals for a system to make top-up payments directly to low-earning individuals saving in net pay arrangements (NPA) schemes in respect to pension contributions made from 2024-25 onwards. According to the government, up to 1.2m individuals, 75% of whom are women, will be able to benefit by an average of £53 a year. ¹⁰⁴
Abolish the tampon tax	Completed: VAT was scrapped on all sanitary products on 1 January 2021. ¹⁰⁵

Continue the roll-out of Universal Credit	Underway: The government remains committed to Universal Credit, although it suspended a pilot for 'managed migration' – moving people claiming legacy benefits such as tax credits onto Universal Credit – which would have gone ahead in Harrogate between July 2019 and July 2020. ¹⁰⁶ Before the pandemic, the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) forecast that it would fully roll-out Universal Credit by September 2024. ¹⁰⁷ The Infrastructure and Projects Authority has said that DWP's revised plan "delivers the migration of remaining legacy benefit claimants to Universal Credit as scheduled by end of 2024", although it has rated the project an amber – meaning "successful delivery appears feasible but significant issues already exist, requiring management attention". ^{108,109}
End the benefits freeze	Completed: Since March 2020 most working-age benefits (which were previously frozen in cash terms) have increased each April by CPI inflation. ¹¹⁰
Make sure it pays to work more hours	On track: It always pays to work more hours on Universal Credit, and changes in the October 2021 budget (reducing the taper rate in Universal Credit and raising the National Living Wage to £9.50 per hour) strengthens this. ¹¹¹
Maintain commitment to free school meals	On track: The government has maintained its commitment to free school meals and schools in England have provided eligible students with food parcels or vouchers during lockdowns. ^{112,113} After considerable public pressure, the government also provided meals during the school holidays, having initially said it would not do so. ¹¹⁴
Reduce the number of reassessments a disabled person must go through when a significant change in condition is unlikely	On track: The government noted that it had "already stopped reassessments for people with the most severe conditions that are unlikely to change [and proposed] ways to further reduce the number of unnecessary assessments, while continuing to ensure support is properly targeted" in the 2021 Shaping Future Support green paper. ¹¹⁵
A National Strategy for Disabled People before the end of 2020	Delayed – although now published: The strategy was published seven months late, in July 2021. ¹¹⁶
Increase SEND funding	Completed: The government increased the size of the high needs funding block for 2020/21 by £780m. ¹¹⁷ An additional £280m capital funding increase for SEND was announced in April 2021. ¹¹⁸

Reduce the disability employment gap	At risk: The Office for National Statistics estimate that 54.6% of people who met the Equality Act Core Definition of Disabled were in employment compared to 82.2% of those who didn't in October–December 2019, equating to a disability employment gap of 27.6%. ¹¹⁹ These figures were 54.1% and 81.7% respectively for July–September 2021 meaning the disability gap was unchanged. ¹²⁰ There is no dedicated published plan to reduce this employment gap, so we have marked this pledge at risk.
Recruit 20,000 new police officers	On track: In the 2020 spending review, the government committed £400m to help recruit another 20,000 police officers by 2023. ¹²¹ In the 2021 spending review, the government provided an extra £540m by 2024/25 "to recruit the final 8,000 police officers to meet the government's commitment of 20,000 additional officers by 2023". ¹²² As of September 2021, 11,053 additional officers had been recruited. ¹²³
Put the Police Covenant into law	Underway: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill would require the home secretary to report annually on work to uphold a police covenant, although the text of the covenant itself will not be in law. ¹²⁴ The bill was introduced into parliament in March 2021 and is currently at committee stage in the House of Lords. ¹²⁵
Create a new court order to target known knife carriers, making it easier for officers to stop and search those convicted of knife crime	Underway: The government is establishing Serious Violence Reduction Orders in the Police, Crime and Sentencing Bill, which is in committee in the House of Lords. ¹²⁶
Anyone charged with knife possession will appear before magistrates within days not weeks	At risk: The median time from charge to first listing in magistrates' courts for all offences in England and Wales fell from 40 to 38 days between Q2 2020 and Q2 2021. ¹²⁷ There is no evidence that those charged with knife possession are being fast-tracked through the court system.
Introduce tougher sentencing for the worst offenders	Completed: The Counter-Terrorism and Sentencing Act increases maximum sentences for certain terrorism offences. It received royal assent in April 2021. Other changes, such as introducing harsher sentences for those who kill emergency workers, have also come into force. ¹²⁸

End automatic halfway release from prison for serious crimes	Completed: The government amended secondary legislation in January 2020 to ensure that violent or sexual offenders who have received sentences of seven years or longer are no longer released halfway through their sentences, but instead serve at least two thirds of their sentence in prison. ¹²⁹ This came into force in April 2020. The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill contains further provisions to ensure that the same applies to offenders with sentences lasting between four and seven years. The bill is currently in committee in the House of Lords.
Life imprisonment without parole for child murderers	Underway: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill would amend the Sentencing Code to make a whole life order (life imprisonment without parole) the starting point for setting the life sentence term of a child murderer. This bill is currently in committee in the House of Lords. ¹³⁰
Cut the number of foreign nationals in our prisons	At risk: As of June 2021, there were 9,815 foreign nationals in prisons in the UK, an increase on 9,225 on 31 December 2019, despite the overall prison population falling due to the pandemic. ^{131,132}
Create a prisoner education service focused on work-based training and skills	Yet to start: The government initially said in January 2021 that the delivery of a prisoner education service was had been delayed due to the pandemic but that it was planning an “ambitious programme of reform” that would begin by providing additional expert support to a small number of selected prisons in 2021/22, with roll out across England by 2023. ¹³³ There is no public evidence of this work, and Ofsted and the Prisons Inspectorate recently announced a review into prison education with no reference to a prisoner education service. ¹³⁴
Job coach in each prison	On track: There are more than 100 prison work coaches for around 120 prisons, although there is not information about how work coaches are distributed between sites or if more are currently being recruited, but given the high number confirmed to be working we have rated this pledge as ‘on track’. ¹³⁵ The work coaches stopped visiting prisons due to the pandemic but resumed their work as of April 2021. ¹³⁶

New laws will require schools, police, councils and health authorities to work together through Violence Reduction Units to prevent serious crime	Underway: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill introduced a serious violence duty that the government says will complement and assist the way Violence Reduction Units work. The government says that “as a result of this duty the police, local authorities, fire and rescue authorities, and specified health and criminal justice agencies will have to work together to identify and publish what actions they need to take collectively to reduce violent crime.” ¹³⁷ This bill is currently in committee in the House of Lords.
Pass the Police Protection Bill	Underway in a different form: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill includes several measures relating to the protection of police, which the government had previously planned to include in a separate, standalone bill. ¹³⁸ The bill was introduced into parliament in March 2021 and is currently in committee in the House of Lords.
Consult on doubling the maximum sentence for assaulting workers in emergency services	Completed: In July 2020, the government launched a consultation on doubling the maximum sentence for assaulting an emergency worker. The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill would increase the maximum available sentence from 12 months to two years. In November 2021 the government also announced its plans to introduce ‘Harper’s law’, which would introduce mandatory life sentences for those who kill emergency workers. ¹³⁹
Strengthen the accountability of elected Police and Crime Commissioners and expand their role	Underway: The home secretary outlined the recommendations of part one of her review of PCCs on 16 March 2021, and some implementation has occurred. ¹⁴⁰ The second part of the review was announced in July 2021. ¹⁴¹
Expand electronic tagging for criminals serving time outside jail, including the use of sobriety tags for those whose offending is fuelled by alcohol	Completed: In April 2021 six police forces participated in an MoJ pilot in which burglars were tagged for up to 12 months after being released from prison, and the government expanded the scheme to cover an extra 26,000 offenders in October 2021. ¹⁴² In November 2021, the government promised that around 12,000 serious and prolific offenders would be tagged with alcohol-measuring devices over the next three years if their offending was deemed to be alcohol related. ¹⁴³

Toughen community sentences, for example by tightening curfews and making those convicted do more hours of community payback to clean up our parks and streets	Underway: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill includes measures to toughen community sentences and to give courts and probation staff more flexibility to use curfews. These measures include increasing the maximum daily curfew hours from 16 hours to 20 hours per day (while retaining a weekly maximum of 112 hours), and increasing the maximum length of time a curfew can be imposed for from 12 months to two years. The bill also allows for the making of regulations to vary the maximum number of hours that can be required for unpaid work carried out by the offender to make reparation for the offence. The bill is currently in committee in the House of Lords. ¹⁴⁴
Create a new national cyber crime force	Completed: The prime minister confirmed in November 2020 that a national cyber force had been running since April 2020. ^{145,146}
Create a world-class National Crime Laboratory	Yet to start: We did not find any public evidence relating to a national crime laboratory.
Add 10,000 more prison places	At risk: In the 2020 spending review, the government confirmed £4bn in capital funding over the following four years to “make significant progress” towards building 10,000 prison places in England and Wales by the mid-2020s, and in September 2020 the Public Accounts Committee noted that “despite [the 2015] promise to create 10,000 new-for-old prison places by 2020, just 206 new places have been delivered so far”. ¹⁴⁷ The Infrastructure and Projects Authority have rated the government’s plans to expand the estate and build new prisons as Amber and Amber/Red respectively, due to “successful delivery [depending on] several factors that are outside of the project’s direct control”, notably the need to secure planning permission.
Maintain the ban on prisoners voting from jail	On track: The ban remains in place. ¹⁴⁸
Conduct a root-and-branch review of the parole system to improve accountability and public safety, giving victims the right to attend hearings for the first time	On track: The government launched a review in October 2020. Public consultation ran from 20 October to 1 December 2020. ¹⁴⁹ As of 24 September 2021 this review remained ongoing. ¹⁵⁰

Establish a Royal Commission on the criminal justice process	Yet to start: The government said in November 2020 that work is underway on terms of reference and options for the chairs and commissioners, and that a budget has been allocated for the commission's work, but that its priority is responding to the immediate impact of the pandemic on the criminal justice system. ¹⁵¹ This position was re-affirmed in July 2021. ¹⁵²
Tackle unauthorised traveller camps: give the police new powers to arrest and seize the property and vehicles of trespassers who set up unauthorised encampments	Underway: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill would create a new offence of "residing on land without consent in or with a vehicle" and give the police seizure and forfeiture powers associated with that offence. The bill is in committee in the House of Lords. ¹⁵³
Tackle unauthorised traveller camps: make intentional trespass a criminal offence	Underway: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill would create a new offence of "residing on land without consent in or with a vehicle". The bill would not criminalise trespass but is designed to criminalise the act of trespassing when making an unauthorised encampment. ¹⁵⁴ The Bill is in committee in the House of Lords. ¹⁵⁵
Tackle unauthorised traveller camps: give councils greater powers within the planning system	Yet to start: The government re-affirmed that it "will introduce more powers to address intentional unauthorised development, consider higher fines, and look to ways of supporting more enforcement activity" in the August 2020 Planning for the Future white paper. ¹⁵⁶ However, there appears to be no further concrete progress to date. ¹⁵⁷
Pass and implement a Victims' Law that guarantees victims' rights and the level of support they can expect	Underway: The government introduced a new Victims' Code that gives victims of crime better support from the police, courts and other criminal agencies in April 2021. ¹⁵⁸ This code is intended to pave the way for a 'Victims' Law', on which the government announced in December 2021 that it would consult. ¹⁵⁹
Pass the Domestic Abuse Bill	Completed: The Domestic Abuse Act received royal assent in April 2021. ¹⁶⁰
Pilot integrated domestic abuse courts that address criminal and family matters in parallel	Underway: In March 2020, the government announced that £5m was allocated to the Ministry of Justice to establish specialised courts, i.e. integrated domestic abuse courts. These courts have been referred to as 'Problem-Solving Courts' – some legal changes also have been made in the Police, Crime and Sentencing Bill to facilitate the establishment of these courts. ¹⁶¹

Expand funding for and protect places of worship from physical attack or harassment	Completed: In 2020, the government doubled the amount of funding available through the places of worship protective security scheme, from £1.6m in 2019 to £3.2m in 2020. The government also ran a consultation from March to June 2020 on protecting places of worship. The government committed to spending £3.6m in 2021 to continue protecting places of worship – over double what was available in 2019. ¹⁶²
Ban public bodies from imposing their own direct or indirect boycotts, disinvestment or sanctions campaigns against foreign countries	Yet to start: The commitment was included in the briefing notes for the Queen’s Speech in December 2019 and re-affirmed in the 2021 Queen’s Speech, but we have not found evidence of subsequent work. ¹⁶³ Responsibility for the pledge was moved to DLUHC in December 2021. ¹⁶⁴
Legislate to make the UK the safest place in the world to be online	Underway: In May 2021 the government published a draft of its proposed Online Safety Bill. A joint select committee is scrutinising the bill, with social media giants and others due to give evidence. ¹⁶⁵
Review the Gambling Act, with a particular focus on tackling issues around loot boxes and credit card misuse	On track: Credit cards were banned for all gambling – except lotteries – in shops from April 2020. In September 2020, the government announced a call for evidence on loot boxes, which will support the wider review of the Gambling Act 2005 launched by government in December 2020. A white paper on the next steps of the gambling review is due by the end of the year. ¹⁶⁶
Introduce a firmer and fairer Australian-style points-based immigration system, prioritising people with a good grasp of English, good education and qualifications, a job offer, and who have been law-abiding citizens in their own countries	Completed: The government implemented a points-based system in January 2021. Applicants must gain 70 points through salary, language skills, job offer, and education requirements. While the system is points based, it is not strictly ‘Australian-style’, as the Australian system does not require a job offer, and applicants can qualify on the basis of skills, age and educational qualification. The UK system explicitly requires a job offer. ¹⁶⁷

Fewer lower-skilled migrants	On track: The number of low-skilled migrants has most likely fallen, owing to the end of free movement of people from the EU (workers born in new EU accession countries are over-represented in low-skilled occupations), the pandemic (which has seen fewer people arrive in the UK on work, study and family-related visas) and the new points-based system (which discriminates in favour of high-skilled workers). It is impossible to give a precise figure based on current published statistics. ¹⁶⁸
Overall number of migrants to come down	On track: The number of visas granted in the year ending September 2021 was 19% down on the previous year and 64% lower than the year before, although this can largely be attributed to the pandemic. ¹⁶⁹ The Migration Observatory at Oxford University estimated that the UK's foreign-born population shrank by just over 1m, to 8.3m, in the first three quarters of 2020, also largely due to the pandemic. ¹⁷⁰ But the introduction of a relatively strict points-based immigration system means it is likely that the overall decline in migrants will be sustained, even after the pandemic.
Offer top science and technology graduates and those who win top scientific prizes fast-track entry to the UK	Completed: The government opened a fast-track visa scheme – known as the 'Global Talent Route' – in February 2020 for those who can show exceptional talent or promise in a range of fields, including science and technology. Applicants must have their talent endorsed – for example, by a research institution – or have received a prestigious award or prize. ¹⁷¹
Not allow serious criminals into the country	Completed: The UK's new immigration system came into effect on 1 January 2021. Under the new system, foreign offenders with a conviction with a custodial sentence length of at least 12 months or who have committed an offence that caused serious harm can be refused entry to the UK. ¹⁷²
We are committed to the Windrush compensation scheme	Underway: The Home Office started to issue offers of preliminary payments in December 2020, following criticism of the slow handling of compensation claims. It is now offering between £10,000 and £100,000 to anyone who shows "impact on life" under the scheme. By the end of March 2021, the government had paid out £14.3m in compensation. On 27 October 2021, the Home Office published new guidance for those making decisions on compensation claims to address some of the weaknesses in the scheme identified by the NAO and others. ¹⁷³
Treat EU and non-EU citizens equally [with regard to immigration]	On track: The UK's new immigration system treats EU and non-EU applicants equally. ¹⁷⁴

Guarantee the existing rights of EU citizens who came to live in the UK before Brexit	Completed: Nearly 6m EU citizens living in the UK before the end of the Brexit transition period have been granted new residency status in the UK. The EU settlement scheme allows those EU citizens resident in the UK for five consecutive years to apply for settled status, granting indefinite right to remain. Those who have lived in the UK for fewer than five years are eligible for pre-settled status, which allows EU citizens to continue to live in the UK until they become eligible to apply for settled status. The settlement scheme closed to new applicants on 30 June 2021, with late applications only accepted if applicants have reasonable grounds for missing the deadline. The number of applicants to the settlement scheme far exceeded official estimates of EU residents living in the UK. ¹⁷⁵
Youth Futures Foundation will invest at least £90m to improve employment outcomes for young people	On track: The UK government provided £90m to the Youth Futures Foundation. ¹⁷⁶ In 2020, this new organisation spent over £15m, supported 140 grantees, reached over 6,000 young people, and published 10 papers. ¹⁷⁷
Improve the quality of evidence and data within government about the types of barriers different groups face	Underway: The government allocated £16.4m to improving data collection and sharing in the 2020 budget, but has not said how this will specifically be used to understand the barriers different groups face. The 2021 Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities report references data collection on minority groups, and specifies that better disaggregation of groups is needed beyond BAME categorisation. ¹⁷⁸
Maintain support for a memorial recognising the contribution of the Windrush Generation in a prominent site in London	On track: After £1m was guaranteed for the new public memorial at Waterloo station, the government picked the artist to design the memorial: Basil Watson. The new memorial will be unveiled on the 22nd June 2022. ¹⁷⁹

People coming into the country from the EU will only be able to access unemployment, housing, and child benefit after five years	Completed: To qualify for public funds, EU nationals (excluding Irish nationals) living in the UK before the end of the transition period must have settled or pre-settled status under the EU settlement scheme. To qualify for settled status, EU nationals must have been resident in the UK for five years. EU nationals (again excluding Irish nationals) moving to the UK after the end of the transition period must comply with the UK's new immigration system. Typically, EU nationals with visas under the new scheme will not have access to many benefits until they have achieved indefinite permission to stay, which is typically after five years' residence in the UK. ¹⁸⁰
No longer allow people to claim child benefit for children living overseas	Completed: Following the introduction of a new immigration system, children living overseas will 'usually' not be eligible for child benefits. ¹⁸¹
Ensure that new GP and school places are delivered ahead of people moving into new housing developments	Yet to start: The government ran a consultation on changes to the planning system in 2020, but its proposals did not directly address this commitment. ¹⁸²
Continue to offer free emergency care to anyone who needs it	On track: Emergency health care remains free in England.
Towns Fund to go to an initial 100 towns to improve their local economy – and they and only they will make the choice about what improvements their local area needs	On track: Since the announcement of all the 101 recipients of Towns Fund grants in July of this year, there has been no further update but it is fair to assume that this pledge will be completed before the end of this parliament. ¹⁸³
Invest £500m in new youth clubs and services	On track: The 2021 spending review announced £560m for investment in youth services in England, including through the Youth Investment Fund and National Citizen Service. ¹⁸⁴

A new Safer Streets Fund will invest in preventative measures like new CCTV or community wardens	Completed: A third round of bids was completed in October 2021, awarding an extra £23.5m, bringing the total disbursed so far to £70m. ¹⁸⁵
£250m cultural capital fund to support libraries and regional museums, and activities, traditions and events that bring communities together	On track: The government announced the Culture Investment Fund with £250m of funding in October 2019. ¹⁸⁶ The Arts Council describes the Culture Investment Fund as a combination of three capital funds: Cultural Development Fund, Museum Estate and Development Fund, and Libraries Improvement Fund. The overall fund is worth £42m for 2021/22. ¹⁸⁷
Establish a £150m Community Ownership Fund to encourage local takeovers of civic organisations or community assets that are under threat	On track: The first of eight bidding rounds finished on 13 August 2021. ¹⁸⁸
Set up a fan-led review of football governance, which will include consideration of the Owners and Directors Test, and will work with fans and clubs towards introducing safe standing	Completed: The independent review was announced by DCMS in April 2021 and was published in November 2021. ¹⁸⁹ A pilot for safe standing will be running in 2022 at five football clubs. ¹⁹⁰
Support local and regional newspapers, as vital pillars of communities and local democracy, including by extending their business rates relief	On track: The government has extended business rates relief for local newspapers to 2025. ¹⁹¹

£100bn in additional infrastructure spending – including on roads and rail, and £4bn in new funding for flood defences	On track: The 2021 spending review reaffirmed £5.2bn for flood defences until 2027 as per the Ten Point Plan for a Green industrial Revolution, and also confirmed £100bn in infrastructure spending during the SR period. ¹⁹²
Build Northern Powerhouse Rail between Leeds and Manchester	Abandoned: The government's Integrated Rail Plan published in November 2021 confirmed that there will be no completely new high speed line between Manchester and Leeds, and instead pledged to build a new line between Manchester and Warrington, and upgrade the line between Warrington and Leeds, excluding Bradford. ¹⁹³
Extend contactless pay-as-you go ticketing to almost 200 more stations in the South East	Underway: The Williams-Shapps Rail Review, published in May 2021, makes numerous references to expanding the use of contactless payments 'beyond the capital' but gives no timeframe or detail. ¹⁹⁴ The Department for Transport launched a tender to select a company to run the rollout of ticketless fares at stations across the South East in August 2021, though it has not yet published whether it has selected a bidder. ¹⁹⁵
Give city regions the funding to upgrade their bus, tram and train services	On track: The 2021 spending review pledged £5.7bn as part of an investment package to deliver 'City Region Sustainable Transport Settlements' to eight English city regions, subject to the creation of appropriate governance to agree and deliver funding. ¹⁹⁶

End the complicated franchising model and create a simpler, more effective rail system, including giving metro mayors control over services in their areas	Underway: The Williams-Shapps Rail Review, published in May 2021, outlined plans to replace franchising with 'Passenger Service Contracts', and aimed to "launch initial competitions" by the end of 2022. ¹⁹⁷
Make a £28.8bn investment in strategic and local roads	On track: The 2021 spending review commits £24bn between 2021/22 and 2024/25 for investment in strategic roads as well as a further £8bn for pothole filling, bringing the total to £32bn. ¹⁹⁸
Invest £1bn in completing a fast-charging network to ensure that everyone is within 30 miles of a rapid electric vehicle charging station	Underway: The 2021 spending review committed an extra £620m, on top of the £1.9bn committed in the 2020 spending review for public charging. ^{199,200} Whether or not this will ensure that everyone is within 30 miles of a rapid electric charging station is unclear. The Electric Vehicle Infrastructure Strategy, scheduled to be released in autumn 2021, was delayed. ²⁰¹
Consult on the earliest date we can phase out the sale of new conventional petrol and diesel cars	Completed: The government's ten point plan for a green industrial revolution set 2030 as the date for the end of sales of new petrol and diesel cars and vans. ²⁰²
Require that a minimum service operates during transport strikes	Yet to start: We did not find evidence of further work or announcements on this commitment since it was reiterated in the Queen's Speech in December 2019. ²⁰³
Consider the findings of the Oakervee review into costs and timings of HS2 and work with leaders of the Midlands and the North to decide the optimal outcome	Completed: The government decided to proceed with HS2 in February 2020 after considering the findings of the Oakervee review – although as of November 2021, the government no longer intends to proceed with the eastern leg of Phase 2. ²⁰⁴

Restore many of the Beeching lines	On track: The Restoring your Railway Fund has been allocated £500m. The funding will be available for: ideas fund to restore lost rail services; accelerate delivery of schemes with existing business cases; and fund plans for new or restored stations. ²⁰⁵ The government has approved 46 projects, and the first line funded under the scheme – the Dartmoor line – reopened in November 2021. ^{206,207}
Launch the biggest ever pothole-filling programme as part of our National Infrastructure Strategy	On track: The government allocated £1.4bn capital for road maintenance in 2021/22, down from £1.8bn in 2020/21. The government established a £2.5bn pothole fund, which is set to spend £500m each year for five years on pothole repairs, and further allocated £8bn “to fill millions of potholes” as well as to deliver local road upgrades in the 2021 spending review. ^{208,209} The interaction between the pothole fund and the spending review’s £8bn allocation is as-yet unclear, but given the substantial amount of funding committed to potholes and road maintenance we have marked this pledge as ‘on track’.
Create a new £350m Cycling Infrastructure Fund with mandatory design standards for new routes	On track: The Cycling Infrastructure Fund was superseded by £2bn for cycling and walking, as part of £5bn transport package announced in February 2020. This was confirmed in the 2021 spending review. ²¹⁰ In its July 2020 local transport note on cycle infrastructure design, the government stated that it “will be a condition of any future government funding for new cycle infrastructure that it is designed in a way that is consistent with this national guidance”. ²¹¹
Extend Bikeability – cycling proficiency training – to every child	Completed: The bikeability training scheme was extended to every child in February 2020. Children whose schools have not signed up for the programme can receive training from local bikeability providers. ²¹²
Heathrow third runway scheme will receive no new public money	On track: In 2020 the transport secretary reiterated the commitment that the Heathrow third runway scheme would be industry-led, and there was no update on this in the 2021 spending review. ²¹³
Use new air traffic control technology to cut the time aircraft spend waiting to land	Yet to start: We did not find evidence of further work on this commitment.

Roll-out full fibre and gigabit-capable broadband to every home and business across the UK by 2025	Abandoned: The government said in its national infrastructure strategy that it is working with industry to target a minimum of 85% gigabit capable coverage by 2025, but will “seek to accelerate roll-out further to get as close to 100% as possible”. ²¹⁴
£5bn of new public funding to connect premises which are not commercially viable to full fibre and gigabit capable broadband	At risk: The government has outlined £5bn of spending in their Gigabit programme that will conclude at the end of 2030. Of that, only £1.2bn will be spent before 2024/25, according to the 2021 spending review. ²¹⁵ The annual reports on major projects has given the project an ‘at risk’ rating. ²¹⁶
Local people will continue to have the final say on council tax, being able to veto excessive rises	On track: The government has not removed provision for referendums on excessive council tax increases. ²¹⁷
Publish an English Devolution White Paper setting out our plans in 2020	Delayed – and in different form: There was no English devolution white paper in 2020. English devolution has been rolled into the Levelling Up and Local Growth white paper, which media reports suggest has been delayed to 2022. ^{218,219}
Invite proposals from local areas for growth bodies similar to the Northern Powerhouse across the rest of England, such as the Oxford-Cambridge Arc	Yet to start: We did not find evidence that the government had invited proposals, however in February 2021 it announced a spatial framework plan for the Oxford-Cambridge arc with “the intention to establish an Arc Growth Body”. ²²⁰
Encourage a new market in long-term fixed rate mortgages which slash the cost of deposits	On track: The government introduced a mortgage guarantee scheme in April 2021 to increase availability of 95% loan-to-value mortgages. Participating lenders must offer a five year fixed rate product. The scheme is open to new 95% mortgages until 31 December 2022. ²²¹

Enable councils to use developers' contributions via the planning process to discount homes in perpetuity by a third for local people who cannot otherwise afford to buy in their area	Completed: In April 2021 the government published a response to its consultation on First Homes (a new scheme to provide homes for first-time buyers at a discount of a minimum of 30%). ^{222,223} From 28 June 2021, changes to planning came into effect to support these two new schemes. A home meeting the criteria of a First Home is now considered to meet the definition of 'affordable housing' for planning purposes. A First Home must be discounted by a minimum of 30% against the market value; and after the discount has been applied, the first sale of the home must be at a price no higher than £250,000 (or £420,000 in Greater London). ^{224,225}
Maintain our commitment to a Right to Buy for all council tenants	On track: The government's Right to Buy scheme is still operating. ²²⁶
Maintain the voluntary Right to Buy scheme agreed with housing associations	On track: The Right to Buy scheme for housing association homes remains active. ²²⁷
Review new ways to support home ownership following the completion of the Help to Buy scheme	Yet to start: The Help to Buy scheme has been extended to 2023. ²²⁸ There is no indication on what new schemes might replace it.
Simplify shared ownership products by setting a single standard for all housing associations	Completed: In April 2021 the government published responses to its shared ownership consultation, and published its new model for Shared Ownership. Following a ministerial statement in May 2021, changes to planning came into effect to support this new scheme in June 2021. The minimum share for initial Shared Ownership purchases was lowered to 10% from the current 25%, and new shared owners are now able to purchase further shares in 1% increments for 15 years (accompanied by reduced fees). Landlords must provide support to Shared Ownership Leaseholders with costs of repairs and maintenance for 10 years, and all leases must now be for at least 990 years. All Shared Ownership homes delivered through the Affordable Homes Programme 2021 to 2026 will be subject to the new model for Shared Ownership. ^{229,230,231}

Continue with our reforms to leasehold including implementing our ban on the sale of new leasehold homes, restricting ground rents to a peppercorn, and providing necessary mechanisms of redress for tenants	Underway: The Leasehold Reform (Ground Rent) Bill was introduced in the House of Lords on 12 May 2021. The bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons on 29 November. ²³² This bill will fulfil the commitment to “set future ground rents to zero”. The provisions will apply to leasehold retirement properties, but not before 1 April 2023. On the timing of future legislation, during the Leasehold Reform (Ground Rent) Bill’s Committee Stage in the House of Lords 9 June 2021 Lord Greenhalgh said the aim was to bring forward a Bill on wider leasehold reform in the third session of this parliament. ^{233,234}
Bring in a Better Deal for Renters, including abolishing ‘no fault’ evictions and only requiring one ‘lifetime’ deposit which moves with the tenant	Yet to start: In May 2021 Queen’s Speech, it was announced that the government would be publishing a policy white paper on a Renters’ Reform Bill in the autumn, with legislation to follow “in due course”. ²³⁵ The white paper has since been delayed until 2022, in order to take into account of the NAO’s upcoming review of regulation of the private rented sector (as reported by the <i>Daily Mail</i> and elsewhere, citing sources in DLUHC). ²³⁶
Bring forward a Social Housing White Paper which will set out further measures to empower tenants and support the continued supply of social homes	Completed: The social housing white paper was published in November 2020. ²³⁷
Commit to renewing the Affordable Homes Programme	Completed: The programme has been renewed for 2021–2026. ²³⁸

End the blight of rough sleeping by the end of the next parliament by expanding successful pilots and programmes such as the Rough Sleeping Initiative and Housing First, and working to bring together local services to meet the health and housing needs of people sleeping on the streets	Underway: Measuring rough sleeping is complex, but according to the ONS, annual rough sleeping snapshot statistics conducted in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland indicate that the number of people sleeping rough rose to a peak in 2017 or 2018 with reduced levels in subsequent years, including a notable decline in 2020 (associated with Covid-related initiatives). ²³⁹ Management information suggests this may have continued into 2021. In May 2021 the government announced that councils would be allocated a further £203m in funding for the Rough Sleeping Initiative. ²⁴⁰ Across the three Housing First pilots, a total of 534 individuals were housed at the end of February 2021, representing 59% of all those recruited by the pilots. ²⁴¹ In July 2021 the government published a Mobilising Housing First toolkit with the aim of providing information for those looking to implement Housing First at a local or regional level. ²⁴²
Bring in a stamp duty surcharge on non-UK resident buyers	Completed: A surcharge for non-resident buyers was introduced in April 2021. ²⁴³
Continue our progress towards our target of 300,000 homes a year by the mid-2020s	At risk: There were 216,489 net additional dwellings in 2020/21, an 11% fall compared to 2019/20, and well short of the 300,000 target. ²⁴⁴ The fall in 2020/21 is likely temporary due to the pandemic and associated regulations restricting construction work. Data on new building starts between April and June 2021 indicate that housebuilding is now slightly above pre-pandemic (April–June 2019) levels, although the government is still unlikely to meet its 300,000 house-building target. Construction firms have expressed concern that a lack of materials and staff shortages will restrict the rate at which they can build houses. ²⁴⁵ The government allocated £60m to councils to build homes on brownfield sites in October 2021, but it remains to be seen whether its various housing measures will be enough to hit the 300,000 target. ²⁴⁶ There will have to be over 57,000 more new houses built in 2024/25 than in 2019/20, a 24% increase, if the government is to hit its target.

<p>Ask every community to decide on its own design standards for new development, allowing residents a greater say on the style and design of development in their area</p>	<p>Completed: In July 2021 the government updated its National Planning Policy Framework to incorporate a new collection of planning practice guidance placing greater emphasis on beauty and place-making, including a National Design Guide which sets out the characteristics of well-designed places, and a National Model Design Code which sets out design parameters to help local authorities and communities decide what good quality design looks like in their area.²⁴⁷ As part of the framework, local planning authorities and neighbourhood planning groups are encouraged to prepare 'local design guides' to set out the general principles and standards that development proposals should follow in their area, based on the 10 important characteristics of good places set out in the National Design Guide.²⁴⁸</p>
<p>Implement and legislate for all the recommendations of the Hackitt Review and the first phase of the independent inquiry</p>	<p>Underway: The Fire Safety Act received royal assent on 29 April 2021.²⁴⁹ While the bill was passed at the end of April, it requires secondary legislation to come into force. This will happen at the same time as risk-based guidance on buildings is issued by the Secretary of State for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities. This has not yet happened. The Building Safety Bill was amended in committee in the House of Commons and published in October 2021 – it is now in report stage in the Commons.²⁵⁰ In February 2021, the government announced an increase in the funding available for high-rise leasehold residential buildings with unsafe cladding.²⁵¹ The government records itself as having made good progress in implementing the Grenfell Tower Inquiry Phase 1 recommendations, but most are still 'in progress', not 'complete'.²⁵²</p>
<p>Cut the burden of tax on business by reducing business rates. This will be done via a fundamental review of the system.</p>	<p>Completed: The business rates review was published in October 2021.²⁵³ In the October 2021 budget, the government announced a series of tweaks to the system, including a one-year 50% relief for retail, hospitality and leisure sector and a one-year freeze of the multiplier, as well as changes to the treatment of property improvements.²⁵⁴ These all reduce business rates, although they are some way short of a fundamental change to how the system works.</p>
<p>Further reduce business rates for retail businesses, as well as extending the discount to grassroots music venues, small cinemas and pubs.</p>	<p>On track: The government increased the business rates retail discount to 50% in 2020/21, and 100% for small businesses. Relief was expanded to the leisure and hospitality sectors (including music venues and cinemas). The government also provided a £5,000 discount for pubs with a rateable value below £100,000 in England for one year from 1 April 2020. The October 2021 budget provided 50% relief for Retail, Hospitality and Leisure sectors in 2022–23 and a £110,000 cash cap.²⁵⁵ However, these are only temporary measures.</p>

Increase the Employment Allowance for small businesses	Completed: In the 2020 budget, the chancellor increased employment allowance for small businesses from £3,000 to £4,000. ²⁵⁶
Commit to paying start-ups and small businesses on time	At risk: The government has a target that 90% of invoices should be paid within five days, but only two departments (the Ministry of Defence and the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office) met this target in the first two quarters of 2021. In 2020, most departments consistently missed this target. ²⁵⁷
Strengthen the powers of the Small Business Commissioner to support small businesses that are exploited by their larger partners	Underway: The government consulted on increasing the scope and powers of the Small Business Commissioner between October and December 2020. New powers proposed in the consultation include legally binding payment orders, launching investigations and levying fines. The government said in January 2021 that it would publish consultation responses and take forward proposed reforms “in due course”. ²⁵⁸
Expand start-up loans	Completed: Funding was announced at the October 2021 budget for 33,000 Start Up Loans over the next three years, maintaining delivery at the expanded level agreed at the 2020 spending review. ^{259,260}
Look at how we can improve the working of the Apprenticeship Levy	Underway: From August 2021, employers who pay the apprenticeship levy will be able to transfer unspent levy funds in bulk to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) with a new pledge function, instead of those funds being passed back to the government. ²⁶¹ The government has also made a number of technical changes to support employers during the economic recovery. However, some employers and groups continue to argue that the rules governing the use of levy funds remain too rigid. ²⁶² The Department for Education has said it will make improvements in response to employers’ feedback.
Increase the R&D tax credit rate to 13%	Completed: The government increased the rate for R&D tax credit from 12% to 13% in the 2020 budget. ²⁶³

Review the definition of R&D so that important investments in cloud computing and data, which boost productivity and innovation, are also incentivised	Completed: Changes to R&D tax credits in the October 2021 budget expanded qualifying expenditure to include cloud computing and data costs. ²⁶⁴
Review and reform Entrepreneur's Relief	Completed: The government reduced the lifetime limit on gains eligible for relief from £10m to £1m in the 2020 budget. The relief has been renamed business asset disposal relief. The reforms were included in the Finance Act 2020 which received royal assent on 22 July 2020. ²⁶⁵
Launch a review to explore how we can better support the self-employed. That includes improving their access to finance and credit (not least mortgages), making the tax system easier to navigate, and examining how better broadband can boost homeworking	Yet to start: We did not find evidence of a review having been launched.
Set out a new anti-tax avoidance and evasion law which will: double the maximum prison term to 14 years for individuals convicted of the most egregious examples of tax fraud; create a single, beefed-up Anti-Tax Evasion unit in HMRC; consolidate existing anti-evasion and avoidance measures and powers; and introduce a new package of anti-evasion measures	Underway: The government announced new anti-evasion and avoidance measures and additional resources for HMRC in the 2020 and 2021 budgets and allocated an additional £292m to the department over three years in the 2021 spending review. ^{266,267} However, the law has not been changed to increase maximum prison terms for tax evasion and there is no evidence of a "single, beefed up anti-tax evasion unit".

Implement the Digital Services Tax	Completed: The government introduced the digital services tax in April 2020, applying a 2% tax on the revenues of search engines, social media services and online marketplaces that derive value from UK users. ²⁶⁸ The government said in the 2020 budget that it will “repeal the DST once an appropriate global solution is in place”, although it has not confirmed that the recent OECD agreement meets this requirement. ²⁶⁹
Reform insolvency rules and the audit regime so that customers and suppliers – and UK taxpayers – are better protected when firms go into administration	Underway: The government reformed insolvency rules in December 2020 to move HMRC up the creditor hierarchy, so that more of the taxes paid in good faith by its employees and customers, and temporarily held by the business, will go to fund public services instead of getting distributed to other creditors. The government also asked the Law Commission to consult on draft legislation that would better protect consumers who have pre-paid for goods from a retailer that becomes insolvent. The Law Commission published its report in April 2021. In March 2021 the government announced it would hold a consultation on the UK’s audit regime ²⁷⁰ The consultation ended in July 2021 but no response has yet been given. ²⁷¹
Improve incentives to attack the problem of excessive executive pay and rewards for failure	Underway: The government commissioned a report by accounting firm PwC on executive pay and investment in the UK, released in June 2021. ²⁷² Access to some Covid business support schemes (CLBILS and CCFF) was conditional on limiting executive pay but there has been little in the way of concrete action.
Reintroduce legislation that protects pension pots from being plundered by reckless bosses, helps savers be better informed with pension dashboards, and creates a new style of pension scheme which is more sustainable	Completed: The Pension Schemes Act 2021 received royal assent on 11 February 2021. The act sets up a new form of pension scheme called collective money purchase schemes, strengthens the powers of the Pensions Regulator to improve protections for pensions savings, and creates a legislative framework for pensions dashboards. ²⁷³

Require significant numbers of new UK apprentices for all big new infrastructure projects	Yet to start: The most recent infrastructure plan has no requirements for apprentices on government projects. The government has focussed on incentives rather than regulation, and introduced an incentive payment in August 2020 for hiring apprentices. In September 2021, the government reported that more than 85,000 apprentices were hired over the last year under its new incentive payments, and the 2021 spending review extended this incentive until January 2022. The latest version of the Infrastructure Pipeline, published in September 2021, commits to “improving access to our existing skills offers through apprenticeships”. ^{274,275,276,277}
Create a new National Skills Fund worth £3bn over the next parliament	At risk: Investment for the National Skills Fund began in April 2021, funding free Level 3 qualifications for adults and Skills Bootcamps which offer flexible courses that provide adults with in-demand skills and then fast-track them to an interview with an employer. ²⁷⁸ In the 2021 spending review the government committed to providing a total investment in adult skills funding of £554m by 2024/25, a 29% real terms increase compared to 2019/20. According to the 2021 spending review this “meets the government’s commitment to a National Skills Fund”. ²⁷⁹ There is distinct lack of detail about what the National Skills Fund covers, how much has been spent, and how much is left, but it seems unlikely that the government’s current spending commitments will add up to an investment of £2.5bn by the end of the parliament. The IFS estimates that this should equate to about £625m in spending per year for four years, starting in April 2021, by which measure the government already appears well behind, with even their ambition for £554m in 2024/25 falling short. ²⁸⁰
Investing almost £2bn to upgrade the entire further education college estate	At risk: The 2021 spending review confirmed the new pledge of £1.5bn over the parliament – so less than originally planned in the manifesto. ²⁸¹ £200m was allocated to colleges through the Further Education Capital Allocation in 2020/21. ²⁸² On 8 April 2021 it was announced that DfE is working in partnership with 16 colleges to address some of the worst condition sites. And the Further Education Capital Transformation Fund is currently in Stage 2 of the bidding process. ²⁸³
20 Institutes of Technology, which connect high-quality teaching in science, technology, engineering and maths to business and industry	On track: Twelve Institutes of Technology were announced before the 2019 election. ²⁸⁴ The government opened applications for a further eight in 2020, which were due to be announced in autumn 2021. In December 2021 nine new institutes were named, which brought the number of approved institutes across the country to 21, meaning the government is on track to open more than 20 by the end of the parliament.

Ensure that £500m of the UK Shared Prosperity Fund is used to give disadvantaged people the skills they need to make a success of life	On track: The UK Shared Prosperity Fund (UKSPF) is due to commence in 2022. The government said in the 2020 spending review that a portion of the fund will be targeted at people most in need through bespoke employment and skills programmes. ²⁸⁵ In March 2021, the government announced a UK Community Renewal Fund for 2021/22 to provide an additional £220m of investment to support local areas to pilot new programmes, including to develop local skills, and help them take full advantage of the UKSPF when it launches in 2022. ²⁸⁶ The announcement of which projects received funding took place at the start of November, after several months delay. In the 2021 spending review, the chancellor confirmed that the UKSPF will support a range of skills and employment focused programmes, including, as a first priority, a £560m UK-wide adult numeracy programme, Multiply. ²⁸⁷
Look at the interest rates on loan repayments with a view to reducing the burden of debt on students	Yet to start: We did not find evidence of any further work on this commitment. In September 2021 <i>The Guardian</i> reported that the government was considering cutting the threshold at which graduates begin to repay tuition and maintenance loans from £27,000 to £23,000, which would force graduates to start repaying their loans earlier. ²⁸⁸
Create a single enforcement body for employment law	Underway: In June 2021, the government published its response to the consultation on the 2018 Good Work Plan proposal to establish a new single enforcement body for employment rights. In it, the government confirmed its commitment to create such a body, set out high level proposals for the body's remit, and laid out next steps including its approval process based on a business case and the need for primary legislation. It did not set out a timetable. We did not find evidence of any further progress on this since the response was published. ²⁸⁹
Ensure that workers have the right to request a more predictable contract and other reasonable protections	Yet to start: The 2019 Queen's Speech promised a new Employment Bill which would include changes anticipated by the 2018 Good Work Plan, including the right for new workers with variable hours to request a more predictable and stable contract after 26 weeks' service. ²⁹⁰ Mention of this bill was absent from the Queen's Speech in May 2021. ²⁹¹ A short Employment Bill was introduced in August 2021 to amend the definition of worker, to make provision about the employment rights of members of the armed forces and employee representatives on company boards, but did not include provision for the right for workers to request a more predictable contract. ²⁹²

Encourage flexible working and consult on making it the default unless employers have good reasons not to	On track: A consultation on making flexible working the default opened in September 2021 and closed on 1 December 2021. The results of the consultation have not yet been published. ²⁹³
Legislate to allow parents to take extended leave for neonatal care	Underway: The 2019 Queen’s Speech promised a new Employment Bill which would include allowing parents to take extended leave for neonatal care. ²⁹⁴ In March 2020 the government published a consultation response which said that it would introduce statutory Neonatal Leave and Pay. ²⁹⁵ In the March 2020 budget the government re-affirmed its commitment to leave for neonatal care and confirmed funding to start in 2023/24. Mention of this bill was absent from the Queen’s Speech in May 2021. ²⁹⁶
Committing to the fastest ever increase in domestic public R&D spending, including in basic science research to meet our target of 2.4% of GDP being spent on R&D across the economy	At risk: At the 2021 budget, the chancellor set out plans to increase public R&D investment to £20bn by 2024/5, which would be the biggest increase in support for basic research and innovation. He claimed that this makes “significant progress towards the government’s ambition to spend £22bn on R&D by 2026/27 and towards achieving the economy-wide target to invest 2.4% of GDP in R&D in 2027”. But the date to reach the £22bn target has been pushed back by two years. Furthermore, the ambition of meeting the 2.4% of GDP target relies on increased private sector investment as well as more public sector investment, and based on the current trajectory there is a high risk that the economy-wide R&D spending target will not be met. ²⁹⁷
New agency for high-risk, high-payoff research	On track: The government confirmed £800m in funding over the current parliament in its March 2020 budget. The government has said it will introduce legislation to create the agency “as soon as parliamentary time allows”, with the aim of the agency being fully operational by 2022. In March 2021 the government released a policy paper on the Advanced Research and Invention Agency (ARIA) setting out its rationale and intended purpose. ²⁹⁸ And the £800m in funding for ARIA was restated in the 2021 spending review, although allocated by 2025/26, including £50m from 2021/22. ²⁹⁹

Continue to collaborate internationally and with the EU on scientific research, including Horizon	On track (for now): In January 2021, the government announced that the UK will associate to Horizon Europe. The EU is still in the process of formalising the UK's association, although UK-based applicants are currently allowed to apply for the anticipated programme. ^{300,301} There has been media speculation that the delay in finalising the UK's association is linked to diplomatic disagreements around the Northern Ireland protocol. ^{302,303}
Unlock long-term capital in pension funds to invest in and commercialise our scientific discoveries	On track: On 4 August 2021, the prime minister and chancellor called on UK institutional investors to invest higher proportions of pension funds in long-term UK assets including science and tech, as well as infrastructure and housing. ³⁰⁴ The government has tried to remove obstacles to long-term illiquid investment within the UK by setting up the UK Infrastructure Bank. In the 2021 spending review, the government set out its intention to consult on further changes to the regulatory charge cap for defined contribution pension schemes to unlock institutional investment to support some of the most innovative businesses. ³⁰⁵ It has also worked with regulators through the Productive Finance Working Group, including the Financial Conduct Authority, which in November 2021 brought in changed rules for a new category of open-ended authorised funds (the Long Term Asset Fund) designed to invest efficiently in long-term, illiquid assets. ³⁰⁶
Maintain support for creative sector tax reliefs	On track: Creative sector tax reliefs remain in place. ³⁰⁷
Maintain free entry to the UK's national museums	On track: Museum entry remains free. ³⁰⁸

Free our farmers from the bureaucratic Common Agricultural Policy and move to a system based on 'public money for public goods'	On track: When the UK left the EU, it also left the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). ³⁰⁹ The UK government is developing a new agricultural support regime for England, to be introduced over a seven year agricultural transition period, running from 2021–28. From December 2021, the government will begin phasing out 'direct payments' to farmers – paid primarily on the basis of how much land is farmed. New schemes, under which farmers and land managers will be paid for delivering primarily environmental goods, are being introduced. New schemes are also being made available to increase productivity, improve animal health and help people leave or enter the farming sector. The government has also begun to change how agricultural support is administered – for instance, by removing the 'greening requirement' from direct payments and setting out plans to move to a more proportionate enforcement regime. The devolved administrations have responsibility for reforming the CAP in other parts of the UK. ^{310,311}
Guarantee the current annual budget to farmers in every year of the next parliament	On track: In the 2021 budget and spending review, the government committed to maintaining funding for farmers in every year of this parliament. ³¹² Some farming groups have previously disputed the way the government decided on the baseline figure.
Increase the annual quota for the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme we are piloting from 2,500 to 10,000	Completed: The quota was raised to 10,000 in 2020. It was further increased to 30,000 in 2021. ³¹³
Leave the Common Fisheries Policy	Completed: The UK is no longer part of the Common Fisheries Policy, following the end of the Brexit transition period. ³¹⁴
Maintain funding for fisheries across the UK's nations throughout the parliament	On track: In 2021 spending review, the government committed to maintain funding for farmers and land managers and for fisheries in all parts of the UK and in every year of this parliament. ³¹⁵ It provided the devolved administrations with £57.8m for the devolved administrations to support fisheries over the spending review period (roughly equivalent to its previous allocation of £20m for one year, spread over a three year period). The government also confirmed its £100m investment in the UK Seafood Fund to improve the long term sustainability of the UK fisheries sector. The first £24m allocation for fisheries science projects was unveiled by Defra in September 2021. ³¹⁶

There will be a legal requirement for a plan to achieve maximum sustainable yield for each fish stock	Completed: Parliament passed the Fisheries Act in November 2020. The act requires the secretary of state and devolved administrations to prepare a fisheries management plan. This will have to set out each administrations' "policies to restore or maintain fish stocks at sustainable levels" by working to maintain or achieve maximum sustainable yields for each stock. Environmental groups have questioned the degree to which the act includes a legal commitment to fish sustainably. ³¹⁷
Cement our Opportunity Areas programme to raise standards and support regeneration	On track: The programme remains in place. ³¹⁸
Set up a new independent Office For Environmental Protection	On track: An interim office, the Office for Environmental Protection, was set up in July 2021. The Environment Bill received royal assent and was enacted on 9 November 2021. This will enable the Office to become an independent legal entity. The OEP's website says: "We were legally created in November 2021, under the Environment Act 2021. We expect to be fully established early in 2022 after parliament takes the steps needed for our functions and powers to be made available to us." ³¹⁹
£640m new Nature for Climate fund	On track: The 2021 spending review included a further £625m for the Nature for Climate Fund, ensuring total spend of more than £750m by 2025 on peat restoration and woodland creation and management. In September 2021, Natural England announced that it had awarded Restoration Grant funding through the Nature for Climate Peatland Grant Scheme to five successful applicants, who will each receive a share of £16m over the next four years. Further rounds of funding are planned for the next two years. ^{320,321}

Reach an additional 75,000 acres of trees a year by the end of the next parliament, building on support for creating a Great Northumberland Forest	Abandoned: Government funding supported the planting of at least 1,892 hectares of new woodland and trees in 2020/21 (about 4,675 acres, well under target). ³²² In May 2021, Defra published the England Trees Action Plan 2021–24, which committed to an aim of increasing tree planting rates across the UK to 30,000 hectares per year by the end of the parliament. ³²³ (This is equivalent to just over 74,000 acres, so about the same as the 2019 manifesto commitment.) The SR21 expanded the Nature for Climate Fund to ensure total spending of more than £750m by 2024-25, apparently to help meet its “commitment to plant at least 7,500 hectares of trees every year in England by 2025”. 7,500 hectares is equal to just over 18,500 acres, a target four times smaller than that named in the 2019 manifesto and the England Trees Action Plan. So the 2021 spending review proposed a bigger fund but a smaller target goal than the 2019 manifesto. ^{324,325}
Create new National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty	Underway: The government announced in June 2021 that two areas will be considered for the status of Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs) and two current AONBs will be considered for extensions. ³²⁶
Make the coast to coast path across the most beautiful areas of the North a National Trail	Underway: The government announced in August 2021 that Natural England will complete a full audit of the existing coast to coast path and will assess any improvements that may be needed to bring it up to National Trail Quality Standards with the intention to bring it up to those standards and a view to present a formal proposal early in spring 2022. ³²⁷
Introduce a new levy to increase the proportion of recyclable plastics in packaging	Completed: In June, the Finance Bill 2021 received royal assent, establishing a plastic packaging tax which see producers charged £200 a ton for plastic packaging manufactured in or imported into the UK that does not contain at least 30% recycled plastic. It will take effect from 1 April 2022. ^{328,329}
Introduce extended producer responsibility, so that producers pay the full costs of dealing with the waste they produce	Underway: The government held a second consultation on Extended Producer Responsibility for Packaging from March to June 2021 but have not yet announced anything further since then. ³³⁰

Ban the export of plastic waste to non-OECD countries, consulting with industry, NGOs and local councils on the date by which this should be achieved	Underway: Defra has commissioned research to gain a better understanding of the plastic waste recycling capacity in the UK and OECD member countries, which the government say will be key to the development of policy options to implement the manifesto commitment. The Environment Bill, which received royal assent in November 2021 enables government to deliver on this commitment and they currently plan to consult before the end of 2022 on options to deliver the proposed ban. ³³¹
Increase penalties for fly-tipping	Yet to start: The government has taken no action to increase penalties for fly-tipping since the 2019 election. ³³²
Introduce a deposit return scheme to incentivise people to recycle plastic and glass	At risk: The government ran a consultation on the scheme from March to June 2021. We have found no evidence that the summary of responses to this consultation has yet been published. It has been widely reported that government sources have said that the scheme would be introduced in late 2024 at the earliest – after the election due in May. ³³³
Make no changes to the Hunting Act	On track: The government has not made any changes. ³³⁴
Make those on community sentences clean up their parks and streets	On track: Community payback, which can include removing graffiti and clearing wasteland in the local area, remains in place for community sentences. ³³⁵
UK Shared Prosperity Fund will at a minimum match the size of EU Structural Funds in each nation	On track: The 2021 spending review specified that the UK Shared Prosperity Fund, which will replace EU structural funds, will begin to operate from April 2022. However, spending will not reach the £1.5bn annual ceiling until 2024/25, which the devolved governments have said will create a funding gap. The government has reiterated its manifesto pledge that the share of the UKSPF spent in each nation of the UK will match the level of EU structural funds (assumed to mean, broadly, the allocations of the European Social Fund and European Regional Development Fund to the four nations of the UK under the 2014–20 EU Multiannual Financial Framework). ³³⁶

Carefully consider the recommendations of Lord Dunlop's Independent Review into UK government Union capability when it is published	Completed: The government published both the review and its response in March 2021. The review was completed in November 2019.
Aim to ensure that our new freeports benefit the people in each of the four nations	At risk: Unlike in England, no freeports have yet been announced in Northern Ireland, Scotland or Wales. Scotland has announced plans to create its own green ports and export promotion zones, separate from the UK government freeport scheme. In the autumn budget and spending review, the UK government reaffirmed its committed "to establishing at least one Freeport in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland". It also stated that the first freeports in England would begin initial operations in November 2021. Tees Valley freeport became operational on 19 November 2021. ^{337,338,339,340,341}
Continue to work with all sides to re-establish the Northern Ireland Executive and Assembly	Completed: The Northern Ireland Executive and Assembly have been re-established. ³⁴²
Northern Ireland will enjoy the full economic benefits of Brexit including new free trade agreements	Underway: The Northern Ireland protocol keeps Northern Ireland within the UK's customs territory, although it has introduced new trade frictions, which may pose challenges for businesses trading across the Irish Sea. Northern Ireland has been included in the UK's post Brexit trade deals. However, the full effect of these has yet to be felt. ^{343,344,345,346}
Ensure that Northern Ireland's businesses and producers enjoy unfettered access to the rest of the UK	Underway: The UK Internal Market Act 2020 specifically grants 'unfettered access' for 'qualifying goods' goods moving from Northern Ireland to Great Britain. The broad definition of 'qualifying goods' is only temporary, and the government has delayed plans to create a long-term qualifying trader scheme, originally due to be introduced in late 2021. ^{347,348}

Maintain and strengthen the integrity and smooth operation of our internal market	On track: The UK Internal Market Act 2020 aims to avoid new barriers to trade between the four parts of the UK by legislating to guarantee 'market access' across the UK. Goods produced in one part of the UK will automatically be acceptable for sale in the others (with some exceptions under the Northern Ireland protocol) and no administration may pass regulations that would discriminate against goods from elsewhere in the UK. ³⁴⁹
Intend to devolve responsibility for corporation tax to Northern Ireland	At risk: Legislation to give Northern Ireland power over corporation tax was passed in 2015 but responsibility has not been officially devolved. This is because Northern Ireland ministers dropped the request in 2020 due to concerns about the implications for devolved funding. The Independent Fiscal Commission for Northern Ireland, established by the Northern Ireland finance minister in March 2021, will consider what tax powers the assembly should have, and may make recommendations on the devolution of corporation tax. ^{350,351}
Consider devolving responsibility for short-haul Air Passenger Duty to Northern Ireland	Yet to start: The government said in March 2021 that it will continue to engage with the Northern Ireland executive on this issue, but we have not found evidence of any further action at this stage. The 2021 budget and spending review included changes to Air Passenger Duty, but did not mention devolution of short-haul Air Passenger Duty to Northern Ireland. ^{352,353}
We are opposed to a second independence referendum in Scotland	On track: The government has not shifted its position on a second independence referendum, although Scotland secretary Alister Jack did comment that should 60% support for a referendum be reached, and that it be sustained over a long period, then he would "acknowledge there was a desire" for a referendum. ³⁵⁴
Review alcohol duty to ensure that our tax system is supporting British drink producers	Completed: The government announced its plans to reform alcohol duty in the October 2021 budget. This simplified the system and was a net tax cut. British drinks producers welcomed the changes as supportive of their industry. ^{355,356}
Support the net zero transition in the next parliament with a transformational sector deal for the oil and gas sector	Completed: The government agreed the North Sea transition deal with industry in March 2021. The deal will support workers, businesses, and the supply chain to decarbonise and to develop new jobs and export opportunities. ³⁵⁷

Negotiate a transformative Marches Growth Deal, focusing on cross-border infrastructure	Yet to start: The government has not negotiated a Marches Growth Deal since the election. ³⁵⁸
Upgrade the A55	Underway: Major road projects in Wales are the responsibility of the Welsh government, but the UK government announced an additional “£23m of new funding in anticipation of the final recommendations of Sir Peter Hendy’s Union Connectivity Review. This will build on the existing £20m union connectivity development fund and broader transport investment to improve UK-wide connectivity.” Publication of this review was expected in summer 2021, but has not yet happened. The transport secretary, Grant Shapps, said in an interview in March 2021 that he wanted to work with the Welsh government to improve the A55. ^{359,360}
Deliver on our commitment to fund the building of the West Wales Parkway Station outside of Swansea	Yet to start: We did not find evidence of further progress on this commitment.
Get rid of the Fixed Term Parliaments Act	Underway: The government has introduced the new Dissolution and Calling of Parliament Act 2021 that will restore the prerogative to dissolve parliament and abolish the role of the House of Commons in voting for elections. This bill is currently at report stage in the Lords. ³⁶¹
Ensure we have updated and equal parliamentary boundaries, making sure that every vote counts the same	On track: The Parliamentary Constituencies Act received royal assent in December 2020. Under the legislation, the four Boundary Commissions of the UK will draw up an updated list of 650 constituencies in time for the 2024 election, with the aim of making the number of eligible voters in each constituency more equal.
Continue to support the First Past the Post system of voting	On track: The government has not indicated any plans to change the First Past the Post system of voting.
Introduce identification to vote at polling stations	Underway: The government have introduced the Elections Bill 2021 which includes measures that require voters to present some form of identification before voting. Clause 1 provides the requirement that voters must present photographic identification at UK polling stations. This bill is currently at the report stage in the Commons. ³⁶²

Stop postal vote harvesting	Underway: The Elections Bill makes provision on postal vote harvesting, by limiting the number of postal votes that a person may hand-in on behalf of others. ^{363,364}
Measures to prevent any foreign interference in elections	Underway: The Elections Bill includes the provision to remove the scope for any legal spending by foreign third-party campaigners underneath the threshold which would require registration with the electoral commission, but allows for £700 'de minimis'. ^{365,366}
Make it easier for British expats to vote in parliamentary elections, and get rid of the arbitrary 15-year limit on their voting rights	Underway: The government allocated £2.5m in the 2021 budget to implement this. The new Elections Bill 2021 gives overseas voters votes for life, and will be activated in 2023. This bill is now in the committee stage in the House of Commons. ^{367,368}
Maintain the voting age at 18	On track: The voting age for UK elections remains 18 years old. ³⁶⁹
Repeal section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2014	Yet to start: The government has said it remains committed to repealing the provision. ³⁷⁰
Not proceed with the second stage of the Leveson Inquiry	On track: The government has not indicated any plans to conduct a second stage of the Leveson Inquiry.
Ensure redundancy payments can be clawed back when high-paid public servants move between jobs	Yet to start: We did not find evidence of further progress on this commitment.
Set up a Constitution, Democracy & Rights Commission in the first year after the election to examine issues including the relationship between the government, parliament and the courts; the functioning of the Royal Prerogative; the role of the House of Lords; and access to justice	Partially underway: The government has established issue-specific reviews, instead of a single commission. Following the Independent Review of Administrative Law, which reported in 2021, the government introduced the Judicial Review and Courts Bill. This bill, among other provisions, seeks to remove the ability to bring 'Cart' judicial reviews against decisions of the Upper Tribunal to refuse permission to appeal from the First-tier Tribunal. The bill is currently at the report stage in the House of Commons. The Independent Review on the Human Rights Act remains pending. We did not find evidence of further progress on a commission to examine other constitutional questions more widely. ^{371,372,373,374,375}

Back a potential UK and Ireland bid for the 2030 FIFA World Cup	On track: The government has re-iterated its support for launching a bid with Ireland for the 2030 FIFA World Cup. A feasibility study is currently underway and the bidding process commences in 2022. ³⁷⁶
Introduce new legislation to tackle the vexatious legal claims that undermine our Armed Forces	Completed: The Overseas Operations (Service Personnel and Veterans) Act is designed to deal with this issue and received royal assent in April 2021. ³⁷⁷
Further incorporate the Armed Forces Covenant into law	Completed: The Armed Forces Bill, which achieved royal assent in December 2021, contains a provision to enshrine the Armed Forces Covenant in law. ^{378,379}
Reduce National Insurance contributions for employers if they employ ex-Service personnel	Completed: From April 2021, employers will contribute a reduced national insurance rate for hiring former armed service personnel for 12 consecutive months from the veteran's first day of civilian employment. ³⁸⁰
Offer wraparound childcare for Forces families	On track: Service personnel in Buckinghamshire were the first to receive wraparound childcare services in a government trial that commenced in September 2020. The pilot was expanded to a third phase at the start of the Autumn school term, 1 September 2021, to include a Lincolnshire Cluster and a Woolwich Cluster. All pilots will continue until July 2022 or until full UK rollout of the scheme, whichever is soonest. Full rollout has not yet begun. ³⁸¹
Introduce a Veterans' Railcard	Completed: A veterans' railcard was introduced in November 2020, granting a one-third discount to all former service personnel. ³⁸²
Offer a guaranteed job interview for veterans for any public sector role they apply for	Underway: While four departments started the guaranteed interview scheme in October 2020, following a pilot in spring 2020, the government has not indicated when the programme might be expanded. Meanwhile, many councils have adopted the scheme. ³⁸³
Continue to exceed the NATO target of spending 2% of GDP on defence	On track: Defence spending has continued to exceed 2% of GDP and the Integrated Review published in 2021 reiterated this commitment. ³⁸⁴

Increase the defence budget by at least 0.5% above inflation every year of the new parliament	Abandoned: In the 2021 spending review indicated that total defence spending would fall at an annual rate of 0.4% in real terms from 2021/22 to 2024/25. ³⁸⁵
Maintain our Trident nuclear deterrent	On track: The government has maintained the Trident nuclear deterrent. ³⁸⁶
Set up the UK's first Space Command	Completed: The UK's first space command was established in April 2021. ³⁸⁷
Support the UK's world-class defence industry by investing in ambitious global programmes, including building the new Type 31 frigates in British shipyards such as Rosyth and a new generation of armoured vehicles, made in Britain	Underway: General Dynamics Land System–UK (GDLS-UK) is delivering 589 Ajax armoured vehicles until 2025, and as of 1 July 2021 all six variants are in full production and 116 vehicles have been fully built. However, the vehicles are plagued with problems, leading to questions about their future use on the battlefield. ³⁸⁸ Meanwhile, steel has begun being cut for construction of the Type 31 frigates in Rosyth. ³⁸⁹
Further develop an independent Magnitsky-style sanctions regime to tackle human rights abusers	Completed: In July 2020, the government introduced a new sanctions regime that takes into account human rights violations by individuals and organisation. ³⁹⁰ More individuals have been placed under sanction in 2021. ³⁹¹
Support marginalised communities in the developing world, hosting the UK government's first ever international LGBT conference	On track: In May 2021, the government announced that 'Safe To be Me: A Global Equality Conference' will take place 27–29 June 2022. ³⁹²
Implement the Truro Review recommendations	On track: In the last two years the FCDO has implemented 18 recommendations and Fiona Bruce MP, the prime minister's special envoy for freedom of religion or belief, "felt confident" that all 22 recommendations will be implemented by the time of the independent review next year. ³⁹³

Maintain our commitment to spend 0.7% of GNI on development	Suspended: Foreign aid spending was reduced to 0.5% of GNI in 2021. Although the government outlined the fiscal conditions to return to 0.7% of GNI, the commitment to maintaining 0.7% GNI on foreign aid has been broken. ³⁹⁴ The government has set out tests for a return to 0.7%, which are not predicted to be met until 2024/5. ³⁹⁵
End the preventable deaths of mothers, new-born babies and children by 2030	Abandoned: The UN Population Fund says the UK had pledged £154m for its projects but, after aid cuts, said it will now get around £23m this year. ³⁹⁶ UNFPA executive director Dr Natalia Kanem estimated the £130m lost would have helped prevent about 250,000 maternal and child deaths. ³⁹⁷
Introduce tougher sentences for animal cruelty	Completed: The Animal Welfare (Sentencing) Act received royal assent in April 2021. ³⁹⁸ Originally a private member's bill, the government adopted support for the act, which increases the maximum sentences for animal cruelty offences. ³⁹⁹
Bring in new laws on animal sentience	Underway: The Animal Welfare (Sentience) Bill was introduced into parliament in May 2021 and passed the report stage in the House of Lords on 6 December 2021. ⁴⁰⁰
End excessively long journeys for slaughter and fattening	Underway: The Animal Welfare (Kept Animals) Bill, which ends exports of live animal stock for slaughter or fattening, entered the committee stage of the Commons in November 2021. ⁴⁰¹
Bring the ivory ban into force and extend it to cover other ivory-bearing species	Underway: The Ivory Act was passed in 2018 and consultations are underway about the extension of this to other ivory-bearing species, but detailed legislative provisions for the operation of the civil sanctions regime and enforcement must be established before it can be commenced. After consultations on these provisions, most recently in August and September 2021, the government says that it plans to respond soon. ^{402,403}
Ban imports from trophy hunting of endangered animals	Underway: A proposed bill banning imports from trophy hunting of endangered animals was scrutinised by the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Committee on November 2021. ⁴⁰⁴ The consultation for the bill ended in February 2020; the government responded to the consultation in December 2021. ⁴⁰⁵

Ban keeping primates as pets	Underway: The Animal Welfare (Kept Animals) Bill, which would ban keeping primates as pets, entered the committee stage of the House of Commons in November 2021. ⁴⁰⁶
Bring forward cat microchipping	Underway: The government undertook consultation on the compulsory microchipping of cats from December 2020 to February 2021 and planned to publish the summary of responses in autumn 2021, but this has not yet been published. Defra says this is due to the impact of covid and the larger than expected number of responses to the consultation. ⁴⁰⁷
Net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050	Underway: The government published its net zero strategy in October 2021 and the Climate Change Committee, an independent statutory body established under the Climate Change Act 2008, says the ambitions “align to the UK’s emissions targets of Net Zero by 2050”. ^{408,409} However, the plan was short on detail in areas including agriculture. Many policies are still to be developed and departments need to develop delivery plans. And the CCC thinks more funding will be required in areas including housing.
Set up new international partnerships to tackle deforestation and protect vital landscapes and wildlife corridors	Completed: At COP26, held in Glasgow with the UK acting as president, a deal was struck among 110 countries to reaffirm commitments to sustainable land use, and to the conservation, protection, sustainable management and restoration of forests. ⁴¹⁰
Establish a new £500m Blue Planet Fund to help protect our oceans	Underway: The first £16.2m of funding under the Blue Planet Fund was announced for five programmes in August 2021, and three other programmes have since been added without specific funding commitments. ^{411,412}
Extend the Blue Belt programme	Completed: The government extended the programme to 2021 with additional funding of £7m. ⁴¹³
Offshore wind industry will reach 40GW by 2030	Underway: The capacity of all operational and consented projects is currently 23.3GW while offshore leasing in the immediate term is likely to be delivered through a number of extensions to existing wind farms which the government says “indicates sufficient potential to reach the 2030 target” – although the industry is more sceptical. ^{414,415} In December 2021, it was announced that a new £110m factory for offshore wind turbines would be opened in Scotland. ⁴¹⁶

Invest £800m to build the first fully deployed carbon capture storage cluster by the mid-2020s	On track: There is a £1bn Carbon Capture Storage Infrastructure Fund. In the October 2021 budget, the government explained how it had taken various steps towards the deployment of two carbon capture storage clusters by the mid-2020s, including setting up the Industrial Decarbonisation and Hydrogen scheme, announcing grant funding for projects developing novel carbon capture, usage and storage technology and kicking off the process to decide the first carbon capture cluster locations. The challenge now is to get the storage cluster operational by the mid-2020s. This remains the government's stated aim. ⁴¹⁷
Invest £500m to help energy-intensive industries move to low-carbon techniques	On track: Specific funding to help energy-intensive industries move to low-carbon techniques have been committed within projects such as the industrial energy transformation fund (which supports energy intensive industries on decarbonisation with £315m of funding until 2024, as announced in the 2018 budget), the Industrial Decarbonisation Challenge (which invested £171m in March 2021 to reduce emissions in clusters of large industrial plants for energy-intensive industries), and the CCUS Infrastructure Fund (which plans to invest £100m per year from 2021 to 2030 and will support carbon capture technologies among energy-intensive industries). Through this parliament, these initiatives are on track to exceed the £500m investment. ^{418,419}
Not support fracking unless the science shows categorically that it can be done safely	On track: There has been no change to the government's moratorium on fracking, announced in November 2019. Fracking at the two existing sites has been paused. ^{420,421}
Will not make any changes to the planning system (in relation to fracking in England)	On track: There has been no change to the government's moratorium on fracking, announced in November 2019. ⁴²²
Invest £9.2bn in the energy efficiency of homes, schools and hospitals	At risk: The government has outlined various plans to reduce energy efficiency in homes, schools and hospitals, including £1.4bn for the Public Sector Decarbonisation Scheme, additional funding to the Home Upgrade Grant and the Social Housing Decarbonisation Fund totalling £1.75bn, a new £450m three-year Boiler Upgrade Scheme. However, current funding is at £6.6bn this parliament, well short of the £9.2bn committed in the manifesto; the Heat and Buildings Strategy, the government's long-term plan, did not set out whether or when the remaining funding would be committed. ^{423,424}

Set strict new laws on air quality	Completed: The Environment Bill received royal assent in November 2021 and will require the government to set targets on air quality while councils and other relevant public bodies will be required to work together more closely to tackle local air quality issues. ⁴²⁵
Aim to have 80% of UK trade covered by free trade agreements within the next three years, starting with the USA, Australia, New Zealand and Japan	At risk: To ensure 80% of trade is covered by trade agreements, the government agreed 'rollovers' of deals negotiated when it was in the EU so that they continued to apply after the transition period ended. As of November 2021, 35 EU trade agreements have been rolled over, although some are not yet fully in force and/or contain provisions requiring a renegotiation of certain terms at a later point. Three more remain under discussion. The UK-EU Trade and Cooperation Agreement covers trade with the EU. The government has successfully negotiated a deal with Japan to replace the EU–Japan deal. As of November 2021, it had also struck trade deals in principle with Australia and New Zealand. An agreement has yet to be agreed with the US and does not look likely before December 2022. Without this, the government will not meet its manifesto pledge. ⁴²⁶
Create up to ten freeports around the UK	Underway: Planning has begun for eight English freeports announced in the March budget, and the first freeport in Teesside became operational on 19 November 2021. ⁴²⁷ But the creation of freeports in the rest of the UK is less clear. The 2021 autumn budget stated: "The government remains committed to establishing at least one freeport in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland." ⁴²⁸
Retake our seat at the World Trade Organisation	Completed: On leaving the EU, the UK became an independent member of the WTO. ⁴²⁹
Extend the Help to Buy scheme from 2021 to 2023	Completed: A new Help to Buy scheme will run from April 2021 to March 2023.

Methodology

How we selected promises from the manifesto

We extracted each promise of taking a certain action or achieving an outcome from the manifesto and treated each as a separate pledge.

We did not include pledges that were described in a way that would make them hard to verify or that reasonable observers would likely disagree on whether they had been fulfilled. For instance, we did not include “strengthen our global position in higher education” based on uncertainty about what precisely “global position” refers to and what might constitute “strengthening”.

Where a high-level statement was followed by more concrete promises, we did not treat the former as a separate promise. For instance, in relation to “We will improve NHS performance, using our record funding settlement to bring down operating waiting times, improve A&E performance and increase cancer survival rates” we did not treat “improve NHS performance” as a separate promise, but treated operation waiting times, A&E performance and cancer survival rates as three separate pledges. However, where a number of measures were promised as part of a single package of reforms (e.g. on renters’ rights), we did treat this as a single commitment.

We did not include commitments that were couched in aspirational terms, rather than being firm commitments to an action or outcome, such as the “belief” that TV licences for over-75s should be funded by the BBC.

Criteria for assigning ratings

- ‘Completed’ was used where the government has taken the specific action or achieved the outcome promised.
- ‘On track’ was assigned to several types of commitments, including:
 - those where the government has so far upheld its promise not to do something or to maintain an existing status quo, but where it would be possible for the government to reverse on that commitment later in its term
 - those with a numerical component (e.g. certain NHS hiring targets) where, on current progress, the government is likely to meet the commitment by the end of its term
 - funding pledges, where the government has committed the money in a budget or spending review, but has not yet spent the funds
 - those where the government’s promise was to conduct a review, but not necessarily to take any action beyond that, and the review was well-advanced.
- ‘Underway’ was used where there was evidence of the government having taken steps towards fulfilling the commitment (such as introducing legislation), but those steps had not so far produced a result that would warrant an ‘on track’ rating.

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- 'Yet to start' was used where there was no evidence of the government having taken any action, no progress had been made on a numerical target, or where the only evidence of action was a government statement that it was considering its options or how to proceed on a commitment.
 - 'At risk' was used where the government had taken some action on a promise, but results to date indicate it is likely to fall short of the commitment by the end of its term (or other date as appropriate). This rating was also used for commitments where the government had taken little to no action, and the nature of the commitment was such that this made it unlikely it would be met by the end of this term.
 - 'Delayed' was used where the deadline specified in the commitment itself had been missed.
 - 'Suspended' was used for commitments currently not being fulfilled by the government, but where they have stated an intention to return to fulfilling it once certain conditions are met.
 - 'Abandoned' was used for commitments the government will almost certainly fail to meet or where it has explicitly said it will not deliver the promised action or outcome.

In a small number of cases, we used modified ratings to clarify the position. In one case a pledge given as abandoned in April would have fitted the suspended category better, and so for the sake of our analysis we have treated that pledge as having been given suspended in April. In two cases, we noted errors in the rating given to a pledge in April. For the sake of our analysis, we corrected those errors and treated the pledge as having been given the right rating in April.

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