

# Taking stock of the Conservative manifesto

Has the Johnson government  
lived up to its promises?

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# About this report

This report outlines the government's progress to date on the commitments it made in its 2019 general election manifesto. It also highlights where significant work remains and what the government must do to meet those promises.

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# Introduction

The government could not have foreseen a global pandemic when it decided on its manifesto promises ahead of the December 2019 general election. With the pressures the coronavirus crisis has put on ministers' time, attention and resources – and on the UK's public finances and services like the NHS – many of those promises may seem to belong to another era. So much so that [some former chancellors have suggested](#) that the public might be understanding if the government were to declare that manifesto – or large parts of it – null and void. But far from abandoning that agenda, ministers have repeatedly assured the public they will deliver on their election commitments.

The government has completed some of its flagship pledges, most notably in taking the UK out of the European Union, and it has so far stuck to promises on the pensions triple lock and taxes. But not all election pledges are equal and many of those that remain on the government's 'to do' list will require hard choices and a far stronger focus on delivery. For these it will need to do more than publish white papers, allocate funding and run consultations. The government appears to recognise this: it has appointed a 'levelling up adviser' and commissioned Sir Michael Barber to revive the No.10 delivery unit, although the latter [will need time and attention from the prime minister](#) to be effective.

Ahead of the Queen's Speech on 11 May, in which the government will set out its agenda for the next session, the Institute for Government has taken a comprehensive look at the 2019 Conservative manifesto to take stock of the Johnson government's progress on each of its measurable promises of action or outcomes. This paper offers our analysis of actions already taken; where progress has stalled, and the effect of the pandemic on this; and what the government must do to meet its remaining promises.

Overall, the numbers paint a positive picture, with nearly half of the government's manifesto commitments completed or on track. But there are six key policy areas where sizeable, difficult work remains: NHS and social care, 'levelling up', net zero, devolution, tax and fiscal strategy, and the constitution. The first part of this paper looks in detail at these, listing the government's promises in each area, and offering our analysis of the progress made (or not) and how it can move these forward. The second part contains a list of all the manifesto commitments in full, with brief analyses. We have rated each commitment as being "completed", "on track", "underway", "yet to start", "at risk", "delayed" or "abandoned".

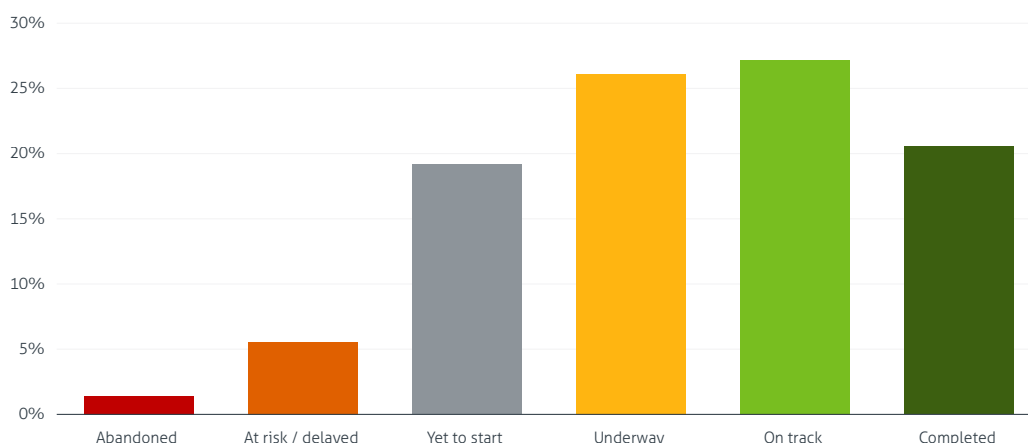
Before the last election, the Institute asked [whether manifestos still matter](#). Our view is that they do. Breaking high-profile promises can erode a party's standing and governments do refer back to previous manifestos to show a record of achievement. This government has said it wants to be judged against its performance on manifesto promises. But its stated ambitions are broad; this Queen's Speech will be critical in showing how it will deliver on the promises of its 2019 manifesto and turn its favourite slogans into tangible results.

# How has the government lived up to its election promises?

Given the demands of the pandemic, the raw numbers tell a surprising story. Of the 287 commitments we identified, the government has completed or is on track to complete 137, and has made varying levels of progress on a further 75. It can point to success on high-profile policies like Brexit, and funding for public services, regional grants and infrastructure.

The number might have been higher were it not for the coronavirus crisis, with the pandemic inevitably throwing some promises off course. Backlogs in the courts and delays to treatment in the NHS have made it harder to meet commitments to improve cancer survival rates and deal quickly with knife crime, for instance. The government has also abandoned some of its fiscal rules so it can offer financial coronavirus support. More controversially, it has walked away from promises on foreign aid, an English devolution white paper and rural broadband.

Figure 1 **Percentage of 2019 Conservative manifesto commitments by progress rating**



Source: Institute for Government analysis.

## The government will struggle to fulfil some of its key pledges

These numbers do not give the full picture. Many of the pledges the government has already completed involved spending, conducting reviews or promises *not* to do things – many that remain will require more concerted action. Precious little progress has been made, for example, on finding a funding solution for social care – an aim left unrealised by successive governments, and one that this government appears set to push back again. Elsewhere, ahead of the COP26 UN climate summit in November, which the UK is hosting, much is to be done to bring the country on track to meet its own carbon emission targets. And with independence remaining on the agenda in Scotland, talk of a border poll in Northern Ireland and growing support for independence in Wales, its quest to “bind together the whole of the United Kingdom” will be harder than simply replacing EU grants to the devolved nations. In all, there are 55 pledges the government has yet to tackle, 15 deemed at risk of failure, one delayed and four it has abandoned.

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## Public expectations go beyond specific manifesto promises

Even if a manifesto is a government's 'contract with the electorate', the number of pledges it fulfils is only one measure of its performance against public expectations. The pandemic is a stark reminder that manifestos do not account for the unexpected challenges that arise during any term.

Nor are all pledges equally important to the public. YouGov polling conducted after the 2019 election found that 43% of respondents recalled commitments on Brexit and 22% on the NHS, but these were the only ones from the Conservative manifesto that more than 10% of those surveyed could recall.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, there is a potential gap between public expectations created by ministers' rhetoric and that of a manifesto, and actual policy outcomes. It is hard to see how the funding for infrastructure and community projects the Conservatives offered in 2019 would erase inequalities between the UK's regions – if that is indeed what the government means by "levelling up". And given [recent accusations](#) of cronyism, [lobbying](#) scandals and longstanding lack of [transparency](#), it will take more than a constitution, democracy and rights commission to "restore trust in our institutions and in how our democracy operates".

The government has met many of its election promises and begun work on others. In the context of coronavirus that is no small achievement. But many important policy areas remain underdeveloped or under threat, including the six we identified in our research. We analyse these in the next section.

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# Where does work remain?

## 1. NHS and social care

### What did the government promise?

Commitment	Status
Increase funding for NHS England by 3.1% between 2019/20 and 2023/24 and enshrine the government's fully funded, long-term NHS plan in law	<b>Completed</b>
Review pension tax taper affecting doctors' pensions within its first 30 days	<b>Completed</b>
Introduce an NHS visa	<b>Completed</b>
Provide £1 billion extra funding for social care in each year of the next parliament	<b>On track</b>
Recruit 50,000 more nurses and reintroduce maintenance grants for nursing students	<b>On track</b>
Upgrade 20 hospitals and build 40 new hospitals over next 10 years	<b>Underway</b>
Recruit 6,000 more GPs and 6,000 more primary care professionals	<b>At risk</b>
Build cross-party consensus on social care funding; nobody needing care should be forced to sell their home to pay for it.	<b>At risk</b>

### What has it achieved?

The government passed legislation to enshrine the NHS funding increase in law and recommitted to social care spending in March 2020, although in both cases the impact of the pandemic means that additional funding will be [required to improve services](#). The government also raised the annual pensions allowance thresholds from £110,000 to £200,000 and created a 'health and care worker' (or NHS) visa with lower fees than the standard type of work visa.

The government is on track to meet several promises on staffing, including nurse recruitment. More students have applied for and started nursing and medicine courses this year, but the government will need to improve attrition rates to ensure this translates into higher numbers joining the NHS – and 50,000 nurses may not be enough to meet increased demand as a result of the pandemic.

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### What does it need to do to fulfil the rest of its promises?

The government has made least progress on social care. The secretary of state for health and social care, Matt Hancock, wrote to all MPs and peers to initiate cross-party talks on social care in March 2020, but there has been no follow-up. In February 2021, the government confirmed that it would bring forward proposals this year, but the 2021 budget did not set aside any funding for reform and recent media reports have suggested work may be delayed again.

One option would be to cap care costs, which the coalition government originally legislated for in the Care Act 2014. It could use secondary legislation to specify the level of the cap and exclude houses. If the government wants to pursue a different option, it may take more time and require new legislation. It will also have to decide who should pay, as pooling risk (such as through a cap) will require higher public spending. Any reform will also require local authorities, who deliver care, to implement new systems; they may need extra resources. The government should use the Queen's Speech to indicate its proposed reforms, how it will pay for them, and the role of local authorities.

Beyond social care, the government must improve retention and working conditions to meet its GP target. This would have required hiring 1,200 GPs in the year to December 2020, but the actual number was only 438.<sup>2</sup> The pandemic has made retention harder, with many staff reporting exhaustion.<sup>3</sup>

The government will also need to do more on its promise to build new hospitals. Over half of the projects announced were rebuilds or expansions rather than new hospitals, and the £3.7 billion allocated will not be enough for the proposed projects. Governments often fail to spend money on, and deliver, big projects as [quickly as they expect](#), so the government will need to adjust for optimism bias and hire skilled staff to manage projects.



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## 2. "Levelling up"

### What did the government promise?

Commitment	Status
Invest £3.6 billion in a Towns Fund to improve local economies	On track
Invest £100 billion of additional infrastructure spending, including on roads and rail, over the parliament	On track
Invest £4.2 billion in new bus and metro rail links in cities outside London	On track
Create up to 10 freeports around the UK	On track
Create a new National Skills Fund worth £3 billion over the next parliament	Underway
Introduce a UK Shared Prosperity Fund to replace EU spending	Underway

### What has it achieved?

The 2019 manifesto promised "an agenda for levelling up every part of the UK", and to that end committed to invest in local and transport infrastructure, skills and freeports. The government has appointed Neil O'Brien MP to drive the agenda through a white paper to be published later this year.

The government has already announced spending on transport infrastructure, economic development and housing projects and will confirm at the 2021 spending review how it will spend the remaining money set aside for investment in this parliament. It has also rolled out the Towns Fund and the Levelling Up Fund, designed to support local infrastructure projects in "left behind" areas, and is working on the UK Shared Prosperity Fund, which will replace EU Structural Funds for disadvantaged areas. The Shared Prosperity Fund will begin in 2022.

In the March 2021 budget, the chancellor announced the creation of eight new [freeports](#) in England. Businesses inside these zones will benefit from temporary tax breaks. The government has said they are designed to boost trade, employment and innovation, but it remains to be seen if they will create additional economic activity and jobs or just relocate existing ones.

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## What does it need to do to fulfil the rest of its promises?

The government is on track to deliver many of its individual promises, but this does not necessarily mean it will have 'levelled up' the country. The pandemic also means that most areas are now doing less well than they were in December 2019, although the areas hit hardest economically are not in all cases the areas that were struggling pre-pandemic.<sup>4</sup>

As a first step, it should define what levelling up means, the metrics through which progress will be measured and their baseline, and use this to guide its white paper. The March 2021 Plan for Growth offered some metrics, although the goals of "addressing regional economic disparities" and "ensuring people can access opportunities" point in different directions, one being focused on places and the other on people. Being clear about what levelling up means in practice [would help the government](#) take its plans from a shopping list of policies to a coherent strategy. Rather than it being "a bit early" to address how "levelling up" will be measured, as the government said recently, the task is well overdue.<sup>5</sup>

Even the current list of policies could be hard to deliver – and deliver well – before the next election. The numerous 'funds' on offer to local authorities will demand a lot of time and money to bid for and then put to use, further increasing the [risk of piecemeal investment](#). And departments will need to have enough appropriately qualified staff to manage new infrastructure projects: shortages have led to delays in getting funding out the door [under successive governments](#).

The government should also clarify in the Queen's Speech its strategy for improving the skills of disadvantaged people and how its various proposals fit together. The March 2020 budget provided £3 billion for the promised National Skills Fund but these funds appear to have since been reallocated in part into the government's wider post-Covid plans such as the 'lifetime skills guarantee'.

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## 3. Devolution

### What did the government promise?

Commitment	Status
Work to re-establish the Northern Ireland executive	<b>Completed</b>
Continue to oppose a second Scottish independence referendum	<b>On track</b>
UK Shared Prosperity Fund will at a minimum match the size of EU Structural Funds in each nation	<b>Underway</b>
Guarantee that Northern Ireland will enjoy the full economic benefits of Brexit including new free trade agreements	<b>Underway</b>
Publish an English devolution white paper setting out its plans in 2020	<b>Abandoned</b>

### What has it achieved?

The UK government had an early success when it helped facilitate a multi-party agreement to re-establish the [Northern Ireland executive](#) on 13 January 2020.

In December 2020, the [UK Internal Market Act](#) gave UK ministers new powers to bypass the devolved administrations and spend the proposed [Shared Prosperity Fund](#) directly in the nations of the UK, even for largely devolved functions like transport. The government has yet to set out full details of the fund but has announced a pilot scheme – the Community Renewal Fund.

The UK government has continued to oppose a second independence referendum, refusing a request from the Scottish government shortly after the 2019 election for the power to hold a second vote.

### What does it need to do to fulfil the rest of its promises?

A further request from the Scottish government for the power to hold a second vote will leave the UK government with a difficult choice. Refusing a request will meet its manifesto commitment in the short term, but a perception that Westminster is blocking Scottish self-determination could further boost support for independence. If the UK government wants to prevent Scottish independence, it must make a positive case for the union, address the concerns that are driving support for independence and work co-operatively with the devolved administrations.

The government should take this approach to the Shared Prosperity Fund: it must show how the fund will complement, rather than conflict with, spending by the devolved administrations. Edinburgh, Cardiff and Belfast – believing they will be bypassed in

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the allocation of funds – all oppose the UK government’s intended approach: far from ‘binding’ the union together, this risks creating further disputes.

While the government has dropped its English devolution white paper, it should use the levelling up white paper, which will cover devolution, to bring more coherence to the current patchwork of city [mayors](#) and combined authorities, each with different powers and remits. It should also explain how devolution will be extended to the 60% of the country that has missed out so far.

The UK government, working with the Irish government, must continue to support the Northern Ireland executive – whose stability cannot be taken for granted. Disagreements over the implementation of the protocol have increased tensions within the executive, and in April violence erupted on the streets – with insecurity around the unionist identity in the wake of Brexit, mistrust in the police and criminal activity cited as key causes. The UK government must work constructively with the EU through the Joint Committee to find solutions to the challenges the protocol poses and [take responsibility for making the deal it signed work for Northern Ireland](#).

## 4. Climate change

### What did the government promise?

Commitment	Status
Invest £4 billion in flood defences	On track
Invest £800 million in carbon capture and storage	On track
Reach 40GW of offshore wind energy production by 2030	Underway
Invest £9.2 billion in energy efficiency of homes, schools and hospitals	Underway
Invest £500 million in decarbonising energy-intensive industries	Underway
Ban the export of plastic waste to non-OECD countries	Yet to start
Deliver on our world-leading target of net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050	At risk

### What has it achieved?

The prime minister made offshore wind the centrepiece of his 2020 party conference speech and announced a [10-point green industry plan](#) in November. The key will be delivering this investment in time to meet its targets.

On homes, the government's main policy has been the £2bn Green Homes Grant, announced by Rishi Sunak in the March 2020 budget. But the scheme [suffered low take up](#), with applicants struggling to find accredited contractors, and was scrapped in March 2021. It is unclear when the government will bring forward the remaining energy efficiency spending pledged in the manifesto.

In some cases, the government has gone further than promised in the manifesto. It has brought the phase-out date for petrol and diesel car sales forward from 2040 to 2030, and as part of its 'net zero' plans has adopted a more ambitious nearer-term target (a 78% reduction in emissions by 2035 from 1990 levels).

### What does it need to do to fulfil the rest of its promises?

The top priority for the government, as it prepares to host COP26 in November, is to match its ambition on net zero with action. The Climate Change Committee's latest progress report said that the UK was still a long way off track on its 2050 target.

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First, the government will need to fill current policy gaps. While there has been movement on energy and industry, the government has made little progress in areas such as housing and agriculture. A potential barrier will be the government's willingness to confront the costs of net zero. The Treasury has accepted that it will need to find ways to distribute the burden fairly, but so far ministers have tended to duck measures that would impose costs.

Second, the government will need to [strengthen co-ordination](#). Its net zero strategy, due to be published in the autumn, will need to pull together the multiple departmental and sectoral strategies to be published in the next six months into a coherent plan. But so far central co-ordination has been weak. The business department, which has overall responsibility, lacks clout while the Climate Change Strategy Committee, chaired by the prime minister, has met only twice since it was formed in June 2020.<sup>6</sup>

Third, the government needs a [sharper focus on delivery](#). The debacle of the Green Homes Grant was only the latest example of policy design taking insufficient account of delivery. We have argued that the government should consider setting up new agencies focused on implementing net zero programmes, along the lines of the Olympic Delivery Authority, to drive progress.

## 5. Tax and fiscal policy

### What did the government promise?

Commitment	Status
Raise National Insurance threshold to £9,500 in 2020	<b>Completed</b>
Review and reform Entrepreneurs' Relief	<b>Completed</b>
Deliver a post-Brexit budget to cut taxes for "hard working families"	<b>Completed</b>
Spend up to 3% of GDP on net investment	<b>On track</b>
Reassess plans to keep debt under control if debt interest reaches 6% of revenue	<b>On track</b>
No increase to rates of income tax, National Insurance contributions (NICs) or VAT	<b>On track – for now</b>
Pause planned cut to corporation tax from 19% to 17%	<b>On track</b>
Keep the triple lock on pensions and pensioner benefits	<b>On track</b>
Do not borrow to fund day-to-day spending	<b>On track (for 2025/26)</b>
Reduce business rates and review the system	<b>Underway</b>
Debt to be lower at the end of the parliament than the start	<b>Abandoned</b>

### What has it achieved?

At his first budget in March 2020, Rishi Sunak met many of the tax pledges in the manifesto, including cancelling the planned corporation tax cut and raising the National Insurance threshold, as part of a budget that cut taxes on households overall.

The pandemic and associated economic damage badly affected the public finances and the government stopped following some of its [fiscal rules](#) (including not borrowing to fund day-to-day spending and reducing debt). A combination of lower tax revenues and higher spending means government borrowing in 2020/21 was at the [highest level in the UK's peacetime history](#) and debt is set to be higher as a share of GDP at the end of this parliament than it was at the start.

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Despite these challenging circumstances, Sunak did take steps in the March 2021 budget to keep other promises on track: he announced tax increases to compensate for the hit to revenue, for instance, so that the government is forecast not to borrow to fund day-to-day spending by 2025/26.<sup>7</sup> And the tax increases – increasing in corporation tax rates and freezing income tax thresholds – did not violate manifesto commitments.

### **What does it need to do to fulfil the rest of its promises?**

The government was right to suspend its fiscal rules to deal with the pandemic. And while the government has not yet re-established fiscal rules, the chancellor did announce “principles” of [sustainable public finances](#) in the March 2021 budget that are consistent with the fiscal rules announced in the manifesto.

[Further tax increases may be needed](#) to meet these principles, particularly if the economy is weaker in the medium term than is currently expected, and the government should start to plan for this. While on current forecasts revenues will cover day-to-day spending by 2025/26, the spending settlement for [public services](#) on which the budget plans are based looks very tight and will be difficult to deliver.

The chancellor might find it difficult to raise taxes further without breaking the promise not to increase the rates of income tax, NICs or VAT – something the government would clearly be reluctant to do, but might still contemplate. Sunak would be well-advised to [look at tax reforms](#) that would improve the structure of our badly designed tax system as well as raise revenue. Reforming business rates in response to the ongoing review, another manifesto pledge, would fit well with a drive to improve the tax system.

The pressure on [public finances](#) and the chancellor’s aim to [reduce public debt](#) in the medium term may also make it difficult to maintain pensioner benefits and the pensions triple lock, although the government remains committed to them for now. The triple lock will be particularly expensive if wages rebound in 2021 from the dip in earnings during the pandemic.



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## 6. Constitution and parliament

### What did the government promise?

Commitment	Status
Continue to support the first-past-the-post system	<b>On track</b>
Constitution, democracy and rights commission to come up with proposals to restore trust in our institutions and in how our democracy operates	<b>Partially underway</b>
“Get rid” of the Fixed-term Parliaments Act	<b>Underway</b>
Ensure we have updated and equal parliamentary boundaries, making sure that every vote counts the same	<b>Underway</b>
Make it easier for British expats to vote in parliamentary elections	<b>Underway</b>
Reform the electoral system: make it easier for British expats to vote in parliamentary elections; introduce identification to vote at polling stations	<b>Yet to start</b>

### What has it achieved?

The government’s most obvious success has been on its promise to equalise constituency sizes. Passage of the Parliamentary Constituencies Act in December 2020 means that an updated list of UK constituencies will be drawn up by the four Boundary Commissions, with the number of voters in each constituency made more equal.

Elsewhere, the government has made partial progress on its proposed electoral reforms. Funding for an expansion of the voting rights of expatriates was announced in the 2021 budget, and bills to extend these rights and to introduce voter identification are expected later in the year. The government recently committed to replacing the alternative vote system currently used for mayoral and police and crime commissioner elections with first past the post.

Changes to the way that elections are triggered are also underway. The government has published a draft bill that would abolish the Fixed Term Parliaments Act 2011 and revert to the previous system. Although a parliamentary joint committee called for some improvements to the draft bill, it accepted that the 2011 Act needed repeal – and it seems likely that this will be accepted by parliament.

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The government's progress on its constitutional pledges has been more mixed. It has made some progress with its plans regarding [judicial review](#) and reform of the Human Rights Act 1988, although not through the constitution, democracy and rights commission it promised. An independent panel considering judicial review reported in March 2021 and an independent review into the Human Rights Act is due to report in the summer.

### **What does it need to do to fulfil the rest of its promises?**

Although the government has made progress on most of its promises it needs to ensure that this momentum is maintained. Several consultations are currently open or waiting for government responses, and ministers must ensure that these do not stall if they are to fulfil their pledges within this parliament.

Elsewhere – such as on voter identification – the government plans to legislate and should use the Queen's Speech to give further details about when parliament will be able to vote on these bills.

The government has made some progress on issues that were intended to be covered by its planned constitution, democracy and rights commission – which appears to have been superseded by a series of separate reviews. It is understandable that attention has been elsewhere over the past year, and that some plans may have been put on hold. But, having seemingly abandoned the concept of a single commission, the government should make clear how it plans to address the remaining issues, including the role of the House of Lords and the relationship between government and the courts.

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## Conclusion

Manifestos are not the only metric by which governments' successes and failures are judged – but repeated invocation by ministers make clear the 2019 pledges are important to this government.

Despite the challenges of the pandemic, the government has already delivered on many of its commitments. But not all manifesto commitments are equal. There is much to be done on some of the government's flagship promises that have grabbed public attention, like 'levelling up' and improvements to public services, and many of its remaining pledges will be far more difficult to deliver than those it has already completed.

With three years until the next election is due, the government should use the Queen's Speech to set out its plans for delivery over the remainder of this term – and then act on them.

# Appendix 1: Progress to date on 2019 Conservative manifesto commitments

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Get Brexit done</b>	We will start putting our deal through parliament before Christmas	<b>Completed:</b> MPs voted in favour of the second reading of the Withdrawal Agreement Bill on 20 December 2019. The bill became law on 23 January 2020. <sup>1</sup>
	We will leave the EU in January	<b>Completed:</b> The UK left the European Union on 31 January 2020. <sup>2</sup>
	We will keep the UK out of the single market	<b>Completed:</b> The EU–UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement means the UK has left the EU single market, although the Northern Ireland protocol stipulates that Northern Ireland will still be subject to a significant amount of single market regulation. <sup>3</sup>
	We will keep the UK out of any form of customs union	<b>On track:</b> The UK left the EU customs union at the end of the Brexit transition period. Under the Northern Ireland protocol, Northern Ireland formally remains part of the UK’s customs territory but is required to apply EU customs law. <sup>4</sup>
	We will end the role of the European Court of Justice	<b>Completed:</b> The EU–UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement ends any formal role of European Court of Justice (ECJ) for the United Kingdom, except where the UK decides to participate in EU research programmes. <sup>5</sup>  The ECJ will play a role in overseeing aspects of the NI–GB border under the terms of the Northern Ireland protocol in the Withdrawal Agreement.
	We will negotiate a trade agreement next year with the EU	<b>Completed:</b> The government negotiated the EU–UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement, which allows tariff-free trade between the UK and the EU. <sup>6</sup>
	We will not extend the implementation period beyond December 2020	<b>Completed:</b> The implementation period was not extended beyond December 2020 and the UK left the EU single market and customs union at 11pm on 31 December 2020. <sup>7</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Unleash Britain's potential</b>	Raise the National Living Wage further still	<b>Completed:</b> The National Minimum Wage was increased in April 2020 and April 2021. <sup>8</sup>
	We will not borrow to fund day-to-day spending	<b>On track (for 2025/26):</b> Due to tax increases in the March 2021 budget, the government is on track to meet its commitment not to borrow for day-to-day spending in 2025/26. <sup>9</sup>
	Public sector net investment will not average more than 3% of GDP	<b>On track:</b> The Office for Budget Responsibility forecasts that public sector investment will reach 3.6% of GDP in 2020/2021 but will average 2.8% of GDP in the next five years, meeting the commitment of remaining under 3%. <sup>10</sup>
	If debt interest reaches 6% of revenue, we will reassess our plans to keep debt under control	<b>On track:</b> Record low interest rates mean debt interest is likely to remain far below 6% of revenue. <sup>11</sup>
	Debt will be lower at the end of the parliament	<b>Abandoned:</b> The amount of borrowing in 2020 and 2021 means that debt will almost certainly be higher at the end of the parliament than the start. <sup>12</sup>
<b>Strengthen the NHS and social care</b>	£34 billion per year by the end of the parliament in additional funding for the NHS – more than £650 million extra a week by the end of the parliament	<b>On track:</b> The government committed an increase of £34 billion per year to NHS England by 2024, in the March 2020 budget. However, as more patients are now waiting for treatment due to temporary service closures, this funding is unlikely to be enough to maintain standards. <sup>13</sup>
	Within the first three months of our new term, we will enshrine in law our fully funded, long-term NHS plan	<b>Completed:</b> The government passed legislation to enshrine the funding increase for NHS England in law in March 2020. <sup>14</sup>
	Build and fund 40 new hospitals over the next 10 years	<b>Underway:</b> The 2020 spending review confirmed that the government will allocate £3.7 billion up to 2024/25 to make progress on its pledge to build 40 new hospitals by 2030. However, over half of these new projects are rebuilds or expansions to existing hospitals. <sup>15</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen the NHS and social care</b>	Roll out cancer diagnostic machines across 78 hospital trusts to boost early diagnosis	<p><b>Underway:</b> By August 2020, 69 new scanners had been installed, 10 more were being installed and 75 had been ordered, following a funding commitment of £200m made in September 2019.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>However, the pandemic has caused severe delays in cancer diagnoses and care: an estimated 350,000 patients have not been referred to hospital, and the proportion of cancers being diagnosed at a highly curable stage has dropped.<sup>17</sup> Many NHS trusts – including some of those on the list of 78 – urgently need more equipment, staff and space to deal with the backlog of scans for cancer and other conditions.<sup>18</sup></p>
	We are committed to reducing health inequality	<p><b>Yet to start:</b> The pandemic has highlighted and, in some cases, worsened existing health inequalities,<sup>19</sup> and a coalition of health and social care organisations has called on the government to develop a cross-government strategy to reduce health inequalities.<sup>20</sup></p> <p>In June 2020, the prime minister and health secretary commissioned the minister for equalities, with support from the Cabinet Office Race Disparity Unit, to take forward work on understanding and addressing the disproportionate impact of Covid-19 on ethnic minority groups.<sup>21</sup></p>
	50,000 more nurses	<p><b>On track:</b> In October 2020, there were 9,000 more nurses than in October 2019. However, this number may not be enough to meet increased demand as a result of the pandemic.<sup>22</sup></p>
	Student nurses to receive a £5,000–£8,000 annual maintenance grant during their course	<p><b>Completed:</b> The government introduced maintenance grants in September 2020.<sup>23</sup></p>
	6,000 more doctors in general practice	<p><b>At risk:</b> The government is not on track to meet its target of 6,000 more GPs. Meeting the target would have required 1,200 more GPs by December 2020, but there were only 438 more GPs (in net terms) in December 2020 compared to December 2019.<sup>24</sup></p>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Strengthen the NHS and social care	6,000 more primary care professionals, e.g. pharmacists and physiotherapists, on top of 20,000 previously announced	<b>Underway:</b> There is not a single accepted definition of 'primary care professionals', which makes it difficult to judge progress on this commitment. Nonetheless, the number of physiotherapists increased by more than 900 in the year to October 2020, although this includes those working in hospital and community health, as well as in primary care networks (for which workforce data is limited). <sup>25</sup>
	7,500 extra nurse associates	<b>On track:</b> Between April and September 2020, an extra 1,014 nursing associates joined the Nursing and Midwifery Council register. <sup>26</sup> As at 31 December 2020, there were more than 5,000 trainee nursing associates (FTE). <sup>27</sup>
	Improve staff morale	<b>Underway:</b> Staff morale scored 6.2 on the 2020 NHS staff survey, exactly the same as in 2019, but the percentage of staff considering leaving the health service has fallen since 2019. <sup>28</sup>  In July 2020, DHSC published the NHS People Plan, which "puts NHS staff wellbeing at its heart" and sets out practical support for wellbeing. As part of this, the NHS will launch a new quarterly staff survey to better track morale. <sup>29</sup>
	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	<b>Completed:</b> The government launched the new Health and Care visa scheme in July 2020. <sup>30</sup>
	50 million extra GP appointments per year	<b>At risk:</b> There were around 36.6 million fewer GP appointments between March 2020 and February 2021 than between March 2019 and February 2020. <sup>31</sup> Although the pandemic accounts for much of this reduction, the target will be hard to meet without a large increase in primary care workforce. <sup>32</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen the NHS and social care</b>	Address the taper problem in doctors' pensions, holding an urgent review within 30 days of the election	<b>Completed:</b> 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 GPs outside of the taper. <sup>33</sup>
	Long-term strategy for empowering people with lifestyle-related conditions to live healthier lives	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government established the Office for Health Promotion in March 2021 to lead efforts to improve national health through tackling issues like obesity. <sup>34</sup> We did not find evidence of work on a strategy, although the office will design and implement policies to help people live healthier lives.
	Extend social prescribing and expand the National Academy of Social Prescribing	<b>On track:</b> The government awarded another £5m of funding to the National Academy of Social Prescribing in August 2020 to improve wellbeing and support recovery from Covid-19. By autumn 2020, national NHS bodies were also reporting that more than 1,200 link workers (who support people to unpick complex issues affecting their wellbeing) were in post. <sup>35</sup>
	Overhaul NHS screening and use new technology and mobile screening services to prevent ill health	<b>Underway:</b> In January 2020, NHSX began work on improving NHS England's screening programmes through better IT systems and technology. <sup>36</sup> Public Health England has also trialled remote supervision of assistant practitioners working in mobile breast screening units using new technology, but this has yet to be rolled out across the country. <sup>37</sup>
	Focus on helping patients with multiple conditions to have simplified and more joined-up access to the NHS	<b>Underway:</b> The government released an integration and innovation white paper in February 2021, which outlines legislative proposals to improve the integration of health services. The white paper notes the need to join up and integrate care around people, in the context of the growing number of patients with multiple, long-term conditions. <sup>38</sup>  The government has said it will start to implement the legislative proposals in 2022.



Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen the NHS and social care</b>	Improve hospital food	<p><b>Underway:</b> 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.<sup>39</sup></p> <p>The 40 new hospitals, which will be built by 2030, will also include modern catering facilities.</p>
	Extend the successful Cancer Drugs Fund into an Innovative Medicines Fund	<p><b>Yet to start:</b> There has been no action yet to extend the Cancer Drugs Fund into an Innovative Medicines Fund. In March 2020, health and social care parliamentary under-secretary Jo Churchill said detailed proposals for the fund were “in development”.<sup>40</sup></p>
	Improve the early diagnosis and treatment of all major conditions	<p><b>At risk:</b> During the pandemic, the proportion of cancers diagnosed while still at a highly curable phase has declined, and there has been a large drop in the number of cardiovascular diagnostic tests run. 44,000 fewer patients also started treatment for cancer between April 2020 and January 2021 than in the same period of the previous year. This is largely due to delays in appointments caused by coronavirus and patients avoiding seeking medical help due to fear of the virus.<sup>41</sup></p> <p>The government has invested £200m in updating cancer diagnostic equipment.</p>
	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	<p><b>Underway:</b> In January 2021, the government published a white paper proposing changes to the Mental Health Act. Consultation on the proposals closed in April 2021.<sup>42</sup></p>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen the NHS and social care</b>	Make it easier for people with learning disabilities and autism to be discharged from hospital and improve how they are treated in law	<p><b>Underway:</b> The government has proposed reforms to the Mental Health Act 1983, including ensuring “people with a learning disability and autistic people are treated better in law and reduce[ing] the reliance on specialist inpatient services”.<sup>43</sup> Public consultation on the proposals closed in April 2021.</p> <p>The government also allocated £62m to help discharge people with learning disabilities and autism from hospital, in July 2020.<sup>44</sup></p>
	Bring down operation waiting times	<p><b>At risk:</b> Around 4.7 million people were waiting for routine operations in England in February, with 388,000 people waiting more than a year for non-urgent surgery, compared with 1,600 before the pandemic began. These are the highest figures since 2007.<sup>45</sup></p>
	Improve A&E performance	<p><b>At risk:</b> A&amp;E performance also fell during the pandemic, with January 2020 having the worst rates for people waiting over four hours since records began.<sup>46</sup></p>
	Increase cancer survival rates	<p><b>At risk:</b> Some urgent operations for cancer did go ahead, but long delays risk progress in survival rates going backwards.<sup>47</sup></p>
	Hold an annual health technology summit	<p><b>Yet to start:</b> No health technology summit was held in 2020, but the NHS has made many digital innovations to improve patients’ experience and provide flexible working for clinicians (as set out in the manifesto).<sup>48</sup></p>
	Make the NHS the best place in the world to give birth	<p><b>Yet to start:</b> The UK has relatively high infant and neonatal mortality rates compared to other OCED 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.<sup>49</sup> Since 2018, the NHS has trialled digitising maternity care records across 20 sites, (which was a suggested improvement in 2018) but this has not been rolled out across the country.<sup>50</sup></p>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen the NHS and social care</b>	Extend healthy life expectancy by five years by 2035	<b>At risk:</b> The House of Lords Science and Technology Committee published a report in January 2021 that indicated the UK is not on track to meet this target. For men, it will take 75 years to achieve the target at current rates of improvement, not the 15 years that remain. It recommended that the government prioritise funding research into drugs that affect the development of age-related diseases. <sup>51</sup>
	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	<b>Completed:</b> 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 have been told they should implement the guidance by the end of April 2021. <sup>52</sup>
	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	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of further work on this commitment.
	Increase the NHS surcharge paid by those from overseas to ensure it covers the full cost of use	<b>Completed:</b> 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”. <sup>53</sup>
	NHS will not be on the table in trade deals – services the NHS provides and the price the NHS pays for drugs will not be on the table	<b>Underway:</b> The government has not changed its position on this commitment, although it is applying to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership, which includes investor-state dispute settlement clauses (which could affect the government’s ability to wind back private provision in the NHS) and provisions that may have an impact on medicines pricing. <sup>54</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen the NHS and social care</b>	£1bn extra of funding every year for more social care staff and better infrastructure, technology and facilities	<b>On track:</b> The March 2020 budget recommitted to the 2019 spending round announcement of £1bn additional funding in each year of parliament, <sup>55</sup> but this has been overtaken by subsequent funding announcements in response to the pandemic. However, social care was absent from the 2021 budget and more money is needed to help the sector continue to respond to, and recover from, the pandemic. <sup>56</sup>
	Urgently seek a cross-party consensus to bring forward the necessary proposal and legislation for a long-term solution for social care	<b>At risk:</b> The secretary of state for health and social care, Matt Hancock, wrote to all MPs and peers to initiate cross-party talks on social care in March 2020, but there has been no follow-up since. <sup>57</sup>  In February 2021, the government confirmed that it would bring forward proposals this year. However, the 2021 budget did not set aside any funding for reform. <sup>58</sup>
	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	<b>Yet to start:</b> As there has not yet been a proposal for any solution to social care, there has been no guarantee that no one needing care has to sell their home to pay for it.
	Extend the entitlement to leave for unpaid carers to one week	<b>Underway:</b> The government ran a consultation on the proposal to give employees a week of unpaid leave each year to provide care between March and August 2020. It is yet to provide a response. <sup>59</sup>
	Doubling research funding into dementia and speeding up trials for new treatments	<b>Yet to start:</b> The Alzheimer's Society called on the government to commit to this pledge in March 2021. <sup>60</sup> We did not find evidence of extra funding having been allocated at this stage.
	£74m over three years for additional capacity in community care settings for those with learning disabilities and autism	<b>On track:</b> 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 help move them into more appropriate care settings. <sup>61</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Invest in our schools	Provide an extra £14bn in funding for schools, including at least £5,000 a year for each secondary school pupil and £4,000 for each primary school pupil	<b>On track:</b> The schools funding settlement, with minimum funding levels as per the manifesto commitment, was published in January 2020. <sup>62</sup> 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. <sup>63</sup>
	Raise teachers' starting salaries to £30,000	<b>Underway:</b> The minimum of the main pay range for qualified teachers was raised by 5.5% in September 2020, but outside of London the starting salary is still £25,714. <sup>64</sup>
	Expand 'alternative provision' schools	<b>On track:</b> The number of placements in local authority-funded alternative provision increased from 26,100 pupils in 2019 to 29,500 in 2020. This covers pupils attending a school not maintained by a local authority for whom the authority is paying full tuition fees. <sup>65</sup>  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. <sup>66</sup>
	Deliver more school places for children with complex special educational needs	<b>Underway:</b> In July 2020, the secretary of state for education announced that he had approved 35 new special free schools. These will create up to 3,000 new school places for children with special educational needs and disabilities and are expected to open from September 2022. <sup>67</sup>  The government has also agreed to the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee's recommendations that it carry out a systematic analysis of current and future demand for school places for pupils with complex needs, and develop a costed plan for meeting those needs, with a target date of March 2021. <sup>68</sup> A plan has not yet been published.
	Continue to build more free schools	<b>On track:</b> In June 2020, there were 508 open free schools. <sup>69</sup> Latest figures for February 2021 show that there are now 558 free schools, with another 249 in the pre-opening phase as of March 2021. <sup>70</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Invest in our schools</b>	Offer an 'arts premium' to secondary schools	<b>Completed:</b> The March 2020 budget provided £90m per year to support high quality arts programmes in secondary schools from September 2021. <sup>71</sup>
<b>Vulnerable children</b>	Review the care system to make sure that all care placements and settings are providing children and young adults with the support they need	<b>On track:</b> The government launched the Independent Care Review in January 2021, which will address major challenges in the sector, such as the increase in numbers of children in care, inconsistencies in outcomes across the country, and the failure of the system to provide enough stable homes for children. <sup>72</sup>
	Improve the Troubled Families programme	<b>On track:</b> Up to £165m of additional funding was announced in 2020, and the programme hit a milestone of reaching 400,000 successful family outcomes since it began. Some work has been done to improve areas' use of data to better identify families' needs and more is underway, alongside new research into most effective practice. <sup>73</sup>
<b>Support working families</b>	Not raise the rate of income tax	<b>On track:</b> The government has not increased the rate of income tax. <sup>74</sup>
	Not raise the rate of National Insurance	<b>On track:</b> The government has not increased the rate of national insurance, although the chancellor has suggested the rate for the self-employed could increase in the future. <sup>75</sup>
	Not raise the rate of VAT	<b>On track:</b> The government has not increased the rate of VAT. <sup>76</sup>
	Raise the NI threshold to £9,500 in 2020	<b>Completed:</b> The 2020 budget raised the National Insurance threshold to £9,500. <sup>77</sup>
	New £1bn fund to help create more high quality, affordable childcare	<b>Yet to start:</b> 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, which it claims "supports the government's commitment to establish a Flexible Childcare Fund". However this emergency funding was not designed to expand quality, affordable childcare. <sup>78</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Support working families	Keep the existing energy cap	<b>On track:</b> In October, the government extended the energy price cap to the end of 2021. It is due to end by the end of 2023 at the latest, by which time Ofgem expects other reforms to bring about easier access to better deals. <sup>79</sup>
	Give the Competition and Markets Authority (CMA) enhanced powers to tackle consumer rip-offs and bad business practices	<b>Underway:</b> In February 2021, the government published an independent report by John Penrose MP on ways to improve consumer protection and promote competition. The report recommends updating CMA powers. <sup>80</sup> The government has said it will consider these recommendations and "respond in due course". <sup>81</sup>
	Extend the water rebate for those in the South West	<b>Completed:</b> The water rebate in the South West will continue to be applied for 2021/2022. <sup>82</sup>
	Keep the triple lock	<b>On track:</b> In November 2020, the government stated that decisions about the triple lock would be "taken as part of the annual budget process in the context of the wider public finances". Media reports suggest that the government will keep its commitment to the triple lock on pensions, despite earlier speculation that it might be abandoned. <sup>83</sup>
	Keep the winter fuel payment	<b>On track:</b> The government has not made any changes to winter fuel payments. <sup>84</sup>
	Keep the older person's bus pass	<b>On track:</b> The government has not made any changes to bus passes or other pensioner benefits. <sup>85</sup>
	Conduct a comprehensive review to look at how to fix the issue of workers, disproportionately women, who earn between £10,000 and £12,500 and have been missing out on pension benefits	<b>Underway:</b> The government consulted on options for administering pensions tax relief for low earners between July and October 2020. The government is yet to respond to the consultation. <sup>86</sup>
	Abolish the tampon tax	<b>Completed:</b> VAT was scrapped on all sanitary products on 1 January 2021. <sup>87</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Support working families</b>	Continue the rollout of Universal Credit	<p><b>Underway:</b> The government remains committed to Universal Credit, although it suspended a pilot for 'managed migration' – moving people claiming legacy benefits such as tax credits on to Universal Credit – which would have gone ahead in Harrogate between July 2019 and July 2020.</p> <p>Before the outbreak of Covid-19, the Department for Work and Pensions forecast that it would fully roll out Universal Credit by September 2024, but it has not said what effect, if any, the crisis will have.<sup>88</sup></p>
	Make sure it pays to work more hours	<p><b>On track:</b> It always pays to work more hours on Universal Credit, which continues to be rolled out.<sup>89</sup></p>
	Maintain commitment to free school meals	<p><b>On track:</b> 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.<sup>90</sup></p>
	Reduce the number of reassessments a disabled person must go through when a significant change in condition is unlikely	<p><b>Yet to start:</b> The government stated in the 2020 spending review that it is providing funding "to improve DWP's health assessments system", but we did not find evidence of further work on this specific commitment.<sup>91</sup></p>
	Publish a National Strategy for Disabled People before the end of 2020	<p><b>Delayed:</b> The government has said it intends to publish the strategy in spring 2021.<sup>92</sup></p>
	End the benefits freeze	<p><b>Completed:</b> The government confirmed an end to the benefits freeze in the March 2020 budget. Some benefits, such as housing benefit and child benefit, will now increase in line with inflation.<sup>93</sup></p>
	Increase SEND funding	<p><b>Completed:</b> The government increased the size of the high needs funding block for 2020-21 by £780m.<sup>94</sup></p>



Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Support working families</b>	Reduce the disability employment gap	<b>Yet to start:</b> The disability employment gap increased from 28.1 percentage points to 28.8 percentage points in the year to October – December 2020. <sup>95</sup>
<b>Make our country safer</b>	Recruit 20,000 new police officers	<b>On track:</b> By 31 December 2020, the number of police officers increased by 6,620 compared to the 31 March 2019 adjusted baseline. In the 2020 spending review, the government committed £400m to help recruit another 20,000 police officers by 2023. <sup>96</sup>
	Put the Police Covenant into law	<b>Underway:</b> 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. The bill was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>97</sup>
	Create a new court order to target known knife carriers, making it easier for officers to stop and search those convicted of knife crime	<b>Underway:</b> In March 2021, the government began piloting serious violence reduction orders to help decide whether these should be rolled out nationwide. These orders will enable police forces to target individuals previously known for carrying knives or other offensive weapons. The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill will enable courts to use these orders. The bill was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>98</sup>
	Anyone charged with knife possession will appear before magistrates within days not weeks	<b>At risk:</b> Across all offences, the median time from charge to first listing in magistrates' courts in England and Wales in the period October–December 2020 was 39 days (compared to 31 days in October–December 2020). Current delays are in part a result of the pandemic. <sup>99</sup>
	Introduce tougher sentencing for the worst offenders	<b>Completed:</b> The Counter-Terrorism and Sentencing Act increases maximum sentences for certain terrorism offences. It received royal assent in April 2021. <sup>100</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Make our country safer	End automatic halfway release from prison for serious crimes	<b>Completed:</b> 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. 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 was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>101</sup>
	Life imprisonment without parole for child murderers	<b>Underway:</b> The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill would amend the Sentencing Code to make whole life order (life imprisonment without parole) the starting point for setting the life sentence term of a child murderer. The bill was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>102</sup>
	Cut the number of foreign nationals in our prisons	<b>Yet to start:</b> While the overall prison population decreased by 6% between 31 December 2019 and 31 December 2020 due to the impact of the pandemic on the criminal courts, the number of foreign nationals held in prisons and at the HMPPS-operated Immigration Removal Centre at Morton Hall increased by 3% (from 9,225 to 9,524). It is too early to judge the impact of changes to the immigration system. <sup>103</sup>
	Create a prisoner education service focused on work-based training and skills	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government said in January 2021 that the delivery of a prisoner education service had been delayed due to the pandemic. But 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 rollout across England by 2023. <sup>104</sup>
	Job coach in each prison	<b>On track:</b> There are over 100 prison work coaches and around 120 prisons, although we did not find information about the distribution of coaches between prisons. <sup>105</sup>
	New laws will require schools, police, councils and health authorities to work together through Violence Reduction Units to prevent serious crime	<b>Yet to start:</b> The Serious Violence Bill, requiring relevant public agencies and bodies to work together to prevent and reduce serious violence, was announced in the Queen’s Speech on 19 December 2019. No date is yet available for second reading. <sup>106</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Make our country safer</b>	Pass the Police Protection Bill	<b>Underway:</b> 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. The bill was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>107</sup>
	Consult on doubling the maximum sentence for assaulting workers in emergency services	<b>Completed:</b> 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. The bill was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>108</sup>
	Strengthen the accountability of elected police and crime commissioners and expand their role	<b>Underway:</b> The home secretary outlined the recommendations of part one of her review of police and crime commissioners (PCC) on 16 March 2021. The second part of the review will take place after the May 2021 PCC elections and the government will communicate more about these plans "in due course". <sup>109</sup>
	Expand electronic tagging for criminals serving time outside jail, including the use of sobriety tags for those whose offending is fuelled by alcohol	<b>On track:</b> Six police forces are participating in a Ministry of Justice (MoJ) pilot which will tag burglars for up to 12 months after being released from prison. The MoJ plans to roll out the scheme to an additional 13 forces in September. Sobriety tags were launched in England in March 2021 and in Wales in October 2020. <sup>110</sup>
	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	<b>Underway:</b> The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill includes measures to toughen community sentences and to give courts and probation staff more flexibility in the use of 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 was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>111</sup>
	Create a new national cyber crime force	<b>Completed:</b> The prime minister confirmed in November 2020 that a national cyber force had been running since April 2020. <sup>112</sup>
	Create a world-class national crime laboratory	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find any announcements relating to a national crime laboratory.

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Make our country safer</b>	Add 10,000 more prison places	<b>Underway:</b> In the 2020 spending review, the government confirmed £4bn in capital funding over the following four years to “make significant progress” towards building 18,000 prison places in England and Wales by the mid-2020s. Nonetheless, the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee has cast doubt on whether this will be enough to meet demand for prison places. <sup>113</sup>
	Maintain the ban on prisoners voting from jail	<b>On track:</b> The ban remains in place. <sup>114</sup>
	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	<b>On track:</b> The government launched a review in October 2020. Public consultation ran from 20 October to 1 December 2020. The government has said that the review will be completed by summer 2021. <sup>115</sup>
	Establish a royal commission on the criminal justice process	<b>Yet to start:</b> 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. <sup>116</sup>
	Tackle unauthorised traveller camps: give the police new powers to arrest and seize the property and vehicles of trespassers who set up unauthorised encampments	<b>Underway:</b> 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 was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>117</sup>
	Tackle unauthorised traveller camps: make intentional trespass a criminal offence	<b>Underway:</b> 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. The bill was introduced into parliament in March 2021. <sup>118</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Make our country safer	Tackle unauthorised traveller camps: give councils greater powers within the planning system	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government said in January 2020 that it will strengthen the power of local authorities to stop planning permission being granted retrospectively for intentional unauthorised development. It said it would consult "shortly" <sup>119</sup> , although we did not find evidence of this having started. <sup>119</sup>
	Pass and implement a victims' law that guarantees victims' rights and the level of support they can expect	<b>Underway:</b> A new Victims' Code that gives victims of crime better support from the police, courts and other criminal agencies came into force on 1 April 2021. This code paves the way for the Victims' Law, on which the government has said it will consult in the summer. <sup>120</sup>
	Pass the Domestic Abuse Bill	<b>Completed:</b> The Domestic Abuse Act received royal assent in April 2021. <sup>121</sup>
	Pilot integrated domestic abuse courts that address criminal and family matters in parallel	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government said in June 2020 that it is keeping a start date for the pilot under review because of the disruption to family and criminal courts as a result of the pandemic, but will start it "as soon as it is practical and safe to do so". The government provided £5m for the pilot in the March 2020 budget. <sup>122</sup>
	Expand funding for and protect places of worship from physical attack or harassment	<b>Completed:</b> 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, although, as of 22 April 2021, it is yet to respond. <sup>123</sup>
	Ban public bodies from imposing their own direct or indirect boycotts, disinvestment or sanctions campaigns against foreign countries	<b>Yet to start:</b> The commitment was included in the briefing notes for the Queen's Speech in December 2019, but we did not find evidence of subsequent work. <sup>124</sup>
	Legislate to make the UK the safest place in the world to be online	<b>Underway:</b> The government has continued work on its proposed regulatory framework establishing a duty of care requiring companies to improve the safety of their users online, which it says will be the first comprehensive approach to tackling online harms in the world. The government has indicated that legislation will be ready in 2021. <sup>125</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Make our country safer</b>	Review the Gambling Act 2005, with a particular focus on tackling issues around loot boxes and credit card misuse	<b>On track:</b> Credit cards were banned for all gambling except for lotteries in shops from April 2020. In September 2020, the government announced a call for evidence on loot boxes. This evidence will support the wider review of the Gambling Act 2005, launched by the government in December 2020. <sup>126</sup>
<b>Fix our immigration system</b>	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	<b>Completed:</b> The government implemented a points-based system in January 2021. Workers must reach 70 points acquired through salary, language skills, job offer and education.  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. <sup>127</sup>
	Fewer lower-skilled migrants	<b>On track:</b> The number of low-skilled migrants has most likely fallen, owing to the end of free movement from the EU (workers born in new EU accession countries are over-represented in low-skilled occupations) and the pandemic, which has seen fewer people arrive in the UK on work, study and family-related visas. It is impossible to give an estimated figure based on current published statistics. <sup>128</sup>
	Overall number of migrants to come down	<b>On track:</b> The total number of visas granted fell by 69% in 2020 and the Migration Observatory at Oxford University estimated that the UK's foreign-born population shrank by just over one million to 8.3 million in the first three quarters of 2020, largely due to the pandemic. At this stage, it is impossible to gauge the impact of the government's changes to the immigration system. <sup>129</sup>
	Offer top science and technology graduates and those who win top scientific prizes fast-track entry to the UK	<b>Completed:</b> The government opened a fast-track visa scheme in February 2020 for top scientists and those working on research projects in the UK that have received prestigious grants and awards. <sup>130</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Fix our immigration system</b>	Not allow serious criminals into the country	<b>Completed:</b> 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. <sup>131</sup>
	We are committed to the Windrush compensation scheme	<b>Underway:</b> 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. <sup>132</sup>
	Treat EU and non-EU citizens equally	<b>On track:</b> The UK's new immigration system treats EU and non-EU applicants equally. <sup>133</sup>
	Guarantee the existing rights of EU citizens who came to live in the UK before Brexit	<b>On track:</b> Over four million EU citizens have been granted new residency status in the UK. The settlement scheme allows those who have been ordinarily resident in the UK for five consecutive years to apply for settled status granting indefinite right to remain, and those who have lived in the UK for less than that period to get pre-settled status.  The scheme is open until 30 June 2021, but the government does not have the data on how many eligible people reside in the UK and has not said how it will treat those who are eligible, but miss the deadline. The number of applicants has already far exceeded official estimates of EU residents. <sup>134</sup>
	Youth Futures Foundation will invest at least £90m to improve employment outcomes for young people	<b>On track:</b> The UK government provided £90m to the Youth Futures Foundation by May 2020. <sup>135</sup>
	Improve the quality of evidence and data within government about the types of barriers different groups face	<b>Underway:</b> 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 certain 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. <sup>136</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Fix our immigration system</b>	Maintain support for a memorial recognising the contribution of the Windrush generation in a prominent site in London	<b>On track:</b> A public consultation process to select the artist is underway. The government has announced that £1m has been guaranteed for the public memorial and expects to unveil the memorial at Waterloo station on Windrush Day in 2022. <sup>137</sup>
	People coming into the country from the EU will be able to access unemployment, housing and child benefit only after five years	<b>Completed:</b> Following the UK's withdrawal from the EU, to qualify for public funds, an individual must have settled status, which generally requires five years of continued residence. <sup>138</sup>
	No longer allow people to claim child benefit for children living overseas	<b>Completed:</b> Following the introduction of a new immigration system, children living overseas will "usually" not be eligible for child benefits. <sup>139</sup>
	Ensure that new GP and school places are delivered ahead of people moving into new housing developments	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government ran a consultation on changes to the planning system in 2020, but its proposals did not directly address this commitment. <sup>140</sup>
<b>Revive our towns and cities</b>	Continue to offer free emergency care to anyone who needs it	<b>On track:</b> 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	<b>On track:</b> The government has selected 101 towns for the programme, and divided these into cohorts that will move through the scheme at different times. All have submitted Town Investment Plans as part of stage one and £1.02bn funding was announced for the first 45 towns in the March 2021 budget. <sup>141</sup>



Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Revive our towns and cities</b>	Invest £500m in new youth clubs and services	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has said there will be no new money for services under the Youth Investment Fund before April 2022, although it has said it will provide £30m in capital funding under the fund in 2021-22. £16.5m has been made available as part of the youth Covid-19 support fund. <sup>142</sup>
	A new Safer Streets Fund will invest in preventative measures like new CCTV or community wardens	<b>Completed:</b> Successful bidders for the first round of funding were announced in July 2020. The government is running a second round, with successful areas to be announced in May 2021. <sup>143</sup>
	£250m cultural capital fund to support libraries and regional museums, and activities, traditions and events that bring communities together	<b>On track:</b> The government confirmed the fund in the 2020 budget and allocated £95m in 2020/21. It also allocated over £150m in the 2020 spending review for cultural and heritage infrastructure, including through the Cultural Investment Fund. <sup>144</sup>
	Establish a £150m Community Ownership Fund to encourage local takeovers of civic organisations or community assets that are under threat	<b>On track:</b> The government has announced a first round of bidding, which will open by June 2021. <sup>145</sup>
	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	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has spoken about plans for the review and held roundtable discussions on the "future of football" but has not launched the review. <sup>146</sup>
	Support local and regional newspapers, as vital pillars of communities and local democracy, including by extending their business rates relief	<b>Completed:</b> The government has extended business rates relief for local newspapers to 2025. <sup>147</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Revive our towns and cities	£100bn in additional infrastructure spending – including on roads and rail – and £4bn in new funding for flood defences	<b>On track:</b> The government committed £100bn to infrastructure spending and £5.2bn on flood defences by 2027 in the 2020 spending review. <sup>148</sup>
	Build Northern Powerhouse Rail between Leeds and Manchester	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has said it will publish an integrated rail plan in the spring, which will consider how best to deliver and sequence major rail schemes including Northern Powerhouse Rail. <sup>149</sup>
	Extend contactless pay-as-you-go ticketing to almost 200 more stations in the South East	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of further work or announcements on this commitment.
	Give city regions the funding to upgrade their bus, tram and train services	<b>On track:</b> The 2020 budget committed £4.2bn from 2022–23 for five-year funding settlements for eight mayoral combined authorities for urban transport development. <sup>150</sup>
	End the complicated franchising model and create a simpler, more effective rail system, including giving metro mayors control over services in their areas	<b>Underway:</b> The government has replaced rail franchise agreements with emergency recovery measures agreements, an interim arrangement ahead of a permanent replacement for the franchising system. The government has said it will publish a white paper in response to the recommendations of the Williams review into the rail system when the course of the pandemic becomes clearer. <sup>151</sup>
	Make a £28.8bn investment in strategic and local roads	<b>On track:</b> The second road investment strategy was published alongside the March 2020 budget, setting out the committed schemes for 2020–25. <sup>152</sup>
	Invest £1bn in completing a fast-charging network to ensure that everyone is within 30 miles of a rapid electric vehicle charging station	<b>Underway:</b> The government has said it will invest £1.3bn over the next four years to accelerate the rollout of charging infrastructure, as part of its 10-point plan for a green industrial revolution. The government has announced £20m in 2021/22 for on-street chargepoints. <sup>153</sup>
	Consult on the earliest date we can phase out the sale of new conventional petrol and diesel cars	<b>Completed:</b> The government’s 10-point plan for a green industrial revolution set 2030 as the date to end sales of new petrol and diesel cars and vans. <sup>154</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Revive our towns and cities	Require that a minimum service operates during transport strikes	<b>Yet to start:</b> 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. <sup>155</sup>
	Consider the findings of the Oakervee review into costs and timings of High Speed 2 and work with leaders of the Midlands and the North to decide the optimal outcome	<b>Completed:</b> The government decided to proceed with the first phase of High Speed 2 (HS2) between London and Birmingham in February 2020. The government is reviewing the route and design for phase 2 of the line, and this part of the line will have “new delivery arrangements” – it will not be delivered by HS2 Ltd. <sup>156</sup>
	Restore many of the Beeching lines	<b>Underway:</b> The Department for Transport launched a £500m Restoring Your Railway Fund in January 2020, with funding offered to help reinstate axed local services and restore stations. The department has run three rounds of funding for early-stage ideas development, and it ran a third round of the new stations fund in 2020. <sup>157</sup>
	Launch the biggest-ever pothole-filling programme as part of our National Infrastructure Strategy	<b>On track:</b> The Department for Transport announced allocations for the expanded potholes fund in May 2020. <sup>158</sup>
	Create a new £350m Cycling Infrastructure Fund with mandatory design standards for new routes	<b>On track:</b> The Cycling Infrastructure Fund was superseded by £2bn for cycling and walking, as part of £5bn transport package announced in February 2020. 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”. <sup>159</sup>
	Extend Bikeability – cycling proficiency training – to every child	<b>Completed:</b> 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. <sup>160</sup>
	Heathrow third runway scheme will receive no new public money	<b>On track:</b> In 2020, the transport secretary reiterated the commitment that the Heathrow third runway scheme would be industry-led. <sup>161</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Revive our towns and cities</b>	Use new air traffic control technology to cut the time aircraft spend waiting to land	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of further work or announcements on this commitment.
	Intend to bring full fibre and gigabit-capable broadband to every home and business across the UK by 2025	<b>Abandoned:</b> 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". <sup>162</sup>
	£5bn of new public funding to connect premises that are not commercially viable to full fibre and gigabit-capable broadband	<b>At risk:</b> The 2020 spending review allocated £1.2bn over the following four years, but the government has not said when the remaining £3.8 billion will be made available. <sup>163</sup>
	Local people will continue to have the final say on council tax, being able to veto excessive rises	<b>On track:</b> The government has not removed provision for referenda on excessive council tax increases. <sup>164</sup>
	Publish an English devolution white paper setting out our plans in 2020	<b>Abandoned:</b> The government has said it will include proposals in its levelling up white paper instead of publishing a separate white paper on English devolution. <sup>165</sup>
	Invite proposals from local areas for growth bodies similar to the Northern Powerhouse across the rest of England, such as the Oxford-Cambridge Arc	<b>Yet to start:</b> 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". <sup>166</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Helping young people buy and rent</b>	Encourage a new market in long-term fixed-rate mortgages that slash the cost of deposits	<b>On track:</b> 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. <sup>167</sup>
	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	<b>Underway:</b> The government has conducted a consultation on these plans. The housing secretary will lay out these plans before parliament "in due course". The government has not yet specified a clear timeline. <sup>168</sup>
	Maintain our commitment to a right to buy for all council tenants	<b>On track:</b> The government Right to Buy scheme is still operating. <sup>169</sup>
	Maintain the voluntary Right to Buy scheme agreed with housing associations	<b>On track:</b> The Right to Buy scheme for housing association homes remains active. <sup>170</sup>
	Review new ways to support home ownership following the completion of the Help to Buy scheme	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of further work or announcements relating to this commitment.
	Simplify shared ownership products by setting a single standard for all housing associations	<b>Underway:</b> The government launched a technical consultation on a new model for shared ownership in November 2020. <sup>171</sup>
	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	<b>Underway:</b> Following a review by the Law Commission, the government has said it will enact reforms through two pieces of legislation, one in the forthcoming session of parliament, and another likely in the third session. <sup>172</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Helping young people buy and rent</b>	Bring in a better deal for renters, including abolishing 'no fault' evictions and requiring only one 'lifetime' deposit which moves with the tenant	<b>Yet to start:</b> The Renters' Reform Bill, including measures to abolish no fault evictions, was announced in the Queen's Speech on 19 December 2019, but the government has not given further details about timing. <sup>173</sup>
	Extend the Help to Buy scheme from 2021 to 2023	<b>Completed:</b> A new Help to Buy scheme will run from April 2021 to March 2023. <sup>174</sup>
<b>Deliver the housing people need</b>	Bring forward a social housing white paper that will set out further measures to empower tenants and support the continued supply of social homes	<b>Completed:</b> The social housing white paper was published in November 2020. <sup>175</sup>
	Commit to renewing the Affordable Homes Programme	<b>Completed:</b> The programme has been renewed for 2021–2026. <sup>176</sup>
	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	<b>Underway:</b> The number of rough sleepers fell in autumn 2020, down by 37% from 2019. However, the numbers are still 57% higher than autumn 2010 and local authorities have warned that numbers could rise as temporary measures introduced during the pandemic (like the freeze on evictions) are lifted.  The government allocated £112m to the Rough Sleeping Initiative fund in 2020/21, and is conducting three pilot projects for the Housing First programme. <sup>177</sup>
	Bring in a stamp duty surcharge on non-UK resident buyers	<b>Completed:</b> A surcharge for non-resident buyers was introduced in April 2021. <sup>178</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Deliver the housing people need</b>	Continue our progress towards our target of 300,000 homes a year by the mid-2020s	<p><b>At risk:</b> While the number of new homes supplied annually has grown in recent years, at 244,000 in 2019/20, it still falls short of the government's target, and the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee has criticised the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government over its failure to clarify how it will meet the target (which the government now refers to as an "ambition").</p> <p>The pandemic has made this more challenging, with housing starts falling 59% in the second quarter of 2020.<sup>179</sup></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><b>On track:</b> The government announced in January 2021 that all councils will be encouraged to develop their own design codes for any developments in their area, and published a draft national code that provides a checklist of design principles to consider for new developments, such as street character. The government ran a consultation on the draft national code from January to March 2021.<sup>180</sup></p>
	Implement and legislate for all the recommendations of the Hackitt review and the first phase of the independent inquiry	<p><b>Underway:</b> The government introduced the Fire Safety Bill into parliament in March 2020 and published a draft building safety bill in July 2020. Although the government will also need to implement secondary legislation to take forward the recommendations of the Hackitt review and the first phase of the independent inquiry.<sup>181</sup></p>
<b>Make Britain the best place to start and grow a business</b>	Cut the burden of tax on business by reducing business rates. This will be done via a fundamental review of the system	<p><b>Underway:</b> The government said in February 2021 that it would publish its final report in autumn 2021, when there is more economic certainty. It published an interim report in March 2021. The government has provided a business rates holiday (worth over £10bn to ratepayers) for eligible properties in the retail, hospitality and leisure sectors. The spending review confirmed that the business rates multiplier would be frozen in 2021/22.<sup>182</sup></p>
	Further reduce business rates for retail businesses, as well as extending the discount to grassroots music venues, small cinemas and pubs	<p><b>On track:</b> The government increased the business rates retail discount to 50% in 2020/21, with a 100% discount for small business until 30 June 2021, to be followed by 66% relief from 1 July 2021 to 31 March 2022. Relief was expanded to the leisure and hospitality sectors. 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.<sup>183</sup></p>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Make Britain the best place to start and grow a business</b>	Increase the Employment Allowance for small businesses	<b>Completed:</b> In the 2020 budget, the chancellor increased Employment Allowance for small businesses from £3,000 to £4,000. <sup>184</sup>
	Commit to paying start-ups and small businesses on time	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has a target of paying 90% of its invoices within five days, and all of them within 30 days. Departments also have a non-executive director responsible for prompt payment and must report their payment performance progress and action plan. However, only a small number of the ministerial departments that have published data on payment timeliness met the five-day target in any given quarter of 2020 and none met the 30-day target. <sup>185</sup>
	Strengthen the powers of the Small Business Commissioner to support small businesses that are exploited by their larger partners	<b>Underway:</b> 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". <sup>186</sup>
	Expand start-up loans	<b>Completed:</b> The government allocated £56.5m in the 2020 spending review to fund an expansion of the British Business Bank's start-up loans programme to provide an additional 1,000 loans. <sup>187</sup>
	Look at how we can improve the working of the apprenticeship levy	<b>Underway:</b> 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. 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. The Department for Education has said it will make improvements in response to employers' feedback. <sup>188</sup>
	Increase the R&D tax credit rate to 13%	<b>Completed:</b> The government increased the rate for R&D tax credit from 12% to 13% in the 2020 budget. <sup>189</sup>



Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<p><b>Make Britain the best place to start and grow a business</b></p>	<p>Review the definition of R&amp;D so that important investments in cloud computing and data, which boost productivity and innovation, are also incentivised</p>	<p><b>Underway:</b> At the 2021 budget, the government launched a review of R&amp;D tax reliefs that will include reviewing widening the definition of R&amp;D tax relief qualifying expenditure to include data and cloud computing. The consultation will close on 2 June 2021.<sup>190</sup></p>
	<p>Review and reform entrepreneur’s relief</p>	<p><b>Completed:</b> 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.<sup>191</sup></p>
	<p>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</p>	<p><b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of a review having been launched.</p>
	<p>Set out a new anti-tax avoidance and evasion law that 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</p>	<p><b>Underway:</b> The government announced new anti-evasion and avoidance measures and additional resources for HMRC in the 2020 and 2021 budgets, but it has not set out a new law to increase maximum sentences. We did not find evidence of a new “beefed up” HMRC Anti-Tax Evasion Unit.<sup>192</sup></p>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Make Britain the best place to start and grow a business</b>	Implement the Digital Services Tax	<b>Completed:</b> The government introduced the Digital Services Tax (DST) 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. The government said in the 2020 budget that it will "repeal the DST once an appropriate global solution is in place". <sup>193</sup>
	Reform insolvency rules and the audit regime so that customers and suppliers – and UK taxpayers – are better protected when firms go into administration	<b>Underway:</b> 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. <sup>194</sup>
	Improve incentives to attack the problem of excessive executive pay and rewards for failure	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of further work on this commitment.
	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	<b>Completed:</b> 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. <sup>195</sup>
<b>Invest in Britain's people</b>	Require significant numbers of new UK apprentices for all big new infrastructure projects	<b>Yet to start:</b> The most recent infrastructure plan has no requirements for apprentices on government projects, although the government introduced an incentive payment in August 2020 for hiring apprentices. <sup>196</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Invest in Britain's people	Create a new National Skills Fund worth £3bn over the next parliament	<b>Underway:</b> The government announced in the November 2020 spending review that it would invest £375m from the fund in 2021/22 in a variety of programmes, including technical courses for adults, traineeships, sector-based work academy placements and the national careers service. <sup>197</sup>
	Investing almost £2bn to upgrade the entire further education college estate	<b>Underway:</b> £200m has been allocated for 2020–21. The government has pledged £1.5bn in total over the parliament. <sup>198</sup>
	Twenty Institutes of Technology, which connect high-quality teaching in science, technology, engineering and maths to business and industry	<b>On track:</b> 12 Institutes of Technology were announced before the 2019 election. The government opened applications for a further eight in 2020. <sup>199</sup>
	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	<b>Underway:</b> The fund 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.  The government has said it will publish further details of the fund in an investment framework later this year. <sup>200</sup>
	Look at the interest rates on loan repayments with a view to reducing the burden of debt on students	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of any further work on this commitment. The Department for Education announced in August 2020 that student loan interest rates would rise for students who commenced studying in England and Wales in or after 2012. <sup>201</sup>
	Create a single enforcement body for employment law	<b>Yet to start:</b> The Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (BEIS) announced a consultation on the plan before the 2019 election, although we did not find evidence of subsequent work. The former director of labour market enforcement at BEIS, Matthew Taylor, has accused the government of “dragging its heels very badly” on this reform. <sup>202</sup>
	Ensure that workers have the right to request a more predictable contract and other reasonable protections	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of progress on this commitment.

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Invest in Britain's people	Encourage flexible working and consult on making it the default unless employers have good reasons not to	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government said in January 2021 that a "consultation will be issued in due course". <sup>203</sup>
	Legislate to allow parents to take extended leave for neonatal care	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has reaffirmed its commitment to leave for neonatal care and confirmed funding in the March 2020 budget, to start in 2023–24, but it has not yet introduced legislation. <sup>204</sup>
Unleash innovation	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	<b>At risk:</b> While the 2020 budget set out plans to increase public R&D investment to £22bn per year by 2024–25, which the government says is the fastest-ever expansion of support for basic research and innovation, experts have warned that the UK is likely to miss the 2.4% by 2027 target, based on its current trajectory. <sup>205</sup>
	New agency for high-risk, high-payoff research	<b>Underway:</b> 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. <sup>206</sup>
	Continue to collaborate internationally and with the EU on scientific research, including Horizon	<b>On track:</b> The UK is an associated member of Horizon Europe.
	Unlock long-term capital in pension funds to invest in and commercialise our scientific discoveries	<b>Underway:</b> The Financial Conduct Authority has been working with large pension funds to remove impediments that prevent investment into high-risk, high-growth companies in the life sciences sector. The British Business Bank collaborated with some major pension providers to explore the case for encouraging defined contribution pension scheme investment in venture capital and growth equity. <sup>207</sup>
	Maintain support for creative sector tax reliefs	<b>On track:</b> Creative sector tax reliefs remain in place. <sup>208</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Unleash innovation</b>	Maintain free entry to the UK's national museums	<b>On track:</b> Museum entry remains free.
<b>Support rural life and coastal communities</b>	Free our farmers from the bureaucratic Common Agricultural Policy and move to a system based on 'public money for public goods'	<b>On track:</b> The UK has left the Common Agricultural Policy. The Agriculture Act, which received royal assent in November 2020, gives ministers powers to develop new schemes to pay farmers in England for producing 'public goods' such as environmental or animal welfare improvements. <sup>209</sup>
	Guarantee the current annual budget to farmers in every year of the next parliament	<b>On track:</b> Funding for 2021/22 was confirmed in the November 2020 spending review, although some farming groups have disputed the way the government decided on the baseline figure. <sup>210</sup>
	Increase the annual quota for the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme we are piloting from 2,500 to 10,000	<b>Completed:</b> The quota was raised to 10,000 in 2020. <sup>211</sup>
	Leave the Common Fisheries Policy	<b>Completed:</b> The UK is no longer part of the Common Fisheries Policy, following the end of the Brexit transition period. <sup>212</sup>
	Maintain funding for fisheries across the UK's nations throughout the parliament	<b>On track:</b> In the 2020 spending review, the government provided almost £20m to support the fisheries sector in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and £13.5m in England, in 2021–22. <sup>213</sup>
	There will be a legal requirement for a plan to achieve maximum sustainable yield for each fish stock	<b>Completed:</b> 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. <sup>214</sup>
	Cement our Opportunity Areas programme to raise standards and support regeneration	<b>On track:</b> The programme remains in place. <sup>215</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Support rural life and coastal communities	Set up a new independent Office for Environmental Protection	<b>On track:</b> An interim office will be set up from July 2021, pending the passage of the Environment Bill, expected in the autumn. The government has appointed an interim chair and an interim chief executive. <sup>216</sup>
	£640m new Nature for Climate Fund	<b>On track:</b> Funding confirmed in the March 2020 budget. The government has announced funding for a number of specific projects and has flagged further announcements for spring 2021. <sup>217</sup>
	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	<b>Underway:</b> The government has said it will publish an action plan on trees, woodland and forestry, and has funded tree planting projects through its Nature for Climate Fund. <sup>218</sup>
	Create new national parks and areas of outstanding natural beauty	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government reannounced this commitment in November 2020. <sup>219</sup>
	Make the coast-to-coast path across the most beautiful areas of the north a national trail	<b>Yet to start:</b> The coast-to-coast path has not been designated a national trail. The government has said that the first stage towards designation would be for Natural England to carry out a scoping or feasibility study. <sup>220</sup>
	Introduce a new levy to increase the proportion of recyclable plastics in packaging	<b>Underway:</b> The government has introduced the Finance Bill 2021, which will establish a plastic packaging tax. The tax will apply to plastic packaging manufactured in or imported into the UK that does not contain at least 30% recycled plastic. If passed, the tax will take effect from 1 April 2022. <sup>221</sup>
	Introduce extended producer responsibility so that producers pay the full costs of dealing with the waste they produce	<b>Underway:</b> The government is currently consulting on plans to introduce extended producer responsibility scheme for packaging. The consultation closes in June 2021. <sup>222</sup>
	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	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has said it will consult "in due course" on policy options to deliver this commitment. It has been criticised for shipping dirty and mixed plastic waste to non-OECD countries, which is permitted under the relevant convention if regulators in both Great Britain and the destination country have permitted it. <sup>223</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Support rural life and coastal communities</b>	Increase penalties for fly-tipping	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has reiterated its commitment to strengthen sentencing, but is yet to take action. <sup>224</sup>
	Introduce a deposit return scheme to incentivise people to recycle plastic and glass	<b>At risk:</b> The government is currently consulting on the proposed scheme, but has said it will be introduced in late 2024 at the earliest – after the election due in May. <sup>225</sup>
	Make no changes to the Hunting Act 2004	<b>On track:</b> The government has not made any changes. <sup>226</sup>
	Make those on community sentences clean up their parks and streets	<b>On track:</b> Community payback, which can include removing graffiti and clearing wasteland in the local area, remains in place for community sentences. <sup>227</sup>
<b>Strengthen our union</b>	The UK Shared Prosperity Fund will, at a minimum, match the size of the EU Structural Funds in each nation	<b>Underway:</b> The government said total domestic UK-wide funding will at least match EU receipts, although it did not confirm in the 2020 spending review (where it outlined details about the new fund) whether the devolved administrations would receive the same amount per year as they did from the EU. The new fund is due to commence in 2022. <sup>228</sup>
	Carefully consider the recommendations of Lord Dunlop's independent review into UK government union capability when it is published	<b>Completed:</b> The government published both the review and its response in March 2021. The review was completed in November 2019. <sup>229</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen our union</b>	Aim to ensure that our new freeports benefit the people in each of the four nations	<p><b>Underway:</b> The UK government has said that it will work with the devolved administrations to set up their own freeports. Scotland has announced plans for freeports.</p> <p>The Welsh government has signalled its interest, but has argued the UK government's move to set up freeports in England first may displace activity from Wales to England.</p> <p>Subsidies to Northern Ireland freeports may need prior European Commission approval. Differences in regulation could lead to subsidy differences within Northern Ireland freeports compared to those offered across the rest of the UK.<sup>230</sup></p>
	Continue to work with all sides to re-establish the Northern Ireland executive and assembly	<p><b>Completed:</b> The Northern Ireland executive and assembly have been re-established.<sup>231</sup></p>
	Northern Ireland will enjoy the full economic benefits of Brexit, including new free trade agreements	<p><b>Underway:</b> The Northern Ireland protocol keeps Northern Ireland within the UK's customs territory. Any free trade deals will include Northern Ireland. However, this has yet to be properly tested with any major free trade deals.<sup>232</sup></p>
	Ensure that Northern Ireland's businesses and producers enjoy unfettered access to the rest of the UK	<p><b>Underway:</b> The UK Internal Market Act 2020 specifically grants 'unfettered access' for 'qualifying goods' goods moving from Northern Ireland to Great Britain. However, the broad definition of 'qualifying goods' is only temporary, with the government having announced plans to create a long-term qualifying trader later scheme in 2021.<sup>233</sup></p>
	Maintain and strengthen the integrity and smooth operation of our internal market	<p><b>On track:</b> 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.<sup>234</sup></p>
	Intend to devolve responsibility for corporation tax to Northern Ireland	<p><b>Yet to start:</b> The Northern Ireland finance minister proposed an independent commission to look into this in March 2021.<sup>235</sup></p>



Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen our union</b>	Consider devolving responsibility for short-haul air passenger duty to Northern Ireland	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government said in March 2021 that it will continue to engage with the Northern Ireland executive on this issue, but has not flagged any further action at this stage. <sup>236</sup>
	We are opposed to a second independence referendum in Scotland	<b>On track:</b> The government has not shifted its position on a second independence referendum.
	Review alcohol duty to ensure that our tax system is supporting British drink producers	<b>Underway:</b> The government issued a call for evidence on the current duty system in October 2020. It has said it will seek to bring forward more detailed proposals at a later stage. <sup>237</sup>
	Support the net zero transition in the next parliament with a transformational sector deal for the oil and gas sector	<b>Completed:</b> 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. <sup>238</sup>
	Negotiate a transformative Marches Growth Deal, focusing on cross-border infrastructure	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has not negotiated a Marches Growth Deal since the election. <sup>239</sup>
	Upgrade the A55	<b>Yet to start:</b> Major road projects in Wales are the responsibility of the Welsh government. But the UK government will make £20 million development funding available to assess options to improve road and rail schemes, which are crucial for cross-border connectivity, including the A55. <sup>240</sup>
	Deliver on our commitment to fund the building of the West Wales Parkway Station outside of Swansea	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of further progress on this commitment.
<b>Protect our democracy</b>	Get rid of the Fixed-term Parliaments Act	<b>Underway:</b> The government published a draft bill in December 2020 that would repeal the Act.

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
Protect our democracy	Ensure we have updated and equal parliamentary boundaries, making sure that every vote counts the same	<b>Underway:</b> 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	<b>On track:</b> The government has not indicated any plans to change the first-past-the-post system of voting.
	Introduce identification to vote at polling stations	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has said it plans to introduce a requirement for voters in Great Britain to show voter ID before being issued a ballot paper in polling stations for UK parliamentary elections, local council elections in England, and police and crime commissioner elections in England and Wales. It has indicated it will bring forward an electoral integrity bill in 2021. <sup>241</sup>
	Stop postal vote harvesting	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has said it intends to ban vote harvesting through legislation "at the earliest opportunity". We did not find evidence of further work on this commitment, although the government has indicated it intends to bring forward an electoral integrity bill in 2021. <sup>242</sup>
	Measures to prevent any foreign interference in elections	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has not outlined any plans to prevent foreign interference, though it has indicated it will bring forward an electoral integrity bill in 2021. <sup>243</sup>
	Make it easier for British expats to vote in parliamentary elections, and get rid of the arbitrary 15-year limit on their voting rights	<b>Underway:</b> The government allocated £2.5m in the 2021 budget to implement this commitment and has said legislation will be laid before parliament later in 2021. <sup>244</sup>
	Maintain the voting age at 18	<b>On track:</b> The government has not flagged any changes to the voting age for UK elections.
	Repeal section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2014	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government has said it remains committed to repealing the provision. <sup>245</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Protect our democracy</b>	Not proceed with the second stage of the Leveson Inquiry	<b>On track:</b> 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	<b>Yet to start:</b> We did not find evidence of further progress on this commitment.
	Set up a constitution, democracy and 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	<b>Partially underway:</b> The government has set up a series of issue-specific reviews, which appear to have overtaken the proposal to create a single commission.  The government established an independent panel to look at judicial review in July 2020, and an independent review of the Human Rights Act 1998 in December 2020. <sup>246</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen Britain in the world</b>	Back a potential UK and Ireland bid for the 2030 FIFA World Cup	<b>On track:</b> The government has reiterated 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. <sup>247</sup>
	Introduce new legislation to tackle the vexatious legal claims that undermine our Armed Forces	<b>Completed:</b> The Overseas Operations (Service Personnel and Veterans) Act is designed to deal with this issue and received royal assent in April 2021. <sup>248</sup>
	Further incorporate the Armed Forces Covenant into law	<b>Underway:</b> The Armed Forces Bill was introduced to parliament in January 2021 and, if passed, will further incorporate the Armed Forces Covenant into law. <sup>249</sup>
	Reduce National Insurance contributions for employers if they employ ex-Service personnel	<b>Completed:</b> 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. <sup>250</sup>
	Offer wraparound childcare for Forces families	<b>On track:</b> Service personnel in Buckinghamshire will be the first to receive wraparound childcare services in a government trial that commenced in September 2020. The government has said an extension of this programme is expected in 2021. <sup>251</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen Britain in the world</b>	Introduce a veterans' railcard	<b>Completed:</b> A veterans' railcard was introduced in November 2020, granting a one-third discount to all former service personnel. <sup>252</sup>
	Offer a guaranteed job interview for veterans for any public-sector role they apply for	<b>On track:</b> 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. <sup>253</sup>
	Continue to exceed the NATO target of spending 2% of GDP on defence	<b>On track:</b> Defence spending has continued to exceed 2%. The Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy, published in 2021, reiterated this commitment. <sup>254</sup>
	Increase the defence budget by at least 0.5% above inflation every year of the new parliament	<b>On track:</b> In November 2020, the prime minister announced defence spending would continue to increase by more than 0.5% above inflation over the following four years. <sup>255</sup>
	Maintain our Trident nuclear deterrent	<b>On track:</b> The government has maintained the Trident nuclear deterrent and the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy proposed increasing the UK's nuclear warhead stockpile. <sup>256</sup>
	Set up the UK's first Space Command	<b>Completed:</b> The UK's first Space Command was established in April 2021. <sup>257</sup>
	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	<b>Underway:</b> In March 2021, the government released its defence and security industrial strategy, which included a number of measures to support the UK's defence industry, including £6.6bn for defence R&D over the following four years. The government remains committed to building armoured vehicles in Wales, and also announced Type 31 frigates will be built in Rosyth in Scotland, with the facility opening in December 2020. <sup>258</sup>
	Further develop an independent Magnitsky-style sanctions regime to tackle human rights abusers	<b>Completed:</b> In July 2020, the government introduced a new sanctions regime that takes into account human rights violations. <sup>259</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen Britain in the world</b>	Support marginalised communities in the developing world, hosting the UK government's first ever international LGBT conference	<b>Yet to start:</b> The conference was due to be held in May 2020, but was postponed due to Covid-19. Liz Truss said in April 2021 that she will make an announcement "shortly". <sup>260</sup>
	Implement the Truro review recommendations	<b>Underway:</b> The government said in September 2020 that "over half of the recommendations have either been implemented, or are in progress, and work is continuing to implement the remainder". <sup>261</sup>
	Maintain our commitment to spend 0.7% of GNI on development	<b>Abandoned:</b> In November 2020, as part of the spending review, the chancellor, Rishi Sunak, announced a temporary reduction in foreign aid spending from 0.7% to 0.5% of GNI. <sup>262</sup>
	End the preventable deaths of mothers, new-born babies and children by 2030	<b>At risk:</b> Groups implementing the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office's (FCDO) reproductive health programme have said they were told by government officials to "stretch" existing funding beyond June 2021 as a result of cuts to the aid budget. These groups say they will need to close programmes now. The FCDO says it has not yet made any decisions about where the cuts will be made. <sup>263</sup>
	Introduce tougher sentences for animal cruelty	<b>Completed:</b> The Animal Welfare (Sentencing) Act received royal assent in April 2021. The bill will increase maximum sentences for animal cruelty offences. <sup>264</sup>
	Bring in new laws on animal sentience	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government said in October 2020 it remains committed to bringing in new laws on animal sentience and legislation would be brought forward "when parliamentary time allows". <sup>265</sup>
	End excessively long journeys for slaughter and fattening	<b>Underway:</b> The government ran a consultation from December 2020 until February 2021 regarding its plans to end exports of live animal stock for slaughter. <sup>266</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen Britain in the world</b>	Bring the ivory ban into force and extend it to cover other ivory-bearing species	<b>Underway:</b> An eight-week public consultation commenced in March 2021 on the implementation of the Ivory Act 2018, which will introduce a near total ban on the import, export and dealing of items containing elephant ivory in the UK.  The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs is currently considering submissions in response to a call for evidence on non-elephant ivory trade, and will be consulting on this later in the year. <sup>267</sup>
	Ban imports from trophy hunting of endangered animals	<b>Underway:</b> A public consultation on proposed legislation for banning imports of trophy hunting closed in February 2020. We did not find evidence of further action. <sup>268</sup>
	Ban keeping primates as pets	<b>Underway:</b> A public consultation ran from December 2020 until February 2021 on the government's proposal to ban primates as pets. <sup>269</sup>
	Bring forward cat microchipping	<b>Underway:</b> A public consultation on compulsory microchipping of cats closed in February 2021. <sup>270</sup>
	Net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050	<b>At risk:</b> The government remains committed to reaching net zero by 2050, but is yet to set out a plan for how to get there. The Climate Change Committee's last progress report, published in June 2020, said that the UK is still a long way off track. <sup>271</sup>
	Set up new international partnerships to tackle deforestation and protect vital landscapes and wildlife corridors	<b>Underway:</b> The UK is using its role as forthcoming president of COP26 to launch the Dialogue on Sustainable Land Use and Commodity Trade ahead of the summit in Glasgow in November 2021. <sup>272</sup>
	Establish a new £500m Blue Planet Fund to help protect our oceans	<b>Yet to start:</b> The government said in October 2020 that the fund would be launched in 2021. No funding was included in the 2021 budget, but the government announced £3bn in January 2021 to support programmes including the Blue Planet Fund. <sup>273</sup>
	Extend the Blue Belt programme	<b>Completed:</b> The government extended the programme to 2021 with additional funding of £7m. <sup>274</sup>

Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen Britain in the world</b>	Offshore wind industry will reach 40GW by 2030	<b>Underway:</b> The government announced £160m of funding in October 2020, to upgrade ports and infrastructure to increase offshore wind capacity. In November, the prime minister announced a 10-point green industry plan, with a focus on offshore wind, nuclear and hydrogen.  As well as funding, industry has argued that meeting the target will depend on the government's ability to grant new seabed licences and project contracts quickly. <sup>275</sup>
	Invest £800m to build the first fully deployed carbon capture storage cluster by the mid-2020s	<b>On track:</b> The government committed £800m in funding in the 2020 budget. This was increased to £1bn in late 2020, and the development of carbon capture storage facilities featured heavily in the 2021 Industrial Decarbonisation Strategy. <sup>276</sup>
	Invest £500m to help energy-intensive industries move to low-carbon techniques	<b>Underway:</b> The government established the Industrial Energy Transformation Fund to assist energy-intensive industries to decarbonise, and announced £315m of funding until 2024 in the 2018 budget. Applications for funding for phase 1 are currently open. <sup>277</sup>
	Not support fracking unless the science shows categorically that it can be done safely	<b>On track:</b> There has been no change to the government's moratorium on fracking, announced in November 2019. <sup>278</sup>
	Will not make any changes to the planning system (in relation to fracking in England)	<b>On track:</b> No change has been made since the government placed a moratorium on fracking in November 2019. <sup>279</sup>
	Invest £9.2bn in the energy efficiency of homes, schools and hospitals	<b>Underway:</b> The government still lacks plans for key sectors, notably housing. The £2bn Green Homes Grant, announced by the chancellor in March 2020, has suffered from low take-up because applicants have struggled to find accredited contractors.  It is unclear when the government will implement the rest of its £9.2bn manifesto pledge. <sup>280</sup>
	Set strict new laws on air quality	<b>Underway:</b> The Environment Bill will require the government to set targets on air quality. It was introduced into parliament in January 2020. <sup>281</sup>



Section	Pledge	Rating and analysis
<b>Strengthen Britain in the world</b>	Aim to have 80% of UK trade covered by free trade agreements within the next three years, starting with the US, Australia, New Zealand and Japan	<p><b>Underway:</b> 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. The government has rolled over the majority of (30) EU trade agreements, although not all of them are fully in effect yet and some contain provisions requiring a renegotiation of some terms at a later point.</p> <p>The government has successfully negotiated a deal with Japan to replace the EU–Japan deal. It has also formally launched negotiations with the US, Australia and New Zealand.<sup>282</sup></p>
	Create up to 10 freeports around the UK	<p><b>Underway:</b> In the March 2021 budget, the chancellor announced the creation of eight new freeports in England from late 2021, which will be subject to “different rules to make it easier and cheaper to do business”.</p> <p>Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are yet to finalise their own freeport policies.<sup>283</sup></p>
	Retake our seat at the World Trade Organization	<p><b>Completed:</b> On leaving the EU, the UK became an independent member of the World Trade Organization.<sup>284</sup></p>

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## Appendix 2: 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.

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- **"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.
  - **"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.
  - **"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.

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## Taking stock of the Conservative manifesto

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## Appendix 1: Progress to date on 2019 Conservative manifesto commitments

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