THE BRITISH INFRASTRUCTURE REVOLUTION

A Conservative Partnership Plan for British Business and British Communities

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www.LawrenceInstitute.co.uk

A. FOREWORD

This is not a left-wing document.

It is the most fiscally responsible proposal a Conservative MP will read this Parliament. Spend now to save more later. £1 in, £4 back. £69 billion a year in savings by year five. The state stops paying for failure and starts preventing it.

A lot is already happening. The £39 billion Social and Affordable Homes Programme runs from 2026 to 2036. The first eight Young Futures Hubs open by March 2026, with 50 due by 2029. Free school meals extend to every Universal Credit family from September 2026. The 30-hour childcare entitlement, a Conservative reform, completed its rollout in September 2025. Family Hubs and Best Start Family Hubs are operational from April 2026.

Real programmes. Real funding. All of them are currently running at roughly a third of the scale the underlying need requires, because the Treasury cannot fund the rebuild from general taxation without crowding out the NHS, defence, and pensions.

The Community Transformation Fund is the way out of that bind. It funds the rebuild through a partnership with British corporations, off the Treasury balance sheet, on a footing that survives the next spending review and the one after it. It does not start anything new. It scales what is in motion.

I am the hub lead for the DCMS Young Futures Hubs pilot in Bristol, one of the eight national early adopters. I co-designed / co-developed the hub-and-spoke framework Bristol is delivering under. Looking at the bigger picture of our great country I know what is being delivered, and have clarity around where it falls short. Here I share what changes if the funding is structurally adequate.

This document sets out the Conservative case. Companion documents address the Labour, Lib Dem, and Reform UK cases. The full framework remains the underlying evidence base.

B. THE NUMBERS

- £1 in, £4 back.
- £69.43 billion a year in savings by year five.
- £52.83 billion net annual benefit to the Treasury.
- Corporate levy reduces from 0.8% to 0.3% by year five. A 62% tax cut for British business in five years.
- Programmes self-funding by year five. No permanent expansion of the state.
- 650,000 jobs created. 181,000 in construction at peak.
- 40% reduction in youth violence within five years.
- 300,000 mothers back into work.
- £9.2 billion a year in additional Treasury revenue.

C. THE FOUR PROGRAMMES

The full framework contains eleven programmes. Four of them align directly with Conservative priorities.

1. SOCIAL HOUSING — £2.5bn/year baseline, £5bn Years 1-3

Now. The £39 billion SAHP runs 2026-2036, targeting 300,000 affordable homes (180,000 social rent). Spending reaches £4 billion a year by 2029-30.

Gap. Roughly 30,000 homes a year on average. Back-loaded. The waiting list is 1.3 million. The maths does not work.

Levy adds. £2.5 billion a year baseline, £5 billion in years one to three. Combined output: 60,900 social homes a year at steady state, 71,700 a year during the emergency phase. 641,400 over a decade. Same delivery architecture (Homes England, the GLA, councils). More capital flowing through it.

Conservative case. Macmillan built 300,000 homes a year. The post-war boom under Conservative governments built the property-owning democracy. The current programme is the right shape, the wrong scale. The levy fixes the scale without asking the Treasury for another £2.5 billion from general taxation.

Returns.

- £2.1 billion a year saved on housing benefit.
- 181,000 construction jobs at peak.
- £2.84 of wider economic activity for every £1 spent (Treasury Green Book multiplier).
- Council tax base expanded by 60,900 dwellings a year.
- Mixed-tenure stock includes shared ownership pathways into full ownership.

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2. YOUTH SERVICES — £2bn/year

Now. The £500 million National Youth Strategy (December 2025), the first in fifteen years. £95 million for Young Futures Hubs. £70 million for the Local Youth Transformation programme. Eight early adopter hubs open by March 2026; 50 by 2029.

I am the hub lead for the Bristol pilot.

Gap. The Youth Access *Blueprint for Young Futures Hubs* estimates £169-210 million a year in revenue funding for a national network. The current programme is funded at roughly a third of that.

Levy adds. £2 billion a year for youth services. Brings total annual investment in line with the Blueprint estimates. Funds 50 hubs at the depth needed, 1,000 spoke youth clubs, and 49,200 youth workers, mentors, coaches, and support staff.

Conservative case. Crime reduction is a Conservative issue. Britain closed 1,000 youth clubs after 2010. We saved £1 billion a year and spent £5.8 billion a year managing the consequences. The Home Office, not the Treasury, picked up the bill. The current programme has begun the rebuild. The levy makes it work.

Returns.

- £5.8 billion a year in Home Office savings.
- £3.5 billion a year from preventing 50,000 young people entering the criminal justice system (£70,000 each per year).
- 40% reduction in youth violence within five years.
- A youth worker (£35k a year, supports 50 young people) costs less than half a single prison place (£70k a year).
- 49,200 jobs.

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3. CHILDCARE 0-5 — £1.5bn/year

Now. The 30-hour funded childcare entitlement for working parents completed its phased rollout in September 2025. A Conservative reform, announced at Spring Budget 2023. 3,000 new school-based nurseries committed.

Gap. Three problems flagged by the IFS, NEF, and the Sutton Trust.

1. The earnings threshold excludes the poorest 30% of families.
2. Nearly half of all under-fives live in a "childcare desert" where supply does not exist at any price.
3. Parents who are studying or retraining (student nurses, trainee teachers) are excluded.

Levy adds. £1.5 billion a year. Closes all three gaps. Universal coverage. Capital for new provision in childcare deserts the private market will not serve. 12,000 new early years educator posts.

Conservative case. The 30-hour reform was structurally good. The levy completes it. Around 300,000 women would be working today if childcare were affordable and available. Every one of them is foregone Income Tax, foregone NI, foregone economic output.

Returns.

- £7.9 billion a year Treasury gain (Income Tax, NI, reduced UC).
- £15,000 a year saved per family.
- £1.2 billion a year UC savings.
- £5 billion a year productivity uplift.
- 12,000 jobs.

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4. ADULT EDUCATION & SKILLS — £600m/year

Now. The Lifelong Learning Entitlement, legislated under the previous Conservative government, is being implemented. The Youth Guarantee for 18-21 year olds. Skills England established. Apprenticeship reform.

Gap. FE and adult education funding fell by roughly half in real terms 2010-2024. Adult learner numbers fell by over 60%. The LLE is structurally good but the sector has lost the workforce, the buildings, and the institutional capacity to deliver. Skills shortages persist.

Levy adds. £600 million a year. Removes tuition fees for FE. Rebuilds the adult education sector the LLE depends on. 9,000 lecturer, trainer, and skills jobs.

Conservative case. Skills mismatch is a productivity tax. Workers cannot retrain, employers cannot hire, the state subsidises the gap with welfare. The LLE is a Conservative reform that needs functional FE to work. The levy provides it.

Returns.

- £6.7 billion a year Treasury gain (200,000 people moving from welfare into work).
- 9,000 jobs.

- Skills supply unlocked for construction, social care, healthcare, digital.
- Reduced reliance on overseas skilled labour.

D. THE FUNDING

A 0.8% contribution from corporations operating in the UK with turnover above £1 billion. Lower rates for smaller firms. Anything below £50 million turnover is exempt. Roughly 2,000 companies pay. Total raised: £16.6 billion a year.

Tax-deductible. The contribution is treated as a Strategic Investment Contribution, deductible against UK Corporation Tax, recognised under ESG and CSR reporting.

Tapered. Falls from 0.8% to 0.3% by year five. A 62% reduction. Written into the founding legislation as a statutory taper, not a political promise.

Founding Partner status. Corporations that endorse the framework before legislation receive procurement preference, priority engagement on contracts, and public recognition. Early movers gain. Late movers follow.

Why this is fiscally Conservative. It takes community infrastructure off the Treasury's general taxation queue and onto a dedicated, ring-fenced, corporate-funded mechanism. The Chancellor keeps general taxation for general government priorities. By year five the savings are large enough to redirect £12 billion a year from departmental budgets into the framework, the corporate levy is at 0.3%, and the system is self-funding.

This is the structural reform every Conservative Treasury minister has wanted and never had the political coalition to deliver.

E. WHO PAYS, WHO BUILDS, WHO PROFITS

Who pays

The 2,000 largest corporations operating in the UK. Tax-deductible. Tapered to 0.3% by year five. SMEs exempt.

Who builds

British construction firms. Persimmon, Barratt, Taylor Wimpey, Berkeley, Bellway, Vistry. Regional and SME builders through procurement rules favouring local hire. Materials: Travis

Perkins, Wolseley, Kingfisher, SIG, Marshalls. Architecture, engineering, and project management firms take roughly 12% of programme spend.

Who profits

Construction and housebuilders. Ten years of guaranteed pipeline. Combined SAHP and levy: the largest peacetime construction commission in British history. Listed housebuilders gain decade-long revenue visibility, the single most valuable input to share price stability.

Private equity and infrastructure. Hubs, health centres, and youth facilities create a new asset class: long-lease, government-backed, inflation-linked rental income. Macquarie, Brookfield, BlackRock Infrastructure, the major pension funds.

Materials and merchants. A decade of building rebuilds the entire British materials supply chain.

Insurance and pensions. A healthier population is a profitable insurance population. L&G, Aviva, Prudential. Pensions benefit twice — as infrastructure investors and as long-term holders of UK equities.

Retail and consumer. Tesco, Sainsbury's, M&S, Next. £25 billion a year in additional household disposable income, much of it captured by domestic retail.

Every employer in the country. A workforce that is housed, healthy, skilled, and supported by affordable childcare. £5 billion a year in productivity gains.

The pitch to Conservative donors

0.8% of turnover for four years, dropping to 0.3% from year five. Tax-deductible. Your sector wins the largest peacetime construction pipeline in British history. Healthier workforce. Wealthier consumers. Better insurance actuarials. New asset class for asset managers.

The best ROI any government has offered British business since privatisation.

F. THE POLITICAL PRIZE

Polling

70%+ public support across all demographic groups. Higher in Red Wall constituencies than London. Higher with C2DE than ABC1. Higher with 2019 Conservative voters than the national average.

This is not a left-wing position. It is a popular position the left has occupied because the right vacated it.

The opposition advantage

Opposition is the right time to design the policy that wins the next election. The current government is delivering programmes at inadequate scale. The Conservative offer at the next election can be: same outcomes, faster, at sustainable scale, paid for through partnership rather than taxation.

Conservative MPs do not need to legislate this in opposition. They need to own it, refine it, build the corporate coalition behind it, and arrive at the next election with a costed, employer-backed plan the current government cannot match.

The legacy

Macmillan: 300,000 homes a year. Butler: the Education Act. Thatcher: Right to Buy. Cameron-Sunak: the 30-hour childcare entitlement, the Lifelong Learning Entitlement, Family Hubs.

A Conservative Prime Minister who delivers this framework is the PM who made universal childcare a reality, scaled the Young Futures Hubs to full national coverage, completed the SAHP at the rate the housing crisis required, and put the NHS on a sustainable footing through prevention.

That is a legacy worth running for.

G. THE OBJECTIONS

"It's just more state spending." No. It is corporate capital, off the Treasury balance sheet, generating £69 billion a year in savings by year five. Government spend as a share of GDP falls.

"Aren't these programmes already funded?" In part. At a scale below what the underlying need requires, through Treasury allocation that is vulnerable to the next spending review. The levy adds the structural funding that lets them deliver.

"Corporations will leave." 0.8% of UK turnover, tax-deductible, falling to 0.3% within five years, reciprocated by procurement access and a more productive workforce, is not a relocation trigger.

"Government cannot deliver at this scale." Government does not deliver. Private sector contractors deliver, under government commissioning. Construction by the existing housebuilder network. Hubs by experienced community organisations. Health centres by NHS-commissioned providers, mostly private GP practices. The architecture exists.

"It's wealth redistribution." Redistribution moves money sideways. This is an investment with a 4:1 return. £69 billion in annual savings is value created, not value transferred.

"Why now?" The bill for inaction rises every year. Existing programmes are reaching delivery and need scaled funding to actually work. The corporate sector is currently willing to enter this kind of partnership. That window will not stay open indefinitely.

H. THE TIMELINE

2025-2027. Framework published. Coalition-building with the CBI, IoD, FSB, Centre for Policy Studies, Onward, Policy Exchange. Bristol Young Futures Hub opens. Manifesto integration. Corporate Founding Partner commitments secured.

2027-2028. Legislation: Community Infrastructure Contribution Act, AI Infrastructure Contribution Act, Three-Year Emergency Housing Acceleration Act. Designed to integrate with existing delivery architecture.

2028-2029. First £21.55 billion budget deployed. Universal free school meals from September 2029. First 100 hubs accredited. SAHP delivery accelerates.

2030-2031. Independent evaluation reports £40 billion+ in confirmed savings. Self-funding transition begins. Corporate levy starts to taper.

2035-2036. 641,400 homes built. Full national hub network. Programme self-funding. Corporate levy at 0.3%. Conservative legacy project complete.

I. THE ASK

To Conservative MPs. Engage. Test the numbers against your own Treasury and IFS sources. Discuss with council leaders, business community, housing officers, police commissioners. If the case holds, table it. Form an APPG on Community Infrastructure. Build cross-party support from a position of Conservative authorship.

To Conservative donors and the corporate base. Founding Partner status is available now, before legislation. The first ten FTSE 100 signatories shape the design. Subsequent signatories implement what early movers built. Lead or follow.

To Conservative-aligned think tanks. Engage on substance. Where you find weaknesses, surface them. Where you find strengths, amplify them. The framework is open to refinement.

The framework is published. The numbers are public. The doors are open.

J. WHY THIS WORKS

The architecture is operating now. The Bristol Young Futures Hub opens in March 2026 as one of eight national early adopters. The hub-and-spoke framework is being delivered. The SAHP is awarding contracts. Best Start Family Hubs roll out from April 2026. Free school meals expansion implements September 2026. The childcare entitlement is operational.

What is missing is not the institutions. It is the funding that lets the institutions work at scale.

International evidence is consistent. Finland's universal school meals, in place since 1948, produces the highest educational attainment in Europe. Vienna's social housing model, covering 60% of the population, has produced the most liveable city in the world. Denmark's youth services produce the lowest youth unemployment in Europe. Scotland's free childcare expansion in 2014 returned 65% of mothers to work.

These are not radical experiments. They are normal in successful countries. Britain is the outlier.

K. THE EMERGENCY PHASE, THE JOBS, THE GENERATION

The first three years are different

Years one to three are the emergency phase. Years four onwards are steady state.

Emergency phase budget: £21.55 billion a year. It delivers 71,700 social homes a year, £490 a year in energy bill support to 5 million fuel-poor households, the first wave of community hubs, the rollout of universal free school meals, and the acceleration of youth services.

By year three: 215,100 families housed. 6,000 excess winter deaths prevented. 200 youth clubs reopened. Universal free school meals delivered to 8.9 million children. First community health centres operating.

This is what an emergency response looks like when it is properly funded. It is also the phase that proves the framework works ahead of the next general election.

Where the 650,000 jobs go

- Construction and trades: 181,000 at peak.
- Youth and community work: 49,200. Including 20,000 youth workers and 15,000 paid Young Leaders aged 13-16.
- Healthcare: 25,000. Including 3,000 GPs, 6,000 practice nurses, 2,500 social prescribing link workers.
- Education and early years: 12,000.
- Sports, recreation, culture: 29,500. Including 3,000 librarians, 8,000 leisure centre staff.
- Local government: 29,000 restored. Parks, planning, social work, environmental health.
- Community hubs: 18,750.
- Green trades: 25,000. Including 8,000 solar installers, 6,000 insulation workers.
- Innovation and project work: 6,000.

Plus 200,000 indirect jobs in supply chains.

What happens after Year 10

Construction workers do not lose jobs at the end of the housing programme. Years 11-20 deliver school rebuilding, hospital construction, transport infrastructure, renewable energy, home retrofitting at scale, and ongoing social housing. Total construction employment in years 11-20: 233,000, higher than the housing peak. Long-term maintenance: 120,000 permanent jobs.

Workers trained in 2027 have forty years of work ahead of them.

The generation this is for

Children born in 2027 are now starting school. By the time they are eighteen, in 2045, the framework will have built 641,400 social homes, opened 2,500 community hubs and 1,000 youth clubs, fed every British child at school for two decades, and saved an estimated 200,000 lives.

CONTACT

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ONE FINAL THING

I am not a politician. I am the hub lead for the DCMS Young Futures Hubs pilot in Bristol. I drafted and developed the hub-and-spoke framework Bristol is delivering under.

Conservative councillors deliver outstanding outcomes when they have the resources and the structure. Conservative-led businesses transform local areas through partnership with community organisations. The Conservative tradition of self-help, mutual aid, voluntary association, and prudent investment works in real communities, at real scale.

This section of the plan is built on that tradition and on the reality of programmes already in delivery.

Conservative governments built modern Britain. They understand that the foundations of free enterprise are not laid by the market alone.

The work has started. The framework is the way to finish it.

Char Lawrence Founder, The Lawrence Institute Est. 2025

This is one of four party-aligned partnership documents prepared by the Lawrence Institute. Companion documents address the Labour, Liberal Democrat, and Reform UK cases. Cross-party crossover documents address shared programmes. The full British Infrastructure Revolution framework remains the underlying evidence base. All documents are available at www.LawrenceInstitute.co.uk.