THE BRITISH INFRASTRUCTURE REVOLUTION

A Reform UK Partnership Plan for British Towns and British Workers

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www.LawrenceInstitute.co.uk

A. FOREWORD

Reform UK has built its support on a clear argument. Britain has been governed for fifteen years by a political class that has presided over collapsing services, rising costs, and visible decline in the towns Westminster forgot. The argument has electoral force because it is, in significant part, accurate.

The question is what to do about it.

This document sets out a serious, costed, deliverable plan that does what Reform voters say they want done. It builds 71,700 social homes a year for British families. It puts 181,000 British construction workers into jobs in the towns that have been hollowed out. It reopens 1,000 youth clubs. It cuts energy bills by £1,000 a year for half a million households. It feeds every British child at school. It does all of this without raising general taxation on working people.

It is paid for by the multinational corporations that have benefited from operating in this country, on a tax-deductible basis, for a fixed period that ends after five years. The British state acts as the convenor. British contractors and trades deliver the work. British workers fill the jobs. British towns get the visible, physical results.

I do not personally share Reform's positions on a number of issues, including some that are central to the party's identity. I have written this document anyway. The Lawrence Institute's purpose is to develop policy that addresses the structural challenges Britain faces, and to make that policy available to whichever political actors can deliver it. The towns Reform represents have real needs that this framework can meet. The constituencies Reform speaks for include some of the people most directly served by what is proposed here. Engaging seriously with that, regardless of disagreement on other matters, is part of what serious policy work requires.

I am the hub lead for the DCMS Young Futures Hubs pilot in Bristol, one of eight national early adopters. I co-designed and co-developed the hub-and-spoke framework Bristol is delivering under. I know what is being delivered, where it falls short, and what changes if the funding is structurally adequate.

Companion documents address the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal Democrat cases.

B. THE NUMBERS

- £1 in, £4 back.
- £69.43 billion a year in savings by year five.
- 650,000 jobs created. 181,000 in construction at peak.
- 215,100 British families housed in three years.
- 4,000 excess winter deaths prevented annually.
- £1,000 a year cut from energy bills per retrofitted home.
- 1,000 youth clubs reopened.
- 8.9 million British children fed at school.
- £490 a year in direct energy bill support for 5 million fuel-poor households during years one to three.

C. THE FOUR PROGRAMMES

The full framework contains eleven programmes. Four align directly with Reform's stated priorities. Two of them are the strongest match in the entire framework for the towns and workers Reform represents.

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

Now. The Social and Affordable Homes Programme runs 2026-2036. £39 billion committed over ten years. Targets 300,000 affordable homes, of which 180,000 are social rent.

Gap. Roughly 30,000 homes a year on average. Back-loaded, with most delivery weighted to the second half of the decade. The waiting list is 1.3 million households. 300,000 people are homeless or in temporary accommodation. We simply need to move faster and with more intention.

Levy adds. £2.5 billion a year baseline. £5 billion a year in years one to three. Combined output: 71,700 homes a year in the emergency phase, 60,900 a year at steady state. 215,100 families housed in three years. 641,400 over a decade. Same delivery architecture (Homes

England, the GLA, councils). More capital flowing through it, with procurement rules favouring local hire.

Reform case. The British families on waiting lists feel they are not families this country's housing policy has served for fifteen years. They are working families, often in towns that have been treated as economic afterthoughts. The construction jobs that come with this programme are not jobs in London or Manchester. They are jobs in Boston and Clacton and Grimsby and Ashfield and Rotherham. 181,000 jobs in trades that have been losing apprentices for a decade. The work is paid for by multinational corporations rather than by general taxation, which means it does not come out of the pockets of the workers who build it.

This is the largest practical programme of national renewal available. Reform's stated priorities — British families, British workers, British towns — are met by it more directly than by any other policy in the framework.

Returns.

- 215,100 British families housed in three years.
- 181,000 construction jobs at peak. 125,000 ongoing.
- £2.84 of wider economic activity for every £1 spent (Treasury Green Book multiplier).
- £2.1 billion a year saved on housing benefit.
- Procurement rules favour local hire and SME builders, not just the big four housebuilders.

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2. COMMUNITY CLIMATE & ENERGY — £1bn/year

Now. The current government has continued the previous government's home retrofitting programmes at a reduced pace. Energy bill support has largely ended. Fuel poverty has risen. The cost of heating has fallen from peak but remains high relative to historic levels.

Gap. 4,000 excess winter deaths a year, predominantly elderly people in cold homes. Roughly 6 million households in fuel poverty. Most of them are concentrated in older housing stock in the towns that have not seen significant retrofit investment. Energy bills remain the single largest visible cost-of-living pressure for working households outside London.

Levy adds. £1 billion a year. Insulation for 500,000 homes. Solar panels on community buildings. Energy bill cut by £1,000 a year per retrofitted home. Combined with the three-year emergency levy, £490 a year in direct energy bill support for 5 million fuel-poor households in years one to three.

Reform case. This is not a climate policy in disguise. It is an energy bill policy and an excess winter death policy and a British trades jobs policy. The headline outcomes are bills cut, lives saved, and jobs created. The retrofitting work goes to British insulation installers, British electricians, British energy assessors. 25,000 jobs, weighted heavily toward older industrial towns and rural areas where retrofit demand is highest.

The political distinction matters. Reform voters are not opposed to lower energy bills. They are not opposed to keeping their elderly parents warm. They are not opposed to British tradespeople having work. The framing here is straightforward delivery on those things. The funding source — the three-year emergency levy on energy company and bank profits — also has the virtue, from a Reform perspective, of being paid by the same energy companies that have been recording record profits while household bills rose and people froze.

Returns.

- 500,000 homes retrofitted. 1.25 million people in warmer homes.
- 4,000 excess winter deaths prevented annually.
- £1,000 a year cut from energy bills per retrofitted home.
- £490 a year direct energy bill support for 5 million households in years one to three.
- 25,000 British trades jobs.
- £500 million a year in NHS savings (respiratory illness prevented).

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3. YOUTH SERVICES — £2bn/year

Now. £500 million National Youth Strategy, the first in fifteen years. £95 million for Young Futures Hubs. £70 million 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. Britain closed 1,000 youth clubs after 2010. The Youth Access blueprint estimates £169-210 million a year is needed for a national network. The current programme is funded at roughly a third of that. Youth violence and knife crime have risen across this period in proportion to the collapse of structured provision.

Levy adds. £2 billion a year. 1,000 youth clubs reopened, restoring the network Britain had before 2010. 50 Young Futures Hubs at full operating depth. 49,200 jobs in youth work, mentoring, coaching, and support, weighted toward the towns where youth violence has been worst.

Reform case. Britain used to have a youth club in every town. The closures since 2010 are one of the clearest examples of the political class treating community infrastructure as expendable. Restoring it is restoration in the most literal sense. The 1,000 youth clubs are physical buildings in physical places. They employ local people. They give local children somewhere to be. They reduce the knife crime statistics that have driven national news for a decade.

The Reform case here is not ideological. It is a straightforward observation that this is what towns used to have, that closing it down was a mistake, and that bringing it back is what the country needs.

Returns.

- 1,000 youth clubs reopened.
- 2.5 million young people supported.
- 50,000 young people kept out of the criminal justice system.
- 40% reduction in youth violence within five years.
- £5.8 billion a year in government savings.
- 49,200 jobs.

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4. FREE SCHOOL MEALS — £4.4bn/year

Now. From September 2026, every child in a Universal Credit household gets free school meals. 500,000 additional children. 100,000 lifted out of relative poverty. £500 a year back into parents' pockets.

Gap. Still means-tested. Two to three million British children in poverty under broader measures fall outside the new entitlement. Schools are reportedly absorbing roughly £310 million a year of the expansion cost from existing budgets. No breakfast provision in the package.

Levy adds. £4.4 billion a year. Universal coverage. Every British child in every state school gets breakfast and lunch, no questions asked, no means-testing, no stigma.

Reform case. A British child in a British school should not be hungry. The current means-tested system involves the state inspecting family finances to decide which children qualify, which is bureaucracy of exactly the kind Reform voters object to. Universal provision removes the bureaucracy and feeds every child. The cost is paid by multinational corporations operating in Britain, not by British taxpayers.

The political simplicity is the point. Every child fed. No forms. No thresholds. No inspection of household income. No families falling through the cracks because they are working but earning slightly above the Universal Credit cutoff. Just every child in a British school getting breakfast and lunch.

Returns.

- 8.9 million British children fed.
- £980 a year saved per child for families.
- £800 million a year in NHS savings.
- The £310 million currently being absorbed by school budgets freed for teaching.
- Educational attainment improves measurably.

D. THE FUNDING

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

Three-year emergency levy. Years one to three only. 5% on annual profits over £1 billion at energy companies and banks. Raises £4.95 billion a year. Funds doubled housing investment and direct energy bill support for 5 million fuel-poor households.

AI Infrastructure Levy. One-time 18% levy on UK AI revenue from the major American AI companies (Google/DeepMind, Microsoft/OpenAI, Meta, Amazon AWS AI). Raises £5.67 billion. Paid 2028.

Tax-deductible. The corporate contribution is treated as a Strategic Investment Contribution, deductible against UK Corporation Tax.

Why this is structured this way. The framework distributes the cost of rebuilding to the corporations that have benefited most from operating in a low-tax, light-touch regulatory environment for fifteen years. It does not pass the cost on to British workers through general taxation. It does not raise income tax. It does not raise National Insurance. It does not increase VAT. The British SME sector — the small builders, the family firms, the local employers in Reform-voting towns — is exempt entirely.

The political distinction here matters. The framework is designed so that the corporations that have done well out of operating in Britain pay for Britain's renewal, while British workers and British small businesses are protected from the bill.

Self-funding by year five. £69.43 billion in annual savings by year five funds the framework's continuation. The corporate levy starts to taper. The system becomes permanent and self-sustaining without further corporate increase.

E. WHO PAYS, WHO BUILDS, WHO BENEFITS

Who pays

The 2,000 largest corporations operating in the UK. Energy companies and banks pay the additional emergency levy in years one to three. The major American AI companies pay a one-time levy on UK revenue. Anything below £50 million turnover is exempt.

This is the political heart of the model. Multinational corporations contribute. The British SME sector is protected. British workers are protected. The cost falls where the benefit has been concentrated.

Who builds

British construction firms and trades. The big four housebuilders deliver scale. Regional and SME builders deliver local presence through procurement rules favouring local hire. Materials and merchants — Travis Perkins, Wolseley, Kingfisher — capture the supply chain spend. British insulation installers, electricians, energy assessors, plumbers, carpenters, bricklayers fill the trades jobs.

The framework is designed so that British workers in British towns deliver the work. Procurement rules favour local hire. The big firms cannot subcontract to overseas labour at the expense of British tradespeople. Apprenticeship pathways are written into procurement.

Who benefits

British families. 215,100 housed in three years. 641,400 over a decade. Working families, often in towns that have not seen housing investment in fifteen years.

British towns. Construction sites, retrofit projects, hub buildings, youth clubs in places that have been told for fifteen years that nothing was coming. The visible deliverables show up in Clacton, Boston, Skegness, Ashfield, Grimsby, Rotherham, Mansfield, Stoke. They show up in the towns Reform represents.

British workers. 650,000 jobs. 181,000 in construction at peak. 49,200 in youth work. 25,000 in green trades. 12,000 in early years. Predominantly local, predominantly stable, predominantly at decent wages.

British pensioners. 4,000 excess winter deaths prevented annually. 5 million households getting £490 a year in energy bill support during the emergency phase. 500,000 homes warm enough to live in over winter without rationing heating.

British children. 8.9 million fed at school. The next generation no longer growing up hungry in the sixth-richest country in the world.

Who does not pay

British workers (no general taxation rise). British SMEs (exempt below £50 million turnover). British pensioners (no levy on retirement income). British small landlords (no levy on rental income). British family farms and family businesses (exempt by turnover threshold).

The exemptions are the political point. The framework is designed so that the people Reform represents are not on the hook for the bill.

F. WHY THIS WORKS POLITICALLY

The Reform position

Reform is currently registering significant national support. The party has built that support on the credible claim that Westminster has presided over national decline and that a different politics is needed. The challenge is converting critique into deliverable policy. Critique alone wins protest votes. Critique plus credible delivery wins seats.

The framework is the most credible policy programme available to a Reform parliamentary party that wants to demonstrate it is serious about delivery rather than just about complaint. It is fully costed. It is sector-backed. It is paid for through a mechanism that protects Reform voters from the bill. It produces visible deliverables in Reform-voting towns within a single Parliament.

Distinctiveness from the other parties

Labour's approach is to fund through general taxation and to expand the state. The Conservative approach is to constrain spending. The Lib Dem approach is to be honest about taxation but to spread the cost broadly. The Reform approach distinct from all three is to make the multinational corporations pay while protecting British workers and small businesses from the bill.

This is a coherent, defensible position. It is also one no other party is currently willing to articulate.

The doorstep answer

"What would Reform actually do?" Visible deliverables in your town within a single Parliament. New homes built for British families. The youth club reopened. The energy bill cut. The school meal served. The construction job for the local apprentice. The retrofit team in the neighbouring street. None of it paid for by raising your taxes.

That is a strong answer to the strongest question Reform candidates get asked.

The election test

A general election fought with the framework on the table. Reform offer: a fully costed plan to rebuild Britain's towns through corporate contribution rather than general taxation, with deliverables that arrive in left-behind constituencies on a timeline voters can see. The other parties offer variations on the same framework with different funding mixes. Reform's funding mix is the one most clearly designed to protect its voter base from the cost.

That is a strong electoral platform. It also gives Reform candidates something to run on beyond critique of the other parties.

G. THE OBJECTIONS

"This is just establishment policy with Reform branding." No. The policy substance — restoring services, building homes, feeding children, cutting bills — is not partisan. The funding mechanism is distinctive. The exemption of British workers and SMEs from the bill is distinctive. The targeting of multinational corporations and the major American AI companies for the contribution is distinctive. Reform's adoption of the framework would be Reform's distinctive contribution to making it deliverable.

"Multinational corporations will leave." 0.8% of UK turnover, tax-deductible, falling to 0.3% within five years, reciprocated by procurement access to the largest peacetime construction pipeline in British history. Not a relocation trigger for any corporation that depends on UK consumer or workforce access.

"The state cannot deliver this." The state does not deliver. Private sector contractors deliver, under government commissioning. Housing through the established housebuilder network. Youth clubs through experienced community organisations. Health centres through NHS-commissioned providers. The architecture exists. The framework adds the funding.

"Why not just cut foreign aid and migration costs to fund this?" While I don't personally agree, and for some both questions are politically defensible positions, neither generates the scale of capital required. Foreign aid is roughly £15 billion a year. Migration-related costs are a fraction of that. The framework needs £16.6 billion a year on a permanent basis, plus the emergency phase top-up. The corporate levy is the only mechanism at that scale that does not raise general taxation. The other measures can run alongside, not instead.

"Why should British corporations subsidise this when foreign corporations dominate so many sectors?" The framework applies to all corporations operating in the UK, regardless of ownership. That includes the major American technology companies, the foreign-owned utilities, the multinational retailers, and the international banks. It is structured precisely so that foreign capital operating in Britain pays the same rate as British capital. There is no protectionist exemption for non-UK ownership.

"Why now?" Because the corporate sector is currently willing to enter this kind of partnership and that window will not stay open. Because the existing programmes are reaching delivery and need scaled funding. Because the towns that have been waiting fifteen years for visible investment cannot wait another spending review.

H. THE TIMELINE

2026-2027. Framework published. Coalition-building with the housebuilder associations, the trades federations, faith and community groups in left-behind areas, the energy bill campaign sector, the youth services networks. Bristol Young Futures Hub opens.

2027-2028. Manifesto integration. Legislation drafted: Community Infrastructure Contribution Act, AI Infrastructure Contribution Act, Three-Year Emergency Housing and Energy Levy 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. Construction starts in Reform-voting constituencies. Energy bill support payments begin.

2030-2031. Independent evaluation. Emergency levy ends. Self-funding transition begins. Corporate levy starts to taper.

2035-2036. 641,400 homes built. Full national hub network. Universal free school meals embedded. Programme self-funding. Corporate levy at 0.3%.

I. THE ASK

To Reform MPs. Engage. Test the framework against your constituency need, your local builders, your local police and council leaders, the families on your housing waiting lists. If the case holds, table it. Form an APPG on Community Infrastructure. Reform authorship of the cross-party position is achievable now, and would establish Reform as a serious policy actor rather than only a critic of the other parties.

To Reform local government and council candidates. The Local Government Restoration programme within the framework provides £1.6 billion a year that Reform-led councils could use directly.

To the trades sector and SME construction firms. The framework is designed so that the construction pipeline reaches local firms through procurement rules favouring local hire. Engagement on the procurement design is welcomed.

To community organisations and faith groups in Reform-voting areas. The hub accreditation model protects existing community provision rather than creating parallel state services. Engagement on the accreditation standards is welcomed.

J. WHY THIS WORKS

A small part of 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. The 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 deliver in the towns that have been waiting longest for visible investment.

International evidence is consistent. Finland feeds every child at school and produces the highest educational attainment in Europe. Vienna houses 60% of its population in social and affordable homes and is the most liveable city in the world. Denmark runs proper youth services and has the lowest youth unemployment in Europe. These are not radical experiments. They are normal in successful countries.

Britain is the outlier. The towns Reform represents are the most visible evidence of how far the outlier position has gone. The framework is the way to bring those towns back.

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.

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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 co-designed and co-developed the hub-and-spoke framework Bristol is delivering under.

I have spent two decades working in community organisations. The towns that have been hardest hit by the cuts since 2010 are the towns Reform now represents. The families on the housing waiting lists, the pensioners in cold homes, the young people without youth clubs, the children going to school hungry — they are concentrated in the constituencies Reform's electoral coalition is built on.

The framework does not resolve every disagreement Reform has with the other parties. It is not designed to. It is designed to be a serious, deliverable, costed plan for the things Reform voters say they want done — homes built, towns restored, bills cut, children fed, jobs created, paid for by the corporations that have benefited from operating in this country, with British workers and British small businesses protected from the bill.

The work has started. The framework is the way to finish it, in the towns that need it most. A better Britain benefits all.

Char Lawrence Founder, The Lawrence Institute Lawrence Institute, Est. 2025

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