

Foreword

2022 marks the 190th year that Dods has provided its clients with essential data, analysis and intelligence. We are celebrating this notable anniversary for the company with the launch of a new Political Intelligence Platform, drawing the best of Dods insights together into a single, accessible service. It will launch in a year set to be marked by radical uncertainty, as immediate issues – Covid, climate crisis, and contested leadership - provide the backdrop to decisions where the implications will not be realised for many years to come – from the United Kingdom's reshaping of its relationship with Europe, to the sweeping environmental legislation making passage through the political institutions of London and Brussels and being implemented across the continent as a whole.

In such an environment it is important to take stock of the state of play: when the key moments of the year might come, what the main players' priorities for the year are and what we may therefore expect from 2022. In this report we have sought to chart this landscape; both through utilising the insights of our expert teams in London and Brussels and through employing Dods polling services to deliver a picture of what UK policymakers expect will shape their year.

As the first turbulent weeks in the UK Parliament have shown, there will inevitably be surprises in the year to come. However, there are certain trends which become apparent upon examination.

Environmental and health concerns remain a focus of the policy agenda as the climate crisis and Covid-19 bring the issues to a legislative head.

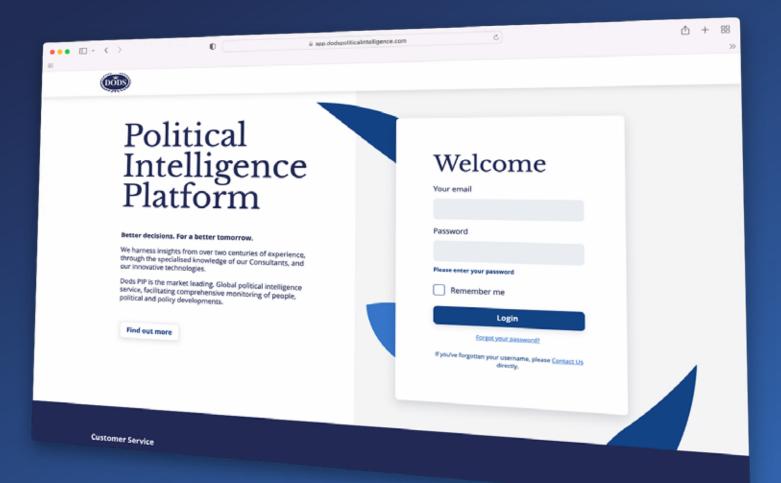
Efforts to ensure the recovery of both markets and state infrastructure hit by the pandemic are tempered by an awareness that a new variant could effectively reset international progress.

Perhaps most noteworthy, 2022 is set to see Heads of State tentatively consider curbing what might be considered the excesses of the past years. This is evidenced by actions as diverse as the EU's bid to rewrite foundational pharmaceutical legislation, the UK's ambition to redistribute national resources across its regions and both institutions establishing ever firmer climate targets for themselves and their private industries.

We are upgrading the tools through which to monitor these trends through the development of our new Political Intelligence platform. Our expert political consultants, working alongside our leading media titles, will be able to deliver even more breaking news, insights and analysis, providing our clients with unrivalled access to the changes in policy and their potential impact across the UK and EU.

I am proud that Dods is able to provide objective, up to the moment coverage and insight into every element of the challenges to come in 2022. As the pre-eminent political intelligence specialist, Dods produces some of the most respected publications across Whitehall, Westminster and Brussels, runs world-class events with key decision makers across policy areas as varied as health, energy and transport, and offers comprehensive monitoring of politics and policy developments across the UK and EU. Our broad offering provides clients with the understanding, information, and the intelligence they need to make the right decisions based on the insight we provide both for 2022 and beyond.

Munira Ibrahim, Managing Director, **Dods Group**





Executive Report Summaries

Health

Policymakers in the UK and European Union had hoped Covid-19 vaccinations would allow them to devote more attention to other pressing health issues this year, but the rapid spread of the Omicron variant shows the pandemic is far from over. In the UK, over four in ten (41%) of policymakers surveyed do not believe the UK is ready to deal with new and potentially more aggressive strains of Covid-19.

In the UK:

- The UK government is aiming to reform the delivery and organisation of health services this year with passage of its Health and Care Bill, which includes plans for more joined-up services and integrated care systems.
- The government is keen to move from emergency measures to combat Covid-19 to a long-term phase of living with the virus with support from vaccine programmes. Prime Minister Boris Johnson has also faced pressure from within his party to prevent Covid restrictions from causing further economic damage. But health leaders remain concerned about overwhelming the health service and tackling backlogs.
- The government is expected to produce a Workforce white paper and the healthcare system should also start to see additional funds from the new Health and Social Care Levy.
- Future pandemic preparedness is also likely to come to the fore of policy as pharmaceutical companies continue to use lessons to expand mRNA vaccine research and public health messaging focuses on prevention.

In the EU:

- The EU is expected to focus this year on advancing a Europe-wide initiative to support cancer treatment, as well as:
 - Reforms to foundational pharmaceutical legislation
 - Facilitating access to paediatric medicines
 - Improving patient rights in cross-border healthcare
- The EU is hoping to strengthen its European Health
 Union with reform of the European Medicines Agency
 (EMA) and European Centre for Disease Prevention
 (ECDC) whilst updating the cross-border health threats
 legislation to tackle Covid-19. This package is expected
 to be officially adopted by the end of March.
- The Commission is due to publish plans for a European Health Data Space (EHDS) in the second quarter to promote safe exchange of patient data, and support research on treatments, medicines and devices.

Climate and energy

In our poll of MPs, the COP26 UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow in November was considered by 36% of respondents to be a success, compared to 34% who felt the conference had not gone well. Nevertheless, the EU and UK are pressing on with a range of initiatives this year to set their economies on a path to net zero. But policymakers are also under pressure to manage the impact of soaring energy prices, which have fuelled inflation and debate about how to fund green transition.

In the EU:

- Expect development of the European Green Deal and Fit for 55 package along with a raft of legislative updates on EU energy and climate files.
- The French are expected to welcome the Commission's proposal to include nuclear in its green energy transition plans. This may bring tensions with a nuclear-sceptic Germany debating approval of the controversial Nord Stream 2 natural gas pipeline from Russia.

 Other key legislative proposals on the agenda include the introduction of a Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM), the lowering of the overall emissions cap in the EU Emission Trading System (ETS) whilst increasing its annual rate of reduction and a slate of new regulations for construction products and industrial emissions.

In the UK:

- Experts are looking for tangible progress following the passage of the Environment Act, one of the most significant pieces of domestic environmental governance for a generation. It includes measures designed to:
 - Halt species decline by 2030
 - Require major infrastructure projects to demonstrate a "nature-positive" impact; and
 - Create the Office for Environmental Protection to report on environmental law and advise the government.
- The terms of the UK's new post-Brexit trade deals and further international climate and biodiversity summits are likely to bring scrutiny on UK environmental standards, legislation and its net zero goal.
- The government is under pressure to help consumers and the energy sector manage the impact of soaring gas prices. Against this backdrop, debate about the role of nuclear energy is likely to grow if the government publishes its roadmap for the sector as expected in the first half of the year and the Nuclear Energy (Financing) Bill passes.

UK Foreign affairs

It has been over two years since Prime Minister Boris Johnson won a general election on the slogan "Get Brexit Done". But our poll of MPs finds just over half believe that so far neither the UK nor the EU has benefitted from Brexit. Meanwhile, on 2019's election-winning issue, the UK and EU remain at loggerheads. Without improvement in relations in the year ahead, the UK's antagonism towards Europe risks marring the government's wider "Global Britain" foreign policy agenda.

- The Foreign Secretary has pledged "rebuilding our muscle to fulfil the promise of Global Britain", but reports—denied by ministers—of looming staff cuts raise questions about her department's ability to deliver.
- Some analysts have also questioned the government's "Global Britain" priorities. Forging a greater role in the Indo-Pacific region does not appear to be a good substitute for exploring deeper foreign policy or commercial opportunities in Europe.
- Presiding over the G7, COP26 climate change conference and advances in Covid vaccines ensured the UK was in the spotlight in 2021. This year there may be less to distract from the UK's EU stresses and UK voters may well begin to ask this year where the upside is on Brexit. The Office for Budget Responsibility estimates leaving the EU will lead to a 4% reduction in the UK's long-run potential productivity.
- There are significant practical issues to manage in the UK's relationship with the EU, particularly on trade and the sensitive arrangements for Northern Ireland.

Transport

The transport sector in the UK and EU is facing the twin challenges of managing the disruption caused by the Covid-19 pandemic and adapting to achieve net zero. Our poll found 70% of UK MPs who responded believe more effort needs to be made to incentivise public transport.

In the EU:

- 2022 will see crucial discussions for the European Commission's plan to effectively end the sale of new petrol and diesel cars and vans by 2035.
- Brussels institutions are hoping to make headway this year on efforts to reduce transport sector emissions, as set out in the Fit for 55 Package, and roll out green transport infrastructure.
- It is also set to be a significant year for aviation, as
 policymakers seek to unstick the Single European Sky
 proposals which have been mired for almost a decade.
 The French presidency has vowed to reform air traffic
 management rules amid concerns that the lack of
 progress is hindering aviation decarbonisation.

In the UK:

- The government has three key opportunities to demonstrate its commitment to improving regional connectivity:
 - The Levelling Up white paper;
 - The response to the Union Connectivity Review;
 and
 - The outcome of a consultation into the future of rural transport strategy.
- 2022 will be the year in which the government is expected to make progress implementing the National Bus Strategy, Williams-Shapps Plan for Rail and the Transport Decarbonisation Plan.
- Key policy initiatives expected to come in the year ahead include a strategy for developing electric vehicle infrastructure, active travel initiatives along with the government's response to the Jet Zero and strategic plan for rail consultations.



Policymakers in the UK and European Union had hoped Covid-19 vaccinations would allow them to devote more attention to other pressing health issues this year, but the rapid spread of the Omicron variant shows the battle with the pandemic is far from over. National healthcare systems remain under strain from infections and staff shortages, and also face the added challenge of large backlogs of patients who have seen their treatments delayed by the Covid emergency.

In the UK, the government is keen to move from emergency measures to combat Covid-19 to a more predictable long-term phase of living with the virus with support from medical advances and vaccine programmes. Prime Minister Boris Johnson has faced pressure from within his party to prevent Covid restrictions from causing further economic damage. However, health leaders remain concerned about managing Covid and possible new strains as well as tackling large backlogs caused by the pandemic. Experts also fear further disruption in April when frontline NHS and social care staff will be required to be vaccinated.

Against that backdrop, the UK government is aiming to reform the delivery and organisation of health services this year with passage of its Health and Care Bill, which includes formalised plans for more joined-up services and integrated care systems. To tackle Covid-19 backlogs, the government is expected to produce a Workforce white paper and the healthcare system should also start to see additional funds coming in from the new Health and Social Care Levy. Future pandemic preparedness is also likely to come to the fore of policy, as pharmaceutical companies continue to use lessons to expand mRNA vaccine research and public health messaging sees emphasis from government to aid prevention.

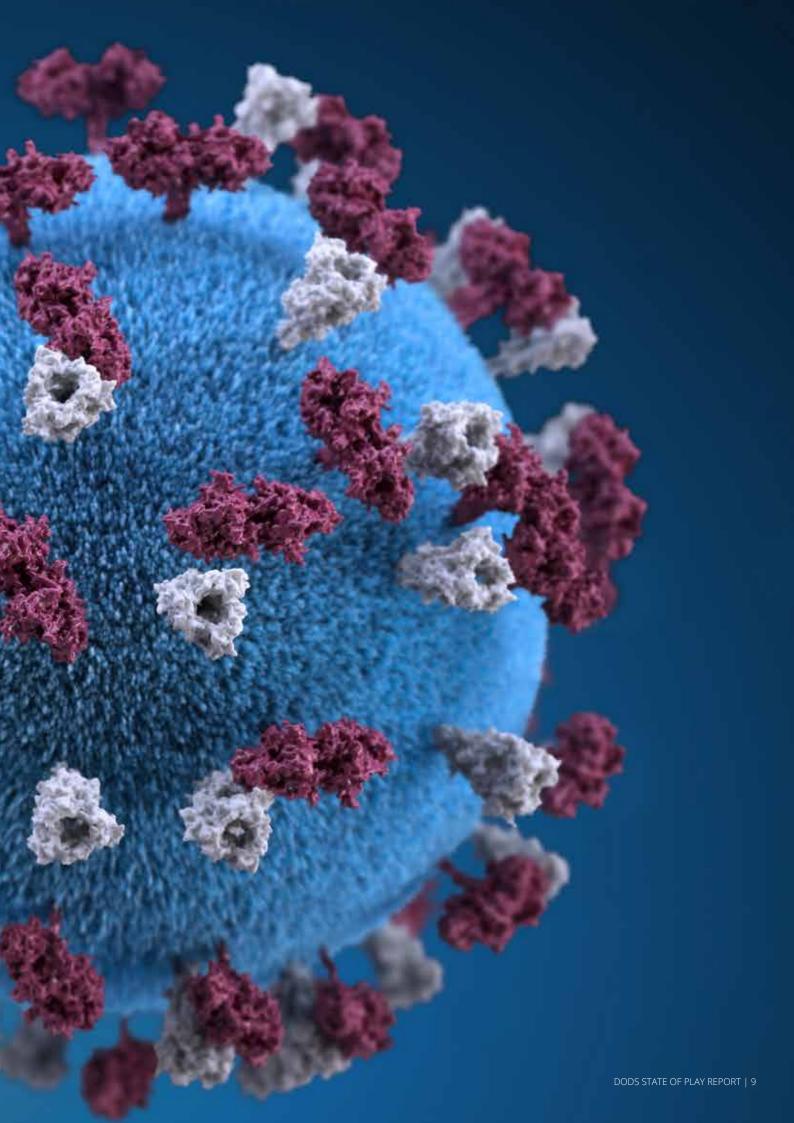
As well as ongoing efforts to help member states deal with the pandemic, the EU is expected to focus this year on advancing a Europe-wide initiative to support cancer treatment, as well as reforms to foundational pharmaceutical legislation, facilitating access to paediatric medicines, and improving patient rights in cross-border healthcare. The EU is also hoping to strengthen its European Health Union with reform of the European Medicines Agency (EMA) and European Centre for Disease Prevention (ECDC)



and updating the cross-border health threats legislation to tackle Covid-19. This package is expected to make its way through trilogues and be officially adopted by the end of March.

Early in the year, the European Parliament is due to vote on the response of the Special Committee of Beating Cancer (BECA) to the European Commission's proposals to reduce the cancer burden for patients, their families, and health systems, and tackle cancer-related inequalities within and between member states. Once approved, the Own Initiative Report will influence the EP's position on any future Commission proposals related to the Europe's Beating Cancer Plan (EBCP), the implementation roadmap of which was published in late 2021.

Elsewhere, the Commission is expected to move forward with efforts to improve patient access to healthcare across the EU and encourage cooperation between national providers. It is also due to publish plans for a European Health Data Space (EHDS) in the second quarter to promote safe exchange of patient data, and support research on treatments, medicines and devices. The Commission is also expected to publish a proposal on paediatric and orphan drugs in early 2022 and plans to revise the EU's basic pharmaceuticals legislation to ensure a more resilient medicines regulatory system.



Climate and energy: Maintaining the COP26 momentum

By Joshua Wells, UK Climate and Environment Consultant and Dirk Goll, EU Climate and Energy Consultant

Although the COP26 UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow in November had limited success, the EU and UK are pressing on with a range of initiatives this year to set their economies on a path to net zero. However, policymakers are also under pressure to manage the impact of soaring energy prices, which have fuelled inflation and complicated debate about how to foot the bill for greening energy production, transport and buildings.

In the EU, experts are looking to see whether the French presidency of the EU in the first half of the year will inject some Paris Agreement spirit into negotiations with member states and enable progress on the European Green Deal and Fit for 55 package, a raft of legislative updates on EU energy and climate files. The French are expected to welcome the European Commission's proposal to include a role for nuclear in its green energy transition plans along with natural gas. But Germany, which relies more on gas and is awaiting approval of the controversial Nord Stream 2 pipeline from Russia, is less keen on nuclear. Markets fear further Russian military action in Ukraine, which hosts a pipeline that brings gas into Western Europe, could disrupt supplies and exacerbate the European energy crisis. However,

concerns about persistently high gas prices, due to uncertainties about Russian supply and other factors, are likely to push European policymakers to accelerate efforts to generate more power from renewables this year.

Other key legislative proposals on the agenda include the Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM), which aims to put a carbon price on certain imports to prevent climate action in Europe from fuelling 'carbon leakage' outside of the EU. The European Commission has also proposed lowering the overall emissions cap in the EU Emission Trading System (ETS) and increasing its annual rate of reduction. Discussions between representatives of the European Parliament, Council and Commission on both proposals could kick off in the summer. The Commission is also slated to review rules for construction products and industrial emissions, while the EU institutions are aiming to make progress on a range of other net zero-related legislative proposals including on renewable energy, energy efficiency, and energy taxation.

In the UK, experts are looking for tangible progress following the passage of the Environment Act, one of the most significant pieces of domestic



environmental governance for a generation. It includes a target to halt species decline by 2030, requires major infrastructure projects to demonstrate a "nature-positive" impact, and creates the Office for Environmental Protection to report on environmental law and advise the government. A key test of the Act, which attracted early pressure for stronger rules for sewage pollution, is whether it provides a robust framework for as-yet undefined environmental targets to be met. The terms of the UK's new post-Brexit trade deals and further international climate and biodiversity summits are likely to continue raising questions this year about whether the UK government's environmental standards and legislation are sufficient to meet its net zero goals.

In the energy sector, the UK government is under pressure to help consumers and the industry manage the impact of soaring gas prices. Against that backdrop, debate about the role of nuclear energy is likely to grow if the government publishes its roadmap for the sector as expected in the first half of the year and the Nuclear Energy

(Financing) Bill passes. The energy, industry, and utilities sector will also be looking to the government's levelling up white paper for guidance on the net zero transition and implications for jobs, skills and growth, while the Scottish government is expected to set out plans for a green transition for the North Sea energy sector in the spring.





UK foreign affairs: Brexit tensions and "Global Britain"

By Laura Hutchinson, Head of Dods UK Political Intelligence

It is more than a year since Prime Minister Boris Johnson won a general election on the slogan "Get Brexit Done" and the UK and EU remain at loggerheads on key issues. Without improvement in relations in the year ahead, the UK's antagonism towards Europe risks marring the government's wider "Global Britain" foreign policy agenda.

Foreign Secretary Liz Truss barely mentioned the EU in her first few months in the job. But the resignation of Brexit minister Lord Frost in December means EU relations are now her responsibility and are likely to dominate her in-tray in the months ahead. Truss supported Remain in the Brexit referendum, but it remains to be seen if she adopts the hard-line approach that Frost took in EU talks. Analysts ponder if aspirations to be prime minister will lead to Brexit zeal, or whether she will be more pragmatic and less confrontational than Frost. Her first meeting with Maroš Šefčovič, the EU's chief negotiator, in mid-January did not yield any progress in terms of substance, but there was a notably warmer tone in their joint statement that spoke of a cordial atmosphere, a shared desire for a positive relationship between the UK and EU and plans for intensified talks.

There are significant practical issues to manage in the UK's relationship with the EU, particularly on trade and the sensitive arrangements for Northern Ireland. Disagreements have led both sides to threaten to trigger Article 16 which would allow unilateral suspension of part of their post-Brexit trade agreement. Such a move would mark a significant low in bilateral relations. The UK's relationship with France, in particular, has suffered from rows about fishing and migrants coming to England across the Channel. These might flare ahead of the French presidential elections.

UK voters may well begin to ask this year where the upside is on Brexit. The government has designed a new immigration system and plans to replace lost EU farming subsidies. But even before the delayed implementation of full border controls between the EU and UK on 1 Jan 2022, Brexit was blamed for labour shortages and making trading more complicated in sectors from haulage to seafood. The Office for Budget Responsibility estimates leaving the EU will lead to a 4% reduction in the UK's long-run potential productivity.

Against the backdrop of continued tensions with the EU, some analysts have questioned the government's "Global Britain" priorities. Forging a greater role in the Indo-Pacific region does not appear to be a good substitute for exploring deeper foreign policy or commercial opportunities in the UK's neighbourhood. And in an uncertain world, with varied challenges from authoritarian regimes in Russia and China, Europe remains the UK's natural foreign policy partner.

Presiding over the Group of Seven, COP26 climate change conference, and advances in Covid vaccines ensured the UK was in the spotlight in 2021. This year there may be less to distract from the UK's EU stresses. Some foreign policy experts feel it may be high time the UK focuses on strengthening its foreign policy relationship with its traditional allies in the EU.

There are also capability questions. Truss has pledged "rebuilding our muscle to fulfil the promise of Global Britain", but reports—denied by ministers—of looming staff cuts raise questions about her department's ability to deliver. The chaotic withdrawal from Afghanistan also highlighted the UK's limitations, as well as the risks of joint action with a US that acts unilaterally.



Transport: Facing the twin challenges of Covid and net zero

By Helen Hill, UK Transport Consultant and Artiom Ialama, EU Transport Consultant

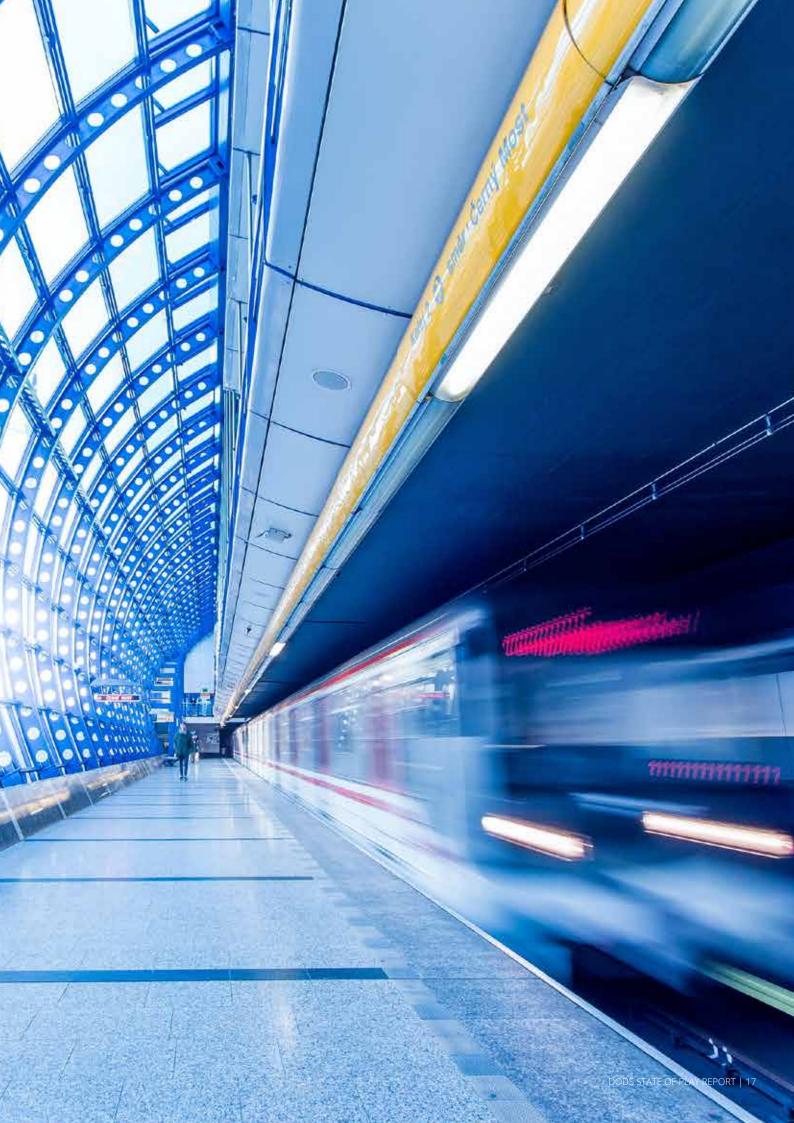
The saying goes, you wait ages for a bus, then two come along at once. Much the same could be said for the transport sector in the UK and EU, which is facing the twin challenges this year of managing disruption caused by the Covid-19 pandemic while transforming to achieve net zero ambitions.

In the EU, the Omicron variant has raised fresh questions about free movement after some member states reimposed travel restrictions. Policymakers now need to decide how to extend the EU's Digital Covid Certificate validity after the booster shot. At the same time, Brussels institutions are hoping to make headway on efforts to reduce transport sector emissions, as set out in the Fit for 55 Package, and rolling out green transport infrastructure. Policymakers are due to discuss the European Commission's controversial plan to effectively end the sale of new petrol and diesel cars and vans by 2035. The proposal is likely to spark much debate in the institutions amid opposition from the automotive industry which has warned that an all-electric approach would lead to the loss of half a million jobs in the EU. The French, who hold the rotating presidency of the Council of the EU, also aim to advance a range of proposals including the

Alternative Fuels Infrastructure Regulation (AFIR), and FuelEU Maritime and ReFuelEU Aviation to boost the uptake of sustainable fuels. However, it remains to be seen if policymakers can also progress the Single European Sky proposals which have been stuck for almost a decade. The French presidency has vowed to reform air traffic management rules amid concerns that the lack of progress is hindering aviation decarbonisation.

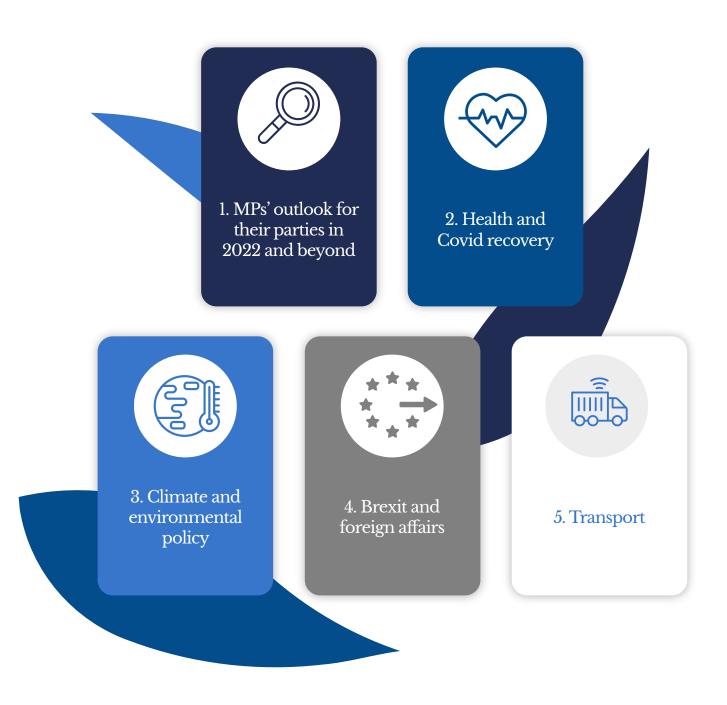
In the UK, experts are looking to the government to make progress implementing the National Bus Strategy, Williams-Shapps Plan for Rail and Transport Decarbonisation Plan to work towards creating a carbon-neutral, integrated, multi-modal and accessible transport system. Key policy initiatives expected to come in the year ahead include a strategy for developing electric vehicle infrastructure and the government's response to the Jet Zero consultation. The government has also been encouraged by industry bodies and consumer groups to also focus on driving decarbonisation through behavioural change such as cycling and walking and increased use of public transport, rather than relying solely on technological advances.

But UK policymakers are also under pressure to help the transport sector recover financially from the unprecedented hit from Covid. While previous lockdowns allowed the government to advance the rollout of active travel infrastructure or to accelerate road maintenance works, the focus this year is expected to switch to promoting a return to normality on road and rail networks. To build confidence and ensure stability, sector groups have suggested operators should focus on delivering reliable services and introduce incentives such as temporary special ticket offers and subsidised season tickets. The Department for Transport is also expected to publish the outcome of a consultation on a whole industry strategic plan for rail, which some suggest will see an increased focus on freight. Transport is also expected to play a key supporting role in Prime Minister Boris Johnson's levelling up agenda to breathe new economic life and opportunity into disadvantaged areas. The government will have three key opportunities to demonstrate its commitment to improving regional connectivity: the Levelling Up white paper, the response to the Union Connectivity Review, and the outcome of a consultation into the future of rural transport strategy.



MP Snapshot Poll Results

The Dods State of Play MP poll delivers snapshot research that looked into 5 key areas:







Polled MPs' outlooks for their parties in 2022 and beyond

Politicians' performance ratings in fulfilling their official duties:

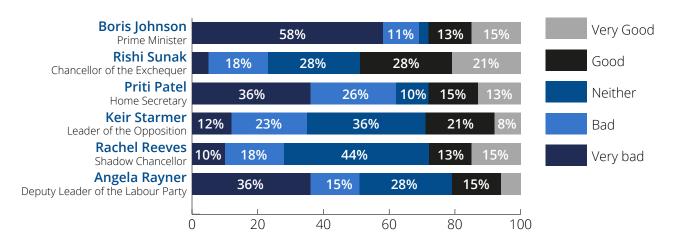
Worst performer:

Prime Minister Boris Johnson with 69% rating his performance 'very bad/bad' against only 29% rating his performance 'very good/good'

Best performer:

Rishi Sunak, Chancellor of the Exchequer with 49% rating his performance 'very good/good' against 23% rating his performance 'very bad/bad'

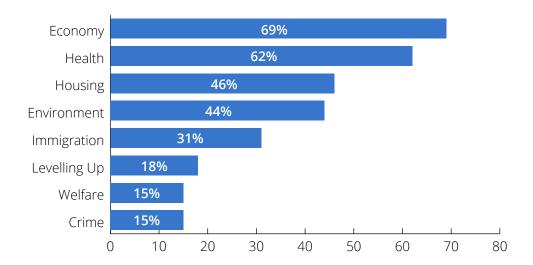
Politicians' performance ratings in fulfilling their official duties



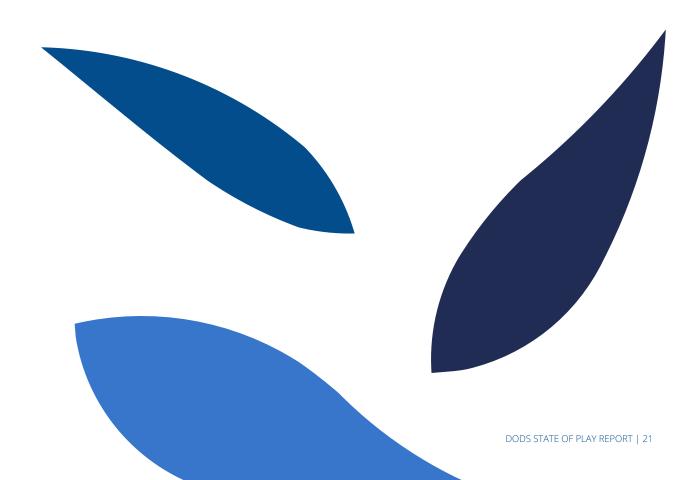
Q: On a scale of 1-5 how would you rate the performance of the following in fulfilling their official duties (1 Very Bad 5 Very Good):

'Economy' (69%), 'Health' (62%) and 'Housing' (46%) emerged as the top three suggested primary policy considerations for 2022.

Primary policy considerations suggested for 2022



Q: What should the government make their TOP THREE primary policy consideration for 2022?

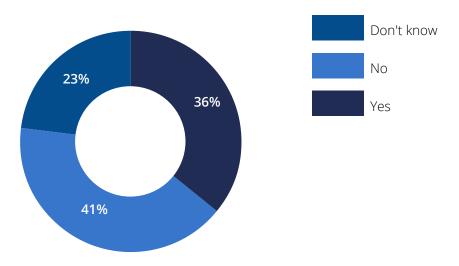




Health and COVID-19 recovery:

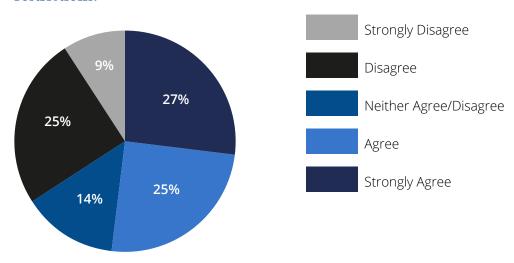
Over four in ten (41%) MPs who responded do not believe we are ready to deal with new (and potentially more aggressive) strains of COVID-19, whilst 36% believe that we are prepared.

Are we ready to deal with new (and potentially more aggressive) strains of COVID-19?



Q: Are we ready to deal with new (and potentially more aggressive) strains of COVID-19?

Should the UK and EU learn to live with Covid without domestic and international restrictions?



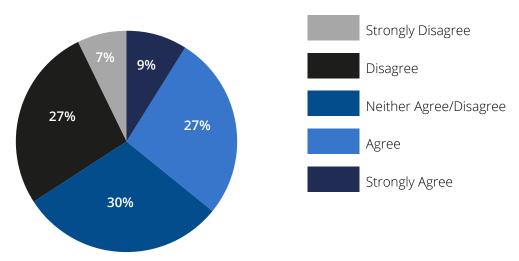
Q: The emergence of the Omicron variant shows that the UK and EU must learn to live with Covid without restricting both domestic freedoms and international movement.



Climate, Energy and Environmental policy:

A slightly higher percentage of MPs who responded agreed with the statement 'COP26 was a success which sets out a clear roadmap to respond to climate change' as opposed to those who disagreed (36% agree vs. 34% disagree). One in three (30%) neither agreed nor disagreed.

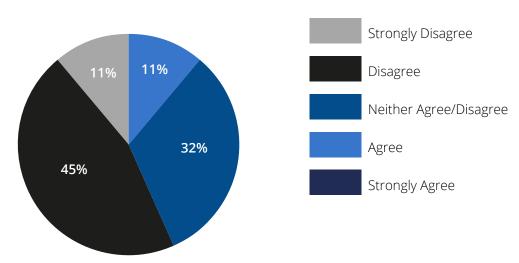
Was COP26 a success that sets out a clear roadmap to respond to climate change?



Q: COP26 was a success which sets out a clear roadmap to respond to climate change.

Only 11% MPs who responded agreed with the statement 'I am confident the world will change course in order to meet the 1.5 degree target to avert the worst possible outcomes of climate change,' whilst over half (56%) of the MPs did not agree. About a third (32%) neither agreed nor disagreed.

Will the world change course in order to meet the 1.5-degree climate change target?



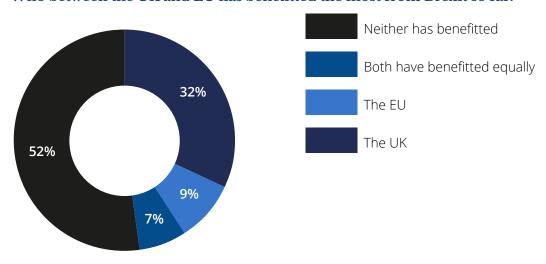
Q: I am confident the world will change course in order to meet the 1.5 degree target to avert the worst possible outcomes of climate change.



Brexit and foreign affairs:

The highest percentage of MPs who responded (52%) believe that so far neither the UK nor the EU has benefitted from Brexit. This compares to 32% who think the UK has benefitted the most and only 9% who believe it is the EU that has benefitted the most.

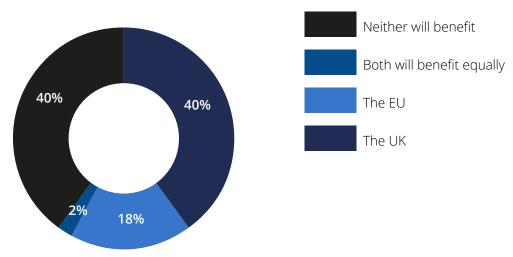
Who between the UK and EU has benefitted the most from Brexit so far?



Q: Between the EU and the UK, who has benefitted most from Brexit so far?

Looking at the future, whilst 40% MPs who responded think that neither the UK nor the EU will benefit from Brexit in the long term, an equal proportion (40%) suppose that the UK will gain the most. About two in ten (19%) believe the EU stands to gain the most in the future.

Who between the UK and EU will benefit most from Brexit in the long term?



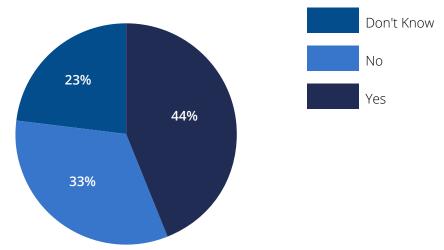
Q: Between the EU and the UK, who will benefit most from Brexit in the long term?



Transport

Over four in ten (44%) MPs who responded believe that accelerating the rollout of electric vehicles is the most effective way to decarbonise the transport sector, with 33% MPs disagreeing.

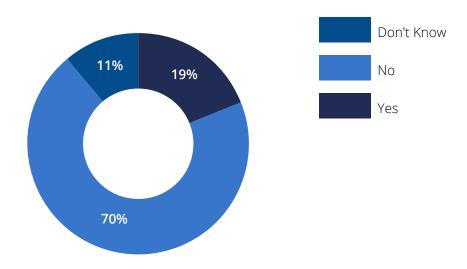
Is accelerating the rollout of electric vehicles the most effective way to decarbonise the transport sector?



Q: Do you think that accelerating the rollout of electric vehicles is the most effective way to decarbonise the transport sector?

A vast majority of MPs who responded do not believe that policymakers are doing enough to incentivise public transport (70% not doing enough vs. 19% doing enough vs. 11% do not know).

Are policymakers doing enough to incentivise public transport?



Q: Are policymakers doing enough to incentivise public transport?

Appendix:

Data Methodology

A snapshot online survey was sent to all sitting MPs in Westminster. This data was sourced using the Dods Political Intelligence databases, and the fieldwork was undertaken between December 2021 and January 2022, providing a total sample of 45 MPs.

About Dods Group

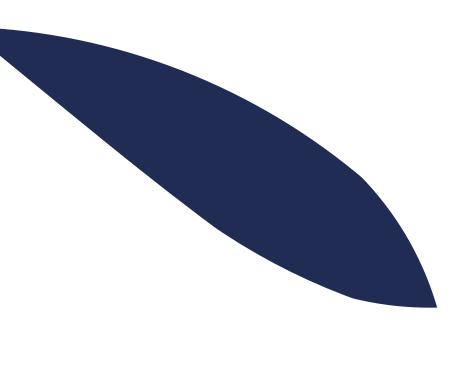
For more than 190 years, Dods has provided essential information and connections to the UK and EU political and public affairs sectors. With unique access to lawmakers and the public sector, Dods keeps clients informed of relevant policy developments so they can focus on their strategy. With neutrality and transparency underpinning everything we do, we are a trusted source of political intelligence and debate through our portfolio of political titles and our leading events, business intelligence and training services.

For further information, please visit: www.dodsgroup.com

And if you'd like to discuss any of the findings of this report, please contact:

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