

Post-election Briefing

This briefing succinctly presents the result of June's snap election in addition to detailing the government's parliamentary programme, its deal with the DUP, cabinet appointments, and select committee chairs.



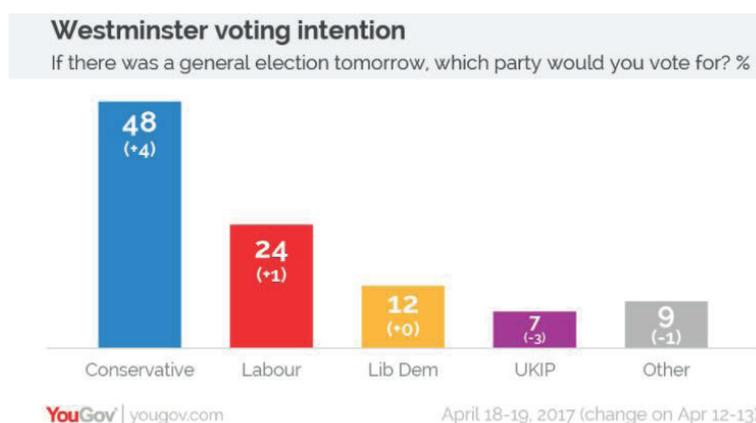
Background

Snap Election

On 18 April, Prime Minister Theresa May called a snap (general) election for 8 June – ostensibly to strengthen her negotiating position on Brexit as she sought a “stronger mandate” to deliver Brexit. The election, the Prime Minister thought, would boost the slim working Conservative majority of 17 and help to pass Brexit-linked legislation such as the “great repeal bill” in addition to plans for a future immigration system.

A strong Conservative lead

The first YouGov/Times poll following the announcement showed a significant increase in voting intention for the Conservatives at 48% – compared to Labour on 24%. Translated into seats, this margin would see a landslide victory for Theresa May and the Conservatives, with predictions of a parliamentary majority of 80 to 100 seats.



Labour's manifesto embodied the largest sustained increase in public investment since the 1970s

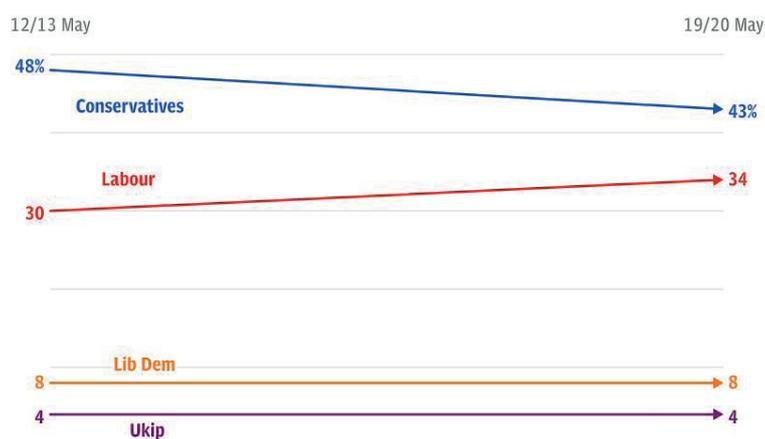
Contrasting manifestos

Four weeks after the initial announcement of a general election, the parties launched their respective manifestos, with a stark contrast emerging. Labour's manifesto embodied the largest sustained increase in public investment since the 1970s whilst seeing tax receipts (as a percentage of GDP) rise to levels last seen in the late 1940s.



A narrowing of the polls

Although polls are notoriously unreliable, a poll undertaken by Survation on 19/20 May showed the Conservative lead had halved from 18% to only 9% following the launch of the Conservative manifesto – arguably a reaction to Conservative plans for social care.



General Election 2017 - the results

A hung parliament

Despite seeing their share of the vote increase, the Conservatives lost 13 seats

After declarations had been made in each of the 650 constituencies it was clear that no party had won an overall majority and the general election therefore resulted in a hung parliament. Despite seeing their share of the vote increase, the Conservatives lost 13 seats – falling 8 seats short of an overall parliamentary majority. Labour, with 262 seats, saw its share of the national vote rise to 40 percent, a proportion last delivered by Tony Blair in 2001.

PARTY	SEATS	+/-	VOTES	VOTE SHARE	+/- %
Conservative	318	-13	13,669,883	42.4	+5.5
Labour	262	+30	12,878,460	40.0	+9.5
Scottish National Party	35	-21	977,569	3.0	-1.7
Liberal Democrat	12	+4	2,371,910	7.4	-0.5
Democratic Unionist Party	10	+2	292,316	0.9	+0.3
Sinn Fein	7	+3	238,915	0.7	+0.2
Plaid Cymru	4	+1	164,466	0.5	-0.1
Green Party	1	0	525,435	1.6	-2.1
UKIP	0	-1	594,068	1.8	-10.8
Social Democratic & Labour Party	0	-3	95,419	0.3	0.0
Ulster Unionist Party	0	-2	83,280	0.3	-0.1

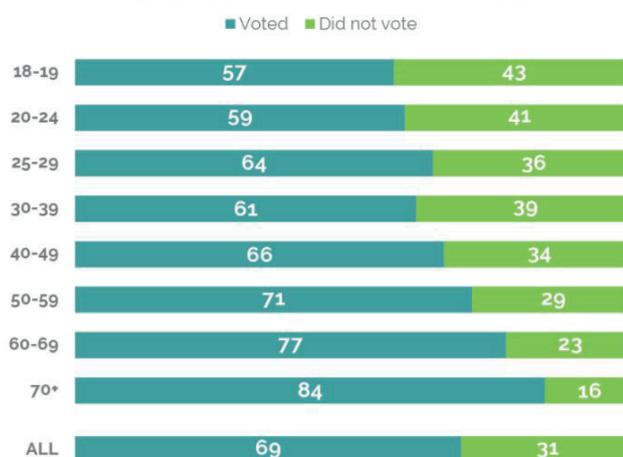
More than 600,000 names were added to the electoral role in the final 24hrs before the deadline for registration

Turnout

The general election 2017 saw voter turnout at a 25-year high of close to 70%, boosted by young people and BME voters. More than 600,000 names were added to the electoral roll in the final 24 hours before the deadline for voter registration. More than half of those aged 18-24 turned out to vote, an increase of 16 percentage points on 2015. Turnout among BME voters also increased six points. The highest turnout in an individual seat was 79.8% in Winchester, while the lowest turnout was 51.9% in Wolverhampton South East.

Turnout by age

Based of a survey of 52,615 GB adults about their vote in the 2017 general election



YouGov | yougov.com

June 9-13, 2017

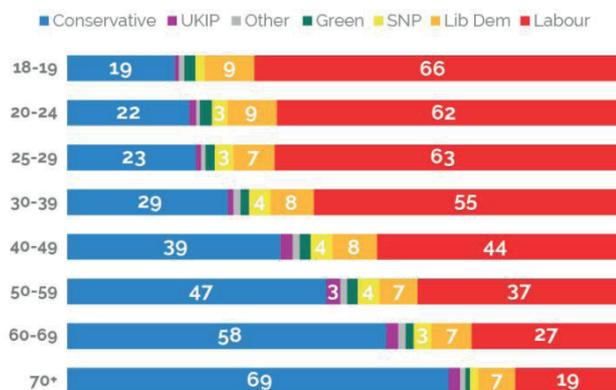
Age the most significant factor at this election

Under-45s came out in force for Labour

Research by YouGov showed that age was one of the most significant factors in the general election with under-45s coming out in force for Labour. 60% of those aged 18-24 voted Labour whilst 61% of over-64s voted Conservative.

Vote by age

Based of a survey of 52,615 GB adults about their vote in the 2017 general election



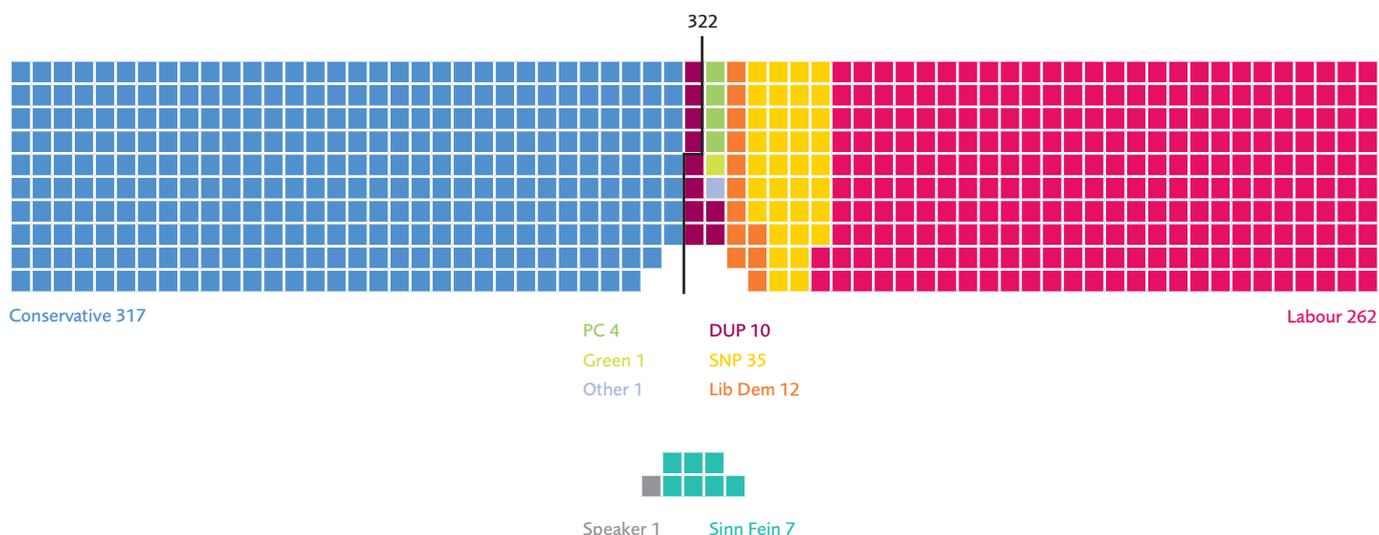
YouGov | yougov.com

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The composition of the House of Commons

2017 Composition of the House of Commons after the 2017 general election

Total seats: 650



Source: Institute for Government analysis of the 2017 general election result

Minority Government

Denied a parliamentary majority, Theresa May expressed her intention to *remain* as Prime Minister and to form a *minority government*, with the Conservatives filling all ministerial positions but relying on the DUP on a "confidence and supply" basis to ensure that a Conservative Queen's Speech and Budget could be voted through.

Confidence and supply

A confidence and supply agreement is a limited arrangement between political parties guaranteeing support for a minority government on parliamentary votes that are *critical to the survival of the government* – typically formal confidence motions and votes on budgets and spending plans. In return, the party or parties providing this support can receive a variety of specified concessions. Crucially, the scope and detail of such agreements can vary substantially.

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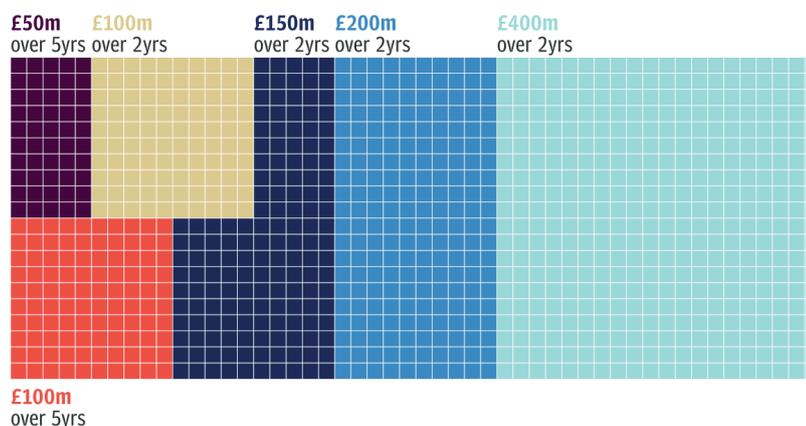
Agreement reached

Having delayed the Queen's Speech by two days, no agreement had been reached between the Conservatives and the DUP as the Queen delivered the minority government's slimmed-down legislative agenda for the next two years. Negotiations lasted for 18 days following the general election but the deadlock was broken as Arlene Foster, leader of the DUP, and Theresa May agreed a deal which will see £1bn extra funding provided to Northern Ireland over the next two years.

How the £1 billion deal with DUP breaks down

Each tile is equal to £1 million

◆ Mental health ◆ Severe deprivation ◆ Pressures on health and education ◆ Broadband
◆ Health ◆ Infrastructure development



In practice, the 10 DUP MPs will back the Conservatives on key votes in the Commons such as the Queen's Speech, the Budget, and Brexit, allowing Theresa May to command a small majority.

The New Government's Parliamentary Programme

In an unusual move, the parliamentary session covered by this Queen's Speech has been doubled to two years – with the leader of the Commons, Andrea Leadsom, saying that this would “give MPs and peers the *maximum* time possible to scrutinise legislation taking the UK out of the European Union”.

The speech itself was notably short, setting out only 27 bills – eight of which were pieces of legislation that the government believes are necessary for Brexit. Included in these eight Brexit bills is legislation allowing Britain to determine its own immigration, customs and trade arrangements.

With the general election resulting in a hung parliament, plans to scrap free school meals, to ration winter fuel payments for pensioners, as well as plans to repeal the Fixed-term Parliaments Act and introduce what became widely known as the “dementia tax” for funding social care have been dropped. With no natural majority – other than the DUP agreement, parliamentary voting is expected to be highly contested as long as this parliament lasts.

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A closer look at legislation contained within the Queen's Speech:

Brexit

The Queen's Speech included 8 bills designed to prepare the UK for a "smooth and orderly" departure from the EU.

The Repeal Bill will be the key legislative mechanism by which the country can exit the EU in March 2019 and ensure that European law no longer applies to the UK

The *Repeal Bill* will be the key legislative mechanism by which the country can exit the EU in March 2019 and ensure that European law no longer applies to the UK. The bill will repeal the 1972 European Communities Act, which took Britain into the EU and meant that European law took precedence over laws passed in the British Parliament. The bill will also end the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice and all existing EU legislation will be copied across into domestic UK law to ensure a smooth transition on the day after Brexit leaving the UK to then amend, repeal or improve the laws as necessary.

Given its first reading on 13 July 2017, the European Union (Withdrawal) Bill will next be considered at second reading on 7 and 11 September 2017, following the summer recess.

In addition to the repeal bill, the Queens Speech contained: a **Customs Bill**; a **Trade Bill**; and an **Immigration Bill** repealing EU immigration policy – bringing an end to freedom of movement. The Speech also included: a **Fisheries Bill**; an **Agriculture Bill**; a **Nuclear Safeguards Bill**; and finally, an **International Sanctions Bill**.

Economy

The bills contained within the Queen's speech relating to the economy include: an **Automated and Electric Vehicles Bill**; a **Space Industry Bill**; a **High Speed Rail (West Midlands-Crewe) Bill**; a **Smart Meter Bill**; as well as a **National Insurance Contributions Bill** which puts into effect changes made in the Budget and Autumn Statement, excluding the now-defunct proposals to hike Class 4 National Insurance contributions for the self-employed. There was no explicit reference to other major pieces of infrastructure like Crossrail 2.

Further to these bills are: a **Travel Protection Bill** to improve travel protection for tourists by bringing regulations up to date with online holiday bookings; a surprise **Draft Tenant's Fees Bill** heralding substantial changes to the private rented market, banning landlords and estate agents from levying big fees and capping holding deposits and security deposits.

Building on the Tory manifesto, a **Draft Domestic Violence and Abuse Bill** will establish a Domestic Violence and Abuse Commissioner, issue a new definition of domestic abuse and new protection orders and bring in sentencing which reflects abusive behaviour towards children.

Additionally, the speech introduced a **Civil Liability Bill**; a **Courts Bill**; a **Financial Guidance and Claims Bill** consolidating financial advice bodies into one organisation responsible for debt, money and pension guidance; as well as a **Goods Mortgage Bill**.

Security

Three bills pertained to 'security' – a major theme: an **Armed Forces Bill** seeking to support service personnel by enabling part-time service, limiting geographic deployment and easing the transition back from time off such as parental leave; a **Data Protection Bill** to replace the Data Protection Act 1998, modernising data processing by law enforcement agencies and allowing internet users to be "forgotten" if they wish. Finally, a **Draft Patient Safety Bill** establishing the Health Service Safety Investigation Body in statute, with powers to investigate safety concerns in the NHS, while protecting whistle-blowers by prohibiting disclosure of their evidence, except if there is a risk to patients or evidence of criminal activity.

Further to the legislation in the Speech were additional non-legislative measures, including:

- A review of the Government's counter-terrorism strategy
- A new Commission for Countering Extremism
- A public inquiry into the Grenfell Tower fire
- Establishing an Independent Public Advocate to support families affected by public disasters such as Hillsborough
- Reform to the mental health system including a Green Paper on Children and Young People's mental health
- Proposals for consultation' on changes to the social care system
- A new Digital Charter to make the UK "the safest place to be online"

Carried over legislation	Finance Bill	<p>Reintroduced</p> <p>Almost 600 pages of the Finance Bill were dropped by the last government before the dissolution of parliament. The Queen's Speech announced that a Summer Finance Bill 2017 will be introduced, and it is anticipated that the dropped clauses will be included</p>
	Local Government Finance Bill	<p>Dropped</p> <p>After failing to make it through before the dissolution of parliament, the Local Government Bill was not reintroduced at the Queen's Speech. The localisation of business rates is likely therefore to have been abandoned completely</p>
	Vehicle Technology and Aviation Bill	<p>Partly reintroduced</p> <p>Whilst the Vehicle Technology and Aviation Bill didn't make it through before the dissolution of Parliament, the Queen's Speech introduced an Automated and Electric Vehicles Bill – recycling the vehicle part of the original bill. Aviation provisions on areas like air traffic control regulations and holiday insurance have been dropped</p>
Economy	Industrial Strategy	<p>Progressing</p> <p>The Queen's Speech committed to delivering a modern industrial strategy – highlighting bills on automated cars, digital strategy, and the space industry. Responses to the industrial strategy green paper are still being considered</p>
	Third runway in south east	<p>Uncertain</p> <p>The final parliamentary vote is scheduled for autumn 2017, but whilst the Conservative manifesto committed to expanding Heathrow, Boris Johnson and Justine Greening – both Cabinet ministers – are opposed although the proposal does have opposition support. No reference was made in the Queen's Speech to Heathrow</p>
	High Speed Two	<p>Progressing</p> <p>The Queen's Speech included a bill to build phase 2A (Birmingham to Crewe) and as HS2 has cross-party support, the bill is likely to pass</p>
	Housing	<p>Progressing</p> <p>Following the consultation on the housing white paper, the Queen's Speech committed to increasing transparency around the control of land, freeing up more land, encouraging new building methods and diversifying who builds homes.</p>

A Labour amendment to the Queen's Speech which called for an end to the public sector pay cap was defeated by 323 votes to 309, a majority of 14. This was the same result by which the Queen's Speech itself was passed – although a cross-party amendment calling for Britain to remain in the EU single market and customs union was defeated by 322 votes to 101.

Conclusion

Despite the lack of a majority and facing a heavy two years negotiating Brexit, it is not likely the Conservative Government will willingly call an election soon

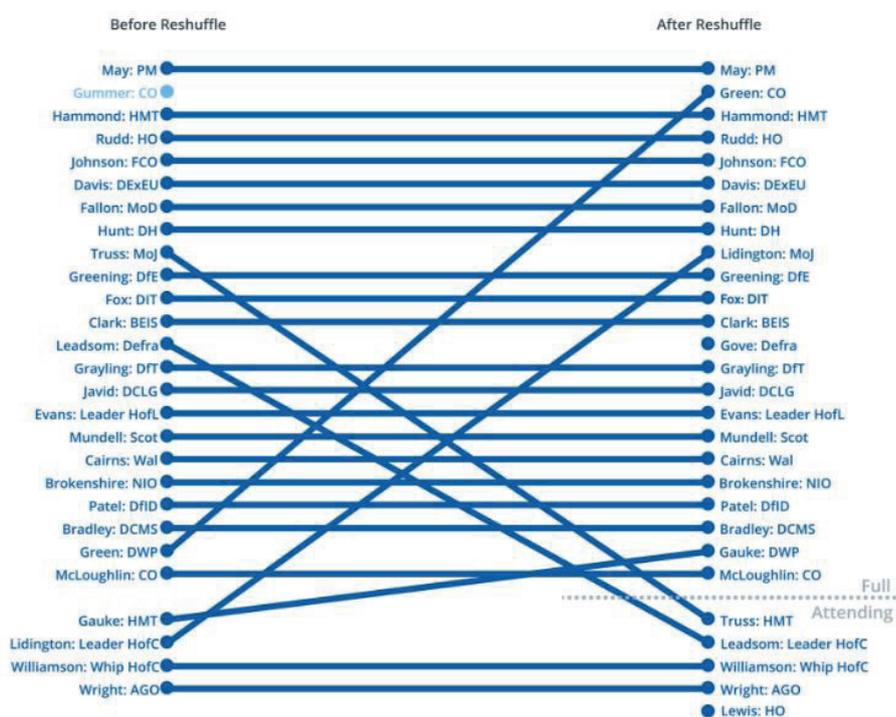
Despite the lack of a majority and facing a heavy two years negotiating Brexit, it is not likely the Conservative Government will willingly call an election soon (or precipitate a leadership election, given the disruption this might cause). So there is likely to be considerable uncertainty for the foreseeable future, although as Lord Adonis – Chair of the National Infrastructure Commission – pointed out, there is largely a political consensus on most of the major projects for infrastructure and the timings, which, given the immediate challenges and uncertainties likely to surround the exact nature of Brexit, will be of some reassurance to Project Management professionals.

Appendix

The Cabinet

As a result of the close election, the Prime Minister has limited room for major changes to her ministers as can be seen by the graphic below

Cabinet moves following General Election 2017 - end of 11 June



Source: Institute for Government analysis of GOV.UK/government/ministers and election results.

Select Committee Chairs

In addition to the 17 incumbent chairs remaining in post following elections on 12 July 2017, 7 new select committee chairs were elected. Three of these incumbents will however reach the end of their eight-year terms next year, leading to further elections.

Experience of Select Committee Chairs elected in July 2017

Committee	Chair	Previous experience				
		Secretary of State	Minister of State	Shadow SoS	Shadow Minister	Other frontbench
Home Affairs	Cooper	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ExEU	Benn	✓	✓	✓		✓
Women and Equalities	Miller	✓	✓		✓	✓
Treasury	Morgan	✓	✓			✓
Int. Development	Twigg		✓	✓	✓	
Work and Pensions	Field		✓			✓
Science and Technology	Lamb		✓			✓
Education	Halfon		✓			
Transport	Greenwood			✓	✓	✓
Public Accounts	Hillier			✓	✓	✓
Environmental Audit	Creagh			✓	✓	✓
BEIS	Reeves			✓	✓	
PACAC	Jenkin			✓	✓	
NI Affairs	Murrison				✓	✓
Defence	Lewis				✓	✓
Justice	Neill				✓	✓
CLG	Betts					✓
Int. Trade	MacNeil					✓
Scottish Affairs	Wishart					✓
EFRA	Parish					
Foreign Affairs	Tugendhat					
CMS	Collins					
Health	Wollaston					
Welsh Affairs	Davies					

Source: Institute for Government analysis of information provided on Parliament.uk. Departmental and cross-cutting committees only.

Select Committee Chair elections, July 2017, and Leave/Remain support in the 2016 EU referendum

Committee	Winner	Other candidates				
		Boles	Chishti	Loughton	Metcalfe	Poulter
Education	Halfon					
Treasury	Morgan	Bacon	Elphicke	Hammond	Penrose	Rees-Mogg
Transport	Greenwood	Davies	Efford	Phillipson	Shuker	
BEIS	Reeves	Byrne	Lucas	Owen		
EFRA	Parish	Goldsmith	Wiggin			
Foreign Affairs	Tugendhat	Baron	Blunt			
NI Affairs	Murrison	Mills				
Defence	Lewis	Mercer				
CLG	Betts	Lammy				
Science and Technology	Lamb	Swinson				
CMS	Collins					
Environmental Audit	Creagh					
ExEU	Benn					
Health	Wollaston					
Home Affairs	Cooper					
Int. Development	Twigg					
Int. Trade	MacNeil					
Justice	Neill					
PACAC	Jenkin					
Public Accounts	Hillier					
Scottish Affairs	Wishart					
Welsh Affairs	Davies					
Women and Equalities	Miller					
Work and Pensions	Field					

Remain

Leave

Source: IfG analysis of information provided on Parliament.uk and Theyworkforyou.com. Departmental and cross-cutting committees only.

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