



**INFLUENCING THE CORRIDORS OF POWER**  
**INFORMING GOVERNMENT & PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**



**SOAS**  
University of London



Communities  
of Inquiry  
Across the  
Generations

# SOAS ICOP & ICOP APPG IMPACT REVIEW **2020-2023**



*Thanks for this, excellently timed as I am writing my speech for tomorrow and am leading for the SNP. Our stance is pretty straightforward in that we like nothing about this or how it is being proposed, but this detailed critique is most useful and I'll be quoting from it.*

**Re. Retained EU Law; Alyn Smith MP | SNP**

*Many thanks for this briefing and I would be grateful for further updates as and when they become available. They will be particularly valuable for my party.*

**Re. Retained EU Law; Hywel Williams MP | Plaid Cymru**

*I would like to register with you my interest in the proposed Bill. I have some experience in these matters from my time as the Lobby Correspondent of The Economist (1975-91). Please keep me on your mailing list in respect of the Bill.*

**Re: The Threat to Public Interest Disclosure from the National Security Bill; Lord Marlesford**

*Dear Professor Scott-Baumann and The SOAS ICOP Team, Thank you for your email and detailed information.*

**Re. The Overseas Op Bill | Education Committee**



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# INTRODUCTION

Based at SOAS University of London, Influencing the Corridors of Power (ICOP) is a ground-breaking project that promotes the impact of ongoing university-based research and the expertise of lawyers, medical professionals, think tank experts and specialists in the House of Commons and House of Lords.

The team, led by Prof. Alison Scott-Baumann, comprises Nina Arif, Sanjana Deen, Prof. John Holmwood, Rana Osman, Hasan Pandor, David Renton KC and Dr Julia Stolyar (see Appendix 1).

One of ICOP's key aims is to ensure that SOAS academics and other experts have a platform to shape policymaking in Westminster and national debate. This is achieved through various mechanisms, including tracking legislation as it progresses through parliament and issuing timely expert briefings with recommendations for parliamentarians (MPs and peers). Our first briefing was on counterterrorism legislation and was sent to parliamentarians in both houses in February 2020. Since then, during the pandemic and after the lockdowns, we have drawn upon the expertise of academics, lawyers, medical experts and activists to publish over eighty briefings on a wide range of legislation and issues, including responses to Covid-19, citizenship, the climate crisis, counterterrorism, covert human intelligence, data protection, democratic processes, economic crime, elections, free speech, freedom of information, healthcare, illegal migration, education, think-tanks, parliamentary oversight, Windrush, Afghanistan-Hazara, Israel-Palestine, China-East Turkestan, Tigray and others.

A landmark moment in ICOP's journey and bid to reach, engage and shape political conversation and decision-making was establishing the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) Communities of Inquiry across the Generations in March 2022 **[1]**, with John McDonnell MP as chair, Baroness Prashar and Lord Balfe as vice chairs, and Bell Riberio-Addy MP as officer.

SOAS ICOP is equally focused on raising the level of political engagement at SOAS. To achieve this, ICOP trains academics and students on a one-to-one basis to work with Select Committees and APPGs and present their research to non-specialist audiences to help them generate policy impact from their work. We are regularly cited by SOAS as an exemplar of effective policy engagement and impact (e.g. PCE and IAA reports and KE training). ICOP also facilitated the setting up of the Student Union ICOP society and has recruited students from it and from SOAS' Ebony Initiative.

# ALL-PARTY PARLIAMENTARY GROUP ON COMMUNITIES OF INQUIRY ACROSS THE GENERATIONS

The All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Communities of Inquiry across the Generations<sup>[2]</sup> seeks to provide practical models for conducting productive debates between younger and older generations on complex topics by bringing together parliamentarians, university staff and students, and young citizens. It aims to facilitate academic and expert evidence-based discussions on critical matters such as UK legislation, international affairs, equality and identity.

The APPG was launched in July 2022 with a discussion of the Public Order Bill at Westminster, where a panel of parliamentarians, academics activists, a barrister, and a former chief inspector discussed how the Public Order Bill would shrink our democratic right to protest and freedom of expression in front of a packed room of ninety-plus.

## APPG ACTIVITIES

The APPG aims to involve young adults in contemporary political debate by hosting collaborative panels, bringing insights from the university community. Previous panels include:

The Retained EU Law Bill: Rushed, Risky and Undemocratic (February 2023, Portcullis House)

BISHNAW Report Launch: Bringing Afghan Women's Voices to the Foreground in Peace and Conflict (May 2023, House of Lords)

"Large and Liberal Atonement": William Wilberforce's Unfinished Legacy (May 2023, House of Commons)

The Data Protection and Digital Information Bill: What Will it Mean to Weaken the UK's Data Protection Regime? (June 2023, House of Commons)

## TOPICS

The APPG adopts an inclusive approach to topics: there are no prior restrictions on what can be discussed. We aim to present these topics to lawmakers and the public to facilitate transparent and candid conversations. Our planned panel discussions for the Autumn 2023 Session include 'Reflecting on the Legacy of the War on Iraq' (Lords), 'Reparations II' (Commons), and 'Prevent Review Panel' (Commons).

*(See Appendix 2 for a list of members and officers).*

# ICOP IMPACT REVIEW 2020-2023

This is the first ICOP impact review, and it covers the period from its inception in January 2020 to September 2023.

ICOP was initially a platform for academics and PhD students to write one-page briefings on current and upcoming parliamentary debates and legislation and a conduit for their delivery to all MPs and peers. It has since expanded to provide training and workshops on briefings and democratic engagement and now sources briefing authors from beyond the academy; it also hosts events at SOAS and in parliament, having launched an All-Parliamentary Party Group (APPG) in 2022.

The expansion of ICOP's activities means that this review of its impacts comes at a key time. The review process has identified impact objectives that reflect the significant changes that ICOP has generated thus far and the impacts it plans to generate in the future. It has also identified lessons that have been learned in the previous three-year period that can be applied to ICOP's future activities as the team works towards their impact objectives.

## METHODOLOGY

The ICOP impact report is based on a contribution analysis approach. Contribution analysis identifies relevant impacts and assesses the contribution that a project or programme has made to these impacts from a range of key perspectives. This approach is particularly useful in the opaque setting of UK policymaking, where policymakers will not be drawn on what has been most influential in their policy design.

This approach involved working with the ICOP team to clarify ICOP's impact and future objectives and to make explicit the framework (see Table 1) that enables ICOP to gather evidence of whether impact has occurred. The three impact objectives are: to improve policymaking with independent expertise that challenges and informs parliamentarians;

to forge strong connections between SOAS, Higher Education Institutes (HEIs), expert practitioners and Westminster; and to create spaces for deliberative democracy for civil society voices not usually heard in political affairs. After detailing ICOP's moral technology (see p. 7), in section 3 this review details how ICOP has been working towards these and the data that evidences it.

To understand how the data mapped onto impact stories that evolved over days, weeks and months, the ICOP team narrated how briefings, events, and meetings etc. had interacted to produce impact. To illustrate the webs created and ICOP's impact in action, six impact stories on various themes and legislation are presented under impact objective 3 (see pp. 19-21).

In section 4, lessons that can be drawn are considered, and recommendations are made for each of the impact objectives.

## LIMITATIONS

ICOP collects a wide range of impact data and generates evidence of both reach (e.g. number of email opens by parliamentarians per briefing) and significance (e.g. qualitative feedback from MPs and peers).

However, there are some gaps in impact monitoring data owing to the political environment. For example, after discussions with the ICOP team, it was decided that asking more formally for feedback from MPs and peers via a survey or interviews would have a detrimental effect on sensitive emerging relationships that require a level of equivocity. This is a reality of operating within an institution such as Westminster.

There are other gaps, although these have emerged because of ICOP's rapid growth and evolution from a briefings-led policy platform to a facilitator of events and a secretariat to a busy APPG. This review identifies ways that the ICOP team can build on their monitoring to collect data such as post-event feedback, and an annual survey for briefing authors that will help the team identify their growing impact in the future. These are listed in the table below.

## ICOP'S IMPACT FRAMEWORK

| ICOP's impact objectives   | Key indicators   | Collating data   |
|--|--|--|
| To improve policymaking with independent expertise that challenges and informs parliamentarians                    | <p>Level of usefulness of ICOP briefings</p> <p>Perceived level of effectiveness of ICOP's APPG among policymakers</p>   | <p>Written and verbal feedback from parliamentarians</p> <p>Hansard references</p> <p>Mailchimp metrics</p> <p>Feedback during APPG AGM</p>  |
| To forge strong connections between SOAS, Higher Education Institutes (HEIs), expert practitioners and Westminster | <p>Spread of academic/ expert briefing authors</p> <p>Level of transformation in capacity after ICOP events and capacity building</p> <p>Level and type of follow up between SOAS staff/ students and parliamentarians</p> | <p>Briefing authors' data, including list of potential authors to write briefings</p> <p>Post-event/ -training feedback</p> <p>Number and type of request by parliamentarians to engage with staff and student body</p> <p>Number of briefings on topics requested by parliamentarians</p> <p>Survey of authors and panellists (future recommendation)</p> |
| To create spaces for deliberative democracy for civil society voices not usually heard in political affairs        | <p>Diversity of ICOP briefings authors</p> <p>Level and type of follow up between communities and parliamentarians</p>   | <p>Post-event/ -training feedback</p> <p>Survey of authors and panellists (future recommendation)</p>  |

TABLE 1

## ICOP'S MODEL OF CHANGE: A MORAL TECHNOLOGY

The following principles and practices constitute a flexible yet effective moral technology that underpin ICOP's work and goals.

**Believing ICOP has a moral agency that is strengthened by constructive engagement with myriad political positions and viewpoints.**

**Understanding the need to forge productive links and relationships between universities, academic staff, other experts, students and parliamentarians to influence policy.**

**Creating the APPG Communities of Inquiry Across the Generations as a space for informed debate to which a broader set of the public can be invited.**

**Recognising that ICOP's APPG should be developed as a process model rather than a single-issue model and bringing protagonists in an adversarial parliamentary system together to tackle a variety of issues.**

**Being issue-led, carefully timing events inside Westminster and on campus to coincide with policy cycles of critical issues.**

**Centring ethical language in all ICOP Briefings, in ICOP's use of social media, and in events at Westminster and SOAS.**

**Remaining active and positive in our use of democratic processes through our work with parliamentarians and the APPG, and celebrating successes to encourage expansion and enhancement of activities.**

**Accepting that all democratically developed policies are partial projects that may be superseded or reversed. These efforts may therefore bear fruit at a later stage.**

**Protecting the independence of ICOP at SOAS as well as fulfilling ICOP's secretariat duties in Westminster to the APPG Communities of Inquiry and to other APPGs who request support. (It is strategically necessary to have a foot in SOAS (ICOP) and a foot in Westminster (APPG), with ICOP as the essential connection between the two.)**

## IMPACT OBJECTIVE ONE:

TO IMPROVE POLICYMAKING WITH INDEPENDENT EXPERTISE THAT CHALLENGES AND INFORMS MPS AND PEERS



### LEVEL OF USEFULNESS OF ICOP BRIEFINGS

ICOP produces one-page peer-reviewed briefings that summarise the latest research or expertise and actionable policy recommendations. UK parliamentarians are the key audience and comprise MPs in the House of Commons and peers in the House of Lords. All briefings go to all 900+ parliamentarians and are sent via the email platform Mailchimp. Briefings are uploaded on the ICOP website [3] and recorded as audio files and shared via the Soundcloud platform.

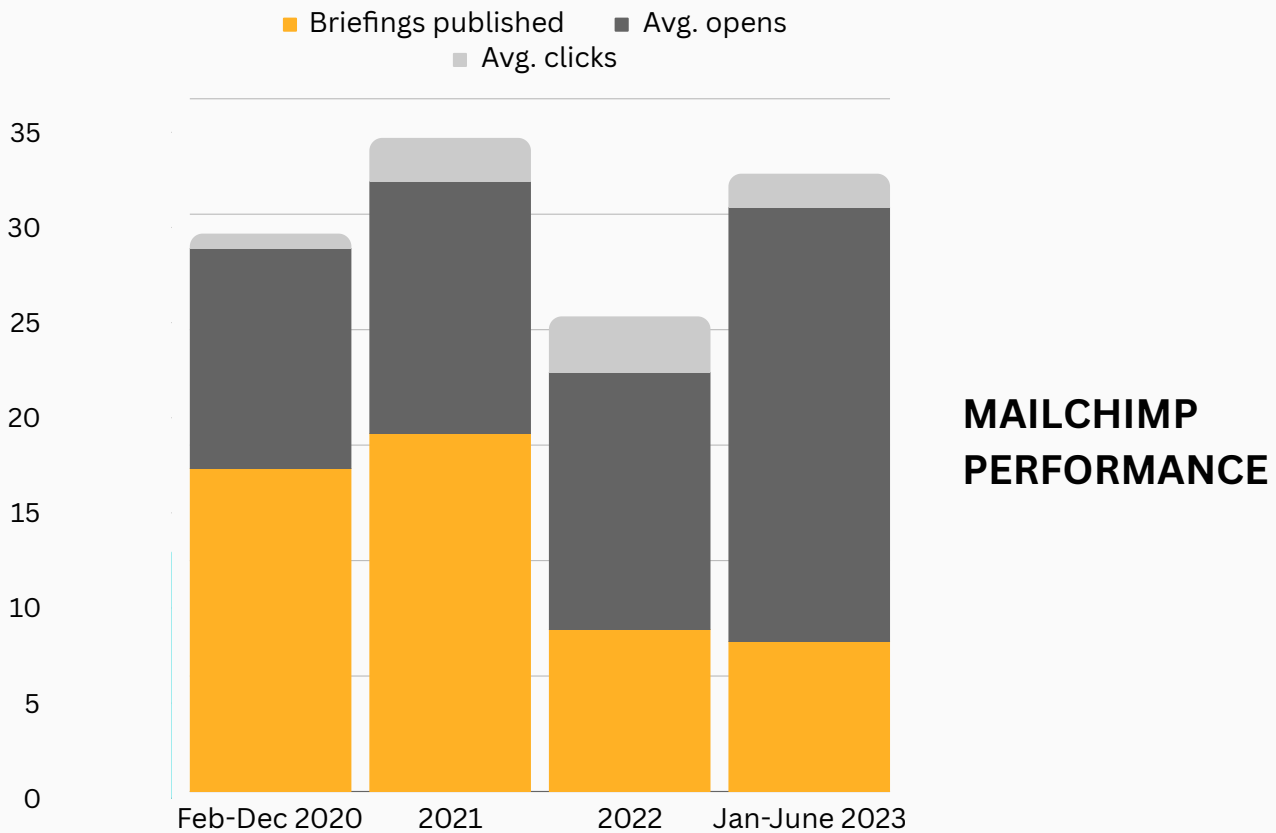
Thematically, ICOP has tended to produce more briefings on justice and policing (n=16), citizenship, equality, immigration and asylum (n=11), health and social care (n=11), civil liberties, democratic reform and other (n=10), education (n=10) and foreign policy (n=9). (See Appendix 3 for the full list of briefings by sector.)

This reflects the confluence of several dynamics that ICOP has created and continues to operate within: a) the tracking of policy development in new bills and the opportunities for policy debates via Hansard and MP's X (formerly Twitter) feeds; b) the tracking of research and expertise generated in universities, think-tanks and NGOs; c) the readiness of experts to author, or co-author briefings with policy recommendations in time for significant policy debates; and d) the increased reach and significance that setting up the APPG has resulted in.

Evidence shows clearly that ICOP's impact has increased steadily over the previous three years. Mailchimp performance metrics show that a significant portion of parliamentarians open ICOP briefings and that this audience has grown. In 2020 and 2021, the briefings sent by ICOP resulted in a circa 20% rate of opens. The 13 briefings issued this year (to June 2023) have a much higher opens rate of 34%. Verbal responses from a variety of parliamentarians' advisors and staff point to the fact that briefings have triggered a range of different responses from parliamentarians, including an Early Day Motion (EDM, whereby a briefing leads to a formal request for a debate in the House of Commons chamber). Parliamentarians have also informed ICOP that they use ICOP briefings as a basis for speechmaking.

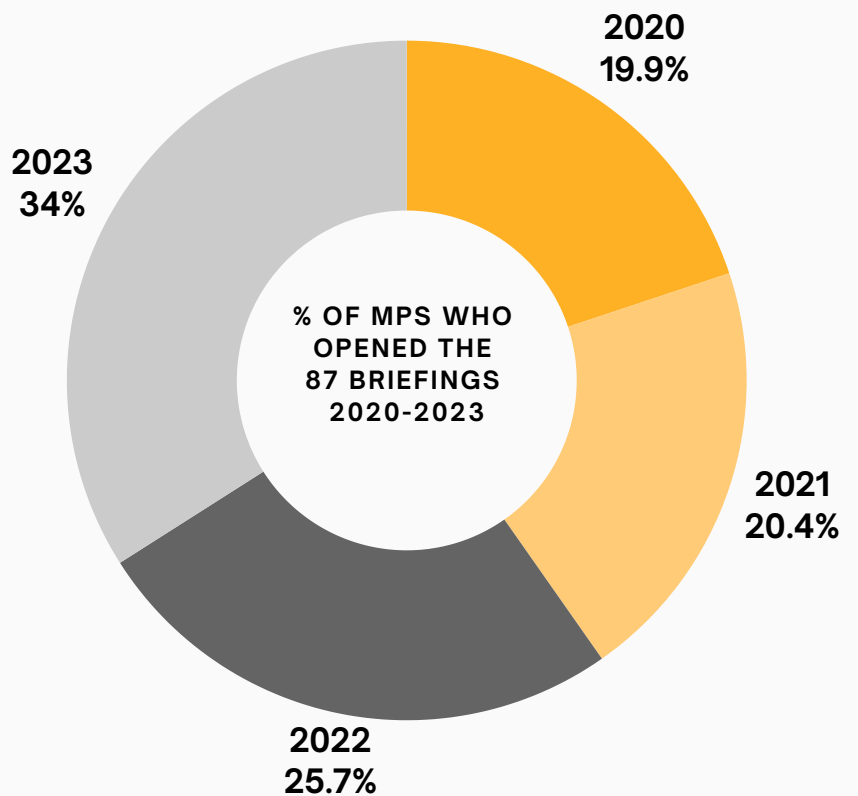


# MAILCHIMP METRICS



## AUDIENCE METRICS

TOTAL OF 87 BRIEFINGS SENT TO PARLIAMENTARIANS



Such activities are often captured in Hansard - the official record of parliamentary debate. For example, the ICOP briefing ‘Workplace Deaths Related to Coronavirus’ **[4]** was sent to parliamentarians on 11 May 2020. The following day Lord Berkley cited the research to provide context to his Private Notice Question in the House of Lords: “I recently received a paper from SOAS at the University of London, which said that security staff, construction workers, bus drivers and other essential workers are up to eight times more likely to die from the coronavirus....These essential workers fear that if they do not go to work using such so-called unsafe modes, they will lose their jobs” (HL Deb, 12 May 2020, vol. 803) **[5]**.

Siobhain McDonagh MP received the ICOP briefing ‘Keeping faith during Covid-19: protecting religious minorities experiencing disproportionate impact’ in May 2020 and contacted the briefing authors to ask for help to formulate a question to the Minister of the Cabinet Office on the number of Coronavirus deaths by faith community **[6]**. The question, and the response provided by Chloe Smith MP, previously Parliamentary Secretary at the Cabinet Office, likely prompted the Office of National Statistics (ONS) data review which was published the next month in June 2020. The data was clear: the highest number of deaths involving COVID-19 were in the Muslim religious group with 198.9 deaths per 100,000 males and 98.2 deaths per 100,000 females. This compared to 92.6 per 100,000 males and 54.6 deaths per 100,000 females in the Christian religious group. People who identified as Jewish, Hindu or Sikh also showed higher mortality rates than other groups **[7]**.

‘Sentencing Democratic Protest to Death’ on the Police, Crime, Courts and Sentencing Bill was reissued in January 2022 **[8]**. In a House of Lords debate on the same day, Baroness Fox of



Buckley (Clare Fox) quoted from it to argue against Amendment 115: “The SOAS policy briefing, which I thought summed it up well, said that the Bill ‘compels the police to make decisions about whether protests can go ahead... the police [then] become a visible and controversial actor...’. I think that this will make the position of the police much worse...” (HL Deb, 17 January 2022, c1404) **[9]**.

The ICOP briefing ‘The Retained EU Law (Revocation and Reform) Bill – Rushed, Risky and Undemocratic’ was sent to parliamentarians on 25 October 2022 **[10]**. On the same day, SNP MP for Edinburgh South West, Joanna Cherry, used much of the briefing word for word in her speech in the House of Commons chamber, powerfully referencing a list of vulnerable fundamental rights that the briefing identified to encourage ministers to act: “...The decision to take no action is not subject to parliamentary scrutiny, meaning that very important rights and protections could be lost, including the right to equal pay as between men and women—a pivotal change in our society...” (HC Deb, 25 October 2022, vol. 721) **[11]**.

ICOP briefings have also been cited in reports authored by parliamentarians. The briefing ‘Policing in a Time of Coronavirus’ in April 2020 [12] contributed to Abena Oppong-Asare MP’s report ‘Leaving Nobody Behind in Erith and Thamesmead’, published in August 2020 [13]. In the report, Oppong-Asare acknowledged former ICOP senior researcher Dr Rob Faure-Walker.

### ICOP’S APPG AS A PROCESS MODEL

As an All-Party Parliamentary Group, ICOP’s APPG Communities of Inquiry across the Generations is formally recognised but has no formal power and is funded by external sources – the Strategic Priority Fund, and the Higher Education Innovation Fund. Through its role as secretariat, ICOP runs events with expert panels for parliamentarians, and invites students and the public to attend. Having a flexible remit, ICOP’s APPG can take actions to build awareness of various issues of concern or carry out research inquiries on key topics.

The fact that ICOP’s APPG is not confined to one topic makes it different from other APPGs, which tend to be issue-specific; instead, ICOP’s APPG uses a process model to facilitate discussion and acts as a forum to discuss urgent issues of injustice and to open the doors to those who would not otherwise consider entering. This also differentiates it substantially from the 17 other APPGs where some 25 UK universities are involved in secretariat functions, either exclusively or jointly with other universities, research organisations or civil society organisations. Departments represent the university in their APPG and drive engagement between a specific – often single-issue – research area and policy. The policy exposure that researchers gain in these institutions reflects this specificity.

At the same time, parliamentarians are not exposed to the full pipeline of research and expertise that these universities host.

| APPG   | Universities or higher education bodies involved in the secretariat function or in other functions |
|--|--|
| APP University Group                                       | Universities UK  |
| APPG for International Students                            | Independent Higher Education   |
| APPG on Prevention of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity | Leeds University, Kings College London, De Montfort University, Brigham Young University           |
| APPG on Restorative Justice                                | University of Gloucester, Ulster University  |
| APPG Design and Innovation Group                           | Sheffield Hallam University, University of Sheffield, Ulster University                            |
| APPG International Freedom of Religion or Belief           | Brigham Young University   |
| APPG on Apprenticeships                                    | University of Salford, London South Bank University (LSBU), WMG at the University of Warwick       |
| APPG for Assistive Technology                              | Manchester Metropolitan University, University of Dundee, Bournemouth University                   |
| APPG Sustainable Resource Group                            | Brunel University, Imperial College, University of Bradford, University of Wales Trinity St David, |
| Oracy APPG   | University of Oxford   |
| APP Health Group   | LSBU, Bournemouth University   |
| APP Manufacturing Group                                    | University of Bristol  |

TABLE 2

| APPG  | Universities or higher education bodies involved in the secretariat function or in other functions |
|---|--|
| APPG on Children in Police Custody                    | Goldsmiths, University of London   |
| APPG Limits to Growth                                 | University of Surrey   |
| APPG on Artificial Intelligence                       | Brunel University  |
| APPG on Swimming                                      | Loughborough University  |
| APPG on the Metaverse and Web 3.0                     | University of Surrey   |
| APPG for Africa                                       | Royal African Society, SOAS University of London   |
| APPG on Communities of Inquiry across the Generations | ICOP, SOAS University of London  |

SOURCE: UK Parliament Register of APPGs      TABLE 2

The success of ICOP’s process-oriented, topic-agnostic strategy has been reflected in the range of APPG events and interlocutors. The pre-launch for APPG Communities of Inquiry across the Generations in November 2021 was online, with Noam Chomsky speaking on the topic of human rights in Afghanistan. By contrast, the launch in July 2022 was face-to-face in Committee Room 9 at the Palace of Westminster, where a panel of parliamentarians, academics activists, a barrister and a former chief inspector discussed how the Public Order Bill would shrink our democratic right to protest and freedom of expression - a topic of several ICOP briefings.

Other events that have attracted a diversity of voices and audiences include ‘The Retained EU Law Bill – Rushed, Risky and Undemocratic?’ (February 2023), “‘Large and Liberal Atonement”: William Wilberforce’s Unfinished Legacy’ (May 2023) and ‘The Data Protection and Digital Information Bill: What Will it Mean to Weaken the UK’s Data Protection Regime?’ (June 2023).

Other ICOP APPG events at the House of Commons, House of Lords and Portcullis House have enabled groups who had hitherto not accessed such spaces to find themselves in equitable positions vis-a-vis the parliamentarians who work there. For example, in February 2023, SOAS students visited Portcullis House and interviewed John McDonnell, MP. In May 2023, ICOP facilitated BISHNAW-WAWRA – a research and policy organisation which provides real-time first-hand data on the experiences of women in Afghanistan – to launch their report, ‘Bringing Afghan Women’s Voices to the Foreground in Peace and Conflict’.

At its AGM in July 2023 in Westminster Hall, John McDonnell MP summed up the APPG as an effective evolution of ICOP’s impact: “The sequence of ICOP’s activity is to identify an issue, then commission a briefing... followed by events, and wider involvement of students at SOAS and in Westminster. There has been much success in bringing together expertise on challenging briefings. This does permeate here and gives MPs a resource. It can inform MPs of different issues.”

SOAS ICOP PRESENTS  
**REFLECTIONS ON AFGHANISTAN** with **Professor Noam Chomsky**  
 Hosted by Joe Glenton  
 Journalist, Award-winning Author and British Army veteran  
 Featuring  
 Dr Althea-Maria Rivas  
 Senior Lecturer, Department of Development Studies, SOAS University of London  
 Nargis Nehan  
 Afghanistan's Former Minister of Mines & Petroleum and Women's Rights Activist  
**FRIDAY, 12 NOV 2021**  
 17:00 - 18:30 GMT

ICOP: INFLUENCING THE CORRIDORS OF POWER THROUGH GOVERNANCE & PARLIAMENTARY BRIEFINGS  
 ICOP@SOAS.AC.UK | SOAS/ICOP  
 Scan to subscribe to our mailing list  
 SOAS University of London

**THE PUBLIC ORDER BILL**  
 If passed, the Bill will extend the power to stop and search to enable the police to search for placards and flyers, will create a new offence of "locking on", and will enable the use of Serious Disruption Prevention Orders (SDPOs) to criminalise protesters. Are these powers really needed - or do they go too far?  
**Mon. 11th July 2022 - 18:00 BST - Portcullis House\***

Speakers: Dr. Tim Ferriss, Sarah Clark, Sarah Stoddart, Indira Runkel, Michael Barfor.

Map of UK showing protest locations: COP26 Just Stop Oil, Animal Justice Project, Frack Free United, Insulate Britain, Stop HS2, Extinction Rebellion UK, Violence against Women, Just Stop Oil, P50 Families, Kill the Bill.

APPG: Communities of Inquiry across the Generations  
 ICOP: INFLUENCING THE CORRIDORS OF POWER THROUGH GOVERNANCE & PARLIAMENTARY BRIEFINGS  
 SOAS University of London



## EMAIL RESPONSES FROM KEY STAKEHOLDERS

MPs tell us they use our briefings as a basis for speech-making. Sometimes, a well-timed briefing can help to trigger an early day motion, i.e. force a discussion of an urgent topic in the House of Commons chamber. We have also exercised the option of working with an MP to ask a question of a minister, which must be answered within a week.



*Many thanks. I would anticipate supporting the amendments which you advocate, if they come up for a vote in the House.*

**Re. Strikes Bill; Lord Dafydd Wigley**



*Excellent briefing*

**Re. Illegal Migration Bill 2023; John McDonnell MP | Labour**



*Thank you for your email, I will draw this information to the Committee's attention. The Committee may contact you back if further clarification is needed.*

**Re. The Coronavirus Act; Steiner Teixidó Oroza | Edu Select Committee Assistant**



*Thank you for your email and for outlining your objections to the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill which is due to have its Second Reading in the House of Commons this week. This Bill comes just days after the appalling scenes in Clapham, with the Police using heavy handed tactics to break up a peaceful vigil following the tragic killing of Sarah Everard. This has demonstrated all too clearly the danger of further powers to restrict people's basic right to peacefully protest, and I assure you my Labour colleagues and I will be voting against the Bill this week. This is no time to be rushing through poorly thought-out measures to impose disproportionate controls on free expression and the right to protest.*

**Re. Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill | Catherine West MP | Labour**



# STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT: CONT.



## EMAIL RESPONSES FROM KEY STAKEHOLDERS

“

*Very many thanks for sending me this briefing. It will be extremely useful when we come to debate the Bill in the House of Lords.*

**Re. The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill; Baroness Angela Harris**

”

“

*Many thanks for this. The bill will be coming to the Lords in September and this is exactly the kind of amendment we should be tabling.*

**Re. HE Free Speech Bill; Lord Clement-Jones CBE**

”

“

*I completely understand the anger this bill has generated and I want to let you know a bit more about my thinking on the bill which led myself and the Labour party to vote against it.*

**Re. Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill | Peter Kyle MP | Labour**

”

“

*Many thanks. I greatly appreciate your concern about the government's new Bill on Free Speech in Higher Education. It must be fought and I shall do my best when the House returns and the Bill comes up for discussion. Thank you for your initiative and efforts in this area.*

**Re. Free Speech Bill | Bhikhu Parekh MP | Labour**

”

“

*I would like to register with you my interest in the proposed Bill. I have some experience in these matters from my time as the Lobby Correspondent of The Economist (1975-91). Please keep me on your mailing list in respect of the Bill.*

**Re. Economic Activity of Public Bodies (Overseas Matters) Bill; Clive Lewis MP | Labour**

”



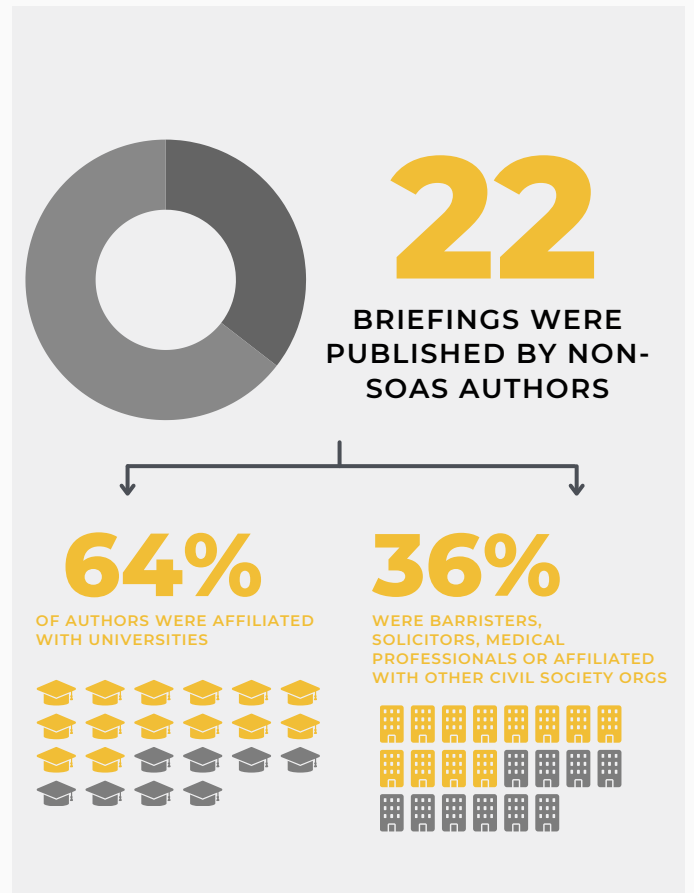
# IMPACT

## OBJECTIVE 2: TO FORGE STRONG CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SOAS, HEIS, EXPERT PRACTITIONERS AND WESTMINSTER

### SPREAD OF ACADEMIC AND EXPERT BRIEFING AUTHORS

In the first half of 2020, ICOP staff and SOAS academics and researchers authored many of the briefings. By mid-2020, ICOP began sourcing briefings from academics at universities such as Bath, Durham, Queen Mary, Sussex and Warwick, and from organisations such as Action Aid, Bollo Brook Youth Centre, Muslim Doctors Association and Muslim Lawyers Action Group. In 2021, briefings were authored by academics at universities such as Bristol, Coventry, European University Institute, Ghent, King's College, and Tufts, and organisations included OpenDemocracy, Balfour Project, Electoral Reform Society, Hazara Committee UK, Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion, and MEND.

The first law firm ICOP collaborated with on a briefing was Garden Court Chambers in 2021, and since then lawyers and barristers from Bates Wells, Cloisters Chambers, One Pump Court, Riverway Law, and Wyeth Thomas Chambers have authored briefings for us, and have been panellists at SOAS ICOP events.



### CAPACITY BUILDING THROUGH EVENTS AND ENGAGEMENT

#### EVENTS

Events run by ICOP at SOAS have comprised panel discussions, film screenings, Q&As, book discussions, and a full-day policy conference.

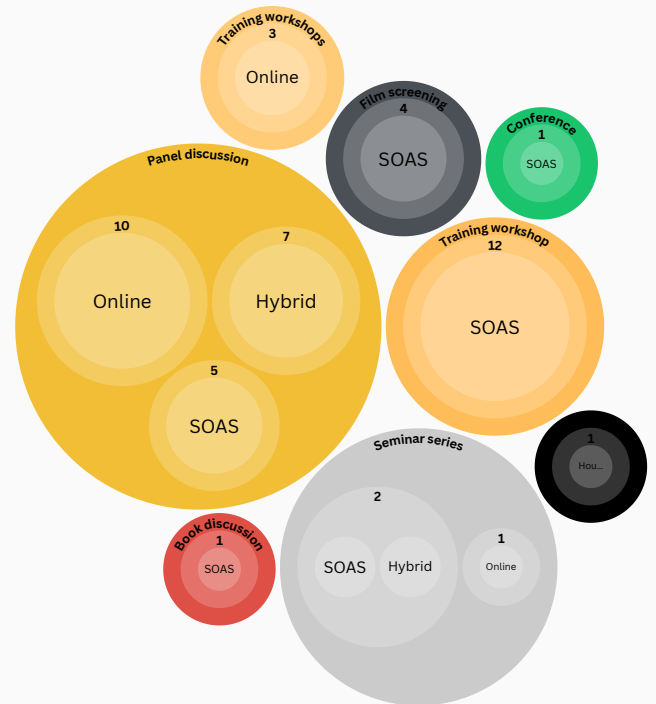
The 'Progressive Policy Conference' was a fully booked research and policy-based event organised by SOAS ICOP members Nina Arif, Sanjana Deen and Julia Stolyar with Progressive Policy [14]. Hosted in February 2023, it was introduced by SOAS Prof. Costas Lapavitsas, and speakers included John McDonnell MP and Prof. Danny Dorling of the University of Oxford.

It had a semi-informal format, which allowed the participating academics, experts, campaigners and members of the public to engage in internationalism, immigration and refugees, and public ownership; they were able to identify problems and consider practical solutions to propose to the government. SOAS students worked with ICOP team members to coordinate the conference, and they were encouraged to network with the experts present.

'Whose Universities? A colloquium on academic governance in the UK' was an event organised by SOAS ICOP member Dr Julia Stolyar and the Council for the Defence of British Universities (CDBU) in July 2023. Introduced by SOAS Director Professor Adam Habib and attended by 50 academics at various stages of their careers, as well as journalists, the colloquium explored various aspects of university governance. Speakers included Lord Willetts, who spoke about university governance as a concept; Prof. Steve Jones, who presented preliminary findings from CDBU research into university governance; and Melody Stephen, a former student at Manchester University, who represented student views on recent changes in the university sector.

ICOP has also organised seminar series where discussants and audience members can deepen their knowledge around a topic or issue over several sessions. The first of these was the three-part 'Journalism in the Firing Line' series; hosted over three weeks in January 2022, the panels explored the ways in which journalism and democratic values are being threatened by powerful interests.

## SOAS ICOP HELD A TOTAL OF 45 PUBLIC EVENTS



In September and October 2022, ICOP explored ongoing events in Sudan through the four-part seminar series, 'The Shaping and Re-Shaping of Political Conditions: Evolving Social Movements and Power Decentralization in Central Sudan' [15]. This was followed by the three-part 'Law Under Attack: Past, Present and Future' series in October and November, which explored how protest rights and access to the courts are being eroded in the UK, what insights can be gleaned from previous moments when rights were attacked and how the legal system should be transformed [16].

Another ongoing theme in ICOP events has been the criminal investigations, arrest and extradition proceedings around Julian Assange, and what this means for certain journalistic rights and freedoms in the UK. The series of panels, film screenings and book discussions brought together members of Assange's legal team, his family, film directors and John McDonnell MP.



## CAPACITY BUILDING

To address the knowledge gap about democratic processes in universities amongst staff and students at SOAS, ICOP oversaw the setting up of the ICOP Student Society and supports the capacity building of its members, particularly in terms of their knowledge of UK policymaking and their leadership skills. Student Society co-founder Haleema Hijazi went on to chair an ICOP event, ‘Pakistan: Democracy in Crisis’, at SOAS in June 2023, ably facilitating a panel comprising a barrister, academics and journalists.

Training and workshops remain key to ICOP’s strategy for fostering engagement in UK policymaking among young scholars and university students. To date, ICOP has run 17 workshops at SOAS, eight of which were livestreamed, and several others that were recorded. A further six were online workshops. Among these was a dedicated workshop for the Ebony Initiative, a group of black SOAS early career researchers and students – from whose talent pool ICOP also recruited Rana Osman.

The recorded workshops can be viewed on ICOP’s YouTube channel [\[17\]](#), as can recordings of some of the events that ICOP has facilitated in Westminster.

Together, and alongside ICOP-published guides, video explainers, and other resources, anecdotal evidence suggests that these capacity building outputs have reached the SOAS community and other UK universities. On the latter, the ICOP team receives several queries a year from other universities considering the aspiration of setting up similar projects.

## LEVEL AND TYPE OF FOLLOW-UP BETWEEN SOAS STAFF / STUDENTS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS



To foster student engagement with parliamentarians, in February 2023 ICOP staff arranged for SOAS ICOP Student Society members to visit Portcullis House and to interview John McDonnell MP. A few months later, in June 2023, Rowena Macdonald briefed SOAS ICOP Student Society’s Haleema Hijazi at Portcullis House on the work of the International Development Committee. More recently, due to Haleema’s greater knowledge and awareness of the UK’s policymaking landscape and her active work with students at SOAS, ICOP recruited her as a member of the ICOP team to set up and support events.

# IMPACT

## OBJECTIVE 3:

TO CREATE SPACES FOR  
DELIBERATIVE  
DEMOCRACY  
FOR CIVIL SOCIETY  
VOICES NOT USUALLY  
HEARD IN  
POLICY AFFAIRS

### DIVERSITY OF AUTHORS OF ICOP BRIEFINGS

There are over 74 different authors and co-authors of the more than 80 ICOP briefings that have been issued and re-issued in the last three years from a range of different sectors. The ICOP team has been highly successful in engaging experts beyond SOAS and academia. Only a quarter of ICOP briefings have been authored by staff at SOAS, and a further quarter by academics in other higher education institutions. Half of ICOP briefings have been authored by professionals in other sectors – including from a range of large and small civil society organisations.

For example, briefing authors have represented ActionAid, the Electoral Reform Society, the World Peace Foundation, Open Rights Group, Autonomy and Raising Voices. Regarding professionals, barristers from a wide range of chambers and journalists are the fourth and fifth largest categories represented.

| Role or organisation / Sector | No |
|-------------------------------|----|
| SOAS/ HEIs                    | 21 |
| Other University/ HEIs        | 18 |
| Civil Society Organisation    | 15 |
| Barrister, Partner/ Law       | 10 |
| Journalist/ Media             | 5  |
| Other                         | 5  |

**TABLE 3:** ICOP briefing authors by organisation/ sector

### LEVEL AND TYPE OF FOLLOW-UP BETWEEN BRIEFING AUTHORS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS

Follow-up between parliamentarians and briefing authors, and event chairs and panellists often do not follow a linear route, and impact is generated through multiple contact points, with the ICOP team playing a pivotal role in relationship building. The following six case studies present a description of how these impacts occur. They also demonstrate breadth of expertise, ability to turn research into action, adaptability to evolve into an organ of Westminster, ability to react to opportunities, and tenacity in organising and running events through lockdowns and political upheavals.

## AFGHANISTAN

Shortly afterwards, Nehan contacts ICOP to host a webinar about women in Afghanistan. 'Gender and the Politics of Intervention' is then held in November 2022 with Nehan, other Afghan former and current diplomats and Tory peer Baroness Hodgson, who is also co-chair of the APPG on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). Dr Althea-Maria Rivas (SOAS) chairs it [19].

Dr Rivas supports several researchers, including those in research and policy organisation WAWRA, which works on issues relating to women's civic rights in Afghanistan. With support from Sanjana Deen and Rana Osman, a BISHNAW-WAWRA report is launched on this topic in the House of Lords in May 2023 in collaboration with APPG WPS, with Baroness Hodgson as host and Dr Rivas as chair [20].

Having attended the launch event, and ICOP's panel event 'The Shamima Begum Case' (also in May 2023) [21], an operations officer for the International Development Committee, Rowena MacDonald, invites the ICOP team to Portcullis House in June 2023. MacDonald briefs ICOP on the committee's work, as well as the results of a short inquiry conducted by the Committee into the situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, from which findings were directed to the Secretary of State, Lord Ahmed [22].

MacDonald invites ICOP to present evidence to the committee in current and future inquiries and an event is now planned for 18 Oct 2023 in the House of Lords with Baroness Hodgson, which will focus on Iraq, 20 years on from the start of the armed conflict in 2003. Macdonald will also accompany Emma Makey, Senior Committee Specialist, in the autumn to talk to SOAS staff about the work of the International Development Select Committee and explore the use of SOAS expertise.

SOAS ICOP APPG is launched with Noam Chomsky discussing Afghanistan [18]. One of the invited panellists is former Afghan minister of Mines, Petroleum and Industries, Nargis Nehan.

## DATA AND REGULATION OF THE DIGITAL SPACE

Barrister Eleonor Duhs – a legal expert – also authors ICOP briefings in September 2022 and March 2023 to lend her voice and strengthen calls on the same topic.

Some time after the event, ORG informs ICOP about their work on the Online Safety Bill. Dr Monica Horten, Policy Manager at ORG authors ICOP briefings on this topic in December 2022 and January 2023. She is also quoted by the BBC in March 2023 describing the threats posed by this bill [24].

Mariano delli Santi, Legal and Policy Officer at Open Rights Group (ORG), is a panellist at ICOP event 'Privacy and Data: Who is Allowed to Share Information' at SOAS in February 2022 [23].

ICOP collaborates with ORG to run the event 'The DPDI Bill: What Will it Mean to Weaken the UK's Data Protection Regime' at Portcullis House in June 2023. Eleonor Duhs is a panellist along with Mary Towers from the Trades Union Congress, representatives from Big Brother Watch and Keep OUR NHS Public [25].

Given ICOP's growing breadth of work in the digital space, Damian Collins, vice chair of the APPG on Digital Regulation and Responsibility, gets in contact with ICOP.

ICOP is planning a future event to cover different bills concerning data and digital regulation and a briefing on the Artificial Intelligence (Regulation and Workers' Rights) Bill to coincide with the bill's second reading in the Commons in November 2023.

## FOOD SAFETY AND SUPPLY CHAIN

In June 2023 ICOP is approached by SOAS alumna Misbah Khan, an investigative journalist with the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, about her breaking story on the use of antibiotics in Polish poultry farms that supply UK retailers [26].

ICOP organises the panel event 'Animal Farming and the Antibiotic Dilemma' in July 2023 at the House of Lords, with Green Party peer and secretary of the APPG on Antibiotics Baroness Natalie Bennett of Manor Castle as host. Misbah Khan and other experts are on the panel [27].

Baroness Bennett joins APPG Communities of Inquiry across the Generations as an Officer.

ICOP meets with the secretariat of APPG on Antibiotics for potential collaboration on future events and briefings.



## FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

ICOP collaborates with Geoghegan on a further briefing, 'Democracy Needs Urgent Freeing from Dark Money', in September 2021 [32].

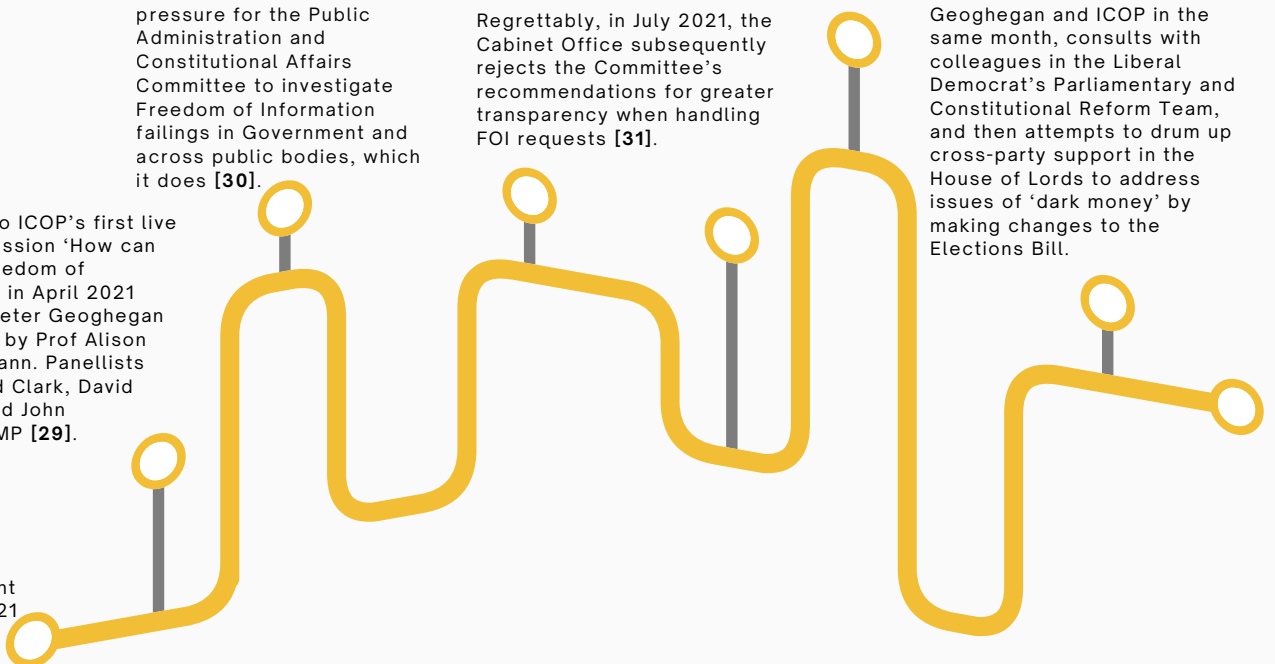
Lord Rennard contacts Geoghegan and ICOP in the same month, consults with colleagues in the Liberal Democrat's Parliamentary and Constitutional Reform Team, and then attempts to drum up cross-party support in the House of Lords to address issues of 'dark money' by making changes to the Elections Bill.

This contributes to the pressure for the Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee to investigate Freedom of Information failings in Government and across public bodies, which it does [30].

Regrettably, in July 2021, the Cabinet Office subsequently rejects the Committee's recommendations for greater transparency when handling FOI requests [31].

This leads to ICOP's first live public discussion 'How can we save Freedom of Information' in April 2021 hosted by Peter Geoghegan and chaired by Prof Alison Scott-Baumann. Panellists include Lord Clark, David Davis MP and John McDonnell MP [29].

ICOP collaborates with Peter Geoghegan of OpenDemocracy on the briefing "Freedom of Information Needs Urgent Freeing" in February 2021 [28].



## ISLAMOPHOBIA

To mark Islamophobia Awareness Month, ICOP hosts the webinar 'Keeping the Faith: Confronting Anti-Muslim Hate' in November 2022, with Zara Mohammed, Secretary General of the Muslim Council of Britain, as one of the panellists [33].

In the following March (2023), ICOP hosts another webinar 'Keeping the Faith: Combating Islamophobic Hate' with Prof. Ahmed Shaheed, former UN Rapporteur of Freedom of Religion and Belief, as chair to mark UN International Day to Combat Islamophobia. Panellists include Naz Shah, Labour MP for Bradford West and vice-chair of APPG on British Muslims, and Tyla Harrison-Hunt, Christchurch city councillor, New Zealand [34].

As a result of the profile generated by the webinar, the ICOP team is invited to attend the launch of the report 'Virtues of Faith' at Westminster in parliament. It is hosted by Jon Cruddas, Labour MP for Dagenham and Rainham and vice-chair of APPG Faith and Society.



## RETAINED EU LAW (REVOCATION AND REFORM) BILL

On the same day, Joanna Cherry, SNP MP for Edinburgh Southwest, uses the briefing to debate in the House of Commons chamber [36].

The following month (November), Eleanor Duhs gives evidence to the Public Bill Committee on the REUL [37], and is subsequently quoted by Justin Madders MP two weeks later during the line-by-line consideration of the Bill [38].

The Guardian reports on the briefings and Duhs' work, stating that 'Legal experts, including the former Brexit department lawyer Eleanor Duhs, have criticised the bill as "undemocratic" for the unprecedented powers it gives ministers to decide what laws to save or discard' [39].

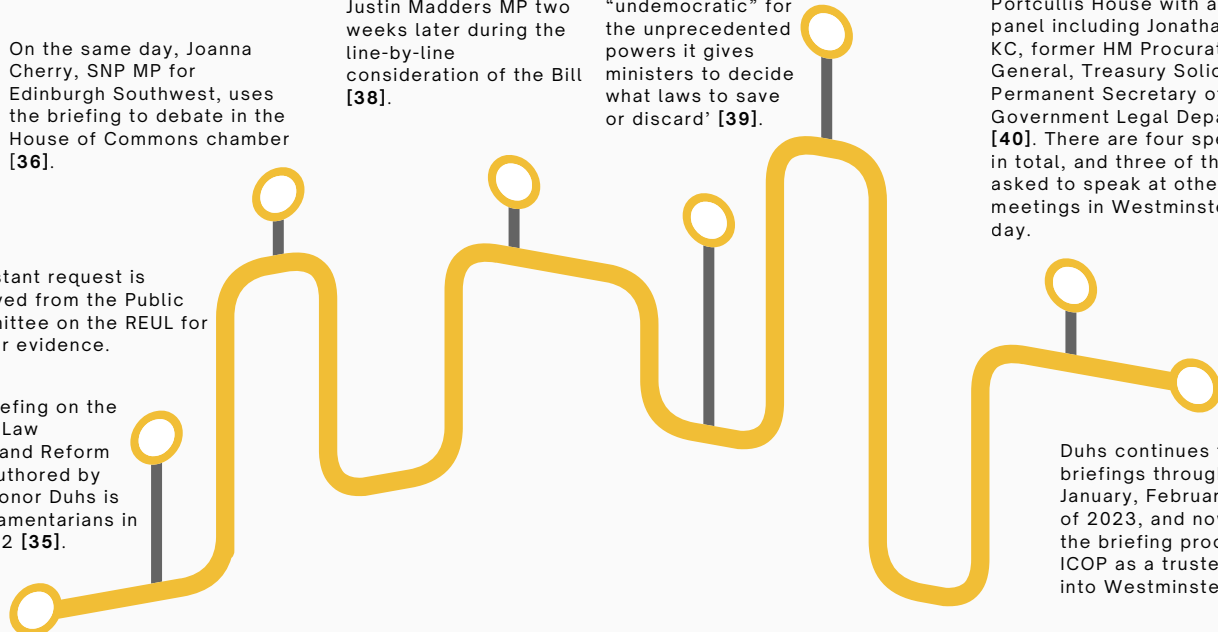
After reading this briefing, the Scottish National Party's MP for Stirling Alyn Smith contacts ICOP. Smith meets the ICOP team at SOAS in February 2023.

Also in February, Duhs chairs 'The Retained EU Law Bill: Rushed, Risky and Undemocratic?' event at Portcullis House with an expert panel including Jonathan Jones KC, former HM Procurator General, Treasury Solicitor and Permanent Secretary of the Government Legal Department [40]. There are four speakers in total, and three of them are asked to speak at other meetings in Westminster that day.

An instant request is received from the Public Committee on the REUL for further evidence.

The ICOP briefing on the Retained EU Law (Revocation and Reform Bill (REUL) authored by barrister Eleanor Duhs is sent to parliamentarians in October 2022 [35].

Duhs continues to issue briefings throughout January, February and May of 2023, and now initiates the briefing process with ICOP as a trusted conduit into Westminster.



# LESSONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## IMPROVE POLICYMAKING WITH INDEPENDENT EXPERTISE THAT CHALLENGES AND INFORMS PARLIAMENTARIANS

SOAS is a sector leader in creating positive relationships between the global north and south. As such, SOAS research can be particularly useful for Westminster policymaking, and ICOP is already operating as a conduit. For example, new links with the Select Committee on International Development has created the potential for productive cross-fertilisation between government thinking and evidence from SOAS research. ICOP should continue to take advantage of SOAS's expertise by enlisting regional experts and initiating them into parliamentary processes.

ICOP's engagement with Westminster has also opened a window into shifts in government thinking and priorities, and it has been responding accordingly. For example, noting decreased interest in Afghanistan and more interest in the Pacific Rim, ICOP countered this by increasing focus on Afghanistan through events online and in the House of Lords, including a report launch (see p.19, Afghanistan infographic). This kind of strategy should continue to be pursued so that imperative policies in regions in the UK that have been active are not abandoned; rather attention is accorded to how policies can be improved and sustained.

## FORGE STRONG CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SOAS, HEIS, EXPERT PRACTITIONERS AND WESTMINSTER

Because of the breadth of topics that ICOP commissions briefings on, ICOP interacts with a larger set of parliamentarians than if it was focused on a single topic or a small set of research areas; this means ICOP can probe for and locate a greater number of receptive MPs and peers. ICOP's APPG is similar in its breadth of scope and, with increased exposure and opportunities to build trust, is likely to grow its membership of parliamentarians over time. Notably, leaders of other APPGs have already recognised ICOP's effectiveness and have sought to collaborate. ICOP should strategise on how best to capitalise on this organic growth and harness the expertise that it brings.

The same is true for non-parliamentarians. ICOP is now trusted as a 'go-to' team by a wide range of KCs and civil society organisations, who approach ICOP with briefings to influence policymaking. Academic staff at SOAS have also seen ICOP deliver on promises to reach parliamentarians and they now approach ICOP with briefings and to be on panels. ICOP should forge stronger connections with SOAS departments and run workshops each semester so that it becomes SOAS culture for academics and researchers to be thinking about how their work can contribute to discourse around policies and how they can engage civil society.



ICOP should continue its activities independently of Westminster with events at SOAS. Not only does this serve the SOAS community and civil society, but it also provides the platform to host civil servants who, being neutral, do not want association with an APPG.

### **CREATE SPACES FOR DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY FOR CIVIL SOCIETY VOICES NOT USUALLY HEARD IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS**

ICOP is serving as a conduit for the voices of academics, campaigners, lawyers, doctors, field experts, students and the youth – and their organisations – to reach Westminster through various mechanisms. ICOP is facilitating SOAS as a space for them to engage with students and civil society.

ICOP should continue this trajectory of engagement with field experts and society. To foster deliberative democracy at SOAS, ICOP should offer training in parliamentary processes and support the SOAS community in thinking about how their research and studies can feed into action and activism via the APPG, Select Committees and their localities. Such workshops should become part of the university calendar; by collaborating with departments such as law, politics, and development studies, they can also be incorporated into curricula. This form of political activism run from within a university creates a permeable membrane between evidence-based knowledge and ideology-based policies.

ICOP should seek to develop the connections it has made with other universities and support them in developing their own ICOP projects. ICOP can also offer workshops to civil society organisations, and act as consultants. These strategies will amplify ICOP's approach – and that of less heard voices.

### **ALLOCATE FUNDING TO SUPPORT SOAS'S INCREASING WESTMINSTER INFLUENCE AND GUARANTEE SOAS ICOP APPG**

The ICOP team is small and its part-time staff work between one to three days a week. For ICOP to capitalise on the opportunities that have come with its achievements to date, it must grow its team. More staff (including full-time staff) is required to grow ICOP's network of experts and build their capacity to monitor and intervene in the policymaking landscape.

Funding for ICOP and its APPG comes from the Strategic Priorities Fund administered by UK Research and Innovation, and from the Higher Education Innovation Fund administered by Research England. ICOP will need to find additional and replacement funding from sustainable sources to continue to grow in its scope and its impact, whilst maintaining its independence. This may include the work of ICOP being incorporated into SOAS research grants as a vital tool for policy impact generation; a paid membership scheme for other universities who are interested in using ICOP to engage parliamentarians with their policy recommendations; and research-led briefings commissioned by parliamentarians to supplement the analysis of their own research staff.

SOAS ICOP's APPG is no longer a novelty experiment to be briefly encouraged. Rather, it is a powerful force that gives SOAS a place at the table in Westminster; the APPG shows that we are a serious and valuable university providing important and timely evidence-based research. Our clear and effective voice gives us moral standing in the world, and we are pioneering better politics to improve our societies locally and globally. This project requires full long-term support to achieve aspirational change.

# APPENDIX 1: LIST OF CURRENT ICOP TEAM MEMBERS



**PROFESSOR DR. ALISON FRANCES SCOTT-BAUMANN**

Project Lead

Dr Alison-Scott Baumann (APPG Secretariat) is Professor of Society and Belief at SOAS, University of London. In 2019 she and her research team completed a three-year AHRC grant to analyse representations of Islam and Muslims on university campuses (2015-18). Data from this research show clearly the damaging effects of Prevent, the counter security policy. This complements her work on free speech on campus and pathways to securitisation. In early 2019 she was commissioned by the government to work with Muslim community groups and improve young Muslims' access into higher education (UMSEP). She speaks on BBC Radio 4, 5live, Times Radio and Radio Wales and writes for the Guardian and several higher education blogs. Alison applies modern philosophy (pragmatist and Ricoeurian) to social justice issues. She gave evidence in 2017 to the Joint Committee on Human Rights about free speech on campus and in 2019 she was invited to No. 10 Downing Street to brief advisors on her AHRC team's research findings. She is also conducting a deep mapping of curricula and extracurricular provision for Jewish and Israeli studies in the Bloomsbury universities, to establish excellence, gaps and room for improvement. She is often consulted for her expertise in free speech on campus.

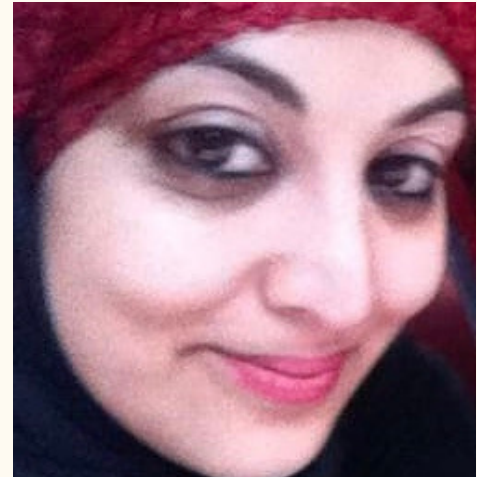
Nina Arif (APPG Secretariat) is a freelance journalist who completed her MSc in International Politics at SOAS University in 2019. She has written for the international journal Critical Hermeneutics on 'How the British Media Dehumanises Migrants in the Context of the Syrian Civil War'. Nina has produced work for various media outlets, including the BBC, Al Jazeera, and Middle East Eye. She also produced video features for BBC Arabic while living and working in the Middle East for eight years.



**NINA ARIF**  
Researcher



Sanjana Deen (APPG Secretariat) is a former vocational lecturer and freelance journalist, informed by her work with NGO and government initiatives to increase female visibility in the workplace in the Middle East, Bangladesh and the UK. She has produced work for the BBC Asian Network, amongst other media outlets. Sanjana is part of ICOP's Secretariat for the APPG on Communities of Inquiry Across the Generations, which seeks to increase dialogue on various parliamentary bills and policy areas. She is also a trustee of Kijana Kwanza (Young People First), a charity working with youth in Tanzania. Sanjana holds a bachelor's in economics and history from SOAS and was recently awarded an Aziz Foundation Scholarship to complete a master's in Global Public Policy.



**SANJANA DEEN**  
Researcher



**PROFESSOR EMERITUS JOHN HOLMWOOD**  
Advisor

ICOP advisor Dr John Holmwood is emeritus professor of sociology at the University of Nottingham and senior researcher in the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Science. He was formerly president of the British Sociological Association (2012-2014) and member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (2014-15). He is the author (with Therese O'Toole) of *Countering Extremism in British Schools? The Truth about the Birmingham Trojan Horse Affair* (Policy Press 2018) and (with Gurminder K. Bhambra) of *Colonialism and Modern Social Theory* (Polity 2021)

Rana Osman (APPG Secretariat) is a PhD researcher in the SOAS School of Law focusing on the legal conception of political justice in socio-political ruptures triggered by popular uprisings in Africa & the Middle East region. Her research interests include law and social movements, political accountability and transparency, and comparative politics.

**RANA OSMAN**  
Researcher

## HASAN PANDOR

Researcher

Hasan Pandor (APPG Secretariat) is a researcher, copy editor, proofreader, examiner and former language instructor who completed his PG Diploma at SOAS with the Centre of International Studies and Diplomacy in 2020. Whilst at SOAS, he has worked as a researcher on the MHCLG-funded 'Universities and Muslim Seminaries Project', and is currently working on the AHRC-funded 'New everyday practices of free speech on campus: Beyond racialised and religious stereotypes' project. He also worked as a researcher and copy editor for 'Paul Ricoeur: Empowering Education, Politics and Society' (2023) and has co-authored reports, a book chapter, briefings and articles.

ICOP advisor Dr David Renton joined SOAS as a Professor of Practice in 2021. He is a historian and a barrister at Garden Court Chambers, representing clients in leading employment and housing cases of the past decade. David has represented blacklisted construction workers, teachers calling for Covid lockdowns, and supporters of the Occupy Movement in the Court of Appeal and the European Court of Human Rights. His cases have been at the cutting edge of trade union law, anti-union discrimination, and the protection of free speech. He was previously a Visiting Professor in Sociology at Johannesburg University and a national (Equality) official of the University and Colleges Union. David is the author of over twenty books of history, social and legal theory, which have been translated into a dozen different languages. His work addresses: the history of anti-racism and anti-fascism; the definitions of populism, authoritarianism and fascism; the impact of Covid on housing and employment law; whether and when it is appropriate to restrict freedom of expression; and how liberation movements can prevent discrimination from re-emerging within their own ranks. He is now working on a project which addresses why the law has come to absorb areas of political controversy, how projects to roll back the expansion of the law can end up entrenching class and social power and whether social movements should work with or against the law. He also writes regularly for the Guardian and London Review of Books.



**PROFESSOR DAVID RENTON**  
Professor of Practice in ICOP and Law

**DR JULIA STOLYAR**  
Researcher

Dr Julia Stolyar (APPG Secretariat) holds a doctorate from SOAS, University of London, and is currently a Teaching Fellow there. Her PhD explored representations of national identities on television in South Korea and Japan and the role television plays in formulating, negotiating, and constructing those identities for local and international audiences. She has been working in both formal and informal education for the past 15 years across ages and topics. Her interests include media and media literacy, television and film and education.

Haleema Hijazi is a third-year undergraduate student in Politics and International Studies. As a student volunteer, she co-established the Student Union ICOP society and runs it with other students. In 2023, she joined ICOP as a research assistant with a particular remit to increase student engagement with ICOP's events in Parliament and at SOAS, and with ICOP policy briefings and activism. Haleema specialises in South Asian politics and has also organised and chaired expert panel discussions around it.



**HALEEMA HIJAZI**  
Research Assistant

# APPENDIX 2: LIST OF APPG MEMBERS

## OFFICERS

Lord Balfe of Dulwich (Conservative Life Peer)  
 John McDonnell (Labour MP, Hayes and Harlington, former Shadow Chancellor)  
 Baroness Prashar (Crossbench Life Peer)  
 Baroness Bennett of Manor Castle (Green Party Peer)  
 Bell Ribeiro-Addy (Labour MP, Streatham)

## ADVISORY GROUP

Dr Emma Crewe (Professor of Anthropology, SOAS)  
 Angelo Eduardo Da Costa Mengowako (Vocal Communities - local government representation)  
 Professor John Holmwood (Professor Emeritus, Nottingham University)  
 Dr Shuruq Naguib (Lecturer, Politics, Philosophy and Religion, Lancaster University)  
 Dr Sham Qayuum (Associate senior lecturer in Law, Policy and Leadership, SOAS)  
 Dr David Renton (Professor of practice, SOAS and KC Garden Court Chambers)  
 Dr Althea-Maria Rivas (Senior lecturer in Global Development, Peace and Conflict, SOAS)  
 Ian Stanton (Head of Public Policy, Security and Rights AHRC)  
 Dr Phyllis Starkey (Academic; Councillor & Council Leader; MP, Milton Keynes)  
 Sultana Tafadar KC (Muslim Legal Action Group)  
 Dr. Rowan Williams (former Archbishop and Honorary Professor of Contemporary Christian Thought, University of Cambridge)

## MEMBERS

Sir Peter Bottomley (Conservative MP, Worthing West & Father of the House)  
 Baroness Bryan of Partick (Labour Peer)  
 Richard Burgon (Labour MP, Leeds East)  
 David Davis (Conservative MP, Haltemprice and Howden)  
 Baroness Harris of Richmond (Liberal Democrat Life Peer)  
 Lord Hendy KC (Labour Peer)  
 Baroness Hussein-Ece (Liberal Democrat Life Peer)  
 Caroline Lucas (Green Party MP, Brighton Pavilion)  
 Layla Moran (Liberal Democrat MP, Oxford West and Abingdon)  
 Baroness Pitkeathly of Caversham OBE (Labour Life Peer)  
 Lord Purvis of Tweed (Liberal Democrat Life Peer)  
 Liz Saviile-Roberts (Plaid Cymru Group Leader in HoC)  
 Stephen Timms (Labour MP, East Ham)  
 Baroness Uddin (Labour Peer)

# APPENDIX 3: FULL LIST OF ICOP BRIEFINGS BY SECTOR

| No. of ICOP briefings per sector                   | ICOP briefings  |
|--|---|
| Justice and policing (16)                          | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Economic Crime and Corporate Transparency Bill (June 2023)</li> <li>2. Strikes (Minimum Service Levels) Bill: Sweeping Executive Powers Vulnerable to Legal Challenge (January 2023)</li> <li>3. The Threat to Public Interest Disclosure from the National Security Bill (December 2022)</li> <li>4. The People’s Review of Prevent (Report summary and Full report) (February 2022)</li> <li>5. Punishment by Process: The torture of Julian Assange (January 2022)</li> <li>6. Sentencing Democratic Protest to Death (December 2021)</li> <li>7. Police, Crime, Sentencing and Court Bill (March 2021)</li> <li>8. Freedom of Information Needs Urgent Freeing (February 2021)</li> <li>9. Counter-Extremism: Radicalising Society against Democracy (February 2021)</li> <li>10. The Overseas Operations (Service Personnel and Veterans) Bill (November 2020)</li> <li>11. The Covert Human Intelligence Sources (CHIS) Bill (November 2020)</li> <li>12. The Broken ‘Social Contract’ – Episode 1 Policing (September 2020)</li> <li>13. Policing in a Time of Coronavirus (April 2020)</li> <li>14. Increasing Sentencing for Terrorist Offences (February 2020)</li> </ol> |
| Citizenship, equality, Immigration and Asylum (11) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Family Remittances TODAY 16 June 2023 Migrant Communities and Remittances in Crisis: Learning Lessons from the Pandemic (June 2023)</li> <li>2. Illegal Migration Bill 2023 (April 2023)</li> <li>3. The legality of processing asylum claims in Rwanda is questionable (May 2022)</li> <li>4. Racing to the Bottom: Citizenship Stripping and the Nationality and Borders Bill (NABB) (March 2022)</li> <li>5. From Second Class British Citizenship to None (January 2022)</li> <li>6. Windrush Wrongs Not Being Righted (January 2022)</li> <li>7. The Experiences of Muslim-heritage Children in Care in the UK (May 2021)</li> <li>8. Deprivation of Nationality as a National Security Issue (May 2021)</li> <li>9. Keeping faith during Covid-19: protecting religious minorities experiencing disproportionate impact (May 2020)</li> <li>10. An Intersectional Approach during Covid-19: Disaggregating data to protect BAME Communities (April 2020)</li> <li>11. Women and Equalities Committee: Representation and Inclusivity (April 2020, Updated May 2020)</li> </ol>  |

| No of ICOP briefings per sector                   | ICOP briefings   |
|---|--|
| Health and social care (11)                       | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Support telemedicine abortion: protect women’s health (March 2022)</li> <li>2. Battles Commence on Health and Care Bill (October 2021)</li> <li>3. Coronavirus: creating a syndemic (October 2020)</li> <li>4. Impacts of the Prevent policy in the NHS (August 2020)</li> <li>5. Immigration and the NHS (July 2020)</li> <li>6. Violence against Women and Girls amidst COVID-19 (June 2020)</li> <li>7. Workplace Deaths Related to Coronavirus (May 2020)</li> <li>8. The Community Supermarkets Exploiting Vulnerable British Muslims during the</li> <li>9. Coronavirus Pandemic (March 2020)</li> <li>10. Workplace deaths related to Coronavirus (May 2020)</li> <li>11. Coronavirus Bill (March 2020)</li> </ol>  |
| Civil Liberties, Democratic reform and Other (10) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. British Slavery: From “Atonement” to “Devising What Ought to Be Done”, based on Prof John Coffey’s (Leicester) work on Parliament’s abolitionists (May 2023)</li> <li>2. Henry Jackson Society: The Threat to British Democracy and Society Caused by Security Think Tanks (December 2021)</li> <li>3. The Anti-democratic Implications of Mandatory Voter ID in the Elections Bill (October 2021)</li> <li>4. Battles Commence on Health and Care Bill (September 2021)</li> <li>5. A Warning to Policymakers about Pseudo-academic Opinion that wants to be Research (August 2020)</li> <li>6. ‘Parliamentary Eunuchs’ in a Time of Coronavirus, (June 2020)</li> <li>7. Submitting Evidence to the UK Parliament (May 2020)</li> <li>8. A Lack of Parliamentary Oversight in a Time of Coronavirus (May 2020)</li> <li>9. Civil Liberties and Surveillance in a Time of Coronavirus (May 2020)</li> <li>10. Lobbying and Activism (May 2020)</li> </ol> |
| Education (10)                                    | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The HE Free Speech Bill Must Recognise Equality Act Obligations (October 2022)</li> <li>2. The HE free speech bill must incorporate the Equality Act (July 2021)</li> <li>3. Higher Education Free Speech Bill (May 2021)</li> <li>4. Cuts in ODA-funding for UKRI 2021-22 (March 2021)</li> <li>5. Working Class Students are Missing Out on Key Educational Subjects (February 2021)</li> <li>6. The Broken ‘Social Contract’ - Episode 2: Education (Transcript) (September 2020)</li> <li>7. Perceptions of Muslims in UK HE (September 2020)</li> <li>8. Muslim children and the Prevent Strategy (August 2020)</li> <li>9. Decolonising Further and Higher Education (May 2020)</li> <li>10. Freedom of Speech in Higher Education (March 2020)</li> </ol>   |
| Foreign policy (9)                                | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Economic Activity of Public Bodies (Overseas Matters) Bill (July 2023)</li> <li>2. Whitewashing Genocide in Xinjiang: The Responsibilities of UNESCO (December 2021)</li> <li>3. Ethnic Hazara in Afghanistan Need Urgent British Protection (October 2021)</li> <li>4. Starvation Crimes as War Vs Democracy in Tigray (July 2021)</li> <li>5. Pro-Palestine Activism and Prevent (June 2021)</li> <li>6. Israel, Palestine and the Law (May 2021)</li> <li>7. UK Arms Exports Control (April 2021)</li> <li>8. Supporting Myanmar’s Civil Society Protest Movement – practical actions for good governance and inclusive democracy (February 2021)</li> <li>9. Scrutiny of UK Aid after the DFID and FCO merger (July 2020)</li> </ol>   |



| No of ICOP briefings per sector | ICOP briefings  |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Economy (8)                     | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Changes to Data Protection Law and the Risks to the Economy (September 2022, April 2023)</li> <li>2. Spring Budget 2023 (March 2023)</li> <li>3. Autumn Statement: Weak Debt Predictions Hiding Behind Low Expenditure (November 2022)</li> <li>4. Working Nights (January 2022)</li> <li>5. Why dismantling rentier capitalism is the longer-term challenge of our time (April 2021)</li> <li>6. Universal Basic Income (UBI) – the path out of the pandemic (December 2020)</li> <li>7. ‘United’ Kingdom? Tax Avoidance and Inequality in a Time of Crisis (September 2020)</li> <li>8. Coronavirus Bill 2020 (March 2020)</li> </ol> |
| Environment (5)                 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Energy Charter Treaty- Threatening the Paris Agreement (December 2021)</li> <li>2. The Bank of England Must Act on the Climate Crisis (October 2021)</li> <li>3. Provide Debt Relief for a Green and Inclusive Recovery (October 2021)</li> <li>4. Community-led energy solutions as the future of just and clean energy transitions (October 2021)</li> <li>5. For COP26 Britain Must Host the Most Ambitious Climate Change Conference Ever (June 2021)</li> </ol>  |
| Digital Policy (4)              | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Data Protection and Digital Information (No. 2) Bill and The Consequences of Lowering UK Data Protection Standards (May 2023)</li> <li>2. Changes to Data Protection Law and the Risks to the UK (March 2023)</li> <li>3. Online Safety Bill “spy clause” [S.110] requires Chat Platforms to Scan Private Messages (January 2023)</li> <li>4. Online Safety Bill “spy clause” requires Chat Platforms to Scan Private Messages (December 2022)</li> </ol>   |
| EU/Constitution (3)             | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Retained EU Law (Revocation and Reform) Bill – Needless Uncertainty and Undemocratic Powers I, II and III (January, February and May 2023)</li> <li>2. The Retained EU Law (Revocation and Reform) Bill – Rushed, Risky and Undemocratic (October 2022)</li> <li>3. The Immigration and Social Security Co-ordination (EU Withdrawal) Bill 2020 (May 2020)</li> </ol>   |
| Housing (1)                     | The Broken ‘Social Contract’ - Episode 3: Housing and Homelessness (Transcript) (December 2020)   |

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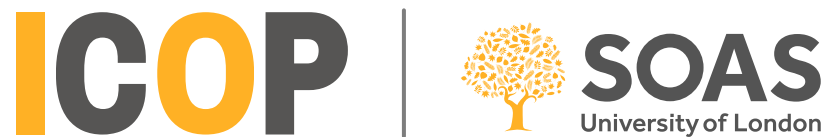
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