

# BACKING OUR POLICE: HOW PARLIAMENT CAN GIVE POLICE FORCES THE TOOLS TO COMBAT DISRUPTIVE PROTESTERS

BY HANNAH BALDOCK and CHRIS LODER MP



**CENTRE ON  
SOCIAL &  
POLITICAL RISK**

Published in 2022 by The Henry Jackson Society

The Henry Jackson Society  
Millbank Tower  
21-24 Millbank  
London SW1P 4QP

Registered charity no. 1140489  
Tel: +44 (0)20 7340 4520

**[www.henryjacksonsociety.org](http://www.henryjacksonsociety.org)**

© The Henry Jackson Society, 2022. All rights reserved.

The views expressed in this publication are those of the author and are not necessarily indicative of those of The Henry Jackson Society or its Trustees.

Title: "BACKING OUR POLICE: HOW PARLIAMENT CAN GIVE  
POLICE FORCES THE TOOLS TO COMBAT DISRUPTIVE PROTESTERS"  
By Hannah Baldock and Chris Loder MP

ISBN: 978-1-909035-72-0

£9.95 where sold

Cover image by Jonathan Harrison on Unsplash (<https://unsplash.com/photos/G4UAIDJeJFk>).

# BACKING OUR POLICE: HOW PARLIAMENT CAN GIVE POLICE FORCES THE TOOLS TO COMBAT DISRUPTIVE PROTESTERS

BY HANNAH BALDOCK and CHRIS LODER MP



**CENTRE ON  
SOCIAL &  
POLITICAL RISK**

## About the Author

---

**Hannah Baldock** is a Research Fellow within the Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism at the Henry Jackson Society. A former journalist and business intelligence consultant to risk advisory groups and major corporations, she has 15 years' experience of researching and analysing evolving geo-political events and political and business risk. She has an MA in Modern Languages from Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge University, and a Postgraduate Diploma in Journalism from City University, London.

**Chris Loder** was elected as MP for West Dorset in 2019. Born in Sherborne and a fourth-generation farmer's son, he was brought up on his family's farm. Chris left school at 18 to work for the railway, progressing from train guard to senior management. He was formerly Chairman of the Institution of Railway Operators and a Director of the Chartered Institute of Logistics and Transport.

## Acknowledgements

---

The authors would like to thank Peter Joyce, Visiting Professor in Criminology, University of Glyndŵr, for generously agreeing to peer review this report. However, it should be noted that the views contained within it are not endorsed by Peter Joyce. Thanks are also due to: Dr Rakib Ehsan, Research Fellow at the Henry Jackson Society's Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism and Centre on Social and Political Risk, for his support with commissioning and interpreting the data component; Sam Ashworth Hayes, Director of Studies at the Henry Jackson Society, for his editorial support; and Alice Richards, Policy Relations Manager at the Henry Jackson Society, for liaising throughout with the co-author of this report.

## Contents

---

<b>About the Author .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>About The Henry Jackson Society .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>About the Centre on Social &amp; Political Risk (CSPR) .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Executive Summary.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Case studies and public opinion .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>Case study: Extinction Rebellion .....</i>	7
<i>Case study: Black Lives Matter.....</i>	8
<i>Case study: BLM counterdemonstrations .....</i>	9
<i>Case study: Anti-lockdown protests .....</i>	10
<i>Case study: Vigil for Sarah Everard .....</i>	10
<i>Case study: Kill the bill .....</i>	11
<i>Case study: Insulate Britain .....</i>	12
<b>Chapter 2: Causes of police inconsistency and hesitancy in law enforcement at protests .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<i>Confusion over coronavirus regulations .....</i>	13
<i>Question marks over impartiality in the chain of command of protest .....</i>	14
<i>Poor understanding of the current laws around protest policing.....</i>	16
<b>Chapter 3: The chain of command in police operational decision making .....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Chapter 4: The case for bolstering laws around protest.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Chapter 5: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill 2022.....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusion .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Appendix 1: Graphs and survey details .....</b>	<b>27</b>

## About Us

---



DEMOCRACY | FREEDOM | HUMAN RIGHTS

### About The Henry Jackson Society

---

**The Henry Jackson Society** is a think-tank and policy-shaping force that fights for the principles and alliances which keep societies free, working across borders and party lines to combat extremism, advance democracy and real human rights, and make a stand in an increasingly uncertain world.

## CENTRE ON SOCIAL & POLITICAL RISK

---

### About The Centre on Social & Political Risk

---

**The Centre on Social & Political Risk (CSPR)** is a citizen-focused, international research centre, which seeks to identify, diagnose and propose solutions to threats to governance in liberal Western democracies. Its fundamental purpose is to underscore the potential harm that various forms of social, cultural and political insecurity, conflict and disengagement can pose to the long-term sustainability of our democracies.

## Executive Summary

---

Public consent for protest policing rests on the police's ability to strike the balance between the rights of the protesters and the rights of members of the public whose lives are disrupted. In recent years, movements including Black Lives Matter, Extinction Rebellion and Insulate Britain have deployed new tactics that seek to deliberately escalate disruption in an attempt to force political changes. These tactics are highly disruptive and costly; the policing operation for three extended protests by Extinction Rebellion are reported to have cost the taxpayer £70m in 24 months, more than four times the annual budget of London's violent crime task force.<sup>1</sup> The development of this 'aggravated activism' has refocused attention on how the police achieve balance between the rights of competing parties, and the tools available for redress when protesters go too far.

The difficulty in achieving this balance is elevated by perceived inconsistencies between different political causes. Police officers are expected to use their powers "without fear or favour" and "faithfully according to law",<sup>2</sup> but a nationwide survey conducted by Survation for the Henry Jackson Society in October 2021 shows that less than half the public believes forces police all demonstrations neutrally.<sup>3</sup>

- There is significant variation in perceptions of police impartiality. Nationally, some 46% of respondents believe the police can be trusted to handle protests fairly regardless of their own political beliefs, compared to 35% who believe they cannot. However in London, where incidents of 'aggravated activism' have been particularly prominent, only 36% believe the police can be trusted to handle protests fairly regardless of their own political beliefs, with some 42% believing they cannot.
- There is a widespread perception of political interference. Nationally, 45% of respondents believe that political interference stops the police from doing their job at protests. Only 37% think political interference does not stop the police from doing their job at protests. In London, these numbers were 47% and 43% respectively.
- Nationally, 46% of respondents believe the police handle protests differently depending on the political motivation of the protesters. Only 40% think the police handle protests in a similar manner, regardless of the political motivation of protesters.
- There was greater faith in the consistency of police responses, with 45% believing the police maintain a consistent response regardless of media portrayals, and 40% believing forces change their approach based on how much media sympathy they think their actions will generate.
- While there is broad faith that the police will handle women's rights protests appropriately, with 46% of national respondents believing the police can be trusted to do so, there are issues of trust with certain subgroups: only 40% of 18-34-year-olds and 35% of Black and Minority Ethnic respondents believe forces can be trusted to appropriately handle these events. These figures compare with 36% of national

---

<sup>1</sup> Jon Coates, "Extinction Rebellion protestors cost UK taxpayer £70million in just 24 months", *Express*, 6 November 2021, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1517621/extinction-rebellion-protests-latest-news-cost-britain-taxpayer-met-police>; "Violent Crime Taskforce (VCTF) Funding", London City Hall, 15 November 2018, <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/mayors-office-policing-and-crime-mopac/governance-and-decision-making/mopac-decisions-0/violent-crime-taskforce-vctf-funding>.

<sup>2</sup> "The Office of Constable, The bedrock of modern day British policing", The Police Federation, <https://www.polfed.org/media/14239/the-office-of-constable-with-links-2018.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> Online Omnibus poll of 1,040 adults conducted by Survation on 6-7 October 2021.

---



respondents who believe the police cannot be trusted to handle women's rights protests, with the figures rising to 42% of 18-34-year-olds, and 44% of Black and Minority Ethnic respondents.

Where they exist, perceptions of less than impartial behaviour by the police have the potential to destabilise our democracy. The job of the police is dependent on support from the public, which cannot be obtained when they are viewed as an active political force. The case studies in the first part of this report suggest that these beliefs are based on observation of police behaviour. Comparing the approaches taken towards Extinction Rebellion, Black Lives Matter and other notable protests, and the vigil for Sarah Everard, we find significant apparent inconsistencies in behaviour on the part of the police.

The second section of this report looks into how these inconsistencies arise. We find that officers on the ground are beset by uncertainty over the law, the unclear status of coronavirus regulations, and issues within organisational chains of command. This uncertainty in turn results in a lack of consistency in dealing with disruptive protests. The third section examines the chain of command for protest policing in depth, identifying issues preventing effective responses on the ground. Section four examines the legislative changes made by the Government in the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022, which lowers the threshold for intervention by police forces. Section five suggests further legislative changes aimed at addressing the issues previously raised.

In order to restore public confidence in the policing of politically contentious protests, it is vital that the balance between the right to protest and the rights of ordinary citizens to go about their lawful business is redressed. The *status quo* is not a sustainable outcome.



## Chapter 1: Case studies and public opinion

---

Core to the British approach to policing are the impartiality and accountability of the police, combined with minimal use of force. As HM Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) has previously noted, “the police must not take ‘sides’ for or against protesters, nor must they be seen to make judgments regarding the value of particular protest activity”.<sup>4</sup> Recent instances where the police have seemed to be cowed by the demands of angry protesters, or to have bowed to the prevailing cultural winds, have been seized on as evidence that the police are failing to uphold these principles.

In particular, comparisons have been drawn between the relatively soft approach taken to policing the Extinction Rebellion<sup>5</sup> and Black Lives Matter protests<sup>6</sup> and the far harsher response to protests against lockdown restrictions or the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill and the vigil for Sarah Everard. These disparities created a public impression that the subject matter of the protest had an impact on the police response. Any disparities are hard for the public to swallow along with news of the punishing cost to the taxpayer of policing the Extinction Rebellion protests.<sup>7</sup>

Some senior figures in the police have acknowledged this and recognise that it presents a danger to public consent. Chief Constable Stephen Watson of Greater Manchester Police has explicitly stated that “Impartiality is in danger of being upset in our urge and desire to demonstrate that we would like to make common cause from time to time with people whose agenda is very difficult to disagree with”, noting also that “I do not think that things like taking the knee, demonstrating that you have a commonality of view with the protesters that you’re policing is compatible with the standards of service that people require of their police.”<sup>8</sup>

The following case studies highlight the differences in police approaches to high-profile political causes.

### **Case study: Extinction Rebellion**

Over 11 days in April 2019, Extinction Rebellion (XR) brought some of London’s busiest routes to a standstill. The aim of these protests was to “peacefully occupy the centres of power and shut them down”<sup>9</sup> in order to force authorities to act urgently on environmental issues. Over the course of the protests, 1,130 activists were arrested, and 69 charged.<sup>10</sup> However, amid the disruption, with businesses reporting £12m in losses from the protracted blockades,<sup>11</sup> images circulated of Metropolitan Police officers dancing with activists at Oxford Circus and skateboarding at the Waterloo Bridge blockade. Met Commander Jane Connors acknowledged

---

<sup>4</sup> “Adapting to Protest – Nurturing the British Model of Policing”, HMIC, November 2009, <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/media/adapting-to-protest-nurturing-the-british-model-of-policing-20091125.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> Jon Austin and David Williamson, “Extinction rebellion: Police are out foxed by love bomb in climate change protest”, *Express*, 21 April 2019, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1117096/extinction-rebellion-climate-change-protests-police-waterloo-marble-arch-london>.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Hymas, “Police have been too soft on disruptive protesters, rules watchdog”, *The Telegraph*, 11 March 2021, [https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2021/03/11/police-have-soft-disruptive-protesters-rules-watchdog/..](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2021/03/11/police-have-soft-disruptive-protesters-rules-watchdog/)

<sup>7</sup> Coates, “Extinction Rebellion protesters cost UK taxpayer £70million in just 24 months”.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Hymas, “Public fed up with virtue-signalling police who should be locking up burglars, says police chief”, *The Telegraph*, 13 June 2021, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2021/06/13/public-fed-virtue-signalling-police-should-locking-burglars/>.

<sup>9</sup> Mattha Busby, “Extinction Rebellion protesters spray fake blood on to Treasury”, *The Guardian*, 3 October 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/oct/03/extinction-rebellion-protesters-spray-fake-blood-treasury-london>.

<sup>10</sup> “Extinction Rebellion Protests: What happened?”, *BBC News*, 25 April 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-48051776>.

<sup>11</sup> Austin and Williamson, “Extinction rebellion: Police are out foxed by love bomb in climate change protest”.

in a statement that “their actions fall short of the tone of the policing operation at a time when people are frustrated at the actions of the protesters”.<sup>12</sup>

The Chairman of the Met Police Federation explained that officers knew they had struck the right balance, however, “because of what the protesters are telling them”.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, supportive remarks from London Mayor Sadiq Khan, who claimed to “share the passion of all those protesting in London this week about the urgent need to tackle climate change”,<sup>14</sup> were cited in witness statements provided by XR to hundreds of arrested protesters in a bid to escape criminal charges.<sup>15</sup>

A second round of protests in October 2019 once again shut down large parts of London, with crowds blocking Whitehall, Westminster Bridge, Lambeth Bridge and Trafalgar Square among other areas. While the Metropolitan Police banned all XR protests in London under section 14 of the Public Order Act 1986, the High Court overturned this action following a judicial review. More than 1,830 people were arrested, and 150 charged with offences.

In September 2020, XR activists blocked access to printing presses owned by Rupert Murdoch, disrupting the distribution of three and a half million copies of national newspapers.<sup>16</sup> Some 81 people were arrested on suspicion of aggravated trespass.

Another wave of protests began in August 2021, with XR activists occupying both London Bridge and Tower Bridge and locking themselves to a structure built near Leicester Square tube station. Police “removed 81 people who were glued on to structures, ... 52 people who were locked on to structures, and 31 of those from height”.<sup>17</sup> Police made “508 arrests, which included 112 for conspiracy to cause criminal damage, 92 for conspiracy to obstruct highways, 68 for carrying articles to cause criminal damage and 33 for causing criminal damage”.<sup>18</sup>

### **Case study: Black Lives Matter**

On 3 June 2020, police at Downing Street were pictured ‘taking a knee’ in front of crowds. Later that evening, violent clashes broke out between police and protesters, with 13 people being arrested.<sup>19</sup> Over the weekend of 6–7 June, more than 210,000 people joined 160 demonstrations in the UK.<sup>20</sup> In London, Sir Winston Churchill’s statue was vandalised. The Cenotaph, a memorial to Britain’s war dead, was daubed with ‘BLM’ in black paint, while a protester climbed onto it to set fire to the national flag.<sup>21</sup> Protesters were contained for five

---

<sup>12</sup> Megan White, “Police boss blasts ‘unacceptable behaviour’ of officers filmed skateboarding and dancing at Extinction Rebellion protests in London”, *Evening Standard*, 18 April 2019, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/police-boss-blasts-unacceptable-behaviour-of-officers-filmed-skateboarding-and-dancing-at-extinction-rebellion-protests-in-london-a4121381.html>.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> “Mayor of London statement on tomorrow’s planned protests in London”, London City Hall, 16 April 2019, <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/mayor-of-london-statement-on-planned-protests>.

<sup>15</sup> Bill Gardner, “Sadiq Khan accused by rank and file police of ‘aggravating’ Extinction Rebellion protests”, *The Telegraph*, 17 April 2019, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/environment/2019/04/17/sadiq-khan-accused-rank-file-police-aggravating-extinction-rebellion/>.

<sup>16</sup> Martin Evans, “Extinction Rebellion protesters convicted after blockading newspaper printing presses”, *The Telegraph*, 16 July 2021, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2021/07/16/extinction-rebellion-protesters-convicted-blockading-printing/>.

<sup>17</sup> “Nearly 500 arrested during Extinction Rebellion protests”, *ITV News*, 3 September 2021, <https://www.itv.com/news/london/2021-09-03/nearly-500-arrested-during-extinction-rebellion-protests>.

<sup>18</sup> Coates, “Extinction Rebellion protestors cost UK taxpayer £70million in just 24 months”.

<sup>19</sup> David Child, “London Black Lives Matter protest sees 13 people arrested after clashes with police outside Downing Street”, *Evening Standard*, 4 June 2020, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/london-black-lives-matter-protest-13-arrested-a4459316.html>.

<sup>20</sup> Nick Hardinges, “Priti Patel ‘saddened and sickened at far-right thugs’ in London at the weekend”, *LBC*, 15 June 2020, <https://www.lbc.co.uk/news/uk/priti-patel-sickened-far-right-thug-protest-london/>.

<sup>21</sup> James Hockaday, “Black Lives Matter protesters spray ‘racist’ on Winston Churchill statue”, *Metro News*, 8 June 2020, [https://metro.co.uk/2020/06/08/black-lives-matter-protesters-spray-racist-winston-churchill-statue-12818932/?ico=more\\_text\\_links](https://metro.co.uk/2020/06/08/black-lives-matter-protesters-spray-racist-winston-churchill-statue-12818932/?ico=more_text_links).

hours within a police cordon at Whitehall and Parliament Square following violence from the crowd.<sup>22</sup> Some 14 police officers were injured, and 14 protesters arrested.

A Black Lives Matter (BLM) procession through Bristol City Centre was joined by 10,000 people. Just 80 officers were deployed to police it.<sup>23</sup> Video showed police standing by as protesters used guy ropes to pull down a bronze statue of 17th-century slave trader Edward Colston before rolling it, dented and graffitied, into Bristol Harbour amid a whooping crowd.<sup>24</sup> These protests, and the passive police response to them, took place while the UK had the world's third-highest reported COVID-19 death toll, and public gatherings were legally limited to a maximum of six people maintaining two metres of separation.<sup>25</sup> Some 172 Metropolitan Police officers were assaulted during the 2020 BLM protests.<sup>26</sup>

### **Case study: BLM counterdemonstrations**

On 9 June 2020, hundreds of Millwall fans turned out to guard the Churchill statue in Parliament Square after it had been vandalised by Black Lives Matter protesters the week before.<sup>27</sup> Police arrested 113 people following confrontations with the demonstrators.<sup>28</sup>

For a protest held on 13 June 2020, the Metropolitan Police imposed conditions under section 12 of the Public Order Act, requiring Black Lives Matter and associated groups to follow a set route, finish by 5pm, and ensure any rally was staged in a set area.<sup>29</sup>

Counterdemonstrators were required to stay in a separate area or face being arrested to avoid violent clashes between rival groups and safeguard their physical safety. A section 60 order under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act was also imposed, giving officers the right to search people in the area.<sup>30</sup>

### **Case study: Anti-lockdown protests**

On 29 August 2020, two months after the passive police response to the BLM protests, a 'Unite for Freedom' rally was staged in Trafalgar Square by anti-lockdown groups.<sup>31</sup> Police issued Piers Corbyn, 73, the brother of the former Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, with a £10,000 Fixed Penalty Notice for holding a gathering of more than 30 people in an outdoor place.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Freedom of information request reference no: 01.FOI.20.016925.

<sup>23</sup> Conor Gogarty, "'Right-wing people came down to argue' after Edward Colston statue felled, says police commander", *Bristol Live*, 8 June 2020, <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/right-wing-people-came-down-4205570>.

<sup>24</sup> Haroon Siddique and Clea Skopeliti "BLM protesters topple statue of Bristol slave trader Edward Colston", *The Guardian*, 7 June 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jun/07/blm-protesters-topple-statue-of-bristol-slave-trader-edward-colston>.

<sup>25</sup> Dominic Casciani, "Coronavirus: Are protests legal amid lockdown?", *BBC News*, 8 June 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-52909814>.

<sup>26</sup> "Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill 2021: protest powers factsheet", GOV.UK, updated 7 July 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/police-crime-sentencing-and-courts-bill-2021-factsheets/police-crime-sentencing-and-courts-bill-2021-protest-powers-factsheet>.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Burrows, "Riot cops ready: Fears of clashes as Tommy Robinson and Britain First plan far-right protests to 'defend' statues this weekend", *The Sun*, 11 June 2020, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/uknews/11835212/fears-clashes-far-right-defend-monuments/>.

<sup>28</sup> Josh Halliday and Nicola Slawson, "Police seek protests ban after 23 officers injured in London rallies", *The Guardian*, 14 June 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/14/met-police-condemns-mindless-hooliganism-far-right-protesters-london>.

<sup>29</sup> Metropolitan Police Events, *Twitter*, 12 June 2020, <https://twitter.com/MetPoliceEvents/status/1271542044922707969>.

<sup>30</sup> "Thousands of protesters gather in central London despite police warnings", *Sky News*, 13 June 2020, <https://news.sky.com/story/black-lives-matter-protests-new-rules-imposed-as-police-try-to-avoid-violence-12005747>.

<sup>31</sup> Tom Williams, "10,000 anti-lockdown protesters gather in London to claim coronavirus is a 'hoax'", *Metro News*, 29 August 2020, <https://metro.co.uk/2020/08/29/anti-lockdown-protesters-calling-coronavirus-hoax-gather-london-13195529/>.

<sup>32</sup> Chris York, "Jeremy Corbyn's Brother Piers Fined £10,000 Over Trafalgar Square Anti-Mask Protest", *HuffPost UK*, 30 August 2020, [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/piers-corbyn-fined-arrested\\_uk\\_5f4bf36cc5b6cf66b2b978db](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/piers-corbyn-fined-arrested_uk_5f4bf36cc5b6cf66b2b978db).

On 5 November 2020, the Metropolitan Police dispersed a large anti-lockdown protest in Trafalgar Square. Some 190 protesters were arrested, and the police stated that one person could face a £10,000 fine over their role in the demonstration.<sup>33</sup> On 7 November 2020, Gloucestershire police made several arrests at an anti-lockdown protest in Stratford Park, Stroud, attended by 80–100 people. The organiser of the event was issued with a £10,000 fine.<sup>34</sup>

On 14 November 2020, Avon and Somerset Police deployed a mounted unit, dogs and a drone to police an anti-lockdown protest organised by Stand-Up Bristol, in which about 400 anti-lockdown protesters gathered on College Green and marched through the city centre. Police warned the organisers that the event was not permitted under Covid-19 restrictions, and five people were arrested on charges including participating in a gathering of more than two people and failing to comply with the directions of officers.<sup>35</sup>

On 27 November 2020, anti-lockdown protesters clashed with police in Central London after officers tried to break up a demonstration, with officers using batons and restraining some protesters on the ground.<sup>36</sup> Police intercepted and turned back coaches transporting groups into London and arrested more than 150 people, issuing some with fixed penalty notices.<sup>37</sup> The Met argued the demonstration was unlawful under coronavirus regulations after exemptions for protests were removed.

### **Case study: Vigil for Sarah Everard**

A vigil was planned for 13 March 2021 by women's group Reclaim These Streets (RTS) following the murder of Sarah Everard by a police officer.<sup>38</sup> Lambeth Police initially indicated that the vigil would be permitted to take place. This position was overruled by the Metropolitan Police, which stated that any vigil would be unlawful and that the organisers could face criminal prosecution. Campaigners unsuccessfully attempted to secure a High Court ruling that the vigil should be exempt from coronavirus regulations.<sup>39</sup>

Under the lockdown rules in place at the time, police could break up illegal gatherings and issue fines of £10,000 to those organising gatherings of more than 30 people.<sup>40</sup> The judge hearing the case made no intervention but did note that the human right of expression might be considered a reasonable excuse for breaking the regulations in some circumstances. RTS called the planned vigil off on the day of the event, citing a "lack of constructive engagement from the police".<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> "Covid: London anti-lockdown protest leads to 190 arrests", *BBC News*, 6 November 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-54842605>.

<sup>34</sup> "Covid: Organiser of Stroud anti-lockdown protest fined £10k", *BBC News*, 8 November 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-gloucestershire-54862791>.

<sup>35</sup> "Covid: Bristol anti-lockdown marchers 'a disgrace' – police chief", *BBC News*, 16 November 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-54965140>.

<sup>36</sup> Damien Gayle and Mattha Busby, "Police arrest 155 anti-lockdown protesters in London", *The Guardian*, 28 November 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/nov/28/met-police-anti-lockdown-protest-london>.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Molly Blackall and Libby Brooks, "Reclaim These Streets: Sarah Everard vigil evolves into virtual and doorstep protests", *The Guardian*, 13 March 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/mar/13/reclaim-these-streets-sarah-everard-vigil-evolves-into-virtual-and-doorstep-protests>.

<sup>39</sup> "The Sarah Everard vigil – An inspection of the Metropolitan Police Service's policing of a vigil held in commemoration of Sarah Everard on Clapham Common on Saturday 13 March 2021", HMICFRS, 30 March 2021, <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/publication-html/inspection-metropolitan-police-services-policing-of-vigil-commemorating-sarah-everard-clapham-common/>.

<sup>40</sup> "Sarah Everard: Virtual and doorstep vigils held across the UK", *BBC News*, 13 March 2021, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-56384758>.

<sup>41</sup> Molly Blackall, "Sarah Everard: Reclaim These Streets cancels its south London vigil", *The Guardian*, 13 March 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/mar/13/sarah-everard-vigil-in-south-london-cancelled-organisers-say>.

Members of the public nevertheless turned out to Clapham Common, and by 6.00pm a dense crowd had formed. Police officers arrested nine individuals while dispersing the gathering, and footage of police officers handcuffing women was widely circulated.<sup>42</sup>

While HMICFRS cleared the Met Police of any wrongdoing in an official investigation,<sup>43</sup> a report by the All Party Parliamentary Group on Democracy and the Constitution found that the police's use of force at the vigil breached "fundamental rights".<sup>44</sup>

### **Case study: Kill the bill**

In the last ten days of March 2021, thousands of protesters were permitted to march through Bristol city centre in four successive 'Kill the bill' demonstrations against the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022 which gives police more discretionary powers to curtail protests.<sup>45</sup>

On Sunday March 21, peaceful demonstrations became a riot outside Bridewell police station. Some 82 people were arrested.<sup>46</sup> On 23 March, 200 riot police were called in to clear protesters who had set up a camp on College Green.<sup>47</sup>

On 26 March 2021, riot police in Bristol, including mounted officers and dog units, again dispersed around a thousand protesters who were largely sitting down in the Haymarket area of the city, close to the police station.<sup>48</sup>

In London on 3 April 2021, the Metropolitan Police arrested more than 107 people at a 'Kill the bill' demonstration for offences including breach of the peace, violent disorder, assault on police and breaches of Covid legislation.<sup>49</sup>

### **Case study: Insulate Britain**

Insulate Britain, an Extinction Rebellion offshoot, blocked major roads for 14 days over the five weeks following 13 September 2021.<sup>50</sup> Some 92 people were arrested for offences including public nuisance, obstructing the highway, and conspiracy to cause danger to road users.

On 12 October, National Highways was granted three injunctions banning demonstrations at a set of critical locations until 30 November 2021.<sup>51</sup> Transport for London was also granted a civil

---

<sup>42</sup> George Bowden, "Sarah Everard vigil: 'All I wanted was to stand with other women'", *BBC News*, 15 March 2021, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-56402418>.

<sup>43</sup> "The Sarah Everard vigil - An inspection of the Metropolitan Police Service's policing", HMICFRS.

<sup>44</sup> All Party Parliamentary Group on Democracy and the Constitution, "Police Power and the Right to Peaceful Protest", 1 July 2021, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/6033d6547502c200670fd98c/t/60dcb2dbca4d9050ca9fe09d/1625076444200/Clapham+and+Bristol+Inquiry+Report+-+APPROVED.pdf>.

<sup>45</sup> "One thousand protesters face police at third Bristol 'Kill the Bill' demo", *Express & Star*, 26 March 2021, <https://www.expressandstar.com/news/uk-news/2021/03/26/one-thousand-protesters-face-police-at-third-bristol-kill-the-bill-demo/>.

<sup>46</sup> Tristan Cork, "Kill the Bill protesters forcibly removed from College Green on another night of conflict", *Bristol Live*, 24 March 2021, <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/police-forcibly-remove-protesters-college-5220381>.

<sup>47</sup> Tristan Cork and Conor Gogarty, "'Full review' underway into police conduct at Bristol protests as a dozen complaints are made", *Bristol Live*, 2 April 2021, <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/full-review-underway-police-conduct-5258674>.

<sup>48</sup> "Bristol Kill the Bill protest: Riot police disperse protesters", *BBC News*, 26 March 2021, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-56542893>.

<sup>49</sup> "Kill the Bill protests: More than 100 arrested in London", *BBC News*, 4 April 2021, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-56632030>.

<sup>50</sup> Michiel Willems, "Insulate Britain warns more road-blocking protests are coming: 'Injunctions change nothing'", *CityAM*, 25 October 2021, <https://www.cityam.com/insulate-britain-warns-more-road-blocking-protests-are-coming-injunctions-change-nothing/>.

<sup>51</sup> Michael Howie, "Insulate Britain protesters burn injunctions outside court as road bans extended", *Evening Standard*, 12 October 2021, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/insulate-britain-injunctions-extended-high-court-m25-b960063.html>.



banning order targeted at preserving London's busiest roads.<sup>52</sup> On the evening of 25 October, the High Court granted National Highways a temporary injunction covering the entire strategic road network.<sup>53</sup> By 27 October 2021, 146 Insulate Britain protesters had been arrested 690 times before resuming their road blockades.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Isobel Frodsham, "Insulate Britain supporters summoned to appear at High Court", *MSN*, 3 November 2021, <https://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/uknews/insulate-britain-supporters-summoned-to-appear-at-high-court/ar-AAQh3Ga?ocid=uxbndlbing>.

<sup>53</sup> "Government takes out first nationwide injunction against climate activists blocking key roads", Department for Transport, 26 October 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-takes-out-first-nationwide-injunction-against-climate-activists-blocking-key-roads>.

<sup>54</sup> Damien Gayle, "Insulate Britain protests: 49 arrests as group defies injunctions", *The Guardian*, 27 October 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/oct/27/insulate-britain-protests-arrests-group-defies-injunctions>.

---

## **Chapter 2: Causes of police inconsistency and hesitancy in law enforcement at protests**

---

As demonstrated in the case studies above, the police response to protests can vary significantly. Public statements from police forces suggest that explanations for this variation could include a lack of impartiality in the chain of command for protest policing, a lack of clarity over the state of coronavirus regulations, and a lack of clarity over the actual state of protest law. The following subsections analyse these factors in greater depth.

### ***Confusion over coronavirus regulations***

The first coronavirus regulations put in place were a mixture of regulation and Government requests and guidance, leading to a lack of clarity over which elements of the policy approach were actually enforceable.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the implementation of the policy through secondary legislation meant that the Human Rights Act 1998, which enshrines the right to peaceful protest, took precedence as primary legislation.<sup>56</sup>

As HMICFRS would subsequently point out: “The fact that ministers asserted that their guidance – which had no higher status than requests – were actual instructions to the general public was inevitably confusing. This was equally confusing for the police. For example, the Government’s warnings to the public to stay within their local area, and to leave home only once a day, were just guidance and not the law.”<sup>57</sup>

From 4 July 2020, an exemption for certain outdoor gatherings was included in a new set of rules. This was expanded to an explicit recognition of protest movements from 14 October 2020. On 5 November, the second national lockdown reverted to a restriction on leaving home without a “reasonable excuse”. Drafting once again meant that it was unclear whether protest was included in this list of reasons, but the Metropolitan Police used coronavirus regulations to arrest anti-lockdown protesters. From 2 November, protest was again permitted, before restrictions on movement without a reasonable excuse returned on 20 December for areas in Tier 4. An exception for picketing was made available from 26 December, and from 5 January all of England was placed under Tier 4 restrictions.

It is clear that between 14 October and 5 November 2020, and indeed between 2 December 2020 and 5 January 2021, protest was permitted. At other times, the status is unclear. In oral evidence to a meeting of the Joint Committee on Human Rights about the Government’s response to Covid-19 and the human rights implications, Chief Constable Harrington of Essex Police represented at least some police officers who felt that there was no absolute ban on protest on 24 February.<sup>58</sup> Two weeks later, Reclaim These Streets lodged an emergency application to establish this precise fact for the Sarah Everard vigil.

The lack of clarity over legislation did give police forces room for discretion. On 3 June 2020, Cressida Dick, Metropolitan Police Commander at the time, addressing the Greater London Assembly, said that due to the George Floyd case in the US and the coronavirus lockdown, officers

---

<sup>55</sup> The government’s response to Covid-19: The Human Rights Implications, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt5801/jtselect/jtrights/265/26506.htm>.

<sup>56</sup> Casciani, “Coronavirus: Are protests legal amid lockdown?”

<sup>57</sup> “State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2020”, HMICFRS, 2021, <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-2020.pdf>.

<sup>58</sup> “Oral evidence (Virtual Proceeding): The Government’s response to Covid-19: human rights implications of long lockdown”, Houses of Parliament Joint Committee on Human Rights, 24 February 2021, <https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/1756/pdf/>.

---



feared “serious and violent disorder” if they intervened to enforce lockdown rules.<sup>59</sup> On 5 June 2020, Deputy Assistant Commissioner Laurence Taylor asserted that protests across the United Kingdom were “unlawful” under health protection regulations.<sup>60</sup> As seen above, police cited coronavirus restrictions to justify their heavy-handed response to the Sarah Everard vigil and anti-lockdown protests, and police in England and Wales issued 94,368 £100 fixed penalty notices to ordinary people for leaving their locality without good reason during the year from March 2020 to March 2021.<sup>61</sup>

### **Question marks over impartiality in the chain of command of protest**

Police officers in England and Wales are bound by oath to perform their duties with “fairness, integrity, diligence and impartiality, upholding fundamental human rights and according equal respect to all people”.<sup>62</sup> There is nothing in the right to protest that is contingent on the level of public support demonstrated for the cause. As HMICFRS has stated: “This is the case even if the content is distasteful to some, or the cause itself attracts condemnation. It remains the case even if the protest is directed towards the state itself, or – as seen in recent protests – at the police.”<sup>63</sup> The College of Policing’s guidance to officers on impartiality is also emphatic: “We do not favour one person or group over another, acknowledging that discrimination increases feelings of unfairness and makes our jobs harder to do. We must not allow personal feelings, beliefs or opinions to unfairly influence our actions in any situation.”<sup>64</sup> Critically, police forces should be aware of the risk of perceptions to the contrary.

It is not difficult to find examples of comments which could be thought to risk perceptions of police impartiality. Andy Marsh, Chief Constable of Avon and Somerset Police, said after an anti-lockdown protest in Bristol in November 2020 that the protesters were “nothing short of a disgrace, from the criminally misguided to the plain stupid. Whilst the majority of our communities do their best to support each other through the Covid-19 pandemic, and our NHS and other essential workers make sacrifices to keep our society going and save lives, these selfish idiots are an embarrassment to Bristol.”<sup>65</sup> Marsh, now Chief Executive Officer of the College of Policing, told the Henry Jackson Society on 24 October 2021: “Very selectively on that case I was calling people idiots who were spitting on police officers. I wasn’t making a value judgement about people protesting about lockdown.”<sup>66</sup> The issue is that this did not always come across clearly to members of the public, some of whom thought his remarks “unprofessional” and “grossly offensive”.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> Vikram Dodd, “Met feared ‘serious disorder’ if lockdown rules were enforced at racism protest”, *The Guardian*, 3 June 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jun/03/met-feared-serious-disorder-if-lockdown-rules-were-enforced-at-racism-protest>.

<sup>60</sup> “George Floyd death: UK protests are ‘unlawful’”, *BBC News*, 5 June 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-52933076>.

<sup>61</sup> “Nearly 100,000 fines handed out for Covid regulation breaches since last March”, *Shropshire Star*, 26 March 2021, <https://www.shropshirestar.com/news/uk-news/2021/03/26/nearly-100000-fines-handed-out-for-covid-regulation-breaches-since-last-march/>.

<sup>62</sup> “Police Reform Act 2002 Explanatory Notes”, [legislation.gov.uk](https://www.legislation.gov.uk), <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/30/notes/division/4/1/18/2?view=plain>.

<sup>63</sup> “Getting the balance right? An inspection of how effectively the police deal with protests”, HMICFRS, May 2021, <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/getting-the-balance-right-an-inspection-of-how-effectively-the-police-deal-with-protests.pdf>.

<sup>64</sup> “Impartiality”, College of Policing, <https://profdev.college.police.uk/competency-values/impartiality/>.

<sup>65</sup> “Covid: Bristol anti-lockdown marchers “a disgrace” – police chief”, *BBC News*, 16 November 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-54965140>.

<sup>66</sup> Online Interview with HJS, 24 October 2021.

<sup>67</sup> Martin Evans, “Chief Constable faces backlash after describing anti-lockdown protesters as ‘idiots’ and ‘stupid’”, *The Telegraph*, 16 November 2020, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/11/16/chief-constable-faces-backlash-describing-anti-lockdown-protesters/>.

North Wales Police and Crime Commissioner Arfon Jones, then of Plaid Cymru, declared that the killing of George Floyd by an arresting officer in Minnesota had “besmirched the name of police officers all over the world” and that “Donald Trump’s response has been equally reprehensible. He is using this tragedy for political purposes to appeal to his White supremacist base. He is deliberately inflaming an already volatile situation and that is unforgivable.”<sup>68</sup> Meanwhile, London Mayor Sadiq Khan, who as head of the Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime is the equivalent of the capital’s Police and Crime Commissioner, called Covid-19 part of “systemic racism”: “From the shocking killing of George Floyd by police officers in Minnesota to the disproportionate impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, 2020 has demonstrated the devastating human consequences of systemic racism in the starkest terms.”<sup>69</sup>

Chief Constable of the Kent Constabulary Alan Pughsley, who was filmed ‘taking a knee’ during a Black Lives Matter protest on 10 June 2020, during the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, said: “It was important to me for us to take part in this show of solidarity. We at Kent Police stand with all those who are horrified at the manner in which George Floyd lost his life. It is right there is accountability and justice should follow.”<sup>70</sup>

There is no suggestion that these officers allowed their personal feelings to interfere with operational decisions on how different demonstrations were policed or other issues, but it is our belief that even voicing their personal opinions in this manner risks giving the impression that they might be policed differently. And that is a dangerous outcome.

During the Black Lives Matter protests, multiple contradictory messages came from senior police officers regarding whether police officers should ‘take the knee’, giving the impression of senior officers bending like reeds in a media storm rather than standing firm in their resolve to police without fear or favour.

Officers had first taken the knee outside Downing Street in front of crowds on 3 June 2020, during a peaceful Black Lives Matter protest that had ended in violence and vandalism, including of the statue of Sir Winston Churchill and the Cenotaph. Reflecting on this outcome, Met Commander Dame Cressida Dick told *LBC Radio* on 6 June 2020 that when it came to taking the knee, “I have asked my officers not to because our job is to police”.<sup>71</sup>

Yet on 14 June 2020, it emerged that in a briefing for its response to BLM protests, codenamed ‘Operation Velour’, Hertfordshire Constabulary had urged its officers to ‘take the knee’ in support of Black Lives Matter protesters – or “become the focus of protesters’ attention” as “when officers kneel ... this has a very positive and engaging effect and when taken by officers, has a positive reaction on the protest groups.”<sup>72</sup>

Conflicts of opinion in both political and policing circles about the correct law enforcement response to Black Lives Matter protests only intensified after the toppling of the Colston statue on 7 June 2020. In a statement posted on *Twitter* on 8 June 2020 justifying his force’s non-intervention, Chief Constable of Avon and Somerset Police Andy Marsh said: “Can you imagine

---

<sup>68</sup> Tony Thompson, “Police Chiefs Stand with those Appalled by George Floyd’s Death”, *Police Professional*, 3 June 2020, <https://www.policeprofessional.com/news/police-chiefs-stand-with-those-appalled-by-george-floyd-death/>.

<sup>69</sup> “Action Plan – Transparency, Accountability and Trust in Policing”, Greater London Authority, <https://www.london.gov.uk/publications/action-plan-transparency-accountability-and-trust-policing>.

<sup>70</sup> Samuel Osborne, “Black Lives Matter: Chief Constable ‘takes a knee’ at protest in Kent”, *The Independent*, 10 June 2020, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/black-lives-matter-kent-police-knee-video-protest-george-floyd-a9558986.html>.

<sup>71</sup> “UK Police officers will not ‘take the knee’ at protests, says Met Police Commissioner”, *LBC*, 6 June 2020, <https://www.lbc.co.uk/radio/presenters/andrew-castle/take-the-knee-black-lives-matter-protests-london/>.

<sup>72</sup> Alex Winter, “Police force warns officers who don’t kneel at Black Lives Matter rallies that they may be targeted by protesters”, *The Sun*, 14 June 2020, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11859702/police-force-warns-kneel-blm-targeted/>.

---

scenes of police in Bristol fighting with protesters who are damaging the statue of a man who is reputed to have gathered much of his fortune through the slave trade?”<sup>73</sup>

John Apter, Chairman of the Police Federation (which represents all officers in England and Wales), speaking on *BBC Breakfast*, strongly criticised the deployment of just 80 officers by Avon and Somerset to police a crowd of 10,000: “I am a police officer, so I don’t support this lawlessness we saw where this statue was ripped down and rolled down the street and pushed into the river because that is not how we do things. I understand the anger but not to have a police presence there was something – I have been a police officer for 27 years – that was a decision I have not seen taken before.”<sup>74</sup>

Mark Shelford, a former soldier and Bath Conservative Councillor – since elected Police and Crime Commissioner for Avon and Somerset – criticised “terrible senior police leadership” over the decision not to intervene in the toppling of the Colston statue.<sup>75</sup> Shelford slammed the police leadership for “surrendering control” to a “mob” who pulled down the Colston statue: “... leadership from the middle to the top of the police was weak. There needs to be a complete overhaul of how these types of events are policed, or many people in Avon & Somerset will start to lose faith in the ability of the police leadership to deliver what is needed: safe, secure, law-abiding communities.”<sup>76</sup>

### ***Poor understanding of the current laws around protest policing***

There is mounting concern that the failure of rank-and-file officers to understand the complex and evolving legal framework around protest policing tips the scales in favour of protesters in public order policing.

In *Getting the Balance Right?*, its March 2021 review of the approach to protests of ten police forces, HMICFRS highlighted the following failings:

- Limited understanding of the disruption protests caused to daily life.
- Lack of knowledge of human rights law.
- A failure by commanders to explain the limits of legitimate protests.
- A lack of confidence among frontline officers on how to act effectively.<sup>77</sup>

The Human Rights Act, which incorporates the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), includes Article 11 (the Right to Peaceful Assembly) which imposes a ‘positive’ duty on the police to “facilitate peaceful protest” by allowing it to take place without disturbance from authorities, even if these protests cause a level of obstruction or disruption. However, the level of disruption that should be tolerated is now increasingly contested by the public, politicians and the media. British and European courts have repeatedly found that temporary interference with the rights of others is acceptable during protests.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Jasper King, “Police identify 17 suspects responsible for tearing down Edward Colston statue”, *Bristol Live*, 8 June 2020, <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/police-identify-17-suspects-responsible-4203875>.

<sup>74</sup> Jess Flaherty and Jasper King, “Police Federation condemn Bristol police for not intervening over Edward Colston statue”, *Bristol Live*, 8 June 2020, <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/police-federation-condemn-bristol-police-4203336>.

<sup>75</sup> James Robinson and Jack Elsom, “Rank and file police officers are ‘furious’ they were ordered to stand by and ALLOW mob to throw Edward Colston statue in Bristol docks, says Tory crime commissioner hopeful”, *Mail Online*, 9 June 2020, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8401703/Priti-Patel-reads-riot-act-police-chief-ALLOWED-protesters-tear-statue.html>.

<sup>76</sup> Mark Shelford, “Statement On Pulling Down Of Colston Statue,” [MarkShelford.org.uk](https://www.markshelford.org.uk), 8 June 2020, <https://www.markshelford.org.uk/news/statement-pulling-down-colston-statue>.

<sup>77</sup> “Getting the balance right?”.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

---

Under Article 11 of the ECHR, police can only restrict protesters' rights to freedom of assembly and association if they can show that their action is lawful, necessary and proportionate in order to prevent disorder or crime or to protect national security or public safety, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of other people.<sup>79</sup>

The "rights and freedoms of other people" are not expressly set out in the ECHR, however. Therefore, if a police commander agrees with the aims of a particular demonstration, the law permits that commander to simply set the bar for intervention very high. Officers' uncertainty on the ground is unlikely to be dispelled by an extremely complex flow chart on how to interpret Article 11 of the ECHR, published by the police inspectorate HMIC.<sup>80</sup>

In his statement to the House of Commons on 3 March 2020, MP for South Cambridgeshire Anthony Browne said that when police stood by as Extinction Rebellion protesters caused havoc in Cambridge and made no arrests: "The police did not just misinterpret the Public Order Act, but also the European Convention on Human Rights. If you actually read the text, it is absolutely explicit that the right to assembly does not give people the right to break the law, or deprive other people of their rights or freedoms."<sup>81</sup> XR had blocked the main route into Cambridge for a week, dug up Trinity College lawn, planted Extinction Rebellion flags and dumped the earth in the foyer of Barclays Bank.

Browne was concerned that the police get weak legal advice around protests, while protest groups such as Extinction Rebellion are adept at challenging police decisions. "Can something be done to improve the legal advice that police forces get?" he asked. "They are up against strong activist groups chasing them through the courts, always pushing to constrain police action. No one is chasing the police through the courts to force them to uphold the law. Can the government do something so there is less one-sided pressure on the police?"<sup>82</sup>

The conclusion of HMICFRS in March 2021 was that the balance in public order policing was tipped too far in favour of the protesters. HMICFRS also found that although police commanders generally understood human rights legislation, they did not consistently know that deliberate attempts to cause disruption give greater discretion to intervene. According to the HMICFRS report: "This means that the police can - and in our view should - take protesters' intentions into account when deciding whether it is proportionate to restrict a protest."<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> "Public order: Core principles and legislation", College of Policing, <https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/public-order/core-principles-and-legislation/>.

<sup>80</sup> "Facilitating peaceful protest", HMIC, November 2009, <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/media/facilitating-peaceful-protest-20091125.pdf>.

<sup>81</sup> Anthony Browne, "Policing of the Extinction Rebellion Protests in Cambridge", AnthonyBrowne.org, 3 March 2020, <https://www.anthonybrowne.org/news/policing-extinction-rebellion-protests-cambridge>.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> "Getting the balance right?"

---

## Chapter 3: The chain of command in police operational decision making

---

Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) – and their equivalents, the Mayors of London, Manchester and West Yorkshire – are elected locally. They appoint chief constables (and remove them, if necessary), and set the budget and local policing priorities in 43 forces in England and Wales, with the exception of the City of London and the National Lead Force for fraud.

Their responsibilities include:

- Holding chief constables to account for performance.
- Linking police to their local communities.
- Ensuring policing is efficient and effective.
- Setting out budgets and strategy.

The Home Secretary can give police and crime commissioners guidance about which elements should be addressed in police and crime plans.<sup>84</sup> Critically, no matter the views of PCCs, protocols set out that chief constables must retain operational independence.<sup>85</sup>

Police and Crime Panels made up of local authority representatives from each force area “scrutinise and challenge the actions and decisions of each PCC. A panel may require the attendance of the PCC, has the power to suspend them from office because of a criminal offence, or exercise a veto over a proposed candidate for chief constable.”<sup>86</sup>

HMICFRS found in March 2021 that police support unit (PSU) training is focused on a worst-case scenario of violent disorder, rather than non-violent disruption.<sup>87</sup> New training is intended to address this deficiency.<sup>88</sup> A second flaw arose at the tactical level, where police failed to set out what was expected of protesters in terms of acceptable behaviour: “Better explanations of these limits would help officers to understand what is expected of them and empower them to take appropriate action. Non-specialist officers receive limited training in protest policing. As a result, they often lack confidence in using police powers. Some officers are anxious about attracting complaints and being filmed in protest situations. It is important that forces provide good-quality training and briefing before deploying officers into these situations.”<sup>89</sup>

HMICFRS also found that police did not sufficiently assess the impact of protests on the local community, advising that they should make “regular reviews and updates, so the police can respond to changing circumstances”.<sup>90</sup>

The police inspectorate also found that the sharing of intelligence relating to protests within and between forces was sub-optimal, but that police are aware of this flaw, and intended to ensure that assessments reflect the most up-to-date intelligence, including creating a new team to gather intelligence on protest-related aggravated activists.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> “Role of police and crime commissioners”, HMICFRS, <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/police-forces/working-with-others/pcc/role-of-police-and-crime-commissioners/>.

<sup>85</sup> Kelly Shuttleworth, “Police and Crime Commissioners”, Institute for Government, 19 October 2021, <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/police-crime-commissioners>.

<sup>86</sup> “Q&A: Police and crime commissioners”, *BBC News*, 21 April 2016, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-19504639>.

<sup>87</sup> “Getting the balance right?”

<sup>88</sup> “Demonstrating respect for rights? A human rights approach to policing protest”, publishing.service.gov.uk, May 2009, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/228795/7633.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228795/7633.pdf).

<sup>89</sup> “Getting the balance right?”

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

The Inspectorate also flagged that: “The College of Policing’s ‘authorised professional practice’ (APP) contains 30 tactical options to deal with public disorder and protests. It is out of date: it does not include recent relevant case law, or information on certain new and emerging tactical options. The College is planning a review.”<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> “Getting the balance right?”

---



## Chapter 4: The case for bolstering laws around protest

---

Kit Malthouse, Minister for Crime and Policing, told Parliament following the September 2020 Extinction Rebellion blockades: “While they persist in their current course... our message to these individuals is clear – if you plan to curtail our freedoms through criminal acts, be in no doubt that you will face the full force of the law.”<sup>93</sup>

However, the Government has struggled to keep this promise. By October 2021, 146 Insulate Britain protesters had been arrested 690 times before resuming their road blockades.<sup>94</sup>

HMICFRS reported in May 2021 that police forces exposed to highly disruptive protests – particularly the Metropolitan Police Service – view current legislation as inadequate, and the wider criminal justice system as ineffective in tackling this particular problem.<sup>95</sup> “Some were severely critical of delays in the system, as well as defence lawyers’ tactics. Some interviewees felt that the current sentencing, sanctions and penalties were ineffective, with little or no deterrent value. The majority of convictions for protest-related offences incur penalties of low-level fines or – in very many cases – conditional discharges. The police felt that this did not act as a deterrent and could encourage unlawful behaviour at protests.”<sup>96</sup>

In *Getting the Balance Right?*, HMICFRS endorsed the following five Home Office proposals which were incorporated into Part Three of the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022:

- Broadening the conditions that police forces can impose on static protests to match those available for processions.
- Lowering the fault element for offences of breaching protest conditions.
- Widening the circumstances under which police forces can place conditions on protests.
- Replacing the common law offence of public nuisance with a statutory offence.
- Creating new stop, search, and seizure powers.

HMICFRS also proposed that the Home Office

- Amend section 13 of the Public Order Act 1986 to include powers to prohibit public assemblies.
- Amend section 11 of the same act to place a legal responsibility on organisers to notify forces about public assemblies.

Attempts by the police to set limits to protests have sometimes been overturned by courts. When the Metropolitan Police banned all Extinction Rebellion protests from London, starting at 9pm on 14 October 2019, the High Court overturned the ban in November 2019 following a judicial review.<sup>97</sup> In April 2021, Extinction Rebellion protesters were acquitted at Southwark Crown Court of causing criminal damage to oil company Shell’s London HQ on 15 April 2019, despite a judge telling the jury there was no defence in law for the protesters’ actions.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> Home Office news team, “Policing Minister Kit Malthouse statement on Birmingham incident and Extinction Rebellion Protests”, Home Office, 7 September 2020, <https://homeofficemedia.blog.gov.uk/2020/09/07/policing-minister-kit-malthouses-statement-on-birmingham-incident-and-extinction-rebellion-protests/>.

<sup>94</sup> Gayle, “Insulate Britain protests: 49 arrests as group defies injunctions”.

<sup>95</sup> “State of Policing 2020”.

<sup>96</sup> “Getting the balance right?”

<sup>97</sup> “Extinction Rebellion: High Court rules London protest ban unlawful”, *BBC News*, 6 November 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-50316561>.

<sup>98</sup> “Extinction Rebellion: Jury acquits protesters despite judge’s direction”, *BBC News*, 23 April 2021, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-56853979>.



Legal expert Richard Ekins argued in *The Spectator* in August 2021 that the law is not fit to stop Extinction Rebellion's street protests and that "Parliament should consider changing the law to redress the balance, amending the [then] Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill to reassert the priority of 'the public's primary right to use the highway for purpose of passage' and to make clearer to police, protestors and courts when and to what extent obstruction of the roads is lawful."<sup>99</sup>

Ekins cited the so-called 'Ziegler' judgement, a June 2021 Supreme Court ruling that a protest in September 2017 in which protesters blocked an approach road leading to the Defence and Security International arms fair could be lawful because "lawful authority or excuse" in the Highways Act 1980 had to be read in light of rights in the ECHR to free assembly and free expression.

Following the Ziegler judgement, three protesters in three days had their convictions for blocking the highway quashed in court. The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) announced a case-by-case review of appeals against similar convictions listed and dropped its opposition to several appeals by Extinction Rebellion activists against convictions for obstructing roads in different demonstrations.<sup>100</sup>

Deputy Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Matt Twist played down the impact of the judgement at a briefing ahead of Extinction Rebellion's London protests in August 2021: "We do need to take into account Ziegler, but it isn't a significant change in the law... If there's a wilful obstruction, which is unreasonable, and it's extended [in] impact, then of course, I think there'll be an expectation that police take action."<sup>101</sup>

National Highways also finally took robust action against Insulate Britain protesters who breached injunctions banning demonstrations. Breach of injunctions can carry a charge of contempt of court, which if approved can result in up to two years in prison and an unlimited fine.<sup>102</sup> By 12 October 2021, National Highways had served court papers on 112 Insulate Britain protesters<sup>103</sup> and on 17 November 2021, nine Insulate Britain activists were jailed for between three and six months at the Royal Courts of Justice for breaching a September 2021 injunction banning protests on the M25.<sup>104</sup> On 15 December 2021, a further nine Insulate Britain protesters received jail terms of between two and three months for breaching the same injunction, though seven of them walked free with suspended sentences.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Richard Ekins, "The law is not fit to stop Extinction Rebellion's street protests", *The Spectator*, 28 August 2021, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/the-law-is-not-fit-to-stop-extinction-rebellion-s-street-protests>.

<sup>100</sup> Lizzie Dearden, "Prosecutors review Extinction Rebellion cases as third protester in three days has conviction quashed", *The Independent*, 5 August 2021, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/extinction-rebellion-protest-appeals-prosecutions-b1897399.html>.

<sup>101</sup> Damien Gayle, "Police unswayed by road-block ruling ahead of London climate protests", *The Guardian*, 20 August 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/aug/20/police-unswayed-by-road-block-ruling-ahead-of-london-climate-protests>.

<sup>102</sup> Howie "Insulate Britain protesters burn injunctions outside court as bans extended".

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> "Insulate Britain protesters jailed for defying road blockade ban", *BBC News*, 17 November 2021 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-59307679>.

<sup>105</sup> Michael Howie, "Insulate Britain: Nine eco-protesters given jail terms after breaching injunctions", *Evening Standard*, 15 December 2021, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/insulate-britain-protesters-jailed-breaching-injunctions-high-court-b972172.html>.

---

## Chapter 5: The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022

---

Part Three of the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022 makes substantial changes to the Public Order Act 1986 to allow the police to take a more proactive approach in managing “highly disruptive protests causing serious disruption to the public” and to preserve access to Parliament for MPs.<sup>106</sup> The law aims to reform laws which currently allow others to intimidate and harass bystanders or to recklessly cause a public nuisance by climbing on top of a train or gluing or locking themselves to vehicles, roads or buildings.

The Act says that group protests should not be loud enough to cause “serious unease, alarm or distress” to people “in the vicinity” and applies a noise limit to a single individual. The determination of “serious unease, alarm or distress” is left to a police officer’s discretion.<sup>107</sup>

Provisions in the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act:

- Give the police the power to impose conditions on static protests.
- Change the threshold for the offence of breaching conditions set by police on a protest. Currently, prosecutors must prove that people “knowingly” failed to comply, opening a loophole where protesters cover their ears or tear up written instructions in order to deny knowledge. Under the new system, the offence would occur when a protester “knows or ought to have known” that they are breaking conditions.
- Put the common law offence of public nuisance in statute (as recommended by the Law Commission), lower the maximum penalty from life to ten years’ imprisonment, and provide for a reasonableness defence.
- Protect access to the Parliamentary estate by giving the police the authority to direct protesters to prevent them stopping vehicles entering or exiting Parliament.
- Amend the Magistrates’ Courts Act 1980 so that damage or desecration of a memorial involving criminal damage of less than £5,000 allows for unconstrained trial and sentencing options.
- Expand the circumstances under which police can place conditions on a protest to include situations where noise may cause significant disruption.<sup>108</sup>

Most protests will not cause serious disruption, and will be unaffected.<sup>109</sup>

The change in police powers applies only to England and Wales – in Scotland, the threshold remains at that which is contained in the Public Order Act 1986.

In response to Insulate Britain’s tactics, on 5 October 2021, Home Secretary Priti Patel announced a set of amendments to the then Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill intending to crack down on disruption to critical transport infrastructure,<sup>110</sup> including “a new offence of interfering with the operation of key infrastructure – including motorways, railways, and airports – where the impact will affect the distribution of essential goods such as fuel and medicine. The new

---

<sup>106</sup> “Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill 2021: protest powers factsheet”, Home Office.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> “Tougher penalties for protests causing disruption on motorways”, Home Office, 5 October 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/tougher-penalties-for-protests-causing-disruption-on-motorways>.

offence would carry a maximum sentence of an unlimited fine, a year imprisonment, or both. It will also cover media printing premises.”<sup>111</sup> Other measures include:

- Higher penalties for those guilty of obstructing a highway or blocking the construction of authorised infrastructure, with fines rising from a maximum of £1,000 to an unlimited amount, and imprisonment of up to six months available.
- Criminal Disruption Prevention Orders allowing courts to place restrictions on individuals where there is a history of disruption or intelligence suggests they are likely to commit criminal offences at specified protests.
- A new offence criminalising “locking-on”, or being equipped to do so, where it would cause major disruption, and stop and search powers for officers to seize such equipment and other items that could be used to cause serious disruption.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> “Tougher penalties for protests causing disruption on motorways”, Home Office.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

---

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

---

Public consent for law enforcement by the police is one of the pillars on which our democracy rests. As mass movements develop increasingly disruptive and destructive methods to advance their agendas, and fears about selective police behaviour grow, this consent is threatened.

Since HMICFRS published its March 2021 report on protest policing,<sup>113</sup> the Metropolitan Police has already set about a process of self-correction, taking a much more decisive and robust response to the August 2021 Extinction Rebellion protests in London. The Metropolitan Police clearly communicated its strategy to mitigate the disruption to the capital both before,<sup>114</sup> during and after<sup>115</sup> the ten days of actions. Forces across the UK must now learn from the Met's experience of policing the most disruptive protests and follow this example, so that the balance in protest policing tips back to take equal account of 'the rights of others'. Priti Patel has acted decisively to table amendments to the then Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill which was going through the House of Lords to bolster police powers to stop aggravated activists from sabotaging critical infrastructure.

A key element in the inconsistent handling of protests is a lack of clarity over who the police are ultimately answerable to. Police and crime commissioners, introduced in 2012, were intended to strengthen the democratic accountability of the police and make the 43 forces more responsive to local needs by giving each a single representative rather than an invisible authority made up of local councillors.

The downside of this method is that PCCs have considerable influence over policing, diverging philosophies and are often party-aligned. Combined with their considerable influence, this can undermine the perceived neutrality of 'their' force. This problem is complicated by the tenuous nature of their democratic mandate: the four-yearly elections for the positions have never exceeded 33% turnout. While the police are accountable to PCCs, the commissioners themselves are rarely effectively held to account by the public.

It is clear that among the bodies and panels that oversee and regulate the police, there is a lack of a single overarching authority which can call forces to account and ensure uniformity of response. The Home Secretary is responsible to Parliament for policing policy and funding, and can order inspectorates to investigate police failures. The inspectorates, in turn, can and regularly do assess forces.<sup>116</sup> However, with no mechanism for forcing remedial action, uniformity of service remains an aspiration.

It is not even clear that the office of police and crime commissioner works to cut costs. A question in the House of Lords by Liberal Democrat peer Lord Rennard revealed that the cost of holding the PCC elections in 2012 was £75 million.<sup>118</sup> There is no central register of the information, but *BBC News* in 2013 established wide variations in the salaries and sizes of the PCC teams, and in the levels of transparency of this data, in the 43 police areas outside London. These variations did not necessarily tally with the size of force and population.<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> "Getting the balance right?"

<sup>114</sup> Laura Sharman, "Major Police Response Planned Ahead of Extinction Rebellion Protests", *Evening Standard*, 20 August 2021, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/extinction-rebellion-two-weeks-protests-london-metropolitan-police-b951554.html>.

<sup>115</sup> Matt Twist, "'Extinction Rebellion action in London has been unfair, unreasonable and unlawful'", *Evening Standard*, 3 September 2021, <https://www.standard.co.uk/comment/extinction-rebellion-london-metropolitan-police-matt-twist-b953612.html>.

<sup>116</sup> "What is PEEL?", HMICFRS, <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/peel-assessments/what-is-peel/>.

<sup>117</sup> "Elections: Police and Crime Commissioners", TheyWorkForYou, 21 May 2012, <https://www.theyworkforyou.com/wrans/?id=2012-05-21a.22.0&s=speaker%3A13277#g22.1>.

<sup>118</sup> Dominic Casciani, "How much are police and crime commissioners costing?", *BBC News*, 22 May 2013, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-22624096>.

---

Given that the role of PCC does not address democratic deficits, does not provide clear oversight of police forces, and does not provide uniformity of service, we would recommend their abolition, and the installation of a unified police command structure answerable directly to the Home Office.

Beyond this primary recommendation, we would also urge the Government to support the police in the creative and dynamic use of every statute on the book to arrest and charge persistently disruptive protesters. The super-injunction granted to National Highways in late October 2021 was a good start and brainstorming should continue to find legislative solutions to support the police in minimising disruption.

As recommended by the inspectorate in its March 2021 report *Getting the Balance Right?*, the police must be supported to use better overt and covert forward intelligence gathering and sharing, including facial recognition technology, to identify and track repeat offenders; specialist officers must be made available for protest policing throughout England and Wales; better debrief processes must be instituted; and there should be a more consistent and effective exchange of legal advice and other information between officers using the College of Policing's Knowledge Hub.<sup>119</sup>

As during the last Insulate Britain protests, detectives should gather detailed evidence from the public about the damaging impact protests have had on people's everyday lives, to help them build criminal cases against repeat aggravated activists, maximise convictions by the Crown Prosecution Service and thereby deter others.<sup>120</sup> Research should continue into the use of fixed penalty notices for offences commonly committed during protests.

Police constables, PCCs and the College of Policing also need now to act on the inspectorate's recommendations that the National Police Chief's Council create a 'digital aide memoire' for public order policing and for this to be linked with the College of Policing's review of the Authorised Professional Practice and the revisions to the National Police Chief Council's Operational Advice Document, so that contemporary guidance, policy and advice is accessible to officers in a single source or linked series of documents by the June 2022 deadline set by the inspectorate.<sup>121</sup>

To avoid a devastating loss of confidence in police decision making,<sup>122</sup> the Government should support the police in producing step-by-step guidelines for the public on how protests will be policed, building on public guidance issued by the Government in 2019.<sup>123</sup> These should include the police's positive and negative duties under Human Rights Law and the hierarchy and sequence of considerations in the police response to protests, including examples of actions which may result in arrest and a criminal charge, citing the corresponding statute and sentence, updated to include the new offences contained in the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022.<sup>124</sup> This would help to ensure that the police and public are on the same page and enable the latter to better hold the former to account. Crucially, this advice should not be specific enough to enable activist organisations to easily identify loopholes.

Meanwhile, robust training must be instituted for officers in the UK's 43 police forces, from entry level, on Sir Robert Peel's principles of policing using case studies from recent protests.

---

<sup>119</sup> "Getting the balance right?"

<sup>120</sup> Dan Sales, "Help us lock up Insulate Britain, police plead", *Mail Online*, 23 November 2021, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10233765/Help-lock-Insulate-Britain-police-plead.html>.

<sup>121</sup> "Getting the balance right?"

<sup>122</sup> Mark Townsend, "Why aren't we in prison, ask Insulate Britain protesters", *The Guardian*, 24 October 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/oct/24/why-arent-we-in-prison-ask-insulate-britain-protesters>.

<sup>123</sup> "Protests: What powers can the police use?", House of Commons Library, 7 June 2019, <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/protests-what-powers-can-the-police-use/>.

<sup>124</sup> "Public order", College of Policing, <https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/public-order/>.

Training should also be provided on the legal framework surrounding protest policing (particularly the interface of British case law with the European Convention on Human Rights); the greater discretion police have to curtail protests which purposefully exceed a reasonable level of disruption; and Public Order Command decision making and leadership skills.

This training should include a police primer on remaining immune to the ‘culture wars’ imported from the USA, so officers are aware that though political campaigns may go viral on digital media, and attract tens of thousands to join street protests, it does not follow that their actions are supported by the majority public, or even by a majority within minority communities, as successive surveys have shown.<sup>125</sup> The police can be supported in the task of maintaining political impartiality if politicians on both sides of the political divide desist from lending their support to aggravated activists in the form of public expressions of sympathy.

Above all, there needs to be clearer impartiality from the highest ranks of the police, through the Gold, Silver and Bronze commanders, to the police forward intelligence and liaison teams, and a clear message that consistent, impartial, neutral and politically disengaged policing is more than just an aspiration – it is an imperative. At stake is public consent for the British policing model that underpins the healthy functioning of our democracy.

---

<sup>125</sup> “Daily Question”, *YouGov*, 15 October 2019, <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/science/survey-results/daily/2019/10/15/470b6/1>; Jemma Conner, “Six in ten Brits oppose climate change protesters blocking the M25”, *YouGov*, 17 September 2021, <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2021/09/17/six-ten-brits-oppose-climate-change-protesters-blo>; Rakib Ehsan, “BLM: A Voice for Black Britons?”, *The Henry Jackson Society*, 24 February 2021, <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/publications/blm-black-britons/>.

---

## Appendix 1: Graphs and survey details

---

**Survey conducted by** • Survation, a member of the British Polling Council

**Fieldwork Dates** • 6th-7th October 2021

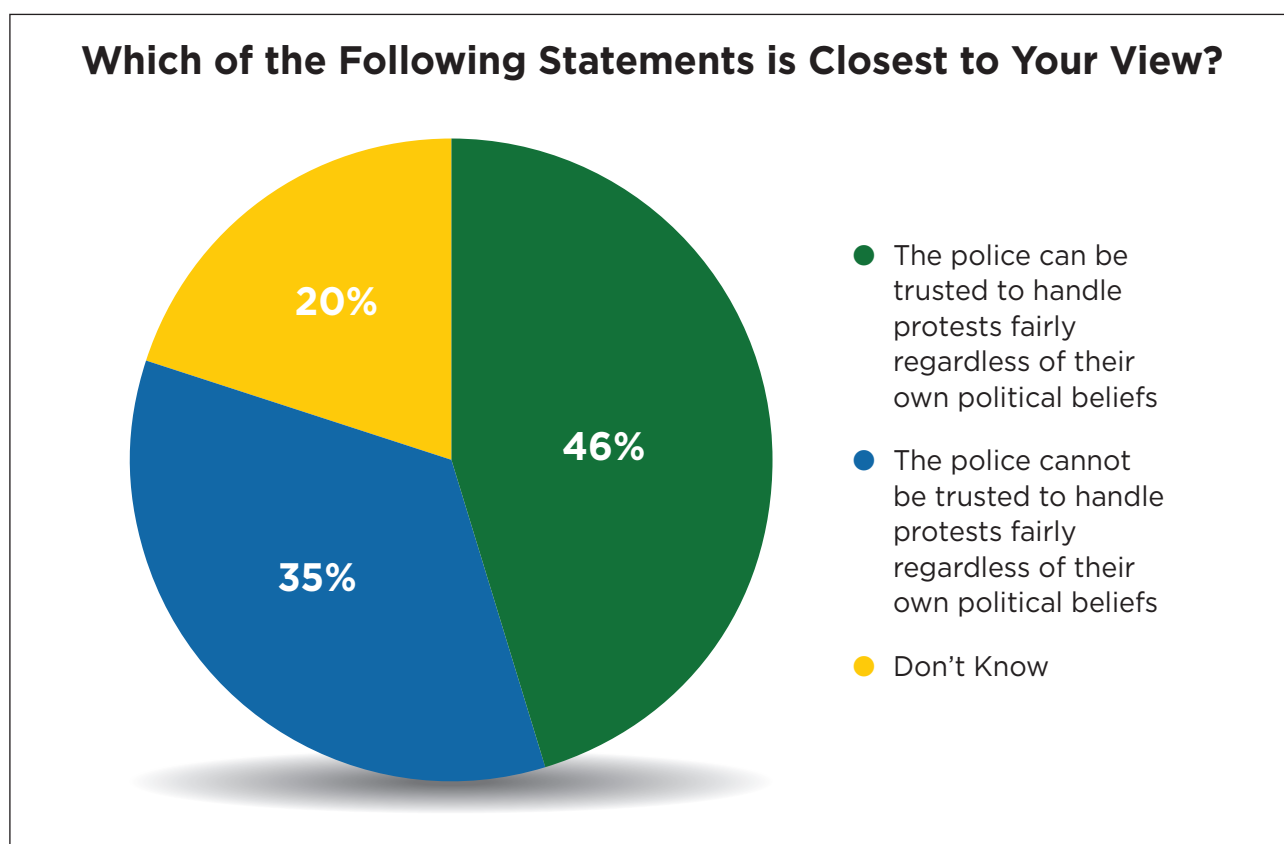
**Data Collection Method** • The survey was conducted via online interview. Invitations to complete surveys were sent out to members of the panel.

**Population Sampled** • Adults aged 18+ in the UK

**Sample Size** • 1,040

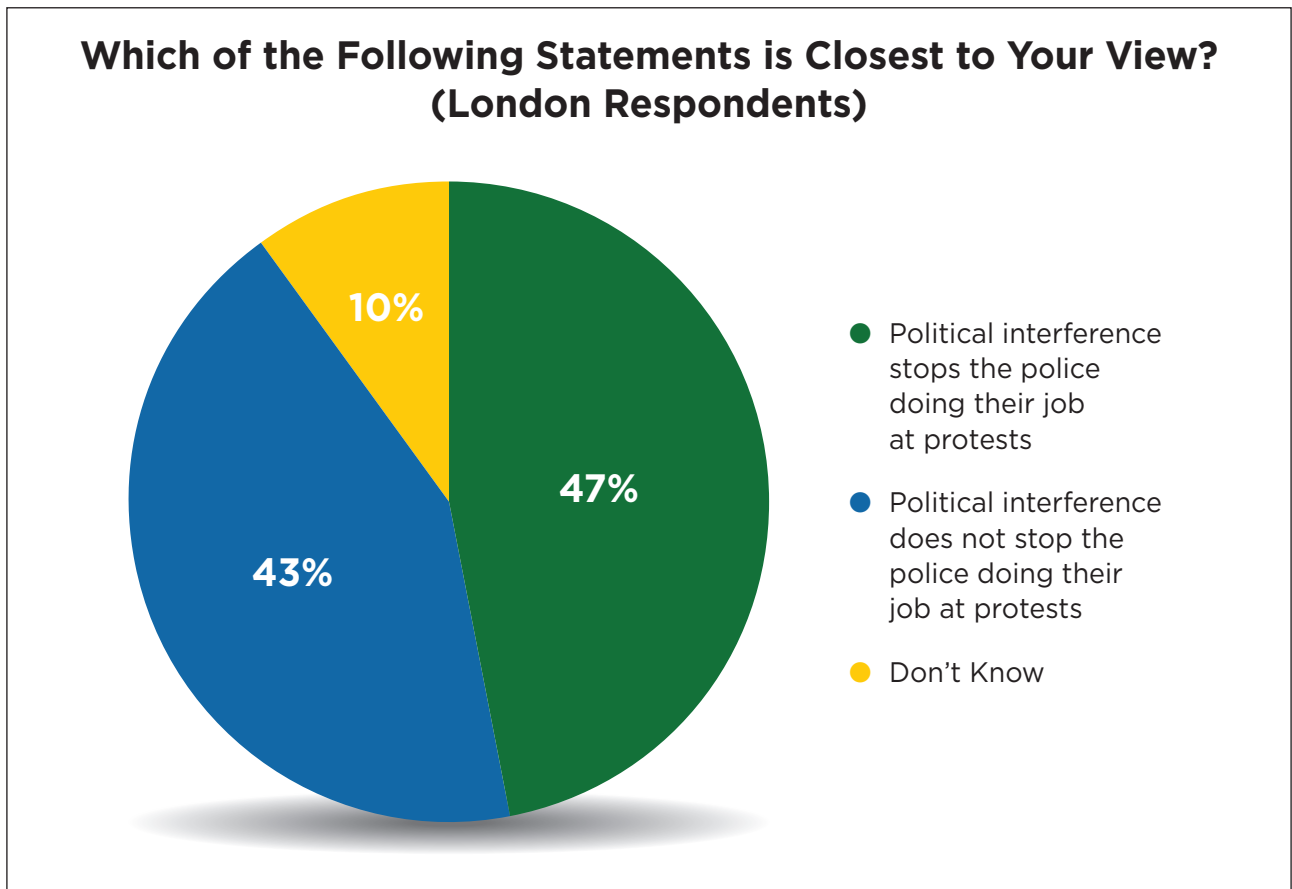
---

### 1. Police's Own Political Beliefs

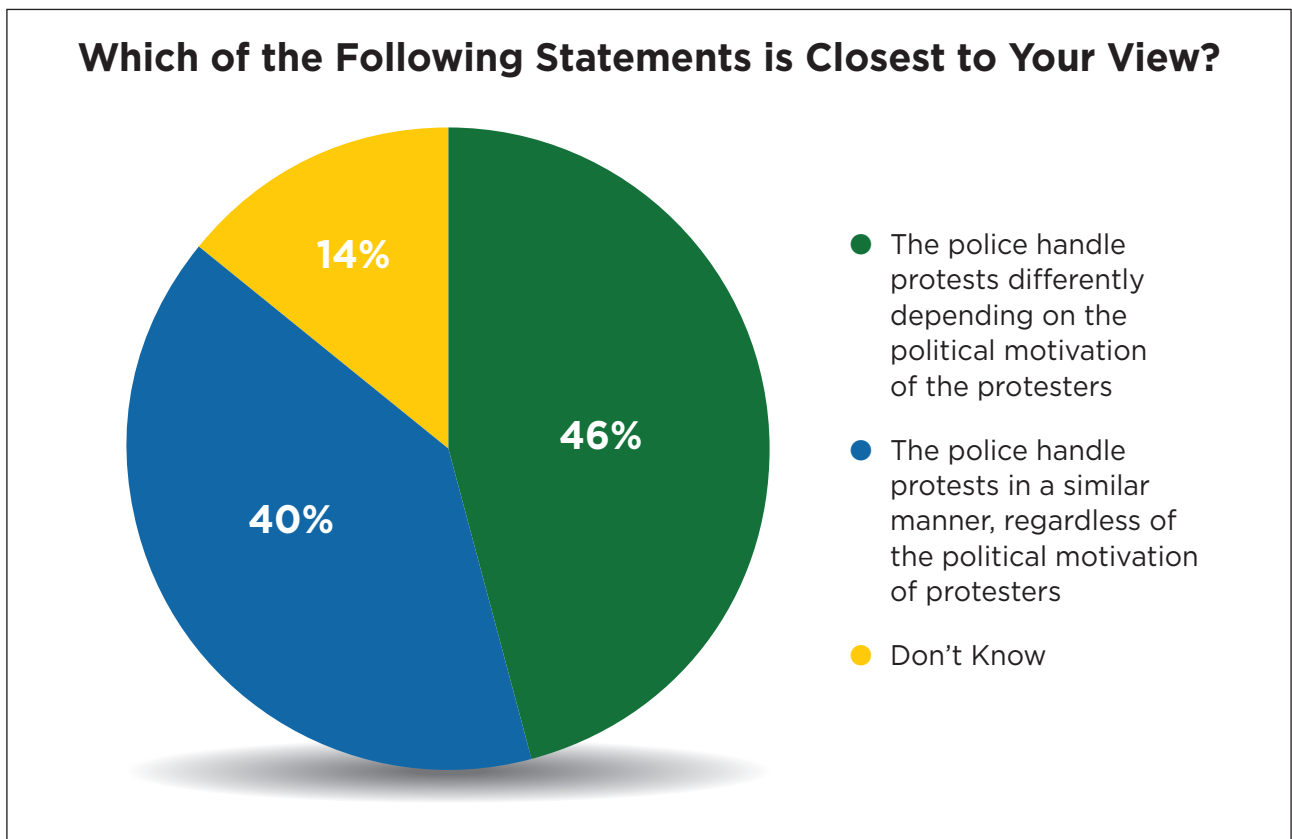




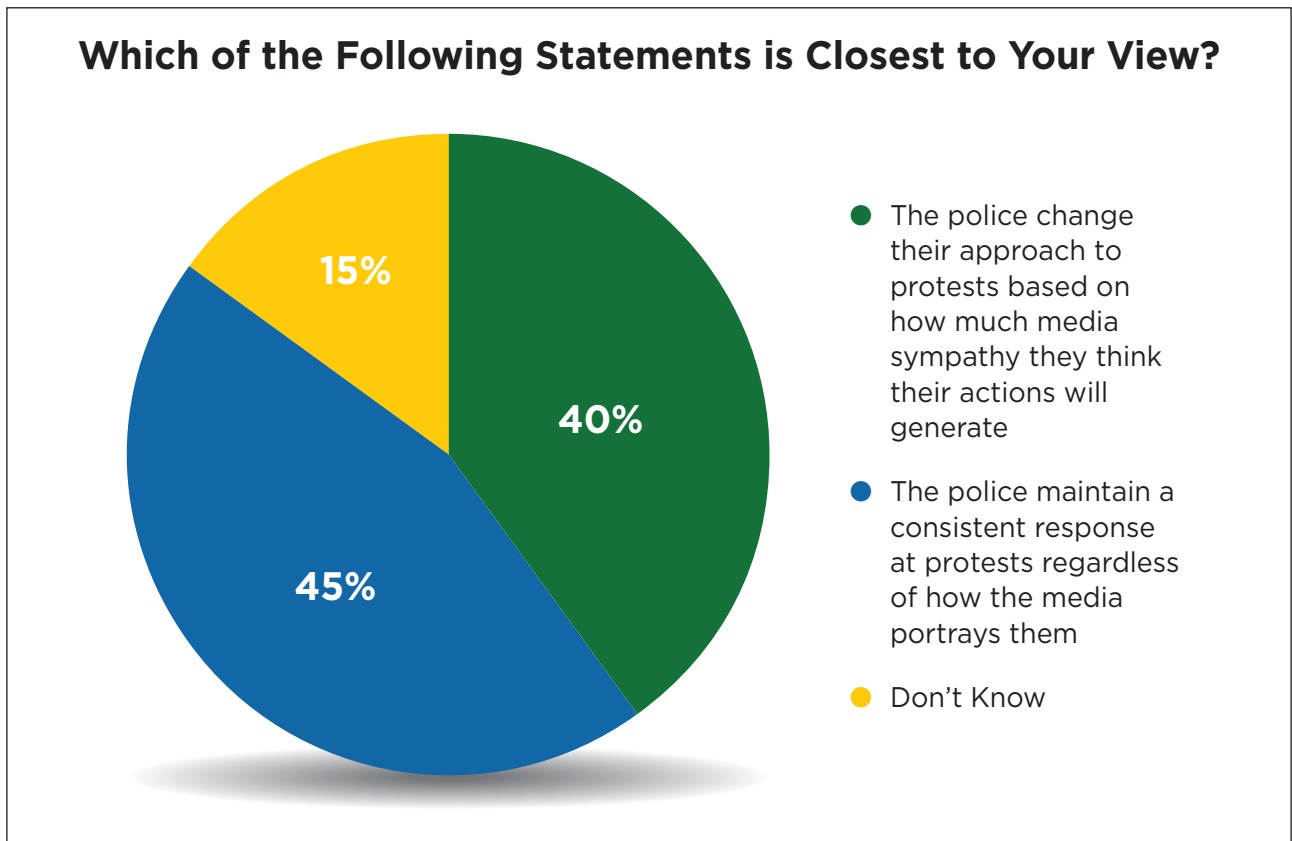
## 2. Political Interference



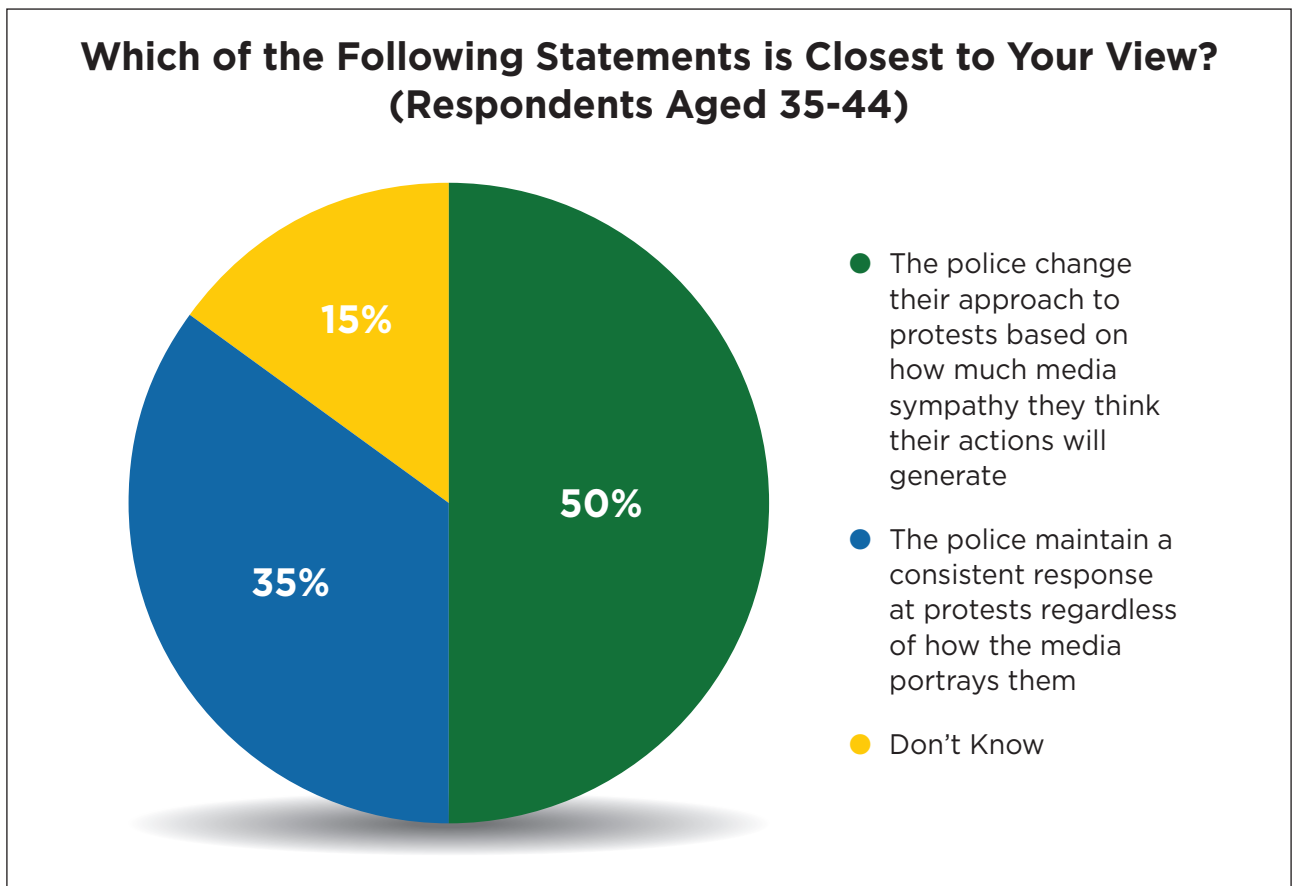
## 3. Political Motivation of Protesters



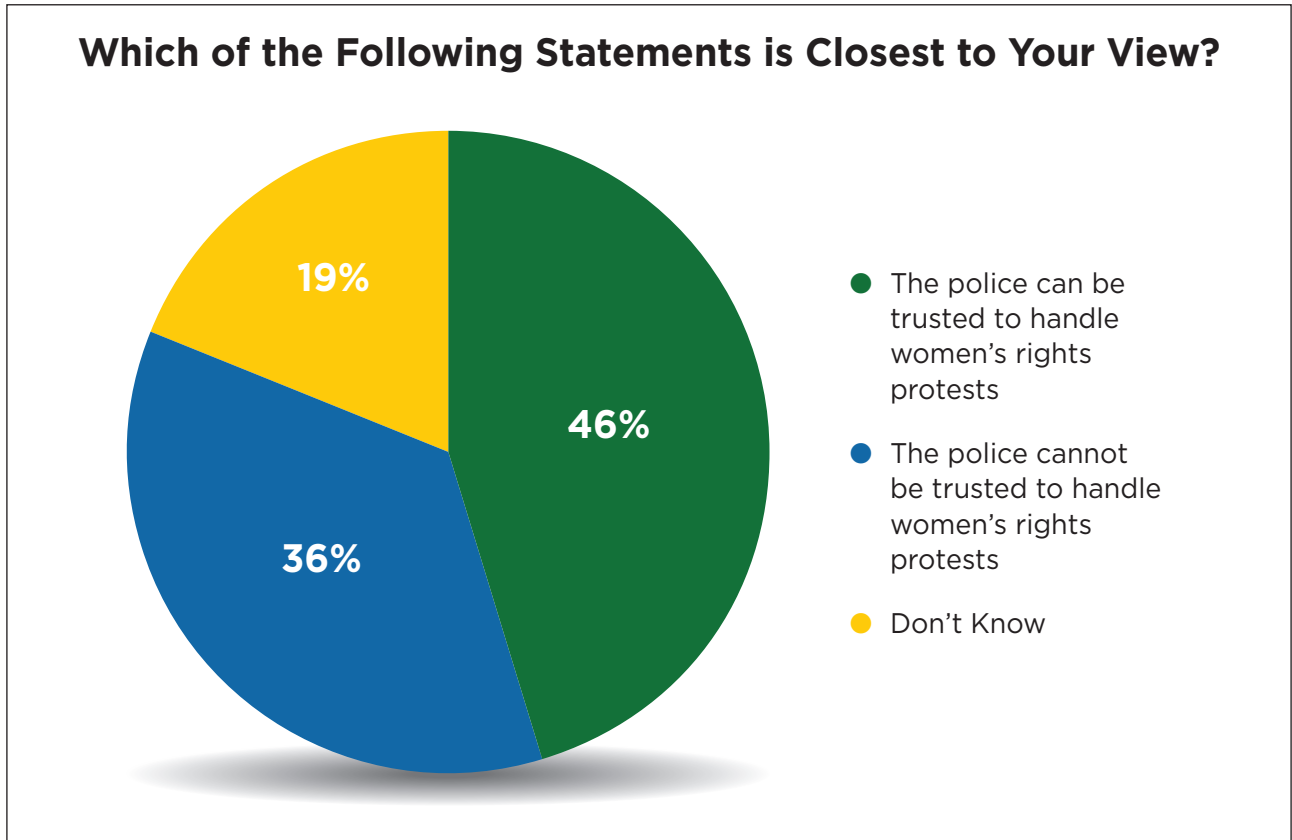
#### 4. Media Sympathy



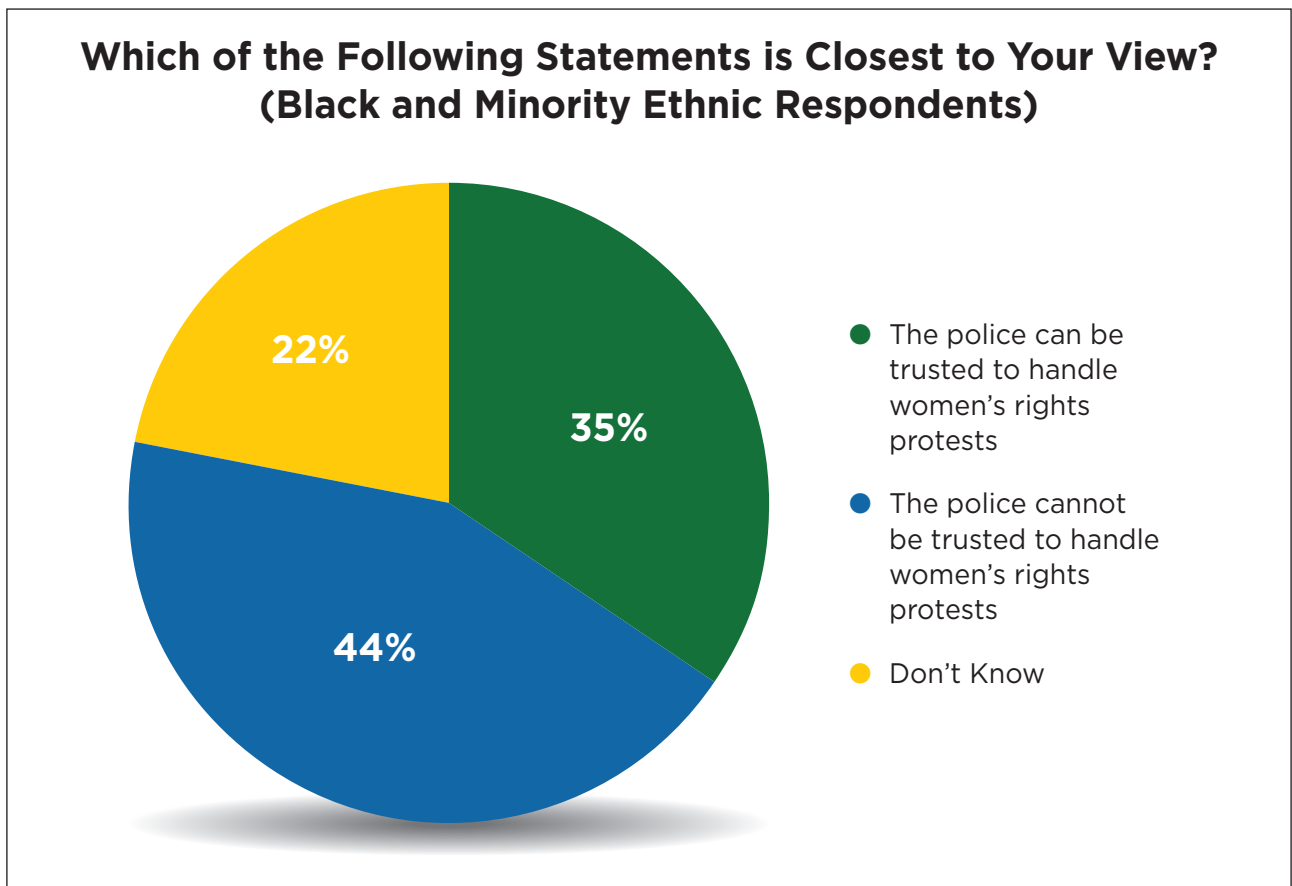
#### 5. Media Sympathy



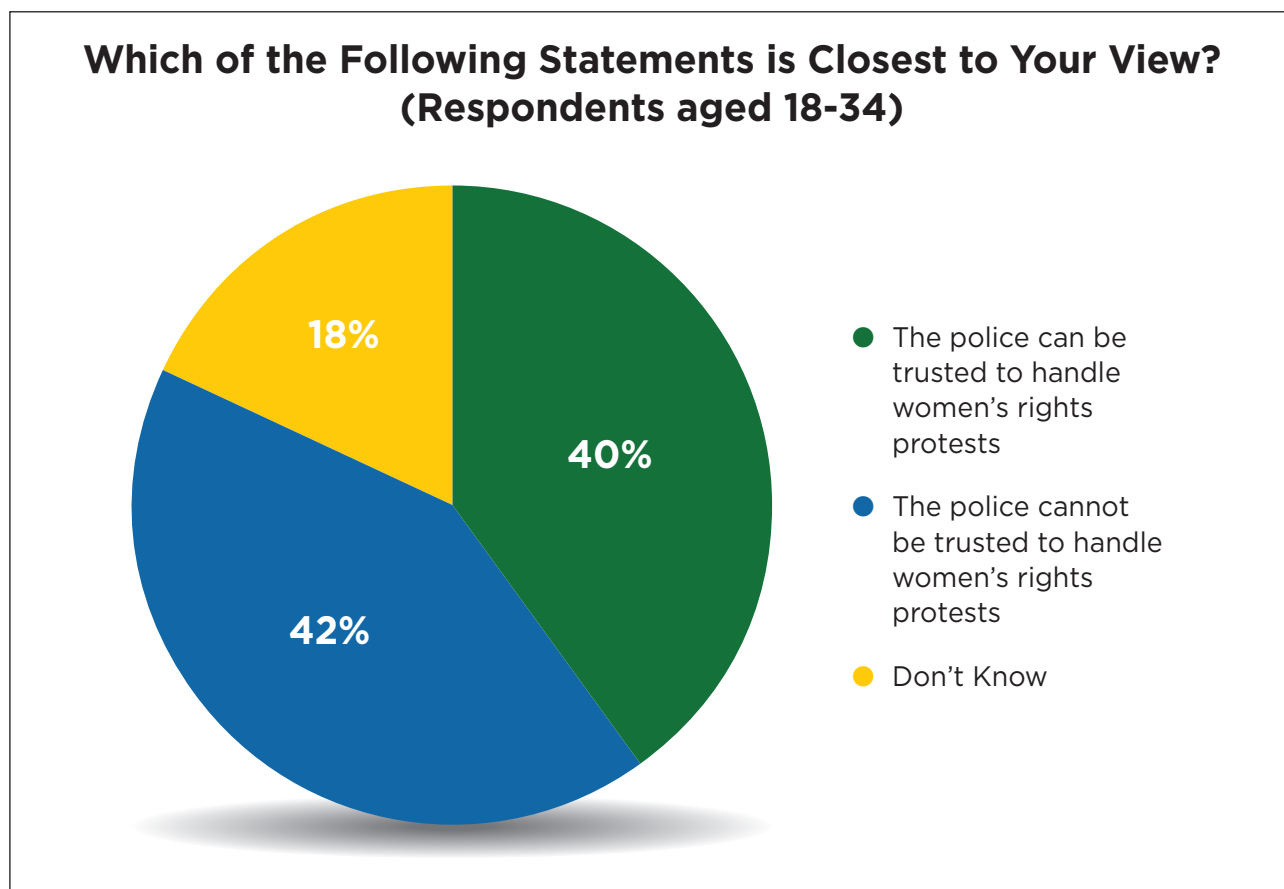
**6. That Women’s Rights are being Protested**



**7. That Women’s Rights are being Protested**



### 8. That Women's Rights are being Protested





TITLE: "BACKING OUR POLICE:  
HOW PARLIAMENT CAN GIVE POLICE  
FORCES THE TOOLS TO COMBAT  
DISRUPTIVE PROTESTERS"  
By Hannah Baldock and Chris Loder MP

The Henry Jackson Society  
Millbank Tower, 21-24 Millbank  
London SW1P 4QP, UK

[www.henryjacksonsociety.org](http://www.henryjacksonsociety.org)

© The Henry Jackson Society, 2022



**CENTRE ON  
SOCIAL &  
POLITICAL RISK**