



university of  
 groningen

faculty of theology and  
 religious studies



Victoria Collinge  
 S3778746

# FAITH FOR THE FACELESS

Situating Police-Church Partnerships in the Fight Against Modern  
Slavery

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## Chapter One: Faith for the faceless

### An Introduction

On the 5<sup>th</sup> July 2019 modern slavery hit the headlines in the UK, with the exposure of the largest ever modern slavery ring. After a four-year police investigation and lengthy court proceedings, eight members of a Polish criminal gang have been convicted on multiple counts of trafficking, forced labour and money laundering. The perpetrators are thought to have enslaved over 400 vulnerable Polish immigrants, luring them to the UK under false promises of a better life and then trapping them in exploitative situations on farms, recycling centres and poultry factories. Despite working an average of 13 hours per shift, some were earning as little as 50 pence per day. Those who had money in their accounts had to pay off the traffickers for the cost of bringing them to the UK in the first place. They were made to live in cramped, rat infested conditions; were forced to wash in canals; and were reduced to getting food from soup kitchens and food banks. Victims were beaten and threatened, and some were told they would have to dig their own graves (Quinn 2019; BBC News 2019a; Oldham 2019).

Movements against modern slavery crimes have gained momentum this year, and this thesis aims to uncover some of the work being done in this area. One such example of this is the launch of a new modern slavery mobile phone app, developed as part of a partnership. Designed to help people identify potential instances of modern slavery, the 'safe carwash app' allows users to flag up concerns regarding the emotional, physical and working conditions of people employed to wash cars by hand and - if necessary - points them in the direction of the Modern Slavery Helpline to report anything suspicious. To date, the app has uncovered more than 900 instances of forced labour in the UK, and while the overall take up is still relatively small this app has been heralded as a step forward in tackling the issue of modern slavery (Strangways-Booth 2019; Geraghty 2019).

The development of an app in itself is nothing unusual – in a world full of tablets and smartphones it seems only natural that such a product might be created. What might be considered unique, however, is the fact that this app has been created by an alliance between the police, the Catholic Church and the Church of England. While there can be little question as to the historical involvement of the Church in UK society, it is interesting that this alliance has been implicitly deemed a natural and unproblematic collaboration. The purpose of this thesis is to bring to light the nuances of the partnerships between police officials, the Clewer initiative and The Santa Marta group, and discuss how these groups perceive their alliances. To date, considerations of faith group involvement with the police has had little academic consideration. Furthermore, these partnerships have been

systematically subsumed by a secular neutrality that generally classifies faith-based organisations under the heading of NGO, with no recognition of their religious underpinnings. This study will uncover some of those hidden and disregarded elements. Why should the Church have any involvement in this issue? Under what framework do the partners understand this collaboration? What underlying assumptions and ontological knowledge feed into the work that is being done? Drawing on a variation of Kingdon's multiple streams approach (Gardner 2018), and on interview data from a selection of representatives of these partnerships, I will investigate the contextually specific means by which a space was created for these partnerships to happen, and use qualitative data to consider the discourses that uphold it.

## Chapter Two: Hidden in plain sight

### Modern Slavery in the UK

What is modern slavery?

Modern slavery is a difficult concept to define. Unlike historical notions of slavery – in which people may be visibly chained, bonded and explicitly owned by another – modern slavery is much more nuanced and hidden (Kelly 2018). Some define modern slavery as “the complete control of one person by another based on coercion, deception, violence or the threat of violence, usually with the aim of economic exploitation” (Bales, Hesketh and Silverman 2015: 18), and official documentation from the Home Office encompasses within its definition slavery, servitude, forced labour and human trafficking (HMICFRS 2017: 15).

There are those who criticise this use of the term, arguing that it negates the ‘modern’ nature of the transatlantic slave trade at the time; that it tastelessly appropriates the suffering of black people; that it is inherently supportive of conservative and securitised moral agendas; and that it threatens the work of human rights activists because of its potentially narrow and politically operationalizable specification of being the most extreme, severe and exceptional forms of exploitation (Craig, et al. 2019: 3-4). However, as Kara (2017) points out,

“There are many terms used in antislavery circles to describe various manifestations of the phenomenon [slavery, forced labour, human trafficking, debt bondage/bonded labour] ... [and] any one person could easily belong to two, three, or even all four categories, which in some sense argues for the use of slavery as an umbrella term that captures these similar and highly overlapping practices” (4-17).

Certainly, this term is used for such purposes in the Modern Slavery Act (Craig et al. 2019: 3-4), and therefore for the purposes of this study the term ‘modern slavery’ will be used to encompass this wide variety of practices.

How does it manifest itself in the UK?

“If, 20 years ago, you stopped someone in the street and asked them what came to mind when the word ‘slavery’ was mentioned, the chances are that one of four responses would be given: something ‘to do with William Wilberforce’; with the transatlantic slave trade; to the effect that it involved people working in appalling conditions elsewhere in the world ... or, possibly, with child sexual exploitation in South-east Asia ... *What is almost certain is that*

*nobody would have observed that it was a phenomenon commonly to be found on the streets of the UK” (Craig et al. 2019: 12 emphasis added).*

Two decades later, however, modern slavery has become a key public issue. The instance in Birmingham not the first time modern slavery has come to the attention of the British public - in 2004 23 illegal Chinese cockle pickers drowned in Morecombe bay, Lancashire. Led by a gang-master and a wider web of criminals, the Chinese workers were taken down to the docks every evening and left on the sands overnight to collect shellfish. They drowned after being cut off by the incoming tide (Glover 2014). Since then hundreds of other instances of forced exploitation, trafficking and modern slavery in the UK have hit the headlines. On the 14<sup>th</sup> March 2019 two men were arrested and jailed for human trafficking offences after a series of brothels were raided in Derby (BBC News 2019b) and the 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2019 saw two men arrested and seven victims released after raids in Blackpool (BBC News 2019c).

Slavery in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is evolving. It has “changed its forms to reflect an industrialised and increasingly globalised world where the migration of people – almost half female – to new contexts enhances vulnerability to enslavement” (Craig et al. 2019: 7). The victims of modern slavery can be UK nationals, or people trafficked from elsewhere including Eastern Europe - particularly Albania, Romania and Poland; South East Asia - particularly Vietnam; and Africa - particularly Nigeria (AntiSlavery.org n.d; National Crime Agency n.d). Modern slavery in the UK exists in plain sight, in some of our most familiar ‘services’. These can include our local businesses, factories, construction sites, nail bars, car washes, agriculture, fisheries and hospitality industries. Other forms of slavery include the sex industry, domestic slavery, organ harvesting, cannabis farming, petty theft and begging (MSPTU 2018: 3; AntiSlavery.org n.d; National Crime Agency n.d; HMICFRS 2017: 16; HM Government et al 2018; Craig et al. 2019: 8). Victims are often trying to escape poverty by accepting jobs that sound legitimate, but upon receiving employment their working conditions are entirely different. They may have their passports taken away, told they must pay off certain debts before they can leave, and may be subjected to violence and have threats levels against themselves and their families (AntiSlavery.org n.d.). As Bales, Hesketh and Silverman note, “the human impact of slavery is severe. Assault, rape, torture, sleep and food deprivation, dangerous and demeaning work, and psychological coercion are common experiences for slaves” (2015: 18).

Modern slavery in the UK is both present and prevalent. In July 2016, the Independent AntiSlavery Commissioner Kevin Hyland stated: "Those in modern slavery are hidden in plain sight, housed in squalid conditions and, unlike victims of other crimes, they are often unable to come forward and report their crime” (HMICFRS 2017: 16). Because of the hidden nature of the crime, it is notoriously

difficult to accurately map and record the numbers of victims it has taken. Estimates by the Home Office in 2014 suggested that there were between 10,000 and 13,000 victims of modern slavery, whilst others - including the UK National Crime Agency – argue that the numbers are actually in the tens of thousands (The Global Slavery Index 2018; Kelly 2018). The Global Slavery Index estimated that around 136,000 people were living in modern slavery in 2016 (ibid). In 2017, 5,145 potential victims of trafficking and slavery were flagged up to the National Referral Mechanism (the NRA) (BBC News 2018), and in 2018 this rose to 6,993 (National Crime Agency 2019).

## Police responses

The statistics for police responses to modern slavery present a mixed picture. On the one hand there seems to be an increase in recorded offences throughout the UK, with reports documenting a 159% rise in England and Wales between 2016-2017 and 130 defendants prosecuted under the Modern Slavery Act compared to 51 defendants the year before. 2017-18 saw a further increase of 49% and in July 2018 there were 850 active police investigations on the issue (HM Government et al 2018: 4-5). However, there is evidence to suggest that the UK police forces are still struggling to effectively tackle the complexities of modern-day slavery. According to BBC news, 59 cases of potential human trafficking and forced labour were identified in Northern Ireland through the NRM in 2018, but no convictions were secured as a result of the work (BBC News 2019d). Similarly, in April of this year the bosses of 11 men trafficked from Lithuania and forced to work on egg farms in Kent were taken to court for poor working conditions, but again, no convictions were upheld on the grounds of modern slavery itself (BBC News 2019e).

In recent years the UK has significantly increased its efforts to tackle issues of modern slavery, and one aspect of this has been the creation of various partnerships between police forces and branches of civil society. Partnership work has long been on the agenda for police responses to modern slavery. The UK's Modern Slavery Strategy of 2014 stated that "effective partnership is crucial" (HM Government 2014: 10) and a report from the Centre for the Study of Modern Slavery points out that "it is clear that police have accepted that they need to work with a variety of different organisations if they want to be more effective and enhance both criminal justice and well-being outcomes" (Van Dyke, R n.d). This partnership work is now beginning to manifest.

Having considered the data regarding the presence of modern slavery in the UK, I will now turn to the literature surrounding policing and religion, and police partnerships against modern slavery. The next chapter will allow me to locate my work within the broader field of study in these two areas and demonstrate how it contributes to research of this kind.



## Chapter Three: Belief on the Beat

### Policing, Religion and Police Partnerships: A Literature Review

#### Policing and religion

Understanding and exposing the nexus between religion and British policing has - to a large extent - gone unnoticed in academic circles (McFadyen and Prideaux 2014: 602). However, there are a handful of papers that attempt to 'locate' religion within British policing from a qualitative perspective, critically analysing the co-production of narratives that help or hinder law enforcement officials in their dealings with faith communities and faith-based organisations, and these provide a context within which to situate this study.

According to this work the return of religion as a focal point in British policy making and policing can be broadly categorised into four themes; community management; counter-terrorism incentives; hate-crime legislation - which encapsulates Islamophobia, antisemitism and other discriminatory attitudes; and the diversity agenda - including issues of religious freedom and pluralism (Bullock and Johnson 2018; McGarrell, Brinker and Etindi 1999; McFadyen and Prideaux 2010; 2014). McFadyen and Prideaux have produced several articles looking at the various ways in which the London Metropolitan Police Force engage with religion (2010; 2013; 2014) and found that "religion and faith have achieved a newly acquired importance in many aspects of public life and public policy in the UK, including policing" (2010: 10). They encourage a move beyond the narrow focus on counterterrorism work and engagement with Muslim communities that seems to dominate literature of this kind, towards a study of in-depth responses to the four themes outlined above, and a consideration of the personal religiosity and attitudes towards religion of police officers themselves (2010; 2013; 2014).

Bullock and Johnson carry out similar qualitative techniques in their studies on faith and policing, and as a result provide a robust analytical framework for understanding the relevance of such partnership working. They create categories of 'policing with faith' – a reflection on collaborating with FBOs and faith communities to promote responsive policing, crime control and police legitimacy – and 'faith as policing' – drawing on said groups' moral principles and ability to mobilise community resources as a means of alternative provision in an age of austerity (Bullock and Johnson 2018).

Finally, similar reflections (although without the analytical categories) were outlined in McGarrell, Brinker and Etindi's work on 'Faith-Based organisations in Crime Prevention and Justice' (1999). McGarrell et al highlight a move towards community policing, prevention and problem solving. They argue that "the church is often the institution that is available to create police-neighbourhood

partnerships” (1999: 6) and that there are distinct advantages to using faith-based organisations including creating a presence in the community, giving citizens a sense of belonging and being willing to do more than might otherwise be expected (1999: 15). Similarly, they recognise certain challenges in FBO attempts at crime prevention, such as being seen as a threat to individuality or being understood as zealots (ibid).

These studies provide a solid ground upon which to situate my study. Both Bullock and Johnson and McGarrell et al give examples of the different ways that faith can be engaged for the benefit of crime reduction. Furthermore, McFadyen and Prideaux’s work provides a good example of the need for a “broader interpretive context for understanding police engagement with religion” (2014: 615) that reaches beyond counter-terror narratives and recognises them as one strand in a multi-faceted and complex interaction. My research will not only contribute to this recommendation by looking beyond securitization discourses to the complex negotiation of other narratives, but by focusing on modern slavery I will also offer a highly contextualised, detailed empirical case study of how faith is engaged in crime reduction of this issue in particular.

### Police partnerships

Moving on from academic reflections on faith and policing, the other key area for consideration is how this research will fit in with the official reports already issued on responses to modern slavery. Several reports have been commissioned over the past few years with the aim of tracking, mapping and analysing such work. Some of these have been broad in scope and considered the UK’s response as a whole, situating police responses as one piece of a larger puzzle that also includes (but is not limited to) immigration considerations, policy proposals, prosecution action, victim care, business accountability and transparency (HM Government et al 2017; 2018; London Evening Standard, The Independent 2018). Others have mapped the implementation the MSA within law enforcement bodies and judicial bodies and identified various areas for improvement (Haughey 2016) or aimed to assess the extent to which UK is implementing key EU trafficking directive requirements (The Anti Trafficking Monitoring Group 2018). This work certainly highlights the complex nature of the problem and the variety of areas in which modern slavery can be considered, but it is limited in its consideration of the value of police partnerships.

Other work, however, has been more focussed - looking directly at the police responses to modern slavery and mapping partnerships throughout the UK. Reports by Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS) and The Rights Lab in Nottingham describe how collaborations exist in most areas of the UK, but that these vary significantly in scope and

effectiveness (HMICFRS 2017: 8; Rights lab and IASC 2017). Similar findings come from Van Dyke (2017), who analyses both the nature of data collection that informs police work in this area and considers the achievements and limitations of law enforcement to date.

These reports are designed to provide a quantifiable snapshot of work being done around the country – data that can be used to demonstrate progress and to provide measurable targets and outcomes. However, these purely quantitative approaches assume a level of positivist neutrality that should be problematised – the view that lists of collaborators, numbers of arrests, donations given to safehouses, or referrals to the NRM are sufficient to understand the complexity of the responses to modern slavery. There is a gap in the research for a more qualitative consideration of partnership working. As Lagon explains, an effective partnership is one that “is attentive to market forces, takes metrics seriously, has matching missions, and exhibits sound motives... A partnership lacking one or more of these qualities is increasingly likely to resemble cotton candy - sweet, colourful fluff” (Lagon 2014: 166). Quantitative data may be able to tell us the *results* of being attentive to market forces or having matching missions, but it is unable to clearly identify how such common goals and views are reached and maintained. In other words, in order to understand why a partnership is effective or not, one needs to consider *why* such partnerships are formed, the *context* in which they are created and the *social narratives* that uphold or undermine such collaborations.

Furthermore, this quantitative approach - by assuming a positivist neutrality - also provides a secular bias that has obstructed any serious consideration of collaboration with religious organisations. Despite evidence that religious groups are working with the police in these matters (Hope For Justice n.d; Hope For Justice 2018; Pentin 2018; Rights lab and IASC 2017; Santa Marta Group n.d; Strangways-Booth 2019; The Arise Foundation Conference of Religious England and Wales 2018; The Salvation Army 2017), much of the research reviewed has almost completely subsumed the identity of faith-based organisations and religious groups within more secular and generic categories of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). In my analysis of 11 academic and government commissioned reports, I found that the word religion is not mentioned at all, religious only 3 times, and FBO twice. Faith is used slightly more frequently, with a total of 16 uses, although 11 of these were within one report – the Nottingham Rights Lab report ‘Collaborating for Freedom’ (2017). In contrast, however, ‘partnership’ is mentioned 442 times, and NGO 203 times, and these two key terms appear in all 11 reports. The only exception to this is the London Evening Standard report, which goes some way towards acknowledging the role of churches and faith groups by stating that “local churches, faith groups, councillors and other neighbourhood organisations, in being the ‘eyes and ears’ of identifying potential survivors and possible slavery, are key” (London Evening Standard, The Independent 2018: 12), and that “the major churches and faith groups are already informing

their communities and congregations, but it could be given greater resourcing and momentum by government nationally” (ibid). However, even this report, with its broader aim of mapping a variety of partnerships, does not go into any great depth on the issue. Thus, this study hopes to provide a more contextualised, qualitative consideration of Police partnership work, and to draw out the specific role of faith groups which has, to date, gone largely unacknowledged.

## Chapter Four: A Process of Interrogation

### Methodology, Method and Analysis

#### Methodology

The decision to carry out qualitative research on this topic was a conscious one underpinned by distinct epistemological and ontological views. As a constructivist, I act on an understanding that the social world is created through the meanings that participants place on actions, experiences and interactions. These meanings are “varied and multiple...[and] are formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism) and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals’ lives” (Creswell 2013: 37). In this case my intention is to problematise the assumed naturalness of a partnership between the police and faith-based organisations by highlighting the contextually specific frameworks within which such a collaboration is made, considering the meanings behind such interactions, and understanding how this helps or hinders the partnerships in their work. Qualitative research is “characteristically exploratory, fluid and flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive” (Mason 2002: 24) and provides a distinct approach to research in which the “interest is focused on the social construction of multiple images of reality/-ies as well as on the meaning that the social subjects bestow upon their actions” (Tsironis 2012: 53). It allows a more nuanced understanding of the ‘complexity of a situation’ (Creswell 2013: 32) than quantitative research, and also proves useful when little research has already been done on the topic, or when the researcher is not yet clear which variables they wish to consider (Creswell 2013: 50), as is the case with a study of a law enforcement / faith group / modern slavery nexus. As Mason outlines, qualitative research will allow me to “answer... [my] developmental puzzle through the perspectives of people involved, here seeing change less as something which is ‘measurable’ in before and after indicators or an experiment, and more in terms of its existence in the perspectives and experiences of narrators” (2002: 32).

#### Method

The first stage in the research process was to find potential participants. Due to the nature of the research, participants were contacted based on their direct connection with modern slavery work, rather than collecting a random sample of FBOs, religious representatives or police officers. As such, a list of potential participants was drawn up using police and modern slavery reports; completing a basic internet search; and asking groups and individuals who were contacted if they had any other recommendations of whom to approach. 21 people were contacted regarding the research, and I received 16 responses offering a range of online information, links to other groups or suggested

contacts, and a handful of possible interviews. As a result, 4 semi-structured interviews were conducted – 3 in person and 1 via skype.

The choice to conduct semi-structured interviews was both pragmatic and academic. As the constructivist approach to denaturalising social phenomena requires questions that are “broad and general so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation” (Creswell 2013: 37) semi-structured interviews provided the best possible approach for accessing the discourses and analysing them. From a more practical perspective, the research was subject to time and money constraints, and the nature of the work the participants were carrying out made other options such as ethnographic fieldwork or participant observation too difficult to negotiate. Interviews were therefore the most practical method by which to access the data, and the choice of a semi-structured approach allowed a framework of questions to ensure the interviews stayed on topic, whilst also allowing for flexibility and space for personal reflection.

In the interviews the participants were asked to reflect on what they considered the role of faith to be in the partnerships, and whether they had found any difficulties or particular advantages of their collaborations. Follow-up questions were also used throughout the interviews for any assumptions or comments that required further elaboration or investigation. Participants were not asked directly about their own faith, although this did come up in some instances. For the purposes of accuracy all interviews were recorded and then transcribed. Once transcribed, the interview data was subjected to a process of discourse analysis described by Sayago as “tagging-desegregation-reaggregation” (2015: 732). Texts were coded or ‘tagged’ according to specific categories; passages extracted or ‘desegregated’; and then regrouped or ‘reaggregated’ into new texts that allow the researcher to recognise similarities and differences (ibid). This process resulted in four initial areas for consideration – an ‘ethic of care’, concepts of credibility and good/bad religion, views on mobilising networks, and views of a secular/religious divide. In some cases this process was then repeated to further breakdown the themes within the discourses.

The participants

Due to the sensitive nature of the topic and the professional roles of participants, all interviewees were informed that they would remain anonymous and be given pseudonyms to protect their identity.

James is the unit commander for the Modern Slavery Police Transformation Unit (MSPTU). The MSPTU was launched in April 2017 to provide specialist teams that could work with other partners to deliver training, strengthen local responses and develop intelligence on the issue of modern slavery (The Global Slavery Index 2018; MSPTU 2018: 8). In the first 12 months of operation, the

MSPTU has worked with the Europol team; the Joint Slavery and Trafficking Analysis Centre (JSTAC); local, regional, national and international insight teams and analysts; the College of Policing; regional Police and Crime Commissioners; The national referral mechanism (NRM) triage team; nine police regional organised crime units (ROCs); the National Anti-Trafficking and Modern Slavery Network (NATMSN); Border Force; the Crown Prosecution Service; the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA); frontline agencies; faith groups; the business sector; homelessness sector and members of the public (MSPTU 2018). Partnerships have been established between Police forces and other government and non-governmental agencies in an attempt to provide a more holistic and substantial response to the issue. These have been created at local, regional and national levels and vary in scope, resources, aims and objectives.

Mark is a former detective superintendent for the Metropolitan police and is now the deputy director of the Santa Marta Group. The Santa Marta Group is “an alliance of international police chiefs and bishops from around the world working together with civil society in a process endorsed by Pope Francis, to eradicate human trafficking and modern day slavery” (<http://santamartagroup.com/>). The group aims to raise awareness of the issue of modern slavery; develop trusting working relationships between the Catholic Church, law enforcement agencies and civil society; have a practical and tangible impact on victim care, law enforcement and public policy; and provide a forum for sharing experience and best practice (Santa Marta Group 2015).

Sophie is the communications officer for the Clewer Initiative. The Clewer Initiative encourages UK dioceses and Church networks to develop localised strategies to detect modern slavery and provide victim support and care. To do this they partner with local police constabularies to host training and awareness events, and to help identify ways of tackling the issue and supporting the victims of modern slavery. On a national scale they have worked with Police to develop a network of practitioners who can share best practice and data (<https://www.theclewerinitiative.org/about-us>; <https://www.theclewerinitiative.org/southernprovince>).

Chris is a former police officer in serious organised crime and is now the Sussex Police Force Manager for Modern Slavery (MS), Organised Immigration Crime (OIC) and migration related matters. He is responsible for managing and developing the Sussex Police organisational response to the above issues, including the interoperability with law enforcement, statutory and Non-statutory partners; working in compliance with Article 4 ECHR and the Modern Slavery Act 2015; implementing recommendations of National Policing and Inspectorate bodies; working with partners to develop their duties, information pathways and training; and continuing to develop intelligence

and investigative pathways, all with a view to improving the identification and support of genuine victims whilst identifying and prosecuting offenders (Chris).

A note on terms

Throughout this study the alliances between the Santa Marta Group, the Clewer Initiative and UK Police forces will be referred to as 'police-Church partnerships', primarily because the faith-based groups who participated in the study broadly define themselves in such terms. Santa Marta have the organisational strapline of "Church and law enforcement combatting modern slavery" (<http://santamartagroup.com>), and the Clewer Initiative "forms part of the Church of England's approach to eradicating modern slavery" (<https://www.theclewerinitiative.org/about-us>) and used the phrase "A Church of England Project to Combat Modern Slavery" in a recent report (The Clewer Initiative 2018: 1). Furthermore, although the Church of England and the Catholic Church are two distinct denominations within the Christian religion, the term 'Church' will be used to encapsulate both groups. This is not an attempt to disguise or ignore fundamental differences between the two institutions. Rather the use of this (admittedly generic) term allows the study to move beyond theological or doctrinal differences to analyse more broadly the involvement of the organisations in police work on this matter.

Analysing the Data

Discourse Analysis

The ideas of 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' are, in themselves, terms that hold a multitude of potential definitions, and as Cheek (2004) points out, the failure to clarify these terms risks undermining the researcher's attempts at reflexivity. One cannot argue from the perspective of a social constructivist if one is not willing to recognise the epistemological starting points that underpin the subjective production and analysis of the study.

'Discourse' then - in this context - refers to "...ways of thinking and speaking about aspects of reality: ...[it] consists of a set of common assumptions that sometimes, indeed often, may be so taken for granted as to be invisible or assumed" (Cheek 2004: 1142). As Farnell explains, "stakeholders develop a discourse concerning the events they experience ... Beliefs, experiences, stories, images and metaphors provide a framework of meaning..." (2009: 183). Discourses frame and construct reality in certain ways by enabling and constraining knowledge production. In essence, they "determine who can speak, when, and with what authority; and, conversely, who cannot" (Ball 1990 *in* Cheek 2004: 1142).



'Discourse analysis' can also take several forms. Data can be drawn from rhetorical patterns, lexical elements, syntactic constructions, inferences and all other manner of other discourse interpretations (Sayago 2015: 728). For the purposes of this study, however, the discourse analysis applied was based on a thematic study that aimed to uncover "the way in which texts themselves have been constructed in terms of their social and historical 'situatedness'" (Cheek 2004: 1144). It is based on the poststructuralist and postmodern understanding that language is not value-free or neutral, rather that is assigned particular meanings by both speakers and listeners according to the situation in which language is being used (ibid).

It must be recognised, of course, that this method of analysis is not neutral. There is an almost unavoidable risk of the analyst imposing meanings on another's texts (Cheek 2004: 1146), and - given a plethora of different themes and ideas - part of a researcher's influence on the resulting analysis will inevitably be the extent to which certain utterances are deemed important, and differences highlighted or ignored according to the research objectives (Sayago 2015: 732). I do not, therefore, wish to present my research as a final and complete understanding of the dynamics in modern slavery police-Church partnerships, but rather one reflection on the contexts and assumptions that underpin the situation. As Tsironis points out, "...research always remains a dynamically unfinished effort ... it will never reach the holistic description and the finite theory of social reality" (2012: 50).

Kingdon's multiple streams analysis

To further develop my analysis the findings from the thematic discourse approach will also be situated within a variation of Kingdon's multiple streams analysis (Gardner 2018). Cited thousands of times in issues of agenda-setting and public policy research (Béland 2016: 228), this approach delineates three distinct streams in policymaking – the 'problem stream', 'politics stream' and 'policy stream' (Gardner 2018: 466) - which when effectively negotiated and combined create a 'window' in which action can be taken. Whilst my study does not aim to analyse Modern Slavery policy issues or reasons for inconsistent partnership implementation across the UK, this approach is still beneficial in considering the conditions and ideas that have coalesced to support successful alliances between the police and established church representatives in the UK. Therefore, drawing on – and modifying - Kingdon's three categories, I intend to demonstrate that the police have been successful in engaging the Church due to a 'window' that has arisen from a successful crossover between three streams: a *problem stream* (how the perceived need for a Police-Church partnership came about); a *politics stream* (how political austerity measures have created an opportunity for the instrumentalization of religion); and a *'faith' stream* (how engagement with the Church relies on certain conceptions of 'good' and 'bad' religion). Within these three categories, I will then further utilise Kingdon's idea of

'subcomponents which operationalize the concept' (Gardner 2018: 464-465) by critically analysing and situating the interview discourse using a variety of academic concepts. The application of discourse analysis in this context fits neatly within this analytical framework, as Kingdon's work underlines "the importance of considering both ideas and discourse..." (Béland, Carstensen and Seabrooke 2016: 315) in understanding the construction of a successful agenda. I argue that the presence of all three 'streams' have created a window in which the partnership can emerge, and that certain discourses are used in order to maintain the collaboration within this context. It is important to understand that these processes are not mutually exclusive, and so while each category will be discussed individually one should be aware that such concepts will inevitably overlap. Furthermore, the construction of this 'window' is not a linear process but the coalescing of the three streams at once.

Having outlined the processes by which I have collected and analysed my data I will now turn to the results of my findings. Starting with the 'problem stream', I consider in the next chapter the means by which both modern slavery and police partnerships became worthy of note, and how the opportunity for Church action on the issue first emerged.

## Chapter Five: Caught in the Act

### Identifying the Problem Stream and Involving the Church

The first of the three categories in this variation of Kingdon's analytical approach is the 'problem stream', which in this case is two-fold in that there needs to be an awareness of modern slavery but also a response to the challenges faced by the police in tackling it. Kingdon identifies the following subsections to help identify a 'strong' problem fit; namely that there are focussing events that provide the impetus for action; that the problem is accepted by key actors and institutions in the field; and that these institutions have the capacity to deal with those problems (Gardner 2018: 465-466). In the following sections I will draw on reports and interview data to highlight these subsections.

#### Focussing events

Event 1: Morecombe bay and the 'problem' of modern slavery

Focussing events are about specific instances that bring to light a particular problem, and which stimulate change in some way. The Morecombe bay catastrophe of 2004 is often cited as one of the major 'focussing events' that encouraged a turn in public and political attention towards the extent of modern slavery, human trafficking and exploitation in the UK. Despite the UK being a signatory to the 2000 Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Van Dyke 2019: 50) it was only when this tragedy occurred that the British government was really spurred into action. As a direct response to the deaths at Morecombe Bay the Gangmasters Licensing Authority (GLA – now the GLAA) was formed to protect industry workers; the 2005 European Convention on Action Against Trafficking of Human Beings was held; and in 2009 slavery, servitude and forced labour became criminal offences and it became illegal to pay for the services of forced prostitutes (Van Dyke 2019: 50-63). 2009 also saw the creation of the National Referral Mechanism (NRA) and in 2011 the Human Trafficking Strategy was implemented after requests to review legislation to date. Finally, the Modern Slavery Strategy was implemented in 2014 (ibid) and the subsequent ratification of the Modern Slavery Act (MSA) came about in 2015 - heralded by some as a world leading piece of legislation (Craig et al. 2019). The extensive media coverage of the Morecombe bay tragedy led to greater awareness of the problem of modern slavery, and so triggered into action a decade of legislative changes, public demands for tighter protocols to protect victims, and more accountability on action being taken. Businesses are now required to have Corporate Social Responsibility statements on how they are mitigating risks of slavery; charities and voluntary organisations run awareness and funding campaigns; the media

covers stories of perpetrators and victims and at home and abroad; and research units and think tanks publish reports to highlight the crime that is 'hidden in plain sight'.

#### Event 2: The London 2012 Olympics and the involvement of the Church

In addition to the 'problem' of modern slavery being highlighted in the public and political consciousness, it also became a major focus for the police in the run up to the London 2012 Olympics - and this focussing event played a significant part in the involvement of the Church as a legitimate partner. In his interview, Mark (from Santa Marta) outlined police concerns that this major event would see a significant upsurge in the trafficking and sexual exploitation of women and children, explaining how "Greece, 8 years before... had seen tens of thousands of women trafficked in sexual exploitation, and we didn't want that in London". That is not to say that sex trafficking and other forms of slavery were not present prior to the 2012 Olympics, but rather that this event had the impact of focussing police attention and providing impetus for change. He went on to describe how the women involved in sex work and prostitution had previously been criminalised, but that the fear of an increase in trafficking led the impetus for change in how the issue was approached. As a result, the police "literally flipped everything on its head" (Mark) and began to focus on treating women as the victims of a crime. Significantly, this meant bringing the Church on board;

"One of my colleagues, one of my detective inspectors, I don't know if you know Kevin Hyland... So he was the first [to suggest a police-Church partnership]. So, Kevin, who's quite a devout Catholic came to me and said, "Can we try something different? Can we try and build confidence by taking women religious with us into sex establishments when we go on big visits?" Ok... well... so if we don't try it, we don't know if it's going to work..." (Mark).

The reasons why the Church is considered a legitimate partner in this way will be considered later, but for the moment this narrative provides an excellent example of how the problem of tackling modern slavery prompted a police-Church response.

#### Event 3: The creation of an Anti-Slavery Commissioner and the Santa Marta Group

The third major focussing event can be attributed to Modern Slavery Strategy in 2014 (Van Dyke 2019: 50-63) and the Modern Slavery Act (MSA) 2015 (Craig et al. 2019). This act provided one overarching framework for understanding and prosecuting instances of modern slavery and human trafficking; ensured that suitably severe punishments were able to be issued to those found to be guilty; and demanded disclosure of practices from businesses (Gov.uk 2018; The Global Slavery Index 2018). Most significantly for the purposes of this study, however, was the creation of an independent anti-slavery commissioner in 2014 to improve the coordinated response to the issue

(ibid). The first anti-slavery commissioner was Kevin Hyland, who had already put in place an effective police-Church partnership in response to the trafficking worries of the 2012 Olympics. Hyland was open to the idea of working with religious organisations and the new post gave him the opportunity to do so, and as such (through the impetus of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (CBCEW)) the Santa Marta agreement was formed.

Mark explained its formation;

“Ok, so Santa Marta is ... an alliance of senior church -and when I say Church [I mean] Catholic, senior church leaders - and senior law enforcement coming together to try to eradicate modern slavery. 2014, 20 different countries, signatures, senior police go to the Vatican where they meet Pope Francis in the Sant Marta residence and they agree that there needs to be an effort, a bigger effort to fight slavery. So, they sign the Santa Marta commitment: We're going to work together to eradicate slavery. And that's how it all starts”.

The participants informed me that Hyland was the driving force behind involving the Church in police work in this way, and that it was his appointment as Anti-Slavery Commissioner that gave him the ability to do this so successfully.

Event 4: Reports of police failure and the 'problem' of how to tackle modern slavery

The final 'focussing event' in this section is society's recent questioning of police capabilities. In 2017 the media painted a damning picture of police responses to modern slavery after the publication of various analytical reports mapping current procedures. The reports suggest that officers may have little knowledge of modern slavery and human trafficking situations; some officers wish to avoid the complexities of cases; others are dismissive of the issue; and many overlook the issue of potential slavery or trafficking for more obvious immigration / residency / employment issues etc (The Anti Trafficking Monitoring Group 2018; Rights lab and IASC 2017; HMICFRS 2017; ITV news 2017; Anti-slavery.org 2018). This led to a series of headlines such as “Police 'let down' modern slavery victims, says report” (BBC News 2017b) and “Police forces failing to tackle modern slavery in UK, report shows” (Grierson 2017) and prompted police departments to look more closely at the work they were doing.

The combination of these events have encouraged a move in focus from criminalisation to challenging the conditions that allow modern slavery to happen (Gardner 2018: 464) and one of the possible solutions to this is partnership working. Engaging a wider range of actors offers the opportunity to move from the 'political window-dressing' of ratified treaties towards active compliance and change through civil society pressure (ibid). James (from the MSPTU) explained to

me during the interview that the key to really tackling issues of modern slavery is to highlight the issue amongst the public and to change collective perception: “We can’t really arrest ourselves out of this... the solution to significantly reducing if not eradicating modern slavery within the UK is social awareness and social responsibility”. According to him, “[the] key to any effective prevent work is the partnership approach”. In explaining the idea of prevention through social awareness, James provided me with the example of drink driving and how this was “endemic” during the early 60s despite numerous deaths and multiple prosecutions. He argued that “the reason why drink driving reduced as significantly as it has is the social awareness, that socially its unacceptable to drink and drive” and went on to explain that the same needed to be done with modern slavery; “what we need to do ... be it a nail bar, a hand car wash ... whatever aspect of exploitation, that ... socially it’s unacceptable, and that will drive a lot of it down” (James).

Thus, these four focussing events really began to problematise and uncover the need for innovative approaches in tackling both modern slavery and the police responses to it. Heightened awareness of the issue, the introduction of relevant legislation throughout the UK, and the appointment of an Anti-Slavery Commissioner with religious affiliations himself created a new space in which police-Church collaborations could be considered.

### Involvement of key players

In addition to the impact of focussing events, a strong problem fit requires the acceptance of the problem by key players in the field. In this case, senior police officials throughout the UK have made the fight against modern slavery a priority and online research shows that every constabulary has a strategy in place. The creation of specialist roles on policing and modern slavery, the establishment of the MSPTU and the links between the Anti-Slavery Commissioner and UK law enforcement demonstrate the acceptance of the issue on this side of the partnership.

In addition to this, the effectiveness of the partnership lies in the fact that Church ‘officials’ have also publicly recognised the issue. The Pope has made numerous statements on the importance of tackling modern slavery and he has been described by some as “perhaps the greatest anti-slavery campaigner in our world today” (Pentin 2018). The Vatican has also stated that “trafficking in persons is ‘a shocking offence against human dignity and a grave violation of fundamental human rights’” (Gomes 2018). Similarly, the Archbishop of Canterbury Justin Welby has said that

“slavery is all around us, but we are too blind to see it. It is in our hands, and yet we are too insensitive to touch it. To change that, we do not face a problem of stupidity but of

awareness ... Today, we must again proclaim freedom, shocking the complacent and complicit, and giving hope to the enslaved” (The Archbishop of Canterbury 2016).

This understanding of the acceptance of the problem by key religious representatives is reiterated in the interview data. Mark stated that “Pope Francis has been quite clear that he wants more people prosecuted... So, he’s been quite clear that we need to make sure more people are prosecuted and ... that’s building that trusting relationship with law enforcement”. He goes on to say, “there is more focus on modern slavery now, and Pope Francis is, you know... really keeps pushing this, you know? So he said to the Cardinal, you know ‘keep going, this is really important”.

This recognition of the problem is key in producing a legitimate ‘window’ in which religious organisations can engage in a partnership with the police. Firstly, if the public (including Christian congregations) have accepted the problem as worthy of concern, they will expect the Church to engage with it - from a practical perspective, if the Church is to survive and thrive in modern society, it must understand and respond with whatever issues are important to “religious consumers” (Iannaccone and Berman 2006: 111) and present itself accordingly. In addition to this ‘bottom-up’ approach to encouraging Church involvement in the issue, there is also a ‘top-down’ element to cementing the partnership opportunities. As Hurd (2015) identifies,

“Engagement with top religious leadership is critical to engagement at the local level. Without buy-in at this level, leaders at the local level may be reluctant to participate in the program even if they are interested and personally supportive of the program” (USAID Program Guide on Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding *in* Hurd 2015: 49).

Thus, the acceptance of the problem by key institutional players is essential for a strong problem fit.

### Institutional Capacity

Finally, the establishment of the ‘problem stream’ relies on an understanding that the institutions involved in tackling the problem have the capacity to respond. All four interview participants made it clear that the drive for greater social awareness has been one of the main reasons for engaging with Church initiatives, and that the dual problems of modern slavery and police responses could be effectively served by the both the Church of England and the Catholic Church’s network capacity.

There is, of course, some question as to whether this perception of extensive religious networks in the UK is accurate. Statistics from the 2001 and 2011 Census questionnaires show a decline in Christian affiliation (Allen 2018: 9) and some argue that the cumulative effect of those who identified

as non-religious or belonging to a group other than Christianity is enough to demonstrate that Britain is no longer a country in which the Church holds sway (Allen 2018: 10). However, others would argue that despite an overall decline in 'official' religious affiliation, over half the population continued to identify as Christian - a significantly higher proportion than any other individual association to a religious group. Nevertheless, regardless of demographic statistics the fact remains that there are enough people – both lay and clergy – within the Church of England and the UK's Catholic Church networks to provide the institutional capacity required. Dinham and Lowndes argue that,

“faiths traditional to Britain are well placed to engage because of their organisational structures and networks... None have the weight of the diocesan structures of the Church of England, with its national reach ... the support of large diocesan regions ... and a local presence through the parish structure in every part of the country” (Dinham and Lowndes 2009: 9).

This understanding was reiterated during the interviews, where Churches were consistently perceived as having an extensive network of followers throughout the UK and beyond. Sophie argues that the strength of partnering with the Clewer Initiative lies in the fact that “we [the Church of England] do actually cover the whole of England ... we have a network that can span the entirety of England”. Mark refers to the Catholic Church as “a global network for good”; James states that “our monarch is the head of the Church of England, we have significant Catholic population” and Chris explains that “They [the Catholic Church and the Church of England] have got a large, sort of broad base of people they can give information to receive information from... what we're talking about is 'you've got a bunch of people and an infrastructure and I've got a bunch of people and an infrastructure... How can you help?'”.

These understandings are a significant step in justifying a police-Church partnership, and provide the final building block in creating an effective problem fit.

## Conclusion

In this section I have shown how the first part of Kingdon's multiple streams analysis – the 'problem fit' - has created an opportunity for police-Church partnerships. I have identified key focussing events that have created an awareness of the problem of modern slavery; an awareness of the need for police partnership; and the opportunity for Church involvement. I have also briefly highlighted the acceptance of the problem by key players such as the Anti-Slavery Commissioner, the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and finally demonstrated mutual understanding between



representatives of the partnerships as to the institutional capacity of Church networks to engage with the problem.

In the next chapter I will show how British politicians Tony Blair and David Cameron have created a distinct 'politics stream' using narratives of austerity and altruism. This second stream is comprised of these politicians' concepts of the 'Third Way' and the 'Big Society', and the assumption that faith groups (and others in the third sector) will fill the gaps created by the withdrawal of government funding in areas of civil society. I will also discuss how this larger narrative manifests itself in the participants' discourses, drawing on Baker's (2009) notions of religious and spiritual capital.

## Chapter Six: Angels in an Age of Austerity

### The Politics Stream, a Climate for Collaboration and the Mobilisation of Resources

The problem set above has outlined the ways in which modern slavery has become a salient issue in public rhetoric, and the recognition of a need for police partnerships. It has also begun to consider the capabilities of distinctive police-Church alliances in being able to rectify the problem. The next stream in Kingdon's analysis is the need for strong political support for change to take place. The 'politics stream' in this case will demonstrate how - through a series recent of austerity measures and political programmes - a climate for collaboration was created. I will reflect on how political rhetoric in the UK has created a 'gap' for partnership working, and why faith groups might be considered particularly suited to this. I will then draw on Baker's construct of religious and spiritual capital to consider how these conditions manifest themselves in the participants' discourses.

#### Neoliberalism, the Third Way and the Big Society

As outlined above, Catholic Church involvement in issues of modern slavery came about as early as 2009-2010 in response to concerns over trafficking during the London Olympics, and the Santa Marta group is now into its 5<sup>th</sup> year, having started in 2014. The Clewer initiative, whilst not officially launched until 2017 (Churches Together in Britain and Ireland 2017) would also have been conceived of during the early part of the decade. Therefore, whilst it may at first seem strange (and possibly outdated) to situate an understanding of police-Church partnerships in 2019 within political rhetoric of the previous two decades, it is important to understand the environment in which these partnerships originated.

Although it may be contested by some political scholars, the two decades of British history under Tony Blair and David Cameron (1997-2016) is sometimes categorised under the heading of 'neoliberalism' (Beckford 2012: 15). The process of neoliberalism, which can be traced back as far as the Thatcher era of the 1980s (ibid) "strongly embraces widespread privatization and individuality; ... calls for cutbacks in social and public services; and ... imposes increases in the cost of living" (Fisher 2006: 55). Hidden under the guise of 'welfare state restructuring', two central dimensions are common to both the ideology of neoliberalism and to the change in British politics - namely a shift in responsibility away from the state and onto the voluntary sector, and simultaneous cutbacks in social and public services.

Tony Blair presented this change as the 'Third Way'. Designed in part by sociologist Anthony Giddens - who became a central advisor to the Blair Government - the Third Way argued that in a globalised

world new forms of individuality, diversity and complexity had formed, and that there needed to be a new option between socialism and conservatism (Loyal 2003: 147). This 'Third Way' encouraged a shift away from government-provided services towards a commissioning of services in which the commercial sector, voluntary organisations and community organisations became central in service provision (Fisher 2006: 57). Tony Blair referred to this shift as 'a "community of communities"' (Beckford 2012: 15).

For David Cameron, a similar 'hands off' approach was termed the 'Big Society'. It was a response to the idea of a 'Broken Britain' - in which the country was in financial ruin due to excessive over-spending in the public sector and over-claiming of welfare benefits; and societal ruin due to a lack of civic responsibility and personal engagement. The Big Society therefore aimed to provide both a cheaper alternative to service provision and create a sense of British pride "by nurturing people's altruism, generosity of time and spirit, and [fostering a] sense of agency to change the things they feel most strongly about" (Evans 2011: 165). This rhetoric placed "great emphasis on the 'proud and longstanding charitable tradition' ... of the UK, as one of the main vehicles for their vision of civic renewal" (ibid), and encapsulated charities, co-operatives, voluntary groups and faith communities amongst others (ibid; Zehavi 2013: 568). This engagement with the third sector has only intensified since the economic crash of 2008 (Bullock and Johnson 2018: 77) and a new category of 'faith sector' was quickly framed as a large source of untapped potential – for resource provision, reduction of crime levels, access to potentially isolated communities and to strengthen social cohesion (Beckford 2012: 15).

The construction of police-Church partnerships in tackling modern slavery is thus a product of this 'gap in the market'. Political support for collaborative working in an age of austerity has created a window in which law enforcement can legitimately engage with faith communities and religious organisations to support their work.

### Situating the Discourses: Religious and Spiritual Capital

However, it is not enough that the 'window' is available. For the partnership to work the participants need to be convinced of the benefits of such a collaboration – it needs to be 'sold' as an effective and appropriate response to modern slavery. When discussing with interviewees the purpose of engaging with the Church in tackling modern slavery two dominant discourses – both clearly grounded in the political ideologies described above - come to light; religious capital and spiritual capital. Baker uses these dual concepts to explain how different sets of languages and values are utilised depending on the partners involved. Religious capital can be defined as "the practical

contribution to local and national life made by faith groups” and spiritual capital as “providing a theological identity and worshipping tradition, but also a value system, moral vision and a basis of faith” (Baker 2009: 111-112).

Baker explains that these concepts encapsulate;

“...the why and what of church (in this case) contributions to their communities. The ‘what’ we have defined as religious capital: that is, the concrete actions and resources that faith communities contribute. The ‘why’ we have defined as spiritual capital: that is, the motivating basis of faith, belief and values that shapes the concrete actions of faith communities and individuals” (ibid).

The twin concepts of new modes of service provision through financial contribution beyond the state, and the fostering of civic responsibility and nurturing personal altruism, are reflected clearly in the responses of the interview participants. In the following section I intend to demonstrate how these two narratives are engaged.

#### Religious Capital – the Church as a Source of Resources

The narrative created by the neoliberal concepts of the Third Way and the Big Society features a view that faith communities are able to provide “leadership, representation, assets and intelligence” (Chapman and Lowndes 2008: 59) - or to use Baker’s terminology, “religious capital” (2009). In a report written by the Arise Foundation in collaboration with the Conference of Religious England and Wales (COREW) the extent of this religious capital becomes apparent. In terms of people, the report documents 172 religious representatives working against slavery, totalling upwards of 643.5 years of service; a conservative estimate of the value of property offered for use comes in at £16,457,340; and £10,283,347 has been donated in the last 5 years to causes designed to tackle modern slavery and support victims (The Arise Foundation Conference of Religious England and Wales 2018). The interview data presented a variety of examples that echoed the findings of the Arise report, with all four participants highlighting the provision of tangible resources as an essential part of the partnership. This included creating education resources; providing and manning safe houses and reception centres; supplying personnel such as religious sisters who could assist the police in communicating with potentially vulnerable groups like sex workers and the homeless; and the creation of parish networks that encourage awareness building, information sharing and action.

Interestingly, the emphasis on ‘religious capital’ – what the Churches can provide – was accentuated within the context of a distinctly secular narrative. When asked if faith groups have anything specific to offer beyond their networking capabilities (as opposed to non-religious organisations), the

response was an emphatic “No. Not specifically faith” (Chris). The engagement with the faith-based element of these organisations is apparently of no consideration to the police, and it would be of no benefit to engage with this aspect of the groups. As Chris states when discussing partnership working,

“the actual sort of religious element has never even been mentioned. Not one phrase in it. So in that sense, I think you know, oh you’re just a useful contributor and actually... the organisation that you belong to is irrelevant”.

He goes on to say,

“the faith element of that [resource provision] is irrelevant. It could be any organisation. If they... if a community, if a business community decided to make ... buildings available, admin support, or the retail industry, that’s actually no different, their faith is irrelevant to that” (Chris).

However, despite the claim that ‘it could be any organisation’, the established and institutional nature of the Church does play a part in providing unique forms of capital and this requires recognition if the partnership is going to ‘sell’.

#### *Volunteer networks*

As part of the Big Society narrative, Chapman and Lowndes discovered a prevailing view amongst civil servants in the Home Office that faith groups could provide “volunteers, workers, buildings and even funds” (2008: 69) as well as “having the capacity to mobilize social networks, including in disadvantaged communities” (ibid). This view has already been touched upon as part of the problem stream - which considered the institutional capacity of the organisations - but here we have more specifically the mobilisation of volunteers. Chris saw the Church as “...a large chunk of people who could be vigilant eyes and ears, but also are a source of existing intelligence...” and Sophie stated, “you know there’s a role for the church absolutely... it’s that sort of grass roots intelligence that we can bring to the picture”.

Certainly, there is some evidence to support this view. Studies on the correlation between religiosity, church attendance and volunteerism abound. Some have found that while there is no significant correlation between religious beliefs and volunteerism on its own (Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg 1993: 47-48), Church attendance can have a significant impact in mobilising these resources. Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg discovered that “asking people to volunteer on behalf of their congregation is an efficient recruitment method and that such an institutional commitment may be an effective way to solve community problems” (ibid). The idea of engaging the Church

congregation as an 'efficient recruitment method' was reflected in the interview with Sophie from the Clewer Initiative, who said that for the police "it's about the network and that it's about that, you know, convening power and the fact that we can speak to so many people, I think that's the more interesting thing... for them [the police]... the faith aspect of it isn't hugely important to our discussions".

#### *Cost-effectiveness*

Another focus of the discourse was on funding and cost-effectiveness. The point of the Big Society narrative is to slot third sector organisations into the gaps where funding has been cut, but this idea relies heavily on those voluntary organisations having the resource capacity to fill those gaps. This money comes from private and corporate donations, and from government funds earmarked for particular causes, but as Fisher points out "as soon as state budgets must be trimmed, funding to voluntary organizations is first to go" (Fisher 2006: 62).

It would appear, however, that The Church is not seen to suffer from these risks to such an extent:

"I think it does come down to our perspective and the fact that we generally are coming in as a fairly neutral party, so we're not looking for funding, we're not looking for...you know to get a particular role in an organisation or in a partnership" (Sophie).

The Police representatives held a similar view, with James stating that,

"[with] a commercial enterprise there will be a vested interest ... so some of the more commercially based... so, they may be an NGO but it's still trying to run as a business. There may be other drivers that pull away from that other outcome of the very truly victim focused".

Mark also emphasised this point;

"Generally, the church is... it wants to do good... it's there... it's not there generally to ... generate profit, so it's, you know, everything that's done is for the good of somebody else. I'm not saying other organisations that generate profit aren't doing it for good, but there's always that underlying that 'we need to have the profit too'... The church isn't like that".

Of course, the idea that the church is not motivated by money or increasing attendance in a potentially secularising society is open for question. A reflection on the economics of religion by Iannaccone and Berman (2006) suggests that the Church is motivated by much more consumerist and capitalistic concerns. They explain that,

“...self-interest motivates clergy just as it does secular producers; that market forces constrain churches just as they constrain secular firms; and that the benefits of competition, the burdens of monopoly, and the hazards of government regulation are as real for religion as for any other sector of the economy” (2006: 110).

However, whilst this may be the case, it would be fair to say that both the Church of England and the Catholic Church in Britain are still significantly better funded than most NGOs. Furthermore, regardless of an economic analysis of these organisations, it is the *idea* of financial stability and reliability that is key to selling the benefits of the partnership.

#### *Experience*

Another nod to the strength of the Church is that it has a longstanding record of supporting and protecting the vulnerable, which makes them particularly useful as contributors. As Parekh explains,

“many of the problems facing modern societies are too complex and intractable to be tackled by the state alone, and require subtler approaches that religious organisations are well equipped to provide. Many of them have a long historical experience of running schools, hospitals and other charities and providing welfare services” (Parekh 2009: vi).

This historical experience is referred to in the interviews as a good reason for working with the Church. In explaining the work of Santa Marta, Mark explained, “the church - has obviously been helping people in difficult situations, destitution or people who are struggling for hundreds of years....” and Sophie promoted a similar narrative; “we already know that the church cares about normal people, cares about the marginalised, and so for us we just want to put modern slavery in that bracket as well”. The Church, then, is already well established in the social care arena and this puts them at a distinct advantage when working on issues of modern slavery. In presenting a potential collaboration to stakeholders, the Church is represented as capable and experienced, thus making any potential partnership work in this area easier to establish.

#### Religious Capital - Selling the Vision

Throughout the interviews, faith groups and Church networks were seen as ‘organisations’, ‘facilities’, and a ‘useful community’ who have ‘great potential’ to forward their campaign. As Mark explained; “I think the faith community, the faith groups are trying to move into the gaps... not trying, I think they are moving into the gaps where local authority funding’s been cut, because who else is gonna pick this up you know?”. James reiterated this view; “I just think to... exclude faith groups, we’d be missing a significant opportunity. I don’t think it’s essential necessarily but it’s a great opportunity”.

Referring to the negotiation of the collaboration, Mark says; “I go in [to the police] ... and say ‘look, this is this is something the Church can potentially offer you for nothing, so with your law enforcement budget shrinking, with the big intelligence gap you’ve got...with the inability to actually get into some communities...’ I take that [the data from the Arise Report] to a chief constable or a head of crime and say ‘look this is what the Church has provided ... do you want it?’”. Overall then - within the context of austerity, the Third Way and the Big Society - religious capital is the primary ‘selling point’ to convince the police of the value of the partnership.

### Spiritual capital – Doing the Right Thing

Where the religious capital narrative sits comfortably within the Big Society concept of a financially broken Britain, spiritual capital and the idea of motivating individuals into action lies in the objective of mending a societally broken Britain (Evans 2011: 167). Spiritual capital is about understanding and engaging with the rationale behind the provision of resources - recognising the reasons *why* religious actors to put their time, money and effort into a cause. This motivating force “energises religious capital by providing a theological identity and worshipping tradition, but also a value system, moral vision and a basis of faith” (Baker and Skinner 2006 *in* Baker 2012: 572) and can be described as a “set of values, ethical standpoints and visions for change held by both individuals, groups and institutions” (Baker, Stokes, et al. 2011: 6).

Thus, we see within the interview data that engaging in a police-Church partnership on the issue of modern slavery becomes about more than access to a repository of money, property and people - after all, despite the claim that it ‘could be any organisation’, an active choice was made to partner *with the Church*, and concepts of spiritual capital become a key defining aspect of the justification of the partnership. For James from the MSPTU, the value of the Church lies in its humanitarian ethos; “...going back to their *raison d’être* ... a Christian-based faith is one of forgiving support... the fact that their whole organisation is one of care and support just lends itself to it [partnership work on modern slavery]”. Chris also acknowledged the moral underpinnings of the Church’s motivations;

“they [the Church] are generally people who proactively want to do a good thing ...they’ll all be trying to do the right thing... and of course it’s all about, isn’t it? Everybody’s doing the moral angle to it, and I think that’s a really strong thing for them... if they saw something that’s immoral and wrong and harmful to individuals then I think they’d want to [help], because of the nature of what they are”.



The Big Society rhetoric placed great emphasis on “the importance of individual action, activism and self-reliance — people doing things to help themselves and each other *out of the goodness of their hearts or the fire in their belly ...*” (Evans 2011: 167 *emphasis added*) and this notion of selflessness is clearly reflected in the police representatives’ discourses. Of course, to a certain extent it is possible to argue that recognition and engagement of the Churches’ values and ethical underpinnings are simply a means of instrumentalization. Certainly, if spiritual capital is the motivating factor for the provision of religious capital (Baker, Stokes, et al. 2011: 6) it would make sense to acknowledge this as a means of easing the transfer of more tangible goods. However, this sceptical consideration is not the full story. Religious groups are seen as a unique source in “re-moralising public life” (Baker 2012: 569) and spiritual capital can go beyond material supplies to bring key values and principles to societal practices (ibid).

This is most obvious in the conversation with Sophie, who engages fully in the Christian narrative of love and care as the reason behind the Clewer Initiative’s work. She says:

“You know the theology of the Church of England is that we’re responsible for everybody in England, so there’s that kind of sense of duty of care as well and... duty of love... We should have this idea that ... every person is precious to god and should also be precious to us... and so slavery is a corruption of that...”.

Thus, I turn now to some of Baker and Skinner’s subcomponents of spiritual capital to investigate its potential impact further.

### *Hope*

One of the key aspects of spiritual capital is the idea of hope. Baker and Skinner explain, “Christians, or other people of faith, as individual conduits of spiritual capital, are seen as bringing ‘hope into hopeless’ situations and offering a deep hope for the future to suffering and marginalised people” (2006: 14). This is often done by recognising that communication and valuing people’s feelings are as important in rectifying a situation as physical factors (Baker and Skinner 2006: 14-16). For some, “...faith-based services are effective precisely because they are provided by people of faith” and that “religious practitioners can tap into transcendent motivations and supernatural reservoirs of power and perseverance that amplify the impact of their service. Faith is also said to make a difference because it leads practitioners to treat beneficiaries with love, dignity, and high moral expectations” (Grimm et al. 2005: 197).

Whether or not members of the partnership ‘tap into supernatural reservoirs of power’, it is clear is that hope, love and communication have proven key for supporting victims of modern slavery.

Sophie describes the importance of sending Christian representatives into situations to support victims of modern slavery;

“If you’re sort of speaking to somebody who is a Christian... to talk to somebody who fully fundamentally believes that they are a piece of God on this earth, that for me would be... would make a difference... I would hope that as that relationship is built that they would come to that understanding that they are loved unconditionally by that person”.

The need for that individualised support, time and communication is vital to the protection of victims of modern slavery, but it is not something the police can readily provide. As James explains,

“as police, we’re geared and tooled up to nick people, you know ...it the softer, the awareness side of it... that’s not our primary role... we the police are not best equipped to deal with that broader element ... of pastoral care for victims”.

In the interviews, religious organisations were described as providing a space where victims can feel safe and cared for. Mark explains that some might just want to sit, or to sleep without fear; James highlighted the story of a lady in her early 20s who was being taught to ride a bike for the first time. Other examples included talking to people in homeless shelters, expressing concern over their welfare and trying to limit potential entrapment; or speaking to victims of sex trafficking, allowing them to express their feelings and fears or being given the opportunity to pray with a member of the clergy if they wanted to. All four participants recognised that victims from other countries may have had experiences of corrupt or violent police officers, or had their status as an immigrant, sex worker or homeless person criminalised, and as such could be reluctant or too scared to work with the police directly. Sophie explains that religious organisations can “bridge the gap”, and that “there’s definitely a role there for the church, as trusted individuals within a community... to help the police get the information they need without traumatising somebody”. These examples all rely on spiritual capital, and the key to their success is trust and hope.

#### *Transformation and Prayer*

Transformation is about a deep, inner change to members of a Church group such that they can transform their wider communities. This part of spiritual capital is about engagement, learning and prayer as ways of positively transforming the area in which they live (Baker and Skinner 2006: 14). The role of networks as a form of religious capital has already been mentioned, but it is here that we hear the stories of change and transformation within those networks. As a result of various information events through the South-East, Mark has noted that “there’s now little pockets of activity starting to be created across the diocese”. One such ‘pocket’ stands out as a clear example

of the transformative nature of spiritual capital in changing a community, where 2 people in a parish worked tirelessly on modern slavery awareness-raising projects, and eventually created a diocese-wide network against modern slavery. Mark explains that this example “shows the power of the Church... that there are people, there is these organisations that want to go out and do good, you know...”. Communities can induce the ‘power of the church’ by their desire to ‘go out and do good’, and in so doing transform wider society.

According to Baker and Skinner, prayer is also relevant in aspects of transformation and expressions of spiritual capital more generally, and they highlighted this as a significant addition to practical action; “Church members can pray to transform attitudes and lives - sometimes even miraculously” (2006: 14-15). In relation to the interviews, the concept of prayer as part of the partnership elicited mixed responses.

For James and Chris the power of prayer was not a consideration - although this is not necessarily surprising given that their engagement with the Church lies within the operationalisation of specific religious resources. For Mark, though, prayer has been a feature of his partnership work. As the deputy director of the Santa Marta group, he comes into more direct contact with Church representatives than either James or Chris. In one anecdote he described a partnership situation in which he was “trying to talk about operational activity and how we wanted to do stuff, and they sort of stopped me and said, ‘what about the power of prayer? The power of prayer is important, and we need to do more about this’...”. This was a challenging and uncomfortable situation for him, but it later became clear that “you can’t sort of ignore that side of it, you can’t ignore the faith side”. He began to understand “how important it is to so many people” and also saw it as a motivating opportunity; “if that’s a way I can generate some interest and if people want to pray and do that then great, fine, and that might have some positive outcome .. it certainly will for them, and if that generates some interest and activity then great” (Mark).

Finally, of the four participants, Sophie was the most expressive in matters of prayer, and she explained that prayer and worship *should* be transformative;

“I’m really keen that people see action against modern slavery as an expression of their faith, an expression of worship, and that caring for other people should be part of your worship... praying for others around you who might be being enslaved or might be at risk of being enslaved...”.

Transforming a community then, is about more than having a place to deliver training or the money to distribute leaflets. It is about engaging with the inner motivations of people and encouraging

them to see the world in a different way, and spiritual capital can be the driving force behind this change.

#### *Time commitment*

As shown above, spiritual capital is a significant point of departure for a successful partnership and for the eventual mobilisation of religious capital, but it is not without its difficulties. Love, hope and transformation are intangible resources that require time and personal engagement, and this can be a challenge for a police force who are time-poor and constantly renegotiating priorities.

In the interviews there was some frustration expressed at the difference in working between the police and the Church; “[The] police is very much bang bang bang bang bang, the church isn’t. And I’ve been there two years, and its still quite frustrating” Mark stated. However, it is the potential for longer term commitment that cements the partnership so well. Eradicating modern slavery is “not going to happen overnight” (Sophie) and the spiritual capital of the Church offers a counterbalance to a policing practice that is described as “short term, crisis management, kneejerk ...” and “all about harm, risk and threat, identifying opportunities to solve a problem, and then [moving] onto the next thing” (Mark). This is neatly summed up by the comment, “I guess another part of being in the church as that you do have a sort of eternal perspective and so its er... like it’s a long haul isn’t it you know?” (Sophie).

#### Spiritual Capital - Selling the Vision

Spiritual capital in its various forms is used to further cement the police-Church relationship and serves as a powerful motivator to encourage the Church to engage with the partnership. Sophie explains how partnership representatives can go to a church group and say “how can you make sure that your church is... part of this expression and is making a stand against modern slavery as part of our mission and values?” – or as Mark succinctly put it; “I can go in [to a Church] and say ‘look... you as Christians, us as Christians, or you as Catholics, do we want to do something about this? Do we want to help?’”. Thus, the engagement with broad Christian theological underpinnings – including the narratives of hope and transformation, love and care - are engaged as a ‘selling point’ in order to encourage the ‘buy-in’ of a potentially extensive and useful network.

Furthermore, spiritual capital serves as the unifying element between the two sides of the partnership. James argued that “...the experience with the faith groups is that ... the vision for the successful journey is the same, so we tend to take a similar path...[T]he vision of a shared outcome is very similar”. Mark had a similar perspective; “...things with the police and the church is very similar. People go to the church in a time of need, they go to the police in a time of need, if they need to be cared for they go to the church or they might go to the police, so... in a way there is some similarities

about what our purpose is". The police-Church partnership thus becomes something that is conceived of as morally right as well as practically productive. Both groups are represented in a positive light, and a notion of joint spiritual capital goes some way towards overriding potential scepticism and fear of the partnership. By not only utilising Christian spiritual capital but unifying it with police motivations, participants are able to encourage buy in from all sides and help to present a united front in the stand against modern slavery.

## Conclusion

The overarching idea in the neoliberal discourse is that "opportunities have been created for faith-groups to fill the gap, through both voluntary and increasingly professionalized service organizations" (Beckford 2012: 6-7). Engaging with the church, then, is not simply 'luck of the draw'. Whether the partnership was first conceived of because of the Church's visibility – "the people that tend to be... historically a bit more useful commodities because they're a bit more easily identifiable have been churches" (Chris) - its moral standing – "the church is a global network for good" (Mark) - or its resource potential – "to exclude faith groups we'd be missing a significant opportunity" (James) – the faith community is one of the best ways to fill the gaps left by this political standpoint, and can provide certain policing functions as part of the Big Society (Bullock and Johnson 2018: 77). Research shows that Church communities are more proactive and willing to engage in civil matters if they can be reached successfully. Putnam, who has done a significant amount of work on bridging and bonding capital in religious communities, "finds religiosity to be a strong correlate of civic engagement..." (Jamoul and Wills 2008: 2038), and findings suggest that those who actively practice a religion are more likely to be involved in civic participation, decision making, volunteering and lobbying than those who do not (Dinham and Lowndes 2008: 819-820; Grimm et al. 2005: 5-9). Furthermore, movements such as Jubilee 2000, Make Poverty History and other fair trade, anti-debt and anti-war movements demonstrate "that faith organisations have both the values and people necessary to organise over matters of social and economic justice" (Jamoul and Wills 2008: 2038).

In this chapter I have demonstrated how participants in the police-Church partnership engage a combination of religious and spiritual capital (within this political context) in order to justify and 'sell' the partnership to various members. This concept is not new. Iannoccone and Berman (2006), and Dinham and Lowndes (2008) demonstrate their own versions of these narratives. Interestingly, both papers find that there is very little overlap between who is speaking and the narrative engaged; as Dinham and Lowndes explain it, there is an "absence of any shared paradigm" (2008: 818) and that "different stakeholders... tell quite different stories about faith engagement" (ibid). Whilst using

different terminology, these research findings broadly echo my own identification of distinct discourses. I found that all three representatives who have direct experience of policing (James, Mark and Chris) explicitly utilised the religious capital narrative far more readily than that of spiritual capital, whereas Sophie was much more comfortable talking about faith and the spiritual motivations for her work. However, having said this, many stories came to light where spiritual capital was of as much value as tangible resources. Whilst it might not be conceived of as 'spiritual capital' it still plays an important role in creating an effective collaboration within a political context of austerity and altruism. Through engagement with the dual rhetorics of religious and social capital, therefore, my interview participants can 'sell' the idea of the police-Church partnership, achieve 'buy-in' at each level and thus create a potentially transformative collaboration in the fight against modern slavery.

Closely related to the neoliberal construct of the faith sector as a resource, I will now discuss the third and final stream – the 'faith stream' – and the means by which it constructs distinct bounded categories of what constitutes legitimate religion. Drawing once again on Blair's and Cameron's phraseology, I will identify the twin notions of 'good' and 'bad' religion and consider how these play out in the participants' discourses.

## Chapter Seven: Slaves and Salvation

### Doing God, the Faces of Faith and the Construction of Good and Bad Religion

Drawing once again on Kingdon's multiple streams analysis for the production of a window of opportunity, the third and final stream I intend to demonstrate is the 'faith stream' and how this plays out in the interview data. As demonstrated above, the past two decades have seen a proliferation of the idea that the third sector can be engaged and operationalised to the benefit of society. However, hidden within this narrative is also a very powerful construct of what religion is and who should be allowed into this arena - epitomised by the comments of both Blair and Cameron, and reflective of a distinctly contextual understanding of religion in an age of securitization. This stream is essential to creating a 'gap in the market' for the partnership to happen as it legitimises the engagement of religion in civil society as something that was hidden but should now be celebrated, but in order for the collaboration to be successful partners must negotiate this new construct carefully.

#### Faces of Faith

As part of his Third Way approach and his intention to instrumentalise religious organisations, Blair was known to speak prolifically about the role of faith in society. During his time in office Blair and his team created distinct boundaries on what religion should look like and how it should behave; and he created a powerful binary construct between 'good' religion and 'bad' religion, or as he termed it, the 'two faces of faith':

"There are two faces of faith in our world today. One is seen not just in acts of religious extremism, but also in the desire of religious people to wear their faith as a badge of identity in opposition to those who are different. The other face is defined by extraordinary acts of sacrifice and compassion—for example, in caring for the sick, disabled or destitute" (Blair 2012).

One face - he explains - is about service to others, it recognises equal dignity and it promotes understanding. The other face rejects outsiders and unbelievers, it is withdrawn from society, and is hostile (ibid). He promoted the idea that these two 'types' of faith are in constant conflict with one another – that "all over the world, this battle between the two faces of faith is being played out..." (ibid). Thus - by implication – 'good' religion must make itself known and move into the public sphere in order to triumph over evil.

Interestingly, it would appear that this construct was more than just a clever political tool to mobilise resources and enhance narratives of securitization – it also fed directly into his personal experiences of faith. In a speech leading up to the 2001 general election, he invoked his own narrative of faith and Christianity, claiming that his “version of Christianity” was “an open and inclusive one, committed to diversity and social inclusion” (Smith 2004: 193). However, despite his regularly extolling the virtues of religion – and Christianity more specifically – this view was not held by all his cabinet. In 2003 Alistair Campbell – Tony Blair’s director of strategy and communications (or ‘spin doctor’ (Engelke 2012: 158)) – interrupted an interview in which Blair was asked about his faith by saying “We don't do God...I'm sorry. We don't do God” (Brown 2003), implicitly expressing a common perception that politics and religion should be kept separate and that religion should remain in the (highly academically contested) ‘private sphere’ (Engelke 2012: 158). To affiliate oneself with religion was to appear illogical, irrational and incapable, as Blair himself explained in an interview many years later:

“It's difficult if you talk about religious faith in our political system... If you are in the American political system or others then you can talk about religious faith and people say 'yes, that's fair enough' and it is something they respond to quite naturally...You talk about it in our system and, frankly, people do think you're a nutter” (Wynne-Jones and Hennessy 2007).

Regardless of the personal motivations behind these statements or how Blair experienced religion himself, it is important to understand that this narrative embedded itself into the public consciousness, and brought with it certain expectations. Religious organisations and faith communities were now faced not only with the challenging binary construct of ‘religion versus secular’, but also the management of an equally testing construct of ‘good faith versus bad faith’. All manner of religious organisations, identities, communities and even teachings were now required to be shoehorned into one category or the other, and to prove themselves accordingly.

Cameron’s government also made explicit their commitment to engaging with faith. As well as earmarking further financial support for religious engagement projects, their connection to Christianity and the Church was made explicit through a rhetoric that cemented the idea of a ‘Christian Britain’. In 2010 Baroness Sayeeda Warsi – the Conservatives former chair – stated: “If anyone suggests that this government does not understand, does not appreciate, does not defend people of faith, dare I even say does not ‘do God’, then I hope my schedule this week [within the Bishops conference] will go some way to banishing that myth” (Allen 2018: 4-5). Two years later she said, “faith has a proper space in the public sphere . . . People need to feel stronger in their religious



identities, more confident in their beliefs . . . this means individuals not diluting their faith and nations not denying their religious heritage” (ibid). Similarly, Cameron said that “the Bible has helped to give Britain a set of values and morals which make Britain what it is today” (Allen 2018: 6), and went on to state that,

“Some people feel that in this ever more secular age we shouldn’t talk about [religion]. I completely disagree. I believe we should be more confident about our status as a Christian country, more ambitious about expanding the role of faith-based organisations, and, frankly, more evangelical about a faith that compels us to get out there and make a difference to people’s lives” (2018: 8).

However, once again these statements were not without their caveats. There are claims that whilst Cameron said that the Church of England and other Churches are very important in society, he also said that ‘he does not feel he has a “direct line” to God, and that he does not drop to his knees and pray for guidance’ (Religious Liberty 2009) - indicating an implicit distinction between reasonable, logical faith and the actions of a “nutter” – or as Grayling would term it “the ‘cancer of unreason’ that marks religious faith” (Grayling 2006: 43 *in* Engelke 2013: 203).

Blair and Cameron’s insistence on associating only with a particular ‘type’ of religion are not without context. Over the last two decades a significant number of events have been noted as having distinctly ‘religious’ underpinnings, and these have “problematized and sensitized the issue of religion in the eyes of many, and so polarized debate about the social benefits of religion” (Baker 2012: 568). The most obvious of these are the string of terrorist attacks associated with Islam, including 9/11 and the 2005 London bombings (Baker 2012: 568; Allen 2018: 8; Dinham and Lowndes 2008: 818; Chapman and Lowndes 2008 63-64; Zehavi 2013: 569; Beckford 2012: 14) and a series of riots that fused issues of race and ethnicity with that of religion (Baker 2012: 568; Dinham and Lowndes 2008: 818; Allen 2018: 8). These violent episodes – alongside social deprivation in some pockets of society identified by their religious affiliation; increasing migration and a change in demographics; and a general attitude of discrimination and prejudice (especially Islamophobia) purported by the British media– have led to a ‘securitisation’ of religion (Allen 2018; Beckford 2012; 14) and a construction of faith “as a property of the ‘other’” (Chapman and Lowndes 2008: 63-64). Under these circumstances, therefore, British politicians – who needed to acknowledge these growing fears but also wished to engage faith communities in their visions of a neoliberal government - were required to construct a binary narrative that could serve both purposes. As Furbey explains,

“The charge that religion is irrational is joined by the related objection that religion is a source of social division, bloody conflict and tyranny. This view of religion as ‘problem’ is reflected in UK government antiterrorism strategies. Yet other policy strands identify ‘faith’ as ‘solution’, contributing significantly to voluntary action, civic partnership, the renewal of civil society and (although there is some ambivalence here) social cohesion policies (Furbey 2009: 27).

### Negotiating ‘good’ and ‘bad’ religion

The ‘faces of faith’ provides a compelling narrative that constructs certain forms of certain religions as needing to be recognised and engaged as problem solvers, whilst marginalising and oppressing anything that does not fit into the categories as delineated by ‘expert’ and ‘governed’ religion (Hurd 2015). The negotiation of a rhetoric in which religion is irrational and a source of conflict, but also as a solution to civil problems, is constantly played out within the partnership. The issues of securitisation, privatisation of religion and perceived secularity of UK society presents a challenge that must be carefully managed and addressed on both sides. As James explained;

“I think we live in an ever increasingly secular world and...we have to be careful because there are those that would almost shun activity if it were faith based ... there needs a degree of balance I think”. Furthermore, the challenge for the police of being associated with religion in an assumed secular society is mirrored in the challenges faced by the Church and their faith communities, as Sophie pointed out: “I think the main thing is that we are working together and that we’re seen to be working together ...because you know we’re in a time where its increasingly difficult to be religious perhaps...”.

Implicated in these two statements is an understanding that religions are viewed as “a cause of division and tension” (Glover and Topping 2006 *in* Cheeseman and Khanum 2009: 55). For the police the potential mobilisation opportunities offered by religious communities in the UK must be carefully balanced against an image of supposed neutral secularity in order that the public are not alienated by the advocacy work being done (see Engelke 2012 and Ahdar 2013 for the problematisation of neutral secularity); whilst for the Church the struggle is in being recognised as valid within this view. In order to negotiate these challenges all participants seem willing to accept the social view of a clear, bounded and organised religious community. For the police to engage with more fluid or less institutionalised notions of religiosity would be challenging and potentially detrimental to their work in the face of the good/bad religion divide. However, as Iannaccone and

Berman note, “the organizational features we associate with religion ... including congregations, denominations, and clergy, are strictly analogous to those of secular industries” (2006: 8) - thus, organised or ‘official’ religion can be understood as having a common point of departure to secular organisations like the police. From the Church perspective, accepting and promoting a discrete and bounded concept of religion lends them agency and authenticity (Hurd 2015: 42), which again allows for an easier formation of the partnership. “In short”, as Blair (2012) stated, “we need religion-friendly democracy and democracy-friendly religion”.

#### Issues of trust and legitimacy

This idea of ‘agency and authenticity’ is highlighted in the interviews. James refers to the Clewer Initiative as having “a great deal of credibility because it’s a foundation or an arm of the Church of England” and claims the same regarding the links with Santa Marta, “you know the Catholic Church, it has a great credibility...”.

Various studies have demonstrated that when faith-based organisations *do* work with the police on an issue, this view of credibility and legitimacy improves police responses. It is generally understood that “some citizens lack confidence in the police, do not report crimes or emerging problems, and that this influences crime control” (Bullock and Johnson 2018: 79) and that “because victims are frightened of law enforcement and immigration officials, these officers need institutional partners to assist in their efforts” (Lagon 2014: 157). Bullock and Johnson found that “police engagement with faith communities and FBOs is seen as central to enhancing crime control and promoting police legitimacy” (2018, 79) – an opinion shared by the participants in my study. Sophie pointed out that, “...a lot of victims of modern slavery may not trust the police at all, either because of previous experiences or because they’re from a country where the police aren’t particularly trustworthy anyway...and so, sometimes there needs to be a go between”. This issue was also acknowledged by Chris, who said, “I can see how easily it would be ... for someone from a different country with a strong religious upbringing, would see he [a Chaplain or Clergy member] is the most legitimate person to speak to”. Faith-based assistance in tackling issues of modern slavery is obviously of benefit then, but this can only happen if the police constabularies ‘buy-in’ to the idea. In an era of heightened awareness of religion, therefore, the idea of a credible, benign and trustworthy Church fits nicely into the ‘faces of faith’ rhetoric that the public are so familiar with.

However, the Church has not always been understood as an altruistic actor in the public sphere. Both the Church of England and the Catholic Church has, at times, come under fire on issues of homophobia (Wyatt 2019; BBC News 2017a; BBC News 2019i; BBC News 2015; Roberts 2019),

racism (BBC News 2019g; Bashir 2016; Wynne-Jones 2007; Horan 2019) and child abuse (Rudgard 2018; Sherwood 2019a; Sherwood 2019b; BBC News 2019f; Baynes 2019; DW n.d; BBC News 2019h). Although such stories were not raised explicitly in the interviews, issues of trust could not be ignored when participants were asked about the benefits and limitations of the police-Church partnership. Sophie recognised that, "...you know there will be some victims of modern slavery that you know the church is an absolute turn off... or it's possibly not a good idea to go in with a Christian organisation, because the church is, you know, has not been innocent in... in every situation". Chris alluded slightly more directly to these stories when he said that,

"it may be that certain people were involved in investigations of a different criminality, but where it was largely focused on... sort of faith based organisations – and you probably understand what I'm talking about – and it may well be that people have got some slight reluctance because perhaps they think that there is, like ..... you know a cover up mentality, would they be as open as they say they are?" (Chris)

Views such as these could have a significantly detrimental effect on the success of the partnership. As Jamoul and Wills explain, "many secular organisations—and academics —have no time for this belief in the power of religious faith to change lives, institutions and systems... Many emphasise the patriarchal and homophobic traditions of all the major religions and argue that there is no scope for working across the secular and religious divide" (2008: 2048). How then do the police and the Church manage this issue? How could the police choose to allow such people to work with the victims of modern slavery if the Church itself is considered a threat to the vulnerable? This concern – that the Church is not wholly altruistic and good – would offer a series of risks to the partnership if were to go unchecked and unjustified. On the other hand, to condemn the whole Church would limit access to resources and spaces of potential exploitation that religious groups seem uniquely able to offer.

In response to this challenge, the participants' narratives locate such violations of trust as anomalies within an otherwise stable and trustworthy organisational structure. What the interviewees are grappling with here is one aspect of 'bad' religion, which is "...associated with the failure of the state to properly domesticate it—or, in some cases, of religion to properly domesticate itself' (Hurd 2015: 23). It is within the idea of 'domesticating' religion (or the failure to do so) that we begin to see an opportunity for such concerns to be mitigated. Such mistakes have happened, it's true, but these are down to individuals within the police or the Church, rather than either organisation as a whole:

"I think in all relationships things will work well because of individuals and things will go wrong because of others, and it's just trying to make sure that you keep the dialogue open

so that if you go to the reception centre and one idiot says a wrong thing people realise that its one idiot, it's not everybody" (Mark).

"...I think again more down to an individual thing than a representation of the organisation ... it may well be that people have got some slight reluctance ... But I think that's sometimes more ...indicative of that one person's experience and thoughts, rather than the responsibility of everybody. I think if somebody was reluctant to engage with a faith group because of what certain priests might have done in the 70s, 80s, then perhaps they might have to look at themselves and say how many police officers have ever been corrupt and involved in crime and there's probably as many..."

This approach allows the 'two faces of faith' to remain intact. Those who carry out actions against the prescribed morality of society (or those who hold these examples as reasons to avoid engaging with religion) become anomalies. They are outside of, or do not understand, 'good' religion, and as such their failure to act in a 'domesticated' manner is an individual fault, not that of the bounded church community.

#### Proselytising

The view of 'controlled' versus 'unpredictable' religion is further highlighted in the general attitude towards overt displays of faith by the religious groups. Cheeseman and Khanum (2009) point out that there is a "secular dislike of religious expression in general" (54) and that British public culture is "so aggressively secular that Tony Blair as Prime Minister was not prepared to admit he had prayed with George Bush" (ibid). Baker found a similar attitude in his work on spiritual and religious capital. The language of spiritual capital – why religious organisations do what they do – was held with great suspicion; they discovered fears that engagement in such language would be used as a means of "converting or proselytising clients" (Baker 2012: 572).

This attitude of keeping faith private was clear throughout my research. Despite the police engaging – to a certain extent - with the spiritual capital narrative, there was a pervading view (expressed in various ways) that talk of religious doctrines and beliefs should be kept to a minimum. As Engelke (2012) points out, "even if most people are not part of an aggressively atheist vanguard, the general populace is wary about too much religion and does not like to be preached at", and as such the privatisation of religious belief is understood as a key element of a viable partnership.

For religious organisations - who do not want to be identified as 'irrational' - an effort must be made to consider this attitude. In his work on the representation of religion in public spaces in Swindon, Engelke found that "[the Bible Society of England and Wales] staff have long felt [that] there is no point shoving "religion" down people's throats" (2012: 157). A similar view was expressed by Sophie

in her interview when she said, “we don’t proselytise in the work that we do so ... I think that, you know, that would obviously be sticking point with lots of people”.

This understanding - that the promotion of faith would likely alienate other members of the partnership - came as something of a surprise For Mark, who works to link police and Church representatives together. “All of this stuff that I’ve done” he said, “and even though I work with the Bishops’ conference and I work with a priest and I work with the Bishop very closely, none of it is ... trying to ram religion down your throat? Which has been quite an eye opener I thought”. James expressed a similar view when asked about the potential difficulties of working with Church organisations. He explained that he hadn’t come across any particular challenges to date, and he put this down to the fact that, “the religious side is a very modest part of what they’re trying to deliver...it’s a very soft religious approach, it isn’t evangelical”.

Chris’ approach to issues of proselytising and evangelism were similar, but they took a more comparative, secular approach. Linking back to the previous argument that the organisational structure of the Christian Church is comparable to that of secular industries (Iannaccone and Berman 2006: 8), Chris argued that the behavioural expectations regarding the promotion of ideas should also be the same;

“I think, if you removed the faith bit and asked the same question of any other organisation, ... would you expect them to proactively tell everyone how good [they] were? You wouldn’t would you? In the same way, I wouldn’t expect to anticipate that through their [religious organisations’] contribution they would push the fact that people should favour them, either as a faith community or any individual denominations”.

To further emphasise the view that religious organisations should behave in a similar manner to secular ones, any instances of proselytising or evangelism can be explained (in much the same way as when violations of public trust have occurred) as the fault of the individual: “I think if it ever became an issue, I think it would probably be indicative of that individual person rather than ... the title organisation. You could have some rogue priest ... But I think its... that’s a failure of him as a person, rather than representative of the whole” (Chris). Proselytising, then becomes nothing more than “‘the deluded fanatic’ peddling ‘religious enthusiasm’” (Hume 1742 *in* Cheeseman and Khanum 2009: 56).

Finally, for the police - who would not want to be associated with forceful ‘bad religion’ or ‘deluded fanatics’ - the primary focus of discussions must be operational, and faith put to the side. As Baker points out, faith-based discourse makes people nervous, and is viewed as “impassioned and rhetorical – indeed verging on the irrational” (Baker 2012: 572) and thus should not be brought to the fore in partnership discussions if at all possible. Describing one of the Bishops that Chris works

closely with, he explained, “if you speak to him, he’s just a very very educated, rational logical bloke ... he would just talk mechanically about whatever I’ve asked him. In no way would he ever mention any religious aspect at all”. In essence, when engaging with the police it is incumbent upon Christian organisations to “use a language that is open— in effect, to “endorse John Rawls’ idea that participation in the public square requires publicly accessible thinking”” (Spencer 2006: 29 *in* Engelke 2013: 141). Thus the two faces of faith come into play again; sharing your religious convictions is a threat and conducive of ‘bad’ religion – extreme, fundamentalist and irrational - whereas ‘good’ religion is that which quiet and unassuming, able to engage with the police and wider society in a secular manner, and simply gets on with the matter at hand. ‘Good’ religion keeps ‘god-talk’ in the private sphere and does not allow beliefs to impinge upon debates or public issues (Engelke 2013: 141, 202-203).

## Conclusion

In this section I have demonstrated that for a Police-Church partnership to be effective, it must be able to situate itself within the political rhetoric that Blair’s ‘two faces of faith’. The window of opportunity has become available because of claims that faith has a proper space in the public sphere, but this must be modified and controlled within the context of securitisation and secular neutrality. As Hurd explains, within the two faces narrative “...‘religion’ appears as an aspect of social difference that is both a potential problem (a cause of violence and discord) and its own solution, inasmuch as... cooperation can be institutionalized, extremists marginalized, and religion’s benevolent tendencies harnessed” (Hurd 2015: 10). Thus, to make the partnership work – and to achieve buy-in at every level – the participants engage in a discourse that constructs a “moderate” and “tolerant” religion (ibid: 4) that can then be operationalised “for the public good.” (ibid: 10).

## Chapter Eight: A light in the Darkness?

### Conclusions and reflections

Modern slavery is a violation of people's basic human rights and dignity, and as society has become more aware of how it manifests itself, so the movement to challenge it has gained momentum – both within the police force and the Christian community. Law enforcement have stepped up their responses by developing specific units to deal with instances of the crime, providing awareness training to officers on the ground and forging links with government and community initiatives. Both the Catholic Church and the Church of England have delivered passionate declarations and emotive calls to action – arguing that modern slavery is “an open wound on the body of contemporary society” (Glatz 2014) and that “human trafficking [is] a terrible sin” but if we can open our eyes and act on what we see “we can set people free, set our society and nation free” (Cumming 2017).

The purpose of this study was to explore how police-Church partnerships in tackling modern slavery are understood by the participants themselves, moving beyond a statistical description of resource provision to consider the underlying assumptions and frameworks that have allowed the alliance to flourish. It may seem that as both parties are keen to eradicate this crime, a partnership between the Police and the Church would be a natural step towards this goal. However, as this thesis has shown, the formation and ongoing work of these partnerships – far from being organic or inevitable – is in fact highly contextually specific and bounded by certain expectations and ideas. This paper has taken a qualitative approach to the study of two specific police-church partnerships to bring to light this hidden area of work and to argue the following things: Firstly, that the collaboration has happened because a contextually specific ‘window of opportunity’ was created; and secondly that representatives of the partnerships negotiate distinct discourses within the confines of this window.

A window of opportunity – the convergence of three contextual streams

Drawing on Kingdon's work on policy implementation and multiple streams analysis, I have argued that the successful formation of police-Church partnerships has been the result of the convergence of three distinct contextual ‘streams’. Kingdon's work focuses on ideas, and how they “float around in what he calls a ‘policy primeval soup’” (Kingdon 2011 [1984]: 116–144 *in* Béland 2016: 236), in which concepts “bump into one another and combine in various ways” (Kingdon 2011 [1984]: 218 *in* Béland 2016: 236). The approach looks at how distinct streams featuring a variety of ideas co-exist, and how sometimes they will converge and create a window of opportunity. Whilst this approach was originally designed for the analysis of policy implementation (see Gardner 2018; Béland 2006; De Wals et al 2009 etc) I applied this framework to analyse the implementation of the partnership



itself. I have shown that, when combined, these streams – a ‘problem’ stream, a ‘politics’ stream and a ‘faith’ stream – created the social, political and economic conditions in which the Police and Church were able partner effectively.

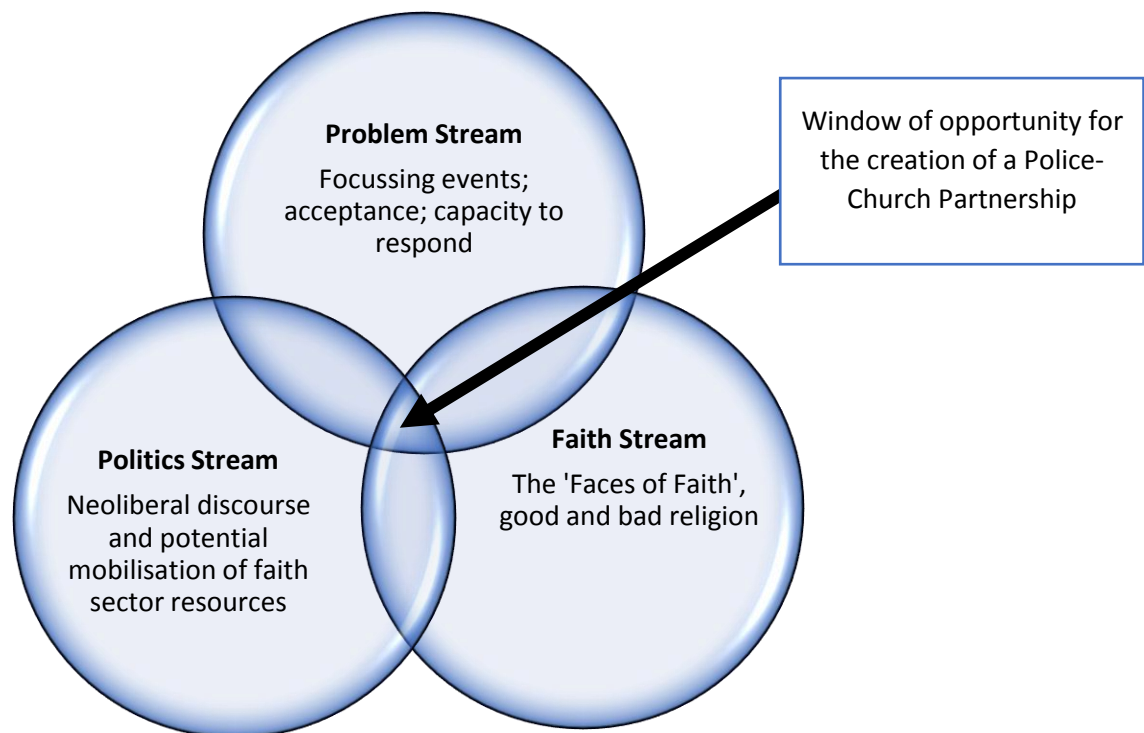
The first stream demonstrates how both the ‘problem’ of modern slavery and the ‘problem’ of police responses have been acknowledged and addressed. I have shown how various incidents have highlighted both the problems and the potential solution (in the form of the partnership); that the Church and the police accept that modern slavery needs to be addressed; and that both the Church of England and the Catholic Church are perceived to have wide networks that will help to rectify the identified problem. By demonstrating three subcomponents - events that stimulate action; acceptance by key players; and the institutional capacity to respond – I have shown how the initial opportunity for combined police-Church action has arisen.

The second stream has focussed on the creation of a certain political climate in which the idea of partnerships for the benefit of civil society has become expected. Broadly termed neoliberalism, I have discussed how both Tony Blair and David Cameron encouraged state withdrawal from welfare provision in favour of third sector involvement. These austerity movements – termed the Third Way and the Big Society respectively – implement narratives of personal responsibility, community cohesion and charitable goodwill as the means by which society can be ‘fixed’, and as such frame the faith sector as an untapped resource to be mobilised. Essentially, where civil society is at risk and government funding is either not available or not forthcoming, there is an implicit expectation that Churches (and other branches of the faith sector) should step up with their extensive assets.

In the third and final stream I have shown how a specific ‘legitimate’ form of religion has been created and maintained in the British public’s collective imagination. Tony Blair’s speech on the ‘faces of faith’ and Cameron’s claims that we are a proud Christian country have fed into a narrative of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ religion. Of course, this binary concept of religion is both woefully simplistic and utterly without merit. “What if religion cannot be collapsed into a force for good or evil (or both)?” Hurd (2015: 7) asks in her work on religious freedom. “Religion does not stand outside or prior to other histories and institutions. Religious practices unfold amid and are entangled in all domains of human life, forms of belonging, work, play, governance, violence, and exchange...” (ibid). However, regardless of the lack of substantive claims to support such a simplistic construct, the fact remains that this narrative has developed a great deal of traction. I have demonstrated that in a society that has a heightened fear of religion due to terrorist attacks, riots and increased migration, British Governments have promoted this binary construct in order to ensure that ‘religion’ is suitably

controlled. Religion that is 'good' is that which is compassionate, sacrificial and personal, and religion that is 'bad' is irrational, hostile and violent.

When these three streams converge the 'window of opportunity' for a police-church partnership is cemented. In the first instance the issue is one that has gained traction in the public and political consciousness, and this strong problem fit has allowed for the consideration of an alliance. Furthermore, churches have not only acknowledged the need to tackle modern slavery and been identified as having the capacity to do so, but are also *expected* to take on this responsibility and mobilise their resources out of British pride and the desire to help those less fortunate. Political rhetoric on altruism and austerity has compelled others to fill the gaps left by the government or else watch society suffer. Finally, the faces of faith binary essentially gives the Church a choice: engage with the issue and fit into the category of compassionate, sacrificial, 'good' religion, or fail to get involved and fit into the category of irrational, hostile, 'bad' religion.



### Selling the partnership – discourse analysis

It is not enough, however, to simply have the contextual *opportunity* to create a partnership; it must also be maintained and justified on both sides. Thus, the application of thematic discourse analysis to my participants' interview transcripts has allowed me to look at the nuanced way in which the

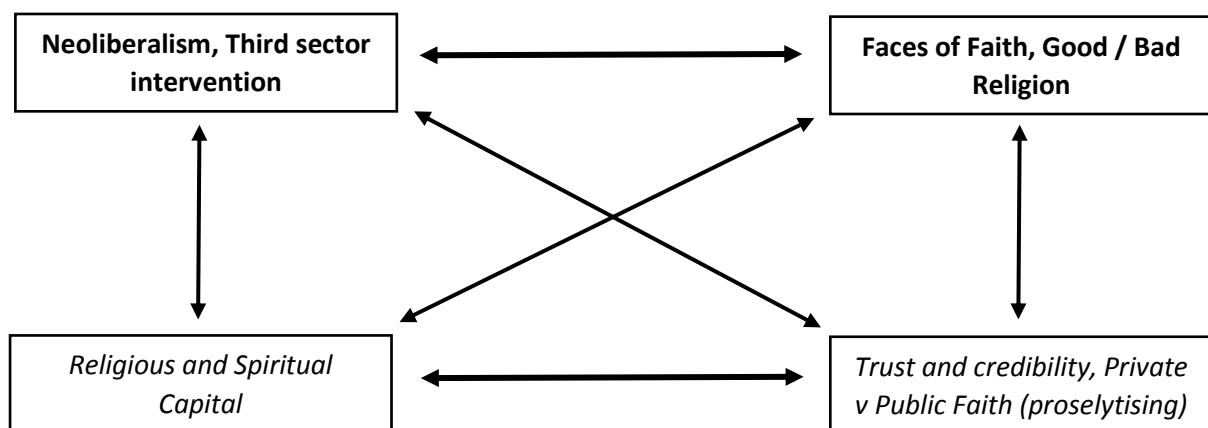
collaboration is discursively managed within the contextual streams, considering how tensions are circumnavigated and opportunities utilised in order to 'sell' the partnership.

Drawing on Baker's work on religious and spiritual capital, this thesis shows how participants hold multiple – and sometimes contrasting – views on what the Church can offer, and how these discourses are used to 'sell' the partnership to different stakeholders. Religious capital narratives (tangible goods in the form of money, personnel, property etc) form the primary means by which police groups are persuaded to 'buy-in' to the collaboration. In the context of austerity and high demands on police time, resources and productivity, the negotiation of a partnership with the church relies on representatives demonstrating *qualitatively* what the Church can offer. I have shown how the Church is viewed predominantly in terms of its resources, and that without this approach there is the risk of the partnership being "laughed out of the building" or religious representatives told to "come back next year" (Mark). However, the interview data also brought to light notions of love, hope and care, the potential for community transformation and time commitment beyond police capabilities – all examples of what Baker would term spiritual capital. This is important in encouraging buy-in from the Church side of the partnership; it can be used to motivate the wider faith community; and it becomes a unifying factor between the two branches of the partnership.

My analysis has also shown that for the partnership to be sold effectively certain concepts of religion are brought to the fore and others are marginalised or explained away as anomalies – or in Hurd's words, "that which is singled out is privileged and consecrated..." and other aspects of religion "tend to fall between the cracks" (Hurd 2015: 13). In constructing notions of legitimate religion participants referred to two key themes; trust and credibility, and the risks of proselytising or conversion. Both the Police and the Church organisations were emphatic in their understanding of the Church as an altruistic and benign force that engenders trust in society, and the maintenance of this discourse of institutional value allows for an easier engagement with all stakeholders - victims, police officers and the general public. Furthermore, there was a joint narrative against proselytising and an emphasis on keeping faith private, and any examples of where this may not be the case were put down to an individual fault rather than an institutional one. Thematic discourse analysis has, in this instance, brought to light the ongoing dominance of a secularist discourse in which religion should be quiet and unassuming if it is present in the public sphere (See Cheeseman and Kanhum 2009; Engelke 2012; 2013) and that this dominant narrative must be carefully negotiated in order to justify the partnership.

Just as the three ‘streams’ converge in order to create the context necessary for the partnership to emerge, so do the discourses employed in order to sell the partnership. The mobilisation of spiritual and religious capital narratives relies heavily on those of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ religion and vice versa. ‘Good’ religion gives freely, cares for others and keeps its faith quiet, ‘bad’ religion does not. By giving freely of ones’ spiritual and religious capital the Church situates itself within the ‘good religion’ category, which in turn gives the Church legitimacy and credibility as an altruistic institution. At the same time, the police justify the use of spiritual and religious capital because it comes from a source of ‘good religion’ in the first place. Any hint of ‘bad religion’ would damage the reputation of the partnership, making it harder to accept resources legitimately, so the value of the religious and spiritual capital is highly dependent upon these views. Ultimately, it is the complex combination of these discourses that encourage representatives on both sides to ‘buy in’ to the partnership in such an effective manner.

Finally, the thesis demonstrates how the creation of the ‘window of opportunity’ and the negotiation of discourse to achieve buy-in are wholly interdependent upon one another. As Cheek explains, “there is a dynamic relationship between the text and the context in which the text is produced” (Cheek 2004: 1144) and this study has shown how neoliberalism, the faces of faith, religious and spiritual capital and good and bad religion are entangled at every level of production. By situating the thematic discourse analysis *within* the three streams of Kingdon’s approach, it becomes clear that not only do the macro ideologies and micro discourses construct one another in a horizontal way, but that they also co-produce one another vertically. The macro narratives create boundaries by which participants can legitimately speak, and the micro narratives of the speaker uphold these wider notions. Thus, the combination of the two analytical tools – the multiple streams approach and a thematic discourse analysis – has produced a highly nuanced consideration of police-church partnerships that moves fluidly between the structures of social and political ideology and the structures of individual discourse that actively construct and maintain these wider views.



## Final thoughts

Despite the rise in religion and faith as important features of policing practice in the UK (McFadyen and Prideaux 2010; 2013; 2014) it is still an area that has had relatively little academic attention. This study offers a unique contribution to this area of research by drawing on a specific example of the co-production of crime control and considering the underlying structures that make it viable. Successful partnership work in this case is not simply a matter of connecting two people or groups who want to make a difference – it involves careful management within a variety of contextual confines. Better understandings of how ideas are framed, boundaries articulated, and differences negotiated may therefore allow for a more nuanced and sensitive approach to Police-Church work on modern slavery.

Furthermore, the political contexts within which these partnerships first arose and are now working in has changed considerably, and this study can serve as a springboard to consider how new political situations might affect the work of these partnerships and others like them. Whereas a decade ago the UK government's focus was on state welfare reductions and securitization, its sights are now firmly fixed on the Brexit situation. We are now on the cusp of withdrawal from the European Union, and the current uncertainty and instability in British politics has raised questions of globalisation, economic restructuring and stricter immigration control. How will these changes affect the rise or fall of modern slavery practices in the UK? How will they feed into and change the priorities of our police forces, and what will this do to the work of the partnerships? By understanding the political and economic context in which these partnerships were built practitioners may become more reflexive and thus more aware of not only *what* they are expecting from each other, but *why* they are expecting these things and how these expectations may change in the future.

Finally, this thesis may provide a starting point for further research on the role of religion in tackling modern slavery. There are many other faith-based organisations who work in victim support, police training, awareness raising etc – there is scope for a wider project on how these groups interact with various stakeholders and the views that underpin that work. Equally, whilst there are numerous Christian groups that work directly with the police in this area, other religions are currently under-represented – participants mentioned vague knowledge of some Jewish groups being involved but acknowledged that there were no partnerships with Islamic organisations to the best of their knowledge. Links (or lack thereof) with Sikh, Hindu, Buddhist or other 'official' religions were not mentioned at all. Thus, similar contextual and analytical discourse approaches to the ones undertaken in this thesis may shed light on why these groups have not been approached by the police or have not chosen to approach law enforcement themselves. Understanding these issues

could potentially provide impetus for new collaborations which would then further benefit the cause.

Whatever its direction, there is clearly scope for further research in this field. There is still a long way to go before UK society has a solid grip on eradication of modern slavery, and further studies on how religion intersects with this issue will no doubt provide valuable information on the best ways to move forward in tackling this crime.

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