

DYSFUNCTIONAL FAMILIES: WHERE AND WHY WE ARE FAILING WITHIN THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY?

Thank you all very much for your time and for being here at the start of the holidays when you might still be wanting to rush off and do things with your families. You're very, very lucky, I've always been saying, because I come from the frozen north in Yorkshire. Everyday on my email I get fantastic lectures that's been going on here, fantastic lectures that the City Circle are doing. So there's so much time I could spend on the train coming down to London. So you're very blessed by the kind of thing and particularly what you have here with the Dialogue Society.

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DYSFUNCTIONAL FAMILIES:
WHERE AND WHY WE ARE
FAILING WITHIN THE
MUSLIM COMMUNITY?

SPEAKER(S)

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My talk to you isn't pleasant. There are some very unpleasant truths which I think that we have to face up to. I'm on a daily learning curve and I would very much enjoy hearing from you and being challenged by you. So the conclusions at this point are out of reach because as I say it's an ongoing process. A lot of my talk will concentrate on the UK and what's happening to Muslim families here. In London, you have a kind of very mixed community, obviously Muslims from Saudi Arabia, from Iraq, from Turkey, or wherever. Outside London, the Muslim community tends to be much more uniform and actually nationally overwhelmingly this is Pakistani and then that group overwhelmingly it is from (inaudible 1:34) or Bangladesh-Sylhet groups. If you look at the numbers, that's where they're from.

Those are the groups. They are the majority and they are the groups in the North, obviously in Bradford, in Sheffield where I live, in Blackburn that I'm engaged with. So that's where my information comes from. I'm also a professor of law in Lahore in Pakistan although at present unfortunately I'm not able to go there for security reasons. The police officers that look after me practically can't look after themselves as they tell me, which is a great sadness to me because I'm working on gender and ethics there. I'm taking academics here over to Pakistan to work on joint projects there which presently I'm unfortunately unable to do.

So that's the community which I work with. I've also been to Saudi Arabia and I'm working with women in Saudi Arabia. I've been to Istanbul to the world conference of Women in Business International. I also work in Ethiopia. So I do know what's happening worldwide and sadly the picture of what's happening in Muslim families worldwide isn't a pretty one.

I'm part of the Pan-European campaign against forced marriage under Professor Tariq Ramadan. We had our launch in 2008 in Rotterdam. People came from nine European countries. The issues that I'm talking about today, although their communities are obviously different depending on where they came from, they may be Turkish, Iraqi or whatever, the same problems I'm facing here in Sheffield, in Blackburn are happening there as well.

The same, I work with Professor Sylvia Maier at New York University, the same issues they're facing within our communities there,

particularly not so much the African/Caribbean Muslim community and the white community but also the recently immigrating communities. Sadly they look quite famous. I think they're into the media. Weeks ago, (inaudible 3:28) his wife which gave a great image but it was right across all the media in America and Sheikh Hamza Yusuf Hanson made a brilliant speech against these sorts of issues which can pick upon you too and that's why if you hear Sheikh Hamza's speech which is actually mentioned the case but that's why Sheikh Hamza was called upon to do this. So those issues I can tell you go across the globe and go across Europe although I'm going to concentrate obviously in where I work and what I'm doing and what constitutes actually the majority in this country.

It is a matter of shame for me. My friend, Jasvinder Sanghera, you may have heard of her, she wrote two books: One called Shame and one called Daughters of Shame. Because what happens if you are a girl who chooses to escape a forced marriage or to leave it after you have been put into it, whether you are Muslim or whatever, you are the one that brings shame on your family. You damage the family izzat. You are the outcast regardless of your age or what has happened to you. And then she was told by her mother every time she would phone or after she left, "you are dead," "you will be nothing," "you are in the gutter," "you will never come to anything."

I'm trying not to get upset now because last week she was with the women who met at #10 Downing Street with Mrs. Obama and she was adviser to that and I hope her mother can see that far from being a shame on the family, she's brought so much respect although I doubt that is how they will see it at all because she's still spat at in the streets in Derby on an almost monthly basis by her family and is shortly to leave there because it's all gotten too much. I have sat and listened to the victims from all the communities who have left forced marriages and other crime situations and how they feel the guilt, how they feel "how dare I'd done this" and that guilt stays with them for the rest of their life.

The same would be the case if you wanted to leave a domestic violence situation or whatever. Put up and shut up. What you must not do is bring shame on our families. That is the shame. The shame that we as a community we should be the best of communities. We have a fantastic guide, both within the Qur'an and in particular by the (inaudible 5:52). Look at their lives and look at how they reflect in the life of so many Muslim women in this country and worldwide, forced on them today. There would be no correlation between whatsoever. All the blokes that like to (inaudible 6:06) because they're following the prophet strangely don't follow it when it comes to the really serious things about how he brought up or how he looked after his children, his grandchildren and his wives, and how he treated women generally. Very strange that they forget the actual vital things, that the outside things matter.

And a shame to me who came to Islam through people, actually my friend, my teacher Sheikh Hamza Yusuf Hanson. (Inaudible 6:35) this wonderful, spiritual, warm religion that I felt so drawn to. They bring shame on me by their behaviour towards women and children and their dysfunctional family life that I see all about me. They bring shame on the religion. They bring shame on the (inaudible 7:02). And above all they bring

shame on (inaudible 7:04). So that's where the shame should lie, not with the girls who seek to escape from violence.

As you've heard, I've been working at the grassroots and policy-level nationally and internationally for 13 years now, originally just in the general field of domestic violence. I was until last month meeting on domestic violence nationally for Family Justice Council, sitting on that committee and I also chair the intergovernmental Raising the Standards initiative. In the last six years, I've developed a specialist interest in understanding and tackling abuse in the UK, Asia and in particular the Muslim communities and I'm doing this from an Islamic perspective. I've engaged widely with police, CPS and the professionals and most importantly the NGOs in the UK and in a number of Muslim countries including as I've said Saudi Arabia and so far six trips to Pakistan. I seek to assist with the gender sensitisation programs and I've learned from their experience and also gained a great understanding of the dynamics governing the behaviour of UK immigrants from these countries. I've also set up in Yorkshire a professional Muslim women's network which now has over 100 members and to which Sheik Hamza, much to the jealousy of our men, came and addressed last year. We really got one over on them there.

Wherever I've gone in the UK or overseas, I've had the privilege of meeting many strong, highly motivated women from housewives to activist princesses. They've included the opposite of the stereotypical image of the Muslim females. They are fully motivated, cognisant of the problems and attitudes which hold back the advancement of women in their societies and the unhelpful, abusive family and marital practices and attitudes. They all seek to bring about change, aided by many men of goodwill that I have also come across. They are hampered and frustrated by the pace in which their society is able to change and the fear of ostracism and outright attack and frequently death threats from their communities for highlighting such issues.

The minister for women's development in Punjab was assassinated last year as have been many female teachers and NGOs in the northwest province. That's where NGOs were killed last week.

In the UK, I'm patron of Karma Nirvana which is the leading Asian women's organisation assisting abused women with obviously national helpline. The death threats that Jasvinder has received together with Shahien Taj MD who runs the Muslim women's charity in Cardiff, they are the norm.

Unfortunately, the UK government has until recently been slow to engage women from the affected communities, particularly in their so-called war against terror. Some committees where I lead too hastily convened with little thought and later through an unfortunate degree of so-called self-serving and self-appointed male community leaders, a major opportunity to change was lost with vital time.

The Department of Communities is now seeking to make amends, engaging this group, for instance (inaudible 10:11) a set of Muslim liberals and youth groups, too little too late. Many of our politicians at the local and

national levels are well-aware of the family issues that I'm talking about and other reviews such as electoral fraud, child abuse in Muslims, et cetera, et cetera. But to their shame, other than a few (inaudible 10:34), the key thing, they have kept silent due to fear of losing the Muslim vote in their constituencies or of appearing racist or xenophobic.

Many of the men and sadly some women of our communities of all ages, if asked to verify the matters that I set out, they will deny, minimise and attack it. It's interesting when you go to conferences all over the country on forced marriage – always some councillor stands up and says this is a terrible problem but it doesn't happen here. The best one was in Manchester where there was a very nice middle-class Moscow councillor who voted and he said, "It does happen, but not in Moscow." It's always somewhere else that it's happening which I do find fascinating.

They do this denial for a variety of reasons, some akin to people still believe that 9/11 and 7/7 were not perpetrated by Muslims but by the Jews or security forces. The prominence amongst this denial is the public face of the concept of izzat or honour that badly affects private family life as it all cuts the image of the community and the family must be protected.

Secondly, the community leaders, these male communities, they're often the main beneficiaries of this and they gain their power and influence and in some cases from the current patriarch or feudal systems as I described and they're unlikely to want to change it. (Inaudible 12:05) voluntary free their slaves?

I believe I've been able to gain the confidence of women and professionals working to counter these abuses and therefore to elicit otherwise well-hidden information as a modern woman and myself as a Muslim. Obviously I would concentrate in this talk in the extreme end, the murders, the forced marriage, the extreme domestic violence. But what I want you to actually imagine, the thing that really saddens me, is in so many of the families which I deal with, the normal families, little boys and girls grow up with a mom and dad who never have and never will love each other. They will be taught intergenerationally not to show any affection between parents, never to hear mom and dad say to each other "I love you" or put their arm around each other while they're watching the TV or hold their hand in the house -- I'm not talking about public displays -- never just to see them laughing or joking together, never to even say to the kids themselves "I love you" or "we love you" because they don't know how to do it. This is not only their own mom and dad but it's all the cousins and aunties and uncles behaving exactly the same way. So there is just none of that ordinary concept at the ordinary level of what love and affection is and how far is that removed from what we know Islam should be and what again, I say, the life of the prophet and his family life would have been. And it's so sad that I'm talking about millions of families not having that knowledge and not even understanding what we're talking about. This is the extreme end and that's what I want you to have in the back of your mind all the time that we (background noise).

I don't propose or intend to offer any further conclusions in this speech. Rather, I'm seeking to initiate a debate as to what may be the contribution to the terrible situation that we're in that has already been

outlined at the bottom of every (inaudible 14:10) whether it's health, education, social advancement, et cetera. The highest levels of all the ill-health, the highest levels of equal benefits, et cetera, et cetera. And also what is the contribution to the radicalisation in the UK, not obviously the only issue but one of the factors. I call it the missing piece of the jigsaw, radicalisation, of the widespread abuse of women, children and dysfunctional and unhappy family life, of ill-matched marriages and to explore what professional partnership should be involved and what further research and policy development should take place. What are the connections between distorted conceptions of izzat in private life and radicalisation?

I'm on the continual learning curve and there are many single professionals and NGOs and academics that I consider, our government, the defence, the intelligent communities, and we should be engaging and learning from their research. I would include for instance Professor Saeeda Malik, the Former Minister for Women's Development in Pakistan, and Professor (inaudible 15:15) Warwick, Dr. (inaudible 15:16) Cambridge University, many professors have so asked. When I sat down with these girls and I said to them, "Had the government ever called any of you in?" Not one. Pathetic.

I lecture once a year on Understanding Islam in the 21st Century. They're held in the Army University in Cranfield. Two years running I've been the only woman speaking, the only Muslim woman because I'm white. Why were none of these women ever brought in there? They're the real experts. Because they're trampled over often by men. They don't even exist. But it's the government (inaudible 16:01) to go out to them. They're not hidden away. And they write those wonderful papers and should be engaged in doing more.

There is abused, dysfunctional family life in all our societies. In the general UK population, 1 in 4 women suffer domestic violence at some time in their lives and there is now – cross out 50% because my son is a law student and he tells me it's now 60% divorce rate leading to a well-researched myriad of social problems. As a family judge, I deal daily, including today, with appalling child and female abuse in the general population. One only has to look at Baby P and (inaudible 16:34) obviously in my area. She's actually fostered very close to my home.

But what do we know of the effect of the particular forms of extreme patriarchy and denigration of women and the abuse of power which I outlined below which occur in many UK and other Muslim families and communities?

We know for instance that Muslim men should constitute 2% of the prison population given their numbers which actually they're over-represented by five times, being 10%. Most are incarcerated not for terrorist offences but for offences in drugs and violence. Why are they so over-represented? We know now that kids who are victims of domestic violence are most likely to end up in prison. Is there any correlation? 90% of prisoners have had family life of domestic violence. Is there any correlation between that figures of prisoners?

I have a friend, a wonderful imam, at Doncaster Prison, and he tells me exactly what the situation is. Why are Muslim communities so failing in all the indices of educational achievement, health, economic advancements? For that I would advise you to see the Muslim Youth Helpline Report of 2007. Why is the rate of mental illnesses, suicide three times higher in Muslim women? Is this the flip side of the coin which also leads to radicalisation and are all these failures underpinned by the disempowerment, oppression of women and abusive and unsuccessful family life?

Western culture, and I'm not saying this is all right, applauds and supports the pursuit of egocentric individual happiness, choice of fulfilment which could of course lead to family crisis. In contrast, the societies in which many of our Muslim communities arrive are sociocentric, feudal and communist. The individual is trained and groomed from birth to accept a strict hierarchical power structure which is not to be questioned and where the perceived advanced honour of the family (inaudible 18:42) community overrides that of the individual. The Muslim (inaudible 18:47) says obedience and duty are prominent themes which connect people to collectives in the communities and hence change in the individual level is less acceptable and/or hazardous, frequently leading to feelings of guilt and shame.

Underlying these cultural orientations are religious beliefs which so many have been confused with culture and become difficult to change even when the ethical purpose behind them becomes distorted. This is, I suggest, overwhelmingly a classic culture. Islam is the cure, not the cause. It is not religion. It causes an internal psychological crisis of identity in its second and third generation immigrants which in conjunction with all the other factors such as foreign policy, failing masks, lack of Islamic education, racism, et cetera, et cetera can lead to an apparent relief and a finding of identity in radical Islamism.

White Muslims in the United States, Africa-Caribbean Muslims not having such cultural practises or identity issues, do not suffer from the particular forms of abuse plaguing the other communities. In contrast, Christians seen in Hindu communities from those cultures suffer exactly the same issues.

These attitudes and abuses are not only not condoned by Islam, but in fact are openly condemned by many contemporary authorities and scholars such as Sheikh Hamza Yusuf Hanson, when they are cultural rather than religious in origin although confused and excused, because so many Muslims themselves have so little understanding of their own religion. It breaks my heart that tens of thousands of our little boys and girls spend 10 hours a week in Mosques from the age of 5 to 18 and they know nothing about their religion. I was educated by catholic nuns and I can tell you, by the time I left at 18 I knew all that I needed to know but all they know, often, not obviously anything connected with the society, is that Qur'an of my (inaudible 20:53).

They know nothing because I questioned teenagers. They know nothing even about the prophet, nothing about the history about how we were in Iraq to the fabulous universities in Seville, Spain about Muslim

civilisation in terms of society, art only, nothing. Is it any wonder they have no sense of their own religion or their own identity and the only people to blame for that are us and I want to take this into our hands and do something about it? This is not a matter that can be blamed on the government.

Although many of the forms of familial abuse and marriage practises are also prevalent as I say in the communities, there are additional factors impacting on Muslims, a lot of which are set out in Dr. Phil Lewis' book *Young, British and Muslim* in which he investigates the difference in the social education and economic development and integration of three UK Asian communities.

Amongst the other issues, he highlights the differing marriage practises as having a vital role. In contrast, east African Muslim, Hindu and Sikh communities who now largely marry aspirationally and within the UK, the Pakistani and in particularly (inaudible 22:11) communities, continue in numbers up to 70% as of this year, to practice trans-national cross-marriage.

There is a new stage, you may have heard some of these already before, they're doing a huge longitudinal study of babies born in Bradford in 2008. It's going to carry on for like 20 years. It's called *Born in Bradford* and (inaudible 22:29) is in our program on the first year of it last week. Now the reason it's called that – that they're doing this, is because it has the highest rate of baby death in the country by far, Bradford's is off the scale. They have five times the rate of genetic defects of all kinds so they're going to study.

There's also a huge issue with the poor white community in Bradford. Somebody said to me recently, a counsellor in Bradford, they're not suffering white flight, they're suffering classified plague so people in all communities and races who become middle class, are leaving and what's left in the middle is a huge well of poverty so they're looking at both sides of this but the overwhelming thing is that the reason this piece of work is being done is the massive effect of lacking maternal healthy, transcontinental, particularly cousin-marriage leading to massive amounts of ill-health.

And what they showed from last year, the babies born in Bradford to Asians, 17% were still (inaudible 23:37) as a result of transcontinental cross-marriage so things are changing, well not that much. If one member of a marriage comes from an area such as (inaudible 23:49) still with 90% illiteracy, how compatible are they going to be with the western-born and educated partner? How is such person able to assist or wish their children to be educated and integrated? If the father is at least unskilled, possibly illiterate, does that hold back the family economically in a consumer society and are these attitudes likely to be those of for a very few rich way of life? It doesn't work in the UK.

If the mother is the immigrant, is she able to assist the children with their school work? We all know how many hours we all spend on their projects, as I did even today because I was doing this (inaudible 24:30)? Will

she ever be able to help economically to support the family in a society largely based on two-income households? How able are such disempowered mothers to act effectively if their children are falling into criminality or radicalisation? What kind of modern, relevant Islamic education is likely to be provided in such homes and to be provided and demanded by them in the Mosques? What is the effect of the incidence of forced marriage and honour-based violence as the pressure to marry within the family and the value of a UK passport and how much more difficult but not impossible is it to leave an unhappy cousin-marriage (inaudible 25:15) I see that fallout in my course. We have basically murder or just below it within families because of this connection.

We know identify 50,000 forced marriages a year in this country 50,000. That's the official stat, where it reports 5,000 falls just to the forced marriage units alone. The national health plan in its first 10 months had 10,600 and that's not counting schools, social services. What we do need to get the proper statistic (inaudible 25:56) domestic violence? We need to have that. But in any event, officially, from out of nothing 50,000. That's 50,000 miserable families, 50,000 kids living in those miserable families and that's just that alone.

During the last 10 years, we have in the UK and other first-world countries, those that recognise new forms of abuse, primarily forms of domestic violence originating primarily in the developing worlds, having it called abuse of power and control, primarily through the abuse of patriarchy and the internationally accepted title honour-based violence. I've had hours of discussion about calling it that because honour has nothing to do with it but because that's what the UN calls it and that's what it's called in the countries where it originated, it's the language we need to use. We call it non-honour, that's the reality so I've had those discussions.

These forms of abuse have been spread or are being increasingly carried out in western countries as a result of mass immigration. I think in Turkey is it 10,000 a year they're reckoning on the base of marriages now, particularly in Kurdistan? I did actually work with a whole group of 10 Kurdish-Iraqis that they brought to Pakistan for us to do training with and they recognise over 12,000 reported other crimes in Kurdistan a year, 12,000 deaths.

So I think reported in some province alone 3000 deaths, most are never reported. Prosecutions and convictions? The recognition of firm response by the New England governmental agencies come late in part due to misguided correctness and inferiorly labelled as racist and xenophobic to the death of the (inaudible 27:52). The increasing education of demands of women to make choices in their own life, both here and in the developing world has led anything to an increase in violence. It's cultural familiar expectations coming to direct conflict with emancipation of individualisation.

Behind the whole of this is honour, the honour of the family being seen to rest in the control of family members and in particular but not exclusively through the sexuality and marital choices of its women although men up to a far greater extent are victims of other forms of domestic violence. The recognised rate of forced marriage for instance in the UK is

15% of victims being male but we know that that's a vast underestimate, 30% of victims are minors.

Individual choice in human rights such as the right to choose a spouse or to escape an abusive relationship, both of which are fully in being with Islam, are subsumed and ignored and seen as a threat to the far more important group honour which at all times must be protected and avenged, even at the cost of rejection, violence towards and murder of previously loved family members. We don't even know the full rate of the killings and I always say for every one that's killed, a thousand more live in fear, particularly if the victims, perpetrators (inaudible 29:18) in most cases because they know what will happen to them if they step out of line because it's the tools that killed them here.

If you come from Iraqi Kurdistan, they can't take her back there to get killed so right there and now they will kill them here because the easy way to get rid of you is to send you back on a holiday to Sylhet where you'll just disappear or somebody will kill you for either nothing or 5 quid, so you're actually admitting to doing it here so how many unknown dead bodies we actually have and we take back there and we just don't know. I know from the women's organisations that I'm a patron of, their despair of the number of women that they know are in danger but are induced to go home on a holiday and they'll never come back again and the metropolitan police have also – they can't get the accurate statistics.

I was very proud to be part of the development of the new forced marriage protection act and that was designed to enforce the state's intolerance of families coercing their children to marry against their wishes and to curb such marriages in the first place. It makes provision for protecting individuals against being forced to enter into marriage without their free will and consent and it's actually working.

In the first eight weeks, we've had already 11 orders made nationally. I have spoken to the (inaudible 30:52) family of course. We did five within the first eight of which sadly two out of the five were very severely disabled children (inaudible 30:58) on the lecture on the dreadful situation of severely physically and mentally disabled children being forced into marriage for a variety of reasons and of course because of the consanguinity and because of the genetic defects the numbers of those children available to be married off for a whole variety of reasons is growing all the time.

The forced marriage unit is doing wonderful work. It is actually in the forefront of western government responses and people come from all over the world to see what they're doing and as I've said, in 2007 they already were having 5,000 inquiries and 400 cases of which 68% of the Pakistan heads (inaudible 31:42), 15% in Bangladesh. They are now (inaudible 31:47) every week and they're about to open an office in Sylhet.

That forced marriage and immigration are inextricably linked can be seen in (inaudible 32:00) from Pakistani marriages in the UK and that's why we have raised the (inaudible 32:06). It's very controversial. A lot of the NGOs were against the raise in age sponsorship from 18 to 21, just to give

the victims that bit of age and security where perhaps they can say no, finish their education, have that degree and then to practice but people argue the only way that they'll be taken abroad – so we just have to see a bit more all the time.

Now, something you might think is quite controversial. Last year, such as the Muslim Arbitration Tribunal (inaudible 32:37) in the UK to tackle legal issues that reverberate particularly amongst Muslim communities such as domestic violence and forced marriage. Those are the things that they are advocating, that they will be better able to deal with.

At the time of writing, Shariah law has no jurisdiction in England and Wales and the government is displaying no intention to change its position. Regardless of religious belief, we are all equal before the law of this country. This is a fundamental value of UK life. I believe any form of introduction or recognition of shariah law, particularly family (inaudible 33:18) granting the divorce, the religious divorce, which is needed and the same obviously happens within the Jewish courts and the Catholic courts. Whereas at this stage, the retrograde step is to be avoided at all cost.

Firstly, I believe it would be a barrier to community harmony and integration. Secondly, it would be against the human rights laws and conventions to which the UK are signatories. We had a case of an Egyptian woman seeking asylum that went to the House of Lords last year, but the House of Lords made it clear that they would not return her to Egypt because the shariah law that she had a child would have to face that to deal with the custody of the child. The child will be automatically taken off her was against all our human rights convention so this is why I am so surprised that this issue should be raised. I have met some of these self-appointed judges and they certainly have no knowledge of English law whatsoever and I question how much their knowledge will be and what we would want to regard as shariah and what they would be implying.

Muslim women, I believe, will be pressurised by their families and communities not to avail themselves of the right to protection as UK citizens including the forced marriage. I therefore wonder and question the (inaudible 34:44) discuss these more by the Chief Justice and the Archbishop of Canterbury because I know it is of the tone to the fundamentalist and separatist of their (inaudible 34:53) being met.

Finally there is the question of where do we stop. Because you can't have one set of laws for this religion and one set for another. Because for instance, if we have different set of laws that we all operate under for every religion, do we have one for satanists? Can they operate under their own religious precepts? We would have anarchy. We can't obviously however (inaudible 35:17) seeking to regulate their lives to their religious beliefs or cultural institutions. Communities have the option to use religious councils or any other system for alternative dispute resolution and to agree themselves to abide by those decisions.

With that said, I do not believe we should be encouraging or endorsing any departure from UK secular law of any section of our community, least of all are those vulnerable. And what shariah law are we

going to have? Is it going to be Sunni? Is it going to be Ismaili? Which section of Sunni is it going to be? Is it going to be Sufi? And who is going to regulate all of this? Who is going to accredit it? What qualifications will these judges have to have? Chaos. They are not in the situation that you'll be in the Muslim states like in Pakistan where they have a proper structure where they are going through all the norms. That isn't going to happen. But I'm not saying it's an ideal status in the future shariah law (inaudible 36:17). That would not be the situation that we'll be having now. We'll be having chaos. We'll be having anarchy. And we'd have women's rights, believe me, subsumed (inaudible 36:29) to know what they're doing.

How much is the same concept of izzat which I suggest so governs the lives of UK Muslim and Asian communities and in particularly young men who feel themselves divided and dismissed to lead also to an individual and could decide (inaudible 36:49) nationally and internationally of Muslims, Islam and their honour in which they (inaudible 36:56) do acts of terrorism which is then supported by the families' beliefs acting under the same precepts.

My dear friend, Nazir Afzal, the Crown Prosecution Services Director for West London has asserted that Islamic extremists are igniting the spread of honour-based violence amongst women in Britain. He happens to do both sides of the divide. Part of his work is dealing with terrorism and the other half which is the part that (inaudible 37:25) is dealing with other crimes and forced marriage. And it was from doing that, he is seeing the connections. He has emphasised the instances where women overseas have been compelled to become suicide bombers after being accused of bringing shame onto their families. That's what particularly happened in Palestine. He has added that Muslim faith that justifies oppression and violence is now diffusing into Britain as well and he estimates that there will be nearly a dozen killings in Britain each year and has articulated his distress over the escalating problem.

Talking about religious ideology, he stated that men are using Islam as a justification for telling women how to behave and for punishing them. At the London Voluntary Service Council Conference, he said that such a use of Islam to support violence towards women was a grossly mistaken interpretation of our religion. It is simply outdated. It is about power and control over women and not religion. And that the rise in religious conservatism particularly amongst young men is fuelling militancy and also brought about an increase in other crime.

Radicalisation and extremism are about identity. It is about people clinging to outdated customs to give them identity. There is no religious justification for any of this. There is nothing in any Qur'anic text or any salvation religion that justifies or excuses this type of crime. They will use religion. They will use culture. This is the way things happen back home. They will use any number of excuses but ultimately it comes down to simple male power. This abuse is not only not condemned by the white. It can be used here and abroad. It can be applauded resulting in the protection of the perpetrators including by the police and the courts of the countries of origin and the hounding down of victims by vigilantes, paid and unpaid. In countries such as Pakistan and Bangladesh, in the very unlikely event that prosecution will ever take place and a conviction ensued, sentence will be

nonexistent or vastly reduced due to the accepted mitigation of honour. Many potential and active victims in the UK misguidedly believe that dissimilar response of the police and the courts are to (inaudible 39:35) here and they act accordingly.

In countries with high prevalence, izzat governs every aspect of hour of life and the deeply ingrained attitudes of entire societies will have to be altered. No easy task. Such interpretation was affirmed at the Foreign Office International Conference on Honour Killings in Karachi in November 2005. It is now being more ably or graphically described. And in the judgement of Lord Justice Wall on the 16th of March 2009 -- for those of you who are lawyers, it is a 2009 EWCA 2005, it is a case of AM against the local authority. It is a horror story. If you read it, you could not believe what has gone on. And when I read it, they had to give anonymity to all the witnesses, to the (inaudible 40:24) officer, to the psychologist, to the experts because of death threats to all of them. The lawyers were under police protection because of death threats to them. And when I read it, I just could not believe the horror in it. I thought, "Wait a minute. One of these experts who I happen to know has told me it wasn't the case." I must have gotten mixed up so I phoned said expert and was told "no, it was an identical case going on in Liverpool at exactly the same time." So read it. It's 26 pages long but unbelievable. Lord Justice Wall is my mentor and my hero. He says, "The message of this case, which must be sent out loud and clear, is that this court applies a tolerant and human rights-based rule of law: one which, under the Act of 1989, regards parents as equals and the welfare of the child is paramount. That is the law of England and that is the law which applies in this case, arson, domestic violence and potential revenge likely to result in abduction or death or criminal act which will be treated as such. In this case, the family may wish to reflect on the fact that it has lost five of its children: one by death, one by legitimate flight from gender-based violence inflicted on his mother and three to the care system. None of these, in my judgement, has anything to do with any concept of honour and all of it is manifested contrary to the best interest of children."

What is life like for the children of such unions? We now have a controversial evidence from all leading psychiatrists particularly Dr. (inaudible 42:07), psychologist and criminologist, of the short -and long-term effects of children of domestic violence including increased criminality. But today, sufficient research has been done on the effects of the connected forms of abuse and dysfunctionality being carried out in our Asian and Muslim and other communities and I suggest that the time has now come for it.

What level of profiling of unknown terrorists does it need in terms of their family backgrounds and with what cultural understanding? Just saying that their parents or they were married and are not divorced is irrelevant in a community where the ending of ultimately miserable marriages is so difficult if not impossible. I mean, why are the expectations of growth and happiness, mutual support, not to mention love through marriage often so very low? There are also many hidden practices well known within the communities but successfully hidden from outsiders. They include polygamy of which I believe there are tens of thousands of examples in the the UK, practised for a variety of reason as I increasingly see including westernised Asian men who were forced or groomed to enter

a first marriage arranged by the family but for which they are unable to escape then entering into a second love marriage and the arrangement is overwhelmingly unsatisfactory to all parties and their children. In the last three weeks, I've had a senior bank manager in Bradford like this, senior police officer in Bradford and a senior police officer in South Yorkshire. That's in three weeks, living in such arrangements, so do not tell me that they are rare.

There is also the growing phenomena of limping marriages and abandoned wives either in this country or back home which is where the poor girl is just left in the terraced house and brought (inaudible 44:02) while he is never there physically or in any other way or she is just sent back home and abandoned there and you wonder why we have the rise in suicide because that's their only way out of the miserable situation. She may even be 17 or 18.

I also have great sympathy for the men of our communities. They have to suffer huge issues of racism, economic deprivation and lack of status. They are confused and at a loss as to what their role as a father should be. They're role models. Fathers and wives and family have a set of values and approaches in life that they feel obliged to follow but which they question at the same time having little or no idea of a modern Islamic alternative. Many live double lives and there won't be one of us here that doesn't know one of them. So they live a life wrapped by guilt and unhappiness for all concerned.

I'm not going to go into it now. There's a whole issue of Islamism, forced marriage and liberation theology where basically Islamists used to tell girls in particular at university "join us because we allow you to marry who you want to." There's a lot of work going on in that way.

In conclusion, I hope I convinced you of the need for further investigation of the possible links between dysfunctional family lives in so many in the Muslim communities -- I mean, they may be also communities in which possible terrorists are emerging -- and the radicalisation of the young people. What kind of happy family life and upbringing could Mr. bin Laden himself have enjoyed regardless of his wealth as well as so very many children and with the father who had legions of wives and concubines? How many has (inaudible 45:46) in Saudi Arabia, particularly (inaudible 45:50) girls? And with what effect on his later emotional development?

I suggest it is (inaudible 45:57) Muslims and in particular as the educated past to put a stop to this shame on Islam, shame on our religion. Some things that I would suggest are: Working towards the empowerment of and true engagement with women. The fearless enforcement of laws and protocols relating to child abuse, domestic abuse, honour-based violence, and forced marriage in the affected communities. Media campaigns. My particular favourite, a nationwide professional Muslim family counselling service where families can go to. With people who are good Muslims with good knowledge of their religion but also know western psychology and counselling. You can go if your kid has got a drug problem, a granny that is driving you mad, with problems within your marriage, somewhere where you can have proper professional advice but also where you feel safe both within a religious sense and in a cultural sense. Training on a multiagency

basis, research. Programs on healthy relationships within schools and also in outreach services. But above all, true Muslim education so that true Muslim values are yet again known to our communities and to our families and we are once again what we ought to be, the best of communities, the best of families.

Sheikh Hamza Yusuf Hanson said at the Albert Hall a few years ago that we had prophet that dreamed big dreams and he did. These problems are huge. Sometimes I can tell you I feel totally overwhelmed by them but I'm guided by the fact that slavery or apartheid which at one time seemed totally intractable had been overcome by the fact that we have a black president of the United States and by the fact that we had a noble prophet who dreamed big dreams and brought it about and I think we can do it if we got the will and the power.