

12 March 2008

Response by the National Secular Society to the
Department of Communities and Local Government's
consultation 'Face-to-Face and Side-by-Side':
A framework for inter faith dialogue and social action.

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We note the purpose of the consultation given on the Department's website: 'This consultation paper seeks views on the development of a framework for partnership which will support increased inter faith dialogue and social action.'

This response on behalf of National Secular Society is not to be regarded as confidential.

Recommendations are shown in bold.

Recommendations

- A. We recommend that the Government set up an open and independent study of the impact on cohesion of schools run by minority denomination or faith schools – both current and planned. We are convinced that their impact is/will be negative and detrimental to pupils in these schools, pupils in other schools and, in the longer term, wider society. Pending the conclusions of such a study, the opening or planning of new faith school should be postponed. (from Para 17)**
- B. We recommend following the example of an initiative recently announced in Australia. The new Australian Government of Kevin Rudd has reached the same conclusion that we have – that trying to reach young people through religious organisations is doomed to failure. Now a new body to reach the whole spectrum of individuals within the Muslim communities is being mooted – but it will not involve any religious leaders. Instead it will consist of role models that young Muslims can really look up to – Muslim athletes and sportspeople, for instance. This thoughtful initiative is set out in *The [Melbourne] Age*ⁱ.**

- C. We suggest involving the less religiously-committed people in minority communities who we believe are likely to be in a better position to facilitate bridge-building between religious communities and the majority community.**
- D. We suggest that new ways are found to penetrate the heart of these often closed communities in an effort to bring out those who are, in many respects, incarcerated. Sometimes they are held back from participating in society because they do not speak English. Then let us have a system of mentors – volunteers who can take a one-to-one interest in an individual in need of support in learning how Britain works. Let us help these volunteers bring the women out of the ghettos and give them an opportunity to participate in British life.**
- E. Greater efforts should be made to reach the exceptionally disadvantaged or unrepresented people in minority communities such as children, girls in danger of female genital mutilation or forced marriage, and women without freedom of movement, many of whom do not speak English. As is becoming increasingly obvious from recent informal estimates of the prevalence of forced marriage - also debated in the House of Lords on 10 March 2008ⁱⁱ - it is not any longer good enough for the State to consider it has done its duty by speaking only to older or male members of their family only to establish the situation. Nor should it be assumed that everyone in these communities wishes to follow the community religion or is heterosexual. We draw the Department's attention to the existence of the Council of ex Muslimsⁱⁱⁱ.**
- F. We welcome the initiatives looking at unexplained absences from school that are thought to be explained by forced marriages. More resources and ingenuity need to be directed to uncovering so called honour killings, forced marriages and female genital mutilation, and also the full force of the law to be brought to bear on offenders to discourage others from flouting the law.**
- G. We recommend that the information collected on religiously aggravated crime should include the religion or belief of each perpetrator as well as each victim. Reports prepared by the Crown Prosecution Service as part of the Racist Incident Monitoring Statistics summarising such crimes should include in the statistics the totals for each combination of religion and belief of both perpetrator and victim, including where the religion of the perpetrator and victim are the same (but not necessarily the same sect).**

Our consultation response continues:

1. Our response to this document will not address the specific questions posed because we want to question the very ideas upon which the consultation is based.
2. The National Secular Society has noted in many previous consultations that the Government's engagement with the 'faith communities', and its over-emphasis on its importance, is potentially counterproductive.
3. Once more, the 2001 census is invoked as a reason why the 'faith communities' are so important: "with over three-quarters of respondents to the 2001 census identifying themselves as having a religious faith", says the very first paragraph of the consultation. What it doesn't say is that very few of those people have any connection whatsoever with the church/ mosque/ temple. The NSS has analysed the Census figures in considerable depth for another consultation^{iv} and has found that the figures do not represent an accurate picture of the true situation. Many, or perhaps most, of the much-quoted 72% of Christians are in effect 'cultural Christians' – brought up in a Christian culture but not practising. A few are 'believing without belonging' as the phrase goes (rather hopefully), but as the attendance figures go, most are outside the influence of the Church and will only attend for rites of passage.
4. Perhaps the most telling statistic in the above response came from the Home Office¹ itself, but as we expected, has never to our knowledge been referred to again by the Government since its first publication.

“Which of the following things would say something important about you, if you were describing yourself?” (Ranking is shown first, then the characteristic, then the percentage mentioning the characteristic.)

- 1 Your family 71
- 2 Kind of work you do 48
- 3 Age and life stage 42
- 4 Your interests 41
- 5 Level of education 32
- 6 Your nationality 29
- 7 Your gender 21
- 8 Level of income 20

9 Your religion 20

We acknowledge that the ranking of religion for ethnic minorities is considerably higher.

¹ Religion in England and Wales: findings from a 2001 Home Office Survey, (Home Office Research Study 274, Table 3.1) <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/hors274.pdf>

5. This is confirmed by the following data on Religion for Great Britain from the Office of National Statistics^v: ‘Only 20 per cent of respondents felt their religious beliefs to be an important part of their sense of self-identity’. This survey acknowledged that the figure was higher among minority religious communities. Even so, the number of Muslims attending mosques is nowhere near enough for their religious leaders to be thought of as accurate representatives.
6. The very low (and still falling) attendance at Christian places of worship indicates more tangibly than the census that most people in this country do not consider themselves to be part of a ‘faith community’. The level of church attendance on an average Sunday is less than seven percent – one in fourteen. This follows seven decades of continuous decline. In the twenty five years to 2005 Anglican attendance dropped by 23% and RC attendance by 44%, and doubts have even been expressed by the Pastoral Research Centre Trust that the attendance figures on which the latter fall may be exaggerated. ‘[B]etween 1958 and 2005 ... Catholic marriages fell from 69,000 to 15,000. Mr Spencer said the decline had occurred despite waves of Irish and Polish immigration and was ‘pretty horrific’. He added that Catholic marriage was ‘on the way to extinction’. We mention the latter point in view of the comments made by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Mr. Parmjit Dhanda) in the ‘Christianophobia’ debate on 5 December 2007 in Westminster Hall: “Certainly those of the Catholic faith say that their numbers have swelled in recent years, not least due to Polish migration to this country.” (Column 273WH)
7. Church attendance on an average Sunday is forecast by Christian Research to decline to 2% by 2040^{vi}.
8. There is no official information about how many Muslims attend mosques in Britain, but the former Christian Research statistician Dr Peter Brierley has brought together what information is available here ^{vii}and estimates that 16 per cent of Britain’s Muslims attend mosques on Friday, and something like 50 per cent on big religious festivals. Proportionately, this is much greater than the Christian population, but it is far from an indication that all Muslims can be reached through religious mediators. As for Christians and churches, many Muslims do not necessarily see the mosque as the centre of their lives or the community in which they move.

9. Given this, it is difficult to understand why the Government puts so much emphasis on the 'faith communities' as a conduit for addressing communities as a whole. We hope that the reason is not (subconsciously) electoral. We strongly suspect that the ability of religious leaders, be they Catholic, Muslim or any other denomination or faith to deliver votes for any particular party is minimal, despite their attempts to give the impression they can do this.
10. The democratic process can be compromised if undue influence is accorded to religious leaders or those parliamentarians who act at their behest. Catholics for Choice (a liberal international religious organisation with whom we co-operate) conducted a poll in the UK in November on attitudes to the stance of the Catholic bishops and of the Vatican on abortion law^{viii}. Only just over a quarter (27%) of Catholics disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement 'It should be legal for a woman to have an abortion when she has an unwanted pregnancy.' This fell to one in seven (14%) for the population as a whole.
We note with concern the moves to allow MPs to ignore the Government whip on embryo research, apparently following meetings with Cardinal O'Connor. We are confident that the RC bishops' and Vatican stances on contraception and homosexuality are even less representative of Catholics in the pews and still less of the population as a whole.
11. The consultation, though, is about 'inter faith' organisations which seek to bring together communities that may be mutually suspicious of, or even hostile to, each other. Regrettably, as the Government's own research, carried out by the University of Lancaster and reported in the Church Times^{ix} under the title 'Few benefit from faith links' shows (also reproduced in the Appendix), these inter faith groups benefit only a very few people – mainly those who are already open to better relationships with other religions. They completely miss the people who need them – the malcontents and extremists who have no desire to build bridges – in fact, quite the reverse. Nor do they reach the vast numbers who are uninterested in organised religion. And yet these are the very people who need to be engaged.
12. It is clear that the 'inter faith' approach is not the way to make significant advances in improving/creating community cohesion. Indeed, it might even be counterproductive. By addressing people always through a religious megaphone we are constantly reinforcing what separates and differentiates them from each other. Surely, the answer is to take the emphasis off religion and put it onto such commonalities as education, housing, language learning on a cross religion/belief basis.

13. The Home Office research says that it is important for young people to get together across the racial and religious lines. It says: 'The more that young adults have some sort of social interaction with those from other faith and ethnic communities, the more positive their attitudes towards them.' They should do this in a neutral shared space that does not emphasise what separates them. Everyday life does not revolve around the mosque or the church for most young people – it revolves around places of entertainment, school, shopping centres, hospitals, cinemas, voluntary organisations and sports groups, scout troops. We know that these are areas that people of all kinds want and need to access – they are places where they have no option but to share space. It is clear, though, that religious bodies would like separation even in some of these areas. We have even seen the creation of separate Muslim Scout troops. The Government seems keen to encourage this separatism – particularly in schools. This leads to a negation of the very outcome it is trying to achieve and which is so very much needed.
14. We were delighted when we heard the DCLG minister announce that it is time for a "new and honest' debate on diversity". This was what was urged by Ruth Kelly following the launch of the Government's Commission on Integration and Cohesion in August 2006^x. There has been some progress, but the brave words have fallen short of discussing the 'elephant in the room': faith schools, particularly minority faith schools. One of the largest differences we have with the Department, and those official bodies that have preceded it in dealing with matters of cohesion, is over faith schools; they have actively impeded such discussion, proscribing discussion and even attacking those seeking to open it up.
15. The Government has maintained that 'faith schools' are not a problem and therefore not part of the consultation. In the Commission on Integration and Cohesion's interim report on the consultation, it said that those who objected to 'faith schools' had an 'obsession' with them and that they were nothing more than 'a red herring' in the debate on cohesion.^{xi} In view of the stridency and, we think, clear evasiveness of these accusations, more context to these comments is given in the Appendix.
16. In the Appendix we reproduce incontrovertible evidence, however uncomfortable, that only by educating pupils of all religions and beliefs together from an early age can we achieve the best possible cohesion. Even delaying this integration to later in their school lives – e.g. secondary school - seriously reduces the degree of cohesion. Many educationalists to whom we have spoken regard the research as 'common sense', a view which we share.

17. The Government has instead embarked on a policy of significant expansion of what will be *de facto* segregated schools, often of minority faith communities already living religiously and sometimes ideologically parallel lives from the rest of society. Doing so also reduces the cohesion of the schools from which such children have been withdrawn. The research confirms our suspicions that the Government's 'sticking plaster' solutions such as inter-schools visits, correspondence clubs, or joint sports are not just ineffective, they are counter-productive. Powerful evidence to support our contentions is shown in research by Professor Bruegel of South Bank University. We cannot recommend too strongly that the Government study this, a summary of which is given in the Appendix. (This leads to Recommendation A).
18. The NSS has submitted a response to the Government's consultation on Integration and Cohesion. Although the Government maintained that 'faith schools' are not a problem and therefore not part of the consultation, the NSS presented evidence that the best way to achieve cohesion is by educating all children together at least from primary stage.
19. It is time for the British Government to rethink the emphasis it is placing on religion in its laudable efforts to create a more cohesive society. The fact that much of the hostility that has arisen towards Muslims in this country has been sparked by religious zealots does not mean either that religious zealots have the answer or that the Government should respond to the loudest voices. It is time to address people as people, and not as units of religion. It is time to let people speak for themselves, and not have to try to get their voices heard past the voices of religious bodies, who have taken it upon themselves to speak for them. The Government goes to much effort to tell religious leaders how much it values their input and to invite them to put forward their views. This is a disservice to whole communities of people who may never have been consulted and may be completely unaware of what is being said in their name. Much greater attempts should be made to hear the voices of the people themselves directly. There are other community leaders than religious leaders, and it is not necessary to confine communication to those who style themselves as leaders.
20. We accept that some elements of the Muslim community are 'difficult to reach' and may be known only to the local imams or scholars. But both groups are generally conservative men whose primary interest is promoting the interests of their religion and the traditionalism of their communities. They may well stand in the way of change for women who are locked away – sometimes against their will – in communities that are living by standards that have no place in modern Britain (forced marriages, honour killings, FGM etc). The recent focus on absences from school^{xii} almost certainly

associated with forced marriages illustrates the points raised in this and the preceding and following paragraphs. We also note^{xiii} the reports of the Conservative party leader David Cameron stating that schools in Derby have recently refused to put up posters about forced marriages in a misguided attempt to be culturally sensitive, or perhaps out of fear. It is clear that these problems have been continuing largely unreported for at least a decade, and the Government is showing a degree of naivety in tackling this issue only now and – as far as we know - in just a few places. The lack of reporting of FGM suggests a similar hidden outrage of unknown proportions.

21. By constantly addressing these communities in religious terms, we will constantly be thwarted by men – sadly, invariably, men - who do not want to see change and who may not have the best interests of Britain at heart.
22. Ideally, the more moderate people in minority communities should be encouraged to speak out and make it clear that the moderates are in a majority and condemn the extremists in their communities. The almost complete lack of such voices encourages an entirely unbalanced perception of the views of those in minority communities and the lack of challenge from within reinforces the extremists' view of their own legitimacy and of their power. Sadly, however, this is not realistic because the moderates are unable to do so because of fears for their safety or that of their families.
23. Finally, we are aware of an unwillingness to be open about the source of inter-communal tension if this might be culturally sensitive, or simply perhaps out of fear. We noticed that the press were at pains not to say who objected to soldiers appearing in uniform in Peterborough, and there are suggestions that the vicar injured in the attack on a church in East London was being asked not to treat it as a religiously aggravated attack, something which the Police would (rightly) not have hesitated to press for had the aggression been the other way around.
24. We have included in the Appendix the whole article from The Times (17 March 2008) on the above attack, headlined 'Congregation in fear after faith-hate attack on canon'. Recommendation G relates to these matters.

APPENDIX

From Prof. Irene Bruegel of South Bank University 26 August 2006

Submission to the Commission on Cohesion and Integration:

[Here is a summary of] a report of research on patterns of children's friendships conducted in 12 English primary schools between 2003 and 2005. The schools varied greatly in ethnic and faith diversity, with as many as 60 of the 600 children surveyed identifying themselves as Muslims. We found that

- Friendship at primary schools can and does cross ethnic and faith divides wherever children have the opportunity to make friends from different backgrounds
- At that age, in such schools, children are not highly conscious of racial differences and are largely unaware of the religion of their friends.
- That the positive benefits of mixed primary schooling particularly for white children, extend into the early years of secondary school. They were more likely to make new friends from a different background, were more aware of racial discrimination
- There was some evidence that parents learned to respect people from other backgrounds as a result of their children's experiences in mixed schools.
- That the ethnic mix of primary schools can vary within local catchment areas and that parental attitudes, allied to a rhetoric of choice, reduces the chances of children from different backgrounds being in the same primary class.
- In the areas we studied this was particularly true of Catholic schools.
- Muslim children separated school and home more than other children, but their Muslim school friends did not come home with them any more than their other friends.
- The process of secondary school transfer affects behaviour and inter-racial relations as children react to a sense of rejection (not included in this paper)
- Secondary school transfer processes also tended to disrupt pre-existing inter-ethnic friendships more than others.
- Children in non-denominational secondary schools from all ethnic backgrounds were largely opposed to 'faith' schools.
- In the one case we studied, primary school twinning had little effect on white children's attitudes, fuelling indeed their community's sense of losing out on investment.

Drawing on the large body of research into the social psychology of prejudice, we conclude by arguing that day-to-day contact between children who can more easily see each other as equals has far more chance of breaking down barriers between communities, than school twinning and sporting encounters

We therefore think that if it is to address the questions of integration effectively, the Commission

- Has to consider how far policies of enhanced school choice and the retention of existing religious schools have hindered integration
- Has to consider how policies and processes within schools help or hinder the respect and understanding pupils have for one another, with particular regard to the attitudes of white children
- Has to ensure that local examples of school twinning and informal contact are independently and systematically evaluated for their impact on attitudes and behaviour.
- Should systematically evaluate the educational benefits for white children from traditionally poor achieving backgrounds of learning alongside children from high aspiring ethnic groups, asking the question of how some of their achievements might 'rub off' on to their white peers.

The report is posted on London South Bank University's own website:

<http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/families/publications/SCDiversityEdu28.8.06.pdf>

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Church Times: Few Benefit from Faith Links (referred to in Paragraph 11)

<http://www.churchtimes.co.uk/content.asp?id=51910>

Church Times, 22 February 2008 (by Margaret Holness)

INTER FAITH activities have a limited effect on developing community cohesion, a two-year Government-funded study has shown. Researchers at Lancaster University investigated initiatives set up in the wake of racial unrest in the North-West in 2001. Inter faith activities were valuable, but engaged only a small minority, and were resisted by many from the Christian and Muslim communities, they found.

Inter faith activities should involve secular groups, say the report's authors, Canon Dr Alan Billings, director of Lancaster's Centre for Ethics and Religion, and Dr Andrew Holden. In towns with large ethnic minorities, regular contact between the groups contributes most to

community cohesion, says the report. ‘The more that young adults have some sort of social interaction with those from other faith and ethnic communities, the more positive their attitudes towards them.’

They investigated attitudes among pupils at three community schools: one ethnically mixed, one overwhelmingly Asian, and one serving a white housing estate. Attitudes to race at the first two were generally liberal, but ‘white racist’ views were common at the third school, where nearly one third of pupils expressed the view that their race was superior to others. Dr Billings found that these attitudes reflected the “smouldering resentments” of the parents, and that: “The all-white school was unable by itself to overcome the entrenched white extremism that mediated itself through the family, the peer group, and the enclave.” The “mixed school” should itself be seen as a form of inter faith activity in ameliorating illiberal attitudes among some young white people, while teaching young Muslim Asians how to deal with prejudice.

The researchers also have a message for Muslim clerics and leaders: “There is an urgent need for the Muslim community to develop theological expressions of how to be both British and Muslim that is at least as comprehensive and coherent as the ideology of the Islamic extremists. This is a challenge not only for imams and others who exercise leadership at the local level, but also for universities, colleges and teacher training institutions.”

Commission on Integration and Cohesion – Interim Report (2007)

– two extracts (referred to in Para 14)

<http://www.integrationandcohesion.org.uk/upload/assets/www.integrationandcohesion.org.uk/cicinterim.pdf>

“Some label key institutions as problematic whilst not recognising that they can add real value to integration and cohesion – witness the obsession by some with faith schools as automatically a bad thing without looking at the contribution they have made.”

“58 Finally, some people have told us that they see faith schools as a significant barrier to integration and cohesion. Others, especially from faith communities, have said that faith schools are vital to helping their young people develop as strong and confident British citizens. Our initial thinking is put faith schools in the same category as residential segregation, almost as a ‘red herring’ in the debate – i.e. there is no problem as long as there is social interaction outside the faith school, and the faith school is delivering a quality service to its pupils to help them realise their potential in wider society. But we are aware of other work¹⁰ currently being carried out looking at faith schools and cohesion and will aim to reflect relevant recommendations in our final report.”

The Times March 17, 2008 <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/crime/article3564521.ece>

Congregation in fear after faith-hate attack on canon

David Brown

The wife of a clergyman beaten up in a faith-hate attack outside his church described the community's shock and distress yesterday after taking the Palm Sunday service on her husband's behalf.

Canon Michael Ainsworth is expected to be released from hospital early this week after being attacked 12 days ago in East London.

The attack has led to fears of an increasing number of religiously aggravated attacks on Christian clergy and concerns that the problem is overlooked by police and prosecutors.

Speaking after giving the service at St George's-in-the-East Church in Shadwell, the Rev Janina Ainsworth, 57, who is also a priest in the Church of England, said that the couple had taken much strength from the support offered from around the country. "There is a lot of shock and distress around the congregation and the area," she said.

"We're so grateful for all the messages of support and love from friends and the wider community. Quite clearly, there are mindless individuals in every community under the influence of drink and drugs who will engage in random acts of violence."

Canon Ainsworth, 57, who was wearing his clerical collar, was punched and kicked by two Asian youths while another shouted religious abuse outside St George's on March 5. He suffered cuts, bruises and two black eyes. He was discharged from St Bartholomew's hospital but later readmitted following complications to an injury.

Canon Ainsworth moved to St George's at the end of last year after his wife was appointed as the first female chief education officer for the Church of England. Mrs Ainsworth said: "Normally community relations here are very good. We have had very strong messages of support from the East London Mosque and Tower Hamlets Mosque, with whom we've got good relations.

"Clearly, the Muslim community is very shocked. These individuals were under the influence and this was a random act, but it may well be that some good can come out of it.

"Michael is making a good recovery and he should be back home early next week. He doesn't want to castigate the whole community, he feels this is an isolated incident.

"We do know that in this area there is no concerted campaign against Christians and Christian buildings."

The church has been targeted in the past, with bricks thrown through the windows of the 18th-century building. On Good Friday last year, worshippers were showered with glass during a service.

Allan Ramanoop, an Asian member of the parochial church council, said that parishioners were often too scared to challenge the gangs. "I've been physically threatened and verbally abused on the steps of the church," he said. "On one occasion, youths shouted: 'This should not be a church, this should be a mosque, you should not be here'.

"I just walked away from it – you are too frightened to challenge them.

We have church windows smashed two to three times a month. The youths are anti-Christian. It's terrible what they have done to Canon Ainsworth."

It was feared that the incident might inflame tension in the area, which is in the heart of Tower Hamlets where more than half the residents are from ethnic minority groups. A third are of Bangladeshi origin.

In January one of the Church of England's most senior bishops said that Islamic extremists had created "no-go" areas across Britain where it was too dangerous for non-Muslims to enter. The Bishop of Rochester, Dr Michael Nazir-Ali, the Church's only Asian bishop, said that people of a different race or faith face physical attack if they live or work in communities dominated by a strict Muslim ideology.

Worshippers at St George's suggested that youth thuggery, rather than religious bigotry, may be more to blame.

Thomas Beckett, 50, said: "I have heard that this church is an island in the middle of a Muslim community. But you don't expect this sort of attack to happen – you don't expect Muslims to be attacked either." Michael Saward, 75, the former vicar, said: "Nothing like this has happened in this area before, although I have been attacked in the past so I can understand what he's going through.

"We have had windows smashed here but we don't know by who."

Nick Tolson, a former police officer who set up the National Churchwatch safety scheme, said that there had been an increase in faith hate attacks on clergy.

“The harassment is usually coming from young Asian men – often, but not exclusively, Muslim,” he said. “The police and prosecutors will classify an attack on a mosque or Muslim as a hate crime but not if it is a church or a vicar. These aren’t targeted attacks, they are spontaneous, but [the victims] are being singled out because of their faith and should be dealt with in the same way as other members of the community.”

The Crown Prosecution Service reported last month that cases aggravated by religious factors had fallen by 37.2 per cent, with reports of 27 prosecutions in the past year. In the 23 cases where the religion was known, 17 victims were Muslim, three as Christian, two as Jewish and one as Sikh.

Scotland Yard said that allegations of faith hate crimes had fallen by a half between 2005-06 and 2006-07 to 417.

READERS’ COMMENTS (MORE MAY BE ADDED AFTER THIS EXTRACT WAS TAKEN)

Mrs Ainsworth said "...Quite clearly, there are mindless individuals in every community under the influence of drink and drugs who will engage in random acts of violence"

Can she not bring herself to admit that this was actually caused by two competing superstitions which make mutually exclusive claims. As a proselytiser for one of them, she carries a share of the responsibility.

John Jones, London,

As a former Shadwell resident, now thankfully overseas from the mess that is the UK, I am very saddened by this. I should qualify things somewhat. My wife and I never received any abuse, religious, racial or otherwise during our time there. I just hope that this is an isolated incident.

D Evans, Hong Kong, Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China.

How long will it take for people to stop dismissing acts of this kind as 'isolated' or 'random' or 'extremist'? Do we not have enough examples yet? Are we all just hoping that if we ignore the problem it will just go away? Are we just hoping that if we treat people well that they will treat us well in return?

The path to hell is paved with good intentions.

Oh how misguided, weak and naive multi-culturalism will look in 50 years time when it becomes clear that all it has done is create a power vacuum from which a strong mono-culture will emerge.

Dave, Melbourne, Australia

ⁱ <http://news.theage.com.au/govt-considers-muslim-advisory-body/20080311-1yig.html>

ⁱⁱ <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200708/ldhansrd/text/80310-0001.htm> at column 1293

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.ex-muslim.org.uk/>

^{iv} <http://www.secularism.org.uk/uploads/35430434015cc7c284491961.pdf>

^v (<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?ID=984&pos=&colRank=2&Rank=448>)

^{vi} UK Christian Handbook: Religious Trends 5 (2005/2006) Publ 2005 by Christian Research ISBN1-85321-160-5, Tables 12.11 and 12.13

^{vii} <http://www.lausanneworldpulse.com/trendsandstatistics/654/03-2007?pg=all>

^{viii} Press release on the Poll:

<http://www.catholicsforchoice.org/news/inthenews/2007/AlmostHalfofCatholicsBackAbortion.asp> PDF of poll

http://www.catholicsforchoice.org/news/pr/2007/documents/YouGovPoll_16-Nov-2007.pdf

^{ix} <http://www.churchtimes.co.uk/content.asp?id=51910> Church Times, 22 February 2008 – text also reproduced in Appendix

^x http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/5290338.stm

^{xi} <http://www.integrationandcohesion.org.uk/upload/assets/www.integrationandcohesion.org.uk/cicinterim.pdf>

pages 3 and 27

^{xii} <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article3508264.ece>

^{xiii} <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/feb/27/immigration.humanrights>