

“Easy Meat”

Multiculturalism, Islam and Child Sex Slavery



Peter McLoughlin

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Contents

1. Introduction	12
2. The Grooming Gang Phenomenon	22
2.1 Defining the Problem	30
2.2 Tip of the Iceberg	34
2.3 Invisible Victims	36
2.4 National Dimensions	39
2.5 International Dimensions	41
2.7 Counting the Victims	44
2.8 Realising the Damage	47
3. Sikh Victims of Grooming Gangs	53
4. Chronology: Cover-up to Collapse	60
4.1 1988 Sikh/Muslim violence	62
4.2 1989 Sikhs convicted	64
4.3 1991 “The earliest case...”	65
4.4 1995 Bradford: <i>Streets and Lanes</i>	67
4.5 1996 Rotherham	69
4.6 1998 <i>Sikh Awareness Society</i> starts	71
4.7 2001 Derby and “Real Caliphate”	73
4.8 2003 Bradford/Keighley	74
4.9 2004 Edge of the City	77
4.10 2005 Radio 5 programme	81
4.11 2005 Luton and “Real Caliphate”	83
4.12 2007 Julie Bindel: a lone voice	85
4.13 2008 My Dangerous Loverboy	87
4.14 2008 BBC <i>Panorama</i> : Teenage Sex For Sale	91
4.15 2009 Rise of English Defence League	97
4.16 2011 Andrew Norfolk’s pivotal article	99

5.	Systemic Institutional Failure	102
5.1	Schools	105
5.2	Local Councils	109
5.3	Police	121
5.4	Criminal Justice System	127
5.5	Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre .	136
5.6	Serious Organised Crime Agency	151
5.7	Children’s Commissioner	157
5.8	Home Affairs Select Committee	173
5.9	<i>Barnardo’s</i>	180
5.10	Academic Experts	190
6.	Abuse of the Narrative of Racism	201
6.1	Political Correctness	201
6.2	Muslims, not “Asians”	204
6.3	“Racism” Protected the Rapists	206
6.4	Racist Aspects of Grooming	214
7.	Islamic Cultural Background	222
7.1	“Asian gang”: racist duplicity	223
7.2	Islamic Morality, Muslim Culture	232
7.3	Koranic Instructions	235
7.4	Stories from the Hadith	247
7.5	The Life of Mohammed (Sira)	248
7.6	Sharia Law: Child Marriage	251
7.7	Sharia Law: Legality of Slavery	255
8.	The Scale of the Problem	269
9.	Victims of Multiculturalism	297
10.	Conclusion	310
11.	Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions	320
12.	Appendix 2: Grooming Gang Chronology	323
13.	Appendix 3: Name Distribution of Convicts	324
14.	Appendix 4: Leeds School Warning	325
15.	Appendix 5: Sheffield School Warning	326
16.	Appendix 6: Real Khilafah - Letter to Moslem Youth . .	327
17.	Appendix 7: Luton Article on Real Khilafah	328

18. Appendix 8: Children’s Commissioner Charts	329
19. Appendix 9: Victims to Perpetrators	330
17. Appendix 10: Police Report on EDL	331
20. Appendix 11: Transcription Real Khilafa Letter	332

Foreword

This is a shocking report. It is written with care, but the evidence is hard to believe. Readers should beware, because there is something to feel angry about on most pages: the prevalence of the crime; the length of time that it has continued; its blatancy; the lengths our authorities have gone to in order to cover up for it; but most of all, the vulnerability and suffering of the victims.

That anger is going to spread as awareness of this crime spreads. Denial and damage limitation won't work any more.

It is hard to think of something more calculated to incite public violence than the targeting of native girls for rape by an immigrant population. The use of inter communal rape in the most savage territorial conflicts testifies to its perception as a weapon, and the fear of it evokes the most primal instincts.

And this is the basis for our plea to our civil authorities to stamp out this crime by any lawful means: if the suffering of the victims can't motivate you, then consider the threat to your grip on power.

Vigilante violence disables its own society, and is one of the short-cuts from Queen's peace to all-against-all. The self-appointed doer of justice tears a hole in the entire fabric of the law. He is accountable to no one, and if his violence can be inflicted on child rapists then thieves and debtors will be next.

The danger of vigilante justice.

Let me tell a story, some hypothetical events to illustrate how quickly power can spin out of the authorities' hands.

It may be argued that the situation is too violent, but violence is what happens when ethnic hostility meets civil disorder. I have tried to underplay the descriptions, to assuage the sensitive. I hope the passage of time won't reproach me for failing to point out the dangers in clear enough words.

Suppose a group of former soldiers, with weapons and intelligence training, are bored with their post-service jobs for security companies and print shops, and tired of the pub going which keeps them in touch with each other and with what bestowed a sense of pride and purpose. Their patriotism is frustrated by their impotence in the face of predatory criminality. They gained a none-too-rosy view of Islamic culture during their tours of Iraq and Afghanistan, and its presence in Britain has become a frequent topic of conversation.

Fuelled by beer and boredom, their conversation turns to outrage at the failure to eradicate child rape gangs, and to boasts about how quickly they could eradicate them. One of them points out the number of Muslims among those convicted for grooming crimes, relative to the proportion of Muslims in Britain: he's been looking through the convictions and realised that almost everyone convicted for these crimes has a Muslim name, when Muslims are only 5% of the population. They do some quick calculations, and conclude that Muslims are 154 times likelier to be perpetrators of these crimes than non-Muslims.¹ Another points out that it's worse than that: there's not been one case where the victim was a Muslim and the paedophiles

¹ Some of the calculations get lost in the bar room hubbub, but they were as follows: muslims made up 89% of offenders from the most reliable lists, i.e. the lists of convictions as compiled by Andrew Norfolk, where guilt and innocence had been tested in the glare of a courtroom, uninfluenced by the professional self interest of social workers' feedback forms. But muslims made up 5% of the population. Their calculations were:

The likelihood of individual Muslims to commit this offence is:

$$89 \div 5\% = 1,780.00$$

The likelihood of individual non-Muslims to commit this offence is:

$$11 \div 95\% = 11.58$$

So the likelihood of individual Muslims to commit this offence, compared to individual non Muslims, is:

$$1,780 \div 11.58 = 153.73$$

I.e. Muslims are roughly 154 times more likely than non-Muslims to commit this crime. There is some squabbling, and much mathematical to-ing and fro-ing, as to whether the figure can really be so steep. But, after much swearing at mobile phone calculator apps, that is the figure settled on...

were non-Muslims. “They’re raping our kids, we’re not raping their kids. There’s something wrong with Muslims,” he says.

They say they could put an end to this problem. They mean if they were given the chance, like. Infuriated by each new crop of bearded paedophiles glowering from the front pages, their talk becomes more sober and less boastful.

Prompted a few weeks later by reports of a particularly incompetent police investigation, idle talk turns to not-so-idle planning.

Tipped off by a disillusioned child protection worker or police officer as to the location of a B n’ B establishment used for this crime, they decide to put their plans into action.

Instead of planning a reprisal raid – as one or two Sikh groups appear to have done in response to the abuse of Sikh girls – they decide that prevention is better than cure. Acting on information received, they surveil the premises, noting when the 13 year old girl is led into the building, and when the clients follow.

One evening they lay in wait, force their way inside the building, and into the room where a semi comatose girl is held.

A terrible massacre follows: they shoot dead all the men in that room, without warning, at point blank range.

They are caught, arrested, charged with murder, and plead not guilty.

The appalling aftermath leaves no room to deny the killings. So, at trial, they admit the facts but claim their actions were justified because they were done in the prevention of a crime.

The prosecution are left with the unenviable task of rebutting this defence beyond reasonable doubt, and argue that the Defendants’ actions were not “reasonable in all the circumstances” because lesser force would have sufficed.

The Defendants cite the fact that American states specifically sanction citizens' use of "deadly force" against home invasion, whether or not the life of the householder is threatened, and even in some car chases. Similar laws have been proposed for this country in the case of burglary, and would enjoy substantial public support. They argue that most people agree that the gang rape of children is more serious than burglary. They refer to the BBC's "No charge for Texas dad who killed daughter's rapist" story, and the comments beneath.²

The prosecution also submit that the killers failed to inform the authorities before taking the law into their own hands, to which the killers point out that the authorities already knew – since they got their information from a disaffected member of one such authority – and that nothing had happened so far.

The judge is more conscious of the dangers of DIY justice than many people, so she is perturbed by the defence. But she is unable to prevent it going to the jury. She gives the correct guidance to the twelve men and women that it is hard to see how such extreme force can be considered reasonable when civil authorities such as police and child protection units are paid to prevent these crimes. And that whilst the crime of child rape is a terrible one, massacre is out of all proportion to it.

The jury retire and are unable to reach a verdict. Anonymous reports in some newspapers suggest later that half of the jurors refused to see anything wrong with killing members of a child rape gang. A retrial is held, followed, unusually, by a second retrial. But no verdict is ever reached, and the judge at the second retrial instructs the foreman to acquit the defendants. Picture the enthusiastic celebrations outside the court – based more on soccer chants than study of the dovetail joint between law and civil society.

News of the acquittal spreads fast. Other groups of would be vigilantes, take on board that it is OK to kill child rapists, especially

² 20 June 2013 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-18522383>.

them Muslim ones. The more buccaneering gangs soon branch into other areas of enforcement and dispute resolution. Before long they become the people to report crimes and quarrels to in certain areas. They even open their own brothels, some of which are sometimes somewhat casual about age restrictions – an irony that the liberal press are quick to spot, but which the police are slow to risk enforcing against for fear of upsetting the calm stalemate.

This situation is not so far-fetched as you might hope. The fragility of civilisation, the basic human need for security, plus an absence of law (to say nothing of budget constraints) enable the violent to pull in those around them like a fire-storm. It is, therefore, essential that our authorities stamp out these offences visibly, aggressively, and fast. They need to be seen to break with their previous inertia in doing so.

It is not realistic merely to condemn this crime. It must be suppressed. If not, those of us who are now execrated as firebrands, but who later try to preach restraint, will be brushed aside with the simple words: “They rape our children.”

Gavin Boby

Law And Freedom Foundation

Preface

We recognise that this report covers a complex area, and that some of its conclusions rely on extrapolations. We are confident that there are many professionals in the UK who are better financed, have better contacts, and who have more experience in this area. We wish that they had written this report. But it is precisely their silence on this subject for the last 20 years which has required us to write this report, with any inadequacies you may find therein.

If you would like to help improve the quality of this report, please feel free to contact us with corrections. If you are aware of information which we've missed, we'd be grateful to receive that information too. We intend to update this report every few years, until this grooming phenomenon reaches a satisfactory conclusion.

Since we started to write this report, the Serious Organised Crime Agency has been wound up, and the evidence from their website has gone. More of the evidence referred to in this report may disappear with time. But at least this mark in the sand has been made.

Please send corrections or additional information to petermcloughlin@lawandfreedomfoundation.org . We would like to thank all those people who contributed information to this report.

1. Introduction

Many girls are terrified and with reason... a girl had her tongue nailed to the table when she threatened to tell.

– former government advisor, *Daily Mail*, 2008

The sexual abuse of children takes different social forms: from sporadic child abductions, to organised child pornography rings, to abuse by parents or care-home staff. All of it is awful, and none of it should be ignored. The phenomenon of gangs of men who loiter with impunity around schoolgirls, luring them into a life of addiction and prostitution is a distinct category of child sexual abuse, but a category that the authorities in Britain have deliberately ignored for 25 years. They ignored it, despite it being clearly put on the national agenda as long ago as 2003.

There are some specific features and events which should have made it obvious to the authorities and the media that a new social phenomenon was occurring in Britain. What should have been of interest to the *authorities*?

- gangs of Muslim men hanging around school gates in cars
- schoolgirls contacting police and social services and telling them that they had been abused
- parents contacting police and social services with their fears and accumulated evidence
- extended families of Muslim men being associated with this child abuse
- schoolgirls being abducted or going missing for days on end

- stories of the men luring the girls with gifts, then turning them into addicts
- families having to abandon their daughters to stop the daughter luring other relatives into the clutches of the gangs
- connections between the grooming gangs and drug dealers

What should have been of interest to the *media and academics*?

- gang violence between Sikhs and Muslims over claims about grooming
- Sikhs creating organisations to teach their girls what the gangs were doing
- reports that devout Muslim organisations were instructing Muslim men to deceive and subjugate non-Muslim women
- refusal of the Muslim community to condemn these crimes and their failure to inform police that they were going on
- international parallels between this phenomenon in Britain and its occurrence in the Netherlands

Between 1988 and 2003, evidence of all of these things must have been known by many police officers, social workers, academics and journalists. Yet we will show that, with very few exceptions, these incidents were rarely publicised in the national media, by the campaigns of child-care charities, by official reports, or in academic books. On the rare occasion when the phenomenon would be discussed in more than the briefest details, political activists and the authorities would come together to stop the public from knowing more. Political correctness would be used to make sure that people did not speak about this phenomenon, enabling the perpetrators free rein to sexually abuse schoolgirls for decades. Yes, *decades*. We know that in an age where parents are not allowed to smack their children, this sounds unbelievable. But finally, by 2011 the conspiracy of silence was broken. And in September 2012, *The Times* newspaper carried an

extensive overview of what had been going on. It stated that “for more than a decade organised groups of men were able to groom, pimp and traffic girls across the country with virtual impunity.”¹ *The Times* went on to quote a welfare expert describing this as “**the biggest child protection scandal of our time.**”² We will show that even the coverage in *The Times* has understated the scale of the problem.

There is far more to this story than has come out so far. The population are already outraged by what they have learned in the last year or two, but know only a fraction of the scandal.³ In England, this epidemic of child-rape by grooming gangs has been going on since at least 1988; moreover, the victims have not only been white schoolgirls. Despite more than a decade of disinformation by child-care professionals, academics, and political activists, the earliest claims (1988 to 2003)⁴ were that the gangs were overwhelmingly Muslim.⁵ This massive over-representation of Muslim men in this

¹ Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

² Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>. Emphasis added.

³ We made a decision that this study would attempt to avoid sensational detail, and would provide the minimum amount of detail required to indicate the horrors involved. Mostly this study confines itself to exposing where organisations have failed, who must have known what and when; to evidence-gathering and statistical extrapolation; and forays into areas of theology and cultural analysis where others will not tread.

⁴ See 4.1 1988 Sikh/Muslim violence, and 4.8 2003 Bradford/Keighley. In 2003, Muslims were less than 3% of the UK population, yet already reports of these gangs stated the gangs were “overwhelmingly Asian.” Anna Hall “**Hunt For Britain’s Sex Gangs, C4**” *Broadcast* 2 May, 2013 <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/in-depth/hunt-for-britains-sex-gangs-c4/5054504.article>. We will see below whether or not it was reasonable for all the principle figures involved in this 2003 controversy to have stated that the gangs were “Asian” rather than “Muslim.”

⁵ CROP (Coalition for the Removal of Pimping) is the only charity to work exclusively with the schoolgirl victims of pimping and their families. CROP was set-up in 2002.

the families had suffered mainly at the hands of Pakistani men. “The vast majority are white families and the perpetrators are Pakistani Asians,” the organisation’s chair of trustees, Hilary Willmer, was

crime spree has been borne out by the prosecutions of the last three to four years,⁶ but it is clear that it must have been known long ago and should have been made public. Because the predators were Muslims, the agencies who are responsible for child-protection have almost entirely failed in their job to protect vulnerable children. From a fear of being called “racist”, police forces across the country have buried the evidence.⁷ National agencies busied themselves with cybercrime, bullying in schools, and the trafficking of children into Britain - almost anything to avoid attending to this serious sexual and violent abuse going on across England.

Even documents that supposedly address the problem have gone out of their way to avoid discussing why some “ethnic groups” are massively over-represented as perpetrators, whilst the schoolgirl victims are overwhelmingly of a different ethnic

quoted as saying. Sources inside Crop placed the percentage as high as 80 per cent, although Kurdish, Romanian and Albanian gangs were also involved.

Paul Vallely, “**Child Sex Grooming: the Asian Question**”, *The Independent*, 10 May 2012 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/child-sex-grooming-the-Asian-question-7729068.html>. Thus, an organisation which has worked exclusively in this area for over a decade says that 80% of the perpetrators are Pakistanis. What the journalist does not make clear in the above article, is that Kurdistan, Romania and Albania are areas which have been Islamised for centuries. Albania is 60% Muslim, and Kurds do not have their own country, but are spread out over many Muslim countries, and the vast majority of Kurds are Muslim. See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_Romania.

⁶See 11. Appendix 1: **Grooming Gang Convictions**, and notice almost all of those convicted have Muslim names (non-Muslim names in the list of convictions have been rendered in italics).

⁷Following an inquiry in 2013 into the events in Rochdale, the socialist MP for the town said that the police had been actively ignoring reports by the victims. “The biggest issue to come out of this report is that Greater Manchester Police (GMP) were effectively discriminating against poor, white, working-class girls, so that’s not about a failure to spot abuse, that is about actively ignoring abuse that was going on when it was brought to their attention”, “**Rochdale grooming: ‘Shocking’ failure over sex abuse**” *BBC News*, 20 Dec 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-25450512>.

group. The perpetrators have been overwhelmingly men from Muslim communities, and the victims have been overwhelmingly girls from non-Muslim communities (Sikhs, Christians, Atheists). Yet the professionals never deemed it important to declare this, or even denied the pattern existed. Until 2012, the media in Britain did not once discuss the similarities between Muslim grooming gangs here and Muslim grooming gangs in the Netherlands (even though English-language media in the Netherlands were reporting on these gangs as early as 2001).⁸

Throughout the last twenty years, no ordinary member of the British public had any reason to associate the town of Rotherham in South Yorkshire with systematic, organised child abuse.⁹ Despite government agencies in Rotherham knowing about (and privately discussing) the Muslim grooming gangs from 1996, a 2010 document by Rotherham Safeguarding Children Board stated that “great care will be taken in drafting . . . this report to ensure that its findings embrace Rotherham’s qualities of diversity. It is imperative that suggestions of a wider cultural phenomenon are avoided.”¹⁰

The 2012 analysis in *The Times* focused on Rotherham, where 200

⁸Carin Tiggeloven, “**Child Prostitution in the Netherlands**”, *Radio Netherlands*, 18 Dec 2001 <http://web.archive.org/web/20080627112924/http://www.radionetherlands.nl/currentaffairs/region/netherlands/netherlands011218.html>.

⁹A search of national news databases, going back to 1985, did not turn up any relevant results until the year 2010.

¹⁰From the 2010 report, found in Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>. This quotation encapsulates the problem: despite all the evidence that different parts of Rotherham’s “diverse” community had conflicting cultural values, leading to serious harm for the vulnerable parties in this conflict (the schoolgirls), political correctness and the doctrine of multiculturalism meant that the professionals whose job it was to help the vulnerable were consciously commanding that these diverse cultural values could not be discussed. Multiculturalism came about in order to deny that there is any significance to cultures having different values and to conceal that there will be conflict when these incompatible values come together. Political correctness is the means by which such denial is enforced.

“restricted-access documents” showed that, in that borough alone, “police and child protection agencies have held extensive knowledge of this crime model for ten years, yet have never publicly acknowledged its existence.”¹¹ Back in 1996, Rotherham Council conducted an investigation into the organized grooming activities of gangs. The report identified that most of the perpetrators were Pakistani Muslim men (Kurdish Muslims and Kosovan Muslims were also identified as perpetrators.)¹² *The Times* article states that in 2002, Rotherham Council produced a report which identified 3 brothers from one Pakistani Muslim family as being linked to the sexual exploitation of 54 girls from the area. The Muslim men in this case seem typical of many of the men involved in this crime. And we believe that the behaviour of Rotherham council is typical of the behaviour of many, perhaps most, councils.

Many people who are not involved in a professional capacity with child-care might think that this phenomenon came about because the child-protection agencies were under-staffed. However, the website of the National Society for the Protection of Children (NSPCC) refers to a “National Working Group... [which] links over 1000 practitioners who are working on the issues of child sexual exploitation (CSE) and trafficking in the UK.”¹³ Considering there are so many paid professionals working on trafficking and the sexual exploitation of children, we should be asking very serious questions about how and why these grooming gangs have been allowed to operate with impunity for 10 to 25 years. That same page from the NSPCC website

¹¹Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

¹²Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

¹³NSPCC “**Research on child sexual exploitation**”, Jul 2013, http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/resourcesforprofessionals/sexualabuse/sexual_exploitation_research_wda85130.html.

lists the research available in this field, and it is a pitifully small list of documents, considering the decades of evidence of the gangs' existence, the thousands of victims, and the surge in historical prosecutions since 2010.¹⁴

The book you are reading is an attempt to fill in the gaps left by researchers in accounting for this phenomenon. We will expose the scale of the problem, how some government agencies have done almost nothing to expose the massive criminality and exploitation, how Islamic theology and history can explain the rise of this phenomenon, and how political activists have obfuscated the problem through the misuse of the narrative of “racism.” Acts of omission and acts of concealment occurred to prevent the public from realising that multiculturalism is a fundamentally incoherent doctrine, invented to conceal the serious conflicts which have arisen when peoples from vastly different cultures, with different values, are forced to live together. Over the past few years the victims of the grooming gangs, or their parents, have started to publish their own stories.¹⁵ We dwell as little as possible on the gruesome details of what happened to the victims. Instead we try to show the complicity and denial of the agencies and authorities.

We believe that our analysis will show that there are indeed *prima facie* reasons for considering Islamic doctrine to be at the root of this problem, both in Britain and in the Netherlands. We are not making any claim that our brief examination of Islamic doctrine and Muslim culture is the last word on these matters. We are prepared to be the first to look into this subject, something which none of the experts have dared consider. Sometimes we will refer to discussions by Muslims who are not experts on Islam. Some critics will argue that

¹⁴See section 12. [Appendix 2: Grooming Gang Chronology](#).

¹⁵See Emma Jackson, *The End of My World: The Shocking True Story of a Young Girl Forced to Become a Sex Slave*, Ebury Press, 2010. See also Kris Hollington, *Un-thinkable: The Shocking Scandal of Britain's Trafficked Children*, Simon & Schuster, 2013.

the opinion of such people should not count. However, we are interested to show how Muslims are interpreting their own religion and culture, and we are not necessarily interested in the casuistry of some Sheikh. We will also use references to statements by Sultans and Sheikhs where appropriate. We will show that there are good reasons to believe that the values found in Islamic doctrine pervade Muslim communities, in Britain and elsewhere.

Given the way in which this debate has been framed, we cannot help but make much reference to “race” and to distinctions such as “white”, “black”, “Asian”, etc. Let us state clearly from the outset: it is our opinion that the concept of “race” is a concept with no biological foundation. And the social significance of this destructive concept is maintained principally by the left-wing racism industry.

It should go without saying, but most Muslims in Britain are not involved with the grooming gangs. There may even be Muslim communities where there are no grooming gangs operating.¹⁶

¹⁶However, there is strong evidence to show that the problem now extends across England. Vicky Smith, “**Child sex slave gangs in EVERY city in Britain: Police chief’s warning after Oxford grooming horror**”, *The Mirror*, 15 May 2013, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/child-sex-slave-gangs-every-1891898>; Justin Penrose & Vicky Smith, “**Police probe at least 54 more evil child sex grooming gangs**”, *The Daily Mirror*, 19 May 2013, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/police-probe-least-54-more-1896991>. It is notable in the preceding report that the police forces of West and East Midlands did not report any on-going investigations; yet a Muslim women’s organisation has recently presented claims that there are huge problems with “Asian” grooming gangs in the Midlands and says: “community leaders, schools and families need to stop dismissing the sickening attacks or covering them up.” Neil Elkes, “**Shocking report claims young Asian girls are being groomed for rape in Birmingham**”, *Birmingham Mail*, 20 Feb 2014, <http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/shocking-report-claims-young-asian-6728673>. Despite London having a population of 7 million, and a very large Muslim community, our table of convictions [11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#) might lead one to believe that the grooming gangs are operating mostly in the north of England. However it looks as though the police and social services in London might have been ignoring a huge problem: a recent report claims that police in London were notified of 500 victims in just 6 months, with 10% of the cases be-

However, the massive over-representation of Muslim men among those convicted for these kinds of crime seems to indicate that being male and being Muslim are the most significant characteristics when it comes to identifying the motivation of these gangs and their customers. Where the gangs are operating, it is clear that there are significant numbers of Muslims who are either actively protecting the gangs' activities, or who know what the men in their community are doing and are silent about it.¹⁷ Every decade, the Muslim population of Britain almost doubles in size, so there is every reason to believe that without some massive changes in our society, the activities of these gangs will grow and grow.¹⁸ We hope that the information contained in this report will help inform the public and professionals

ing described as “very serious”. Justin Davenport, **“Detectives investigating 50 ‘very serious’ child grooming sex cases in London”**, *London Evening Standard*, 3 Feb 2014, <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/detectives-investigating-50-very-serious-child-grooming-sex-cases-in-london-9103637.html>.

¹⁷At the conclusion of a trial in the north-east of England in 2014, the judge stated that the behaviour of the gang revealed a “profoundly worrying attitude about the offending.” Joe Willis, **“Three Middlesbrough men jailed for grooming under-age girls for sex”**, 13 Feb 2014, *The Northern Echo*, http://www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/news/11009663.Three_Middlesbrough_men_jailed_for_grooming_underage_girls_for_sex/. After all the publicity surrounding convictions of gangs in Oxford, Rotherham and Rochdale in recent years, it seems as though the gangs are not stopping their activities. Moreover, the above news report states

The court heard that the girls [the victims] had been taunted and insulted by friends and family of the defendants since coming forward, including being bombarded by obscene messages, called sluts and accused of being racist.

Which shows that the Muslim community continues to see the non-Muslim victims as the problem, not the Muslim perpetrators. This is a distinctive feature of the grooming gang phenomenon throughout its history.

¹⁸Some 30 miles north of Middlesbrough, police have arrested another 30 men for grooming activities. **“Northumbria Police want to speak to 80 female victims or witnesses to sexual exploitation in Newcastle”**, 7 Feb 2014, <http://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/news/north-east-news/northumbria-police-want-speak-80-6684173>. It is very likely that the majority of those arrested are Muslim.

about the true scope of this problem.

2. The Grooming Gang Phenomenon

One [schoolgirl] was still so frightened of her attacker that she initially refused to give evidence for fear he would hurt her again. She had been raped and prostituted at 11 by a man who bought her little gifts and showed her the first affection she had known.

– *Daily Express*, 2013

One of the defining features of this crime is the ethnic/cultural homogeneity of the gang members, and the refusal of other members of their community to speak out about them or to condemn their behaviour. The gangs are often made up of brothers and members of their extended family, who take part in the grooming and/or rape of the schoolgirls.¹ In both Britain and the Netherlands, the gangs appear to be overwhelmingly men who are Muslim. Through the doctrine of multiculturalism, enforced via political correctness, the gangs in Britain were basically operating with impunity between 1988 and 2009.²

Typically the gangs target young girls, aged between 11 and

¹A glance down the list of convictions, comparing the surname and the towns in [11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#) reveals that many of those convicted in a particular town are almost certainly members of the same family. We are informed that this kind of phenomenon does not occur in other cases where adults are grooming children for sex. In those cases, the adults are either unrelated or are working alone (for fear of exposure or criticism from their friends or relatives). The grooming gang phenomenon thus shows distinctive new characteristics.

²See the dearth of convictions before 2009 [12. Appendix 2: Grooming Gang Chronology](#).

16.

The gangs want virgins and girls who are free of sexual diseases. Most of the men buying sex with the girls have Muslim wives and they don't want to risk infection. The younger you look, the more saleable you are.³

The schoolgirls they target are overwhelmingly non-Muslim, while the gangs are overwhelmingly Muslim. **The girls are often lured into the clutches of the gang using a young Muslim man who befriends/seduces the girl. None of this is accidental; here we are not talking about cross-cultural romantic relationships. What is so unusual about this disparity in ethnicity, is that mostly Muslims in Britain have little or no interaction with the indigenous population.**

The grooming and abuse was said to be systematic, tactical and repetitive. The defendants had family or friendship links. Younger boys were the girls' initial point of contact...⁴

The schoolgirl will be given money and presents, flattered by compliments and by being taken into a world of adults. She will be introduced to drugs and alcohol. And once she is manipulated into considering the initial, alluring youth as her "boyfriend", she will be persuaded/coerced into having sex with his relatives/friends. From there it is a downward spiral of rape and prostitution, often with the schoolgirl suffering severe mental and physical pain, even torture.⁵ If the girl tries to escape, the gang will

³Julie Bindel, "Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth", *Standpoint Magazine*, Dec 2010 <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>.

⁴Andrew Norfolk, "Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal", *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

⁵See Julie Bindel, "Mothers of Prevention", *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece; Andrew Norfolk, "Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal", *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

punish her with various forms of physical and mental abuse, threats and intimidation, and even brutal violence. “The pimps even use pregnancy as a form of punishment... girls who were made pregnant by customers and then forced to have backstreet abortions.”⁶ The gangs are clearly not just doing this for sexual pleasure. They are criminal gangs, making money from the schoolgirls they pimp out. If a schoolgirl gets out of their clutches, they stand to lose large amounts of money, so they go to extreme lengths to ensure the schoolgirls are compliant and available. The victims keep acceding to the gang’s demands, because they are threatened with their home being bombed, or their mother being gang-raped.⁷

The Muslim grooming gangs are systematic and well-organised in their behaviour, and the collusion of the community is extensive: “Taxi drivers, shop owners and security guards who work in the shopping arcades where the girls are recruited are also involved.”⁸ **The gang members exploit the opportunities in our society where schoolgirls are least protected**, such as girls who are living in children’s homes, or who are in some form of local authority care (often in towns some distance from their biological family).⁹ Some of

⁶CROP (Coalition for the Removal of Pimping) spokesman quoted in Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece

⁷<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFIfcTqBsZc&t=184>.

⁸Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece. See also “**Taxi driver in Rochdale sex grooming gang case ‘plied girl with vodka’ court told**”, *Manchester Evening News*, 20 Mar 2012, <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/taxi-driver-in-rochdale-sex-grooming-684881>; James Tozer, “**Police ‘hid’ abuse of 60 girls by Asian takeaway workers linked to murder of 14-year-old**”, *The Daily Mail*, 7 Apr 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1374443/Police-hid-abuse-60-girls-Asian-takeaway-workers-linked-Charlene-Downes-murder.html>.

⁹In September 2013, the government produced a report which criticised social services departments in councils

for the “indefensible” practice of “decanting” problem children to far-flung homes, away from friends and family, and routinely located in

the politicians whose constituencies were among the first places for this phenomenon to emerge, claimed the perpetrators were “like any other young men, they’re fizzing and popping with testosterone” (Jack Straw),¹⁰ or that they didn’t want an arranged marriage (Ann Cryer).¹¹ However, some Muslims (who spoke on the condition of anonymity) painted a very different picture.

The men explain that some of the grooming was initiated on the instructions of older relatives. Other young men were seeking kudos. Some clients were paying customers - perhaps £10 for sex with a 14-year-old white girl. Others were being repaid a favour.¹²

It is hard to know if it was wishful thinking, naivety or political correctness that led politicians to make out that this was more like *Romeo and Juliet* than the white slave trade. If one calculates the average age of those convicted of grooming offences, their average age is 29 years, old enough to have daughters the same age as the

some of the country’s worst crime hot spots.... the majority of children’s homes are situated in neighbourhoods blighted by crime. Three out of 10 are located in the worst crime hot spots in the country. It also reveals the locations of the 1,718 children’s homes in England, showing how they are heavily concentrated in just two areas: the North West and the West Midlands, both of which have been at the centre of grooming scandals. John Bingham, “**Gove: ‘Absurd’ secrecy left care children at mercy of paedophiles**”, *The Telegraph*, 12 Sep 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/10305488/Gove-Absurd-secrecy-left-care-children-at-mercy-of-paedophiles.html>.

The dearth of prosecutions in the West Midlands demands investigation.

¹⁰David Batty, “**White girls seen as ‘easy meat’ by Pakistani rapists, says Jack Straw**”, *The Guardian*, 8 Jan 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/08/jack-straw-white-girls-easy-meat>.

¹¹Channel4 “**Asian Rape Allegations**”, *Channel 4 News*, 27 Aug 2003, (from archive.org) http://web.archive.org/web/20100620042427/http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/society/law_order/Asian+rape+allegations/256893.

¹²Andrew Norfolk, “**Some of these men have children the same age**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011. Other reports have claimed that the pimps can make hundreds of pounds a day for a girl.

schoolgirls they have groomed.¹³ Looking at the characteristics of those convicted, it is clear the vast majority of these Muslim men were already married or in relationships; they were far from being adolescents who were unsure of what was right and what was wrong.

If the girls are not already estranged from their parents when the gang first ensnare them, the gang will use techniques to drive a wedge between the girl and her parents, e.g. by exploiting teenage rebellion and encouraging the girl to believe her family are trying to control/constrain her. If the parents find out what is going on and try to intervene, the gang can alienate the schoolgirl from her parents by accusing the parents of being racists: “The pimps are adept at trading on teenage rebellion and use similar methods... of convincing the girls all white people are racist.”¹⁴ If none of this works, and the parents’ intervention looks like it will threaten the gang’s activities, then the parents too may be subject to blackmail, intimidation or violence: “the family was even forced to leave their home leading to her daughter receiving a phone call in which she was threatened with having her face cut off, and members of her family having their throat slit and being decapitated.”¹⁵ Often the gangs threaten to set fire to the family’s home.¹⁶

Some of the people we have spoken to have lost relatives to the gangs, and these **family members have told us, that to avoid relatives of the schoolgirl from being ensnared, some families have had to cut off all contact between the groomed schoolgirl**

¹³ See 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#).

¹⁴ Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece

¹⁵ Arthur Martin, “**Faces of True Evil: Judge Jails Depraved Sex Gang for 95 Years After they Committed Grotesque Abuse on Girls as Young as 11**”, *The Daily Mail*, 27 Jun 2013 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2349784/Sadistic-paedophile-sex-gang-brothers-given-lengthy-prison-sentences-exploiting-underage-girls.html>.

¹⁶ We have no doubt that the gangs are threatening to set the house ablaze with the family inside. Andrew Norfolk, “**Some of these men have children the same age**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011.

and the extended family, to prevent the gangs' tentacles reaching further into their family. This experience of secondary ensnaring is recognised by others:

Jean was soon to find out just how indoctrinated her daughter had become when she discovered Sally's photographs and profile were posted on a website. She was posing with the flag of Pakistan. There were 97 names of Asian men posted on it who had made contact with her. She was asking for Asian men to "date." She said she hated white people. There were other girls' photographs on the site, one of whom Sally had recruited, as were other girls who were being pimped.¹⁷

In these situations families feel guilt because they failed to prevent their daughter being ensnared. But those feelings of guilt are increased by them having to leave their daughter in the clutches of the gang in order to protect female siblings and cousins of their daughter. If they do not do this, their problems will be magnified, as the gangs will use one groomed girl to ensnare other girls.¹⁸

A girl who is considered to be the property of one of the gangs can face extraordinary violence if she should try to leave or to tell the police what is being done to her. Sara Swann, who has worked extensively with the victims, has told of a girl who had her tongue nailed to the table when she told a grooming gang that she would go to the police.¹⁹ Another girl was threatened with having her face blown off with a gun, whilst another girl was pinned down and a

¹⁷Julie Bindel, "**Mothers of Prevention**", *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

¹⁸"**Woman lured girls to be raped by three men**", *BBC News*, 2 Aug 2011 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-14381083>.

¹⁹Kathryn Knight, "**Is political correctness stopping police ending the misery of the teenage sex slaves?**", *Daily Mail*, 27 Mar 2008, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-546809/Is-political-correctness-stopping-police-ending-misery-teenage-sex-slaves.html>. See also <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFIfcTqBsZc&t=1806>.

kettle of boiling water held over her face.²⁰

If, by some extraordinary circumstance, a schoolgirl manages to get away from the gang before she has outlived her usefulness to them, if she manages to get the police and the court system to initiate a prosecution, the intimidation of the gang will intensify as they face the prospect of conviction and exposure.

The court heard how a 16-year-old girl was bombarded with 350 text messages and phone calls and given money in an attempt to stop her giving evidence. She was coerced into travelling to Bradford where she was told to write a letter to say she had made up allegations that she had been abducted and sexually abused when she was 12...²¹

Because these gangs are well-organised and have systematically manipulated the behaviour and mind of their schoolgirl victims, and since they are prepared to use violence and intimidation to interfere with the legal process, the chances of getting a conviction are very slim. But that should never have been a reason for the authorities to choose to ignore the problem. These threats and violence should make it clear that the those who have been convicted are almost certainly the tip of the iceberg.

A recent parliamentary report (Home Affairs Select Committee, June 2013) into these criminal gangs said:

There is no guidance specific to localised grooming or child sexual exploitation cases. Many of the issues which are hallmarks of localised grooming—victims returning to their attackers, the length of time it takes victims to report the crime, previous interaction with the police and

²⁰<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFIfcTqBsZc&t=1845>.

²¹Lancashire Telegraph “**Grooming victim got 350 phone threats from Brierfield men**”, 19 Jul 2013, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/10560927.Grooming_victim_got_350_phone_threats_from_Brierfield_men/

social services, the use of drugs and alcohol by perpetrators to strip their victims of their inhibitions, which lead to inconsistent recollections of events — are what led the Crown Prosecution Service to deem witnesses unreliable in the Rochdale case when it was first presented for prosecution. As such, it may be necessary for the Crown Court Bench Book to include directions relating to these sorts of cases to ensure that juries are made aware the witnesses “unreliability” is often behaviour which may be, directly or indirectly, a result of their being groomed and sexually exploited.²²

It is time the authorities finally recognised the extent and seriousness of this problem, and if necessary made changes to judicial procedure or even changes to the criminal law. The scandal is that it should have taken 25 years to even reach the stage we are at.

That Parliamentary report on grooming gangs recognised that “Asians” are hugely over-represented in these gangs:

with this specific model of offending, there is a widespread perception that the majority of perpetrators are of Asian, British Asian or Muslim origin. This would certainly seem to be the case from the major grooming prosecutions which have gone to court so far...²³ (emphasis added)

It appears Parliament thinks that if there were more information about the number of those perpetrating this crime, then perhaps “Asians” would not be so over-represented in the statistics. The Parliamentary investigation began at the end of 2012 and finished in June 2013, and

²²Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.43.

²³Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf>, p.52.

throughout 2013 more convictions have taken place, with no sign that the phenomenon is any different than that accepted by Parliament. Indeed, what is notable about the names of those convicted is not that they are just “Asian” names, but most of those convicted have Islamic names (the name “Mohammed” is, by a very long way, the single most common name among the men convicted of these types of crime; see 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#)).

2.1 Defining the Problem

When the Child Exploitation and Online Protection agency (CEOP) finally came to publicly offer expert guidance on the subject of the grooming gangs, they defined the problem of “localised grooming” thus:

a form of sexual exploitation, previously referred to as “on street grooming” in the media, where children have been groomed and sexually exploited by an offender, having initially met in a location outside their home, usually in a public place (such as a park, cinema, on the street or at a friend’s house). Offenders often act in concert, establishing a relationship with a child or children before sexually exploiting them. Some victims of “street grooming” may believe that the offender is in fact an older “boyfriend”, introducing peers to the offender group who may also be sexually exploited.²⁴

This is the barest possible definition of the problem, and is only useful to distinguish between this type of grooming and online grooming of children via websites, or grooming where the perpetrator is a family member (or known to the child on the basis of a fiduciary relationship e.g. a teacher, football coach, social worker etc.) There are many

²⁴CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.5

more aspects to the problem, which also make “localised grooming” a new and distinctive phenomenon.

The specific phenomenon of “localised grooming” requires the offender to inhabit a culture or milieu where it is acceptable to broach to friends, colleagues and relatives the possibility of raping under-age girls.

The groomers were men in their early twenties. Their customers were older relatives, friends or contacts. They travelled to the girls’ home town to have sex with them or had their victims delivered by car to Pakistani communities in northern England and the Midlands.²⁵

A man who can’t take part in the sexual abuse of children for fear of disapproval or fear of being reported to the police, must seek like-minded people anonymously, typically online. In Britain, this kind of crime mostly involves white men, because 90% of the men in Britain are white: race or ethnicity tells us nothing about this crime or who is more likely to be involved. With the grooming gangs, the prevalence of one ethnicity is so out of proportion with their numbers in Britain, that ethnicity becomes highly significant. This reality behind “localised” grooming means that cultural factors are all important (only a racist would think that race is a determining factor). Far from being swept under the carpet, such cultural factors need to be addressed first and foremost when dealing with this crime. The fact that an Islamic background dominates the profiles of “localised groomers”, whilst online groomers are predominantly white males, indicates that Muslim culture finds this crime to be far more acceptable than do other ethnicities in Britain.

²⁵ Andrew Norfolk, Andrew Norfolk, “Some of these men have children the same age; they are bad apples”; Sexual grooming; The grooming of white girls by gangs of Pakistani heritage is an issue that few in the community will address”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011.

No mention is made in the CEOP definition of the inverse relationship between the ethnicity of the perpetrator and that of the victim. No mention is made of the way in which the Muslim community closes ranks, supporting the perpetrators rather than the victims. No mention is made of the pimping of the victims by the gang. No mention is made of the violence and threats made against the child and/or her family. Whilst the report is entitled *Out of Mind, Out of Sight*, this sexual exploitation was out in the open for all to see; it was just that fear of being accused of “racism” prevented people from acting on what they could see going on. Disentangling the concepts of “race” and “religion” is central to dealing with this problem. Our report will address specific components of Islam and Muslim culture which explain why it is that these crimes should have Muslim men so overwhelmingly represented amongst the perpetrators.

Greater Manchester Police (GMP) claim that part of the difficulty in identifying “localised grooming” is because:

it is not a crime per se. It is made up of a number of other offences. The challenge is joining together those links and identifying it as child sexual exploitation.²⁶

It is for this reason that the definition of the problem should not just be defined in the most general way, but should include as many pertinent and specific features as possible, in order to overcome the problem in identifying when it is going on. Thus, when reporting to the Home Affairs Select Committee on “localised grooming”, GMP estimated that in the previous 2 years alone, they had more than 30 prosecutions which fit the category of CSE, but “they were unable to record how many of the number of rape and other sexual offences

²⁶Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.33.

cases prosecuted were related to child sexual exploitation.”²⁷ That is, many convictions for other sex and drug-related crimes have not been identified conclusively as part of the activities of a grooming gang, but if more information was acquired, the police think that many of these “isolated” incidents would actually be part of a pattern of grooming activity. That is, sustained surveillance and the systematic collation of information is important not just for successful convictions, but also in establishing that these crimes are actually being committed in the first place. However, the dependence of the police on information-gathering and deduction would be of far less importance, if the Muslim community had been prepared to inform on their brethren to the police, and they had been willing to testify in court about what they knew was going on. Moreover, if from 1995 schoolgirls in towns with significant Muslim populations had been forewarned about what the grooming gangs were doing and how they operate, the victims themselves might have been able to alert the police to grooming activities, long before the victims had been seduced and entrapped. In the absence of specific laws, the absence of help from Muslim communities, and absence of knowledge on the part of the schoolgirls which would enable them to realise they were being groomed, the police must rely on expensive and complicated information-gathering and analysis.

Appended to our document is a list of convictions (since 1997)²⁸ which meet the criteria used by Andrew Norfolk in his 2011 study, which clearly identified the “pattern of exploitation.”²⁹ Whilst 119

²⁷Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.33.

²⁸11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions.

²⁹Andrew Norfolk, “**The 17 cases identified by The Times which showed a pattern of exploitation**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article2863078.ece>. This article also appears in some on-line news databases under the title “Organised gangs, vulnerable girls: a pattern of exploitation unfolds; Sexual grooming; The Times identified 17 cases in which men groomed girls they met on the street. Most of the offenders were of Pakistani origin and most of the victims were

individuals are listed in our table (around 90% having Muslim names), we must conclude they are just the tip of the iceberg. As the comments from Greater Manchester Police make clear, there are other convictions for rape and other sexual offences which will not meet the strict criteria for inclusion in that table, but which are very likely signs of the activities of grooming gangs. Thus, there was a conviction in Manchester which we exclude from our list because there was only one man involved in the abduction and one schoolgirl, but there were many other men involved in the rape/pimping of that schoolgirl, but from the many men involved in that schoolgirl's ordeal, only that one perpetrator was prosecuted (the other perpetrators were never caught, because the convicted man refused to identify them).³⁰

2.2 Tip of the Iceberg

Even when a case can be considered as being within the parameters of our class of convictions for “localised grooming”, there are many other men who are caught up in these prosecutions, but who are not found guilty. Thus, in his retrospective survey of convictions, Andrew Norfolk provides some details about court cases which show that those convicted are but a small section of other men who are implicated along with the convicts.³¹

white.”

³⁰“**Pervert sentenced after raping 12-year-old**”, *Manchester Evening News*, 13 Sep 2007 <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/local-news/pervert-sentenced-after-raping-12-year-old-1003364>.

³¹Andrew Norfolk, “**Revealed: conspiracy of silence on UK sex gangs**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article2863058.ece>.

year	arrested	charged	convicted
1997	23	5	3
2005		10	2
2007	20	3	2
2009		7	4
2010		8	5

We can conclude, that for every man convicted there are probably between 2 to 10 other men who were directly implicated, but for whom there was insufficient evidence to secure a conviction. If this is true, it means that with this crime there are very many perpetrators getting away with it. It is not just that there are convictions for sexual crimes (or drug-crimes) which may also be connected to a grooming gang: even when a grooming gang is identified and a case can be built up against some of the gang-members, many of those arrested are never charged, many of those charged are never even convicted, many more escape being arrested or charged. There is a strong incentive for the gang to use violence or intimidation to stop their victims from testifying or from even identifying other gang members. Even members of the Muslim community who played no part in a gangs' activities have gone out of their way to protect the gang members.³²

This difficulty in securing convictions serves as a negative

³²A trial in Burnley, Lancashire concluded in April 2013, with a Muslim man named Mohammed Imran Amjad being jailed for the sexual abuse of a child. However, months later a Muslim woman receptionist who worked for that council was “jailed for attempting to derail” the trial of him and other men for grooming. Five other men in that trial were cleared of rape, sexual assault and child abduction at Burnley Crown Court in April 2013: “she accessed a confidential database 60 times over 15 days to find details of the witness and her family.” **“Lancashire Council receptionist jailed after attempting to derail grooming trial”**, *BBC News*, 30 August 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-23907268>. This demonstrates the way in which the Muslim community helps not only to cover up this crime during the months and years in which the schoolgirl is being raped, but they also actively work to destroy the case once a prosecution is initiated.

feedback-loop to police and social services, who think it is not worth identifying that a crime is taking place, when the chances of stopping it or achieving justice are so slight (and the likelihood of being accused of “racism” is so high). Part of the problem in securing convictions is that the accused get away with claiming that the schoolgirls were consenting, rather than groomed and exploited. This means that quite often a case collapses with none of the accused being found guilty. In 2010, police in Rotherham managed a successful prosecution of a gang, but two subsequent cases there failed.³³ In a separate part of the country, another large-scale prosecution failed in July 2013.³⁴ In between, another trial at Stafford Crown Court collapsed in September 2011. Throughout all these failed prosecutions, police risk being accused of “racism.” When the risk of a prosecution failing because of witness/victim intimidation from criminals, what the police need is public support, not false accusations of “racism”.

2.3 Invisible Victims

One of the popular misconceptions is that the victims are all from children’s homes or are under the guardianship of social services. However, it seems that the majority of the victims are not in state control, with only 14% being “in care.”³⁵ In many discussions of this grooming phenomenon, people have been all too happy to blame the victim for her abuse and to blame the victim for coming from a

³³Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>

³⁴“**Ribbon trial: Jury discharged - no verdict on three men**”, *Bucks Free Press*, 24 Jul 2013 http://www.bucksfreepress.co.uk/news/10568337.Ribbon_trial__Jury_discharged__no_verdict_on_three_men/

³⁵Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece Whilst only 14% of the victims are living in children’s homes, this still shows that gangs are more successful at luring such schoolgirls, as not 14% of all children are in children’s homes.

dysfunctional family. But in such cases, the child should not be blamed for coming from a dysfunctional family. Moreover, in some cases, the child has been put into care by her family, because she was already in the clutches of the grooming gangs. With no assistance from the police or social workers, parents sometimes would try and put their children “in care” with the council, in a vain hope that in this way their daughters would be protected and beyond the reach of the gangs.³⁶

Even if the girls were mostly under the guardianship of the state, that should have been all the more reason for the social workers to intervene. Such children have often been not only taken away from their biological family, but are often relocated to towns a long way from any relatives. These towns often have a high Muslim population. It could hardly have been designed to be more dangerous for these schoolgirls: predatory men, social workers who are politically correct, girls who maybe be headstrong, wayward or abused, far away from anyone with real concern for the girls’ well-being. It is a recipe for disaster.

Wherever there is the opportunity for the gangs to intervene beyond the watchful eye of parents/carers, they will use that opportunity. There is much evidence that the gangs station themselves outside schools and takeaways, and inside shopping malls. They will repeatedly importune schoolgirls walking between home and school, not taking “No” for an answer. Many parents will have no idea that their daughter is being subjected to the wiles and lure of the gangs. And if the politically-correct brainwashing has been successful, a schoolgirl may even consider herself “racist” for refusing the advances of these Muslim men.

³⁶“I wanted the three of them [my daughters] to be put into child protection but they wouldn’t do it. I must have called in to social services eight or nine times and phoned them lots of times.” Nigel Bunyan, “**Rochdale Grooming Trial: Police Knew about Sex Abuse in 2002 but Failed to Act**”, *The Telegraph*, 9 May 2012 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9254982/Rochdale-grooming-trial-police-knew-about-sex-abuse-in-2002-but-failed-to-act.html>.

By the time you are reading this, it might be hard to grasp how deep and how enduring was the silence around these grooming gangs and their victims. **But in 2012 Andrew Norfolk, a principal journalist for *The Times*, stated “when we first started to investigate this 2 years ago, no-one [from the child-care professions] would speak to us.”**³⁷ A journalist of long-standing, with an impeccable record, working for one of the most respected newspapers in the world, could not get professionals in 21st century Britain to speak to him about a phenomenon that is probably the worst child-care scandal in the country in 40 years. It is a situation which defies belief. These were *public servants*, who would not talk about child-rape and prostitution, which they knew had been going on for years. They were not the rapists. They were not being paid by the criminals. But political-correctness and multiculturalism had left them too scared to speak about these horrific crimes. No wonder these grooming gangs felt untouchable. The conflicts and confusions caused by multiculturalism left the staff unsure of their moral and professional values; the tyranny of political correctness meant they did not dare articulate or even acknowledge what they were seeing and hearing.

When he testified before parliament, Andrew Norfolk said that after he published his analysis of the pattern of exploitation in January 2011, showing that Muslim men were massively over-represented as the perpetrators, suddenly he:

was contacted by so many people who had refused to speak to me before. When you have a Director of Children’s Services ringing and saying, **“My staff are jumping for joy in the office today because finally somebody has said what we have not felt able to say,”** and when you have very senior police officers saying

³⁷ Andrew Norfolk, **“Reality of Sexual Grooming Gangs in the UK - interview of Andrew Norfolk and Sikh Awareness Society”**, http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=WbUIfvYbjRc&t=1180.

exactly the same.³⁸ (emphasis added)

Those who are responsible for instilling such fear into public officials should be held accountable.

In a later analysis, Andrew Norfolk reported on the hundreds of unpublished reports on Muslim grooming gangs in Rotherham by police and social services. For example, in 2002 a Home Office funded research project showed that 56 schoolgirls had sexual links to 3 Pakistani brothers. This had all the hallmarks of “localised grooming.” Police and social services discussed this case for years without ever identifying that the men were Muslims; they never acknowledged publicly what was going on and, according to Andrew Norfolk, they never did anything to stop it.³⁹ They were “terrorised” by political correctness and multiculturalism.

The refusal of academics, social services, police and media to attend to this subject from 1988 to 2011 ensured that the victims remained invisible, and ensured that the gangs could extend their reach across the entire country. We will show, that by 1996, it was not only in South Yorkshire but also in West Yorkshire where police, social services and child-care professionals knew what were the characteristics of this crime. We cannot calculate the harm done by refusing to publicly identify this problem by the mid 1990s.

2.4 National Dimensions

Whilst police forces in the North-West of England are considered the most expert in dealing with this type of criminal activity, the problem is now nationwide. The grooming problem appears to have started

³⁸Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.56

³⁹Andrew Norfolk, “**Reality of Sexual Grooming Gangs in the UK - interview of Andrew Norfolk and Sikh Awareness Society**”, http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=WbUIfvYbjRc&t=1230.

2. THE GROOMING GANG PHENOMENON

with Muslim gangs grooming Sikh girls in Birmingham in the 1980s, but by the start of the 21st century it appears to have extended to include all the major towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. And given recent convictions in Oxford, Barking, Ipswich and the north-east of England, it looks like the gangs are working in most of the country. An absence of gang members being convicted in an area does not mean they do not operate in that area: the gangs are known to traffic the girls from their home town across the country (to Bristol, Manchester, Birmingham, Bradford and Dover) to offer the schoolgirls up for sexual services to a network of customers.⁴⁰ And there are areas of the country with large Muslim populations but relatively few prosecutions (for example, London and the West Midlands). There are indications that this lack of prosecutions is not because the gangs are not operating in those areas (it was recently announced that police in London had uncovered around 500 victims in a mere 6 months).

Recently, one newspaper took the initiative of asking all the police forces in England and Wales whether or not they had current investigations into specific grooming gangs.⁴¹ Whilst 1 in 3 forces did not respond, from those organisations who did respond, it transpired that **in early 2013 there were at least 54 on-going investigations into different grooming gangs in various parts of the country.** Some of these investigations concerned grooming gangs in Devon, Kent and Suffolk, counties far away both geographically and demographically from the towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the type of towns which people might imagine would be the scene of these crimes. Often we have heard reports of related events which strongly indicate that gangs are operating in an area, even when we

⁴⁰Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

⁴¹Justin Penrose & Vicky Smith, “**Police probe at least 54 more evil child sex grooming gangs**”, *The Daily Mirror*, 19 May 2013 <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/police-probe-least-54-more-1896991>.

have been unable to locate even a failed prosecution of a grooming gang in that area.⁴²

2.5 International Dimensions

The problem of Muslim grooming gangs is not confined to Britain: it also exists in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, their existence has been publicly acknowledged by their national media since at least 2001. A report by Radio Netherlands said:

Another large group (also 5,000) are “ordinary” Dutch schoolgirls, aged 13 or 14 from a “regular home environment” who are lured into prostitution by so-called “lover-boys”... handsome-looking [male] adolescents who appear to have made it in life. They’re well-dressed, drive expensive cars and lavish presents on these young and susceptible girls, who will quickly fall in love with them. “Of course, they’ll have sex and after a while the girl will be forced to have sex with one of his friends, which will open the way for prostitution.”⁴³

It took the British media until 2011 to truly acknowledge what the Dutch were discussing from 2001.⁴⁴ “Last year, 242 lover boy crimes were investigated by police, half of them involving the forced

⁴²“**Teenager groomed to sell drugs**”, *The Bolton News*, 10 Mar 2011, http://www.theboltonnews.co.uk/news/8900946.Teenager_groomed_to_sell_drugs/.

⁴³Carin Tiggeloven, “**Child Prostitution in the Netherlands**”, *Radio Netherlands*, 18 Dec 2001 <http://web.archive.org/web/20080627112924/http://www.radionetherlands.nl/currentaffairs/region/netherlands/netherlands011218.html>.

⁴⁴See also Frank Bovenkerk et. al, “**‘Loverboys’ of modern pooierschap in Amsterdam**”, Willem Pompe Instituut voor Strafrechtswetenschappen, Utrecht, 2004 http://www.prostitutie.nl/fileadmin/nl/6._Studie/6.3_Documenten/6.3g_Mense_nhandel/pdf/onderzoeksrapport-loverboysinamsterdam.pdf; Linda Terpstra and Anke van Dijke en Marion van San Loverboys, een publieke zaak. Tien portretten, Amsterdam, SWP, 2004; Linda Terpstra and Anke van Dijke *Loverboys: Feiten en cijfers. Een quick scan*, Amsterdam, SWP, 2005.

prostitution of girls under 18. Campaigner Anita de Wit says this is a fraction — ‘one per cent’ — of the true number.”⁴⁵ This is yet more evidence that a decade has been lost in pursuing these criminals, because those speaking out about these abusive gangs were accused of “racism.” The Dutch were admitting to a huge problem, and working out ways to tackle it, a decade before the authorities in Britain would even publicly admit the problem existed.

The story from Holland is almost identical to the problem here. Young girls are seduced by a “boyfriend”, then prostituted far and wide (Holland, Belgium, France). The victims were ignored by the police: “Victims who have the courage to report the crime are often not taken seriously and are sent away.”⁴⁶ As in Britain, even if the gangs got to court, they get away with it because of a lack of evidence, or because the victim withdraws her testimony.⁴⁷ The “*Loverboys*” also exhibit shocking levels of cruelty towards the

⁴⁵Sue Reid “**A Feminist Revolution that Cruelly Backfired**”, *The Daily Mail*, 23 Nov 2012 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2237170/Why-Amsterdams-legal-brothels-lesson-Britain-telling-truth-sex-gangs-race.html>.

⁴⁶Loretta van der Horst, “**Victims of ‘loverboys’ not taken seriously by Dutch police**”, *Radio Netherlands Worldwide*, 16 Jun 2009, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/article/victims-%E2%80%9Cloverboys%E2%80%9D-not-taken-seriously-dutch-police>.

In May 2009, Dutch writer and victim of a loverboy Maria Mosterd claimed 74,000 euros in compensation from the Thorbecke school, her former high school in Zwolle, in the north west of the Netherlands. Ms Mosterd says that the school failed to provide a safe learning environment and ignored her frequent absences... she describes how at the age of twelve she was captured by a loverboy and the subsequent struggle to cut herself loose from him.

⁴⁷Ibrahim Wijbenga, “**Lover Boys**”, *Al Jazeera*, 15 May 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/witness/2012/05/201251115345899123.html>. Interestingly, Wijbenga says “In the Netherlands, many ‘Lover Boys’ - and some of their victims - are of Moroccan origin. It was this connection to the country of my own roots that inspired me to gather more information on them and their practices.” Other reports we have read state that the number of Moroccan victims is less than five in total.

schoolgirls they have ensnared.⁴⁸ One brutal gang of Muslim brothers tattooed their names onto the women they “owned.” The pair “were found guilty of leading an international human smuggling gang, thought to be responsible for forcing more than 100 women into prostitution in the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium.”⁴⁹

It is estimated that in the Netherlands, at least 40% of the “Loverboys” are Moroccan, with most of the others being from the Dutch Antilles and the Dominican Republic.⁵⁰ Because the police are hesitant to pursue the criminals, often families end up moving across Holland to live in a different city, just to get their child away from the gang.

Muslim grooming gangs are thus operating at a national level in two neighbouring countries.⁵¹ But until 2011, our media were not

⁴⁸“In July 2007, a Moroccan loverboy named Abdessamad was sentenced to 12 years in prison. He frequently tortured and raped his victim, a Dutch teen-age girl. One of the cruel things he did to this defenseless girl was causing small knife injuries and then pouring vinegar and chlorine into the wound. When she became pregnant he subjected her to forced abortion. She was not his only victim. Abdessamad was not in Holland during the trial, so he was sentenced in absentia. He is probably in Morocco now.” Emerson Vermaat, “**Crime and Terrorism: The Role of Moroccan Immigrants In Holland, Belgium and Spain**”, *Militant Islam Monitor*, 25 Sep 2008, <http://www.militantislammonitor.org/article/id/3640>.

⁴⁹“**Convicted human trafficker vanishes**”, *Dutch News*, 16 Sep 2009, http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2009/09/convicted_human_trafficker_van.php.

⁵⁰Emerson Vermaat, “**Crime and Terrorism: The Role of Moroccan Immigrants In Holland, Belgium and Spain**”, *Militant Islam Monitor*, 25 Sep 2008, <http://www.militantislammonitor.org/article/id/3640>. However, another analysis, on an Arabic website, says that the majority of the perpetrators are “Dutch-Moroccan.” Ibrahim Wijbenga, “**Lover Boys**”, *Al Jazeera*, 15 May 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/witness/2012/05/201251115345899123.html>. Wijbenga also notes that Turks are to be found among the men being prosecuted for these kinds of crimes. Muslims (mostly Moroccans and Turks) are thought to be 5% of the population of Holland. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_the_Netherlands#Demographic_situation.

⁵¹It also appears that the phenomenon may exist in Germany too. Djalila Krahe, “**Schoolgirls Controlled by Loverboys: Math Class in the Morning, Turning Tricks at Lunchtime**” *Der Spiegel*, 9 Jul 2010, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/schoolgirls-controlled-by-loverboys>

discussing this similarity between Britain and Holland at all.

In a chilling parallel to the scandal sweeping Britain's towns and cities, where a multitude of girls have been lured into sex-for-sale rings run by gangs, the **Dutch pimps search out girls at school gates and in cafes, posing as "boyfriends" promising romance, fast car rides and restaurant meals. The men ply their victims with vodka and drugs. They tell them lies: that they love them and their families don't care for them. Then, the trap set, they rape them with other gang members, often taking photos of the attack to blackmail the girl into submission.** Befuddled, frightened, and too ashamed to tell parents or teachers, the girls are cynically isolated from their old lives and swept into prostitution.⁵² (emphasis added)

The typical behaviour of the Muslim grooming gangs (targeting non-Muslim girls, getting them addicted to drugs and/or alcohol, then pimping them out) has also been seen among Muslims in the United States.⁵³ Since there are few Muslim enclaves in the United States, we should expect such activity to be far less prevalent there than in Britain or the Netherlands.

2.7 Counting the Victims

Having established that the cases which end in convictions are just the vaguest indication of the true scale of the problem, let us try to assess

-math-class-in-the-morning-turning-tricks-at-lunchtime-a-705104.html.

⁵²Sue Reid "A Feminist Revolution that Cruelly Backfired", *The Daily Mail*, 23 Nov 2012 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2237170/Why-Amsterdams-legal-brothels-lesson-Britain-telling-truth-sex-gangs-race.html>.

⁵³"Sioux Falls Man Convicted in Sex Trafficking Case", *FBI*, 06 Dec 2013, <http://www.fbi.gov/minneapolis/press-releases/2013/sioux-falls-man-convicted-in-sex-trafficking-case>.

the number of victims in Britain affected by these gangs. One thing is clear to us: the grooming gangs have been active for (at least) 25 years in England; yet at most, the experts and the media are now talking about this being a problem that has existed for 10 years. Thus, when we use numbers here, they are derived from statements/estimates made by these experts working with the assumption that the gangs have been operating for 10 years. We contend that the true duration of this phenomenon is more than twice what the media and experts will admit.

Andrew Norfolk disclosed that there are hundreds of internal reports by police/social services into these grooming gangs, and most of these reports have never been made public. Norfolk cites a 2010 report by the police intelligence bureau “warning that thousands of such crimes were committed in the county [of South Yorkshire] each year.”⁵⁴ Thus, **we have one expert report asserting that, in just one county of England, there are thousands of these crimes each year.** Rather than publish these reports and bring the subject into the public domain, the police and local council chose to keep parents in the dark, leaving schoolgirls unprotected and parents unaware of the risks and threats their daughters faced. Schoolgirls were leaving the security of their family to get an education, but if the girls were getting any education about the dangers of these grooming gangs lurking outside school and on the streets, that education was not coming from the schools or the authorities. Rather than have the families or the wider community know what was going on, the schoolgirls were left to fend for themselves.

The Coalition for the Removal of Pimping (CROP) is the only charity which has focused on working with the victims of localised

⁵⁴Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>. Without having access to these reports, we will assume that the “thousands of crimes” relates to hundreds of girls, being raped multiple times in just one year.

2. THE GROOMING GANG PHENOMENON

grooming and their families.⁵⁵ The estimate by CROP is that there are 10,000 children who are the victims of sexual exploitation across the country.⁵⁶ Many of the schoolgirls are victims of the grooming gangs for more than 1 year. Taking the shortest period in which this phenomenon of grooming gangs has existed (a window of 10 years), it would be reasonable to say that CROP are referring to 1000 new girls being groomed by these gangs each year in that 10 year period. Another report that would seem to indicate the feasibility of these estimates state that “Police found 2,409 children and young people had been confirmed as victims of sexual exploitation in gangs or groups between August 2010 and October 2011.”⁵⁷ Further investigation may lead us to conclude that CROP meant that at any one time, there were 10,000 schoolgirls who were currently in the clutches of the gangs. However, that is such a shocking figure, we will err on the side of conservatism and scale it down by a factor of ten. We can then make the guarded estimate that each year 1000 new victims are acquired by the gangs.

Assuming that each year there are 1000 new victims, how many prosecutions are there each year? According to the parliamentary report into localised grooming, “In 2012, Lancashire police had had 100 successful prosecutions relating to child sexual exploitation

⁵⁵CROP is now known as PACE, Parents Against Child Sexual Exploitation.

⁵⁶Paul Valley, “**Child Sex Grooming: the Asian Question**”, *The Independent*, 10 May 2012 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/child-sex-grooming-the-Asian-question-7729068.html>.

⁵⁷David Barrett “**Thousands of Child Sex Abuse Victims, says Minister**”, *The Telegraph*, 21 May 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10071898/Thousands-of-child-sex-abuse-victims-says-minister.html>. This statistic was based on a belated analysis by *The Children’s Commissioner*, whose report confused matters by conflating the phenomenon of localised grooming with that of black gang culture. Thus, *The Children’s Commissioner* statistic may not just include those schoolgirls who are the victims of the grooming gangs.

whereas South Yorkshire had had none.”⁵⁸ But it needs to be borne in mind that this figure of 100 convictions by one police force alone should not lead us to have any confidence that even the best force in the country has got this problem under control.⁵⁹ Those 100 convictions could relate to girls who were being exploited years before the trial; and in the year of the trial perhaps the gangs across the country acquired 1000 new victims.

2.8 Realising the Damage

Having covered the numerical scale of the problem, we need to turn our attention to understanding the scale of the problem when it comes to the actual physical, mental or social suffering of the victims and their families.

Because of the normal operations of the grooming gangs, 11 to 15 year old schoolgirls are deliberately addicted to alcohol and serious drugs as both “rewards” and as means of control by the gangs.⁶⁰ The most obvious physical damage to the schoolgirls is that they suffer physical trauma from rape and multiple sexual infections.⁶¹ Some of them get pregnant, and undergo backstreet abortions (sometimes it seems that pregnancy and abortion is used by the gangs as a form of

⁵⁸Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p34.

⁵⁹A BBC documentary from 2008 tracked the actions of Lancashire Police’s dedicated unit, a unit which amounted to one-and-a-half officers, who bemoaned the need for hugely-improved intelligence resources. See section 4.14 2008 BBC *Panorama: Teenage Sex For Sale*.

⁶⁰“**Teenager groomed to sell drugs**”, *The Bolton News*, 10 Mar 2011, http://www.theboltonnews.co.uk/news/8900946.Teenager_groomed_to_sell_drugs/

⁶¹One 13 year old victim, when examined by a nurse, was thought to have been raped more than 50 times. Andrew Norfolk, “**Revealed: conspiracy of silence on UK sex gangs**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article2863058.ece>.

punishment).⁶² Some of the girls have been branded by their “owners.”⁶³ In some cases, what the girls have gone through has been described as “torture.”⁶⁴ **In short, the schoolgirls suffered a catalogue of physical abuse: “had been scratched, choked, beaten, branded, gang raped, burnt, and sexually assaulted with knives and a baseball bat.”**⁶⁵ It goes without saying, that schoolgirls could not undergo all these violent and sexual abuses, and live in fear of reprisals, without suffering immense psychological damage: one psychiatrist said “more than two-thirds had depression and post-traumatic stress disorder.”⁶⁶

When parliament finally looked into this problem in late 2012, their report summarised the manifold ways in which the victims are damaged mentally and emotionally (and not just by the grooming gangs, but by the justice process itself):

The nature of child sexual exploitation can have a catastrophic effect on the victim with evidence showing that victims have been diagnosed with borderline personality disorder and emerging psychosis as a result of their experiences... Victims often suffer with feelings of trauma, betrayal and stigmatisation. They may also blame themselves. The court process itself can often

⁶²“Oxford exploitation trial: Girl had ‘back-room abortion’”, 17 Jan 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-oxfordshire-21059681>.

⁶³Allison Pearson, “Oxford grooming gang: We will regret ignoring Asian thugs who target white girls”, 15 May 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10060570/Oxford-grooming-gang-We-will-regret-ignoring-Asian-thugs-who-target-white-girls.html>.

⁶⁴Sandra Laville “Oxford gang found guilty of grooming and sexually exploiting girls”, *The Guardian*, 14 May 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/may/14/oxford-gang-guilty-grooming-girls>.

⁶⁵Ben Wilkinson, “Grooming gang face sentencing hearing”, *Oxford Mail*, 26 Jun 2013, http://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/bullfinch/10507248.Grooming_gang_face_sente_ncing_hearing/.

⁶⁶“Grooming: a Life Sentence”, *BBC File on Four*, Jun 2013, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/11_06_13_fo4_grooming.pdf, p.7.

compound this trauma with victims feeling as though they can make a choice between seeking therapy and perusing [sic] justice.⁶⁷

The damage to the schoolgirls is also of great significance when it comes to the judicial process. These victims have already been so confused and abused by the gangs, **it can be hard for the schoolgirls to grasp that they are the victims, that they have been consciously and systematically exploited.** The gangs have had control over them for so long, and have often managed to destroy the girl's relationship with her carers, such that, even in adult life, these girls can often not even be considered as independent adults. Then **the judicial process can be used by the gangs to affect the outcome of the trial, either by threatening the girls in the lead up to the trial, or by intimidating them within the court room.** During one recent trial, one of the victims attempted suicide following her first day of testimony.⁶⁸ In another case, a girl received 350 phone threats from the brother of a man on trial for grooming her, in his attempt to stop her testifying against the accused.⁶⁹

We must also consider something even more gruesome: **it is entirely possible that some girls who have “gone missing” have in fact been murdered by the gangs, with the possibility that their bodies will never be found.** The grounds for considering that the gangs could take their threats this far are based on the cases of Charlene Downes, Paige Chivers, Fiona Ivison and Laura Wilson.

⁶⁷Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.36

⁶⁸Martin Robertson “**Girl, 17, tried to kill herself after first day in witness box during trial of ten men accused of grooming her for sex at 11**”, *The Daily Mail*, 6 Aug 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2385239/Teenager-17-accused-gang-men-grooming-sex-11-tried-kill-day-witness-box.html>.

⁶⁹“**Grooming victim got 350 phone threats from Brierfield men**”, *Lancashire Telegraph*, 19 Jul 2013, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/10560927.Grooming_victim_got_350_phone_threats_from_Brierfield_men/

Laura was groomed, and when she got pregnant by an older Asian man, he stabbed her and threw her body in a canal.⁷⁰ When it wasn't social workers ignoring or concealing such evidence, it was the police turning a blind eye. Paige Chivers was groomed, and went missing in 2007. Four years before Paige Chivers went missing, Charlene Downes also went missing. Both were among 60 girls who were identified in a police report as being groomed in Blackpool by "Asian men".⁷¹ Fiona Ivison was killed by a "customer" at the age of 17, having been groomed by a gang when she was 14.⁷²

As more information is coming into the public domain with each trial, the authorities seem to be giving more seriousness to the threats and violence of these gangs. In a case that is scheduled to come to trial soon, ten men from Coventry are being held on remand and the alleged victims/witnesses are living under "safeguarding arrangements... being supported by specially-trained police officers from the public protection unit."⁷³

Whilst the victims have suffered tremendous damage, their families too have often suffered alongside them. The threats made to the victims are extended to their family too: "he threatened to firebomb my home and rape my own mother if I tried to escape."⁷⁴ It

⁷⁰Daniel Miller, "Social workers hid fact they knew teenage mother was at risk from sex grooming gangs SIX YEARS before she was brutally murdered", *The Daily Mail*, 7 Jun 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2155823/Social-workers-hid-fact-knew-teenage-mother-risk-sex-grooming-gangs-SIX-YEARS-brutally-murdered.html>.

⁷¹James Tozer, "Police 'hid' abuse of 60 girls by Asian takeaway workers linked to murder of 14-year-old", *The Daily Mail*, 7 Apr 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1374443/Police-hid-abuse-60-girls-Asian-takeaway-workers-linked-Charlene-Downes-murder.html>.

⁷²Julie Bindel, "Mothers of Prevention", *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

⁷³Les Reid, "Ten charged with trafficking teen girls in Coventry 'sex gang' probe", *Coventry Telegraph*, 2 Aug 2013, <http://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/coventry-news/ten-charged-coventry-sex-gang-5429952>.

⁷⁴Julie Bindel, "Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth", *Standpoint Mag-*

appears that most of the schoolgirls who were lured into this abuse did NOT come from broken homes or children's homes, and the popular belief that this is the case (and that thus somehow the schoolgirl and the family deserve what they get) is emotionally and psychologically damaging to the family. The family may well have been powerless to stop the gangs, and their attempts to get police and social services involved fell on deaf ears. They have to try and rescue their child, endure threats of violence, try to put their family back together, and then they face the claim that somehow it was the schoolgirl and/or her parents who were to blame for this abuse taking place.⁷⁵ It is hardly surprising that given the failure by the state and the media to take these gangs seriously, many parents developed racist or phobic attitudes to anyone Asian.⁷⁶ Some of the parents have spoken of homicidal feelings instead of feelings of powerlessness. Parents have suffered in frustration as they were ignored by the police and social services; maybe they had to abandon a child to stop her dragging her sisters or cousins into the gangs' clutches; some put their children "into care", often in the vain hope that this would protect their child when the family could not. Out of frustration and anger, ordinary law-abiding citizens felt like they wanted to kill the gang members.

We now have some sense of the scale of the problem (although no

azine, Dec 2010 <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full> (See also Rachel Halliwell "My daughter came home drunk so I grounded her, unaware paedos had threatened to kill her. Evil was always going to win", *The Sun*, 5 Feb 2013, http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/woman/real_life/4779384/PARENTS-speak-out-against-paedo-gang.html).

⁷⁵Rachel Halliwell "My daughter came home drunk so I grounded her, unaware paedos had threatened to kill her. Evil was always going to win", *The Sun*, 5 Feb 2013, http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/woman/real_life/4779384/PARENTS-speak-out-against-paedo-gang.html. See also Daniel Trilling, "How the Rochdale grooming case exposed British prejudice", *New Statesman*, 15 Aug 2012, <http://www.newstatesman.com/2012/08/how-rochdale-grooming-case-exposed-british-prejudice>.

⁷⁶Julie Bindel, "Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth", *Standpoint Magazine*, Dec 2010 <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>

doubt these words must only skim the surface of the deep suffering of the schoolgirl and her family). As we will see next, in Britain this grooming phenomenon appeared to start with Muslims grooming Asian (Sikh) victims in the West Midlands in the 1980s. But it has spread to engulf most of the cities and large towns of England, and now the victims are overwhelmingly Caucasian. Every convicted man probably correlates with 2 to 10 other men who have not been convicted yet who were involved with the same systematic abuse for which any single gang member was convicted. And even the experts agree that there are at least 1000 new victims each year. The damage to the schoolgirls and to their families is immense. The damage to communities is immeasurable. And as indicated by the photographs in [14. Appendix 4: Leeds School Warning](#) and [15. Appendix 5: Sheffield School Warning](#), there is no end in sight with this problem.

3. Sikh Victims of Grooming Gangs

**this issue is about the Muslim community.
– Sikh Media Monitoring, *Daily Mail*, 2011**

“A factor that may reinforce the perception of localised grooming being carried out by Asian men against white girls could be the under-reporting of offences against children from ethnic minorities.”¹ The refusal of the police, child protection services and the media to acknowledge that Muslim gangs have been grooming Sikh girls is a significant part of the phenomenon. By ignoring this factor, those who protect the grooming gangs have been able to project the image that such Muslim gangs were a fantasy of white racists.

From the earliest evidence in the 1980s, it seemed that Muslim gangs were targeting Sikh girls in the Midlands. The Muslim gangs could have singled out Sikh girls due to the long-standing resistance of Sikhism to Islamic domination. Or it could have been more contingent: that Sikh girls were nearby and it would be easier for the Pakistani Muslims to minimise suspicion by pretending they were Sikhs, luring Sikh girls more easily than white girls with this deception. Whatever the root cause, the available historical evidence currently points to Sikh girls being the first victims of the Muslim grooming gangs in Britain.

There is no indication whatsoever that the authorities or the media took these crimes seriously at the time, resulting in Sikhs taking the law into their own hands. **As time has gone on, and the Muslim**

¹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.55

population of Britain has increased and spread across the country, the gangs appear to have turned their attention to young girls from the indigenous population. Considering the expert estimates of the number of victims, and the number of prosecutions since 2010, the lack of prosecutions between 1988 and 2010 is appalling. The signal that police, social services and the media sent to these gangs was: carry on with what you are doing, we are not going to stop you, we are not going to expose your crimes.

A Sikh media group says that Britain cannot defeat the Muslim grooming gangs “unless the politically correct lobby stop putting up a smokescreen to hide the fact that this issue is about the Muslim community.”² Other Sikh organisations have claimed that Muslim men were going to great lengths in order to seduce and/or convert Sikh girls (the Muslim men would change their names to Sikh names, wear jewellery that indicated the wearer was a Sikh).³ Sikh websites have claimed that, as far back as 1992, Muslim men were given specific instructions from Islamic fundamentalist organisations, groups which seeks to re-establish the Caliphate. We have been not been able to refute or verify these allegations. The idea that a devout religious organisation would encourage such behaviour is very difficult to believe.⁴ What can be objectively verified, is that these

²Rebecca Camber & James Tozer, “**Teenager who Lured Girls into House to be Raped by Asian Gang is Jailed for Seven Years**”, *The Daily Mail*, 3 Sep 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2033022/Teenager-lured-girls-house-gang-raped-Asian-gang-jailed-seven-years.html>.

³<http://www.whyichoseSikhism.com/?p=know&s=10secrets>.

⁴Andrew Norfolk thinks that the idea that pro-Caliphate groups were encouraging this is “nonsense”. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RZCQ9ZWfCuQ#t=503>. We’re not aware of any proof by Norfolk that the documents discussed in section 4.7 **2001 Derby and “Real Caliphate”** and section 4.11 **2005 Luton and “Real Caliphate”** are fake, or the claims by Sikh organisations that pro-Caliphate organisations were doing this as early as 1990 are false. Norfolk has mentioned “sharia law” as an explanation for why these grooming gangs were targeting young girls, but appears to have no explanation for why the Muslim community have done nothing about these gangs in the past 25 years. We wonder how he would account for the failure of 75% of mosques to read out a sermon condemning the grooming gangs? Reading out a sermon condemn-

claims were to be found on Sikh websites as long ago as 2004 (and possibly much earlier).⁵ Thus, in 2004, at the height of the controversy concerning the Muslim grooming gangs in Bradford, there were good reasons for the media, the multiculturalists and the child-care professionals to have known about the claims being made by Sikhs. Any group who claims to believe in multiculturalism should have been paying attention to what the Sikh victims were saying about gangs preying on Sikh schoolgirls.

Serious attention needs to be paid to the decades-long abuse of Sikh girls by Muslim gangs: they were being abused by Muslim gangs in the 1980s and are still being abused in 2013. Sikhs took many steps to try to warn society about this, from creating pressure groups to risking imprisonment. Other non-Muslim communities never responded in the same way; when white non-Muslims spoke of the overwhelmingly Muslim grooming gangs, they were accused of “racism”, and thus marginalised and ignored. Some of this must come down to greater solidarity within the Sikh community, and with them having their own organisations (such as the *Sikh Awareness Society*) dedicated to warning Sikh schoolgirls and their parents. But also that the narrative of racism could not be used to sow doubt among them,

ing the rape of schoolgirls seems to be a very small step for religious organisations to take, yet despite all the bad publicity around the Islamic association with the grooming gangs, the vast majority of mosques did not take part. There are 1500 to 2000 mosques in Britain, and only 500 read the sermon. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/7118503.stm>. Other mosques “shunned” the sermon: Ben Wilkinson, “**National sermon on child grooming shunned as a stunt by many Muslims in Oxford**”, *Oxford Mail*, 29 Jun 2013, http://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/10516465.National_sermon_on_child_grooming_shunned_as_a_stunt_by_many_Muslims_in_Oxford/.

⁵Independent historical archives of websites show that this page could be found on that Sikh site on 3 Aug 2004, before the time that the *Channel 4* programme was being attacked by the Left as “racist.” That is, Sikhs were warning that they had evidence that devout Muslim groups in Britain were organising systematic grooming campaigns against non-Muslim girls, both Caucasian and Asian. <http://web.archive.org/web/20040803070716/http://www.whyichoseSikhism.com/?p=know&s=10secrets>. The document may well have existed before that, but the internet archive may not have taken copies before 2004.

the way the Left used it to marginalise any white person who spoke about the grooming gangs. Whilst CROP existed locally in Leeds before going national, it is likely to be much harder for CROP to reach every teenage girl in Britain than for Sikhs to use networks within their much smaller community to raise awareness of the problem. As we will show later, there is every indication that our national agencies have shamefully failed when it comes to developing an awareness campaign directed at schoolgirls. But if the media and the Left had not spent so much time ignoring the Sikh victims and vilifying the white victims, both CROP and SAS would presumably be much better financed and have far greater reach.

Even in January 2013, when a group of 40 Sikh men attacked a Muslim restaurant (because they thought it was the workplace and home of one of the Muslim men who had groomed and raped a Sikh schoolgirl), the police did not disclose that the men who attacked the restaurant were Sikhs.⁶ A few days after the attack, the local newspaper reported that the city police commander had stated that the attack was “sparked by misinformation regarding the rape of a teenage Sikh girl.” The police commander went on to say there was “a rumour that a Sikh girl has been raped and Leicestershire Police has done nothing despite being in possession of video evidence of that rape. This is not true.”⁷

Yet within weeks of the attack on this restaurant, five men were being prosecuted for 22 charges of sexual exploitation of a girl. In reports on the trial, the ethnicity of the victim was not specified, and a

⁶The police stated they had CCTV imagery, but would not release it; they stated they wanted witnesses to come forward, but would not describe the attackers or the victims of the attack. Peter Warzynski, “**Diners flee as mob of 40 men attack Moghul Durbar restaurant in Leicester**”, *Leicester Mercury*, 16 Jan 2013, <http://www.thisisleicestershire.co.uk/Diners-flee-mob-40-men-attack-Moghul-Durbar/story-17863811-detail/story.html>.

⁷Peter Warzynski, “**Peace talks held after rampage at Moghul Durbar restaurant**”, 17 Jan 2013, *Leicester Mercury*, <http://www.thisisleicestershire.co.uk/Peace-talks-held-rampage-Moghul-Durbar-restaurant/story-17880361-detail/story.html>.

banning order had been issued to prevent the names of the men from being published (even though all of the men were adults, and were not apparently awaiting trial for other offences, which might have been an excuse for withholding their details). The police and/or the CPS had gone to great lengths to conceal any details about the men, requiring the local newspaper to get the judge to disclose these facts.⁸ In reporting on the case at the beginning of February, we were told that one of the men, Wajid Usman, was “of no fixed abode”, yet in subsequent court appearances, it was stated that the some of the sexual abuse had occurred in a flat above the Moghul Durbar restaurant, where Wajid Usman had been living.⁹ That a Sikh girl was being raped and prostituted by some Muslim men associated with the Moghul Durbar restaurant might not have been 100% accurate. Instead of being “misinformation” and “rumour”, the full truth was possibly worse.¹⁰

The convicted men were Muslim, the girl was Sikh, and some of the abuse had indeed taken place at the restaurant the Sikhs attacked.¹¹ Furthermore, if the police did know about these crimes, it is clear that nothing was being done about this, before the Sikhs attacked the restaurant: the predatory Muslim men were only prosecuted once the Sikhs had drawn attention to these crimes by taking the law into their own hands. As one Sikh organisation stated about this case in

⁸“At their two previous court appearances, an order was imposed banning publication of their names, addresses and dates of birth. The *Mercury*, however, has successfully challenged this order, which was removed yesterday by District Judge John Temperley.” “**Child Exploitation Case – Five in Court**”, *Leicester Mercury*, 9 Feb 2013, <http://www.thisisleicestershire.co.uk/Child-exploitation-case-ndash-court/story-18100272-detail/story.html>.

⁹Suzy Gibson, “**Men ‘exploited vulnerable teenager’, court told**”, *Leicester Mercury*, 30 Jul 2013, <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/Men-exploited-vulnerable-teenager-court-told/story-19583988-detail/story.html>.

¹⁰“**Leicester child prostitution trial: Six men jailed**”, *BBC News*, 30 Aug 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-23896937>.

¹¹Whether or not all the Muslim men were in fact connected with that restaurant has never been disclosed.

Leicester in 2013: “it appears that racially motivated grooming of girls by groups of Pakistani Muslim men stems from 1990s onwards and is being underplayed by the Police, media and politicians fearing political correctness.”¹² Another significant feature of this case is that the victim “told police that boys at college had paid her for sex before she met the men”,¹³ which suggests she may already have been the victim of Muslim grooming activities before she met these six men.

On 2 Sep 2013, BBC’s *Inside Out* programme focussed on the forgotten Sikh schoolgirl victims of the grooming gangs.¹⁴ Whilst the BBC should be commended for finally making this programme, they made no mention of the history of the predations of Muslim grooming gangs on Sikh girls between 1988 and recent years. Furthermore, considering that these grooming gangs have been in operation in Britain for so long, it is only since 2011 that there has been any admission by the media that the gangs truly existed. And it is only since the Home Affairs Select Committee reported in July 2013 that we can say that the government has acknowledged that the Muslim grooming gangs existed. Even then, we saw that some left-wing members of the committee attempted to get the committee to deny there was any association at all between Asians (i.e. Muslims) and these grooming offenders. Significantly, when the BBC news website reported on the programme, not once did the BBC website report mention that the claims made by the Sikhs in the programme were that the perpetrators are overwhelmingly Muslim.¹⁵ The BBC news report implies that it was Sikh men who were grooming Sikh girls!

¹²“**Underage Sexual Grooming: Five Arrested in UK**”, *Sikh24*, Jan 19 2013, <http://www.Sikh24.com/2013/01/underage-sexual-grooming-five-arrested-in-uk/>.

¹³“**Leicester child prostitution trial: Six men jailed**”, *BBC News*, 30 Aug 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-23896937>. There are many times since 1988 when Sikhs have attempted to stop Muslims grooming Sikh girls in schools and colleges for sex. See section 4.1 1988 Sikh/Muslim violence, section 4.6 1998 *Sikh Awareness Society* starts, section 4.7 2001 Derby and “Real Caliphate”.

¹⁴<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hXTM7ehvtk>.

¹⁵Zack Adesina, “**Sexual grooming victims: Is there Sikh code of silence?**”, *BBC news*, 2 Sep 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-23921570>.

3. SIKH VICTIMS OF GROOMING GANGS

So, as one part of the BBC is giving coverage to Sikh activity to stop gangs of Muslims grooming Sikh schoolgirls, another arm of the BBC is trying to conceal what the programme was actually about.

4. Chronology: Cover-up to Collapse

the authorities did not understand what was happening to us, either because they did not believe us or because they could not comprehend that something as serious as this was possible.
– grooming victim, *The Times*, 2012

In 2011 a wave of reports swept across the news media, indicating that they had finally woken up to the phenomenon of the Muslim grooming gangs. This was followed in 2012 by the Home Affairs Select Committee undertaking an investigation into this scandal (with the Committee’s report finally being published in June 2013). However, it was not always so, and **between 2004 and 2011, there was only one journalist who stuck with this story.** We are going to disclose what was allowed to be said in the national debate at various points since the earliest manifestations of this problem. In the very limited debate on these grooming gangs in Britain, the self-censorship of the media can be directly traced back to the early part of the 21st century. Until the last few years, it has been very rare indeed for the news media to report that these crimes were going on at all. And even now when the media are discussing the grooming gangs, it is exceptional for a reporter to mention that the phenomenon goes back into the last century.¹ For the sake of posterity, and so that the

¹One rare exception to this is a report on *Russia Today* in May 2013, where Sean Thomas says that the crimes of the grooming gangs go back to “the early 1990s, if not before”. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RZCQ9ZWfCuQ#t=81>. In this report, Andrew Norfolk of *The Times* says that the metropolitan elite in London chose to ignore this problem for 20 years. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RZCQ9ZWfCuQ#t=517>.

necessary corrective action can be taken in Britain, we will document the evidence that shows that the phenomenon was identifiable by 1988 at the latest. The media, politicians, Muslim organisations, and child-care professionals marginalised and ignored the problem for the following 20 years.

As late as December 2010, the feminist author **Julie Bindel was a lone voice stressing that there was an urgent need to acknowledge these Muslim grooming gangs exist, and that white liberals were still in denial.**

These gangs will be allowed to operate with impunity if we deny their existence in some sort of twisted attempt to be anti-racist and culturally sensitive. Some people, including many white liberals, are loath to admit what it is going on.²

In 2007 Bindel was writing for *The Times* about the grooming gangs, but by 2010 writing about this phenomenon was so taboo that Bindel's piece appeared not in *The Times*, nor *The Guardian*, nor *The Independent*, but in a very minor publication called *Standpoint* (a conservative magazine, prioritising freedom of speech). It is a credit to a radical feminist like Bindel that she stood by the story rather than worried about what was good for her career. That she should be writing this in such a minor publication at the end of 2010 shows the determination to ignore it by the politically-correct elite in the media. Andrew Norfolk's pivotal article appeared in January 2011, and marks the point at which the establishment started to talk about the phenomenon in a more open manner.

By 2013 CROP/PACE noted: "Suddenly, professionals are waking up to the nature of grooming under-age children, and how they are prepared for a life of sexual assault, rape and the enforced selling of

²Julie Bindel, "**Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth**", *Standpoint Magazine*, Dec 2010, <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>

sexual services to adult males.”³ To most members of the public who have any knowledge of this crisis, they think it goes back to 2003, when it was first broached explicitly in the national media, and which point the subject was suddenly controversial and then suddenly silenced. However, our investigations show that the problem goes back at least 25 years. Indeed, there are even statements from some retired policemen who say that there were cases in the 1970s of Muslims in Britain grooming young non-Muslim girls.⁴ We believe it will be some time before the full chronology of this scandal comes to light, but at the moment, the earliest contemporary record we can find for the grooming gangs, is from 1988.

4.1 1988 Sikh/Muslim violence

The earliest manifestation of the Muslim grooming gangs, which we can establish with some objectivity, is in 1988. That year, in Wolverhampton, there were violent confrontations between Muslims and Sikhs. Sikhs formed into gangs to protect young Sikh girls from being groomed by gangs of Muslim men. The main Sikh gang was called *Shere Punjab*. Some of the gang members received criminal convictions because of their attacks on Muslim gangs.

In 1988 *Look East*, the BBC current affairs programme concentrating on Asian issues, included a segment on the “gang-warfare” in Birmingham between Sikh gangs and Muslim gangs.⁵

Here is a list of some of the incidents of violence in 1988

³PACE, “The grooming of children for sexual exploitation is largely misunderstood”, 21 Jan 2013, <http://www.paceuk.info/the-grooming-of-children-for-sexual-exploitation-is-largely-misunderstood/>.

⁴Jaya Narain “Police chief: ‘We couldn’t speak out on Asian sex gangs for fear of appearing institutionally racist’”, *The Daily Mail*, 12 Jan 2011 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1346291/Police-chief-We-speak-Asian-sex-gangs-appearing-racist.html>.

⁵BBC *Look East*, 1988 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MJoWIHIpmp8>

between Muslims and Sikhs cited in that programme:

- Feb 19, disorder in Handsworth, Sikh versus Muslim
- May 21, 3 Muslims attacked in Soho Rd. by Sikhs
- May 27, Sikh youth stabbed following fight at daytime disco in Hurst St.
- May 30, violent disorder outside the Milestone pub
- May 30, incident on Ladypool Rd. Sparkbrook, 1 Muslim received wounds
- **Jun 2, Sikh charged for possession of pump-action shotgun**
- Jun 2, 24 arrested following fight between Muslims/Sikhs

It seems clear that the violence was not short-lived, and that it was escalating (24 arrested, pump-action shotgun found). The violence came to an end in the summer of 1988, when the police arrested and charged Sikhs and Muslims.

According to a Muslim youth worker in the programme, it all started when the Sikh gang “handed leaflets out saying that Muslim youths are coming round our schools... they are abducting our girls... and they are raping them an putting them into prostitution.”⁶ The description in this written warning to the Sikh community (and maybe Muslim community) about the behaviour of the Muslim grooming gangs is entirely consistent with the phenomenon as it extended its reach across the whole country over the next 25 years.

The Sikh gang *Shere Punjab* said they gave the police the names and car registration details of those Muslims involved in grooming non-Muslim girls.⁷ Police claimed they would sort out the problem, if

⁶**BBC Look East**, 1988 http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=MJoWIHIPmp8&t=107.

⁷http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=MJoWIHIPmp8&t=301.

Shere Punjab “stepped out of the way.” Chief Superintendent David Love is interviewed in the programme and denies that they were ever given any of this information, and denies that they ever received any information about the girls being abducted. After 25 years, it may be impossible to establish the truth about these claims. However, the story from these Sikhs seems credible, since 20 years later police forces in other parts of the counter were also refusing to act on information supplied by the family of grooming victims, including photographic evidence and car registration numbers.⁸

4.2 1989 Sikhs convicted

Following the violence cited in the BBC programme from 1988, there was a report in *The Independent* newspaper in June 1989: 13 Sikh men were on trial for vigilantism, (presumably a prosecution carried over from the previous year). Note how the headline of this 1989 report (quoted below) describes the Sikh girls being “used as sex slaves” by the Muslim gangs, and in the body of the story the Sikhs describe how the Muslim gangs use these Indian girls for “sex and prostitution.” Here is an extract from that article:

Sikh girls “used as sex slaves”

GANGS OF Muslim men toured daytime discotheques kidnapping Sikh girls to use as sex slaves, a court was told yesterday.

The jury at the trial of 13 Sikh men at Birmingham Crown Court heard claims that one gang forced girls into prostitution and blackmailed their parents.

The Sikhs were said to be members of the Shere Punjab, a vigilante gang, who were arrested - armed with sticks and bottles - while on their way to confront the rival

⁸Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

Muslim gang, the Aston Panthers, in Handsworth, Birmingham, last June.

Gurmek Singh Chahal, 20, told the court the Panthers used Indian girls for sex and prostitution...⁹

We can find no record that Muslim grooming gangs were ever the target of arrests and prosecutions at this time, and none of the expert reports describe any prosecutions before the early to mid-1990s. We can find no evidence that the authorities did anything to stop the Muslim grooming gangs, but came down heavily on the Sikhs when they tried to intervene in their absence. Three of the Sikh men in this case received criminal convictions for trying to stop the Muslim grooming gangs. One would expect the police to have prosecuted members of the Muslim gangs too (after all, 24 were arrested in the summer of 1988). However, there is no sign that the police, the media or the child-care professionals took any notice of the Sikhs' allegations of "sex slavery". There is every reason to believe that in these circumstances, the Muslim grooming gangs continued, and if anything were emboldened by the success of their operations. As we will discuss later, Sikhs in Wolverhampton using violence to stop a Muslim grooming gang in 1988 was repeated again in 2013, only this time in Leicester.

4.3 1991 "The earliest case..."

Between 1989 and 2003, there was virtually no national media attention concerning these Muslim grooming gangs.¹⁰ However, in an interview with the *Sikh Awareness Society*, Andrew Norfolk does indicate that there is evidence that the grooming activities were

⁹"Sikh girls 'used as sex slaves'", *The Independent*, 24 Jun 1989

¹⁰The only exception was an apparently context-less story from 2001: *The Telegraph* carried a report on Muslims in Derby attacking "Asians" in a school, over claims that Muslims had been instructed to groom Sikh schoolgirls. See section 4.7 [2001 Derby and "Real Caliphate"](#).

known about in Bradford in 1991: the gang were taking girls from a children's home, prostituting them, then returning them to the children's home at night.¹¹ There were no criminal convictions arising from these events in 1991, but it seems clear from this story that the child-care professionals knew what was going on (whether they notified the police is another matter, and there's no indication that the media reported on this case). Norfolk says: **“These were Pakistani men doing it - that was never made public at the time.”**¹²

Norfolk points out that a few years after this “earliest case”, in 1995 Bradford was the first city in Britain where a project was set up to help the victims of the grooming gangs. When this interview with Norfolk took place in 2012, he points out how strange it is that Bradford had not had a single prosecution of a grooming gang despite the city having a bigger problem with this phenomenon than probably anywhere else in the country.¹³ A grooming gang in Bradford was convicted later in 2012; more than twenty years after cases were first being discussed by child-care professionals in that city.¹⁴

¹¹ Andrew Norfolk, “the first one that fits the pattern I’m studying is 1991”, **“Reality of Sexual Grooming Gangs in the UK - interview of Andrew Norfolk and Sikh Awareness Society”**, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbUIfvYbjRc&t=1325>.

¹² http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=WbUIfvYbjRc#t=1366.

¹³ Andrew Norfolk, **“Reality of Sexual Grooming Gangs in the UK - interview of Andrew Norfolk and Sikh Awareness Society”**, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbUIfvYbjRc&t=1385>.

¹⁴ There is much evidence of other “lone” Muslim male paedophiles who were raping under-age girls. Here is one case, where a Pakistani was able to flee the country half way through his trial for child-rape. **“All-ports alert as East Bowling child rapist could try to flee country”**, *Telegraph and Argus*, 15 Oct 2010, http://www.thetelegrapbandargus.co.uk/news/local/localbrad/8454127.Hunt_for_man__58.../. It is entirely possible that this man was also connected to grooming gangs, and if not, he was most certainly aware of them getting away with their activities.

4.4 1995 Bradford: *Streets and Lanes*

In 2011, when reports on the Muslim grooming gangs could no longer be kept out of the media, the children's charity *Barnardo's* published a report entitled *Puppet on a String: the Urgent Need to Cut Children Free From Sexual Exploitation*.¹⁵ The report says

at Barnardo's, we know from our 16 years' experience operating specialist services in the UK that it is far more widespread than is generally recognised. And we are finding that the victims are becoming younger and the exploitation more sophisticated, involving organised networks that move children from place to place to be abused... There is a shocking lack of awareness that stretches from the front-line of practice to the corridors of government... Urgent action is required to address this, which is why Barnardo's is publishing this report and launching a campaign calling for reform.¹⁶

The report goes on to say that **the *Streets and Lanes* project has existed in Bradford since 1995**,¹⁷ and it seems clear that *Barnardo's* is alluding to this project when they refer to their 16 years of experience in this area.

In 1995 *Barnardo's* created this *Streets and Lanes* project in Bradford with £677,000 funding from "statutory agencies."¹⁸ The local media in Bradford reported that the purpose of this project was "to help teenage girls, usually run-aways, picked up at Bradford

¹⁵ *Puppet on a String: the Urgent Need to Cut Children Free From Sexual Exploitation*, 2011, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/ctf_puppetonastring_report_final.pdf.

¹⁶ *Puppet on a String: the Urgent Need to Cut Children Free From Sexual Exploitation*, 2011, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/ctf_puppetonastring_report_final.pdf p.1.

¹⁷ *Puppet on a String: the Urgent Need to Cut Children Free From Sexual Exploitation*, 2011, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/ctf_puppetonastring_report_final.pdf p.2.

¹⁸ Sara Swann, "Helping girls involved in 'prostitution': a Barnardos Experiment", pg.277 of *Home Truths About Child Sexual Abuse: Policy and Practice*, Catherine Itzen (ed.), Routledge, London, 2000.

Interchange by unscrupulous men and groomed for prostitution.”¹⁹ According to *Barnardo’s* this was a project aimed at educating 5 to 13 year old children about:

Girls and young women who already know the experience of being exploited have space to talk alone, in groups, in safety at the drop-ins and outside the building in other safe spaces... They can be immediately be screened for sexual health services... in this young woman friendly environment.²⁰

Sara Swann, who was the director of the *Streets and Lanes* project, points out that the victim of this sexual exploitation is normally ensnared by a “boyfriend” (aged 18 to 25, but even as old as mid-40s) who showers her with gifts, collecting her in his car outside the school on an almost daily basis. He proceeds to make her dependent on him, perhaps changing her name, but proceeding to destroy her connections with other people. He ends up furthering his control of her, often by humiliation, threats and fear, all the while pretending that this is a loving relationship. The final stage is that he has total control when she becomes a “willing victim”: she will end up having sex for him, without even seeing any of the money herself. She will even lure others into the clutches of her controller and his network.²¹ In a report from the local newspaper in 1998, *Barnardo’s* staff talk about the *Streets and Lanes* project, and it looks remarkably like the Muslim

¹⁹Jim Greenhalf, “How do we Make the Streets Safer?”, *Telegraph & Argus*, 1 Jun 2010, http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/news_behind/8194620.How_do_we_make_the_streets_safer/.

²⁰“Case Study: Barnardo’s Street and Lanes Multi-agency Service”, 2004, <http://www.doh.gov.uk/children/nsfcasestudies.nsf/5084709fa3844fc680256f2c00339f59/28bdb53249f6fa2380256f6a003f240a?OpenDocument>. This document has now disappeared from the internet.

²¹Sara Swann, “Helping girls involved in ‘prostitution’: a Barnardos Experiment”, pp.278-282 of *Home Truths About Child Sexual Abuse: Policy and Practice*, Catherine Itzen (ed.), Routledge, London, 2000. It is clear that, by the year 2000, Swann is describing something indistinguishable from the phenomenon which came to be known as “localised grooming”, which CEOP claim was not identified until 2011.

grooming gang phenomenon.²² **We can find no evidence where either Swann or *Barnardo's* refer to the ethnicity of the men who groomed these schoolgirls in this, the first project dealing with the victims of the grooming gangs in Britain, a project located in the borough with the greatest concentration of Muslims in Britain.**²³ Nevertheless, subsequent remarks by others who worked with them, state that the men were “overwhelmingly” Asian.²⁴

4.5 1996 Rotherham

By the mid 1990s there was undeniable evidence available to police and child-care professionals that the grooming gangs were operating on a large scale. In a 2012 report, Andrew Norfolk had access to huge numbers of unpublished reports by police and social services, dating

²² “**Scandal of child-sex on Bradford streets**”, *Telegraph & Argus*, 14 Jul 1998, http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/archive/1998/07/14/8075434.Scandal_of_child_sex_on_Bradford_streets/

Children as young as 11 are enslaved in a squalid life of prostitution in Bradford - and the law is failing to protect them, a shocking report reveals today...Of 100 under-18-year-olds in touch with project workers last year, the average age was 14 and the youngest was 11. And this is just the tip of the iceberg, workers say. Teenagers are being exploited by older pimps who lock them up like animals in bedsits and deny them access to food or a toilet... Most of the youngsters are too scared to fight back against their violent pimps... Barnardo's is demanding a change in the law so that men who seek sex with children are prosecuted for the serious crime of unlawful sex...And they are warning parents to be aware of the risk to their children - as a third of the youngsters seen by the scheme are still living at home with their unwitting mums and dads.

²³“**UK Muslim Demographics**”, *The Telegraph*, 4 Feb 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/wikileaks-files/london-wikileaks/8304838/UK-Muslim-DEMOGRAPHICS-C-RE8-02527.html>.

²⁴Anna Hall “**Hunt For Britain's Sex Gangs, C4**”, *Broadcast*, 2 May 2013, <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/in-depth/hunt-for-britains-sex-gangs-c4/5054504.article>.

from 1996 onwards. Furthermore, it was in 1998 that the *Sikh Awareness Society* was founded, which was started specifically to educate Sikh girls about how the grooming gangs work. Norfolk says that in Rotherham in 1996:

a social services investigation uncovered concerns that girls were being coerced into “child prostitution” by a small group of men who regularly collected them from residential care homes. Two years later, 70 girls from the town were said to be involved. The findings led to a one-year, Home Office-funded research project on the “detection, investigation and prosecution of offenders involved in sexual exploitation in Rotherham.”²⁵

The Home Office report was apparently completed in 2001.²⁶ The report was never published. **Muslim-operated taxi firms and takeaway shops were a significant part of the grooming/pimping operation.**²⁷ **The pimps were collecting girls from “outside schools, bus and train stations, residential homes and homeless projects.”**²⁸ Numerous multi-agency forums and meetings were held. Nothing significant came of this report, and it never received the media attention which it should have received.

Norfolk says that even while the Home Office report was being written, “the headmaster of a Rotherham secondary school sent a letter to parents warning that some of his pupils were being used

²⁵ Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>

²⁶ If it is true that it took 5 years to publish this one-year study, then it really does indicate that the Home Office did not take this problem seriously.

²⁷ As we see in later cases in other parts of the country, this is a common theme.

²⁸ Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>

by adults for sex.”²⁹ So, police, social services, and schools knew about the grooming gangs’ activities, but still there was no media or political attention being paid to what was going on. How were the innocent victims supposed to protect themselves from being ensnared by the well-rehearsed and sophisticated techniques of organised adults, when no-one was prepared to tell these schoolgirls or their parents how the gangs operated?

4.6 1998 Sikh Awareness Society starts

In 1998 the *Sikh Awareness Society* was set up to educate Sikhs (and the wider community) about the continuing activities of the Muslim grooming gangs. Clearly, the problem with the grooming gangs in the West Midlands had not gone away. Here is what the SAS website said in 2007:³⁰

The Sikh Awareness Society (SAS) was **established in 1998 amongst growing concerns of the “grooming” of our youth.**

In Britain today Sikh youth are still actively targeted on the basis of their religion and history. This historically linked hate-crime causes much emotional distress to the families involved **with the majority of these cases**

²⁹Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>. Even today when there is some media and political attention being paid to these grooming gangs, schools are sending home notices to parents, warning them that gangs of “Asian men” are sitting in cars outside the school gates. Sometimes the schools doing this are sending home letters to parents whose children are 11 years old or younger (see section 14. [Appendix 4: Leeds School Warning](#) and section 15. [Appendix 5: Sheffield School Warning](#) below).

³⁰“**About Sikh Awareness Society**” This is from the Internet Archive copy of the SAS website of 2007. (The earliest archived copy of the SAS website we can find is from 2007). <http://web.archive.org/web/20070707161016/http://www.sasorg.co.uk/about.html>.

ending up in abuse...

The SAS originally operated as a discreet, confidential service, providing counselling and support to the West Midlands Sikh community.

Due to an increasing number of calls from distressed Sikh families; in April **2006 we decided to expand our services and go nationwide...**

We initially started out in “problem areas” i.e. towns/cities where we knew of serious hate-crime in the past. **We quickly came to realise it is a national problem and far more deep-rooted.**

It is interesting to note that SAS started in the West Midlands, the area where Muslim grooming gangs were operating in 1988. What is also of note, is that by 2006, SAS were recognising that these gangs were operating at a national level (something that the rest of the country is perhaps only now realising). From other reports by SAS, it is clear that the Muslim grooming gangs were targeting girls as young as 12.³¹

It is to the shame of journalists, feminists, socialists and multiculturalists that from the late 1990s they did not amplify the message of *Sikh Awareness Society*. We have reason to believe that the children’s charities and other agencies were aware of the extent and nature of the problem by the time that SAS was set up, but chose to remain publicly silent because of the discrepancy between the ethnicity of the perpetrators and the ethnicity of the victims.³² If the

³¹<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PRtWcyo-xj8>.

³² The director of *Edge of the City* later told this story:

In October 1996... I met Sara Swann, who ran Bradford’s Barnardo’s Streets and Lanes project. Barnardo’s was interested in making a film to warn teenagers and educate parents ... the girls were white and living in multi-cultural Bradford and the perpetrators were Asian... everybody wanted to pretend it wasn’t happening. All anyone seemed

media had picked up on the work of SAS in the late 1990s, then the entire debate on the grooming gangs would never have blamed “Asians” in general. That the problem was fundamentally religious rather than racial would have been clear to all.

4.7 2001 Derby and “Real Caliphate”

Sikhs were also involved when violence erupted at a school in Derby in 2001. This violence occurred because of the existence of a document where devout Muslim fundamentalists appeared to be encouraging young Muslims to seduce Sikh and Hindu girls into Islam.³³ Thus, according to a report in *The Telegraph* at the time:

A Muslim group calling itself Real Khilafa [sic] has been trying to whip up trouble by distributing a letter encouraging young Muslims to take out Sikh girls to get them drunk and convert them to Islam. The letter has incensed the considerable Sikh community and the police

concerned about was the risk of a race riot if we mentioned it. Anna Hall “**Hunt For Britain’s Sex Gangs, C4**” *Broadcast* 2 May 2013, <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/in-depth/hunt-for-britains-sex-gangs-c4/5054504.article>

Since child-care professionals were privately informing journalists like Anna Hall of this problem, we cannot believe that they were not discussing it with other journalists, government agencies, academics, political activists, etc. See section 5.9 *Barnardo’s* and section 4.13 *2008 My Dangerous Loverboy*.

³³Section 16. [Appendix 6: Real Khilafah - Letter to Moslem Youth](#) contains a facsimile copy of what is claimed to be the letter distributed by a devout Muslim organisation, encouraging Muslim men to deceive and seduce non-Muslim girls. We have found a transcript of this letter from a Pakistani internet forum from 2 Nov 2001, which does at least establish that the copy we have included in the Appendices was known about in 2001: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/PakistanForum/message/24491>. The copy of the letter found on that Pakistani forum is dated “13 April 2001.” The letter is also mentioned on a Sikh website in 2001: <http://fateh.sikhnet.com/sikhnet/discussion.nsf/By+Topic/9a6a5f28a8d544ff87256af8006e9709?Open>. A readable version of this letter can be found in section 20. [Appendix 11: Transcription Real Khilafa Letter](#).

have been present at meetings called by community leaders.³⁴

The letter claims that the Koran authorises Muslims to use violence or deceit in order to convert or subjugate “kafirs.”³⁵

4.8 2003 Bradford/Keighley

After all these supposedly unrelated, local reports indicating grooming activity in Wolverhampton, Rotherham and Derby, the problem in Bradford appeared in the national news agenda. How the phenomenon of the grooming gangs was treated in the coverage of Bradford at this time was eventually to shape the reporting of the problem for almost 10 years.

On 22 August 2003, *Channel 4 News* announced that they had “uncovered details of an 18 month police and social services investigation into allegations that young men are targeting under-age girls for sex, drugs and prostitution in the West Yorkshire town of Keighley.”³⁶

In that story, the Labour MP for Keighley, Ann Cryer is quoted as saying “I believe there is a very strong cultural reason, it’s nothing to do with the religion lets [*sic*] make it quite clear, its [*sic*] to do with the Asian culture, which wants these young men to marry these very young girls from their village...”³⁷ Cryer said that it is because they

³⁴Nick Britten, “**Children Injured in School Rampage**”, *The Telegraph*, 17 Oct 2001, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1359683/Children-injured-in-school-rampage.html>.

³⁵In Islam “Kafir” is an abusive Arabic term for Sikhs, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists etc.

³⁶“**Asian Rape Allegations**”, *Channel 4 News*, 27 Aug 2003, (from archive.org) http://web.archive.org/web/20100620042427/http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/society/law_order/Asian+rape+allegations/256893.

³⁷“**Asian Rape Allegations**”, *Channel 4 News*, 27 Aug 2003, (from archive.org) http://web.archive.org/web/20100620042427/http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/society/law_order/Asian+rape+allegations/256893.

do not want arranged marriages with “very young girls from their village” in Pakistan that Muslim men “look for very young girls through this organised sex ring that we are seeing in Keighley.” She does not explain what part of “Asian culture” would lead the parents to want their sons to marry “very young girls” from Pakistan, nor why this should lead to “organised” rings of men who seek to exploit “very young”, non-Muslim girls near Bradford, and get them addicted to drugs and alcohol and then turn them into prostitutes. Ann Cryer left it up to the population of Britain to assume that Hindu and Sikh and Buddhist men were also doing this, as these activities were supposedly part of “Asian culture”,³⁸ rather than men from one specific religious group.

A few days later the local newspaper reported that Ann Cryer:

called on members of the town’s Asian community to work together against alleged criminal activity involving some young men in the area. Police and social services have launched an inquiry after parents reported concerns about the welfare of their daughters in the town.³⁹

Ann Cryer is reported as saying “My hope is that this adverse publicity will embarrass these young men into more appropriate behaviour.” Ten years later, we know that this was a vain hope.

Even though no Muslims are named in this news report, it is interesting how much care is taken not to offend the community which was protecting the grooming gangs. Note how the above quotation from the local newspaper “alleges” that these crimes have taken place, and how the parents “concerns” are merely “reported.” **The article went on to say: “It is claimed more than 30 white**

³⁸“**Asian Rape Allegations**”, *Channel 4 News*, 27 Aug 2003, (from archive.org) http://web.archive.org/web/20100620042427/http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/society/law_order/Asian+rape+allegations/256893.

³⁹“**MP’s appeal after abuse allegations**”, *Telegraph & Argus*, 26 Aug 2003, http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/archive/2003/08/26/8010529.MP_s_a_apeal_after_abuse_allegations/

girls, some said to be as young as 11 or 12, have been raped, abused and prostituted by Asian men in their late teens and twenties over the last 18 months.”⁴⁰ These are incredibly serious crimes, yet the local newspaper talks about it as if the claims came from nowhere, and have no substance, possibly casual calumny. Yet only a few days earlier, *Channel 4* had said that they had details of an investigation by police and social services that had lasted almost 2 years! Would the police and social services spend so much time investigating this, if there was no evidence for it? In a town which had seen massive “race riots” by Muslims 2 years earlier, would *Channel 4* have risked reporting on the grooming gangs if the evidence looked dubious or insubstantial? And if this investigation into such serious criminality had been going on for 18 months in Bradford, shouldn’t the local newspaper and the local Member of Parliament have known something about it before the story was broken by a national TV company? In hindsight, given the recent “race riots” by Muslims, it seems that *Channel 4* showed great courage in exposing the grooming gangs in Bradford in 2003.

Once the media and politicians had turned their attention to these grooming gangs in 2012, the public learned some more about the events in Bradford at this time. Around the time of the Parliamentary investigation, Cryer is quoted as having said that in 2003 “she was approached by about six mothers who said their daughters were being groomed for sex by Pakistani men.”⁴¹ In that later report it says that back in 2003 “Ann Cryer had tried to intercede with the community by asking a councillor to speak to Muslim elders, but the Muslim elders had said it was not their affair.” But the quotations of contemporaneous reports of what **Cryer actually said in 2003 show**

⁴⁰“MP’s appeal after abuse allegations”, *Telegraph & Argus*, 26 Aug 2003, http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/archive/2003/08/26/8010529.MP_s_a_ppeal_after_abuse_allegations/.

⁴¹“Muslim gang ‘white rape’ claim prompts row”, *BBC News*, 13 Nov 2012, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2102470.stm.

that in claiming that it was to do with “Asian culture” rather than religion, she had led the public to believe the problems were nothing to do with Islam. Since Islam comes from Arabia rather than Asia, and since Asia has many religions and cultures other than those of Muslims, the public was led to believe that what was happening in Bradford involved criminal grooming gangs of many different religions. But Cryer was talking to Muslim leaders in order to get the grooming gangs to stop; there was apparently no need for her to talk to Hindu or Sikh leaders to get their youths to stop grooming young white girls. Thus, even at the time, Cryer should have been able to perceive the difference between Muslim culture and Asian culture.

We are aware of no evidence showing that Ann Cryer spoke out about the activities of the grooming gangs before August 22 2003, when *Channel 4* news disclosed the existence of the 18-month investigation into the grooming gangs by Bradford Council and West Yorkshire Police, although surely as the MP she must have known about such a major investigation into their activities. Perhaps she had known about this investigation, but had chosen to remain silent, as the previous year she came under criticism from left-wing Muslims for “damaging race relations”, when she stated that “Asian gangs” in her constituency were out of control.⁴² Reflecting on these events now, it seems likely that the “Asian” gangs who were out of control were probably also connected to the grooming gangs (although this connection may not have been known to Ann Cryer at the time).

4.9 2004 Edge of the City

The events around Bradford in 2004 were to bring about nearly a decade of media silence on the grooming gangs. Throughout 2003, *Channel 4* had been making a documentary in the “Dispatches” series which dealt with the Muslim grooming gangs in the Bradford area.

⁴²“‘Asian Gangs’ out of Control”, *BBC News*, 6 Jul 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2102470.stm.

The item that appeared on *Channel 4 News* in the above section probably came about because of the research that had gone into this *Dispatches* documentary. But in 2004 the entire documentary was withdrawn from broadcast, simply because part of the documentary re-iterated the claim that Muslims were grooming white children for sex.⁴³ Pressure was brought to bear on *Channel 4* by the West Yorkshire Police and an organisation calling itself “Unite Against Fascism.”

Anna Hall, who made the documentary for *Channel 4* was living in Leeds at that time and had been informed by the director of *Barnardo’s the Streets and Lanes* project, which they had been running in Bradford since 1995.⁴⁴ The full documentary about

⁴³The documentary has gone down in history as having “been banned”, and just after it was withdrawn from the schedule, even Muslim barristers were heard in interviews talking about it having “been banned”.

⁴⁴See: Anna Hall “**Hunt For Britain’s Sex Gangs, C4**” *Broadcast* 2 May 2013, <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/in-depth/hunt-for-britains-sex-gangs-c4/5054504.article>.

In October 1996... I met Sara Swann, who ran Bradford’s Barnardo’s Streets and Lanes project. Barnardo’s was interested in making a film to warn teenagers and educate parents about a pattern of child sexual exploitation that Sara had been following for a year... men were targeting girls aged 11 and up, giving them phones, taking them out and showering them with attention and affection. After they had sex, the men would introduce their friends to the girls, who would be asked to sleep with the new group of men.

Police seemed powerless to stop it because the girls thought these men were their boyfriends. However controlled and degraded they felt, they were also very frightened. The explosive thing: the girls were white and living in multi-cultural Bradford and the perpetrators were Asian... I tried to get a film off the ground at Channel 4, but other commitments left it on the back burner... What was unbelievable was that men were gang-raping young girls and everybody wanted to pretend it wasn’t happening. All anyone seemed concerned about was the risk of a race riot if we mentioned it.

After nearly two years, I made a 90- minute doc, *Edge Of The City*. We dared to describe the Bradford perpetrators as “overwhelmingly

Bradford social services focused on a range of work done by the Council, and just a quarter of the documentary was about the grooming gangs. **However, before the documentary could be shown in May 2004, Channel 4 conceded to censorship at the instigation of Colin Cramphorn, the Chief Constable of West Yorkshire Police: according to Anna Hall “it was three weeks before local elections and he feared riots.”**⁴⁵ It was only 3 weeks to elections for local councillors and it was only 3 years since Muslims had rioted in “race riots” in Bradford and Oldham, so the threat of them rioting again was very potent: “The fires that burned across Lancashire and Yorkshire through the summer of 2001 signalled the rage of young Pakistanis and Bangladeshis of the second and third generation...”⁴⁶ If ever there was an issue that cried out for local parliamentarians⁴⁷ to address, and to use their powers to hold the police and child-care services to account, it is surely over the issue of the rape and prostitution of schoolgirls, who were targeted between leaving the care of the school and reaching the care of their parents.

Asian.” The film was scheduled to go out in May 2004, three weeks before the local elections in Bradford, where 10 BNP candidates were standing three years after Asian ‘youths’ were indicted in a ‘race riot’. After the council viewed it, West Yorkshire’s chief constable asked for the film to be postponed amid fears of more riots. All hell broke loose. The BNP got hold of the story and used the film as propaganda. Police and social services said nothing. Several small voices in the Asian press said that if the story were true, it shouldn’t be swept under the carpet....

For information about this *Barnardo’s* project, see section 4.8 [2003 Bradford/Keighley](#).

⁴⁵Maggie Brown “**The Woman on a Mission to Expose Sexual Abuse**”, *The Guardian*, 21 May 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2013/may/21/woman-expose-sexual-abuse-telford>.

⁴⁶Arun Kundnani, “**From Oldham to Bradford: the Violence of the Violated**”, 1 Oct 2001, <http://www.irr.org.uk/news/from-oldham-to-bradford-the-violence-of-the-violated/>.

⁴⁷At this point, as far as most of the people of Britain were concerned, this problem was entirely local to Bradford.

Instead of allowing for the democratic process to hold people to account, a national broadcaster crumpled to pressure from someone who should himself have been facing investigation for the failure of his underlings. The threat of massive violence by members of the Muslim community led a national TV company to withdraw the programme.

Leading up to eventual broadcast of *Edge of the City* once the elections were over, pressure groups again attempted to get the documentary permanently banned, with a letter-writing campaign to the Labour government ministers.⁴⁸ Three months after it was originally scheduled to be broadcast, the *Edge of the City* documentary was finally shown, albeit in an abnormally late night slot for such a documentary. Even so, it was watched by almost 2 million people. But as the director of the documentary recently noted, it brought about no change.⁴⁹ It is possible that if *Channel 4* had aired the programme in May 2004, then candidates may have been elected to the local council who would have campaigned on this issue and if elected, those representatives would then have had a democratic mandate to bring about change, and to stop this abuse. It seems clear that, as a matter of law as well as common sense, the possibility of a violent reaction to a lawful inquiry into so serious a matter should not have been considered a good reason to withdraw or postpone the documentary,

Around the time of the broadcast in August 2004, West Yorkshire Police and Bradford Council said they:

had spent the past two years investigating the allegations, but found “no evidence of systematic exploitation”...it is important to note that some of this

⁴⁸“**Campaign to Stop Race Documentary**”, *BBC News*, 17 Aug 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/3572776.stm>.

⁴⁹Maggie Brown “**The Woman on a Mission to Expose Sexual Abuse**”, *The Guardian*, 21 May 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2013/may/21/woman-expose-sexual-abuse-telford>.

programme was filmed nearly two years ago and things have moved on since.⁵⁰ (emphasis added)

These easy denials in 2004 have been reversed. In Bradford, in the first 6 months of 2013 alone, “the tally of suspected predators now stood at 90 arrests in the last six months.”⁵¹

4.10 2005 Radio 5 programme

On 18 December 2005, BBC Radio 5 Live also broadcast a programme about the grooming gangs. The programme apparently covered material that was consistent with the *Channel 4* documentary. When the left-wing Asian activist Sunny Hundal commented on this Radio 5 programme, he said that this programme did not simply repeat some of the claims from the *Edge of the City* documentary.

The report looked at the way in which “these children are ‘groomed’ into believing that these ‘pimps’ are in fact their boyfriends.” It also asks why “so many of the men implicated in these crimes are British Pakistanis”...**It covered the same area (and slightly more) as the C4 doc** [sic].⁵²(emphasis added)

But Hundal pointed out that **by 2005 West Yorkshire Police had, “without explanation”, now shut down the special unit they had set up to investigate these type of crimes.**⁵³

⁵⁰“**Campaign to Stop Race Documentary**”, *BBC News website*, 17 Aug 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/3572776.stm>

⁵¹“**We’ll tackle the sexual predators**”, *Telegraph & Argus*, 11 May 2013, http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/10413534.____We____ll_tackle_t_he_sexual_predators____/.

⁵²“**The Case of Pakistani Men ‘Grooming’ Young White Girls - Part 2**”, *Asians In Media*, 19 Sep 2005, <http://www.Asiansinmedia.org/news/article.php/radio/1109>.

⁵³“**The Case of Pakistani Men ‘Grooming’ Young White Girls - Part 2**”, *Asians In Media*, 19 Sep 2005, <http://www.Asiansinmedia.org/news/article.php/radio/1109>.

We can clearly see the detrimental effect of the campaign by the racism groups and the Left to stop the Muslim grooming gangs becoming an electoral issue in Bradford in 2004. Once the *Channel 4* documentary was withdrawn and marginalised as “racist”, the local council and the police force jointly denied there was a problem. They claimed that the information in that documentary was two years old, suggesting that the problem had been resolved, when there is every reason to believe it was getting worse.⁵⁴ Then, when the hue and cry had died down, the police quietly closed the unit which was investigating these crimes! This provides a very good explanation as to why, despite the controversy in 2003 and 2004, there were no convictions in Bradford between 2005 and 2013. If the police had not closed down this special unit, who knows how many perpetrators they would have found in the subsequent years, who knows how many hundreds of schoolgirls could have been saved from a life of sex slavery.

Hundal described the situation as “political correctness gone mad.” Hundal went on to point out that even the “useless” local community leaders say the police are “too politically correct and unwilling to disturb racial and religious sensibilities.”⁵⁵

What it [the Radio 5 programme] should have said was - “A year after C4 uncovered abuse by Pakistani men of young white girls, nothing seems to have changed. The abuse is carrying on, the police is [sic] powerless and has done little, and neither have the so-called community leaders.” That would brought [sic] focus to why the police is [sic] failing the local community in tackling

⁵⁴In the middle of 2013, 45 men in West Yorkshire were arrested, with all the indications being that many of these men are “Asian.” Suzannah Hills, “**UK’s biggest child sex gang uncovered as 45 men are arrested over abuse of girls as young as 13**”, *Daily Mail*, 18 Aug 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2396486/UKs-biggest-child-sex-gang-uncovered-45-men-arrested-abuse-girls-young-13.html>.

⁵⁵“**The Case of Pakistani Men ‘Grooming’ Young White Girls - Part 2**”, *Asians In Media*, 19 Sep 2005, <http://www.Asiansinmedia.org/news/article.php/radio/1109>.

these youths.⁵⁶

It might appear to the reader that the socialist Sunny Hundal was an exception, someone with the clarity and courage to point out that there should be some sociological or ideological investigation as to why so many of the men who were involved in grooming these schoolgirls were Muslims. *Au contraire*: Sunny Hundal insists in this piece that it is irrelevant that the grooming gangs were almost entirely Muslims. He inveighs against political correctness gone mad, yet will not consider that there might be some connection between Muslim culture and this unusual form of criminality: “I was frequently asked if this was a widespread problem, implying whether Muslim (or Asian) men picked on young white girls for cultural reasons. That is of course rubbish, and these are simply criminals...”⁵⁷

4.11 2005 Luton and “Real Caliphate”

Whilst journalists and commentators refused to talk about the religion of the grooming gangs, in 2005 Clive Gresswell wrote an article in a Luton newspaper, apparently quoting from a letter which it was alleged a devout Islamic organisation was distributing to Muslim men, encouraging them to seduce non-Muslim women, using alcoholic intoxication as part of the process.⁵⁸ After the controversy in Bradford in 2003 and 2004, this story should have resonated loudly across the country. But it was never picked up by the national media. This is notable, considering that in 1988 Sikhs had been involved in gang violence with Muslim grooming gangs in Wolverhampton, and ten years later when the Muslim gangs were still preying on Sikh girls

⁵⁶“The Case of Pakistani Men ‘Grooming’ Young White Girls - Part 2”, *Asians In Media*, 19 Sep 2005, <http://www.Asiansinmedia.org/news/article.php/radio/1109>.

⁵⁷“The Case of Pakistani Men ‘Grooming’ Young White Girls - Part 2”, *Asians In Media*, 19 Sep 2005, <http://www.Asiansinmedia.org/news/article.php/radio/1109>.

⁵⁸See section 16. [Appendix 6: Real Khilafah - Letter to Moslem Youth](#) for a facsimile copy of the letter from “Real Khilafah”, and section 17. [Appendix 7: Luton Article on Real Khilafah](#) for a facsimile copy of the article by Clive Gresswell.

with no attempt by the agencies of the state to stop them, Sikhs set up the *Sikh Awareness Society* in 1998. And as we have seen above, Sikhs were again embroiled in violence in Derby in 2001, following claims that *Real Khilafah*, had been instructing Muslims to groom non-Muslim girls.⁵⁹ In the light of these many incidents where Sikhs were warning about the grooming gangs, it is astonishing that in 2005 the national media should ignore claims that Islamic organisations in England were allegedly running campaigns to encourage such grooming activities. In addition to these many incidents between 1988 and 2001 where Sikhs had been agitating and campaigning against Muslim grooming gangs, this story in Luton broke just one year after the national controversy over the *Edge of the City* documentary.

Over a period of 17 years, there was evidence of these Muslim grooming gangs operating in the Midlands, Yorkshire, and now in Luton, just outside of London. It defies belief that the national media and “anti-racist” activists could ignore these events in Luton, when just one year earlier they denounced the “racism” of those who pointed out that it was “Asians” grooming white schoolgirls in Bradford and Keighley. Here were reports indicating as clearly as possible that race was not the issue: Muslims were being given religious-ideological justification for sexually seducing non-Muslim girls, as part of a supremacist Islamic project. But from 2004 onwards, the vast majority of journalists, child-care professionals and political activists seem to have adopted a policy of “see no evil, hear no evil”, where Muslim grooming activities were concerned. The pressure groups had succeeded in their attempt to ensure that no-one would dare speak out about these gangs prostituting vulnerable schoolgirls.

By this time, more Sikh organisations were also making the incredible claim, that as far back as the early 1990s, other fundamentalist Islamic groups were advocating that Muslim men in Britain should deceive non-Muslims girls and seduce them into

⁵⁹We have found no evidence to suggest the organisation reported in this 2005 incident in Luton is a different organisation to that mentioned in the incidents in Derby in 2001.

Islam.⁶⁰ **The Sikh websites claimed that these devout Islamic organisations were telling Muslim men to target vulnerable girls (plain or ugly girls, who would be unaccustomed to attention), deceiving them into thinking that the Muslim man was genuinely interested in a relationship and possibly even marriage. The claim was that devout Muslims were instructed to “be ambiguous about their own backgrounds by for example only describing themselves as Asian,” in order to have greater success with this deception.**⁶¹

Perhaps when Sikhs drew the attention of multiculturalists, feminists, or left-wing activists to this in 2004, these activists could dismiss the claims as being beyond belief: certainly such mendacity and cunning does not accord with what those brought up as Christians would expect from religious people. Nevertheless, by this point there had been multiple reports that fundamentalist Islamic organisations were encouraging behaviour similar to that of the grooming gangs. It would be dogmatic of anyone with this information to dismiss the idea that the activities of the grooming gangs were entirely compatible with Islamic doctrine.

4.12 2007 Julie Bindel: a lone voice

In 2007 Julie Bindel was a voice in the wilderness.⁶² **Bindel drew attention to the fact that the police were doing nothing about the grooming gangs in Yorkshire and Lancashire. Bindel focussed on how the mothers of the victims had taken it upon themselves to gather names and addresses, car registration details, and even photographs of the perpetrators. She quotes one of the mothers saying the police had told her they would not arrest Pakistani**

⁶⁰<http://www.whyichoseSikhism.com/?p=know&s=10secrets>.

⁶¹This ambiguity - blurring the distinction between “Muslims” and “Asians” - has been continued by the police, media and social services themselves, right up until 2013.

⁶²Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece

men for sexual offences, because it would start “a race riot” (i.e. the Pakistanis would riot).⁶³ Once again, the law enforcement agencies were apparently refusing to apply the law to Muslims, for fear that they would riot.

What steps did the police take to stop this lucrative business, a business based on providing schoolgirls to be raped? They sent letters to 70 men who were “spending an unusual amount of time with young girls”, requiring them to sign the letter to indicate that the men knew the girls were beneath the age of consent.⁶⁴ Bindel points out that the parents were so angry with the pathetic response by the police, that they were instructing lawyers to seek redress. “This could result in the biggest civil action ever brought against police for failing to protect children from sexual predators,” wrote Bindel.⁶⁵ We can find no further record that such legal action took place. We do not know if the case was simply dropped, or if the police settled out of court (in which case a confidentiality clause would likely have been incorporated into the settlement agreement).

Bindel’s investigation showed that the police were deliberately ignoring evidence gathered for them by desperate family members. We see from the excuses of the police, that the riots by Muslims in Oldham and Bradford in 2001 have paid dividends many times over. *Channel 4* crumpled and withdrew the *Edge of the City* documentary under the threat of riots in Bradford, thus stopping the grooming activities from becoming an electoral issue. And years later, the (supposed) fear of Muslims rioting was used as an excuse not to arrest and prosecute the actual gangs who were raping schoolgirls. Since police were so brazenly refusing to enforce the (possibly inadequate) laws to protect these schoolgirls, what other avenues were open to

⁶³Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

⁶⁴Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

⁶⁵Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece

concerned organisations to stop the grooming activities? We have seen from the events in Bradford in 2003 and 2004, that the Muslim community would not do anything to stop the gangs. Thus, at this stage, the only option left would have been to educate the schoolgirls about how the grooming gangs work, so that the schoolgirls could possibly protect themselves from being victimised, when everyone else had failed them. It is no surprise that, over the many years that these grooming gangs were operating, Sikhs had often resorted to violence to stop the grooming gangs.

4.13 2008 My Dangerous Loverboy

In September 2010, the Serious Organised Crime Agency announced the launch of:

a film designed to protect children and young people who might be vulnerable to sexual exploitation is launched today. “My Dangerous Loverboy” tells the story of a young girl who is groomed and sexually exploited by an older man before being trafficked around the UK between groups of men. **The film is aimed at professionals - including front line police officers, child support workers, and teachers - who are in a position to spot warning signs and to help prevent this kind of exploitation taking place.**⁶⁶ (emphasis added)

This announcement by SOCA is not the success it appears. By any measure, this project has been a failure.⁶⁷ The film was first mooted

⁶⁶“My Dangerous Loverboy’ film launched to combat child sexual exploitation”, 21 Sep 2010, <http://www.soca.gov.uk/news/276-my-dangerous-loverboy-film-launched-to-combat-child-sexual-exploitation>.

⁶⁷The website associated with *My Dangerous Loverboy* appears to have come into existence on 24 Jan 2011 (that is the earliest copy of the site to be found in the Internet Archive <http://web.archive.org/web/20110124230909/http://www.mydangerousloverboy.com/>.) Moreover, it appears that this website and the availability of this ver-

in 2008, and was to be shown to the schoolgirls themselves. But by 2010, we see that SOCA is talking about the film being targeted at teachers, police officers, and social workers. After decades which showed that the police would not protect the victims, the schoolgirls were not even to be provided with the educational materials once these materials had been produced. To this day, there is no evidence that the film has ever been shown to schoolgirls by the schools or anyone else.⁶⁸

The first version of the film was ready by July 2008, but a scene showing drug-taking was removed. The final version was handed over to the UK Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC) in February 2009. At this point, the film was shown to selected schoolgirls, but was never subsequently shown to the potential victims.

Trial screenings took place in a number of Sheffield secondary schools to widespread praise, but viewings have subsequently been restricted to professionals working in the field of child sexual exploitation. It is understood that the centre, part of the Serious Organised Crime Agency, now hopes to have the film ready to be

sion of the film is a cut-down version of the original film. See “**Shock at Teesside child trafficking discovery**”, *Gazette Live*, 12 Feb 2011, <http://www.gazettelive.co.uk/news/local-news/shock-teesside-child-trafficking-discovery-3682920>. One of the producers, David Grant,

now believes more needs to be done to get the film into schools and youth centres. He added: “Part of the problem is that in many cases the victims have no idea they have been exploited. We need to educate, and use education, to make young people aware that this is a very real threat.” [...] Now, the team behind the project are using social networking and the internet to increase awareness of the issue. Grant added: “A shorter, pop-video-type version of the film is available on our website and we want it to be promoted on twitter and facebook as much as possible.”

⁶⁸ Andrew Norfolk, “**Anger as educational film on grooming withheld**”, *The Times*, 21 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article2883087.ece>.

shown in schools next year.⁶⁹

What is clear from the synopsis of the film, is that by 2008 UKHTC and SOCA were aware of the nature of the grooming gang phenomenon: “The 20-minute drama... examines the relationship between a young white girl and an Asian man who initially poses as her boyfriend before luring her into a world of parties, alcohol and drugs, then sells her to be used for sex by several older men.”⁷⁰ The title of the film was taken from the name the euphemistic concept the Dutch use to describe their country’s problem with Muslim grooming gangs.⁷¹ There are 3 significant facets to this:

1. Schools in the Netherlands do at least provide some training to schoolgirls so they can learn how to identify the grooming gangs’ activities, and thus they can perhaps protect themselves from being entrapped by the gangs:

Anita visits schools to warn girls exactly what a lover boy looks like, and makes no bones of the fact that most of the gangs are operated by Dutch-born Moroccan and Turkish men. “I am not politically correct. I am not afraid of being called a racist, which would be untrue. I tell the girls that lover boys are young, dark-skinned and very good looking. They will have lots of money and bling as well as a big car. They will give out cigarettes

⁶⁹ Andrew Norfolk, “**Anger as educational film on grooming withheld**”, *The Times*, 21 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article2883087.ece>.

⁷⁰ Andrew Norfolk, “**Anger as educational film on grooming withheld**”, *The Times*, 21 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article2883087.ece>. We can infer from this that before 2008 UKHTC were aware of the specific characteristics of the Muslim grooming gangs. The *Sikh Awareness Society* have posted *My Dangerous Loverboy* on YouTube. They have added captions to strengthen the message, as the video is far too subtle and ambiguous considering the seriousness of the problem. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kjwvo8HlqyM>.

⁷¹ See section 2.5 [International Dimensions](#) for an overview of the Dutch problem with grooming gangs.

and vodka.”⁷²

The situation in the Netherlands is clearly less toxic than in Britain, since the schoolgirls are given some warning and instructions (however euphemistic the concept of “loverboy” might be). It would be better still if parents and society as a whole were given this information, so that others could keep a watchful eye out for signs that a schoolgirl is being groomed for prostitution.

2. The fact that the British institutions are using the same euphemistic concept employed by the Dutch proves the child-care professionals and national agencies in Britain know that the problem is not unique to Britain, and these organisations know that in the Netherlands the perpetrators are not Pakistani Muslims but mainly Moroccan and Turkish Muslims. This shows the lie to all the reporting that this is “Asian gangs” and that the cause of it is “Asian culture.”

3. Since the Serious Organised Crime Agency (the agency in control of UKHTC) were cognisant of the similarity of the religious characteristics *and* the modus operandi of the gangs in Britain and Holland, we must ask: why is this not considered to be “serious organised crime”?⁷³ Organised criminal behaviour, replicated in a country neighbouring Britain, surely falls within the remit of SOCA: many of the reports on the grooming gangs in Britain point out that the gangs are not only involved in grooming, rape and pimping, but they are also connected with drug-dealing. One is left wondering, just what constitutes “serious crime” for SOCA? These gangs could be making millions of pounds every year, and there is no indication that any police force is trying to break them up by tracking their finances.

⁷²Sue Reid “**A Feminist Revolution that Cruelly Backfired**”, *The Daily Mail*, 23 Nov 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2237170/Why-Amsterdams-legal-brothels-lesson-Britain-telling-truth-sex-gangs-race.html>

⁷³We will argue later that the pimping activities and other criminal activities of these gangs appear to generate huge amounts of money for the gangs.

The creation of this educational film and the failure to ensure it was delivered to its intended audience, shows very significant failures on the part of SOCA, CEOP, and UKHTC. That the same “loverboy” concept was used, shows that the official national police agencies were aware of the similarities between what is going on in Britain and what is going on in the Netherlands.

4.14 2008 BBC *Panorama*: Teenage Sex For Sale

On 27 March 2008, *Panorama* produced a documentary for BBC TV, which dealt with the Muslim grooming gangs. All the features that were to be recognised by Parliament in 2013, are to be found in this documentary. However, we can see from the way in which the documentary was summarised and reviewed at the time (and indeed, from the way the documentary was edited), that every effort was being made to ignore the elephant in the room: the gangs in the documentary were Muslim men, and the victims were white girls. For instance, the BBC’s own review of the programme does not once mention that the gangs are “Asian” or “Muslim”, nor does it mention that the schoolgirls being targeted are overwhelmingly Caucasian.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, this documentary was a significant milestone: unlike the *Edge of the City* documentary, it was not forced into being withdrawn. And unlike the *Edge of the City* documentary, where the grooming gangs were only part of a bigger story, *Panorama* devoted an entire programme to the subject. It thus appears that *Panorama* were able to circumvent the pressure heaped on *Channel 4* by making sure that only the most tangential reference was made to “Asians” in the

⁷⁴See *Panorama*’s own summaries of the programme here <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/7302713.stm> and here <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/7314696.stm>. Interestingly, one story used the concept of the children being “sex slaves” Kathryn Knight, “**Is political correctness stopping police ending the misery of the teenage sex slaves?**”, *Daily Mail*, 27 Mar 2008, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-546809/Is-political-correctness-stopping-police-ending-misery-teenage-sex-slaves.html>.

context of this documentary.

The documentary follows a small, dedicated Lancashire Police unit round Burnley. Significantly, almost no mention is made of the contrast between the ethnicity of the perpetrators and the victims, and where there is the opportunity to draw attention to this, circumlocution is instead used within the narrative.⁷⁵ It is not until one-third of the way through the documentary, that a throwaway remark from a police officer indicates that there is any significance to the ethnicity of the perpetrators and the victims: “Within a minute she’s changed her story, from waiting for her Dad to waiting for her boyfriend, in an Asian area [...] Police are suspicious - they have intelligence of an Asian man using this name, has been grooming girls.”⁷⁶ It is only then, in retrospect, that one remembers that the men shown earlier, convicted for having sex with teenage girls over a prolonged period, were *both Asian*, and that this might be the theme of this documentary.⁷⁷ Thus both the documentary (and the material discussing the documentary) have gone out of their way *not* to address this contrast in ethnicity.

Mohammed Shafiq is interviewed in this documentary, and in the following years he was to be almost the only Muslim spokesman in Britain to speak out about the gangs. Whilst the programme again avoids the issue that the gangs are composed almost entirely of “Asian” (i.e. Muslim) men, that they are interviewing a Muslim about this, and he is pointing out that it is white girls who the gangs are after, suggests that this is indeed the same phenomenon which CEOP

⁷⁵“Authorities are already alert to the danger posed by individual paedophiles. But now they are concerned that evidence from some local communities points to an even more sinister threat: organised sexual exploitation of children by ruthless criminal gangs.” http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=zpDfoDsZU_M&t=324. It seems clear that “local communities” is some kind of code.

⁷⁶ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zpDfoDsZU_M&t=206.

⁷⁷ At the point where the photographs of the convicted criminals was shown, no mention is made of them being Asian or Muslim, and no mention is made of the ethnicity of the victims. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4m55ZCSWQ2M&t=351>.

claim to have first “uncovered” in 2011, and which they named “localised grooming.” Later on in the documentary, Mohammed Shafiq states that the police are being too cautious in pursuing these criminals because they fear being accused of racism,⁷⁸ showing once again how political correctness hinders the police and facilitates the grooming gangs.

The implicit subject of the documentary is that gangs of Muslim men are systematically grooming and pimping young white girls. The money being made from these activities seems considerable. Mohammed Shafiq says that having seen a drop in their income from drug-related crime, the gangs are supplementing their income by prostituting young white girls, where £200 to £300 is charged for the girl.⁷⁹ Prof. Barrett, from Bedfordshire University is interviewed,⁸⁰ and says he has no doubt that the grooming of the schoolgirls is orchestrated, and that the younger “the woman” the higher the price. He says that he thinks the gangs are earning “significantly more” than “tens of thousands of pounds” per schoolgirl each year. The girls describe how they were prostituted on an industrial scale, comparing what happened to them as being made to have sex with a new customer as soon as the previous one had left, being on a metaphorical “conveyor belt.”⁸¹ When asked if she was paid for any of this, the girl replied that she wasn’t. She also made it clear that if she hadn’t done what was required, she would have been imprisoned until she complied. These two factors indicate that this is far more like sex slavery than it is like prostitution. Once again, there were implications here which the documentary could have taken up, but does not.

The *Panorama* programme states that, at a national level police

⁷⁸<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFIfcTqBsZc&t=1634> .

⁷⁹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=zpDfoDsZU_M&t=345.

⁸⁰ http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=zpDfoDsZU_M&t=432.

⁸¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=zpDfoDsZU_M&t=377.

have concentrated on prosecuting those who traffic young women into the UK for sex, and on internet grooming and pornography; but that the police agencies have ignored British girls being trafficked internally, and ignored the real-world grooming in preference for concentrating on online grooming.⁸² A representative from CROP is interviewed in the *Panorama* documentary, and she makes it clear that whenever the problem arises in an area it is treated as a short-term and purely local problem. And once an individual, local case appears to have been resolved⁸³, resources are taken away and the problem is then ignored.⁸⁴ Detective Whelan states in the *Panorama* documentary, that information is the vital resource needed by the police in order to bring prosecutions.⁸⁵

After the *Panorama* documentary was broadcast, questions were asked in the House of Lords. Talking about the levels of violence used by the gangs, Lord McColl of Dulwich reiterated: “Children are much more frightened of the pimps than they are of the law, and the violence that they suffer is terrible. One girl had boiling water held above her throat; another had her tongue nailed to a table.”⁸⁶ Sadly,

⁸²http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=zpDfoDsZU_M&t=510.

⁸³By “resolved” this almost certainly does not mean the gang have been convicted, since at this time (2008), there had been no more than 14 convictions in 11 years. In the Bradford scandal of 2003, it was reported that 30 white girls had been groomed and raped, over an 18 month period, in that one town. See section 4.8 2003 Bradford/Keighley.

⁸⁴“This problem is seemingly not taken seriously and not understood, because if it was understood people in authority would realise... it needs long-term investment... these men are in it for the long-run.” Sarah Lloyd, CROP, “**Panorama: Teenage Sex for Sale**”, BBC, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_VdoT12Fwgw&t=77. This was also observed by Sunny Hundal, in connection with the controversy in Bradford in 2004, see section 4.10 2005 Radio 5 programme.

⁸⁵http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=RFIfcTqBsZc&t=1543. It should be obvious that such information needs to be collated and disseminated by a national police agency for the benefit of other forces and agencies, which once again highlights the failings of SOCA and CEOP.

⁸⁶<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200708/ldhansrd/text/80403-0006.h>

this was in the context of a debate about HIV, rather than a full debate on the grooming gangs; but what this indicates, is that politicians were aware of the contents of this documentary, but still the scandal of the grooming gangs could be ignored by Parliament for another 5 years. The BBC reported that “the government has said it will produce a warning video for use in all schools.”⁸⁷ We assume that this refers to the video we discussed in section 4.13 2008 [My Dangerous Loverboy](#): a video which has never been shown to its intended audience.

At one point in the documentary, the police speak to some of the men in cars hanging around the teenage girls: the men make it clear they blame the parents for allowing these girls out, and that they definitely do not attribute any blame to the adult men having sex with the under-age girls. Whilst the ethnicity of the men remains concealed, we can infer from their stated attitudes that they are almost certainly Asian, and very probably Muslim Asians. “I blame the parents.... they should keep them [the girls] locked up at home... if my sister went out like that I’d kick the fuck out of her and send her back home... That’s the proper way, that’s how we should be.”⁸⁸ This man’s cultural values are those of a society where the women are constrained in the home, and where any woman or girl who is outside the home is available for sex. And the way in which the women and girls are to be constrained within the home is by extreme violence should they disobey (so-called “honour violence”). The interviewee sees these as the “proper” cultural and moral values.⁸⁹ What we are

tm.

⁸⁷“**Teenage Sex For Sale: Panorama**”, BBC website, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/7302713.stm>

⁸⁸<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFIfcTqBsZc&t=1518>.

⁸⁹Of course, our society does not (yet) have the other values that go with such cultural norms: blood feuds, communal violence and vendettas. Interestingly enough, when Muslims were grooming Sikh schoolgirls in 1988, 2001 and 2013, the Sikhs did initiate “communal violence”, speaking to Muslim grooming gangs in what they would understand as “the proper way.”

witnessing is the inevitable failure of the cowardly policy of “multiculturalism”: these Asian men are simply applying the traditional values of their culture, in a society which permits them to get away with abusing its tolerance, freedom and openness. If these men found that their daughters and sisters had been groomed and raped, they make it clear they would employ violence, rather than seek a civilised solution. As we will see later, when one examines Islamic morality and the history of Muslim culture, there is a deep tradition within Muslim culture for sex-slavery. Just as the men in the documentary see violence and the oppression of females as acceptable modern values, why should we be surprised if Muslims in Britain also perpetuate Islamic attitudes to sex-slavery? Multiculturalism tells such people: there’s nothing wrong with your values.

In connection with the *Panorama* documentary, the BBC publicised a list of signs that indicate a child is being groomed:⁹⁰ “change in performance at school in a short time” or “using street language” or having “a street name” are given as indicators. Once again, an opportunity is missed: parents and schoolgirls could be informed about indicators that a girl is being entrapped. However, what should perhaps be the most obvious signal - a young white girl having adult “Asian” male friends - is not listed as a warning sign. Perhaps thousands of girls became victims of these gangs, because such opportunities were not taken, because the professionals involved feared the false accusation of “racism”.

At this time, the BBC also distributed a document by Prof. Barrett called *Abused Girls: What Do We Know?*⁹¹ In this document he points out:

1. That in 1885 W.T.Stead of the Pall Mall Gazette exposed how 13 year old girls could be bought and put into a life of prostitution. Even though Stead did this to prove a point and for

⁹⁰ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/7314444.stm>.

⁹¹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/27_03_08_whatwewknow.pdf.

the sake of the girls, he was imprisoned for this in the 19th century.

2. The Children's Act (1989) enshrined the principle that in a court the welfare of a child must come before those of an adult but that this "appears to give way to operational caveats such as wider issues of culture, politics and geography."

The implication is clear: the political expedient of pretending that there is "community cohesion" and "multiculturalism" overrides the aims of the 1989 Children's Act. The well-being, and even the actual lives, of children are being sacrificed on the altar of multiculturalism. If W.T.Stead was to see the cowardice of 21st century journalists, he would weep. Would any contemporary journalist risk prison to demonstrate the existence of this modern sex-slavery?

4.15 2009 Rise of English Defence League

In March 2009, a local group formed calling itself "The United People of Luton", began to protest against Muslims who had gathered to abuse and spit at soldiers at a homecoming parade in Luton earlier that year. A few months later this group went national, and the United People of Luton became "The English Defence League" (EDL).⁹² Whilst the EDL's original focus had been Muslim extremists who showed loyalty to Muslims globally rather than to the country of which they were citizens, it was not long before the EDL were also campaigning against the Muslim grooming gangs, and the failure of the police and child-care professionals to do anything to stop the gangs. These demonstrations focussed on Blackpool, after the 2009 Independent Police Complaints Commission ruling, that the trial against two Muslim men for the murder of schoolgirl Charlene Downes collapsed when "the investigating team were guilty of a

⁹²Dominic Casciani, "Who are the English Defence League?", *BBC News*, 11 Sep 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/8250017.stm>.

strategic and tactical failure in the management of the audio and video material they obtained...”⁹³

None of the official accounts of how the nation woke up to the grooming gang phenomenon mention the effect of the EDL, but it is clear that the EDL were protesting about this issue throughout 2010. On 3 August 2010, the local Blackpool newspaper reported that “more than 150 members of the English Defence League (EDL), which exists to shun Islam, protested on St Chad’s Headland, in South Shore – claiming to be demonstrating for justice for missing schoolgirl Charlene Downes.”⁹⁴ By May 2011, the EDL had held three demonstrations in Blackpool, focussing on the case of Charlene Downes in particular, but also with reference to the wider problem concerning Muslim grooming gangs.⁹⁵ The third EDL demonstration in Blackpool had over 2000 EDL protesters present.⁹⁶

Between the EDL’s first demonstration about Muslim grooming gangs in Blackpool in 2010 and their third demonstration in 2011 Andrew Norfolk began to report on the grooming gangs (after a long period where we can find very little from him on this issue). It is hard to establish whether the EDL were the cause of this turnaround, but certainly they were campaigning very

⁹³Graham Smith, “Police rapped for blunders in murder case of girl ‘turned into kebab meat’”, *The Daily Mail*, 16 Oct 2009, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1220815/Police-disciplined-blunders-murder-case-girl-turned-kebabs.html>.

⁹⁴“Far right protest in Blackpool”, *Blackpool Gazette*, 3 Aug 2010, <http://www.blackpoolgazette.co.uk/news/local/far-right-protest-in-blackpool-1-1567006>.

⁹⁵“On Saturday 26 March [2011] the EDL will hold a third demo in Blackpool to demand justice for Charlene Downes.” Musings of a Durotrigan, “**Blackpool EDL Demo: Justice for Charlene Downes**”, 14 Mar 2011, <http://durotrigan.blogspot.co.uk/2011/03/blackpool-edl-demo-justice-for-charlene.html>. In an ideal world, we would cite references to pages on the EDL’s website, but since 2010 their website has been taken down many times by Islamic cyber-terrorists, thus we must turn to secondary websites for information concerning the EDL’s activities in these years.

⁹⁶“**2,000 EDL protesters gather on Blackpool Promenade**”, *Blackpool Gazette*, 28 May 2011, http://www.blackpoolgazette.co.uk/news/local/2_000_edl_protesters_gather_on_blackpool_promenade_1_3428595.

visibly on this issue in the months before Norfolk wrote an article *The Times* attributed with transforming the attitude of politicians and child-care professionals. We are gratified to see that the case on the disappearance of Charlene Downes is now being re-opened.⁹⁷

4.16 2011 Andrew Norfolk's pivotal article

In January 2011, Andrew Norfolk wrote an article for *The Times* newspaper which is claimed to have formed a watershed.⁹⁸ He went back through all the court cases for convictions of groups of men who groomed schoolgirls for sex. Between 1997 and 2010, he found 56 men who fit this criterion. Only 5 out of the 56 men convicted were not Muslims. Muslims are less than 5% of the population, but in Norfolk's retrospective survey, they were 91% of those convicted. An extraordinary statistical inversion such as this demands further investigation.⁹⁹ On the basis of this and related articles, Norfolk received two coveted prizes from his peers for investigative journalism.¹⁰⁰

It is the evidence from this article by Norfolk which is credited with prompting the government to have a Select Committee investigate the grooming gangs.

⁹⁷Andrew Norfolk, “**New inquiry ten years after sex crime victim Charlene Downes vanished**”, *The Times*, 1 Nov 2013, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3909960.ece>.

⁹⁸Andrew Norfolk, “**Revealed: conspiracy of silence on UK sex gangs**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article2863058.ece>

⁹⁹The prosecutions Norfolk used to perform his analysis are almost certainly the tip of the iceberg. As we have noted, the charity CROP estimates there are 10,000 victims in the UK. Paul Vallye, “**Child Sex Grooming: the Asian Question**”, *The Independent*, 10 May 2012 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/child-sex-grooming-the-Asian-question-7729068.html>.

¹⁰⁰<http://theorwellprize.co.uk/shortlists/andrew-norfolk/>. In 2012 Norfolk also received the Paul Foot Award for his journalism on the grooming gangs. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Foot_Award.

There was little media coverage of the issue in the intervening years but in [November] 2010 there were two trials which again saw groups of Asian men convicted for sexual offences against white British girls...The first of the series of Andrew Norfolk's Times articles on the subject was published several days before the ringleaders in the Derby case were sentenced and listed 17 trials that had been identified as prosecutions related to localised grooming. In all but one of the trials, the offenders were identified as being Asian, mostly British Pakistani, and the victims were predominantly white.¹⁰¹

Between 2004 and 2010, we can find no trace of Andrew Norfolk reporting on these grooming gangs, although Norfolk was certainly aware of the issue, as he reported on the controversy over *Channel 4's Edge of the City*.¹⁰² After reporting on that controversy, it wasn't until November 2010 that Norfolk again reported on the grooming gangs. Perhaps significantly, a few months before breaking this silence, Norfolk reported on the EDL demonstration in Bradford in August 2010.¹⁰³ Was it his experience of the EDL demonstration which led

¹⁰¹Home Affairs Select Committee report "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**", 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.53

¹⁰²Adam Sherwin and Andrew Norfolk "**Police get 'race' film postponed**", *The Times*, 21 May 2004 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article1923155.ece>. In an interview with the *Sikh Awareness Society* in 2012, Norfolk states that he moved back to Leeds around the time of the *Channel 4* controversies over grooming gangs in Bradford. He says that, after reporting on that controversy in 2004, in subsequent years he'd been aware of cases of Muslim grooming gangs across the country, but had not reported on them for fear of "giving the far-right their dream story." Andrew Norfolk, "**Reality of Sexual Grooming Gangs in the UK - interview of Andrew Norfolk and Sikh Awareness Society**", http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbUIfvYbjRc&feature=player_detailpage&t=301. Thus, we see Norfolk concede that it was the fear of aiding the BNP, an abuse of the narrative of racism by pressure groups which doomed vulnerable schoolgirls to a further decade of violence and forced prostitution.

¹⁰³Andrew Norfolk "**Missiles thrown as far-right rally turns violent in Bradford**",

Norfolk to investigate whether or not it could be established objectively that Muslim men were hugely over-represented among those convicted in grooming gang trials?

Whilst it is to Andrew Norfolk's credit that he conceived of this pivotal analysis in 2011, more recognition should be accorded to Julie Bindel, for continuing to write about this subject in 2007 and 2010, when every other journalist in Britain was avoiding it. As the references throughout our analysis show, since 2011 there have been hundreds of reports on the grooming gangs. But between 2004 and Norfolk's pivotal article in 2011, the reports on this subject could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The Times, 28 Aug 2010, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article2706209.ece>.

5. Systemic Institutional Failure

There's a culture here of denial and cover-up and a refusal to accept the reality that we have men ... who treat young girls as objects for their sexual pleasure. It's time to tell the truth. We must root out this evil.
– Denis MacShane MP, *The Times*, 2012

The parliamentary report published in 2013 acknowledges that there had been a decade of silence and inaction concerning the Muslim grooming gangs.

Ann Cryer was right. Since that time [2003], many more children have been abused because of the failures of the agencies and of the communities to address what was happening.¹

We disagree with this simplistic analysis. Ann Cryer was not entirely right: she blamed “Asian culture”, instead of Islam. Yet wherever a non-Muslim Asian has been convicted for grooming gang activities, such ethnicity has proven to be the exception not the norm. And furthermore, non-Muslim Asians have counted far more significantly among the victims of the grooming gangs than among the perpetrators.² There is not one case where it was non-Muslim men grooming Muslim girls, and that despite the fact that 95% of the men

¹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.52.

²“Though most of the girls targeted have been white, among the victims of a Pakistani gang in one city were several Bangladeshi Muslim girls.” Andrew Norfolk, “**Revealed: conspiracy of silence on UK sex gangs**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article2863058.ece>.

in Britain are not Muslims. Recently the Muslim Women's Network produced a report on the Asian children who were victims, and they had to admit that "Asian/Muslim female victims are most vulnerable to offenders from their own communities as the overwhelming majority of the offenders were from the same background as the victims."³ There is no evidence at all that non-Muslim men are grooming Muslim children, but ample evidence that Muslim men are directing their grooming at non-Muslim schoolgirls.

The first time we can find Ann Cryer making any public statement about the Muslim grooming gangs was in August 2003, once *Channel 4* began to mention this problem in their news report. It appears that there was already an officially recognised problem with the grooming gangs in West Yorkshire in 1995,⁴ but we can find no evidence that Ann Cryer discussed this problem publicly until *Channel 4* broke the story in 2003. As we have shown, by 2003 the problem with Muslim grooming gangs was known not only in West Yorkshire, but also in Derbyshire (see section 4.7 2001 Derby and "Real Caliphate"), and the Midlands (see section 4.1 1988 Sikh/Muslim violence), and in those reports it was not white schoolgirls who were being groomed, but Sikh girls. Did the professionals working at the *Streets and Lanes* project know about these reports? Did they know about the existence of the *Sikh Awareness Society*, established in 1998? If experts had publicly discussed that evidence relating to Sikh victims, then it would have been impossible to use the accusation of racism to silence the few white people who were trying to draw attention to the grooming gangs: it would have been clear to everyone that the issue was not Asian men grooming white schoolgirls, but Muslim men grooming non-Muslim schoolgirls.

In their 2013 report, the Home Affairs Select Committee claims

³Shaista Gohir MBE, "Unheard Voices: The Sexual Exploitation of Asian Girls and Young Women", September 2013, http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/go_files/resources/UnheardVoices.pdf, p.23.

⁴See section 4.4 1995 Bradford: *Streets and Lanes*.

that “communities” failed to deal with it. This cannot be interpreted as anything other than code for the phrase “the Muslim community failed to deal with it.”⁵ As we have seen, in 1988 Sikhs risked prison sentences to deal with it when the police failed to constrain the Muslim grooming gangs. In 1998, Sikhs created the *Sikh Awareness Society* in another attempt to stop their girls from falling prey to these gangs. Moreover, it is not beyond the realms of possibility, that the “race riots” which occurred in Bradford and Oldham in 2001 were initially caused by the indigenous working-class British communities trying to protest about these grooming gangs and the total failure of the state to stop these things.⁶ Thus, the only community who failed are the Muslim community. How could the community from which the victims came be accused of failure? No-one was prepared to warn parents that their 11 to 14 year old daughters would be targeted. Were parents to ferry their daughters to and from school every day, and ensure they were in the company of a trustworthy adult at all times? And if they were to impose these restrictions on their daughters, didn’t they have a right to be told why these restrictions were necessary? Those white people who tried to speak about the scandal were accused of “racism”.

We will now turn to examine the various local and national

⁵In 2013, Parliament concluded that the perception that it was “Asian” (i.e. Muslims) who were principally responsible for these crimes was not inaccurate. Shortly after this, the Muslim community were applauded in the national media for having “a sermon” against grooming gangs. However, the vast majority of the mosques in Britain did not take part in reading this sermon. There are 1500 to 2000 mosques in Britain, and only 500 read the sermon. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/7118503.stm>. Other mosques “shunned” the sermon: Ben Wilkinson, “**National sermon on child grooming shunned as a stunt by many Muslims in Oxford**”, *Oxford Mail*, 29 Jun 2013, http://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/10516465.National_sermon_on_child_grooming_shunned_as_a_stunt_by_many_Muslims_in_Oxford/.

⁶Given the lack of objective historical research on this subject, there is no indication that we will ever know the truth about those “race riots.” But one thing is clear: by the time of the 2001 “race riots”, Muslim grooming gangs had been operating with impunity in Bradford for 10 years.

agencies and what role they appear to have played in ensuring that the grooming gangs were able to go about their business for 10 to 25 years. Even when the state started to take the problem seriously from 2011 onwards, both the CEOP report and The Children's Commissioner report emphasized that many local authorities and other agencies involved in child protection did not respond to requests for data.⁷ This suggests that the campaign of fear orchestrated by the Left and racism groups still holds sway over many of those professionals whose principal concern should be the children for whom they are legally obligated to care.

5.1 Schools

The 2013 the parliamentary report noted (in bold text):

Teachers are more likely to see victims on a regular basis than almost any other professional. They will notice recurrent or prolonged absences and significant changes in behaviour. They are therefore key in identifying children at risk at an early stage and, by raising concerns at an early stage, being able to potentially stop the grooming process before the sexual exploitation has begun.⁸

As the reproductions in section 14. [Appendix 4: Leeds School Warning](#) and section 15. [Appendix 5: Sheffield School Warning](#) show, even in 2013 schools are still noticing Muslim grooming gangs hanging around school gates, with the implied fear that these "Asian men" are waiting to prey on schoolgirls during the transition between

⁷Home Affairs Select Committee report "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**", 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.10

⁸Home Affairs Select Committee report "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**", 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.48.

the safety of school and the safety of home. Muslim gangs hanging around in cars outside of schools is an identifiable pattern that goes as far back as 1988⁹ in Wolverhampton; yet we can think of no national campaign by teachers' unions to publicise such risks. As the parliamentary report said: **“The anecdotal evidence provided to the Committee indicates that teachers are often aware of child sexual exploitation and yet they do not seem to be raising concerns either with social services or the police.”**¹⁰ **Serious questions need to be asked over the failure of schools and teachers' unions and organisations in this regard.**¹¹

The accounts of the Sikh vigilante groups in the 1980s report that Muslim grooming gangs would wait in flashy cars outside schools. The report in *The Telegraph* of the incidents in Derby also claim that Muslims were being encouraged to mount a systematic campaign of seduction aimed at non-Muslim schoolgirls, where schools were to be considered an “ideal place” for Muslim men to meet, deceive and seduce non-Muslim girls.¹² Many other reports relate how the gangs use the period when schoolgirls travel from school to home, seeing this as a time of vulnerability where they can get access to the girls. Yet we are unable to find any evidence of schools mounting campaigns to stop this from happening.¹³ We can find no evidence

⁹See section 4.1 1988 Sikh/Muslim violence

¹⁰Home Affairs Select Committee report **“Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming”**, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.48. Emphasis added.

¹¹A quick glance at the website of the National Union of Teachers shows they are involved in campaigns for children and schools from Greece, to Columbia and Burma: <http://www.teachers.org.uk/international/campaigns>. There is every reason to have expected them to have initiated campaigns to protect schoolgirls in Britain from being groomed, raped, tortured and prostituted. A search of the NUT website for the term “grooming” only returned pages referring to children being groomed as consumers by advertisers. In an attempt to find any document by the NUT referring to the grooming gangs, searching their website for the term “sexual exploitation” was equally futile.

¹²See section 16. Appendix 6: Real Khilafah - Letter to Moslem Youth.

¹³ Andrew Norfolk cites a single instance from around 2001, when

that educational organisations or teaching unions have ever done anything to stop the grooming gangs or to draw public or state attention to them.

There is also evidence that even when it was impossible for teachers to fail to notice that groomed schoolgirls had had prolonged absence or were dishevelled in the classroom, teachers apparently did not act on the evidence in front of their eyes. Before the parliamentary committee, the Deputy Children Commissioner cited

a case of a victim who was being regularly abducted who was held for several days at a time and sometimes more than a week, without access to food, water or washing facilities. As a result, when released she would be dirty, covered in sores and ill, but on her return to school, nobody would question her about her physical state.¹⁴

School teachers have a legal duty to act *in loco parentis*. If this had been the story about a child whose parents ignored her absence for a week, and ignored her physical state on return, we would say they were unfit parents. If we view the teachers by this same standard, we must conclude that many of them are unfit to be *in loco parentis*.

In 2008, a government agency tasked with preventing human trafficking, commissioned the film *My Dangerous Loverboy* (about an “Asian” man who grooms a schoolgirl), with the intention that

the headmaster of a Rotherham secondary school sent a letter to parents warning that some of his pupils were being used by adults for sex. “Shocking facts are beginning to emerge regarding the systematic sexual exploitation of 13 to 16-year-old girls in our care,” he wrote. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>

However, whilst we should be thankful that this headmaster was at least doing this, we can find no evidence of any campaign by any school about what was going on outside their school-gates in the last 25 years.

¹⁴Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.48

this film be shown to 13 to 14 year old schoolgirls.¹⁵ This film was never shown in schools. It is not clear to us if this is because of ideological objections by teachers and/or teachers' unions, but that seems a possible explanation. We do not believe that non-Muslim Asians found it objectionable, since the *Sikh Awareness Society* not only distribute the film, but have gone to the trouble of adding sub-titles to make the message more emphatic. Some of the biggest teachers unions in Britain, such as the NUT (National Union of Teachers) and the NASUWT (National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers) are major sponsors of *Unite Against Fascism*.¹⁶ Since teachers' unions are so heavily involved with this pressure group, it seems not implausible that the policies espoused by *Unite Against Fascism* strongly correlate with views of these teaching unions. When it came to stopping the documentary which first clearly addressed the problem of the grooming gangs, it is reported that "Colin Cramphorn, the then Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, joined groups such as *Unite against Fascism* in calling for the [2004] documentary to be withdrawn. Channel 4 complied..."¹⁷

¹⁵See section 4.13 [2008 My Dangerous Loverboy](#).

¹⁶A list of those supporting unions, representing the professionals in the media and teaching, can be found on the UAF's website. <http://uaf.org.uk/about/our-supporting-organisations/>. To see that this support is more than just financial, you can see evidence of the active involvement of the NUT in the work of the "anti-fascist" *Unite Against Fascism* across Britain: in London <http://uaf.org.uk/2012/04/nut-leader-Christine-blower-joins-election-campaign-against-fascists/>, in Ipswich <http://www.ipswichnut.org/2013/06/unite-against-fascism-public-meeting.html>, in Derby <http://cityofderbynut.blogspot.co.uk/2013/08/derby-uaf-relaunch-meeting-scheduled.html> and in Bolton <http://justice4bolton.org/2010/08/nut-complaint-o-police-and-uaf-demand-disclosure-from-police-authority/>. The General Secretary of the NASUWT speaks at UAF conferences <http://uaf.org.uk/2013/02/speakers-announced-for-conference/>, and national officers of both NUT and NASUWT are among the 13 officers of the UAF <http://uaf.org.uk/about/our-officers/>. The NUJ (National Union of Journalists) are also listed as major sponsors of *Unite Against Fascism*.

¹⁷Julie Bindel, "Gangs, Girls and Grooming: The Truth", Dec 2010, *Standpoint*, <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>. See also <http://www.telegraph.co.uk>

What part was played, if any, by teachers' unions or the UAF or individual teachers in preventing the distribution/viewing of *My Dangerous Loverboy*? The national police agencies responsible for child protection rightly made an attempt to stop the supply of victims to the grooming gangs. We must demand explanations why this educational film from 2009 was never seen in schools. Who knows how many thousands of schoolgirl victims could have been saved from rape and prostitution if the film had been widely seen by the intended audience? In this whole scandal, the failure to educate schoolgirls about the techniques of the gangs, something that the Netherlands has been doing for years, must rank as the single worst failure by child-care professionals. To the extent that the pool of victims have had any idea about the techniques of the gangs, and how to avoid entrapment, this knowledge would have been acquired in a haphazard way from those parents lucky enough to have an idea about the gangs' techniques. CEOP reports that it trains thousands of child-care professionals every year, but no training was ever passed on to the supply of victims, even though this was mooted over and over as a solution to the problem.

5.2 Local Councils

When the parliamentary committee reported on localised grooming, they singled out two local councils in particular for criticism: Rotherham and Rochdale.

Both Rochdale and Rotherham councils were inexcusably slow to realise that the widespread, organised sexual abuse of children, many of them in the care of the local authority, was taking place on their doorstep... That it took so long for anybody, at any level from the Chief Executive downward, to look at reports of young girls with multiple, middle-aged "boyfriends", hanging around

k/news/uknews/1462413/Race-fears-halt-film-on-Asian-sex-grooming.html.

takeaways, drinking and taking drugs, and to think that it might be worth investigating further, is shocking.¹⁸

In our opinion, this smacks of damage limitation at best, and government cover-up at worst. There are far more councils who are blameworthy, not just Rotherham and Rochdale. Furthermore, we maintain there is every reason to believe that local agencies needed the assistance of national agencies and pressure groups, not only to provide them with intelligence and guidance, but also to enable them to withstand the political pressure they would face at a local and national level, should the local agencies attempt to clamp down on the grooming gangs. Government departments and national agencies clearly knew what was going on with the grooming gangs as early as 1995 (with the funding of *Barnardo's Streets and Lanes* project), and as late as 2008 (with the funding of the educational film "My Dangerous Loverboy"). Having failed to execute any national policy over the past 15 years, it looks like the government is attempting a damage-limitation exercise, holding out that the problem is under control everywhere except Rotherham and Rochdale. The evidence which has emerged about the failings at Rotherham and Rochdale councils will no doubt be found elsewhere if other councils are subjected to scrutiny. It was not just the Chief Executives of these two councils who claimed ignorance of the grooming gangs or showed no interest in responding to them. Let us look at some of the criticisms around Rochdale council.

The Parliamentary inquiry reported that:

Roger Ellis, who was Chief Executive of the Council [in Rochdale] for 12 years, told us that the first he had heard of the issues around child sexual exploitation in Rochdale was in 2010 following arrests which had been made in

¹⁸Home Affairs Select Committee report "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**", 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.27.

December as part of Operation Span.¹⁹

And the Assistant Director for Children’s Social Care said he was unaware of the scale of the grooming problem until arrests in 2010; yet he had worked for Rochdale Social Services for 11 years.²⁰ A group was set up in 2007 to analyse information about the scale of localised grooming in the borough, and led to the prosecution of three men. Following this investigation, in 2008 it was recommended that “a multi-agency team” be set up “as a matter of urgency.” This team did not become operational until 2010, allegedly because of “funding and staffing” issues.²¹ Yet there were staff who gave evidence to the parliamentary inquiry who said that social services in Rochdale knew about the problem as far back as 2004, and nothing was done.

In 2012, the mother of one of the victims testified at the trial of Rochdale men accused of grooming offences, and she said that the council social services team knew of the problems as far back as 2002.²² She went on to say:

I wanted the three of them [my daughters] to be put into child protection but they wouldn’t do it. I must have called in to social services eight or nine times and phoned them lots of times.

¹⁹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.22

²⁰Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.23.

²¹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.21

²²Nigel Bunyan, “**Rochdale Grooming Trial: Police Knew about Sex Abuse in 2002 but Failed to Act**”, *The Telegraph*, 9 May 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9254982/Rochdale-grooming-trial-police-knew-about-sex-abuse-in-2002-but-failed-to-act.html>.

As we saw with the *Channel 4* controversy about Bradford in 2003, and with Julie Bindel’s report about Blackburn, Leeds and Sheffield in 2007, the case in Oxford case in May 2013, parents across the country were trying in vain to get the councils and the police to take action. Thus, inaction and denial by staff at Rochdale were by no means unique to that area.

In a local inquiry into what had gone wrong in Rochdale, they found that the council did not seriously discuss the issue of grooming until 2010, and then only once 4 arrests had been made:

Social workers weren’t sure how to tackle the problem.
“Staff advised they did not know what to do about CSE and how to deal with it”.²³

The report goes on to say that one of the police inspectors involved in Rochdale “concluded the abuse could have been stopped if only the authorities had stepped in sooner.” Once again, we see the pernicious effect of the abuse of the racism narrative. For 6 years after the council’s child-care professionals were first informed about the Muslim grooming gangs, they and the police did not act. And having been scared into inaction, councils then tried to conceal the fact that they had failed in their duty of child protection. **Both Ofsted and the Home Affairs Select Committee found that some of the councils who have come under scrutiny have deliberately tried to conceal information in order to defend themselves and their staff from criticism over their failure to protect the children in their care.**²⁴

The failings by those councils and police forces are just part of a much bigger problem. Before 2011, where was the national debate

²³Chris Jones, “**Rochdale grooming scandal: ‘Lack of care that shames our town’**”, *Manchester Evening News*, 24 May 2013, <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/rochdale-grooming-scandal-lack-care-4011687>.

²⁴Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> pp.18-19.

about this problem? Where was the analysis and guidance from national agencies? With no fear of exposure, no fear of censure, councils and police forces could just ignore what was going on.

Let us now consider some of the events around Rotherham council. Following the murder of Laura Wilson in 2010 by the Muslim man who made her pregnant, Rotherham Council's "Safeguarding Children Board" produced a report into the murder.²⁵ In Rotherham, council staff were adhering to the politically-correct line, which had been used to rule out *a priori* any consideration that cultural/ethnic values could play any part in this new phenomenon. Andrew Norfolk got access to an unpublished 2010 report into "four victims, aged from 13 to 16, [who] suffered relentless sexual abuse over months and even years before a criminal investigation was launched." But once again, political correctness blinkered the staff, who concluded in the report that:

although the alleged perpetrators are of Asian origin and the victims are white, this is the factuality of these cases alone; nothing more can be drawn from that. **It is imperative that suggestions/allusions of a wider cultural phenomenon are avoided. These assertions are without foundation.**²⁶ (emphasis added)

Thus, facts on disparities in ethnicity were admitted, but it is commanded that these facts about disparities must be shorn of all significance. Imagine a criminal investigation, or a medical procedure, where facts are observed and admitted, but it is commanded that they must not be allowed to have any meaning or any implications. There

²⁵Daniel Miller, "Social workers hid fact they knew teenage mother was at risk from sex grooming gangs SIX YEARS before she was brutally murdered", *The Daily Mail*, 7 Jun 2012 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2155823/Social-workers-hid-fact-knew-teenage-mother-risk-sex-grooming-gangs-SIX-YEARS-brutally-murdered.html>.

²⁶Andrew Norfolk, "Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal", *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

was a conscious refusal to follow where the facts might lead.²⁷

In another instance, Rotherham Council went so far to cover their tracks, they initiated legal action to prevent a leaked copy of a relevant report from being used by *The Times*. The uncensored copy of the report showed that the council had known that from the age of 11, Laura Wilson was at risk of being groomed by Pakistani men. They failed to act on information they had which could have protected her from grooming. Then they actively attempted to stop anyone making any connection between grooming gangs and Muslim men. **They concealed this information, and even initiated legal action to maintain the concealment when it looked like it was to become public knowledge.**²⁸

But it wasn't just Rotherham Council where political correctness served to blinker the staff. A report at the end of 2013 into the failings of child-care professionals at Rochdale council stated that the staff were obsessed with the politically-correct notion that race could not be considered as a factor:

What is absent is any evidence that practitioners attempted to understand why the fact that the men were "Asian" might in fact have been relevant and legitimate for consideration. There is little evidence that practitioners asked questions as to why quite well

²⁷We are confident that this behaviour can be found throughout the agencies responsible for the impunity with which the grooming gangs operated. When the facts could not be ignored, they would be deemed to have no significance. There may not be a paper trail proving this throughout all the agencies, but nothing short of wilful blindness can explain the decades of inactivity.

²⁸"The council went to court in an attempt to tried to suppress the hidden information after a uncensored copy of the report was leaked to the Times newspaper but they have now abandoned legal action." Daniel Miller, "**Social workers hid fact they knew teenage mother was at risk from sex grooming gangs SIX YEARS before she was brutally murdered**", *The Daily Mail*, 7 Jun 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2155823/Social-workers-hid-fact-knew-teenage-mother-risk-sex-grooming-gangs-SIX-YEARS-brutally-murdered.html>.

established social and racial boundaries were being crossed so frequently. Questions could have been legitimately asked as to whether “friendships” between middle aged “Asian” men and predominantly socially disadvantaged and “challenging” white teenagers required further examination.²⁹

Moreover, grooming gang cases have gone to trial as far afield as Oxford, Bristol, Newcastle, and Ipswich. And in some of these cases, the victims and their families have claimed that they notified the child-care services in their area, but nothing was done. There are very strong reasons to believe that the behaviour of child-care professionals in Rochdale and Rotherham was replicated across the country for years. CROP estimated that there were 10,000 victims of child sexual exploitation. Yet, over a 25 year period, only around 100 men have been convicted in grooming gang cases. If CROP’s estimates are accurate, then it seems likely that at most councils political correctness led to staff not seeing, not speaking, not acting.

What could possibly motivate child-care professionals to allow schoolgirls to suffer this abuse for so many years, and then be so deeply in denial that these professionals would demand that no-one even discuss the ethnicity of the gang members? Did the pressure brought to bear on *Channel 4* over the documentary *Edge of the City* scare child-care professionals into compromising their integrity? Were the officials of public-service trade unions, supporters of UAF, putting pressure on council workers to turn a blind eye? Did the theoretical framework taught in social work degrees/in-service training encourage these child-care professionals to view the schoolgirls as willing sexual agents and to view the Muslim grooming activity as part of the rich diversity of multicultural Britain? Was it

²⁹John Bingham, “‘Colour blind’ social workers couldn’t see glaring racial clues to Rochdale sex abuse”, *The Telegraph*, 20 Dec 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10529794/Colour-blind-social-workers-couldnt-see-glaring-racial-clues-to-Rochdale-sex-abuse.html>.

that Muslim and/or other councillors encouraged the child-care departments to implement a policy of “see no evil” where the Muslim grooming gangs were concerned? These are not rhetorical questions. Across Britain, thousands of government and local government services ask people racial profiling questions every single day, but when it comes to understanding a new and very serious form of organised crime, it was not an option for child-care professionals to even observe a glaring dichotomy between the ethnicity of the perpetrators and the victims. As the local MP for Rotherham said: “There is a culture here of denial and cover-up.”³⁰ A thorough investigation is needed into what forces were responsible for child-care professionals abandoning schoolgirls to be systematically groomed and raped by Muslim gangs across Britain.

For more than a decade, this kind of refusal to acknowledge specifics was to be found not just in council staff, but also across police forces, national agencies, children’s charities, and the media. When the BBC reported on the banning of *Edge of the City* they reported it as a “race documentary”, thus aligning themselves and most of the national debate with the ideology that only a racist would observe that the victims were overwhelmingly white, and the perpetrators overwhelmingly Muslim. The first prosecution in the Bradford area did not occur until 2005, fourteen years after Andrew Norfolk says that the child-care professionals there knew that “British Pakistani men” were collecting girls from a children’s home, and prostituting them.³¹ It is a staggering catalogue of failure, and sometimes even deception, across many councils in Britain.

³⁰Andrew Norfolk, “Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.1> ce.

³¹“Reality of Sexual Grooming Gangs in the UK - interview of Andrew Norfolk and Sikh Awareness Society” http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbUIfvYbjRc&feature=player_detailpage&t=1323. Rotherham council staff first knew about this phenomenon in 1996.

The claims made by *Channel 4* in 2003 about what was going on in Bradford, should have meant that Bradford council too became the subject of inquiry. The situation in Bradford from 1991 to 2013 has not come in for any of the scrutiny to which Rochdale and Rotherham were subjected. Yet given the claims of Bradford Council and West Yorkshire Police in 2004 that “there was no evidence” to support the claim that there were Muslim grooming gangs in operation, it is clear that they too were probably involved in denial just as much as agencies in Rotherham and Rochdale. Once the controversy over the *Channel 4* documentary died down, West Yorkshire Police closed down the special investigative unit. And just after the Home Affairs Select Committee wound down its investigations (March 2013), we saw a major grooming gang from Oxford convicted (May 2013). The evidence that came out in that case showed that the local council had been passive for years when it came to the Muslim grooming gangs.³² And the behaviour of that grooming gang set a new standard in the public recognition of how horrific the treatment of the girls had been. Yet the councils and chief executives of Bradford and Oxford have not been pilloried. Moreover, in 2013 Muslim women in the West Midlands claimed there was extensive grooming going on in that area, yet the Midlands has come in for no criticism, even though that is where the *Sikh Awareness Society* started in the 1990s in order to stop the grooming gangs, and it was the Midlands where the first news reports of grooming were to occur in the 1980s.

So, we do not believe that what was happening in Rochdale and Rotherham was very different from the rest of the country. *The Daily Mirror* investigation in 2013 regarding which police forces currently have active investigations into grooming gangs, showed that Thames Valley police had 14 current investigations. We believe that the

³² Harriet Arkell, “**My mother begged Oxford social services to rescue me from sex abuse NINE YEARS AGO**”, *Daily Mail*, 15 May 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2324790/My-mother-begged-Oxford-social-services-rescue-sex-abuse-NINE-YEARS-AGO-Victim-known-Girl-C-13-says-claims-dismissed-inappropriate.html>.

records of child protection services in Bradford, Derby, Wolverhampton and Oxford should be subjected to scrutiny for evidence of indifference, denial, or concealment. From 1988 to 2008 there were scarcely any prosecutions, and those who spoke about the grooming gangs were either ignored or were accused of being racists. In this toxic atmosphere is it any wonder that council staff would decide to turn a blind eye to schoolgirls and parents begging for help, or that council staff would rationalise to themselves why they should ignore the glaring difference between the ethnicity of the perpetrators and the victims? If the CPS would not prosecute, and the council staff would be subject to allegations of “racism” or even disciplinary action, are we surprised that they chose to conceal this problem?

We cannot find evidence of any council or police force which, under the scrutiny of a Public Inquiry, could be singled out as having had an appropriate, adequate response to the problem during these years. The greater the size of the local Muslim population, the greater likelihood not only that grooming gangs were in operation, but also that there would be Muslim councillors and “community leaders” who would denounce anyone who spoke about these gangs. And the more left-wing councillors or MPs an area had, with their commitment to political correctness and multiculturalism, the more likely it would be that they too would join in with such a witch-hunt. At the conclusion of one of the biggest grooming gang trials, Ann Cryer explained that inactivity by police and social services was because they “were petrified of being called racist and so reverted to the default of political correctness.”³³ We shouldn’t be surprised by this, as the furore over *Edge of the City* showed in 2004, even the BBC were ready to imply that racism was involved in any allegations

³³Nigel Bunyan, “**Rochdale grooming trial: Police accused of failing to investigate paedophile gang for fear of appearing racist**”, *The Telegraph*, 8 May 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9253250/Rochdale-grooming-trial-Police-accused-of-failing-to-investigate-paedophile-gang-for-fear-of-appearing-racist.html>.

that Muslim grooming gangs were seducing and raping schoolgirls.³⁴

The parliamentary investigation seems determined to single out a handful of senior staff in just two councils for responsibility.

It is no excuse for Rochdale and Rotherham managers to say they had no knowledge of what was taking place, as they are ultimately responsible and must be held accountable for the appalling consequences of their lack of curiosity. Early retirement or resignation for other reasons should not allow them to evade responsibility and they must be held to account. In particular, we are deeply shocked by Roger Ellis' receiving £76,798.20 in redundancy payout. He should be required to repay it.³⁵

By all means, hold up the staff of these two councils as examples of the failure. But it should be recognised that all indicators point to this being a failure across the board, a systemic failure. Singling out individual Chief Executives is looking for scape-goats. We have national organisations who should have been paying attention when these claims were made between 1988 and 2003.³⁶ In fact, there is evidence to suggest that at a national level around 2007 there was a very good understanding of how these gangs were operating.³⁷

³⁴The BBC News website reported that the documentary "alleged the girls are showered with gifts then given heroin or crack cocaine and some allegedly subjected to rape", but then described this in the headline as a "race documentary." "**Campaign to Stop Race Documentary**", *BBC News website*, 17 Aug 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/3572776.stm>.

³⁵Home Affairs Select Committee report "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**", 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> pp.28

³⁶In 2004, Anna Hall who made the *Channel 4* documentary, was commenting that the grooming gangs were nationwide. See "**Child victims who believe it's about love**", *Telegraph & Argus*, 25 Aug 2004, http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/archive/2004/08/25/7999581.Child_victims_who_believe_it_s_about_love/.

³⁷As we discussed earlier, in 2008 the UK Human Trafficking Centre began the production of a cautionary video ("My Dangerous Loverboy"), to be shown to schoolgirls to warn them of the ways in which grooming gangs work.

Individual local councils and council staff are being blamed when there was clearly a lack of determination, a lack of direction, and a lack of support at a national level. Council staff and managers were able to assuage their guilt by telling themselves “the problem in our area is no worse than in other areas.”³⁸ They have been telling themselves that for a decade or more. And it might well be true. What the councils needed was direction and support at a national level.

When councils have admitted any fault, it was to argue that any negligence had only occurred in the last few years, rather than admitting that they had failed to respond for probably a decade or more.

Cheryl Eastwood, the [Rochdale] authority’s executive director for Children, Schools and Families, said: “We, along with other agencies working with the young women involved in the recent court case are now aware, with the benefit of hindsight, recent local learning and national safeguarding initiatives, that we missed some opportunities to offer more support and assistance to them in 2008 and 2009.”³⁹

We think that, should these cases come to civil or criminal litigation, it would be difficult for institutions to claim that they did not know about the underlying realities. This would apply most particularly to councils in the areas of Lancashire and West Yorkshire, and the West

³⁸“**Child sexual exploitation ‘no worse than other town and cities’**”, *Asian Image*, 21 Nov 2012, <http://www.Asianimage.co.uk/news/10061493.print/>. Cf. 2004 statement by Bradford’s Director of Social services in “**This sexual abuse is not unique to Bradford**”, *Telegraph & Argus*, 26 Aug 2004, http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/archive/2004/08/26/7999558._This_sexual_abuse_is_not_unique_to_Bradford_/.

³⁹Nigel Bunyan, “**Rochdale Grooming Trial: Police Knew about Sex Abuse in 2002 but Failed to Act**”, *The Telegraph*, 9 May 2012 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9254982/Rochdale-grooming-trial-police-knew-about-sex-abuse-in-2002-but-failed-to-act.html>.

Midlands, where evidence of the grooming gangs dates back not just to 2008, but as far as 1998 and even 1988. It appears that such legal action is now beginning, with between four and fifteen girls and women from Rotherham instructing solicitors over the failure of the council to protect them as children, failures dating back to the 1990s.⁴⁰ The deputy leader of Rotherham council, Jahngier Akhtar, has stood down, “over claims he knew about a relationship between a girl in care and a suspected child abuser.” Mr. Akhtar was also Vice Chair of the Police and Crime Panel.

5.3 Police

We have seen how the parliamentary investigation singled out a few senior individuals of a couple of councils for blame. Almost no other blame is apportioned in the parliamentary report. Neither racism groups, nor police forces, nor national agencies/charities receive any blame. Some blame is apportioned to South Yorkshire Police (in whose patch is the town of Rotherham).⁴¹ However, there is good reason to believe that South Yorkshire Police are not alone in failing to investigate the grooming gangs. As Julie Bindel pointed out in 2007 “organisations such as Crop continue battling with the police to act on the intelligence they [CROP] have built up.”⁴² CROP (Campaign for the Removal of Pimping) was based around Leeds, and

⁴⁰Caroline Davies, “**Rotherham council faces legal action from alleged abuse victims**”, *The Guardian*, 23 Aug 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/aug/23/rotherham-council-legal-action-alleged-abuse>. By January 2014 there were reports that another 11 victims were taking legal action against Rotherham council. “**Rotherham Council to be sued over child sexual exploitation**”, *The Star*, 1 Jan 2014, <http://www.thestar.co.uk/news/crime/rotherham-council-to-be-sued-ove-r-child-sexual-exploitation-1-6345919>.

⁴¹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.34, p.36

⁴²Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece

as we saw with *Channel 4*'s "Edge of the City", the Chief Constable of West Yorkshire Police played a major role in getting the documentary withdrawn, joining with Bradford Council to deny that there was any evidence at all for the existence of grooming gangs: "West Yorkshire Police and Bradford Council said that they had spent the past two years investigating the allegations, but found 'no evidence of systematic exploitation'."⁴³ They could get away with this claim, because most people in Britain had no idea that by 2004 *Barnardo's* had spent almost a decade working with the victims of the grooming gangs in Bradford.⁴⁴ If the media had shown courage at this time, they would have brought up the extensive evidence for the existence of this systematic exploitation and challenged these statements. But the majority of journalists were only too happy to bury any discussion of this grooming phenomenon.

In 2011 Detective Chief Inspector Alan Edwardes of West Mercia Police stated that "to stop this type of crime you need to start everyone talking about it but everyone's been too scared to address the ethnicity factor" and that this was a "damaging taboo."⁴⁵ Telford falls within the area of West Mercia Police, and it was not until 2012 that a grooming gang from Telford was successfully prosecuted. The newspaper report in which Alan Edwardes was quoted also contained this observation: "Charities and agencies working in conjunction with the police to help victims of sexual abuse in such cases have publicly denied there is a link between ethnicity and the on-street grooming of young girls by gangs and

⁴³"**Campaign to Stop Race Documentary**", *BBC News website*, 17 Aug 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/3572776.stm>.

⁴⁴A project which was started with almost £700,000 of money from statutory agencies. See section 4.4 1995 Bradford: *Streets and Lanes*.

⁴⁵Chris Brooke, "**Top detective blasts 'culture of silence' that allows Asian sex gangs to groom white girls... because police and social services fear being branded racist**", *The Daily Mail*, 5 Jan 2011 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1344218/Asian-sex-gangs-Culture-silence-allows-grooming-white-girls-fear-racist.html>.

pimps.” We can thus see that even in 2011, the professional child-care experts were in a state of denial about the Muslim grooming gangs.⁴⁶ The actions of these charities also requires investigation.

The 2013 parliamentary report stated that Lancashire Police were among the most accomplished in the country at dealing with child sexual exploitation.⁴⁷ However Mick Gradwell, a retired senior officer from that police force, stated that even when he joined that police force in 1979 “one of the issues was Asian men cruising around in BMWs and Mercs trying to pick up young drunken girls” outside nightclubs.⁴⁸ He is reported to have said “the targeting of under-age and vulnerable girls had been going on for decades.” **Gradwell went on to say that senior officers would not comment on it, for fear of being accused of racism, and went on to ask: “How many young girls have been abused and raped because of the reluctance of the authorities to say exactly what is happening?”** **The mother of one of the victims in the 2012 Rochdale case stated that “over the years both police and social services turned a blind eye to the abuse.”**⁴⁹

Numerous examples have come to light illustrating incredible behaviour by police forces. One story that came before the Home Affairs Select Committee went like this: at 5am a mother found her 13 year old daughter in their home with a 32 year old man.

⁴⁶See section 5.9 *Barnardo’s*.

⁴⁷Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.32.

⁴⁸Jaya Narain “**Police chief: ‘We couldn’t speak out on Asian sex gangs for fear of appearing institutionally racist’**”, *The Daily Mail*, 12 Jan 2011 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1346291/Police-chief-We-speak-Asian-sex-gangs-appearing-racist.html>.

⁴⁹Nigel Bunyan, “**Rochdale Grooming Trial: Police Knew about Sex Abuse in 2002 but Failed to Act**”, *The Telegraph*, 9 May 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9254982/Rochdale-grooming-trial-police-knew-about-sex-abuse-in-2002-but-failed-to-act.html>.

Her mother phoned the police, reporting that Child S had been burnt by the man. Upon arrival, the police were told by Child S that she had burnt herself and so the police took no further action and failed to inform social services of the event. This was despite the fact that she had been considered to be at risk of child sexual exploitation since she was ten.⁵⁰

In his analysis of hundreds of unpublished reports from police and social services on grooming gangs, Andrew Norfolk relates some more incredible stories:

Two girls aged 14 and 15 were allegedly being sold for sex by a man known to police for criminal activities including pimping. He charged £10 a time to Asian men who collected the girls in cars and taxis, returning them to their home neighbourhood after each sexual encounter.⁵¹

A girl's mother copied the names, numbers and text messages of 177 Asian men, including a police officer, from her daughter's mobile phone after the 13-year-old went missing for five days. Police said that using the information would infringe the girl's and the men's human rights.⁵²

Two terrified girls, who were dragged into a car and driven to Bristol to be used for sex as part of a drugs deal, phoned support workers to seek help. Officers from Avon

⁵⁰Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.34.

⁵¹Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>

⁵²Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>

and Somerset Constabulary rescued them and returned them to Sheffield on a train. South Yorkshire Police did not question them about the incident.⁵³

If Lancashire Police are considered among the best in the country at tackling child sexual exploitation, yet a former senior officer from that force says they had turned a blind eye to the grooming for decades, that force might only be considered “the best” because the standard has been set so low. One man claims he has been trying to extract information from various police forces concerning their behaviour in relationship to the grooming gangs, and the police have even refused to honour Freedom of Information requests.⁵⁴ At the end of a major grooming gang prosecution in Lancashire, Assistant Chief Constable Steve Heywood denied sweeping the issue of Asian sex gangs under the carpet.⁵⁵ Yet as we have shown from the statements of retired police officers, police in Lancashire have known about grooming gangs since the 1970s and that the senior officers would refuse to discuss the problem. At a national level, the Serious Organised Crime Agency knew enough about the grooming gangs to commission “My Dangerous Loverboy” in 2008. **If South Yorkshire Police are to come in for severe criticism, then so should the police forces of Lancashire, Manchester, West Yorkshire, West Midlands, East Midlands, Thames Valley and probably many other areas.** The failure of police to investigate and prosecute Muslim grooming gangs resulted in vigilante violence in Wolverhampton in 1988, and in Leicester in

⁵³ Andrew Norfolk, “Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>

⁵⁴ Tony Shell, “The Culpability of the State in the Gang-Related Sexual Exploitation, Abuse, and Murder of Young English Females”, 2013, http://www.darklake-synectics.co.uk/ithilien-web/docs/special_projects_19.pdf, p.10

⁵⁵ “Rochdale Grooming Trial: Police Knew about Sex Abuse in 2002 but Failed to Act”, *The Telegraph*, 9 May 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9254982/Rochdale-grooming-trial-police-knew-about-sex-abuse-in-2002-but-failed-to-act.html>.

2013. It may well be that the oft-reported cause of the Muslim riots which occurred in Oldham and Bradford in 2001, were only proximally “caused” by a demonstration by “nationalists.” We are never told what those “nationalists” were demonstrating about: it is just possible that the protests were brought about by the failure of the police to prosecute Muslim grooming gangs.⁵⁶

In effectively exonerating police forces around the country, the parliamentary report stated that victims would often reveal information to “youth workers” but would then refuse to make those statements to the police, and that success often comes from building a case that does not rely on the schoolgirl’s testimony, but which instead builds a case based on objective evidence, such as evidence from CCTV.⁵⁷ **Yet in 2007, Julie Bindel reported how mothers were gathering evidence that the police would then dismiss: it wasn’t the case that the police used that evidence to subsequently set up surveillance operations. They simply dismissed the mothers and their concerns.**

We are always being told that “lessons have been learned” but it seems quite clear that this is meant to placate the public and is a

⁵⁶It is interesting to note, that the nationalist demonstration was banned, yet still Muslims rioted. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001_Bradford_riots. The report does not state why the “nationalists” wished to hold a demonstration in Bradford, a city where *Barnardo’s* had been running a project to help the victims of grooming gangs for the preceding five years. Two months before Muslims rioted in Bradford, they rioted in Oldham. Once again, the causes of these riots are vague, but one of the causes cited was the disproportionate amount of racist violence towards white people: “In the year leading up to the riots, there were 572 reported ethnicity related crimes in the Oldham area, and in 62% of these, white persons were recorded as being the victim.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001_Oldham_riots. In Oldham in 2001, white British were 71% of the population, 27% were Asian. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oldham>. In the case of Oldham, it seems that the “nationalists” were demonstrating about the racist violence towards white people. However, this may not be the full story with these riots in Oldham and Bradford.

⁵⁷Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.31

deceit. In the heart-breaking story from 2007, of mothers having to do the detective work the police would not do, Julie Bindel points out that:

Recommendations following the Soham murders clearly state that police should arrest in cases where older males have sex with a child under the age of 16. However, police rarely take action unless the victim complains, thereby allowing the pimps and their customers to act with impunity.⁵⁸

Over and over again, it is manifest that police forces from South Yorkshire, to Lancashire, West Mercia, West Yorkshire have not followed these recommendations. The blame for this crisis escalating over the last 25 years does not just lie with one or two councils or police forces, it seems clear that there has been a pattern of neglect across the board, on both a local and a national level.

5.4 Criminal Justice System

One of the reasons why council staff and police officers have turned a blind eye to the Muslim grooming gangs, was that they feared being accused of racism. However, if the criminal justice system had been sufficiently attuned to this new form of criminal behaviour, it may have been easier for police forces to secure convictions, thus providing a positive feedback mechanism for police officers and council staff to continue to pursue the exploitative gangs. It must make it easier to deal with the false accusations of racism, when the details come out in open court, and a jury decides to convict the child rapists. However, as if the victims have not suffered enough, it has been observed that “some victims... found the court process worse

⁵⁸Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

than the actual exploitation.”⁵⁹ After one day of giving evidence in a recent trial, one of the victim’s who was testifying attempted suicide.⁶⁰ Whilst it might be hard to compile a case across agency and regional boundaries, and whilst it might be hard to get the schoolgirls to realise that they were victims from the time when the grooming was initiated, surely facilitating the trial process is something that is within the power of national agencies? **If the trial procedure is even worse than being tortured and sexually abused, there is something very wrong with the criminal justice system.**

It’s not just the trial procedure which is at fault. The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) seems to have been reluctant to prosecute, and at times has been downright obstructive. In 2009, Police in Rochdale carried out a four month investigation into grooming and sexual exploitation in that area. Greater Manchester Police arrested six “Asian” men, and sent the details of the investigation to the CPS. The CPS refused to take any further action, saying that the victim lacked credibility as a witness:

it took them [Greater Manchester Police] 11 months to send a file on the case to the Crown Prosecution Service, which decided in July 2009 that Girl A would not be a credible witness in court and did not, therefore, go ahead with a prosecution. The police decided not to contest the decision even though Ahmed had no explanation for how his DNA had been found on Girl A’s underwear.⁶¹

⁵⁹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.41

⁶⁰Hayley Dixon, “**Teenager giving evidence against sex gang accused attempted suicide**”, *The Telegraph*, 6 Aug 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10224527/Teenager-giving-evidence-against-sex-gang-accused-attempted-suicide.html>.

⁶¹Nigel Bunyan, “**Rochdale grooming trial: how the case unfolded**”, *The Telegraph*, 21 Jun 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9347305/Rochdale-grooming-trial-how-the-case-unfolded.html>.

After complaints to the Home Office in 2011, this decision by the CPS was overturned and led to the conviction in 2012 of nine Muslim men from Rochdale for a variety of crimes relation to grooming and sexual abuse.⁶² As the Home Affairs Select Committee noted in 2013, the CPS “has readily admitted that victims had been let down by them and have attempted... to discover the cause of this systematic failure.”⁶³ **The parliamentary investigation offers no indication as to what could be the cause of the CPS “systematic failure” with regard to these cases.** When this case in Rochdale went to trial, it turned out to be far more shocking than any of the grooming trials which had preceded it in the previous 15 years: in fact, it was probably the single most significant grooming trial in those 15 years, not just because of the number of men convicted, but also for the number of schoolgirls they had groomed. And yet this key trial almost fell by the wayside, as the CPS refused to proceed with it. Without complaints to the Home Office about the failure of the CPS, this significant gang (who had been abusing 50 girls for many years), would have continued unhindered. Yet Parliament did not think that the CPS merited any particular censure for their role in the failures to stop the grooming gangs.

A brief examination of the case of 12 year old Samantha shows how the criminal justice system treats these kinds of cases, even when the CPS has actually decided to proceed with a prosecution. On October 27th 2006, Samantha:

was **abducted by two Asian men** who drove her around Oldham for hours and then **raped her**. They then threw her out of a moving car in the Chadderton area of Oldham. She **ran away and asked another man for**

⁶²Tony Shell, “**The Culpability of the State in the Gang-Related Sexual Exploitation, Abuse, and Murder of Young English Females**”, 2013, http://www.darklake-synectics.co.uk/ithilien-web/docs/special_projects_19.pdf, p.6

⁶³Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.33

help. He invited Samantha inside and then dragged her upstairs and **sexually assaulted her.** She ran away whilst he was calling his friends to come and join him. **At that point a taxi driver and his passenger pulled up** beside her to ask her if she was okay, they said she looked very upset and like she'd been through hell, and so **offered to take her to the police station** and then home... They then took Samantha to a house on Attock Close, took her inside and then locked her in a room where **5 Asian men went on to rape her over and over for nearly 24 hours.** The ringleader, was Shakil Choudhury, and he received a three year sentence for leading this extraordinary attack.⁶⁴ (emphasis added)

Whilst this case is not included in our list of grooming gang convictions, it has all the hallmarks: multiple “Asian” men abducting and raping a non-Muslim schoolgirl. In fact, she seems to have been abducted and raped by three separate Muslim gangs on the same day. We have not included this case in our list of grooming convictions, as there is no indication that a “grooming” process was involved. Nevertheless, **it gives us some idea of just how common it is for disparate groups of men in some Muslim communities in Britain to consider abducting, raping and sharing a non-Muslim schoolgirl amongst their friends and relatives. They clearly have little fear of being caught and convicted of any crime, and seeing a schoolgirl in a vulnerable situation clearly sets off ideas in their minds which most of the population of Britain would never contemplate.**

And what happened when this case entered the criminal justice

⁶⁴<http://www.youhavenotdefeatedme.co.uk/Featured/what-happened-to-sammi.html>. Shakil Choudhury actually received a sentence of six years, but was released after three years. The website dedicated to this case is apparently conflating this distinction. Nevertheless the end result is shocking: a man responsible for multiple rapes of a 12 year old schoolgirl only spends three years in prison for his crimes.

system simply reinforces their belief that they can behave like this without any significant punishment. Just one of all those men involved in the abduction and sexual abuse of this 12 year old girl was prosecuted. Shakil Choudury only served 3 years (of a 6 year sentence) for these crimes, despite sentencing guidelines that should have ensured he got a custodial sentence of between 11 and 17 years.⁶⁵ Appeal judges refused to extend the sentence (apparently because violence was not used, and the girl had consumed alcohol.) Even though he refused to name his accomplices, Choudury was released after 3 years.⁶⁶ **Thus, even if the CPS decided to proceed with a prosecution, trial and appeal judges give derisory sentences.** It appears as though the blindness of political correctness extends as far as the judiciary, who think that a (possibly) wayward 12 year old girl is somehow asking to be abducted, raped and abused. One has to wonder: would the perpetrators have escaped so lightly if they had been non-Muslims? Could it really be that the judiciary have been systematically lenient to Muslim men? Could “the racism of low expectations”⁶⁷ be so pervasive, that the judiciary are unaware of what they are doing?

One of the most incredible parts of the 2013 parliamentary report, is that the MPs involved felt it *necessary to spell out that*

⁶⁵Tony Shell, “**The Culpability of the State in the Gang-Related Sexual Exploitation, Abuse, and Murder of Young English Females**”, 2013, http://www.darklake-synectics.co.uk/ithilien-web/docs/special_projects_19.pdf. See p.5 and note 23.

⁶⁶“**Six years for paedophile ‘is long enough’**”, *Manchester Evening News*, 28 Dec 2007 <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/local-news/six-years-for-paedophile-is-long-1015378>.

⁶⁷The “racism of low expectations” is when people expect lower moral or intellectual standards from people from ethnic minority backgrounds; the assumption being that people from those ethnic minorities are actually incapable of attaining the same moral or intellectual heights as white people. Those who suffer from this form of racism are often even unaware that they are lowering the bar for ethnic minorities, resulting in them implicitly having the same view of the relationship between white people and ethnic minorities as explicitly avowed by racial supremacists. See Sunny Hundal, “**The soft racism of low expectations**”, *The Guardian*, 30 Jun 2006, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2006/jun/30/panderingtocrackpots>.

these under-age girls cannot legally consent to sex. That the sex takes place at all is a criminal offence, especially if the men involved know that the girl is under 16 (or under 18 in the case of someone paying for sex).

It is widely acknowledged that the criminal justice system has failed to adequately protect and support victims of localised grooming and child sexual exploitation... The confusion about whether or not these children were “consenting” to sexual activity (though the law clearly says that they cannot) was also a factor which influenced police decisions.⁶⁸

Considering the amount of training undergone by police officers, social workers, teachers and state prosecutors it is truly staggering that any of them should have attempted to defend their inaction by saying they thought the schoolgirls had consented. These schoolgirls could not consent to sex with these men any more than they could consent to buy a house or take out a bank loan. That Parliament felt this needed to be explicitly spelt out is a strong indication of how much courts, police and child-care professionals have abandoned recommendations laid down for child protection. With that in mind, we must wonder at the decisions of the judges involved in the Shakil Choudary case, who thought that the rape victim not attempting to escape was an indication that she was consenting⁶⁹ - something that parliament has

⁶⁸Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.34.

⁶⁹“**Six years for paedophile ‘is long enough’**”, *Manchester Evening News*, 28 Dec 2007, <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/local-news/six-years-for-paedophile-is-long-1015378>.

...despite the “disgusting” nature of his crime, there was no evidence that force was used to make her comply, the judge noted. Despite the lengthy sex sessions with the four men lasting all through the night, the [12 year old] girl had not objected...

now spelt out was impossible, even if she had been propositioned and agreed to sex, never mind being abducted and raped.

Another betrayal of the victims occurs when a schoolgirl goes to the police to make an allegation: if she is not prepared to support an immediate prosecution the case is dropped. Parliament stated that “it may take many years for victims to disclose the full extent of their abuse and for them to trust the criminal justice system to treat them with the sensitivity they require and deserve.”⁷⁰ In such circumstances, the allegations should be recorded and kept on file. Whilst the Home Affairs Select Committee did not spell it out, it is clear that given the complexity of these cases, the police should start to investigate the accused and start to put him under surveillance, as other objective evidence could be discovered, implicating him in something far larger than the abuse of one girl.

It is quite often the case that the sexual exploitation of the schoolgirl takes place years before a prosecution, and maybe even some years after the young woman has escaped the clutches of the gang. In such circumstances the victim receives no special protective measures during the trial process (such as having the help of an intermediary in the court).⁷¹ Parliament also noted that even when a victim was eligible for special protective measures in court, these often failed or were missing “leading to the victim either feeling unable to give evidence or being so shaken that their evidence presents as being unreliable.”⁷² It does not serve justice if parliament mandates that special measures be offered to young people in a trial, but the trial

⁷⁰Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.29

⁷¹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.42

⁷²Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.41

then continues when these measures have failed to be put in place.

In the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act (1999) it was agreed that video recording of cross-examination/re-examination should be available to young and vulnerable witnesses. Yet in 2013, Parliament stated “we are at a loss to understand why the Ministry of Justice, fourteen years after the Act was passed, has still failed to implement this measure.”⁷³ **If this advance had been implemented in the early years of the 21st century (along with the other provisions intended to help young witnesses), more prosecutions of grooming gangs could have succeeded, because the witnesses would have been less intimidated by the proceedings. And if more convictions had succeeded, then parents, schools, social services and police forces would not have felt powerless, and would have been more likely to take action when presented with evidence of grooming gang activities. Furthermore, successful prosecutions, and the details which came out during the trial process, would have made it impossible for allegations of “racism” to stop this phenomenon from becoming public knowledge, and a wide-scale public debate would have taken place years ago. The public outcry over the activities of the grooming gangs across the country would have meant that the years of inactivity by the national crime organisations could not have gone unchallenged.**

As the Home Affairs Select Committee said in 2013: “the balance is skewed too strongly in favour of protecting the defendant’s rights as opposed to the very vulnerable witnesses in cases of child sexual exploitation.”⁷⁴ It is a bitter irony that it should have taken these eminent politicians, with their expert witnesses, and the ruined lives of 10,000 vulnerable schoolgirls to grasp what the mothers were

⁷³Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.40.

⁷⁴Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> pp.44-45

saying a decade earlier.

The mothers say the fact the men are Asian isn't an issue for them -- they say they just want this abuse stopped. They met David Blunkett in person to argue that if criminal proceedings can't be brought because their daughters won't make complaints to the police then the law needs changing.⁷⁵

Moreover, if the politicians were not prepared to listen to the mothers, then one might have hoped they would have listened to Prof. Barrett, who in 2008, pointed out that intent of The Children's Act (1989) was being ignored.⁷⁶

The narrative of racism has been horribly abused, to prevent justice being done. The case of Samantha shows that the decades in which these gangs have been able to get away with their child abuse has made them very sure that the odds are stacked in their favour. The mothers' intuition is probably correct: new laws will be required in order to undo the damage of the last 25 years. Localised grooming

⁷⁵Channel4 “**Asian Rape Allegations**”, *Channel 4 News*, 27 Aug 2003, (from archive.org) http://web.archive.org/web/20100620042427/http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/society/law_order/Asian+rape+allegations/256893.

⁷⁶ “**Abused Girls: What Do We Know?**”, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/27_03_08_whatweknow.pdf.

The 1989 Act received all-party support in its drafting stages and enshrines “**the welfare of the child shall be the court’s paramount consideration**”; **this implies it takes precedence over that of adults**. The current “children versus adults” battles, regarding various forms of abuse cases, which are regularly played out in the legal system, have become a power see-saw which undermines this bedrock principle of the 1989 Act. Moreover, **it also appears to give way to operational caveats such as wider issues of culture, politics and geography, because we continue to see regional variations in the application of the child protection laws despite ample safeguarding guidance to the contrary**, which requires consistency and transparency. (emphasis added)

will need to be identified as a specific crime, with a very heavy penalty. The judiciary will need to be instructed to put the child's interests first. And the CPS needs to be investigated to see why it was so reluctant to proceed with major prosecutions, such as that from Rochdale in 2012.

5.5 Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre

The *Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre* (CEOP) has existed since 2006, and is a cross-agency department of the *Serious and Organised Crime Agency*.

The centre is split into three faculties; Intelligence, Harm Reduction and Operations. Each faculty is supported by teams covering governance, communications, partnerships and corporate services. The intelligence faculty receive intelligence of online and offline offenders; all reports made through the centre's website, [sic] and ThinkUKnow are dealt with at any time of day so that law enforcement action can be taken. The Harm Reduction faculty manage Public Awareness campaigns and educational programmes, including the ThinkUKnow education programme, which is currently being used in UK schools.⁷⁷

Considering that CEOP is principally about the gathering and dissemination of information about offenders, and about discerning international patterns of grooming, it is reasonable to have expected them to have been intervening with the grooming gang problem. At the very least, we could have expected them to be assembling intelligence from local services, and using this to build up an idea of what was going on nationally (or within regions). From this

⁷⁷http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Child_Exploitation_and_Online_Protection_Centre#Faculties

intelligence, they could then have devised training programmes for professionals in the field, and provided advisory services to government and other national agencies (e.g. the CPS, the Ministry of Justice), concerning the scale of the problem and the complexity involved in curtailing the gangs. But until 2011, there appeared to be no intelligence analysis nor “harm reduction” strategy from CEOP in this regard.

In June 2011 the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP) released a report on the spate of gangs being convicted for grooming schoolgirls.⁷⁸ In this report, CEOP invents the term “localised grooming.” This term cannot be found on their website before 2011.

CEOP has carried out a rapid assessment of “localised grooming” in the UK. This is a form of sexual exploitation, previously referred to as “on street grooming” in the media, where children have been groomed and sexually exploited by an offender, having initially met in a location outside their home, usually in a public place (such as a park, cinema, on the street or at a friend’s house). Offenders often act in concert, establishing a relationship with a child or children before sexually exploiting them. Some victims of “street grooming” may believe that the offender is in fact an older “boyfriend”, introducing peers to the offender group who may also be sexually exploited. Abuse may occur at a number of locations within a local area and on several occasions. “Localised grooming” has been subject to considerable media attention following a number of prosecutions of adult males for the grooming and sexually exploitation of children and young people in various towns and cities in the UK. Several NGOs have

⁷⁸CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>

reported that large numbers of victims of this type of child sexual exploitation have accessed their services across the UK. **However, there have been comparatively few prosecutions, and there is a general lack of knowledge of grooming and sexual exploitation in the UK and the threats posed to children and young people.**⁷⁹ (emphasis added)

Significantly, CEOP qualify “grooming” to be “localised grooming”, betraying that their interest is with internet-related grooming and child pornography on the internet, and on cross-border trafficking. In the CEOP definition of “localised grooming” they excluded “peer-on-peer exploitation, online grooming, familial child sexual abuse, stranger abduction and the trafficking of non UK nationals for sexual exploitation.”⁸⁰ Yet if they had been focussing on real-world grooming of schoolgirls, then it would have been the “online grooming” which became a qualified term. In setting up CEOP it was not called “The Online Child Exploitation Protection Centre”, yet apparently, when it came to British children, they were only interested in “online protection”: the child exploitation component of CEOP’s remit covered the trafficking of foreign children into the UK, but not the exploitation of British children within Britain. Could it be that when CEOP was set up, they were explicitly told that their concern was only to focus on internet-related issues and international issues? Was it made clear when CEOP was established, that it was to ignore the Muslim grooming gangs? Or were the staff at CEOP also victims of political correctness, who dared not study or report on the Muslim grooming gangs? Questions need to be asked of what went wrong at CEOP.

⁷⁹CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.5.

⁸⁰CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.10

That CEOP had to carry out a “rapid assessment” of a problem that was known by the general public to exist since the first few years of the 21st century, a problem that was known by organisations like *Barnardo’s* since before 1995, shows that CEOP had ignored this aspect of “child exploitation”. No doubt the grooming gang phenomenon was known to journalists, social workers and police officers long before 2003; SAS was founded in 1998, to deal with the grooming of Sikh girls. Thus CEOP seems to have been set up principally to protect children who have computers in their own bedrooms from being groomed by online paedophiles. It appears CEOP had scant regard for children who are drugged, raped and pimped out in the real world. If CEOP had been actively gathering information, they would have known there was a very real problem. Yet it is 5 years after the creation of CEOP before they issue a report which even touches on the grooming gangs. **Why would Parliament ask CEOP to produce a report if it was not part of their remit? And if it was part of their remit, why were they doing a “rapid assessment” and who are they to bemoan the lack of data? If it was part of their remit, then they should have had this information-gathering in hand years earlier. In 2008 UKHTC, which like CEOP was part of SOCA, was already commissioning an educational video to warn schoolgirls about the gangs, yet it was another 3 years before CEOP considered what their responsibilities were in this area.**

CEOP’s 2008 self-congratulatory *Annual Report* says:

The coordination of online police resources is delivering not only an economy of scale but a more effective assault on predators. Six major paedophile rings have been dismantled in the last twelve months and our tracker teams have traced more missing sex offenders than ever before. With a large and varied number of investigations now underway, the child abuser is facing an increasingly

hostile environment both on and offline.⁸¹

So CEOP saw it as their business to destroy organised groups who were sexually exploiting children. Yet they gave a wide birth to the grooming gangs in Britain. There seems to be no justification whatsoever for CEOP's investigative and analytical and training failures. They were proudly breaking up paedophile rings, but not when those paedophile rings consisted of Muslim men?

CEOP was not only concerned with gathering of intelligence in order to gain criminal convictions. **The CEOP 2008 report goes on to say that in the previous year “2,600 law enforcement and child protection professionals have attended specialist CEOP training courses.”⁸² This was a year in which a mere six “localised groomers” were caught.** It's not even as though 2009 fared much better with these 2,600 newly-trained child-care professionals: again, only six “localised groomers” were convicted.⁸³ Where are the economies of scale in this? It is great that six paedophile groups were broken up, but there could be hundreds of Muslim grooming gangs in operation (since then, police forces in England admitted that they had active investigations into 54 gangs in early 2013).

In 2007 Julie Bindel had reported in *The Times* on how the mothers of the victims of grooming gangs had been amassing chronological and photographic evidence by themselves, only to have the police then refuse to look at the evidence. The 2008 CEOP report goes on to say how important it is to listen to children, and to explain the role CEOP played in creating an International Youth Advisory Congress. Yet thousands of schoolgirls might have been saved from the exploitation of the grooming gangs, if CEOP had spent time training social workers and police officers about the specific

⁸¹“CEOP Annual Review”, 2008, <http://ceop.police.uk/Documents/ceopannualreview2008.pdf> p.7.

⁸²“CEOP Annual Review”, 2008, <http://ceop.police.uk/Documents/ceopannualreview2008.pdf> p.9.

⁸³See section 11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions.

characteristics of the grooming gangs, and the signals that a child was in their clutches, or that children in an area were being targeted outside schools or takeaways, in shopping malls and shopping centres. CEOP could have been measuring the progress of different police forces, and pointing out those whose prosecution rate lagged behind the intelligence reports indicating grooming gang activity.

Based on other documents produced by CEOP, the organisation's principle concerns in 2009 were internet technology and digital imagery, criminal finances from child pornography, and the international travel of sex offenders. In 2009 there is no mention whatsoever of "localised grooming" within their list of "key intelligence requirements"⁸⁴ **When they break down their investigations into offender behaviour, fully 48% of it is dedicated to grooming, but once again, apparently it is only in the sense of "online grooming" with which CEOP is concerned.** There seems to have been an astonishing blind-spot when it comes to the Muslim grooming gangs. Let us remember, CROP estimates that there have been 10,000 victims; it seems not unlikely that there are 1000 victims a year. And in a five-year period, CEOP do not seem to have done any work *at all* in this area.

Having ignored the issue of real-world grooming and sexual exploitation happening within Britain, when CEOP came to write its "rapid assessment" of the situation, it was clear that they were going to be writing a report that would at most provide a rough idea of what was going on. The report "aimed to determine the known extent of child sexual exploitation."⁸⁵ The CEOP report says:

Given the pace with which relevant data was collated, agencies had a limited timeframe to interrogate their data storage systems, extract relevant information and

⁸⁴See p.10 "**CEOP Strategic Overview**", 2008-2009, http://ceop.police.uk/Documents/strategic_overview_2008-09.pdf.

⁸⁵CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.6

configure data into a format suitable for submission to CEOP. Agencies from each sector faced particular difficulties in submitting a comprehensive response.

What was the rush? Why would the national crime agency tasked with providing this report not have the data? The problem of the grooming gangs got national publicity almost a decade before this report was produced. Why suddenly now? Because suddenly in 2011, people within Britain were asking questions, and MPs must have found that they did not have the answers. However, the key question is: why would a dedicated cross-agency child sexual exploitation group have not been collating this information about this major form of child sexual exploitation over the previous five years? And having rushed to get this inadequate report out, why have two years elapsed without CEOP returning to this and doing a professional and thorough analysis? At what point will CEOP have adequate data?

The sample data in this 2011 report has perpetrators and victims classified on racial rather than religious grounds. That is probably all the data they had, since police forces are not compelled to record the religious beliefs/background of perpetrator and victim. But it means that the question and the answer are going to be off-kilter. **If CEOP had been attending properly to this problem, they would have known that almost identical problems with gangs of Muslims grooming young non-Muslim girls for sexual exploitation was occurring in Holland too. Indeed, since UKHTC, the sister organisation of CEOP, commissioned a documentary based on what was going on in Holland, it is literally unbelievable that CEOP could not have known that the issue has far more to do with religion than with race.** With that knowledge, from 2005 when CEOP was created, they could have been training and advising police forces about the nature of this crime and about the kind of data which needed to be recorded to establish the patterns. Religion is far more relevant than race when it comes to this kind of child sexual exploitation. And some national agency needed to make this explicit

so that local agencies could gather this kind of information. Perhaps it would have required legislation to mandate that police forces and social services record if the perpetrator was Muslim or not. This is the kind of thing which CEOP should have been investigating from its inception.

In reading this report, you can sense their embarrassment: an organisation that was set up to provide intelligence and training on child sex exploitation cannot provide any kind of useful information about a massive problem going on under their nose.

CEOP begin the report by highlighting the limitations:

(i) Child sexual exploitation is often hidden from view. The thematic assessment sought to determine and assess the known scale of “localised grooming” based on information held by relevant agencies. (ii) All agencies faced particular difficulties in responding to the information request. As a result, information submitted to CEOP during the rapid assessment is incomplete, and does not represent the totality of information relating to child sexual exploitation or “localised grooming” held by relevant agencies. (iii) Of those agencies which were able to respond, many were unable to provide information relating to the complete study period, from 1 January 2008 to 1 March 2011. Instead, agencies submitted a snapshot of relevant data.⁸⁶

But this begs the question: if the police forces listened to the children (as CEOP claims is so important), then the crime would not have been “hidden” - victims and their parents were trying to draw the attention of social workers and the police to what was going on (as were a couple of brave journalists), but the majority of the professionals were neither listening nor seeing. As one of the

⁸⁶CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/> p.9

mothers of the victims stated in 2007: “We parents are doing more to investigate these criminals than the police...”⁸⁷ If the various agencies involved had received guidance by CEOP from 2006 onwards, then the agencies would have known to listen to the victims and their parents. CEOP was supposed to pull all these agencies together and to guide them; yet here we have CEOP trying to blame the local agencies for not having the information that CEOP has been tasked with collating, when there is no sign that between 2006 and 2011 CEOP made any attempt to train police forces and child-care professionals in the methods of these criminals or the extent of their criminal networks. If the data is unavailable surely only CEOP are to blame for this? How could police forces or other agencies know to collect this specific data if they have never been instructed to do so? The bottom line about this 2011 CEOP report is: garbage in, garbage out. In most of the apparently relevant crime data, not only was the religion of the perpetrator and victim not recorded, but mostly the “racial category” of the perpetrator and victim is absent. CEOP recommended that this “rapid assessment” be repeated in 2013 or 2014, on the assumption that agencies will have accumulated more appropriate data by then.⁸⁸ CEOP thinks that relevant data could be gathered in a two year period, yet before being prompted by Parliament, they had not bothered to ask for this data in the previous five years.

By any interpretation of the statutory definition of child sexual exploitation, what CEOP calls “localised grooming” falls under that definition:

Sexual exploitation of children and young people under 18 involves exploitative situations, contexts and relationships where young people... receive “something” (e.g. food, accommodation, drugs, alcohol, cigarettes,

⁸⁷Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

⁸⁸CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.96

affection, gifts, money) as a result of them performing, and/or another or others performing on them, sexual activities... those exploiting the child/young person have power over them by virtue of their age, gender, intellect, physical strength and/or economic or other resources. Violence, coercion and intimidation are common, involvement in exploitative relationships being characterised in the main by the child or young person's limited availability of choice resulting from their social/economic and/or emotional vulnerability... a child is defined as under 18...⁸⁹

From this definition, it is obvious that this “localised grooming” should have been at least on a par with “online grooming” and with “child trafficking”, the two major focuses of CEOP since its inception. That “localised grooming” also seems to have been organised and involved immense financial gain, should have meant it fell within the purview of the Serious and Organised Crime Agency.

CEOP go on to qualify “localised grooming” further, pointing out that it has a distinctive M.O. (modus operandi).⁹⁰ However, they then go on to state “it is not possible to distinguish a specific and distinct subset of risk factors associated with ‘localised grooming’.”⁹¹ Considering that they had shirked their role in intelligence-gathering and the training of public-facing staff, if it was impossible to distinguish these risk factors, then CEOP must be held responsible for that lack of information. The most obvious risk behaviours are vulnerable young non-Muslim schoolgirls, being pursued by gangs of Muslim men, in situations where the girls were not under adult

⁸⁹CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/> p.13

⁹⁰CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.14

⁹¹CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.17.

supervision.⁹²

Citing the work of the Coalition for the Removal of Pimping (CROP), the CEOP report states that:

it cannot be assumed that child sexual exploitation exclusively affects chaotic or dysfunctional families. Indeed, offenders who groom children for sexual exploitation exacerbate pre-existing vulnerabilities, leading children to go missing for periods of time and engage in substance misuse, causing dysfunction in previously stable families.⁹³

That CEOP should cite the work of CROP shows that CEOP should have been partnering intensively with CROP from the outset. We must conclude that the professionals at CEOP found the whole idea of Muslim grooming gangs so controversial, that they chose to entirely ignore this form of serious child abuse. One can only construe from this, that they must have expected the hold of political correctness to have ensured that this subject could never again become a focal point in the national consciousness.

The major recommendations of the CEOP report are:

- a) experience of past victims should be used to design prevention messages and to design early intervention
- b) local agencies (child services, police, etc.) must meet their responsibilities under existing (2009) statutory guidance
- c) local agencies must ensure that children who

⁹²Not all cases involve Muslim men, but they are so heavily over-represented in these cases that the sight of an Asian man with a white schoolgirl should have sent alarm bells ringing for any police officer, teacher or social worker.

⁹³CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/> pp.16-17

are at risk are identified early on.⁹⁴

This emphasizes once more the failures of CEOP. In 2011 their principal recommendation is that education based on the experiences of victims should be used for early intervention. CEOP was stating this 3 years after their sister organisation had already commissioned an educational video designed to do this, an educational video that still has not been seen by prospective victims. From 2009, had any of those thousands of child-care professionals trained by CEOP even seen *My Dangerous Loverboy*? This would have enabled those professionals to fulfil the other two recommendations made by CEOP.

CEOP is basically trying to pass the blame onto the local agencies (children’s services and police), rather than accepting that they had a guiding role, and they failed in this role. The gangs were operating across regions, and multiple local agencies were failing to deal with them. There is even an international dimension.⁹⁵ It is clear that local agencies were mostly paralysed when it came to dealing with this kind of criminality. CEOP could not have been unaware that even at a national level, the media were too scared to discuss the subject of grooming gangs, because they would be accused of “racism” by the Left and racism groups. National leadership was required, but it was not forthcoming. Moreover, if local agencies were failing to adhere to statutory guidelines (in the *Panorama* documentary of 2008, Prof. Barrett pointed out this was also the case with courts failing to enforce recommendations protecting the interests of children), didn’t CEOP or SOCA have a role in identifying this earlier, reporting these failures to the Home Office or Ministry of Justice? Is it acceptable for CEOP to have been silent whilst child exploitation occurred because local agencies or courts were failing to follow statutory guidelines?

⁹⁴CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.95.

⁹⁵See section 2.5 [International Dimensions](#).

Whilst refusing to ever recognise that being Muslim and male is the single most common factor among the perpetrators, CEOP goes on to conclude:

The offenders within our dataset are younger with almost half of them being under 25, where age is known. There is a noticeable level of networking and particular behavioural characteristics among many offenders in that they appear to derive satisfaction from the status and power of exerting control over victims, not only to commit sexual offences, but also as an end in itself.⁹⁶

In refusing to acknowledge the most glaring objective characteristics of the perpetrators, CEOP concentrates on mind-reading the emotions of these men during their criminal activities (satisfaction), and asserting that this emotion came not from sex, or from money, or from religious belief, but from the pure exercise of power as its own reward. In what way do these characteristics help the victims, parents or child-care professionals to identify that grooming may be going on? Describing the physical or cultural characteristics of the perpetrators is far more important than speculating about their emotions. And whilst the will to power might sound like a grand notion, no attempt is made to consider whether or not Islamic doctrine might be a more concrete form of motivation.

Far more significant characteristics can be found from our dataset (see section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#)). In our dataset, 90% of the men were Muslims. Almost 20% of them had the same first name (Mohammed). It appears that about 20% of the men are blood relatives, many being brothers (even those with different surnames may actually be related, so this characteristic could be stronger). The “localised grooming” did not just happen anywhere: it did not feature school teachers exploiting their students, it did not

⁹⁶CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.93.

feature parents exploiting their role as voluntary workers. It featured gangs of Muslim men, exploiting social environments where girls would be vulnerable, where the schoolgirls would be out of view of those adults who would have responsibility for them. And the gangs were protected by a wall of silence from within their communities, and protected by the fact that people outside their communities were too scared to identify them more precisely, for fear of accusations of “racism.” These are more significant characteristics than those identified by CEOP.

The “profiling” data provided to CEOP was extremely inadequate. However, as that is the only data that is offered in this report, we should look at the data.⁹⁷

Ethnicity of Perpetrators

Unknown	White	Asian	Black	Chinese
38%	30%	28%	3%	0.16%

What is immediately obvious from the above data, is that since white people are around 90% of the population, they are very significantly under-represented in this data. Asians are very significantly over-represented. As the list of convictions shows, the “Asians” involved in these crimes are almost entirely Muslim by religion.⁹⁸ Moreover, it is also significant that the single biggest ethnic category

⁹⁷CEOP, *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/> p.87

⁹⁸The CEOP data produces some significant anomalies compared with the data we find from actual convictions, where the names betray that 90% of those convicted for these types of crimes have Muslim names. Whilst CEOP claim that their data shows that around half of the perpetrators of grooming are white men, that does not tally with the data from convictions (see section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#)). Either the police and CPS are refusing to prosecute white non-Muslim men for these crimes (a very unlikely scenario), or the “data” connecting white men with these crimes is of such low quality that it would have no chance of standing up in court. As time goes on, if this anomaly between data from convictions and data from organisations like CEOP continues, then the data from organisations like CEOP is going to look increasingly unreliable.

in the CEOP data for perpetrators is “Unknown”. That such information is missing, highlights the fundamental failings of a national agency for exploitation, created in the wake of the controversy over the “racism” of *Edge of the City*.

However, when we come to look at the ethnicity of the victims, the relationship between Asian people and white people is reversed:

Ethnicity of Victims

Unknown	White	Asian	Black	Chinese
33%	61%	3%	1%	

This data on victims is consistent with the reports that the majority of the victims are white or Sikhs. However, even when there are victims who are Sikh or Muslim Asian schoolgirls, the perpetrators have never been shown to be white non-Muslims.

The CEOP slogan is “making every child matter... everywhere.” Yet clearly they were more focussed on the abuse of Vietnamese children being trafficked into Britain than they were with the non-Muslim girls within Britain being exploited and trafficked around the country. If any single child protection agency should be considered central in the failure of agencies to fulfil their duty, CEOP is that agency. They had the responsibility to guide the other regional policing agencies, yet it was only in 2011 (two years after the English Defence League started conducting high profile demonstrations) that CEOP performed their “rapid assessment” of the problem of “localised grooming.” This was more than a decade after *Barnardo’s* had started their *Streets and Lanes* project in Bradford, 7 years after the furore over *Channel 4’s Edge of the City* documentary, and 2 years after the production of an educational film to warn schoolgirls of the ways in which the grooming gangs work, a film in which the main villain is “an Asian”. Along with their parent organisation, the Serious Organised Crime Agency, CEOP had the remit and the resources of no other national agency. But instead of

leading the other agencies on this issue the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre seemed to only take notice of this crisis following umpteen demonstrations by the English Defence League.

5.6 Serious Organised Crime Agency

CEOP is a subsidiary agency of the *Serious Organised Crime Agency* (SOCA). Another of the governmental organisations we have come across, the *UK Human Trafficking Centre* (UKHTC), is also a subsidiary agency of SOCA. Since we began writing this report, SOCA has been wound up. This means that documents to which we refer on the SOCA and CEOP websites are likely to disappear. SOCA has been replaced by the National Crime Agency. We do not know if the closure of SOCA is an intentional cover-up. SOCA came into existence on 1 April 2006 and was closed on 7 October 2013. SOCA was an amalgamation of various policing agencies, including the National Criminal Intelligence Service. At first glance it might seem strange that SOCA should oversee CEOP and UKHTC. However, these agencies are concerned with stopping organised crimes of sexual exploitation/slavery, crimes of great seriousness, and these criminal activities generate large amounts of money for the criminals, who operate on a national (and possibly even international) level. That SOCA should control CEOP and UKHTC, means that SOCA too must be considered at fault.

Mohammed Shafiq, one of the few Muslims to speak out against the grooming gangs, commented: “some of these men were making between £600 - £1000 a day.”⁹⁹ This accords with what Julie Bindel pointed out in 2007:

Pimping is lucrative. According to the Metropolitan Police Vice Squad, a pimp can make £300,000 to

⁹⁹<http://www.mohammedshafiq.net/grooming---the-men.php>.

£400,000 a year selling a 16-year-old girl.¹⁰⁰

Some of the girls would be pimped out for 15 years, into their mid to late twenties.¹⁰¹ To the average person, we would never conceive of the kinds of money that might be involved. **When we consider that each year the pimp could be making well in excess of £100,000 for each girl, and he might control a girl for 5 to 10 years, we can see that vast amounts of money could be made from this crime.**

Which makes it clear why SOCA should have been very heavily involved in monitoring these crimes. Furthermore, the international dimension should also be the concern of a major national crime agency: the similarities between the Muslim grooming gangs in Britain and the gangs in Holland, are obvious, and lead us to ponder whether or not the gangs are actually conferring. Yet all the indicators are that SOCA has done almost nothing to investigate and stop these crimes. **The most that SOCA appears to have done, is to have commissioned (through UKHTC) the film *My Dangerous Loverboy*.**

This film has never been shown to its intended audience. UKHTC claim that “racial sensitivities” have nothing to do with this failure.¹⁰² We are now in the fifth year since this film was commissioned – the only national educational project to warn and educate girls about the gangs’ grooming techniques – and yet it has *not* been shown to its intended audience. In 2011, David Dillnutt, head of UKHTC was quoted as saying UKHTC was working closely with CEOP, to get the film shown in schools.¹⁰³ Several years later, and there is still no sign

¹⁰⁰Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 20 Sep 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece

¹⁰¹“**Grooming: a Life Sentence**”, *File on Four (BBC Radio 4)*, 11 Jun 2013, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/11_06_13_fo4_grooming.pdf p.17.

¹⁰²“**Film on dangers of Asian sex gangs commissioned by Government agency... then withheld for three years**”, *Daily Mail*, 22 Jan 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1349354/Film-dangers-Asian-sex-gangs-commissioned-Government-agency--withheld-years.html>.

¹⁰³Andrew Norfolk, “**Anger as educational film on grooming withheld**”, *The Times*,

of this happening.

The film was launched at the end of 2010 as a DVD (which could be obtained directly from SOCA or UKHTC):

for use by people who have regular contact with children and are in a position to notice any changes in behaviour and physical signs which may indicate sexual exploitation. This includes front line professionals such as police officers, social workers, teachers, doctors, school nurses, sexual health practitioners and youth workers, in addition to parents and carers. The UKHTC is working with CEOP to develop a schools package for the film so it can be used in secondary schools.¹⁰⁴

There is no later announcement from SOCA to say that any version of the film is being shown routinely to schoolgirls. It seems that the only schoolgirls who are going to be given advice warning them about Muslim grooming gangs, are the girls who have already been lured into the gangs, and who are displaying signs that they are already being raped, signs obvious enough for a teacher or police officer or doctor to notice. It is obvious to any sane person, that this is far too late to try and warn such children. The horribly euphemistic “*Loverboy*” concept comes from the Netherlands, but at least there they have a programme where schools warn children and educate them about the tactics of these “*Loverboys*.” The SOCA web page where one can ask for a copy of *My Dangerous Loverboy* says “To obtain copies of *My Dangerous Loverboy*, please send an e-mail to UKHTC@soca.x.gsi.gov.uk Your details will be added to a waiting list and copies will be issued when they become available.” It has said this from 4 Jul 2011 until 4 Sep 2013.¹⁰⁵ There is no evidence that any school has been using this DVD.

21 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article2883087.ece>.

¹⁰⁴<http://www.soca.gov.uk/about-soca/about-the-ukhtc/prevention/my-dangerous-l-overboy>.

¹⁰⁵<http://www.soca.gov.uk/about-soca/about-the-ukhtc/contact-ukhtc>.

At the end of 2013, CEOP – now under the aegis of the National Crime Agency, which replaced SOCA – released a new film about “sexual exploitation.”¹⁰⁶ This “educational video” shows the principal victim as black, and the perpetrators as white, and it shows the sexual exploitation happening between school children of the same age. If it was supposed to inform schoolgirls about the risks from Muslim grooming gangs, it must be judged completely inadequate: it’s as if CEOP is in denial concerning all the information that has come out about the peculiarities of this crime spree. This latest “educational” film

- doesn’t show the victims as barely pubescent 11 year olds,¹⁰⁷ rather than the 16 year old in the video
- doesn’t show that 90% of those convicted for these crimes are Muslims¹⁰⁸
- doesn’t show that the average age of those convicted is 29 years old,¹⁰⁹ rather than the 18 year old shown in the video
- doesn’t show gangs of men hanging around schools and shopping malls and preying on schoolgirls¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶<http://www.ceop.police.uk/Media-Centre/Press-releases/2013/School-best-place-to-learn-about-sexual-exploitation/>. Again, it seems as though there is no attempt to draw any connection between sexual exploitation and Muslim grooming gangs, even as the conviction of Muslim men for these crimes are at an all-time high. The film is available on YouTube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qORv-TgI4JI>. Bizarrely, CEOP has adverts prefacing the video. It seems extraordinary that a national police agency would seek to supplement their income by taking a slice of Google’s advertising revenue.

¹⁰⁷Sandra Laville and Alexandra Topping, “**Oxford child sex abuse ring: social services failed me, says victim**”, 15 May 2013, *The Guardian*, <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/may/14/oxford-abuse-ring-social-services>.

¹⁰⁸11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions

¹⁰⁹11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions To a 17 year old, someone around 30 seems very old.

¹¹⁰“**Child grooming still a problem in Derby, say police**”, 12 Dec 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-derbyshire-16137593>.

- doesn't show the girls being intentionally addicted to alcohol and drugs by the gangs¹¹¹
- doesn't show the victim as white, when even CEOP's own data shows that most of the grooming gang victims are white¹¹²
- doesn't show the gangs using accusations of racism against the girls' parents to drive a wedge between the child and those who want to protect her¹¹³
- doesn't show schoolgirls having their tongues nailed to the table when they want to escape from the gangs¹¹⁴
- doesn't show the death threats being made by the grooming gangs against the victim's siblings and parents¹¹⁵

The video bears less relationship to the techniques and threat of the grooming gangs than does the 2009 film, *My Dangerous Loverboy*. The young men in the new CEOP film do not even look Asian, and the principle schoolgirl victim is black, when all the statistics show that it is principally white girls who are at risk, and it is Asian (more

¹¹¹Sandra Laville and Alexandra Topping, **“The nasty truth about rape: To those of you who think a 12-year-old girl from Rochdale in a short skirt can't be raped - you're very wrong”**, 11 May 2012, *The Mirror*, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/rochdale-grooming-gang-to-those-of-you-828599>.

¹¹²See the analysis of the CEOP data above. If the 33% of victims whose ethnicity is "unknown" are discounted from the CEOP data, then there are 60 white victims for every black victim. There is evidence that grooming gangs are at least partially motivated by racism against white girls - see 6.4 **Racist Aspects of Grooming** below.

¹¹³Julie Bindel, **“Mothers of Prevention”**, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

¹¹⁴Kathryn Knight, **“Is political correctness stopping police ending the misery of the teenage sex slaves?”**, *Daily Mail*, 27 Mar 2008, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-546809/Is-political-correctness-stopping-police-ending-misery-teenage-sex-slaves.html>.

¹¹⁵Arthur Martin, **“Faces of True Evil: Judge Jails Depraved Sex Gang for 95 Years After they Committed Grotesque Abuse on Girls as Young as 11”**, *The Daily Mail*, 27 Jun 2013 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2349784/Sadistic-paedophile-sex-gang-brothers-given-lengthy-prison-sentences-exploiting-underage-girls.html>.

specifically, Muslim) men who are the principal perpetrators. CEOP seem to have ignored their own data, and the 20 or so major criminal cases from 6 years preceding this video. It seems like CEOP and SOCA/NCA have learned nothing. Only extended political pressure will make these agencies face up to their responsibilities.¹¹⁶

In 2007 UKHTC conceded that the schoolgirls are being trafficked¹¹⁷ within Britain by these gangs, but the response of this national police child-protection agency is to make an anodyne and uninformative video. The inaction is not just confined to local police forces, but appears to grip national agencies such as SOCA (NCA), and its subsidiaries, CEOP and UKHTC. Surely such organisations with such grand names have the gumption and wherewithal to deploy surveillance equipment in cases of human trafficking? Failing that, we must surely expect them to be investigating gangs who could be making millions of pounds each year from drug-dealing and prostituting schoolgirls. They should be leading a national effort to coordinate intelligence and disseminate it, and the thousands of child-care professionals and officers they train through CEOP should be learning not only what makes these grooming gangs different but how to work together to stop them. Moreover, the SOCA

¹¹⁶When SOCA was transformed into the National Crime Agency, the head of CEOP resigned, saying that submerging CEOP within NCA would be bad for children. If the inactivity of CEOP and SOCA with regard to the grooming gangs had led to these agencies being censured by the media, child-care professionals and politicians, one could see why a new agency might be created, and why CEOP might be controlled by that new agency. Instead, with no criticism of either CEOP or SOCA, a new agency was created, even when the head of CEOP resigning over “government plans to merge CEOP into a National Crime Agency. [saying] ‘I have resigned because I think it is not best for children’.”, “**CEOP chief: National Crime Agency would be bad for children**”, 12 Oct 2010, *Channel 4 News*, <http://www.channel4.com/news/ceop-chief-national-crime-agency-would-be-bad-for-children>. This video looks like he was right: despite CEOP’s own data showing major disparities in ethnicity with “localised grooming”, their new educational video does nothing to inform schoolgirls of the true nature of the risks they face.

¹¹⁷Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 2007, http://www.theSundayTimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece

organisations could have led the way in a national educational campaign to combat the false accusations of racism against those who were trying to help the schoolgirls. But 5 years after producing its educational DVD, SOCA has not been able to get it seen by the intended audience. We have to wonder if this organisation and its subsidiary organisations (however they are re-branded) are fit for purpose.

It is remarkable that the Home Affairs Select Committee did not have anything to say about this astonishing failure at the heart of national policing. They offered no criticism of national agencies like CEOP, UKHTC nor SOCA. If the number of victims quoted by are even remotely accurate, and the amount the gangs earned from prostituting/trafficking one girl are close to accurate,¹¹⁸ then our country is looking at criminal activity with a possible value of maybe £300 million per year. That is for the pimping activities alone. If all the other related criminality of these gangs was tallied, their gains could be far greater.

How has SOCA (and its various subsidiary organisations) evaded censure? What other crime agency should have been pursuing these criminal gangs and their highly lucrative criminal activities?

5.7 Children's Commissioner

One year after the CEOP “rapid assessment”, where CEOP bemoaned the lack of data with which to provide a proper analysis of “localised grooming”, The Children’s Commissioner for England, wrote a report

¹¹⁸It is often quoted that the gangs charged around £600 to those who wished to rape these under-age victims. Sandra Laville and Alexandra Topping, “**Oxford gang skillfully groomed young victims then sold them for £600 a time**”, 14 May 2013, *The Guardian*, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/may/14/oxford-gang-groomed-victims-hell>.

following a year-long investigation.¹¹⁹ This report from The Children’s Commissioner also complained about a lack of data. And given their complaints about a lack of data, we cannot see that this report from The Children’s Commissioner added anything of significant value to the CEOP report. It merely confirmed that the data had considerable gaps when it came to the recording of race (never mind the lack of data on ethnicity/religion).

The purpose of this second report seemed to be intended to ameliorate the findings of CEOP: where CEOP had data, it confirmed that “Asians” were massively over-represented amongst the perpetrators involved in grooming. The report from The Children’s Commissioner was used by people to deny the relevance of ethnicity to the grooming phenomenon,¹²⁰ as if the report somehow refuted the

¹¹⁹ The report was called **“I thought I was the only one. The only one in the world’: The Office of The Children’s Commissioner’s Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation In Gangs and Groups”**, Nov 2012, <http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/info/csegg1>. The vast majority of victims in the data contained in this report are the victims of what CEOP called “localised grooming.” Since the schoolgirls who were being groomed by Muslim gangs were often used to lure other schoolgirls into the gang’s control, we have to assume that the title of The Children’s Commissioner’s report is “poetic.” The report even contradicts its own title by page 6:

The abuse takes place in private houses, warehouses, transportation vehicles, public spaces, parks, schools, hotels and hostels. [...] Victims are linked to each other through schools, the internet, mobile phones, social gatherings, children’s homes, neighbourhoods and public spaces such as shopping centres, funfairs, take away shops and coffee shops.

A thorough inquiry into the ways the grooming gangs operate might well show that it was totally inaccurate and misleading for The Children’s Commissioner to choose this title, which stresses victim isolation as the fundamental feature of the exploitation: it is very likely that those victims who thought they were “the only one” were the exception rather than the rule. No doubt it suits child-care professionals to make the public think that no-one could have known what was going on with these schoolgirl victims, and it is harder to sell that myth when the grooming was often going on in public, in broad daylight.

¹²⁰ Steve Doughty **“Sex gangs report ‘will play down threat of Pakistani men targeting white girls’”**, *The Daily Mail*, 16 Nov 2012 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2234004/Sex-gangs-report-play-threa>

claims of organisations like CROP:¹²¹ namely, that the vast majority of the perpetrators in the grooming gangs were Muslim men.¹²² As the *Sikh Awareness Society* said there was “Anger as sex abuse report ‘turns blind eye to Asian Pakistani gangs’.”¹²³ We will proceed to show that the report from The Children’s Commissioner does nothing to diminish the claims of the victims, their families, nor CROP: most of the perpetrators were “Asians” (and the conviction data shows they were almost entirely Muslims).

Whilst most people will be able to understand what a national agency like SOCA or CEOP is, who or what is The Children’s Commissioner?

The Children’s Commissioner for England... her team make sure adults who work with children think about the needs of children and young people and listen to their views to make their lives better. **They speak up for all children and young people, especially those who are not often asked for their views or who might be vulnerable.** For example, children who miss out on education, disabled children, those who have just arrived in this country, young people with emotional difficulties and those who get in trouble with the law. **The Commissioner’s job was created in 2004 by the Children Act. The Children Act is a law created by**

t-Pakistani-men-targeting-white-girls.html; see also “**Children’s commissioner defends controversial grooming report**”, *The Yorkshire Post*, 16 Dec 2012 <http://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/main-topics/general-news/children-s-commissioner-defends-controversial-grooming-report-1-5215737>.

¹²¹The charity which was dedicated to working with the schoolgirl victims and their families.

¹²²Paul Vallely, “**Child Sex Grooming: the Asian Question**”, *The Independent*, 10 May 2012 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/child-sex-grooming-the-asian-question-7729068.html>.

¹²³<http://www.sasorg.co.uk/anger-as-sex-abuse-report-turns-blind-eye-to-asian-pakistani-gangs/>.

the Government to keep children safe from harm.¹²⁴
(emphasis added)

Since local authorities, local police forces, and national agencies were ignoring what was going on, it was even more important that The Children's Commissioner speak out for the rights of these vulnerable children, who were being ignored by virtually every agency and failed by every safeguard supposedly put there to protect children.

The office of The Children's Commissioner came into existence in 2004. At the time that this office was created, surely the most notorious issue in child welfare was the grooming/pimping gangs being disclosed by *Channel 4* reports? Remember that in 2004 Anna Hall, who made that controversial documentary, was very much in the media and she was stating that what was happening in Bradford was happening nationwide (this was confirmed in exculpatory statements from child services at Bradford council). Remember also, that in 2006, the *Sikh Awareness Society* became a national organisation, stating as a reason that the grooming gangs were in operating nationwide. Yet we can find no evidence that between 2004 and 2012 The Children's Commissioner paid any attention whatsoever to the thousands of schoolgirls being groomed by these gangs. In *The Times* in 2007, Julie Bindel pointed out that the parents were having to do the detective work, that the police were then dismissing what they did, and that social workers were not listening to the girls or their parents. And then in 2008, *Panorama* did their expose of the grooming gangs. How could it be that The Children's Commissioner, an office specifically set up to champion the views of children who were being ignored, could not know that these grooming gangs existed and that these children were being failed by virtually every agency that was there to protect them?

When The Children's Commissioner came out with their report on

¹²⁴Children's Commissioner, "About the Commissioner", http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/speech_bubble_1.

child sexual exploitation in 2012, rather than attempt to acquire more data consistent with the definition set out by CEOP, The Children’s Commissioner report conflates two distinctly different forms of child sexual abuse: 1) gang-related, and 2) group-related (where the latter definition closely matches the phenomenon of localised grooming). It is clear from looking at the data accompanying The Children’s Commissioner definitions,¹²⁵ that with *gang-related CSE*, there are very few Asian perpetrators and very few Asian victims. However, with *group-related CSE* (i.e. what was designated by CEOP as “**localised grooming**”), there are relatively few black victims, and (in absolute terms) most of the perpetrators are white, but in proportional terms white people are hugely under-represented as perpetrators; yet even in this data, “Asians” are hugely over-represented as perpetrators. Since The Children’s Commissioner still used separate terms for these different forms of Child Sexual Exploitation, we can compare the two reports in this regard (see section 18. [Appendix 8: Children’s Commissioner Charts](#)): we can unpick the conflation introduced by The Children’s Commissioner. The results are really not significantly different from the image of the problem represented in the data from CEOP.

With regard to “localised grooming”, CEOP found that Asian men were 28% of the perpetrators whilst white men were 30% of the perpetrators; The Children’s Commissioner report found that around 21% of the perpetrators were Asian, whilst white men were 27% of the perpetrators. When it came to the victims of “localised grooming”, CEOP found that Asian girls were 3% of the victims, but white girls were 61% of the victims; whilst the Commissioner’s report found that 4% of the victims were Asian, whilst 50% of the victims were white. **In effect, The Children’s Commissioner ended up re-confirming the findings of CEOP.**¹²⁶ If we express this in tabular

¹²⁵where there is racial data, see section 18. [Appendix 8: Children’s Commissioner Charts](#).

¹²⁶The only significant aspect of The Children’s Commissioner’s intervention into this

form, it will be clearer.¹²⁷

Ethnicity of Perpetrators (Localised Grooming)

Source	Unknown	White	Asian
CEOP	38%	30%	28%
CC	16%	27%	21%

Ethnicity of Victims (Localised Grooming)

Source	Unknown	White	Asian
CEOP	33%	61%	3%
CC	15%	51%	4%

Despite The Children’s Commissioner spending a year on their study, and despite them getting data from more sources and with a higher response rate than did CEOP, The Children’s Commissioner’s report serves to reconfirm what the data available to CEOP showed:

area, is to highlight that “localised grooming” is a far more significant form of Child Sexual Exploitation than that conducted by street gangs.

¹²⁷We are extracting from section 18. [Appendix 8: Children’s Commissioner Charts](#), the equivalent data to that extracted from the 2011 CEOP report, in our earlier discussion in section 5.5 [Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre](#) of our analysis. Obviously, in none of the tables here do the rows add up to 100%; that is because we are simplifying the presentation to concentrate principally on “localised grooming” and the disparity between the ethnicity of the perpetrators and the victims. If The Children’s Commissioner had chosen not to obfuscate matters, they would have made it easier for anyone to do a mapping between their data and the CEOP data, with regard to ethnicity and “localised grooming.” For our purposes, we are ignoring those perpetrators and victims who are black, as race is only a secondary factor when considering the characteristics that identify a perpetrator or a victim in this crime (as the evidence concerning the Sikh victims shows). A far more significant identifying factor is the religion of the perpetrator and the victim. Since the authorities have chosen to ignore this factor for the last 10 to 25 years, where we cannot ourselves infer religion from data (see section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#) and section 13. [Appendix 3: Name Distribution of Convicts](#)), we must use the secondary indicators of “Asian” and “white” for “Muslim” and “non-Muslim.” We want to acknowledge that doing this means that the Sikh victims of the Muslim grooming gangs are ignored when doing this, but we must work with the conflated information provided. This is one of the tragedies of the authorities insisting on seeing this in “racist” terms all these years.

among perpetrators of “localised grooming”, “Asians” (Muslims) are very significantly over-represented, whilst white men are very significantly under-represented. Yet when it comes to the victims, it is white children who are the majority of the victims. Whether it was planned or not, what The Children’s Commissioner’s report does is perform tricks with statistics. By merging two distinctly different forms of child sexual exploitation, the report manages to make it look like there are fewer “Asians” involved as perpetrators, and fewer white girls as victims: this is because the proportions are altered, simply by including more black and white perpetrators, and including more black victims. If the Children’s Commissioner had kept these two forms of exploitation separate (perhaps by having two different sections in the report), then their findings regarding the discrepancy in ethnicity between perpetrator and victim in “localised grooming” would have been indistinguishable from those of CEOP. It is as if The Children’s Commissioner took some acidic mixture, and added some alkali, then said: “Look, this mixture is less acidic than people say”: the most significant outcome is that they distorted the procedure, not that the facts (as far as they are known) were proven to be any different.

In section 19. [Appendix 9: Victims to Perpetrators](#) we have taken The Children’s Commissioner data concerning the incidence of Asian and white people in the categories of victim and perpetrator, put this data on the same chart so to remove the confusion of scale introduced by the statisticians working for The Children’s Commissioner, and also included the percentages of the entire population who are either Asian or White.¹²⁸ In doing this, we have removed those white and black victims and perpetrators connected to street gangs.¹²⁹ Using our simplified chart, it is indisputable: white

¹²⁸According to 2011 Census data, Asians are 7.5% of the UK population, white people are 86% of the UK population. “**Census shows rise in foreign-born**”, *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-20687168>

¹²⁹It goes without saying, that form of criminality should be pursued and reported (separately) by the media.

men are very significantly under-represented as perpetrators in this type of crime, and Asian men are very significantly over-represented. Just on the data from The Children's Commissioner, Asian men are 6x more likely to be involved in grooming gangs than white men (Asians are 3x over-represented, white men are 3x under-represented). Since the presentation of the "data" in The Children's Commissioner report leads people to believe¹³⁰ that there are roughly equal numbers of white men and Asian men involved in the grooming gangs, where are the prosecutions and convictions against these white men? The police and child-care professionals who ignored the grooming gangs because they were mostly "Asian" have good reason to ensure that prosecutions of white men take place instead. Given that the child-care professionals and police have been ignoring these crimes for 25 years, the public can have little confidence in the data which was fed to The Children's Commissioner.¹³¹ Moreover, let us re-iterate: the conviction data, where evidence is rigorously assessed first by police, then CPS, and finally in a court, is of a known quality. And the data from convictions shows that these "Asians" are almost always Muslims. Furthermore, there is an ideological and cultural background which would explain this over-representation of one specific ethnic group in these crimes (see section 7. [Islamic Cultural Background](#)). The data from convictions also shows that when it comes to the evidence rigorously assessed in the trial process, the

¹³⁰In the Interim Report, the two charts we have put together in 18. [Appendix 8: Children's Commissioner Charts](#) are in fact separated by 12 pages of text, tables and other charts - see pp.92-105 <http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/info/csegg1>. If The Children's Commissioner had been interested in examining the disparity in ethnicity between victims and perpetrators in localised grooming, they would not have presented this data so badly.

¹³¹The agencies who supplied this data to The Children's Commissioner have powerful incentives to find, fudge or lose data, to ensure that the public do not realise that there has been a specific, new form of criminality, which these agencies had studiously ignored for decades. There is already evidence that local councils would go to considerable lengths to ensure that their negligence would not be uncovered. See section 5.2 [Local Councils](#).

presence of Muslims and the absence of white, non-Muslims in this form of criminality is even greater.

Our single chart removes much of the extraneous information included by The Children's Commissioner's analysis. And this shows not only that "Asians" are 6x more likely than white men to be involved in these crimes, it shows that Asian children are far less likely than white children to be victims. This simplified chart thus reveals things concealed by the analysis by The Children's Commissioner: if there was not an ethnic dimension to these crimes, if Asian men were grooming Asian children, and if white men were grooming white children, then one would expect that there would be an equivalence between the ethnicity of the perpetrators and the ethnicity of victims.¹³² But when The Children's Commissioner data is rendered in this more intelligible form, it is clear that the proportion of white victims is far greater than the proportion of white perpetrators, yet the proportion of Asian victims is far less than the proportion of Asian perpetrators. What the Muslim Council of Britain was calling "a racist myth" in 2009, not only contradicted by the reporting of Julie Bindel in 2007, but even by The Children's Commissioner's data in 2012: this data shows that "Asian" men are grooming white children. Asian children are not even found among the victims in proportions in which Asians are found among the general population. Asians are 7.5% of the UK population, but only 4% of the victims are Asian. Moreover, not only are the Asian perpetrators almost certainly Muslims, but it is likely that among these Asian victims, that most of the victims are not Muslims but Sikhs or Hindus. So, if "Asian" men are 3x over-represented as groomers, and "Asian" children are 2x under-represented, from which

¹³²The Muslim Women's Network admits that, at least for Asian victims, the perpetrators are also Asians: "Asian/Muslim female victims are most vulnerable to offenders from their own communities as the overwhelming majority of the offenders were from the same background as the victims." Shaista Gohir MBE, "**Unheard Voices: The Sexual Exploitation of Asian Girls and Young Women**", September 2013, http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/go_files/resources/UnheardVoices.pdf, p.23.

community are these “Asian” men getting their non-Asian victims? All of this supports what the director of *Edge of the City* learned from *Barnardo’s* back in 1996: the perpetrators are mostly Asian, and the victims are mostly white.¹³³ The evidence from convictions, evidence which is of a far higher quality than the “evidence” supplied to The Children’s Commissioner makes things even clearer: Muslim perpetrators out-number non-Muslim perpetrators by 9:1, whereas The Children’s Commissioner analysis claims Asian and white men are to be found in almost equal numbers (see Figure 7 of [18. Appendix 8: Children’s Commissioner Charts](#), where the “choices” made by The Children’s Commissioner’s expert advisers results in a chart which suggests there is no ethnic dimension whatsoever to this form of criminality). This highly-publicised analysis by The Children’s Commissioner was used by others to dismiss the idea that there was any ethnic dimension to these crimes.

One of the few Muslims who chose to speak out about the Muslim grooming gangs, was Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, who took apart the report by The Children’s Commissioner, saying the report writers “try hard to side-step some difficult facts and even warn the rest of us from going where they have chosen not to tread.”¹³⁴ As we have pointed out throughout our analysis, the agencies who should have listened to the victims and their parents

¹³³Anna Hall “**Hunt For Britain’s Sex Gangs, C4**” *Broadcast* 2 May 2013, <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/in-depth/hunt-for-britains-sex-gangs-c4/5054504.article>.

In October 1996... I met Sara Swann, who ran Bradford’s Barnardo’s Streets and Lanes project. Barnardo’s was interested in making a film to warn teenagers and educate parents ... the girls were white and living in multi-cultural Bradford and the perpetrators were Asian... everybody wanted to pretend it wasn’t happening. All anyone seemed concerned about was the risk of a race riot if we mentioned it.

¹³⁴Yasmin Alibhai-Brown “**Why as a Muslim and a Mother I Believe it’s so Damaging to Hide from the Truth about Asian Sex Gangs**”, *The Daily Mail*, 21 Nov 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2236081/Why-Muslim-mother-I-believe-damaging-hide-truth-Asian-sex-gangs.html>.

frequently ignored what they heard and saw, as much of the evidence attests. And now that the issue was gaining publicity, The Children's Commissioner chose to write a report that seemed to confuse matters.

By refusing to recognise the specifics of "localised grooming", The Children's Commissioner "generalised" these crimes, putting the Muslim grooming gangs in with all other child abusers.¹³⁵ Ms. Alibhai-Brown points out that The Children's Commissioner report disguises that:

in some British cities... circles of sexual hell for young girls are run by gangs of Muslim men (most of Pakistani or Bangladeshi heritage) who mostly prey on white girls.¹³⁶

It is bad enough that The Children's Commissioner should have failed from its inception to identify these crimes and the victims who were being ignored by police and social services. But once this crime was no longer deniable, The Children's Commissioner instead set about confusing the specific details, rather than concentrating on unearthing them. We ask again: who is The Children's Commissioner supposed to represent? Is this not a fundamental failure of this office? As Ms. Alibhai-Brown states

It is easy to loathe the abusers, but much harder to ask what it is about some Asian cultural assumptions that make the paedophiles feel no guilt or shame about what they do... the Children's Commission report needed to

¹³⁵It goes without saying that The Children's Commissioner should have also been speaking out for the victims of, what they chose to call, "gang CSE." Was 2012 the first time that The Children's Commissioner office bothered to address this problem of "gang" CSE too? Let us remind ourselves of the purpose of The Children's Commissioner: to "speak up for all children and young people, especially those who are not often asked for their views or who might be vulnerable".

¹³⁶Yasmin Alibhai-Brown "**Why as a Muslim and a Mother I Believe it's so Damaging to Hide from the Truth about Asian Sex Gangs**", *The Daily Mail*, 21 Nov 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2236081/Why-Muslim-mother-I-believe-damaging-hide-truth-Asian-sex-gangs.html>

attend to specifics, and not vague generalities about perpetrators.¹³⁷

Once again, we conclude that it is the fear of being accused of being “racist” by Muslim organisations, the racism groups, and the Left which made an office such as The Children’s Commissioner abandon its core directives and create confusion when what was needed was clarity. Ms. Alibhai-Brown reaches the same conclusion: that “the committee in charge of the report are nervous of causing offence to community leaders, of being thought racists.”¹³⁸

However, we should not make Ms. Alibhai-Brown into a saint. As a journalist of many years standing, she too could have chosen to lend her support to the likes of Anna Hall and Julie Bindel, the only journalists who spoke out about these Muslim grooming gangs between 2004 and 2010. Ms. Alibhai-Brown did admit she was partly motivated to speak out now because she was worried about matters “rebounding” on “Asians” and “Muslims.”

The reason I feel compelled to write about these particular groomers and rapists is because I am Asian, and I know how their repugnant activities are rebounding on all of us and on good Asian men. The internet is rife with horrifying stories about such gangs. They are a mix of fact and fiction. Every Asian and Muslim I know, including some imams, want these monsters exposed,

¹³⁷Yasmin Alibhai-Brown “**Why as a Muslim and a Mother I Believe it’s so Damaging to Hide from the Truth about Asian Sex Gangs**”, *The Daily Mail*, 21 Nov 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2236081/Why-Muslim-mother-I-believe-damaging-hide-truth-Asian-sex-gangs.html>. We note that Ms. Alibhai-Brown is still pushing the idea that it is “Asian culture” rather than Muslim culture which is the problem.

¹³⁸Yasmin Alibhai-Brown “**Why as a Muslim and a Mother I Believe it’s so Damaging to Hide from the Truth about Asian Sex Gangs**”, *The Daily Mail*, 21 Nov 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2236081/Why-Muslim-mother-I-believe-damaging-hide-truth-Asian-sex-gangs.html>.

named and put away.¹³⁹

Ms. Alibhai-Brown did at least, finally, take a stand and subject this obfuscation to criticism. However, if it is true that all the Muslim leaders known by the well-connected Ms. Alibhai-Brown wanted the groomers exposed, then we must ask: Why were prominent Muslim leaders at the beginning of this century denouncing people like Ann Cryer for speaking out? Why were Muslim “elders” refusing to get involved when Ms. Cryer asked for their help before it all became public in 2003?¹⁴⁰ Why have the Muslim organisations and Muslim leaders not defended those who were denounced as “racist” who dared to speak about this? Where were the Muslim groups coming out in support of Mohammed Shafiq, when he was receiving death threats from those who sought to conceal the activities of the Muslim grooming gangs?¹⁴¹

Like so many other organisations meant to protect children, when it came to the sexual exploitation of children by gangs of Muslims, The Children’s Commissioner utterly failed. When the Commissioner

¹³⁹Yasmin Alibhai-Brown “**Why as a Muslim and a Mother I Believe it’s so Damaging to Hide from the Truth about Asian Sex Gangs**”, *The Daily Mail*, 21 Nov 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2236081/Why-Muslim-mother-I-believe-damaging-hide-truth-Asian-sex-gangs.html>.

¹⁴⁰We might also note, that following the Parliamentary investigation into the grooming gangs, it was widely publicised that mosques around the country were going to read out a sermon condemning these crimes. Yet most of the mosques in Britain did not read the sermon condemning the grooming gangs. We must wonder just what section of the Muslim community it is which she claims “want these monsters exposed, named and put away”. In 2009, the Muslim Council of Britain, which represents hundreds of Islamic organisations, said that the grooming gangs were “a racist myth”.

¹⁴¹Julie Bindel, “**Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth**”, *Standpoint Magazine*, Dec 2010, <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>.

“I was one of the first within the Muslim community to speak out about this, four years ago,” says Shafiq, “and at the time I received death threats from some black and Asian people. But what I said has been proved right — that if we didn’t tackle it there would be more of these abusers and more girls getting harmed.”

finally came out with this report in 2012 it was seen by some as **an attempt to muddy the water, by conflating “gang related” and “group related” sexual exploitation.** Instead of teasing out the differences between these two different kinds of sexual exploitation, The Children’s Commissioner confuses the matter. However, what is clear from The Children’s Commissioner report, is that in a country which is overwhelmingly white, white people are no more than 40% of the perpetrators of the groups and/or gangs involved in child-sexual exploitation (CSE), and non-white people are responsible for 40% of the CSE, and most of these were Asian. When it comes to the “race” of the victims, 60% were white, about 25% were non-white (and most of those were not Asian).¹⁴² Black men feature far more prominently in The Children’s Commissioner report because the report specifically included (mostly black) street gangs, who use sexual exploitation as an initiation rite/control structure within the gangs.¹⁴³ Thus, if we consider the project that The Children’s Commissioner has undertaken, they have re-confirmed one fundamental idea: when it comes to groups or gangs who exploit children, white children are far more likely to be victims, and non-white adults are far more likely to be perpetrators. If the office of The Children’s Commissioner set out to prove that the idea of Muslim grooming gangs was a myth, then the Commissioner failed spectacularly.¹⁴⁴ The report more or less

¹⁴² Compare figure 7 and figure 8, in section 18. [Appendix 8: Children’s Commissioner Charts](#). For about 15% of cases, there was no racial data for either the perpetrator or the victim. When you compare figures 7 and 8, bear in mind that the scale for figure 8 is half the scale of figure 7 (i.e. the top of the scale for figure 7 is 60%, the top of the scale for figure 8 is 30%). If the charts used the same scale for victims and perpetrators, then the report would have been less misleading.

¹⁴³ Mark Townsend, “**Being raped by a gang is normal – it’s about craving to be accepted**”, *The Guardian*, 18 Feb 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/feb/18/being-raped-by-gang-normal>.

¹⁴⁴ What we need to bear in mind with regard to the “data” from CEOP report and from The Children’s Commissioner report, is that their data is gathered from disparate sources, and the quality of much of that data will not stand up in court. The principles of the Norfolk analysis mean that the data has gone through weeks of rigorous questioning in court, leading to convictions despite this contestation. Thus, the Norfolk

confirms what the CEOP data showed with regard to Muslim grooming gangs. Indeed, all the Commissioner's report managed to do was to highlight that there is also a significant over-representation of black men in other forms of child-sexual exploitation.

Sikh organisations reported that it was “difficult to overstate the contempt” in which government ministers held The Children's Commissioner's report.¹⁴⁵ Yet apart from Yasmin Alibai-Brown it was hard to find commentators who took the report apart to show that even merging localised grooming with the crimes of street-gangs did not manage to conceal the huge over-representation of “Asian” men as perpetrators. Indeed, the report was used by Left-wing journalists/activists to claim that this official report supported the idea that race was not relevant to the grooming phenomenon. When the Parliamentary inquiry concluded, there was no censure of The Children's Commissioner for the report or even for failing to take up the problem of the schoolgirls being ignored by agencies from 2004 to 2012. Indeed, the Parliamentary inquiry did not censure The Children's Commissioner but thanked her, twice.¹⁴⁶

This 2012 report was described as an “interim” report, part of a 2-year project called CSEGG, which began in October 2011,¹⁴⁷ the final report being completed by Autumn 2013. Did the “final” report show that The Children's Commissioner had taken on board the

analysis is based on data which has been subjected to the most rigorous of questioning - and this data shows that where the evidence is strong enough to bring about a conviction, the vast majority of those involved in “localised grooming” are Muslim men. Thus, even if the reports from CEOP and The Children's Commissioner had in fact demonstrated that most of the perpetrators were not Muslims, and that 5% of the victims were Muslims, this would still be less reliable data than the data provided by the convictions in court.

¹⁴⁵<http://www.sasorg.co.uk/anger-as-sex-abuse-report-turns-blind-eye-to-asian-pakistani-gangs/> .

¹⁴⁶Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf>, p.10, p.62 .

¹⁴⁷<http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/info/csegg1> .

(supposed) contempt of government ministers, the critique of Muslims like Ms. Alibhai-Brown, or the hostility of Sikh victims espoused by the *Sikh Awareness Society*? No. The data and conclusions from the “interim” report were used by many commentators to argue that there was no relevance to discrepancies between the ethnicity of the perpetrators in the grooming gangs and the ethnicity of the victims.¹⁴⁸ Yet when The Children’s Commissioner’s final report came out in 2013, supposedly with more complete evidence since it was to be the “final report”, it offered no additional evidence to that contained in the “interim report”.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, the “final report” makes up for none of the short-comings in data, bemoaned by CEOP in 2011, and by The Children’s Commissioner’s own interim report of 2012. What can we conclude from this? Did the “interim report” serve a purpose in confusing the data regarding the disparity in ethnicity between perpetrators and victims? Did they collect more data, but found that it proved even more categorically that white men are under-represented amongst perpetrators?

In the years leading up to the 2012 report, the Commissioner’s office was mostly concerned with issues like bullying at school, stopping parents smacking their children, the housing conditions of the children of asylum seekers. There was no evidence of any interest in the grooming gangs, who operated with impunity because the victims were failed by schools, police, social services, the CPS and the courts. The Children’s Commissioner has some specific powers that are not shared by other agencies “to demand answers from statutory bodies and to interview in private any child in a location

¹⁴⁸Sunny Hundal, “**Oxford gang-rape case: were the girls exploited because they were white?**”, May 14 2013, <http://liberalconspiracy.org/2013/05/14/oxford-gang-rape-case-were-the-girls-exploited-because-they-were-white/>.

¹⁴⁹The Children’s Commissioner, “**If Only Someone Had Listened**”, 2013, http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/force_download.php?fp=%2Fclient_assets%2Fcp%2Fpublication%2F743%2Fif_only_someone_had_listened_Office_of_the_Childrens_Commissioners_Inquiry_into_Child_Sexual_Exploitation_in_Gangs_and_Groups.pdf.

(other than the family home) where he or she is being looked after.”¹⁵⁰ The Commissioner chose to prioritise other issues, and did not use those powers to investigate the controversial topic of the grooming gangs. When Dr. Maggie Atkinson applied for the post of The Children’s Commissioner, she declared that the most distinctive feature of her career to date was her ability to lead.¹⁵¹ Readers must judge for themselves the extent to which, between 2009 and 2012, her office displayed leadership when it came to advocating for the rights of the schoolgirl victims of the grooming gangs. Local authority staff and police officers faced being branded as “racists” if they pursued these gangs. It was up to organisations like CEOP, SOCA and The Children’s Commissioner to show leadership at a national level.

5.8 Home Affairs Select Committee

In June 2012, the Home Affairs Select Committee started a 6 month investigation into “localised grooming”, the term coined by CEOP in 2010. The findings of this investigation were published in the summer of 2013.¹⁵² If we were to summarise this report it could be best summed-up by the failed attempt by one of the committee members (David Winnick, Labour MP for Walsall North) to get the committee to insert the rider that “the perception, that grooming perpetrators are largely of Asian, British Asian or Muslim origin” was false. The

¹⁵⁰Peter Wilby, “**Young at heart: The choice of the next children’s commissioner has been mired in controversy, but what legacy does the incumbent, Sir Al Aynsley-Green, leave his successor?**”, *The Guardian*, 3 Nov 2009, <http://www.theguardian.com/education/2009/nov/03/childrens-commissioner-aynsley-green>.

¹⁵¹“**Appointment of The Children’s Commissioner for England - Children, Schools and Families Committee Contents**”, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200809/cmselect/cmchilsch/998/99808.htm>

¹⁵²Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf>

committee rejected the claim that this was a false perception.¹⁵³ **We can take it from the rejection of this proposed amendment, that the majority of the MPs on the Committee now concluded that the perception that these gangs were predominantly “Asian” or “Muslim” was accurate.** It had taken Britain 10 years from the original *Channel 4* disclosure to admit this. Political activists, politicians, journalists, police and child-care professions failed to follow up on the original disclosures by *Channel 4*; worse, they embarked upon years of self-censorship and denial. And every year, thousands of vulnerable schoolgirls continued to be prostituted by Muslim grooming gangs.

The Home Affairs Select Committee singles out “the investigative journalism” of Andrew Norfolk as the pivotal event.¹⁵⁴ This parliamentary investigation blamed front-line services for the failure to bring Muslim grooming gangs to justice: “police, social services and the Crown Prosecution Service must all bear responsibility for the way in which vulnerable children have been left unprotected by the system.”¹⁵⁵ **However, we think that given the systematic, long-standing exploitation by the gangs, given that they were trafficking children around the country, and given the international similarities with what was happening in the**

¹⁵³Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.73

¹⁵⁴Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.27. However, as we have pointed out above: even though Norfolk has admitted to knowing about the grooming gangs since he moved to Yorkshire in 2003, we cannot find evidence of him reporting on this until October 2010: we cannot find any report by him of the two major grooming cases in 2009 that led to convictions (including one case near him in Yorkshire, in which 75% of the convicted men were named “Mohammed”).

¹⁵⁵Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.10

Netherlands, central, government-led organisations such as The Children’s Commissioner and CEOP should have been the central object of criticism for their failures to investigate, analyse, coordinate and educate the front-line services. The Ministry of Justice as well as the CPS should be in the dock concerning the failures in the criminal justice scheme to implement procedures which would have enabled the exploited victims to give successful testimony. And finally, SOCA and the UKHTC should be held responsible for their failure to treat these gangs as traffickers and serious, organised criminals.¹⁵⁶ Behind closed doors, the Home Office is also likely to have known by 2007 about the characteristics of these Muslim grooming gangs, as by that time the Home Office were already funding CROP.¹⁵⁷ A former minister, “responsible for tackling child sexual exploitation”, stated that there had been “three working groups on child sexual exploitation that he established, none of which had produced any practical actions.”¹⁵⁸

Thus, we have two major government departments whose Ministers cannot feign ignorance of these grooming gangs prior to the Home Affairs Select Committee’s investigation, and who were aware of the success or failure of various initiatives. It is a catalogue of failures. Failures can be attributed to agencies at every single step of the way. It is hard to think of an agency which is not culpable of neglect. As the report states:

The failure of these cases has been both systemic and cultural. Rules and guidelines existed which were not

¹⁵⁶ That SOCA produced *My Dangerous Loverboy* in 2008 when Parliament only came to accept “that grooming perpetrators are largely of Asian, British Asian or Muslim origin” shows that SOCA and/or UKHTC were aware of the truthfulness of this perception back in 2008 or 2007.

¹⁵⁷ Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 2007 http://www.theSundayTimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece

¹⁵⁸ Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.11

followed. People employed as public servants appeared to lack human compassion when dealing with victims. Children have only one chance at childhood. For too long, victims of child sexual exploitation have been deprived of that childhood without society challenging their abusers. Such a situation must never happen again.¹⁵⁹ (emphasis in original)

Yet the report zones in on the management of Rotherham and Rochdale councils, and South Yorkshire Police, because (to date) they have apparently performed worse than the others. But the blame has to be spread far and wide. As the Parliamentary inquiry was drawing to a close, a court case relating to Oxford exposed that the police and social services in that area had also been neglectful in protecting schoolgirls from a Muslim grooming gang. Yet failures by councils and police relating to the Oxford case are not addressed in the report (the horrors and longevity of the abuse uncovered in the Oxford trial surpassed even the 2012 Rochdale trial). That the problems are national and persistent is clear from when the controversy over these gangs first erupted in Bradford in 2003 and 2004: those at the heart of the controversy stated that the problems were nationwide. And from local beginnings in Leeds and the West Midlands, both CROP and SAS were operating nationwide by 2006. Considering that the Home Office was quietly funding CROP by 2007, we have to regard the Committee's singling out of Rotherham and Rochdale with some suspicion.

There is one tier of child-care professionals on which which we have not focussed: the "Local Safeguarding Children Boards" (LSCB). These were established by the 2004 Children's Act. Tasked with "co-ordinating between and scrutinising the work of agencies,

¹⁵⁹Home Affairs Select Committee report, "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**", 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.11.

the LSCB is responsible for providing safeguarding training, undertaking serious case reviews and publishing an annual report on the effectiveness of safeguarding in the local area.”¹⁶⁰ Considering the furore caused by the BNP campaigning on the issue of Muslim grooming gangs, and that surrounding the *Channel 4* documentary, there is every reason why it should have been a major focus of these LSCBs. Yet we can find no evidence that most of them made it a priority to safeguard schoolgirls from the Muslim grooming gangs. The parliamentary report states the unbelievable statistic that only 1 in 4 of the LSCBs were correctly implementing requirements to monitor the prevalence of, and responses to, child sexual exploitation within their area.¹⁶¹ This is another indicator that future events will reveal Rotherham and Rochdale to be far less exceptional than the Parliamentary inquiry would lead us to believe: 75% of the local authorities were not even following the legal requirements in this area. Rochdale and Rotherham might have been worse than some, but such statistics reveal that the negligence in this area of social policy was to be found across the country. A full Public Inquiry would probably produce even more shocking statistics.

The Home Affairs Select Committee claims that the concept of “localised grooming” was only recognised following the successful convictions from Operation Retriever, which began in Derbyshire in 2009.¹⁶² However, that the Home Office was funding CROP in 2007, and that SOCA and UKHTC commissioned *My Dangerous Loverboy* in 2008 makes this claim look uninformed at best, and at worst,

¹⁶⁰Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.16

¹⁶¹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.16.

¹⁶²Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.4

deliberately misleading. The controversy in 2003 and 2004 around the grooming of schoolgirls in Bradford could not have been unknown to the committee, since Ann Cryer testified before them about this. And the controversy erupted in Bradford in 2003 concerning *Channel 4's* revelations in 2003, that police and social services there had been conducting an investigation since 2001. It seems as if the Home Affairs Select Committee is involved in re-writing history: how could government departments have been unaware of *Barnardo's Streets and Lanes* project, started in Bradford in 1995?¹⁶³ Until 2010, all the local and national child-care organisations were publicly denying what they knew was going on. The parliamentary report says:

those involved in child protection were more used to dealing with cases of familial abuse and so the recognition of localised grooming as a form of abuse was not recognised by professionals. They were therefore unable to piece together the different parts of a puzzle in order to create a clear picture of what was happening.¹⁶⁴

Again, if this is the line that Parliament wishes to take, then this points to the failure of national organisations like SOCA, CEOP, UKHTC and The Children's Commissioner. It must surely have fallen to them (and to a lesser extent, academics and child-care charities) to have informed and shaped the professional understanding of the specific features of "localised grooming." As Andrew Norfolk pointed out in 2011:

For more than a decade, child protection experts have identified a repeated pattern of sex offending in towns

¹⁶³We have shown that between 1995 and 2000, staff comments and news reports about that project were describing the phenomenon which came to be known as "localised grooming", and the project was funded by almost £700,000 from statutory authorities.

¹⁶⁴Home Affairs Select Committee report "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**" 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.7.

and cities across northern England and the Midlands involving groups of older men who groom and abuse vulnerable girls aged 11 to 16 after befriending them on the street. Most of the victims are white and most of the convicted offenders are of Pakistani heritage, unlike other known models of child-sex offending in Britain, including child abuse initiated by online grooming, in which the vast majority of perpetrators are white.¹⁶⁵

It appears that the Parliamentary inquiry wanted to re-write history. The description of grooming given by Sara Swann in 2000, showed that the professional understanding of the phenomenon then was no different than in 2010.¹⁶⁶

The most staggering admission by the committee was that it needed to be spelt out to child-care professionals that children cannot consent to sex, it is a legal impossibility:

it should be the fundamental, working assumption of all front-line staff working with children and young people that sexual relations between an adult and a child under the legal age of consent are non-consensual, unlawful and wrong.¹⁶⁷

The committee failed to point out that the judiciary also needed to be reminded of this. Too often it has been said how difficult these cases are to prosecute, because the girls appeared to be consenting. It should be impossible to mount that argument.

¹⁶⁵Andrew Norfolk, “**Revealed: conspiracy of silence on UK sex gangs**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article2863058.ece>.

¹⁶⁶Sara Swann, “Helping girls involved in ‘prostitution’: a Barnardos Experiment”, pp.278-282 of *Home Truths About Child Sexual Abuse: Policy and Practice*, Catherine Itzen (ed.), Routledge, London, 2000. See our discussion of this project in section 4.4 1995 Bradford: *Streets and Lanes*.

¹⁶⁷Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**” 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.14.

The committee found that the only reason why children from care homes were disproportionately represented among the victims was because these children were in fact more vulnerable to the gangs. Thus, the greatest defence of a child against these gangs was to have caring parents (but as we saw in Bindel's 2007 report, these parents were ignored by the police even when the parents had done the initial detective work).¹⁶⁸ The parents and schoolgirls were failed by so many agencies. In many ways, this Parliamentary report also fails the victims.

5.9 *Barnardo's*

In section 4.4 *1995 Bradford: Streets and Lanes*, we briefly discussed the *Streets and Lanes* project, which *Barnardo's* began in 1995, in order to help schoolgirls lured into a life of "prostitution." In 2011, *Barnardo's* referred to this project in their acclaimed *Puppet on a String* report, which demanded "urgent action" on child sexual abuse.¹⁶⁹

This project *Barnardo's* started in Bradford in 1995 does not seem to have led the charity to campaign in the wider society for changes in the law, nor campaign to get the police and social services to fulfil their statutory obligations, nor to investigate why it has been predominantly Muslim men who were involved in this form of sexual exploitation of children. The priority of this project seems to have been about freeing the girls from the gangs, or preventing the gangs claiming new victims, or even just providing sexual health checks to the victims. Those are all commendable aims, but given how much *Barnardo's* and their staff knew about the grooming phenomenon,

¹⁶⁸Home Affairs Select Committee report "Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming" 10 Jun 2013 <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.12.

¹⁶⁹*Puppet on a String: the Urgent Need to Cut Children Free From Sexual Exploitation* 2011 http://www.barnardos.org.uk/ctf_puppetonastring_report_final.pdf pg.1.

doesn't the public have the right to ask why they weren't taking an active campaigning role, back in 1995 at the latest? Parliament and national agencies are purporting that nothing was known about "localised grooming" until 2011. What was *Barnardo's* doing in the intervening 15 years to draw this phenomenon to the attention of government and national agencies? Did *Barnardo's* not think that the gangs needed to be stopped by law enforcement, or at the very least, the supply of victims needed to be forewarned.

The Child Exploitation Online Protection Centre was created in 2006, and by then *Barnardo's* had more than a decade of experience dealing with the victims of the grooming gangs, with the Director of their Bradford project precisely describing the "localised grooming" process by the year 2000. How could it be that it took CEOP another 11 years, and only in response to a "rapid assessment", for CEOP to discover the phenomenon of "localised grooming"? Did *Barnardo's* not think it important to lobby CEOP between 2006 and 2011? Where was *Barnardo's* support for *Channel 4* in 2003 and 2004? Why was *Barnardo's* silent when the Chief Constable of West Yorkshire Police persuaded *Channel 4* to withdraw their documentary? Why was *Barnardo's* not publicly supporting local MP Ann Cryer in 2003 and 2004? Why did *Barnardo's* remain silent in 2004 when Bradford Council and West Yorkshire Police stated there was "no evidence" that these grooming gangs existed? How did *Barnardo's* respond in 2005 when West Yorkshire Police closed down their investigation into the grooming gangs? Why did *Barnardo's* not lend support to CROP in Leeds, or to Julie Bindel in 2007? We cannot find any information that will allow us to answer these questions. It seems strange that *Barnardo's* started to demand "urgent action" in 2011, when for 15 years they had been so close to many of the pivotal events which were core to the denial that this problem existed.

Despite being cited by the Parliamentary investigation, the 30 page *Barnardo's* report from 2011, barely mentions "localised grooming". As we have found is typical of reports from *Barnardo's*

over many years, they never address any characteristics of the men who do the grooming. The *Barnardo's* report does spend a lot of time talking about online grooming, a facet of grooming which CEOP had focussed on to the point of eliminating any discussion of localised grooming. One would expect that with the grooming phenomenon moving to centre stage in 2011 and 2012, that a report from *Barnardo's* would actually discuss this phenomenon.

When the 2011 *Barnardo's* report talks about “trafficking” they cite a case in “the south west”, an area where there has been no evidence at all of localised grooming. The only time the *Barnardo's* report does talk about localised grooming is when they report on the massive and highly publicised cases from Rochdale and Derby, cases which the whole country would already have known about. Where was the *expert information* from *Barnardo's* experience in Bradford from 1995 onwards? **According to Anna Hall (who made 2004 documentary for Channel 4), it was from her encounters with *Barnardo's Streets and Lanes* project in 1996 that she learned about the “overwhelmingly Asian” grooming gangs.**

Barnardo's seem to have gone out of their way to avoid identifying the glaring and specific patterns concerning the ethnicity of the grooming gangs, although *Barnardo's* does go into detail about “the characteristics of children at risk of sexual exploitation.”¹⁷⁰ Yet even in 2002, with no mention of the contrast in ethnicity between the majority of the perpetrators and the majority of the victims, publications were mentioning that the *Barnardo's Streets and Lanes* project was exposing:

a “grooming” process which is undertaken by the “boyfriend” or “pimp” in producing a child prostitute. This process not only draws young women/girls into prostitution; it creates complete dependency, which

¹⁷⁰“Effective Work with Sexually Exploited Children and Young People”, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/effective_work_with_sexually_exploited_children_young_people_2008-2.pdf p.3.

perpetuates their abuse through prostitution. They are almost always lead into prostitution by a man, often aged 18 to 25, who begins a relationship with a vulnerable girl... The pattern of control typically involves four stages: 1. Ensnaring 2. Creating dependency 3. Taking control 4. Total dominance The end result of this grooming process is that the “boyfriend” who has become the all important person in the girl’s life, has created a willing victim in a completely dominating relationship.¹⁷¹

Thus, it is clear that sometime between 1995 and 2000, the “localised grooming” pattern of exploitation was recognised by Barnardo’s, and by those talking to the charity about their work in Bradford (contra the claims of CEOP and The Children’s Commissioner).

In early 2011, following the sentencing of those convicted in a major grooming trial which concluded in Derby at the end of the previous year, former Home Secretary Jack Straw said some Pakistani men saw white girls as “easy meat.”¹⁷² What was so surprising about this admission, was that since the controversy over the *Edge of the City* documentary in 2004, no-one in the public eye (apart from Julie Bindel) had dared to make any explicit connection between Muslims and the grooming gangs.

In reporting the remarks of Jack Straw MP, that some Pakistani men saw white girls as “easy meat”, the media presented the Chief Executive of *Barnardo’s* as saying “the case was more about vulnerable children of all races who were at risk from abuse”, and that

¹⁷¹Suzanne Knight “**Children Abused through Prostitution**”, *Emergency Nurse*, vol.10, no.4, 2002, pp.27-30 <http://rcnpublishing.com/doi/abs/10.7748/en.2002.07.10.4.27.c1069> p.28.

¹⁷²“White girls ‘easy meat’ to Pakistani men, says Straw”, *The Independent*, 8 Jan 2011, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/white-girls-easy-meat-to-pakistani-men-says-straw-2179347.html>.

ethnicity was basically irrelevant.¹⁷³ Let us remember that Jack Straw had successfully represented one of the areas in Britain with a very high proportion of Pakistanis; yet when he pointed out that being male and Pakistani were significant features in this criminality, the media ensure that *Barnardo's* Chief Executive is widely quoted to undermine what Jack Straw has stated. Were the remarks of *Barnardo's* Chief Executive taken out of context, or is it really *Barnardo's* policy to discourage people from considering the ethnicity of the perpetrators? Well, after releasing the *Puppet on a String* report in 2011, the Chief Executive of *Barnardo's* made a point of stating that ethnicity should be marginalised:

From our experience, we know that in some areas ethnicity is a factor, but in many other areas it isn't... If you focus on one model of sexual exploitation, children

¹⁷³“**Jack Straw: Some White Girls are ‘Easy Meat’**”, *BBC News website*, 8 Jan 2011 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-derbyshire-12141603>. In many reports of Straw's comments, Martin Narey, the Chief Executive of *Barnardo's* is quoted as disagreeing with Straw that there is any ethnic or racial dimension to this crime. However, if we read carefully what the Chief Executive of *Barnardo's* says in some of these reports, it is entirely consistent with our thesis that it is not *race* that is the significant factor in these crimes, but *religion*. Thus in David Batty, “**White girls seen as ‘easy meat’ by Pakistani rapists, says Jack Straw**”, *The Guardian*, 8 Jan 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/08/jack-straw-white-girls-easy-meat>, it says:

The Barnardo's chief executive, Martin Narey, said the case was more about vulnerable children of all races who were at risk from abuse. Street grooming was “probably happening in most towns and cities” and was not confined to the Pakistani community. **“I certainly don't think this is a Pakistani thing. My staff would say that there is an over-representation of people from minority ethnic groups – Afghans, people from Arabic nations – but it's not just one nation,”** said Narey. (emphasis added)

Whilst being reported as disagreeing that being a Pakistani is a salient fact in being a perpetrator in these crimes, Narey is actually saying that salience is reduced, because the other (Muslim) men who perpetrate this crime are from countries other than Pakistan e.g. Afghanistan and Arabic countries. Once again, the media conflate race and religion and sow confusion.

who are being exploited in different circumstances won't see that it's an issue for them as well. Young people who need support won't come forward because they don't fit the model that's being presented.¹⁷⁴

Yet this is exactly what *Barnardo's* has done. It has focused on one model: a generic model, where it is every adult who is a possible perpetrator, and every child who is a possible victim. What is different about the Muslim grooming gangs has been totally obscured. This is precisely the point that Andrew Norfolk made: "most of the victims are white and most of the convicted offenders are of Pakistani heritage, unlike other known models of child-sex offending in Britain." Despite being on "the front-line" dealing with the victims in Bradford since 1995, despite much research, we can find no evidence of *Barnardo's* drawing attention to this singular difference, and many statements from them indicating that ethnicity is not relevant (or at least, only relevant when it comes to considering victims, to make sure non-white victims are considered, even when they are a minority of the victims). All the signs are that the problem with the Muslim grooming gangs had massively increased: as Mohammed Shafiq repeatedly predicted, if the questions of ethnicity were ignored the problem would get worse.

We have searched the *Barnardo's* website to see if at any time in the last 18 years we can find any mention by them of the contrast in ethnicity between the perpetrators and the victims. In a two year study by *Barnardo's* (ending in 2006), 13 out of 32 cases reported were "young women" who were sexually exploited. In 21 cases the "young woman" identified the exploiting man as her "boyfriend." In 13 cases this fitted the model of a pimp deliberately grooming a teenage girl for prostitution.

¹⁷⁴"Barnardo's: focus on race in sexual exploitation cases could lead to more risk", 18 Jan 2011, <http://www.communitycare.co.uk/articles/18/01/2011/116089/focus-on-race-in-grooming-cases-could-lead-to-more-risk.htm>. This was the newly appointed Chief Executive speaking, and the "reporter" has exaggerated what she said.

In five cases a much older male was involved; in each case he was a known or convicted sex offender and appeared to be primarily interested in the girl for his own use – although issues of being “shared” or sold to “friends” also appeared, this was not in a pimping arena. At 12 and 13 these were the youngest girls in the sample, and despite the fact that the men involved were in their 30s, 40s and 50s, they too considered their abuser to be their “boyfriend.”¹⁷⁵

In this report there is no indication of the “ethnicity” of the exploitative adult men. And this is not because *Barnardo’s* works in a world unaware of political correctness and oblivious to the politics of ethnicity: the report did consider ethnicity in ensuring that the cases examined should represent a spread of ethnicities in Britain.¹⁷⁶ This piece of “research” looks more like promotional material for the *Barnardo’s* way of doing things, why “*Barnardo’s* works”, and as such, it seems to have steered away from any information which could have confirmed the existence of the (overwhelmingly Muslim) grooming gangs. **It is bizarre that a mere 5 years later, their *Puppet on a String* report should complain about “a shocking lack of awareness”; when this 2006 report from *Barnardo’s* addresses the ethnicity of the victims, but ignores the ethnicity of the perpetrators.** In 2009, the Muslim Council of Britain was describing the grooming gangs as a racist myth,¹⁷⁷ so why would *Barnardo’s* be shocked in 2011 that there was a lack of awareness of this phenomenon? Before 2011, when had *Barnardo’s* ever spoken out about the reality of these grooming gangs?

¹⁷⁵Sara Scott and Paula Skidmore “**Reducing the Risk: Barnardos Support for Sexually Exploited Young People**” 2006 http://www.barnardos.org.uk/reducing_the_risk_report.pdf p.25.

¹⁷⁶Sara Scott and Paula Skidmore “**Reducing the Risk: Barnardos Support for Sexually Exploited Young People**”, 2006, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/reducing_the_risk_report.pdf p.16

¹⁷⁷<http://www.mcb.org.uk/vote2009/stopfarright.html>.

In a 2004 joint project between *Barnardo's* and Dutch organisations, *Barnardo's* clearly had knowledge of the “*Loverboys*” project in the Netherlands.¹⁷⁸

Through a number of exchange visits and meetings, the implementation of a specially designed monitoring tool and collection of case study materials, the project set up a systematic comparative evaluation of the work of UK and NL schemes. This enabled schemes in both countries to compare their assessments of young people at risk of sexual exploitation. Through this method, common ways of working to prevent and intervene against child sexual exploitation were clearly identified, as well as some national differences.¹⁷⁹

This 2004 report makes no mention of the ethnicity/religion of the perpetrators, even though one of the principal focuses was on liaison and comparison between staff from *Barnardo's Streets and Lanes* project which started in Bradford, and the “*Loverboys*” project in the Netherlands. This document focuses on identifying the characteristics of children who are likely to be vulnerable to sexual exploitation and pimping without ever focusing on the characteristics of the perpetrators.

In 2007 *Barnardo's* produced another partnership project, comparing the UK with the Netherlands and Estonia. This project did not involve any focus on the “*Loverboys*” project in the Netherlands, nor the *Streets and Lanes* project in Bradford. However, there was a plenary presentation from a Dutch representative “on the loverboy problems” in Amsterdam, but no mention is made of *Barnardo's*

¹⁷⁸Paula Skidmore, “**What Works in Child Sexual Exploitation: Sharing and Learning**”, July 2004, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/final_report_by_paula_skidmore_in_english.pdf p.5.

¹⁷⁹Paula Skidmore, “**What Works in Child Sexual Exploitation: Sharing and Learning**”, July 2004, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/final_report_by_paula_skidmore_in_english.pdf p.17.

Streets and Lanes project.¹⁸⁰ There was also a presentation from an imam from Eindhoven “on the issues and recognition of the problem within the Muslim community and the different attitudes towards girls and boys involved in prostitution activities.”¹⁸¹ We cannot imagine that there is much of a problem with young Muslim men being prostituted in the Netherlands, so we conclude that this talk concerned the men being involved in prostitution as pimps. The report does refer to the analysis of 32 young women sexually exploited in *Barnardo’s* 2006 report, but as we noted above, in that analysis *Barnardo’s* had no interest in the ethnicity of the perpetrators.¹⁸² This 2007 report also records that a presentation was held by the Platform of Islamic Organisations in Rijnmond (Holland), where “1 project was started on the ‘loverboy’ problem due to the fact that a number of victims and perpetrators have Muslim backgrounds.”¹⁸³ Another presentation from Holland that was part of the 2007 report stated:

Social control has no effect. That is why the awareness and condemnation of the social problem and the danger of the loverboys needs to be encouraged in the Moroccan community. For instance, mosques to state that it is unacceptable.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰“Blueprints of Experience: working to prevent and reduce child sexual exploitation in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Estonia”, January 2008 http://www.barnardos.org.uk/blueprints_reduce_child_sex_exploit_2007.pdf p.17.

¹⁸¹“Blueprints of Experience: working to prevent and reduce child sexual exploitation in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Estonia”, January 2008, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/blueprints_reduce_child_sex_exploit_2007.pdf p.18.

¹⁸²“Blueprints of Experience: working to prevent and reduce child sexual exploitation in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Estonia”, January 2008 http://www.barnardos.org.uk/blueprints_reduce_child_sex_exploit_2007.pdf p.13.

¹⁸³“Blueprints of Experience: working to prevent and reduce child sexual exploitation in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Estonia”, January 2008, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/blueprints_reduce_child_sex_exploit_2007.pdf p.20.

¹⁸⁴“Blueprints of Experience: working to prevent and reduce child sexual exploitation in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Estonia”, January 2008, http://www.barnardos.org.uk/blueprints_reduce_child_sex_exploit_2007.pdf p.21.

Two further presentations in the 2007 project concerned the “*Loverboy*” problems in the Netherlands. Whilst the Dutch participants in the project focussed almost exclusively on the *Loverboy* problem, the *Barnardo’s* team did not appear to mention the overwhelming role that Muslim men in Britain play in grooming gangs (the British equivalent to the *Loverboy* problems.) It is truly astonishing that in so many international meetings between two countries who both suffer from gangs who groom schoolgirls, *Barnardo’s* should not talk about their *Streets and Lanes* project, and point out the similarities (and, presumably, some differences). The Dutch participants were clearly aware of an Islamic connection (at the very least in terms of demography, even if they had not articulated that there might well be doctrinal motivations). What did *Barnardo’s* do to make the British public aware of the “*Loverboys*” in Holland, and the similarities with the grooming gangs in Britain?¹⁸⁵ Did *Barnardo’s* staff really fail to notice that there was an Islamic connection in both these forms of sexual exploitation?

Year after year, *Barnardo’s* projects do not mention the grooming gangs. Throughout these reports, *Barnardo’s* seems to be more concerned with self-promotion than with drawing attention to this shocking phenomenon. The only time *Barnardo’s* gave any indication that they knew there was a problem with Muslim grooming gangs in Britain was this 2011 report, which came out after a year in which, in 6 different trials around England, a total of 32 Muslim men were convicted for crimes where they groomed schoolgirls. After such a run of conclusive evidence, it was frankly unnecessary for *Barnardo’s* to say anything, and what they did say added nothing to the debate. And one has to wonder: did *Barnardo’s* only come out with this report in 2011 because they were aware that Norfolk was working on an analysis that would prove the existence of the grooming gangs? It

¹⁸⁵We think it likely that *Barnardo’s* were one of the principal sources informing SOCA and/or UKHTC about the *Loverboys* problem in Holland, leading to the commissioning of *My Dangerous Loverboy* in 2008.

would have reflected very badly on *Barnardo's* if Norfolk's report came out, and the organisation which had been working with the victims of the gangs over 16 years ago had never issued any kind of report about this phenomenon.

Despite *Streets and Lanes* from 1995 being the origin of what eventually became *Channel 4's* controversial 2004 documentary, we cannot find any evidence that *Barnardo's* have ever mounted any kind of publicity campaign about the Muslim grooming gangs. None of this is to say that any of the other children's charities come out of this any better. We are not aware of any children's charity, with the exception of CROP, which went out of the way to state who in particular was committing this kind of crime.

5.10 Academic Experts

We wanted to make sure that we were not missing any instances of courageous academics who had used their academic freedom to research and report on the grooming gangs, even when the child-care professionals and the media were too politically correct to do so. On the NSPCC website we found a "reading list of key research into child sexual exploitation", which shows how academics and other child protection experts have basically ignored the grooming gangs.¹⁸⁶

There are two main academic institutions whose work we can examine to see how much they have done to speak out about the grooming gangs: the *International Centre for the Study of Sexually Exploited and Trafficked Young People* (Bedfordshire University) and the *Jill Dando Institute of Security and Crime Science* (University of London). If one consults the NSPCC "list of key research", one will see that the bulk of the list is made up of documents from *Barnardo's*, Bedfordshire Centre, or the Jill Dando Institute.

¹⁸⁶NSPCC "Research on child sexual exploitation" Jul 2013 http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/resourcesforprofessionals/sexualabuse/sexual_exploitation_research_wda85130.html.

It was only at the end of 2011 that Sue Jago and Professor Jenny Pearce from Bedfordshire University published research into the failings of Local Safeguarding Children Boards.¹⁸⁷ Once again, it seems that it was after the spate of successful prosecutions in 2010, when CEOP, Andrew Norfolk and *Barnardo's* started to address the hitherto unspoken problem, that the University of Bedfordshire academics also became involved. We have to ask: what research was this centre (or its staff) doing on this subject between 1995 and 2011? We can understand that there are reasons why charities may want to tread within the borders of safety when it comes to political correctness, as bad publicity could affect their funding, and charities can be forgiven for fearing that some pressure groups might be ruthless enforcers of this ideology. However, when it comes to academics, they are supposedly guided by truth, not by political correctness and ideology.

In 2009 Prof. Pearce (Director of this Centre at Bedfordshire University) authored a book on sexual exploitation.¹⁸⁸ In that book Prof. Pearce was perfectly capable of describing the phenomenon of “localised grooming”, which CEOP went on to supposedly discover two years later. According to Prof. Pearce:

the “grooming model for sexual exploitation”, explained the process whereby an abusive adult entices a young person into becoming dependent upon them. Invariably, this involved the young person believing they are in love with their abuser. The pattern moves through a process where the abuse flatters the young person, giving them attention, accommodation and other gifts. The young person increasingly becomes dependent upon the abuser who invariably isolates them from family and friends and encourages them to become reliant upon drugs and

¹⁸⁷ <http://www.beds.ac.uk/news/2011/october/exploitationstudy>

¹⁸⁸ Jenny Pearce, “**Young People and Sexual Exploitation: It’s not Hidden, you Just Aren’t Looking**”, Routledge, 2009

alcohol. The young person is then forced or coerced into swapping or selling sex to raise money for the “boyfriend.”¹⁸⁹

This is the form of grooming which the Home Affairs Select Committee claimed was only recognised following the successful convictions in Derbyshire in November 2010. It also clearly matches what *Barnardo's* staff were describing as happening in Bradford in 1995¹⁹⁰ and 2000.¹⁹¹ The repeated occurrence of descriptions of this phenomenon before 2011 shows that Parliament and CEOP were involved in a cover-up, trying to claim that what was going on was a new phenomenon, when it had been identified by child-care professionals years earlier.

Although she does refer to *Barnardo's Streets and Lanes* project, Prof. Pearce does not make any comparison between the Dutch “Loverboy” phenomenon and the British grooming gangs. Her book does not even discuss the controversy around *Channel 4's Edge of the City*, or Julie Bindel's “Mothers of Prevention.” This is not because Prof. Pearce is oblivious to ethnicity: in her book she goes on to complain that “the dominant image of a sexually exploited child... is of them as a white young woman.” She urges the agencies involved not to adopt these race (and gender) blinkers, in case it “has a negative impact... on the service provision to Black and minority ethnic communities.”¹⁹² This is, of course, very commendable. However, there is no injunction to say that such race-awareness should also be

¹⁸⁹Jenny Pearce, “**Young People and Sexual Exploitation: It's not Hidden, you Just Aren't Looking**”, Routledge, 2009 p.21

¹⁹⁰“**Scandal of child-sex on Bradford streets**”, *Telegraph & Argus*, 14 Jul 1998, http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/archive/1998/07/14/8075434.Scandal_of_child_sex_on_Bradford_streets/.

¹⁹¹Sara Swann, “Helping girls involved in ‘prostitution’: a Barnardos Experiment”, pp.278-282 of *Home Truths About Child Sexual Abuse: Policy and Practice*, Catherine Itzen (ed.), Routledge, London, 2000.

¹⁹²Jenny Pearce, “**Young People and Sexual Exploitation: It's not Hidden, you Just Aren't Looking**”, Routledge, 2009 p.21; see also, p.121.

extended to considerations of the perpetrators or the motivations of the abusers. **In several places she discusses the ethnicity of the victims. But we can find no attempt to discuss the ethnicity of the perpetrators.** So, just as court cases were coming to light in 2009 and 2010, showing that grooming gangs were disproportionately Muslim (as Anna Hall had come to realise in Bradford in 1996), Prof. Pearce is advising that professionals should be searching out minority ethnic victims; but there is no indication that minority ethnicities might be found amongst the perpetrators. It seems that ethnicity can only be considered salient when it comes to the victims of crime, but must not be mentioned when it comes to the perpetrators.

Whilst Prof. Pearce may have made significant omissions in her work with regard to what some experts are calling “the biggest child protection scandal of our time”,¹⁹³ the work of academics associated with the *Jill Dando Institute of Security and Crime Science* is worse. Cockbain and Brayley, are described in *The Independent* as the “authors of the first independent academic analysis looking at ‘on-street grooming’, where young girls, spotted outside, including at the school gates, have become targets.”¹⁹⁴ *The Independent* report goes on to say of the research by Cockbain and Brayley that

their most recent work studies just five cases – though of the 52 offenders involved totals **83 per cent are Asian Pakistani, 11 per cent Asian other and 6 per cent white.**¹⁹⁵ (our emphasis)

This hugely disproportionate presence of “Asians”, particularly those from the Islamic state of Pakistan, is entirely in keeping with our

¹⁹³Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

¹⁹⁴Caroline Davies and Karen McVeigh, “**Child sex trafficking study sparks exaggerated racial stereotyping**”, *The Guardian*, 6 Jan 2011 <http://www.theguardian.com/law/2011/jan/06/child-sex-trafficking-racial-stereotyping>.

¹⁹⁵*The Independent* does not give the publication details of this report by Cockbain and Brayley.

analysis of the CEOP data, the Children's Commissioner data, and all the convictions for this type of crime in Britain since 1997.¹⁹⁶

At least Cockbain and Brayley have not ignored the phenomenon; but what they did was to attempt to claim that the perpetrators could not be Muslims, even if they described themselves as "Muslims". Cockbain and Brayley are quoted as saying:

...religion seems to be a red herring here, in that **many offenders seem to be Muslim only in a nominal sense.** Prior to arrest many drank alcohol, **took drugs, did not have beards**, and all engaged in extramarital sex with underage girls. **Hardly the hallmarks of a strict Muslim.**¹⁹⁷ (our emphasis)

It seems extraordinary that non-Muslim academics such as Cockbain and Brayley should set themselves up as the people who can define who is or is not a Muslim: a Muslim man without a beard is only a "nominal" Muslim? How many times must some Muslim man go to the mosque each day before he is considered a Muslim in name only? Whilst the Koran may have some restrictions on the consumption of alcohol, where does the Koran say that Muslims cannot sell or take drugs? That a major supplier of hashish is Morocco, and the major suppliers of heroin are Afghanistan and Pakistan should show that this is an embarrassingly ignorant understanding of the restrictions of Islam and the behaviour of Muslims. Iran has the world's worst problem with heroin addiction.¹⁹⁸ Does this mean that the 3.5 million heroin addicts in the Islamic Republic of Iran are not Muslims?

¹⁹⁶Whether or not the non-Pakistani Asians in their analysis were Muslims is hard to know.

¹⁹⁷Paul Vallely, "**Child Sex Grooming: the Asian Question**", *The Independent*, 10 May 2012 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/child-sex-grooming-the-Asian-question-7729068.html>. Whether these remarks were spoken directly to the journalist, or are quotations from a paper authored by Cockbain and Brayley is hard to determine.

¹⁹⁸"**Iran and heroin: a lesson for the west?**", *Channel 4 News*, 10 Mar 2006, <http://www.channel4.com/news/iran-and-heroin-a-lesson-for-the-west>.

Cockbain and Brayley seem to be saying that only those Muslims who conform to the most extreme image of a fundamentalist Muslim are to be regarded as Muslims. Does this mean that only Muslim women who wear a burka or niqab are to be considered Muslims, and that the majority of Muslim women who wear only a hijab are not real Muslims? Yasmin Alibhai-Brown does not even wear a hijab, which many fundamentalist Muslims would say means she is not a Muslim. It seems very strange that two female academics from the *Jill Dando Institute* should be supporting the idea that only the most overtly fundamentalist Muslims are a genuine measure of what it means to be a Muslim. Should we extend this, and say that the 75% of British Muslims who don't want to kill apostates are "Muslim only in a nominal sense"?

This is not the only incident where Cockbain and Brayley declare what is and is not the behaviour of genuine Muslims. In an article on *The Guardian* website, authored by Cockbain and Brayley, they state: "The defendants in question **are at most nominally Muslim**. Practising Muslims certainly aren't supposed to have sex with children."¹⁹⁹ Here Cockbain and Brayley seem to be going further, suggesting that it may be appropriate to regard the perpetrators as non-Muslims (considering that 25% of British Muslims think that those who leave Islam should be killed, it is dangerous to say that a Muslim is not a Muslim). It would seem that it is precisely the issue of these men having sex with children which would discount them from eligibility to be Muslims. However, if Cockbain and Brayley paid attention to the legality of sex with children according to manuals of sharia law (manuals which are found in public libraries in Britain), perhaps these academics would notice reports from feminists in London of under-age Muslim girls²⁰⁰ being married off by imams

¹⁹⁹(Our emphasis) Ella Cockbain and Helen Brayley "The truth about 'Asian sex gangs'" (Comment is Free), *The Guardian*, 8 May 2012 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/may/08/Asian-sex-gangs-on-street-grooming>. This article has since disappeared from *The Guardian*'s website.

²⁰⁰see Pavan Amara, "Islington Girls Forced into Marriage at the Age of Nine", *Is-*

in mosques to devout old Muslim men, not 5 miles from “the Jill Dando Institute... at University College London”.²⁰¹ If we adopt the criteria which seem to inform the work of Cockbain and Brayley, we would have to declare that these devout old Muslim men were not Muslims, and maybe even declare that the imams who married the old men to the under-age children were not Muslims. **Even if the evidence of their own study shows that the gangs in Britain are mostly Pakistani Asians (Muslims), Cockbain and Brayley rule that race and religion are to be considered irrelevant: if necessary, the men must be designated as being Muslim in name only, even if these men were brought up as Muslims, and define themselves as Muslims.**

In the article on *The Guardian* website, entitled “The Truth about ‘Asian sex gangs’”, Cockbain and Brayley describe themselves as “researchers specialising in this crime”.²⁰² As such, we should expect them, more than anyone else, to have understood the history of this phenomenon, and to have investigated any connection with Islamic doctrine and the historical behaviour of Muslims (particularly since these academics have decided to list criteria that differentiate “strict Muslims” from “nominal Muslims”). Cockbain and Brayley offer no evidence to show that the behaviour of the grooming gangs is un-Islamic, other than their own assertions. That so many sources of

lington Tribune, 27 Jan 2012, <http://www.islingtontribune.com/news/2012/jan/islington-girls-forced-marriage-age-nine>. More details on the legality of sex with children can be found here: 7.6 [Sharia Law: Child Marriage](#). The “moderate” imam quoted in that story “explained that Sharia law stated an individual can marry when they begin puberty”, and it is clear that the Muslim schoolgirls were providing sexual services to their “husbands.”

²⁰¹Paul Vallyely, “**Child Sex Grooming: the Asian Question**”, *The Independent*, 10 May 2012 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/child-sex-grooming-the-Asian-question-7729068.html>.

²⁰²Ella Cockbain and Helen Brayley “**The truth about ‘Asian sex gangs’**” (Comment is Free), *The Guardian*, 8 May 2012 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/may/08/Asian-sex-gangs-on-street-grooming>. This article was on The Guardian website until late 2013, but has now been removed.

evidence demonstrate that Muslim men are hugely over-represented as the perpetrators in the grooming gangs should have been a signal to Cockbain and Brayley that they need to examine the history and doctrine of Islam. Indeed, Cockbain and Brayley are knowingly rejecting the claims by others that there is an Islamic dimension to this crime: they explicitly refer to Nick Griffin of the BNP and to the EDL. This was the opportunity for “researchers specialising in this crime” to start looking at Islamic doctrine and the behaviour of other Muslims in Britain and around the world, to see if men having sex with children had any foundation in Islam. Cockbain and Brayley criticise others for “generalisation”, but they work with a fantasy version of Islam.

Rather than concentrate on “racial profiling” Cockbain and Brayley suggest improved detection and prevention techniques:

there are plenty of things to be getting on with that don't depend on offender profiling. The best bits of policing nationwide need to become more widely adopted: innovative anti-exploitation teams, training programmes for front-line officers and brave approaches to covert investigations. Often dubbed the missing part of the jigsaw, healthcare and education have a crucial part to play in spotting and supporting victims...²⁰³

We would draw the attention of Cockbain and Brayley to the *Barnardo's* staff, who in 1996 were talking to Anna Hall about “overwhelmingly Asian”²⁰⁴ grooming gangs in Bradford. That *Barnardo's* team had an anti-exploitation team who were involved in supporting victims with healthcare and education. There is no indication that such activities managed to stop the grooming gangs:

²⁰³Ella Cockbain and Helen Brayley “**The truth about ‘Asian sex gangs’**” (Comment is Free), *The Guardian*, 8 May 2012 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/may/08/Asian-sex-gangs-on-street-grooming>.

²⁰⁴Anna Hall “**Hunt For Britain's Sex Gangs, C4**”, *Broadcast*, 2 May 2013, <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/in-depth/hunt-for-britains-sex-gangs-c4/5054504.article>.

ten years later, it was still reported that the problems were just as bad in Bradford. If the *Barnardo's* project had succeeded between 1996 and 2003 in eliminating Muslim grooming activities, *Channel 4* would have had no basis for making *Edge of the City* there in 2004. And just a year after Cockbain and Brayley espoused their naive views, West Yorkshire Police charged 45 men in the largest grooming case so far.²⁰⁵ Or perhaps Cockbain and Brayley might like to read our section [4.13 2008 My Dangerous Loverboy](#), about the educational film commissioned by UKHTC in 2008, and which has yet to receive distribution. CEOP were reporting that they trained thousands of front-line staff every year. These activities have been tried (or at least suggested) before, and none of them have shown any effectiveness at stopping the gangs. It is truly astonishing to see these experts trot out such naive opinions, apparently unaware of the history of this problem.

These experts advise against any focus on the most clear characteristic of this crime: groups of “Asian” (Muslim) men and non-Muslim schoolgirls; to do that supposedly risks targeting the “non-deviant majority.” Yet we have had 25 years in which the ethnicity of the perpetrators of these crimes has been denied. And all the indicators are that this did nothing to stop the crime nor to improve detection and conviction rates. It achieved the reverse: it allowed the subset of men who groom, rape and pimp schoolgirls to hide among the “non-deviant majority”, that is, the population of white men, who are vastly under-represented in this type of crime. To ignore the distinctive features of this type of crime, means that instead of focusing on a group who are maybe 1% of the UK population

²⁰⁵Suzannah Hills, “UK’s biggest child sex gang uncovered as 45 men are arrested over abuse of girls as young as 13”, *Daily Mail*, 18 Aug 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2396486/UKs-biggest-child-sex-gan-g-uncovered-45-men-arrested-abuse-girls-young-13.html>. The report states that some of the men are white, some are Asian. Let’s hope for the sake of the reputation of Cockbain and Brayley, that this case reverses the trend, and is 95% white and 5% Muslim, which is what one would expect if there were no other factors.

(Muslim men), police forces should be focusing on 100% of the UK population (i.e. everyone, Muslims and Christians, men and women, the old and the young). It is nonsense, and would stretch police and social service resources enormously, and in the middle of the worst economic situation since the 1930s. Ignoring the astonishing fact, that a group who are a tiny percentage of the population should make up almost all the perpetrators of a horrific yet highly lucrative criminal operation, would do nothing to help the victims. It is a recipe for carrying on with the same situation that has persisted for the past 25 years.

Cockbain and Brayley assert that since conclusions are being drawn from small samples, it could be misleading.

There have been so few investigations of large offending groups that a few cases involving big non-Asian groups could easily shift these offender profiles in a whole new direction. Whether this happens or not remains to be seen, but entrenched stereotypes have a nasty habit of persisting, even when the evidence moves on.²⁰⁶

These “specialists” made this observation in 2012. Yet as our list of convictions for the subsequent years shows,²⁰⁷ the proportion of Muslims convicted of these crimes has continued to remain at around 90%. Thus, the evidence continues to show that the pattern demonstrated by Andrew Norfolk in 2011, a pattern which was observed as long ago as 1995 by staff working for Barnardo’s, is still to be found in the data. At the time these academics wrote this piece, Andrew Norfolk had identified 56 convictions over a period of 14 years. But within 3 years of Norfolk’s analysis, the number of convictions has doubled in that short time, and the pattern still obtains. The truth about the grooming gangs is that all the evidence so

²⁰⁶Ella Cockbain and Helen Brayley “**The truth about ‘Asian sex gangs’**” (Comment is Free), *The Guardian*, 8 May 2012 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/may/08/Asian-sex-gangs-on-street-grooming>

²⁰⁷11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions.

far indicates that they are overwhelmingly Muslim men.

Cockbain and Brayley attack racial profiling. But this is a straw man: the question is not about “racial profiling”, but about “religious profiling” or “cultural profiling.” Cockbain and Brayley attempt to employ a *reductio ad absurdum*, invoking the idea of fingerprinting all the Pakistanis in Britain.²⁰⁸ Yet they shy away from the far more reasonable process, of investigating what it is about Islamic doctrine and Muslim culture that could have led to the formation of this new kind of criminality (both in Britain and in the Netherlands). And in terms of cutting down the incidence of this crime, these academics should be asking why is it that the Muslim community have protected these criminal gangs, in full knowledge of what these gangs were doing. Until there is a recognition of the history and scale of this problem, until there are signs that the perpetrators are more likely to be convicted, in the interim what is required is an education programme: warning schoolgirls what the profile of this kind of perpetrator is, and the techniques they use to entrap the schoolgirls into becoming sex slaves: seduction, addiction, subjugation, prostitution. In section 7. [Islamic Cultural Background](#) we will examine what there is in Islamic doctrine and Muslim culture which could produce this grooming phenomenon. This is the very thing from which academic researchers have shied away.

²⁰⁸Ella Cockbain and Helen Brayley “**The truth about ‘Asian sex gangs’**” (Comment is Free), *The Guardian*, 8 May 2012 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/may/08/Asian-sex-gangs-on-street-grooming>.

6. Abuse of the Narrative of Racism

It's a real shame when votes come before young girls' lives.

– groomed victim's mother, *Standpoint*, 2010

6.1 Political Correctness

The narrative of racism has held such sway in Britain for the last 30 years, that it has enabled the Muslim grooming gangs to extend their operations with “virtual impunity.”¹ It was the accusations of “racism”, and the fear of what that could do the career of council workers and police officers, which was used to silence all discussion of the predominantly Muslim grooming gangs between 1995 and 2009. In some of the trials, the perpetrators even tried to allege that they were only being prosecuted because the police were racist.² But it has taken almost two decades to finally get the police to bring these criminals to justice. Many of those going through the courts are being prosecuted for criminality that occurred almost a decade ago.³ This

¹ Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

² “**Rochdale Grooming Trial: Police Knew about Sex Abuse in 2002 but Failed to Act**”, *The Telegraph*, 9 May 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9254982/Rochdale-grooming-trial-police-knew-about-sex-abuse-in-2002-but-failed-to-act.html>.

³ The Oxford gang convicted in 2013 were being tried for some offences that happened 9 years earlier. Harriet Arkell, “**My mother begged Oxford social services to rescue me from sex abuse NINE YEARS AGO**”, *Daily Mail*, 15 May 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2324790/My-mother-begged-Oxford-social-services-rescue-sex-abuse-NINE-YEARS-AGO-Victim-known-Girl-C-13-says-c>

shows how much political correctness has benefited the criminals at the expense of the children. Fundamentally, it is not the “race” of the perpetrators or the victims which is pivotal to these cases, but the religion of both.

If *Barnardo’s*, the police, the social services, the media, the Left had all spoken out more bravely and truthfully against the Muslim men prostituting schoolgirls, then the British National Party (BNP) would only have been one voice amongst many, and their views on the matter would have been of no importance. It was the silence of so many on this issue, the false racialisation of the problem, which meant that the problem could be seen as serving the political goals of the BNP. **According to Anna Hall, her *Edge of the City* documentary was taken up by the BNP after the BNP found out that there were calls to ban it: “After the council viewed it, West Yorkshire’s chief constable asked for the film to be postponed amid fears of more riots. All hell broke loose. The BNP got hold of the story and used the film as propaganda. Police and social services said nothing.”⁴** The attempts to suppress the phenomenon from receiving any public awareness turned the grooming gangs into an issue the BNP could appropriate: it was the refusal of child-care and policing agencies to acknowledge the truth, the willingness of pressure groups to censor the truth, which gave the BNP a platform for this story. **We conclude that the failure of local and national agencies to fulfil their responsibilities meant they were aiding the BNP, providing the party with a campaign that could not fail to gain them support.** Whilst every other organisation refused to tackle this crime because of the fear of being labelled “racist”, they gifted the scandal of the Muslim grooming gangs to the BNP. And if society continues to marginalise this problem, then there is always the possibility that the grooming gang phenomenon will provide future support to an

laims-dismissed-inappropriate.html.

⁴Anna Hall “**Hunt For Britain’s Sex Gangs, C4**” *Broadcast*, 2 May 2013, <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/in-depth/hunt-for-britains-sex-gangs-c4/5054504.article>.

organisation like the BNP. Whilst the scandal of the grooming gangs might well have brought supporters to the BNP, it seems clear that the BNP taking up this issue did not lead to increased prosecutions. From 2004 until 2009, organisations like the Muslim Council of Britain were able to insist that the idea of gangs grooming white girls was a “racist myth”⁵, a position supported by the near total lack of news stories about the grooming gangs in those 5 years. But by 2013, the Muslim Council of Britain was behind the effort to get all the mosques in Britain to deliver a sermon denouncing grooming gangs.⁶ The BNP’s adoption of the issue of the grooming gangs in 2004 didn’t bring about this change. Something happened between 2009 and 2013.

If the media and the authorities had paid attention to the grooming of Sikh schoolgirls in the 1980s, 1990s and beyond, then the issue of Muslim grooming gangs could have been tackled without the issue of “race” ever being raised. Instead, the authorities shirked their responsibilities to protect the Sikh schoolgirls, leaving Sikh men (*Shere Punjab*, and latterly, the *Sikh Awareness Society*) to deal with the problem as best they could, given the lack of action and the denials by police and child-care professionals, and the silence of the media. To the extent that the BNP could exploit these Muslim grooming gangs, it was because of 15 years of systemic failures by the authorities and the media. As the Sikh Media Monitoring group said, efforts to tackle the problem needed to focus on the Muslim community: “it’s a small element who treat white and Sikh girls as sexual playthings, and we aren’t going to tackle it successfully unless the politically correct lobby stop putting up a smokescreen to hide the fact that this issue is about the Muslim community.”⁷ If the child-care professionals, the police and the media

⁵<http://www.mcb.org.uk/vote2009/stopfarright.html>.

⁶Vikram Dodd, “**Imams in 500 mosques to denounce grooming and abuse of children**”, *The Guardian*, 28 Jun 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/28/imamas-500-mosques-denounce-grooming>.

⁷Rebecca Camber & James Tozer, “**Teenager who Lured Girls into House to**

had been acting on the evidence (from 1988, 1989, 1996, 1998, 2001) that Sikh girls were being groomed, then the BNP could not have made this a case about “Asian gangs” preying on white children. But because of the indifference of the metropolitan elite to the cultural conflict between Muslims and Sikhs, the criminal behaviour of Muslim men preying on Sikh girls (and white girls) was ignored. Whilst propounding multiculturalism, the metropolitan elite refuse to learn anything about Islam; the elite give lip-service to “diversity” but refuse to countenance the idea that other cultures might have radically different values.

6.2 Muslims, not “Asians”

Sikh Media Monitoring are not the only group to have criticised the media and the authorities for misdirecting attention, and pretending these gangs were “Asian” rather than “Muslim.” In **May 2012, a joint statement was released by the Network of Sikh Organisations UK, The Hindu Forum of Britain, and The Sikh Media Monitoring Group UK denouncing the use of the word “Asian” to describe these grooming gangs.**⁸ They said the word “Asian” was used in order to stop people from realising that the vast majority of the criminals were Muslims, and that the vast majority of the victims were non-Muslim girls. And as was the case with most of the white victims, the cases where the victims were Hindu or Sikh, the cases never reach the courts.

Even in 2013, when for a decade the evidence has been mounting that these groups are overwhelmingly Muslim in both Britain and the Netherlands, the parliamentary inquiry seems to be deliberately

be Raped by Asian Gang is Jailed for Seven Years”, *The Daily Mail*, 3 Sep 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2033022/Teenager-lured-girls-house-gang-raped-Asian-gang-jailed-seven-years.html>.

⁸“**Complaints over use of ‘Asian’ Label in Grooming Cases**”, *BBC News website*, 16 May 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-18092605>.

ignorant or profoundly racist:

...many of those involved in investigating the issue of localised grooming have warned against citing race as a key factor in these cases, it is not difficult to see why the British Pakistani community might feel that the suggestion that this is an “Asian problem” is inaccurate and unfair. There is certainly evidence of localised grooming being carried out by offenders from other ethnic groups. Tim Loughton cited cases involving offenders from central Africa.⁹

It is as if the politicians think that only Asians can be Muslim, even when the media are talking up Mo Farah (a Muslim from East Africa) at every opportunity. There are black and Asian Muslims who are outstanding sportsmen. There are white and black and Asian Muslims who are terrorists. Are our elected politicians so stupid and so racist that they cannot see that Cat Stevens, Mohammed Ali, Malcolm X, were all Muslims who were not Asian? Moreover, not all Asians are Muslims. Or are the elite just playing word-games, thinking the public are so stupid they can be easily misled?¹⁰ “Muslim” is not a

⁹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.55. Notice how there is no concern for Sikhs, Hindus, etc. who have been tarred for at least a decade with the association that the grooming gangs are “Asian.” There only seems to be concern for Muslims.

¹⁰Strangely, even a Left-wing, Asian commentator like Sunny Hundal, whose parents are Sikhs, conflates ideology (religion) with biology (race). In claiming that there was no relevance to the huge over-representation of “Asian” men among the grooming gangs, Hundal states:

During the Rochdale case the Judge said: “You preyed on girls because they were **not part of your community or religion**” — this is repeatedly cited by some people. **But it’s also untrue.** As was revealed after the ring-leader in the Rochdale case also “repeatedly raped an **Asian** girl over many years.” Sunny Hundal, “**Oxford gang-rape case: were the girls exploited because they were white?**”, May 14 2013, <http://liberalconspiracy.org/2013/05/14/oxford-gang-rape-c>

racial category, but the esteemed Parliamentarians seem to find this concept exceedingly difficult to grasp. Showing that there are black members of grooming gangs tells us nothing about the religion of those black people.

This generic use of the word “Asian” not only enabled Muslim criminal behaviour to be concealed amongst the law-abiding behaviour of Sikhs, Hindus and Buddhists, but meant that Sikh and Hindu men would end up being associated with the criminal behaviour of Muslim men, even when their own sisters and daughters were among the victims targeted by these Muslim gangs. Moreover, by commentators and pressure groups insisting that the issue involved “Asian” rather than “Muslim” gangs, it concealed what could turn out to be the specific motivation for this crime: Muslim culture and Islamic doctrine. And this is why Andrew Norfolk’s work was so pivotal: by analysing the (mostly Islamic) names of those convicted, he was able to demonstrate the association between being convicted of a grooming offence and being a Muslim man.

6.3 “Racism” Protected the Rapists

When politicians finally came to discuss the issue of grooming gangs, almost a decade after they first came to the attention of *Channel 4*,

ase-were-the-girls-exploited-because-they-were-white/ (our emphasis)

The judge pointed out that the (all Muslim) grooming gang on trial targeted people outside their religion, and Hundal then conflates religion with race. Hundal provides no evidence that the Asian girl who was raped by this Asian Muslim was also “part of his religion”. Perhaps Hundal thinks that all Asians in Britain form one community? He seems unaware of the long history of Sikhs resisting the Muslim gangs grooming Sikh girls. See section 3. [Sikh Victims of Grooming Gangs](#), section 4.1 [1988 Sikh/Muslim violence](#), section 4.6 [1998 Sikh Awareness Society starts](#), section 4.7 [2001 Derby and “Real Caliphate”](#), and section 4.11 [2005 Luton and “Real Caliphate”](#).

Parliament attributed the objective nature of Norfolk's 2011 analysis with having finally made people realise that there was undeniable proof that the public were not wrong to associate "Asian" men with these gangs.¹¹ However, Norfolk attributed the BNP championing the cause of the vulnerable schoolgirls as the reason why people ignored the problem for another decade:

The far right leapt on the story... I think that it almost acted as a brake for several years on anybody seriously looking at whether there was any truth in what she was saying but, as the years passed, I noticed cases cropping up from time to time across Yorkshire and Lancashire with a very similar pattern.¹²

Norfolk, the journalist who got investigative awards for his reporting on the grooming gangs, appears here to voluntarily admit that he noticed cases cropping up but did not write about them.¹³ We have shown how there were numerous occasions in the twelve years preceding *Edge of the City*, when Sikhs were warning about Muslim grooming gangs preying on Sikh schoolgirls.¹⁴ Perhaps not surprisingly, the BNP showed no interest in those Sikh victims, but the media, sociologists and the advocates of multiculturalism had also ignored these stories. The extent to which the BNP could claim the

¹¹Section 1.1 of the Home Affairs Select Committee's report discusses Norfolk's analysis from January 2011. Home Affairs Select Committee report "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**", 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf>. In this way they indicate that his report was fundamental to their investigation.

¹²Home Affairs Select Committee report "**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**", 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.52.

¹³See also 4.16 2011 Andrew Norfolk's pivotal article. See also Norfolk's interview with the *Sikh Awareness Society* http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbUIfvYbjRc&feature=player_detailpage&t=301.

¹⁴See the following sections, covering events from 1988 to 2001: 4.1 1988 Sikh/Muslim violence, 4.2 1989 Sikhs convicted, 4.6 1998 *Sikh Awareness Society* starts, 4.7 2001 Derby and "Real Caliphate".

long-standing problem of Muslim grooming gangs as positive publicity for their agenda was directly related to the preceding 10 to 20 years in which politicians, police, social services and the Muslim community refused to do anything about the grooming gangs.

The decisive period when the narrative of racism was used to shut down discussion and investigation into the Muslim grooming gangs was around the *Channel 4* documentary in 2004. It was widely reported that a variety of pressure groups, along with West Yorkshire Police, attempted to block the broadcast of *Edge of the City*.¹⁵ As *The Guardian* reported at the time:

Groups such as Unite Against Fascism, the 1990 Trust, and the National Assembly Against Racism began to flood Channel 4 with requests to delay transmission. The Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, Colin Cramphorn, joined the call, and Channel 4 complied.¹⁶

However, in 2004 *Channel 4* said that their decision to withdraw the documentary was unrelated to any attempt by the BNP to make political capital from it.¹⁷ Thus, we can accept the judgement from *The Guardian*, that the TV company paid more attention to the combined efforts of these pressure groups and the Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, than to any advantage the BNP might have gained from addressing the documentary.

¹⁵“**Campaign to Stop Race Documentary**”, *BBC News website*, 17 Aug 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/3572776.stm>; Julie Bindel, “**Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth**”, *Standpoint Magazine*, Dec 2010, <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>; Matt Born, “**Race fears halt film on Asian sex ‘grooming’**”, *The Telegraph*, 21 May 2004, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1462413/Race-fears-halt-film-on-Asian-sex-grooming.html>.

¹⁶Anthea Milnes, ““The BNP hijacked my film””, 9 Aug 2004, *The Guardian*, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/aug/09/channel4.otherparties>.

¹⁷*Channel 4* said “the party’s attempt to capitalise on the documentary had not influenced its decision.” Matt Born, “**Race fears halt film on Asian sex ‘grooming’**”, *The Telegraph*, 21 May 2004, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1462413/Race-fears-halt-film-on-Asian-sex-grooming.html>.

The BNP only championed *Edge of the City*, when the police wanted to suppress it on the basis that it might cause Muslims to riot, and that the riots and/or the grooming scandal might influence how people voted in the up-coming elections. Yet that is what it means to live in a liberal democracy. Issues are discussed, facts are debated; issues should not be suppressed because of the threat of mob violence. In a civilised society democracy is used to bring about change peacefully and gradually. Instead, the threat of mob violence, a form of cultural terrorism, triumphed over democracy: “Channel 4 has pulled a documentary about social workers in Bradford from its schedule after police warned it could increase racial tension.”¹⁸ The Police were able to use the threat that Muslims might riot as an excuse to put pressure on *Channel 4* not to show its documentary. Even though *Channel 4* stated that the BNP’s interest in the issue did not affect their decisions, for many years afterwards, most journalists refused to pay any attention to the problems faced by thousands of schoolgirls across the country. It would seem that journalists claim they avoided reporting on the grooming gangs because it had been turned into an issue about race, and the journalists did not want to do anything to assist then BNP. However, even if the BNP wanted the scandal to be about race, there was nothing stopping journalists from learning about the Sikh victims, and thus concluding that race was not the issue. No organisation seemed to spend any effort finding a way to deal with the grooming gang phenomenon, whilst not helping the BNP. So they left the gangs to prey on schoolgirls, and (with a couple of notable exceptions) they left the BNP alone to raise the subject of the grooming gangs.

When the *Channel 4* documentary was withdrawn from the schedule in 2004, it was to be screened some months after the election. But after the election, pressure groups began another campaign to stop it from ever being shown.

¹⁸“**Documentary pulled over race fear**”, *BBC News*, 20 May 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/3733215.stm.

An online campaign has been launched to try and stop Channel 4 from airing a documentary that features claims Asian men are grooming white girls for sex. *Edge of the City*, set in Bradford, had been shelved in May after police warned it could incite racial violence ahead of local and European elections. The Black Information Link website asks readers to lobby Channel 4, police and the Culture Secretary to stop the film.¹⁹

The documentary was eventually shown, very late at night. Following this low-key broadcast, West Yorkshire Police and Bradford Council were able to further diminish claims made in the documentary, implying that the claims within it were groundless: “they had spent the past two years investigating the allegations, but had found ‘no evidence of systematic exploitation.’”²⁰ Moreover, one year after these pressure groups helped to stop the documentary being shown, West Yorkshire Police quietly closed the investigative unit at the heart of this documentary.²¹ The police, the council and local MPs were saved the embarrassment of having to face elected representatives who could have held the police and social workers to account for their failures and inactivity. After 2005, the grooming gangs in Bradford were brushed under the carpet, even though their activities in that city had been officially known about for a decade.²² There wasn’t to be another prosecution there until 2012.²³

¹⁹“**Campaign to Stop Race Documentary**”, *BBC News website*, 17 Aug 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/3572776.stm>.

²⁰“**Race documentary broadcast on C4**”, *BBC News website*, 27 Aug 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/3600730.stm>.

²¹See section 4.10 2005 Radio 5 programme.

²²See section 4.4 1995 Bradford: *Streets and Lanes*.

²³In August 2013, almost a decade after claiming there was “no evidence” for the existence of these gangs in West Yorkshire, 45 men in that area, aged between 20 and 60, were arrested in an operation apparently against one gang. “**45 arrested in police probe into ‘biggest ever child sex abuse gang’**”, *Halifax Courier*, 20 Aug 2013, <http://www.halifaxcourier.co.uk/news/crime/45-arrested-in-police-probe-into-biggest-ever-child-sex-abuse-gang-1-5967618>. The men arrested were from

Even in reporting on this controversy in 2004, the BBC unproblematically designated the documentary as a “race documentary”, and in the article in *The Telegraph* by Matt Born in 2004, he puts quotation marks around “grooming” but not around “race.” The media too were incapable of separating out being Muslim (a religious belief, open to white, Asian and black people) from the colour of the skin of most of the Muslims in Britain. If the separation of religious belief from nationality and skin colour had been articulated, and the Asian Sikh girls being groomed by Asian Muslim men had not been ignored, there would be no difficulty in understanding that the core issue here is religious belief and culture, not racial or national origin. Since the National Union of Journalists is a major sponsor of *Unite Against Fascism*, we cannot say if the apparent inability of journalists to distinguish between biology (“race”) and ideology (“Islam”) comes down to stupidity or the political allegiance of journalists. The journalists who showed courage and professionalism are few.

Before the end of 2010, Julie Bindel was the only journalist we can find who repeatedly investigated the grooming gangs, despite being castigated as an anti-Muslim bigot by Left-wing websites dedicated to opposing criticism of Islam:

When I first wrote about the issue of Asian grooming gangs in 2007, my name was included on the website Islamophobia Watch: Documenting anti-Muslim Bigotry. So was that of Ann Cryer, the former Labour MP for Keighley in Yorkshire, who had been at the forefront of attempting to tackle the problem, after receiving requests for help from some of the parents of children caught up

the three towns in the area, and are reportedly all connected to the rape and sexual assault of under-age girls: “All the allegations are said to be ‘historic’, having taken place at least two years ago.” **“Britain’s biggest child sex grooming gang thought to have been busted after cops arrest 45 men”**, *The Mirror*, 18 Aug 2013, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/britains-biggest-child-sex-grooming-2181438>.

with the gangs in her constituency.²⁴

Bindel was not alone in being castigated by Left-wing supporters of Muslims. Ann Cryer had also been criticised before by prominent Muslims within the Labour Party. In July 2002 Shahid Malik, a Muslim member of Labour's National Executive Committee (and later Home Office Minister under a Labour Government), criticised Cryer after she spoke out about the criminal behaviour of "Asian" gangs in her constituency whose criminality and violence was "out of control." In relation to that incident, Shahid Malik was quoted

calling on Ms Cryer's constituents to "stand up against" her. "She has failed the ethnic minority community in Keighley," he said. "Her comments are offensive and I do not think she should be the MP in Keighley under the Labour Party."²⁵

These "Asian" gangs in the constituency she represented were getting away with criminal behaviour because of the fear generated by political correctness.²⁶ When one considers that in her remarks, Ms. Cryer had gone to the trouble of exonerating most "Asian", it is surprising to see her come in for such criticism. In the light of these previous attacks on her in 2002, it was brave of Ms. Cryer to speak out again in 2003 and 2004.²⁷ Some Muslims did offer Ann Cryer

²⁴Julie Bindel, "Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth", *Standpoint Magazine*, Dec 2010 <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>

²⁵"Asian Gangs 'Out of Control'", *BBC News*, 6 Jul 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2102470.stm.

²⁶"Asian Gangs 'Out of Control'", *BBC News*, 6 Jul 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2102470.stm.

²⁷It seems very likely that there is more to this story than the public were told at the time. That Shahid Malik should have criticised her, suggests the gangs were probably Muslim (and another Muslim is quoted in Cryer's defence). The story reported that the gangs

are resorting to turf wars and totally disregarding the law... she has criticised leading representatives of the Asian communities... burying their heads in the sand and not acknowledging there is a problem...

their support on the issue of lawless gangs in her constituency. Dr Ghayasuddin Siddiqui, of the Muslim Parliament, was one of the Muslims who supported her: “Ann Cryer is the local MP and she knows her own community.”²⁸ In 2010, Julie Bindel was noting that there were Muslims who were prepared to speak out about the grooming gangs. **Mohammed Shafiq, of the Ramadhan Foundation was advocating that imams and community leaders speak out about sexual exploitation, and for doing this “black and Asian people” threatened to kill him.**²⁹ **Shafiq had the foresight to see that without intervention, the grooming gangs would expand and more schoolgirls would be victims:** “But what I said has been proved right — that if we didn’t tackle it there would be more of these abusers and more girls getting harmed.” Julie Bindel pointed out that Zlakha Ahmed from Rotherham also spoke out in 2010, saying:

this abuse is appalling and needs to be raised within the community. There are still people denying that it happens so the more of us who speak out about it the better.³⁰

Unfortunately, it seems for every Muslim who supported those who spoke out about the Muslim grooming gangs, there were Muslims and

“These young men and their appalling behaviour are becoming role models...They are the ones with the fast cars and smart suits.If we do not defeat them their children will become part of the problem.”

It seems very likely that these gangs were involved in the network of criminal activities around drug-dealing and grooming. Clearly these gangs are involved in something lucrative, hence the turf wars. As with reports about the grooming activities, there’s no indication that the Muslim leaders were going to show any leadership. It’s even possible that there was gang violence with Sikhs or Hindus, attempting to stop their female relatives from being groomed. **“Asian Gangs ‘Out of Control’”,** *BBC News*, 6 Jul 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2102470.stm.

²⁸“Asian Gangs ‘Out of Control’”, *BBC News*, 6 Jul 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2102470.stm.

²⁹Julie Bindel, **“Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth”**, *Standpoint Magazine*, Dec 2010 <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>.

³⁰Julie Bindel, **“Girls, Gangs and Grooming: The Truth”**, *Standpoint Magazine*, Dec 2010 <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/3576/full>.

proponents of multiculturalism who criticised them or threatened them.

6.4 Racist Aspects of Grooming

There is an aspect of racism involved in these grooming gangs, but it is reverse of what the racism groups would have us believe: that is, the gangs can have racist motivations. In 2011, it was again, Mohammed Shafiq who was prepared to point out that it is the Muslim grooming gangs who exhibit anti-white racism:

There is a perception that some of these young men do not see white girls as equal, as valuable, of high moral standing as they see their own daughters, and their own sisters, and I think that's wrong...It's a form of racism that's abhorrent in a civilised society.³¹

It is no surprise that Mohammed Shafiq was getting death threats from black people and Asians alike, when he stated:

it is clear that they [the grooming gangs] do not value white teenagers because they think they are less valuable or honourable than their own daughters or sisters and by targeting white girls there would be no fall back in the community.³²

Julie Bindel took this point further, and argued that what the gangs were doing was more than “simple opportunism”, and that there was a racist motivation driving some of the gangs: “pimping of white females by black and ethnic-minority men can be a type of revenge

³¹“**Jack Straw: Some White Girls are ‘Easy Meat’**”, *BBC News*, 8 Jan 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-derbyshire-12141603>.

³²Mohammed Shafiq, “**Untitled Article on Rochdale Trial for MEN**” <http://www.mohammedshafiq.net/grooming---the-men.php>.

against whites.”³³ In one of the prosecutions, the judge even brought this up in the trial, saying that the gang

those girls were raped, callously, viciously and violently. Some of you acted as you did to satiate your lust, some of you to make money, all of you treated them as though they were worthless and beyond respect... I believe that one of the factors that led to that was that they were not of your community or religion.³⁴

Even at the end of 2013, the MP for Rochdale (the town with the greatest number of convictions at that point in time) that these gangs are racist, and that the Muslim community refuses to recognise what it has produced.³⁵

Another aspect of racism which has been ignored, is the way in which the grooming gangs used the narrative of racism to disrupt families and stop them from protecting their own children. The group who have articulated the clearest understanding of the Muslim grooming gang phenomenon points out:

What is missing here is an understanding of the emotional dynamics of grooming. For grooming to work, the child needs to be trapped into a coercive relationship with their abuser, and then forced to perform sex with growing numbers of older men. But why don't the schoolgirls just run away from this abusive and exploitative situation? Why do they keep going back for

³³Julie Bindel, "Mothers of Prevention", *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

³⁴“You preyed on girls because they were not part of your community or religion’, says judge as he jails Rochdale sex gang for 77 years”, 15 May 2012, *Manchester Evening News*, <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/local-news/you-preyed-on-girls-because-they-were-687987>.

³⁵Rosa Silverman, “Asian communities ‘in denial’ about grooming, says Rochdale MP”, *The Telegraph*, 9 Dec 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10507023/Asian-communities-in-denial-about-grooming-says-Rochdale-MP.html>.

more abuse? Because the grooming has driven a massive wedge between child and parent.³⁶

It might be easy to understand how the groomers could insert themselves into the affection of schoolgirls who were in the care of social services (by gang members offering the girls gifts, attention, “love”, an entry into the world of adulthood, etc.). But it is more difficult to understand how the groomers manage to insert themselves between schoolgirls and loving parents. One of the ways in which they did this was to exploit the narrative of racism, and accuse the parents who tried to intervene of being “racists.”

The pimps are adept at trading on teenage rebellion and use similar methods...of convincing the girls all white people are racist. This is part of the controlling process, to instil guilt in the girls. “Like most teenagers, I was going through a phase of arguing with my mum,” says Gemma. “Amir told me they didn’t understand me and were racist and ignorant. I believed him.” Gemma was given an Asian name by Amir, and told she had to read the Koran, a story support workers tell me is not uncommon. “They erode the girls’ identities,” says Kosaraju, “to make them more compliant and needy.”³⁷

Thus, the narrative of racism was misused by the gangs to prevent the schoolgirls from believing their parents: the gangs could use it as a tool to make the girls estranged from their carers, and thus make the schoolgirls even more vulnerable. The narrative of racism was also misused by Left-wing organisations and the media, to assert that the 2004 documentary was simply a “racist” documentary and its contents could therefore be dismissed by “right-thinking” people: framing the

³⁶PACE, “**The grooming of children for sexual exploitation is largely misunderstood**”, 21 Jan 2013, <http://www.paceuk.info/the-grooming-of-children-for-sexual-exploitation-is-largely-misunderstood/>.

³⁷Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

issue in this way meant that many people did not bother to research more deeply into the conflation between religion and race, nor into the relative proportions of Asian men (really, Muslims) who were to be found among the gang members and their customers. And the narrative of racism could be used as a self-justification by the police to excuse why they were not pursuing these gangs. Oft-used narratives can become so familiar that we no longer question their applicability to individual cases, and just let them lead us along a well-trodden mental path, where we supply missing information using familiar assumptions. Throughout the existence of the Muslim grooming gangs, this narrative has done immense harm to the schoolgirls (but its use also stopped the Asian victims from getting the help they needed).

Despite receiving an honourable mention for admitting that the Muslim grooming gangs exist, Mohammed Shafiq's solutions are unworkable, and have been tried before.

There needs to be more honest and open dialogue with the Police and authorities where these issues are addressed, a local marketing campaign with advertisements and leaflets talking [sic] detailing the crimes and what happens if you are involved in this evil.³⁸

This kind of thing was done years earlier in similar situations, and it appeared to change nothing.³⁹ Mohammed Shafiq has advocated sharia law, and it is possible that he thinks sharia law would be the

³⁸Mohammed Shafiq, “**Untitled Article on Rochdale Trial for MEN**”, <http://www.mohammedshafiq.net/grooming---the-men.php>.

³⁹In 2007 Julie Bindel pointed out that police in Lancashire and Yorkshire had sent letters to Muslims suspected of grooming, warning them they were with under-age girls, and getting them to sign the letters to show they knew the girls were under the age of consent. This achieved nothing. Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

solution to these crimes.⁴⁰ Shafiq insists that these kinds of crimes are un-Islamic, even going so far as to describe them as “a crime against humanity.”⁴¹ It is heartening to see a Muslim speak out about these crimes with some vigour, despite the threats to his own life. He shames many of the journalists, child-care professionals and politicians. However, he offers no new or substantial solutions. Later we will examine if these crimes have any relationship to Islamic values.

Mohammed Shafiq’s warning, that left unchallenged the grooming gangs would extend their operations, shows he had more insight on this subject than any of the journalists or academic experts. However, we don’t think he foresaw that permitting these grooming gangs to get away with this for so long would start to fuel racist views in the parents of the victims and in the wider public.

One of the many tragedies resulting from this phenomenon is how it is fuelling racism and mistrust of whites towards Pakistanis where little existed previously. Although racism can be rife in towns such as Blackburn, Jean claims that before her daughter’s life was ruined she bore no animosity towards the Asian community. Things have changed. When ordering a taxi, Jean spends several minutes looking through the telephone directory, explaining she is looking for a “white-run firm.”⁴²

In 2008, it was reported the BBC sacked a presenter who repeatedly asked a taxi company not to provide Asian drivers.⁴³ It would be

⁴⁰Mohammed Shafiq, “Sky News discussion on sharia law”, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6AZd7LK_cPI.

⁴¹Mohammed Shafiq, “Untitled Article on Rochdale Trial for MEN”, <http://www.mohammedshafiq.net/grooming---the-men.php>.

⁴²Julie Bindel, “Mothers of Prevention”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

⁴³“BBC Radio host sacked after call to taxi firm requesting ‘non-Asian’ driver”, *Daily Mail*, 12 Nov 2008, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1084702/BBC-Radio-host-sacked-taxi-firm-requesting-non-Asian-driver.html>.

interesting to know what BBC staff say to each other off-air, when discussing these Muslim grooming gangs, and what they say about the relationship of grooming gangs to taxi firms and takeaway food businesses.

The following year the EDL was formed. This organisation was not formed in response to the grooming gangs, but in response to Muslim fundamentalists in Luton attacking British troops. If EDL were just violent thugs as claimed by the media, then we might expect to have seen EDL leading violent attacks against Muslim grooming gangs (as Sikhs did in 1989, 2001, and 2013). Instead, the English have been surprisingly quiescent concerning the activities of the grooming gangs, and the failure of the institutions to deal with them for so many years. We can find no instances of the indigenous population using communal violence to deal with grooming gangs, the way that Sikhs have on a number of occasions. However, through their 50 or so demonstrations and their internet presence, the EDL did much to educate people about the grooming gangs, and were probably pivotal in forcing the authorities to finally start a concerted effort to bring the grooming gangs to court. Considering the anger felt by most people in Britain about the evidence emerging about this grooming phenomenon, it is good fortune that the EDL are not a racist or fascist organisation.⁴⁴ **Within the first six months of its existence, a group**

⁴⁴The EDL's policies are clearly not racist, as their "Mission Statement" makes clear: <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/mission-statement/>. With Sikh, LGBT and Jewish "Divisions", it seems clear they welcome diversity within their organisation, and within the concept of "Englishness" with which they operate. The media have consistently ignored photographs and video of non-white people on EDL demonstrations. In fact, when the media have reported on EDL inviting Jews, Sikhs, Gays to EDL protests, the media spun it in such a way that they presented EDL as a white supremacist organisation: Robert Verkaik, "Jewish? Gay? Join us, white extremists say", 27 Nov 2010, *The Independent*, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/jewish-gay-join-us-white-extremists-say-2145003.html>. In the 4 years of EDL's existence, there was not one photo or video of an attack on a minority supporter of the organisation, nor any evidence of racist or homophobic chanting. However, after years of the media misrepresenting EDL as a racist/fascist organisation, the leader of

of black men and white men from EDL were interviewed on the BBC's premier news programme, where they burned a swastika to demonstrate the opposition of their organisation to Nazism.⁴⁵

Much to the chagrin of the far left, a year later the police National Domestic Extremism unit spent months studying the EDL and concluded that the EDL were not a far-right organisation.⁴⁶ As a society we should be relieved that EDL has not been a racist or Nazi organisation, which could have grown powerful from the failure to address 25 years of sexual exploitation of schoolgirls by Muslim gangs.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the possibility that the EDL's ranks might grow, and that the EDL might resort to the violent tactics used by some Sikhs in Britain, must serve to keep the authorities focussed on

the EDL resigned, saying that he was spending too much time trying to keep racists out of the EDL. <http://news.sky.com/story/1151663/tommy-robinson-stands-down-from-the-edl>. Should some racists turn up to EDL demonstrations that would hardly be surprising, since most of the media and the politicians keep telling racists that the EDL is the place for them. It appears that the media's attempts to ensure that EDL was seen as a home for racists had finally worn down the leadership. Whether or not EDL survives, and whether or not it manages to keep racists at bay is yet to be seen.

⁴⁵Paraic O'Brien "**Under the skin of English Defence League**", *BBC Newsnight*, 12 Oct 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/newsnight/8303786.stm>. In the Summer of 2013, the EDL leader once again made clear, in front of thousands of supporters and the assembled media, that Nazis were not welcome at EDL demonstrations: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8I1QpjSibJ0>. Thus, from 2009 to 2013, within the forms of communication under their control, they were sending a clear message that they were opposed to Nazism and they welcomed non-white supporters. As is typical, the media did not report on what strikes us as significant remarks.

⁴⁶John Millington "**'EDL not far-right,' says police extremism chief**", *The Morning Star*, 23 Nov 2010, <http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/index.php/news/content/view/full/98004>. Strangely, the *The Morning Star* article has now disappeared from that Communist organisation's website. A screenshot of it can be seen in section 17. [Appendix 10: Police Report on EDL](#).

⁴⁷Following the resignation of the high profile leader of EDL at the end of 2013, the organisation may yet transform into the racist/fascist organisation which journalists and left-wing political activists purported it to be. Considering that all the attempts by EDL to be a politically-correct organisation have been misrepresented, it is hard to see why those running EDL would continue to bother fighting against racist/fascist elements who would want to take it over.

showing that steps are being taken against the grooming gangs. It is hard to say whether or not it was the formation of the EDL which led to the sudden increase in prosecutions against grooming gangs, but we cannot find another event in 2009 which could have brought about the revolution in our society's response to this problem.⁴⁸ The sudden increase in convictions began in July 2009, some 4 months after EDL started demonstrating across England. It seems likely that the threatening image of EDL portrayed in the media will be serving to keep the attention of the authorities on how easily the grooming problem could lead to violence.

⁴⁸See 12. [Appendix 2: Grooming Gang Chronology](#). Also see the chronology of chapter 4. [Chronology: Cover-up to Collapse](#).

7. Islamic Cultural Background

I will never ever understand what has made them so evil and ignorant that still to this day they think they've not done anything wrong.

– grooming gang victim, *BBC News*, 2010

We have shown that it is now widely accepted, even by the parliamentary investigation, that for more than a decade, a new phenomenon has existed in Britain: gangs made up almost entirely of Muslim men were luring schoolgirls into a life of drugs, rape and prostitution. **Where this much has finally been recognised, it has been “Asian culture” that is blamed rather than Islamic culture. That Islam could be the basis for this criminality is always ruled out of the question, with no investigation of Islamic theology, the history of Islam, or the rulings of sharia law.**¹ Yet we cannot afford

¹For example, William Oddie, “**The Oxford ‘Asian grooming gang’ were not in fact all Asian. But they were all Muslim: is this a problem we are afraid to face?**”, 15 May 2013, *Catholic Herald*, <http://www.catholicherald.co.uk/commentandblogs/2013/05/15/the-oxford-asian-grooming-gang-were-not-in-fact-all-Asian-but-they-were-all-Muslim-is-this-a-problem-we-are-afraid-to-face/>. Oddie recognises that Asians are being unfairly blamed for this crime, when Islam is the common factor for 90% of the perpetrators, not their country of origin.

I am not saying that the problem is Islam per se, any more than I am saying that it's the racial origin of the perpetrators (which in this case it can't be). But there is one generalisation that can safely be made: it is that Muslim men tend to have a low opinion of, how shall I put this, the general level of chastity of white women.

Where do Muslim men (from widely dispersed Muslim countries) get this attitude to women, if not from Islam? Furthermore, Oddie is left looking somewhat uninformed on this subject, when one considers the long history of claims that Muslim men were

to dismiss this question out of hand: not only are non-Muslim Asian men (e.g. Sikhs) almost entirely absent from these gangs, but non-Muslim Asian schoolgirls (Sikhs, Hindus) are targets of the gangs.² The presence of these characteristics in such extreme opposition indicates that there is almost certainly not a random explanation for these events. When one introduces the similarities with Muslim gangs and the organised child-sexual exploitation in the Netherlands, then the pattern becomes even clearer.

We must look at Islamic doctrine and the history of Islam to see if there are things which are more deeply-rooted and pervasive than the reported activities of these pro-Caliphate groups.

7.1 “Asian gang”: racist duplicity

From the first days when the phenomenon of the Muslim grooming gangs made it into the national debate, the phenomenon was described (in the media and by experts) as being connected with “Asians” and “racism”. The problem was framed incorrectly in racial terms: the problem was with Muslim gangs (we assume it is obvious by now: not all Muslims are Asians, not all Asians are Muslims).

When the story of these gangs first burst into the national media in grooming Sikh schoolgirls in Britain. When this is taken into account, it is clear that the skin colour of the victims is not a general explanation: focusing on the gangs’ attitudes to the “chastity” (i.e. morality, behaviour, availability) of their *Asian and Caucasian* victims, the fact that the victims are overwhelmingly non-Muslims, leads us back to Islam. Oddie might expect Sikh and Hindu men to have the similar attitudes to chastity, yet Muslims make up 90% of all those convicted for these type of crimes, while non-Muslim Asians are not found among the perpetrators in significant proportions. See section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#).

²Even when the victims of a grooming gang are Muslim, the perpetrators were still Muslim men. “Asian/Muslim female victims are most vulnerable to offenders from their own communities as the overwhelming majority of the offenders were from the same background as the victims.” Shaista Gohir MBE, “**Unheard Voices: The Sexual Exploitation of Asian Girls and Young Women**”, September 2013, http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/go_files/resources/UnheardVoices.pdf p.23.

2003, Ann Cryer (Labour MP for Keighley, outside Bradford) said “I believe there is a very strong cultural reason, it’s nothing to do with the religion lets [sic] make it quite clear, its [sic] to do with the Asian culture, which wants these young men to marry these very young girls from their village...”³ Ten years later, Andrew Norfolk (who had lived in that area for those following ten years) is quoted in the parliamentary investigation saying:

If you come from a rural Mirpuri, Kashmiri community, where, whatever state law says, village tradition and sharia says that puberty is the green light for marriage—as it does—and if you recognise that most girls in this country are hitting puberty at 11 or 12, perhaps one begins to understand why it is not just lone offenders. **There has to be something, given that so often this is a normalised group activity—not among a major criminal gang, but among friends, work colleagues and relatives—that does not have the same sense of shame attached to it as would be the case for your typical White offender,** who works alone because if he told too many people, somebody would report him.⁴ (emphasis added)

So, in 2003 Ann Cryer was blaming “Asian culture”, and ten years later Andrew Norfolk is still scratching round, blaming “village tradition.” In 10 years the national debate has moved on by just one small step: instead of blaming the culture of an entire continent, the spokesmen given voice by the media are blaming the culture of single villages. But what doctrines and history shape this culture cannot be mentioned. The phenomenon of Muslim men grooming non-Muslim

³“**Asian Rape Allegations**”, *Channel 4 News*, 27 Aug 2003, (from archive.org) http://web.archive.org/web/20100620042427/http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/society/law_order/Asian+rape+allegations/256893.

⁴Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf>, p.54.

schoolgirls has been widely accepted by the public (if not by politicians, those who run the children's charities, nor academics). However, there is still no attempt in the media or among academics to explain why this phenomenon of schoolgirls being systematically groomed for prostitution should have appeared in Britain and in Holland (and probably other European countries) with significant Muslim populations. Norfolk gives some indication that he might think it is more than just "village tradition", when he mentions the concept of "sharia" in the quotation above.⁵

By 2011 Jack Straw MP characterised the problem thus: "there is

⁵On at least two occasions, Andrew Norfolk has made statements implicating "village tradition" and sharia law as an explanation for why Muslims find these crimes less objectionable. See also <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RZCQ9ZWfCuQ#t=388>. Andrew Norfolk seems not to understand, that there is an enormous difference between a village tradition (like clog-dancing) and the idea that certain behaviour is likely to get a Muslim man into Heaven, because the Muslim man would be following the example of Mohammed. And it is not just illiterate peasants who arrived in Britain 5 years ago who want sharia law: 40% of Muslim university students in Britain want sharia law - see "**The latest WikiLeaks revelation: 1 in 3 British Muslim students back killing for Islam and 40% want Sharia law**", *Daily Mail*, 22 Dec 2010, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1340599/WikiLeaks-1-3-British-Muslim-students-killing-Islam-40-want-Sharia-law.html>. Moreover, there would have to be more to this grooming phenomenon than the idea that sharia law says that a Muslim can marry a girl who has reached puberty: these gangs were not marrying these non-Muslim schoolgirls, but were consciously luring schoolgirls into sex-slavery, and prostituting the schoolgirls to other men. This was not some kind of misguided, inter-generational, cross-cultural *Love Story*. If it was just a question of the implementation of village tradition/sharia, meaning that Muslim men married underage girls in Britain, that too happens in Britain and is bad enough - see Pavan Amara, "**Islington Girls Forced into Marriage at the Age of Nine**", *Islington Tribune*, 27 Jan 2012, <http://www.islingtontribune.com/news/2012/jan/islington-girls-forced-marriage-age-nine>. But we doubt that Norfolk wants to pursue the other aspects of sharia, which state that Muslims can enslave non-Muslims, and that Muslims can prostitute those slaves. The pro-Caliphate groups, like those which have been associated with efforts to seduce/groom non-Muslim girls, are very serious about implementing full sharia law. Manuals of sharia law specify that homosexual people are to be executed - see Section 012.2, *Reliance of the Traveller: a Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law*, Keller translation, 1991

a specific problem which involves Pakistani heritage men... who target vulnerable young white girls. We need to get **the Pakistani community** to think much more clearly about why this is going on.”⁶ However, there is no sign that “the Pakistani community” are giving any thought to why this happens with Pakistani Muslim men in Britain, when **there is no evidence of Pakistani Christians or Pakistani Hindus in Britain who are involved with the gangs**: that the perpetrators are mostly Pakistani is far less pertinent than that they are Muslim. Furthermore, there is no sign at all that Sikh men have been involved in this type of criminality. The only incidents with Hindu perpetrators occurred in Blackpool, a town where Muslim gangs had been grooming girls for years without prosecution,⁷ or when the Hindu men are part of a larger Muslim gang.⁸ As we have seen, various Hindu and Sikh organisations in Britain have objected to the racism of the media and the politicians who were describing the gangs as “Asian”: the media and politicians (and presumably the BNP) focussed on “race” rather than “religion” (culture), even when in 2003 about half the Asians in Britain were not Muslims.⁹ It seems that many of those journalists and public figures who point out other

⁶“**Jack Straw: Some White Girls are ‘Easy Meat’**”, *BBC News*, 8 Jan 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-derbyshire-12141603>. Emphasis added. We think that “the Pakistani community” know that Islamic doctrines is the reason the grooming gangs exist, but that they do not want non-Muslims to realise this.

⁷Two Hindu men were convicted in Blackpool in 2006, but extensive grooming was going on there as early as 2003: “Following Charlene’s disappearance in 2003, police found more than 60 girls were being groomed for sex by non-white men centred around 11 Blackpool takeaways.” James Tozer, “**Police ‘hid’ abuse of 60 girls by Asian takeaway workers linked to murder of 14-year-old**”, *The Daily Mail*, 7 Apr 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1374443/Police-hid-abuse-60-girls-Asian-takeaway-workers-linked-Charlene-Downes-murder.html>. Moreover, it seems likely that these two Hindu men were part of some larger network in Blackpool: Ben Rossington, “**Two jailed for teen’s gang rape**”, *The Gazette*, 11 Apr 2006, <http://www.blackpoolgazette.co.uk/news/local/two-jailed-for-teen-s-gang-rape-1-371018>.

⁸See the case from Leicester, in 2013.

⁹“**Census 2001**”, *BBC News website*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/03/census_2001/html/religion.stm.

racism and nationalities in the grooming gangs, rely on the public not realising that such people from Iraq, Afghanistan, North Africa, Central Africa are more than likely going to be Muslims. These spokesmen will use these ethnic details as a way of “proving” that the gangs have many ethnicities, and that it is thus irrelevant that most of those convicted are Pakistani Muslims. If this was part of a conscious process of concealment, it could hardly have been better executed.

Despite all the experts knowing that not all the Muslims in Britain who do this are Asian, despite knowing that an almost identical pattern of criminality has been going on in Holland, and that the Muslims in Holland who are doing it are from Turkey and Morocco, the experts refuse to look at Islam as a causal factor, even when there is no other cause that can be seen. “All except two of the men were of Pakistani origin. The Karrar brothers were from north Africa.”¹⁰ One would expect that the fact that one of those north African brothers in the Oxford trial in 2012 was called “Mohammed”, and **that “Mohammed” is the most common name of all the men in Andrew Norfolk’s original overview from 2011, should have signalled that the names of these men are more significant than the countries from which their parents came.**¹¹ Yet even in his 2012 interview with the *Sikh Awareness Society*, Norfolk claims what is going on is “not an Islamic issue.” How can he make this emphatic claim? Simple: Norfolk says that since not all Muslim men are involved, Islam cannot be a factor.¹² This argument seems to be that Islam cannot command that these men exploit young girls, or else the

¹⁰ Arthur Martin, “Faces of True Evil: Judge Jails Depraved Sex Gang for 95 Years After they Committed Grotesque Abuse on Girls as Young as 11”, *The Daily Mail*, 27 Jun 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2349784/Sadistic-paedophile-sex-gang-brothers-given-lengthy-prison-sentences-exploiting-underage-girls.html>.

¹¹ Andrew Norfolk, “Revealed: conspiracy of silence on UK sex gangs”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article2863058.ece>.

¹² Norfolk points out that in Blackburn, a hotspot for these grooming gangs, those involved all come from the Kashmiri Muslims not from the Gujarati Muslims. http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=WbUIfvYbjRc&t=799.

exploitation we see from the grooming gangs would be universal wherever there were Muslims in Britain. However, this is nonsense: it is analogous to arguing that Christianity could not have been a factor in the Crusades, since Christianity forbids killing, and not all Christians took part in the Crusades. Moreover, Andrew Norfolk's claim that Muslims from Gujarat have not been involved could quite simply be based on a lack of evidence for the involvement of Gujarati Muslims (we have been told by both CEOP and The Children's Commissioner that the evidence about these crimes has not been consistently gathered). It seems that the experts will try to split hairs, rather than actually look at what aspects of Islamic doctrine could lead some Muslims to find this kind of horrendous crime acceptable. It would help their case if they could even find some injunctions from Islam which would forbid or outlaw these crimes (such evidence is never forthcoming).

There is tacit admission from Parliament that Islam is fundamentally connected to this crime. Why did the Home Affairs Select Committee have input from a Sheikh, but not from a Bishop? Because Pakistani Christians in Britain are not involved in this criminality? If there is no connection with Muslims/Islam, why was there to be a sermon in mosques in June 2013?¹³ This tacit admission goes all the way back to the first time this crime got national media attention, too. In 2003 (or earlier), when Ann Cryer's constituents came to her about their daughters being groomed, she did not go to the police; she **contacted "village elders" and asked them to tell the Muslim men to stop doing it, because "it is un-Islamic"**. She did not go to the Sikh or Hindu temples, or to the local church, or the local working-men's club. Perhaps more significantly than most people realise, the Muslim leaders refused to tell their fellow

¹³Vikram Dodd, **"Imams in 500 Mosques to Denounce Grooming and Abuse of Children: Co-ordinated Effort to Deliver Same Sermon Across the Country Follows Convictions of Muslim Men for Series of Horrific Cases"**, *The Guardian*, 28 Jun 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/28/imamas-500-mosques-denounce-grooming>.

Muslims: this behaviour is un-Islamic.¹⁴

We also the confirmatory behaviour of the British judiciary, who give light sentences to devout Muslim men who rape under-age girls, excusing the men's behaviour if they have had a very Islamic upbringing. As late as May 2013, the media were reporting that a Muslim man in Nottingham who:

had "raped" an underage girl, was spared a prison term after the judge heard that the naïve 18-year-old attended an Islamic faith school where he was taught that women are worthless. **Rashid told psychologists he had no idea that having sex with a willing 13-year-old was against the law**; besides, his education had taught him to believe that "women are no more worthy than a lollipop that has been dropped on the ground."¹⁵

So, Islamic religious values are being be used by judges in British courts, as extenuating circumstances for child-rape. But Islamic religious values are not to be mentioned as an explanatory factor with the grooming/pimping gangs, where Muslims who are less than 5% of the population yet who make up anywhere from 28% to 90% of the perpetrators of a distinct and new kind of crime?¹⁶

¹⁴This occurred in 2003 in Keighley, and then occurred again nationally in 2013, when the vast majority of mosques did not read the sermon condemning the grooming gangs.

¹⁵Emphasis added. Allison Pearson, "Oxford grooming gang: We will regret ignoring Asian thugs who target white girls", *The Telegraph*, 15 May 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10060570/Oxford-grooming-gang-We-will-regret-ignoring-Asian-thugs-who-target-white-girls.html>.

¹⁶The figure of 28% comes from the CEOP "rapid assessment" - see section 5.5 [Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre](#). The figure of 90% comes from our analysis of those convicted - see section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#). What we need to bear in mind with regard to the "data" from CEOP report and from The Children's Commissioner report, is that their data is gathered from disparate sources, and the quality of much of that data will not stand up in court. The principles of the Norfolk analysis mean that the data has gone through weeks of rigorous questioning in court, leading to convictions despite this contestation. Thus, the Norfolk analysis is based on data which has been subjected to the most rigorous

This is double-think.

Setting themselves up as the arbiters of who is or is not a Muslim, some non-Muslim academics **claim that the Muslim men convicted are Muslims in name-only**. But there is a significant amount of evidence to show that many of those convicted were devout Muslims. In one of the trials, **one of the gang members was a mosque official**.¹⁷ In another trial, the gang were caught after **abducting and raping girls as part of their Eid celebrations**.¹⁸ In a case where six men were convicted in Leicester of crimes relating to paying a 16 year old Sikh girl for sex and/or prostituting her, the media did not report that 5 of the 6 men were Muslim. Almost no report carried an artist's impression of the accused, one of whom was in the dock in the clothing and beard of a devout Muslim.¹⁹ When Ashtiaq Asghar decided to murder a groomed girl who had got pregnant, he said "I'm gonna send that kuffar [non-Muslim] bitch straight to Hell", showing he was viewing the victim and her "punishment" in Islamic terms.²⁰ Some of those who have worked extensively with the victims of the gangs, report how the gangs give the schoolgirls "Muslim" names,

of questioning - and this data shows that where the evidence is strong enough to bring about a conviction, the vast majority of those involved in "localised grooming" are Muslim men. Questions need to be asked concerning the huge discrepancies between the ethnic background of those convicted, and the claims made by CEOP/The Children's Commissioner.

¹⁷**"Profiled: Guilty members of Rochdale sex grooming gang"**, *Manchester Evening News*, 9 May 2012, <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/profiled-guilty-members-of-rochdale-sex-687971>.

¹⁸Katherine Faulkner, **"Muslim gang jailed for kidnapping and raping two girls as part of their Eid celebrations"**, *The Daily Mail*, 21 Apr 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2132985/Muslim-gang-jailed-kidnapping-raping-girls-Eid-celebrations.html>.

¹⁹This report on the BBC news website is one of the few to display this image. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-23896937>.

²⁰Paul Sims, **"Groomed for sex then thrown into a canal and killed: Life for man who murdered white girl for 'shaming' Asian family"**, *Daily Mail*, 22 Dec 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2077205/Teenage-mother-stabbed-death-thrown-canal-bringing-shame-family.html>.

and force them to read the Koran.²¹ As the Muslim journalist Yasmin Alibhai-Brown states (whilst still mis-describing them as “Asian”): “The rapists are all probably considered very good Muslims, praying and fasting in the daytime, then prowling and preying at night on girls they think of as barely human.”²² Thus, there are plenty of reasons to regard the members of these grooming gangs as practising Muslims. Furthermore, a Muslim leader has finally come out and stated that imams in Britain are responsible for this new phenomenon of grooming gangs, because Muslim men are taught in mosques that **women are “second-class citizens, little more than chattels or possessions over whom they have absolute authority.”**²³

Even if the Muslim men who are involved in these crimes had never set foot in a mosque in their adult lives, we believe that Islamic culture must still be examined as a motivating factor. Indeed, we have nothing else to look at for motivation, since being Asian, being Sikh,

²¹“Gemma was given an Asian name by Amir, and told she had to read the Koran, a story support workers tell me is not uncommon.” Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007, http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece.

²²Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, “**Asian Grooming Gangs**”, 21 May 2012, <http://alibhai-brown.com/Asian-grooming-gangs/>.

²³Hayley Dixon, “**Imams promote grooming rings’, Muslim leader claims**”, *The Telegraph*, 16 May 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10061217/Imams-promote-grooming-rings-Muslim-leader-claims.html>. Taj Hargey also castigated the same groups we have taken to task in our study:

this scandal happened at all is precisely because of such politically correct thinking. All the agencies of the state, including the police, the social services and the care system, seemed eager to ignore the sickening exploitation that was happening before their eyes. Terrified of accusations of racism, desperate not to undermine the official creed of cultural diversity, they took no action against obvious abuse...

Also, let us not forget the claims, reported by the media and by Sikh organisations, that from the 1990s until 2005, that there was evidence of devout, pro-Caliphate Muslim organisations in Britain, not only instructing Muslim men to groom non-Muslim women, but also it was claimed that these organisations were issuing instructions on how to do this.

being Hindu has nothing like the correlation that being Muslim has with these crimes.

The duplicity comes from those people who allege that it was racists who were imagining (or construing data to claim) that the majority of the perpetrators of the grooming gangs were “Asians”, whilst such people simultaneously refuse to recognise and investigate the many examples (1988, 1989, 1996, 2001) before the *Edge of the City* incident, where it was (non-Muslim) Asian girls who were the victims of the Muslim grooming gangs. Those who wanted to use the problem of the Muslim grooming gangs to talk up the issue of racism, were simultaneously turning a blind eye to the suffering not just of white schoolgirls, but also the suffering of Asian schoolgirls.

7.2 Islamic Morality, Muslim Culture

Over hundreds of years the stories, morality and principles from the Koran, the Hadiths, and the Sira (*The Life of Mohammed*) must have passed into Islamic culture.²⁴ These things have affected what Muslims view as right and wrong. These things shape their view of the world. This is not to say that the whole of these textual corpuses would have passed into the store of knowledge of any particular Muslim, or Muslim family, or Muslim community in Britain. But it is

²⁴We realise that these three different categories of religious texts in Islam may be confusing to the layman. The Koran is the core text of Islam, believed by Muslims to be the direct word of their God, communicated to Mohammed. However, in Islam the behaviour of Mohammed is considered to be exemplary, to be followed by all Muslims. Thus, the Sira and the Hadiths are of secondary importance. However they are still of great importance, as they allow Muslims to know how Mohammed behaved, so that they might copy his behaviour. The Sira is a narrative biography of Mohammed; the Hadiths are collections of short reports of Mohammed’s behaviour, from a variety of different people. The Sira and the Hadiths also serve as the chronological framework, against which contradictory verses in the Koran can be resolved. If a later verse contradicts an earlier verse, then the later verse countermands the earlier verse. Thus, Muslims need Hadiths and Sira not just for detailed information about Mohammed’s behaviour, but also to order the Koran’s verses chronologically.

inevitable that parts of them would. **Even with Islam being a recent addition to British society, most non-Muslims in Britain now “know” that halal meat, the burka, “honour killing”, and even terrorist violence are associated with Islam (knowing where any of these are mandated/forbidden in any particular texts is something most Muslims could not provide).**

The culture in countries which have majority Muslim populations is “Islamic culture”; quite often these countries define themselves as “Islamic states.” But even when they do not go as far as that, a country which was subjugated by the armies of Islam 1000 years ago or more, cannot have escaped “Islamic values” from pervading the culture of the country. Indeed, we would contend that even those who remain non-Muslims in those countries will still have acquired some Islamic values. Whilst Muslims may not be able to cite chapter and verse for particular beliefs they have (such as beliefs about genies), those beliefs have suffused their upbringing and their world-view. It is astonishing to see how glibly supposed experts in sociology, politics or theology will create an impermeable barrier between religion and culture, as if the two can never affect each other.

To understand this in the context of “Christian countries” (even those which are not legally defined as “Christian states”), consider the concept of “a crusade.” It is 1000 years since the actual Crusades took place, yet the flags of many countries still bear a cross, and there can be “crusades against crime”, “crusades against poverty”, and so on. Organisations from the time of the Crusades still exist (St. John’s medical services, from the Order of St. John). Yet the actual Crusades are a tiny and almost insignificant part of Christian history (there were only 9 Crusades, compared to over 500 Muslim Holy Wars against Christian Europe). We have many stories where Richard the Lionheart is a key figure, and in the 21st century, the English Defence League is once again using the iconography of the Crusades. **If something like the Crusades can still resonate and shape the culture and world-view of a secular Britain, it is obvious that stories, morals**

and values from Islamic theology and Islamic history must shape the world-view of Muslims; these things have been passed down in mosques and Muslim homes since the time of Mohammed.

We will look at values and stories from the Koran, the Hadiths, and *The Life of Mohammed* (the Sira) to see how these texts and stories could make Muslims in Britain and Holland take part in, or excuse, the activities of the grooming gangs. We are not offering this as *proof* that Muslims were specifically and consciously implementing these values: although there is evidence that there are Sikhs and Hindus who believe that these Muslims were motivated by Islamic values.²⁵ We are going to look at the elephant in the room, which everyone else has been determined to ignore for the past 25 years. Are there aspects of Islamic doctrine which could have shaped Muslim culture, such that these crimes seem acceptable to some Muslim men? Are there aspects of Islamic doctrine which can explain why the Muslim community refused to stop them, or which can explain why so many Muslims held back from informing the police and courts about what they knew (in the worst cases, we have evidence of Muslims actively trying to help destroy the court cases, to ensure that the perpetrators did not get punished). These are pressing questions, and it is shameful that they have not been articulated in the last 25 years.

²⁵“The attitude of showing disrespect towards non-Muslim girls by a small minority of Muslim men through some confused religious sanction needs to be tackled head on by the mosques,” said Anil Bhanot of Hindu Council, UK.”, Yudhvir Rana, **“Sigh of relief among Hindu, Sikh communities in UK”**, *The Times of India*, Jul 2 2013, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-07-02/other-news/40328466_1_hindu-council-anil-bhanot-uk.

7.3 Koranic Instructions

The Koran²⁶ instructs Muslim men to make their women and girls cover up, and those women and girls who are not covered are liable for abuse: “tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to bring down over themselves [part] of their outer garments. That is more suitable that they will be known and not be abused.”²⁷ Any woman who commits sexual intercourse outside the limits permitted by Islamic rules are to be killed: “Those who commit unlawful sexual intercourse of your women - bring against them four [witnesses] from among you. And if they testify, confine the guilty women to houses until death takes them.”²⁸ **The Koran lays down strictures as to how a decent Muslim woman must dress, and restricts her sexual freedom. And if she dresses inappropriately, or is sexually permissive, then she is to expect abuse and even death, with no legal repercussions** for the husband who kills her (or for the people who abuse her for being “immodestly” dressed). We can see from this, that Muslim men in Britain and Holland would distinguish between virtuous women (Muslim women) and immodest or “lewd” non-Muslim women. Indeed, in London a devout Muslim man, named Sunny Islam, set about raping and beating non-Muslim women because they were, in his judgement, behaving lewdly by

²⁶Historically, and even in some Muslim countries today, non-Muslims were not allowed to touch the Koran nor speak about what it contains. This is in keeping with the principle in Islam that non-Muslims are considered inferior to Muslims (some Muslims even put non-Muslims into the same category as faeces). Consequently, many Muslims are outraged to have a non-Muslim argue with them about what is in the Koran. Also, with this new development in history - non-Muslims being able to find out that Islam seeks to subjugate non-Muslims - there are translations of the Koran which do their best to make the Koran sound softer (and even confusing) to non-Muslims. In the light of this, we think it advisable that non-Muslims do not rely on just one translation of the Koran, but that they should use websites which offer many different translations of the Koran side by side, for example <http://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/quran/>.

²⁷The Koran, surah 33, verse 59 <http://quran.com/33/59>

²⁸The Koran, surah 4, verse 15 <http://quran.com/4/15>

being out at night without a controlling father, husband or brother.²⁹

This is all reprehensible, to say the least. However, there are worse things in Islamic doctrine. We know it will come as a shock³⁰ to many untrained individuals to discover that Islam has a very accepting attitude concerning the morality of slavery, and so we will provide references to books by black British academics (Azumah), African American professors (Thomas Sowell), anti-Apartheid campaigners (Ronald Segal), Indian historians (K.S. Lai) and Islamic scholars (Sultan Tabandeh) to show that the morality and legality of slavery in Islam is not some fiction. Perhaps talking of slavery in the context of the grooming gangs may seem exaggerated: however, that is how Sikhs were describing these gangs back in the 1980s (see section 4.2 1989 Sikhs convicted), and some of the victims in recent trials have been described as “sex slaves.”³¹ These values must be considered if we are to look at how Islamic doctrine and tradition

²⁹Nick Enoch, “‘Strict Muslim’ raped four women at knifepoint to ‘punish them for being on the streets at night’”, *Daily Mail*, 25 Jan 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2091669/Sunny-Islam-Strict-Muslim-raped-4-women-knifepoint-punish-them.html>.

³⁰Political activists in the west have been very selective in their opposition to slavery. They consistently emphasise a few hundred years of white European Christians trading black African slaves, but are virtually silent on the much longer and much larger trade in slaves by Muslims. Even academics have got a terrible record of concealing this trade. See John Alembillah Azumah, *The Legacy of Arab-Islam in Africa*, Oneworld, Oxford, 2001, pp.14-17. These academics and activists not only ignored the Islamic slave-taking and trading of white and Asian slaves, but also of black African slaves. The conclusion one must draw is that these activists and academics were not interested in the horror of slavery *per se*, but in denigrating European values.

³¹Moreover, the police are now describing the victims of these gangs in these terms: Vicky Smith, “**Child sex slave gangs in EVERY city in Britain: Police chief’s warning after Oxford grooming horror**”, *The Mirror*, 15 May 2013, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/child-sex-slave-gangs-every-1891898>. The association of slave-taking with these grooming gangs was also made back in 2008; see Kathryn Knight, “**Is political correctness stopping police ending the misery of the teenage sex slaves?**”, *Daily Mail*, 27 Mar 2008, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-546809/Is-political-correctness-stopping-police-ending-misery-teenage-sex-slaves.html>.

could have made this crime seem acceptable to those brought up as Muslims.

From before the start of Islam until just after World War 2, slavery was not only legal in Islamic countries: it was an all-pervasive part of Islamic history, actively and extensively practised throughout their culture:³² slave-taking and trading was practised as part of Islam from before Britain was even a Christian country, right up until men were walking on the moon. **Whilst the Koran does not contain injunctions telling Muslims they can have slaves, laying that out explicitly was not necessary: the morality and legality of slavery was taken for granted at the time of Mohammed, and he himself had slaves and took women as slaves. Whilst Mohammed is credited by Muslims with ending extant but immoral practices such as infanticide,³³ he did not seek to end slavery.** The conditions under which Muslims can acquire slaves are not specified in the Koran. Having said that: the Koran contains no injunctions telling Muslims that slavery is immoral or illegal. But the Koran contains instructions telling Muslims how they can treat their slaves.

The Koran makes a distinction between legal wives and slaves, and instructs Muslim men that they can have sex with either their wives or their slaves: “We have made lawful to you your wives whom you have given their dowries, and those whom your right hand possesses out of those whom Allah has given to you as prisoners of war.”³⁴ Whilst Muslim men cannot have sex with the wives of other

³²See Emmet Scott, *The Impact of Islam*, New English Review Press, 2014, pp.16-18, pp.61-74, pp.142-153.

³³“Mohammed and Women”, http://www.pbs.org/muhammad/ma_women.shtml. See also p.3 of “Khutba - Tackling Street Grooming in the UK”, 2013, <http://www.mcb.org.uk/uploads/Khutbah%20-%20Street%20Grooming%20final%20version.pdf>.

³⁴The Koran, surah 33, verse 50 <http://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/quran/verses/033-qmt.php>. It might not be immediately obvious to the untrained reader, but “right hand possess” is a metaphor for “slave”, as can be found in contemporary discussions of this phrase on Islamic websites. <http://forums.understanding-Islam.com/showthread.php?7663-Who-are-women-whom-your-right-hand-possess>.

Muslim men, they can have sex with enslaved women, even if the enslaved woman has a husband: “all married women (are forbidden unto you) save those (captives) whom your right hands possess.”³⁵

Not only are Muslim men permitted legally and morally to rape their slaves, but they are also forgiven if they turn a slave girl into a prostitute: “do not compel your slave girls to prostitution, when they desire to keep chaste, in order to seek the frail good of this world’s life; and whoever compels them, then surely after their compulsion Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.”³⁶ It is clear, that these kind of Islamic views easily lend themselves to Muslim men seeing women as objects, to be controlled and dominated by men. It would lead them to believe that if some non-Muslim woman within their control could be prostituted, there would be no moral or legal consequences for them within an Islamic world-view.³⁷

There are also features of Islam which are supremacist and which look with contempt at non-Muslims. According to the Koran, non-Muslims are the worst of all living creatures, thus sub-human: “The disbelievers among the People of the Book and the pagans will dwell forever in hell; they are the worst of all creatures.”³⁸ Some Muslims take the Koranic description of infidels as the worst of creatures, and put non-Muslim into the same category of dirty things as faeces and dead bodies.³⁹ One of the police officers who managed

³⁵The Koran, surah 4, verse 24 <http://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/quran/verses/004-qmt.php>.

³⁶The Koran, surah 24, verse 33 <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=24&verse=33>. Since any woman who does not wear a hijab/burka is considered to be “lewd” in Islamic doctrine, the Muslim grooming gangs could quite easily rationalise their pimping as being in accord with Islam, i.e. they were not pimping out slave girls who “desire to be chaste.”

³⁷It is not uncommon to find someone who is described as “a moderate Muslim” who insists that they will only obey English law that does not conflict with Islamic law.

³⁸The Koran, surah 98, verse 6 <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=98&verse=6>.

³⁹This Islamic website explains this view of non-Muslims: <http://www.al-Islam.org/laws/najisthings.html>.

to get convictions for a gang in Bradford in Leeds in 1997 said “The men held those young girls in extremely low esteem; they thought that this somehow justified the violation that was taking place.” The Koran refers to non-Muslims as animals, and the standard term for a non-Muslim in Arabic is “kafir”, a highly derogatory term.⁴⁰

Furthermore, **we should not be surprised when Muslims who said they disapproved of the grooming/raping gangs still said “they would never have dreamt of going to the police about it, because you do not turn on your own community”⁴¹, as this too is part of Islamic theology.** The Koran tells Muslims that they must always band together against non-Muslims: “Let not the believers Take for friends or helpers Unbelievers rather than believers.”⁴² As one of the few Muslims who has been prepared to speak (anonymously) about the grooming gangs said to Andrew Norfolk:

“a lot of people” knew of the abuse but that he and others were “too scared to do anything about it.” He points to a widespread view that betraying members of one’s own community to the police would be an even greater sin than child sexual exploitation.⁴³

We know it sounds incredible, but there is so much evidence to show that the vast majority of Muslims put their loyalty to other Muslims (the Ummah) above all else. It is a part of Islam, a concept that weaves through Islamic texts. The Islamic world-view is so deeply ingrained in Muslims, that they would rather allow schoolgirls to be

⁴⁰<http://alquranwasunnahislamicsoflearning.yuku.com/topic/888#.UjDwHsasio8>.

⁴¹Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf>, p.53.

⁴²The Koran, surah 3, verse 28. <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=3&verse=28>.

⁴³Andrew Norfolk, “**Some of these men have children the same age; they are bad apples’; Sexual grooming; The grooming of white girls by gangs of Pakistani heritage is an issue that few in the community will address**”, *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011.

raped, drugged, and pimped than tell the police that it was going on.

Whilst most of what we have covered so far in Islamic theology sounds like it only relates to adult women, it is time to turn to the issue of what constitutes a woman under Islamic law and morality. Aisha was Mohammed's favourite wife, and she was only aged 6 years old when he married her. It is on the basis of Mohammed marrying her when she was 6 years old and him consummating that marriage when she was 9 years old, that girls around the ages of 9 to 15 are married off in many Muslim countries (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Yemen, etc.) In the chapter where divorce is discussed in the Koran, it contains provisions for the divorce of a wife who has not yet begun to menstruate: "And those who no longer expect menstruation among your women - if you doubt, then their period is three months, and [also for] those who have not menstruated. And for those who are pregnant, their term is until they give birth."⁴⁴ **This is a subject which many western Muslims will dispute or deny; whether that is out of shame or ignorance we cannot say. But that "Islamic states" (e.g. Saudi Arabia, Yemen) permit 9 year old girls to be married cannot be denied** (some of these child-brides die giving birth shortly after they are married).⁴⁵

⁴⁴The Koran, surah 65, verse 4 <http://quran.com/65/4>

⁴⁵See Sara Nelson, **Bride Aged 8 Dies After Suffering Internal Sexual Injuries During Wedding Night With Man**, 40, *Huffington Post*, 9 Sep 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/09/09/bride-aged-8-dies-internal-sexual-injuries-wedding-night-_n_3892892.html; Ali al-Ahmed, "**Why is no one protecting Saudi Arabia's child brides?**", *The Guardian*, 8 Nov 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/nov/08/saudi-arabia-child-brides-marriage>; "**Child bride, 12, dies in Yemen after struggling to give birth for THREE days**", *Daily Mail*, 17 Mar 2010, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1213168/Fawziya-Abdullah-Youssef-dies-labour-Child-bride-12-dies-Yemen-struggling-birth-THREE-days.html>; Emma Graham-Harrison, "**Afghan judges free three jailed for torture of child bride Sahar Gul**", *The Guardian*, 11 Jul 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/11/afghan-judges-free-sahar-guls-torturers>; "**Contemporary Paedophilic Marriages in Islam**" http://wikiIslam.net/wiki/Contemporary_Pedophilic_Islamic_Marriages.

Some Muslims will point out that in medieval Europe, Kings took young wives. That might very well be true, but our societies have laws and morals which evolve. This is a problem when a group of people insist on holding onto an unchanging morality that is supposedly the direct and eternal word of god. **This is how we end up with a situation like that in 2012 in London, where 9 year old Muslim girls were being married off to old men, and trapped in primary school in the day whilst providing sexual services to the old man in the evening.**⁴⁶ It also explains how it could be that so many of the Muslim men in the grooming gangs were fixated on girls as young as 10:

The youngest identified victim was 10, with 14 and 15 the peak ages for exploitation... “Offenders tend to prefer younger victims. The exploitation tails off in most cases as the children get older and offenders identify and groom new, younger victims.”⁴⁷

Even in the middle of 2013, primary schools in England (where the oldest child is 11 years old) were sending home letters to parents warning them of groups of Asian men sat in cars outside the school gates (one of the classic behaviours of the Muslim grooming gangs).⁴⁸ If one examines websites providing coverage of Islamic countries, one can find contemporary stories of “child prostitution in the guise of marriage.”⁴⁹

⁴⁶Pavan Amara, “**Islington Girls Forced into Marriage at the Age of Nine**”, *Islington Tribune*, 27 Jan 2012, <http://www.islingtontribune.com/news/2012/jan/islington-girls-forced-marriage-age-nine>.

⁴⁷Andrew Norfolk, “**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**”, *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

⁴⁸See the photographic copies of letters sent to parents of primary school children in Leeds and Sheffield, 14. [Appendix 4: Leeds School Warning](#) and 15. [Appendix 5: Sheffield School Warning](#).

⁴⁹Cam McGrath, “**Underage Girls Are Egypt’s Summer Rentals**”, *Inter Press Service News Agency*, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/08/underage-girls-are-egypts-summer-rentals/>.

That Aisha was 6 years old when Mohammed married her was not disputed for 1300 years. It was only in India in the 1920s that a new interpretation arose.⁵⁰ In the 1920s some Indian Muslims started to argue that Aisha was 10 years old when Mohammed married her (that is not much of an improvement to modern, western civilisation.) When Muslims claim that Mohammed's favourite wife was 18 or 25 when he had sex with her, the view they are putting forward is not how most of the Muslim world interprets this or has interpreted it. **The laws in various Islamic states show that they think that Aisha was under 10 when Mohammed had sex with her. And to Muslims, Mohammed is regarded as the perfect man; it is part of their religion that they should emulate his behaviour.**⁵¹

We can imagine many readers struggling to comprehend how the Koran's statements about slavery could be taken seriously by Muslims in the 21st century. Surely only an extreme Muslim would refuse to condemn such things? However, it is cultural blindness to assume that Muslims feel the same way about the literal interpretation of their religious texts as the Christians and ex-Christians in Britain feel about the Old Testament and the New Testament: it is a refusal to see that people from different cultures can do things differently and can believe different things. To remedy this incomprehension, we would remind people of the statements of Mehdi Hasan, political director of *The Huffington Post* and a frequent guest on the BBC TV's *Question Time*, who contrasted Muslims and non-Muslims thus: "Once we lose the moral high-ground we are no different from the rest, of the non-Muslims; from the rest of those human beings who live their lives

⁵⁰This was at a time when Muslims also started to claim that Islam was "the religion of peace", when Muslims started to re-write history. <http://www.Muslim.org/Islam/aisha-age.htm>.

⁵¹The reader should note that the name "Mohammed" is by far the most common first name among the men listed in the tables compiled using the Norfolk definition: section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#). See also the chart that highlights the frequency of names, section 13. [Appendix 3: Name Distribution of Convicts](#).

as animals...”⁵² Another example is a discussion on Twitter between historian Tom Holland and Mohammed Ansar. Mohammed Ansar is presented by the media in Britain as a **moderate Muslim**, yet in one discussion he asked: **If slaves are treated justly, with full rights, and no oppression whatsoever... why would anyone object.**⁵³ By a slave having “full rights” and being “treated justly”, we presume this moderate Muslim means that the slave is granted the rights which slaves are granted in Islam, such as being able to work outside their owner’s business. In another discussion, we can see this moderate Muslim state that he would never denounce any part of the Koran.⁵⁴ It is hard to imagine a modern-day devout Christian, touted by the media for his moderation, asking what is wrong with slavery, or saying that the no part of the Bible can be criticised nor denounced. It is hard to imagine such a moderate Christian associating non-Christians with animals.

It is clear from this, that even the most moderate, most integrated Muslims have very different values from Christians (and post-Christians) in Britain, including areas of morality where we non-Muslims might assume all people think the same. But even in more contentious moral areas such as homosexuality, there are surveys where 61% Christians in Britain support equal rights for gay people,⁵⁵ **Contrasting surveys show that 61% of Muslims in Britain**

⁵²Here is the video where you can see a version of Islam which the multiculturalists would have us believe does not exist: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h4hpfqFt-0Q#t=30>.

We know that keeping the moral high-ground is key. Once we lose the moral high-ground we are no different from the rest, of the non-Muslims; from the rest of those human beings who live their lives as animals, bending any rule to fulfil any desire.

See also Douglas Murray, “**Mehdi Hasan and the EDL**”, 30 Jul 2013, <http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/douglas-murray/2013/07/mehdi-hasan-and-the-edl/>.

⁵³<http://twitter.com/MoAnsar/status/224553175858954240>.

⁵⁴<https://twitter.com/MoAnsar/status/340930760271884290>.

⁵⁵Stephen Gray, **UK study: 61% of Christians back equal rights for gay couples**, *Pink News*, 14 Feb 2012, <http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2012/02/14/uk-study-61-of-chr>

want to see people criminalised for being gay.⁵⁶ Across many different topics, it seems that the moral views of Muslims in Britain are very different from the moral views of Christians in Britain. Yet the proponents of multiculturalism deny there are any significant differences, whilst praising diversity. When we look not at the views of moderate, integrated Muslims but at the views of those popularly described as “extremists” or “fundamentalists”, things look much darker.

Those who propound and defend multiculturalism say that people from different cultural backgrounds have different values, and that we must all accept these values as being of equal validity. But when it comes to examining what those different values are, multiculturalists suddenly lose interest in the details of these differences and lose interest in the consequences that follow from these different values. Yet we have seen, that even those Muslims who are classed as **liberal** or **moderate** have views which would be considered **extreme** if those views were espoused by a non-Muslim in Britain. Are we really surprised that conflicts and problems arise when communities with these different values are living side-by-side? These conflicts and problems are just concealed by the advocates of multiculturalism. Proponents of multiculturalism dare not examine the views of Islamic fundamentalists, that (significant) minority of Muslims in Britain who want sharia law.

What multiculturalists do not seem to understand is that pre-Islamic Arabia was a multicultural society: the pagan Meccans permitted Mohammed to preach this new religion, which denigrated the prevailing religion. After 13 years of listening to

istians-back-equal-gay-rights/.

⁵⁶Munira Mirza, Abi Senthilkumaran and Zein Ja'far, **Living apart together: British Muslims and the paradox of multiculturalism**, *Policy Exchange*, 2007, <http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/images/publications/living%20apart%20together%20-%20jan%2007.pdf>, p.47. 40% of Muslim students in Britain want sharia law, and manuals of sharia law which can be found in public libraries in Britain, make it clear that under sharia law the criminal penalty for homosexuality is death.

Mohammed blaspheme against paganism, the Meccans finally drove him out. Mohammed went to Medina, a Jewish city, and the multiculturalist Jews of Medina permitted Mohammed to preach there. But within 20 years, Mohammed and his Muslims would not permit a single pagan or Jew to live in either Mecca or Medina. Mohammed and his army of Muslims used assassination, mass murder, rape and slavery to destroy any set of values other than Islam.⁵⁷ Multiculturalism died, and Islamic totalitarianism thrived.

Multiculturalists think that Muslims will embrace multiculturalism; yet Islam was established 1300 years ago to destroy multiculturalism. Muslims even have a contemptuous Arabic word for multiculturalism, *Jahiliyyah*:

Jahiliyyah... takes the form of claiming that the right to create values, to legislate rules of collective behavior, and to choose any way of life rests with men...⁵⁸

⁵⁷These atrocities are well-documented in Ibn Ishaq's *The Life of Mohammed*, the most authoritative biography of Mohammed, a biography written by a devout Muslim. The most tolerance that the Islamic world ever showed to non-Muslims was to allocate "Dhimmi" status to Jews and Christians: at best, this was a form of apartheid, where the Dhimmis were third-class citizens. We can be sure that Muslims in contemporary secular society would be outraged if we imposed third-class citizenship on them as Islam does on non-Muslims. See Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam*, Associated University Presses, New Jersey, 1985. It is truly amazing that the media and schools in Britain seek to "educate" the non-Muslim majority in Britain about Islam, without telling the public that in Islam we are denigrated.

⁵⁸ Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, Islamic Book Service, New Delhi, 2001, p.11 . Qutb's book contains chapters with title such as "The Universal Law", "Islam is the Real Civilisation", not to mention "Jihad in the Cause of God", which show that Muslim fundamentalists have nothing but contempt for the ideology of multiculturalism. *Milestones* was written in 1964, and Sayyid Qutb was not some minor figure in the history of 20th century Islam, but was the major theoretician of *The Muslim Brotherhood*.

During most of his life, Qutb's inner circle mainly consisted of influential politicians, intellectuals, poets and literary figures, both of his age and of the preceding generation. By the mid-1940s, many of his writings were officially among the curricula of schools, colleges and universities. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb

In a lack of awareness of philosophy, of history, and of Islam, the advocates of multiculturalism see their ideology as superior to Islam, ignorant of the fact that Islam arose in a multicultural society and destroyed that multicultural society. And since the 1920s, Muslims across the world have been involved in a return to the roots of Islam, the fundamentals of Islam. In the view of Muslim fundamentalists, non-Muslims are inferior beings.⁵⁹ *Jahiliyyah* is not just a word for democracy, secularism, or multiculturalism. It applies to any values that are not Islamic. Thus, societies based on Christianity and Judaism, or Buddhism or Hinduism, and even atheistic societies like those of Communist countries are regarded as *Jahiliyyah* by Muslim fundamentalists: “the Islamic society is... the only civilised society, and the jahili societies, in all their various forms, are backward societies.”⁶⁰ It is clear from this: the Islamic society is a totalitarian society, all other values are to be subordinated to Islamic values. But if anyone in Britain dares to criticise Islam, they will be denounced and

Whilst one might think that Qutb’s influence was confined to Egypt, we must note that the importance of the concept of *Jahiliyyah* was something which Qutb took from the theologian Maulana Maududi. Maududi is probably the most significant 20th century Muslim as far as Muslims in Britain are concerned. **“How Islam got political: Founding fathers”**, *BBC News*, 10 Nov 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/4424208.stm>.

⁵⁹Those who think that talk about the Dhimmi status of Jews and Christians under Islam is fanciful, need only look at works like Qutb’s *Milestones*, which pre-date Bat Ye’or’s exposition by 20 years. Qutb openly talks about the inferior status of Dhimmis under Islam. See *Milestones*, p.53, p.55, p.63. In an Islamic society, the theory is that Christians and Jews have Dhimmi status, i.e. they are “protected” from death/slavery, because they pay “protection money”. This is rather like the Mafia demanding “protection money” from their “clients”; if the clients do not pay, then they are subject to extreme violence, even death, as punishment for their insubordination. The payment of “protection money” accords Jews and Christians a third class citizenship, because the payment is a continued admission that they recognise their inferior status vis-a-vis Muslims. Non-payment is seen as a rejection of this inferiority, an assertion that Jews and Christians are human beings like Muslims. Those peoples who are not Jews and Christians, and who reject Islam when told to become Muslims are not even offered Dhimmi status: under Islam they are to be killed or enslaved.

⁶⁰Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, p.94.

told they live in a multicultural society, and must accept these totalitarian values.

7.4 Stories from the Hadith

Whilst the Koran is believed by Muslims to be the literal words of their god, Allah, spoken through an angel, and surviving during the time of Mohammed via oral repetition, the Hadiths are stories about Mohammed told by his companions, and passed down via lineages of varying trustworthiness. The Hadiths are less compelling guidance than the Koran (particularly those Hadiths which are considered less reliable), but even those which are considered least reliable must still have shaped Islamic religion and culture. The Hadiths are a major component of sharia law.

As we saw with the Koran, **the Hadiths also permit Muslims to rape women who are captured after a battle (whereupon they become the property of Muslims, that is, they become slaves). Mohammed told his men better not to perform coitus interruptus when raping the women they have captured and enslaved (that is, the Muslim men should ejaculate inside the slave woman instead):**

“O Allah’s Apostle! We get female captives as our share of booty, and we are interested in their prices, what is your opinion about coitus interruptus?” The Prophet said, “Do you really do that? It is better for you not to do it. No soul that which Allah has destined to exist, but will surely come into existence.”⁶¹

It is not that Mohammed was allowing a lower moral standard for his soldiers, and had a higher moral standard for himself. Mohammed even took sex slaves off other Muslim men:

⁶¹Bukhari Hadith, Volume 3, Book 34, Number 432 <http://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/hadith/bukhari/034-sbt.php>. This question pertains to whether or not the slave will fetch a lower price at the slave market, if she has been raped.

I drove them along until I brought them to Abu Bakr who bestowed that girl upon me as a prize. So we arrived in Medina. I had not yet disrobed her when the Messenger of Allah (may peace be upon him) met me in the street and said: 'Give me that girl.'⁶²

These two stories about the life of Mohammed, come from the Bukhari and the Sahih Muslim hadiths. The Bukhari and the Sahih Muslim Hadiths are considered the most reliable of all the Hadiths. As we can see, **they reinforce the idea that there is nothing immoral or illegal about Muslim men having slaves or raping their slaves.**⁶³ This morality, which devout Muslims dare not question, would be totally alien to a devout Christian.

7.5 The Life of Mohammed (Sira)

The Sira (The Life of Muhammed) is a chronological story of Mohammed's life, his biography written by Ibn Ishaq, a Muslim who lived about 100 years after Mohammed. It is of third level importance when considered as religious/legal instruction for Muslims. Some modern Muslims, appalled that non-Muslims are able to discover how Mohammed has been viewed by Muslims throughout history, dispute the accuracy of parts of the Sira. However, as one Professor of Islamic Studies has said: "No biographical sketches of Muhammad exist that do not depend on Ibn Ishaq. If an analysis of Ibn Ishaq's book establishes that for whatever reason it cannot be seen as an historical source, all knowledge we possess about Muhammad evaporates."⁶⁴ If

⁶²Sahih Muslim Hadith, Book 19, Number 4345 <http://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/hadith/muslim/019-smt.php>.

⁶³In case it needs to be spelled out: a man who forces his slave to have sex with him against her will is still raping her. See also the discussion among Muslims here: <http://www.sunniforum.com/forum/showthread.php?36750-Sex-slaves-in-Islam>.

⁶⁴Prof. Johannes Jansen, Professor of Modern Islamic Thought at the University of Utrecht, quoted in Fjordman, "**Unmasking Muhammad's Dubious Existence**", *Frontpage*, 2 May 2012, <http://frontpagemag.com/2012/fjordman/unmasking-muham>

Muslims or their apologists wish to rule the Sira of Ibn Ishaq out of court, then they might as well admit that there is no evidence that Mohammed ever existed. If what is contained in *The Life of Muhammed* was considered blasphemous, or made Mohammed out to be anything other than a perfect example for Muslims to follow, Ibn Ishaq's biography would not be the basis of all modern biographies of Mohammed.

Even if modern day Muslims are prepared to reject the Mohammed as portrayed by Ibn Ishaq, the book has still been immensely powerful in shaping the Islamic view of the world, since Muslims throughout the last millennium did not reject Mohammed as portrayed in Ibn Ishaq: that is the Mohammed that Muslim cultures throughout the world have passed on by word of mouth to their children for generation after generation. **Moreover, the current edition of this book was reissued in modern day Pakistan, a state whose full title is The Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This Islamic state condemns to death those convicted of defaming the Prophet Mohammed.**⁶⁵ Since 1967 Oxford University Press have been selling this Guillaume edition of *The Life of Muhammed*, which is printed in Pakistan. No-one from that company has been charged with "defaming the Prophet Mohammed", so we can take from this continued publication and the lack of prosecutions, that contemporary Pakistani Muslims do not consider this work blasphemous. Thus we regard any rejection of the Sira of Ibn Ishaq by contemporary Muslims living in the West as either a sign of their duplicity or a sign of their ignorance about Islam.

Modern liberals in the West we will find Mohammed's behaviour in this book shocking, for he is not a religious leader like Jesus or Buddha. From *The Life of Muhammed* we learn that he sold women

mads-dubious-existence/.

⁶⁵Rob Crilly and Aoun Sahi, "**Christian woman sentenced to death in Pakistan 'for blasphemy'**", *The Telegraph*, 9 Nov 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/8120142/Christian-woman-sentenced-to-death-in-Pakistan-for-blasphemy.html>.

and children who had been captured and enslaved: “Then the apostle sent Sayid... and Abdul... with some of the captive women... and he sold them for horses and weapons.”⁶⁶ **We can see that Muslims are aware of these stories found in *The Life of Muhammed*, by looking at what Muslims were shouting in a protest outside the Danish embassy: Muslim men saying that they will take Danish wives as “war booty” i.e. to be raped, to be sold as slaves, or to be kept as sex slaves.**⁶⁷ Mohammed married some of the women he took as slaves, but not all of them: **after one battle Mohammed beheads the men and boys, and sends the women off to be sold as slaves, but he keeps the 15 year old Rayhanah as his sex slave.** She never became his wife, never became a Muslim.⁶⁸ And when Mohammed has Kinana, a Jewish man, tortured to death for his gold, Mohammed takes the wife of Kinana as his own sex slave.⁶⁹

We know from the fatwa on Salman Rushdie, that Muslims take insults to Mohammed very seriously. If the English translation of this book was in any way blasphemous, Alfred Guillaume, the editor and translator, would not have been made a Fellow of various Arabic professional societies (Arab Academy of Damascus and the Royal Academy of Baghdad), nor invited to be the first non-Muslim lecturer in Christian and Islamic theology at Istanbul University. Guillaume

⁶⁶Ibn Ishaq, **The Life of Muhammed**, 1955 (reissued Pakistan 1967), translated by A. Guillaume, Oxford University Press, p.466. Those Muslims who reject Ibn Ishaq’s account of Mohammed taking slaves, must also presumably reject the accounts in the Hadiths where Mohammed takes slaves. See <http://quranexplorer.com/Hadith/English/Hadith/bukhari/005.059.362.html> and <http://www.quranexplorer.com/Hadith/English/Hadith/bukhari/001.008.367.html>. The Bukhari Hadiths are considered the most trustworthy of all Hadiths. Muslims who claim they reject the Hadiths and only follow the Koran cannot even know when Ramadan occurs, as this is not specified in the Koran.

⁶⁷<http://www.youtube.com/embed/5o1FPkWWV2s>.

⁶⁸Ibn Ishaq, **The Life of Muhammed**, 1955 (reissued Pakistan 1967), translated by A. Guillaume, Oxford University Press, p.466

⁶⁹Ibn Ishaq, **The Life of Muhammed**, 1955 (reissued Pakistan 1967), translated by A. Guillaume, Oxford University Press, p.511.

was Professor of Arabic at the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London).⁷⁰ Thus, from the core texts of Islam we have evidence for the Muslim attitudes towards slavery and towards sex with slaves. These attitudes are entirely alien to those brought up in a Christian or humanist tradition.

7.6 Sharia Law: Child Marriage

Even those Muslims who are not considered extremists, have made it clear that they have no intention of subjugating sharia law and Muslim culture to the laws of Britain or British culture. As long ago as 1990, an organisation in Britain calling itself *The Muslim Parliament* produced a document where they made it clear that they put Islamic doctrine and Muslim culture before everything else.

Muslims living under the protection of a non-Muslim State must obey the laws of that State, **so long as such obedience does not conflict with their commitment to Islam and the Ummah.** [...] There are laws on the British Statute Book that are in direct conflict with the laws of Allah; these relate to such matters as usury, abortion, homosexuality, gambling, sale and consumption of alcohol, and the abolition of capital punishment; **Muslims can neither agree with nor condone any part of a legal and social agenda which so flagrantly violates the laws of nature as well as of God.** [...] Muslims make it clear to the State, and all sections of British society, that they do not expect to be and will not tolerate being insulted and abused on grounds of their religion, culture and traditions. Maxim: We are Muslims first and last.⁷¹ (emphasis added)

⁷⁰http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred_Guillaume.

⁷¹“The Muslim Manifesto - a strategy for survival”, <http://www.muslimparliament.org.uk/MuslimManifesto.pdf>.

That appeared in a section of the document entitled “Relationship with the British Authorities.” In this context, it is of fundamental importance that we understand what allowances and prescriptions obtain in sharia law and the history of Islamic states.

All the previous Koranic injunctions and stories about Mohammed are brought together in a manual of sharia law called *The Reliance of the Traveller*. Even though the original Arabic version of this book dates from the 14th century, this book was translated into English in the 1990s, thus demonstrating its contemporary relevance for Muslims who are promoting the implementation of sharia law. If one reads Muslim forums to see what books on sharia law are recommended to English-speaking Muslims, this book is commonly recommended. From this book, we can see that the legal and moral values derived from the Koran, from the Sunnah (the behaviour of Mohammed) and from past judgements by Muslim jurists are very different from anything that a modern liberal democracy would recognise as valid.

The Reliance of the Traveller states that if a husband wishes to divorce his wife, he must wait 3 months before doing so, in case she has become pregnant during the marriage, *even if she is pre-pubescent*.⁷² Here are the relevant sections from this manual of sharia law:

n9.1 There is **no waiting period for a woman divorced before having had sexual intercourse** with her husband. (emphasis added)

n9.2 **A waiting period is obligatory for a woman divorced after intercourse, whether the husband and wife are prepubescent**, have reached puberty, or one has and the other has not. Intercourse means copulation (def: n7.7). If the husband was alone with her but did not copulate with her, and then divorced her, there is no

⁷²Ahmad Ibn Naqib Al-Misri, “*Reliance of the Traveller: a Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law*”, Keller translation, 1991

waiting period. (emphasis added)

n9.3 When a waiting period is obligatory (O: [sic] upon a woman, cause of divorce or annulment of marriage), then **if she is pregnant**, the waiting period ends when she gives birth... (emphasis added)

A Muslim cannot say that these sections of this manual of sharia law are no longer a part of Islam. The book was only translated into English in 1991, and it was then certified as authentic by Al Azhar University (Cairo), one of the world's foremost authorities on sharia law. Moreover, **the Sheikh who translated this manual did NOT translate the section on the legality of slavery (section number K42), saying that these laws are no longer relevant.⁷³ If the section on divorce/sex with prepubescent wives was no longer relevant, it too would have remained untranslated.⁷⁴**

British Muslims and their allies might claim that such manuals of sharia law are relatively obscure. However, there is proof that a Muslim who is known to many devout British Muslims (especially those from Pakistan) has come to the same conclusions as those

⁷³See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reliance_of_the_Traveller. It is our belief that it is currently not politic for Muslim fundamentalists to admit that slavery is legal under sharia law, and so these sections on slavery have not been translated into English (note: the sections were not edited out of those editions of *The Reliance of the Traveller* which contain parallel English/Arabic text, which means those Muslims who are serious enough about their religion to learn Arabic can still read the sections on the legality of slavery). As the Muslim populations in the English-speaking world increase in size and political power, we fully expect to see this section of *The Reliance of the Traveller* be translated in future editions of the book. In the future, we expect to see more Muslims be consistent and admit, since they believe sharia law to be eternal and perfect and unchanging, that slavery is legal in Islam. As we will demonstrate below, in the last 60 years both a UN expert panel on slavery and Muslim jurists have said: slavery is legal under Islamic law.

⁷⁴ Because the regulations on slavery are missing from the English translation, we do not know what they would say about the legality of slavery. For that we must turn to a modern work by an Islamic jurist. See our discussion on Sultan Tabandeh's book below.

manuals of sharia law. Throughout the 20th century **Maulana Maududi (1903-1979) has been probably the most influential Muslim across the world and especially on Muslims in Britain (the single largest group of Muslims in Britain are those of “Pakistani heritage”).** In his book *The Meaning of the Qur’an*, Maududi says of the Koran:

making mention of the waiting-period for the girls who have **not yet menstruated**, clearly proves that **it is not only permissible to give away the girl in marriage at this age but it is also permissible for the husband to consummate marriage with her.**⁷⁵

Maududi founded the Islamic political party *Jamaat-e-Islami*, whose followers control many of the major Muslim organisations in Britain.⁷⁶ Thus, his political, theological and cultural influence on Muslims in Britain is enormous.⁷⁷ Those who claim that “sex with children is un-Islamic” are ignorant of the conclusions of Maududi, or are attempting to deceive non-Muslims. Multiculturalists demand we respect the heritage of Pakistani Muslims in Britain, but these multiculturalists refuse to look at what that heritage might be.

We can see many examples of Muslims in Britain who are engaging in sexual activities with under-age girls. We have already cited the case in London, where imams were marrying-off 9 year old girls, who went to primary school in the day, but were functioning as wives in the evening. We have seen plenty of evidence that the

⁷⁵(Our emphasis) Maulana Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, *The Meaning of the Qur’an*, footnote 13 on Section 64 on "Divorce" in Islam, <http://englishtafsir.com/Quran/65/index.html>. The second edition of this book was published in English in 1971.

⁷⁶ Andrew Gilligan, “**Labour: London borough becomes ‘Islamic republic’**”, *The Telegraph*, 22 Oct 2010, <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/andrewgilligan/100060304/labour-london-borough-becomes-islamic-republic/>; “**Maulana Maududi: Radical Islam’s Missing Link**”, <http://www.pwhce.org/maududi.html>.

⁷⁷“Maududi has written over 120 books and pamphlets and made over 1000 speeches and press statements of, which about 700 are available on record.”, *The Story of Pakistan*, <http://storyofpakistan.com/maulana-abu-ala-maududi/>.

grooming gangs are targeting primary schools, and that they have a preference for girls younger than 14 years of age. In a trial of a Muslim man (showing many of the key behaviours of the grooming gangs) he was convicted of keeping a brothel full of under-age girls. In his defence he said “In my country it doesn’t matter about age.”⁷⁸ When asked to cite the Islamic texts that justify these beliefs, most Muslims would probably be unable to do so. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that these values are passed down to many Muslims conversationally. Most Muslims could not cite where the Koran mandates that they eat halal food, or that women should wear a hijab or burka, but most Muslims will still say these things are mandatory and are an essential part of Islam.

7.7 Sharia Law: Legality of Slavery

In the 1960s Sultan Tabandeh produced a Muslim “response” to the UN Declaration of Human Rights.⁷⁹ The UN Declaration outlaws slavery, which as we would expect, would mean the UN Declaration is incompatible with sharia law.⁸⁰ In his response, Tabandeh confirms that under Islam, slavery is legal: “slavery is a genuine legal condition.”⁸¹ If Muslims regard themselves as being at war with non-Muslims, they will believe they can take slaves and do as they

⁷⁸Paul Sims, “Police missed chances to catch takeaway owner who groomed girls as young as 12 for sex after victims’ complaints went unheard”, *The Daily Mail*, 15 May 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2144295/Police-missed-chances-bring-paedophile-takeaway-owner-justice-complaints-girls-young-12-acted-upon.html>.

⁷⁹An English translation of this book was published in 1970.

⁸⁰We believe that this is the reason why in 1990 the Organisation of Islamic Conference adopted The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights In Islam, which makes sharia law pre-eminent over any secular law, such as the UN Declaration. In 1990 the Islamic world implicitly rejected the UN Declaration of Human Rights. <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instreet/cairodeclaration.html>.

⁸¹Sultan Tabandeh, **A Muslim Commentary on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, translated by F.T.Goulding, London, 1970, p.25.

want with them. Some Muslims will argue that slaves can only be taken in jihad, and jihad can only be authorised by the ruling Muslim (the Caliph). However, Mohammed never envisaged a time when there would be no Caliph. So, individual Muslims who decide they are at war with us “kafirs” may well believe they are acting Islamically in taking non-Muslim women as their sex-slaves, with or without the existence of a Caliph. And as we have seen,⁸² there are a variety of Muslim organisations in Britain who are working for the return of the Caliphate, such organisations being able to get huge numbers of Muslims to attend their conferences in Britain. These organisations in Britain have also been associated with campaigns attempting to get Muslim men to seduce non-Muslim girls.

There are other features of British society which indicate that Muslims do see themselves as being at war with us and our values.

Let us ignore the more than 300 Muslims who have been convicted of terrorist offences since 2001,⁸³ as they can be said to be atypical of the way most Muslims behave. Far more significantly, Muslims are 5% of the UK population, but only 0.4% of the armed forces. This massive under-representation is indicative that most Muslims view the UK as the enemy. Al Qaeda state that Muslims are free to deceive non-Muslims in any way they like, but the limit to this is they must not join the army in a non-Muslim country.⁸⁴ If we consider how the Muslim population of Britain is mostly youthful, then this discrepancy between the number in the total population compared with the number in the armed forces is far greater.⁸⁵

⁸²See section 4.7 2001 Derby and “Real Caliphate” and section 4.11 2005 Luton and “Real Caliphate”.

⁸³<https://www.mi5.gov.uk/home/the-threats/terrorism/international-terrorism/international-terrorist-plots/arrests-and-convictions.html>.

⁸⁴See Raymond Ibrahim, *The Al-Qaeda Reader*, 2007, p.92.

⁸⁵For example, Muslims are 21% of those in “young offender” institutions. “**Muslim youth custody numbers rise**”, *BBC News website*, 7 Dec 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-20630628>. We assume this is not a sign that Muslims are much more criminal than average, but rather a sign that a higher proportion of young people are Muslims. If the number of young Muslims is closer to 20% than to 5% we see how

No doubt some will argue we are misunderstanding the idea that slavery is legal in Islam. However, **that slavery is legal under Islamic law was also the expert view of the UN's expert panel on slavery.**⁸⁶ Muslims in Sudan and Arabia had no problem taking and buying slaves in the decades after 1924, when the Caliphate was abolished. If they had applied the rule that slavery was only permissible when there was a Caliph-approved jihad, then there would have been no need for the U.N. to press for Muslim countries to abolish slavery after World War 2. The abolition of the Caliphate would have seen the abolition of slaves in Muslim countries. But slavery continued even after the Caliphate was abolished in 1924. Even when the very Islamic Gulf states finally outlawed slavery in the 1960s and 1970s, slavery is still going on in Muslim countries like Mauritania and Sudan.⁸⁷ It is clear from this, that the Muslim

much more stark is the contrast that Muslims are only 0.4% of the armed forces. Statistically speaking, there are no Muslims in the armed forces.

⁸⁶United Nations, **Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Slavery - Draft Report**, 1951, p.77

⁸⁷

Slavery in Sudan was revived in 1983, when the Arab Muslim government of Sudan began using slave raids as a weapon in its war to put down Southern rebellion against the government's imposition of Islamic law. The government armed Arab Muslim militia groups, and encouraged them to raid Southern villages, steal their property, and take their women and children as slaves. Tens of thousands of people were captured and enslaved. A peace treaty in 2005 put an end to the slave raids, and paved the way for the south to become an independent country in 2011. However, the treaty provided no way home for those already enslaved – as many as 35,000 people. Today, CSI continues working to bring these people home. http://csi-usa.org/slave_liberation.html

Normally the Left are obsessed with the issue of slavery, but it transpires their interest is really only an interest in slavery where white people are the masters and black people are the slaves. When it comes to Islamic slavery they essentially ignore it, and will do all the can to even avoid mentioning Islam in this context. Thus, even when a left-wing publication like *The Guardian* does make a rare reference to the on-going enslavement of black people by Muslim Arabs in Mauritania, the Left refer to the

attitudes to slavery have persisted, despite the absence of a Caliph, and despite the UN Declaration of Human Rights saying that slavery is to be illegal.

The 1951 UN report estimated that there were 750,000 slaves living in Arabia.⁸⁸ Even during World War 2, whenever the Royal Navy was preoccupied elsewhere, ships carrying slaves would arrive for the slave markets in Arabia.⁸⁹ **There is thus plenty of evidence that the Islamic penchant for slavery existed long after the end of the Caliphate.** Some black historians have pointed out that Muslims took more black people as slaves than Europe and America ever did: “even more vast millions of slaves were taken from Africa to the Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa over the centuries than to the Western Hemisphere.”⁹⁰ **For Muslims, race is not the issue. Muslim supremacism is about contempt and hostility for those who are not Muslims, whatever the colour of their skin. So, Muslims took white people, black people and Asians as their slaves.** Slavery in Islam involved slaves taken from Africa, Europe and Asia. Over a 300 year period, Muslims took over 1 million white Europeans as slaves.⁹¹ And as we have seen with the Muslim grooming gangs: race is not (primarily) the issue: they groomed and prostituted Asian (Sikh) girls as well as white non-Muslim girls.

Whilst the Atlantic slave trade was principally about using black slaves as labourers, in the Islamic slave trade, slaves were

slavers as “Moors”, with no mention of Islam or sharia law. Monica Mark, “**Slavery still shackles Mauritania, 31 years after its abolition**”, *The Guardian*, 14 Aug 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/aug/14/slavery-still-shackles-mauritania>.

⁸⁸See United Nations, **Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Slavery - Draft Report**, 1951, p.84

⁸⁹See United Nations, **Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Slavery - Draft Report**, 1951

⁹⁰Thomas Sowell, **Race and Culture**, 1994, pp.208-209

⁹¹See Giles Milton, **White Gold: The Extraordinary Story of Thomas Pellow and North Africa's One Million European Slaves**, London, 2005.

also used as soldiers and for sexual pleasure. Some 10th century Muslim rulers would have harems consisting of 12,000 sex slaves, but even lowly tradesmen might have a couple of sex-slaves.⁹²

Muslims invaded Spain and occupied that land for 700 years:

Islamic Spain became the hub of a vast new slave-trade. Hundreds of thousands of European slaves, both from Christian territories and from the lands of the pagan Slavs, were imported into the Caliphate, there to be used (if female) as concubines or to be castrated (if male) and made into harem guards or the personal body-guards of the Caliph.⁹³

This carried on in north Africa, where many British sailors were captured and enslaved. Prof. Davis has calculated that, between 1500 and 1800, more than 1 million white Christians were enslaved by Muslim slaving ships in the Mediterranean and off the coast of North Africa.⁹⁴ Slave-taking raids were not unknown on land, and in such land raids about 40% of those captured were females of reproductive age.⁹⁵ Prof. Davis observes that only a minority of those enslaved at sea or on land would be sold back to their country of origin. However, this was not the case for women and girls who were enslaved, as

⁹²Ronald Segal, *Islam's Black Slaves*, 2001, p.39. Similar stories have emerged about the deposed Libyan leader Colonel Gaddafi. Becky Evans, "**Inside Gaddafi's harem: Shocking book reveals depraved dictator's sexual abuse of schoolgirls he kept locked in basement below fortress**", *Daily Mail*, 25 Aug 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2401702/Gaddafis-harem-Shocking-book-reveals-dictators-sexual-abuse-schoolgirls.html> .

⁹³Emmet Scott, *Mohammed and Charlemagne Revisited*, New English Review Press, Nashville, 2012, p.189.

⁹⁴Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, Italy, 1500-1800*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, p.23.

⁹⁵Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, Italy, 1500-1800*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, p.36.

“many of them ended up as concubine slaves”, i.e. sex-slaves.⁹⁶ One 18th century sailor who escaped wrote a memoir, and noted that “the Sultan had more than 4,000 concubines...The Sultan’s harem contained European slave girls who had been captured at sea.”⁹⁷ In the 115 years leading up to 1681, one writer calculates that more than 3 million Hungarians were enslaved by Muslims and shipped to the Ottoman empire, the Caliphate.⁹⁸

Western historians are not the only people to have examined the various facets of 1300 years of Islamic slave-taking. The Indian historian K.S.Lai produced a book called *The Muslim Slave System in Medieval India*, where he noted:

From the day India became a target of Muslim invaders its people began to be enslaved in droves to be sold in foreign lands or employed in various capacities on menial and not-so-menial jobs within the country. To understand this phenomenon it is necessary to go into the origins and development of the Islamic system of slavery. For, wherever the Muslims went, mostly as conquerors but also as traders, there developed a system of slavery peculiar to the climate, terrain and populace of the place.⁹⁹

Slavery thus pre-existed British rule in India, and was abolished in 1843, when the East India Company became part of the British Empire.¹⁰⁰ K.S.Lai notes that from the original armed invasion of

⁹⁶Robert C. Davis, **Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, Italy, 1500-1800**, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, p.172.

⁹⁷See Giles Milton, **White Gold: The Extraordinary Story of Thomas Pellow and North Africa’s One Million European Slaves**, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 2005, pp.120-121.

⁹⁸Paul Fregosi, *Jihad in the West: Muslim Conquests from the 7th to the 21st Centuries*, Prometheus Books, New York, 1998, pg.329.

⁹⁹K.S.Lai, **The Muslim Slave System in Medieval India**, Aditya Prakasha, New Delhi, 1994.

¹⁰⁰http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abolition_of_slavery_timeline.

India by Muslims, down to the time that Muslims in India began to lose power to European imperial interventions there, Muslims were taking women as sex slaves: “from the day the Muslim invaders marched into India to the time when their political power declined, women were systematically captured and enslaved throughout the length and breadth of the country.”¹⁰¹ Obviously, since most of the Muslims in Britain trace their recent ancestry back to the area within the geographic bounds of the countries now known as Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, they have an ancestral history where women and girls were taken as sex-slaves for 1000 years. As K.S.Lai says, the “interest of Muslims in sex slavery was universal and widespread.”¹⁰² Thus we see that throughout the history of Islam, slave-taking was endemic and persistent. Moreover, slaves were drawn from every edge of the Islamic empire: white slaves, black slaves, Asian slaves. Thus many experts recognise that slave-taking has been a fundamental feature of Islam from the 7th century to the 20th century. Multiculturalists will find this difficult to accept, because they only pay lip-service to “diversity”, and will avoid contemplating what it really means for people to have fundamentally different values: deep down multiculturalists think that everyone in the world is a liberal who wants equality for all.

In the early 19th century it was exceptional for any family in Mecca not to have black slaves.¹⁰³ Throughout the 19th century, it was Britain who was determined to destroy the slave trade, and it was only under duress in the decades after World War 2 that many Islamic states begrudgingly “outlawed” slavery. One could argue that the

¹⁰¹ K.S.Lai, **The Muslim Slave System in Medieval India**, Aditya Prakasha, New Delhi, 1994. <http://voiceofdharma.org/books/mssmi/ch12.htm>. He cites one battle in 1761, when the Muslims beheaded all the men and took 22,000 women and children as slaves, clearly emulating the behaviour of Mohammed as detailed in *The Life of Muhammed*.

¹⁰² K.S.Lai, **The Muslim Slave System in Medieval India**, Aditya Prakasha, New Delhi, 1994. <http://voiceofdharma.org/books/mssmi/ch12.htm>.

¹⁰³ Ronald Segal, **Islam's Black Slaves**, 2001, p.50.

working conditions of many modern day immigrant workers in those countries is little better than the working conditions of slaves.

The Saudis replaced the 450,000 slaves of the 1950s with 8.4 million guest workers. These workers are often treated like slaves, but they are not property and are therefore even more disposable than the slaves were. Exact numbers are hard to come by, but Nepal alone reported 265 worker deaths in Saudi Arabia in a single year.¹⁰⁴

In 2011, British newspapers carried a story of a female political activist and celebrity in Kuwait, who advocated a return to the legalisation of sex-slaves, and suggested that female prisoners could be forced to become such sex-slaves. “There was no shame in it and it is not haram (forbidden) under Islamic Sharia law.”¹⁰⁵ She doesn’t suggest that Muslim women should be sex-slaves; the sex-slaves were to be drawn from non-Muslim women. It was reported that she had visited Mecca, and asked Saudi muftis if such sex-slavery was permitted, and they told her it was. In reports from Arabian media, she is quoted saying that the religious experts told her “the only solution for a decent man who has the means, who is overpowered by desire and who does not want to commit fornication, is to acquire jawari’ [sex-slaves].”¹⁰⁶ In fact, one can find discussions of slavery on

¹⁰⁴Daniel Greenfield, “Saudi Arabia: The Middle East’s Real Apartheid State”, Frontpage, 24 Feb 2014, <http://www.frontpagemag.com/2014/dgreenfield/saudi-arabia-the-middle-east-s-real-apartheid-state/>. See also Jamie Glazov, “The Exploitation of Immigrant Workers in the Middle East”, Frontpage, 10 Jul 2012, <http://frontpagemag.com/2012/jamie-glazov/the-exploitation-of-immigrant-workers-in-the-middle-east/> and Human Rights Watch, “Bad Dreams: Exploitation and Abuse of Migrant Workers in Saudi Arabia”, 14 Jul 2004, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/412ef32a4.html>.

¹⁰⁵“Men should be allowed sex slaves and female prisoners could do the job - and all this from a WOMAN politician from Kuwait”, *Daily Mail*, 7 Jun 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2000292/Men-allowed-sex-slave-s-female-prisoners-job--WOMAN-politician-Kuwait.html>.

¹⁰⁶“Men should have sex slaves, says female Kuwaiti”, *The National*, 6

21st century English-language websites, with devout Muslims expressing how much better their life would be if they had sex-slaves.¹⁰⁷ Another Pakistani forum has a post from 2000, which says: “It is permissible to have sex even with a prostitute (free of cost) once you take control of her by force and declare her a kafir.”¹⁰⁸ We find it very hard to imagine devout Christians expressing such sentiment. But then, we are prepared to admit that not all cultures have the same values. Given all this history, how can anyone dismiss an Islamic basis to the grooming gang phenomenon?

We are not saying that all the Muslims involved in these grooming gangs have set about these activities with a systematic theological plan to take non-Muslim girls as sex-slaves as some form of jihad (although, if the stories of Muslim fundamentalist organisations encouraging Muslims to use alcohol to seduce non-Muslims are true, then that may well be a reasonable interpretation). What we are doing is looking at Islam to see how it is that Islamic theology and the life of Mohammed could make Muslims consider this abuse reasonable: other Muslims have known about these gangs for decades, but done nothing to stop them, and have even attempted to pervert the course of justice to protect their Muslim “brothers” who were raping non-Muslim schoolgirls. And we think that even this short analysis can show that sex-slavery is something that many Muslims are aware of as a perk of Islam, even if they cannot cite surah and verses which permit it and under what circumstances. Since references are found in

June 2011, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/men-should-have-sex-slaves-says-female-kuwaiti-politician>.

¹⁰⁷The following discussion even pre-dates the Kuwaiti woman’s advocacy, thus it was not occurring because she had caused a stir. <http://www.ummah.com/forum/s/howthread.php?288555-Sex-with-slaves-Global-misunderstanding-or-permissible-!>. Here is another discussion of this topic, which also occurred before Salwa al Mutairi acquired some global notoriety with her suggestions. <http://www.islamicboard.com/importance-etiquettes-seeking-knowledge/134304880-why-islam-allow-have-sex-slave-without-marry.html>.

¹⁰⁸<http://www.paklinks.com/gs/religion-and-scripture/39527-is-it-ok-to-have-sex-w-ith-female-slaves-in-islam.html>.

the Koran, the Hadiths and the Sira to taking slaves, selling slaves, raping slaves, prostituting slaves how could Muslims be entirely unaware of this part of Islamic doctrine? Just as children in the West grow up hearing stories of Jesus' birth and death, of chivalrous knights, of Robin Hood and Richard the Lionheart, so too Muslim children must be told stories of Mohammed's battles, of the Jews of Khaybar who he killed, of the powerful Muslim dynasties, of their slave armies, of their harems and concubines. Just because the media and schools in Britain have robbed the population of the popular knowledge of the millions of Europeans taken into the white slave trade, it does not mean that in the Muslim communities in Britain they have not been keeping this history of slave-taking alive.

A history of legitimising slavery pervades the history of Islam, with Mohammed himself authorising the rape of slaves. In addition to accepting that slavery is moral, and that raping slaves is acceptable, Islam has a history of contempt for non-Muslims, with a legal system which regards non-Muslims as third-class citizens. Islam regards Muslim women as second-rate, and accordingly that women who do not dress appropriately deserve whatever abuse they get. Moreover, in sharia law there is a different attitude to childhood and sex than there is in English law: Mohammed had sex with Aisha, his favourite wife, at the age of 9, and this serves as exemplary behaviour in many Muslim countries to this day. These are aspects of Islam that seem to offer a good explanation for how these gangs in Britain (principally Pakistani Muslims) and in Holland (principally Turkish and Moroccan Muslims) could justify to themselves this systematic and criminal exploitation aimed at young girls. The Muslims involved in the gangs may not be able to cite any of the textual locations where these behaviours can be found in the corpus of Islamic texts. But even if many or most of the Muslims in the grooming gangs could not cite texts, this does not stop the values from being passed down through their culture. None of this should be taken to mean that all Muslims are walking round abusing schoolgirls, and hating non-Muslims.

Many Muslims are good people and do not follow all the strictures of Islam. We are not condemning all those people who were brought up as Muslims. However, it behoves us all to consider in what ways the very different values of Islam are going to cause conflict with the Christian, liberal and secular values of our society.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹In the last year, at least two cases have occurred (Bradford, Manchester) where Muslims kept young girls or young women as sex slaves.

A police investigation revealed that she had been brought into the UK by Imrich Bodor and kept in the Bradford area by him and Petra Dzudzova before being sold to Abdul Shinwary. Shinwary then sold the victim to Azam Khan, who is the nephew of Nusrat Khan. She was then married to Azam Khan in a Nikah ceremony at a Burnley Mosque on October 13, 2012 at a time when he was due to be deported to Pakistan, after being refused leave to remain in the UK. **“Trafficking gang jailed for more than 30 years”**, *Telegraph & Argus* 10 Oct 2013, <http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/10731235.Traffic-king-gang-jailed-for-more-than-30-years/>

Note that the mosque took part in performing a fake Islamic marriage. This was apparently to enable a Muslim illegal immigrant to remain in the UK. A whole string of Muslims were involved in the rape and enslavement of this woman. We are left to wonder if the enslavement and fraudulent marriage were made known to the imam too.

In the second case, a Pakistani husband and wife in Manchester were convicted. A 10 year old deaf girl was trafficked into the UK, where she lived in a cellar as a domestic slave, being raped by the elderly husband.

“Throughout these proceedings not one of you have shown any remorse. You are deeply unpleasant, highly manipulative and dishonest people.” At an earlier hearing, the jury at Manchester Crown Court heard that the girl, who is from Pakistan, and is profoundly deaf and cannot speak, was beaten and slapped as well as being forced to work for Ashar and his family and friends in virtual slavery as a domestic servant. [...] Ashar used his victim to satisfy his sexual desires as well as enlisting his wife to use the girl’s details to steal more than £30,000 in benefits and set up several bank accounts in her name. Two female jurors wept as the guilty verdicts were delivered, and the judge said he was excusing the jurors of further jury service for a decade after hearing traumatic evidence. Adam Withnall and Cahal Milmo, **“Pensioner Ilyas Ashar sentenced to 13 years in jail for raping deaf and mute girl trafficked to UK from Pakistan”**, *The*

The doctrine of multiculturalism has no basis on which to condemn such practices. Multiculturalism asserts that all cultures are equal, and that we are not to judge those whose culture differs from our own. As Prof. Barrett pointed out, our society has been prepared to abandon the strictures of The Children's Act (1989), even where the advice given is that the rights of the child must come before those of an adult. Our society has done this on the political expedient of maintaining the incoherent doctrine of multiculturalism. The elites whose lives and families are furthest removed from such cultural conflicts have shown a preparedness to sacrifice our laws, our culture and our children, rather than face up to what it means to have an alien culture such as Islam growing in our country.

It is disgraceful that for more than a decade, political activists, journalists and child-care professionals have insisted that Islam could not be a factor. It is one thing to profess ignorance about whether or not Islam could be a factor. To insist that it could not have been a factor (when even non-experts can find much contradictory evidence), means the elite have spent 10 years misdirecting those who want to stop these gangs. The advocates of multiculturalism are the very people who should be willing and able to examine the *differences* between British culture and Islamic culture which could lead to Muslim men being so disproportionately represented among the perpetrators in these grooming gangs. Instead, we have had decades where those who champion difference and diversity have refused to countenance the possibility that those from other cultures and ethnicities which form a new, minority group

Independent, 23 Oct 2013, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/pensioner-ilyas-ashar-sentenced-to-13-years-in-jail-for-raping-deaf-and-mute-girl-trafficked-to-uk-from-pakistan-8884843.html>.

Note that Ilyas Ashar has the beard of a devout Muslim, and that members of his family and his friends were all making use of this enslaved deaf girl. Clearly many people in the community around this family knew what was going on, but did not see that there was anything immoral or illegal here. It is not clear if the deaf girl was a Muslim, a Christian or a Hindu at the time when she was trafficked into Britain.

within our society might have some significantly different values from the mainstream.

Does Islam cause the grooming gangs? Unless one is in the controlled conditions of a chemistry lab, events often have more than one causal component. This is almost certainly the case in complex social phenomena with history to them. Islam is very probably a necessary condition for the grooming gangs in western Europe (since this kind of criminality is new here), but in an environment where Muslims are not a majority, that alone is not sufficient for these gangs to succeed. In a tolerant, liberal society, where women and girls have far more freedom than in other societies, many other factors had to come into play. The following are all probable contributing factors:

- teachers, police officers and social workers deciding that it wasn't worth the trouble to perform some of their duties, and so turning a blind eye
- schools and social workers being unable to warn the children in their care, for fear of being thought "racist"
- parents being unable to warn their children because they simply did not know that the problem existed or didn't know the full extent of the problem
- Muslims refusing to inform on their "brothers" to the police, putting their allegiance to child-rapists above their allegiance to decent people and to children
- Muslims, political activists and academics insisting that it is racist to point out the religious homogeneity of the perpetrators, and how the religious background of the perpetrators differs from that of the victims
- local media ignoring the events happening in front of their eyes
- national media ignoring the common features between events in different areas

- sociologists preferring a safe, non-contentious life, rather than using their academic freedom to say what cannot be said
- Muslims, theologians, academics and journalists refusing to actually look into the history of Islam to see if there could be any parallels between the grooming gangs and that history
- feminists not caring what happens to these girls, because they think that race comes higher than gender on some pyramid of victimhood
- the advocacy of multiculturalism and political correctness demanding that people do not judge other cultures, demanding that certain things never be said; such advocacy leading Muslims to believe that their cultural values can be transported to the host culture
- politicians preferring to brush the problem under the carpet, hoping that it won't appear again before they are next elected

No doubt all these things contributed to the grooming gangs evolving, them learning what worked, them learning what they could get away with. At one point in *Edge of the City*, one of the women who spoke to Anna Hall heard a Muslim man outside her home, saying to the woman's daughter: we Muslims are going to have to be careful what we do with you girls, as the police are starting to come down on us. That was 2003. But it wasn't until 2013 that mass arrests for grooming happened in that area. There is no indication yet if the people who have been arrested now were active in 2003. If not, then that means many more Muslims have got away with this grooming since 2003 and earlier. And we are sure that the grooming gangs are already evolving, in response to the upsurge in prosecutions since 2009.

8. The Scale of the Problem

There's a culture here of denial and cover-up and a refusal to accept the reality that we have men ... who treat young girls as objects for their sexual pleasure. It's time to tell the truth. We must root out this evil.
– Denis MacShane MP, *The Times*, 2012

In the previous section, we briefly analysed Islamic theology and history, looking for those doctrines and principles which could explain why it is that Muslims might find this form of criminality more desirable and more acceptable than do people from other cultures. The grooming gangs were often made up of brothers or other related men. In other communities in Britain, men who are involved in such crimes do not feel free to pass their victims around within their community, to profit from the victim's pain and misery. When other Muslims in our towns have known what the gangs were up to, not only did they not try and stop them, they admitted they would never inform the police, because their primary allegiance was to the criminals as Muslims, not to the victims, not to the rule of law. When asked by local politicians or the mothers of victims to intercede and to tell the grooming gangs that they must stop, Muslim leaders refused. When a Muslim like Mohammed Shafiq spoke out, he received death threats. Furthermore, we have seen that when a prosecution is underway, male and female Muslims who are not on trial have gone out of their way to intimidate the victims from testifying or to intimidate them into not pressing charges.

Every formal discussion of this type of criminality has either refused to admit that Muslims are disproportionately represented

amongst the perpetrators, or if that much is admitted, then there has been a refusal to contemplate that there could be something in Islamic doctrine or Muslim culture which leads Muslims into this form of criminality. We showed in the previous chapter that slavery has been a part of Islam from the creation of this religion, right up until the 1960s and beyond. We showed that Sharia law, based on unchanging Dark Age texts, brings values from 1300 years ago into the modern world. We showed that Islam is supremacist, and that there is a long tradition of Muslim contempt for non-Muslims. Agents of the state in Britain have excused the criminal behaviour of Muslim men who raped and pimped schoolgirls; yet our politicians, media, child-care professionals and academics refuse to even consider the way Islam has shaped the behaviour of Muslim men when it comes to explaining the grooming gangs, despite Muslim men being overwhelmingly present among those convicted for this form of criminality.¹

Having completed our analysis of the historical and cultural aspects of this phenomenon, we must consider the future. We are going to extrapolate how we see the phenomenon of Muslim

¹Between 2001 and 2011, the Muslim population of Britain was between 3% to 5% of the total population; if the distribution of Muslim ethnicity among the perpetrators of this crime was random, then there should be no reason for the incidence of Muslims among the perpetrators to have been higher than 3% to 5%. At the lowest levels of estimates, Muslims are 28% of the perpetrators (see the CEOP data). However, Muslims are 90% of those convicted for these crimes (based on Andrew Norfolk's idea to analyse the convictions in grooming trials; see Andrew Norfolk, "**The 17 cases identified by The Times which showed a pattern of exploitation**", *The Times*, 5 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article2863078.ece>). Even taking the lowest figure of a prevalence of 28% instead of 3% to 5%, we find that Muslim men are massively over-represented among the perpetrators. It should be noted, that despite the UK government and media having a virtual blackout on the information concerning the number of Muslims in prison, when statistics for prisons do leak out, we see that Muslims are over-represented among incarcerated criminals. At a time when the official figures for the number of Muslims in the UK stated they were around 3% of the population, Muslims were 12% of the prison population. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8558590.stm>. When it comes to those convicted of grooming-related cases, we see that Muslims are more than 90%.

grooming gangs progressing, and how we see our society dealing with this progression. Evidence shows that the tendency of Muslim men to commit this crime is so far in excess of the tendency within the native British population,² that it will be impossible to remedy this without some profound changes to law enforcement, criminal justice and legislation. There are more than 50 gangs currently being investigated in England.³ That is, the number of gangs *currently* being investigated is almost twice as many as the total number of gangs convicted in the last 16 years combined!⁴ And despite the 25 years in which there has been evidence for the operations of these gangs, it was only in 2011 that the national police and child-care agencies issued reports on the phenomenon and started to complain about the lack of information concerning the scale of the problem. If EDL had not been loudly protesting about Islam since 2009 it seems highly likely that none of those reports by national agencies and charities would have ever appeared. There are good reasons to believe that the reports from CEOP and The Children’s Commissioner greatly underestimate the scale of the problem.⁵

Significant changes to law enforcement practices are unlikely when politicians and police chiefs will not even openly state that there

²And, indeed, above the tendency in non-Muslim ethnic minorities in Britain.

³Justin Penrose & Vicky Smith, “**Police probe at least 54 more evil child sex grooming gangs**”, *The Daily Mirror*, 19 May 2013 <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/police-probe-least-54-more-1896991>.

⁴See section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#).

⁵Those reports talk in terms of around 2,500 victims across the country, but with no official trace of grooming gang activity in London before 2014, the Metropolitan Police issued a report saying they had discovered 500 victims in just 6 months. Justin Davenport, “**Detectives investigating 50 ‘very serious’ child grooming sex cases in London**”, *London Evening Standard*, 3 Feb 2014, <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/detectives-investigating-50-very-serious-child-grooming-sex-cases-in-london-9103637.html>. If these grooming cases match the pattern found in previous convictions, then the perpetrators will be overwhelmingly Muslim. However, since London has a large population of immigrants from all over the world, it may be that the situation in London differs from the rest of the country.

is a problem. It was in 2013 when the Parliamentary inquiry finally accepted that “localised grooming” existed - 10 years after the controversy exploded in Bradford, 18 after *Barnardo’s* got close to £700k to work with the victims of the gangs in that city. Yet even after all this time, Parliament has set about looking for a couple of individuals to scapegoat: they do not blame the national police agencies for their failure to gather intelligence, they do not blame anyone for the failure to educate schoolgirls so they could protect themselves, they do not blame the state-funded Muslim community organisations for their refusal to tackle these social problems in which Muslims are profoundly implicated. Parliament accepted that there was an Islamic connection (the only cleric to testify was a Muslim). They do not even state the need to examine the Islamic connection.

There is no sign that there is any will amongst politicians or police chiefs to really tackle this problem. It would appear they would prefer not to gather the statistics, not to enforce the laws, not to educate potential victims. Schools are not allowed to smack children because it is considered cruel, yet even as the Parliamentary report was published, evidence was emerging that outside the school gates were ruthless, violent, scheming criminals, looking for an opportunity to lure schoolgirls into sex-slavery.⁶ **For at least 10 years (and possibly 25 years) there has been a conspiracy of silence by the institutions in this country. Even this late in the day, the public are told by the media, Muslim leaders and academics that it is “only a small minority” of Muslims who are involved. But if we look into the documents provided by the national agencies we are told that the statistics available are woefully inadequate, the implication being that the prevalence of Muslim men amongst those statistics might be some kind of error in data-gathering. They cannot have it both ways: if the statistics are so woefully inadequate, then they have**

⁶See 14. [Appendix 4: Leeds School Warning](#) and 15. [Appendix 5: Sheffield School Warning](#). These kinds of *ad hoc* warnings to parents seem to be the only steps taken by individual schools to protect their children.

no idea of the true scale of this epidemic amongst Muslim men in Britain.

The 2008 *Panorama* documentary focused on Lancashire Police, who are considered to be the police force dealing best with this kind of crime.⁷ In that documentary, the police on the front-line stated that intelligence-gathering is vital to be able to implement prosecutions, and long-term surveillance evidence may be required to actually secure a conviction. Yet in that documentary the “specialist unit” consisted of officers working just 60 hours per week (one full-time, one part-time). The Home Office minister interviewed in the documentary was fairly complacent: the Home Office said that new targets would be issued and that an educational video would be shown in schools. We should be highly sceptical about these kinds of promises: there is no evidence that the video commissioned in 2008 by SOCA has ever been shown in schools.⁸ In the last three to four years, we have seen a surge in arrests and prosecutions, but then arrests and prosecutions followed the controversy around *Edge of the City*, only to have the team shut down afterwards, and no more convictions in West Yorkshire until the grooming gangs were back on the national agenda after 2011. The current surge of prosecutions could be planned to be short-lived, a response by the authorities to bad public relations, which they hope will soon die down. As a spokeswoman for CROP (Coalition for the Removal of Pimping) stated in the *Panorama* documentary, the problems are treated as local, and as soon as they are “resolved” in an area, the resources are removed. Until this is recognised as a national problem, dating back decades, and with sufficient resources to implement a national policy for dealing with it, we should expect this current surge in prosecutions to be short-lived. If we are right that Islamic doctrine is at the root of

⁷Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.32.

⁸Andrew Norfolk, “**Anger as educational film on grooming withheld**”, *The Times*, 21 Jan 2011, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article2883087.ece>.

this phenomenon, then the problem will not go away without addressing this doctrine. On average, the Muslim population has doubled every decade, and surveys show that younger Muslims are even more committed to Islamic values than older Muslims.⁹ If the Muslim community and Muslim clerics found these grooming gangs truly offensive, then the Muslim community would have helped the police instead of the gangs, and the majority of mosques in Britain would have read a sermon denouncing the grooming gangs.¹⁰

Between 1995 and 2008, the British economy was booming. Since 2008 the economy has been in recession, and we are supposedly now in a state of austerity, which could apparently last for another 50 years.¹¹ Bringing the grooming gangs to justice is resource-heavy police work: in one case, over 140 officers carried out the arrest of a mere 13 suspects.¹² Police struggled to allocate money and officers to this crime even before the recent economic downturn. Whilst destroying these gangs must no doubt give individual officers a great sense of satisfaction, police paymasters have every incentive to minimise the number of such rape gangs that the police unearth. As things stand now, five police forces say they cannot manage to make the cuts demanded of them by the current government.¹³ There are

⁹“**British Muslims poll: Key points**”, *BBC News*, 29 Jan 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/6309983.stm>.

¹⁰Ben Wilkinson, “**National sermon on child grooming shunned as a stunt by many Muslims in Oxford**”, *Oxford Mail*, 29 Jun 2013, http://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/10516465.National_sermon_on_child_grooming_shunned_as_a_stunt_by_many_Muslims_in_Oxford/

¹¹Philip Aldrick, and Emma Rowley, “**Ageing Britain ‘faces up to five more decades of austerity’**”, *The Telegraph*, 13 Jul 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/10178284/Ageing-Britain-faces-up-to-five-more-decades-of-austerity.html>.

¹²Laura Jones, “**Bullfinch Update: 13th man arrested**”, *Oxford Mail*, 22 Mar 2012, http://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/9608316.BULLFINCH_UPDATE_13th_man_arrested/. No doubt there were dozens of other officers involved in this case, but in a more administrative capacity.

¹³Alan Travis, “**Police forces will struggle to make further cuts, says watchdog**”, *The Guardian*, 18 Jul 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/jul/18/police-forces-further-cuts-watchdog>.

good reasons to doubt that police forces will find additional money for lengthy and expensive surveillance operations. As the failed prosecution over the death of one 13 year old victim of grooming gangs demonstrated, prosecutions which rely on surveillance evidence can easily fail if the staff are not competent or the project is under-resourced.¹⁴ Such failures can then be very costly in compensation. The cheapest route for police forces is to ignore the gangs as soon as the issue is off the national agenda.

Across the country, one of the ways in which police forces are trying to save money, is by cutting back on police patrols and on community policing (expecting and hoping that the deficiencies incurred can be partially remedied by volunteer-run “Neighbourhood Watch” programmes). Yet, going off past behaviour, there is no indication that the Muslim community will play any part in reporting the grooming gangs to the police, nor will they testify against them in court. Thus, any such cutbacks in policing are unlikely to be offset by increased police cooperation from the Muslim community over the activities of the Muslim grooming gangs. There is an extensive network of mosques across the country, but over 25 years they have shown no interest in admonishing the grooming gangs,¹⁵ let alone reporting such criminals to the police. In the light of these cutbacks, reductions in local policing are likely to prove detrimental to pursuing the grooming gangs. Whilst the Muslim community will demand money to set up a reporting service to solicit hitherto supposedly unreported incidents of abuse against Muslims; we know of no evidence that over the past 25 years Muslims have sought money to

¹⁴Graham Smith, “**Police rapped for blunders in murder case of girl ‘turned into kebab meat’**”, *The Daily Mail*, 16 Oct 2009, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1220815/Police-disciplined-blunders-murder-case-girl-turned-kebabs.html>.

¹⁵Recently there was much cheering amongst the chattering classes, over the news that mosques were going to deliver an anti-grooming sermon across the country on the same day. What received less notice, was that the majority of mosques did not take part. There are 1500 to 2000 mosques in Britain, and only 500 read the sermon. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/7118503.stm>.

fund a hotline where they could report the very real sexual abuse and violent abuse of schoolgirls by Muslim men.

Even if the police had the determination, the resources and the evidence to bring the criminals to court, these crimes are very difficult to prosecute, as the experts confirm and as the gangs realise. The victims are often scared, they are conflicted and filled with feelings of guilt, shame and self-loathing. The victim's incentive, and possibly her will, to see a trial to a conclusion, is likely to be limited. This is probably why in all the cases reported so far, the defendants have put their victims through a full trial, despite their manifest guilt, with all the suffering aggressive cross-examination entails for the victims.

The teenager spent 15 days in the witness box, 12 of them under cross-examination by a succession of defence lawyers... Mohammed Tayyab Khan, another defence barrister, went so far as to ask whether she repented her sins.¹⁶

This is the kind of thing the victims have to go through, despite it being a legal impossibility for the under-age girls to have ever legally consented to these sexual acts (a fact which the Parliamentary inquiry felt was necessary to draw to the attention of the courts and child-care professionals). Even when prosecutions have been successful, apart from a few recent cases, the sentencing has generally been very light.¹⁷

Over the last five decades, the Muslim population of the UK has on average doubled every 10 years.¹⁸ Assuming that nothing happens

¹⁶Home Affairs Select Committee report “**Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming**”, 10 Jun 2013, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmhaff/68/68i.pdf> p.44.

¹⁷For example, in a case in Rochdale in 2010, involving 9 Muslim men, the highest sentence was 7 years, and the lowest was 8 months, with most receiving 2 years or less. <http://www.rochdaleonline.co.uk/news-features/2/news-headlines/45322/nine-men-convicted-of-child-sexual-exploitation>.

¹⁸http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_the_United_Kingdom#Demography_and_e

to deter Muslims from committing this form of crime (and remember, it is very lucrative and there is a 25 year history of most of the perpetrators escaping justice), then every decade we can assume that the number of grooming gangs will be double the number of the previous decade (at the very least). As the density of the Muslim population grows across Britain, we are likely to see “network effects”:¹⁹ the greater prevalence of Muslims among the population means that Muslims are steadily moving into areas of Britain where there previously were no Muslims, it is easier for the gangs to make connections with a wider network of schoolgirls and a wider network of customers for their pimping operations, and as their numbers grow, it will be easier for the gangs to get assistance and protection from sympathetic Muslims. Thus, even if the number of prosecutions doubles decade on decade, this will probably be an indicator that the number of girls being groomed is also doubling each decade. The best hope of stopping or slowing the gangs is to educate the pool of potential victims. However, that is not going to happen: because Muslims and their allies will not permit educational programmes which warn schoolgirls that these grooming gangs exist and the perpetrators are almost always Muslims. Such an educational project was commissioned in 2008, but despite promise after promise, has never seen the light of day. Indeed, it has taken 25 years for Parliament to even admit that the perception that the gangs are mostly Muslims is accurate.

In the last year or two, sentencing seems to have got heavier, perhaps as a reflection of the even greater seriousness of the crimes

ethnic_background; see also “**UK Muslim Demographics**”, *The Telegraph*, 4 Feb 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/wikileaks-files/london-wikileaks/8304838/UK-Muslim-DEMOGRAPHICS-C-RE8-02527.html>. Some Muslim academics claim that changes made to questions on the 2011 Census could mean that the Muslim population is significantly higher than the published data based on the Census would lead people to believe. Leon Moosavi, “**Why Has the Number of Muslims in the UK Risen So Much**”, *Huffington Post*, 13 Dec 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/dr-leon-moosavi/why-has-the-number-of-mus_b_2279610.html.

¹⁹http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Network_effect.

prosecuted recently, or perhaps because the sentences are intended to be exemplary. Even if the latter point obtains, there is no evidence that the heavier sentencing will be any deterrent. After all, these gangs have a 25 year history of getting away with these crimes; there could well be sons who have grown up having been instructed by their fathers or uncles on how to get away with these crimes. The rough statistics we have, suggest that there are at least 2,500 victims and possibly 10,000 victims;²⁰ this means the number of men involved in this (at least as customers of the pimps) is probably in the thousands. Based on claims from the journalist Julie Bindel, and the leader of the Ramadhan Foundation, it is possible that each year one schoolgirl being prostituted brings in £300,000 or more for a gang.²¹ Yet, in total only 119 men have been convicted for grooming-related crimes.²² If these estimates are anywhere near accurate, then, it looks like some man might be able to operate as a member of a gang for a decade before being caught, indulging his abusive power, his sexual fantasies, and putting away perhaps £1 million in criminal earnings. Even if they are arrested, the chances of a conviction are surely less than 50%. There are thus many financial and sexual incentives for the gangs to carry on their criminal enterprise.

In addition to the financial gain, we have to understand the psychological, cultural and ideological dimension of these crimes. For decades the Muslim community has been told that we live in a multicultural society, told by almost every institution in Britain that the host culture is fundamentally uninterested about defending the values of our culture. The elites have spent decades ensuring that a cultural clash did not occur, leading these Muslims to believe that their cultural values were going to be protected, and where there is a

²⁰This figure is attributed to a statement by the Coalition for the Removal of Pimping.

²¹See our discussion in section 5.6 [Serious Organised Crime Agency](#) for some indications concerning how much profit the gangs make from the schoolgirls.

²²See section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#). Also, see the relative proportions in section 2.2 [Tip of the Iceberg](#) between the men convicted, and those who stand trial or are arrested.

conflict between the values of Muslims and those of the host society, the Muslim values will prevail. Even if that had not been the case, we think our society would face problems in stamping out these grooming gangs.

Let us consider the case of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). This crime was unknown in Britain until the arrival of Muslims from the 1960s onwards.²³ By 1985, enough pressure had built up for FGM to be made an explicit crime (although it would already have been covered by our existing laws on violence against children, as it is not a medical procedure). The 1985 Prohibition of Female Circumcision Act was ignored by immigrants, and FGM continued to be performed on young girls (mostly Muslims). The excuse the public was given, was that the FGM was being done abroad. So a second law, the

²³Muslims and their allies among the elite have argued that FGM “is not Islamic” because it is done by non-Muslims in some countries. However, where this is performed on non-Muslim girls, this is always in countries which are in north-eastern Africa, countries which have significant Muslim populations, and where Islam has been influential for 1000 years or more. Possibly the practice pre-dated the creation of Islam. Nevertheless, the only other parts of the world where FGM is performed is in places like Indonesia, 1000 miles away from that African/Arabic heartland. Clearly, it travelled there with Islam (as FGM is only practiced in the Islamic parts of Indonesia). When presented with this information, such pedants will claim that the Koran does not demand FGM, which is strictly true. However, sharia law and Islamic culture is not based just on the Koran alone, but also on the Sunnah, the behaviour of Mohammed. And if we examine a work of sharia law only translated into English in 1991 (thus proving its relevance for Muslim populations in Britain), we find it states that for some schools of sharia law FGM is obligatory, for others it is at the very least desirable:

e4.3 Circumcision is obligatory (O: for both men and women. For men it consists of removing the prepuce from the penis, and for women, removing the prepuce (Ar. Bazr) of the clitoris (n: not the clitoris itself, as some mistakenly assert). (A: Hanbalis hold that circumcision of women is not obligatory but sunna, while Hanafis consider it a mere courtesy to the husband.)

Ahmad Ibn Naqib Al-Misri, “**Reliance of the Traveller: a Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law**”, Keller translation, 1991.

Female Genital Mutilation Act, was passed in 2003, making it illegal to perform FGM abroad. Yet by 2012, not one parent had been convicted of FGM in Britain, and experts estimated that by now 100,000 girls and women had had their genitals mutilated.²⁴ If, after 30 years of legislation explicitly outlawing this Islamic practice, Muslims have just continued to ignore our laws, then why should it be any easier to stop Muslim men from wanting to have sex with young non-Muslim girls and from creating a multi-million pound business based on prostituting these girls? At least with FGM, Muslims had some reason not to injure their own people, but they still continued.²⁵ When it comes to the rape and prostituting of young non-Muslim girls, why should Muslims care about them, when they are not from their community and when Islam denigrates such non-believers, saying they are all going to be damned when they die? As the men who spoke in the 2008 *Panorama* documentary said, they accepted no guilt, no blame for such activities.²⁶ The example of FGM proves that it is very difficult to eradicate a crime that the perpetrators and their community do not see as a crime. The doctrine of multiculturalism just makes that more difficult. Why would Muslim men pay any attention to laws preventing sex and prostitution of under-age girls, when such acts can be justified based on Islamic doctrine and on the history of Islam?²⁷ Why would they care if our law outlaws

²⁴ “100,000 British women mutilated”, *The Telegraph*, 22 Apr 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9219217/100000-British-women-mutilated.html>.

This means that there are around 200,000 Muslims in Britain who have broken this law (at the very least, the parents of the girl and the person who does the mutilation); them going unpunished just reinforces the concept of multiculturalism and the irrelevance of what our laws say is permitted or forbidden.

²⁵ Operation Trident, the Metropolitan police project to reduce gun crime among West Indians in London, enjoyed some success partly because many of the victims were other West Indians. West Indian organisations had every incentive to stamp out this crime, and rightly so.

²⁶ See section 4.14 2008 BBC *Panorama*: Teenage Sex For Sale.

²⁷ Pavan Amara, “Islington Girls Forced into Marriage at the Age of Nine”, *Islington Tribune*, 27 Jan 2012, <http://www.islingtontribune.com/news/2012/jan/islington-girls-forced-marriage-age-nine>.

something when many of them regard sharia law and Islamic culture as superior? Why would they care about the laws of the host society, when the guardians of that society and culture have spent decades not enforcing our own laws, and permitting Muslims to live in a parallel culture, allowing them to prey on non-Muslim schoolgirls with virtual impunity? The behaviour of our society, most particularly the elite and their advocacy of the doctrine of multiculturalism, has been a significant contributory factor in the durability and extended reach of Muslim grooming gangs.

Those Muslims who do speak out about the over-representation of Muslim men among the grooming gangs, are often motivated, at least in part, by the desire to reduce the blame on the rest of the Muslim population. Even the most prominent Muslims who have admitted the connections between grooming gangs and Pakistani men have refused to recognise that there could be any part of Islamic doctrine, the history of Islam, or long-established Muslim culture which could explain this prevalence.

So let us try to gauge what proportion of Muslims could have been involved in this criminality. What follows are some shocking extrapolations, but they are necessary because the media, politicians and national agencies have ignored this problem for so long: they simply have no good data on which we can assess the true scale of the problem. The data provided by CEOP indicated that “Asians” (Muslims) were roughly half of the perpetrators.²⁸ The CEOP report says that in the period covered by their rapid assessment (2008 to 2011), “2379 nominals [suspects] were reported to CEOP as being possible offenders in relation to street grooming and child sexual exploitation.”²⁹ However, this data is based on the very inadequate “rapid assessment” done by CEOP: for example, in the data that

²⁸See the table “Ethnicity of Perpetrators” on p.149. There is no reason to think that there would be any significant presence of non-Muslim Asians within this group.

²⁹*Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation.*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.38.

CEOP have, out of almost 2400 “suspects” only 940 have full names: the victims could provide no names, only initials or only fake names for the majority of the perpetrators. The CEOP data is not even clear of the gender of the victim in almost 1:3 of the cases.³⁰ The data which CEOP have would be laughably inadequate if this subject matter was not so serious. The data was gathered in a post-hoc manner (agencies had never been asked to keep the appropriate records between 1988 and 2011, because no agencies were admitting that the problem did exist). In 2011, CEOP suddenly asked police and children’s services to start providing data which these agencies had never expected would be requested. A wide variety of diverse existing databases had to be trawled for words and values that were simply never deemed worthy of collecting.³¹ It is thus an absolute certainty, that data such as that gathered by CEOP *massively understates* the scale of the problem.

Improved data collection by agencies would almost certainly reveal that the situation is far worse than is currently believed. In all likelihood, far more than 2000 schoolgirls are being sexually exploited in any one year by grooming gangs, and far more than 1217 men are involved.³² In June 2013, a story appeared in the local newspaper in Barnsley, South Yorkshire. This story reported that “there are 15 ongoing investigations into children at risk of sexual exploitation” (the exploitation to which they refer is clearly meant to

³⁰ *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.43.

³¹ “The way in which intelligence is captured and stored varies across police forces, and does not necessarily lend itself to the straightforward identification of relevant cases. Local authorities faced similar difficulties in responding to the information request...the identification of records relevant to the ‘localised grooming’ profile may necessitate a manual trawl of thousands of records.” *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.8.

³² *Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.43, p.41.

be that by grooming gangs).³³ In 25 years, the town of Barnsley had never been mentioned in any of the reports concerning grooming gangs and we have been unable to find one conviction there; yet once this subject was on the national agenda, the local police appointed a full-time officer, and were dealing with 15 cases.³⁴

Barnsley is a town with a population of 71,000 people.³⁵ If we work on the assumption that Barnsley is just a typical town in England, then we can extrapolate from those 15 cases in Barnsley to the entire population of England (53 million), we would get an incidence of 11,000 cases of grooming gang activity across England. Such an extrapolation based on the figures from Barnsley is a very large number, and far greater than anything we have considered.³⁶ The police in that report are quoted saying:

The general view with regards to Barnsley is we do not have the same issue with this as other areas in South Yorkshire... We don't have a massive problem with it.

³³Whilst the report from Barnsley uses the more ambiguous term of “child sexual exploitation”, it seems fairly clear they are actually talking about the grooming phenomenon: “It is a crime that ruins lives and we’re talking about vulnerable people here. It is usually young girls who are vulnerable to this, who find themselves in situations not of their choosing.” Katia Harston, “**Police investigate child sexual exploitation cases**”, *Barnsley Chronicle*, 22 June 2013, <http://www.barnsley-chronicle.co.uk/news/article/6646/police-investigate-child-sexual-exploitation-cases>.

³⁴Bearing in mind that 15 cases were uncovered in Barnsley in 2013, until the beginning of that year the town of Barnsley did not have a single police officer dealing with this kind of crime. See Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary, “**South Yorkshire’s Response to Child Sexual Exploitation**”, 2013, p.19 <http://www.hmic.gov.uk/media/south-yorkshire-police-response-to-child-sexual-exploitation.pdf>

³⁵It would be interesting to see if any cases from Barnsley were part of the CEOP dataset.

³⁶If by “case” the report means perpetrators or gangs, then clearly the problem is of a size that is way beyond anything we have considered possible in this analysis. The average size of the gangs in our table of convictions, is 3 to 4 members (see section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#)). Thus, if the report from Barnsley refers to 15 gangs, then we can take it that the police may be referring to as many as 60 perpetrators in that one town.

On that basis, we can take it that a town like Barnsley is typical of the scale of the problem in the average English town, with the problem in some towns being considerably worse. If these 15 cases refer to individual girls, then it would indicate that there would be 11,000 victims in England in the course of 1 year. This figure of 11,000 is much higher than the figure given by CEOP (around 2,000) or The Children's Commissioner (around 2,400), but this much larger victim count would tally with CROP's estimate of 10,000 victims which we mentioned earlier. But it is possible that this idea of 11,000 current victims is an underestimate.

A recent Freedom of Information request by the local newspaper across the Pennines in Burnley revealed that:

More than 230 men suspected of serious child sex abuse have been probed by detectives under Operation Freedom since it began in 2008. Police statistics show a third of men investigated in the operation, which targets grooming gangs and sex offenders who prey on children, came from Burnley... Last year alone, 70 men were investigated and 44 men were arrested in connection with child sex offences – 30 of whom came from Burnley.³⁷

The Panorama documentary "Teenage Sex for Sale" showed that Lancashire Police were pursuing these grooming gangs as far back as 2008. The CEOP report (covering 2008 to 2011) only listed 1217 suspects for the entire country,³⁸ yet we see from this report that in the area of East Lancashire alone there were 230 suspects identified in a slightly longer timeframe. The population of England is 53 million, probably 250 times larger than the population covered by this report from Burnley (we estimate that the population of East Lancashire is

³⁷"**Burnley child sex exploitation shame: shock figures**", *Burnley Express*, 13 Aug 2013, <http://www.burnleyexpress.net/news/crime/burnley-child-sex-exploitation-shame-shock-figures-1-5946816>.

³⁸*Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.39, p.41.

perhaps 200,000). Yet the CEOP report claims that the prevalence of grooming suspects for the entire country is only 5 times greater than the prevalence for East Lancashire alone. Either Burnley has an exceptional problem, or the CEOP data is exceptionally poor. If Burnley is not an exception (and the survey of police forces which showed that 2:3 police forces admitted to having on-going investigations into 54 gangs) then the number of perpetrators could easily be 10 to 50 times higher than the CEOP data would lead us to believe.³⁹ If the number of perpetrators identified in any 3 years is as high as 6,000 to 12,000 then it stands to reason that the number of victims would be far higher still.

Perhaps the data for Burnley is skewed by the greater proportion of Muslims living in that town, compared to a town like Barnsley.⁴⁰ Whatever the accurate statistics are for this kind of criminality, it seems very obvious that the data provided by national agencies such as CEOP must be only the tip of the iceberg. If national agencies and children's charities had publicised the problems when they were obvious as far back as 1995, then by now we could have had almost 20 years of concerted effort from these national agencies to produce accurate statistics. It's possible we have overstated the problem, but it is certain that the CEOP statistics grossly understate the problem. Whilst the FOI request in Burnley showed there had been 230 suspects in that area in 3 years, our table of criminal convictions from 1997 does not list a single conviction for Burnley.⁴¹

But even if we restrict ourselves to the official reports (and all

³⁹In the recent Rochdale case, the police stated they were looking for at least another 40 men, in addition to the 9 who were convicted. James Tozer and Nazia Paveem, "**Asian grooming gang detectives hunt for FORTY more men who may have had sex with underage girls**", *Daily Mail*, 10 May 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2141279/Rochdale-child-sex-trial-P-olice-hunt-40-suspects-promise-arrests.html>.

⁴⁰Burnley has 10 mosques; Barnsley has 1 mosque. Burnley has 4 councillors who are Muslims; Barnsley has no Muslim councillors.

⁴¹See section 11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions](#).

their failings), we need to consider the scale of the abuse done to those 2000 or so schoolgirls tallied in those reports. In the CEOP data-set, the number of victims of “localised grooming” is 2083 children (identified in a period of 3 years).⁴² If we turn to the obfuscatory report from The Children’s Commissioner: this report found that in a 14 month period, 2409 children could be identified as the victims of Child Sexual Exploitation.⁴³ Like CEOP, The Children’s Commissioner was emphatic in stating the difficulties they had in obtaining the data. Thus, both reports are likely to underestimate the scale of the problem by a wide margin. The lack of data is a problem we can lay at the door of these national agencies from their inception. If they’d been paying attention to the events in our chronology,⁴⁴ experts would have been aware of the need to gather this data as early as 1995, and as late as 2003. But they took no steps to demand such an intelligence-gathering framework.

In the Rochdale case in 2012, one of the victims testified that she would be forced to have sex with 5 men a day, almost every day of the week for months on end.⁴⁵ If we assume this went on for 10 months, then she may easily have been raped 1000 times in those 10 months. When we take into account the statements made by people like Mohammed Shafiq and Julie Bindel about how much money a pimp can make from a girl, we have to conclude that what this girl suffered

⁴²*Out of Mind, Out of Sight - Breaking Down the Barriers to Understanding Child Sexual Exploitation*, Jun 2011, <http://ceop.police.uk/Publications/>, p.43.

⁴³Children’s Commissioner report, 2012, “**I thought I was the only one. The only one in the world**”, p.14.

⁴⁴See section 4. [Chronology: Cover-up to Collapse](#).

⁴⁵“**Rochdale grooming gang victim: I was raped by five men a day**”, *Rochdale Metro*, 8 May 2012, <http://metro.co.uk/2012/05/08/rochdale-grooming-gang-victim-i-was-raped-by-5-men-a-day-418153/>. Another report about the schoolgirl victims in Rochdale stated that there were 50 girls controlled by one gang, and that a girl might be forced to have sex with 20 different men in one night: Lisa Gray, “**Rochdale grooming scandal: Book tells harrowing story of girl’s abuse**”, *Manchester Evening News*, 12 Oct 2013, <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/local-news/rochdale-grooming-scandal-book-tells-6174796>.

may be quite typical. And from this, some very disturbing implications follow.

We can make some conservative assumptions: 1) a girl endures 12 months of sexual enslavement before the girl can escape from the gang, and 2) that each schoolgirl suffers in the region of 1,000 rapes in these 12 months.⁴⁶ If we half the total of 2,400 victims (as the CEOP report showed that Asians were about 50% of the perpetrators) we have 1,200 victims of Muslim grooming gangs. So we have (per year) 1,000 rapes for each of 1,200 schoolgirl victims per year by Muslim men.⁴⁷ That is potentially 1.2 million incidents of child-rape per year. If we assume that each customer uses the services of these Muslim pimps on 10 occasions each year, then that is 120,000 Muslims committing child-rape each year. Assume the Muslim population is 4 million; and that women, men under 20, and men over 46 tend not to participate. That means that 1 in 6 of Muslim men in the UK fit the profile to be clients for these grooming gangs, i.e. about 660,000 Muslim men are potential clients. If 120,000 Muslims were actual clients, then we must assume that the majority of these 660,000 Muslim men either were kept in the dark about these offerings or turned down the offers by the gangs and their associates. But it is possible that there were 120,000 out of 660,000 Muslim men (in the

⁴⁶We can assume this based not just on the testimony of individual girls, but also based on what we are told about the earnings of the pimp. According to the police, a pimp can make £300,000 to £400,000 a year selling a 16-year-old girl. See Julie Bindel, “**Mothers of Prevention**”, *The Sunday Times*, 30 Sep 2007 http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/article72310.ece. For a pimp to make £400,000 from one girl in one year, then if he was charging £50 per customer the girl would need to be raped 8,000 times per year. We believe 1000 rapes per year is a conservative estimate. At 1000 rapes per year, the pimp would have to charge £400 per customer. For that reason, we think 1000 rapes per year is on the low side. Mohammed Shafiq spoke about some of the Muslims in Rochdale making £600 to £1000 per day, which could be 10 rapes at £60 to £100 each (but if the going rate was much lower it could mean 20 rapes a day). <http://www.mohammedshafiq.net/grooming--the-men.php>.

⁴⁷There is virtually no evidence that these Muslim gangs were providing these school-girls to non-Muslim men.

appropriate age group) who were clients, that is: 1 in 3 Muslim men between the ages of 20 and 46 might well have been customers of these grooming gangs.⁴⁸ Thus, whilst it would be true that most Muslim men did not take part, we can reasonably assume that most Muslim men in these towns did know it was going on. Remember what Mohammed Shafiq said about Rochdale? “This [Rochdale] gang was the talk of the town among the [Muslim] taxi drivers.” Perhaps this is what Mohammed Shafiq meant when he said “it was not widespread”, i.e. that most Muslim men were not actively involved with the gangs as pimps or customers, but that a very large minority were active customers whilst the majority knew it was going on.⁴⁹

We recognise that the above is largely back-of-the-envelope arithmetic, and we make no absolute claim for its accuracy. However, when one tries to make sense of

- the number of victims
- the number of men enumerated as associated with the gangs who go to court (only a fraction of whom ever get convicted)
- the amount of money that pimps make from their victims
- the description by the victims of the prostitution being on an industrial scale

⁴⁸We hope that, over the next 5 to 10 years, as more information comes out about how these gangs worked we will be able to increase the reliability of these estimates. Countervailing evidence could show that a) the pimps made less money, or b) that many non-Muslims were involved. Perhaps evidence will show that fewer Muslim men raped these schoolgirls, but that they had sex with them far more frequently than 10 times per year. If such countervailing evidence is not forthcoming, then we think these estimates will probably stand the test of time.

⁴⁹After only 9 members of the Rochdale gang were convicted, the father of one of the schoolgirls who was raped has stated he knows another 30 to 40 Muslim men in the town who were involved in raping his daughter, but who have not been prosecuted, and are still walking around the town. Simon Coyle, “**Sex grooming gang ‘still walking streets of Rochdale’**”, *Manchester Evening News*, 12 Dec 2013 <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/local-news/father-rochdale-sex-grooming-victim-6398146>.

one starts to get some sense of what it means for someone like Mohammed Shafiq to say a “gang was the talk of the town among the taxi drivers.” In the case of missing (presumed murdered) schoolgirl Charlene Downes, the media readily talk of her being abused by 100 men or more.⁵⁰ Charlene Downes was only 14 when she went missing, yet in that short time it is considered feasible that she had been raped by 100 men. The idea that she had been raped 1000 times in that year seems not implausible.

Mohammed Shafiq insists that the prostituting of sex-slaves “is a crime Islam forbids”,⁵¹ yet he never provides any reference to the Koran or to texts of sharia law to show that Islam does indeed forbid it. We have shown that slavery has been a part of the history of Islam from the beginnings of the religion until after after World War 2 and beyond; there are very good reasons for Muslims to think that the prostituting of sex slaves is permitted by Islam. As many Muslims in 21st century Britain are still insisting on wearing a burka or niqab (a kind of clothing that might make sense in 7th century Arabia), why should we believe that they have forsaken cultural practices which were permitted to Muslims throughout the past 1300 years? In 2011, Mohammed Shafiq was saying “I would like to see imams and mosques addressing these crimes in their Friday sermons, explaining the Islamic ruling on such evil acts and stressing that an attack on a white girl is as forbidden as an attack on our own daughters and sisters.”⁵² Yet it wasn’t until 2013 that mosques in Britain did what Mohammed Shafiq wanted, and this only seemed to occur because Parliament agreed that the evidence showed the grooming gangs were

⁵⁰Martin Robinson and James Tozer, “Was Charlene, 14, sexually abused by up to 100 men before being murdered and chopped up for kebab meat? Police reopen case of missing teenager ten years on.”, *Daily Mail*, 2 Nov 2013, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2483351/Charlene-Downes-missing-person-case-reopened-police.html>.

⁵¹<http://www.mohammedshafiq.net/the-times-article---grooming.php>. See also <http://www.mohammedshafiq.net/grooming---june-2011.php>.

⁵²<http://www.mohammedshafiq.net/the-times-article---grooming.php>.

almost entirely made up of Muslim men.⁵³ However, what the media did not dwell on, was the fact that only a minority of mosques read out this sermon. If, despite 10 years of cover-up, the evidence finally showed that Muslims were overwhelmingly the members of the grooming gangs, why would most mosques not read this sermon? Perhaps because most Imams did not agree that this “is a crime Islam forbids”?

We will not attempt to set ourselves up as greater religious authorities than the Sheikhs, but we will briefly examine this sermon. The sermon does at least contain the recognition of the prevalence of Muslim men amongst the grooming gangs, and condemns their actions, and welcomes the convictions.⁵⁴ Moreover, it instructs Muslims who see something suspicious to report it to the police.⁵⁵ However, if we pay attention to this last point, we will see that it corroborates our argument: Muslims believe they owe allegiance to other Muslims, not to non-Muslims. And this allegiance applies, no matter what. In the sermon it says:

if you see something that is suspicious or you suspect that sexual grooming is taking place, report it to the authorities (social services or the police). If you need any motivation other than it is the right and Islamic thing do to just consider this – what if it was your daughter and someone you knew had not taken that step?

Notice that devout Muslims are having to be explicitly given

⁵³This powerlessness of Mohammed Shafiq once more raises the question: in what sense is Mohammed Shafiq any kind of leader, if no-one does what he recommends?

⁵⁴“**Khutba - Tackling Street Grooming in the UK**”, 2013, <http://www.mcb.org.uk/uploads/Khutbah%20-%20Street%20Grooming%20final%20version.pdf>.

⁵⁵These are both good first steps. However, we should note, that as late as 2009, the Muslim Council of Britain was still insisting that the claim that Muslims were overwhelmingly found among the perpetrators of grooming gangs was a “racist myth”: “The BNP spread racist myths about Asian men ‘grooming’ white girls in Keighley; that year, they gained four seats on Bradford Council.” <http://www.mcb.org.uk/vote/2009/stopfarright.html>.

“motivation” to co-operate with the police to prevent their “brothers” from luring non-Muslim children into prostitution. Can you imagine a congregation of Jews or Christians having to be given “motivation” to report a serious crime like child-rape to the police?

When it comes to Islamic doctrine, the two principle sections of the Koran on which this sermon relies, are 24:30 and 17:32.

Tell the believing men to lower their gaze (from looking at forbidden things), and protect their private parts (from illegal sexual acts, etc.). That is purer for them. Verily, Allâh is All-Aware of what they do [Qur’an 24:30]

And come not near to unlawful sexual intercourse. Verily, it is a Fahishah [i.e. anything that transgresses its limits (a great sin)], and an evil way [Qur’an 17:32]

At first sight, these verses seem to say that Muslims are not to look at forbidden things, nor to indulge in illegal sexual intercourse.

However, we need to bear in mind, that “legal” in this context means “legal under sharia law.” And we would contend that many Muslim men do not regard non-Muslim women (and even unveiled Muslim women) as being “forbidden.”⁵⁶ There is also the problem with abrogation (where later verses in the Koran countermand earlier verses which are in contradiction with them). Thus, the latest verse cited by this sermon is 24:30. However, as we have seen above, there

⁵⁶It is well-known that any woman who travels without the protection of a man in a Muslim country will be sexually-assaulted, many times a day, even in public and in broad daylight. Clearly the Muslim men in Muslim countries do not consider such women to be “forbidden.” **“Please God, make it stop!” British female journalist, 21, describes horrific sexual assault in Egypt’s Tahrir Square after election result**, *Daily Mail*, 28 June 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2165445/British-journalist-Natasha-Smith-22-recalls-horrific-sexual-assault-Egypt-Tahrir-Square.html>. There are many other instances of such assaults, including Muslim girls from Britain on charitable missions to Libya, raped by jihadis there. Esam Mohamed, **“Libyan official: 3 Pakistani activists raped”**, 29 Mar 2013, *Yahoo News*, <http://news.yahoo.com/libya-n-official-3-pakistani-activists-raped-130540911.html>.

is a later verse (24:33) which states: “do not compel your slave girls to prostitution, when they desire to keep chaste, in order to seek the frail good of this world’s life; and whoever compels them, then surely after their compulsion Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.”⁵⁷ It may well be that the majority of mosques do not accept this sermon, because they know that this sermon does not deal with the verses which permit Muslims to rape their slaves, and to prostitute their slaves.⁵⁸ Let us remember the Kuwaiti advocate of sex-slavery who we mentioned above: she was advocating these sex-slaves as a way of Muslim men avoiding “fornication” (the word used by *Reliance of the Traveller*, when it refers to Koran 17:32).⁵⁹ Thus, as far as some Muslims are concerned, the sex which occurs between an owner and his sex-slaves is not fornication, and Koran 17:32 (the scriptural basis for this sermon) does not apply to such acts.

We contend that the failure of the majority of mosques to read this sermon suggests that most Muslims do not believe that it is their place to condemn Muslims who systematically groom non-Muslim schoolgirls, luring them into a life of prostitution. So the next time someone tells you “prostituting sex-slaves is a crime which Islam forbids”, demand that they tell you where this prohibition is to be found.⁶⁰ The case of the Oxford grooming gang in 2013 brought out probably the worst details so far in all the prosecutions of the last 16

⁵⁷The Koran, surah 24, verse 33 <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=24&verse=33>.

⁵⁸ A Jordanian Sheikh has issued a fatwa, where he instructs Muslim men that they can rape the women who fall into their control during war. Khaled Abu Toameh, “**Raping Women in the Name of Islam**”, <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/3655/islam-rape-women>. As we have argued above, there are indicators to suggest that far more Muslims in Britain consider themselves to be at war with our country, besides those 300 Muslims who have been convicted of terrorism offences since 2001.

⁵⁹See *Reliance of the Traveller*, section P.12.0.

⁶⁰We think it highly significant that the 1991 translation of *Reliance of the Traveller*, a manual of sharia law, explicitly refused to translate the Islamic laws pertaining to taking slaves and how slaves can be treated - legally and morally - in Islam. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reliance_of_the_Traveller#Keller_translation.

years. Despite that, and despite the anti-grooming sermon initiative coming after that trial, some of the mosques in Oxford actively refused to read the sermon.⁶¹ We have to ask again: if this crime is forbidden in Islam, why would mosques in the city with one of the worst cases refuse to read the sermon? What will it take to get such Muslims to condemn these crimes? Is it even possible for them to do this without rejecting parts of Islamic doctrine (something which would make them apostates, and thus candidates for assassination by other Muslims)?

Even if all the mosques in Britain did read out this sermon, we do not believe that, after 25 years of lucrative business, and almost no likelihood of being punished for these crimes, that such a sermon would persuade a group of criminal men to stop an activity from which they benefit sexually and financially, the victims of which activity are always drawn from a community which Islamic doctrine and Muslim culture holds in contempt. There is much evidence to show that even the most liberal, most educated, most high-profile Muslims in Britain will, behind closed doors, happily cite Islamic doctrines and texts which refer to non-Muslims in contemptuous and derogatory terms. Mehdi Hasan, the former politics editor of the left-wing *New Statesman*, and now political editor of the left-wing *Huffington Post*, was accidentally exposed referring to non-Muslims as unthinking animals and using the derogatory term “kafir”, with no condemnation of such derogatory terms from him or his Muslim audience.⁶² Hasan was not sacked when his speech was exposed, and

⁶¹Ben Wilkinson, “**National sermon on child grooming shunned as a stunt by many Muslims in Oxford**”, *Oxford Mail*, 29 Jun 2013, http://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/10516465.National_sermon_on_child_grooming_shunned_as_a_stunt_by_many_Muslims_in_Oxford/.

⁶²See Douglas Murray, “**Mehdi Hasan and the EDL**”, *The Spectator*, 30 Jul 2013, <http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/douglas-murray/2013/07/mehdi-hasan-and-the-edl/>, and “**So, Mehdi Hasan, can I call you an extremist (or at least a cab)?**”, *The Commentator*, 11 Jun 2011, http://www.thecommentator.com/article/223/so_mehdi_hasan_can_i_call_you_an_extremist_or_at_least_a_cab. See also <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=APAPqT3QdFU>.

he is still invited to appear on high-profile BBC TV programmes: if he had been a non-Muslim (white or Asian), and had referred to Muslims as “animals” it is unlikely that he would have escaped criminal investigation (and possibly he would have received a criminal conviction). Even if such legal action did not follow, he would almost certainly have been sacked and would no longer be broadcast by the BBC into the living rooms of millions of those about whom he used such offensive language. If an Anglicised, public school and Oxford-educated writer such as Mehdi Hasan will use such derogatory language behind closed doors, we can only begin to imagine the hatred and abuse towards non-Muslims with which many non-Anglicised Muslims have been indoctrinated, both in Britain and abroad. At the end of 2010, the BBC broadcast a documentary which exposed Islamic schools and clubs in Britain teaching Jew-hatred and homophobia:

It claims to have found 5,000 Muslim schoolchildren being taught that some Jews are transformed into pigs and apes and that the penalty for gay sex is execution. Some textbooks are said to teach the correct way to chop off the hands and feet of thieves. A spokesman for the programme said the pupils, aged six to 18, attend a network of more than 40 weekend schools across the country which teach the Saudi national curriculum to Muslim children.⁶³

It goes without saying, that if Islamic schools in Britain are teaching Muslim children to kill gay people, and that Jews are animals, then we can take it for granted that within such schools and mosques, non-Muslims will be routinely referred to in derogatory terms. In the light of such casual and endemic “kuffarphobia”, it would be no surprise if even the least religious Muslims in Britain should hold

⁶³Haroon Siddique, “**BBC’s Panorama claims Islamic schools teach antisemitism and homophobia**”, *The Guardian*, 22 Nov 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2010/nov/22/bbc-panorama-Islamic-schools-antisemitism>.

non-Muslims in low esteem.

From the evidence provided by CEOP and by The Children's Commissioner we can assert that there are thousands of victims of the grooming gangs. Going off the locations where those convicted of grooming crimes were based, and from reports of police forces currently investigating more than 54 different gangs, we can assert that these gangs are operating in every major town or city in England. From the descriptions of the victims, and from the amount of money that commentators have said the gangs can earn from one girl, we can deduce that these girls are being forced to have sex maybe 1000 times per year. For thousands of girls to be having that much sex with different customers, we calculate that the number of men raping these schoolgirls could be as many as one in three of the Muslim men below the age of 46. The testimony of the victims and even statements from the perpetrators make it clear that the perpetrators do not think they are doing anything wrong. We have seen from a brief examination of Islamic theology and from the history of Islam that slave-taking, and the rape of slaves has been an enduring feature of Islamic culture, from the time of Mohammed onwards. If the reports from a small town like Barnsley are indeed typical, then the scale of the problem could be far larger than we have anticipated in this section. It seems obvious that the 119 men convicted⁶⁴ so far are a mere fraction of those involved in these crimes. Those convicted may have been responsible for the grooming of fewer than 500 schoolgirls over 16 years, yet it seems that each year there may be anywhere from 1,200 to 11,000 schoolgirls being groomed. The grooming gang phenomenon is just one of the most serious examples of the cultural conflicts between Islamic values and our liberal, secular values. There are many other examples of this conflict, all religiously-motivated. Suicide bombers, FGM, Jew-hatred, homophobia, "honour killings" - these are all examples of this conflict in values. The fundamental problem is that Muslims have been encouraged to put their values on

⁶⁴11. [Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions.](#)

at least an equal-footing with the cultural values of the west. Multiculturalism is the problem.

Multiculturalism is simply the refusal of the elite, the refusal of the opinion-shapers in our society, to face up to the consequences of importing millions of people committed to a world-view which is fundamentally incompatible with western liberal values. And this conflict has been concealed by removing freedom of speech, by persecuting those who speak out, and by sacrificing thousands of schoolgirls to organised prostitution. Without the ideology of multiculturalism and political correctness, people would have been free to draw attention to the problems back in the 1990s. It is not at all obvious that there are any solutions to the current problems facing Britain.

9. Victims of Multiculturalism

though we are living in the 21st century, some people have retained medieval attitudes towards young girls. The barbaric treatment in this case was depraved, almost beyond imagination and must never be allowed to happen again.
– NSPCC, *The Independent*, 2013

As we have seen from our brief examination of Islamic doctrine and history, sexual slavery was developed as a religious weapon, a way of furthering the dominion of Islam, and was employed throughout the history of Islam (slavery only being outlawed in Saudi Arabia in 1962). Slavery and concubinage have served the power interests of Islam, helping it advance, from the domination of the Arabian Peninsula to the conquest of the lands from Portugal to Afghanistan, and the lands from Central Africa to Central Europe. That slavery is still envisaged as part of the future of Islam, can be found from a clarification a Sheikh (a Muslim Bishop) gave to an Arabic TV channel (May 2011):

Spoils, slaves, and prisoners are only to be taken in war between Muslims and infidels. Muslims in the past conquered, invaded, and took over countries. This is agreed to by all scholars—there is no disagreement on this from any of them, from the smallest to the largest, on the issue of taking spoils and prisoners. The prisoners and spoils are distributed among the fighters, which includes men, women, children, wealth, and so on.

When a slave market is erected, which is a market in

which are sold slaves and sex-slaves, which are called in the Qur'an by the name milk al-yamin, "that which your right hands possess" [Qur'an 4:24]. This is a verse from the Qur'an which is still in force, and has not been abrogated. The milk al-yamin are the sex-slaves. You go to the market, look at the sex-slave, and buy her. She becomes like your wife, (but) she doesn't need a (marriage) contract or a divorce like a free woman, nor does she need a wali. All scholars agree on this point—there is no disagreement from any of them. ¹

For all their blather about "diversity", multiculturalists do not like to face the consequences which follow from other cultures having different histories and different values from those which obtain in modern Western Europe. The slave-trade was but a small part of the history of Christian Europe (possibly acquired anew from 700 years of enforced Islamisation endured by the Portuguese and Spanish, before the Reconquista).² Within 300 years of the start of the Atlantic slave trade, Christians in Europe started to bring the slave trade to an end (and it was, indeed, devout Christians who set about ending it). In the 1300 years of slave-taking in Islam, there was never an indigenous Islamic anti-slavery movement: it was Britain, Christianity and enlightenment values which brought the Islamic slave trade to some kind of end. Yet the multiculturalists want to pretend that they glory in diversity, whilst secretly believing that there is no such thing as truly diverse values - the unspoken assumption of multiculturalists is that all people, all over the world, and throughout all of history, have held the same beliefs as western European liberals of the last 50 years. They praise diversity and multiculturalism, but cannot really see beyond their own enlightenment ideology: they think that, ultimately, all the world shares their values. Multiculturalism is possibly the most

¹"Video: Shaykh al-Huwayni: 'When I want a sex slave, I just go to the market and choose the woman I like and purchase her'" <http://www.translatingjihad.com/2011/06/video-shaykh-al-huwayni-when-i-want-sex.html>.

²Emmet Scott, *The Impact of Islam*, New English Review Press, 2014.

deluded, blinkered ideology in history. The demise of multicultural pre-Islamic Arabia under the onslaught of violent, totalitarian Islam demonstrates that in a situation where the ideology of Islam is in conflict with multiculturalism, it is Islam which will triumph.

Modern multiculturalism has been a short-sighted and cowardly doctrine, designed to suppress the conflicts in value systems of different cultures. It has meant that for 20 to 50 years, there has been mounting pressure (driven by a metropolitan elite who mostly live in middle-class, monocultural, Anglophone enclaves) to suppress any signs of the cultural conflict between the host culture and some antagonistic minority cultures. In the context of the suppression of information and inaction on the grooming gangs, thousands of innocent schoolgirls have had their lives ruined, ruined in ways that most British people thought ended in the times of Queen Victoria. These schoolgirls were sacrificed so that the middle-class, monocultural elite did not have to entertain the disturbing idea that some cultures think that slavery is legitimate, and that a 50 year old man having sex with a 9 year old girl is an act of piety.

In October 2010, Angela Merkel, the German Prime Minister announced that multiculturalism was dead.³ Within 4 months, the British Prime Minister and the French President had joined her in announcing that in their countries too, it was now recognised that multiculturalism was a failed doctrine.⁴ What was the British Prime Minister promoting as the core set of values, which all groups in Britain were expected to support?

Do they believe in universal human rights – including for

³Kate Connelly, “**Angela Merkel declares death of German multiculturalism**”, *The Guardian*, 17 Oct 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-germany-multiculturalism-failures>.

⁴“**Nicolas Sarkozy joins David Cameron and Angela Merkel view that multiculturalism has failed**”, *Daily Mail*, 11 Feb 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1355961/Nicolas-Sarkozy-joins-David-Cameron-Angela-Merkel-view-multiculturalism-failed.html>.

women and people of other faiths? Do they believe in equality of all before the law? Do they believe in democracy and the right of people to elect their own government? Do they encourage integration or separatism?⁵

Fundamentally, Cameron was claiming that there were Islamic groups in Britain who opposed the values enshrined in the UN Declaration of Human Rights,⁶ and that these groups must no longer receive state aid nor must the organs of the state accord them any status as representatives of the beliefs of Muslims. Does Cameron not know that the *Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam*, puts sharia law above everything?⁷ We sincerely doubt that any government agency is going to go through each item of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and ask each Muslim organisation to avow support for each Article before giving them state largesse. And if they did do this, the government would probably find that only a small minority of Islamic organisations would be eligible for government subsidies. One survey found that about one quarter of British Muslims would freely admit that those Muslims who choose another religion should be killed.⁸

Cameron made a distinction between Islam and “Islamist

⁵<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130109092234/http://number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference/>.

⁶<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.

⁷The Cairo Declaration consists of 25 articles <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instreet/cairodeclaration.html>. The last 2 articles put sharia law above everything, including the preceding 23 articles.

ARTICLE 24: All the rights and freedoms stipulated in this Declaration are subject to the Islamic Shari’ah.

ARTICLE 25: The Islamic Shari’ah is the only source of reference for the explanation or clarification of any of the articles of this Declaration.

Thus, for most Muslim organisations, there are no human rights except what is found in sharia law (including the legality of slavery).

⁸“**British Muslims poll: Key points**”, *BBC News*, 29 Jan 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/6309983.stm>.

Extremism.” It seems he believes there are moderate Islamists, “people who may reject violence, but who accept various parts of the extremist worldview.”⁹ Despite these distinctions, in Britain left-wing politicians and Muslim organisations took the Prime Minister’s announcement as an attack on Islam and on Muslim enclaves within non-Muslim countries.¹⁰ As proof of his belief in the compatibility of Islam with liberal democracy, Cameron told his audience to look at what was happening in Tunisia and Egypt. When Cameron made this speech, these upheavals across the Middle East were being called “the Arab Spring” by journalists, politicians and experts (they were thus implying, day after day, that the events were analogous to the Prague Spring, where gradual liberalisation was crushed by the Soviet Union). In the subsequent years, with the pro-Caliphate, Nazi-inspired Muslim Brotherhood coming to power in Egypt, these same journalists and experts have quietly dropped that phrase, with no acknowledgement concerning the rash stupidity with which they mis-characterised those events. We wonder if Cameron still believes that the bloodshed and subsequent coup in Egypt demonstrate the compatibility of Islam and liberal democracy.

Cameron appeared to believe that multiculturalism had itself given birth to “Islamist extremism”:

Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We’ve failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We’ve even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values... this all leaves some

⁹<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130109092234/http://number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference/>.

¹⁰See “**State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron**”, *BBC News website*, 5 Feb 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12371994>. It seems that they do not accept his view that a distinction can be drawn between Islam and Islamism.

young Muslims feeling rootless. And the search for something to belong to and something to believe in can lead them to this extremist ideology.¹¹

However, since violent “Islamist” organisations like the Muslim Brotherhood (which seeks to restore the Caliphate) have been in existence in Egypt since 1928, it seems unlikely that this anti-democratic, theocratic totalitarianism¹² can be laid at the door of weak-minded western liberals. There was no mention of “multiculturalism” in Britain until the 1980s at the earliest.¹³ By the end of that decade Muslims were marching around England, threatening to kill those who criticised Islam. By the end of that decade, Muslims and Sikhs were reproducing the “communal violence” seen in India at the start of the 20th century. It was in response to these un-British forms of behaviour that the metropolitan elite set about propounding the doctrine of multiculturalism. The outlawing of female genital mutilation in 1985 shows that there was no conception of multiculturalism then. Multiculturalism did not produce Islamic extremism, but once Islamic extremism manifested itself in Britain in the 1990s, then multiculturalism was extended to protect it.

In his speech, it appears that Cameron is not opposed to Islam or Islamism per se, only to Islamist extremism i.e. those islamists who seek to use violence to destroy democracy and human rights. But later, he says that “as evidence emerges about the backgrounds of those convicted of terrorist offences, it is clear that many of them

¹¹<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130109092234/http://number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference/>.

¹²Ishak Musa Husaini, **The Moslem Brethren - the Greatest of Islamic Movements**, Beirut, 1956.

¹³From the contents of The British Library catalogue, books with the word “multiculturalism” in the title did not start to appear until the 1970s, and the first 30 such books published all related to Canada. A search of a database archive of articles from *The Times*, dating back to 1985, did not find the occurrence of the word “multiculturalism” until 1987.

were initially influenced by what some have called ‘non-violent extremists’, and they then took those radical beliefs to the next level by embracing violence.”¹⁴ Cameron gave no idea of the proportion of Muslims in Britain who can be considered to be “Islamists.” Of course, not all immigrants and not all Muslim immigrants have sought to destroy the western democracies which had given them citizenship, but significant numbers of Muslim immigrants wanted to subvert the secular state, with around 40% of Muslims admitting to wanting sharia law.¹⁵ In 2003, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that sharia law is “incompatible with the fundamental principles of democracy.”¹⁶ We can thus conclude that 40% of British Muslims are Islamists: sharia law contains instructions on how to pray, how to conduct divorce, that anyone who leaves Islam must be killed,¹⁷ and how to run a country in a discriminatory and non-democratic way.¹⁸

In announcing the death of “state multiculturalism”, the British Prime Minister was really just proposing that government organisations stop providing money to the Muslim groups who advocate the destruction of democracy and human rights: “fail these tests and the presumption should be not to engage with organisations – so, no public money, no sharing of platforms with ministers at

¹⁴<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130109092234/http://number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference/>.

¹⁵See “**The latest WikiLeaks revelation: 1 in 3 British Muslim students back killing for Islam and 40% want Sharia law**”, *Daily Mail*, 22 Dec 2010, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1340599/WikiLeaks-1-3-British-Muslim-students-killing-Islam-40-want-Sharia-law.html> and “**British Muslims poll: Key points**”, *BBC News website*, 29 Jan 2007 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/6309983.stm>.

¹⁶See p.21 of **Annual Report 2003**, *European Court of Human Rights*, http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Annual_report_2003_ENG.pdf.

¹⁷See section f1.3 of *Reliance of the Traveller*.

¹⁸Section o25.3 of *Reliance of the Traveller* states that in an Islamic state a non-Muslim cannot be the ruler. The vast majority of people in Britain would denounce any political party that said “only a white man can be the Prime Minister,” yet mostly the media in Britain are silent about the sheer number of Muslim organisations agitating for sharia law.

home.”¹⁹ He was not proposing any positive project that would undo the damage of 30 years of islamisation, the damage of 30 years of multiculturalism. To Cameron, the failure of multiculturalism is to be remedied by cutting off the funding to “Islamist” organisations who seek to subvert democracy, and beyond that, he has no vision: “instead of encouraging people to live apart, we need a clear sense of shared national identity that is open to everyone.”²⁰ In the following years there has been no sign that his government had any positive project in mind. In giving examples of this “shared national identity”, he suggested that it was important for immigrants to be able to speak English (yet almost all of the 332 Muslims convicted of terrorist offences in Britain since 2001²¹ spoke English, and as if to prove to Cameron that this wasn’t the problem, a few months after his speech a Muslim student who was predicted to achieve a first class degree in English from a top University, attempted to assassinate a British MP in his own office).²²

In Britain, multiculturalism was never announced as an official policy. There was never any national debate about what this doctrine meant, what problems it was intended to solve, or what would constitute criteria for assessing the success or failure of the project. No political party put it forward as an electoral pledge, it was never something that the people voted for, or on which we were even asked our opinion. Instead, it was often simply announced that “we live in a multicultural society”, with the implication being that we had better

¹⁹<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130109092234/http://number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference/>. Incredibly, Cameron seems to be leaving the door ajar for the funding of a Muslim group who fails these tests, but can argue a case for receiving public money.

²⁰<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130109092234/http://number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference/>.

²¹<https://www.mi5.gov.uk/home/the-threats/terrorism/international-terrorism/international-terrorist-plots/arrests-and-convictions.html>.

²²Vikram Dodd, “**Stephen Timms attacker faces sentencing for attempted murder**”, *The Guardian*, 3 Nov 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/nov/03/stephen-timms-attack-sentencing>.

just get on with muddling through whatever problems arose from this. Political leaders across Europe have still not put forward any plan to rectify the consequences of this failed, undemocratic experiment. The state might not be going to fund and advocate multiculturalism, but the conflicts and damage caused by the clash of values between an unchanging, totalitarian 7th century desert religion and a modern liberal democracy are not going to just disappear, they are just going to intensify.

History will no doubt look back on turn-of-the-century Europe with incredulity: that the politicians of liberal democracies had spent 30 years facilitating “Islamist” groups, encouraging groups of first, second and third generation immigrants to propound an ideology that sought to destroy the very countries which had given them the privilege of citizenship, countries which had accorded equal rights (and sometimes given preferential treatment) to these immigrants. Cameron was not proposing any comprehensive plan to reverse the negative effects that 30 years of dogmatic multiculturalism had on British society. We do not see any sign that the media, academics, politicians or religious leaders have any inkling of the scale of the problem, nor do they show any determination to remedy their lack of understanding, never mind resolve the incoherence of multiculturalism. The stupidity, incoherence and short-termism of multiculturalism is laid bare by 25 years in which the lives of thousands of schoolgirls have been ruined, vulnerable and innocent children left in ignorance of the dangers posed by the grooming gangs. Rather than risk offending the community who shielded the grooming gangs, schools did not even show the educational film specifically made to enable the schoolgirls to protect themselves. These schoolgirls’ lives were sacrificed in order to delay the time when the project of multiculturalism must be declared an abject failure.

Unless schools can train schoolgirls how to avoid being lured into the control of the grooming gangs, the supply of victims will continue. That *My Dangerous Loverboy* has not been distributed since

it was commissioned in 2008 gives us little hope that there will be any reduction in the supply of victims brought about by educationalists or government agencies. At the end of 2013, following the conviction of three Muslim men in the north-east of England (and five years after *My Dangerous Loverboy* was left on the shelves), a *Barnardo's* official said:

“This is not one-off sexual abuse of a child within a family, we’re talking about groups of men who abuse young teenage girls.” Ms Shepherd said one of the “great problems” is that victims do not realise what is happening to them until it is too late. “They don’t see the grooming,” she said. “They don’t see the huge con to get them to have sex with many people at the will of the man that has become their boyfriend. They really want to believe in the goodness that actually he wouldn’t really treat me that way, he wouldn’t want to harm me.”²³

The only way that information about the grooming gangs and their techniques is getting out to the potential victims is in an unstructured way via the media and popular opinion. A report from Bolton shows the deviousness of Muslim taxi-drivers in making contact with schoolgirls: the taxi driver asked his 13 year old passenger to phone his mobile phone so that he could check his phone was working. After doing this she thought his behaviour strange and got out of the taxi at the earliest opportunity, and contacted the police. She is now fearful of ever taking a taxi in her area, where the vast majority of taxi drivers are Muslims.²⁴ This is the kind of scenario an educational film would

²³ Andrew Glover, “**Middlesbrough grooming case: How big is the iceberg**”, *BBC News*, 5 Dec 2013 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tees-25119285>.

²⁴ “**Taxi driver who ‘tricked 13-year-old girl into giving him her phone number’ loses licence appeal**”, *The Bolton News*, 30 Oct 2013, http://www.theboltonnews.co.uk/news/10772703.Taxi_driver_who_tricked_13_year_old_girl_into_giving_him_her_phone_number_loses_licence_appeal/. It is disgraceful that national police agencies have prepared a documentary to warn such schoolgirls, but it has never been shown to them.

use to even up the skills of victims to match those of the grooming gangs. Devious adults are sharing techniques and working in teams to groom schoolgirls, and our society is doing nothing to help the potential victims become aware of what might be use to entrap them. But instead of training and forewarning the victims, it is the gangs who have been left undisturbed for decades, improving their techniques and ruining lives.

For a few years after 2010, the police seem to be having a crackdown on grooming gang activity, but we have no idea what proportion of the gangs are caught up in this crackdown. Perhaps when CEOP and The Children's Commissioner start to fulfil the job of national agencies protecting children, we will have a better indication of the scale of the problem, and can then ascertain whether or not the current spate of prosecutions is anything more than a drop in the ocean. That The Children's Commissioner's final report on gangs who abuse children should have come out at the end of 2013, yet contains almost nothing about the Muslim grooming gangs, suggests that the central agencies already think that the outrage over these grooming gangs is dying down.²⁵ If this is true, then we can expect to see the number of prosecutions fall in coming years.

It is clear from the Parliamentary report, that the politicians have no real idea of the size of the problem, and that they have tried to do little more than scapegoat the councils of Rotherham and Rochdale (until a case at the end of 2013 received publicity, who knew that *Barnardo's* were dealing with 160 victims in the north-east of England?) Perhaps the only significant step to come out of the Parliamentary report, was the initiative to read a sermon in mosques denouncing this crime (and as we have seen, this initiative was mostly

²⁵In The Children's Commissioner "interim report" of 2012, by far the largest number of victims were victims of localised grooming. See **"I thought I was the only one. The only one in the world': The Office of The Children's Commissioner's Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation In Gangs and Groups"**, Nov 2012, <http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/info/csegl> p.57, p.86, p.92, p.96 .

a failure). The Muslim population will probably continue to double in size every decade, and the grooming gang phenomenon is just as likely to continue doubling in size every decade. Even if 50% of those involved in the grooming gangs get convicted, then we should expect the grooming gangs to increase by more than 100% every decade, quite simply because the Muslim population increases at this rate every decade. Announcing that government will no longer fund Muslim organisations which seek to use violence to destroy our country is just re-arranging deckchairs on a sinking ship. It beggars belief that a government would ever have thought that funding those groups was a good thing to do.

It is reported that lawyers who were acting for victims of a Rochdale grooming gang have said there needs to be a Public Inquiry into this scandal.²⁶ From that report it transpires that Lisa Nandy, the Shadow Children's minister (and a former youth worker), said she would support calls for a further, in-depth review. It may well be that as far as she is concerned, the Home Affairs Select Committee has satisfied her demands. We believe that the full force of the grooming gang scandal has not yet come to light. As we were putting the finishing touches to this report, we learned that one of the motivating factors driving the leader of the English Defence League, is that a member of his own family was a victim of the grooming gangs.²⁷ If the grooming of a family member 20 years ago can drive one man on a four-year campaign risking financial ruin, public opprobrium, violent attacks and death threats, are the family members of the other 10,000 victims going to let things lie? How many more of the people who supported the English Defence League had girls from their

²⁶“**Lawyer Acting for Victims of Rochdale Grooming Gang Calls for Public Inquiry**”, *Manchester Evening News*, 28 Sep 2012 <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/lawyer-acting-for-victims-of-rochdale-grooming-695946>.

²⁷“**When Tommy Met Mo: Leaving the EDL**”, *BBC*, 28 Oct 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KROCHE0JU_c&t=856. This video has since been removed from the internet.

family raped and turned into prostitutes by Muslim gangs who operated with impunity for 25 years? If this phenomenon is not stopped, and if justice is not seen to be done, then we can expect far more civil unrest in future years.²⁸

²⁸After the assassination of soldier Lee Rigby on the streets of London in 2013, a survey appeared the results of which suggested that 59% of the British population expect “there will be a serious clash between British Muslims and white Britons” in the future. Considering that past “clashes” have involved “race riots” in Oldham, Bradford, Harrow, Tower Hamlets, etc., the assassination of soldiers and MPs, and the bombing of London buses and the London Underground, we must infer from this report that the majority of people are expecting something far more dramatic by way of a “clash.” Matthew Goodwin, **“London attack: generations divided on feelings about Muslims after killing”**, *The Observer*, 25 May 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/may/26/public-attitude-muslims-complex-positive> .

10. Conclusion

**Of course the majority of sex abusers are white
because the majority of the population is white.**

– Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, *Daily Mail*, 2012

In 2013, the British Parliament finally acknowledged not only that “localised grooming” exists, but that the available evidence shows that Muslims are hugely disproportionately represented among the perpetrators of this crime. We have seen that in 2011 and 2012, national governmental agencies scrambled to produce hurried reports, based on data which was admitted to be inadequate. The data was not available because government departments and the national agencies had been almost entirely passive since the grooming phenomenon was first acknowledged by the authorities (with the creation of *Barnardo’s Streets and Lanes* project in Bradford in 1995). The story about what was going on in Bradford, which burst onto the national agenda in 2003, was basically buried for a decade. Thousands of girls lost their childhood, thousands of families suffered, and the grooming gangs probably made hundreds of millions of pounds in profits.

Whilst the Parliamentary report simplistically singled out the councils of Rotherham and Rochdale for criticism, we have shown that there is reason to believe that this is a national problem. The gangs can be expected to be operating in almost every major town in England: until 2013 the town of Barnsley had never been mentioned in relation to grooming gangs, but suddenly police in a town of 70,000 people were talking about 11 cases. Given the preponderance of Muslim men among the perpetrators, and given the spread of the incidents across the country, it is likely that the only towns where the

gangs will not be operating, will be those towns without a mosque (but even there, with the national network the grooming gangs have established, they may be shipping girls into those towns on demand). Some towns with a mosque will surely not have these gangs operating: but as far as we can ascertain, Barnsley has only one mosque. When it comes to police forces and social services looking for the activities of the grooming gangs, then given the massive over-representation of Muslim men among those convicted for these crimes, it makes sense for agencies to concentrate their resources gathering intelligence in towns with mosques.

We have shown that there has been systemic failure from the local level (schools, councils, police) to the national level (CPS, courts, the SOCA agencies, The Children’s Commissioner, Parliament and even children’s charities like *Barnardo’s*). The failure can be attributed to political correctness, used to protect the incoherent doctrine of multiculturalism, which meant that individuals and organisations felt they would be persecuted by allegations of “racism” if they treated Muslim (Asian) offenders the same way they would treat offenders who were Caucasian. Even academics, who supposedly have the freedom to say what is otherwise taboo in society, have shown that they were reluctant to investigate and write about these grooming gangs. And when the evidence of their research supported the view that Muslim men were vastly over-represented amongst those involved in grooming gangs, the ideological blinkers of academics meant they had to reject the evidence.

According to the reports of some retired police officers, the grooming operations have been in place since the 1970s. Based on these reports, and others we have discussed, we cannot think of a worse child-care scandal in Britain in the last 40 years. As many as 10,000 schoolgirls may have fallen victim to these gangs. The girls’ lives, and those of their families, were wrecked by the gangs: they were all failed by the professional agencies who were supposed to

take care of children. Successive child-protection laws from the 1980s onwards were made to play a subservient role to maintaining the doctrine of multiculturalism. The British Prime Minister declared a need to uphold universal human rights, but the legal protections of a generation of schoolgirls were readily abandoned.

For a decade or more, the actions of Muslim organisations and left-wing activists ensured that this problem could not be spoken about, let alone tackled in any extensive way. The silence of journalists (with a few honourable exceptions), ensured that the gangs continued to operate unhindered. We think it likely that *Barnardo's* were instrumental in SOCA commissioning the educational video *My Dangerous Loverboy* in 2008, but political correctness ensured that this video could not serve the intended function of warning schoolgirls about the insidious techniques of the grooming gangs, and the dangers which lurked outside the school gates, at takeaway restaurants, in shopping malls, bus stations and taxi ranks.

From the earliest reports in 1988 until the creation of the English Defence League in 2009, nothing seemed to motivate police forces to tackle the grooming gangs. In the 11 years to 2009 there were no more than 18 convictions for what can be classified as “localised grooming”, but in the 4 years following 2009, there were 83 convictions for “localised grooming.” The rate has increased from an average of 1 conviction every 7 months, to an average of 13 convictions every 7 months. The largest grooming case so far is currently pending trial. And more than 50 different gangs have been identified and are facing prosecution, which would typically mean another 150 of the perpetrators could be imprisoned in the next few years.

We cannot say with any certainty what brought about this change: was it the formation of the EDL in 2009 and the scores of protests they undertook in the subsequent four years, or was it the 2008 *Panorama* documentary? It is hard to find any other significant events between 2004 and 2010 which could have brought about this change.

As we have pointed out, the *Panorama* documentary was largely allusive when it came to identifying Muslims (“Asians”) as being connected to this form of criminality, and after the programme was broadcast it merited no more than a tangential remark in the House of Lords. Whilst Norfolk’s 2011 analysis is credited by the Parliamentary inquiry as being pivotal, that analysis was written after he’d reported on an EDL demonstration in the summer of 2010 and after the rate of prosecutions had already started to increase.¹ We have no doubt that the number of prosecutions and the rate of conviction will continue to increase in the coming years. But if the issue falls off the national agenda, then these prosecutions will probably tail off. It will be in the interests of Muslim groups and multiculturalists to return to claiming that the grooming gangs are a racist myth.

What we believe is required is a full-scale Public Inquiry. The country needs to know if the scale of the problem is as large as CROP’s estimates suggest. This Public Inquiry must look into the failures of national agencies, child-care charities, and academics to study this problem. The Inquiry must look into what police forces knew and when they knew these things. Is it true that Lancashire Police knew about grooming gang activities in the 1970s? How much information did they have, and how credible was it? Why has the problem of the grooming of Sikh girls by these gangs been kept off the national agenda from 1988 to 2013? Did Islamic fundamentalist organisations encourage Muslim men to go out and deceive and groom non-Muslim women? Who is responsible for the educational film *My Dangerous Loverboy* never being shown to its intended audience? Did some teachers’ union play a part in preventing schoolgirls from being taught about this threat, or was it local authorities who ruled that the schoolgirls must not be warned? Why would only a fraction of mosques read the sermon condemning grooming gangs? Which government departments knew about the grooming gangs but failed to do anything about this problem? We

¹See section 12. Appendix 2: Grooming Gang Chronology.

know that the Home Office was party to many secret studies of girls being groomed. The Inquiry must consider the role that multiculturalism and political correctness have played in this, “the biggest child protection scandal of our time.” Were Muslims being misled into believing that they could practise the morality of the Dark Ages enshrined in the Koran and books of sharia law, on the assumption that they would never be punished for such values coming into conflict with our legal system? What role did political correctness perform in terrifying teachers, social workers and police officers from carrying out their work? The Inquiry needs to investigate how the guidance of The Children’s Act (1989) has been ignored. It needs to consider how it could be that the majority of Local Safeguarding Children Boards were not implementing statutory provisions, and nobody noticed this until the grooming gang phenomenon finally became impossible to ignore after 2009. Moreover, it needs to investigate why trial procedures recommended in the 1990s have still not been implemented. How is it that none of the charitable or state agencies dedicated to child-care have not been drawing attention to these failings?

People might want to criticise this report for only focussing on the Muslim grooming gangs. We have no fear of such criticism.²

²If it is true that half the offenders categorised as being part of “grooming gangs” are white, as the official report The Children’s Commissioner claims, why are these alleged white (presumably “non-Muslim”) offenders not being prosecuted? Such non-Muslims are not turning up in the data concerning convictions. Is this because of prejudice on the part of the CPS, or is that the evidence that half of those involved in grooming are white men is flimsy and insubstantial, and certainly not comparable to the evidence used in a court of law? Are these white men included in the data because of inaccuracy or bias on the part of local agencies? The principle which Andrew Norfolk conceived, of analysing the names of those convicted for these crimes, is an objective way to categorise the perpetrators. If readers know of any cases which should be included but which have been missed by us or by Andrew Norfolk, please do not hesitate to contact us (we are interested in prosecutions where those charged were Muslim or non-Muslim). Assuming we have not overlooked any cases, we can think of two explanations for the absence of such prosecutions a) the data used by The Children’s Commissioner construes something as “evidence” when it would not stand

National agencies like the Serious Organised Crime Agency, the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, and the UK Human Trafficking Centre should have been focussing on this criminality, instead of just focussing on the forms of child-sexual exploitation that were not controversial. We have felt the need to write this report because of their failings in this area. We intend to update this report on a regular basis. We hope that in the years to come, we can applaud these agencies and the child-care professionals for addressing the problems they ignored for 25 years. We have no doubt that experts in this field were better suited to write this report than we are, but we will offset any failings of ours against their failure to even approach the subject.

Despite the years in which CEOP did not pursue these Muslim grooming gangs, when CEOP finally produced their 2011 report, they admitted the data was lacking, and said that the exercise should be repeated in 2 to 3 years (with the implication that they would have more adequate data by then). However, by the start of 2014, they have not published an updated report. In November 2012 The Children's Commissioner's published an "interim" report which also emphasized the inadequacy of their data. The data and conclusions from that interim report were used by many commentators to claim that any disparity in ethnicity between the grooming gangs and their victims was "irrelevant."³ When The Children's Commissioner's final report came out in 2013, it offered no evidence to show that the disparity of ethnicity between gang members and their victims was anything approximating the distribution of these ethnicities in Britain as a whole.⁴ Thus, the evidence from convictions of this disparity keeps

up in a court of law, or b) the CPS is preferentially prosecuting Muslims.

³Sunny Hundal, "**Oxford gang-rape case: were the girls exploited because they were white?**", May 14 2013, <http://liberalconspiracy.org/2013/05/14/oxford-gang-rape-case-were-the-girls-exploited-because-they-were-white/>.

⁴The Children's Commissioner, "**If Only Someone Had Listened**", 2013, http://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/force_download.php?fp=%2Fclient_asset%2Ffcp%2Fpublication%2F743%2Fif_only_someone_had_listened_Office_of_the

mounting, showing that the vast majority of the grooming gang members are Muslim;⁵ meanwhile, those agencies with access to paid staff and national data are unable to provide any evidence which shows this is not the case. Yet we are a long way off any national agency or any national newspaper acknowledging the findings in our analysis.

The evidence that the gangs were predominantly Muslims can be traced back to the work of CROP, to the *Edge of the City* documentary (2004), to the *Streets and Lanes* project (1995), and even to the first recorded news story, where Sikhs in the West Midlands were reduced by police inactivity to take up violence to try and stop the Muslim gangs (1988). In other situations, governments and the media have had no problem identifying a minority group with whom a problem was associated: with the appearance of AIDS in the early 1980s, governments banned all homosexual men from donating blood, regardless of whether or not the man had AIDS, was HIV negative, or was even celibate.⁶ If governments had refused to note any association between AIDS and homosexual men in the 1980s, then the blood ban would never have taken place. By the 1990s all donated blood was being screened for the presence of HIV,⁷ and the ban could have been lifted, but the ban remained in place for another 20 years.⁸ Most homosexual men were not and are not HIV positive, but that ban

_Childrens_Commissioners_Inquiry_into_Child_Sexual_Exploitation_in_Gangs_and_Groups.pdf.

⁵11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions.

⁶Mike Darling, “**Banned for life: Why gay men still can’t donate blood**”, *NBC News*, 14 Jul 2013, <http://www.nbcnews.com/health/mens-health/banned-life-why-gay-men-still-cant-donate-blood-f6C10622947>.

⁷“**Tests on your blood - A guide for donors**”, <http://www.blood.co.uk/resources/leaflets/tests-on-your-blood/>

⁸Perhaps this ban has only been lifted now because of the high number of heterosexual Africans in Britain who are HIV positive. Either the same ban would need to be put made stopping all Africans from donating blood, or it would have to have been lifted for homosexual men.

was kept in place for decades:⁹ most Muslim men are not members of the grooming gangs, but all the evidence shows that they are the demographic group most closely associated with this problem, yet we have had decades of governments taking no action to protect schoolgirls, and decades of national agencies and the media not even acknowledging the prevalence of Muslim men among grooming gangs. **In all that time when steps were taken to protect the blood supply by banning all homosexual men from donating blood, there have been no steps taken to protect schoolgirls, for fear of offending Muslims by discussing (or even quietly investigating) the prevalence of Muslim men in the grooming gangs. If CROP are right, and there are around 10,000 victims of these grooming gangs, then there must surely be a case for negligence against these government agencies.**¹⁰ A “belt and braces” procedure was put in place to protect the blood supply: those associated with AIDS were banned from donating blood, and all donated blood was tested. The steps which are needed to protect the schoolgirls would be far less drastic than testing all donated blood, banning people from giving blood and banning them from travelling.¹¹ But even allowing schoolgirls to see the film specifically made to warn and educate them was too much: the film did not even identify the perpetrator as a Muslim, but as vaguely “Asian”, yet still it was not shown.¹² If in the

⁹James Gallagher, “**Gay men blood donor ban to be lifted**”, *BBC News*, 8 Sep 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-14824310>. Even when the ban “has been lifted”, gay men are only allowed to donate blood if they have not had sex for 12 months. No such restriction applies to black people in Britain, who also have a higher than average incidence of HIV infection. Thus we see that government agencies and the media have no problem with discriminatory practices addressed to some minority populations.

¹⁰In a report on *Russia Today*, Andrew Norfolk also states that there was official neglect. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RZCQ9ZWfCuQ#t=249>.

¹¹The United States government even bans people who are HIV positive from entering the country: “**The US HIV ban**”, <http://hivtravel.org/Default.aspx?PageId=158>. We have knowledge of HIV+ academics who conceal their HIV medication and must lie to immigration officials in order to enter the US, even as tourists.

¹²Indeed, the film is so vague in its warning, that the *Sikh Awareness Society* felt the need to add sub-titles to it to make the danger and techniques clearer: <http://www.you>

last 30 years the gay community had the same power as the Muslim community and their allies, then there would never have been a ban on donating blood, there would be no travel restrictions in place, and the media would have refused to even discuss whether or not there was any association between the behaviour of homosexuals and the occurrence of AIDS, for fear of offending the gay community. In the 1980s and 1990s, AIDS was being widely associated with homosexual men, drug addicts, and prostitutes, and there was great fear that the disease would spread throughout the rest of the population, which is why the ban against blood donation was seen as uncontroversial. However, the authorities and the media seemed to have no concerns about a generation of schoolgirls being turned into prostitutes and drug addicts, with all the risks of them acquiring AIDS.

There seems to be no indication that the British public are going to silently tolerate the actions of the grooming gangs in the coming years, the way they passively accepted them before the authorities stepped up the prosecutions from 2009. We do not want to see communities feeling they have to resort to violence, the way Sikhs have on a number of occasions. Anna Hall reported that it was 1996 when staff at *Barnardo's*, working on the front-line of this grooming phenomenon in Bradford, suggested

making a film to warn teenagers and educate parents ...
the girls were white and living in multi-cultural Bradford
and the perpetrators were Asian... everybody wanted to
pretend it wasn't happening. All anyone seemed
concerned about was the risk of a race riot if we
mentioned it.¹³

Almost 20 years later, this film has been made, it sits gathering dust. And every year a new crop of schoolgirls find some alluring young

tube.com/watch?v=Kjwvo8HIqyM. No satisfactory explanation has ever been given about why this film has never been shown in schools.

¹³Anna Hall “**Hunt For Britain’s Sex Gangs, C4**” *Broadcast* 2 May 2013, <http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/in-depth/hunt-for-britains-sex-gangs-c4/5054504.article>.

Muslim man pursuing them with money and flattery, little knowing what his organisation's true plans for her are. It is within the power of the authorities to change this immediately, but they won't do so for fear of Muslims rioting. It seems that violence is what controls social policy on "the biggest child protection scandal of our time".¹⁴

¹⁴Andrew Norfolk, "**Police Files Reveal Vast Child Protection Scandal**", *The Times*, 24 Sep 2012 <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/crime/article3547661.ece>.

11. Appendix 1: Grooming Gang Convictions

This table is based on the technique used by Andrew Norfolk, in the analysis which demonstrated there was an obvious pattern of exploitation by muslim gangs, based on the names of the men convicted in "grooming trials". A grooming conviction (not yet a legally-defined entity) is one where a series of men who know each other are convicted for their systematic actions in luring a child (a schoolgirl) into sexual activities, often leading to a life of rape and prostitution. There are convictions listed where we have no evidence that the men went further than the initial stages of luring a schoolgirl into having sex with them (for example, the case involving Parmar and Chauhan, or the case involving Hindle and Wells). Nevertheless, since Norfolk includes those cases in his original "pattern of exploitation", we have continued with that (relatively wide) definition.

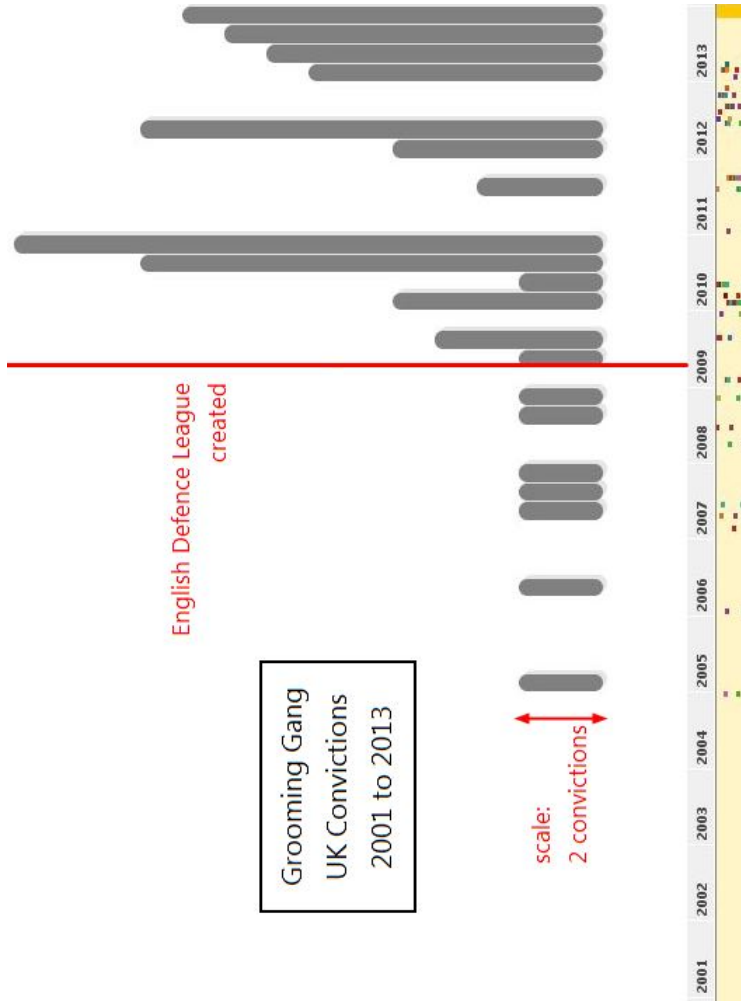
Table A.1: Grooming Gang Convictions (1997-2014)

	date	town	first name	surname	age
1	11/1997	Leeds	Mohammed	Rashid	21
2	11/1997	Leeds	Abid	Sadique	21
3	02/2005	Keighley	Shabir	Ahmed	32
4	02/2005	Keighley	Munwar	Khan	30
5	04/2006	Blackpool	<i>Puppy</i>	Parmar	31
6	04/2006	Blackpool	<i>Sandeep</i>	Chauhan	28
7	06/2007	Oldham	Shahzad	Masood	33
8	06/2007	Oldham	Mohammed	Suleman	39
9	08/2007	Blackburn	Zulfqar	Hussain	46
10	08/2007	Blackburn	Qaiser	Naveed	32
11	11/2007	Sheffield	Ayad	Mahmood	35
12	11/2007	Sheffield	Aziz	Hamed	24
13	08/2008	Oldham	Shofiqul	Islam	21
14	08/2008	Oldham	Shamim	Ahmed	21
15	11/2008	Manchester	Mirza	Baig	35
16	11/2008	Manchester	Mohammed	Ditta	39
17	11/2008	Blackburn	<i>Ian</i>	Hindle	32
18	11/2008	Blackburn	<i>Andrew</i>	Wells	49
19	04/2009	Blackburn	Imran	Pervez	27
20	04/2009	Blackburn	Zaheer	Khan	24
21	07/2009	Skipton	Mohammed	Zackriya	21
22	07/2009	Skipton	Mohammed	Taj	37
23	07/2009	Skipton	Mohammed	Shabir	36
24	07/2009	Skipton	Shafaq	Hussain	21
25	02/2010	Rochdale	Ajmal	Afridi	19
26	02/2010	Rochdale	Imtiaz	Syed	20
27	02/2010	Rochdale	Tayub	Hussain	19

	date	town	first name	surname	age
28	02/2010	Rochdale	Mustafa	Arshad	17
29	02/2010	Rochdale	Mohammed	Raja	20
30	06/2010	Nelson	Azeem	Shah	23
31	06/2010	Nelson	Tabassum	Shah	24
32	08/2010	Rochdale	Asad	Hassan	28
33	08/2010	Rochdale	Mohammed	Basharat	28
34	08/2010	Rochdale	Mohammed	Atif	29
35	08/2010	Rochdale	Aftab	Khan	31
36	08/2010	Rochdale	Abid	Khaliq	30
37	08/2010	Rochdale	Mohammed	Safi	31
38	08/2010	Rochdale	Ahmed	Noorzai	29
39	08/2010	Rochdale	Mohammed	Khan	26
40	08/2010	Rochdale	Najibullah	Safi	32
41	09/2010	Preston	Mohammed	Moosa	24
42	09/2010	Preston	Faisal	Ghani	25
43	11/2010	Rotherham	Razwan	Razaq	30
44	11/2010	Rotherham	Umar	Razaq	24
45	11/2010	Rotherham	Zafran	Ramzan	21
46	11/2010	Rotherham	Mohsin	Khan	21
47	11/2010	Rotherham	Adil	Hussain	20
48	11/2010	Derby	Abid	Siddique	27
49	11/2010	Derby	Mohammed	Liaqat	28
50	11/2010	Derby	Mohamed	Rehman	26
51	11/2010	Derby	Faisal	Mehmood	24
52	11/2010	Derby	Akshay	Kumar	38
53	11/2010	Derby	Naweed	Liaqat	33
54	11/2010	Derby	Farooq	Ahmed	28
55	11/2010	Derby	<i>Graham</i>	Blackham	26
56	11/2010	Derby	Ziafat	Yasin	31
57	08/2011	Accrington	Amjad	Hussain	38
58	08/2011	Accrington	Shahid	Hussain	34
59	08/2011	Accrington	Tanveer	Butt	39
60	03/2012	Telford	Shamrez	Rashid	20
61	03/2012	Telford	Amar	Hussain	21
62	03/2012	Telford	Jahbar	Rafiq	28
63	03/2012	Telford	Adil	Saleem	20
64	03/2012	Telford	Amer	Choudhrey	20
65	05/2012	Rochdale	Kabeer	Hassan	25
66	05/2012	Rochdale	Abdul	Aziz	41
67	05/2012	Rochdale	Abdul	Rauf	43
68	05/2012	Rochdale	Mohammed	Sajid	35
69	05/2012	Rochdale	Adil	Khan	42
70	05/2012	Rochdale	Abdul	Qayyum	43
71	05/2012	Rochdale	Mohammed	Amin	45
72	05/2012	Rochdale	Hamid	Safi	22
73	05/2012	Rochdale	Shabir	Ahmed	59
74	05/2012	Bradford	Shabir	Ahmed	39

	date	town	first name	surname	age
75	05/2012	Bradford	Munwar	Khan	42
76	02/2013	Ipswich	Surin	Uddin	31
77	02/2013	Ipswich	Mohammed	Sheikh	31
78	02/2013	Ipswich	Hamza	Ali	38
79	03/2013	Birmingham	Raja	Khan	23
80	03/2013	Birmingham	Adeeb	Sultan	27
81	03/2013	Keighley	Shazad	Rehman	30
82	03/2013	Keighley	Bilal	Hussain	23
83	05/2013	Oxford	Kamar	Jamil	27
84	05/2013	Oxford	Akhtar	Dogar	32
85	05/2013	Oxford	Anjum	Dogar	31
86	05/2013	Oxford	Assad	Hussain	32
87	05/2013	Oxford	Mohammed	Karrar	38
88	05/2013	Oxford	Bassam	Karrar	34
89	05/2013	Oxford	Zeeshan	Ahmed	28
90	07/2013	Barking	Naeem	Ahmed	25
91	07/2013	Barking	Nabeel	Ahmed	24
92	07/2013	Barking	Hassan	Raza	24
93	07/2013	Manchester	Shamin	Uddin	26
94	07/2013	Manchester	Gias	Uddin	27
95	07/2013	Manchester	<i>Robert</i>	Jackson	23
96	08/2013	Leicester	Aabidali	Ali	39
97	08/2013	Leicester	Rakib	Iacub	20
98	08/2013	Leicester	Wajid	Usman	21
99	08/2013	Leicester	Hamza	Imtiaz Ali	28
100	08/2013	Leicester	Bharat	Modhwadia	25
101	08/2013	Leicester	<i>Chandresh</i>	Mistry	37
102	10/2013	London	Mohammad	Shabbir	34
103	10/2013	London	Muhammad	Shabbir	25
104	11/2013	Rochdale	Mohammed	Abubaker	32
105	11/2013	Rochdale	<i>Freddie</i>	Kendakumana	27
106	11/2013	Rochdale	Roheez	Khan	27
107	11/2013	Rochdale	Chola	Chansa	33
108	11/2013	Rochdale	Abdul	Huk	37
109	12/2013	Middlesbrough	Ateeq	Latif	17
110	12/2013	Middlesbrough	Shakil	Munir	32
111	12/2013	Middlesbrough	Sakib	Ahmed	19
112	01/2014	Peterborough	Hassan	Abdulla	33
113	01/2014	Peterborough	<i>Zdeno</i>	Mirga	18
114	01/2014	Peterborough	<i>Jan</i>	Kandrac	17
115	01/2014	Peterborough	<i>Renato</i>	Balog	18
116	01/2014	Peterborough	anon	?	14
117	01/2014	Leeds	Mohammed	Hussain	28
118	01/2014	Leeds	Shah	Miah	28
119	01/2014	Leeds	Harris	Uddin	30

12. Appendix 2: Grooming Gang Chronology



13. Appendix 3: Name Distribution of Convicts

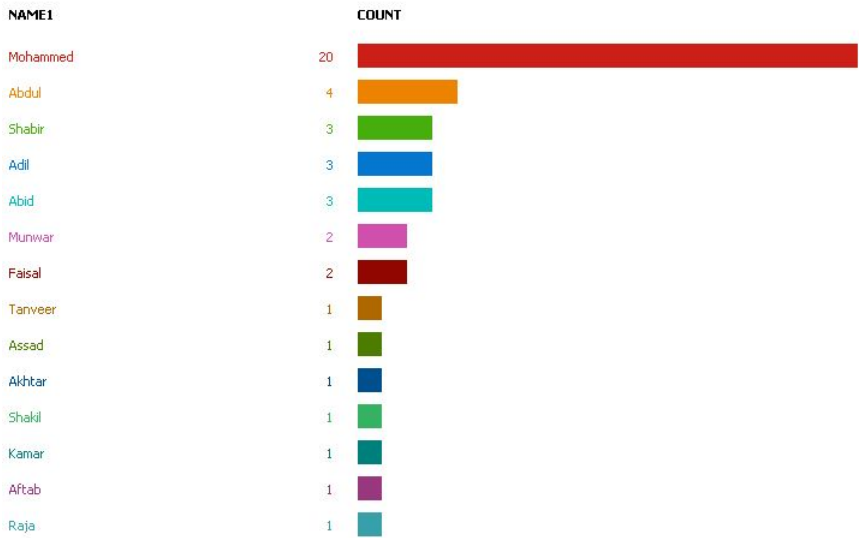


Figure 1: Name Distribution of Convicts

14. Appendix 4: Leeds School Warning

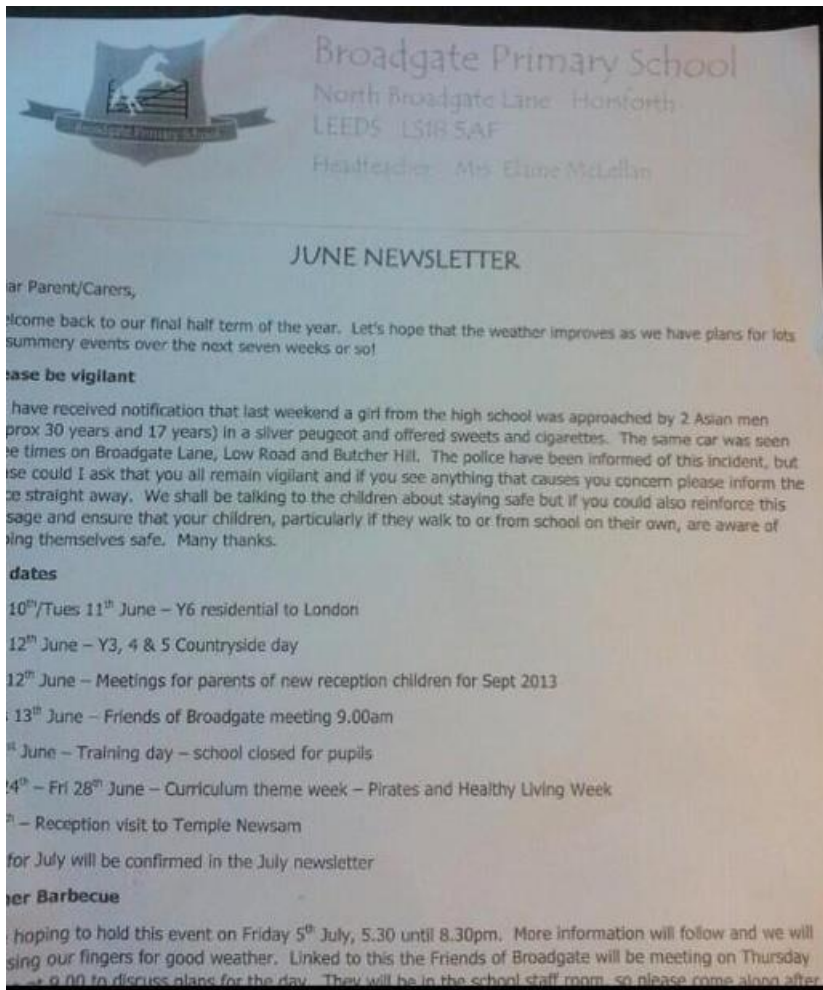


Figure 2: Warning to Parents of Children Under 11 (Leeds, June 2013)

15. Appendix 5: Sheffield School Warning



Figure 3: Warning to Parents of Children Under 11 (Sheffield, June 2013)

16. Appendix 6: Real Khilafah - Letter to Moslem Youth

A MESSAGE TO MOSLEM YOUTH

*A WARNING TO
SIKH YOUTHS
+
Hindu Youths!*

Real Khilafa - A Political Reality
From Dr. K M Faruqi.

For Private Circulation

We are each and every weekend having stalls where we give out literature about Islam. We have these stalls in many areas especially in areas where there are a lot of Kafirs (Sikh Hindu Jews AND OTHER NONBELIEVERS) We would like to extend our activities further.

We are in many ways surprised that so many Moslems have come to buy our books and provide funds for relieving the distressed Moslems of the world especially in places such as Kosovo and Kashmir. The government and local authority is not interested in our cause as they would rather fund Gurdwaras and Gays and Homos.

We have many interesting books about Islam showing why Islam is the only human way of life and other so called religions are animalistic. The teaching of the great Prophet Mohammed must be passed on until the whole world is Islam. The world will only thus be saved.

We call upon our fellow youth to come and join us in our mission -universal and global Islam.

The job is big but nothing is impossible.

If the Kafir non believer does not accept by gentle persuasion or reasoning then other methods which are allowed for in the holy Quran must be used such as going to war with the kafir or converting them by manipulation. We need to send out our boys to bring the sikh girls into the umma- or community of Islam.

This task is getting easier by the day as the sikh and Hindu girls are not taught (as is done in islam) much about their religion at all. They have a more westernized upbringing and the school college and university campus is the ideal place for our youth to carry out their duties easily in this way.

It is easy to take the sikh girls out on a date as they generally like a good drink and from there gradually they can be brought into Islam. This is not a hard job at all as the Kafir women they like Moslems, Hardly surprising as we are attractive and intelligent compared with Kafirs. This is common sense and everybody knows. Otherwise why would Indian films have so many Moslem actors. There is not a single Hindu or Sikh actor in Pakistani films. We need more funds desperately to carry on our job and we need volunteers from amongst the youth specially. Come and join us this weekend and every weekend as we will be in an area near you.

We need your help at this crucial time when our moslem brothers and sisters are being killed in countries all over the world.

THE REAL KHILAFAH MOVEMENT - THE EYES THE EARS THE VOICE OF ISLAM
WATCH THIS SPACE -

Figure 4: Letter Attributed to Muslim Fundamentalists (2001)

17. Appendix 7: Luton Article on Real Khilafah

Newsdesk 01582 707707

CALL TO MUSLIMS TO SEDUCE SIKH GIRLS INTO ISLAM

Exclusive by Clive Gresswell

A RACIALLY explosive leaflet urging Muslim men to – quite literally – seduce Sikh girls into the faith, is being hawked on the streets of Luton.

Although the extremist literature, which suggests the best way to do it would be to get the women drunk, has been condemned by local Asian leaders it, could lead to tension in the town.

The leaflets have been given out to Muslim men at different locations in the town, including Luton railway station.

One which we obtained says: 'It is easy to take the Sikh girls out on a date as they generally like a good drink and from there they can be gradually brought into Islam.'

'We need to send our boys out to bring the Sikh girls into the arms of Islam. The teachings of the great prophet Mohammed must be passed on until the whole world is Islam. The world will only thus be saved.'

Under the heading 'For Private Circulation' the leaflet advocates



■ **Condemned leaflet: Mohammed Sulaiman of Bury Park mosque**

'converting them by manipulation' as something the Qur'an advocates.

It adds: 'We call upon our fellow youth to come and join us in our mission for universal and global Islam. The job is big but not impossible.'

'The task is getting easier by the day as the Sikh and Hindu girls are not taught much about their religion at all. They have a more westernised upbringing.'

'The school, college and university campus are ideal places for our youth to carry out their duties easily in this way.'

Describing other faiths as 'animalistic', it even adds that Muslims are more attractive and intelligent than other people which should be helpful in the seduction process.

Issued by a group calling themselves The Real Khilafah Movement: The Eyes, the Ears, the Voice of Islam, it ends with an appeal for money and a chilling warning: 'watch this space'.

The Muslim man who handed us the leaflet and did not want to be named said: 'Nowhere in the Qur'an does it say that either God or the great prophet Mohammed

Figure 5: Muslims Encouraged to Seduce Sikh Girls (Luton 2005)

18. Appendix 8: Children's Commissioner Charts

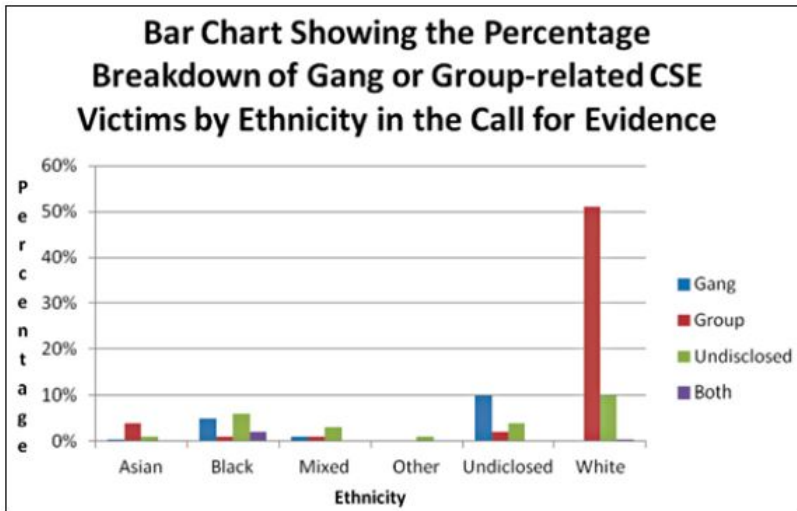


Figure 6: Interim Report (2012): **Victims**

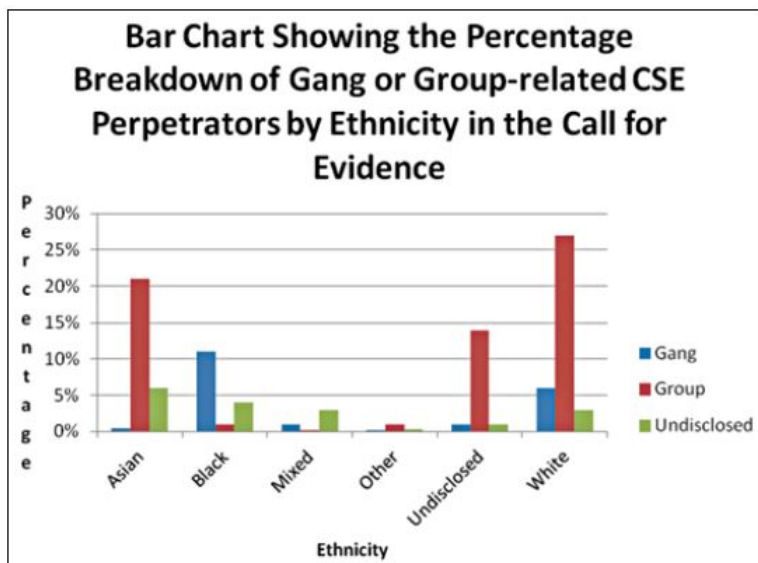


Figure 7: Interim Report (2012) : **Perpetrators**

19. Appendix 9: Victims to Perpetrators

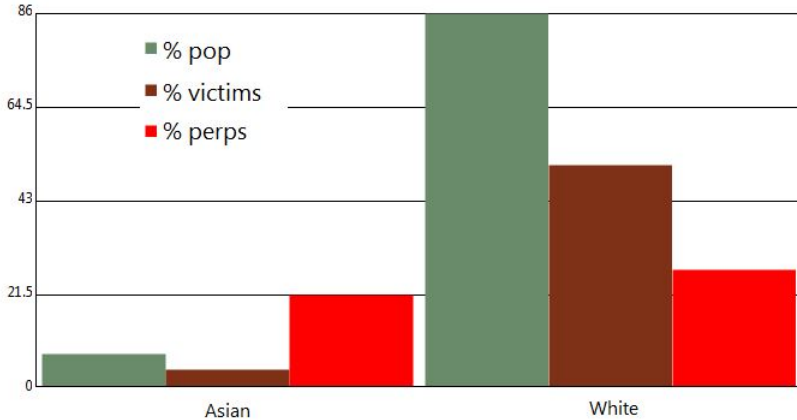


Figure 8: Children’s Commissioner data 2012: meaningful comparison

This chart consolidates the relevant data from The Children’s Commissioner (2012) interim report. We have excluded data concerning other races than white and Asian, and excluded data concerning street gangs. We have included the percentage of the UK population who are Asian or white, so that meaningful comparisons can be made concerning the proportion of victims or perpetrators who are Asian or white.

For those who would deny that there is any significant disparity between the ethnicity of the perpetrators and the ethnicity of the victims, this chart is a visualisation of the best evidence for there being no disparity.

17. Appendix 10: Police Report on EDL

ps://web.archive.org/web/20130714084148/http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/

http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/index.php/news/content/view/full/98004

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'EDL not far-right,' says police extremism chief

Tuesday 23 November 2010 by John Millington [Email](#) [Printable](#)

The new head of police domestic extremist units was condemned today after denying that the English Defence League was a right-wing extremist group.

Detective Chief Superintendent Adrian Tudway, who took over the role of national co-ordinator for domestic extremism last week, claimed police had to walk a "tightrope" when targeting small groups which they believe are bent on violence.

Senior officers have gone on the offensive following the student protests and the resulting occupation of 30 Millbank two weeks ago, saying that more resources are being invested in identifying potential "flashpoints of disorder."

Mr Tudway said his officers were focusing on the "fringe" where protest "spills over" into violence and disorder.

His comments came on the eve of tomorrow's wave of protests against rising university fees.

The National Public Order Intelligence Unit, National Domestic Extremism team and National Extremism Tactical Co-ordination Unit employ about 100 people with a budget of £8.1 million.

Figure 9: Police Extremism Experts: "EDL not far-right"

20. Appendix 11: Transcription Real Khilafa Letter

A Message to Moslem Youth

Real Khilafa - A Political Reality From Dr. K M Farukh.

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If the Kafir non believer does not accept by gentle persuasion or reasoning then other methods which are allowed for in the holy Quran must be used such as - going to war with the kafir or converting them by manipulation. We need to send out our boys to bring the Sikh girls into the umma or community of Islam.

This task is getting easier by the day as the Sikh and hindu [?] girls are not taught (as is done in Islam) much about their religion at all. They have a westernized upbringing and the school college and university campus is the ideal place for our youth to carry out their duties easily in this way.

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We need your help at this crucial time when our moslem brothers and sisters are being killed in countries all over the world.

**THE REAL KHILAFAH MOVEMENT - THE EYES THE EARS
THE VOICE OF Islam**

WATCH THIS SPACE