

Country Advice

India

Refugee Review Tribunal

India – IND38350 – Shiv Sena – Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) – Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) - Bharatiya Vidyarthi Sena - All India Sikh Students' Federation/Sikh Student Federation

1. Please provide information about the Hindu Sheve Sana Party, the Hindu Dharam Parchar Party.

The Hindu Sheve Sana Party, more commonly referred to as Shiv Sena (*Army of Shiva*, SS), is a political party that emerged in the 1960s as an advocate for the native Marathi speakers in Mumbai, the main city of Maharashtra state. The party has also become an exponent of Hindu nationalism within India's political spectrum. Its long-time leader has been Bal Thackery, only recently replaced in 2010 by his son Aditya. The views of SS are often extreme and sometimes pursued through violence, and it has a reputation for the promotion of religious and ethnic chauvinism against migrants in Mumbai and national minorities, especially Muslims. It played a prominent role in anti-Muslim violence in the early 1990s, and its leader has been convicted of inciting racial hatred.¹

The party's popularity surged in the early 1990s but has since diminished significantly due to improving economic conditions and liberalisation in India, which has improved the conditions of its main support base, young men of Mumbai. In the most recent 2009 national elections, Shiv Sena won (and still holds) 11 of 543 elected seats in India's national parliament, all located in Maharashtra. In the 2009 Maharashtra state legislative elections, the Shiv Sena won 45 of 288 seats. Examples of recent activities undertake by SS in Mumbai are listed in a January 2011 article from the Indian newspaper *The Tribune*:

Accessed 10 March 2011 - Attachment 6.

¹ 'India', 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, pp.646-647 - Attachment 1; Human Rights Without Frontiers International 2009, *India – Hindu Extremist Movements*, 31 January - http://hrwf.net/uploads/hindu extremists.doc - Accessed 24 February 2009 - Attachment 2; 'Main parties allied to the BJP' 2004, *BBC News*, 21 May http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3551067.stm - Accessed 7 March 2011 - Attachment 3; Kinetz, E., 2010 'Culture war brews in Indian city of Mumbai', MSNBC website, source Associated Press, 26 October http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/39850227/ns/world_news-south_and_central_asia/ - Accessed 8 March 2011 - Attachment 4.

² Kinetz, E., 2010 'Culture war brews in Indian city of Mumbai', MSNBC website, source Associated Press, 26 October http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/39850227/ns/world_news-south_and_central_asia/ - Accessed 8 March 2011 – Attachment 4; 'Congress hails India poll victory' 2009, *BBC News*, 16 May http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8051633.stm - Accessed 7 March – Attachment 5; 'India', 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, p.646 - Attachment 1; 'General Election 2009 - List of Winning Candidates' (undated), Election Commission of India website http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/press/List%20of%20Winning%20Candidated%20Final%20for%2016th%20May.pdf –

Shiv Sena's record in the past year speaks for itself. It thrashed non-Marathi auto and taxi drivers, attacked movie theatres that screened "My Name Is Khan" [whose main actor is a Muslim], threatened to sabotage Rahul Gandhi's Mumbai tour [for advocating that Mumbai be open to all Indians], banned and burned a book written three decades ago and anointed Shiv Sena supreme Bal Thackeray's son Aditya as the future of the party. As so often in the past, the government in Maharashtra timidly acquiesced in all the excesses of the Sena activists. It is this attitude that has turned the Shiv Sena into a Frankenstein monster whose one call for a bandh [general strike] paralyses life in the entire business capital of the country.³

Further information on Shiv Sena is provided in RRT Research Response IND34728 (22 April 2009) and RRT Research Response IND30284 (4 July 2006).

No reference could be found to the term 'Hindu Dharam Parchar Party'.

2. Is Shiv Sena an integral part of the BJP? Is it also linked to the RSS?

Shiv Sena is an important political ally of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and is linked to the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Shiv Sena is allied as a coalition partner with the BJP, India's main opposition party, in the national parliament and the state assembly of Maharashtra.⁴ The BJP is the major political force within the *Sangh Parivar*, a group of Hindu nationalist organisations in India which includes SS and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The RSS is a national volunteer organisation and is seen by many as the head of the Sangh Parivar group of organisations. The RSS has over 4.5 million members. The Sangh Parivar espouses a Hindu nationalist agenda based on the concept of *Hindutva*, which views India as a Hindu nation to be run according to Hindu precepts.⁵

Further information on the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is provided in RRT Research response IND34298 (13 February 2009).

3. Please provide information about the student wing of the Hindu Sheve Sana Party in Punjab. What are its policies? Is it mostly comprised of Hindu students?

The student wing of Shiv Sena is the Bharatiya Vidyarthi Sena (*India Students Army*, BVS). The BVS does have a Punjab unit, though little information was found on its specific policies or activities. *The Tribune* newspaper reported on the group's formation in Punjab in March 2005 and gives the name of the leader, Mr Suraj Ahluwalia. The report states that the group was formed to give young people the opportunity to participate in activities related to nation building and to "check the drug menace in Punjab":

http://news.oneindia.in/in-focus/assembly-elections/2009/maharashtra.html - Accessed 10 March 2011 – Attachment 8.

³ 'Shiv Sena's brazen act - Dictating team selection on parochial lines' 2011, *The Tribune*, 8 January http://www.tribuneindia.com/2011/20110108/edit.htm - Accessed 8 March 2011 – Attachment 7.

⁴ Kinetz, E., 2010 'Culture war brews in Indian city of Mumbai', MSNBC website, source Associated Press, 26 October http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/39850227/ns/world_news-south_and_central_asia/ - Accessed 8 March 2011 – Attachment 4; 'Maharashtra Assembly Polls 2009' 2009, One India website, 13 October

⁵ Harrison, Tom et al. 2007, 'A political introduction to India', UK Parliament website, International Affairs and Defence Section – House of Commons Library, 2 May, p.49 http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2007/rp07-041.pdf – Accessed 11 October 2007 – Attachment 9.

The Shiv Sena's (Hindustan) student wing termed the Bharatiya Vidyarthi Sena for Puniab was constituted this morning at a function arranged at Haibowal here [Ludhiana district] yesterday. The function was supervised by District President Krishan Sharma and presided over by Mr Pawan Sharma.

The Shiv Sena (Hindustan) constituted a Vidyarthi Sena. Suraj Ahluwalia was given the charge. Mr Pawan Sharma and Mr Krishan Sharma said that the Shiv Sena was active in social activities in India, but they felt that youth, too, should be involved in nation building. The Sena was formed to check drug menace in Punjab. Mr Surai Ahluwalia was appointed as chief and the right to elect his team.⁶

The BVS in India is known for the young men who form the core strength of many public street protests pursued by the SS. It therefore shares the policies of the SS outlined in response to question one.⁷ The BVS is part of the Sangh Parivar which espouses a Hindu nationalist agenda and its members would almost certainly be Hindu.

4. Please provide information about the Khalistan Student Federation (KSF) in Punjab.

No information was found on a group called the Khalistan Student Federation (KSF) in Punjab or in other areas of India. If the KSF does exist, then it may be associated with, or have emerged from, the All India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF), the principle student organisation advocating on behalf of Sikhs. The AISSF is also known as the Sikh Student federation (SSF) and its factions have numbered into the hundreds. The term Khalistan derives from the word 'Khalsa' meaning 'Sikh nation or Sikh people', and usually refers to organisations based in India or overseas that advocate for an independent Sikh state in Punjab. Detailed information on the wider Khalistan movement is provided in Country Advice IND35817 (17 December 2009).

The AISSF/SSF, founded in 1944, was the first body to pass a resolution seeking the formation of a separate Sikh homeland. From the early 1980s, a number of AISSF/SSF members became militants in order to purse an independent Sikh state along with other groups. The AISSF/SSF was banned in 1984 and the ban was subsequently lifted in 1985. Reports do not indicate that it is currently engaged in militant activity. ⁹ Its primary objective currently appears to be to promote and propagate Sikhism amongst college and university Sikh students. It is reported to be active mainly in universities and colleges in Punjab and has two main factions, the SSF and the Bitto factions. ¹⁰ The UK Home Office

⁶ 'Shiv Sena's student wing set up' 2005, *The Tribune*, 2 March http://www.tribuneindia.com/2005/20050302/ldh1.htm#14 - Accessed 11 March 2011 - Attachment 10. 'Shiy Sena's student wing on shaky ground' 2010, Hindustan Times, 23 October – Attachment 11; 'Shiy Sena', 2007, What Is India website, 7 November, http://www.whatisindia.com/issues/shivsena/index.html - Accessed 15 April 2009 – Attachment 12.

⁸ See Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board Documentation Centre 1998, IND30758.EX - *India: Current* information on the All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) and the treatment of AISSF members by the authorities, 10 December – Attachment 13; and Pettigrew, J. 1995, The Sikhs of the Punjab, Zed Books Ltd, Glossary - Attachment 14, quoted on pp. 2 and 3 of RRT Research Advice 2002, IND14944, 11 January -Attachment 15.

⁹ UK Home Office 2010, Country of Origin Information Report: India, 4 January, p.156 – Attachment 16; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, India: The All India Sikh Student Federation (AISSF), including its objectives and activities, and its relationship with the International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) (April 2006 - March 2009), 16 April – Attachment 17.

10 UK Home Office 2010, Country of Origin Information Report: India, 4 January, p.156 – Attachment 16.

January 2010 *Country of Origin Information Report: India* provides the following on its operations in Punjab:

It is thought that the current president of the SSF is Gurucharan Singh Grewal, and that the organisation is based in Amritsar but now operates from Ludhiana district (address: 1756, Tehsil Road, Jagraon, Ludhiana, Punjab – 142 026). The SSF has a 100-member executive including 50 office bearers...The SSF adheres to the ideology of the Guru Granth Sahib (Religious book of Sikhs) and the principles of the Akal Takht (the highest seat of religious-political power) headed by the Jathedar, the head priest. The SSF works to the Sikh principles but often takes the advice of the Jathedar. ¹¹

The AISSF website lists the names of hundreds of members and office holders in Punjab, ¹² and gives the following information on its aims:

All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) is Sociol-political and advocacy organization who practice and follow the teachings of Shri Guru Granth Sahib [Scripture of the Sikhs] and which strives to promote the heritage and future of Sikhism. Establishing and creating a state irrespective of race, caste, culture and religion following the teachings of Shri Guru Granth Sahib. ¹³

5. Is there a history of conflict between the KSF and the student wing in Punjab from 2005 onwards? Now? Is there any record of a hit list operated by the KSF? If so, would it keep names from several years previously?

No information was found on a group called the Khalistan Student Federation (KSF) in Punjab or in other areas of India, and therefore no evidence was found of a history of conflict between the KSF and the BVS in Punjab. Nor was evidence found of a history of conflict between the All India Sikh Students' Federation/Sikh Student Federation (AISSF/SSF) on the one hand, and the Bharatiya Vidyarthi Sena (BVS) on the other in the Punjab from 2005 to the present.

Reports published between 2005 and 2010 on the AISSF/SSF, the BVS, and their parent Sikh and Hindu bodies (the Akali Dal and Shiv Sena) in Punjab make no reference to clashes or ill-treatment between the two student groups. ¹⁴ Despite the absence of reports found on conflict, tensions between the two groups almost certainly exist. A November 2009 report refers to an exchange of "slogans" between 15-20 youths belonging to the Shiv Sena and "radical Sikh organisations" in Ludhiana in Punjab. The incident ended in scuffles and was diffused by the police. ¹⁵ This incident, together with several other reports on differences in political opinion between the associated parent groups that have been

¹¹ UK Home Office 2010, Country of Origin Information Report: India, 4 January, p.156 – Attachment 16.

¹² See http://www.aissf.in/member.aspx

¹³ 'About us' (undated), All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) website http://www.aissf.in/Home.aspx - Accessed 8 March 2011 – Attachment 18.

¹⁴ Kinetz, E., 2010 'Culture war brews in Indian city of Mumbai', MSNBC website, source Associated Press, 26 October http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/39850227/ns/world_news-south_and_central_asia/ - Accessed 8 March 2011 – Attachment 4; 'Shiv Sena's brazen act - Dictating team selection on parochial lines' 2011, *The Tribune*, 8 January http://www.tribuneindia.com/2011/20110108/edit.htm - Accessed 8 March 2011 – Attachment 7; 'Sena Hindustan to launch month-long yatra in Punjab' 2010, *The Press Trust of India Limited*, 3 October – Attachment 19; 'No response to rival calls by Shiv Sena (H) and SAD' 2007, *UNI (United News of India)*, 14 December – Attachment 20.

¹⁵ 'Shiv Sena leader may be held for provoking Sikhs' 2009, *Plus News Pakistan*, 6 November – Attachment 21.

expressed via the media, ¹⁶ suggest that low level tension between the two students groups is likely to exist in Punjab.

No evidence was found that the AISSF/SSF maintains a hit list.

6. Is there police protection available in respect of harassment by KSF or Khalistan people?

There are reports that police intervene in clashes between youth aligned to the Shiv Sena and those aligned with Sikh organisations, suggesting that police may intervene to provide protection for someone harassed by the later groups. In November 2009 during an incident in Rashtarvadi in Punjab where the two groups clashed, police reportedly "stood in the way of both groups... [and] a heavy police force was later deployed in the area following the incident".¹⁷ Police are also likely to take action against persons advocating for a separate Khalistan state. For example, there are reports that police currently take serious action against, and arrest members of, high-profile Sikh/Khalistan militant groups such as Babbar Khalsa International (BKI). ¹⁸

The ability of police to provide protection in respect of harassment by those who support a Khalistan state is however likely to be limited by high levels of corruption and human rights violations committed by the police. An August 2009 Human Rights Watch (HRW) report titled *Broken System: Dysfunction, Abuse and Impunity in the Indian Police*, notes the high levels of political interference in police investigations in India:

Since the late 1970s, senior police officers have remained at the mercies of state and local politicians who, acting on ambiguously worded supervisory authority in the Police Act of 1861, intervene in everyday police operations: officers are frequently told to drop investigations against people with political connections and sometimes told to harass or file false charges against political opponents.¹⁹

The same HRW report also provides evidence that police in India frequently fail to register crime complaints or investigate crimes due to political interference and lack of resources:

... they [police] are often under pressure from political leaders to show a reduction in crime by registering fewer FIRs [First Information Reports]. Some said that they face suspension or reprimand if they register too many. Police also blame their failure to investigate cases on insufficient personnel and a reluctance to take on new cases that add to an already heavy workload.²⁰

<u>http://www.punjabnewsline.com/content/view/8461/38/</u> – Accessed 21 April 2009 – Attachment 23; 'Partial response to bandh' 2007, *The Hindu*, 15 December

¹⁶ 'Sikh student federation launches Bhindranwale sticker drive in Ludhiana' 2009, *Asian News International*, 9 November – Attachment 22; Mehak, G. 2008, 'Tension brews between SAD (Amritsar), Shiv Sena(Hindustan) over Sant Bhindrawala issue', *Punjab Newsline*, 10 February

http://www.hindu.com/2007/12/15/stories/2007121551910300.htm - Accessed 21 April 2009 - Attachment 24. ¹⁷ 'Shiv Sena leader may be held for provoking Sikhs' 2009, *Plus News Pakistan*, 6 November - Attachment 21.

¹⁸ 'Babbar Khalsa International' (undated), South Asia Terrorism Portal website – Attachment 25.

¹⁹ Human Rights Watch 2009, *Broken System: Dysfunction, Abuse and Impunity in the Indian Police,* August, p.36 http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/india0809web.pdf – Accessed 7 December 2009 – Attachment 26.

²⁰ Human Rights Watch 2009, *Broken System: Dysfunction, Abuse, and Impunity in the Indian Police*, 4 August, p.9. - Accessed 12 November 2010- Attachment 26.

The 2010 USDOS Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – India²¹ criticised the lack of accountability of police for their actions, and that citizens were reportedly often required to pay bribes to generate action from the police:

Officers at all levels acted with impunity, and officials rarely held them accountable for illegal actions. When a court found an officer guilty of a crime, the punishment often was a transfer. Human rights activists and NGOs reported that citizens often had to pay bribes to receive police services.

These limitations of the Indian police are also present in the state of Punjab. The USDOS report comments on police corruption and misconduct in Punjab, stating that:

In October 2008 the Punjab State Human Rights Commission stated that most cases it took up concerned atrocities that Punjab police allegedly committed. According to the commission, 6,000 of 10,000 complaints registered through September pertained to police atrocities.²²

The Asian Centre for Human Rights 2009 report *Human Rights Report on India* stated that in Punjab complaints against police numbered 4,796 in 2006 and 5,750 in 2007, evidence that "police continued to perpetrate gross human rights violations in the Punjab". The high levels of misconduct by the police in India and Punjab suggest that there are significant limitations to the availability of police protection for someone who fears harassment from advocates of the Khalistan movement.

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8. Is there any record of the KSF working underground? Are they meant to be dissolved? Are they still active? What is meant by the expression that the Sikhs do not leave revenge referring to the death of Mrs Gandhi?

No information was found on a group called the Khalistan Student Federation (KSF) in Punjab or in other areas of India, and therefore no evidence was found on whether it works underground, is dissolved, or remains active. The All India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF)/Sikh Student federation (SSF), with which the KSF may be associated with if it does exist, does not work underground, nor is it dissolved or currently banned by the Indian government. There are a number of government proscribed Khalistani militant groups (International Sikh Youth Federation; Babbar Khalsa International; Khalistan Zindabad Force; Khalistan Commando Force),²⁴ but the national Sikh student associations are not among these. As described in question four, the All India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF)/Sikh Student federation (SSF) remains legally active.

The idea that 'Sikhs do not leave revenge', relating to the death of Mrs Gandhi as an example of this, almost certainly refers to the assassination of the Indian Prime Minister

²¹ US Department of State 2010, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – India, 11 March – Attachment 27.

²² US Department of State 2010, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – India, 11 March – Attachment 27.

Asian Centre for Human Rights 2009, *Human Rights Report 2009 - India*, p. 163
 http://www.achrweb.org/reports/india/AR09/AR2009.pdf – Accessed 7 December 2009 – Attachment 28.
 South Asia Terrorism Portal (undated), 'Punjab Assessment Year 2010'
 http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/punjab/index.html – Accessed 10 December 2009 – Attachment 29; UK Home Office 2010, *Country of Origin Information Report: India*, 4 January, Appendix C – Attachment 16.

Indira Ghandi in October 1984. The assassination was committed by two Sikh bodyguards, reportedly in revenge for the military assault in June 1984 on the Golden Temple at Amritsar, Sikhism's holiest place. The military intervention was authorised by Indira Gandhi. ²⁵

9. Are the KSF or the Khalistan people active in all areas of India?

The All India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF)/Sikh Student federation (SSF) or persons belonging to the Khalistan movement are unlikely to be active in all areas of India. Persons associated with these groups are most likely to be active in the state of Punjab, which is the stronghold of Sikhism. Approximately 60% of the population in Punjab are Sikhs, and the Sikh population of Punjab accounts for more than 75% of the total Sikh population in the country. Sikh militant groups associated with the push for Khalistan are said to "retain residual capacity to cause local disruption in Punjab", suggesting that there is limited capacity to be active for persons affiliated with the Khalistan movement outside the state of Punjab.

Outside the Punjab, the AISSF/SSF are most likely to be active in universities, colleges, technical schools, and secondary schools where there is a significant Sikh population. ²⁸ The greatest numbers of Sikhs outside the Punjab reside in northern Haryana state (1,170,662 persons), northern Rajasthan state (818,420 persons), north central Uttar Pradesh state (678,059 persons), northern Delhi union territory (555,602 persons), northern Jammu and Kashmir state (207,154), central Maharashtra state (215,337 persons), north central Uttaranchal state (212, 025 persons) and central Madhya Pradesh state (150,772 persons). ²⁹ While the AISSF/SSF are therefore most likely to be active in these states and areas of India, the fact that there exist small Sikh communities throughout India ³⁰ means that there is a small likelihood that these groups may be active across India.

10. Please provide information about possible relocation in India.

Relocation is possible for someone with the profile of a young, educated Hindu male with family affiliations to the Shiv Sena political party. Unlike the state of Punjab, where Sikhs constitute a majority, Hindus constitute a significant majority in nearly all other Indian states. According to the 2001 census, Indian Hindus constitute 80.5 % of the population

²⁵ Brean, J., 2010, 'Toronto Sikh celebration without incident despite recent tensions' *National Post*, 25 April – Attachment 30.

²⁶ Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India (undated) 'Census Data 2001, Census and You, Religion', http://censusindia.gov.in/Census And You/religion.aspx – Accessed 9 December 2009 – Attachment 31; 'Punjab' (undated), The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia website http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Punjab – Accessed 10 December 2009 – Attachment 32

South Asia Terrorism Portal (undated), 'Punjab Assessment Year 2010'

<u>http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/punjab/index.html</u> – Accessed 10 December 2009 – Attachment 33.

²⁸ See Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board Documentation Centre 1994, *Responses to Inquiries of Canadian Refugee Board. By Cynthia Keppley Mahmood (University of Maine)*, 30 December, quoted in *RRT Research Advice 2002, IND14944*, 11 January – Attachment 15.

²⁹ UK Home Office 2008, *Country of Origin Information Report: India*, 31 January, pp. 83-89 http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs08/india-310108.doc – Accessed 1 February 2008 – Attachment 35. ³⁰ UK Home Office 2008, *Operational Guidance Note: India*, April p.6 - Attachment 36.

and Sikhs 1.9 % of a population of 1.15 billion.³¹ Hindus constitute and are a large majority compared with Sikhs in the following major states³²:

State	Hindu population	Sikh population
Andhra Pradesh	67,836,651	30,998
Assam	17,296,455	22,519
Bihar	69,076,919	20,780
Chhattisgarh	19,729,670	69,621
Delhi	11,358,049	555,602
Gujarat	45,143,074	45,587
Himachal Pradesh	5,800,222	72,355
Jharkhand	18,475,681	83,358
Karnataka	44,321,279	15,326
Kerala	17,883,449	2,762
Madhya Pradesh	55,004,675	150,772
Maharashtra	77,859,385	215,337
Orissa	34,726,129	17,492
Rajasthan	50,151,452	818,420
Tamil Nadu	54,985,079	9,545
Uttar Pradesh	133,979,263	678,059
Uttaranchal	7,212,260	212,025
West Bengal	58,104,835	66,391

Of note is that the Hindu population in Maharashtra is large compared with the Sikh population. In addition, the political party Shiv Sena has its base and largest membership in Maharashtra. These conditions may discourage the targeting by a Sikh organisation of those belonging to a Hindu group.

11. Please provide any other information that you consider relevant to these issues.

Regarding the hostility between Hindu and Sikh student organisations in India, and especially the movement for a separate Khalistan state, Country Advice IND37173 (5 August 2010) and Country Advice IND35817 (17 December 2009) provide information on the current state of the militant Sikh movement and associated groups in India. These advices refer to reports indicating that large scale militant activity toward a separate Sikh state began to fade around the early 1990s, and that Hindu-Sikh relations have improved since that time. There continue to be fears however of a resurgence of Sikh militant violence in Punjab and police continue to arrest suspected militants periodically. This resurgence is reportedly connected to the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI – the major intelligence agency of Pakistan) who are supporting militant group leaders based in Pakistan and attempting to raise support for Sikh insurgent groups among the poor, disaffected youth of Punjab. This disaffection is reportedly caused by high unemployment and poverty in rural Punjab, and Sikh youths coming of age with the knowledge of massacres of Sikhs in the mid-1980s and the suppression of Sikh militant groups from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s.

http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Social_and_cultural/Religion.aspx

³¹ US Department of State 2010, *International Religious Freedom Report 2010*, 17 November – Attachment 37.

³² Figures based on those provided on the Census of India website:

Attachments

- 1. India', 2010, Political Handbook of the World Online Edition, pp.646-647.
- 2. Human Rights Without Frontiers International 2009, *India Hindu Extremist Movements*, 31 January http://hrwf.net/uploads/hindu extremists.doc Accessed 24 February 2009.
- 3. 'Main parties allied to the BJP' 2004, *BBC News*, 21 May http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3551067.stm Accessed 7 March 2011.
- 4. Kinetz, E., 2010 'Culture war brews in Indian city of Mumbai', *MSNBC* website, source Associated Press, 26 October http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/39850227/ns/world_news-south_and_central_asia/ Accessed 8 March 2011.
- 5. 'Congress hails India poll victory' 2009, *BBC News*, 16 May http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8051633.stm Accessed 7 March.
- 'General Election 2009 List of Winning Candidates' (undated), Election Commission of India website
 http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/press/List%20of%20Winning%20Candidated%20Final%20for%2016th%20May.pdf – Accessed 10 March 2011.
- 7. 'Shiv Sena's brazen act Dictating team selection on parochial lines' 2011, *The Tribune*, 8 January http://www.tribuneindia.com/2011/20110108/edit.htm Accessed 8 March 2011.
- 8. 'Maharashtra Assembly Polls 2009' 2009, *One India* website, 13 October http://news.oneindia.in/in-focus/assembly-elections/2009/maharashtra.html Accessed 10 March 2011.
- Harrison, Tom et al. 2007, 'A political introduction to India', UK Parliament website, International Affairs and Defence Section – House of Commons Library, 2 May, p.49 http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2007/rp07-041.pdf – Accessed 11 October 2007.
- 10. 'Shiv Sena's student wing set up' 2005, *The Tribune*, 2 March http://www.tribuneindia.com/2005/20050302/ldh1.htm#14 Accessed 11 March 2011.
- 11. 'Shiv Sena's student wing on shaky ground' 2010, Hindustan Times, 23 October.
- 12. 'Shiv Sena', 2007, What Is India website, 7 November, http://www.whatisindia.com/issues/shivsena/index.html Accessed 15 April 2009.
- 13. Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board Documentation Centre 1998, *IND30758.EX India: Current information on the All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) and the treatment of AISSF members by the authorities*, 10 December.
- 14. Pettigrew, J. 1995, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Zed Books Ltd, Glossary. (MRT-RRT Library Sydney)
- 15. RRT Research Advice 2002, Research Response IND14944, 11 January.

- 16. UK Home Office 2010, Country of Origin Information Report: India, 4 January.
- 17. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, *India: The All India Sikh Student Federation (AISSF)*, including its objectivites and activities, and its relationship with the *International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) (April 2006 March 2009)*, 16 April.
- 18. About us' (undated), All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) website http://www.aissf.in/Home.aspx Accessed 8 March 2011.
- 19. 'Sena Hindustan to launch month-long yatra in Punjab' 2010, *The Press Trust of India Limited*, 3 October. (FACTIVA)
- 20. 'No response to rival calls by Shiv Sena (H) and SAD' 2007, *UNI (United News of India)*, 14 December. (FACTIVA)
- 21. 'Shiv Sena leader may be held for provoking Sikhs' 2009, *Plus News Pakistan*, 6 November. (FACTIVA)
- 22. 'Sikh student federation launches Bhindranwale sticker drive in Ludhiana' 2009, *Asian News International*, 9 November. (FACTIVA)
- 23. Mehak, G. 2008, 'Tension brews between SAD (Amritsar), Shiv Sena (Hindustan) over Sant Bhindrawala issue', *Punjab Newsline*, 10 February http://www.punjabnewsline.com/content/view/8461/38/ Accessed 21 April 2009.
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