



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

This is a repository copy of *Samosas and Simran: University Sikh Societies in Britain*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
<http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/118658/>

Version: Accepted Version

Book Section:

Singh, J (2017) Samosas and Simran: University Sikh Societies in Britain. In: Aune, K and Stevenson, J, (eds.) Religion and Higher Education in Europe and North America. Research into Higher Education . Routledge , pp. 123-134. ISBN 9781315623894

© 2017 The Author. This is an author produced version of a chapter published in Religion and Higher Education in Europe and North America by Routledge. Uploaded in accordance with the publisher's self-archiving policy.

Reuse

Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.



eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/>

SAMOSAS AND SIMRAN: UNIVERSITY SIKH SOCIETIES IN BRITAIN

Dr Jasjit Singh, University of Leeds

Arriving at the Leeds University 'Faith & Culture Groups' fresher's fair in 2009 I was immediately struck by the size of the 'market' of university faith societies. At the fair, the Sikh society stall was placed opposite the Hindu society and next to the Indonesian society. The stall consisted of a table covered with a 'Khanda' insignia, a Sikh society display, a variety of leaflets produced by the British Organisation of Sikh Students (BOSS) and a box of Punjabi sweets for all who passed by. Members were charged £6 for joining the society, receiving a BOSS pack, a samosa and a membership card.

Having spent all day at the fair, the importance of the Sikh society quickly became apparent. When I arrived, I met two young Sikhs who explained that they had "been waiting for this all week – can't wait to join Sikh society". This feeling was echoed by two committee members who were visibly excited about being part of Sikh society. When I asked one if she felt the same way about other societies she had joined, she replied "no, 'cos you want to do a good job for Sikh soc - Sikh soc's different isn't it? It's special 'cos it's my own people. I loved putting my Sikh soc hoodie on – loved it." Indeed, Acland and Azmi (1998: 81) found that for minority ethnic students in particular, these societies "helped them enormously to find friends, develop support groups and share experiences". Furthermore, these self-support groups were "much more successful in addressing ethnic minority needs than the formal mechanisms of support provided by the institution" (Acland and Azmi 1998: 81).

This chapter examines Sikh societies in British universities with a particular focus on the role they play in the transmission of the Sikh tradition. Beginning with an analysis of the evolution and role of South Asian faith societies in British universities, I then examine how Sikh students fit in to the world of higher education. Having understood the context which led to the evolution of Sikh societies, I examine who attends Sikh societies, what types of events take place, what makes young Sikhs want to be a part of these societies, what role Sikh societies play in religious and cultural transmission and what the interplay is between these complementary aspects of British Sikhs' lived experience. Data was gathered as part of a larger study on religious transmission among 18-30 year old British Sikhs using a mixed methods approach including a) semi-structured interviews with thirty 18- to 30-year-old British Sikhs who had participated in and often helped organise events for young Sikhs; b) a

self-selecting online survey of young British Sikhs; c) focus groups with Sikh students across the UK; d) participant observation at events organized for young Sikhs, including Sikh camps and university Sikh society events. The chapter will include anonymised quotations from some of the interviews and survey responses.

The Emergence of South Asian Faith societies

As Gilliat Ray (2000) observes, questions relating to the role of religion in higher education have been approached from the perspective of race and ethnicity, particularly focusing on rates and patterns of participation (e.g. Modood & Acland 1998) although questions about the significance of religious identity in universities began to be raised in the late 1990s (Acland and Azmi 1998: 75) primarily as a result of the growing importance of religious identity for minority ethnic communities. Although a number of Asian Youth Movements sprang up in the late 1970s in response to the activities of the far right, as Modood and Werbner (1997: 129) observe, the 'Asian' identity was always somewhat fragile. As these movements were always having to contend with the powerful centrifugal pull of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim identities (Mehmood 1983 cited in Modood and Webner 1997: 129) they did not survive long into the 1980s.

The first national faith based organisation catering for members of South Asian religious traditions was FOSIS, the Federation of Students Islamic Societies, formed in 1962 to "protect the interests of Muslim students and to enable nationwide collaboration" (Gilliat Ray 2000: 128). Although there is little documentation regarding the activities of FOSIS during the 1960s and 1970s, Gilliat Ray notes that "lecture programs by eminent academics, Qur'anic study circles, and informal discussion groups reflect the scholarly bias of this now well established organization" (1997: 101). FOSIS runs an annual conference and seeks to develop new initiatives to help invigorate an organization "somewhat dwindling in overall popularity compared to its heyday in the 1970s" (1997: 101). In this regard FOSIS has also linked with other Muslim youth groups, organising training camps both on its own and also with the International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations (IIFSO) in 1994.

The National Hindu Students Forum (NHSF) started in 1991 with two chapters in Sheffield and the LSE (Gilliat Ray 2000: 128). The organisation now has local branches at over 30 higher education institutions in the UK and hosts over 4000 active student members. A number of scholars including Brown (2006: 167), Katju (2003: 154) and Jaffrelot (2005) argue that the NHSF is affiliated to the ideology of Hindutva, being ideologically close to Hindu nationalist movements including the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh.

Between the late 1980s and early 1990s, Sikh students also begin to organise themselves into a national body. Following the formation and disbanding of the NUSS (National Union of Sikh Students), the British Organisation of Sikh Students (BOSS) was formed in 1992. Gilliat Ray reported only a 'handful' of Sikh societies in 1992, "but by 1998 this number had risen to over 50" (2000: 128). As she further observes, "the picture that emerges from BOSS is rapid (but unsurprising) expansion over a relatively short period of time, and little documentary recording of the early history" (2000: 128). Although there has been some description of how and when these bodies emerged, to date there has been little examination of why both the NHSF and BOSS emerged in the early 1990s, when Asian and Indian student societies already existed to cater for the needs of minority ethnic students.

Although moves were underway in the 1970s to ensure that the specific religious needs of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were being met, for McLoughlin (2005: 132), it was the Rushdie affair of 1988 which gave Muslims a national and international profile, requiring Hindus and Sikhs to respond accordingly. As Jacobsen (1998: 33) explains, Rushdie was significant for young South Asians as "it was in the context of the 'Rushdie Affair' that youth protests in religious terms first became noticeable" leading many Muslim youth (especially men) to be "articulating a self-conscious identity as 'Muslim' for the first time" (1998:39). It was Rushdie which in turn led young Hindus and Sikhs to begin to primarily identify themselves in religious terms.

For Raj this religious resurgence among young South Asians is also "connected to wider processes of identity politics partially informed by the assumption of difference as the core of multiculturalism" (2000: 552). Rather than being regarded as part of an ethnic identity, the assertion of an overtly religious identity by young South Asians should be viewed as a strategy which is being used to cope with living in a pluralistic society, firstly because a religious identity "includes all the positive associations of belonging to a nation-state without actually living there [which is] ... reinforced (and assumed) by British census 'ethnic' identity categories" (2000: 552) and secondly because the choosing of a religious identity over an ethnic identity allows young South Asians to present themselves using an "authentic, workable, identity that is easy to comprehend" (2000: 551).

This shift from an ethnic 'Asian' identity to a more religious identity in the late 1980s / early 1990s had major consequences for the emergence of university South Asian faith societies. Arriving to study for my undergraduate degree at the University of Manchester in 1990, I remember quickly joining 'A-Soc', the 'Asian society' primarily in order to meet other South

Asian students. This was a society which catered for South Asians no matter what their background, with Punjabi, Gujarati, Pakistani and Bangladeshi members. We were aware of one another's backgrounds from our names, but this was not a society for religious discussion; the emphasis was on creating shared spaces where young South Asians with similar dietary and musical tastes could socialise with one another.

At the time, there was no Sikh society or Hindu society, although an Islamic society and a Pakistani society had been formed. In 1992 I was approached by a newly arrived first year student from Birmingham to assist in the formation of a Sikh society, as I had recently organised a trip to a local gurdwara. Having completed the necessary paperwork and gathered enough signatures, the University of Manchester Sikh society was formed. Meetings consisted of discussions of passages from the Guru Granth Sahib using photocopies of English translations, along with kirtan and trips to the local Gurdwara. Looking back on these events, it is clear that I was witnessing the beginnings of the establishment of Sikh societies in British universities. It must be noted that the evolution of strictly faith-based societies has not led to the total disappearance of Asian societies from university campuses.¹ These 'Asian' societies, like the one I joined in the 1990s still exist, offering secular spaces for young Asians to socialise with one another.

Another reason why Hindu and Sikh societies emerged at this time may be found in Knott's observation that one of the main roles of the NHSF which was to "withstand the proselytizing strategies of Muslim outreach organizations (such as Tablighi Jama'at and Hizb-ut Tahrir) and ... [to] develop a sense of Hindu identity." (2000: 98). Having spoken to a number of those involved in establishing Sikh student groups in the 1990s, the activities of Muslim proselytizing organisations on universities campuses appear to be a significant stimulus in the creation of BOSS and in the establishment of Sikh societies across the UK. Examining newspaper articles from the time, it is clear that Hizb-ut Tahrir (HT) were active in the late 80s / early 90s (O'Neill: 1989) organising rallies at London university (Smith: 1994) and Wembley in 1994 (Malik: 1994). In terms of activities on university campuses, many journalists noted the presence of Hizb-ut Tahrir at SOAS (Gerard: 1994a), Kings College London (Bright: 1994), LSE (Sanders: 1994), Brunel (Gerard: 1994b) and Birmingham University (MacKinnon : 1995). Indeed, this activity led the NUS conference of 1995 to

¹ A simple search for 'Asian Society' on Facebook reveals what appear to be a number of university based Asian societies including those at Loughborough (<https://www.facebook.com/AsiansocietyLoughborough/>) and Warwick (<https://www.facebook.com/warwickasoc/>)

discuss the issue of extremism and intolerance on university campuses specifically focusing on Hizb-ut Tahrir (Tyrrer 2004:35).

The British Organisation of Sikh Students

The exact process by which the British Organisation of Sikh Students came about is somewhat lost in time, although the role of Islamist organisations on campus was certainly a major factor in the organisation's formation. What is clear from my interviews with a number of student activists who had some involvement in its inception, is that BOSS was established in 1992, following the formation and disbanding of a previous attempt at to form a national Sikh body, the NUSS (National Union of Sikh Students).

At this time, the establishment of Sikh societies depended very much on the efforts of individual Sikh students. As many Sikhs tended to attend their local institutions, it is not surprising that the majority of Sikh societies were initially set up in London and the Midlands, although interviewees claimed that societies were also set up in Manchester and as far north as Sunderland. As Baldeep (pseudonym), who was involved in the establishment of BOSS explained, there was a need for Sikh societies because "all we were attached to was Bhangra societies. Everything else but Sikhi was available and we felt something had to be done". Much has been written about the development of the Bhangra scene on British Asian youth in the UK, with Sharma suggesting that Bhangra was "a means for Asian youth to assert their "Asianness" and locate themselves firmly in their contemporary urban surroundings" (Sharma 1996: 35-36). In the post-Rushdie climate, the link between Bhangra and Asian-ness rather than a specific religious identity led young Sikhs to create Sikh societies, creating a distinction between what they regarded as 'religion' and 'culture'. Indeed, the relationship between the Sikh tradition and Punjabi cultural practices is constantly being negotiated by those involved in Sikh societies.

In addition, the events of 1984 when the Golden Temple was stormed by the Indian government during Operation Bluestar, and when thousands of Sikhs were killed in Delhi following the assassination of the Indian Prime Minister by her Sikh bodyguards (Nesbitt 2005: 81-83) would have also had an impact. As many of the young Sikhs attending university in the early 1990s will have watched the events of 1984 unfolding on the television screens, the formation of BOSS and of University Sikh societies will have allowed them the opportunity to discuss these events with their peers.

As well as assisting Sikh societies in universities all over the UK, BOSS has also organised 'Sikhi (BOSS) Camp' since 1996, an annual residential camp catering for 18-30 year olds

(Singh J 2011) and runs a store selling CDs, clothes, books and DVDs both online at also at various events around the country. Although BOSS may have originally been “a non-political, non-profit making, independent body”², it appears that in recent years the organisation has become increasingly inspired by Damdami Taksal, a group whose head, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, was a key target of the Indian government during the events of 1984.³ Many of the clothes, posters and CDs on sale at Sikhi Camp and at the BOSS stall relate to the events of 1984 and to the personality of Bhindranwale.

Sikh Societies Today

Recent analysis of faith societies has tended to focus on the activities of Islamic societies primarily as a result of the ‘preventing violent extremism’ agenda, although little of this analysis has come from the academic community. Think-tanks such as The Centre for Social Cohesion, have observed that “since 2006, the British government and the media have paid increasing attention to Muslim students at British universities following several high-profile cases where students or graduates took part in terrorist attacks or were convicted on terrorist- related charges” (Thorne and Stuart 2008). Despite the variety of reports arguing that young Muslims are or are not (Edmunds 2010) radicalised on university campuses, according to Abbas “the question as to whether the Islamic societies of universities are genuinely places where Muslims are radicalised has yet to find firm answers” (2007: 5).

In terms of the appeal of Sikh societies, Singh and Tatla note that “Sikh students are now entering British universities in greater numbers than ever before ... partly because of the expansion of higher education and the rise in Sikh student numbers, especially since the 1990s, coincides with their overwhelming concentration in the post-1992 ‘new’ university sector” (2006: 159). Indeed, according to the ONS Census figures, twenty five percent of the Sikh population in England and Wales were students in 2011 (ONS 2013). Having contacted Student Unions at a number of universities across the country in 2011, none had records available pre 2000. Consequently any information on when various Sikh societies were established can only be based on the type of anecdotal evidence provided. As levels of activity and of membership of a particular society are directly dependent on the passion and interests of its committee, the popularity and the type of events run at various Sikh societies can vary dramatically from year to year.

² http://web.archive.org/web/20100811094218/http://www.boss-uk.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=section&id=4&Itemid=29#aims (accessed 24/04/2010)

³ See <http://boss-stall.com/> (accessed 24/04/2010)

Examining the types of events organised by Sikh societies and interviewing members and committee members of Sikh societies, it is clear that this is as much if not more, a place for social interaction as for learning about the Sikh tradition. Having compared Sikh societies across the country, a reasonably standard Sikh society calendar emerges, based around term dates and key events in Sikh history:

Month	Event
September	Fresher's Fair
October	Meet and Greet / Cha and Samosa
Weekly/Fortnightly	Simran (devotional singing) on campus – often combined with discussions or lectures
Oct / Nov	Lecture about Divali / Bandhi-Chorr – Focusing on the different reasons why Sikhs and Hindus celebrate Divali
Nov	Sikhi Week – runs in Northern / West Midlands and London universities
Nov	Lecture / Gurdwara trip celebrating Guru Nanak's birthday
Oct-Dec	Socials at various points, usually including meals, bowling, paintballing. All take place in non-alcoholic venues
Feb	Continuing Simran on campus / lectures
March	Sikhi Week – runs in Northern / West Midlands and London universities
March – May	New Committee chosen

As can be seen from the calendar of Sikh society events, Sikh societies only really function for around 6 months per year. From participant observation and examining photographs of these types of events online, it is clear that the initial meet and greet event is usually the most popular of the year. Following this, social events such as meals and bowling are well attended, whereas the simran (devotional singing) and lectures on the Sikh tradition are usually attended by smaller numbers, possibly indicating the main priorities for many members of these societies.

Increased regulation of membership of university societies, possibly due to issues with non-students attending student events, also appears to have impacted significantly on the membership of Sikh societies in 2010. An interview with Puran, the president of a Sikh society in the South of England, highlighted a number of factors leading to a decline in Sikh society attendance from the heyday of the late 1990s:

- 1. The role and status of South Asian University Faith Societies** – As discussed, post 9/11 and 7/7, faith societies, particularly those being run for Muslim students, have been under increased scrutiny by the government and policy makers. This increased suspicion around the role played by South Asian faith societies may have led some Sikhs to not wish to engage with faith societies at all (Grossman 2014).
- 2. Changes to funding of University Societies** – A number of the Sikh society committee members stated that the funding they received had decreased year on year, leading to a reduction in the types and number of events organised.
- 3. Changes in methods of registration:** Whereas previously, individuals would be recruited to join Sikh societies at fresher's fairs, where they would be able to pay the membership fee and immediately become members, members are now required by student unions to join and pay online. For Puran, the opportunity available to talk to members and to encourage them to formally join has been lost.

The interview with Puran demonstrates that both institutional changes (the requirement for online payments) and world events (9/11, 7/7) have significantly impacted on the membership of Sikh societies. In addition, the need for young Sikhs to join Sikh youth organisations such as university Sikh societies to get their questions about the Sikh tradition answered has lessened somewhat following the emergence of the internet and of the online presence of the Sikh tradition (Singh J 2014).

Having been invited to lecture at Sikh societies myself, it is clear that lecturers are usually invited through personal contacts and recommendations from other committee members. As Gagan, an ex-committee member of a Sikh society in the Midlands explained "if you're a member of a group, it's easier to book a talk – 'cos they have networks and websites". By 'they' in this case he was referring to Sikhs affiliated to Damdami Taksal (DDT) or the Akhand Kirtani Jatha (AKJ) (see Singh 2014) two Sikh groups to which a number of members in the Sikh society were affiliated. Although he explained that he came from a religious background himself, Gagan inferred that people with links to the AKJ and/or DDT could call on a wide variety of speakers, primarily because both of these groups had access to a number of mobile, English speaking young presenters many of whom had been attended Sikh camps organised by these groups (Singh 2011).

Further questions regarding how speakers are booked revealed that different kinds of Sikh society exist in different institutions. As Gilliat Ray describes (2000: 22-46), higher education institutions have engaged with religion in different ways depending on the history of their

evolution. In addition, different types of institutions attract different types of students. For instance, Thandi observes a high degree of 'over-representation' among Indian students in the 'new' university sector and notes that "there is much evidence to suggest that the entrants into 'new' universities are usually those students who have a lower 'A level' score or those who have gained admission through some other non-standard qualification" (1999: 357). The consequence of large numbers of Indian students attending local universities means that the politics of the local institution becomes more relevant to the Sikh society.

This became clear during a focus group with members of the Sikh society committees at two institutions in the Midlands, one at a traditional university, and one at a post 1992 university. Many members of the Sikh society at the post 1992 university had all attended a local Gurdwara which had affiliated to Damdami Taksal, meaning that talks about 1984 became popular at this particular Sikh society. Comparing the Sikh society at the post 1992 university with the Sikh society at the traditional university in the same city, Aarti, the president at the traditional university explained, "Our committees are totally different – he's got loads of Singhnia [turbaned Sikh women] on his committee. Ours is a lot more baal [hair] cut, go out, drink – do you know what I mean? But ours isn't so much into Sikhi, it's more about issues now like caste, homosexuality."

Aarti the president of the old university also noted that "there's also the Sikh/Muslim relationship at the new university which isn't there at ours. Muslims challenge Sikhs more than anyone else – we don't have that at our university." This indicates that inter-group dynamics have as much of an impact on the types of topics discussed as the members of the society themselves, and that the ethnic makeup of an institution will also impact on the types of events run by the Sikh society in question.

As well as lectures, many Sikh societies organise simran on campus events. These are usually informal events where a seminar room or lecture theatre is 'made sacred' by placing white sheets on the floor. Those students who are able to perform kirtan (singing the Guru's compositions) then take it in turns to sing compositions from the Guru Granth Sahib usually with a projector screen supplying translations. Many Sikh societies have simran events weekly or at least fortnightly, as they allow for a regular event to take place without the need to organise formal lectures on these occasions. Having attended simran events at a number of Sikh societies around the country again it appears that only the very committed attend these events. These sessions play a number of functions, allowing young Sikhs an hour a week to relax and also allowing members of the Sikh society to congregate in an informal

atmosphere. It could be argued that it is these informal gatherings which are the real sites for religious transmission, as Baldeep explained:

if there was an event and the Sikh societies were getting together, the parchaar [teaching] wasn't done at the event - it was done on route, 'cos that's when you're talking to someone face to face, or it might be a discussion.

This really brings in to question the usefulness and effectiveness of formal lectures. Although lecturers transmit facts and ideas, it appears that it is often the informal gatherings taking place around these events which are the real venues for religious and cultural transmission.

Why join a Sikh Society?

Having understood what Sikh societies do, I now examine why young British Sikhs may wish to join these societies in the first place. A common response in interviews indicates a search for meaning, as one member of a Sikh society in a Northern university explained, "I've been growing up as a Sikh, but I'm not a Sikh – I've never learnt about it, and I don't know why I call myself a Sikh."

The most popular response provided to the question 'Why did you join a Sikh society?' in an online survey of over 600 Sikhs, was "to meet other Sikhs". The data gathered in the interviews and online survey highlighted this was the main reason why Sikh students join a Sikh society. As Gurpal a member of a Sikh society committee explained:

me and my friend were lucky because we were living together in halls and we were the only two Singhs with Dastaars [turbans] ... we got confidence off each another – because going to uni is a big step, because we had a partner in crime kind of thing"

Creating a sense of familiarity in a new environment was key. An 18 year old female survey respondent explained, "coming from Leicester where there are many Sikhs around you just want to bring that sense of familiarity back again-that's why I joined the Sikh society-to enjoy the activities they do during the year, to grasp the opportunities which help me learn more about Sikhism while at university."

It is important to also note that a number of young Sikhs chose not to join their university Sikh society for a number of reasons. Indeed, of the 567 online survey respondents who had attended university, 185 (33%) said that they had chosen not to join their university Sikh society because a society did not exist at their institution or because they did not feel

welcome at the one that did. A 26 year old female from London explained that she had “joined because i was Sikh...by the end I didn't feel comfortable to attend all because some Sikhs were militant” whereas another 26 year old female explained that “the society was full of amritdhari sikhs and they were only approaching other amritdhari's to join!” Whereas some young Sikhs did not join the Sikh society because they felt it was too ‘militant’, others chose not to join because they felt the Sikh society was not religious enough. A 29 year old from Ilford thought that the Sikh society “was not really Sikh Orientated, always running Chaa and Samosa, Nights out, paintballing etc” whereas a 27 year old female from Birmingham explained that “the sikh society at this university was contradicting, as they would discuss sikhism and once the meeting was over head down to the student union to get drunk. i rather go to the gurdwara on my own or do part from my own house.”

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that although there are a number of similarities in the way in which university Sikh societies are organised, these societies are not homogenous with many differences relating to locality and institutional background. Sikh societies are very fluid arenas of religious transmission, especially given that they are only active for six months a year and change committees annually. I have explained that the development of Sikh societies in British universities and of BOSS can be linked both to the emergence of a national Muslim identity following the Rushdie affair and to the activities of Muslim outreach organizations such as Hizb-ut Tahrir.

In addition, I have highlighted the importance of the local context, especially for higher education institutions which derive many of their students from their immediate locality. If the Sikh society is comprised of a group of local attendees from a particular gurdwara, the societal experience will be very different to a society which comprises committee members from all over the country. In addition, institutions which offer degrees which last longer than three years are more likely to have some kind of continuity regards participation as committee members continue to attend events.

From their heyday in the late 1990s, the popularity of Sikh societies appears to have declined somewhat as a result of events such as 9/11 and 7/7 which have led to greater scrutiny about the role and organisation of university faith societies and also because of the implementation across a number of HEIs of more stringent processes of membership. It also appears that the lectures organised at the Sikh societies are less important than the face to face interactions which young Sikhs have with one another. Ideas about tradition and authority are primarily based on the views of the committee members and are consequently

derived from earlier socialisation in families, gurdwaras and increasingly in camps held for young British Sikhs. In terms of an arena for religious transmission therefore, Sikh societies appear to act primarily as social arenas, and secondly as venues for religious transmission.

References

- Abbas, T. 2007. *Islamic Political Radicalism: A European Perspective*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Acland, T. and W. Azmi. 1998. *Expectation and Reality: Ethnic Minorities in Higher Education*. In: MODOOD, T. and T. ACLAND. 1998. *Race and Higher Education: Experiences, Challenges and Policy Implications*, London: Policy Studies Institute, pp. 74-85.
- ANON. 1983. *Now Sikh Parents Want a Say*, Telegraph and Argus, 1st July
- Ansari, H., 2004. *The Infidel Within: The History of Muslims in Britain, 1800 to the Present*. London: C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd.
- BOSS (n,d). 'Sikh Society Handbook'. Available at: http://www.boss-uk.org/sikh_society/
- Bright, M. 1994. *Police called in as Jews picket college meeting of Islamic group*, The Guardian, October 29.
- Brown, J. 2006. *Global South Asians : Introducing the Modern Diaspora*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edmunds, J. 2010. "Elite" Young Muslims in Britain: From Transnational to Global Politics. *Contemporary Islam* 4(2), pp. 215–238.
- Gerard, L. 1994a. *Islamic student group faces ban after unrest*, The Independent (London), October 29.
- Gerard, L. 1994b. *Islamic society barred from campus*, The Independent, December 8.
- Gilliat-Ray, S. 1997. *Muslim Youth Organisations in Britain: a Descriptive Analysis*. The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, 14(1), pp. 99-111.
- Gilliat-Ray, S. 2000. *Religion in Higher Education : the Politics of the Multi-faith Campus*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Grossman, C.L. 2014. *Got religion on campus? Leave it off your resume* - The Washington Post [WWW Document], n.d. URL https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/religion/got-religion-on-campus-leave-it-off-your-resume/2014/06/16/f557458e-f590-11e3-930d-ca5db8eb8323_story.html

(accessed 4.26.16).

Jacobson, J. 1998. *Islam in Transition: Religion and Identity among British Pakistani Youth*.

London: Routledge.

Jaffrelot, C. 2005 *The Sangh Parivar*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Katju, M. 2003. *Vishva Hindu Parishad and Indian Politics*, Hyderabad: Sangam Books Ltd.

Lewis, P., 1997. *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims*.

London: I.B.Tauris.

Mackinnon, I. 1995. *Hotline exposes campus racism*, *The Independent*, October 31.

Malik, K. 1994. *Muslim rally angers Jews; Islamic body accused of racism*, *The Independent*, August 7.

McLoughlin, S. 2005. *Migration, Diaspora and Transnationalism: Transformations of Religion and Culture in a Globalizing Age*. In: HINNELL, J.R. *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, London: Routledge, pp. 526-549.

Modood, T. & P. Werbner. 1997. *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity, and Community*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Modood, T. and T. Acland. 1998. *Race and Higher Education: Experiences, Challenges and Policy Implications*, London: Policy Studies Institute.

Nesbitt, E. 2005. *Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

NHSF, 'About Us', <http://www.nhsf.org.uk/about-us/introduction/>

O'Neill S. 1989. *Young Guardian: Keeping faith with a circle of awareness*, *The Guardian*, August 2.

ONS, 2013. *What does the Census tell us about religion in 2011? Articles - Office for National Statistics [WWW Document]*, 16th May 2013 URL

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/religion/articles/fullstorywhatdoesthecensustellusaboutreligionin2011/previousReleases> (accessed 4.26.16).

Raj, D.S., 2000. "Who the hell do you think you are?" Promoting Religious Identity among Young Hindus in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, pp. 535–558.

- Sanders, C. 1994. Terrorist Threat Denied; London School of Economics, The Times Higher Education Supplement, November 11.
- Sharma, S., J. Hutnyk and A. Sharma. 1996. Dis-orienting Rhythms: the Politics of the new Asian Dance Music. London: Zed Books.
- Singh, G. and Tatla, D.S. 2006. Sikhs in Britain: the Making of a Community. London: Zed Books.
- Singh, J. 2011. Sikh-ing beliefs: British Sikh camps in the UK. In: MYRVOLD K. and K. JACOBSEN Sikhs in Europe: Migration, Identities and Representations. (eds.) Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 253–277.
- Singh, J. 2014. Sikh-ing online: the role of the Internet in the religious lives of young British Sikhs. Contemporary South Asia 22, 82–97
- Singh, J., 2014. The Guru's Way: Exploring Diversity Among British Khalsa Sikhs. Religion Compass 8, 209–219
- Smith, H. 1994. University bans moslem militants, London Evening Standard, January 20.
- Thandi, S. 1999. Sikh Youth Aspirations and Identity: Some Perspectives from Britain. In: SINGH, P. and N.G. BARRIER. Sikh Identity: Continuity and change. New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 349-363.
- Thorne, J. and H. Stuart, 2008. Islam on Campus: a Survey of UK Student Opinions. :London: Centre for Social Cohesion.
- Tyrer, D. 2004. The Others: Extremism and Intolerance on Campus and the Spectre of Islamic Fundamentalism. In: LAW, I., D. PHILLIPS and L. TURNEY. Institutional Racism in Higher Education. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, pp. 35-48.