

Refugee Review Tribunal

AUSTRALIA

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

Research Response Number: PAK30033
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This response was prepared by the Country Research Section of the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the RRT within time constraints. This response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum.

Questions

1. Please provide information, if any, on Rokhana Seema – when it was established, where, by whom, its aims, etc.
2. Has this organisation been targeted by TNSM?
3. Are there any reports suggesting that TNSM has harmed individuals or groups advocating and/or defending women’s rights?
4. What has been the extent of TNSM’s activities after it was banned in 2002?
5. What has been the extent of TNSM’s activities outside of NWFP?

RESPONSE

For background information on women’s rights groups in the NWFP, please refer to RRT Country *Research Response PAK16614*, dated 16 April 2004 (RRT Country Research 2004, *Research Response PAK16614*, 16 April – Attachment 1).

1. Please provide information, if any, on Rokhana Seema – when it was established, where, by whom, its aims, etc.
2. Has this organisation been targeted by TNSM?

Information was not found in the sources consulted referring to an organisation going by the name Rokhana Seema (or Rokshana Seema, Rukhana Seema). The organisation does not appear on Net-NGO.Com, an online guide to NGOs in Pakistan which yielded at least 91 search results for Women’s groups in the NWFP. (‘Search Results for Women from NWFP’ [Undated], Net. NGO.Com website <http://www.net-ngo.com/> – Accessed 15 March 2006 – Attachment 2).

Country information indicates that there are over 11,000 registered NGOs operating in Pakistan, in addition to an “unknown number” of unregistered NGOs. If non-registered

NGOs are added, Adnan Sattar of the Pakistan-based Agha Khan Foundation estimates that “the [total] number [of NGOs] could be anywhere between 25,000 and 35,000”. (‘Non-Government Organizations’ [Undated], Centre for International Management Studies website <http://www.intranet.management.mcgill.ca/cims/NGOLink.html> – Accessed 30 March 2004 – Attachment 3; Sattar, A. 2001, ‘The State of Civil society’, NGO Resource Centre website, August <http://www.ngorc.org.pk/journal/aug2001/civil2.htm> – Accessed 30 March 2004 – Attachment 4).

NGOs can register in Pakistan under 5 different legal instruments. These are:

- (a) *Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies Registration and Control Ordinance 1961* (for registration as a social welfare agency);
- (b) *Societies Registration Act, 1860* (for registration as a society);
- (c) *Cooperative Society Act, 1925* (for registration as a cooperative society);
- (d) *Companies Ordinance, 1984* (for registration as a non-profit company); and
- (e) *Trust Act, 1882* (through a formal declaration of trust)

(‘Frequently ask [sic] questions’ [Undated], Net.NGO.Com website <http://www.net-ngo.com/faq/index.cfm> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 5).

There are a number of credible reports indicating that NGOs in Pakistan face serious difficulties in getting registered, particularly in the NWFP where the provincial government has in the past attempted, not only to place “a ban on the registration and renewal of [NGOs]”, but to bring them under the regulatory purvey of the Department of Social Welfare (‘NGOs registered on ombudsman’s orders’ 2004, Net NGO website http://www.net-ngo.com/newsheadline_detail.cfm?ID=26 – Accessed 30 March 2004 – Attachment 38; ‘Peshawar: ban on NGOs’ registration lifted’ 2001, *Dawn* online edition, 29 June <http://www.dawn.com/2001/06/29/local18.htm> – Accessed 30 March 2004 – Attachment 39) Attachment 6 also indicates that NGOs report of “unnecessary and excessive procedural requirements for NGO registration”... (‘Pakistan: Ban declared on work of NGOs in North Western Frontier Province’ 2003, Women Living Under Muslim Laws website, 28 July [http://www.wluml.org/english/newsfulltxt.shtml?cmd\[157\]=x-157-16691%20&cmd\[189\]=x-189-16691](http://www.wluml.org/english/newsfulltxt.shtml?cmd[157]=x-157-16691%20&cmd[189]=x-189-16691) – Accessed 30 March 2004 – Attachment 6).

3. Are there any reports suggesting that Tehrik Nifaz Shariat-i-Muhammadi (TNSM) has harmed individuals or groups advocating and/or defending women’s rights?

An article from 2004 also reports that NGOs run by and focussing on women’s issues in the NWFP are “increasingly under attack from local extremists”, including the TNSM, and that the MMA government has sought to vet NGO activities. Reporting on anti-NGO activities in Dir, which is next to Swat, the report notes that:

NGO-bashing began in Dir...at the peak of the movement launched by the now banned *Tehrik Nifaz Shariat-i-Muhammadi*, led by presently jailed Maulana Sufi Muhammad. One of his followers, Maulana Zia-ul-Haq, a young cleric, issued a ‘fatwa’ exhorting locals to take all the women working in NGOs in the area home and marry them with or without consent.

Seven schools for girls and boys were closed down and TNSM activists in the Maidan area of the district blocked all the road as a pressure tactic aimed at forcing the NGOs to pack up (Ansari, M. 2004, 'Unholy Crusade', *Newsline* online edition, August <http://www.newsline.com.pk/NewsAug2004/newsbeat2aug.htm> – Accessed 15 March 2006 – Attachment 7).

Amnesty International provides similar observations in their 2002 report *Pakistan: Insufficient Protection of Women*. The report notes the specific involvement of the TNSM in incidents against women's NGOs in the NWFP. The report states as follows:

On 2 July 2000, leaders of the Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) in Malakand Division directed their followers during a rally to marry any woman belonging to an NGO they met. Its leader said, "if you see any female NGO worker in our area take her home and marry her so that she spends [the rest of] her life inside four walls". The main target of the Islamists' ire was the NGO *Khwendo Kor* [Pashtu for 'Sisters' Home'], an NGO that seeks to raise the status of women in the area by running integrated community based schools. Islamists claimed that the NGO – and NGOs generally -- were spreading obscenity and undermining the honour of the Pashtuns. Even some local media reportedly blamed the NGO workers for failing to respect the local culture when working with men....

A spokesperson for the Aurat Foundation, which focuses on women's welfare, said in June 2000 that workers for the foundation were feeling increasingly insecure, especially in remote rural areas. Tribal leaders in northwestern Pakistan had said that the NGOs promoted obscenity in the guise of human rights, corrupted local women and should be banned. On 30 March 2001, a women activist in Mardan was attacked and urged to close the NGO she had run from her house for the welfare of local women. Again, on 23 June 2001, a group of religious party activists in Kohat condemned NGOs for spreading western culture and employing young women who worked in offices along with male colleagues. Islam, they said, did not allow women to meet men freely, to talk to them or to travel outside their homes alone. Since 11 September 2001, attacks on NGOs have further increased in NWFP and Balochistan. For instance, three non-formal schools for girls run by the Civic Awareness Promotion Society in Khazana, Nehqai and Sheroojhanghi were closed in October 2001 following attacks on the building and threats to teachers ('Pakistan – Insufficient protection of women' 2002. Amnesty International website, 17 April <http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGASA330062002> – Accessed 7 April 2004 – Attachment 8).

A 2000 IRB Response to Information Request provides information covering earlier incidents of TNSM directed violence against women's NGOs in the NWFP. The report notes as follows:

A 27 July 2000 report published in the Islamabad-based newspaper *The Nation* states that the head of the TNSM, Maulana Sofi Muhammad issued a Fatwa [religious decree] against NGOs in his native district of DIR, claiming that they were instrumental in the "conspiracies" of "non-believers". A government official banned NGO personnel from visiting their projects in the town of Maidan and the surrounding villages (ibid.) The report also states that a local religious leader ordered the killing of all westerners who visited Maidan. A women's rights group called Khowindah Kor was threatened by the TNSM and warned to "shut down all their activities in Dir, or have their offices attacked and burnt down." (IPS 9 Sept. 1999). The TNSM also described as "immoral" a women's program sponsored by the European Union-funded IUNC Dir-Kohistan Biodiversity Project in the town of Dir, which is located 250km northwest of Islamabad (ibid.). (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2000, PAK35733.E – *Pakistan : Tehrik-I-Nifas-e-Shariat (TNS) in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP); its leaders, its mandate, the activities of its members and other names the*

TNS may be known by; whether the TNS is also known as the Tehrik/Tanzim Nifaz Shariat Muhammadi (TNSM), 7 December – Attachment 9).

A 2005 report by *Pak Tribune* also indicates that women working for NGOs in the NWFP receive death threats and are victim to social and familial discrimination. The report notes

that *fatwas* have been issued in some areas against women working for NGOs. In one example, a *fatwa* issued by a local prayer leader stated: “Any one [*sic*] who finds a girl from Non government organisations is entitled to keep her in his possession without Nikkah and he will not be considered guilty” (‘Female officers, workers of NGOs in Dir working amid threats’ 2005, *Pak Tribune* online edition, 14 May <http://www.paktribune.com/news/index.php?id=105484> – Accessed 15 March 2006 – Attachment 7).

RRT *Research Response PAK16614* provides sources which generally report that women’s rights groups have been targeted by the MMA (*Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal*) government and Islamist groups in the NWFP for being “un-Islamic” or “Western” (RRT Country Research 2004, *Research Response PAK16614*, 16 April – Attachment 1).

4. What has been the extent of TNSM’s activities after it was banned in 2002?

In January 2002, the Musharraf government proscribed the *Tehrik Nifaz Shariat-i-Muhammadi* (TNSM), or movement for the enforcement of Mohammad’s *Shari’ah*, along with several other radical Islamist groups, “under powers conferred by sub-section 11-B read with section 11-E of the *Anti-Terrorism Act*” 1997. As required by section 11-E of the Act, TNSM offices were sealed and its bank accounts frozen. In the immediate aftermath, TNSM members were also arrested and appear briefly to have detained before being released. (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *PAK43133E – Pakistan: The effectiveness of the government ban on extremist groups (January 2002 – November 2004)*, 19 November – Attachment 10; Raman, B. 2002, ‘Musharraf’s Ban: An Analysis’, South Asia Analysis Group, Paper No. 395, 18 January <http://www.saag.org/papers4/paper395.html> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 11; ‘State Bank Orders freezing accounts on LT, JM, SSP, TJP, TNSM’ 2002, *Pakistan Press International*, 15 January – Attachment 12; ‘Report on outlawed groups submitted to Musharraf’ 2002, *Pak News* website, 10 March <http://www.paknews.com/main.php?id=3&date1=2002-03-10> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 13; US Department of State 2003, *Pakistan: International Freedom Report 2003*, Section 2, 18 December, Attachment 14).

Earlier, in November 2001, police arrested the group’s leader, Maulana Sufi Muhammad, his son Ziaullah, and 28 other group activists on their return from fighting US and allied forces in Afghanistan. In April 2002, a specially constituted tribal court sentenced the accused persons to “seven years rigorous imprisonment” for “carrying illegal heavy weapons [and explosive substances] and crossing into Afghanistan without valid travelling documents”. Except for Sufi Muhammad – and, by some media accounts, his son and driver – all convicts were subsequently released from prison by the end of March 2003 after the Frontier Crimes Regulations Tribunal accepted their “revision petitions” on 1 February 2003. Sufi Muhammad remains in prison. He has steadfastly refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the court and, accordingly, has not sought to appeal his conviction. (‘Peshawar: Detention of TNSM chief challenged’ 2003, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 29 December <http://www.dawn.com/2003/12/29/local28.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 15;

‘Hearing in TNSM men’s appeal put off’ 2002, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 5 May <http://www.dawn.com/2002/05/05/nat25.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 16; ‘District – 30 activists arrested’ 2002, *Pakistan Press International*, 19 January – Attachment 17; ‘15 TNSM leaders released’ 2003, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 29 March <http://www.dawn.com/2003/03/29/nat17.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 18; ‘Peshawar: Court rejects Sufi Mohammad’s plea’ 2004, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 13 May <http://www.dawn.com/2004/05/13/local17.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 19; Latif, W. 2006, ‘Bajour attack’, *The Nation*, 26 January – Attachment 20; ‘Pakistan jails militant leader’ 2002, *BBC News* online, 20 April http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1940821.stm – Accessed 21 March 2006 – Attachment 40).

Information on the extent of TNSM activities after the Musharraf government banned the group in 2000 is somewhat unclear. What follows is an attempt to make sense of that information. It proceeds by weaving out some of the apparent inconsistencies of a report by the International Crisis Group (ICG) on the group, attended by the premise that the usually faultless source requires, in this instance, a degree of qualification.

In its April 2005 report, *The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan*, the International Crisis Group (ICG) states that “the Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi...has lost considerable ground to its rival Islamist organisations as a result of the U.S.-led campaign against al Qaeda and the Taliban”.

Hundred of its followers were killed or detained in Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban. Its leaders remain behind bars in Pakistan, and its offices have been closed. But TNSM remnants remain active. “TNSM’s Taliban folly has turned people against it”, says an employee of an international NGO in the area. “But many of its local leaders in villages and tribes still Tehreek-e-Taliban [the Taliban Movement] with similar aims. It is still difficult for government and non-government developing projects to operate without fear of opposition from clerics” (International Crisis Group 2005, *The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan*, Asia Report No. 95, 18 April http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/095_the_state_of_sectarianism_in_pakistan.pdf – Accessed 17 January 2006 – Attachment 21).

On the ICG’s first point, it may be noted that media reports from January 2002 confirm that leaders of the TNSM, “which had sent an estimated 10,000 ‘volunteers’ to Afghanistan to fight alongside the Taliban, had “gone underground faced the wrath of relatives of those who had gone missing in action”. A quoted source from one report states that TNSM “leaders ‘were being pressured by the families of missing volunteers...to locate the men and if... [found] in Afghan prisons to ensure their immediate release’”. Also, that the movement’s leaders had been “‘largely been discredited’” (‘Pakistan fundamentalist leaders go underground: Reports’ 2002, Rediff.Com website, 4 January <http://www.rediff.com/us/2002/jan/04ny1.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 22).

Anti-TNSM sentiment also registers in reports from 2005 that the house of a TNSM leader, Maulana Mohammad Amin, would be set ablaze by “a tribal *lashkar* (force) for allegedly harbouring foreign militants” (Yusufzai, M. 2005, ‘Lashkar set to demolish religious leaders’ houses’, *The News: International* online edition, 20 May <http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/may2005-daily/20-05-2005/metro/p2.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 23; ‘Pakistan: Defunct outfit vows to fight for enforcement of Islamic law’ 2003, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, sourced from *The News* website, 8 September – Attachment 24).

On the other hand, the claim that TNSM “leaders remain behind bars” is inaccurate; save for the group’s leader and perhaps two other leading figures of the group who were arrested in February 2005, the group’s other leaders appear to have been free at the time the ICG published its report in April 2005 (‘15 TNSM leaders released’ 2003, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 29 March <http://www.dawn.com/2003/03/29/nat17.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 18; ‘Peshawar: Court rejects Sufi Mohammad’s plea’ 2004, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 13 May <http://www.dawn.com/2004/05/13/local17.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 19; Khan, A. U. 2005, ‘Two held in Bajaur agency crackdown’, *The Nation*, 1 February – Attachment 25).

The claim that TNSM “offices have been closed” must also be balanced with reports from October 2003 that the organisation was operating under a different name and that it had not, despite earlier reports, sealed its offices (‘Pakistan orders four banned groups to close offices’ 2003, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, sourced from *Ausaf*, 16 October – Attachment 26; ‘Pak notifies ban on Lashkar and Jaish’ 2002, Express India website, sourced from Press Trust of India, 15 January <http://www.expressindia.com/fullstory.php?newsid=6509> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 27) (**Note:** Similar observations have been made for other groups that the Musharraf government banned 2002.) (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, PAK43133E – *Pakistan: The effectiveness of the government ban on extremist groups (January 2002 – November 2004)*, 19 November – Attachment 10).

Other reports state that that the TNSM “remained very active” in parts of the NWFP (such as Buner and Damadola) after the 2002 ban and that it’s “organizations...are still intact and functional, but underground”. (‘12 activists of TNSM held in Swat, Buner’ 2005, *The News: International*, 2 September <http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/sep2005-daily/02-09-2005/national/n4.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 28; ‘Editorial: Bajaur: a scary profile’ 2006, *The Daily Times* online edition, 13 February http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\02\13\story_13-2-2006_pg3_1 – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 29; Bacha, A. H. 2004, ‘Minogra: Banned religious outfits change mode of operation’, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 12 December <http://www.dawn.com/2004/12/12/local24.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 30).

Likewise, the ICG’s claim that only “TNSM remnants remain active” may be balanced by reports that the TNSM has resurfaced; reorganised under a new name and leader; publicly vowed to continue its “fight for the enforcement of Islamic law”; promised to stage a vengeful “comeback”; and allegedly “accelerated its activities”. (‘Pakistan: Defunct outfit vows to fight for enforcement of Islamic law’ 2003, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, sourced from *The News* website, 8 September – Attachment 24; Pakistan orders four banned groups to close offices’ 2003, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, sourced from *Ausaf*, 16 October – Attachment 26; Jamal, A. 2005, ‘Sharia here, in the country, in the world’, *The News* online edition, 6 March <http://www.jang-group.com/thenews/mar2005-weekly/nos-06-03-2005/dia.htm#6> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 31).

While the TNSM may well have regrouped since 2002, country information provides little direct evidence to support the last claim that the TNSM has “accelerated its activities”. The few examples which were located include:

- A report from 2004 that the group had turned to bank robbery and “started collecting donations” (Bacha, A. H. 2004, ‘Minogra: Banned religious outfits change mode of operation’, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 12 December

<http://www.dawn.com/2004/12/12/local24.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 30);

- An unsupported allegation made in 2005 that the TNSM was behind the bombing of a cinema hall in Minogra (‘Cinema blast in Mingora, no casualty’ 2005, *The Nation* online edition, 15 May <http://www.nation.com.pk/daily/may-2005/15/index11.php> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 37); and
- A report from 2004 that a defunct TNSM activist attacked a village in the Upper Dir district. This report is perhaps noteworthy for it indicates that the former TNSM activist, who was responsible for the attack, had forced the closure of a foreign funded NGO working in the area. (‘Defunct TNSM activist holds villages hostage’ 2004, *The News: International* online edition, 18 October <http://www.jang-group.com/thenews/oct2004-daily/18-10-2004/main/main10.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 32).

At the same time, it may be noted that around 2 dozen TNSM activists were among those swept up by Pakistani authorities in operations that followed the London terrorist attacks in July 2005. The fate of all has not yet been determined (or reported). However, in the case of 8 TNSM activists who were arrested in July 2005, the Peshawar High Court declared in October 2005 that the men had been detained illegally and arbitrarily, without any valid charge against them on record. Counsel for the state argued that “the detainees were instigating [the] general public against the government” and “delivering speeches which were against public peace”. Counsel for the accused countered that “the detainees were not involved in any activities prejudicial to public safety and tranquillity”. (‘Over 300 netted in post-7/7 hunt’ 2005, *The Nation* online edition, 21 July <http://www.nation.com.pk/daily/july-2005/21/index1.php> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 33; ‘Hunt intensified; 200 held: Prominent SSP leader arrested in Khairpur’ 2005, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 21 July <http://www.dawn.com/2005/07/21/top2.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006 – Attachment 34; ‘12 activists of TNSM held in Swat, Buner’, *The News: International*, 2 September <http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/sep2005-daily/02-09-2005/national/n4.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006 – Attachment 28; ‘Pakistani court declares detention of activists of banned outfit illegal’ 2005, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, sourced from *Dawn* website, 6 October – Attachment 35).

Little else was found in the sources consulted on the current extent of TNSM activities.

5. What has been the extent of TNSM’s activities outside of NWFP?

At one time or another, the TNSM does appear to have had a presence outside of the NWFP. However, beyond reports suggesting or confirming that presence, country information is silent on the extent of the group’s activities outside the province. (‘District – 30 activists arrested’ 2002, *Pakistan Press International*, 19 January – Attachment 17; ‘Pakistan orders four banned groups to close offices’ 2003, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, sourced from *Ausaf*, 16 October – Attachment 26).

Other reports, including the assessment provided by the South Asia Terrorism Portal, clearly state that the TNSM “area of operation” is largely confined to the “tribal belt” of the NWFP, such as Swat and its adjoining districts (‘Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi’ 2001,

South Asia Terrorism Portal website.

(<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/TNSM.htm> – Accessed 7 April 2004 – Attachment 36).

List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:

Google search engine <http://www.google.com.au/>

Databases:

Public	<i>FACTIVA</i>	Reuters Business Briefing
DIMIA	<i>BACIS</i>	Country Information
	<i>REFINFO</i>	IRBDC Research Responses (Canada)
RRT	<i>ISYS</i>	RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State <i>Country Reports on Human Rights Practices</i> .
RRT Library	<i>FIRST</i>	RRT Library Catalogue

List of Attachments

1. RRT Country Research 2004, *Research Response PAK16614*, 16 April.
2. 'Search Results for Women from NWFP' [Undated], Net.NGO.Com website. (<http://www.net-ngo.com/> – Accessed 15 March 2006)
3. 'Non-Government Organizations' [Undated], Centre for International Management Studies website. (<http://www.intranet.management.mcgill.ca/cims/NGOLink.html> – Accessed 30 March 2004)
4. Sattar, A. 2001, 'The state of Civil society', NGO Resource Centre website, August. (<http://www.ngorc.org.pk/journal/aug2001/civil2.htm> – Accessed 30 March 2004)
5. 'Frequently asked questions' [Undated], Net.NGO.Com website. (<http://www.net-ngo.com/faq/index.cfm> – Accessed 16 March 2006)
6. 'Pakistan: Ban declared on work of NGOs in North Western Frontier Province' 2003, Women Living Under Muslim Laws website, 28 July. ([http://www.wluml.org/english/newsfulltxt.shtml?cmd\[157\]=x-157-16691%20&cmd\[189\]=x-189-16691](http://www.wluml.org/english/newsfulltxt.shtml?cmd[157]=x-157-16691%20&cmd[189]=x-189-16691) – Accessed 30 March 2004)
7. 'Female officers, workers of NGOs in Dir working amid threats' 2005, *Pak Tribune* online edition, 14 May. (<http://www.paktribune.com/news/index.php?id=105484> – Accessed 15 March 2006)
8. 'Pakistan – Insufficient protection of women' 2002. Amnesty International website, 17 April. (<http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGASA330062002> – Accessed 7 April 2004)
9. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2000, *PAK35733.E – Pakistan : Tehrik-I-Nifas-e-Shariat (TNS) in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP); its leaders, its*

mandate, the activities of its members and other names the TNS may be known by; whether the TNS is also known as the Tehrik/Tanzim Nifaz Shariat Muhammadi (TNSM), 7 December. (Refinfo).

10. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *PAK43133.E – Pakistan: The effectiveness of the government ban on extremist groups (January 2002 – November 2004)*, 19 November. (Refinfo)
11. Raman, B. 2002, 'Musharraf's Ban: An Analysis', South Asia Analysis Group, Paper No. 395, 18 January. (<http://www.saag.org/papers4/paper395.html> – Accessed 17 March 2006)
12. 'State Bank Orders freezing accounts on LT, JM, SSP, TJP, TNSM' 2002, *Pakistan Press International*, 15 January. (FACTIVA)
13. 'Report on outlawed groups submitted to Musharraf' 2002, *Pak News* website. (<http://www.paknews.com/main.php?id=3&date1=2002-03-10> – Accessed 17 March 2006)
14. US Department of State 2003, *Pakistan: International Freedom Report 2003*, 18 December.
15. 'Peshawar: Detention of TNSM chief challenged' 2003, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 29 December. (<http://www.dawn.com/2003/12/29/local28.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006)
16. 'Hearing in TNSM men's appeal put off' 2003, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 5 May. (<http://www.dawn.com/2002/05/05/nat25.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006)
17. 'District – 30 activists arrested' 2002, *Pakistan Press International*, 19 January. (FACTIVA)
18. '15 TNSM leaders released' 2003, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 29 March. (<http://www.dawn.com/2003/03/29/nat17.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006)
19. 'Peshawar: Court rejects Sufi Mohammad's plea' 2004, *Dawn Internet Edition*, 13 May. (<http://www.dawn.com/2004/05/13/local17.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006)
20. Latif, W. 2006, 'Bajour attack', *The Nation*, 26 January. (FACTIVA)
21. International Crisis Group 2005, *The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan*, Asia Report No. 95, 18 April. (http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/095_the_state_of_sectarianism_in_pakistan.pdf – Accessed 17 January 2006)
22. 'Pakistan fundamentalist leaders go underground: Reports' 2002, Rediff.Com website, 4 January. (<http://www.rediff.com/us/2002/jan/04ny1.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006)
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24. 'Pakistan: Defunct outfit vows to fight for enforcement of Islamic law' 2003, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, sourced from *The News* website, 8 September. (FACTIVA)
25. Khan, A. U. 2005, 'Two held in Bajaur agency crackdown', *The Nation*, 1 February. (FACTIVA)
26. 'Pakistan orders four banned groups to close offices' 2003, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, sourced from *Ausaf*, 16 October. (FACTIVA)
27. 'Pak notifies ban on Lashkar and Jaish' 2002, *Express India* website, sourced from Press Trust of India, 15 January.
(<http://www.expressindia.com/fullstory.php?newsid=6509> – Accessed 17 March 2006)
28. '12 activists of TNSM held in Swat, Buner', *The News: International*, 2 September.
(<http://www.jang.com.pk/thenews/sep2005-daily/02-09-2005/national/n4.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2006)
29. 'Editorial: Bajaur: a scary profile' 2006, *The Daily Times* online edition, 13 February.
(http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2006\02\13\story_13-2-2006_pg3_1 – Accessed 17 March 2006)
30. Bacha, A. H. 2004, 'Minogra: Banned religious outfits change mode of operation', *Dawn Internet Edition*, 12 December. (<http://www.dawn.com/2004/12/12/local24.htm> – Accessed 16 March 2006)
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