

**ROLE OF EXTERNAL POWERS IN THE RISE AND DECLINE OF ETHNIC  
MOVEMENTS: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN AND SRI LANKA**



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**Abbreviations**

GoSL	Government of Sri Lanka
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
BLA	Balochistan Liberation Army
GWOT	Global War on Terror
UAE	United Arab Emirates
EROS	Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students
TELO	Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization
IPKF	Indian Peacekeeping Force
VP	Velupillai Prabhakaran
PSC	Protracted Social Conflict
GOP	Government of Pakistan

## **Abstract**

*With a comparative focus on Pakistan and Sri Lanka, this thesis explores the complex dynamics of external powers' participation in the emergence and fall of ethnic movements. The research explores the complex relationship between geopolitical objectives, internal ethnic dynamics, and external interventions, looking at how outside players affect the course of ethnic movements in these two states. This study investigates the historical, political, and socioeconomic backgrounds of ethnic movement in Pakistan and Sri Lanka, utilizing a comprehensive analysis of the literature in addition to empirical evidence. It looks at the issues—such as those pertaining to identity, autonomy, resource allocation, and historical injustice—that gave rise to these movements. Examining how outside forces influenced the trajectory of ethnic movements is a key component of the analysis. The thesis looks into how foreign actors—such as international organizations, global powers, and adjacent nations—motivate, manage, and affect ethnic conflicts. The thesis, using qualitative research approach, attempts to clarify the complicated dynamics of external participation in ethnic movements and its consequences for efforts at peace building and conflict resolution through a careful analysis of case studies and empirical data.*

## Section 1:

### Chapter 1

#### Introduction

##### 1.1 Background of the Study

In general perspective, security of human life is the core area of interest among the scholars focused towards individual, national, and international security as security of human life. Hence, individual's security is regarded as a central part of human life.<sup>1</sup> A verdict "War of all against all" by Thomas Hobbes interestingly covers the importance of state system in protecting individuals from the harms of the opponent group(s) with more strength while administering state's affairs<sup>2</sup>. However, protracted conflict has likelihood for physical combat i.e., war – a catastrophe for human life and economic stability. The existence of imbalanced industrial and technological developments between the individuals and groups has paved the way for classification of poor and rich, resourceful and resource less, haves and have not's. Due to bloody conflicts the expectation of conflict resolution is a rare possibility. Most of the conflicts are still in the transformation phase and involve negligible success in their resolutions on account of the changing dynamics of the societies.<sup>3</sup>

Some scholars in International Relations domain state that capitalism within globalization has enhanced the dependency of each country over the other. On the other hand, poor countries are more dependent on rich countries and invariably are influenced by the economic policies of rich countries. The intra state conflict results in a prolonged war. The conflict spirals due to lack

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Buzon, *People states and Fear, The National Security Problem in International Relations* (UK: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd, 2018), 65.

<sup>2</sup> Kavka, Gregory S. "Hobbes's war of all against all." *Ethics* 93, no. 2 (1983): 291-310.

<sup>3</sup> David Wallechinskys, *20th Century: History with the Boring Parts Left Out*, (USA: Little Brown, 2016), 38.

of governance and corruption in state affairs. Hence intrastate wars are almost unending as compared to interstate conflicts. The intra state conflict occurs when individuals in society decide to take up arms to challenge the political and organizational authority of the state and in response, the state chooses to use force against its own citizens.

These intra state conflicts are generally exacerbated in ethnically and religiously divided societies under a weak political system.<sup>4</sup> The conflicts worsen in mountainous areas where guerilla warfare takes the classic advantage of terrain and can conveniently engage many forces and cause considerable damage to security forces. Intrastate conflict gets complex in countries where the political system is weak and corrupt, traditional societies exist, honor of people is most significant, and the traditional tribal system is being affected by outsiders. The conflict spirals when international forces actively intervene in other state affairs.<sup>5</sup>

Sri Lanka comprises of 11.2 percent Tamil speakers and 74.9 percent Sinhalese speakers. In addition to this, there are significant language and religious differences between these two ethnic segments; Sinhalese people tend to be Buddhists, whereas Tamil people are mostly Hindu. However, according to the scholars, the conflict between these two ethnic groups dates back to the pre-establishment or colonial era of Sri Lanka. There is no confirmed date of the Sinhalese people's entrance in Sri Lanka; nonetheless, the historians generally agree that the Tamils came to the island as both traders and invaders from the Chola Kingdom in India. This genesis implies

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<sup>4</sup> Barry Buzan, People, *States and Fear, The National Security Problem in International Relations*, (USA; Harvester Press Group, 2018), 65.

<sup>5</sup> Robert A. Pape, *Dying to win, the strategic logic of suicide terrorism* (New York Random House, 2005), 20-85.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Hopkirk. *The Great Game: The struggle for Empire in Central Asia*, (USA: [John Murray/Kodansha International](#) 1992) 20-75.



that power struggles, rather than cultural incompatibilities, were the root cause of animosity between the Sinhalese and Tamil people from the outset.

Moving forward in the pages of history, it can be seen that tensions between the two communities, with the passage of time, grew worse under British imperial control because the British ruler showed preference to the Tamils ethnic group during the British occupation of Sri Lanka, according to CIA reports from 1985, which aggravated the Sinhalese community's security from the Tamil group's increasing wealth coupled with social status. A large number of Tamil diaspora, living in India, South Africa, and Singapore, enhanced Sri Lankan Tamils access to larger economic networks and more opportunities all across the globe. Furthermore, in education domain, English language schools were frequently established by British colonial authorities in areas populated primarily by Tamil people that gave Tamils greater access to civil service as well as professional possibilities than their Sinhalese counterparts. Resultantly, the pattern of Tamil partiality made Sinhalese people feel oppressed and alone.

In post -colonial era, many Sinhalese made their way into high government positions after British independence. This was the real time to take the revenge from the Tamils. In this regard, these Sinhalese passed laws that effectively impeded their Tamil counterparts' franchise right Sinhala Only Act, passed in 1956, was the prominent act which established barriers for Tamil individuals attempting to access government services or look for public jobs by designating Sinhala as the only official language of Sri Lanka. Besides this, Standardization was another important initiative that sought to give underprivileged Sinhalese pupils greater access to schooling. According to the policy, Tamil students were not allowed to enter institutions in Sri Lanka unless they obtained higher exam scores than their Sinhalese counterparts. For the

Sinhalese, who were marginalized and disadvantaged under British colonial control, legislators devised a scheme modeled after affirmative action.

In response to these discriminatory laws, some aggressive Tamils proposed Tamil Eelam, a state exclusively for Tamil people. Even if the concept seems radical, the two ethnic groups—the Tamils in the northern and eastern regions of the island and the Sinhalese in the southern, western, and central regions of the country—already existed in relatively distinct regions of the nation. The goal of Tamil Eelam was to formally recognize this current geographic division. The movement's foundation was the belief that Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka belonged to different ethnic groups.

To become the sole representative of the Tamils, LTTE exterminated other emerging Eelam parties, such as the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO). Civil war erupted as a result of the ongoing dispute. July 1983, dubbed *Black July* since it was the month of rioting against Tamils in Colombo that marked the official start of the conflict. It ended in May 2009, when the Sri Lankan government declared that they had killed the leader of the LTTE, after less than thirty years of fighting.

The conflict in Sri Lanka was also the victim of foreign intervention that caused LTTE to take on terrorism including suicide attacks due to foreign intervention especially India. Indian intervention in Sri Lankan crises was due to her own strategic and regional interest regarding two major international powers USA and former USSR. India already influences in Sri Lanka internal affairs and had signed three pacts with Sri Lanka; 1954 the Nehru – Kotelawala Pact, 1964, Shastri – Srimavo Pact, 1974 Indra-Srimavo Agreement to settle the plantation issue. Indian involvement in Sri Lanka affairs in the 1980s could be viewed with four different

dimensions<sup>6</sup>. Firstly, Indian strategic interest in Sri Lanka regarding the establishment of US bases in Trincomelee, second, support of Indian intelligence agency RAW to Tamil militants fighting against GoSL, third, political crises in Sri Lanka and fourthly refugee influx and impact on Tamil Nadu.

The idea of a separate homeland for the Tamil community already existed since 1958. The concerns were getting serious with the passage of time and Sri Lankan Government's negligence to address the concerns of Tamils. India was deeply concerned about the increasing interest in and building of a foothold in Sri Lanka. GoSL concluded that the location of Trincomalee is of strategic significance, however that was not well received by India and former USSR. Additionally, GoSL has gained more confidence while having better understanding and cooperation with Pakistan and China.<sup>7</sup>

The ethnic riots in Sri Lanka attracted foreign countries for a military industrial complex. India observed regional security challenges and shift of balance of power on an alliance of Sri Lanka with China and Pakistan. Indian policy against Sri Lanka remained controversial and confused about conflict management. The RAW's hidden armed assistance to Tamil insurgents in the 1980s raises questions about India's commitment to bringing about peace in Sri Lanka. However, India never wanted Sri Lanka to establish close ties with the USA with regards to

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<sup>6</sup> Ambalavanar Sivarajah, 'Indo-Sri Lanka Relations in the Context of Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis (2018)' in *Security Dilemma of a Small State, Part One*, ed. Mahinda Werake and P. V. J. Jayasekera, New Delhi: South Asian Publishers

<sup>7</sup> Rohan Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka: The Role of India's Intelligence Agencies*, Colombo: Gunaratne Offset, 1993, 8.

providing access to naval bases, however, GoSL has the desire to gain strategic national interest.<sup>8</sup>

In the same way, Situated in the southern region of Iran, south of the Helmand stream and the main deserts, Balochistan covers span of more than 500,000 square kilometers with lowest population in the country. The Pashtuns are the second largest ethnic group in the area followed by Baloch. The majority of the population is made up of Sunni Muslims. In the area, there are also some Hindus and Shias. Three nations make up the region: Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. Pakistan is the country with which Balochistan is most closely identified.

When Kalat, a section of modern-day Balochistan, chose freedom in 1948, there was the first insurrection. Additional issues in 1958–1959 and 1963–1969 followed this. The one unit policy and army cantonments in Balochistan were the subjects of these disagreements. A well-armed insurrection and rebel movement resulted from Chief Executive Bhutto's disregard for the province administration of Balochistan from 1973 to 1979. Between 2005 and 2009, a number of issues have arisen, including the 79-year-old murder of Baloch leader Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, the 2009 detention of two political leaders of the Baloch insurgency, and the announcement at the end of 2009 by Mir Suliman Dawood, the Khan of Kalat, of the council for Separate Balochistan.

The initiatives to develop Balochistan gave rise to the current issue of Balochistan-Islamabad.

The Gwadar port has emerged as a point of disagreement between the federal administration and

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<sup>8</sup> M.S.H.U. Karunaratne, "Theoretical Analysis on the Convergence of India and China's Interests and Their Impact on Post-Conflict Sri Lanka," *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention* 5, no. 4 (April 30, 2018): 4565–72, <https://doi.org/10.18535/ijsshi/v5i4.04>.

Baloch nationalists. When Pervez Musharraf, the then-chief executive, declared an all-out war on Balochistan in March 2005, the insurgency grew. Following these events, Nawab Akbar Bugti, the leader of the Bugti group, organized a rebellion against the federal government with the help of other tribe members. Former Balochstani governor and chief minister Nawab Akbar was assassinated on August 26, 2006, during an army operation.

The main force behind the current conflict in Balochistan is anticipated to be the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA). In 2000, the BLA was initially identified in the media when this extremist group claimed responsibility for a series of bombings in marketplaces and train stations. Following the explosion in Quetta, the then chief minister of Balochistan, Jam Muhammad Yousaf, formally recognized the BLA's establishment in December 2004. It was first thought to be advanced by the delayed Nawabzada Balaach Marri, but it is now said that Nawab Brahamdagh Khan Bugti is leading it, with Marri and Bugti tribesmen being its primary source. The munitions available to Baloch terrorists have expanded recently, and they have additionally stepped up their tactics. In 2022, three instances indicate this pattern. The most recent one happened on Christmas Day, when at least six Pakistani security personnel were killed after the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) organized five bomb strikes in the cities of Turbat, Kahan, Gwadar, and Quetta. Six senior officials, including a major general and lieutenant general, were killed when a Pakistani military helicopter crashed in southwest Balochistan on August 1. The Pakistani government disputes the claims of the Baloch Raaji Aajoi Sangar (BRAS), which claimed to have deployed anti-aircraft weapons to down the helicopter, after the Pakistani military blamed the incident on unfavorable weather conditions in a statement uploaded the following day. On April 26, 2022, Baloch separatists saw a comparable and unparalleled upsurge. Three Chinese instructors and a Pakistani driver were slain by Shari

Baloch in a suicide explosion at the Confucius Institute at the University of Karachi. Aligned with the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), Shari Baloch was the first female suicide bomber from the Baloch community. According to this, Baloch terrorists' capabilities have likely increased significantly, which has prompted Pakistani security forces to step up their crackdown. The involvement of neighboring countries has complicated the Baloch insurgency. Notwithstanding sporadic security cooperation, tensions between Tehran and Islamabad have escalated as a result of Baloch terrorists using Iran and Afghanistan as safe havens to launch cross-border assaults. While the Taliban promised to crack down on armed groups, they have mainly failed or refused to do so in Afghanistan. Indeed, numerous Baloch armed groups were able to get weapons used by the old Afghan National Army following the fall of the government in Kabul, which was supported by the United States. India has brought up the subject of Balochistan in international forums, frequently in response to Pakistan's own criticism of India's actions in Kashmir. Exiled leaders of the Baloch people have frequently appealed to India for assistance.

Citing events like the espionage arrest of former Indian Navy officer Kulbhushan Jadhav, Pakistan has charged India of aiding the Baloch insurgency. Kulbhushan Jadhav, an Indian national, was detained in 2016 on the pretext that Pakistan believes he was a RAW agent who assisted Baloch agents. According to an Indian journalist's inquiry, Jadhav was a navy intelligence agent monitoring militant organizations supportive of Pakistan in an eastern area of Iran. The episode draws attention to Balochistan's competing regional security objectives and raises the possibility of collaboration between Indian and Iranian intelligence services.

Beginning in 2004, the fifth wave of ethno-nationalist insurgency has targeted Balochistan. Ten In February 2005, in response to the security issue, the Musharraf dictatorship launched military

operations in the area. Banning the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) in April 2006 was the government's first action. Forty-two suspected BLA members' bank accounts were frozen over the next few days. This current ethno-nationalist insurgency was sparked by the murder of prominent Baloch leader Akbar Khan Bugti in August 2006, which not only quickened the conflict's pace but Balochistani citizens' grievances against the federal government have intensified. When BLA Chief Balaach Marri was killed in Afghanistan in November 2007 under dubious circumstances, the insurgency suffered a severe setback.<sup>12</sup> There were disagreements between the two groups because some BLA members suspected, without evidence, that BRA chief Brahamdagh Bugti was involved in the death of the BLA chief. The most well-known ethno nationalist group, BLA, was targeted, and this action caused the insurgency to weaken. A few of the most powerful leaders of ethno-nationalist organizations fled to Afghanistan. The most notable of them was Brahumdagh Bugti, who escaped to Afghanistan from Sui, Dera Bugti. Up until October 2010, Bugti resided in Afghanistan as a state guest before departing for Switzerland. In contrast, a number of chiefs pledged allegiance to Pakistan in exchange for amnesty. Furthermore, the regular murders of civilians increased public hostility toward ethno-nationalist groups. Consequently, there was a shaky peace in the province. In 2007 there was a 19% reduction in fatalities from the previous year.

It is prominent that role of foreign involvement is significant in understanding the militancy in Pakistan particularly in Balochistan. Indian serving Naval officer Kalbushan Yadav was caught in Balochistan who confessed to a number of terrorist activities conducted inside Pakistan. Hayrbiyar Marri living in a safe house in Afghanistan and operating militancy in Balochistan under the patronage of the Indian government with the support of the Afghan Government. In 2009, Interior Minister clearly stated the involvement of Research and Analysis

Wing in supporting militancy in Balochistan<sup>9</sup>. The insurgents use the techniques purely as per the teachings of intelligence agencies while carrying out planning, reconnaissance, and execution of the terrorist's activities.

So, ethnic movements are frequently entrenched in history and politics that exacerbate social and political inequalities. Differences such as these, in turn, can lead to tensions and conflict, undermining attempts to develop stable and inclusive societies. Pakistan and Sri Lanka have had major ethnic conflict due to Indian involvement as external power which notably motivates ethnic groups in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. These ethnic groups arose as a result of the supposed grievances and inequities faced by ethnic minorities in both countries with external support. The comparative analysis between Pakistan and Sri Lanka is critical, since these states have various analogies and incongruity in their ethnic diversity challenges along with human rights violation as there has been some violation of human rights as per the international standards such as women's rights.

The security situation in the tribal region of Balochistan is complex with spiraling conflict<sup>10</sup>. Though the military solution to the conflict has never been the desired option however it is kept as one of the solutions by the states. The success of a military operation varies from case to case. Military operations and Militancy in the conflict in countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Syria etcetera, have proved counterproductive in terms of managing the conflict, whereas in case of LTTE in Sri Lanka and BLA in Balochistan, Pakistan; the military operations have been effective in conflict management.

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<sup>9</sup>Ministry of Interior, Pakistan, —Presentation on evidence of foreign involvement in Balochistan Shahbaz Sharif —Indian involvement in Balochistan *AB Tak TV Channel*, <http://tune.pk/video/3000980/india-isinvolved-in-balochistan-violence-shahbaz-sharif>. Accessed on 23 December 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Mirza, Zahid Latif. "Balochistan-Past, present and future." *NDU Journal* 27 (2013): 21-34.



It is critical to investigate the circumstances that contributed the Indian involvement as external powers and to the emergence of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka, as well as the consequences of these movements for the two nations. This study aims to analyze the external influences that lead to the formation of ethnic groups in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The study will begin with a brief account of the pre-independence period, covering Pakistan's Kalat state and One Unit policy, as well as Sri Lanka's Sinhalese-Tamil ethnic strife. Following that, the research will look Indian involvement as an element that contributed to the growth of ethnic movements in both nations, including political, economic, social, and cultural issues with specific focus on women's rights.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Ethnic movements are widespread, which is a problem for countries like Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Both cases seem similar in major spheres as foreign power and terrorist organization have been in conflict against security forces using terrorist attacks and suicide bombing thus resulting into a prolonged violent conflict for around two decades. Moreover, the role of international linkages is also visible in both cases. Despite this, the paths of these movements differed across the two countries. For example, Sri Lanka faced just one such movement that had existed for a long time, whilst Pakistan is encountering multi-ethnic movements such as the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement, Balochistan insurgency, Sindhudesh, and others. Although Pakistan faces different ethnic movements, the most visible is the Balochistan insurgency.

However, insights can be gained from Sri Lanka's experience in repressing ethnic movements by emphasizing employment possibilities, citizenship inclusivity, academic services, and bureaucracy representation. This study tries to ascertain whether Pakistan can apply comparable measures to combat its own ethnic movements by assessing the efficacy of this

strategy and looking at their adaptation. Given the complex socio-political circumstances in Pakistan, the study aims to determine whether Sri Lanka's effective strategies may be applied there. This research hopes to advance knowledge of international strategy for resolving ethnic disputes and may provide Pakistan with a strategy to successfully thwart its own ethnic movements by drawing on the experiences of others.

### **1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study**

This research work will be conducted with the following research objectives.

1. To examine Sri Lankan strategies of combating ethnic movements.
2. To investigate whether Sri Lanka's initiatives could help Pakistan combat ethnic movements.
3. To identify external powers involved in ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. How can Pakistani ethnic movements be resisted using the same strategy Sri Lanka has used to address its ethnic movements?
2. What are the contextual elements that contributed to Sri Lanka's strategy's success, and how do they contrast with the circumstances in Pakistan?
3. How has foreign intervention affected Sri Lanka's and Pakistan's (Balochistan) security situation?

### **1.5 Research Hypothesis**

The application of Sri Lanka's strategy may benefit Pakistan's efforts to restrict ethnic movements if contextual adjustments are made to reflect the unique requirements of Pakistan.

Independent Variable: The application of Sri Lanka's strategy

Dependent Variable: Pakistan's efforts to restrict ethnic movements

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

Balochistan has witnessed bloodshed and brutality which had a drastic impact on the national security of the country due to border mismanagement. The issue is of high importance in the context of counter terrorism and its impact on Balochistan where Indian factors are interfering and supporting ethnic groups. Comparing the LTTE in Sri Lanka to the BLA in Pakistan's Balochistan is possible, but no research or analysis has been done on Sri Lanka's attempt to handle the war with terrorism in Pakistan's Balochistan. For researchers and politicians interested in understanding the dynamics of ethnic conflict and its influence on social and political development, the emergence and fall of ethnic movements via external powers is an essential topic of study. This comparative study focuses on Pakistan and Sri Lanka, two nations that have seen substantial ethnic violence due to Indian involvement.

Overall, a comparison of Indian involvement in both countries and the growth and fall of ethnic groups in Pakistan and Sri Lanka will have significant implications for policymakers and researchers interested in conflict resolution and peace-building via different dimensions i.e., employment, citizenship, academic services, and bureaucratic services. By addressing the underlying causes of ethnic conflict, enhancing social and political inclusion, and achieving lasting peace, this research might shed light on practical solution

## **1.7 Research Gap**

After having gone through extensive literature work on Indian involvement and terrorism in Balochistan and Sri Lanka, the gap is found in shape of limited literature on comparing the Sri Lankan approach with conflict management with Pakistan's Political and military strategy dealing with terrorism in all districts of Balochistan, Pakistan. The study of lessons derived from the Sri Lankan government's achievement in the LTTE case and the implementation of its pattern for dealing with BLA across all districts of Balochistan will add to academic knowledge

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review & Theoretical Framework

#### 2.1 Literature Review

The current thesis is filling up the gap with a view to way forward for conflict management in Balochistan, Pakistan. While reviewing literature on conflict management in tribal region of Pakistan: the causes of the conflict, its impact and valuable way forward suggesting for the betterment of the social fabric of tribal region have been deliberated by the scholars and researchers. On socio-economic impact due to war on terror, socio-economic victimization of the people enhanced due to extremism and Talibanization fanning out in the whole country. Pakistan has been badly affected; with a loss of around \$60 billion within first decade of Global war on terror. Moreover, at that time it has become essential to understand the psychology of the society where a huge population of youth is vulnerable to terrorism.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to this, the turbulence relationship between two states, Pakistan and India, has seen many ups and downs over the past seven decades. Dramatic events have taken place there, sometimes inspiring optimism for improved bilateral relations and other times leaving no hope at all for the future. However, both nations have come to understand the importance of starting a dialogue to end the relationship's troublesome bilateral problems. Intermittent discussion between India and Pakistan has taken place, but due to the actions of non-state entities operating out of Pakistan, the dialogue has been halted or both nations have returned to their non-dialogue positions before it could begin in earnest<sup>12</sup>. Similar to this, on December 22, 2010, Shahzain

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<sup>11</sup> Jamshed, U., A. Jahangir, and N. Fazil. "War on Terror: Socio-Economic Ramifications for Pakistan." *Global International Relations Review* 1, no. 1 (2022): 1-10.

<sup>12</sup> Yusuf, Hamid (2009): Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-2005, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publication, p.90.

Bugti was detained together with 26 members of his security team when they entered Balochistan from Afghanistan with a sizable cache of weapons and explosives.<sup>13</sup> Such type of extra-judicial killings and detentions worsened the already existing deteriorated situation in Balochistan.

Furthermore, Pervez Musharraf stated in his statement which were pertinent to Indian Involvement in Balochistan that India interfere in the Balochistan's issues due to the topography of the terrain because there are enormous infiltration routes for smuggling of arms, ammunition, and narcotics. The presence of Indian consulates in Afghanistan along Balochistan border indicates coordination, monitoring, supervision, facilitation, directing and training the people for carrying out anti-state activities. The insurgents use the techniques purely as per the teachings of intelligence agencies while carrying out planning, reconnaissance, and execution of the terrorist's activities

The access to warm water by the Russians, energy corridor of Central Asian States attracted the region for economic Hitmen. The development of Gwadar Port also made the region more lucrative to foreigners. The dilemma is Gwadar port is affecting the neighboring ports at Iran and UAE etc. Most of the stakeholders wanted to control the port, but the climax is China got it without much effort. The emergence of China is another factor, where the opponents of China like India and USA would never like China to emerge at regional and world level. President Musharraf has given several statements on the involvement of Indian intelligence agencies in Balochistan<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> News Report —Shahzain Bugti held with illegal arms, *Dawn News*, December 23, 2010.

<sup>14</sup> Jahangir, Javeria. "Political Culture of Balochistan during Military Regime of General Pervez Musahrraf and Indian Interest in Balochistan." *Journal of Indian Studies* 6, no. 1 (2020): 101-136.

On social media, the recently leaked lecture by Ajit Doval, a national security advisor, India, who spoke in favor of defensive offensive strategy and conveyed tribute to RAW, the way they are interfering in Pakistan achieving their own interest. He confessed that terrorism is the best way to tackle Pakistan. Targets are selected with a lot of deliberation by the enemy country to maximize damage to warfighting capability of opponent forces through terrorism means followed by mass media coverage to propagate success of terrorists and weakening strength of opponent Government and security forces<sup>15</sup>.

An erstwhile Pakistan diplomat, Hussein Haqqani, asserts that there are several explanations for both the two nations' engagement in and withdrawal from talks. It is important to note that the relationship between the two nations has always been complicated, and that over time the national narratives developed because of numerous wars and bilateral conflicts have served as a foundation for continuing hostilities in the absence of popular pressure to engage in a dialogue process. This is due to the fact that given the history of partition; any compromise is viewed from the perspective of a zero-sum game. Dealing with the Indian threat has been a major focus of Pakistan's foreign policy.<sup>16</sup>

Indian intervention in the conflict is by no means a rare phenomenon. Moreover, the conflict had gone out of control of the Sri Lankan Government. Additionally, the Tamils have turned for help from South Indian Tamils based on ethnic identity. However, the Sri Lankan Government has contacted the Indian government to assist in conflict management. The Sri Lankan also sought help from Pakistan, Israel and the USA. Indian motivation to enter the conflict was purposeful as it had implications at domestic level. For example, giving support to

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<sup>15</sup> Shailaja Neelakantan, —When NSA Ajit Doval outlined India's new Pak strategy- defensive offense – perfectly!, [www.def.pk](http://www.def.pk) October 4, 2016

<sup>16</sup> Haqqani, Husain. *Pakistan: Between mosque and military*. Carnegie endowment, 2010.

Tamils for separate homeland would provide legitimacy to different groups demanding separate state. Another reason was Indian desire asset influence in the region.

In other words, India wanted to display hegemonic status in the region. The facilitators and organizers of seminars were successful in developing track II diplomacy. The participants did bring new ideas towards the resolution. It provided a forum for better understanding of the conflict with diversified perspectives and interacting with opposing communities. Though the results of forums conducted were not much successful as no agreement was signed nor any permanent networks established<sup>17</sup>.

Nonetheless, suicide terrorism increased due to involvement of the external factors, particularly state and non-state actors, which prevailed in the world from 1980-2013, covering various parts of region victim of suicide terrorism due to foreign intervention. In the similar way, the conflict in Sri Lanka was also the victim of foreign intervention that caused LTTE to adopt terrorism including suicide attacks due to foreign intervention especially India. Indian intervention in Sri Lanka crises was due to her own strategic and regional interest regarding two major international powers USA and former USSR. India had already influence in Sri Lanka internal affairs and had signed three pacts with Sri Lanka; 1954 the Nehru – Kotelawala Pact, 1964, Shastri–Srimavo Pact, 1974 Indra-Srimavo Agreement to settle the plantation issue. Indian involvement in Sri Lanka affairs in the 1980s could be viewed with four different dimensions. Firstly, Indian strategic interest in Sri Lanka regarding the establishment of US bases in Trincomelee, secondly support of Indian intelligence agency RAW to Tamil militants fighting against GoSL, thirdly political crises in Sri Lanka and fourthly refugee influx and impact on

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<sup>17</sup> Talpahewa, Chanaka. *Peaceful intervention in intra-state conflicts: Norwegian involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process*. Routledge, 2016.



Tamil Nadu. The idea of a separate homeland for the Tamil community already existed since 1958<sup>18</sup>.

Moreover, the concerns were getting serious with the passage of time and Sri Lankan Government was neglecting to address the concerns of Tamils. The communal riots were taking place in the '70s era; however, with low intensity. The riots gained momentum after employment of an army unit in Jaffna in 1983<sup>19</sup>. The unit was given free hand to deal with riots including harassment and assault on Sri Lankan Tamils. The worst outbreak of violence effect was killing of two Tamil insurgents and rape of a Tamil girl and in response, Tamil attacked army convoy killing 13 army persons. Tamil massive migration to India facilitated Tamils to play the ethnic card to its own political advantage.

On this matter, India wanted to show muscles and own regional hegemony due to her conceived supremacy within the region by intervening in the conflict. India adopted two-way approaches. The political approach was to support Government of Sri Lanka in engaging dialogues with Tamil militants and militarily provision of arms to Tamil militants covertly. RAW trained various cadres known as Kadavul's Batch means God's Men.<sup>20</sup>

During 1987, Indians intervention in Sri Lanka insurgency rescued the LTTE from defeat. Indians employed peacekeeping force called —Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) to create a partition between Sri Lankan Army and LTTE cadres. This has allowed division of Sri Lanka into LTTE held areas and rest part of the country. Though LTTE has reorganized themselves, however, LTTE commander VP had an assessment that India is not serious in

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<sup>18</sup> Pape, Robert A. "Dying to win: The strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *The Theory and Practice of Islamic Terrorism: An Anthology* (2008): 129-132.

<sup>19</sup> Kearney, Robert N. "Ethnic conflict and the Tamil separatist movement in Sri Lanka." *Asian Survey* 25, no. 9 (1985): 898-917.

<sup>20</sup> Effendi, Maria Saifuddin. *Role of a third party in conflict resolution: A case study of India and Norway in Sri Lanka*. Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 2007.

demands of independent Tamil state due to its likely fallout of cessation wave inside India as well.

The Sri Lankan Army began a significant attack against insurgents in 2001 and achieved an edge over militants, however considering the number of casualties on both sides and perception of genocide, this time Norway intervened as a mediator to make a cease-fire between opposing forces.<sup>21</sup> This time India was not assisting the LTTE possibly in the backdrop of the assassination of PM Rajiv Gandhi by Tamil female militant. However, few of politicians from Tamil Nadu continued their links with Tamils post 9/11 attacks; scenario caused difficulties in the offshore supply of arms and ammunition to LTTE. Though VP had influenced internationally by portraying the war between Sri Lanka and LTTE as ethnic conflict and perceived act of violence committed by the Sri Lankan military, including genocide and breaches of human rights.

Furthermore, the literature review has been dissected into two portions based on the theme of the existing knowledge pertinent to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and strategies to resolve the conflict, and how strategies may be applied on the ongoing insurgencies in Balochistan.

## **2.2 Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka and Strategies to Resolve the Conflict**

The 30-year-long ethnic-based civil strife in Sri Lanka was resolved in May 2009 between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The role of women was also evident in the civil war. Women, who belong to the majority ethnic group- for example the Sinhalese, were manipulated to develop and change their nationalistic ideologies as

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<sup>21</sup> Talpahewa, Chanaka. *Peaceful intervention in intra-state conflicts: Norwegian involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process*. Routledge, 2016.

a result of the violent ethnic conflict. In addition to this, urban Sinhala women in Colombo, Sri Lanka adopted a Sinhala Buddhist ideology in reaction to what they perceived as a threat to the nation's integrity from the Tamil Hindu minority. Specifically, the ethnic struggle appears to have allowed women voices to be heard in politics in order to strengthening a gendered ethno-religious identity. In conclusion of the argument, Sinhalese women's nationalistic worldview was reinforced by the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka, which also gave them a political platform to speak out in representative electoral systems.<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka had become prominent issue in the global political sphere where great powers' leaders had pondered to make plans for the elimination of the conflict. There exist numerous ideas that elucidate the underlying causes of racial strife. However, the previous researches have intended to offer an alternative viewpoint on the reasons behind the ethnic strife, which had resulted in thousands of fatalities and innumerable property damages since the country's independence in 1948. Resultantly, this ethnic conflict originated from the British decision to forcibly unite three pre-existing regional sovereignties under the loose rule of their European forebears. The willingness of the British to maintain British authority in Sri Lanka (previously known as Ceylon) was a major factor in their choice to create three highly homogenous sovereignties under centralized governance. Different scholars have put their efforts to understand the main underlying reasons of the ethnic conflict by examining the processes of the unitary structure's creation (pre-independent period) and consolidation (post-independent era). It can be stated that since independence in 1948, hundreds of lives and

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<sup>22</sup> Samarasinghe, Vidyamali. "'A Theme Revisited'? The Impact of the Ethnic Conflict on Women and Politics in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 33, no. 4 (2012): 345-364.

significant property losses had resulted from the ethnic war in Sri Lanka, which had its roots in the British attempt to combine three regional sovereignties under centralized government.<sup>23</sup>

It makes use of a variety of theoretical frameworks to explain Sri Lanka's violent ethnic strife, which dates back thirty years, including constructivism, primordialism, pre-colonialist, colonial theorist, modernization, vote-maximization, and institutional degradation. In light of these ideas, existing research focuses on how the Sinhala political elites' vote-maximization approach marginalized ethnic minorities, especially the Tamils, who eventually turned to a violent secessionist fight after losing faith in the government and its institutions. In the end, it is considered that the main cause of Sri Lanka's ethnic strife was the vote-maximization policy of Sinhala political elites, which marginalized ethnic minorities and breded mistrust of governmental institutions, which in turn fueled violent secession attempts.

Based on the ground reality of Sri Lanka's ongoing ethnic conflict, it can be identified that the conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka has a mythical past and a tense current in which the two ethnic parties were at odds. The way this manifests itself and adds to the difficulty of the struggle is emphasized. Some ideas about how to start resolving this problem are provided. A resolution to the ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka is elusive - because of the fundamental elements of their identities.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, Sri Lanka's ethnic conflicts had turned into some of the world's most intractable disputes. No agreement had been reached at final stage despite numerous attempts at

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<sup>23</sup> Razak, Abdul, and Mohamed Imtiyaz. "Racial Conflict in Sri Lanka: Origin and Development." *Available at SSRN 399560* (2003).

<sup>24</sup> Sahadevan, P. "Resistance to resolution: Explaining the intractability of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka." *International Journal of Group Tensions* 27, no. 1 (1997): 19-41.

negotiation between the government of Sri Lanka and the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The peace process led by Norway in 2002 and supported by other countries mainly contributed in the elimination of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka for a while; however, it reignited. In order to achieve the opposite outcome of a return to and intensification of the war, it was important to trace down the process of interaction with the fractured political reality on the ground in Sri Lanka. Due to the failure of the 2002 peace process in Sri Lanka, which was spearheaded by Norway and backed by the international community, the ethnic civil war had returned and become more intense.<sup>25</sup>

In the same way, in the domain of International Relations study, a paradigm shift had come after the end of cold war where state wars were being replaced to an upsurge of interest in transnational ethnic groups, terrorist organizations, and even sub state entities as actors in international politics. Several researchers have worked to map out the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka's worldwide implications and have also looked at the roles, responses, and interests of a wide range of internationally defined entities in relation to this conflict. Tamilnadu state in India, the role of Sri Lankan militant groups, and of expatriate Sri Lankans abroad, both Tamil and Sinhala, have highlighted the issues of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka at every level- apart from the direct influence exerted by India, as well as by governmental and non-governmental organizations. The ethnic war in Sri Lanka had become considerably more open and exclusive

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<sup>25</sup> Shastri, Amita. "Ending ethnic civil war: the peace process in Sri Lanka." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 47, no. 1 (2009): 76-99.

owing to the involvement of foreign actors such militant organizations from Sri Lanka, the Tamil Nadu state in India, and Sri Lankan expatriates living overseas.<sup>26</sup>

Other than domestic factors, intervention by regional countries had intensified during Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, and talks between the new administration and Tamils were unlikely to bring an end to the conflict due to these external involvements. There was a lengthy history of negotiations to end the protracted and deeply ingrained ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The author argues that there were two types of negotiations: those that took place locally between the disputing parties and those that were held in the presence and under the sponsorship of a regional power, in this case, India. There have been numerous attempts at first-category negotiations, but none have been fruitful. A typical case study of the dangers associated with India, trying to mediate and enforce a settlement in an ethnic war in a neighboring state is the eight-year Indian mediation of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, which started in the early 1980s. With its vague and ultimately contradictory goals, that forced intervention fell short of nearly all of its targets.

In an unusual instance of an outside mediator inadvertently turning into a combatant, the Indian army, which had entered the conflict as a mediator with the declared goal of defending the rights of Sri Lanka's Tamil minority, ultimately engaged in combat with the main leaders of Tamil separatism on Sri Lankan territory. Instead of settling the ethnic conflict on the island, the failure of diplomatic negotiations made it worse. It meant that when talks broke down, the most militant and uncompromising Tamil separatist factions were engaged in military conflict by successive governments in Sri Lanka. An understanding of the challenges faced by democratically elected governments in addressing a separatist movement led by its most violent

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<sup>26</sup>Kodikara, Shelton U. "International Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka Involvement of India and Non-State Actors." *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 18, no. 4 (1987): 637-648.

factions, who have consistently marginalized its opponents, can be gained from the situation in Sri Lanka.<sup>27</sup>

In Sri Lanka, political parties tend to politicize ethnic differences which ultimately resulted in feeding ethnic strife and bloodshed. Partition or power sharing formulas were suggested as potential solutions. The main argument of the discussion is that the major political parties' politicization of ethnic differences had fueled interethnic conflict and bloodshed in Sri Lanka. Different studies have used an interactive methodology to comprehend both parties' violent behavior in ethnic conflicts. The violence each side used against the other fueled their mutual mistrust. Ethnic conflicts were then exacerbated by political elites who use ethnic feelings in their pursuit of power. In order to comprehend Sri Lanka's ethnic violence, there was need to trace down a few key historical elements which were still impacting the ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka. Moreover, different studies have also at last offered different suggestions for ending the protracted ethnic political conflict: the most prominent one was power-sharing or partition.<sup>28</sup>

Nonetheless, National security concerns had shaped India's approach to the Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka, which had gradually moved from dispersion to mediation and finally suppression. Over the course of the conflict, India's approach to the Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka changed from one of diffusion to one of mediation to one of repression, each of which denoted a different stage of the fight. National security concerns served as the constant basis for

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<sup>27</sup> De Silva, Kingsley M. "Sri Lanka's prolonged ethnic conflict: negotiating a settlement." *International Negotiation* 6, no. 3 (2001): 437-469.

<sup>28</sup> Imtiyaz, Abdul Razak Mohamed, and Ben Stavis. "Ethno-political conflict in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Third World Studies* 25, no. 2 (2008): 135-152.

India's strategies, even though they changed at different points during the Sri Lankan conflict. The article's major contention is that India's approach to the Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka has been primarily guided by consideration of national security, both internally and externally. The empirical analysis demonstrates the validity of the realism axiom that states' foreign policy behavior is mostly determined by their national interest, which is generally interpreted in terms of national security.<sup>29</sup>

The application of peace-building tactics in Sri Lanka was influenced by various elements, including governmental policy, the economy, and internal politics, leading to a lack of consistency in the desired outcome. Researchers have strived to make an effort to comprehend and evaluate the peace-building tactics used in Sri Lanka by foreign players. In order to increase the activities of international actors even in ongoing domestic conflicts and not just in post-war situations, the UN advocated and later developed the peace-building approach to conflict resolution. The causes of the growth in internal conflicts in states with many ethnic populations have already been examined. In order to overcome these disputes, factors like socioeconomic discrimination, resource scarcity, and denial of rights should be addressed in addition to identification and security concerns- as studies suggested.

Nevertheless, there have been conflicting outcomes when this strategy was applied to the Sri Lankan setting, specifically from 1999 to 2004. The economy and politics of the country, the effects of protracted internal conflict on society, the state's foreign and economic policies, the

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<sup>29</sup> Sengupta, Debjani, and Rajat Ganguly. "Diffusion, mediation, suppression: India's varied strategy towards the Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka." *Journal of South Asian Development* 8, no. 1 (2013): 105-125.



positions of donors, and the interests of various parties involved in the conflict all had an impact on how this strategy was implemented.<sup>30</sup>

Other than conflict resolution, rehabilitation programmes can be used to change violent attitudes and behaviors, lower the likelihood of recidivist acts, and promote peace and stability in order to effectively combat terrorism and insurgency. Every dispute is unique; hence no rehabilitation programme can use the same blueprint. There are certain universal recovery concepts, nevertheless. Changing an offender's thought process and behavior is the aim of rehabilitation. Offenders need to get away from violent extremist ideology before they can be reintegrated into society as large. Strategies must concentrate on altering their thought patterns if the mindset is fixed on an ideology of hate and violence against another ethnic or religious group. The mechanisms and cognitive patterns that justify violence must be recognized in order to support the offender's transition to a nonviolent lifestyle.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, the literature review suggests that a permanent peace in Sri Lanka required the devolution of power to the country's north and east; however, the current state of disarray surrounding this process led towards uncertainty and impeded efforts at reconciliation. Ethnic politicization and ethnicization of politics have become widespread throughout Sri Lanka's history of ethnic warfare. Sri Lanka's integrity is facing significant challenges due to the politicization of religion and ethnic revivalism and the assertion of several ethnic and regional identities. Sri Lanka adopted modernization and economic advancement tactics after

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<sup>30</sup> Samatha, M. "Prospects and Challenges of Peace-building: An Evaluation of External Actors in Sri Lanka." *History and Sociology of South Asia* 5, no. 1 (2011): 31-47.

<sup>31</sup> Hettiarachchi, Malkanthi. "Sri Lanka's Rehabilitation program: a new frontier in counter terrorism and counter insurgency." *Prism* 4, no. 2 (2013): 105-121.

independence. But as a result of modernization and development, development progress became more centralized.

The detrimental effect of this concentration was the appearance of prejudice towards different regions and ethnic groups. For a durable peace, power must devolve to the north and east. Although the LTTE has been defeated, the need for meaningful power sharing has not decreased; in fact, it has become even more crucial since the conflict has ended and normalcy has returned to those regions. The administration has effectively denied the necessity of any political resolution or power sharing under the 13th amendment with the Tamil-speaking majority in the North and East in this particular setting. Compared to past administrations, this is a striking shift.<sup>32</sup>

Learning from the past, not reverting to ineffective inward-focused development policies is the key to Sri Lanka's post-civil war economic success. Building on the successes of the liberalization reforms during the three preceding decades, the 2009 end of the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka raised widely anticipated expectations of a time of sustained economic growth. On the other hand, recent events have tempered that optimism and reignited concerns that Sri Lanka's history of lost opportunities could go on. The analysis presented in this article indicates that there are no workable answers to Sri Lanka's economic issues if the country returns to its failed past policies of inward-oriented development methods.

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<sup>32</sup> Aliff, S. M. "Reconciliation through the devolution of powers in post-war Sri Lanka: a special reference to debates on 13th amendment of the constitution." *Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* 5, no. 6 (2015): 62-84.

## 2.3 Rise of Insurgencies in Balochistan

After examining the literature review on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, it is also significant to study literature review on the ethnic insurgencies in Balochistan and how external factors have contributed in unleashing ethnic conflict in the province. The creation, expansion, radicalization, and de-escalation of Baloch nationalism in Pakistan has resulted in it transitioning from a guerilla conflict to a non-issue. A journalist from Pakistan contacted Henry Kissinger to remark on the Baloch rebellion in 1962 while he was there on a troubleshooting mission for US President J. F. Kennedy. *“Even if it were to hit me in the face, I would not recognize the Balochistan problem, was his response.”* But when Pakistani military forces faced off against Baloch nationalists in 1973, Balochistan had turned into one of the most unstable areas of confrontation for the two superpowers. As of right now, Baloch nationalism is no longer a problem. This research investigates Baloch nationalism's birth, development, radicalization, and de-escalation.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, with an emphasis on the necessity of political solutions and a dedication to a multiethnic, democratic state, Critical challenges concerning nation-building and the viability of democratic ethnically plural governments in the modern era were raised by the escalation of ethnic strife and secessionism in many of the decolonized countries. In this regard, there was need to advance a comparative knowledge of the origins, dynamics, and settlement of ethnic strife and secessionist demands that plague modern-day South and Southeast Asia. The most important step which needs to be investigated always revolves around how ethnic identity comes to be politicized and then deployed in situations of conflict. Of eight case studies, four—from

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<sup>33</sup> Khan, Adeel. "Baloch ethnic nationalism in Pakistan: from Guerrilla War to nowhere?." *Asian ethnicity* 4, no. 2 (2003): 281-293.

Papua New Guinea, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka—are ethno-nationalist, one is by the indigenous people of the Philippines, and the other two are communal in nature.

Regional collaboration has been hindered and South Asia has become a violent zone due to violence and terrorist operations by unhappy ethnic nations including the Mohajir, LTTE, and Kashmiri people, as well as official repression and counterterrorism measures.<sup>34</sup>

Due to its advantageous geographic position, resource-rich Balochistan province has much significant in raising Pakistan posture in the global economic and politics domain. Its position plays a significant part in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which is seen as a transformative project. Unfortunately, due to poverty, faulty government policies, and porous international borders with Iran and Afghanistan, Balochistan has remained a hotbed of militancy and wars since the founding of Pakistan. Since 1948 to now, there have been about five insurgencies. The ruling Kalat family and Baloch chieftains started the first four, urging their tribesmen to take up arms against the Pakistani government.

As terrorist attacks continue to occur, the most recent round of armed warfare is the longest and most widespread, having begun in 2004. Balochistan politicians still adhere to a personal concept of leadership. However, in terms of the militant groups, sincere complaints and outside intervention led to a change in leadership from middle-class Baloch educated youth to Baloch tribal heads. Although the government has been able to establish a significant degree of peace, until the underlying issues are addressed, the peace will remain unfavorable.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Chris Gilligan (2007) BookReview, *Ethnopolitics*, 6:1, 159160, DOI: [10.1080/17449050701281188](https://doi.org/10.1080/17449050701281188)

<sup>35</sup> Shah, Muhammad Waseem, and Muhammad Irfan Mahsud. "Transformation of Leadership Paradigm in Balochistan: A Case Study of Baloch Led Militant Groups in Post 2004 Period." *Pakistan Journal of Social Research* 4, no. 2 (2004).

There are different dynamics of ethnic strife and religious activism in Balochistan, which are fueled by jihadist groups and local nationalism, provide serious security risks to regional, national, and international stability. In Pakistan, the Balochistan issue has consistently been a source of weakness for policy leaders, leading to five distinct insurgencies during the post-colonial period. A centralizing elite's imperative and a local elite's resistance to assimilationist pressures were the driving forces behind all of these insurgencies. Domestically, Pakistan's policy makers have continued to be plagued by the Balochistan issue, which has resulted in five different insurgencies in the post-colonial era.

The necessity of a centralizing elite and the resistance of a local elite to assimilationist pressures were the driving forces behind all such insurgencies. Regarding religion, since 2009, there has been heightened American monitoring of Balochistan, with claims that Quetta and its surroundings serve as safe havens for the Taliban leadership, including Mullah Omar. Simultaneously, Quetta has witnessed an increase in sectarian strife, and the division between Sunnis and Shias in the city remains significant in the War on Terror. The paper presents a critically oriented analysis in light of the growing wave of Baloch nationalism and jihadist militancy, including sectarian massacres.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, Pakistan security services' victory over the Pakistani Taliban was mostly due to the regaining of credibility among the populace and the armed forces. Although the Pakistani security forces have defeated the Pakistani Taliban's insurgency, terrorism will continue to be a major issue for the foreseeable future. The army and public together restored the campaign's

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<sup>36</sup> Siddiqi, Farhan Hanif. "Security dynamics in Pakistani Balochistan: Religious activism and ethnic conflict in the war on terror." *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 39, no. 3 (2012): 157-175.

credibility, and this was the main factor in the victory rather than the use of novel tactics. This happened when it became apparent that Pakistan was being defended rather than the United States of America was the real reason for the conflict. The nationalist insurgency in Balochistan is distinct from and less powerful than the Taliban. The nationalist insurgency in Balochistan is distinct from the Taliban's and weaker than theirs, but it has the potential to persist longer. With some degree of success, military strategies in Balochistan have been modeled after those of the British Raj and have involved sowing discord among tribes and gaining control over their leaders.<sup>37</sup>

In general, an integrated strategy emphasizing behaviours, ideologies, and institutional frameworks has been effective in quelling insurgencies in Balochistan, resulting in the integration of Baloch society into Pakistani and national society. This study examines the intricate web of actions brought on by the various structures and beliefs that make up Baloch society, applying the conceptual framework developed by Scott Moore to the insurgency in Balochistan. It is necessary to develop an integrated strategy that aims to positively alter the interconnected aspects of actions, beliefs, and structures in order to use countermeasures against insurgency that are effective. According to the study, this method of dealing with insurgency in Balochistan has largely proven effective. Furthermore, Pakistani society, as a whole, and the Baloch community have been assimilated.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Lieven, Anatol. "Counter-insurgency in Pakistan: The role of legitimacy." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 28, no. 1 (2017): 166-190.

<sup>38</sup> Jilani, Sheikh Ghulam, and Ghulam Mujaddid. "Theory and Practice of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: The Case Study of Balochistan." *Global Strategic & Security Studies Review* 1 (2020): 1-16.

The on-going conflict in Balochistan is fueled by ethnic political violence by state repression and horizontal inequality in Balochistan. Inclusive governance and distributive justice measures, on the other hand, can strengthen democratic stability in multiethnic countries. This essay makes the case that the state's oppressive policies and severe regional disparities have stoked ethno-political conflict by feeding Baloch feelings of neglect and deprivation. In light of Frances Stewart's concept of horizontal inequalities, the relationship between socioeconomic disparities, the escalation of ethno-political conflict, and political engagement in Balochistan is very prominent. Different researches have focused to investigate how, in multiethnic countries; grievances caused by horizontal disparities can intensify the risk of ethnic violence and democratic instability. In the same way, inclusive governance and distributive justice measures can increase the probability of democratic stability in a plural society in order to eliminate the intra-state conflicts.<sup>39</sup>

As it has been stated that inclusive governance and distributive justice measures can strengthen democratic stability in multiethnic countries, it is evident that in Balochistan case study, state's oppressive policies and severe regional disparities have stoked ethno-political conflict by feeding Baloch feelings of neglect and deprivation. The relationship between socioeconomic disparities and the escalation of ethno-political conflict is negative in nature as inequality in both social and economic domain can add into the plight of the already marginalized groups. In addition to this, CPEC projects have made the ethnic problem in Balochistan worsen, possibly increasing interprovincial violence and economic hardship. Pakistan's government asserts still positive aspects of the CPEC, though.

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<sup>39</sup> Mushtaq, Muhammad, and Zahra Shakil Mirza. "Understanding the nexus between horizontal inequalities, ethno-political conflict and political participation: A case study of Balochistan." *Ethnopolitics* 21, no. 3 (2022): 221-237.

The demographic makeup of Balochistan, the history of the ethnic conflict there, projects related to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), and the role played by competing governments in inciting intra-provincial conflicts and ethno national rebellion against Pakistan are relevant to each other. While the topic of whether Baloch nationalists want the eastern, western, or central route of the CPEC is still currently being unanswerable as it was brought up earlier.<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, lack of political legitimacy, broad support, and government authority are the core causes of the ongoing conflict in Balochistan. For more over five years, a full-fledged insurgency has been raging in Balochistan. The insurgents' broad support and the impunity with which they have been attacking government symbols not only throughout Balochistan but even outside of it suggest that there are well-defined and deeply ingrained causes for the insurgency, despite the efforts of the Pakistani establishment to portray it as a tribal misadventure being carried out by a small number of feudal lords. In a nutshell, different socio-political elements have contributed to the present insurgent wave in Balochistan.<sup>41</sup>

Besides this, the geopolitical importance of Balochistan has been amplified by the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), but it has also been shaped by external influences such as the US and India, which have an interest in maintaining its stability. Balochistan is a significant region due to its geographic location. China, India, the US, Iran, the Central Asian Republics (CARs), Afghanistan, and other major international and regional actors have all shown interest in the province since it offers the best and quickest path to the Arabian Sea.

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<sup>40</sup> Zaheer, Muhammad Akram, and Muhammad Asim. "The ethnic dilemma in Balochistan with more focusing upon intra-provincial conflicts under CPEC scenario." *Journal of South Asian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2021): 57-66.

<sup>41</sup> Bansal, Alok. "Factors leading to insurgency in Balochistan." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 19, no. 2 (2008): 182-200.



Every participant sought to use this area to further their geostrategic and geopolitical goals. The establishment of the Gwadar port and the growth of Balochistan via the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) will fundamentally alter Pakistan's socioeconomic progress. India has begun to make significant investments in the growth of the Iranian port of Chabahar in an effort to undermine the viability of Gwadar. China-US and India-Pakistan competition has been a recurrent subject in global and regional politics, respectively. Pakistan has been expressing doubts due to Iran's strategic alliance with India.

The arrest of Kulbhushan Jhadav, an Indian spy, has validated the role of Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), India's intelligence agency, and supported all earlier reports regarding foreign involvement in insurgency assistance in Balochistan. There is prominent influence of external factors and their involvement in the province's current instability.<sup>42</sup>

For the purpose of resolving intrastate problems and advancing development, the Baloch insurgency in Pakistan emphasizes the necessity of regional autonomy, economic growth, and fair benefit distribution. Political and social tensions have resulted in the insurgency due to the local Baloch population's demand for regional autonomy, their dissatisfaction with the province's slow rate of economic development, the influx of people from other provinces, and the exploitation of the province's abundant natural resources without providing an equitable distribution of benefits. There were four distinct waves of violent upheaval in 1948, 1958–1959, 1962–1963, and 1973–1977. Tensions erupted in Balochistan in the beginning of 2005 when multiple conflicts between security personnel and the Baloch tribesmen were reported.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Shah, Ali Zaman. "Geopolitical Significance of Balochistan." *Strategic Studies* 37, no. 3 (2017): 126-144.

<sup>43</sup> Cheema, G. Shabbir. "Intrastate conflicts and development strategies: The Baloch insurgency in Pakistan." In *Development strategies, identities, and conflict in Asia*, pp. 125-151. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013.

Pakistan has struggled with secession since its founding in 1947, mostly due to its many ethnic identities. The biggest but least populated province in Pakistan, Balochistan, has been caught in a violent cycle of insurgency due to issues with political autonomy, unfair resource allocation, and socioeconomic inequality. In contemporary context, Baloch people claim that central government deprives Balochistan from its plausible economic part. In addition to this, enforced disappearance and extra-judicial killings of the Baloch people fuel the on-going ethnic conflicts in Balochistan.<sup>44</sup>

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.2.1 Protracted Social Conflict Theory**

Protracted Social Conflict theory, developed by Edward Azar, provides a lens through which to understand the dynamics of enduring and complex conflicts, often characterized by deep-rooted grievances, identity politics, and external involvement<sup>45</sup>. This framework serves as a foundation for examining how external powers contribute to the perpetuation of ethnic movements in the selected cases.

According to PSC theory, conflicts develop as a result of structural inequalities, economic inequalities, and political marginalisation. Structured grievances are frequently linked to marginalised groups' struggles for political representation, socioeconomic justice, and cultural

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<sup>44</sup> Mushtaq, Muhammad, and Zahra Shakil Mirza. "Understanding the nexus between horizontal inequalities, ethno-political conflict and political participation: A case study of Balochistan." *Ethnopolitics* 21, no. 3 (2022): 221-237.

<sup>45</sup> Bakare, Najimdeen. "Edward Azar's Protracted Social Conflict Theory and Drivers of Self-Determination: the Case of Nigeria." *Przegląd Strategiczny* 11, no. 14 (2021): 313-328.

acknowledgment in the context of ethnic movements. The framework will investigate how external powers interact with underlying structural reasons to aggravate or ameliorate concerns.<sup>46</sup>

PSC theory provides a perspective through which to examine the underlying structural concerns that often inspire ethnic movements. Historical and contemporary inequalities in political representation, access to resources, and cultural recognition have all played critical roles in kindling and sustaining ethnic tensions in both Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The study will use the PSC framework to investigate how external forces have interacted with these underlying structural difficulties, either increasing tensions via neglect or contributing to their reduction through specific measures.<sup>47</sup>

Identity-based conflicts are central to PSC theory. The emphasis on identity politics in the theory is particularly relevant to the cases under consideration. For example, in Sri Lanka, the ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority is profoundly entrenched in identity issues. The PSC framework will be useful in determining how external powers' identification with identity narratives influenced the course of the Tamil separatist movement. Similarly, the Baloch ethnic movement in Pakistan has strong identity components, and using the PSC theory will shed light on how external actors' support or interference corresponds with these identity dynamics. Ethnic movements are frequently centered on issues of identity, ethnicity, and nationalism. The approach will investigate how external actors interact with and affect these identity dynamics, whether through support for ethno-nationalist aspirations or through other means.

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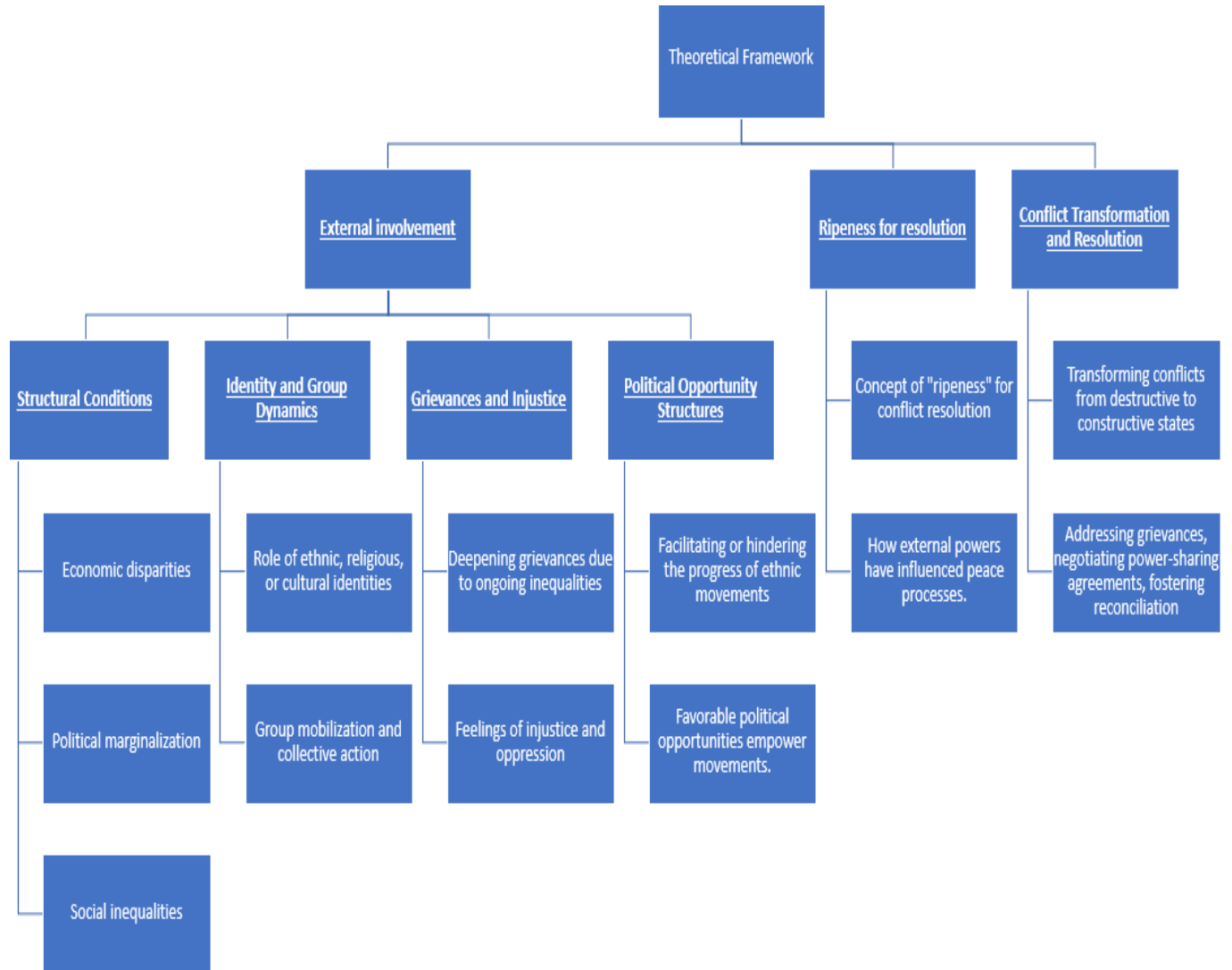
<sup>46</sup> Azar, Edward E., and Nadia Farah. "The structure of inequalities and protracted social conflict: A theoretical framework." *International Interactions* 7, no. 4 (1981): 317-335.

<sup>47</sup> Beaudoin, Melissa. "Protracted Social Conflict: A Reconceptualization and Case Analysis." (2013).

PSC theory highlights the influence of external actors in perpetuating conflicts. External powers might provide financial, political, or military support to ethnic movements, either to advance their own interests or to maintain instability in a region. The framework will assess how external involvement contributes to power asymmetry and shapes the trajectories of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The framework will analyze whether external powers contribute to creating conditions of ripeness by facilitating dialogues. The framework will also explore that how India impacted the dynamics of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

The recognition of regional and global elements in PSC theory sheds light on the external power dynamics at work. Both Pakistan and Sri Lanka are in key regions, and external powers' engagement in ethnic movements in these nations has frequently been affected by geopolitical objectives. The study will use the PSC framework to determine how external powers' alliances, rivalries, and interests intertwined with the ethnic movements in question.

Applying PSC theory to the cases of Pakistan and Sri Lanka, the framework will conduct a comparative analysis to understand how the theory's components manifest differently in each context. It will consider how external power involvement interacts with local factors, historical narratives, and the evolution of ethnic movements in both countries.



*Fig: 1.1 Flowchart of Protracted Social Conflict Theory*

## **2.2.2 Interpretation of the Protracted Social Conflict Theory: Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka and Balochistan**

First of all, the theory tends to trace the structural roots of the conflict which are based on ethnic and economic factors. Understanding the social and historical contexts that contribute to the conflict between the Tamil minority and the Sinhalese majority is necessary in order to apply this theory to the ethnic movement in Sri Lanka, with a special emphasis on the ethnic dimension.

Tensions between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities had existed for generations, and this had led to a deep historical basis for the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese-majority administration had frequently made the Tamil people, who were mainly found in the Northern and Eastern provinces, feel excluded and discriminated against.<sup>48</sup>

According to the PSC theory, long-lasting disputes are mostly caused by structural inequities. The Sinhala-majoritarian policies and discriminatory practices in Sri Lanka pertaining to language, education, and employment had resulted in the Tamil people being marginalized. When considering the ethnic migration in Sri Lanka, especially in light of the ongoing conflict between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority, the economic aspect of the Protracted Social Conflict Theory becomes clear. Ethnic tensions have been exacerbated and the war has continued as a result of economic discrimination and poor resource allocation. As a way to resolve their economic concerns and attain self-determination, the Tamil people, who have traditionally been marginalized in terms of economic possibilities and resource access, have called for increased autonomy.

Conflict has been prolonged and ethnic differences have been made worse by competing for limited resources, such as land and employment. The economic dimension emphasizes the significance of tackling underlying economic disparities in any comprehensive strategy for resolving Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, acknowledging the critical role that economic issues play in influencing the dynamics of social and political difficulties.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Pfaffenberger, Bryan. "The structure of protracted conflict: the case of Sri Lanka." *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* (1995): 121-147.

<sup>49</sup> Ropers, Norbert. "Systemic conflict transformation: Reflections on the conflict and peace process in Sri Lanka." *A Systemic Approach to Conflict Transformation. Exploring Strengths and Limitations* (2008): 11-41.

The political aspect of this theory highlights how unequal resource distribution and discriminatory policies contribute to the continuation of social conflicts. The long-running ethnic strife in Sri Lanka was a result of historical grievances resulting from discriminatory policies, both politically and economically, against Tamils. Deeply ingrained complaints and a sense of marginalization had resulted from the Tamil community's lack of political representation, economic possibilities, and cultural rights. Tamil people have therefore organized for political autonomy and acknowledgement of their unique identity. In order to find a lasting solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, it is critical to address systemic injustices, political marginalization, and historical grievances, as highlighted by the political dimension of the Protracted Social Conflict theory.

Foreign involvement—particularly from India—plays a critical role in determining the dynamics of the conflict when the Protracted Social Conflict Theory is applied to the ethnic movement in Sri Lanka. India has used a variety of approaches to addressing the ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka; one such one was the deployment of the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) in the late 1980s. Even though India's goals were purportedly to keep stability and end the conflict, the intervention was met with opposition from different parts of Sri Lanka and turned contentious. By changing the power balances and political climate of the region, the engagement of external actors—including India—has frequently made already-existing conflicts worse. Because foreign powers' interests entwine with local ethnic disputes, altering the war's course in ways that are not simply driven by internal forces, this external intervention feature highlights the complexity of the protracted conflict.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Abeyratne, Sirimal. "Economic roots of political conflict: The case of Sri Lanka." *World Economy* 27, no. 8 (2004): 1295-1314.

The involvement of foreign parties, particularly India, in Baloch insurgencies, when considered within the framework of the prolonged social conflict theory, contributes a nuanced dimension to the conflict's dynamics. India has faced criticism for its actions in Balochistan, including charges that it has supported separatist organizations in the region that fight the Pakistani government. The conflict's prolonged duration is made worse by outside parties attempting to further their strategic objectives in the area. Some regard India's engagement as a reaction to alleged injustices and violations of human rights committed against the Baloch people; others see it as a geopolitical ploy to offset Pakistan's dominance. In addition to fueling the conflict, the infusion of outside support—including purported military and financial aid—intensifies internal turmoil within Balochistan. This aspect of foreign engagement highlights how regional forces are intertwined in long-lasting social conflicts, making it more difficult to find a long-term solution to the complicated situation in Balochistan.

Moreover, Balochistan's intricate and persistent insurgencies can be examined through the prism of the Protracted Social Conflict theory. This theory's central thesis is that political disputes have a political component, with historical grievances, identity conflicts, and power imbalances all playing significant roles. The long-lasting war in Balochistan, an area that is part of Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, has its roots in historical marginalization, economic inequality, and perceived injustices. In order to acquire more autonomy and control over their resources, the Baloch people, who are marginalized politically and economically, have organized against the central governments of Iran and Pakistan. The fight for self-determination and recognition, as well as the difficulties in juggling different ethnic and cultural groups, demonstrate the political nature of the conflict.



In conclusion, the theoretical framework grounded in Protracted Social Conflict theory serves as a lens through which to analyze the role of external powers in the rise and decline of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. By integrating the key components of PSC theory, the study aims to unravel the intricate interplay between external involvement, structural causes, identity politics, and conflict resolution in these contexts. The study intends to illuminate the nuanced ways in which external powers have altered the trajectories of ethnic migrations in various cases by deconstructing the structural causes, identity politics, conflict resolution prospects, and regional characteristics via the lens of the PSC theory.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Gill, Shahzad Ali, Saba Javaid, Muhammad Hamid Murtza, Sarfraz Batool, and Sidra Jamil. "Conflictology and Role of State Institutions in Federalism: A Study on Gorkhaland and Balochistan." *Journal of Management Practices, Humanities and Social Sciences* 5, no. 2 (2021): 37-49.

## Chapter 3

### Research Methodology

#### 3.1 Research Methodology

The current study aims to conduct a comprehensive examination of the influence of external powers on the trajectory of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The study's methodology is evolving in a qualitative mode. The operationalization of research questions is accomplished by reviewing various literatures to meet the requirements of the study's related aspects. The research questions are written with all aspects of the study's hypothesis in mind. In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of this complex phenomenon, this study will also use explanatory research methodology.

The chosen research method combines qualitative and explanatory methods to provide a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the topic at hand. To provide deeper insights into the role of external powers in ethnic movements, qualitative research is used. While explanatory study provides a larger viewpoint and comparative analysis of the two case studies, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.<sup>52</sup>

In terms of qualitative data, the study employs a variety of methodologies to acquire rich and thorough data. Content analysis is one such approach, which entails a rigorous assessment of primary and secondary sources. This analysis includes official papers, media reports, and scholarly literature, all of which are useful in tracking the historical context of external

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<sup>52</sup> Washburne, John N. "The use of questions in social science material." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 20, no. 5 (1929): 321.

involvement in ethnic movements. Content analysis lays the framework for understanding how these movements evolve over time.<sup>53</sup>

Furthermore, the study includes in-depth case studies that shed light on specific instances of external forces' involvement in ethnic movements. These in-depth analyses provide a thorough knowledge of the complexities of external engagement in affecting the trajectory of ethnic movements within the two chosen countries.

Finally, the comparative analysis component of the study is critical in combining the findings from Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The research seeks to identify commonalities and contrasts in the role of external powers in ethnic movements by examining the similarities and differences between the two case studies.

Ethical considerations are crucial throughout the study process. The project will follow ethical research norms, such as gaining informed consent from participants, ensuring the privacy and confidentiality of acquired data, and carefully considering the research's possible impact on the communities examined. Ethical measures will be strictly followed to ensure the research's integrity and validity.

Finally, this complete study technique combines qualitative and explanatory research methods to provide a full knowledge of the role of external powers in the development and fall of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The mixed-methods approach seeks to shed light

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<sup>53</sup> Elo, Satu, and Helvi Kyngäs. "The qualitative content analysis process." *Journal of advanced nursing* 62, no. 1 (2008): 107-115.

on the complex dynamics in practice, contributing to academic understanding as well as prospective policy recommendations in these key areas.<sup>54</sup>

### **3.2 Research Ontology**

The philosophical subfield that examines the nature of existence, being, and reality is referred to as ontology in social science studies. Interpreting and characterizing social occurrences, the existence of social entities, and the connections among them are the areas of ontology that are of interest to researchers. This study delves into basic inquiries concerning the nature of entities and their relationships within the social realm.<sup>55</sup> Social science research is frequently shaped by two main ontological perspectives: Realism and Constructivism

#### **a. Realism/ Objectivity**

A philosophical viewpoint that asserts the presence of an objective reality separate from human perception is known as realism as an ontology in social science research. Realism in social science holds that social structures and events exist independently of the people who see and investigate them. Realist ontologies contend that reality is objective and exists apart from our interpretations and experiences. Social structures, processes, and things are thought to exist outside of human observation and comprehension, according to realism researchers. The notion that social phenomena are influenced by underlying social structures and mechanisms is frequently supported by this viewpoint.

According to realism, there is an objective reality that pre-exists all human interpretations and perceptions. Institutions, conventions, and other social constructs like structures exist independently of personal convictions. Sociological phenomena are driven by causal

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<sup>54</sup> Kothari, Chakravanti Rajagopalachari. *Research methodology*. new Age, 2004.

<sup>55</sup> Bhattacharyya, Dipak Kumar. *Research methodology*. Excel Books India, 2009.

mechanisms, as realist ontology emphasizes. Researchers should look for these processes as it is proposed that social events and outcomes are influenced by underlying forces and structures.<sup>56</sup>

## **b. Constructivism as Ontology**

Constructivism is an ontological perspective in social science research that challenges the idea of an external, objective reality by arguing that reality is socially produced and subjective. Constructivism, in contrast to more positivist methods, contends that people and communities actively shape their perceptions of reality via their interactions, experiences, and interpretations. Constructivism holds that reality is subjective and differs among people and social groups rather than being an objective, fixed entity. It is believed that knowledge is a social product that is created via communication and social interactions. Constructivist ontologists hold that shared meanings and interpretations within a social context actively generate reality rather than it being discovered.

It acknowledges that individuals interpret and give meaning to their experiences according to their particular viewpoints, cultures. Constructivism places a strong emphasis on the value of researching social interactions and connections in order to comprehend how people together create their worlds. It acknowledges that social interactions and the larger social context have an impact on people's views.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Davidavičienė, Vida. "Research methodology: An introduction." *Modernizing the Academic Teaching and Research Environment: Methodologies and Cases in Business Research* (2018): 1-23.

<sup>57</sup> Welty, Christopher. "Ontology research." *AI magazine* 24, no. 3 (2003): 11-11.

### **c. Applying Constructivism as Ontology on the Study**

Recognizing the subjective and socially constructed nature of the events under study is necessary when using constructivism as ontology to the question of how outside forces have influenced the emergence and fall of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. A constructivist lens would highlight the significance of comprehending how external powers' interventions are interpreted and framed by various actors within the unique social, cultural, and historical contexts of each nation, as opposed to seeing these movements as exclusively motivated by objective geopolitical factors. It is possible to view the emergence and fall of ethnic movements in both nations as dynamic processes molded by the formation of meaning via interactions between many stakeholders, such as ethnic communities, political elites, and outside actors. Taking into account that the impact of interventions by external powers depends on how various social groups construct and negotiate their understanding of these influences, this perspective invites an investigation into the various realities and subjective interpretations surrounding the involvement of external powers. The stories, discourses, and interactions that go into the intricate social construction of the part that outside forces play in the ethnic migrations in Pakistan and Sri Lanka would be the subject of a qualitative study based on constructivist principles.<sup>58</sup>

### **3.3 Research Epistemology**

The study of knowledge, including the nature, extent, and boundaries of human knowledge in the context of inquiry, is referred to as epistemology in social scientific research. Questions on how knowledge is obtained, what qualifies as genuine knowledge, and the procedures or methods used to generate knowledge in the social sciences are all covered by

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<sup>58</sup> Pandey, Prabhat, and Meenu Mishra Pandey. *Research methodology tools and techniques*. Bridge Center, 2021.

epistemology. Whether knowledge is subjective and context-dependent or objective and universal is one of the questions that social scientists ask while examining the nature of knowledge. Scholars investigate how perception, interpretation, and cultural contexts shape our understanding of reality. As an illustration, positivism stresses the objectivity of knowledge and the application of quantitative procedures, but interpretivism recognizes the subjectivity of human experiences and frequently uses qualitative methods with them.<sup>59</sup>

There are two perspectives in research epistemology.

### **a. Positivism as Epistemology**

A stance on epistemology known as positivism places a strong emphasis on using empirical observation and scientific methods to comprehend and explain things. Positivism asserts that the social world may be investigated in social scientific research with an emphasis on measurement, objectivity, and measurable facts, much like the natural sciences. According to positivism, knowledge ought to come from quantifiable and observable occurrences. When applying positivism to social science, researchers aim to gather information through methodical, empirical observation. For the purpose of collecting numerical data that can be statistically processed, positivist researchers choose quantitative techniques including experiments, surveys, and statistical analysis. This makes it possible to uncover connections, trends, and findings that can be applied broadly.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Becker, Howard S. "The epistemology of qualitative research." *Ethnography and human development: Context and meaning in social inquiry* 27, no. 53-71 (1996).

<sup>60</sup> Mishra, Shanti Bhushan, and Shashi Alok. "Handbook of research methodology." (2022).

## **b. Interpretivism as Epistemology**

In social science research, interpretivism is an epistemological perspective that highlights the significance of comprehending and interpreting the subjective interpretations that people assign to their experiences, behaviors, and social occurrences. Interpretivism contends that social reality is complicated and context-dependent, molded by the viewpoints and interpretations of the individuals involved, in contrast to positivism, which holds that there is an objective reality that can be measured and analyzed using empirical methods. Interpretivists contend that understanding social reality requires delving into the meanings and interpretations that people assign to their experiences because social reality is inherently subjective. This viewpoint recognizes that cultural, historical, and social settings have an impact on people's views and interpretations. By delving deeply into people's experiences and viewpoints, these techniques enable researchers to capture the depth and complexity of social phenomena.

## **c. Interpretivism as Epistemology on the Study:**

In the framework of the study question, *Role of External Powers in the Rise and Decline of Ethnic Movements: Comparative Analysis of Pakistan and Sri Lanka*, an Interpretivist epistemological method will shed light on how ethnic movements are socially and subjectively constituted. By adopting interpretivism, the researcher recognizes that the interpretations given to these movements by the people involved determine how external powers are understood to have played a part in them. The researcher uses interpretivism to try to disentangle the complex web of beliefs, stories, and cultural quirks that mold the ethnic relations in Sri Lanka and Pakistan. In order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the rise and fall of these movements in these two South Asian countries, the research aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between international influences and local ethnic



movements by looking at how external powers are interpreted and internalized within these contexts.<sup>61</sup>

### **3.4 Research Approach**

A research approach refers to a method or plan that researchers use to carry out investigations, collect data, and evaluate information in order to answer research questions or goals. The entire study process is directed by this broad framework. The kind of data required, the nature of the research issue, and the researcher's methodological and philosophical inclinations all have a role in the choice of research strategy.<sup>62</sup>

The research approach can be divided into further two types:

- i. Deductive Approach
- ii. Inductive Approach

#### **a. Deductive Approach**

A deductive approach is a type of research methodology in which a general theory or hypothesis is the starting point, and then specific cases or data are examined to test and validate the theory. Put differently, it entails transitioning from a broad assumption to particular observations. This method is popular in survey and experimental research and is frequently linked to quantitative research.

- In deductive approach, the researcher starts with a theory or existing body of knowledge
- Secondly, formulation of a hypothesis or prediction based on the theory is followed
- Thirdly, the researcher designs a research study to test the hypothesis

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<sup>61</sup> Rajasekar, D., and Rajesh Verma. *Research methodology*. Archers & Elevators Publishing House, 2013.

<sup>62</sup> Flick, Uwe. *Introducing research methodology: A beginner's guide to doing a research project*. Sage, 2015.

- Fourthly, Collection of data and analyzing it to either support or refute the hypothesis
- Lastly, a conclusion is drawn based on the results

## **b. Inductive Approach**

An inductive approach is a type of research methodology in which more generalizations and theories are developed based on specific observations or situations. The inductive approach begins with specific evidence and seeks to deduce general principles or hypotheses from those observations, in contrast to the deductive approach, which starts with a general hypothesis and tests it against specific situations. This methodology is frequently linked to qualitative research, while it can also be applied in mixed-methods investigations.

In inductive approach, the researcher collects specific field data or observations are gathered at the start of the research phase. The researcher searches the gathered information for trends, themes, or regularities. Finding commonalities, contrasts, and recurrent themes are all part of this process. The researcher formulates hypotheses or generalizations to elucidate the observed facts based on the identified themes or categories. These theories are iteratively built based on further evidence that is gathered and examined. They are based on specific data.

This study employs inductive approach for its conduct. For the thesis *Role of External Powers in the Rise and Decline of Ethnic Movements: Comparative Analysis of Pakistan and Sri Lanka*, an inductive approach would be implemented, and the research process would begin with an examination of particular cases and in-depth case studies pertaining to ethnic movements in both nations. In the context of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka, I would carefully examine historical occurrences, diplomatic exchanges, and foreign interventions. Patterns and themes would be found by a grounded investigation of these particular examples, avoiding the

assumption of any prior theories. With the use of the collected data and the inductive technique, new ideas and insights can be developed, providing a more complex knowledge of the potential influences of outside forces on the paths taken by ethnic migrations in these two countries. This methodology promotes a bottom-up approach to analysis, in which the researcher starts by carefully examining empirical data, opening the door to the development of more comprehensive theoretical frameworks to account for the phenomena they have noticed.<sup>63</sup>

### **3.5 Research Strategy**

A researcher's overarching plan or methodology for carrying out a study and accomplishing the goals specified in their research questions is referred to as their research strategy. It entails a methodical and well-structured plan of action that leads the researcher through the several phases of the research process, from the study's original idea to its ultimate data analysis and interpretation. Decisions on the general design, data gathering strategies, and data analysis methodologies are all included in research strategy. Research Strategy can be divided into two types: Qualitative research and Quantitative research.

A methodical and structured approach to empirical research that depends on gathering and analyzing numerical data is known as quantitative research technique. It is distinguished by its focus on objectivity, accuracy, and the application of statistical methods to identify trends, correlations, and patterns in the data. With the intention of measuring and quantifying variables, researchers develop hypotheses or research questions and plan studies in quantitative research.<sup>64</sup>

On the other hand, technique to research known as qualitative research methodology places a strong emphasis on using rich, contextually embedded data to better understand and

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<sup>63</sup> Nayak, Jayanta Kumar, and Priyanka Singh. *Fundamentals of research methodology problems and prospects*. SSDN Publishers & Distributors, 2021.

<sup>64</sup> Bhattacharjee, Anol. *Social science research: Principles, methods, and practices*. USA, 2012.

evaluate social phenomena. Rather of testing predetermined hypotheses, qualitative researchers frequently take an inductive approach, letting themes and patterns to arise from the data.

The applied qualitative research methodology is applied in current research as research strategy on conduct of the study. For my thesis, *Role of External Powers in the Rise and Decline of Ethnic Movements: Comparative Analysis of Pakistan and Sri Lanka*, I would use a qualitative research approach with the goal of developing a comprehensive understanding of the complex relationships that exist between external forces and ethnic movements in these two countries. Within the socio-political contexts of Pakistan and Sri Lanka, the study aims to identify the complex interplay between many forces and their varied effects on the emergence and dissolution of ethnic movements, utilizing a qualitative lens. It is anticipated that the findings will advance our knowledge of how ethnic dynamics interact with outside forces in these two nations, making our understanding deeper and more extensive.<sup>65</sup>

### **3.6 Research design**

A research design is a plan or structure for carrying out a study. By detailing the strategy and techniques that will be applied to data collection and analysis, it aims to answer research questions or test hypotheses. There are three possible kinds of it: descriptive, explanatory, and exploratory.<sup>66</sup>

The characteristics of a phenomenon are described by the descriptive research design. It aims to identify the phenomenon rather than investigate how or why it happens. As a result, it merely provides an overview of the research's subject without elaborating. The exploratory research design is used to study a vague or undefined research problem. Prior to undertaking

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<sup>65</sup> Mohajan, Haradhan Kumar. "Qualitative research methodology in social sciences and related subjects." *Journal of economic development, environment and people* 7, no. 1 (2018): 23-48.

<sup>66</sup> Kumar, Arvind. *Research methodology in social science*. Sarup & Sons, 2002.

further investigation, it provides researchers with enhanced understanding of a subject problem and its surrounding circumstances.

The purpose of an explanatory study is to examine the reasons behind events using the limited knowledge at hand. Deepening one understands of a certain topic, determining the mechanism or cause of a particular phenomenon, and forecasting the future can all benefit from it. Because it happens in a sequential fashion, the cause must occur before the effect.

For the thesis *Role of External Powers in the Rise and Decline of Ethnic Movements: Comparative Analysis of Pakistan and Sri Lanka*, an explanatory research design would be used. This would allow the research to take a thorough and methodical approach to explaining the complex interactions between the dynamics of ethnic movements in the two countries and external powers. The first part of the study would examine past occurrences, diplomatic exchanges, and foreign interventions in relation to ethnic movements in Sri Lanka and Pakistan. The study would look for patterns, causal connections, and underlying mechanisms that explain the various roles that outside forces play in the start, continuation, or end of ethnic movements by a close examination of primary and secondary data. With a more nuanced understanding of how outside forces have shaped the paths of ethnic movements in these countries, as well as insights that add to a more comprehensive theoretical framework, the researcher is able to thoroughly examine contextual factors thanks to the explanatory research design.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Gupta, Alok, and Nitin Gupta. *Research methodology*. SBPD Publications, 2022.

### **3.7 Time Horizon**

When a researcher plans to perform a study, collect data, and analyze findings, this is referred to as the time horizon. It's an important component of study design and can take many different forms based on the goals, methods, and nature of the research issue.

There are three primary categories into which time horizon is commonly divided:

#### **a. Cross Sectional Studies**

Cross-sectional studies gather participant data over a very brief period of time or at a single moment in time. This kind of study offers a moment in time view of a population, enabling the examination of correlations and prevalence.

#### **b. Longitudinal Studies**

In longitudinal research, data is gathered from the same participants over an extended period of time, frequently years or decades. This method works well for examining the dynamics of a variety of phenomena and enables researchers to track changes, trends, and advancements throughout time.

#### **c. Retrospective Studies**

Retrospective studies, sometimes referred to as historical studies, look into relationships, results, or events by looking at data from the past. To recreate events and determine their significance, researchers examine the records, documents, or memories that are currently in existence. Applied retrospect studies time horizon on has been applied on the topic because

analyzing the historical events of the ethnic conflict in the Sri Lanka and Pakistan, particularly Baloch Insurgency in Balochistan.

### **3.8 Data Collection**

Within research methodology, data collection pertains to the procedure of obtaining pertinent information or data for the study under investigation. Obtaining data from several sources in a methodical manner to address research questions or test hypotheses is an essential step in the research process. The sources used in qualitative research methodology are both primary as well as secondary in nature.

Various data sources would be examined in order to create a nuanced picture of the research topic for the qualitative research for the thesis on the Role of External Powers in the Rise and Decline of Ethnic Movements: Comparative Analysis of Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Archival sources can also offer a contextual backdrop by illuminating the past relations between foreign powers and ethnic movements in both countries. These sources include diplomatic records, international agreements, and historical papers. Examining media information, including news stories and broadcasts, can help to comprehend the conversation in the public about outside intervention in ethnic movements.

### **3.9 Data analysis**

In research methodology, data analysis refers to the methodical examination, purification, conversion, and interpretation of unprocessed data that is gathered during a study. Finding patterns, making inferences that address research objectives or hypotheses, and deriving significant insights are the main goals of data analysis. Numerous methodologies are included in data analysis, each specifically designed to address the objectives of research and the

characteristics of the data. Utilizing statistical techniques to analyze numerical data, such as inferential statistics to infer population characteristics and descriptive statistics to summarize, is known as quantitative data analysis. Regression analysis, t-tests, and ANOVA are common methods. Comparatively speaking, qualitative data analysis concentrates on non-numerical data and uses methods like grounded theory, content analysis, and thematic analysis to extract patterns, themes, and insights from textual or visual data.

Thematic analysis is an appropriate method for examining the qualitative data for the thesis, *Role of External Powers in the Rise and Decline of Ethnic Movements: Comparative Analysis of Pakistan and Sri Lanka*. For finding, evaluating, and summarizing data patterns about the impact of outside forces on ethnic movements, I have applied thematic analysis technique. Using open-coding, the researcher can begin by identifying important themes or patterns that surface in the narratives, or documentation pertaining to outside participation in ethnic movements in Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Financial backing, geopolitical maneuvers, and diplomatic interventions are a few possible themes. After identifying the first codes, these themes can be further refined and categorized using a more targeted coding approach. Cross-referencing is made possible by comparing and contrasting the roles played by foreign powers in the two nations, the comparative element of the study makes it possible to identify any subtleties in the elements that influence the emergence and demise of ethnic movements.

### **3.10 Research ethics**

A vital component of every scientific inquiry is research ethics, which guarantees that studies are carried out ethically, responsibly, and with regard for the rights and welfare of participants.



**a. Privacy and Confidentiality**

It is imperative for researchers to safeguard the confidentiality of participants' data and preserve their privacy. To avoid identifying specific people, anonymity need to be preserved wherever feasible.

**b. Scientific Integrity**

Honest, accurate, and open research methods are required of researchers. There should be no manipulation of the results, and any conflicts of interest should be declared.

**c. Protection of Social Value**

Research ought to provide a significant contribution to society's well-being. Research that has to do little with social impact may be unethical.

## Chapter 4

### DATA FINDINGS/ DATA ANALYSIS

Since Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon, got independence from British rule in 1948, the racial violence there has been a major problem. The contemporary conflict dates back to the colonial era and is based on political animosity between the minority Tamils and the majority Sinhalese. In essence, the long-standing colonial control that introduced the concept of divide and rule to the island nation was that ultimately led to the ethnic war in Sri Lanka. Five separate provinces and districts were created by the British, who centralized authority over the entire island in Colombo and spoke English.<sup>68</sup> Tamil immigrants who were brought to the island mainly to work on plantations also benefited considerably under British administration. The social structure underwent a significant shift with the rise of this group of plantation proprietors. While living comfortably under British colonial control, the Tamil people experienced several significant changes when the British left.

The Sinhalese, who make up the overwhelming population on the island, realized their numerical advantage and began to protest against the negative attitude towards them. During the civil war, which was sparked by ethnic tensions, the Sri Lankan government started to consolidate its authority. Terrorism, rioting, official attacks on civilians, property destruction, and assassinations have all been features of the conflict. Political animosity between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils was the source of several ethnic clashes in Sri Lanka. Following the nation's independence from British administration in 1948, tensions led to the start of the Sri Lankan Civil War. The struggle brought in the power consolidation of the Sri Lankan

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<sup>68</sup> Manogaran, Chelvadurai. *Ethnic conflict and reconciliation in Sri Lanka*. University of Hawaii Press, 1987.

government and the awakening of the Sinhalese community.<sup>69</sup> The principal sides to the battle were the majority Hindu Tamil minority and the predominantly Buddhist Sinhalese. The war started in earnest on July 8, 1983, following a day of riots in Colombo that targeted Tamils; the month has since been nicknamed “*Black July*”. The Sinhalese community established the People's Liberation Army (JVP), a strong political force, as a Marxist youth movement to give their operations more official color.

In contrast, the Tamil community founded the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The political events that had taken place in Sri Lanka had been very conflicting. A range of Tamil minority groups were represented on one side, while rival parties from opposite sides of the divide, such as the conservative United National Party (UNP) among the Sinhalese and the socialist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), were represented on the other. Periodic parliamentary elections were held on both sides.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, there were others who advocate for secession, murder, torture, and state repression.

The Civil War, which is typically divided into four distinct stages, started in 1983 when there was an anti-Tamil pogrom in the nation's capital, Colombo. This initial phase came to an end with India's entry into the war in 1987. The second phase, which had commenced in 1990, came to an end in 1995 when direct talks were suspended between the LTTE and President Chandrika Kumaratunga's administration. Conversely, the third phase began in 1995 and ended

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<sup>69</sup> DeVotta, Neil. "From ethnic outbidding to ethnic conflict: the institutional bases for Sri Lanka's separatist war 1." *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no. 1 (2005): 141-159.

<sup>70</sup> Perera, Sasanka. "The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka: A historical and sociopolitical outline." *The World Bank* (2001): 1-29.

in 2006 with the ultimate collapse of the cease-fire agreement. The fourth and last phase soon followed, lasting until 2009, when the LTTE was finally defeated.<sup>71</sup>

After less than thirty years of fighting, the Sri Lankan authorities declared in May 2009 that they had killed the leader of the LTTE. The bloodiest terrorist assaults against multiple Sri Lankan churches and hotels in April 2019 were just one example of the conflict's terrible effects on the nation.

#### **4.1 India's Role in Sri Lanka Ethnic Movements**

In the 1970s, the LTTE received arms and training support from India's foreign intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). But when the group's violent actions intensified in the 1980s—including its connections with separatist groups in Tamil Nadu, a state in southern India—RAW discontinued its backing. In 1987, the governments of Sri Lanka and India came to an agreement about the deployment of peacekeeping troops to the island. The Indian forces began fighting the LTTE because they were unable to stop the conflict. In 1990, Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa ordered India to depart.<sup>72</sup> Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian prime minister at the time of the deployment of peacekeeping forces, was assassinated in 1991 by an LTTE suicide bomber. Premadasa had the same tragedy in 1993.

Although trade has developed between the two countries, India has been reluctant to get involved in Sri Lanka since that time. From \$658 million in 2000 to \$3.2 billion in 2008, bilateral trade grew, and India continues to be one of the top foreign investors in the country as a whole. Additionally, according to Bloomberg, Sri Lanka and India's National Stock Exchange

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<sup>71</sup> Perera, Jayantha. "Political development and ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 5, no. 2 (1992): 136-148.

<sup>72</sup> Rao, P. Venkateshwar. "Ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka: India's role and perception." *Asian Survey* 28, no. 4 (1988): 419-436.

are in talks to establish a cooperation that might involve Sri Lanka offering India a stake in its exchange.<sup>73</sup> In 2008, the Asian Development Bank stated that growth—which has been fueled by solid private sector and strong domestic demand—had not yet been impacted by the surge in violence. However, it states that the growing hostilities might impede economic expansion.<sup>74</sup>

India remains concerned about the fate of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka since it contributes to discontent and tensions within the Tamil population in the south. In February 2009, India's foreign minister declared that the transfer of authority from the national to the provincial levels would be the only practical way to safeguard civilians in Sri Lanka. As part of the agreement with India, Colombo decided in 1987 to give some power to the provinces and declare Tamil the official language of the state. This decision was followed by the enactment of the thirteenth amendment to the Sri Lankan constitution<sup>75</sup>. Analysts assert, however, that not a single administration has fully implemented the laws.

In addition to this, India also participated in the peace process when Indira Gandhi took the reign of Indian government. After the India-Sri Lanka Peace Accord which was signed in July 1987, 40–60,000 Indian soldiers entered the conflict with the goal of disarming the relatively well-organized Tamil terrorists in northern Sri Lanka. The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF)<sup>76</sup> was hit hard by a guerrilla war in its first year of operation, and just a few months after it arrived, the military deployment started to be referred to as India's Vietnam. New Delhi is

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<sup>73</sup> Kodikara, Shelton U. "International Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka Involvement of India and Non-State Actors." *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 18, no. 4 (1987): 637-648.

<sup>74</sup> Premdas, Ralph R., and SWR de A. Samarasinghe. "Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict: The Indo-Lanka Peace Accord." *Asian Survey* (1988): 676-690.

<sup>75</sup> Bush, Kenneth. "Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Conflict Studies* 10, no. 2 (1990).

<sup>76</sup> Rupesinghe, Kumar. "Ethnic conflicts in South Asia: the case of Sri Lanka and the Indian Peace-keeping Force (IPKF)." *Journal of Peace Research* 25, no. 4 (1988): 337-350.

thought to be spending between \$1.37 million and \$3 million per day on the Indian Peace Keeping Force.<sup>77</sup>

## 4.2 Peace building Process in Sri Lanka

With the rise of intricate networks and contracting arrangements that connect state and non-state actors as well as commercial and nonprofit organizations, liberal peace building process in Sri Lanka incorporated arrangements of new institutions. As a result, the lines that once distinguished government institutions and non-state actors—such as those between foreign diplomacy and development assistance—became less clear. The former was now perceived as a tool for managing conflicts, and its purview is progressively overlapping with that of the latter. The distinction between the domestic and international domains had also blurred; various actors and institutions (home office, defense, development, treasury, trade/commerce, home office, diplomacy) were influencing policies toward a given state, each with its own set of interests (cost-effectiveness, homeland security, refugees/immigration, global poverty, international security, trade relations).<sup>78</sup>

For the first time in the conflict's history, Western nations played a major role following the election of the UNF administration, led by Ranil Wickramasinghe, in 2001 and the ceasefire agreement that followed on February 22, 2002. Many international actors at the time saw Sri Lanka as a success story they wanted to promote and be associated with, and as was already indicated, there were significant supply-side forces encouraging this internationalization. Norway's involvement as a willing mediator, acknowledged by all parties, was also significant.

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<sup>77</sup> SHAFI, ATM ABDULLAHEL, and M. D. Harun-or-Rashid. "Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: A Critical Analysis." *International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature* 1, no. 3 (2013): 17-34.

<sup>78</sup> Fernando, Laksiri. "Ethnic conflict and the state in Sri Lanka: A possible solution?." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 20, no. s1 (1997): 83-96.

The incentives for a process of inter-nationalization were more mixed on the demand side. International security assurances from the US and India, in particular, let the UNF administration have a safety net and lessened its vulnerability in the case of a return to war. Moreover, the peace negotiations infrastructure was financially supported by foreign donors, who also pledged to contribute significantly to the peace dividend.<sup>79</sup>

### 4.3 Inward Looking Political Strategy

Later on, the influence of international players who had supported Ranil Wickramasinghe's peace approach was rapidly diminished after Wickramasinghe lost the 2005 presidential election to Mahinda Rajapakse. By 2005, both the UPFA government of Mahinda Rajapakse and the LTTE had come to the conclusion that an unduly internationalized peace process that had existed between 2002 and 2004 was not in their interests. Both parties desired to break free from the alleged peace trap.

Moreover, the essence of a political solution to the <sup>80</sup>war in Sri Lanka was reframed by the UPFA government. The three main tenets of the government's political framework were as follows: **first**, a military victory was a prerequisite for any political solution; **second**, the LTTE was the primary impediment to peace, necessitating their defeat rather than negotiation; **and third**, a demerged north and east could serve as the framework for a political solution. The military tactic that was able to regain control over a large portion of LTTE-controlled territory, including Kilinochichi, the LTTE's former administrative capital, and Mullativu, a crucial coastal stronghold, was made possible by Rajapakse's inward-looking political strategy at the beginning of 2009. Meanwhile, the government's military and political pacification of the east has been

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<sup>79</sup> DeVotta, Neil. *Blowback: Linguistic nationalism, institutional decay, and ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka*. Stanford University Press, 2004.

<sup>80</sup> Athukorala, Prema-chandra. "Sri Lanka's post-civil war development challenge: learning from the past." *Contemporary south asia* 24, no. 1 (2016): 19-35.

justified by invoking discourses of development and reconstruction as a way to appropriate funders.

The Rajapakse government had openly adopted a two-pronged approach to the conflict: **first**, confronting the LTTE militarily; **second**, pursuing a version of peace acceptable to international actors through the 2006 ceasefire agreement and stuttering peace negotiations. Additionally, the government has employed a number of consensus-building techniques, including the SLFP/UNP Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), the International Group of Eminent Persons (IIGEP), and the All-Party Representative Committee (APRC), which are primarily meant to divert international criticism of the conflict.<sup>81</sup>

In an effort to disarm and demobilize TMVP, the political party that former LTTE commander Karuna founded after splitting from the organization in 2004, a DDR program was started in 2009. The TMVP kept its weapons after switching to the government's side and persisted in posing a security threat in the nation's east after government forces had taken control of that region in 2007. Although the TMVP is politically integrated and ran in the 2008 municipal and provincial elections, it was unable to win any seats in the parliamentary election held in April 2010. In neither the LTTE nor the TMVP examples is there much evidence that a DDR process is being used to foster confidence between former adversaries.

In addition to this, exclusion from political control for significant portions of society was frequently the fundamental cause of armed conflict and the underlying grievance that fueled the conflict. A post-war environment offers a chance for political change. The conflict-prevention paradigm advocates for political change, the involvement of erstwhile rivals in the

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<sup>81</sup> Rotberg, Robert I., ed. *Creating peace in Sri Lanka: civil war and reconciliation*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.



political process, and increased democratization in order to tackle the underlying reasons of conflict. Following the end of a war, several nations had also seized the chance to amend their constitutions. In the same way, Sri Lanka had also adopted multiple agendas to reform the political process that could give way to the exclusionary minorities to take part in the national as well as provincial political process. The Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority were engaged in ethnic conflicts, which Sri Lanka addressed through a number of governmental efforts. The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord led to the passage of the 13th Amendment in 1987<sup>82</sup>, which established Provincial Councils and gave the provinces more authority.

Nevertheless, there have been difficulties in putting the 13th Amendment into full effect, and some of its provisions have not yet been fully implemented. Over the years, numerous ceasefire agreements and peace initiatives have been undertaken, with the creation of Provincial Councils being a crucial component. Most notable was the 2002 cease-fire between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan government, mediated by Norway. The All Parties Representative Committee (APRC) was founded by the government in 2006 in order to promote a more extensive discussion on constitutional amendments. The goal was to resolve the ethnic conflict on a political level. Nevertheless, not all of the APRC's recommendations were carried out. Furthermore, the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the country's two main political parties, came together to establish a national unity government in 2015. The government sought to resolve political and ethnic conflicts in a cooperative manner.

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<sup>82</sup> Manogaran, Chelvadurai. *Ethnic conflict and reconciliation in Sri Lanka*. University of Hawaii Press, 1987.

#### **4.4 Justice and Reconciliation Strategies**

With help from the international community, Sri Lanka also established the National Action Plan for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights in order to solve human rights issues and enhance the nation's overall human rights status. The Office on Missing Persons was established by the Sri Lankan government in 2016 to look into cases of people who vanished during the civil war and other related conflicts. In addition to this, the Office on the Missing Person (OMP) seeks to aid in the process of reconciliation by answering questions for the relatives of the missing and disappeared.<sup>83</sup>

Furthermore, the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC), which was established by the Sri Lankan government in 2010, was entrusted with looking at the events that occurred during the last phases of the civil conflict and making recommendations for peace initiatives. Recommendations on demilitarization, human rights, devolution of power, and redressing complaints of various communities were included in the commission's 2011 report.<sup>84</sup>

#### **4.5 Balochistan Insurgencies and Ethnic Conflicts in Pakistan: Lessons Drawn from Sri Lanka Ethnic Conflict**

Balochistan is the Southern province of Pakistan, situated in a highly key position, linking borders with three states namely Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. It covers more than 347190 km<sup>2</sup>, or almost 43% of the nation's total area.<sup>85</sup> Through the tribal region of South Waziristan, Balochistan is also connected to the other three provinces of Pakistan: Sindh in the east, Punjab in the north-east, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (previously known as North West Frontier Province)

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<sup>83</sup> Pannilage, Upali. "The post-conflict rebuilding process of Sri Lanka: A content analysis of issues, challenges and lessons learnt." *Journal of Conflict, Peace and Development Studies, Tribhuvan University, Nepal* 1, no. 1 (2015): 11-28.

<sup>84</sup> Dharmawardhane, Iromi. "Post-Conflict Strategy in Sri Lanka: An Overview of National Reconciliation Efforts." *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 5, no. 3 (2013): 21-25.

<sup>85</sup> Grare, Frederic. "Balochistan." *South Asia* (2013).

in the north. With barely 5% of Pakistan's total population, it is the least populous state in the nation. Balochistan is home to a variety of ethnic groups, including Sindhis, Baloch, Pashtun, and Punjabis. Balochistan's population is composed of 55% ethnic Baloch (including Brahui), 30% Pashtun, 3% Punjabis, 2% Saraiki, and 1% Urdu speakers, according to the 1998 census.

Balochistan has a violent history of insurgencies. The main root of this rebellion was the conflict that arose early on between the Baloch masses and the Pakistani federation. After their resources were exploited, these connections became even more acrimonious, and as a result, the tense relationship with the Pakistani Federation persisted. When the Pakistani authorities sought to force the Khan of Kalat to accede to the newly constituted state of Pakistan, a sense of inferiority complex began to develop in the minds of the Baloch people from the first. In order to do this, the Pakistan Army occupied Kalat in April 1948 and forced the signing of the accession documents. The people began rebelling against the state of Pakistan with the help of Prince Abdul Karim Khan, the brother of Khan.<sup>86</sup> However, on August 4, 1947, the Khan of Kalat and officials of the Pakistani government had come to an arrangement. As per the agreement, the Pakistani government acknowledged the autonomy of Kalat state and chose to consult legal professionals over the matter. The brother of Kalat royal Abdul Karim Khan, however, began the first insurrection against the state security forces after Pakistani authorities acquired Kalat state. Following his incarceration, the prince's insurgency lost its importance and value.<sup>87</sup>

Nawab Nouruz Khan Zarak Zai led the second insurgency, which was directed against the union of West Pakistan and the Balochistan State Union. The Baloch people were becoming more and more deprived and careless as a result of this amalgamation. As the conflict grew more

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<sup>86</sup> Ejaz, Muhammad, and Abdur Rehman. "Exploration of the foundations of ethnic conflicts in Balochistan: a theoretical perspective." *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)* 6, no. 1 (2022): 42-55.

<sup>87</sup> Tariq, Maliha. "Conflict in Balochistan." *Strategic Studies* 33, no. 3/4 (2013): 23-40.

intense, a government official made the decision to speak with the rebels and promised to sympathetically take the aspirations and grievances of the Baloch masses into consideration. However, the death-sentenced people arrested the rebels as soon as they descended the slopes. Due to his old age, Nouruz Khan's death sentence was commuted to life in prison. Moving ahead, it is evident that the insurgency grew daily during the Musharraf dictatorship, which ruled from 1999 to 2008. Alongside this, however, the province also saw the start of several massive projects for the welfare and betterment of the Balochites, including the Gwadar Port, the Saindak Project, the Kachi Kanal, the Mirani Dam, and several significant highways. One of the largest initiatives the province has undertaken since gaining independence is the construction of the Gwadar port.

In contemporary situation, the evidence of outside intervention in the region is the steadily worsening situation in Balochistan- capture of Indian RAW agent Kalbhoshan Yadhaev is the prominent case study of external involvement. Attacks like the ones the militants are carrying out against government buildings and military installations—bombing military transports and post—cannot be executed without adequate preparation and training. Millions of dollars are thought to be the militants' daily expenses. The Baloch Liberation Army's monthly expenses are, reported by Pakistani intelligence services, to be between forty and ninety million dollars. By starting the insurgency, Pakistan's opponents hope to erode the authority of the state. They are greatly drawn to Balochistan because of its enormous resources and advantageous location.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Hussain, Mirza, and Jai Kumar. "An Analysis of Factors of Insurgency and Current Episodes of Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan's Balochistan." *Human Nature Journal of Social Sciences* 4, no. 1 (2023): 161-175.

## **4.6 Strategies to Cope with Baloch Insurgents: Lessons Drawn from Sri Lanka**

Policy of the Sri Lankan government was multidimensional; that was not confined to just the one point. They took multifarious and multidimensional steps to end the thirty years prolonged ethnic conflicts. Taking a holistic approach that tackles political, social, economic, and security issues is necessary to eradicate insurgent movements, like the Baloch insurgency. Following actions that might be taken to address the Baloch insurgent movements are modeled after studying Sri Lanka's approaches to reducing ethnic conflicts:

### **1. Foreign Assistance:**

Sri Lankan government relied upon both domestic reforms and international assistance to cope up the ethnic conflicts which took three decades to conclude. At international level, they got foreign assistance both military and diplomatic. Foreign countries- like USA, India, Denmark, played critical role in assisting them throughout the peace process. Moreover, in intelligence realm, these countries shared the intelligence information. India's involvement in the Sri Lanka ethnic conflict was more prominent. In addition to this, Sri Lanka requested other countries to play their diplomatic role.

In Balochistan case, Pakistan ought to establish intelligence sharing mechanism with Iran and China to trace down the perpetrators who have exploited the ethnic lines in the province and being operated from outside states particularly India. In addition to this, China and Iran need to play a role of mediator between Central Government of Pakistan and Baloch insurgents to bring

them on the table for negotiations. China can also play the role of guarantor to the deal to be signed between Central Government and insurgents.<sup>89</sup>

Moreover, In the ten-year civil war that Sri Lanka's military waged against the LTTE, which came to an end in May 2009 with the Tamil Tigers' defeat, Pakistan played a crucial role as a supplier of arms and fighter jets.

## **2. Political Dialogues and Negotiations**

By addressing the worries and demands of the Baloch population and attempting to find a long-term peaceful solution, political dialogue and negotiations can be extremely important in resolving the Baloch insurgent groups in Pakistan. Recognizing the grievances and concerns of the Baloch community, Political disenfranchisement, economic marginalization, and historical injustices, are the first step towards any negotiation process that succeeds. On the patterns of All Parties Representative Committee (APRC), established in Sri Lanka, Federal Government should ensure that representatives from various Baloch communities, political parties, civil society organizations, and government officials participate in the conversation process in an inclusive manner. In addition to this, Federal Government ought to establish forums for direct, honest dialogue where all parties involved can express their worries and influence the negotiating topic.

## **3. Dual Approach: Military Operations, Ceasefires and Table Talks in Parallel**

Sri Lanka adopted tier policy to eliminate the ethnic conflicts between Sinhalese and Tamils. Firstly, they were intended to crush the LTTE because they considered it an obstacle to proceed with the negotiations. In the same way, Pakistan should continue military operations to

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<sup>89</sup> Faiz, Jalal. "Politics of education, conflict and conflict resolution in Balochistan, Pakistan." PhD diss., University of Westminster, 2015.

topple down the Balochistan Liberation Army. Prior to this, they should be called for negotiations openly to gain the support of the pro-peace segment of the Baloch insurgents. In the parallel way, stakeholders ought to be invited for the table talks. In addition to this, federal government should strengthen local governance frameworks, improve accountability and transparency, and encourage fair resource distribution to curb the unequal economic progress and political disenfranchisement grievances of the Baloch community.<sup>90</sup>

#### **4. Demilitarization of the Conflict (DDR Approach)**

The conflict-prevention paradigm underlines demobilization, demilitarization and reintegration of former combatants (DDR) as essential phases in relapse prevention. To advance with other processes, such political and social healing and economic progress, basic security is necessary. Furthermore, the ex-combatants possess the military expertise to potentially provide a security risk in the event that violent groups attempt to reorganize for a new round of fighting. In the long run, creating a self-sustaining peace will require demilitarization of society and security sector reform. In Balochistan, Pakistan government can also adopt DDR approach to eliminate the Baloch Insurgent movements.

#### **5. Confidence Building Measures and Institutional Reforms**

Government should put measures in place which are aimed at boosting confidence to promote goodwill and trust between the government and the Baloch people. This might entail starting development initiatives in Balochistan- releasing political prisoners. These commitments might show that government is genuinely committed to resolving the problem by implementing concrete steps and changing policies. In addition to this, government ought to use legal tools and

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<sup>90</sup> Akhtar, Nasreen. "Balochistan conflict: Internal and international dynamics." *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 37, no. 1 (2017): 190-202.

practices such as peace treaties, legislative changes, or constitutional amendments, to formally establish agreements and promises made during discussion procedures. Furthermore, Federal government should implement extensive institutional reforms, reforms related to equal distribution of the resources and revenue generation, to address structural problems in order to enhance the level of Balochistan governance, the rule of law, and socioeconomic development.<sup>91</sup>

## **6. Conflict Management or Conflict Resolution: Baloch Insurgency in Pakistan**

In 2010, the PPP government adopted a *carrot and stick* policy after repeatedly failing to engage ethno-nationalists in talks. The government banned and frozen the accounts and other assets of the Baloch Armed Defence Organization (Baloch Musallah Difai Tanzeem), Balochistan Liberation United Front, Lakshar-e-Balochistan, BRA, and BLF in September 2010. Following the region's 2013 earthquake, security forces made notable progress in the no go areas of Awaran district, which was thought to be the BLF's stronghold. The security forces' actions made the BLF weaker and forced the BLF to command to depart from Awaran and seek safety in Iran. Security forces' primary goal after Operation Zarb-e-Azb and other military operations was to rid Balochistan of terrorist organizations. Almost 1,200 militants have been slain in counterinsurgency and intelligence-driven operations since 2011.

The military operations in Balochistan have been crucial in revitalizing tourism, economic activity, and peace, even in the face of militant groups who have changed their tactics. The people who live in Dera Bugti, which was formerly forbidden territory, can now travel around

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<sup>91</sup> Majeed, Gulshan. "Ethnicity and ethnic conflict in Pakistan." *Journal of Political Studies* 17, no. 2 (2010): 51.



the province with ease. Businesspeople, investors, and artists from all across Pakistan have been seen returning to Turbat, the province's second-most populous city. Although precise numbers are unavailable, there is an increasing tendency of both domestic and foreign travelers visiting Bali again to experience Bali.

Following its election in March 2008, the Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) implemented several confidence-building measures (CBMs) in an effort to allay Balochistan's issues with the federation. Major actions included ceasing military operations, dropping legal action against former Chief Minister Akhtar Mengal, and apologizing to Balochistan. In addition, the PPP launched the Aghaze-Haqooq-e-Balochistan (AHB) package in continuation of the CBMs with the aim of resolving the complaints of the Balochistani populace. Balochistan's share through the 7th National Finance Commission Award was increased from 7.05 percent to 9.09 percent. The 18th constitutional amendment was introduced with the intention of granting the provinces greater autonomy.

The Balochistan Peace Program was started in August 2015 by former prime minister Nawaz Sharif. A universal amnesty was reportedly extended to ethno-nationalists who were prepared to give up their weapons in front of the government. Ethno-centrist group received financial incentives in order to support their rehabilitation and guarantee their reintegration into society as legitimate members of society. In the previous three years, over 3,000 separatists have given up. Despite several initiatives in various sectors, there are still many barriers that allow terrorist organizations to enlist new members, incite hostility toward the state, and foster xenophobic sentiments toward residents of neighboring provinces. It has been the poorest province with crumbling education and health sector, deteriorating infrastructure and low level of Human Development Index. In this regards, it goes without saying that Sri Lanka not only managed the

conflict but also resolved the conflict by eradicating the underlying and proximate causes of the conflict. Contrary to this, Government of Pakistan strove only to manage the Balochistan insurgencies by launching military operations and failed to strengthen the political structure at province and local level that could aid to eliminate the differences completely.

## **Conclusion**

To conclude, the examination of the relative contributions of external forces to the rise and fall of ethnic movements in Pakistan and Sri Lanka reveals a complex web of historical paths, internal dynamics, and geopolitical forces influencing interethnic conflicts. The complicated relationships between national goals, foreign interventions, and the nuances of ethnic identity politics have all been examined throughout this thesis.

Above all, the analysis of Sri Lanka and Pakistan highlights the important influence of outside forces on the development of ethnic movements in these nations. Ethnic fault lines have been entrenched and manipulated as a result of historical legacies of colonialism, Cold War geopolitics, and regional power dynamics; this has frequently increased tensions and fueled violence. Furthermore, as evidenced by Sri Lanka's Tamil insurgency and Pakistan's assistance for Kashmiri separatists, external factors have contributed to the prolongation and intensification of wars by equipping, supporting, and legitimizing diverse ethnic factions. These actions have hampered the possibility of a peaceful conclusion and prolonged cycles of conflict because they are motivated by geopolitical calculations and strategic goals.

The comparative study also reveals the complex ways in which outside forces have impacted the course of ethnic movements in Sri Lanka and Pakistan. International backing has

given insurgent groups vital resources and credibility, but it has also caused reliance, division, and ideological changes inside these movements, which has ultimately shaped their ascent and fall. But it's important to understand that the dynamics inside ethnic movements and the agency of domestic actors are crucial in determining how these movements develop. The urge for resistance and mobilization is nevertheless derived from grievances rooted in socio-economic inequality, the resilience of ethnic identities, and the desire for self-determination, even in the face of external interventions. Future-focused, the comparison analysis emphasizes how important it is to use a comprehensive strategy for resolving conflicts that takes into account both internal issues and outside factors. Sustainable peace and reconciliation need the development of inclusive political structures, the encouragement of interethnic communication, and regional cooperation. Finally, a comparative study of Sri Lanka and Pakistan provides insightful information about the intricate interactions between internal and external elements that influence the dynamics of ethnic movements. Policymakers and scholars can help formulate more nuanced and effective solutions for peace building and conflict resolution in ethnically split countries by having a thorough understanding of the historical legacies, geopolitical interests, and socio-political dynamics at play.

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