Qualitative Methods: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis

RESEARCH DESIGN

There is a long history of ethnic groups being subject to prejudicial attitudes and actions by the state or its constituents. Numerous characteristics, including race, religion, stature, and others, influence this discrimination in ethnicities. Thus, ethnic groups are prone to the sentiments of isolation. In such circumstances, Political -along with- socio-economical exclusion fosters the feeling of alienation from rest of the identities of the nation. Meanwhile, according to Engene (1994), issues with political accommodation are the root cause of ethnically motivated terrorism, and even in nations with democratic constitutions and practices, many nation states have alienated various ethnic communities from politics (Shughart 2006). Seug-Whan Choi (2014) offered another explanation for this phenomenon, arguing that radicalized people who are socially and politically marginalized because of their ethnicity are more inclined to justify terrorist actions against complicit citizens who are ethnic majority members.

Thus, there should be anticipation of changes in the direction of inclusivity to lessen the motive for terrorism, if ethnic exclusion generates larger incentives for terrorism. Keeping that in mind, this research therefore possesses a question, *what is the impact of political inclusion of ethnic groups on domestic terrorism?*

This paper will theories the relationship between political inclusion and domestic terrorism highlighting the causal mechanism. After introducing the cases for the analysis and how they control rival arguments, this paper uses Large-N analysis as a supplementary step to verify the external validity for proposed theory. While doing so, the paper will also go over the research's methodology tools. Finally, it will offer some reflections on the study's limitations.

CONCEPTS AND MEASUREMENTS

A group of people who share a shared culture (beliefs, values, and behaviours), language, religion, ancestry, or other attribute that is usually passed down through generations is referred to as an ethnic group. There are various approaches to understand ethnicity based on its characteristics. Only considering politically relevant ethnic groups can clarify the causal mechanism, when studying political inclusion of ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are therefore considered politically significant if at least one political organisation declares to advocate for them in national politics or if its members experience state-led political exclusion: discrimination, powerless (Andreas Wimmer, 2010).

The independent variable is more straight forward, defining political inclusion as: involving all members of the community in political activities, such as civic education, voting, running for office, and providing feedback to legislators as laws and policies are enacted, will foster a sense of agency and belonging (achieving political inclusion, 2019)

There are certain parameters which can determine the political inclusion of ethnicities which were previously excluded. Subsequently, it will change the political status of formally disadvantaged ethnic group to politically privileged. Some of the parameters which I will be considering to studying political inclusion of unprivileged ethnicities are as follows.

Political Inclusion	Empirical Evidence
Changing the political status of ethnic groups to junior, senior partner, and regional autonomy, which were politically discriminated or powerless.	Ethnic power relation database (revised)
Reserved seats and regional quotas that mandates the distribution of parliamentary seat; legislative and executive, to representatives of specific region or a group with ethnicities	Taiwan, India, Pakistan
Provision of Regional Autonomous Districts	Northeast India (Bodoland Territorial Council, Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council)
Implementation of policy scheme to ensure ethnic minorities' representation in the legislature	Malaysia: Group Representation constituencies
Expanded policies where local authorities have control over the matters of land, education and culture.	Northeast India

The essence of regional autonomy is local ethnic people's independence to regulate and manage their own local interests to implement welfare. It promotes the growth of one's own initiatives, which means self-interest of the local community (Roy Moonti, 2019). This ensures political inclusion because representatives from such regions will have direct communication with the central government. This will assist the ruling government in effectively and efficiently addressing their concerns and grievances.

Domestic terrorism is the planned use of violence against noncombatants by individuals or subnational groups such as ethnic groups in order to intimidate constituted government or a group of people outside of the immediate victims in order to achieve political or social goals (Brekebile, 2015). In opposed to an identity promoted by the state, domestic terrorism by ethnic groups frequently aims to promote community identity. For an attack to be categorized as domestic terrorism, event must fulfil certain criteria: victims inside a country must be targeted by a culprit with the same citizenship, the attacks must be intentional, they involve threatened use of violent and the culprits are non-state actors. Other than that, the actions must be outside the scope of authorized military operation and there must be proof for intent to coercive. These are the factors

used by the Global Terrorism Database 'GTD' (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2015) to help comprehend domestic terrorism (Jacob Mauslein, 2018).

Insurgency is a long term, political-military conflict aimed at undermining the legitimate government for occupying power and dominating the resources of an area, through illegal armed political organizations (Guide to analysis of insurgency, 2012). Paul Brooker in one of his papers explained terrorist mode of insurgency. Hence, insurgency is a subcategory under domestic terrorism. Terrorism raised by ethnicities may also bear many similarities to guerrilla conflict. In fact, it is often seen by the practitioner as part of a Porto-guerrilla movement (D. Bayman, 2015)

The variation is dependent variable is the level of domestic terrorist activities in a country. It may depend on whether groups aim to cause many casualties or strive to minimise them (Asal and Rethemeyer 2008), or whether the actual number of people killed or injured in an attack is largely stochastic rather than deliberate (Clauset and Gleditsch 2012).

THEORY

The political system depicted by Tilly's polity model includes a government and many candidates vying for the most access to executive authority. Individuals who belong to the majority population are in a privileged position, whereas minorities who lack access to the government create major challenges. Political exclusion fuels ethnic groups' discontent and political grievances, which they then use as justification for using terrorist attacks. (Crenshaw, 1981). As ethnic connections increase regional stability and because restricting operations to a small area involves fewer material resources than initiating a civil war, ethnic groupings turn to terrorism. (James A. Piazza, 2014).

Sara M. T. Polo advocates cases where ethnic terrorism has been demotivated by political inclusion of ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities can be included in politics in a variety of ways. The government decides up to what extent ethnic minorities should be included in politics. This majorly is determined by their terrorist activity and ethnic demands. As a result, it could involve anything from granting more local control over areas like education, land, and health to allocating seats specifically for candidates or establishing regional quotas to guarantee the representation of ethnic minorities in the legislative and executive branches, or even granting separate autonomy with a separate assembly. Such political inclusion agreements eventually result in a cease-fire between the government and ethnic terrorist organizations (FLNC and political status of Corsicans). As long as the government satisfies a sizable number of ethnic audiences, organisations seeking to continue violence on behalf of an ethnic community will struggle to enlist participation, after being politically included. In this way, increased inclusion demonstrates a decrease in ethnic terrorism. Agreements on regional autonomy, according to Cederman, can prevent conflict from recurring if they also involve power sharing or political access to the national government. Proponents argue that better representation may influence and mould minority communities' opinions about the political system, as well as improve inter-ethnic relations (Kroeber, 2017; Kymlicka, 1995; Phillips, 1998).

It can be difficult to completely eradicate terrorism, especially when there is a history of domestic terrorist activity (Sara M. T. Polo, 2016). Thus, eliminating terror is a time-consuming process, but it will surely show a declining graph after a certain period. Previous research has evidence indicating that ethnic accommodation and political reform can reduce the risk of ethnic terrorism (Cederman et al. 2016; Gurr 2000).

CASE SELECTION

Cases chosen are based on variance in the dependent variable, to explore the impact of political inclusion of ethnic minorities on domestic terrorism, controlling for the alternative explanations. This study will compare the provinces of Northeast India and Pakistan's Southwest province (Balochistan) since their independence in 1947.

The Northeastern province of India was treated differently from the other regions of British India throughout the entire period of British colonialism. Under British rule, northeastern India was formally divided into two provinces: the Northeast Frontier Agency (NEFA) and Assam. Assam province was established as a distinct unit, directly administered by a governor general and thus enjoyed political autonomy (T. Haokip, 2012). Northeast India originally was home to some of the *significant multi-ethnic communities that include Assamese, Nagas, Mizos, Bodo's and Khasi.* The separation and isolation from the rest of India during the colonial period created an alienation problem, when these two provinces became a part of Indian Union. Many of these powerless ethnic groups residing within these provinces feared to lose their ethnic identity, further leading to discontentment, and triggering terrorist activities for succession of separate sovereign state. Insurgencies, Porto- Guerrilla movement, kidnapping, killing security forces became more frequent from 1960s onwards. The Ministry of Home Affairs' Annual Report for 2020–2021: However, indicates that the security situation in India's northeastern states is significantly improving. The number of terrorist attacks and other insurgency-related incidents in India's Northeast, which was once plagued by numerous insurgencies, has reduced dramatically (Rajeev Bhattacharyya, 2022). Civilian fatalities have decreased by 99 percent throughout this time, while security forces casualties have decreased by 75% (The Diplomat, 2022)

Balochistan was originally made up of four princely states: Mekran, Kharan, Lasbela, and Kalat. It was simply known as the Kalat state. Even before India and Pakistan were partitioned, the princely state of Kalat advocated for a cohesive and sovereign Baloch nation (Muhammad Rizwan,2015). Thus, this justifies that even under the British rule, the state of Kalat enjoyed political autonomy. The Kalat state and its many offshoots were abolished in 1948, and the Balochistan State Union was proclaimed on April 9, 1952, with the approval of the government of Pakistan. Hence, there always remained the felling of discontent and alienation within the home to multi-ethnic communities that include the Baloch, the Hazaras, the Pakhtuns and the Brahvis, with a sizable sprinkling of Urdu speakers, in Balochistan Pakistan. Baloch and many other ethnic identities were colonised by politically dominating Punjabi ethnicity from 1950 onwards. This further triggered domestic terrorism for succession of separate sovereign state of Balochistan. They conducted Porto- Guerrilla movement on extremely large scale, followed by insurgencies, suicide bombing, kidnapping, and killing army officials. Despite the claims by Pakistani security agencies of a significant crackdown on insurgents, the insurgency in Balochistan has reportedly multiplied in recent years, according to a report released in 2022. Because of this, more severe actions, such as suicide bombings, high-profile targeted attacks, and the abduction of senior army officers, are now determining the course of Pakistan's separatist terrorist groups. (Manish Rai,2022). According to data made public by the Pakistan Institute for Conflict and Security Studies, there were 24% more militant attacks in April 2022 than there were in March (The Print, 2022).

These cases can be controlled for alternate explanations owing to the variance in the dependent variable. This makes it possible to investigate and anticipate causal mechanisms with greater accuracy (Ziblatt, 2013). The two cases account for the alternate explanations listed below.

Firstly, India and Pakistan experienced the dominance of British rule and later, acquired independence in year 1947. Second, both countries' cultural diversity index, religious fractionalization, and linguistic fractionalizations are on a scale of 0.6 - 0.7, 30% - 40%, and 70% - 80%, respectively. Third, both the countries are parliamentary republics in nature. Fourth, the largest ethnic group in northeast India were Nagas, and the

largest ethnic group in Balochistan were Baluchis, both were politically excluded (powerless, according to EPR database 2021), when India and Pakistan gained independence. Fifth, after Independence, Northeast India and Balochistan both, experienced the emergence of separatist movements advocating for sovereign states. Sixth, Balochistan and northeastern India have rich resources of oil, coal, gas, and mineral. Seventh, according to the South Asia Terrorist Portal (SATP), there are 18-19 proscribed terrorist/extremist groups in northeastern India and Pakistan (recently revised figures).

Hence, these cases offer a great opportunity to observe the causal mechanism. It is also expected that similar dynamics occur in other situations. Therefore, when considering the impact on domestic terrorism owing to ethnic minority's engagement in politics, the theory's scope conditions have no inherent limitations. Hence, I provide Large -N analysis, to verify the external validity for proposed theory.

Large N analysis

The impact of political inclusion of ethnic groups on terrorism can be defined by a regression model. To test ethnic political inclusion (Independent variable), Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) Core Dataset 2021 can be used. Under that, depending on whether the group has absolute power, is discriminated against, or is powerless, I will create two categories. Variable bias can be omitted by considering politically relevant groups only.

The database of domestic terrorism is sorted from the Global Terrorism Database *(National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2015)*. Using the variable 'Int Any' from GTD, the target of an assault having any international elements can be excluded. I simultaneously check the variables I am controlling for. This country-specific characteristics have will show to influence terrorism levels. Terrorism and civil war frequently overlap (Polo and Gleditsch 2016)*.* Hence, I insert a civil war variable based on the Uppsala Armed Conflict Database. Using the information from Gleditsch, I also consider variables like the recorded total population and GDP per capita (2002).

Hence, with this arrangement, I expect results to show statistically stronger effects of how political inclusion of ethnicities (EPR) impacts on domestic terrorism.

METHODOLOGY

For the research question "What is the impact of political inclusion of ethnic minorities on ethnic terrorism," I must primarily rely on secondary sources of information. Newspaper articles and credible online media are secondary data sources that will aid my analysis for sorting the level of domestic terrorism in that country during the specified period. Since domestic terrorism raised by ethnicities is a matter of national security, it is quite challenging to find totally accurate data. As a result, I rely on multiple verified sources of secondary data to reduce any potential selection bias. Furthermore, Tongkholal Haokip's "Political Integration of Northeast India" and Yogesh Gattani's "The Resilience of Baloch Insurgencies" will aid in my research of how ethnic terrorism first emerged because of ethnic minority's political exclusion. Simultaneously, process tracing can be observed. In this manner, I will analyze and compare one positive and one negative scenario, allowing me to evaluate my empirical implications on the theory I seek to offer.

Thus, using journal articles, newspaper articles, and internet media, I would not only explain the causes of ethnic terrorism, but also how terrorism can be reduced through time and what role central government has been in the political domain. As a result, using secondary sources can help to increase the validity of my theory's causal claims.

Finally, I will conduct telephonic interviews with the members of two distinct Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs): 'Acted-India' Organization in Northeast India and 'Manzil Organization' Balochistan in Pakistan. These organisations have engaged in advocacy, community mobilization, research, networking to enhance discussion and cooperation among various stakeholders in northeast India and Balochistan. As a result, they are witnessing the true scenario of the current crisis in both places. My research design will enable me to address questions such as: Does political exclusion of ethnicities fuel ethnic terrorism, and why? Will accommodating ethnicities through political inclusion be effective in reducing terrorist activity among ethnic minorities? To what extent has the government taken political measures to reduce terrorist activity? Finally, I would like to know if ethnic terrorism has decreased or increased in the last 10 years. Thus, the qualitative interview will responsibly cast out the logical ground view for testing the proposed theory.

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF BIAS

The first issue is with regards to endogeneity in my theory. Even when ethnic groups are given political inclusion, there might not always be a decline in the terrorist operations they lead. This is because political inclusion can occasionally be overstated and what they may be asking for can go beyond simple political accommodation. It might be about distributing resources equally or with socioeconomic inclusion. According to Klausen (2005) survey findings, political along with social exclusion promotes sentiments of alienation within ethnic communities and adds to radicalisation and support for extremism. There is also the possibility that splinter organisations with more radical objectives can reject agreements and keep using terrorism. As a result, accommodation might not totally remove terrorism. Some extremist groups might continue and even intensify their violent behaviour or they might take advantage of media attention to further undermine the current administration. Therefore, it is possible that ethnic groups' inclusion in politics has no effect on domestic terrorism at all.

Secondly, there is a potential bias in the sources I use, with the interviewing part of analysis. The participants in my interview may be overly optimistic due to their membership with the NGO. They might alter their responses to demonstrate how successfully their group combats terrorism. They might not consider the official statistics on terrorism in that area. This might skew my findings. Since the time covered by the questions spans more than 10 years, it is possible for them to misremember some facts and disregard important ones. Thus, it will be crucial to compare the data gathered from different members of the same NGO to spot any irregularities.

The ERP database, which is being examined for large-N analysis to assess the scope requirement, leaves out several minor ethnic groups with a history of terrorism, such as the Bretons in France. This is also another potential selection bias in obtaining correct results.

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