THE EFFECT OF ETHNIC PARTICIPATION AND ETHNIC FRACTIONALIZATION ON TERRORISM IN SRI LANKA*

Sri Lanka'da Etnik Katılım ve Etnik Bölünmenin Terörizm Üzerindeki Etkisi

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Abstract

Terrorism is one of the biggest problems in the world. This problem has disturbed the people of Sri Lanka for many years. Sinhalese and Tamil, the two biggest ethnic groups of this island country, have been in conflict for many years. This study tries to analyze the Tamil issue in Sri Lanka. Besides, this study tries to reveal the causes and consequences of conflict. The main purpose of this paper is to look directly at and examine the association between ethnic participation in political life and fractionalization in Sri Lanka, and the possibility of an act of terrorism from that nation.

Keywords: *Sri Lanka, LTTE, Ethnic Participation, Ethnic Fractionalization, Terrorism*

Öz

Terörizm günümüzde dünyanın en büyük sorunlarından bir tanesidir. Sri Lanka'nın en büyük iki etnik grubu olan Sinhalese ve Tamiller uzun yıllardır etnik çatışma içerisindedir. Bağımsızlıktan sonra, Sri Lanka hükümeti bir Sinhalese devleti kurmak istedi. Bu talep Tamil nüfusunun direnişi ile karşı karşıya kaldı. Bu nedenle, Sri Lanka hükümeti Tamil silahlı direnişine son vermek için bir savaş başlattı. Bu çalışma Sri Lanka'daki Tamil meselesini analiz etmeye çalışıyor. Ayrıca, bu çalışma etnik çatışmanın nedenlerini ve sonuçlarını ortaya çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu yazının temel amacı, siyasal yaşamdaki etnik katılım ve etnik bölünme ile terör eylemi olasılığı arasındaki ilişkiye doğrudan bakmak ve bunları incelemektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Sri Lanka, LTTE, Etnik Katılım, Etnik Bölünme, Terörizm*

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INTRODUCTION

There are many different ethnic elements in Sri Lanka. These are Sinhalese, Tamil, Burgher, European, Indian, and Muslim. The majority of the island's population is the Sinhalese community. Tamil is the second largest community in the island. Tamils came to the island in 500 BC.[1] Sinhales came to the island 2000 years before.[2] Three-quarters of Sri Lanka's population is Sinhalese people. 17% of the island population is Tamil people. 2/3 of the island is Buddhist. 14% of the population are Hindu and Muslim.[3]

Sinhalese often live in the south, west, and center part of the island. Tamils live in the northern and eastern regions of the island. Tamils are divided into two groups. Jaffna Tamils are the oldest Tamil group on the island. India Tamil is the second group. Most of the Indian Tamils came to Sri Lanka from India during the colonial period.

The effects of some policies implemented in the colonial period caused problems between the two ethnic groups after independence. As mentioned earlier, Tamils and Sinhalese have been fighting for many years. The conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese is mainly rooted in the British colonial period.

Sri Lanka won its independence in 1948 from the British Empire. After Sri Lanka's independence, the Tamil ethnic group was unable to obtain their political, cultural, and economic rights. For this reason, the Tamil issue arose. In Sri Lanka, the conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamil peoples is based on the differences of religion, language, race and status.

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1 Ruben Walter, *Eski Metinlere Göre Budizm,* çev., Lütfü Bozkurt, Cilt:3, Okyanus Yayınları, Istanbul 2000, p. 40.
2 Peter Chalk, "Political Terrorism in South East", *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 10(2), 1998, p. 118-134.
3 "CIA World Factbook, 'Sri Lanka'", *Central Intelligence Agency* https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html, (Date of Accession: 03.08. 2019).

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There is one main research question in this research. This question is; "What are the effects of ethnic fractionalization and ethnic participation on terrorist acts in Sri Lanka?". The main purpose of this paper is to look directly at and examine the association between ethnic representation and fractionalization in a society, and the possibility of an act of terrorism from that nation.

This is very different from previous research on understanding the causes of terrorism, which asks whether ethnic fractionalization and participation is a determinant of terrorist targeting nations. The aim of this paper is to examine the connection between ethnicity and terrorism with greater clarity.

Many studies in the literature have focused on domestic terrorism. This situation creates a big gap. Because the effects of domestic terrorism are at the global level today, and there is not much difference between domestic and global terrorism today. Therefore, this study focused on the total number of terrorist acts.

In the first part of this study, the history of Sri Lanka and the background of the problem between ethnic groups are explained. In the second part, different ideas in academic studies on the subject are shown. Data analysis was done for this study and in the third section, these data analysis processes are explained and the results of data analysis are presented. The fourth section is the discussion section and the findings obtained as a result of data analysis are shown in this section.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the British colonial period, the British gathered Tamils and Sinhalese under the name Ceylon.[4] Before this period, the two ethnic groups were

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4 Spencer Jonathan, *Sri Lanka History and the Roots of Conflict*, Routledge, London and Newyork 1990, p.70.

living apart from each other.[5] For this reason, during the colonial period, the British tried to create a homogeneous Ceylon nation.[6] On the other hand, the British made some changes in the demographic structure of the island. During the colonial period, 500000 Tamil were brought to the island from India and this population was placed in Sri Lanka.[7]

The first uprisings in the island against British colonialism were initiated by Sinhalese. The Buddhist Sinhalese monks started the uprising against British imperialism. These riots were nationalist and religious revolts.[8] These revolts helped to create religious and nationalist identities in the Sinhalese ethnic group.[9]

Relations that maintained calm between the two ethnic elements during the colonial period were exacerbated by the problem of representation between two ethnic groups after independence. After independence, 1948, Britain handed over the Sri Lankan government power to the Sinhalese population. With the passing of power by monks Buddhist, nationalist Sinhalese groups began to become more active.[10] The Sinhalese, who took power, made it possible for the police power to consist entirely of Sinhalese.[11] In addition to that, the paramilitarist groups of the People's Liberation Front (JVP) formed by Sinhalese's Buddhist monks and ultranationalists began attacking the Tamil community. As a

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5 Rebecca Knuth, "Destroying a Symbol: Checkered History of Sri Lanka's Jaffna Public Library", *72nd IFLA General Conference and Council,* 20-24 August 2006, p. 3.

6 Deirdre McConnell, "The Tamil Peoples Right to Self Determination", *Cambrige Review of International*, 21(1), March 2008, p. 60-75.

7 David Paul Bailey, "Rampant Lions: The Buddhist Response to Violence in Sri Lanka", *Lampda Alpha Journal,* 37(1), 2007. p. 12-22.

8 Suthaharan Nadarajah-Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah, "Liberation Struggle or Terrorism? The Politics of Naming the LTTE", *Third World Quarterly,* 26(1), 2005, p. 87-100.

9 Ravinatha Aryasinha, "Terrorism, the LTTE and the Conflict in Sri Lanka", *Conflict, Security & Development,* 1(2), 2001, p. 25-50.

10 Asoka Bandarage, *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka: Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy*, Routledge, London 2008, p. 42.

11 Cecile Van de Voorde, "Sri Lankan Terrorism: Assessing and Responding to the Threat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)", *Police Practice and Research,* 6(2), 2005, p. 181-199.

result of Sinhalese nationalist groups' attacks on the Tamil population, this situation, the majority of unarmed Tamils tried to create a force to protect themselves. Tamils also started to organize some paramilitary forces in their region.[12] Besides, the Tamils were not included in Sri Lanka's government, also the Sinhalese language became the official language of the state, and most of the Tamil people had not been granted citizenship in Sri Lanka.[13] Finally, with the 1972 constitution, the official religion of the state became Buddhism and also the ruling party changed the country's name from Ceylon to Sri Lanka.[14] As a result of these policies, the problem between Sinhalese-Tamil became violent. In this period, as a precaution, the Sinhalese began to implement the settlement policy and the policy of changing the demographic in the Tamil area. This also led to the struggle of Tamils against assimilation.

At the beginning of the 1970s, Tamils voiced their desire for political freedom. However, since the government of Sri Lanka consistently outlawed Tamil political groups, they were unable to make any progress. For this cause, the Tamils realized that political networks would not be the solution to this issue.

In this context, many armed organizations were established by Tamils and one of the armed organizations established is Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The organization was founded in 1976 by Velupillai Prabhakaran. The organization was struggling for Tamil's self-determination right.[15] These armed conflicts that started in the late 1970s between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan armed forces had continued for a long time. Hundreds of thousands of people on both sides were killed

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12 "Sri Lanka: Sinhala Nationalism and the Elusive Southern Consensus", Asia Report No. 141, *International Crisis Group Asia Report,* https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/44607/sri_lanka_sinhala_nationalism.pdf, (Date of Accession: 01.11.2007).

13 David Scott, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism After Postcoloniality*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1999, p. 52.

14 Jayshree Bajoria, "The Sri Lankan Conflict", *Council on Foreign Relations,* 18, 2009, p. 1-9.

15 Ahmet Yiğitalp Tulga, "Human Rights Violations in Myanmar: Rohingya Case", *International Journal for Advance Research and Development*, 3 November 2018, p. 54-58.

or injured during this armed conflict. Also, human rights violations in the country made these armed conflicts worse. With the political changes in 2006, an important turning point was experienced in these armed conflicts that had continued since the end of the 1970s.

The anti-LTTE alliance took power in 2006. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the People's Liberation Front, and the National Heritage Part were part of this alliance. The alliance was also supported by Muslim politicians. The government started working to fully terminate the LTTE in 2006. In 2007, a multi-pronged offensive in the Eastern Province was initiated by the Sri Lankan government to flush out the LTTE.[16]

Years of conflict ended with the Sri Lankan army winning an absolute victory against the LTTE in 2009. The complete military failure of the LTTE seems to have brought an end to its protracted rebellion. In May 2009, several of the LTTE's top military and political figures allegedly died in battle, and a substantial number of rebels and sympathizers surrendered.[17] In the near future, regrouping and reorganizing will thus appear to be very complicated for the LTTE.

The military triumph of the Sri Lankan government over the LTTE has reaffirmed the unitary existence of the state of Sri Lanka. Under this backdrop, the new government is unlikely to reform the state's constitutional system or to appease ethnic minorities.[18] Although the government probably recognizes that military success alone will not fix the ethnic problems of the country, political power sharing as an aspect for long-term ethnic conflict settlement and reconciliation is not included in the immediate agenda for restoration.[19]

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16 Jayadeva Uyangoda, "Sri Lanka in 2010: Regime Consolidation in a Post-Civil War Era", *Asian Survey*, 51(1), 2011, p. 131-37.

17 Uyangoda, *loc.cit.*

18 Gamini Samaranayake, "Political Terrorism of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka", *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies,* 30(1), 2007, p. 171-183.

19 Amarnath Amarasingham, "Terrorism on the Teardrop Island: Understanding the Easter 2019 Attacks in Sri Lanka", *CTC Sentinel,* 12(5), 2019, p. 1-10.

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The military loss of the LTTE does not mark an end to Sri Lanka's ethnic tensions, but may clearly redefine political tensions and tools in the post-civil war process. The military, economic and social causes of the war, sadly, are still ongoing today.[20]

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are important academic studies on ethnic fractionalization, polarization and exclusion in the academic literature. One of these studies is the research of Choi and Piazza.[21] Choi and Piazza investigated the impact of the exclusion of ethnic minorities from politics on local terrorism. The authors found that countries where ethnic groups were excluded from politics faced more terrorist acts.[22] Besides, it has been revealed that the local influence of ethnic exclusion is greater than the international impact.[23] Choi and Piazza also reveal that individuals who are excluded from political life due to their ethnic origin have become more radicalized and have positive thoughts about terrorist acts against ethnic majority group.[24] Similarly, Gurr thinks that when ethnic and religious minorities face political and economic restrictions, these minority groups are getting closer to political violence and terrorism.[25]

Likewise, Crenshaw,[26] De Nardo[27] and Ross[28] argue that when ethnic minorities face political exclusion, the current regime is more likely to face

20 Josh Linden, "After the Tigers: Moving Beyond the Legacy Violence in Sri Lanka", *Michigan Journal of Public Affairs,* 6(2), 2009, p. 1-30.

21 Seung-Whan Choi-James A. Piazza, "Ethnic Groups, Political Exclusion and Domestic Terrorism", *Defence and Peace Economics,* 27(1), 2016, p. 37-63.

22 *Ibid.*

23 James D. Fearon, "Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country", *Journal of Economic Growth*, 8(2), 2003, p. 195-222.

24 Choi- Piazza, *loc. cit.*

25 Ted Robert Gurr, "Ethnic Warfare on the Wane", *Foreign Affairs*, 2000, p. 52-64.

26 Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism", *Comparative Politics,* 13(4), 1981, p. 379-399.

27 James De Nardo, *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1985, p. 62.

28 Jeffrey Ian Ross, "Structural Causes of Oppositional Political Terrorism: Towards a Causal Model", *Journal of Peace Research,* 30(3), 1993, p. 317-329.

terrorism. Crenshaw,[29] De Nardo[30] and Ross[31] think that the exclusion of these ethnic minorities has helped create social protest movements, and the future of these movements has led to terrorism.

Denzell, Yeh and Pfannenstiel think that ethnic polarization plays an important role in terrorist acts.[32] The authors argue that in countries with high ethnic polarization, they face domestic terrorism more.[33] In countries with ethnic polarization, ethnic groups use violence to influence government policies. As a result of the research of the authors, if a country has a high level of relational and cultural distance, the possibility of that country to face with terrorism increases. Besides, they revealed that countries with high ethnic polarization face with more terrorist acts.[34]

Similarly, Python, Brandsch and Tskhay[35] argue that ethnic polarization has an important role in terrorist acts. The authors think that countries with high ethnic polarization face with more terrorist acts.[36] As a result of their research, the authors found that there was a high, positive and significant association between ethnic polarization and fractionalization and the number of terrorist acts.[37] According to the authors,[38] terrorism is used as a strategy for local ethnic provocation.[39]

Montalvo and Querol, on the other hand, examined the issue with civil war instead of terrorism. The authors think that ethnic polarization

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29 Crenshaw, *loc.cit.*

30 Linden, *loc.cit.*

31 Bajoria, *loc. cit.*

32 Orlandrew Danzell et al., "Determinants of Domestic Terrorism: An Examination of Ethnic Polarization and Economic Development", *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 2017. p. 8.

33 *Ibid.*

34 Choi- Piazza, *loc. cit.*

35 Andre Python et al., "Provoking Local Ethnic Violence-A Global Study on Ethnic Polarization and Terrorist Targeting", *Political Geography*, 58(1), 2017, p. 77-89.

36 See also; Angel Rabasa et al., *Beyond al-Qaeda: Part 1, The Global Jihadist Movement*, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica 2002.

37 Tanner Campbell-Rohan Gunaratna, *Maritime Terrorism, Piracy and Crime*, Eastern Universities Press, Singapore 2003, p. 87.

38 Python et al., *loc.cit.*

39 See also, Daya Wijesekera, "The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE): The Asian Mafia", *Low Intensity Conflict&Law Enforcement,* 2(2), 1993, p. 308-317.

is a clear phenomenon in internal conflicts.[40] However, they think that religious polarization varies from case to case. Also, they demonstrated that ethnic polarization has a very high, significant and negative effect on economic growth.[41] Similarly, Alesina's research revealed that 9 out of 10 ethnicly polarized countries faced civil war.[42] However, the research of Fearon and David[43]- Collier and Hoeffler[44] revealed another result. As a result of these research, religious and ethnic fractionalization does not affect on internal conflicts.[45]

Unlike these scholars, Kurrild-Klitgaard, Justesen and Klemmensen[46] think that linguistic fractionalization rather than ethnic fractionalization causes terrorism. Similarly, Python, Brandsch and Tskhay[47] think that ethno-linguistic factors create the ideological background of some terrorist groups. They think that language fractionalization plays an important role in terrorist acts.[48] However, unlike Kurrild-Klitgaard, Justesen and Klemmensen, they think that ethnic exclusion is the most important cause of terrorism.[49]

Van de Voorde analyzed ethnic division in the case of Sri Lanka. Van de Voorde specifically investigated the Tamil Tigers terror in Sri Lanka.[50] According to the author[51], reciprocal attacks caused two ethnic groups to

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40 José G. Montalvo-Marta Reynal Querol, "Ethnic Polarization, Potential Conflict, and Civil Wars", *American Economic Review,* 95(3), 2005, p. 796-816.

41 *Ibid*.

42 Alberto Alesina et al., "Fractionalization", *Journal of Economic Growth*, 8(2), 2003, p. 155-194.

43 Danzell et al., *loc.cit*.

44 Paul Collier-Anke Hoeffler, "On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa", *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 46(1), 2002, p. 13-28.

45 P. Michael Arena-A. Bruce Arrigo, *The Terrorist Identity Explaining The Terrorists Threat,* New York University Press, New York 2006, p. 74.

46 Peter Kurrild-Klitgaardet et al., "The Political Economy of Freedom, Democracy and Transnational Terrorism", *Public Choice,* 128(1-2), 2006, p. 289-315.

47 Python et al., *loc.cit.*

48 *Ibid.*

49 Montalvo-Querol, *loc.cit.*

50 Voorde, *op. cit.,* p. 181-199.

51 *Ibid.*

be separate poles. During the armed clashes in Sri Lanka, the government granted some autonomy to the Tamil region.[52] However, in the polarized society, radical Sinhales opposed this situation and armed conflicts increased.[53] Increased attacks caused more violent reprisals on both sides and increased polarization between both ethnic groups. However, the author thinks that the biggest cause of the terrorist problem in Sri Lanka is human rights violations.[54]

There are two important questions in the literature and these questions are; "Is ethnic fractionalization make terrorism more stronger?" and "Does ethnic participation in political life reduce number of terrorist attacks?". The vast majority of studies in the literature on the subject seek answers to these two questions and this study also tries to answer these two questions.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND RESULTS

Two data sets were prepared covering 1970-2018. The first data set covers all countries in the world. The second dataset focuses only on the Sri Lanka case. Both data sets include 3 variables. These variables are ethnic fractionalization, political participation of ethnic groups and number of terrorist attacks. Unlike previous academic studies, there is no distinction between global and domestic terrorism in this study. Because, the distinction between domestics and global terrorism has disappeared, especially with globalization. Today, the effects of domestic terrorist organizations and their actions are global. Therefore, this study did not differentiate between global and domestic terrorism and included all types of terrorism.

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52 James D. Fearon-David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War", *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 2003, p. 75-90.
53 Collier- Hoeffler, *lot. cit.*
54 Fearon-Laitin, *loc.cit*.

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Table 1: Summary Statistics

VARIABLES	NUMBER	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MEDIAN
Ethnic Participation	5719	3.21	0.99	3.00
Ethnic Fractionalization	6420	0.44	0.27	0.44
Number of Terrorist attacks	3882	49.36	182.34	5.00

The first data set covers the period between 1970 and 2018 and covers all countries in the world. There are 8504 observations in the first dataset. The dependent variable is number of terrorist attacks. The dependent variable is taken from Global Terrorism Database from University of Maryland. Dependent variable, number of terrorist attacks, is a count variable that's why it is decided to conduct Negative Binominal Regression and incident rate ratio. An incident rate ration equal to 1 implies no improvement better or worst in terrorist attacks, an IRR higher than 1 suggests a rise in planned counts, and an IRR less than 1 represents a reduction in expected counts. However, many articles in terrorism studies used zero-inflated negative binomial. Zero-inflated negative binomial is a theoretically more effective mathematical technique. The downside of the zero-inflated negative binomial approach is that the two-stage setup is difficult to interpret and often produces results that are prone to variable variation. Because of this interpretation issue, I did not use Zero-inflated negative binomial and poisson model.

The independent variables are ethnic fractionalization and ethnic participation. Ethnic is an index ranging from 0 to 1. And this variable is taken from Lenka Drazanova's research.[55] Second independent variable

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[55] Lenka Drazanova, "Historical Index of Ethnic Fractionalization Dataset (HIEF)", *Harvard Dataverse,* V1.0, https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/4JQRCL, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2019).

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is ethnic participation and this variable is taken from From James A. Piazza's research.[56]

Table 2: Incidence-Rate Ratio for All Countries

	IRR	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|
Ethnic Fractionalization	2.12301	0.28031	5.7018	1.186e-08 ***
Ethnic Participation	0.84364	0.03044	-4.7122	2.450e-06 ***
Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1				

Based on the result of the analysis, there is a highly significant association between the number of terrorist acts and ethnic fractionalization and ethnic participation in all countries in the world. There is a high, inverse and significant association between ethnic fractionalization and the number of terrorist acts. However, there is a high, parallel and significant association between ethnic participation and the number of terrorist acts. In other words, the political participation of ethnic minorities leads to a decrease in terrorist attacks. On the other hand, the increase in ethnic fractionalization causes an increase in terrorist attacks.

The second data set focuses only on the Sri Lanka case. This dataset covers 1970-2018. This dataset involves 3 variables. The dependent variable is number of terrorist attacks. The independent variables are ethnic fractionalization and ethnic participation. Negative Binominal Regression is used in this analysis.

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56   James A. Piazza, "Regime Age and Terrorism: Are New Democracies Prone to Terrorism?" *International Interactions,* 39(2), 2013, p. 246-263.

Table 3: Negative Binomial Results of Sri Lanka

Dependent variable:	
Number of Terrorist Attacks	
Ethnic Participation	-7.530***
	(1.885)
	132.107***
Ethnic Fractionalization	
	(21.098)
	73.857***
Constant	
	(12.571)
Observations	32
Log Likelihood	-156.520
theta	0.565*** (0.139)
Akaike Inf. Crit.	319.041

Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Based on the result of the second analysis, there is a highly significant association between the number of terrorist acts and ethnic fractionalization and ethnic participation in Sri Lanka. There is a high positive and significant association between ethnic fractionalization and the number of terrorist acts. Also, there is a high negative and significant association between ethnic participation and the number of terrorist acts.

DISCUSSION

Many findings are reached in this study. The first of these findings is a negative relationship between the ethnic participation and the number of terrorist attacks in the world. In other words, the increase in ethnic participation in countries leads to a decrease in number of terrorist attacks. Besides, as expected, there is a positive association between

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ethnic fractionalization and number of terrorist attacks in the world. This finding means that the increase in ethnic fractionalization causes an increase in terrorism and number of terrorist attacks.

The second data set was prepared about Sri Lanka case and the study was further elaborated. As a result of this analysis, there is a significant and negative association between ethnic participation in Sri Lanka and the number of terrorist attacks. This result is similar with world's result. However, the effect of ethnic participation in Sri Lanka has bigger impact on number of terrorist attacks than the world. In other words, ethnic participation into politics has a pacifying association with terrorism. The findings of the results show that ethnic participation decrease the risk of terrorism in Sri Lanka. Similarly, ethnic fractionalization has a positive and significant impact on the number of terrorist acts in Sri Lanka. In other words, increased ethnic fractionalization in Sri Lanka leads to an increase in terrorist attacks. Unlike world results, the increase in ethnic fractionalization has a very high effect on terrorist attacks.

These results were found to be relatively different from previous studies in the literature. The reason for this is that most of the studies in the literature use only general analysis instead of case study. However, in this study, Sri Lanka, which had great difficulties due to the terrorist problem, was chosen as the case. Based on the results, the effects of ethnic fractionalization and ethnic participation in Sri Lanka are more higher than world.

In Sri Lanka, the conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamil community is based on the differences of religion, language, race and status. However, as mentioned above, at the main root of the problem is Tamil ethnic group was unable to obtain their political, cultural and economic rights after independence of Sri Lanka. However, the fact that these problems could not be solved through political ways at that time and this led the Tamil

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community to armed struggle. This problem of political participation and high ethnic fractionalization faced by the Tamil community led to the start of war between the Tamil community and the Sri Lankan armed forces.

Although the war between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan armed forces is over, the difficulties encountered in the region have not come to an end. The human rights situation has tended to deteriorate in an atmosphere of impunity, considering the conclusion of the violence. Severe abuses of human rights, such as abductions, arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, torture and sexual harassment, have been recorded in the former war zones of the country. These areas remain highly militarized; the military also managed enterprises, agricultural and construction programs, and monitored civil society activities in these areas in addition to checkpoints blotting the zone. It is important to reduce the militarization of the war zones very rapidly.[57]

As a result, freedom of speech or assembly has remained very minimal in the north and east of the country. Although some changes have been made to the Tamil minority since 2015, military presence continues to rule many areas in the north and east, with continuing obstacles to justice for victims of conflict-related violence and their families, as well as lack of transparency and continuing violations and impunity by Sri Lanka armed force.[58]

The political participation of ethnic minorities and the discussion of these problems in politics play an important role in the solution of these problems. There are some policies implemented in this direction. The interests of ethnic and religious minority communities, including many Tamil parties, as well as the Sri Lankan Muslim Congress, the country's

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57 John Martin Richardson, *Paradise Poisoned: Learning About Conflict, Terrorism, and Development from Sri Lanka's Civil Wars*, International Ctr for Ethic Studies, Colombo 2005, p. 76.
58 Linda K. Richter-William L. Waugh Jr., "Terrorism and Tourism as Logical Companions", *Tourism Management*, 7(4), 1986, p. 230-238.

largest Muslim party, are specifically reflected by a variety of parties.[59] Compared to the 2010 elections, Tamil political parties and people faced less violence and less barriers to voting during the 2015 presidential and parliamentary elections. Systemic prejudice, however, adversely affects the political participation of Tamils, including by language laws and naturalization processes.[60]

In fields including government jobs, university education and access to justice, Tamils claim systemic discrimination. As the official language, the position of Sinhala puts Tamils and other non-Sinhala speakers at a disadvantage.

The solution to all these problems is not only the political participation of ethnic minorities. However, as the regression analysis shows, increasing the political participation of ethnic minorities and decreasing ethnic fractionalization is a very important step in solving ethnic problems.

CONCLUSION

Sri Lanka faced many problems after its independence. One of these problems and one of the biggest problem is the ethnic conflict between Tamil and Sinhalese. This ethnic problem started a long time ago and still going on.

One of the important reasons of the conflict was the model of the nation state that was desired to be formed after independence. The Sri Lankan government tried to create a homogeneous society and this policy encountered resistance of Tamil community. The Sri Lankan government used force for the process of creating homogeneous society,

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59 Freedom in the World 2018: Democracy in Crisis, *Freedom House*, https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/democracy-crisis, (Date of Accession: 24.04.2018).
60 Shakuntala Rao- Pradeep N. Weerasinghe, "Covering Terrorism: Examining Social Responsibility in South Asian Journalism", *Journalism Practice,* 5(4), 2011, p. 414-428.

and against this force, Tamils had to establish a resistance organization to protect themselves. For this purpose, many armed organizations were established.

One of these armed groups is the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The organization was founded in 1976 by Velupillai Prabhakaran. From this date until 2009, LTTE's war with the Sri Lankan armed forces continued. Years of conflict ended with the Sri Lankan army winning an absolute victory against the LTTE in 2009. However, this does not mean that the Tamil problem has been completely solved in Sri Lanka. The political, economic and social causes of the conflict still continue today. The lack of ethnic participation and high level of ethnic fractionalization are a very important factor behind these ongoing conflicts.

In this study, the effects of ethnic fractionalization and ethnic participation in politics on terrorism and social problems were tried to analyze with Sri Lanka case. This research was sought answers to three basic questions. These questions are "What are the effects of ethnic fractionalization and ethnic participation on terrorist acts in Sri Lanka?", "Is ethnic fractionalization make terrorism more stronger?" and "Does ethnic participation in political life reduce number of terrorist attacks?".

In the direction of these questions, some data were analyzed in the study. As a result of these analyzes, it was found that the increase of ethnic fractionalization in the world caused the increase of terrorism and ethnic participation in politics caused the decrease of terrorism. Similar results were found in Sri Lanka case. However, the impact of ethnic minorities' political participation and ethnic fractionalization on terrorism is found to be considerably greater in the Sri Lankan case.

As a result of this case analysis, it was revealed that the increase in ethnic participation in Sri Lanka caused the fall of number of terrorist attacks. However, only ethnic participation in politics is not enough against terrorism. It is very important that ethnic participation should be

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supported with other aspects of democracies such as respect for human rights, independent judiciary and integration of ethnic minorities into society. Similarly, as stated in the literature, participation into many areas is very important in ethnic minorities and the resolution of ethnic conflicts related to this. Besides, ethnic participation of minorities in social and political life guarantees the fundamental rights of all citizens, including minorities, and provides many legal opportunities. In this way, the exclusion of ethnic minorities, discrimination against them and parallel to that, radicalization is prevented.

Ethnic minorities participation into politics and economic, supported by policies such as improving human rights, and reducing income inequality, has a critical role in the fight against terrorism. Especially, participation is very useful in the context of ethnic terrorism because the ethnic participation gives a chance to represent their community in non-violence or political area and it gives chance to show their grievance without using weapons. Groups in all communities have policy aims, some of them more drastic than others, along with a number of alternative methods for reaching certain aims. Groups with severe preferences are likely to vote for violence more frequently than groups with moderate preferences in pursuit of their aims, particularly when their rights cannot be guaranteed. Besides, ethnic participation provides the opportunity to resolve the grievances and demands of ethnic minorities without using extremist way.

The Sri Lankan government has taken many steps since 2009, especially on the participation of ethnic minorities in politics. However, as stated above, if policies such as reducing human rights violations, integration of society and recognition of ethnic minority identities accompany political and economic participation, these could be achieved in resolving ethnic conflicts. From these points of view, it is seen that Sri Lanka still has many policies to improve.

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This study focuses on all terrorist attacks. This is the biggest difference of this study from other studies on the subject. In general, the vast majority of studies in the literature have focused on domestic terrorism. However, today there is not much distinction between local terrorism and global terrorism, and therefore this study concentrated on total terrorist attacks. Besides, the number of quantitative studies in this scope, which examines specifically with the Sri Lanka case, is very low.

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