

## **Mapping success and failure: A comparative case study of South Asian separatist movements using lenses of contentious politics**

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### **Abstract**

Friction among structure, culture and rationality paradigms is central to the field of Comparative Politics. Scholars of Contentious Politics are trying to bridge gap among them by converting episodes of contention into mechanisms and processes for analysis and then by connecting origin of contention to its outcome. They used lenses of Contentious Politics (i.e. structurally rooted political process approach, rationality based resource mobilization and collective action perspective as well as culturist based framing perspective) to explain social movements and bridge this gap (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2009). Using lenses of contentious politics, this study not only strives to further converge these paradigms but also aims to explain why and how separatist movements should be studied using umbrella of contentious Politics and social movement.

It is a comparative case study of separatist movement of Baluchistan and Bangladesh. The literature regarding separatist movement is multidimensional. This research is also an attempt to develop a coherent and well organized approach to study separatist movements. Ample literature exists regarding take off and progression of social movements. However, no work has been done explaining what happens when a movement reaches to its tipping point. This research fills this gap by explaining how and why some separatist movements succeed while others don't. This study is unique in that just as American scholars it focuses on one country but at the same time employs the European scholars' tradition of comparing two movements but within the same country.

**Keywords:** Comparative Politics, Contentious Politics, Social Movement, Contention, Separatist Movements-Success/Failure, Structure, Culture, Rationality, Resource Mobilization, Collective Actions, Framing, Separatism, South Asia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Baluchistan

### **Introduction**

The answer to question why to study separatism under umbrella of contentious politics can be found by analyzing current debate in separatism literature. A brief literature review will be done due to limited scope of research. The literature demonstrates that separatism as a subject has been studied under different domains i.e. International Law, International relations, Area studies, Nationalism and Ethnicity etc.

Most of the debate can be traced back to the contradiction in UN Charter and its resolutions about the right of territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of the states vis-à-vis right to self-determination of the separating groups (Beary, 2008). Some scholars of international law interpret that UN charter's

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self-determination principal is entitled to colonized people only (Tesón, 1998). The debate on this topic in American Society of International Law demonstrates that democracy and separatism both find their legitimacy from international legal structure. The relationship among democratic theory, international law and constitutional law provides a re-envisioned concept of self-determination and separatism pertaining to the modern polity (Tesón, 1998; Cass, 1998). So, the whole debate in international law deals with the legitimacy of separatist claims which is one aspect of separatism.

International relations deal with issue of separatism at three levels as explained by Waltz. While taking state as unit of analysis, the literature discusses about how state actions mobilize these separatist ethnic movements. The literature deals with questions like how democratization process in ethnic federations creates incentives for regional separatism (Giuliano, 2006) or how ethnic movements can be managed through an accommodationist approach (Manor, 1996) or how institutionalized territorial autonomy through devolution creates incentives for conflict between minority and central government (Cornell 2002). However, some literature focuses on reverse action i.e. how ethnic groups affect state policy, in studying possibility of outbreak of protest (Ghose, 1998; Fox 2000). Some other literature focuses at system level effects. Olzak & Tsutsi (1998) studies the causality between ties of peripheral countries with international organizations and level of ethnic violence. Gardener (2008) studies that the groups (claimant for self-determination), who internalize liberal democratic norms are most likely to get international support. Thomas (2010) focuses on process of globalization providing opportunities for creation of religious collective identities in the west and their effect on state policies. So, the focus of IR scholars is on mobilization and farming of separatist tendencies through state action, minority group response or through system level opportunities. However, state remains as the basic unit of analysis and less focuses on agency.

Area studies deeply explain different separatist tendencies and movements in some particular regions but lack a coherent theoretical construct (Badal, 1976; Subramaniam 1976; Gladney, 2003; Sen, 1973; Pai 1996; Gorenburg, 1999). The literature about ethnicity and nationalism regarding separatism, discusses their origin, formation of collective identities or boundary construction in the separatist movement (Fattah, 2006; Upreti, 2006; Hobsbawm & Kertzer, 1992; Brown 1988; Knight 1982).

This brief literature review demonstrates that different fields study separatism through different angles. However, a coherent and well organized approach is very much needed to study separatism, covering its all aspects. In the next part, this study will explain how contentious politics provides a better approach to study separatism through a movement perspective. However, the analysis of whether separatism can be studied under umbrella of contentious politics is prudent.

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### **Theoretical Framework and methodology:**

According to Tilly and Tarrow (2007), contentious politics,

“involves interactions in which actors make claims, bearing on someone else’s interests, leading to coordinated efforts on behalf of shared interests, or programs, in which governments are involved as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties”.

So, contentious politics has three essential features 1- contention 2- collective action and 3- politics. Contention means claim making, collective action means coordinated efforts to meet those claims and politics means interaction with government in any form, for pursuance of these claims (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007). On the other hand, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2009) define contentious politics with three common properties i.e. interaction, claims and government which are essentially the same except difference of vocabulary. So, there is more or less consensus among scholars of contentious politics about its properties.

Separatism or Separatist movement starts with claim making. Claims are made for autonomy or separation. The next stage is emergence of movement and collective action for pursuance of objective - which is either autonomy or separation- from the central government. So, separatist movement is a kind of contention in which claims are made directly against the government. Therefore, separatist movements fulfill the entire criterion to be studied under the umbrella of contentious politics. As discussed earlier, it is a kind of contention in which claims lack legitimacy, due to accepted norm of territorial integrity of the state.

While adopting Lichbach and Zakarman’s (2009) paradigmatic approach, McAdam, Tilly and Tarrow (2009) has moved one step ahead in identifying some common perspectives, used in explaining emergence of social movements. These are;

1- Structurally rooted Political process approach 2- Resource mobilization/Collective action perspective and 3- Constructivists/culturist based Framing perspective

These three approaches explain 1-the basis of claim making 2- the possibility of emergence of a protest or a movement from both a) statist and b) claimant group perspective as well as 3- the basis of individual and collective behavior for collective action. In short, contentious politics lenses provide a broad and comprehensive analytical approach to explain the separatist movements. To conclude: not only Separatist movements can be studied using contentious politics approaches but also contentious politics provides a better and broader approach for the study of separatist movement.

This study uses comparative method to find out similarities and differences between the movements and their outcome. Most of the American scholars of social movement focus on single case. The European scholars focus on cross national comparisons. This study is unique in the sense that it focuses on one country like American scholars

as well as it follows European scholar's tradition of comparison of two movements but within the same country. Comparing two movements within the same country provides a unique edge as both movements face the similar kind of regime. This way, the differences in their outcome can better be studied and explained as compared to cross national comparisons or single case. Some other separatist movements are also going on, in the same country. However, separatist movement of Bangladesh and Baluchistan has purposely been chosen because of differences of their form and outcome. The former succeeded in achieving its claims while later failed. Similarly, former was peaceful except at the later stage while later has been violent since the beginning.

The next section will explain these approaches of contentious politics in detail. By using these lenses, this study will compare separatist movement of Bangladesh and Baluchistan to explain how and why these movements started and why they differed in their outcome? Before mapping of these movements, their brief historical overview is prudent.

#### **A brief review of Baluchistan and Bangladesh separatist movement:**

Pakistan came into being in 1947, (a country which never existed before) as a result of end of British colonial rule. The legitimacy for Pakistan Movement during colonial period came out of religious based nationalism. The demand of Pakistan was based on claim that Muslims are a different nation from Hindus and therefore, need a separate homeland. The role of elites like Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah etc. was really important in framing this separate collective identity. However, this nation, united on basis of common religious belief was fragmented on the basis of language, culture and ethnicity. The five parts i.e. East Pakistan (then Bengal and now Bangladesh), Baluchistan, Sindh, Punjab and NWFP were ethnically and linguistically very different from each other and were ruled differently under colonial period. The physical separation of East and West Pakistan was a bigger problem of this new state (Islam, 1981).

The religion and national language of Pakistan i.e. URDU, failed in integrating and assimilating ethnically divided parts. The movement of Bangladesh started from the language controversy. The population of East and West Pakistan was almost equal and Bengali's wanted their language to be declared as national language of the country (Nag 2006). The ethnic differences between East and West Pakistan, problem of representation in the legislature and distribution of resources further aggravated the situation. Therefore, a mass movement for autonomy and then separation emerged. The movement reached to tipping point, when the then president of Pakistan Yahya Khan refused to hand over power to the leader of Bengali Nationalist Party "Awami League" which gained majority in 1971 election (Ziring, 1974). Despite repression of the state, the movement succeeded in its objective of achieving a separate homeland.

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British forces occupied Baluchistan after a long war and resistance and then purposely kept this area backward. During partition, Khan of Kalat requested independence of Kalat state. Other Baluchi tribes gave application to become part of Kalat federation. Khan of Kalat made a formal declaration of independence, after end of British rule, on August 15, 1947 and was later forced to sign accession document in 1948. However, different views exist about whether accession was willfully signed or forcefully. Many tribes and their Sardars were not happy with this accession and separatist movement started with this event and is still going on. This is fourth phase of Baluchistan movement. So, the discourse for both movements developed soon after the creation of Pakistan. However, one has succeeded while other is still going on. (Ahmad, 1992; Malik, 2013).

### **Mapping through lenses of contentious politics:**

This section will discuss the basic features of three contentious politics approaches described earlier. Then each approach will be applied to both movements to find out; 1- how well these approaches explain separatist movements 2- which approach better explains which movement and 3- the similarities and differences between these two movements and their outcomes.

#### **A- Structurally rooted political process approach:**

This approach focuses on the state structures which offer opportunities and constraints for collective action. As per this approach, institutionalized politics determines the prospects for collective action as well as the form of social movement. The most popular work in this regard is of Skocpol, which shows how international changes effect state institutions to change their policies and provide opportunities for mobilization, among different classes in different countries (Skocpol, 1979). This approach was developed by the American scholars like Tilly (1978), McAdam (1982) and Tarrow (1994) who established a link between institutionalized politics and social movement. However, their focus has been on one movement, in one country. They focused on how changes in institutional structures or informal power relations in a given political system offer incentives for collective action or restrain a collective action.

Based on their work, some European scholars developed a comparative approach. They looked at “cross national differences in the structure, extent and success of comparable movements on the basis of differences in the political characteristics of the national states in which they are embedded” (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996).

The focus of this study is neither on single movement nor on cross national differences. Rather it focuses on two movements within one country to find out similarities and differences among those movements and their outcomes. Those differences may generate some hypothesis for future research. So, the focus of

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political process approach will be to find out whether same or different opportunities or restraints fostered or stopped collective action in these two movements.

Both the movements will be studied under the following themes

- 1- Structural factors
- 2- Institutional openness or closure
- 3- Regime stability and legitimacy
- 4- Stability or instability in elite alignment
- 5- State's capacity to repress

### **Bangladesh Movement:**

Three structural factors played key role in the emergence and success of East Pakistan movement. First among them is geographical separation. East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan, by a distance of 1600 kilometers. This factor not only created administrative problems but also presented hindrances the integration of the country. Second important aspect is its geographical location. Bengal came under British rule, long ago, as compared to other provinces of the state. It was developed industrially as compared to rest of the provinces of Pakistan. Before partition, Bengal was divided into East Bengal and West Bengal. Majority of East Bengal were Muslims. Therefore, it became part of Pakistan. However, there industry was in the control of rich Hindu minority (Zaman, 1964). These aspects of having prior interaction with Indian Hindus and being adjacent to Indian Bengal helped in getting support from India, once movement started. The demography is the third most important factor. The total population of East Pakistan was greater than total population of all other four provinces of Pakistan. This factor created a sense of larger share in every aspect and failure to achieve it developed a discourse for movement. However, it will be discussed in the later approaches.

Troubled regime transformation and lack of legitimacy lost its control over people. Regime lacked legitimacy as first constitution of the country could not be drafted up till 1956. Governmental functioning was done under Indian independence act of 1935 with some amendments. This act and later constitutions (1965, 1962) were made, amended and abrogated as to enhance personal power (Khan, 2001).

This resulted into instability in elite alignment. After Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan, military and bureaucratic elites replaced political elite in power. A tug of war between East and West Pakistani elites and among West Pakistani elites, along with presence of hatred and prejudice of West Pakistani elite against East Pakistani elite in power corridors, created opportunity for east Pakistani elite to mobilize people and demand for autonomy.

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System openness also offered opportunity for the movement. The first constituent assembly consisted of members elected before partition and majority of them were from West Pakistan. However, 1954 elections provided an opportunity for the mobilization of people as voter. As a result Muslim league lost its popularity in East Pakistan and a united front consisting of local parties formulated government. The failure of Muslim League in East Pakistan resulted in further concessions towards autonomy. In 1956 constitution, West Pakistan was declared as one unit and East and West Pakistan were given equal representation in the legislature. Further concessions were given by chief Martial Law Administrator General Yahya Khan. His amendments ended one unit and awarded 162 seats out of total 300 seats of national legislature to East Pakistan. The elections were held in 1970. Awami league won all 162 seats in East Pakistan but was never given opportunity to formulate government (Khan, 2001). This was the critical point in history, when Aawami League leader Sheikh Mujeeb mobilized people for collective action. Initially, movement demanded for autonomy and then for separation.

The state's repressive capacity became limited due to several factors. Because of long distance between East and West Pakistan, the supply of everything was difficult. Indian support to violent liberation force (MuktiBahini) created further trouble for the police and later military. And lastly, Pakistan's engagement with Indian troops opened another front. The military troops failed to fight at both fronts at a time (Bose, 2005). This situation provided an opportunity for movement to succeed.

### **Baluchistan Movement:**

Kalat State appeared on world map in the middle of 17th century. But due to its tribal nature, it remained backward and resistant to foreigners (Shah, 2008). Three Historical/structural features can describe Baluchistan movement like East Pakistan movement. First of all, though it was adjacent to all three provinces of West Pakistan, it always posed administrative hindrances of its own kinds. It is a hilly area and heaven for guerrilla warfare. Due to this nature of Baluchistan, British government kept it backward. During British rule, Baluchistan was administratively divided into two units 1- British Baluchistan (under direct control of British government) 2- States of Baluchistan (Under control of sardars). The forceful accession of second part to Pakistan created a kind of grievances and resulted into separatist movement (Bugti, 1995). Secondly, Baluch nation is ethnically fragmented and is scattered in three countries i.e. Pakistan, Iran & Baluchistan. This is helpful to escape during the guerrilla warfare. But at the same time, it has negative impact due to lack of coherent objective & action. Three, being a smallest population province, Baluch always have less access to power corridors. Because of lack of this capacity, Baluch movement has always been violent.

Baluchistan movement failed to take any opportunity, out of uneven regime transformations, lack of regime legitimacy or instability in elite alignment. The legal

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status of Baluchistan was the main reason behind it. As mentioned earlier, British Baluchistan came under control of Pakistan. However, State of Kalat, along with Lasbela and Kharan were declared independent by Khan of Kalat, in 1947. However, Khan was forced to sign accession document and hence it became part of Pakistan in 1948 (Bonsal, 2006). As a result of this grievance, first movement for autonomy started. Khan's brother Prince Karim started a liberation movement for Baluchistan and went to Afghanistan for an armed struggle. However, this was repressed by Pakistan military and prince karim was arrested. Another Baluch leader Nauroz Khan led second insurgency for release of Khan of Kalat and exemption of land reforms in his area. However, he too surrendered later on (Kundi, 2008).

Another reason for violent struggle of Baluchistan was system closure. Baluchistan was not given status of an independent province. Rather, it further lost its traditional rules, when whole West Pakistan was declared as one unit. All political activities were banned. However, first opportunity appeared because of East Pakistan Movement. General Yaha khan introduced some constitutional reforms in Baluchistan too, along with East Pakistan. Baluchistan was elevated to the level of a province. After election of 1970, Sardar Mengal formulated first elected government in the province. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto dissolved this coalition government in 1973, on the charges of anti-state activities and violation of constitutional authority by the government. Mengal was alleged to be the part of soviet plan against Pakistan. This resulted into third insurgency in Balchistan, in areas of Marri and Bugti tribes. All these sradras were arrested. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto announced the end of Sardari system developed by the colonial rule (Malik, 2013).

The fourth Insurgency started after musharaf's military quo in 1999. Because of continuous state repression, an armed group named as Baluchistan Liberation Army came into being. BLA attacked military bases, Gas Pipelines, and development projects like Gawadar port etc. As a result, Musharraf government decided to install military cantonment in areas of violent struggle. Sardarnawab Akbar Bugti was assassinated in this operation. After the death of NawabAkberBugti, Marri and Bugti tribes who have always been fighting against each other joined each other in movement for separation (Bonsal, 2005). Despite current democratic provincial government, military still controls most parts of Baluchistan. However, the separatist movement is still going on despite strict monitoring and military action.

### **Comparative analysis:**

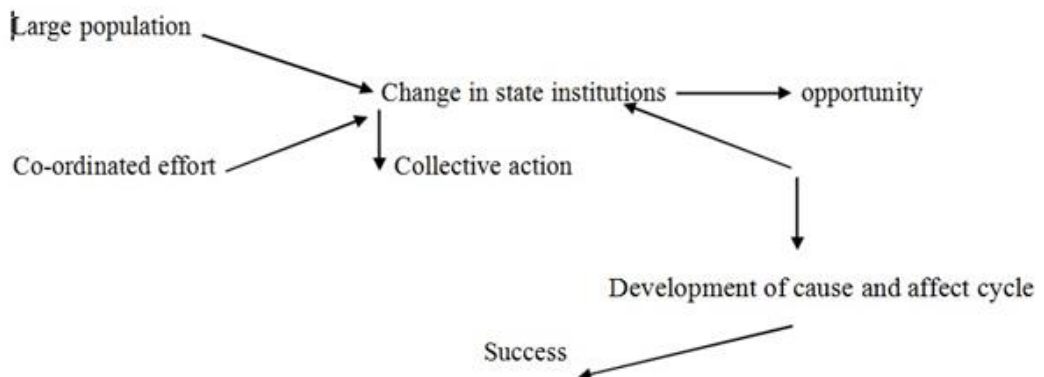
The investigation of both movements through political process approach reveals that both movements have certain differences that explain differences in their outcome. Large population and with the passage of time, emergence of single political party in East Pakistan put pressure on the state institutions to change. The change in institutions provided opportunity for the collective action. However, once movement took off, the state's repressive capacity failed to stop it because of geographical location and foreign intervention. As a result movement succeeded.



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The study of Bangladesh movement offers a contradiction to Skocpol's explanation of revolution. According to Skocpol's analysis, state structure or institutions change policies because of international changes and hence provide opportunity. The international influence is absent in case of East Pakistan. Rather, internal factors caused changes in institutions which provided opportunity to the movement to take off. So, the agency first caused structures to provide opportunity and then utilized this opportunity to take off. As a result, a cycle of cause and effect is developed. This cycle lead to the success of the movement.

The case of Baluchistan offers opposite explanations. The internal fragmentation and smaller population could not affect the state institutions to change and provide opportunity. Rather, geographical contiguity of Baluchistan province helped increase in state repression. This explains that why movement appeared and faded away many a times, which also explains longevity of the movement. However, due to absence of a cohesive collective action, the movement could not succeed.



### B- Resource mobilization, Collective action perspective:

Once opportunities are offered by the system, the decision to participate in the movement depends upon the cost and benefit analysis or relative deprivation feeling of an individual or group. This was the initial take of social movement scholars. Later, the scholars turned towards organizational aspect and focused on resources available to the dissidents.

Rational choice perspective was introduced in contentious politics in 1960's (Lichbach & Zuckerman, 2009). Olson (1965) in his book "logic of collective" action provided micro foundations for collective collection. His theory shows how and why individuals participate in group action. However, his theory fails to address free rider problem. Lichbach (1995) sees this problem in his rebel's dilemma and offers his solutions. Gurr (1970) describes psychological motivation for participation in terms of

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grievances, growing out of relative deprivation. This sense of deprivation or inequality emerges in relation to others or one's own expectations.

Resource mobilization theory initiated by McCarthy & Zald, (1977) moved away from this grievance based model and focused on mobilization processes and organizational set up. Their focus was on professional movement organizations. McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) focused on mobilizing structures which they define as "collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action". So, the focus is on informal networks, meso-level groups and organizations. The resources availability not only helps in explaining the initiation of movement but also explain their continuity. Once the movement comes into being, the resources multiply. This section will focus whether mobilization in these movements can be better explained by relative deprivation theory or resource mobilization theory and what kind of mobilizing structures were available for both movements to take off? Also, whether these movements developed through established institutions or informal associational networks?

### **Bangladesh Movement:**

The collective action in East Pakistan can be best described by relative deprivation theory. The grievances emerged out of economic as well as political deprivation. In the beginning, some Bengali leaders like Khawaja Nazimuddin and Muhammad Ali Bogra etc. took the office of prime minister. But they were deprived of real executive power and were ousted from the office. Bengalis were given due share in central legislature, in proportion to their population after a long struggle.

Economic deprivation was serious one. More than 70% export income was generated from East Pakistan through export of jute and tea. However, the income generated was spent more on development of West Pakistan. As a result, West Pakistan developed in terms of agriculture and industry during Ayub's era. Even jute industry in East Pakistan was owned by West Pakistan economic elite. This uneven resource distribution created grievance (Sengupta, 1971). Further animosity was created among common man due to the failure of government of Pakistan in managing worst natural disaster of 1970's. Around 250000 people lost their life in that. The local leaders criticized the central government for not taking serious actions and helping the victims of flood and cyclone. While utilizing these opportunity, Mujeeb's offered his six points for autonomy, in which he demanded separate currency, fiscal account and taxation system for East Pakistan (Pakistan forum, 1971).

The separatist movement of Bangladesh developed through both informal as well as formal institutions. However, formal institutions played major role in mobilizing people to participate. It first developed among the students. The students for the first time agitated in Dhaka in 1952 for equal status of Bengali language. With the increasing pressure, system's openness through elections provided opportunities for local political parties to activate and participate in the election and channel the

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demand for autonomy. In the beginning, the small factional and communist parties formed a united alliance against Muslim League. However, soon Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujeeb emerged as a single representative party of East Pakistan (Zaman, 1970). State tried to increase the cost of participation in formal and informal institutions through repression. As a result of it, movement turned violent. A violent group named as MaktiBahni emerged & became active against police and military.

### **Baluchistan Movement:**

Relative deprivation theory explains the collective action in Baluchistan. The current separatist movement of Baluchistan is result of repressive policies and historical grievances. For long time, they were deprived of their political rights. The political governments made as a result of elections were either dissolved or given no authority. Baluchistan was never given due share out of national finance commission. Pashtun migration as a result of Afghan war, and Sindhi and Punjabi migration due to Gawader and other projects have turned Baluchi majority into minority. A fear of extinction of Baluch culture has emerged among Baluchis, due to this migration (Akhtar, 2007).

The cost and benefit analysis of Olson also explains Baluchistan movement mobilization. Baluchistan is rich in mineral, gas and oil reserves. The government of Pakistan is using all these natural resources. However, Baluchistan never got its due share from national finance commission. The royalty of gas and oil was given to Sardars in the past and was never spent on development of common man. The projects like Gawader are expected to contribute reasonably, in national income. So, common man has a feeling that he or she will get more economic share if Baluchistan gets autonomy or separation.

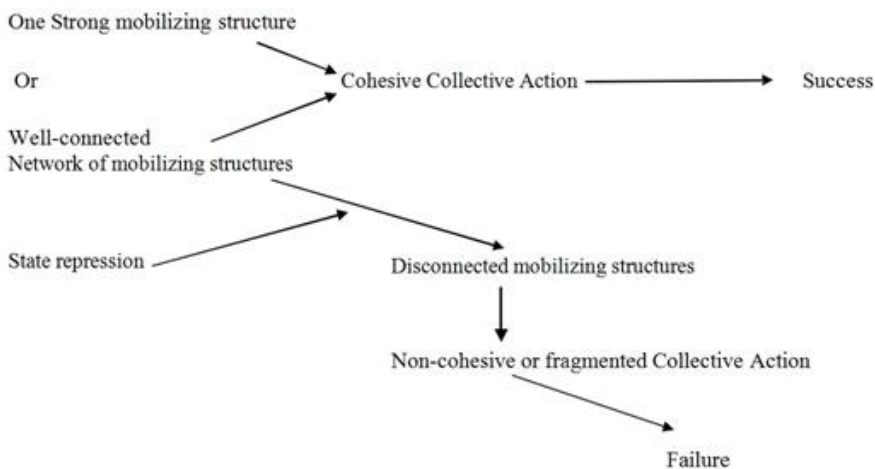
Due to closure of system and absence of formal channels of demand making, separatist movement of Baluchistan developed largely through informal intuitions. Mostly, Sardars started movements, with their own tribesmen. However, the tribes have joined each other in the recent wave of movement. The human rights organizations for missing persons on Bluchistan by the military, are offering a network for information sharing. The state repression gave rise to violent organizations like Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA). Some political parties also came into being as a result of student organizations. Political parties did not play an effective role because of large number and less area of influence. Most political parties are owned by Sardars and are confined to a typical area or tribe. However, Pashtun belt is out of influence of Sardars. The religious political parties are influential in these areas (Sial, 2008). The informal traditional networks are still playing major role in the current wave of movement.

### Comparative Analysis:

Both cost and benefit and grievance based theories explain the development of discourse of both separatist movements. However, both separatist movements differ in terms of resources available to them for collective action.

Due to absence of state repression in East Pakistan movement, most collective action was done through network of formal institutions i.e. political parties. Because of ethnic homogeneity, a single party emerged and a cohesive collective action was seen which lead to success of movement. On the contrary, due to ethnic fragmentation and state repression, a partial collective action was channelized through informal networks and occurred in phases. By partial collective action here means participation of one or two ethnic groups in the movement. Due to absence of cohesive collective action, separatist movement of Baluchistan did not succeed.

So, a strong mobilizing structure or a well-connected network of mobilizing structures can create cohesive collective action and a cohesive collective action can lead to the success of a separatist movement. The states however create dilemma in creation of these cohesive collective action, by increasing cost through repression.



### C- Constructivists/culturist based Framing perspective

Constructivism in social movement was introduced by Melucci (1980) who saw social movement as center, where different collective identities negotiate. Later, the identity work of gays and lesbians movements was influenced by it. Anderson (1990) while imagining development of nationalism through print capitalism introduced constructivism in field of nationalism. Eventually some scholars concluded that every movement constructs meaning as its primary function (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991).

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Reger, etal. (2008), explain how social movement participants create their collective identity through negotiation. And then while using strategies of sameness and difference, how they construct boundaries between us and them. In short, during this process of identity formation, the members not only differentiate from external world in which they are living but also continuously develop and invigorate participant's perception of their own collective identity. This is a complex process which not only required for the start of a movement but also for its continuity.

Baud & Rutten (2004) explain the framing process and role of popular intellectuals in this process. The popular intellectuals specialize in framing. They specialize to interpret framing, advocate and expand collective action. The idea of popular intellectuals was derived from Gramsci's category of traditional and organic intellectuals. The former represent the hegemonic social groups while later emerge out of a particular class to represent it.

Framing is a dynamic and interactive process, which helps in social construction through dialogue. Construction of dispute among challenger and opponents, along with state as third party and media, are building blocks of framing process. Collective identity and collective action are motivated through collective claims. How effectively these claims are presented is all about framing. Framing is critical to the success of movement. Effective framing will not only unite its target populations but will also put opponents into defensive position. Framing is further categorized into frame bridging (connecting different frames), frame amplification (re-interpreting existing beliefs), frame extension (extension of frame to cover more aspects of movement beyond initial objectives) and frame transformation (change in frame for further support, through new cultural or public meaning).

In short, the three lenses from contentious politics will be used to analyze both separatist movements in this section. These are 1- Framing 2- Role of popular intellectuals and 3- Collective identity formation.

### **Bangladesh Movement:**

The question of official language of Pakistan soon after its inception gave rise to ethnic sub-nationalism. Urdu was declared as the official national language. The people from all five parts were not happy as their languages were given second rate status. Bengalis being in majority in population were more curious to make their language as national language of country.

In early days, this issue subsided because of influential personality of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. But a discourse for movement developed among people because of this issue. Soon after the death of Jinnah, Bengali students in Dhaka agitated for equal status of Bengali language. This was the first ever expression of collective identity (Anwary, 2011). With the passage of time, these collective claims changed from Bengali language to autonomy of East Pakistan. The grievances created by political and

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economic deprivations, helped in applying strategies of sameness and difference. These strategies helped in creating “us vs them” boundary between East and West Pakistan. The role of popular intellectuals is critical in this movement. Many Bengali leaders acquired power but none of them was popular among masses except Hussain Suharwardi. But Suharwardi himself was a moderate person. He was replaced by Mujeeb, who may be termed as popular intellectual of this movement. He not created a collective identity through frame bridging of different groups and political parties of East Pakistan but also, famous six points transformed framing of the movement from autonomy to separation.

### **Baluchistan Movement:**

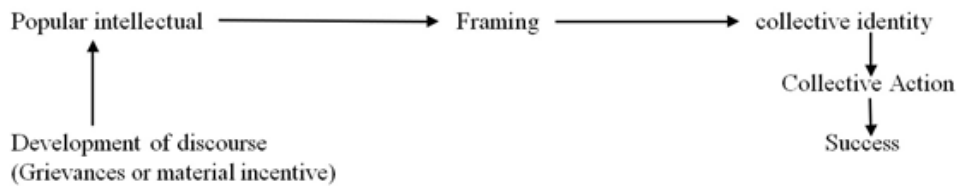
The framing perspective seems to be dubious in case of Baluchistan movement. Different languages like Balochi, Brahvi, Persian and Pashto are spoken in the province, hindering creation of collective identity (Rahman, 1997). Baluchistan is a multi-ethnic province consisting of three major groups i.e. Baluch, Pashtuns and Brahvis. Most of the groups and tribe are hostile to each other. Every group has its own objectives and demands. Some are looking for autonomy while others for separation.

Moreover, Baluch nation is divided among several states. Breseeg (2004) declares Baluch nation as a trans-state nation. A collective identity formation is nearly impossible due to deep fragmentation, rivalries and cultural differences. However, it may be constructed through careful frame bridging. Frame bridging requires popular intellectuals which are very much missing in this case. That’s why, a cohesive separatist movement is absent in case of Baluchistan.

### **Comparative Analysis:**

Both cost and benefit and grievance model explains the development of discourse of the both movements. After discourse development, the framing of East Pakistan movement by a popular intellectual succeeded in creation of a collective identity. This collected identity not only created boundary between East and West Pakistan but also stimulated collective action within East Pakistan movement. With the passage of time, the momentum of movement increased due to enlarged participation. While in case of Baluchistan, no frame bridging could be done among different groups, due to absence of a popular intellectual. Due to lack of collective identity, a cohesive movement for separation could not develop. As a result, movement failed to achieve its objective.

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### Conclusion

This study concludes that separatist movements carry all properties of contentious politics and hence can be studied using umbrella of contentious politics. Contentious politics lenses (i.e. political process approach, resource mobilization and framing) provide a broader and comprehensive approach for study of separatist movement, from the beginning to the end of the movement, as compared to other fields. Also, comparative study of two movements within one national setting (system) provides better opportunity to analyze their outcome.

The separatist movements are likely to succeed when;

- Internal factors force state institutions to change and collective action generated as a result of it causes further changes in state intuitions. Once this cycle is developed, the momentum of movement goes on increasing. As a result, the movement may succeed. One or more well-connected mobilizing structures succeed in creating a cohesive collective action, the movement is likely to succeed. However, state repression may intervene and stop creation of cohesive collective action. This is still to be investigated that how cost of creation of this cohesive collective action through mobilizing structures be lowered as compared to state repression.
- Material incentive or grievances develop discourse among dissents. If one or more popular intellectuals succeed in framing and collective identity formation, the movement is more likely to succeed.

The outcome of the movement can better be understood by combining all these approaches. Any one approach may explain the part of outcome but not the whole. However, how these approaches can be connected to predict or explain outcome of a separatist movement is still to be analyzed which may be done in future research project.

Suggestion for future research: This research project may have certain shortcomings. It is based on review of literature. Therefore, the causal inferences need to be further investigated. The field study may provide better causal mechanisms to explain outcome of separatist movements. Well investigated causal mechanisms, may also help in connecting all three approaches.

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