

Shahbagh Protest and Nationalism: A Study on Urban Social Movement in Bangladesh

MSS, 2nd Semester
Exam Roll No: 3989
Registration No: Ha-5113
Session: 2012-2013



**Department of Sociology
University of Dhaka
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The present Advanced Research Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Social Sciences (MSS) in Sociology



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my honorable supervisor, Assistant professor, Department of Sociology, University of Dhaka, for making me look at sociology with new eyes and provide suggestions and useful comments to my thesis paper. I am so much grateful to her because without his cordial assistance and direction, this research paper would not have been completed.

Special thanks goes to the respondents of my study who help me with their valuable opinions and views. Without their supports and sharing it will be impossible for me to find out the actual condition of the Shahabagh movement. Thanks to all of my seniors, friends and office staffs of the Department of Sociology for their support.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their inspiration.

December 2014

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to find out the relationships between urban classes and life style patterns and the impact of modernization and globalization on the urban life style patterns of the people in Narayanganj, and find out a new pattern of consumption. The society of Bangladesh has seen major cultural changes due to the influence of various processes namely, modernization, urbanization and globalization. Narayanganj, a major city of Bangladesh is also currently going through the process of cultural change. The life style pattern of high income groups or the upper class is quite different from the life style pattern of lower income groups or the lower class. The middle income groups of Narayanganj also lead a different way of life. The changing process involves the food habits, media habits, dress patterns and family structure. There is a growing tendency of fast food culture among the upper and middle class people in Narayanganj city though the lower class are less influenced by the fast food culture. A large number of brand shops are situated in Narayanganj city and they are rapidly increasing due to the growing preferences of the upper and middle class people on brand clothes. In addition, Indian hindi and bangla channels are becoming more popular among the residents of Narayanganj city. The modernization and globalization process have a crucial effect in the life style patterns of the people in Narayanganj city though the social stratification factors holds a significant position in this explication of change.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem:

“Social movements are one of the principle forms through which collectivities give voice to their voice to grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective actions, such as protesting in the streets, that dramatize those grievances and concerns and demands that something to be done”. (A.Snow, A.Soule, and Kriesi: 2003: 1)

Social movements or protest activities are, amongst the all other daily activities, the most ubiquitous mode of expressing one’s dislikes to a particular regime or establishment, formulating demands of basic human needs and rights, exercising one’s political rights and freedom, sometimes for their own needs or for others who are in disadvantageous situation. In the last few years, the realm of social movements has experienced a new turn globally which implies the swept in ‘Occupy Wall Street’ or ‘Arab Spring’ movements. The nature and organization of social movements are shaped and reshaped with the rapid change of technology, especially communication media as protests or movements are of a continuous process. Social movements or protest activism are increasing due to the use of new or social media such as facebook, twitter, or blog in the present society (Harlow and J. Johnson, 2011; Wolfsfeld, Segev, and Seafer 2013; Allagui and Kuebler, 2011;Stepanova, 2012; Eltawy and B. Wiest, 2011). Many new terms have been discovered in these movements i.e. New Generations Movement, or Facebook, or Blog, or Twitter Movement, and movement without leadership. Yet, print and visual media still cover a special position in case of movement creation.

As we noticed in the earlier statements that, social movements occur in order to address some demands which are to be fulfilled by an agency or structure that is questioned or debated to movement participants. There is a wide variety of reasons and demands for which people join protests i.e. inequality, unemployment, political regime change, violation of human rights, transitional justice and so on.

To meet objectives and to secure goals, movements or protests frame a body of leadership who make decision regarding the strategies, tactics, and goals; and coordinate other elements

of the movements as well. Personal characteristics of leaders of a social movement matter to effectively combine the supporters, and meet challenges from the opponent. Brinton (1952) and Flacks (1971) view that, 'Social movement leaders tend to come from the educated middle and upper class, are disproportionately male, and usually share the race or ethnicity of their supporters'.

Bangladesh has experienced a huge number of movements from its birth in 1971 for the demands of different needs, rights etc. Interestingly, the movement that took place at Shahbagh is related to the history of the country.

Shahbagh protest took place at Shahbagh in Dhaka city addressing justice for crime against humanity during Bangladesh's liberation war of 1971. The movement started when the tribunal of war crime gave death sentence to a war criminal. The verdict of the war criminal is conceived as lenient by general people. The movement was initiated by some young people of Dhaka city by arranging a human chain protest at Shahbagh Chattar against the low verdict. Later, millions of people gathered at the place in support of the movement. As a result, it got attention from both national and international media. The protest has been explained in different ways by different scholars. Hasan (2014) views the movement as anti-establishment movement and later it was dominated by the establishment which hints the Awamileague-ruling party of the country. Reaction from the opposition political party was similar. The movement originated out of traditional movement organization which caused some problems in making decisions about the movement. People claimed that they gathered at Shahbagh to demand the capital punishment of the war criminals because they cherish the conscience of 1971 liberation. The participants of Shahbagh protested, by using some wonderful tactics which enabled the movement to get more supporters and media coverage. Finally, the movement ended up with a conflict of nationality.

1.2 Rationale of the Study:

Shahbagh movement showed some new aspects in the history of social movement in Bangladesh. Previous history of social movements describes that Bangladesh, particularly the India subcontinent, is such a region, movements took place when it was under British colony to get rid of the colonial exploitation of 200 years. After the end of British colony, Bangladesh was ruled by Pakistan. Under the rule of Pakistan military regime, many students' movements took place including the great 'language movement' of 1952 which was a platform of liberation war of 1971, which ultimately gave birth to a new nation called

Bangladesh. After independence, the newly formed nation faced many problems but there did not develop any significant movement before 1990s mass movement for political transition from military autocracy to democracy. Movement seeking justice of war criminals started in the early 1990s but stopped abruptly due to culture of voting politics. Then comes February 2003, the demand of justice for war criminals, specifically the capital punishment of the criminals, gave birth to Shahbagh movement. The protest contains a series of elements which seem very important to the scholar of social movement, especially to transitional justice scholar. Such transitional justice took place in many other countries of the world, but this protest gets attention for some reasons which are interesting i.e. the nature and organization, tactics, form of leadership, scope of politics, characteristics of participants, both in national international perspective. But there is no sociological work on the movement except some newspapers articles and some Bengali books which are only personal deduction of the writers.

This study attempts to understand the movement sociologically. It seeks to understand the nature and organization of the movement with relevant theories which will be discussed in the later chapter.

1.3 Objectives of the Study:

- To examine the nature and organization of mass mobilization at Shahbagh seeking transitional justice.
- To study how Shahbagh operated as a tool of Nationalism.
- To explore people's perception about Shahbagh protest.
- To find out the role of social media on Shahbagh protest.

1.4 Basic Research Question:

The basic research questions of the study are as follows-

- To what extent we can explain the nature and organization of Shahbagh protest?
- What factors contributed to the emergence of mass mobilization at Shahbahg Square seeking transitional justice?
- What do the people think of Shahbagh protest who participated the protest and what is the role of social media regarding the organization of the protest?

1.5 Conceptual framework of the study:

The conceptual framework of the study covers the following aspects through the techniques of data collection.

The survey questionnaire covers the conceptual framework as below:

- Media effectiveness of the respondents
- The plot of Shahbag movement
- The nature and organization of Shahbag movement
- Manifestation of nationalism regarding Shahbag movement
- Role of media in conveying the message of Shahbag movement
- Individual's perception on Shahbag movement

In this research, the conceptual framework covered for in-depth interviews is as follows-

- Background of shahbag movement
- Organization of the movement
- Manifestation of nationalism regarding Shahbag movement
- Role of media in conveying the message of Shahbag movement

This method covers the following recruitment criteria:

- The persons directly participated in Shahbag movement
- The individuals actively engaged in decision making of the organization of movement
- The people having role in front of camera, either attendant in talk-shows or interviewee in media.

1.6 Operational Definition of the Concepts:

Transitional Justice:

Transitional justice, in this study, means readdressing the justice of genocide, robbery, rape, firing and other violations human rights during the 1971 liberation war of Bangladesh.

Razakar:

In this study, Razakar necessarily means the people who were against the liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971.

Gonojagaran Mancho:

Gonojagaran Mancho denotes the ‘stage’ from where the activities of Shahbagh protest were announced. But later it became the name of the movement.

1.7 Limitations of the study:

1. Lack of research on social movements is a primary barrier for the study
2. The shortage of relevant literatures on Shahbagh is another major shortcoming of the study, even those found did not follow sociological method
3. Since Shahbagh protest occurred in Bangladesh within a unique context, the present theorization may not be sufficient to understand it.
4. The sample size is not representable as it only took few samples from a single university to explore people’s perception
5. For collecting survey data, it was very hard to find the non-resident students of the sample, and for the in-depth interviews, the researcher faced hardship to find the organizers of the Shahbagh protest. As a result, the researcher has been able to conduct only 5 in-depth interviews
6. Due to time and budget constraints, the study faced many problems

1.8 Outline of The Study:

This present thesis has been structured in the following ways. Chapter 2 shows previous relevant research on lifestyle changes among the different classes. In this chapter, the reviewed literature will be presented from global, national and Asian perspectives, which are mostly relevant with the research topics.

Chapter three presents theoretical perspectives of social movements. It also includes the process of the social movements, the process of the creation of leadership and the process through which the social movements gather masses supports and other relates aspects of social movements. This theoretical chapter also highlights the link between movement and nationalism and the process of the construction of nationalism.

In chapter 4, the paper presents data and introduces methods for this study. The overall methodological procedure including study population, study site, sampling procedure, study

instrument, pre test, techniques of data collection, reliability and validity, ethical issues are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five presents the findings of the study. This chapter includes both the qualitative and quantitative findings, which were collected by the researcher from the study areas.

Chapter six illustrates the discussion of the research in line with the previous and current research and the theoretical perspective of the study. Overall, this chapter shows the linkage between the findings, theoretical assumptions and will cover the research objectives.

Chapter seven provides the concluding remarks and suggests further study to answer the questions raised on the basis of the findings of this research.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Literature

J. Yashar (1992), Bratton and van De Walle (1982), M. Begley and Alker (1980) opine that social movements occur seeking political reforms, the right of identity for individual's political participation. Ghosh (1991) suggests that movements take place for protesting against human right violations, autonomy of territory, demanding economic security, and Bratton and Van De Walle (1992), Allagui and Johanne Kuebler (2011), and Stepanova (2012) argue that protests are generally aimed against declining living standard and government mal-actions, demanding economic security, land and forest ownership, and cultural identity. Stepanova (2010), and Eltawy and B. Wiest (2011) added lack of transparency, corruption, lack of freedom of expression, lack of political participation, and inequality and poverty for evolving a movement. D. Saxton (2004), McCright and E. Dunlap (2008) view that social movements originate from group cohesion or uniform ideological frame and D. Saxton (2004) also adds grievances, worst socio-demographic and economic structural conditions for the emergence of social movement, and H. Hiller (1975) argues that people engage in movements when they find a strong feeling of self-interest or value commitment.

In this study, I would like to see to what extent these phenomena are applicable to Shahbagh protest, and which one of them embrace the context of Shahbagh protest and how they are related to it.

Ming-sho Ho (2005), Rogers and Marres (2002), and Earle (2009) argue that organizations play a significant role in developing social movements in terms of practicing democracy, political participation, policy making, human rights and so on. Schussman and A. Soule (2005), Klandermans and his colleagues (2004), and McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) view that people having more social interaction or networking with organizations are more prone to engage in social movement. A. Soule (2005) also suggests that younger and better educated individuals who are interested in politics and enjoy political debate and discussion are more likely to be asked to protest such as students. M. McCright and E. Dunlap (2008) argue that politically conscious, higher educated, female, younger and less religious adults support progressive social movement more than others.

This study seeks to look into the form of organization in light with the abovementioned arguments and to know the process of decision-making.

Harlow and J. Johnson (2011), Wolfsfeld, Segev, and Seafer (2013), Allagui and Kuebler (2011), Stepanova (2012), and Eltawy and B. Wiest (2011) argue that social media including facebook, blog, and twitter causes more social movements and activism in present time.

The role of social media on Shahbagh protest will be investigated based on these literatures.

Mohammad (2014), Tuhin(2014), Umar (2014), Hasan (2014), view Shahbagh protest began as reaction to the distrust to the political culture of ‘voting game’ and existing political parties including Awami league, pioneered by the new generation of Bangladesh, triggered by use of social media like Facebook, Blog etc (Kabir; 2014, Ahmed; 2014, Mohammad; 2014, Haque; 2014, Shahaduzzaman; 2014, Hasan; 2014, , developed out of traditional leadership (Shahaduzzaman; 2014, Kabir; 2014, Umar; 2014), inspired by the spirit of 1971 liberation war (Akash; 2014, Haque; 2014, Riaz; 2014, Ahmed; 2014). Rana (2014) and Hasan (2014) argue that although it is thought that Shahbagh protest is formed out of organizational base, but BOAN obviously played an important organizational in the protest.

The literatures on Shahbagh protest being very recent did not follow appropriate research method but their own assumptions based on newspaper and television news and sometimes their personal observation of the movement.

Hobsbawm (1990), Gilbert (1998), Anderson (1983), Michael (2000), and Itzigsohn and Hau (2006) argue that the notion of nationalism changes from individual to individual, and over time and across space and it is used by the state elites to serve their own needs.

In line with the above arguments, this study tries to explore how nationalism was expressed in case of Shahbagh protest.

The abovementioned summaries of the literature will be discussed in the next session emphasizing on the themes i. e. nature of social movement, organization of social movement, nationalism, role of social media, and Shahbagh protest. Nature of social movement discusses about in which conditions social movements takes place, where organization describe the role of organization and decision making, nationalism implies the relationship between social movement and nationalism, and what role media plays in movement organizing. The relevant literatures are discussed below:

2.1 The Nature of Social Movement:

J. Yashar (1992) views that Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador and Mexico are home for 90% out of estimated 35-40 million indigenous people in Latin America. A large number of indigenous movements seeking political reforms took place in these regions by regional, sub-national, and national organizations which in turn contributed in policy-making debates.

The Ecuadorian indigenous movements have brought change in rural organizing pattern and help shape state policies such as bicultural education, agrarian reform, and territorial autonomy. Indigenous people of this region formed two regional organizations named ECUARUNARI and CONFENAIIE that founded the national confederation of CONAIE in the 1980s many movements challenging government policies and offering alternatives. Eventually these organizations secured electoral participation as well. Indigenous organizing was notably significant in Bolivian Amazon, especially the regional confederation of CIDOB that took part in national policy debates of territorial autonomy and reform proposals, and also proposed regional and national candidates for elections.

In Guatemala, Mayan organizations such as Majawil Q'ij, CONIC, and COMG were founded claiming the right of indigenous identity for their political participation. They challenged the existing class-based debates and goals of traditionally ongoing movements. They conducted some peace processions and thereby strategically became involved in the political process of the country. Mexico's indigenous movement by Zapatistas (EZLN), sought to retain their indigenous identity, cultural diversity and to promote a democratic culture in maintaining these things. The EZLN built avenue for discussions and negotiations with Mexican state and got national attention.

Bratton and van De Walle (1982) found the reasons of popular protest as economic. After 1989, 16 have had significant experience of protests though it found difficult to trace the genesis of the events or a chronology. African people including students, civil servants, worker, and professionals have raised their voice against declining living standard and government mal-actions through strikes, demonstrations, marches, and boycotts. For example, Zambia's riot on the price-rise of Maize meal in December 1986 got doubled due to the subsidy cuts under IMF-sponsored economic adjustment plan. Cotonou, the capital of Benin, faced a severe public strike in 1989 against accumulated arrears in salary. Students did a strike over teaching shortages and poor study facilities in January 1990 and in Cote d'Ivoire in February in 1990, students protested against electricity cuts before mid-term exams. In

Zimbabwe in 1989, students protested against elite corruption; and in Kenya in 1990, students protested against overcrowded educational facilities and unemployment rates.

Governments of these countries responded to the protests with a typical strategy of threats, repression, and selective compromise. Where the condition of the protests were severe, political leaders pacified them with piecemeal concessions like reducing student's room and board cost or declaring a new pay scale with health and social security reforms. These protests emerged out of economic reason turned into political mobilization with cooperation of opposition political parties. It eventually caused to constitutional reforms in many African countries such as Benin, Congo and Tongo.

Ghosh (1991) opines that the Jharkhand movement was a long running protest demanding economic security, land and forest ownership, and cultural identity. The tribal people of Jharkhand wanted emancipation from the outsider 'Diku'. Though it was a social movement, it also had some political implications like demanding political sovereignty of Jharkhand as a separate province of India based on 'Jharkhandi' nationalism.

M. Begley and Alker (1980) found that there exist three types of protest which include individual instrumental protest, individual expressive protest, and collective protest. The political efficacy-trust perspective best explains individual instrumental protest, where relative race deprivation perspective and relative status deprivation perspective best explains individual expressive protest and collective protest respectively. Both the political efficacy-trust and the social comparison works as complementary rather than competitive in explaining protest.

A. Santaro (2008) suggests that counter-movement killings reduced the effect of Black protest on voting response. The positive effect of Black protest on voting response is declined due to the rise of the White killings. It also shows that high levels of Black protest could effectively pressurize government to put suffrage legislation into the policy agenda. However, impacts of black protest and segregationist violence are interconnected. Low killings determines high rate of black protest while high killings demonstrates low or unsuccessful protest.

Schussman and A. Soule (2005) suggest that individuals who are asked to protest are more likely to protest than those who are not targeted that resonates with Klandermans and his colleagues (2004). Contentious political activities or protests are developed through social

interaction that strengthen the suggestion of McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001,p.15), and are multi-stage process. The study also argues that younger and better educated individuals who are interested in politics and enjoy political debate and discussion are more likely to be asked to protest such as students. Some people usually participate in such activities where individuals asked to protest are more likely to protest. Individuals with proper knowledge, political interest, and relevant skills are hyper active in protest activities.

D. Saxton (2004) views that the development of ethno-nationalist contentious politics is significantly dependent on group cohesion, grievances, and socio-demographic and economic structural conditions. Mobilization and political opportunity structure together directly determine protest with a shared identity as basis of protest, mobilizational resources as means, grievances as reason, and political factors as opportunity.

McCright and E. Dunlap (2008) revealed that a uniform ideological frame of social movements accepted by audience results almost similar impacts within a social movement cycle and politically conscious, higher educated, female, younger and less religious adults support progressive social movement more than others.

H. Hiller (1975) suggests that individuals' interest in some similar courses of actions and ideas are the general properties of any protest movement. Social movements attract audience by means of a strong feeling about its objectives either because of their self-interests or value commitments. This value similarity, however, leads to generate an ideology which, in turn, denotes their area of grievances and justifies reasons behind it (Smelser 1963; J. Wilson 1973). These theoretical assumptions are resonated in the case of religious fundamentalist movement in Alberta in 1920.

2.2 The Organization of Social Movement:

Using Mc Adam's 'political opportunity structure' approach, Ming-sho Ho (2005) tried to analyze the forms of social movements under the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The study viewed the emergence of DPP as opposition due to the result of the street demonstration in the mid-1980s. When the party was formed, only 75 events of political protest were recorded in Taiwan. Later in 1987 and 1988, it increased to 173 and 189 respectively when DPP was connected with social movement organizations. In alliance with social movement organizations, DPP was substantially successful to organize many democratic movements such as they forced Kuomintang government to withdraw martial law.

When DPP came to power, it was more open than KMT government. In fact, DPP government opened space for social movements by creating concerned departments and taking the movement leaders in its bureaucracy. The DPP government faced some counter-mobilizations by opposition party because of taking conservative position due to economic recession in the country.

Rogers and Marres (2002) found that a Dutch daily newspaper on June, 2000 published a report that globalization protest taking place in French town Milau. Television news presented these protesters as French farmers. The study employed five distinct starting points for locating issue networks on the web which are Search engine, Associate reasoning, Media stories, public actors, and discussion lists. They collected data on the web issue by using a “Net-locator” and presented it as a case study. The researchers using net-locator found that there were no farmers on the French streets rather there were different French political parties there. The net-locator using the URLs of the web links of the photos used on the internet discovered that the protesters were many international issue-based activist organizations along with left wing French political parties devoted to global economic issues. They, including national farmer’s organization, national grassroots organization, national student’s organization, and international grassroots organization, were a professional national-international network of issue-based activists who romanticized the French street.

Earle (2009) wrote the article is based on a field data and some previous anthropological studies on the Amazonian indigenous communities. The field data were taken from a research project funded by ‘Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), and conducted by INTRAC-UK’s leading research training agency. COMARU together with other indigenous community organization protested demanding six points against oil gas companies which are supposed to causing environmental pollution and threatening nature habitat of the indigenous people due to large scale oil and gas extraction. They gained little financial and technical support from the international NGOs as INGOs had to maintain a mutual understanding with the Peruvian government. However, these NGOs supported them by providing with video equipment and filming the marches, releasing press briefings, posting news on their website and forwarding them to international NGO community. Moreover, the INGO leaders considered that the movement failed as there has been a lack of ethnic solidarity based on place, people and language among indigenous groups.

2.3 Nationalism and Social Movement:

J. Hobsbawm (1990) views that nations and nationalism are modern constructions. State elites determine the nation's representation. Therefore, nationalism has been a tool of control for the elites over others. However, he argued that nationalism should be understood as a bottom-up approach. Based on the bottom-up approach, he also argues that, a) ideologies of states are not guides to how the people feel, b) we cannot assume that people give priority national identity over other identities which constitute the social being, c) national identification changes over time. Borrowing the Marxist view, he suggests that the development of class consciousness among the working class, in turn, will lead to mass movement and thus make new nations.

Itzigsohn and V. Hau (2006), based on a state-focused theoretical framework, stress the need to explain the transformation of nationalism, and to focus the absence of related works in Latin America. The state-focused theoretical framework necessarily emphasizes conflicts between state elites and social movements in order to explain transformation of social movement. The study presents the transformation of nationalism in three Latin countries, which are Argentina, Mexico and Peru, explaining it within three categories of nationalism. Authors found a 'comprehensive' transformation of nationalism in Mexico which emerges of a new national narrative that becomes hegemonic state ideology, replacing existing state elites and forming new political coalitions. Argentina, in the early nineteenth century through two mass political movements: Radicalism in 1916 and Peronism in 1945 faced a 'contained' nationalism, which refers to a form of nationalism in which state elites create a new narrative about nationalism extending its boundaries of inclusion but did not become hegemonic state ideology. Peru, on the other hand, witnessed a 'blocked' popular nationalism which means rejection of new national narratives by state elites, with several ethno-racial movements for establishing a new official national identity.

Gilbert (1998) seeks to explain nationalist movements with the use of moral justification. He argues that nationalism has a 'constitutive principle'. With the term 'constitutive principle', he means that nationalism has a widely varying type in the present world, and it can be sorted out in some categories to define it. Nationalism can be understood by considering nations as a kind that has a right to statehood. According to him, all nationalists do not necessarily hold that nations are meant to be statehood. Moreover, he views that perception on nationalism may vary from individual to individual. To explore this, he surveys different types of

individuals including nominalists who are just happy with treating themselves as a nation, naturalists who think it is nature bound to be in a nation or group of people, voluntarists who commonly-willed union, a linguistic who stresses a common language, territorial emphasizes a specific territory, axiological shares distinctive values, and destinarian prefers having a common history and a common mission.

Huda (2005) conducted a study on the middle class in Bangladesh and provided a historical overview on the paradoxical role of middle class, and showed the problem national identity of Bangladesh. The study presented that there is a difference between Bangali nationalism and Bangladeshi nationalism, as the former offers purely a cultural interpretation and the latter provides religious interpretation. The study revealed that, though the middle class of Bangladesh contributed to the emergence of Bangali nationalism in 1971 but they played a quite different role in the post -75 Bangladesh for their own interest and achievement. Indeed, the middle class of Bangladesh played a paradoxical role, which pursue a problem of national identity of Bangladesh.

2.4 Social Media in Social Movement:

Harlow and J. Johnson (2011) used a content analysis technique to the role of media in covering the Egyptian revolution including 66 stories from the New York Times, 93 posts from the Twitter feed of New York reporter Nick Kristof, and 49 posts from the citizen media Global Voices. The study sought to assess, if the delegitimizing ‘protest paradigm’, that is mainstream media, is copied in social media or blogs, facebook and twitter. The study found that the porters used injustice frame 37%, sympathy frame 26%, legitimizing frame 42%, delegitimizing frame only 6%, accountability frame 40%, and spectacle frame 45%, and contextual frame only 11% of the time. The frames are also taken by sources differently, for example, Global voice tended to more significantly use injustice frame (71%) than NYT (36%) and Twitter (19%). Global voice also used significantly sympathy frame (47%), legitimizing frame (76%), and accountability frame (59%), where NYT was only significant in using spectacle frame (68%) and contextual frame (27%). In the half of the coverage of the three sources, the authors of the posts were found to be impartial in journalistic way, only 38% acted as actors or analyst of Egypt revolution. Where NYT author have had only one role, the Global Voice authors had two roles which include a commentator (42.9%) and a neutral observer (38.8%). The study concludes that in the case of Egyptian revolution, new

online media surpassed the role of protest paradigm, effectively explaining why the protesters were on the street.

Wolfsfeld, Segev, and Seafer (2013) used case study based on Arab Spring to explain the role of social media on it. Data taken in the research are from twenty Arab countries and Palestine authority, which include political, media, and protest activity data. The study argued that the role of social media in collective action cannot be clearly realized without taking its political environment into consideration, and the more use of new media leads to more collective action than before. The findings of the study echoed very well with its theoretical assumption that we cannot explain the role of social media without taking its political environment into accounts which means that politics is a crucial factor to be assessed to measure media's role in the protest activity. It also shows that use of social media helps the Arab protesters a lot to stand together. Using a time categorized data, early period (August 2009 to April 2010), proximate period (May 2010 to November 2010), and protest period (December 2010 to April 2011), The study found that the growth of facebook registration has been slowed in between early and proximate period due to the government's ban on facebook using. But during the protest period, facebook registration increased significantly which means that the use of new media causes more protest activities.

Allagui and Kuebler (2011) used a secondary data review technique to present the role of ICTs on Arab Spring, especially on Tunisia and Egypt. Previous research works of different scholars have been used in this study. The study discusses why people around the Arab world, particularly in Tunisia and Egypt, came to organize protest against their governments. It argues that people in these countries protested against the repressive regimes, not merely to get implement democracy but also to deplore and to get rid of deteriorating socio-economic conditions like unemployment, political deprivation, high cost of living, inequalities and so on. In this respect, ICTS, specifically social media such as facebook, twitter, and blogs have played a crucial role by enabling actors to organize people outside the traditional organizations, made them able to contact to individuals from every corner of the world through text messages over phone, covering their plans and activities on facebook or blogs, and also sharing these on YouTube. This new media tools successfully became able to connect protesters and motivate others to support their actions.

Stepanova (2012) sought to explore the nature of 'Arab Spring' protests, which occurred during 2010 and 2011 in Egypt and Tunisia, involving the contribution of Information

Technology Communications. It is argued that the sociopolitical gap, between the ruling class and the rest of the population led to the protests in the region, resulted from huge inequality and distrust to government regimes. Using social media, the online active protesters could effectively ‘organize’ the protests and ‘disseminate’ information about their demands and activities internationally. The study also views that the mobilizing impact of this new information or social media upon movement organization may vary based on sociopolitical and regional basis of a society due to:

- a) The degree of availability of Internet access in the region.
- b) The degree of linkage between the social protests and the net-based social media.
- c) The unequal importance of ICTS, as some such as Facebook, Twitter are more emphasized than others.
- d) The country’s political culture is more important, whether repressive or liberal, than net-based technologies and
- e) The degree of incorporation of mass people with the network based social media.

Eltawy and B. Wiest (2011) found that lack of transparency, corruption, lack of freedom of expression, lack of political participation, and inequality and poverty were the reasons of emerging Egyptian revolution. The inclusion of important resource persons like Mohammad Ali Ben, winner of the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize, Elbaradi was very significant for emerging the protest. The intense political climate of the country, its close geographical proximity to Tunisia, and the prime location of Tahrir Square at the heart of Cairo also helped to organize the mobilization. The availability and access to Internet creating avenue for the use of social media in Egypt played a pivotal role as a resource to give birth of the protest. The activists of the protest creating facebook groups, personal blogs, twitter accounts spread their protest activities and demands to connect supporters and followers online.

2.5 Shahbagh Movement:

Presenting an overview of war crime trial process after 1971, Mohammad (2014) views Shahbagh protest began as reaction to the distrust to the existing political parties, including Awami league, of Bangladesh regarding war crime process. He argues that Shahbagh protest emerges out of seeking justice of 1971war crime when war crime tribunal gives life time sentence to one of the war criminals. The reason behind the lenient sentence, he thinks, is

political culture of 'voting game'. Under the circumstances, the new generation of Bangladesh started protesting at Shahbagh seeking capital punishment of all war criminals in 2013. He also emphasizes the importance of use of social media like Facebook, Blog etc, by the young people in the country. He found basement of Shahbag protest in the previous protest like Dhaka-Bibiyana Long March, Fulbari movement, Rampal and Arial Kha protest, and so on which successfully drew attention of the young generation on national issues. He treated the stance of Awami League government being mysterious.

Tuhin (2014) put emphasis on the people of all ages, sexes, and religions protesting at Shahbagh Square. Terming it as a protest without traditional leadership, he said that the movement arose due to not giving death sentence to heinous razakar 'Kader Molla'. He views that the protest became a threat to the existence of the then government 'AL', and is organizationally weak in decision-making.

Riaz (2014) distinguished Shahbagh protest from Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street movement in conditions that these movements tends to fall government of the respective countries where Shahbag does not. He compares the protest with Anti-globalization and Occupy movement in its form that it doesn't want radical change of the status quo, rather it demands accountability of the judiciary system of the country seeking proper justice against the liberation war criminals. The protest is seen as nationalist in the sense that it managed to unite a huge crowd demanding justice for crimes against humanity during 1971 liberation war based on the spirit of 'Muktijuddho'.

Ahmed (2014) suggests that greater rates of using technologies, such as internet, email, and computer, results greater rates of using social media in expressing and exchanging views on different issues. As the new generation of the country is aware of the contemporary national issues through discussing on Facebook or Blog, Shahbagh protest is the corollary to hypocrisy of existing political parties regarding the war crimes issue.

Akash (2014) views the Shahbagh protest as a nationalist one because it is based on the spirit of 1971 liberation war. Comparing it to 'Language Movement' of 1952, he argues that Shagbagh protest is the result of 'politics of identity', aiming at preventing the misuse of religion to build a secular, democratic, and progressive Bangladesh.

Haque (2014) emphasizes activism of younger generation through interactions and debates with one another on different issues on Facebook, Blog and other social media for the

emergence of Shahbagh protest. These sites worked as a substitute of Hebermas's 'public sphere' to organize people on it and to bring them in the streets for real life movements, for example in Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, and also in Shahbagh Square, he argued. In case of Shahbagh protest, nationalism or the spirit of liberation war played a significant role to mobilize people who dislike conservative politics in Bangladesh.

Ahmed (2014) opines that what is going on at Shahbagh Square is a wonderful way of practicing democracy by the young generation of Bangladesh, a peaceful protest demanding justice of war crimes after 40 years of its independence. He thinks that it is not a revolution but it has much potential to be, if the protester can be agreed on points of the protests. He found, there was an uncertainty of setting targets and goals of the protest by the temporary organizers.

Umar (2014) sees the emergence of Shahbagh protest as the reaction of people to the political parties and their voting culture politics regarding war crime issues over a long period of time after Bangladesh got independence. The protest seems to be political in nature but it has rejected the leaders of existing political parties, even ruling party leaders as well since AL strives to drag the protest in control for their own political gains. But the protesters rejected the conventional political leaders of two big parties called AL and BNP to give speech before them. He thinks though the protest has begun with a particular goal of justice for war crimes, yet it contains huge inner grievances among the protesters because of major corruptions by the ruling party AL, and economic fall in the previous year.

Rana (2014) argues that though Shahbagh protest is thought to be emerged out of organizational leadership, it has obviously organizational base. To him, BOAN played organizational role to gather people at Shahbagh by creating a facebook event, even though its beginning was outside traditional movement organizations or parties. The then ruling party (AL) tried to take control of the movement by providing some solidarity help as people know them being in favor of war crimes justice, yet they failed because participants wanted the protest to keep out of political parties which played political game regarding this trial of war criminals.

Shahaduzzaman (2014) Describing Shahbagh protest as an unprecedented incident in the history of Bangladesh, he compared it to Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street movement as social media played a pivotal role to emerge these movements across the world. The movement originated without a traditional movement organization which he thinks important

characteristics of the movement. This movement is non-violent in nature representing a huge number of youth who are mostly students, including all other ages and occupations as well. He described Shahbagh protest as an epoch-making event in Bangladesh.

Hasan (2014) tries to explore the reasons why Shahbagh protest took place demanding justice of war crimes, how the protest was organized, and what factors influenced it. He used facebook notes and status of some renowned bloggers, newspaper sources, and his own participatory observation to explore these questions during the protest held. Zia Hasan views Shahbagh protest as an anti-establishment movement and considers the ruling party Awami League as establishment or opponent of the protest. He argues that The protest was the result of spontaneous involvement of young people at the early stage but Awami league being the opponent of the protest took control of it in order to cover up corruption of share market, Padma Bridge fiasco, political instability of the previous year, and especially to win election in the same year. He states that bloggers played an instrumental role to initiate the protest by creating facebook event inviting sympathizers of the issue to gather at Shahbagh Square. Although the movement is said to be stemmed out of political party affiliation and without organizational support, BOAN and Imran H Sarker became the organizer of it as mainstream media picked them up, and spread to national and international think-tank media coverage. But Zia Hasan stressed 'Jatiya Sarthe Blogger and Onlinee Activists' for being the one of the pioneer contributors of the protest as this group of people had previous experience of protesting at Shahbagh on different national issues. There were many problems of decision-making regarding activities and future plans of the protest because decisions were not coming from general participants of the protest but from BOAN or Imran and some similar Awami-minded bloggers. As to role of media, he said that social media including blog and facebook was crucial to the development of Shahbagh gathering. As for a long period of time, there has been discussion on the issue of war criminals and famous bloggers have been creating awareness among the new generations by writing blogs or giving facebook status in favor of demanding war crimes justice. On the very day of verdict for accursedly war criminal Kader Molla, February 5, 2013; the people who were concerned about the lenient punishment talked each other to protest it. BOAN and other bloggers create event on that day inviting people to come at Shahbagh for a human chain protest against the verdict. At the middle of the protest, some print and electronic media named 'The Daily Amar Desh', 'The Daily Somokal', and 'Digonto TV' which are also owned and backed by the political parties who are sometimes

directly accused of being war criminals or supporters, took stance against the Shahbagh protest.

Kabir (2014) strongly argues that the protest demanding justice and capital punishment for all war criminal is not at all a new one which has taken place at Shahbagh Ganojagaran Mancho in 2013; rather it began with Jahanara Imam's Ganoadalat in the early 1990s. Making a bridge on the role of youth between Shahbagh Ganojagaran and other social movements in Bangladesh such as language movement of 1952 and 1971 liberation war, he thinks, young generation's participation in Shahbagh protest is no different. But the development of the protest is more spontaneous and within very short time, without any organized preparation. He states that protesters at Shahbagh got very few time to be prepared as there was no organized pre-plan. Besides, there were many political parties in support of Jahanara Imam except BNP, but Shahbagh evolved outside the political party involvement. He distinguished Shahbagh from Arab Spring and Tahrir Square that these movements were intended to topple a government and backed by some political parties but Shagbagh is not against the government. Occupy Wall Street movement is also backed by some NGOs. All of these movements are somewhat evolved throughout facebook or similar social media.

The literatures well indicate the nature and organization of social movement including role of nationalism and media in it.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Framework

This chapter necessarily involves relevant theories that are used in the study. First of all, the chapter will discuss the social movement theories. There is a number of social movement theories, but this study has taken only ‘theory of leadership’ and ‘theory of movement participation’ to understand the form of organization and leadership in Shahbagh movement. Then the chapter will talk about theories of nationalism, and lastly theories of transitional justice.

3.1 Theory of Social Movement:

Generally, leaders play a very crucial role to create awareness of an issue, to mobilize people and resources, to identify the opportunities, to frame strategies and tactics, and to formulate and secure goals. There is a considerable insufficiency to properly theorize the role of leaders in terms of agency and structure. However, sometimes, excessive focus on leaders debunks the contribution of the mass people.

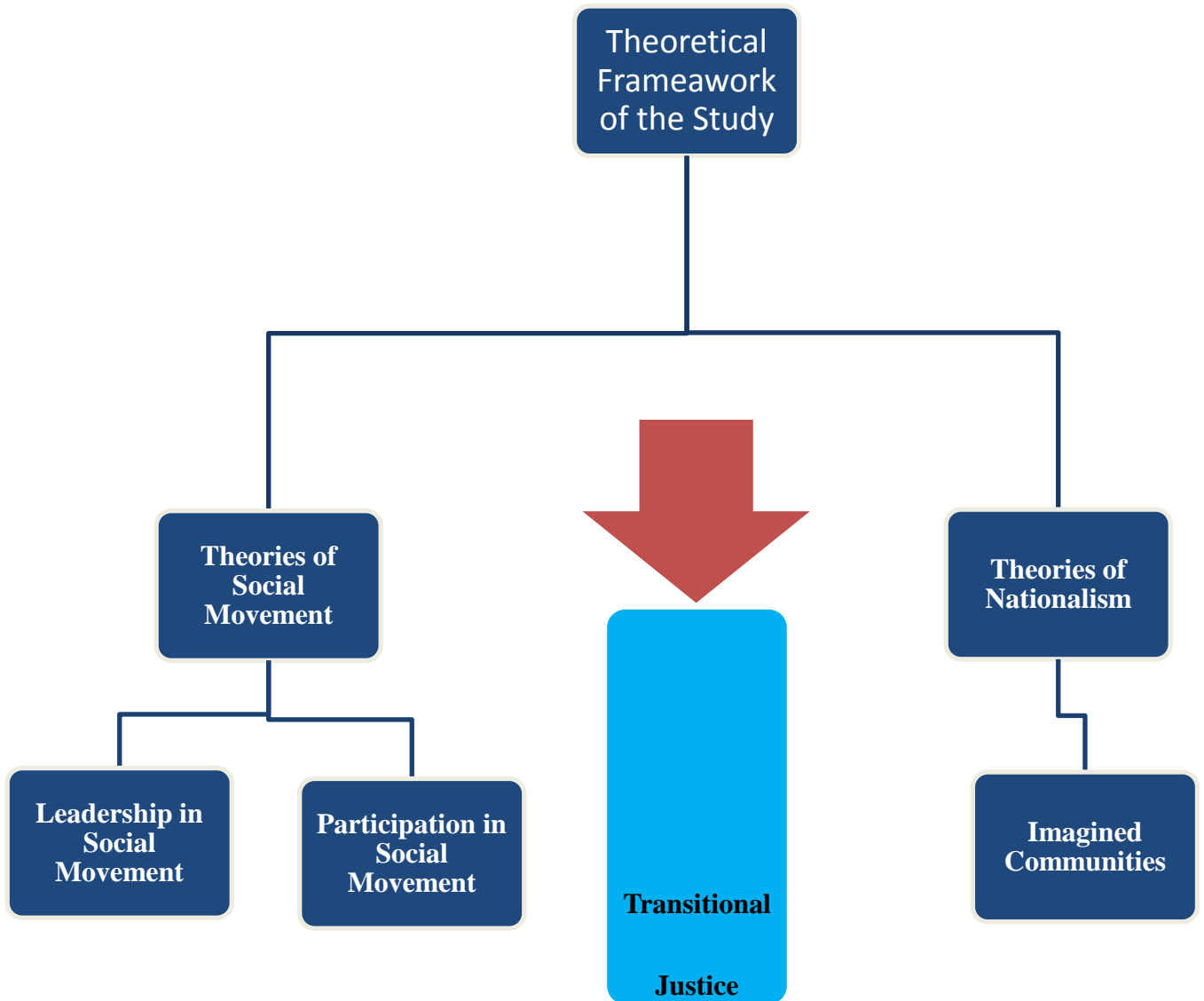
Morris and Steggenberg (2003) define, “leaders as strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements” (D. Morris and Steggenberg, 2003: 1). Earlier literature of social movements has stressed the functional role of leaders in different stages of a movement development. Gusfield (1966) argues that leaders possess a contradictory character in terms of functioning both inside the movement as a ‘mobilizer’ to encourage participants, and outside the movement as an ‘articulator’ to interlink it to the wider society. Within social movements, there exists controversy in the passage of time between several leadership tasks in different phases of movements (D. Morris and Steggenberg, 2003). Apart from the roles and functions of leaders in social movements, the leaders gain legitimacy in different ways such as Weber (1968) argued of ‘Charismatic Leadership’ though charismatic leadership deemphasize the mutual understanding between leaders and supporters. Legitimacy and recognition of leadership necessarily involve emotion, trustworthiness and loyalty of the leaders.

Michels (1962) argues that leaders are often considered political elites because their interests conflicts with the general participants. For effective social movements require large scale bureaucratic organizations as most of the time leadership found to be oligarchical because leaders always desire to hold control and positions of the movement. The mass participants

let the leaders to do this because they lack necessary capacity, mechanisms, and skills to lead, compared to them. Marx and Engels (19689 and Lenin (1975) argue that outside leaders or intellectuals require for revolutionary movements since the masses are incapable of creating a theoretical justification. Other scholars viewed that, due to the internal processes and external environmental factors movement organizations change over time because of which goals of movements though leaders in some cases transform organization in different direction (Zald and Ash 1966).

Wilson (1973) presents three types of leaders which include charismatic, ideological and pragmatic leaders on the basis of movement organizations. The control of decision-making, division of labor, and the degree of schism depend on leadership. Types of leaders vary for the different types of preexisting organizational base and nature of movements (Freeman, 1975). Therefore, background of leaders significantly affects organizational structures with the help of previous experience in mobilizing participants and framing goals and outcomes. To describe it clearly, V.I Lenin, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King Jr. are great leaders of some historical movements who belong, at least, to middle class and are highly educated. “ Social movement leaders tend to come from the educated middle and upper class, are disproportionately male, and usually share the race or ethnicity of their supporters” (Brinton 1952; Flacks 1971; Oberschall 1973). It is also very important to notice that class background paves the way for a leader to accumulate financial resource, set up agenda and contact the socially or culturally valuable personnel. Higher education being an instrumental resource also denotes the privileged social position of movement leaders because successful social movements need a series of creative or intellectual activities which include framing grievances and goals, communicating with media, debating with opponents, writing, orating, framing strategies and tactics, dialoging with elites, improvising and innovating, making rationale for coalition building and emotion channeling. Leaders from outside of the oppressed group sometimes bring considerable success in social movements such as civil rights movement and anti-slavery movements (Marx and Useem, 1971).

Figure: 3.1 Theoretical Framework of the Study



Source: Compiled by researcher

Biggs (2006) argues,

“A wave of sit-ins swept the American South in the spring of 1960. Eating places and other facilities that refused to serve blacks were physically occupied and picketed, predominantly by black college students. This protest wave was a pivotal step in the struggle for equality in the United States and also foreshadowed the student protests that became that became emblematic of the 1960s”.

According to him, student’s participation was highly determined by their engagement to social interaction organization or social networks, i.e. Church. Students who regularly visited Church actively took part in the sit-in protests. However, Churches played a significant role in mobilizing students as organizations and movements are interrelated. The reasons for which students participated in protests are closely connected to their ‘emotions’ and ‘beliefs’ because they are cultural construction of expressing grievances.

3.2 Theory of Nationalism:

Benedict Anderson (1991) argues that “.....nationality, or, one might prefer to put it in view of that word’s multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind. To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy” (Anderson, 1991; 2). He sought to explore the origin of nationalism in the modern world. Nationalism emerged in the age of enlightenment in eighteenth century with the development of modern states and a new type of economic structure namely capitalism and the dusk of religions. Capitalism, for its own need, attempted to create some sort of cultural homogeneity which, in turn, led to the development nationalism.

Anderson (1991) defined nationalism as: “It is an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”. He argued it is imagined as members of a very tiny nation may never know their fellow-members and may never meet, hear them. Even communities, larger than the primordial villages of face-to-face contact, are perhaps imagined. Communities should be understood by the mode in which they are imagined, not by their genuineness or falsity. He exemplifies that French aristocracy and Javaneze

nationality are imagined. It is limited because every nation is bordered with a geographical area, other nations exist alongside them. The largest nation, to him, does not expect that members of other nations of the universe will join them, to say, Christians can not dream of a wholly Christian Planet. Nationalism is imagined as sovereign since communities, due to the territorial stretch and religious multiplicity, seek independence which is the expression of sovereignty. It is imagined as community, since alongside the difference of interests among them, they stand beside one another based on the notion of fraternity. Culture plays a pivotal role in shaping nationalism in the early world as emblems of modern nationalism are deeply expressed in the cenotaphs and tombs of the soldiers. In the first stage, religious imagining has a deep connectivity with the development of practice of nationalism, for example Buddhism, Christianity or Islam have contributed to develop imagination of divine salvation and sufferings through 'sacred language' and 'written scripts'. To take the example of Islam, it was not the commonly known language but a classical Arabic form that is imagined by the follower in which the sacred texts are written. These sacred languages are used only by the privileged elites of the state of the imagined communities. Yet, these sacred languages effectively connect the people to a congruent platform. In the dynastic realm, kinship ties were the modes of imagination where legitimacy replaces divinity, heterogeneity replaces territorial rigidity. With the development of 'print capitalism' proposed by Anderson, for example newspaper and novels, a new type of national (imagined) community has evolved in the eighteenth century Western Europe. The privileged texts turned into vernacular tongues, sometimes by making it formal of the older patterns. This transformation of languages in building a new type of imagined community was due to the novels and newspapers. In the religious imagined communities, things are thought to be unchanging based in the truths of the religion whereas millions of unconnected people experience new imagined community in the present world as it 'moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time', (Anderson, 1991; 11). Anderson rejected the Marxist determinist view that nationalism is determined by bourgeoisie to promote the rise of print capitalism in order to create new markets. He argued that the war between Vietnam, Indonesia and China is the most glaring example for rejection of Marxist view. Alike the Marxist utopian view of societal history, nations and nationalism are totally constructed and imagined. As 'print capitalism' is largely replaced by the cyberspace, and especially with the increasing use of internet for news, entertainment, commerce, education and social networking; it leads to the development of a transnational imagined community.

3.3 Transitional Justice:

The concept of 'Transitional Justice' has been used widely in the disciplines i.e. political science, legal jurisdiction in the present days. Transitional Justice seeks to readdress justice for violation of human rights, violence and repression from political transition to social order. Transitional Justice makes room for addressing the injustice occurred during political reform from authoritarian, dictatorial regimes or civil conflicts to democracy.

Schabas elaborated Sierra Leone occurrence from his own standpoint as an affiliate of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). He pointed out no intrinsic cause of TRC's presence side by side with criminal trials of special court for Sierra Leone. Despite having dissimilar mandates and different times of establishments, these two institutions have corresponding goals and those goals are practiced by each of them unimpeded. The desirability of taking back an already-granted amnesty and the degree of actual change required to support criminal justice activities.

Horowitz explains the function of the court and analyzes its strengths and flaws with reference to previous experiences, particularly with respect to local ownership and longer period reinforcing of local justice. For her, it is feasible for both Special Court and TRC to run concurrently.

Cueva considers the confrontations of employing the information and evidence uncovered by a TC to analyze domestic prosecutions. It is applicable particularly to the case of the unwillingness of the public prosecutor's office to do so. The establishment of a particular body within TRC to make the records ready for the prosecutor has been elucidated by Cueva. He also interprets the dissimilarities in the process of information-collecting for public hearings for particular types of crime. Further, he suggests the problems and substitute tactics to contribute to the best of resources and capacities of both special court and TRC

He discusses the problems encountered,

There was a provision of special prosecutor's office (SPO) in lieu of a TRC in Mexico. Acosta and Ennelin finds out the origin and evolution of the SPO focusing on tarnished butchery, assassinations and missing in between 1970s and 1980s. They spoke out of a transparent civil society or official support for the SPO.

Olea and Guembe illustrates both the progresses and flaws of the legislation. There is a compilation of alternative punishment, reparations of victims and historical records in this legislation. They also outlined the lawful and pragmatic confrontations of unifying these

actions at the same time. they also summarized the processes in which the Government of Columbia responded to inter-American jurisprudence, alarming visibility of the International Criminal Court and U.S. banishment requests.

Reiger is concerned about the context of East Timur and the period when United Nations administer East Timur. The administration of United Nations followed a pro-independence referendum. Reiger emphasizes on national or international attempts of holding the perpetrators of the violence. The case is similar to that of Sierra Leone where the coexistence of truth commission and particularly produced institutions for criminal inquiry.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

4.1 Research and Methodology:

In the simplest sense, research is the scientific way of studying an event or topic. Social research paves a scientific direction of evaluating human behavior, social phenomena and issues. In dealing with social research, methodology takes a crucial significance as it traces how a research project is to be conducted. For Silverman (2001), “A methodology refers to the gathering, forms of data analysis etc. in planning and executing a research study” (2001: 04).

Therefore, methodology includes data collection procedure, data collection techniques and tools of data analysis. Based on research design, three sorts of research methodologies, as such quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approach are found while undertaking social research (Creswell, 2007). In this research project, mixed methodology has been adopted for collecting data, and analyzing and interpreting the findings.

4.2 Rationale for Mixed Method:

Methodology points at the types of research. It suggests a researcher for choosing any of the two basic types of research method whether he or she will adopt quantitative or qualitative method keeping an eye on the nature and objectives of his or her study. As the present study triggers to follow the mixed approach (combining both qualitative and quantitative), the quantitative part of the study tends to understand the perception of respondents on Shahbagh movement or protest as well as to explore the role of media as a mode to convey the message of the movement to the audience. While, the qualitative section of the study is employed in order to portray the internal mechanisms of the Shahabag movement as such, depiction of the story, process and turning points of the movement along with revealing the role of nationalism in understanding Shahbag movement apprehended by the respondents. Moreover, this mixed methodology is closely inclined to measure the validity and reliability of the study through method and data triangulation.

4.3 The Study Area

Shahbag square (later named '*GonojagoronMancho*'), the platform of the 'Shahbag Movement' resides in the central location of Dhaka city. It lies in the Shahbag circle, that cross connects several major points of the city. This circle interlinks Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University, Aziz Super Market, National Museum, '*Charukola*'- the Fine Arts faculty of this university '*ChobirHaat*' premise, and University of Dhaka. This Shahbag and its adjacent location is traditionally well-known as an open place of amalgamation of young intellectuals and progressive personnel. Furthermore, Dhaka University is the breeding ground of every national level movement, from language movement of 1952 and mass emergence of 1969 to the Independent War in 1971 and demise/fall of 90s government. '*Charukola*' is the mother/ destination of all cultural activities, programs of the country. Nonetheless, National Museum in recent years has been exercised as the place of demonstration on contemporary urban crisis and issues. In sum, this Shahbag area is thereby denotes a ground/field of intellectual freedom practices. The study 'Shahbag Movement and Nationalism' visits the plot of the movement, organizational dynamics i.e. decision making process and the perception of the masses encompassing in the platform/ base station of the movement, Shahbag. Since, the movement location Shahbag is one the entry points of Dhaka University campus; as a result the movement experiences a huge agglomeration of the students of Dhaka University. Therefore, Dhaka University campus has been taken as the study area for the study.

4.4 Data Collection Techniques:

As mentioned above, this study adopts mixed approach for data collection so, quantitative and qualitative method have been taken into consideration for achieving concrete data from the field.

Quantitative research deals with numbers to quantify human behavior. Survey is one of the mostly used methods in collecting quantitative data. "Survey research comprises a cross sectional design with relation to which data are collected predominantly by questionnaire or by structured interview on more than one case (usually quite a lot more than one) and at single point in time in order to collect a body of quantitative or quantifiable data in connection with two or more variables (usually more than two), which are then examined to detect pattern of association" (Bryman, 2004: 43).

Survey study in this research is to be conducted sampling study population on the basis of the halls of Dhaka University categorizing them in residential and non-residential status.

The survey questionnaire covers the conceptual framework as below:

- Media effectiveness of the respondents
- The plot of Shahbag movement
- The nature and organization of Shahbag movement
- Manifestation of nationalism regarding Shahbag movement
- Role of media in conveying the message of Shahbag movement
- Individual's perception on Shahbag movement

Qualitative study evolves verbal description and explanation regarding human behavior. It attempts to focus a comprehensive understanding on social world. In-depth interviews and case studies are one of the two extensively applied methods in unveiling qualitative information. In this study, both in-depth interview and case have been used to apprehend the inner story of Shahbag movement.

According to Jackson, "In-depth interviews record people's descriptions and explanations of event in their world; these are then used to communicate this world to the social science reader (2003: 174)". In this research, the conceptual framework covered for in-depth interviews is as follows-

- Background of shahbag movement
- Organization of the movement
- Manifestation of nationalism regarding Shahbag movement
- Role of media in conveying the message of Shahbag movement

Case study is another method of data collection to apprehend the internal dynamics of power exercised in the organization of the Shahbag movement. This method covers the following recruitment criteria:

- The persons that directly participated in Shahbag movement
- The individuals actively engaged in decision making of the organization of movement
- The people having role in front of camera, either attendant in talk-shows or interviewee in media,

4.5 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size:

As early mentioned, Dhaka University has taken purposively as the study location for data collection.

The researcher implies cluster sampling in order to gather a concrete and more importantly, representative data. “In cluster, we make use of the natural segment (or cluster) as the sampling unit. In this method, sampling frame is identified, and from the population, specific clusters are chosen, either through simple or stratified random sampling” (Crano and Brewer, 2002: 179).

In this study, the sampling procedures are as follows-

At first, students of Dhaka University have selected as the population on judgmental basis. Out of all 18 halls of the university, 4 halls i.e. Sir A.F. Rahman Hall, Sufia Kamal Hall, P.J Heartog International Hall and BijoyEkattor Hall have been discarded from the study, since detailed information is not available in the university website on these halls. At the first phase of draw among male halls, Suryasen Hall and Mohsin Hall have been drawn and for female halls, Rokeya Hall and Bangladesh-Kuwait Maitree Hall as the study unit. The students belonging to these halls are divided in terms of their residential and non-residential status.

In order to find residential students, each hall has been divided in terms of blocks of their structure. And by applying simple random sample, each block of every hall has been split into a specific floor. In this way, fourth floor of Suryasen hall, second and first floor Mohsin hall, fifth floor and third floor from Rokeya hall and first floor and fourth floor of Bangladesh-Kuwait Maitree hall have been selected on a random basis.

After that, researcher by drawing lottery, 10 rooms from each floor have selected by applying systematic random strategy, where every 3rd one denotes the kth value. That means, 20 rooms from each hall have been considered a single unit of data collection.

In final stage, one respondent from every room has been selected purposively with a view to undertaking survey.

To reach the non-resident students of the above purposively selected halls, three locations of the campus namely, TSC, Hakim Chattar (square), Mall Chattar (square) and DoelChattar

(square), roadside of ShaheedMinar have been selected from where I picked up respondents purposively.

In the final stage, 40 non-residents students from the selected spots belonging to the same halls have been interviewed, equally splitting male and female in proportion from these aforesaid interview points as these places are the bus stops and thereby, gathering zones of non-resident students.

In sum, 120 respondents have been surveyed in terms of their categorization of halls.

To survey 80 resident students,

4 halls x 8 blocks (1 block from each hall) x 8 floors (2 floors from each building) x 80 rooms (10 rooms in each floor) x 80 respondents (from each selected room)

To survey 40 non-resident students,

5 bus stops x 20 respondents (2 male and 2 female from each gathering zone).

4.6 Pre-test of questionnaire:

For the pre-test of the study, Dhaka University campus has taken into consideration. A small scale survey has been conducted on the students of Dhaka University, in halls Salimullah Muslim Hall and Kobi Sufia Kamal Hall.

4.7 Undertaking field study:

In order to commence the field work, survey research has been accomplished in the hall premise to collect the data of residential students by the researcher and his assistants. To take data from female respondents, 2 female research assistants have also been appointed by the researcher in order to get lucid and solid data from the respondents. The in-depth interviews are exclusively collected by the researcher himself to gather a detail portrayal of the movement along with its mechanisms. Another assistant helped transcribe and translate the in-depth interviews.

4.8 Data processing and Analysis Plan:

A first, field data obtained has scrutinized, cross-checked for inconsistencies and then finalized. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) has been used for processing and analyzing data gathered through survey. Descriptive statistics with univariate and

bivariate variables have been used for data analysis. To examine the qualitative data, collected data are first transcribed and then translated into words by listening the audio files again and again. Therefore, words, context, internal consistency, frequency and intensity of the comment's interrelations have been considered during the interpretation of data.

4.9 Reliability and Validity:

“Reliability deals with an indicator's dependability”(Neumann; 1997; 138). A reliable measure gives the same result if each time the same thing is measured. Reliability necessarily involves stability, representativeness and equivalence. Clear conceptualization, precise level of measurement and multiple indicators of variable help be the study reliable. Validity refers to the “Truthfulness and correctness” of data. It is more concerned with measurement validity. Conceptualization and operationalization enhances validity of any study. For the validity of the study, survey questionnaire has been pre-tested.

4.10 Ethical Issues

Ethical guidelines for social research have been strictly maintained in this study. Informed consent was taken, anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents maintained, all questions asked with due respect to the values and norms of the community people.

4.11 Limitation of the study

7. Lack of research on social movements is a primary barrier for the study
8. The shortage of relevant literatures on Shahbagh is another major shortcoming of the study, even those found did not follow sociological method
9. Since Shahbagh protest occurred in Bangladesh within a unique context, the present theorization may not be sufficient to understand it.
10. The sample size is not representable as it only took few samples from a single university to explore people's perception
11. For collecting survey data, it was very hard to find the non-resident students of the sample, and for the in-depth interviews, the researcher faced hardship to find the organizers of the Shahbagh protest. As a result, the researcher has been able to conduct only 5 in-depth interviews
12. Due to time and budget constraints, the study faced many problems

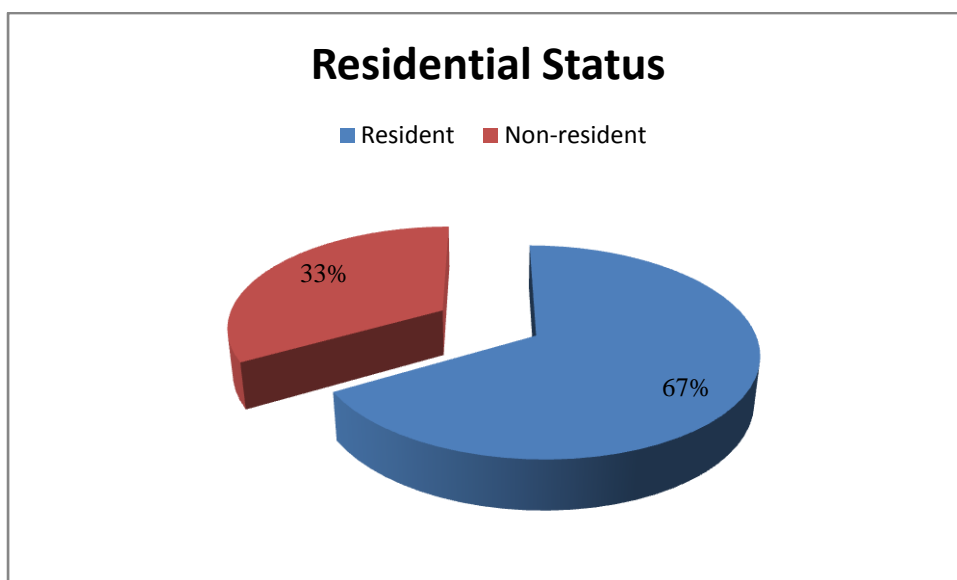
CHAPTER FIVE

Findings

5.1 Residential status of the respondents:

The study has been conducted among the both residential and non-residential students of 4 respective hall of Dhaka University. Among them 66.7% of the respondents were selected from residential hall and another 33.3% of the respondents were selected as non-residential students.

Figure 5.1: Residential status of the respondents



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.2 Status of sex:

From the study it has been evident that the ratio of sex of the respondents was equal consisting 50% male and 50% of them was female.

Table 5.1: Status of sex

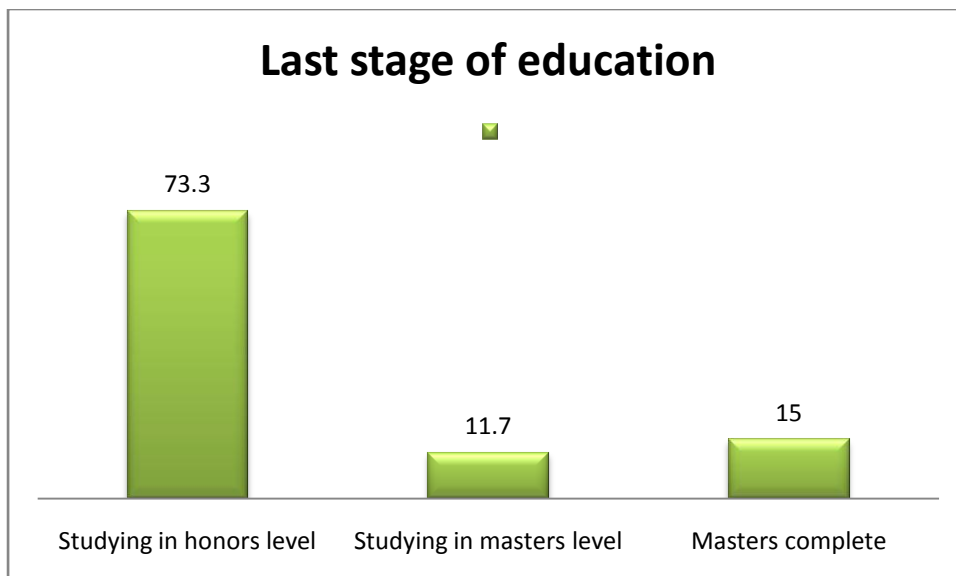
Sex	Frequency	Percent
Male	60	50.0
Female	60	50.0
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.3 Last stage of education:

In the study, it is revealed that among the respondents 73.3% is studying in honors level, whereas only 11.7% of them is currently studying in masters level. And the rest 15% mentioned that they have completed their masters from the respective university.

Figure 5.2: Last stage of education



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.4 Selection of Respondents:

The respondents are selected from the four clustered halls of Dhaka University. And the proportion of the respondents is same containing 25% from each hall.

Table 5.2: Selection of respondents

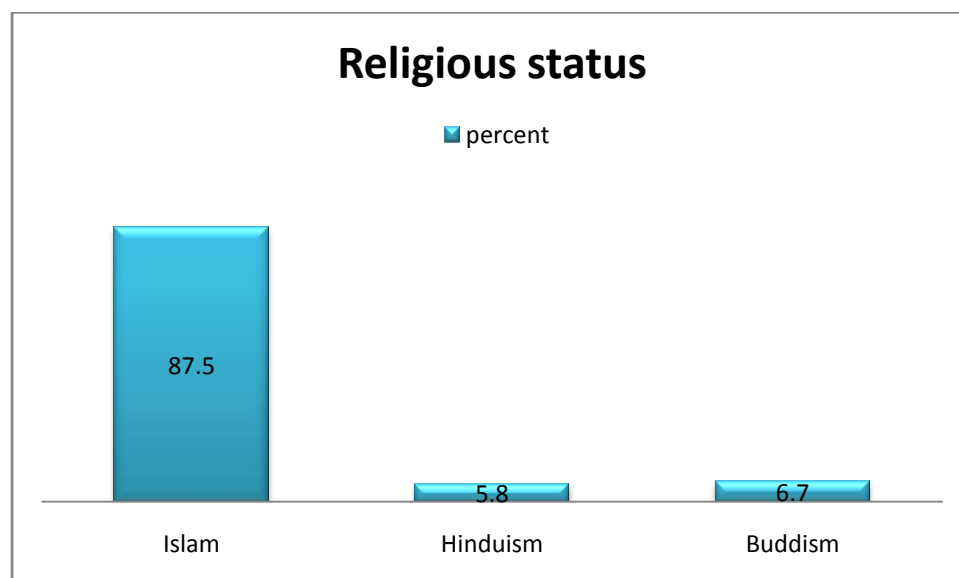
Name of hall	Frequency	Percent
Surjoson hall	30	25.0
Mohsin hall	30	25.0
Rokeya hall	30	25.0
Kuwait maitry hall	30	25.0
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.5 Religious status of the respondents:

The research reveals that a majority of the respondents (87.5%) belongs to the religion of Islam. While, only 6.7% of them is Buddhist 5.8% is the followers of Hinduism.

Figure 5.3: Religious Status



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.6 Age category of the respondents:

In the study, it has been found that majority (53.3%) of the respondents is in the age group of 20-23 years and 42.5% of the respondents are 23-36 years old.

Table 5.3: Age category of the respondents

age of the respondents	Frequency	Percent
16-19 years	5	4.2
20-23 years	64	53.3
23-26 years	51	42.5
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.7 Having a facebook account:

It has been depicted from the study that more than 98% of the respondents has at least one facebook account, on the contrary, a very minimal (0.17%) reports not have a facebook account.

Table 5.4: Having a facebook account

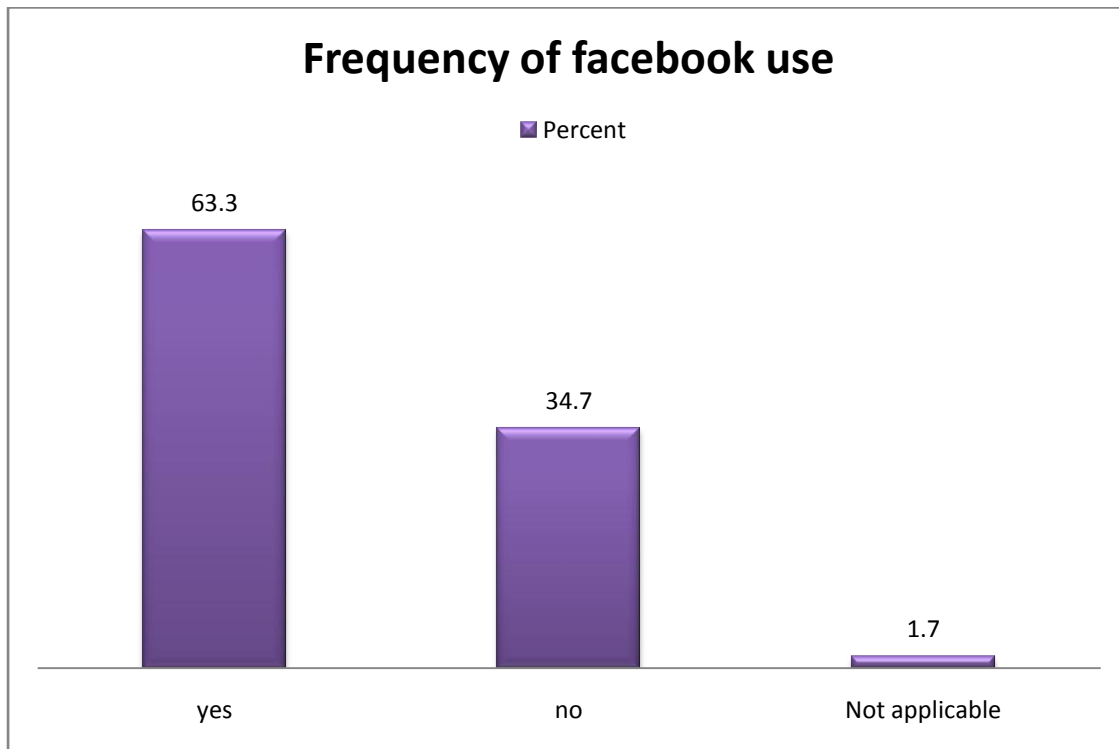
having face book account	Frequency	Percent
Yes	118	98.3
No	2	.17
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.8 Daily use of facebook:

Among the respondents who have facebook account 63.3% of them mentioned that they use facebook daily whereas, only 34.7% of them reported that they don't login facebook account daily.

Figure 5.4: Frequency of facebook use



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.9 Average usage of facebook in a week:

Among the respondents who have facebook account, 44% of them mentioned that they browse facebook less than 5 hours in a week on an average while 20.8% of them use facebook for 11-15hours in a week. And 15% of the respondents informed that they use facebook for more than 20 hours on an average in a week.

Table 5.5 : Average use of facebook in a weak

average usages of facebook in a week	Frequency	Percent
less than 5 hours	53	44.2
5-10 hours	12	10.0
11-15 hours	25	20.8
16-20 hours	10	8.3
more than 20 hours	18	15
not applicable	2	1.7
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.10 Follower of facebook:

Among the respondents, 60.8% of them mentioned that they are following at least one person in facebook. While, almost 40% of them is not following anyone in facebook.

Table 5.6 :Follower of facebook

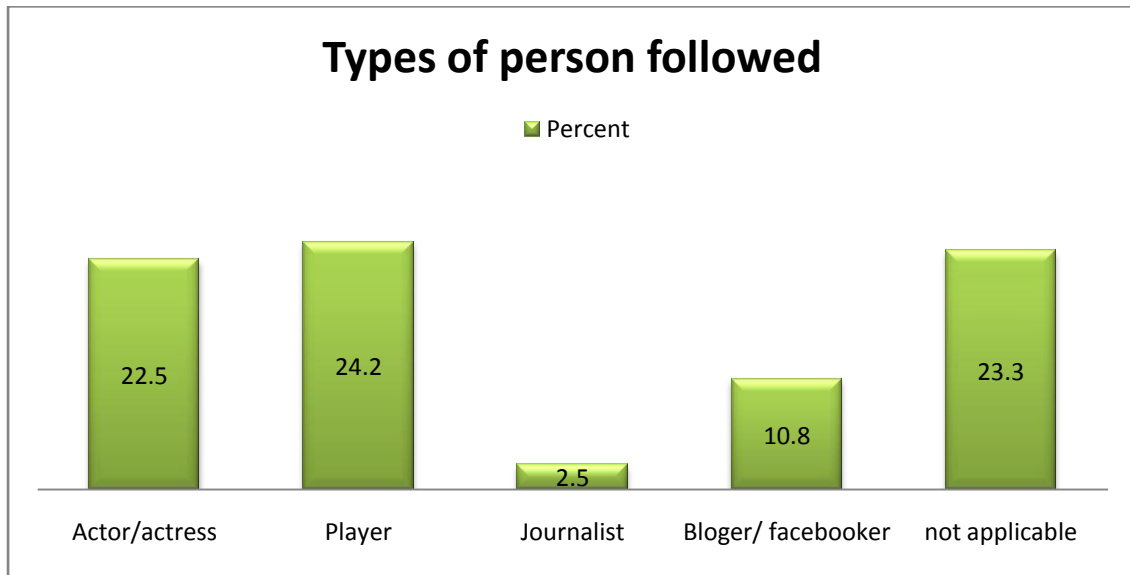
following somebody in facebook	Frequency	Percent
Yes	73	60.8
No	47	39.2
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.11 Types of person followed:

There is a variation among the respondents regarding the person they are following. Among the respondents, 24.2% mentioned that they are following players, 22.2% of them is follower of actor/actress. Moreover, 10.8% of them is following blogger/facebooker in the facebook.

Figure 5.5: Types of person followed

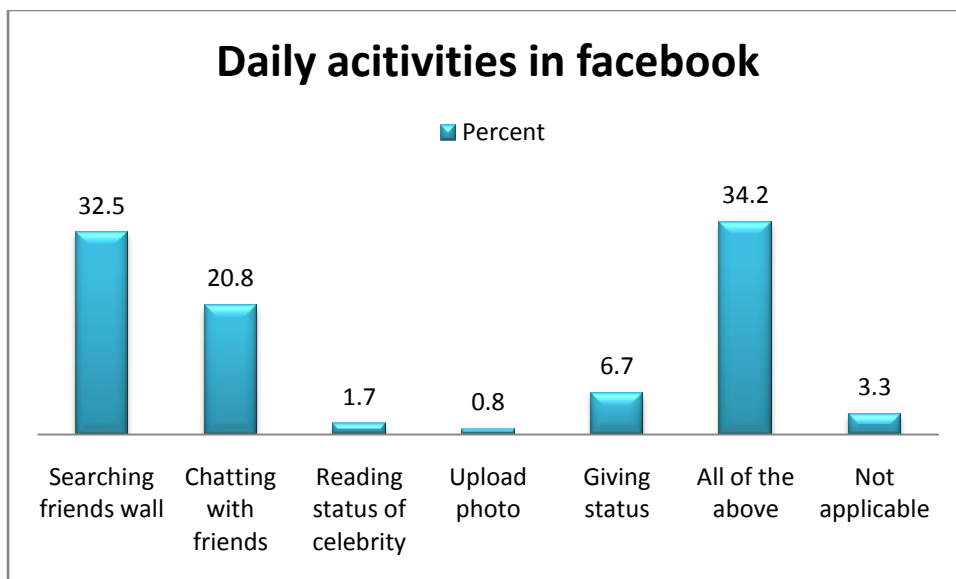


Source: Field Work, 2014

5.12 Regular activities on facebook:

Those who have facebook accounts among the respondents, 34.2% of them mentioned that they usually search friend’s wall, chat with them, read their status, upload photo and sometimes give status on the facebook. 32.5% mentioned that they search friend’s wall regularly. While, 20.8% regularly chats with their friends.

Figure 5.6: Daily activities on facebook



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.13 Having a blog account:

In the case of having blog account or not, 95% of the respondents opined that they don't have any blog account yet now and only 5% of them have blog account in at least one blog.

Table 5.7: Having a blog

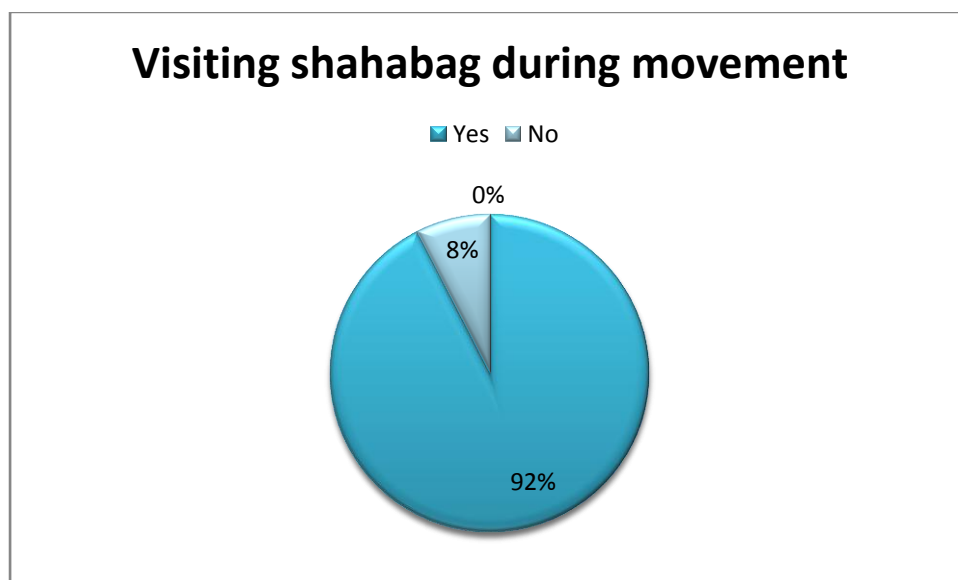
having blog id	Frequency	Percent
yes	6	5.0
no	114	95.0
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.14 History of visiting Shahabagh protest during movement

Almost 93% of the respondents opined that they visited during the movement and only 7.5% of them didn't visit during the movement going on.

Figure 5.7: Visiting shahabag during movement



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.14 Visiting date of shahabagh movement:

Most (53.3%) of the respondents who participated Shahbag protest mentioned that they visited during 8-14 february, 18.3% during 5-7 february, and 15% of them visited during 22 february- 5 may during the movement lasted.

Table 5.8: visiting date of shahabag movement

visiting date of shahabag movement	Frequency	Percent
5-7 february	22	18.3
8-14 february	64	53.3
15-21 february	11	9.2
22 feb-5may	18	15.0
All of the above	3	2.5
did not visit	2	1.7
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.16 Activities while visiting Shahabagh:

It is seen that 39.2% respondents participated in giving slogan after visiting . Interestingly 36.7% of the respondents went there only to enjoy the events took place at . While 16.7% of them engaged in the specific activities of the movement.

Table 5.9: Activities while visiting Shahabag

Activities while visiting Shahabag	Frequency	Percent
Giving slogan	47	39.2
Sung song	2	1.7
Enjoyed the events	44	36.7

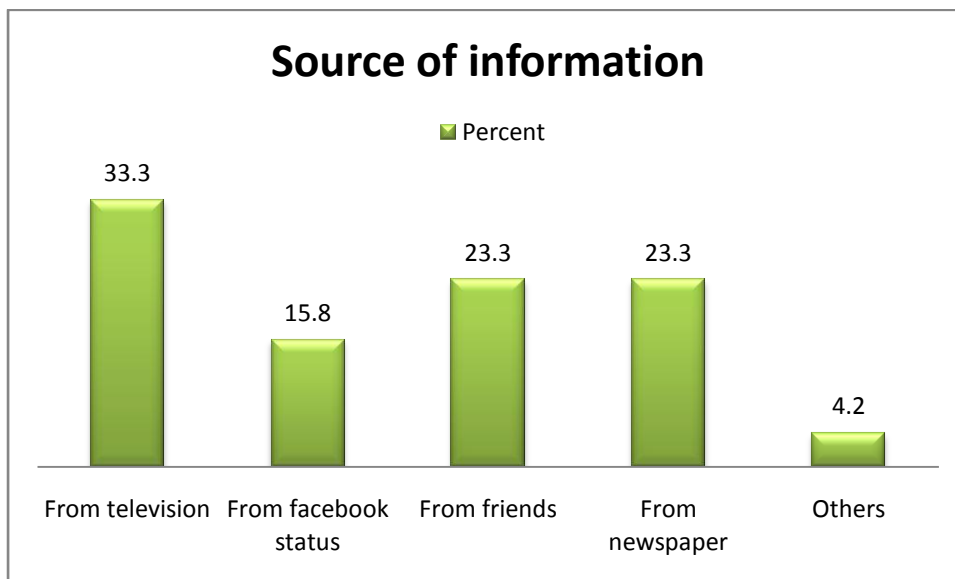
Joined in the activities	20	16.7
Others	5	4.2
not applicable	2	1.7
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.17 Source of information about the movement:

The study reveals that 33.3% of the respondents is informed about the movement from television and 23.3% of them get the information from their friends and newspaper respectively. Another 15.8% get information from facebook status.

Figure 5.8: Source of information



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.18 Idea about the demand of Shahabag movements before visiting:

Regarding the idea about the demand of shahabag movements before visiting the place almost 98% of the respondents argued that they were informed and only 2.5% of them were not informed.

Table 5.10: Informed about the demand of Shahbagh movement before visiting there

informed about the demand of Shahbagh movement before visiting there	Frequency	Percent
Yes	116	96.7
No	3	2.5
Not applicable	1	.8
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.19 Supporting the demand of Shahbagh movement:

Among the respondents almost 98% of the respondents opined that they strongly support the demand that were made by the Shahbagh movement.

Table 5.11: Supporting the demand of Shahbagh movement

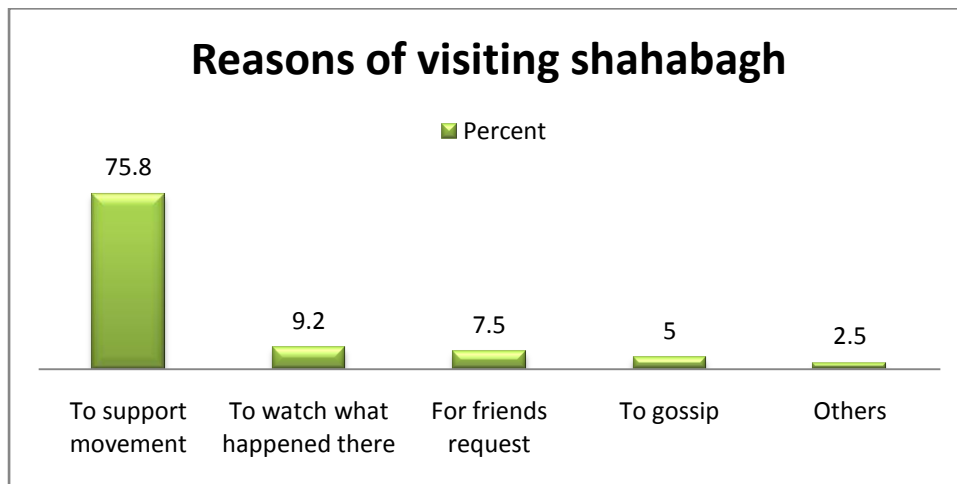
supporting the demand of Shahbagh movement	Frequency	Percent
Yes	117	97.5
No	3	2.5
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.20 Reasons of visiting Shahabag protest:

In the study it has been evident that almost 76% of the respondents visited only to support the movement whereas 9.2% visits to watch what actually happened there and another 7.5% of them visits for their friend request.

Figure 5.9: Reason of visiting Shahabagh



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.21 Reasons for which Shahbagh Movements Started:

Among the respondents 43.3% of them argued that Shahbagh movement started due to the lenient verdict of Kader Molla and 55% of them opined that the movement started due to the demand of the justice for war crime in 1971.

Table 5.12: Reasons for which Shahabag movement started

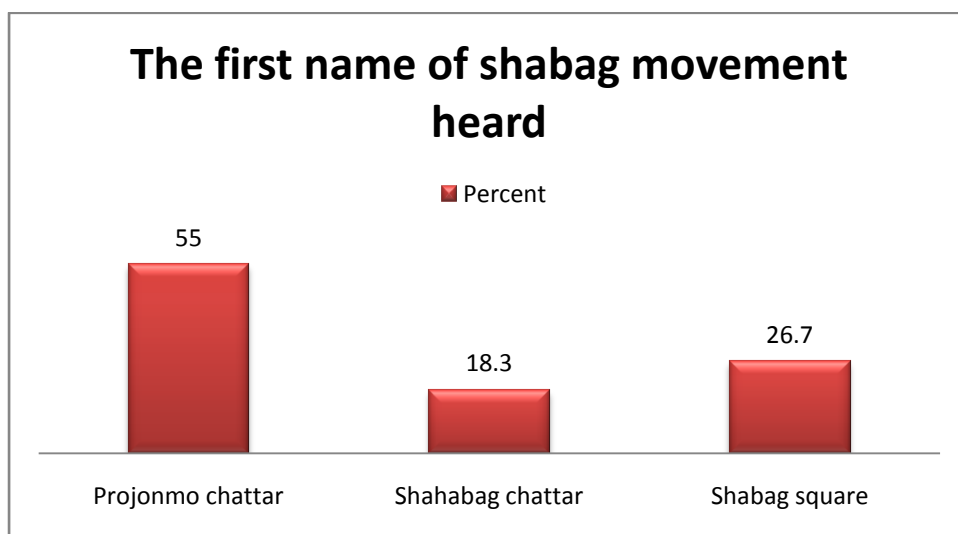
reasons for which Shahbagh movements started	Frequency	Percent
The lenient verdict of kader molla	52	43.3
To demand the justice of humanitarian crime in 1971	66	55.0
For the transparency of tribunal	1	.8
To hold movement against the interlink of Jamayat-Awami league	1	.8
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.22 The First Name of Shahbagh Movement:

From the study it has been evident that 55% of the respondents heard Projonomo Chattar as the first name of Shahbagh movement and 18.3% of them heard as Shahbagh chattar. Another 26.7% of them heard Shahbagh square as the name of Shahbag movement.

Figure 5.10: The first name of Shahbagh movement heard



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.23 Involvement in Strategic Tactics of Shahbagh Movement:

Study revealed that 55.8% of the respondents argued that they were not involved in the strategic plan of Shahbagh movement whereas 44.2% of them opined that they actively involved in the strategic plan of this particular movement.

Table 5.13: Involvement in the participation of strategic tactics of Shahbagh movement

joint in the stratgic plan of Shahbagh movement	Frequency	Percent
Yes	53	44.2
No	67	55.8

joint in the stratgic plan of Shahbagh movement	Frequency	Percent
Yes	53	44.2
No	67	55.8
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.24Types of Activities Actively Involved:

Among the respondents who were involved in the strategic plan of movement 29.2% of them argued that they involved in the movement through lightening candles, 13.3% involved through engaged in mass demonstrations and another 3.3% get involved through the tactics of keeping silence. However, the highest portion (54%) of the respondent did not participate in the strategic tactics of the movement.

Table 5.14:Types of strategic tactics joined

The types of strategic tactics joined	Frequency	Percent
Keeping silence	4	3.3
Lighting candles	35	29.2
Mass possession	16	13.3
Did not participate	65	54.2
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.25Perception about the strategic tactic in the Movement:

The study indicates the perception about the strategic tactic in the Shahbagh movement. It is disclosed that, 75.8% of the respondents is strongly agreed with the statement that movement creates the interest among general people while 19.2% of the respondents is partly agreed with that statement.

According to the study, 65% of the respondents is strongly agreed with the statement that movement could create interest among general people. Moreover, 19.2% of them is partly agreed with that statement. Interestingly they study finds that, 5.8% of the respondents is partly disagreed with the statement that the strategic plan is enabled to concentrate more people joining the Shahbagh movement.

The study pinpoints that, 65% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that strategic tactics helps to extend the duration of movement where 19.2% of the respondents is partly agreed with the statement. It is also seen that, 13.3% of the respondents is partly disagreed with the statement and 10% of them is neutral about the statement.

In addition, it is found that, 80.8% of the respondents is strongly agreed with the statement that strategic plan helps to get the media coverage, while 9.2% of them is partly agreed with the statement. On the other hand, 7.5% of the respondents is strongly disagreed with the statement.

Table 5.15: Perception about the strategic tactic in the Movement

Movement created the interest among general people	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	91	75.8
Partly agree	23	19.2
Not applicable	6	5.0
Total	120	100.0
more people join in the Shahbagh movements	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	78	65.0
Partly agree	34	28.3
Neither agree not disagree	1	.8
Partly disagree	7	5.8

Movement created the interest among general people	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	91	75.8
Partly agree	23	19.2
Not applicable	6	5.0
Total	120	100.0
helps to extend the movement duration	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	68	56.7
Partly agree	23	19.2
Neither agree nor disagree	12	10.0
Partly disagree	16	13.3
Strongly disagree	1	.8
Total	120	100.0
helps to get media coverage	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	97	80.8
Partly agree	11	9.2
Neither agree nor disagree	2	1.7
Partly disagree	1	.8
Strongly disagree	9	7.5
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.26 Participation of the respondents in the strategic plan:

It is seen that, 25% of the respondents participates in the formulation of strategic plan of the Shahabagh movement while 75% of them affirms that they do not participate in the formulation of strategic plan.

Table 5.16: Participation of the respondents in the strategic plan

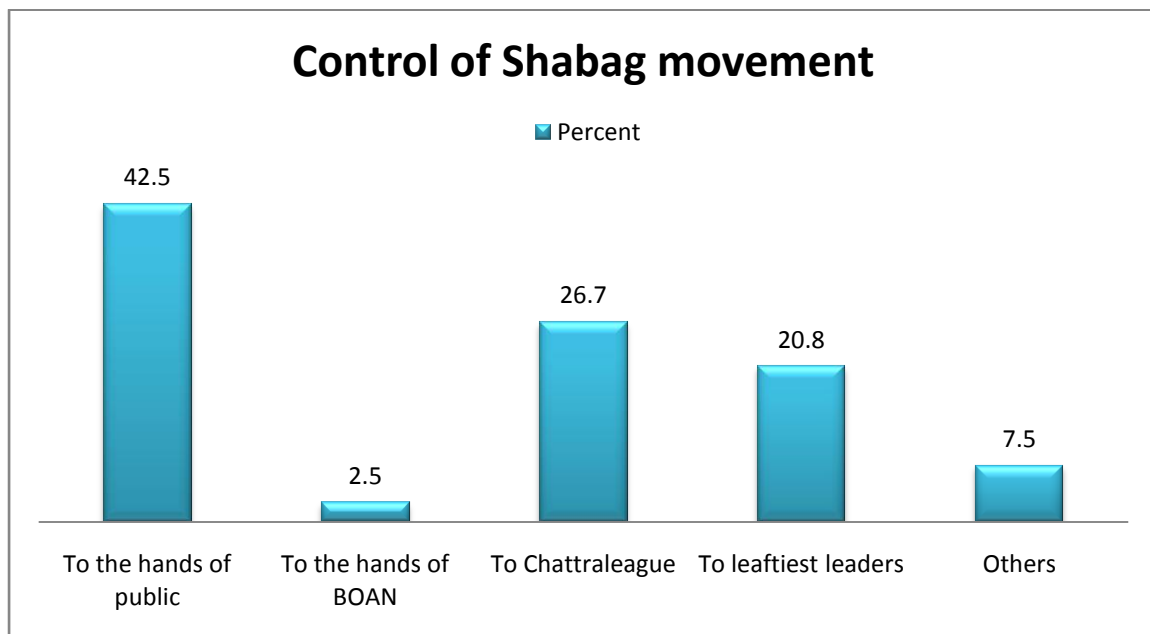
involvement with the creation of strategic plan	Frequency	Percent
Yes	30	25.0
No	90	75
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.27 The control of Shahbagh movement:

This study reveals that, 42.5% of the respondents opines that the control of Shahbagh movement was in the hands of public and 26.7% of the respondents states that the control of Shahbagh movement was in the hand of chattra league, while 20.8% of respondents affirms that the control of Shahbagh movement was in the hand of leftist parties.

Figure 5.11: The control of Shahbagh movement



Source: Field Work, 2014

5.28 Manifestation of nationalism in Shahbagh movements:

The research demonstrates that, 89.2% of the respondents strongly believes in the spirit of liberation war while only 10.8% of the respondents is partly agreed with that statement of “i believe in the spirit of liberation war.

Furthermore, it is illustrated that 82.5% of the respondents is strongly agreed with the statement of “i am on the side of the justice of war criminal” along with 10.8% of the respondents is partly agreed with that statement.

In order to find answer to the section of secularism, the highest proportion of the respondents (80.8%) strongly agreed with the statement of believing in the secularism. Yet, only 10% holds disagree with concept of secularism, either in partly or in strongly manner.

The research explicates the possessiveness of conception of “Bangalee”. Here, the majority of the respondent (88%) claims that they hold the notion of ‘Bangalee’.

In an unveiling the view on the justice of war criminals, half of the respondents (50%) asserts it as an important matter. et, about one of every fifth respondents (19.2%) strongly disagrees on the importance of war criminal justice.

Almost 40% of the respondents strongly agrees that socio-economic freedom of the people is the main problem. Among the respondent 45% strongly blames that it is the poverty which is regarded as the main problem of our country and 54.2% of the respondents strongly agreed that corruption is the main problem for the countries whereas 25% of the respondents strongly argued that oil, gas and scarcity of fuels are the main problems.

Table 5.17: Manifestation of nationalism in Shahbagh movements

I believe in the spirit of liberation war	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	107	89.2
Partly agree	13	10.8
Total	120	100.0
I am on the side of the justice of war criminal	Frequency	Percent

Strongly agree	99	82.5
Partly agree	13	10.8
Neither agree nor disagree	8	6.7
Total	120	100.0
I believe in secularism	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	97	80.8
Partly agree	6	5.0
Neither agree nor disagree	5	4.2
Partly disagree	2	1.7
Strongly disagree	10	8.3
Total	120	100.0
I think i am a Bengalese	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	106	88.3
Partly agree	14	11.7
Total	120	100.0
the justice of war criminal is an important matter	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	61	50.8
Partly agree	17	14.2
Neither agree nor disagree	12	10.0
Partly disagree	23	19.2
Neither agree nor disagree	7	5.8
Total	120	100.0
there are other important matters alongside with war crimes	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	61	50.8
Partly agree	29	24.2
Neither agree nor disagree	6	5.0

Partly disagree	5	4.2
Strongly disagree	19	15.8
Total	120	100.0
i am against the activities of religion	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	7	5.8
Partly agree	1	.8
Partly disagree	25	20.8
Strongly disagree	87	72.5
Total	120	100.0
i think the socio-economic freedom of the people is the main problem	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	47	39.2
Partly agree	37	30.8
Neither agree nor disagree	4	3.3
Partly disagree	14	11.7
Neither agree nor disagree	18	15
Total	120	100.0
poverty is the main problem	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	54	45.0
Partly agree	49	40.8
Neither agree nor disagree	11	9.2
Partly disagree	6	5.0
Total	120	100.0
corruption is the main problem	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	65	54.2
Partly agree	24	20.0
Neither agree nor disagree	22	18.3

Partly disagree	7	5.8
Strongly disagree	2	1.6
Total	120	100.0
oil, gas and scarcity of fuels is the main problems	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	30	25.0
Partly agree	24	20.0
Neither agree nor disagree	38	31.7
Partly disagree	6	5.0
Strongly disagree	22	18.3
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.29 The role of media in the case of Shahbagh movement:

From the study it has been evident that 85% of the respondents opines that social media plays a significant role in the increase of the movements activities. Moreover, more than half (55%) of the respondents strongly agreed that technology helps to increase the debate regarding the war crime although almost 33% of them partly agreed in this issues.

Almost 73.3% of the respondents strongly agreed that now the urban youth became conscious regarding war crimes and the justice of the war criminals. From the whole respondents almost 52% viewed that social media helps to clarify the position of activistson war crimes and criminal issues, where only 5% of them partly disagreed regarding this issues.

Social media helps to get update of Shahbagh movement through blog/blog post and with this perception; almost 68% of the respondents is strongly agrees that they would depend on social media to get updated on Shahbag issue. However, a considerable proportion 12.5% of them strongly disagrees the issues. Among the respondents who argued, that social media helps to get update of Shahbagh movement, 41% viewed that satellite television plays the significant in this regards, whereas 30% give their vote on national daily newspapers and 28.3% of them opined that it is the facebook which actually play the key role to get and to accelerate the movement of Shahbagh.

Table 5.18: The role of media in the case of Shahbagh movement

Social media helps to increase the movements activities	Frequency	Percent
Yes	102	85.0
No	18	15.0
Total	120	100.0
Technology helps to increase debate regarding the war crime	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	66	55.0
Partly agree	39	32.5
Neither agree nor disagree	15	12.5
Total	120	100.0
Urban youth became conscious regarding war crimes	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	88	73.3
Partly agree	32	26.7
Total	120	100.0
Helps activists to know their positions about war crimes	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	62	51.7
Partly agree	32	26.7
Neither agree nor disagree	20	16.7
Partly disagree	6	5.0
Total	120	100.0
Helps to get update from blog post/post	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	81	67.5
Partly agree	12	10.0
Neither agree nor disagree	11	9.2

Partly disagree	1	.8
Strongly disagree	15	12.5
Total	120	100.0
Depends on the medium to get the updates about the movements	Frequency	Percent
Facebook	34	28.3
News of satellite television	49	40.8
National daily news paper	37	30.8
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2014

5.30 Perception of respondents on Shahbag movement:

The last section of the study coincides with the perception of the respondents regarding Shahbagh movements. The nature, intension and direction of the movement are depicted on the perception of the respondents are argued in this phase of the finding.

The table 5.19 expresses the perception of the respondents on the intension of the movements. The overwhelming respondents (41%) perceives strongly agree with notion that Shahbag is a spontaneous movement. While another 22% of the respondents partly agree with spontaneity of Shahbag movement. However, almost a quarter (24%) of the respondent views a neutral statement on the spontaneity of the movement.

In table 5.19, the significant proportion (37%) of respondent holds a neutral notion (neither agree nor disagree) that Shahbag movement occurs due to the instability of the government. In addition, a 25% of the respondent contends partial disagreement with the notion that instability of the government causes Shahbag movement.

An interesting finding on the perception of the respondents regarding Shahbag movement depicts that, 43% of the respondents strongly agrees with the connotation of inter relation between government and tribunal. However, a significant portion of the respondents (25%)

contends strong disagreement with the notion of having internal relation between government and Shahbag movement.

Among the respondents almost 71% of the respondents strongly expresses that there is a political intention behind the creation of Shahbag movement. However, 15% of the respondents strongly disagrees with the notion of the former group of respondents.

Table 5.19: Perception of respondents on Shahbag movement

I think Shahbagh movement is a spontaneous movements	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	49	40.8
Partly agree	26	21.7
Neither agree nor disagree	10	8.3
Partly disagree	29	24.2
Strongly disagree	6	5.0
Total	120	100.0
I think Shahbagh movement was created due to the instability of the government	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	12	10.0
Partly agree	11	9.2
Neither agree nor disagree	44	36.7
Partly disagree	30	25.0
Strongly disagree	23	19.2
Total	120	100.0
there is an internal relationship between govt. and tribunal for the emergence of shahbag movement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	51	42.5
Partly agree	13	10.8
Neither agree nor disagree	25	20.8

Partly disagree	1	.8
Strongly disagree	30	25.0
Total	120	100.0
Shahbagh movement were used for political intention	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	85	70.8
Partly agree	7	5.8
Neither agree nor disagree	10	8.3
Strongly disagree	18	15.0
Total	120	100.0

Source: Field Work,2014

5.31 Qualitative Findings:

Qualitative findings necessarily depict the detailed information of Shahbagh protest and inner story which quantitative findings failed to describe. Especially, in-depth interviews helped a lot to understand the decision-making process of the movement. The findings will be described by classifying the movement in some phase i. e. spontaneous phase which held from February 5 to 7, capture stage which held from February 8 to 14, conflict stage which held from February 15 to 21, counter movement stage which held February from 22 to March 26, declining phase which held from April 2 to May 5.

5.32 Spontaneous Phase:

The organizers of the movement who have been interviewed agree that this phase of movement was completely spontaneous. In this phase, people motivatedly joined the movement. The people who came to Shahbagh in support of the movement sought the capital punishment of the war crime. For the emergence of the movement, they reported that Shahbagh did not happen within a single night rather it has a context; the context of spirit of 1971 liberation war. Because liberation war of 1971 gave us a new identity, a new independent nation named Bangladesh. One respondent said, “the context of 71 (1971) is for a secular nation, for Bengali nationalim”.

And this movement is against the people named *Razakar*, who did not want this Bangladesh; rather they helped our enemies to secure their rule. They did not stop there. They killed our own people. On February 5, when one of the notorious *Razakar* named Kader Molla given lenient punishment, even after being proved of his atrocity, people burst into anger. Then, many progressive organizations of the country which for long time were demanded justice of crime against humanity come to protest the verdict. They did demonstration and processions according to their agenda. Few hours after the verdict was proclaimed, BOAN (Blogger and Online Activists Network) created a facebook event by inviting for a human chain protest regarding verdict of Kader Molla. At the same time, different students' associations, cultural association also showed their opinion through demonstration in different places. When BOAN organized a human chain at Shahbagh point, Jatiya Sharthe Blogger and Online Activists also called for a human chain on facebook almost at the same time. The two groups merged into a single group to increase their number as they share a common goal-the capital punishment of war criminals. The protesters in the human began to post on facebook inviting their facebook friends to come at Shahbagh, covering news of the event, and also by uploading photos as well. Some people shared the status of the famous bloggers to invite others. Thus, with the passage of time, a relatively more crowd gathered at Shahbagh. After that, some protesters of the event decided not to leave the place until the verdict got changed.

At this stage, decisions were made on consensus of participants including all organizations which were present there. All of the respondents agree that Social media played a key in this stage to spread the message of movement to the young generation of the country, especially through facebook. The role of mass media such as newspapers and television is also significant for national and international media coverage.

5.33 Capture Stage:

After a successful stage, the movement entered a very critical stage where the politicians and student wing of the ruling party took attempted to take control of the movement. Conflict in decision-making started in this stage. According to a respondent, 'Later, there emerged conflicting situations for the leading positions and some leaders tried to handle the movement according to their own will. One of the respondents told that, *'After some days Tofayel Ahmed, a highly reputed Awami league leader came to Shahbagh to express his support to*

the movement and was harassed by some leftists. Then the movement began to be dominated by Awami League and Chattra League.

A student of left wing association was attacked because of not allowing the Awami League leader to speak before the participants.

Even some pioneer organizer of the movement started doing politics about the movement. Another respondent said that, some people tried to take advantage of the movement (*andolon ke ghire faida lotar kaida kora hichchilo*). Another respondent also reported that, *'The movement may be tried to use as tool of voting politics but it was people's herat-cherished demand'*. In view of another respondent, *'some people and groups started to use the gonojagoron mancho only for their political and profit oriented motives'*.

In this stage, BOAN held the leadership of Shahbagh movement very tactfully. Eventually, president of BOAN, Doctor Imran H Sarkar became the spokesman of the movement. Other organizers revealed that BOAN was given the leadership since they first came to Shahbagh for human chain. So, they did not object on BOAN's leadership because they all share a common goal; the capital punishment of war criminals. They said that as BOAN's president was a former activist of ruling party students' wing, he deliberately did not want to go for a conflict with the government. As one respondent said that, *'There were hundreds of small organizations working at Shahbagh movement for the protest. But to take decisions, BOAN used to call all other representatives of their respective organization for meetings, but decisions were often given by BOAN themselves'*.

However, conflict regarding decision-making began to increase day by day. Even some of the pioneer organizers started to go away from the movement. According to the view of a respondent, *'Some organizers, who were from the very beginning of the movement started to hide themselves'*. (*Prothom Diker Onek Songothok Nijeder Aral Korte Shuru Kore*)

Some media including 'The Daily Amardesh' counter attacked the movement by labeling it as a government's game.

5.34 Conflict Stage:

In this stage, conflict got its peak. Schism led to more fragmentation in decision-making. Awami League backed students wing started controlling the scope of the movement. They put surveillance on the 'Jagoron Moncho' and also monitored that, who is giving speech at

Mancho and what he is speaking about. According to a respondent, *'president and secretary of Chattra league regularly monitored the Gonojagoron Mancho and the actively joined the movement'*.

The movement took a different turn in this stage when activist of the movement, a blogger named Rajib, was killed by some miscreants. After the killing of this blogger, antagonists of the movement started to spread wrong information about the movement and many other activists left the movement place being scared of getting killed.

Being agreed by all, the sit-in protest at Shahbagh ended up in this stage.

Counter Movement Stage:

In this stage, some Islamic political parties including Jamayat E Islam who are basically in favor of war criminal and their leaders are recognized *Razakar* and Hefajat E Islam; capitalizing people's emotions they run a counter movement. These Islamic groups started campaign propaganda about Shahbagh movement and call for strike to stop the movement. They spread the rumour that participants of the movements are anti-Islamists. Eventually, it created a huge chaos all over the country.

However, one faction of the Shahbagh protest come back to continue the movement announcing end earlier.

5.34 Decling Phase:

In this stage, the movement fragmented into many factions based on their benefits. Mistrust and incredulity generated in minds of supporters and masses. Some disinterested organization like 'Shahid Rumi Squad' tried to uphold main the demands of the movement but they failed due to politics of vote. As a respondent said that, *'the justice of war crime has always been politicized for voting politics in the country'*.

CHAPTER SIX

Discussion

In this chapter, finding of the study both quantitative and qualitative will be discussed in relation to the theoretical perspectives. This discussion will follow the thematic chronology of literatures.

6.1 Perception on Shahabagh movement:

The overwhelming respondents (41%) perceives strongly agree and 22% partly agree with the notion that Shahbag is a spontaneous movement. While another A significant proportion (37%) of respondent holds a neutral notion (neither agree nor disagree) that Shahbag movement occurred due to the instability of the government. This neutrality on the statement indicates that respondent wanted to hide real information. An interesting finding on the perception of the respondents regarding Shahbag movement depicts that, 43% of the respondents strongly agree with the connotation of interrelation between government and tribunal for war crime justice. Among the respondents, almost 71% of the respondents strongly expresses that there is a political intention behind the creation of Shahabagh movement. In-depth interviews also revealed same result and reasons for it. Hasan (2014), Mohammad (2014), and Umar (2014) argued so. Roht-Arriaza and Maiezcurrent (2006) showed transitional justice makes room for addressing the injustice occurred during political reform from authoritarian, dictatorial regimes or civil conflicts to democracy.

Regarding the idea about the demand of Shahabagh movement before visiting the place almost 98% of the respondents argued that they were informed and only 2.5% of them were not informed. In the study it has been evident that almost 76% of the respondents visited only to support the movement. Among the respondents 43.3% of them argued that Shahabagh movement started due to the lenient verdict of Kader Molla and 55% of them opined that the movement started due to the demand of the justice for war crime in 1971. Biggs (2006) found similar results that the reasons for which students participated in protests are closely connected to their 'emotions' and 'beliefs' because they are cultural construction of expressing grievances.

26.7% of the respondents states that the control of Shahabagh movement was in the hand of chattra league, while 20.8% of respondents affirms that the control of Shahabagh movement

was in the hand of leftist parties. Michels (1962) argues that leaders are often considered political elites because their interests conflict with the general participants. For effective social movements require large scale bureaucratic organizations as most of the time leadership found to be oligarchical because leaders always desire to hold control and positions of the movement. The mass participants let the leaders to do this because they lack necessary capacity, mechanisms, and skills to lead, compared to them.

6.2 Role of Social Media:

Respondents who have facebook account 63.3% of them mentioned that they use facebook daily whereas, only 34.7% of them reported that they don't login facebook account daily. Among the respondents who have facebook account, 44% of them mentioned that they browse facebook less than 5 hours in a week on an average while 20.8% of them use facebook for 11-15 hours in a week. And 15% of the respondents informed that they use facebook for more than 20 hours on an average in a week. From the study it has been evident that 85% of the respondents opines that social media plays a significant role in the increase of the movements activities. Moreover, more than half (55%) of the respondents has strongly agreed that technology helped to increase the debate regarding the war crime although almost 33% of them partly agreed in this issues. 73% of the respondents strongly agreed that now the urban youth became conscious regarding war crimes and the justice of the war criminals through social media. From the whole respondents almost 52% viewed that social media helps to clarify the position of activists on war crimes and criminal issues, where only 5% of them partly disagreed regarding this issues. Biggs (2006) also revealed that student's participation was highly determined by their engagement to social interaction organization or social networks, i.e. Church. Students who regularly visited Church actively took part in the sit-in protests. However, Churches played a significant role in mobilizing students as organizations and movements are interrelated.

These findings resonates with Harlow and J. Johnson (2011), Wolfsfeld, Segev, and Seafer (2013), Allagui and Kuebler (2011), Stepanova (2012), and Eltawy and B. Wiest (2011) argue that social media including facebook, blog, and twitter causes more activism and social movements in present time.

6.3 Nationalism:

The research demonstrates that, 89.2% of the respondents strongly believes in the spirit of liberation war. Furthermore, it is illustrated that 82.5% of the respondents is strongly agreed with the statement of “i am on the side of the justice of war criminal”. In order to find answer to the section of secularism, the highest proportion of the respondents (80.8%) strongly agreed with the statement of believing in the secularism. The research explicates the possessiveness of conception of “Bangalee”. Here, the majority of the respondent (88%) claims that they hold the notion of ‘Bangalee’.

In an unveiling the view on the justice of war criminals, half of the respondents (50%) asserts it as an important matter. Almost 40% of the respondents strongly agrees that socio-economic freedom of the people is the main problem. Among the respondent 45% strongly blames that it is the poverty which is the main problem of our country, and 54.2% of the respondents strongly agreed that corruption is the main problem for the countries. This results shows the dualness of the respondents that they strongly believe Bengali nationalism, but only 50% viewed trial of war crime as important. This surely embraces the previous assumption of Huda (2005) that Bangladesh is divided into two kind of nationalism i. e. Bengali and Muslim nationalism. Therefore, finally, it echoes ‘imagined community’ of Anderson (1991) that nationalism is a kind of cultural artefacts which is subject to change over time and thus imagined.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

For the last two decades, the Shahbagh movement has been the most significant that swept all over Bangladesh demanding transitional justice of the country's 1971 liberation war. The protest was the result of spontaneous involvement of young people at the early stage but Awami league being the opponent of the protest took control of it in order to cover up corruption of share market, Padma Bridge fiasco, political instability of the previous year, and especially to win election in the same year. Bloggers played an instrumental role to initiate the protest by creating facebook event inviting sympathizers of the issue to gather at Shahbagh Square. Although the movement is said to be stemmed out of political party affiliation and without organizational support, BOAN and Imran H Sarker became the organizer of it as mainstream media picked them up, and spread to national and international think-tank media coverage. Online activism of young generatin of the country has contributed much to spread and sustain the movement.

The spirit of nationalism played an important role to get more support from mass people. The participants chanted slogans, sang songs, recited poems, flying flag, drawing map of Bangladesh were the means of protest used in the movement to manifest the spirit of 1971 nationalism. But the movement took a different turn in this stage when activist of the movement, a blogger named Rajib, was killed by some miscreants. After the killing of this blogger, antagonists of the movement started to spread wrong information about the movement and many other activists left the movement place being scared of getting killed. Some Islamic political parties including Jamayat E Islam who are basically in favor of war criminal and whose leaders are recognized *Razakar*, and Hefajat E Islam; capitalizing people's emotions they run a counter movement. These Islamic groups started campaignig propaganda about Shahbagh movement and call for strike to stop the movement. They spread the rumour that participants of the movements are anti-Islamists. Eventually, it created a huge chaos all over the country. Because of weak organizational base, the movement got into trap of the Islamic party and thus became debated.

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Appendix-1

আসসালামু আলাইকুম আমি গোলাম রব্বানী। আমি ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সমাজবিজ্ঞান বিভাগে মাস্টার্সে পড়ি। বর্তমানে আমি 'শাহবাগ আন্দোলন ও জাতীয়তাবাদ: বাংলাদেশে নগরভিত্তিক সামাজিক আন্দোলন' বিষয়ের উপর আমার মাস্টার্স অধ্যয়নের অংশ হিসেবে একটি গবেষণার কাজ করছি। আজকের এই গবেষণায় অংশগ্রহণের জন্য আপনাকে আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জানাই। এই গবেষণায় আপনার অংশগ্রহণ সম্পূর্ণ ঐচ্ছিক। এই আপনি যে তথ্যগুলো দিবেন তা আমার থিসিস পেপারটির জন্য খুবই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ এবং এই তথ্যগুলো উক্ত বিষয়টিকে অনুধাবনযোগ্য করতে সাহায্য করবে। এই গবেষণার রিপোর্টে আপনার নাম ও পরিচয় সম্পূর্ণরূপে গোপন রাখা হবে। তারিখ:

১. উত্তরদাতার সাধারণ তথ্যাবলী:			
১.১	আপনার বিভাগের নাম:		কোড
১.২	আপনার শিক্ষার সর্বশেষ ধাপ কোনটি?	ক) অনার্স অধ্যয়নরত = ১ খ) মাস্টার্স অধ্যয়নরত = ২ গ) মাস্টার্স কমপ্লিট = ৩	
১.৩	আপনার হলের নাম:	১) বঙ্গবন্ধু হল = ১ ৯) রোকেয়া = ৯ ২) জিয়া হল = ২ ১০) শামসুন্নাহার = ১০ ৩) জসিমউদ্দিন = ৩ ১১) কুয়েত-মৈত্রী = ১১ ৪) সূর্যসেন হল = ৪ ১২) শহিদুল্লাহ হল = ১২ ৫) মুহসীন হল = ৫ ১৩) ফজলুল হক = ১৩ ৬) জহুরুল হক = ৬ ১৪) জগন্নাথ হল = ১৪ ৭) সলিমুল্লাহ = ৭ ৮) ফজিলাতুল্লাহ = ৮	
১.৪	আপনি এইচএসসি পাশ করেছেন কোন ধরনের প্রতিষ্ঠান থেকে?	ক) কলেজ = ১ খ) আলিয়া মাদ্রাসা = ২ গ) কওমী মাদ্রাসা = ৩	

১.৫	আপনি কোন ধর্মের অনুসারী?	ক) ইসলাম = ১ খ) হিন্দু = ২ গ) বৌদ্ধ = ৩ ঘ) খ্রিষ্টান = ৪ ঙ) নাস্তিক = ৫ চ) অন্যান্য= ৬	
১.৬	আপনার বয়স কত?	১৬-১৯ বছর= ১ ২০-২৩ বছর= ২ ২৩-২৬ বছর= ৩	
২.	উত্তরদাতার পারিবারিক অবস্থার বিবরণঃ(নিচ থেকে সঠিক অপশনের কোডটি বাছাই করে লিখুন)		

পরিবারের সদস্যের ধরণ	বয়স (সংখ্যায় লিখুন) বছর	পেশা (নিচের অপশনগুলো থেকে বাছাই করুন)	শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতা (নিচের অপশনগুলো থেকে বাছাই করুন)	আয় করেন কি না? হ্যাঁ = ১ না = ২ (পড়াশুনার পাশাপাশি হলেও গণ্য হবে যেমন টিউশন বা পার্টটাইম জব)	মাসিক হিসেবে আয়ের পরিমাণ	স্থায়ী বসবাস গ্রামে = ১ উপজেলা শহরে = ২ জেলা শহরে = ৩ ঢাকায় = ৪ অন্য বিভাগীয় শহরে = ৫
		কৃষি = ১ ব্যবসা = ২ শিক্ষকতা = ৩ চাকরি = ৪ ডাক্তার = ৫ আইনজীবী = ৬ দিনমজুর = ৫ অন্যান্য = ৬	স্বাক্ষর = ১ প্রাইমারি শেষ করেনি = ২ মাধ্যমিক শেষ করেনি = ৩ মাধ্যমিক শেষ করেছে = ৪ উচ্চমাধ্যমিক শেষ করেছে = ৫ গ্রাজুয়েট = ৬ মাস্টার্স শেষ করেছে = ৭		১০,০০এর নিচে = ১ ১০,০০০ - ২০,০০০ = ২ ২০,০০০ - ৩০,০০০ = ৩ ৩০,০০০ - ৪০,০০০ = ৪ ৪০,০০০ - ৫০,০০০ = ৫ ৫০,০০০+ = ৬	
বাবা						
মা						
ভাই ১						
ভাই ২						
বোন ১						
বোন ২						
দাদা/নানা						
দাদী/নানী						
খালা/ফুফু						

৩.উত্তরদাতার সোশ্যাল মিডিয়া ব্যবহারে সক্রিয়তা বিষয়ক প্রশ্নাবলি:		নিচের কোডগুলি থেকে বাছাই করে বৃত্তাকার দাগ দিন	কো ড
৩.১	আপনার কি ফেইসবুক অ্যাকাউন্ট আছে	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২, হ্যাঁ হলে(না হলে ৩.৭এ যানু)	
৩.২	আপনি কি প্রতিদিন ফেইসবুক ব্যবহার করেন?	হ্যাঁ = ১ না = ২	
৩.৩	ক) সপ্তাহে গড়ে কত ঘন্টা ফেইসবুক ব্যবহার করেন?	ক) ৫ ঘন্টার কম = ১ খ) ৫-১০ ঘন্টা = ২ গ) ১১-১৫ = ৩ ঘ) ১৬-২০ ঘন্টা = ৪ ঙ) ২০+ ঘন্টা = ৬	
৩.৪	৩.১ আপনি কি ফেইসবুকে কোন কাউকে ফলো করেন?	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না, হ্যাঁ হলে	
৩.৫	আপনি নিচের কোন ধরনের ব্যক্তিকে ফলো করেন?	ক) অভিনেতা/অভিনেত্রী = ১ খ) খেলোয়ার = ২ গ) সাংবাদিক = ৩ ঘ) ব্লগার/ফেসবুকার = ৪ ঙ) রাজনৈতিক নেতা = ৫ চ) সংগঠক = ৬ ছ) সবগুলো = ৭ জ) অন্যান্য = ৮ লিখুন.....	
৩.৬	ফেইসবুকে আপনি নিয়মিত কি কি করেন ?	ক) বন্ধুদের ওয়াল সার্চ করি = ১ খ) বন্ধুদের সাথে চ্যাট করি = ২ গ) সেলিব্রেটিদের স্ট্যাটাস পড়ি = ৩ ঘ) নোট লিখি = ৪	

		ঙ) ফটো আপলোড করি = ৫ চ) স্ট্যাটাস দিই = ৬ ছ) ইভেন্ট জয়েন করি = ৭ জ) উপরের সবগুলো = ৮	
৩.৭	আপনার কোন ব্লগ আইডি আছে?	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২	
৩.৮	কোন ব্লগে আইডি আছে?	ক) সামু = ১ খ) প্রজন্ম = ২ গ) মুক্তমনা = ৩ ঘ) আমার ব্লগ = ৪ ঙ) অন্যান্য = ৫ লিখুন.....	
৩.৯	আপনি নিয়মিত ব্লগ লেখেন কি না?	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২	
৩.১০	আপনি নিয়মিত ব্লগ পড়েন কিনা?	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২	
৩ শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের পটভূমি সম্পর্কে প্রশ্নাবলী:			
৪.১	আপনি কি আন্দোলন চলার সময়ে শাহবাগে গিয়েছিলেন?	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২	
৪.২	মনে করে বলবেন কি ঠিক প্রথম কত তারিখে আপনি শাহবাগ আন্দোলনে যোগ দিতে গিয়েছিলেন?	ক) ৫-৭ ফেব্রুয়ারির মধ্যে = ১ খ) ৮-১৪ ফেব্রুয়ারির মধ্যে = ২ গ) ১৫-২১ ফেব্রুয়ারির মধ্যে = ৩ ঘ) ২২ফেব্রু-৫মে'র মধ্যে = ৪ ঙ) উপরের সবগুলো = ৫	
৪.৩	আপনি শাহবাগে বেশিরভাগ কোন সময় গিয়েছেন?	ক) দুপুরের আগে = ১ খ) বিকেলে = ২ গ) সন্ধ্যায় = ৩ ঘ) মাঝরাতে = ৪	

8.8	শাহবাগে গিয়ে কি করেছিলেন?	ক) শ্লোগান দিয়েছেন = ১ খ) গান গেয়েছেন = ২ গ) অন্যদের পরিবেশনা দেখেছেন = ৩ ঘ) কর্মসূচীতে অংশ নিয়েছেন = ৪ ঙ) অন্যান্য = ৫ লিখুন.....	
8.৫	কার কাছ থেকে প্রথম শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের সম্পর্কে জেনেছিলেন?	ক) টেলিভিশনে রায়ের প্রতিবাদের খবর জেনে = ১ খ) ফেইসবুক ফ্রেন্ডের স্ট্যাটাস দেখে = ২ গ) বন্ধুর কাছ থেকে শুনে = ৩ ঘ) পত্রিকায় খবর পড়ে = ৪ ঙ) অন্যান্য = ৫ লিখুন.....	
৫. শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের প্রকৃতি ও সংগঠনের রূপ			
৫.১	৩.১ শাহবাগে যাওয়ার পূর্বে আপনি কি জানতেন শাহবাগে কোন দাবিতে আন্দোলন হচ্ছিল?	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২	
৫.২	শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের প্রাথমিক দাবি কি ছিল?	ক) কাদের মোল্লার ফাঁসি = ১ খ) ট্রাইবুনালের স্বচ্ছতা = ২ গ) সরকারের কাছে জবাবদিহি চাওয়া = ৩ ঘ) অন্যান্য = ৪ লিখুন.....	

৫.৩	আপনি কি আন্দোলনের দাবিগুলোকে সমর্থন করেন?	ক) ১ = হ্যাঁ খ) ২ = না	
৫.৪	আপনি শাহবাগে কেন গিয়েছিলেন? (একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণযোগ্য)	ক) আন্দোলনের সমর্থনে = ১ খ) ওখানে কি ঘটছে তা দেখতে = ২ গ) বন্ধুদের অনুরোধে = ৩ ঘ) ফেইসবুকে ছবি আপলোড দিতে = ৪ ঙ) আড্ডা দিতে = ৫ চ) অন্যান্য = ৬ লিখুন.....	
৫.৫	আপনার মতে,কোন কোন কারণের প্রেক্ষিতে শাহবাগ আন্দোলনটি শুরু হয়েছিল?	ক) কাদের মোল্লার লঘু শাস্তির রায় = ১ খ) ১৯৭১ সালে ঘটিত মানবতাবিরোধী অপরাধের বিচারের দাবি = ২ গ) ট্রাইবুনালের স্বচ্ছতার দাবী = ৩ গ) জামাত-আওয়ামী আঁতাতের বিরুদ্ধে অবস্থান নেয়া = ৪	
৫.৬	আপনি শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের প্রথম কোন নামটি শুনেছেন?	ক) প্রজন্ম চত্বর = ১ খ) শাহবাগ চত্বর = ২ গ) শাহবাগ স্কয়ার = ৩ ঘ) অন্যান্য = ৪ লিখুন.....	
৫.৭	আপনি কি আন্দোলনের কোন কৌশলগত কর্মসূচিতে অংশগ্রহণ করেছেন?	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২, হ্যাঁ হলে, (না হলে ৫.৯ এ যান)	
৫.৮	কোন ধরনের কর্মসূচি? (একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণযোগ্য)	ক) নিরবতা পালন = ১ খ) মোমবাতি প্রজ্জ্বলন = ২ গ) মহাসমাবেশ = ৩ গ) আকাশে শহীদদের উদ্দেশে চিঠি পাঠানো = ৪ ঘ) ব্ল্যাক আউট = ৫	

৫.৯	আন্দোলনের এই কৌশলগুলো কার্যকর মনে হয়?	এই ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২, হ্যাঁ হলে,	
৫.১০	এই কৌশলগুলো কেন কার্যকর মনে হয়?		

ক্রমিক ন	মতামতের বিষয়	সম্পূর্ণরূপে একমত = ১	আংশিক একমত = ২	একমতও না দ্বিমতও না = ৩	আংশিক দ্বিমত = ৪	সম্পূর্ণরূপে দ্বিমত = ৫
৫.১০.১	আন্দোলনটিতে সাধারণ মানুষের আগ্রহ তৈরি হয়েছে					
৫.১০.২	আরো বেশি মানুষকে শাহবাগে আনতে সক্ষম হয়েছে					
৫.১০.৩	আন্দোলনটি বেশিদিন টিকে থাকতে সাহায্য করেছে					
৫.১০.৪	মিডিয়া কাভারেজ পেতে সাহায্য করেছে					

৫.১১	এসব কৌশল নির্ধারণে আপনার অংশগ্রহণ ছিল কি না?	ক) হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না = ২				কো ড
৫.১২	শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের নেতৃত্ব কার হাতে ছিল বলে আপনি মনে করেন?	জনতার হাতে = ১ খ) ইউএফএ এর হাতে = ২ গ) ছাত্রলীগের হাতে = ৩ ঘ) বাম ছাত্রকর্মীদের হাতে = ৪ ঙ) অন্যান্য = ৫ লিখুন.....				
ক্রম:	৬. শাহবাগ আন্দোলনে জাতীয়তাবাদের স্বরূপঃ	নিচের কোডগুলো থেকে বাছাই করুন				
৬.১	মতামতের বিষয়	সম্পূর্ণরূপে একমত = ১	আংশিক একমত = ২	একমত ও না দ্বিমতও না = ৩	আংশিক দ্বিমত = ৪	সম্পূর্ণরূপে দ্বিমত = ৫
৬.২	আমি মুক্তিযুদ্ধের চেতনায় বিশ্বাস করি					
৬.৩	আমি যুদ্ধাপরাধের					

	বিচারের পক্ষে					
৬.৩	আমি ধর্মনিরপেক্ষতায় বিশ্বাস করি					
৬.৪	আমি নিজেকে বাঙ্গালী মনে করি					
৬.৫	যুদ্ধাপরাধের বিচার দেশের সবচেয়ে জরুরী বিষয়					
৬.৬	যুদ্ধাপরাধের বিচার ছাড়াও গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয় আছে					
৬.৭	আমি ধর্ম পালনের বিপক্ষে					
৬.৮	আমি জনগণের আর্থসামাজিক মুক্তি না হওয়াকে প্রধান সমস্যা বলে মনে করে					
৬.৯	দারিদ্র দেশের প্রধান সমস্যা বলে মনে করি					
৬.১০	দুর্নীতি দেশের প্রধান সমস্যা বলে মনে করি					
৬.১০	তেল, গ্যাস, জ্বালানী সংকট দেশের প্রধান সমস্যা মনে করি					

৭. শাহবাগ আন্দোলনে মিডিয়ায় ভূমিকা বিষয়ে প্রশ্নাবলি:

	শাহবাগ আন্দোলনটির উদ্ভূত হবার ক্ষেত্রে সামাজিক যোগাযোগ মাধ্যমগুলো যেমন ফেইসবুক, ব্লগ, ইত্যাদির ভূমিকা ছিল বলে মনে করেন?	১ হ্যাঁ = ১ খ) না= ২, হ্যাঁ হলে,	
	কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে অবদান রেখেছিল বলে আপনি মনে করেন?		

ক্রমিক নং	মতামতের বিষয়	সম্পূর্ণরূপে একমত = ১	আংশিক একমত = ২	একমতও না দ্বিমতও না = ৩	আংশিক দ্বিমত = ৪	সম্পূর্ণরূপে দ্বিমত = ৫
৭.১	অনলাইনে প্রযুক্তি নির্ভর শহুরে মানুষদের যুদ্ধাপরাধ বিষয়ে বিতর্কের সুযোগ সৃষ্টি করেছিল					
৭.২	যুদ্ধাপরাধ বিষয়ে শহুরে তরুণদের মাঝে সচেতনতা তৈরি করতে সাহায্য করেছিল					
৭.৩	যুদ্ধাপরাধ বিষয়ে অ্যাঙ্কিভিস্টদের অবস্থান জানতে সাহায্য করেছিল					
৭.৪	ব্লগ পোস্ট বা পোস্ট থেকে বিচারের আপডেট পেতে সাহায্য করেছিল					
৭.৫	শাহবাগে আন্দোলন চলাকালে আন্দোলনের খবরাখবর জানার জন্য আপনি কোন মাধ্যমের উপর সবচেয়ে বেশি নির্ভর করতেন? (অনুগ্রহ করে উর্ধ্ব ক্রমানুসারে উত্তর বাছাই করুন)			ক) ১ = ফেইসবুক খ) ২ = স্যাটেলাইট টেলিভিশনের নিউজ গ) ৩ = জাতীয় দৈনিক পত্রিকা		
৭.৬	আপনার মতে, কোন মিডিয়াগুলো শাহবাগ আন্দোলনকে ইতিবাচকভাবে প্রচার করেছে? (একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহণযোগ্য)			ক) দৈনিক প্রথম আলো = ১ খ) দৈনিক সমকাল = ২ গ) দৈনিক আমার দেশ = ৩ ঘ) দৈনিক নয়া দিগন্ত = ৪ ঙ) দৈনিক জনকণ্ঠ = ৫ চ) দৈনিক ইনকিলাব = ৬ ছ) দৈনিক সংগ্রাম = ৭ জ) এএফ = ৮ ঝ) উএফ = ৯ ঞ) ৭১এফ = ১০		

			ট) অঃঘ ইধহমষধ = ১১ ঠ) ঘঞঠ = ১২ ড) দিগন্ত টিভি = ১৩ ঢ) সময় টিভি = ১৪			
৭.৭	আপনার মতে,কোন মিডিয়াগুলো শাহবাগকে নেতিবাচকভাবে প্রচার/উপস্থাপন করেছে? (একাধিক উত্তর গ্রহনযোগ্য)		ক) দৈনিক প্রথম আলো = ১ খ) দৈনিক সমকাল = ২ গ) দৈনিক আমার দেশ = ৩ ঘ) দৈনিক নয়া দিগন্ত = ৪ ঙ) দৈনিক জনকণ্ঠ = ৫ চ) দৈনিক ইনকিলাব = ৬ ছ) দৈনিক সংগ্রাম = ৭ জ) এঞঠ = ৮ ঝ) উঞঠ = ৯ ঞ) ৭১ঞঠ = ১০ ট) অঃঘ ইধহমষধ = ১১ ঠ) ঘঞঠ = ১২ ড) দিগন্ত টিভি = ১৩ ঢ) সময় টিভি = ১৪			
শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের বিষয়ে আপনার ভাবনাঃ						
ক্রমিক নং	প্রশ্ন	সম্পূর্ণরূপে একমত = ১	একমত = ২	একমতও না = ৩	আংশিক দ্বিমত = ৪	সম্পূর্ণরূপে দ্বিমত =
১	৫.১ আমি শাহবাগ আন্দোলনটিকে একটি স্বতঃস্ফূর্ত বলে মনে করি					
২	৫.২ শাহবাগ আন্দোলনটি সরকারের প্রতি অনাস্থা থেকে তৈরি হয়েছে বলে আমি মনে করি					
৩	৫.৩ শাহবাগ আন্দোলনটি তৈরি ক্ষেত্রে সরকার ও ট্রাইবুনালের মধ্যে আঁতাত ছিল					

	বলে মনে করি -						
৪	৫.৪ শাহবাগ আন্দোলনটিকে রাজনৈতিকভাবে ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে বলে আমি মনে করি						

Appendix-2

১. উত্তরদাতা সম্পর্কে সাধারণ তথ্যাবলী:
 - ১.১ উত্তরদাতার নাম:
 - ১.২ উত্তরদাতার বর্তমান পেশা:
 - ১.৩ উত্তরদাতার আগ্রহের বিষয়সমূহ:
২. শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের প্রকৃতি এবং সংগঠন বিষয়ক প্রশ্নাবলী:
 - ২.১.১ আন্দোলনটির পটভূমি
 - ২.১.২ দয়া করে আমাকে বলুন আপনি প্রথম কখন শাহবাগে গিয়েছিলেন? কেন গিয়েছিলেন?
 - প্রথম কিভাবে জানতে পারলেন যে শাহবাগে রায়ের প্রতিবাদে বিক্ষোভ সমাবেশ হবে? (নিজে ফেসবুকে ইভেন্ট খুলেছিল বা পোস্ট দিয়েছিল কিনা, অন্য কারো পোস্ট বা ইভেন্ট থেকে, অন্য কারো ফোন থেকে, অনলাইনে নাকি সাক্ষাতে) কে, কি, কেন, কিভাবে
 - ২.১.৩ এ সম্পর্কে আর কারো ইভেন্ট বা পোস্ট আপনার মনে আছে? (কার কার পোস্ট বা ইভেন্টের কথা মনে আছে? কি ছিল এসব পোস্ট বা ইভেন্টে?)
 - ক) জাতীয় স্বার্থে রুগার এ্যান্ড অনলাইন অ্যাক্টিভিস্ট, খ) ছবির হাট নেটয়ার্ক, গ) বোয়ান সম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত জানান।
 - ২.১.৪ এরপর শাহবাগে এসে কি দেখলেন? সেখানে আর কাকে দেখতে পেলেন?
 - আনুমানিক মোট কতজন উপস্থিত ছিল, সবাইকে চিনত কিনা, পরিচিতদের নাম জেনে নিতে হবে, মানব বন্ধনের সময় কতজন উপস্থিত ছিল
 - মানব বন্ধনের পরে কি ঘটল, চলে না গিয়ে থাকলেন কেন? মানব বন্ধন শেষে কোন মিটিং হয়েছে কিনা, হয়ে থাকলে মিটিং এ কারা কারা ছিল, কোন কোন বিষয়ে আলোচনা হয়েছিল, অবস্থান কর্মসূচির প্রস্তাবনাটি প্রথম কে করেন? দয়া করে গল্পটি বলুন।
 - ২.১.৫ শাহবাগে অবস্থান-প্রতিবাদের সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের পর অন্যদেরকে জানানোর জন্য কী কী পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করেছিলেন?
- ২.২ যেখানে যুদ্ধাপরাধীদের বিচারের জন্য সরকার নিজ থেকে উদ্যোগ নিয়েছিল, তাহলে কোন প্রেক্ষিতে কাদের মোগ্লার এই রায়ের প্রতিবাদে আন্দোলনে নামার চিন্তা করলেন?
 - কী কী বিষয় এ ক্ষেত্রে কাজ করেছে, সমসাময়িক রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতি কেমন ছিল, আওয়ামী লীগ এর সাথে অন্য রাজনৈতিক দলগুলোর সম্পর্ক) কেন, কিভাবে
- ২.২.১ যেহেতু যুদ্ধাপরাধের বিচারের দাবীতে আগে থেকে অনেক সংগঠন কাজ করে আসছে, তো আপনারাই কেন এই আন্দোলনের ডাক দিলেন?
 - আগের সংগঠনগুলো কেমন সক্রিয়? দয়া করে বিস্তারিত বলুন।
৩. শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের সাংগঠনিক স্বরূপ:

৩.১ দয়া করে শাহবাগ আন্দোলনটির নামকরণ সম্পর্কে আমাকে বিস্তারিত জানান।

- প্রথম দিকের নামগুলো যেমন প্রজন্ম চত্বর বা শাহবাগ স্কয়ার থেকে কিভাবে এর নামকরণ ‘গণজাগরণ মঞ্চ’ করা হয়? কবে থেকে এই নামটি ব্যবহার শুরু হয়। অনুগ্রহ করে বিস্তারিত জানান।
- ‘গণজাগরণ মঞ্চ’ এই নামটির প্রস্তাবনা কে করেন? ‘গণজাগরণ মঞ্চ’ নামটি কি সবার সম্মতিতে হয়েছে? অনুগ্রহ করে বিস্তারিত বলুন।

৩.১ আন্দোলনের কর্মসূচি ও অন্যান্য বিষয়ে সিদ্ধান্ত কিভাবে নেয়া হতো?

- সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের জন্য কোন কমিটি বা বডি গঠন করা হয়েছিল কিনা? হলে কোন প্রক্রিয়ায় কমিটি গঠন করা হয়েছিল, কাদেরকে কিভাবে বাছাই করা হয়, কমিটির সদস্য সংখ্যা কতজন ছিল, কত তারিখে কমিটি গঠন করা হয়, দয়া করে বিস্তারিত জানান।
- কমিটি গঠনের পূর্বে কিভাবে সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করা হতো, প্রথম দিকে সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণে কারা যুক্ত ছিলেন, কারা প্রথম দিকে সিদ্ধান্ত নিত তাদের নামগুলো জানা, কমিটিতে এরাই ছিল কিনা
- প্রত্যেকটি কর্মসূচি (মিডিয়ায় সামনে কথা বলা, প্রেস নোট রেডি করা, পরবর্তী কর্মসূচি গ্রহণ, বক্তব্য করা দিতে পারবেন, শ্লোগান করা দিতে পারবেন) ঘোষণার পূর্বে কমিটিতে কি ধরনের আলোচনা বা বিতর্ক হতো? এরকম দুটি ঘটনার কথা যদি বলেন।
- সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের ক্ষেত্রে কমিটির কোন ধরনের সদস্যের কোন ধরনের সভ্যের প্রভাব ছিল? হ্যাঁ হলে, কে বা কাদের প্রভাব ছিল দয়া করে দু-একটি ঘটনার কথা বিস্তারিত জানান।
- আন্দোলনের কর্মসূচি বা অন্যান্য সিদ্ধান্তে সাধারণ মানুষের মতামত নেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা ছিল কি?

৩.২ শাহবাগ আন্দোলনে বিভিন্ন রাজনৈতিক সংগঠনের সংশ্লিষ্ট ব্যাপারে আপনার মতামত কি?

- এ বিষয়ে কোন ধরনের সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয়েছিলেন? দয়া করে বিস্তারিত বলুন।
- রাজনৈতিক দলের সংশ্লিষ্টতার কোন সুবিধার দিক আছে কি? থাকলে কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে দয়া করে বিস্তারিত বলুন। [কিন্তু আমরা এরকম অভিযোগ শুনি]

৪. শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের স্তরসমূহ ও জাতীয়তাবাদের স্বরূপ:

৪.১ শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের স্তরসমূহ সম্পর্কে বলুন-

১) প্রথম স্তর: ৫ ফেব্রুয়ারি থেকে ৭ ফেব্রুয়ারি

- এ সময় আপনি কি শাহবাগে ছিলেন? (কী কী ঘটেছিল, কোন কোন কৌশল ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে, কেন এই কৌশলগুলো ব্যবহার করলেন, ব্যবহৃত কৌশলগুলো কার্যকর ছিল কি না, কিভাবে কার্যকর ছিল)

২) দ্বিতীয় স্তর: ৭ ফেব্রুয়ারি থেকে ১৪ ফেব্রুয়ারি

- এ সময় আপনি কি শাহবাগে ছিলেন? (কী কী ঘটেছিল, কোন কোন কৌশল ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে, কেন এই কৌশলগুলো ব্যবহার করলেন, ব্যবহৃত কৌশলগুলো কার্যকর ছিল কি না, কিভাবে কার্যকর ছিল)

৩) তৃতীয় স্তর: ১৫ থেকে ২১ ফেব্রুয়ারি

- এ সময় আপনি কি শাহবাগে ছিলেন? (কী কী ঘটেছিল, কোন কোন কৌশল ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে, কেন এই কৌশলগুলো ব্যবহার করলেন, ব্যবহৃত কৌশলগুলো কার্যকর ছিল কি না, কিভাবে কার্যকর ছিল)

৪) চতুর্থ স্তর: ২২ ফেব্রুয়ারি থেকে ৫ মে

- এ সময় আপনি কি শাহবাগে ছিলেন? (কী কী ঘটেছিল, কোন কোন কৌশল ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে, কেন এই কৌশলগুলো ব্যবহার করলেন, ব্যবহৃত কৌশলগুলো কার্যকর ছিল কি না, কিভাবে কার্যকর ছিল)

৪.২ আপনারা যখন আন্দোলন শুরু করেন তখন প্রচলিত রাজনৈতিক দলগুলো প্রতি/সরকারের প্রতি/ ওঈএএর প্রতি আপনাদের আস্থার কথা বলুন। (কেন এবং কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে ছিল বা ছিল না, আস্থা না থাকার কারণগুলো ভালোভাবে জানতে হবে)

- মুক্তিযুদ্ধের চেতনা কাজ করেছে কিনা, হ্যাঁ হলে কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে এই চেতনার বহিঃপ্রকাশ ঘটেছে
 - বাঙালী জাতীয়তাবাদ কাজ করেছে কিনা, হ্যাঁ হলে কিভাবে
 - প্রচলিত রাজনৈতিক দলগুলোর প্রতি অনাস্থা ও অবিশ্বাস থেকে কিনা, সরকারের প্রতি অনাস্থা থেকে কিনা, ট্রাইবুনালের উপর অনাস্থা থেকে কিনা

৫. শাহবাগ আন্দোলনে মিডিয়ার ভূমিকা:

৫.১ শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের সাংগঠনিক কর্মকাণ্ডে সামাজিক যোগাযোগ মাধ্যমগুলোর ভূমিকা কেমন ছিল?

৫.১.১ শাহবাগ পূর্ববর্তী সময়ে ব্লগ বা ফেইসবুকের ভূমিকা, যুদ্ধাপরাধ বিষয়ে শহুরে তরুণদের সচেতন করার ক্ষেত্রে ব্লগের কোন ধরনের ভূমিকা ছিল? দয়া করে বিস্তারিত জানান।

৫.১.২ আন্দোলন চলার সময়ে ফেইসবুক বা ব্লগের ভূমিকা

- জাতীয় পর্যায়ে সমর্থকদের/আন্তর্জাতিক ব্লগারদের কি ধরনের সাড়া পেয়েছিলেন? দয়া করে বিস্তারিত জানান

৫.২ শাহবাগ আন্দোলনের প্রেক্ষিতে প্রিন্ট বা ভিজুয়াল মিডিয়ার ভূমিকা কেমন ছিল?

- প্রিন্ট মিডিয়ার অবদান কেমন ছিল, ভিজুয়াল মিডিয়ার অবদান কেমন ছিল? (পক্ষে বা বিপক্ষে কারা ছিল দুটি ঘটনা দিয়ে উদাহরণ দিন) কেন, কিভাবে

Appendix-3

Pictography of Shahabag movement. (Source: CNN, BBC, Al-Jazeera-2013)













Pictography of Shahabag movement. (Source: CNN,BBC,Al-Jazeera-2013)