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Students' Radicalization: A study on private universities of Bangladesh.

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Abstract

Private universities in Bangladesh are composed with students from all portion of society. Students from rural areas as well as from city areas. But one unique feature that private universities contains that it offers its students job oriented degree and in doing so they create a situation where students found themselves at a crossroad between westernized lifestyle and traditional culture of the country. However, neither the problem of radicalization nor student radicalization is new in Bangladesh, the thing which is new is the students from westernized and job oriented education institutions are engaging with violent acts. This new phenomenon has challenged the traditional understanding that students from Madrasas (religious seminaries) for radicalization and terrorist acts. The characteristics of radicalization is not much different than other part of the world, in the sense that it has multiple causes that drives an individual towards radicalization. But the radicalization of students does differ in the context. Therefore, on the first stage we tried to look at the structural causes where students find themselves everyday. On this part, this paper has looked on the political causes, causes that can arise from institution where they belong and tried to find out how they see their future given the present political structure. Followed by the anti social causes how they perceive their economical situation and assessing their level of radical view, where this paper has asked questioned which is typically hold by extremist organization and individuals. The quantitative survey suggests that there is a complex mixture of political grievances strengthened not by socio-economic factors but by intolerance for different view. On the second stage this paper conducted qualitative survey to unearth the source of intolerance and why and how students get radicalized. The data finding showed that the students follows a pattern of bottom up approach which is fueled by political violence and intolerance in the national level coupled with source of grievances form outside the country and in the global situation. Modernization lead the families towards a crossroad between modernization and traditional structure, but most importantly the radicalization process is altogether fueled by rapid development in the interpersonal communication sector.

Key words: Radicalization, Terrorism, Bangladesh, Private university, Students, Tolerance, Social media.

List of Abbreviations

ABT-Ansarullah Bangla Team
AL- Awami League
AQIS-Al Qaeda in Indian Subcontinent
BEI-Bangladesh Enterprise Institute
BNP-Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CTTC-Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime
DMP-Dhaka Metropolitan Police
FGI-Focus Group Interview
ISIS-Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
JeI-Jamaat e Islami
JMB-Jamaatul Mujahideen Bangladesh
LGBT-Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender
NSU-North South University
RMG-Ready Made Garments
SLT-Social Learning Theory
SMT-Social Mobilizing Theory
UGC-University Grant Commission

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1.Introduction

On 31st of December according to Iyengar (2016) one Bangladeshi court has produced the verdict on five university going students accused of killing a secularist blogger in 2013. Blogger Rajib Haider has been hacked in front of his home in capital Dhaka. Conservative Muslim group Ansarullah Bangla Team (ABT) has accused Haider of his criticism of radical Islam. Haider was also an organizer of a popular uprising, which called Gonojagoron Moncho (Popular Uprising stage) or “shahbagh protest” and his “writings galvanized the so-called “shahbagh protests” which were held against Islamist groups involved in the country’s 1971 war of independence”(Ramachandran 2015). The similar fashion killing continued, according to Parkinson (2015b) in 2015 Bangladesh has experienced a series of four blogger killings together with a publisher who published the writings of the accused atheist blogger. Here are two concerning factors *first* there is a growing intolerance in the society between religious fanatics and free thinkers, as mentioned by Wolf (2015), that ABT focuses on silencing or eradicating any critics of extremist religious doctrines. *Second* radical organizations are targeting the youth part of the society who are familiar with the English language and social media as mentioned by Wolf (2015) , and more alarmingly according to Riaz and Rahman (2016) students from university level as in the case of Rajib Haider Killing falling into their trap. Considering the present situation of the Islamic radicalization of the world and the use of religion for justifying atrocities against civilian, this is a problem that is going to strike at the religious tolerance and moderate Muslim identity of the Bangladeshi society.

Moreover, a significant part of the development of Daesh (the Arabic acronym for ISIS or IS) is, it equipped young people to radicalize themselves through easy use of Internet. The internet is full of appealing videos and lectures luring youths to take part in “*Holy jihad*” both against a near and far enemy. Virtual contacts via social media made it much easier and more affective. Facebook, YouTube became the easiest way to spread the jihadi preaching. Using social media for spreading jihadi ideology is serving many means at a time. It is not only time saving but also keeps the preacher save from the law enforcing agencies. Social media enables radical organizations to reach a vast number of audience, with the minimum expenditure of resources. Propaganda videos and extremist ideology are exclusively targeting Muslim youths around the

world. It enables extremist groups to encourage youths from relatively quite and secular society like Bangladesh to open a new front of their franchises.

Radicalization and involvement in terrorist activities by students from private universities is a new phenomenon for Bangladesh. Traditionally it has been seen that youths from economically deprived families or students from Madrasa (religious seminaries) are more exposed to radicalization, but in the case of perpetrators of Rajib killing, all are from private universities. As (Riaz 2016) has pointed out in his article, where he was looking into the individuals who were arrested between July 2014 to June 2015 only nine are from student background excluding madrassa students. This statistic shows that it is wrong to generalize on the issue of radicalization regarding madrassa students.

In a perception survey by BEI (Bangladesh Enterprise Institute) BEI (2015) observed that the 56 percent youth led the chart as the most vulnerable section of the society to the appeal of radical organization. According to Bruzy (2015) As Farhad Khosrokhbar a French sociologist says in an interview with CNRS News, indicates that there is two groups exposed to radical ideologies *first* cluster consists of disenfranchised alienated youth who see no future in the predominant working class family, middle-class families comprise the *second* group for Khosrokhbar, they live in relatively decent neighborhood but they dream about helping and defending their brothers in religion and motivated by naive romanticism. This line of consideration is more accurate to look behind the radicalization of students in Bangladesh. It is a serious issue which is less addressed in the academic arena. But this is not a problem that remains unaddressed only in Bangladesh, but also in the broader world perspective. As Schmid (2013) was coating Giles Kepel that, despite being universities are more prawn to radicalization than Madrassas yet there is no major comparative research have been done on the radicalization at universities.

Bangladesh is relatively peaceful and tolerant democratic country with a majority 90 percent Muslim society. It has been secular in its nature, with polarization in the political culture. Traditionally divided into two camps, Awami League (AL) currently ruling the country for the consecutive second term from 2014 within a grand alliance of 14 parties. The opposition is lead by Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) together with third largest and Islamist party Jamaat-e-Islami (JeI). Polarization and disagreement between major coalitions have created political tensions that often resulted in violence on the street. The flawed election in 2014, which

opposition boycotted, fearing fraud by ruling AL government, gave AL majority in the parliament. This political crisis has been doubled with the ongoing war crime trial which is explicitly targeting JeI leaders. This war crime tribunal has generated many controversies both in and outside of the country. A leaked state department message in WikiLeaks described “there is little doubt that hard-line elements within the ruling party [AL] believe that the time is right to crush Jamaat and other Islamic parties”(Allchin 2012). Opposition took the street to oppose government’s repression and creating a chaotic situation.

It would not be wrong to say that the Muslim identity and the political violence creates a perfect ground for extremist ideas to thrive. This idea seems to be supported by the upsurge of radical activities in Bangladesh in 2015, when political violence was on high as well. In an audio message in September 2014 current leader of Al-Qaeda Ayman al-Zawahiri said "al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent" would be good news for Muslims in Myanmar (Burma), Bangladesh and in the Indian states of Assam, Gujarat and Jammu and Kashmir, where they would be rescued from injustice and oppression.”(BBC 2014). Inspired with this message youth in Bangladesh started to act on it. “The polarized political climate and institutionalized repression of Islamic parties appear to enhance radicalization dynamics” (Macdonald 2016). The role of political circumstances does not fall a short for the responsibility of the religious extremism in the country.

1.1 Background information of terrorist attacks in recent past:

Despite being a moderate Muslim majority country in the latest past Bangladesh has experienced a series of terrorist acts starting by the killing of Rajib Haider in 2013 by ABT an al Qaeda-affiliated group. But for Bangladesh, this is not an entirely new experience. As mentioned by Bashir (2013) the first wave of jihadist was dominated by Harkat ul Jihad al Islami Bangladesh (HuJI B) and Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) from 1999-2005, who participated in the Afghan resistance in the 80's. But the new wave of terrorism that began by the killing of Rajib Haider came with a new set of challenges for the security apparatus for the nature of the movement which recognizes itself as a part of the global jihadist movement and their use of cyberspace for radicalizing the youths. Moreover, the challenge has coupled with volatile characteristics of country's politics and the emergence of Daesh in Iraq and Syria in the summer of 2014 and

The emergence of Daesh has made a standoff between two overarching authority in the global Jihad, namely al Qaeda and Daesh for gaining influence in the moderate country in Bangladesh as well as in other nations. The first major attack that claimed by Daesh in Bangladesh is killing of Aid worker of Italian nationality. According to Manik and Barstow (2015), Daesh claimed responsibility for the shooting down Cesare Tavella in Dhaka. According to SITE (2016) since then Daesh had claimed 15 attacks in the country in 7 months and al Qaeda in Indian Subcontinent (AQIS) together with its local affiliates ABT claimed 13 attacks since 2013. Their confrontation in the Bangladeshi stage has evolved in a violent way as predicted by SITE director Rita Katz "(a)s soon as the Islamic State began carrying out attacks in Bangladesh, we predicted would increase while the group and AQIS competed."(SITE 2016). "Since 2013, extremists have killed over 30 individuals"(Ganguly & Riaz 2016). This is a result of confrontation within the two groups affiliated by local groups. According to Ap (2016) groups that have emerged from Bangladesh is working under a different international brand, ABT is inspired by al Qaeda and JMB by Daesh.

There is one thing apparent in this process that this confrontation has resulted in more terrorism in Bangladesh. "What is clear, ... is that this assault follows a steadily rising tide of terrorist attacks in Bangladesh in recent years."(Stark 2016). Looking into the following table would allow us to have a grasp of the consistence rise of the terrorism in the country.

Table.1. Number of terrorist acts in recent past.

Year	No. of incidents	Fatalities	Injured
2013	2	7	0
2014	5	5	5
2015	25	20	135

Source:(START 2016)

The table shows how the number of events has risen persistently over the course of the time period. ABT perpetrated these attacks under the parent organization AQIS and JMB under the parent organization Daesh. It shows that 2015 as the bloodiest year both in the number of incidents and also in the number of casualties, this is when Daesh has surfaced in the context of Bangladesh.

As we moved into 2016, the blood thrust of these groups continued to be growing. In the year 2016 both these groups have claimed responsibility for killing of secular blogger, university teacher, the religious minority leader, LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) activists and foreign nationals. The serial of their claims and acts make further strong the existing rivalry over gaining support and recruit from Bangladesh. According to Barry and Sattar (2016) on 6th of April 2016, AQIS has killed Nazimuddin Samad, a secularist blogger in Dhaka for his criticism of Islam. Soon after according to Bearup (2016) Daesh has claimed to slaughter a secular teacher Rezaul Karim Siddique from Rajshahi University in the northern city called Rajshahi on 23rd of April. According to Hammadi and Gani (2016) on 26th April AQIS replied by killing an LGBT activist Xulhaz Mannan together with one of his companion in the country's capital Dhaka. But the cherry on the cake belongs to Daesh, according to (Manik et al. 2016) as they claimed the attack of 1st of July at a café in Dhaka, resulting in place themselves in position that they can attract larger number of recruit and showed their capability to conduct attack in such scale.

According to Manik et al. (2016) the horrendous killing of 20 innocent unarmed people in a café in a secured diplomatic area in the capital city of Dhaka, which includes 17 westerners on 1st of July. Resulting in the killing of total 28 individuals including six attackers and two police

officers. This attack on innocent civilian population gives a range of challenges to the authority starting from the capability of the security agencies, because according to Kumara (2016) for a couple of weeks earlier they have conducted a mass anti-terror combing operation as resulting in arresting around 13,000 individuals mostly petty criminals and opposition activists. As well as it put a question mark on government's political will to address the issue, but what is more concerning is the social challenge that this phenomenon bears. Perpetrators of this attack are by born Bangladeshi, and again they are in their late teen and from well off families of the society. One of the executors is from the same private university, where the killers of Rajib Haider belonged. Rest of the personals belongs to other private universities and educational institutions.

This event has challenged the traditional understanding that Madrasa (Islamic seminaries) students are prone to radicalization not in the modern educational institutions. The immediate question that has aroused and has been widely asked is, why students from well-educated and from well-offed families are choosing the path of violence and intolerance? A Question which is without a clear and definite answer. Myriad of reasons can drive an individual towards terrorism, and whirlpool of circumstances are behind for making such fetal decisions. In the radicalization process, there are multiple pushes and pull.

1.2 Research objective and questions:

Massive development in the interpersonal communication and growing pattern of terrorism in the world stage makes moderate Muslim population country like Bangladesh vulnerable to the risk of terrorism. In this trend of terrorism, the most vulnerable section of the population is youth. *First* because youths' eagerness for adventure. *Second* rapid digitalization in the communication sectors, which enables young population to discover them in the global stage and also come in contact with jihadi propaganda. *Third* is international terrorist organizations explicitly targeting youth and educated part of society, because "well educated, middle –or upper-class individuals are better suited to carry out acts of international terrorism."(Krueger & Malečková 2003). *Fourth* the demographic composition of the country, where nearly one-third of the country's population is between 10-24, but the creation of job is not sufficient. *Fifth*, the political circumstances in the country and government's attitude to suppress the opposition, while terrorist organization gets the chance to get away by committing atrocities. So students in the country do faces the risk of getting radicalized, and particularly students from private university. Because of the environment they find themselves in, where they have been considered as they are studying here because they did not manage to get chances in the government universities. Also the find themselves in the middle of two culture, where private universities are considered as more westernized and individual students may have come from a traditional family background.

This research has looked at the possible causes that have been defined by academics for youths' radicalization in other parts of the world and tried to look at are they replicable in the context of Bangladesh. Because there is no universal cause for radicalization, and "none of the major theorists on radicalisation suggest there is a universal model with predictive certainty".(Francis 2012). So this research went out to look at how students perceive their surroundings about the institution where they belong, their economic condition, their perception about the government, their political condition, and ideological stand through questions which is carefully chosen. So the central research question for this research is

- What are the causes that drive students from private universities towards radicalization?

The importance of finding the answer may not felt so important now, than ever before, particularly after chilling seizure of café in Dhaka, which followed a series of killing in the earlier part of the year and the previous year. It is also important to unearth the root causes for student

radicalization concerning the rivalry among international terrorist groups to get more recruits from Bangladesh. Bangladesh needs to know the causes because of its dependency on foreign investment because these perpetrators are targeting foreign nationals, which eventually dry up the foreign investment. The answer for this phenomenon is of particular importance because of the strategic situation of the country. International terrorist groups are trying to Make Bangladesh a hub for their “*jihad*” for the Muslims in the Hindu majority India and in the Rakhine state in Myanmar.

Another concerning fact of this recent phenomenon is that government does not want to accept the presence of any international terrorist groups. This line of perception serves government’s interest and it opens the way to turn government’s effort to crush on opposition parties rather than finding the root causes of radicalization and defeating violent extremist groups. At this stage the question is

- How far political circumstances of the country is responsible for student radicalization?

The findings of this study will allow to understand the dynamics of student radicalization in Bangladesh. Understanding the root causes are critical to develop a counter radicalization effort, which effectively fight the causes. A long term solution need a broader and deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Findings could help us to develop more comprehensive research in future, which will accumulate data on a bigger scale from a bigger population.

2. Theoretical perspective:

All the major models that describe radicalization have similarity at describing radicalization as a process towards the terrorist act. Other than that models vary on the time period and possible causes of why a law-abiding citizen descent into terrorism through the process of radicalization. “Most research points in the direction that there is no single cause but a complex mix of internal and external pull and push factors, triggers and drivers that can lead to radicalisation of individuals and even turn large collective groups into radical milieus and violent extremists” Schmid (2013). What kind of theories could best describe the motivations and push and pull factors that attract or pushes individual to terrorist organizations and drives them away from tolerance and humanity?

“Early research in the 1970’s and 1980’s searched for a terrorist personality. This entailed the search for a deviant personality characteristics within some individuals using psychoanalytic theories.”(Gill 2007). According to Crossett and Spitaletta (2010) described violent extremism as it is predisposed within the individual, they named this theory as *antisocial theory*; which states that violent radicals are mentally or biologically ill. As Galtung (1964) described this individuals biological matter as a aggressive nature, which is triggered because of entities discovery of himself in a disequilibrium in various social, economical and political dimension. “The connection between human frustration and political violence was recognized in ancient times and it is essential in Aristotle’s classical theory of revolution”(Brynjar & Skjølberg 2000). The reason behind individual’s frustration could be a series of things, but one in particular came once and again in the study of terrorism and theorizing terrorism is *relative deprivation theory*. According to Crossett and Spitaletta (2010) *relative deprivation theory* is one of the most use notion when studying violence in the developing world. If we consider the involvement of private university student in extremist activities from Bangladesh, we can see how students are felt they are deprived and lately engaged with violent extremism. Private universities are bringing together students from all walks of society. Some of them are from economically sound family but lots of them are from families who can merely provide the high tuition fees at the private universities. These students find themselves relatively deprived when they saw their classmates are having sound support from family and they don’t. “Relative deprivation theory is based on an individual believing that he/she is deprived of something when comparing him/herself to others

economically, politically or socially.”(Nasser-Eddine et al. 2011). *Relative deprivation theory* could be seen as a push factor for individual to pursue extremist ideas, but looking into the push factors on individual level would left our understanding incomplete. We need to look beyond individual level to the bigger picture of socio economy.

As Brynjar and Skjølberg (2000) has described that the phenomena of terrorism, although initially is a matter of individual motivation it needs to be studied in the social context where it occurs. “(T)he campaigns of political terrorists in democratic societies almost invariably emerge out of larger conflict”(Gurr 1990). This particular phenomenon is not more appropriate in any other time than now because the increased intolerance when extremist had targeted bloggers in the country at the time when Daesh is rampaging in Iraq and Syria. War in Iraq “as one of the major reasons why young French radicals, in particular a number of boys from the Riquet district of Paris, had joined the Iraqi jihad.”(Glees & Pope 2005). This line of analysis has been termed as *the contagion theory and the spread of terrorism*. “The thesis of contagion is used to explain why the occurrence of terrorism in one country often leads directly or indirectly to more terrorism, whether by the same organisation, or by “second- generation” groups or imitators in other countries” (Brynjar & Skjølberg 2000). We can see this phenomenon in the broader aspect of modernization of communication , that made it easy for individual to come into contact with such ideas faster then before.

“In the modernization literature one finds an extensive field of theory relating political violence to the change brought about by the process of modernization and globalization”(Brynjar & Skjølberg 2007). As aptly described by Jerold M Post in *The socio-cultural underpinnings of terrorist psychology* that the modern era of terrorism started in 1972 through Palestinian terrorist group seizure of Olympic village in Munich. “This event captured an immense international television audience and demonstrated powerfully the amplifying effect of the electronic media in the Information Age.”(Post 2005). According to Brynjar and Skjølberg (2000) as argued by Paul Wilkinson, terrorism in the latter part of the last century was partly related to the technological development. Here writer was describing development as global telecasting of terrorist acts. The development of Daesh in the summer of 2014 and subsequent spread of its violence has proved that technology took a central stage in spreading terrorism. Social media is serving as an important vehicle for spreading hate. This phenomenon is very much identical to the kind of

development that we have seen in the case of ABT in Bangladesh and they are using social media as a platform for spreading hate and claiming responsibility the atrocities that they have committed.

The above mention claim is clearer if we apply the *Social Learning Theory* (SLT) coined by Albert Bandura. The SLT states that individual can learn violence by just observing without any direct contact with the violence. According to Bandura (2003) If some one receives reward for their behavior, there is a likelihood that that behavior will be imitated. If we look into the killing of four atheist bloggers in 2015, we can see an imitation of extremism, which is identical with the Daesh and Al-Qaeda. The reward, in this case was getting attention for the cause through media and also getting attention to the group. Executors are not using any automatic weapon but savaging the victim by using “machete”, imitating the way of execution performed by Daesh in the killing of Western internationals. From the ideological point of view, they are showing intolerance.

Social Learning theory also addresses the ideological part of terrorism; terrorist organizations typically anchor their views in an ideological perspective. According to Crossett and Spitaletta (2010) individual descent into a ideological fight triggered when the group they belong becomes involved in violent conflict where enemy is portrayed as evil and individuals within the group places the desire of loyalty and belongingness to the group before everything, thus lead individual to act violently in order to protect group’s ideology. Ideology is of particular importance “(i)n the case of terrorists who profess Islam, and where the terrorism is justified as a religious act”(Locicero & Sinclair 2008). Here it seems that ideology works as a phenomenon that is active after individuals` has joined the extremist groups. But ideology could work as a pull factor as described by Schmid (2013) ideology among other pull factors when describing the state of young men joining al-shabab. “Commonly held conception of an after life play a significant role not only in the employment of violence, but also in the suicide and martyrdom”(Institute 2008). There could be fair amount of critics about making ideology as a reason for radicalization specially looking into the fact that those are joining Daesh from Europe or those are perpetrating terrorist attacks in European cities. British intelligence MI5 report that leaked to Guardian described those who involved in terrorism as “(m)any lack religious literacy and could actually be regarded as religious novices.”(Travis 2008b). Despite that “(i)n conceptual approaches

towards the study of terrorism and analysis of violent radicalisation, the centrality of beliefs, ideologies and narratives is prominent”(Institute 2008)

The viability of ideology appears to be important, when we implement the *rational choice theory*, on the study of how individuals engage themselves in militant acts. The *rational choice theory* at its core describes how individual looks into the pros and cons of an action. By shading *rational choice theory* on terrorism, we understand individuals who joins radical groups as a rational actor, who takes decision by analyzing the cost and benefit. The cost could be range of things like as described by Rahimullah et al. (2014) time that are given for the cause of the group, monetary contribution, dispute with the family over participation in radical groups and possible risk of arrest or fine by security apparatus. “(I)ndividuals believe that the spiritual payoffs outweigh the negative consequences of strategies in the here and now, high cost/risk activism is intelligible as a rational choice”(Wiktorowicz & Kaltenthaler 2006). The perceived benefit could be also range of things starting from greater good of *Muslim Ummah* to the establishment of *Khilafah* and nonetheless entrance to the paradise. Here remains the question about why individual will take risk, where they can act as a *free rider* within a group. This has been aptly addressed by Wiktorowicz and Kaltenthaler in their study on British radical group Al –Muhajirun. According to Wiktorowicz and Kaltenthaler (2006) Individuals will be judged as a single entity on the judgement day, so those who takes high risks are about to get salvation because this is prerequisite for having spiritual payoff and *free riders* are about to jeopardize salvation.

Addressing terrorism from ideological point of view through *rational choice theory* is one part of the picture. “The objectives of terrorism per the rational choice paradigm are to acquire political influence , gain a reaction or recognition or attention for a cause”(Keys-Turner 2011). According to Crenshaw (1981), terrorists are more likely to tolerate high risk because of their intensity towards the cause. The risk could be so high that they lay their life for the cause. By laying down their lives, they are maximizing their benefit in two-way. *First*, they are abling to get the attention of the media and greater audience to their cause. *Second* “terrorists’ willingness to accept high risks may also be related to the belief that one’s death will be avenged”(Crenshaw 1981). This line of analysis leads us to look at the group dynamics on the study of terrorism.

“A rational individual can join a collective action even if his or her own net personal welfare is negative, as long as the perceived benefit to the group is large enough to compensate for these

loses”(Gupta 2005). Group dynamics is an essential element for the process of radicalization as we see Fatehali M Moghaddam’s staircase model. According to Moghaddam (2005), small group activities leads to the legitimization of violence and it also strengthens us versus them view.

Moghaddam’s *staircase model* has placed itself as an outstanding illustration of how individual’s process of radicalization into violent extremism. “Moghaddam argues that feelings of discontent and perceived adversity... form the foundation and fuel for stepping initially onto the path to terrorism”(Borum 2011b).In this process individual faces a narrow pathway and in each steps they faces fewer options than terrorism. Fewer and fewer people manages to climb to the next stage thus results in small number of individuals end up as a terrorist. *Staircase model* could be understood as a bottom-up approach, where individuals takes initiatives when facing micro level psychological challenges like perceived deprivation or injustice at the ground level.

In this model ground level represents total population. A small number of those who faces micro level psychological challenges climbs to first floor, willing to make difference for the people on the ground level, here they face challenges of remaining unheard by the decision making procedure and experiences lack of participation, which drives them to the second floor. Here they are about to displace their aggression towards an outgroup. Individual’s both moral disengagement and engagement happens on third floor. According to Moghaddam (2005) individuals are persuaded to become morally committed to the cause of the terrorist organization through isolation, affiliation, secrecy and fear. Individuals who reaches to the fourth floor are introduced to the categorical thinking. They are given the sense of “us versus them”. But most importantly at this stage individual are kept under pressure from inside to obey the way of violence and from outside as form of government’s oppression. On the fifth and final floor terrorist organization demonizes everyone outside tightly knit group and thus individual sidestepping “inhibitory mechanisms” and performs the terrorist act.

According to Moghaddam (2005) this metaphor is intended to provide a general framework within which current psychological knowledge is organized and not intended to test the model against alternatives. But this did not manage to keep academics from checking the metaphor from a critical view. The most vocal one maybe from Ragnhild B Lygre and associates as cited by Koomen and Van Der Pligt (2015) where above mention writers was reviewing 38 articles and concluded that “(t)heir findings did *not* provide strong support for the linear stepwise model

suggested by Moghaddam (2005) and suggest that there are different routes leading to terrorism”(Koomen & Van Der Pligt 2015)p.216.

Social Mobilizing Theory (SMT) is set to look into these phenomena beyond the individual and group dynamics lenses. “SMT offers a way of conceiving violent radicalization with an explicit focus on the broader dynamics and processes of political mobilization.”(Dalgaard-Nielsen 2008). “The premise is that any social movement is a self-conscious group that coordinates its activities to challenge the prevailing social order.”(Crossett & Spitaletta 2010). A Number of approaches exists within SMT and a significant one is the *Strain Theory*. *Strain Theory* proposes that the incapability of existing society to incorporate individual creates strain over individual and “(j)oining a social movement provides an outlet and alleviates the experienced psychological strain.”(Dalgaard-Nielsen 2008). Quintan Wiktorowicz in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* proposed this line of thinking. Wiktorowicz was studying how educated individuals’ descended into extremist groups in the North African major cities. This scenario fits aptly with the reality of students who comes from urban or rural parts of the Bangladesh to study in private universities in the capital city. Because private universities did not offer accommodation for students and if so it is very costly, students prefer to live in a cheap place. They also have to cope up with the cultural environment of a big city. As Wiktorowicz mentioned about North African educated population in big cities “they suffered a sense of social alienation and anomie that rendered them vulnerable to the Islamist message of tradition”(Wiktorowicz 2004)p 64.

How individuals/students come into the grasp of radical ideas and organizations could be range of issues, and to understand the way, we may have to look through different lenses since radicalization does not happens for any single reason. Since according to Neumann et al. (2007) universities are hotbed for radical ideas and are places where individuals are prone to experience feelings of isolation and vulnerability, search for a belonging is intense. This quest of belongings pushes students towards radical groups. As Neumann and Rogers showed according to Dalgaard-Nielsen (2010) groups provides individuals a sense of belonging and community and gave them the feeling of superiority and mission. “Radicalization is a social process ... by which individual is gradually convinced that the perceived injustices require the individual to engage personally and that violence is religiously sanctioned”(Dalgaard-Nielsen 2010).This gradual development is

a result of individual's shaping of the world, which is addressed by the sub branch of *social movement theory* called *framing theory*. According to Snow et al. (1986) frame alignment is a linkage between individual's interest, values and beliefs and social movement organizations activities, goals and ideology. "Framing analysis focuses on the social production and dissemination of meaning and on how individuals come to conceptualize themselves as a collective entity"(Crossett & Spitaletta 2010). Framing of message in order to attract students from private universities in Bangladesh is necessary, because of the forced vacuum of politics. As private universities in Bangladesh does not allows students to align with any political party. Extremist groups like Hizb ut Tahrir sees an opportunity to manipulate this situation by socializing with the students. According to Sadique (2013) this socialization allows group's member to access the diverse demography of the students in private universities. Their choice of topic is particularly targeting younger generation and which are attracting to the students like existence of God, cloning or atheism. Leaflets of Hizb ut Tahrir does worth mentioning which is colorful and written in English in order to attract private university students.

One of the essential part of Hizb ut Tahrir's success in private universities is it's capability to build network of relationship with the students as described by Sadique (2013). Network is an essential element of understanding individual's pathway towards radicalism. It is Mark Sageman who "draws on social network theory to identify and describe the strength of an informal and horizontal global network of militant Islamist, connected ... by a common ideology and by the internet"(Dalgaard-Nielsen 2010). "The process of joining the jihad ... is more of a bottom up than top down activity, with individual actively seeking out opportunities to be recruited rather than being 'brainwashed' or manipulated in to join up"(Neumann et al. 2007). According to Goodwin and Jasper (2014) A number of studies showed that preexisting network is crucial for individual's revolutionary participation, interest alone cannot move people. In order to successfully recruited into a terrorist organizations *Network theory* put forward the roles of friendship and kinship. Marc Sageman has denied any role of terrorist personality in the process of radicalization, along with sense of poverty as a cause. According to Fink (2014) respected psychologist, psychiatrist or terrorist researcher did not manage to came up with identity abnormalities or predispositions within terrorist. Sageman "reports having data to show that nearly 90% "join the jihad" through friendship and kinship"(Borum 2011a). He was studying individual affiliated with al Qaeda and terrorist trials around western countries.

According to Neumann et al. (2007) their examples does revealed the opposite, it showed that activist keen to sought out links to jihad when radicalizations has already taken place. But they did not discard the significance of preexisting friendship and kinship. Sageman`s claim got further recognition into Donatella Della porta`s work when she was studying Italian militants. According to Della Porta (2006) among the 1214 cases 843 peoples who joined underground group has a friend already member in the group.

Understanding radicalization process would be incomplete if we don`t look at the political regime of a country where it occurs. There is a complicated relationship between radicalization and political regime as asserted by Brynjar and Skjølberg (2000) under *political regime theory*. “(C)ondition that creates motivations for terrorism is the lack of opportunity for political participation” (Crenshaw 1981).*First* in Bangladesh the political involvement is denied for private university students. Given the fact that, the country has a long and glorious history of student participation in major political gains in the nation`s history. Starting from 1952`s language movement to the liberation war in 1971 and stretched to the 1989`s struggle for democracy. The country has also got influential leaders through student politics. On the other hand, student politics caused significant disruption in the continuity of the universities academic works, which is a leading cause private university denying students` affiliation with major political party. But students from public universities are allowed to take part in political parties. So there is a double standard. So students from private universities feels themselves left behind of the political system and by participating in a radical group like Hizb ut Tahrir or ABT they try to get a feelings of belonging. *Second* political participation in major political party does not always assure that one could descent into the leading post of the party. It is not primarily because of fierce rivalry with other party members but because the “(l)eaders of the parties are selected rather than elected, dissent within the parties is next to non existent and grassroots members are not allowed to offer input, which is vital for maintaining a vibrant democratic society”(Zaman 2012). This lack of voice may work as a booster for individual`s descent into radicalization, which in turn questions the legitimacy of the government.

Political Regime Theory also acknowledges according to Brynjar and Skjølberg (2000) under the headline of *state legitimacy and terrorism* the centrality of citizens support for the rule and relationship of modern state and civil conflict. “The theory foresees in short that lack of such

support eventually might result in domestic conflict and civil violence”(Brynjar & Skjølberg 2000). If we look into the events of religious intolerance and killing of atheist bloggers by religious extremist groups, it took place in 2015, the year when ruling government has failed to bring the major oppositions to the negotiating table on the controversial election in 2014 and continued its repressive policies on opposing political parties. In 2015 according to ASK (2016) Bangladesh experienced 66 days of blockade and hartal (Strike) imposed by opposition parties which resulted in death of 78 individuals. In 2015 “Muslim-majority Bangladesh, until 1971 East Pakistan, has seen a rise in Islamist violence in recent months, with two foreigners and four secular writers and a publisher killed this year.”(Quader 2015). Government’s actions have helped to polarize the population within the line of religion. Acceptance of government as a legitimate one is under question not only because of its flawed election procedure in 2014 but also for policies, Islamist parties managed to portray government to the population as non Islamic. “The conditions for the emergence of terrorism are most favourable in countries where the public is fragmented into several opposing groups, polarised on a dimension ranging from acceptance to rejection of the state.”(Brynjar & Skjølberg 2000)

3. Methodology:

From our understanding of radicalization into violent extremism by looking into the theoretical perspective, it is quite clear that there is no single reality or circumstances where individual can get radicalized. “(t)here can be wide ranging social, political, economic and even religious grievances in the society”(Gupta 2005). There is multiple pushes and pull factors that facilitate individual’s pathway towards radicalization and violent extremism. So to understand the dynamics of radicalization and how vulnerable students are for radicalization into violent extremism, this paper will conduct a mixed method approach. Because the reality is constructed, there is a different reality in different context and peoples understanding always transforms. Given the diversity of the fact of terrorism and radicalization, we can shape our understanding from a different perspective, shifting from the traditional view about individuals to looking into the bigger pictures about the driving forces behind radicalization and terrorism and thus pointing the circumstances where terrorism flourishes. Human nature is by born transformative, and they can re-form their understanding and gather knowledge by challenging the existing knowledge. This transformative framework could help to capitulate a clearer picture.

Mixed method best positioned itself to address this problem because it manages to distance itself from the either positivist or constructivist debate. “A core assumption of this approach is that when a investigator combines statistical trends (quantitative data) with stories and personal experiences (qualitative data), this collective strength provides a better understanding of the research than either form of data alone.”(Creswell 2014)p.2. Among the most commonly adopted worldviews post-positivism, constructivism, Pragmatism and transformative, “transformative and pragmatism worldviews are seen to be compatible with mixed methods research”(Hall 2012). According to Hall (2012), it is this pragmatism that gained support for mix method researcher.

The problem of student radicalization is real and our knowledge gap about, how individual comes within the grasp of radical groups and particularly those who are educated and suppose to have a better living condition and understanding of the world. We need to search for a practical knowledge that one arises from practice. “Pragmatism in social sciences, and particularly International Relations, remains committed to ‘solving’ problems in the real world through generating useful knowledge”(Iaydjiev 2012). “Pragmatism, when regarded as an alternative

paradigm, sidesteps the contentious issues of truth and reality, accepts, philosophically, that there are singular and multiple realities that are open to empirical inquiry and orients itself toward solving practical problems in the “real world” (Feilzer 2010)

Since radicalization is depended on various issues and particular circumstances comes with specific dimension for the process. Because of the secretive nature of the radical groups and individual persons that joined those, the best information can achieve by looking into the particular settings where they have radicalized. “The risk of radicalization and involvement in violent extremism is ultimately a structural challenge and its main cause should be sought in the bigger picture of macro–level economics, politics and international relation” (Özerdem & Podder 2011). By saying so, there is no way to discard the impacts of micro-level causes like psychological issues or individual’s rational choice. But according to Ross (1993) it is hypothesized that the higher the number and intensity of structural causes, higher the number of terrorist acts by any individual or terrorist organization. “the fact that external influences on the individual and the group appears to be for more decisive , makes it more relevant to search for the causes of terrorism beyond the individual and group level” (Brynjar & Skjølberg 2007). Structural causes are also diverse in its nature stretching from economic discrimination and state’s capability to the international crisis.

3.1 Research Design:

In order to design a study which will address these structural and individual causes this paper will collect the information by conducting quantitative and qualitative survey within related actors. Structural causes can be revealed by gathering information from the key stakeholders of this phenomenon.

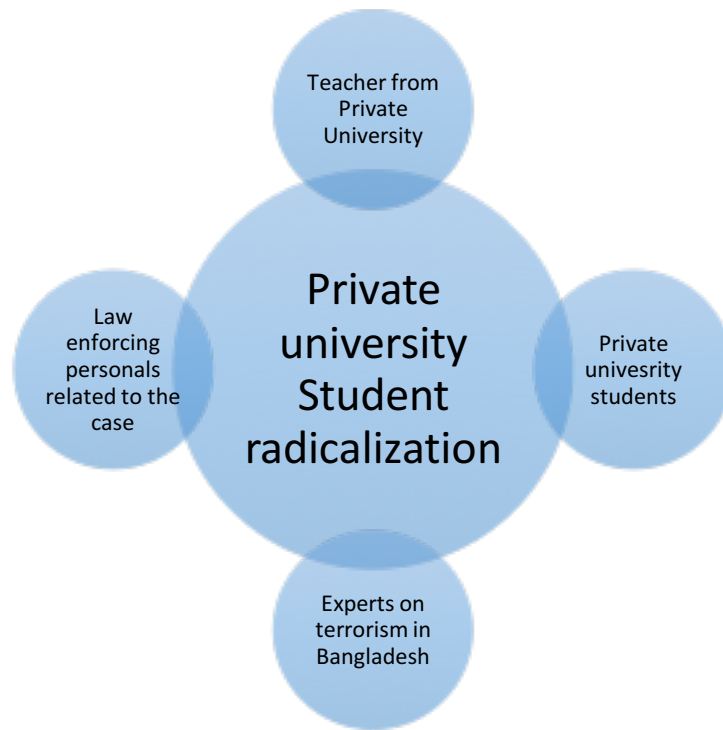


Figure:1. Research Design

These are the actors that will allow us to point out the causes of student radicalization. Because the main focus of the study is concentrated towards private university students and their perception about institutions they belong and how they perceive their position in the society and political system. This way we can understand why a certain university is under the grasp of extremist organization while others are not. But the crucial information can be achieved from university teachers, they can provide us with certain administrative backdrops or actions that allowed or shielded extremist groups infiltrating to the campus. They also can come up with information about student integration. Integration with the new environment for a student is important for his or her smooth transformation to the university, which has a significant implication on radicalization. But the information about precise situation of an individual's those has joined extremist groups and committed terrorist act could be achieved from law enforcement agency since they are currently serving sentences. In that sense investigating officer of particular case can give us valuable information. Lastly to address the issue of student radicalization in private universities this paper will take opinion from persons who has worked on radicalization in Bangladesh, which will allow us knowing in depth reasons why students get involved with extremist groups.

Table 2: Samples for this research

Samples	Actors	Participation	Approach
Sample 1	Personal from counter terrorism unit 1	Voluntary	Qualitative
Sample 2	Personal from counter terrorism unit 2	Voluntary	Qualitative
Sample 3	Law enforcing personnel	voluntary	Qualitative
Sample 4	Expert on Terrorism 1	voluntary	Qualitative
Sample 5	Expert on Terrorism 2	voluntary	Qualitative
Sample 6	University Teacher	voluntary	Qualitative
Sample 7	Private university students	voluntary	Qualitative and Quantitative

This research paper has two phases to explore. On the first phase the research has conducted quantitative survey, the quantitative approach was set out to find the relationship between structural causes and student participation in extremist organizations. To find out the relationship between socio-economic, political, ideological perception and radicalization. On the second phase this paper has gone through a qualitative approach, which enabled us to extract valuable information regarding to specific causes that pushed or pulled those students who has already joined extremist group and committed extremist act. Qualitative approach has facilitated us to look into the perceptions of student community about national political situation. By conducting Focus This paper will also approach law enforcement apparatus to know more about the sentenced students. There would be both qualitative and quantitative method used in this study. This process could be better describe by the following flowchart. According to Creswell (2009)

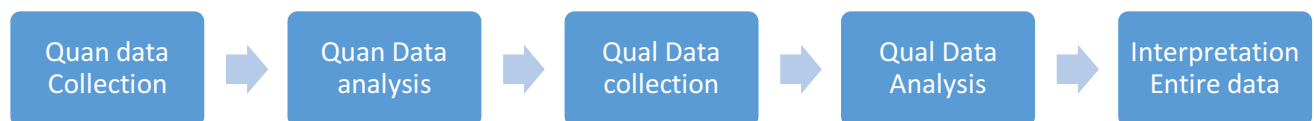


Figure: 2. Sequential Explanatory Design

Selection of population regarding to this study is critical about giving us useful information for our understanding of this phenomenon. For this study key samples are private university students, university teacher, investigation officer and experts in this field. For conducting the survey this paper will first seek appointment to the destined individuals, and conduct qualitative interview. For quantitative survey researcher will seek permission form the campus authority in particular universities. On the other hand, for getting access to the law enforcement agency personnel this paper will send formal request for appointment with certain individual and the same approach will be adopted in order to get access to the terrorism experts.

3.2. Quantitative survey:

In this paper, quantitative section will set out to test the relationship between structural causes and private university student radicalization. A quantitative approach is particularly significant because it enables a researcher to distance him or her from the outcome. According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) Quantitative approach allows researcher to test and validate already constructed theories, it also allows to generalize research findings when the data are from random samples and sufficient size and useful for making a quantitative prediction.

3.2.1 Sampling and data collection:

Sampling is crucial in every quantitative survey, which could profoundly effect the research outcome and it is also very critical in this research as well. For a useful outcome, which could eventually answer the research question, locating the population is critical. According to the research question, this paper is about to answer, why students from private universities join extremist groups. To locate those students, study had looked to the students who are attending private universities in the country. But the challenge here to get a student list of all the students attending private universities in the country. To locate the sample, this paper will conduct probability sampling approach. There are a number of methods within the probability sampling, but among them, simple random sampling may be the most common and admired one, due to its ability for giving a chance of every individual within the population to take part. This kind of approach is particularly suitable for social research. As mentioned by Earl Babbie in his *The Practice of Social Research* “ simple random sampling is the basic sampling method assumed in the statistical computation of social research” (Babbie 2007)p.202.

Since there is no availability of private university student list in the country, this research has to conduct its sampling approach in two different stage. To locate the students, we have to choose the number of private universities within the country, thanks to the University Grant Commission (UGC) of Bangladesh provided a list, which listed all the 92 private universities in the country. After sampling them randomly, in the second stage began with achieving student list from randomly chosen universities and then choosing students randomly from those lists.

On the first stage, this paper set out to sample the private universities. To randomly sample those universities, researcher approached to the UGC list of 92 private universities. Due to the limited resources and time, it is not possible to conduct a survey in all these private universities, so researcher has chosen the process of a lottery, which gives the listed universities equal chances to be selected as a sample to generalize our understanding. At this stage, researcher puts all the name of the universities written on small pieces of paper in a bowl and then took the names one after one while the researcher was blindfolded. On the above mention process researcher pull out four random names. As it is aimed at conducting a quantitative survey in 5 private universities, the fifth university namely North South University(NSU) is picked by the researcher because of its history of students joining radical groups.

Table. 3. List of Private universities for this research

Name of the university	Campus	No. Participants (Students)
Daffodil International University(DIU)	Dhanmondi Campus	10
Independent university of Bangladesh (IUB)	Bashundhara campus	09
North South University (NSU)	Bashundhara campus	10
Southeast University	Banani campus	07
United International University (UIU)	Dhanmondi Campus	10

Total	5 university campuses	46
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On the second stage, it comes to sample the primary respondents of this study, students. This research is intended to choose randomly the student that would allow us to generalize the research outcome. In doing so, it is possible only through giving the equal chance of participation to every single student in the selected universities. Only random sampling procedure allows us to do that. According to Hopkins (2008), the safest way to ensure that the survey is representative is to use a random sampling procedure. “With randomization, a representative sample from a population provides the ability to generalize a population.”(Creswell 2013)p.158. At first, this researcher got the student list of each of the selected universities. Then each student assigned a number, and then researcher followed the lottery process to pick out 20 names from each list. This process helped to generate a set of randomly selected numbers. Although this paper is intended to survey 10 students from each university, picking up 20 students. Because it was not sure that researcher will be able to contact with each one, if we choose only 10 or it is less likely that although we may have contacted they will turn out or intended to take part in the survey. At first, student contacted via e-mail. They were formally asked to come and take part in the survey. Students were invited to join voluntarily in the survey. A survey questionnaire is prepared to conduct the study. Researcher personally visits the campus and performed the quantitative survey.

Despite being carefully choosing the population and choosing a multistage procedure for sampling, it is almost impossible to avoid any form of sampling error. Possible areas where could be the occurrence of sampling error resides at the very way of choosing the multistage sampling. There is a probability of having sampling error in both processes of choosing university and respondents.

Data analysis:

To measure how vulnerable, students are to fall into the trap of radicalization, this paper has constructed a dependent variable by adding variables that are to measure students level of extremist ideas. On that process, this paper has given different variables different values and then

generated a score for each of the respondent.

Table.4. indicators for dependent variable

Serial	Indicators
1.	Students supports silencing critics of Islam.
2.	Islam's supremacy over the world if needed through violence.
3.	Students stands on armed jihad for establishing Islamic law.
4.	Students support the sense of Muslim Ummah.
5.	Students stands against the sense of jihad as a religious duty.
6.	Students holds idea that Muslims all over the world are suppressed
7.	Sense of "Us" versus "Them", where Us is Muslims all over the world and are westerner governments
8.	Support for sharia as a form of ruling, since, majority Muslim population
9.	Support for Islamic regime form government, because of the Muslim majority
10	Support ideology as the main driver for radicalization

Independent variables have measured dependent variable. To create these variables, this paper has chosen questions from questionnaire survey under the heading of the different independent variable. Then researcher has given value to each of the issues and multiplied it with the answer. Following this, we got value for each student under different independent variables. For creating a dependent variable, researcher had to choose the same method, because questionnaire survey was performed within general students in private universities and they are not radicalized. But some questions were included in the questionnaire which is about to answer whether the student has a tendency to accept the extremist ideas given the right context. These questions addressed

certain issues which is typically held by extremist organizations and individual. This paper has collect those answers and gave a value considering the implication of those questions in the radicalization process. This way this paper has generated independent variables which has been used to measure the influence of independent variables.

Table.5. Indicators of independent variables

<i>Name of the variables</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
<i>Political variable</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government is protecting democratic and constitutional rights - Government’s stand on ensuring human rights for citizen - G0vernment stand against corruption - Government is abide by accountability - Feels that they are represented in the decision making process - Trust on political leadership - Possibility of fulfilling the dreams under present political system - Wish taking part in the normal political process - feels left behind in the political process
<i>Institutional variables</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students satisfied regarding to the teaching quality - Students satisfied regarding to the study facilities (e.g. data lab, library) - Considering respective institution as profit driven - Feeling secure at campus regarding extremist infiltration
<i>Future security variable</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students beliefs that they are well prepared for job market - Consider educational competence is enough to get a job. - Inexperience as a barrier for getting job - Students gets help from respective institutions for job

<i>Socio economic variables</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students pleased with their monthly expenditure - Students consider their economic circumstance in good shape - Students pleased with their economic support from family -Students without part time job

3.2 Qualitative Survey:

Understanding the phenomenon of the student radicalization requires to set down for a qualitative interview with related personals, who can give us vital information about individual's motivations to join extremist groups. To achieve the goal, this paper will conduct a qualitative survey with 4 actors.

Sample 1 and 2. This research has conducted semi structure interview with personals from Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime (CTTC) of Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). The participation was voluntary. At first, a formal request has been sent to them, to take part in the interview. Semi-structured questionnaire allowed the interviewee to touch upon individual's psychological situation prior to joining radical group. This interview has also helped us about individual's past life prior to joining university. Thus allow us to assess whether individual has joined extremist groups because of personal trauma or as a result of circumstances.

Sample 3. To understand under which circumstances those who have joined extremist groups and committed acts, this paper has interviewed personnel from law enforcing agency, who worked for the safety of bloggers. This interview would also follow the semi-structure pattern. This has allowed us to understand why and how they legitimized their target and more importantly how they build the intolerance towards bloggers and secularist activists.

Sample 4,5 and 6. To understand the pathway towards extremism and extremist groups, this paper had also sat down with the experts and teacher from one of the university, who has knowledge about terrorism in Bangladesh. This paper has asked for their voluntary participation

in an interview. Their information helped to shed the light on complicated issues like what are the pull factors that makes these individuals walk through the path of radicalization and what could be done to reduce the risk of radicalization within the private university students.

Sample 7. The primary focus of this study is the students from private universities. This paper has conducted both quantitative and qualitative survey of the students. This paper has arranged a Focus Group Interview with the students from university where student radicalization is evident. A focus group interview has allowed us to drive deep into the individual's head and allow us to observe how they act in a group setting. Focus group has also enabled us to bring issues which would not have been able come up in one to one setting. In the focus group interview, a semi-structure questionnaire has been followed. Focus group interview helped us to understand how students from that particular university feel about their educational atmosphere. Students gave us valuable information about their personal experience regarding how they feel a individual descent into radicalization.

3.2.1 Data Analysis:

“Analysis is the act of taking data, thinking about it, and denoting concepts to stand for the analyst's interpretation of the meaning intended by the participant”(Corbin & Strauss 2014)p.88. “ Data analysis is an ongoing, inductive process where are sorted , sifted through, read and reread.”(Castellan 2010).After collecting qualitative data, a coding approach will be applied to manage and analyze the data. To analyze the qualitative data this paper will follow an inductive process. “The primary purpose of the inductive approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data”(Thomas 2006). According to Thomas (2006), an Inductive approach is set to establish a clear link between research objectives and findings inherited in the raw data. According to Elliott and Gillie (1998) rigorous and systematic reading and coding of the transcripts allows major theme to emerge.

The following table is about to illustrate the data analysis process.

Table 6. Process of inductive research

Initial read through text data	Identify specific segment of information	Label the segments of information to create categories	Reduce overlap and redundancy among the categories	Create model incorporating most important categories
Many pages of text	Many segments of text	30 – 40 categories	15-20 categories	3-8 categories

Note: Adapted from (Thomas 2006)

To conduct a qualitative approach, this paper will adopt semi-structure interview. According to Newton (2010) semi structure questionnaire is about to provide original voices that could give the methodology invaluable quality. Semi-structure interview allows “making relationship between interviewer and interviewee and ... allowing the interviewee’s ideas and understanding to be articulated without being distorted by a more structured framework”(Gomm 2008). This approach will enable unearthing the motivations of sentenced individual’s for joining a radical group. This will help to know those individuals’ psychological situations prior to joining militant group. What were the individual level and socio economic level causes for their joining radical group?

3.3.3 Ethical consideration:

This research will be conducted according to the ethical consideration put forward by Department of Noragric, in the Norwegian University of Life Science. This research based on the research proposal that was presented to the respective supervisor. Through out the data collection process it will be cautiously monitored for not to or at least minimizing the chances of misleading results. This research will continuously contact with the supervisor to maintain the ethical issues emerging in the different part of the process.

In this research it will be ensured that all the participants that will take part are taking part voluntarily, which one of the major ethical consideration of social research. The term “Informed consent” will be maintained through out the process. To maintain the the term participants will be informed about the procedure of the research and all the surveys and interviews will be performed by taking participant’s consent. Confidentiality one other area which will be rigorously maintain in the research. This research will make sure that information that are given by the participants and identity of individuals will not be disclosed to anyone who is not relating to the study. This research paper will also allow to any participant to withdraw from any part of the survey any time they wish.

As an independent researcher it will be assured that none of the data that will be used in this study is forged or false. Throughout this study it will be strictly followed that there is no plagiarism been done and credit been given to the writer whenever some thing is used from other writer through proper citation.

4. Findings:

This paper is set out to identify the reasons behind the radicalization of private university students in Bangladesh. This question was never before this much important, particularly when the whole nation is mourning after the horrendous attack on westerners by 7 individuals from affluent family.

To understand the situation where these students growing up, their view about the countries political system and their world view this paper has conducted a quantitative survey among the 5 university students which was randomly chosen. The findings will start with describing the data findings of the quantitative approach, which is about to see at what kind of situation they are experiencing and their view point about the circumstances they are growing up. In order to understand the phenomenon this paper has conducted a focus group interview with the students from the North South University (NSU), where the sentenced personals of Rajib Haider killing belonged. The group was consisted of students from bachelor level male students from the universities and they were in their late teens aged between 22-25 years. This paper has also conducted one to one interview with security personals of the security apparatus. The qualitative survey part further includes interview with a teacher from the above mentioned university about the student teacher relationship and larger aspect of student integration in the university. The qualitative survey includes interview of personal from Bangladesh Enterprise Institution (BEI). It includes also interview with Bangladeshi born political scientist currently teaching in a renown university in USA. Then the findings will describe the qualitative findings which will include perpetrators past life, about their families, their descent into radicalization and what factors do have make them to go to the path that they have chose.

4.1 Quantitative survey findings:

Quantitative findings are due to explore the social and personal causes of student radicalization of private university in Bangladesh. To conduct this part of the research researcher has followed questionnaire survey. There are 46 respondents who took part in the survey voluntarily. There was a sense of enthusiasm among the participants, because of the topic of survey as researcher talked about the goal of the research. In certain cases, participants were cautious about researcher's safety as because of the sensitivity of the topic. The sense of sincerity was there as

one respondent choose all the options that was given on the question about, how he considers those students who has joined extremist group? The kind of answer does bear certain from of sincerity because it shows the complexity of the issue and shows that after considering all the options, he found all the options equally important for radicalization. However, quantitative part is bound to provide information from the survey on the different facts about how students from private universities got radicalized by looking into the conditions they are experiencing through out their study. Sources for radicalization has been discussed from mainly two headings which are consists of several subheadings. This part is quantifying the level of influence that personal facts bear for radicalization and also the structural facts that are influencing students to take part in radicalized groups and looking into which part of those aspects are effecting most on the students for taking part in radicalized group and eventually perform terrorist act.

4.1.1. General information about students:

The overwhelming majority that took part in this was male student, 90 percent of the participants are male. This could have been caused because of the random selection of sample and also because of the culture of the country, where female students do not feel easy to take part about such issue and also they are not comfortable with unknown. This composition does not replicate the targeted population. Despite this there is little chance this composition will influence the research outcome because till now there is no incident where any female student took part in any extremist act. The sample was mainly divide in two different age group. 65 percent of the participants belongs to age group 18-21 and 33 percent belong to age group 22-25. 70 percent of the participants described them as moderate Muslim, which in turn represent not only the targeted population but overall characteristics of the Bangladeshi population. This finding gives us a hint that religion do have a role in daily life but it does not take the front seat. 96 percent of the participants are studying in the bachelor level in their respective universities. Which is quite common because “private universities mainly offer four-year bachelor’s degrees and two year masters programs on a limited number of subjects”(Tasnima 2008).As this research has found students are entirely dependent on their family for their financial backing which could make a feeling of deprivation, because economic capability of these families are not same. 98 percent of the participants are depended on their family for economic support. This finding is supported by number of students have job while they are studying. Only 13 percent of the students have job

and study at the same time.

4.1.2. Structural or social causes:

Radicalization should be understood as a complex phenomenon of structural and individual causes. Looking at the structural causes are important because it allows us to understand, what kind of situation radicalization flourishes and individual gets their motivations to get engage. “Motivations can be found at *different* levels and are often *mixed*: religious, political, financial cultural or socio psychological” (Pick et al. 2009)p.27. Looking into the structural causes begins with describing the scatterplot then moving into the correlation of independent variable and dependent variable and finally performing regression analysis.

4.1.2.1 Sample distribution:

This paper has generated a scatterplot taking into consideration of all the structural causes that has emerged from the questionnaire findings.

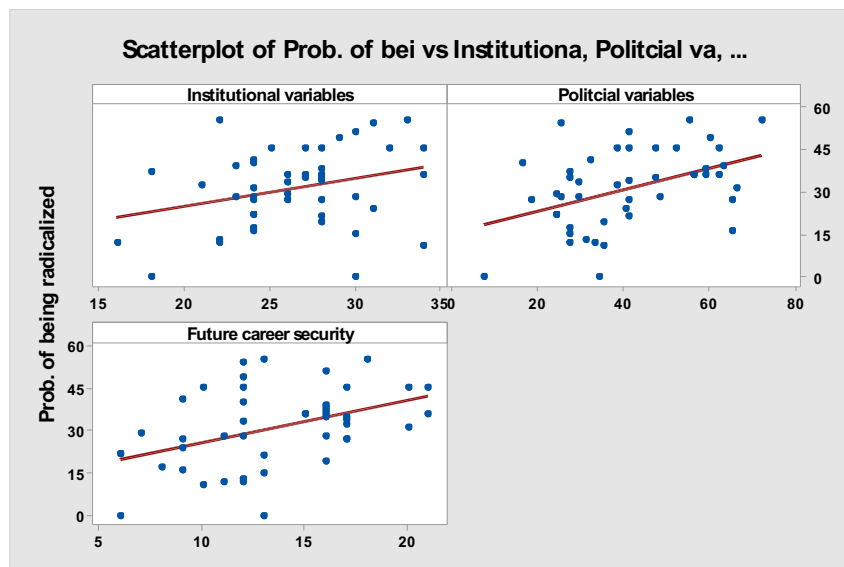


Figure.3. Probability plot of Institutional, Political and Future Career security variable

In the scatterplots above shows that the relationships have a moderately strong relationship between probability of being radicalized and Institutional, political and future career variables. In the case institutional variable, relationship among the variables does not seems to be a strong one, because the data seems to be scattered spread along the plot. Despite this weak relationship, we

found a positive relationship. It shows as the institutional variable increases the the possibility of being radicalized increase too. It worth to look in the inn holds students' perception about the teaching quality, facilities (e.g. library, access to computer lab and classroom), institution and how secure they feel. Among those variables students' perception about the institution came out as strong one and majority of them supports that their institution is profit driven rather than service driven. So according to the scatterplot we can say as the students' perception about their institution as a profit driven institution increases the possibility of being radicalized as well.

In the political variable we observed a similar fashion of trend as institutional variable. Government position on democratic value, government's position on ensuring human rights and students' representation in the political process' came out strong indicator for political variable. So according to the scatterplot as government continue to overlook the human rights of citizen and students keep feeling left behind in the political process probability of student being radicalized will increase.

In the last scatterplot it has also followed the previous variables and showed a weak relationship with the depended variable. Premier reason under the variable turned to be the lack of experience for having job. So it can be said that as students' feels more vulnerable regarding having job in future the probability of being radicalized will increase. These relationships would be better understood in the following segment of the findings as this paper has performed correlation coefficient for these variables.

4.1.2.2. Vulnerability emerges from political condition:

To measure the impact of political dimension this paper has compared students view points as independent variable like governments stands on ensuring democratic values, its accountability, trust on political leadership, their position on the decision making process and their participation in political process with the dependent variable. As we performed the correlation coefficient the relationship between political variable and probability of being radicalized turned up positive.

Pearson correlation of Political variables and Prob. of being radicalized = 0.435 P-Value = 0.002
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Although looking into the Pearson correlation value it does not turned out as near to 1, which

should be called out as a strong relationship, but the P- value has turned out to be significant as it stands well below the significant mark of 0.05. So this segment turned out to look at, what are the individual variables that bears significance within the political variables. It shows that government’s stands on protecting democratic and constitutional values, government’s stands on ensuring human rights and students participation on political process as significant. Political components are about to show us how students feel about the political system. Students’ concern will help us to see if there are any causes that could be derived from political circumstances that fuel the probability for student to get radicalized.

4.1.2.2.1. *Governments stands on democratic values:*

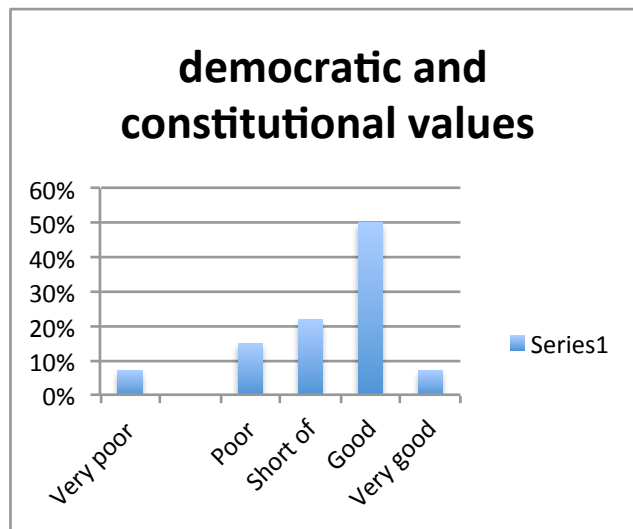


Figure.4. Students Perception on Government

Among the respondents, 50 % of students aligned them with that the government is doing good for securing democratic and constitutional values. But when generated the correlation comparing it with the dependent variable of vulnerability towards radicalization.

Correlation: GPDR, Probability of being radicalized

Pearson correlation of GPDR and Probability of being radicalized
 = 0.297
 P-Value = 0.045

It turns out that it has a positive relationship with the dependent variable, but whether it will increase or decrease the probability of radicalization is hard. But the p- value is showing the sign of significance.

4.1.2.2.2 *Government ensuring human rights:* This research has found that 63 % of respondents does not believe that government is ensuring citizens human rights, which may have an effect on students' radicalization process by giving a chance to extremist recruiters to victimize individual in extremist group.

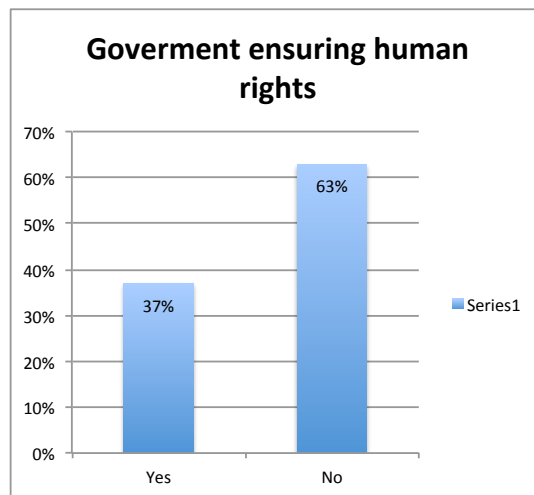


Figure.5. Government on Ensuring Human rights

How this variable is influencing the radicalization process is better understood by a correlation test of probability of being radicalized and government's stands on human rights as perceived by students.

Correlation: GEHR, probability of being radicalized

Pearson correlation of GEHR and probability of being radicalized = 0.323 P-Value = 0.029

The test shows a positive relationship among the variables, as number of students sees that government is not ensuring citizen's human rights the trend of being radicalize will go up. Also the p- value is well bellow the significance level.

So it would be fair to say that government's failure to ensure human rights works as a catalyst for radicalization of the students. Discrimination or exclusion could also able to generate anger and

grievances within students. As it is present in the context of private university students in Bangladesh.

4.1.2.2.3 *Students' participation in politics*: The questionnaire survey has asked the students about whether they felt left behind in the political process, as they are not allowed to take part in

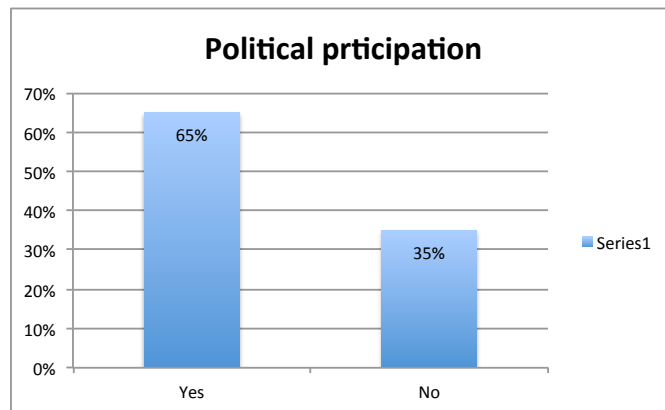


Figure.6. Students on political participation

the political parties' student wings. 65% of the students has replied that yes they felt left behind in the political process. To further clarify our view on this variable, this paper has performed a correlation test between whether students support the idea of participating in politics and probability of being radicalized.

Correlation: LBPP, Probability of being radicalized

Pearson correlation of LBPP and probability of being radicalized = 0.330 P-Value = 0.025
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This variable has a positive relationship with the dependent variable. It shows that if the number of students thinks that they are left behind in the political system the probability of being radicalized increases. The p-value of this equation also demonstrates the significance of this variable, the p-value remains well below the 0.05 level. P-value turns to endorsing this claim of positive relationship between the variables.

The vulnerability that emerges from the political dimensions certainly does works as determinant as one would have expected, and 3 of the variables that has been discussed do show a profound

significance on the dependent variables. This finding is also common when as the qualitative finding of the research. Interviewees those took part has explicitly mention the culture of intolerance in the political arena has influenced students to build up a sense of intolerance in themselves. On the other hand, government's policy of suppressing opposition is also mentioned as one of the key issue for radicalization. Government's efforts to hunt down opposition leaders and activist gave free check to the extremist element to infiltrate in the country. Because security forces have limited resources, which is concentrated on opposition suppression, rather stopping extremist infiltration. This leads us to look at possible structural causes lies within the institution, because this is what students experience in their everyday life.

4.1.2.3 Institutional factor:

Possible structural cause for radicalization could be found within the particular institution, and in case of Bangladesh, because of there are number student coming from from a single institution it really worth of looking into the influence possibly institution can provide. As a general understanding universities are considered as junction of different ideas and not necessarily all of them are good. Institutional settings can sometime work as a catalyst for radicalization as well. As Glee and Pope (2005) discussed how British universities helped to grow radicalized view within its students by arming them with terrorist ideas. Looking into the institution is more relevant now as security forces in Bangladesh is also suspecting that there could be certain links between student radicalization and role Institution, as government personals began to talk about certain institution. According to Tribune (2016) health minister in the country demanded actions against North South University because of it's students been found involved in number of terrorist acts. So it is important to come in a place where we can really accuse the institution for its students' terrorist acts. As this paper has performed correlation coefficient.

Pearson correlation of Institutional variables and Prob. of being radicalized = 0.300 P-Value = 0.043
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Here we have been watching a similar trend as on the previous occasion of the political variable, there does not exist a strong relation on the term of coefficient value but the there is significance

in the p value which is below 0.05 mark. Looking into the individual questions within institutional variables would allow us to grab the reason behind its significance.

4.1.2.3.1. *Students` consideration about their institution:* The questionnaire survey has asked students about do they consider their institution as profit driven rather than service which it is suppose to be.

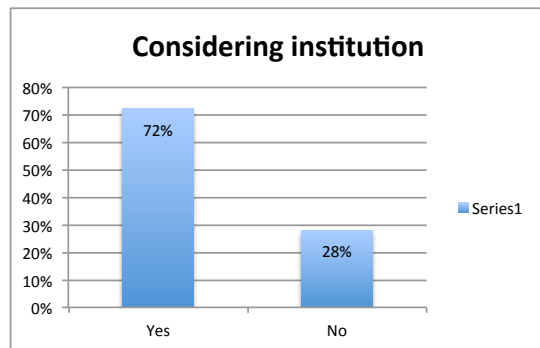


Figure.7. Students on Own Institution

overwhelming majority has answered that yes that they think that their institution is profit driven. Only 28 % of students thinks that no their institution is not profit driven. The figure is even higher within the students among North South university students.

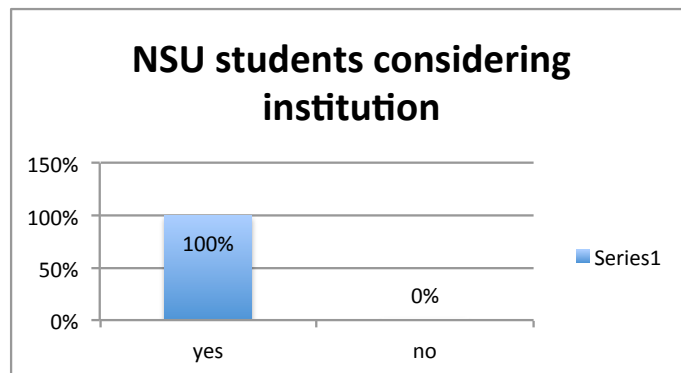


Figure.8. NSU Students on Own Institution

Everyone took part on the survey viewed their university as profit driven rather than service driven. This swing towards profit has its influence on students as well, as Glees and Pope (2005) was mentioning about the British higher education how declining public fund for universities has shifted universities` view from delicatessen character towards a character of ignorance about the students they are admitting. This is very much real in the theatre of private universities in Bangladesh as well, because here private universities do not receive any fund from

government. The correlation test between the the dependent and independent variable of whether they fell their institution is profit driven or not seems to be also interesting. Shifting focus from quality to quantity of private universities is widely discussed fact in the context of Bangladesh. In order to show the relationship among probability of radicalization and whether students think that their institution is profit driven or not, this paper has performed a correlation test between the variables.

Correlation: IPD, Probability of being radicalized

Pearson correlation of IPD and Probability of being radicalized = 0.339 P-Value = 0.021

It shows that the relation is positive and the p-value is significant as well, as it stands below the level of 0.05.

Nevertheless, we need to also bear in mind that it could not be held as premier cause for student radicalization, because there should be other issues which pushes individual towards radicalization and extremism, because this phenomenon of profit driven character does apply to all the universities this research has took place but incident of student taking part in extreme acts does no happened on other universities. Therefore, it is hard to draw a conclusion that increase in the independent variable will eventually cause an increase in the dependent variable. There was no extensive recognition from qualitative findings as well to support that any of the student has issue with their university in regards to their institution. However, qualitative data did found that the detachment from cultural activities in the private universities did created a void within student regarding to traditional belonging.

4.1.2.4. Future career security:

As scattered plot has demonstrated that there is a linear positive relationship between probability of students being radicalized and their future career security. On this segment questionnaire survey asked students about range of issues starting from their perception how they are getting prepared for their future job possibility to the barriers of having job despite having educational competence. The correlation test shows the following result

Pearson correlation of Future career security and Prob. of being radicalized = 0.435 P-Value = 0.002

The correlation result is identical with the political variable on probability of being radicalized. As we look into the questions that has been asked in the survey. So this shows a level of significance of the P-value that could be translated as that future career security does have a significance on the dependent variable. But which of the variable under future career variables are most important that we need to focus on.

4.1.2.4.1. Barriers for having job: As this paper had performed correlation for each of the variable under the future career security heading, research found that barriers towards having job despite despite having educational competence turned to bear importance.

Pearson correlation of Sum and BFHJ = 0.358 P-Value = 0.015
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Increase in the amount of lack of experience would have increase the chance of being radicalized, as we have found in the questionnaire survey. The significance of this variable is also need to look at as it stays well below the level of 0.05

In the questionnaire survey students` had answered in a different fashion, there was majority, 48% of students mentioned lack of experience as a cause for the considering as a barrier for having job. We can see here that the large number of students feels insecure regarding to their future career, where may have the chance that depression can take over and lead them to be radicalized. But it is not about making depression as the central cause for radicalization let alone the 'lack of experience`. As Krueger and Malečková (2003) described pointing towards suicide bombers in Palestine, that none of them were uneducated, desperately poor, simple minded or depressed. It is about to show the presence of combination of educated male population and their state of unemployment. according to Krueger (2007) two different research which found that people with a higher level of education are in general see suicide attacks against westerners in Iraq justifiable conducted by Pew in four different Muslim countries, another research conducted by Palestinian Center for policy and Survey found 74 percent of unemployed said they support armed attack on Israeli target.

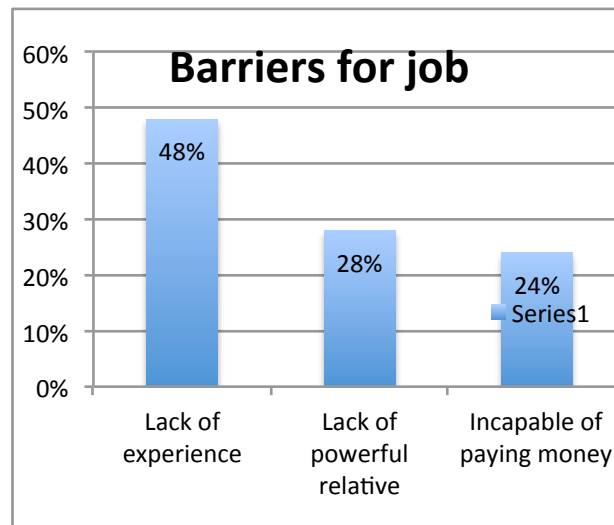


Figure.9. Considering barriers for getting job

remaining 52 % was divided into lack of powerful relative and incapable for paying for a job by 28% and 24 % respectably. In the context of Bangladesh students needs to be concern for their future despite having educational competence. According to Asadullah (2015) a report prepared by Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) estimates 47% of Bangladeshi graduate are unemployed. According to World Bank (2007) there are 0.96 million graduates every year enrolls in the country's tertiary educations system as of 2007. But a limited number of job has been created to make them all employed, according to Kathuria and Mahbub (2012) Bangladesh has managed to create job in a rate 1.2 million each year for last 10 years for the whole population, which means that there are very few options remains for students to have job when they are finished with their study. Moreover, political instability in the country would lead to further decline in the job sector. "(B)uyers of RMG products have alerted Bangladeshi manufacturers about the possibility of shifting their orders from Bangladesh to other sources such as Cambodia, Vietnam and even India if the political violence continues"(Islam 2015). Future insecurity regarding having job closely related to the political stability of the country. Ready made garments (RMG) is the biggest export product from Bangladesh and any disruption in this sector would left behind a big chunk of population unemployed. Let's look into the data from NSU as there are problem with radicalization.

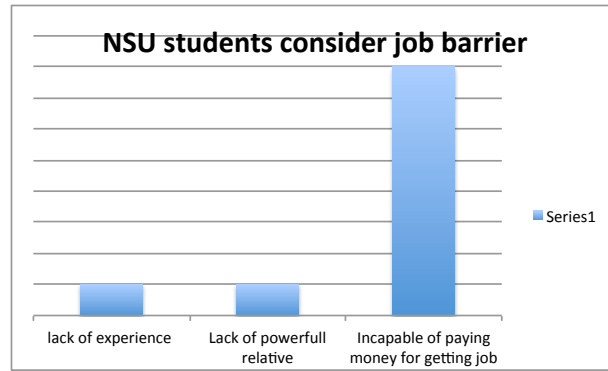


Figure.10. NSU students Consider Job Barriers

As observed among the private universities in the country NSU is considered as costliest among them, so students who takes education there already spending lot money from their family for their education, so they don't have capability to pay for having job. Which in turn make them frustrated and angry to the system, which turn them into easy prey for terrorist and extremist groups.

4.1.2.5. Structural influence:

In order to understand the overall effect of structural causes on probability of being a student radicalized from private universities in Bangladesh, this paper has performed a regression equation, how individual independent variables influence individual to being radicalized.

<p>Regression Equation</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"> Prob. of being radicalized = 0.0 + 0.359 Institutional variables + 0.229 Political variables + 0.902 Future career security </p>
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The above mention equation shows that all the variables that has been used to judge or to see is there a relationship between probability of students being radicalized and the structural causes. So far we discovered that there is a positive relationship between these factors. All the variables describe that increase of one amount of these variables would increase the probability of radicalization.

Among the three variables as previously discussed according to correlation and scatterplot the influence of institutional variable des not turned to be significant and it is also evident in the

regression equation as well. But political and future career variable does have shown its influence. On the case of political variable, it does not show a big relationship, but absence of big correlation does not essentially discard the causal relationship as we observed in the qualitative part of the paper. Third variable that has been used is the future career insecurity variable, it shows a level of influence on the dependent variable. The secondary data that this paper got also supports the idea that lower rate of employment do encourage extremist thought.

4.1.3. Personal causes:

4.1.3.1. Students' economic stands:

Economic situation of any individual has profound effect how s/he consider their situation in the bigger social picture. Economy has impact on how individual takes his decisions. As Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011) discussed how economic insecurity, inequality and alienation could lead for radicalization. "A pervasive risk factor in developing societies is the so called youth age bulge, that is a substantial increase in the proportional size of the young male population facing insecure employment prospect"(de Madrid 2005). Looking into economic causes does makes sense in the context of student radicalization as well, because students comes from families with different economic background in the private universities. Although if we assume that students are from families with good economic condition, risk does not disappear. Terrorism is essentially the result of elite disaffection; it represents the strategy of a minority, who may act on behalf of wider popular constituency who have not been consulted about, and do not necessarily approve of the terrorist aims"(Crenshaw 1981).

In Bangladesh most of the students particularly in the bachelor level gets economic support for their surviving in the universities from family. This trend was clear in this research as well. Within the respondents 98% of them get their necessary money from their family. So this paper has set out to look at how students themselves find them in economic terms. Because there could be emergence of deprivation that can emerge from economic condition.

This paper has generated a scatterplot in order to see the distribution of the responses in order to find a relationship between the dependent variable and independent variable. The scatterplot below does not shows any real upward pattern. It means that the data is not concentrated along a line which can describe that there is relationship between probability of being radicalized and

students' socio economic stands. In fact, this variable does shows a wired relation with the dependent variable as described in the next segment.

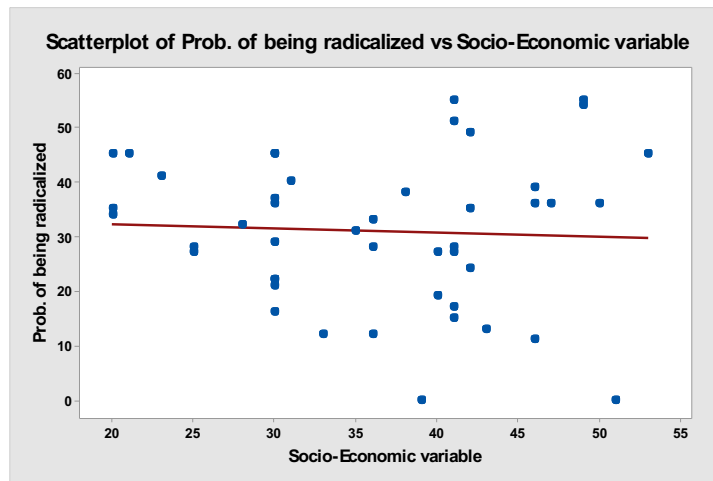


Figure.11. Probability plot of Socio Economic

The correlation coefficient test shows that there is negative relationship between the variables.it means increase of one unit in the socio-economic variable would decrease the chances of being radicalized. This shows a very rational relationship between variables. It is presumable that if an individual feels happy or satisfied about their economic situation they are less likely to get radicalized. Because “terrorist organizations respond to cyclical declines in economic performance by using an ideological message to increase their recruitment” (de Madrid 2005). In this case, although we found a negative relationship but it is not essential that there should be always some kind of grievance behind individual to get radicalized. Particularly in the case of young minds, “youngsters fascinated by the jihadi myth and charismatic activist role models, they appear to somehow not necessarily driven by tangible grievances”(Nesser 2006).

Pearson correlation of Socio-Economic variable and Prob. of being radicalized = -0.048 P-Value = 0.753

This negative relationship between the variables worth to look in to the composition of the independent variable. Under this heading this paper has asked a range of questions starting from their satisfaction with their monthly expenditure to the sense of satisfaction regarding to the

economic situation with their fellow classmates and how happy they are about the help they receive from their family.

4.1.3.1.1. *Economic support from family*: Questionnaire survey asked the students about how they would consider the support from their family in economic terms in a scale of 1 to 5. There were majority students that has replied that they are happy or above considering the the help they got

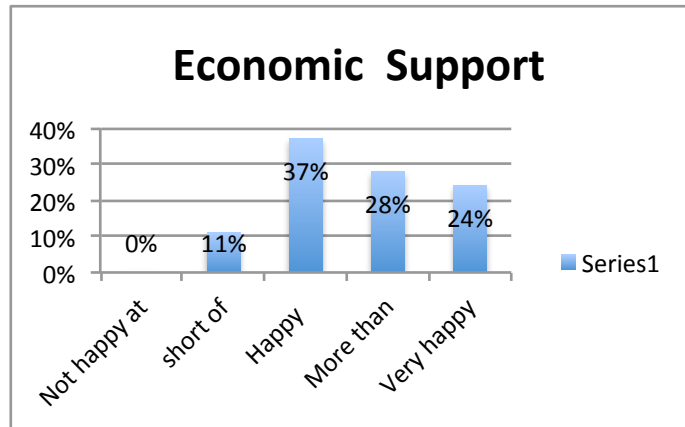


Figure.12. Satisfaction Regarding Economic State

From their family. Almost 90% of the students, has answered that they are happy or above regarding the economic help they get from family. None of the participant responded that they are not happy at all about the help they get. This paper performed a correlation coefficient to look how this particular variable affects the probability of being radicalization.

Pearson correlation of Considering economic support from family and probability of being radicalized = -0.196
P-Value = 0.193

The test shows a negative relationship among the variables, which could be interpreted as that the increase in the amount of happiness regarding to the economic help from family would decrease the chances of being radicalized. But we can not consider it as a significant because the p-value is way above the 0.05 level. This paper also took a look on the NSU students perception about this variable.

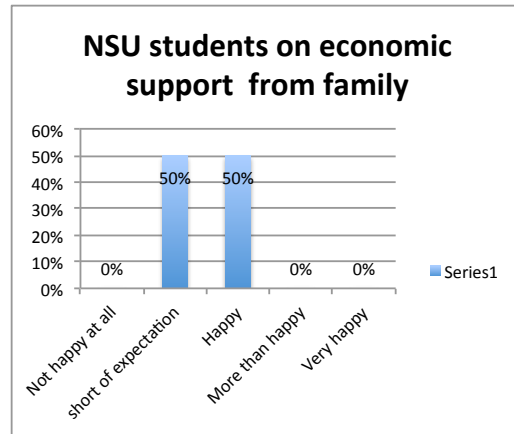


Figure.13. NSU Students Satisfaction on Economic State

The respondents were divided equally between short of expectation and happy, with no response on any other options.

4.1.3.2 Socio-economic influence:

The impact of socio economic causes on probability of being radicalized is understood through performing regression equation.

The regression equation is
 Prob. of being radicalized = 33.63 - 0.0724 Socio-Economic variable

As described the influence is very low and importantly it shows a negative relationship among the variables.

Looking into the data emerged from questionnaire survey about the students from NSU, we can not claim that because of dissatisfaction about amount of money they get from family pushed them towards radicalization. Simply because those who have committed atrocities as we know now, are from affluent family, so there should not be a problem of getting necessary money to survive. This assumption leads us to look at the other personal motivational factors that has emerged from questionnaire survey. Absence of any significant relationship between socio economy and probability of being radicalized is also supported by the qualitative findings. There was no individual who was driven to terrorism to pursue any economic goal and none of them are from economically deprived family background.

4.1.3.3. Silencing critics of Islam:

At the beginning of this paper, it addressed the issue of intolerance among the perpetrators of the Haider killing. Haider was targeted because of his critical position against radical Islam and was also accused of mocking the prophet(PBUH). Based on this assumption researcher tried to check level intolerance within the students.

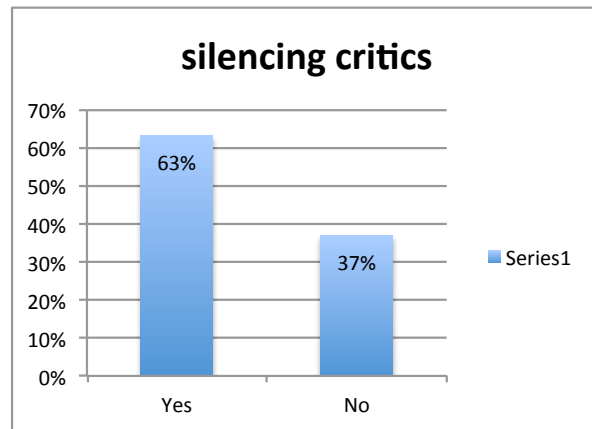


Figure.14. Students' Stand on Critics of Islam

63 % of surveyed students stood behind the idea of silencing critics of Islam. The percentage is even higher when we took a look on the NSU students, overwhelmingly 70% of the surveyed students from NSU supported silencing critics of religion. This sense of intolerance can trace back to the political culture of the country as revealed in the qualitative finding. In order to find the source this intolerance, questionnaire survey asked about their preference of state ruling system and ruling party. A majority of the students, which is 70% of them supports the *Sharia* (Islamic jurisprudence) as a legitimate form of state ruling, since Bangladesh is majority Muslim country. Students also support by 63% that an Islamic regime should take over the ruling system. In both cases NSU students scores 70% in the support of both cases. This presence of intolerance and disaffection for democracy could easily translated into international arena.

4.1.3.4. Islam's supremacy:

Based on their sense of intolerance it is presumable that their world view would be very much black and white. Questionnaire survey has asked students about, do they support the idea of Islam's supremacy all over the world, if needed through violence? Majority of students came up with the answer that does not supports Islam's dominance through violence.

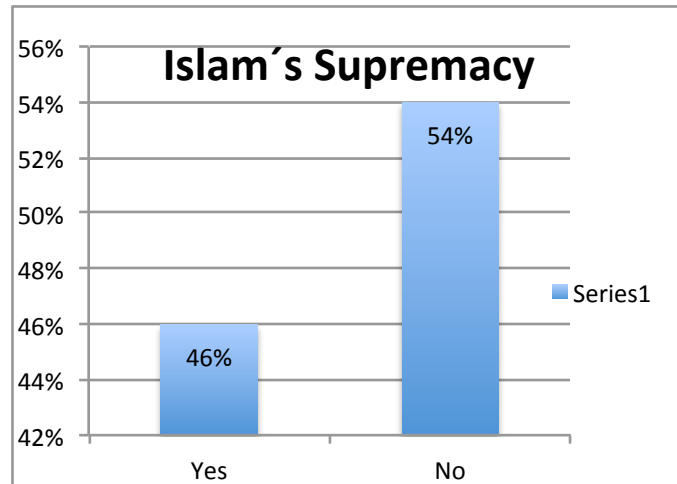


Figure.15. Students perception Islam's role in World

But the score was a bit gloomy as they answered by 46% in support of that idea and 54% placing them against that idea. But there was a different trend among the students from NSU as 70% of them supports the idea. So it will not be ideal to discard any of the answer. This is also because the follow up questions that has been asked. In order to see how students, look on their fellow Muslim all over the world, questionnaire survey asked do they believe in the sense of *Muslim Ummah* (a world community of Muslim)? 85% of the respondents answered yes they believe in the sense of *Muslim Ummah*; the score is 70% among the students from NSU. 50% of the respondents aligned them with the sense of Us versus Them, where Us are Muslims all over the world and Them are western governments. Which drove this paper to assume as there is presence of higher sense of *Muslim Ummah* and a sense of Us versus Them, there may be a sense of collective victimization. So questionnaire survey asked, whether they think that Muslims all over the world are suppressed by western governments? Majority 63% of the students feels that yes western governments are suppressing Muslims all over the world. In the previous two cases NSU students scored 30% and 80% respectively.

This sense of collective victimization and disaffection with democracy, leads us to look at how students wants to avert this trend.

4.1.3.5. Armed Jihad:

Looking into the previous data it could be easily presumable that, to avert the system and to restore Islam's glory and rescue the Muslim population, there would be a strong sense of jihad as

a form of armed struggle against near and far enemy. So questionnaire survey asked the participants whether they support the idea of armed jihad in order to establish Islamic law? Participants has come out with a different kind of answer than what was assumed. 57% of the participants does think armed jihad as a viable option for establishing Islamic law, although 80% of the surveyed NSU students feels the other way.

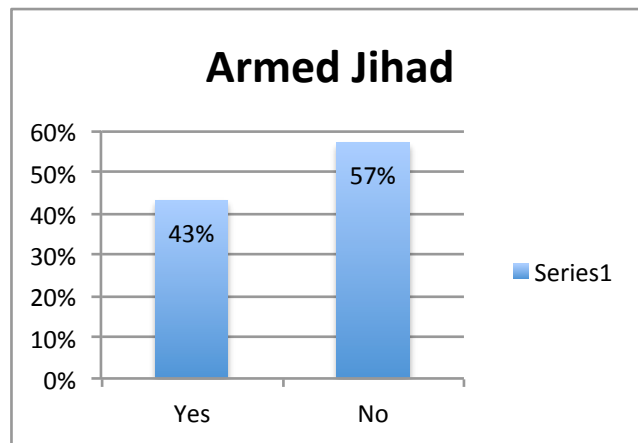


Figure.16. Students stand on Armed Jihad

The sense of disaffection for armed jihad got further stronger as we asked a follow up question about how do they feel about armed jihad from religious perspective, 67% of the respondents answered no, that armed jihad as a religious duty that should be performed by all the Muslims. Students from NSU also supported the idea that armed jihad is not a religious duty by responding 70% against the idea. Students has also maintained distance from considering the perpetrators as rational actors. The questionnaire survey asked students about how do they perceive those students who has joined extremist group. Half of the respondents 50% consider those individuals as motivated by ideology, the perception is 100% among the students from NSU. The role of ideology as driving factor for radicalization got 50% support among all the respondents and 100% support from NSU students.

The quantitative data has showed a relationship between structural causes and probability of being radicalized. Among the structural causes students' future career security turned out to be the most important one coupled with political circumstances. Lack of experience seems to work as facilitator for radicalization. Similarly, Political variable looks to have influence among the, where government's role on ensuring citizens' human rights works as determinant fact whether students would get radicalized or not, but not as the variable of the sense of politically left

behind, as expected, as more and more students feels politically left behind the tendency to be radicalized increases. Institutional variable has a considerable influence on the dependent variable, whether students consider their institution as profit driven or not turns out to be influential on the radicalization process.

In the individual motivational facts, that came out from the quantitative data. It has been shown that decrease in the level of happiness regarding to the economic help from family does have an influential effect on radicalization process, but we need to be cautious about drawing that conclusion, considering the economic background of families who has engaged in extremist acts. Rather looking into the other facts that emerged from the questionnaire may help us to look into the individual motivations for radicalization.

One staggering fact that has emerged from the questionnaire survey is that the number of percentage of students supports the idea of silencing the critics who takes a critical stand on extremist Islam. The sense also very high in the surveyed NSU students. Considering this view, the expected answer for the role of Islam in the world from the students, is obviously as Islam should emerge as supreme in the whole world. But they don't view in that way, they don't view that Islam should prevail as supreme through violence. But this number is also high among the studied NSU students. The sense of nonviolence among the respondents also translated on the question of establishing Islamic law through armed jihad, as they don't support the idea but 43% of them also supported that idea, which is matter of concern. This particular response was more concerning among the students from NSU.

4.2. Qualitative data findings:

There is a range of social, political, religious and ideological issues that contributes behind individuals' radicalization. These causes make individuals vulnerable to receive radicalized ideas and made them exposed for radicalized groups to exploit. So understanding these causes is central in the process of taking measures for reducing the chances for students from private universities to fall into the deception of radicalization in Bangladesh. Qualitative data findings have worked as an important tool to unearth that under what kind circumstances students tends to get radicalized.

4.2.1. Role of ideology:

It is a clear trend in the process of radicalization, that perpetrators link up or at least wants them to be seen that s/he belongs to a particular faith or ideology, which will eventually portray them as a representative of a certain portion of society or population. By carefully choosing certain part of the religious scripture they can legitimize their goal and means of attaining that goal. On the focus group discussion, students from NSU answered very clearly about the question of motivation (see annex) when they were asked about the motivation of those personals who have joined radical groups and did terrorist act from their university.

“The main motivation behind their involvement towards radicalization and terrorist act is originated in religion. They were brainwashed by certain individuals by using quotation from religious verses in a way which is manipulated. Ideology played a big role for their descent into terrorism” (interview,14 June, 2016)

The role of ideology was common as this paper continued to interview the security person. On the question about describing the reasons behind student radicalization.

“The main driver for their radicalization was mainly religious ideology and in addition there was no economical incentives that drove them towards radicalization.” (Interview,20 June 2016)

Here it is important to look at that role of ideology primarily and only derived from the religion and a certain teaching of the religion namely *Wahabism*. The respondents also mention the absence of economic incentives, none of the perpetrators was drawn towards radical groups for

any economic gain, the perpetrators family background also supports this, they are not from poor or deprived. In turn, it also supports the firm presence of ideological influence. But only ideology derived from religion is not enough to motivate individual for walking through the path of terrorism coupled with the lack of economic incentives. As mentioned by my interviewee.

“There is no silver bullet, and it is a combination of factors which depends on circumstances. Global environment like Daesh and sense of victimhood and also an enabling fact inside the country like violent politics combined with other social factors” (Interview,19 July,2016)

There should be other pull factors that work as a tool to attract students. Due to the close relationship between radicalization and religion, the role of sense of meaning with life and after life benefits is crucial to understand the radicalization process.

4.2.2. Motivations and Influences:

There are a lot of incentives that extremist organizations offer to individuals to get new recruits. Among those incentives providing a meaning for life and spiritual benefits are significant. These benefits offered by extremist groups are alluring for an individual in his early 20's. Promise for a death of Shaheed (martyr), having seen as a respectful individual in a closely knitted group, promise of having Zannat (paradise) and let alone having 70 virgins there.

“First sense of being considered as a martyr, if the recruits dies during the course of terrorist act, second radical groups challenges recruits faith and third accomplishing a mission would increase individuals respect within the group” (Interview, June 25 2016)

What the respondent meant here is that young mind is on search for his role in the bigger picture when he ends up in an arena of educational institutions. In a new environment different from what he experienced in the earlier life, attracted by Recruiter come with range of benefits both in earthly life and in the afterlife. Youths looking for his role in the society gets charmed by those preachers by their brotherly behavior and soft speaking approach. They managed to give the answers to complicated issues in a plain word that make individual interested in extremist views and agenda. As mentioned by Doosje et al. (2013) extremist groups provide uncertain young people with a clear black and white ideology, including norms and values and strict code of behaviors. According to Jenkins (2007) message from global jihad is for the individual, it is

addressing issues that Islamic community faces like assaults from infidels and their apostate allies and all the threats that it bears like cultural, social and military. “The antidote to these threats is jihad, not as a spiritual quest, but as an armed defense. This is a religious obligation incumbent upon all true believers” (Jenkins 2007)p.3. From the sense of religious believe, we need to look at how Haider has been legitimized as a target and put upon on those individuals who killed him, as test for their religious believe. Haider was critical about extremist form of Islam through his blog on social media and was also accused of mocking Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The sense of saving Islam by demolishing its critics has worked as coming out as winner when their faith is challenged. Accomplishing such task increases individual’s respect within the group. Through performing such task, they attain a radical view of the world which base on the superiority of Muslim and the group that they are speaking for.

4.2.3. Sense of Superiority:

On the question of individual motivation alongside ideology, sense of superiority plays a key role as described by the law enforcing personnel who has worked on securing the bloggers in the country.

“They consider themselves as a superior than the people surrounds them. They think that they have better knowledge and understanding of socio-economic and religious facts than others” (Interview, 25 June 2016)

The role of superiority helps us to understand how individuals and groups legitimize their acts against innocent civilians both Muslims and non-Muslims. As described by Streusand (1997) from the broader perspective of waging Jihad. It is a political agenda rather than a religious agenda, which sees its completion by supersession over all the other faiths and creating a just social and political system for Muslims. Besides, sense of superiority helps to hardened the bond inside closely knitted groups. In order to harden the bonding, they choose narratives of victimization, “We are special or chosen group (superiority) who have been unfairly treated and betrayed (injustice)”(McCauley & Moskalenko 2008)P.416.

The validity of ideology and cognitivism in the radicalization process is well established, but it is not the only thing we should be looking in. “It may be that ideology is more context dependent

than most other social science terms”(Gerring 1997)p.983. According to Neumann (2013) the people who perpetrate terrorism can not be isolated from the social and political context in which they emerge. British intelligence service MI5 found in a study on number of British jihadist “that most individuals in the sample had some vulnerability in their background that made them receptive to extremist ideology.”(Travis 2008a). In the search of vulnerability on a personal level, this paper questioned security personnel to know about those sentenced individuals’ personal history. On the issue about individual’s past criminal record.

4.2.4. Absence of criminal background:

Bearing in mind about the background of perpetrators of terrorist acts in Paris in November 2015 Abdelhamid Abaaoud and others who has conducted terrorist acts in western lands has a criminal background from where they emerged. “This is an acute observation, although it’s scarcely surprising that westernized recruits to ISIS are just and lawless as their patrons in Syria and Iraq- the true originator of punk jihad.”(COTTEE 2016).This encouraged researcher to shed light on perpetrators past, which can be used as to determinate, who can be extremist and help us to build a terrorist profile. To get the answer, this paper turned to the security person from CTTC of DMP about those perpetrators past life.

“No there was no criminal background of any of the individuals’ prior to the killing of Rajib Haider according to the investigation team” (Interview, June 20, 2016)

As Simcox (2015) has found in his study of 32 terrorist plot in 10 European countries over the course of July 2014 to August 2015 involving 58 individuals, where 78 percent of the individuals does not have any previous crime record. This finding supports that overwhelmingly most of the individuals that take part in terrorist act does not have notable law breaking tendency in their past life. Lack of past criminal records also challenges the understanding of why a certain individual encourages to take part in religious terrorism, as it is clearly demonstrated that they are not motivated by regretting criminal acts in their past life and using religion as a way to fix everything. This kind of clean background makes thing more difficult for security agencies to track down a possible terrorist, which makes sense to look out in the broader political part.

4.2.5. Political circumstances:

Obviously, individuals committing terrorism and inflicting pain and terror are solely responsible for what they have done, but the circumstances, where these kinds of crime emerges does not fall in short in terms of responsibilities. The killing of Rajib Haider took place in the country in the midst of deep political polarization. There was a rift among the main political parties concerning the fact of capital punishment of criminals against humanity. On the one hand current ruling party Awami League aligned with the popular demand placed by educated, secular young people. On the hand Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) allied with Jamaat Islami which is accused for its role in the liberation war in 1971 and its top leaders were accused of committing crime against humanity at during liberation struggle. Government has used this issue for suppressing opposition and shifted its resources towards it

“Since 2012 starting from 2006 containment of terrorism or terrorist groups was working good but soon after government has introduced its policy of destructing the opposition and shifted its security resources to crash opposition, extremist elements started getting momentum” (Interview, 19 July, 2016)

Government’s failure to bring together all the parties and building a consensus among the political parties regarding crimes against humanity has created a polarization within the country. Jamaat is considered as the third largest political party in the country and largest Islamist party. The biggest opposition BNP has supported the Jamaat because of their alliance.

Bangladeshi politics is characterized as accusing opposition by the government for all the irregularities and crisis in the country, and opposition critics are only destined to oppose the government and the only struggle is to get back to power. So opposition failed to address popular demand and created a detachment from the population. In addition to that speech-making by the political leaders which is always degrading the opposition, full of intolerance.

“We are using very violent rhetoric in the political system. A sense of distrust has been installed in the society by the political distrust among the parties” (Interview, 19 July, 2016)

The other major flaw in the country’s politics is not having enough democratic space for everyone. Major parties do not practice democracy inside them. Family linear is followed for

succession for the top post of the party. The presence of student wings of political parties, in educational institutions often results in violence and disruption of the academic proceedings.

“There are grievances which is derived from absence of descent politics and squeezed space for students to take part in the political parties then the religious proximity of the society” (Interview, June 21, 2016)

Students from private universities are not allowed to take part in the normal political process. What possibly has given them a sense left behind in the political process, but did not manage to kill the wish for a political identity or a quest for bigger identity than a merely an individual. Here come the extremist recruiters with an agenda of saving not only national but global Muslim Ummah, thus providing a bigger political identity for the individual. Political grievances are not only derived from lack of participation but also from the political system of the country and current regime.

4.2.6. Legitimacy of the government:

The issue of government’s legitimacy in holds range of issues that need to be dealt with. On the previous part this paper it had touched a key point of political culture in the country, but there are issues like the political system, representation and election process that are decisive factors that give government legitimacy to rule. As an integral part of the Islamist terrorist ideology, that they denounce the legitimacy of the democracy and believe in that man made rule in a form of constitution is not Islamic.

“They consider the system as `jahiliya` (days of ignorance), they think country with Muslim majority should only be ruled according to the Sharia not democracy. They believe in revolting against the system and kufr (disbelieve) must be wipe out” (Interview, 21 June 2016)

This radical view of the state system makes them believe that the government is not really a government for the people particularly not for majority Muslim, thus challenging the authority through taking the law on their own hand. As in the case of the killing of Rajib Haider and subsequent killing of other bloggers in 2105 and onwards poses that, these elements within the society does not believe in the normal judicial process thus they took the initiative to avenge the criticism of Islam. They perceived the silence of government as a betrayal.

“They felt betrayed because Rajib Haider was critical about Islam and mocked Prophet Muhammad(PBUH) and government’s action fall short to address that issue in majority Muslim country” (Interview, 25 June, 2016)

The sense of betrayal seems to be an important element of pyramid model of radicalization as (McCauley & Moskalenko 2008) they described the group as holding a perception of unfair treatment and betrayed as of injustice. This sense of betrayal could be the result of lack of representation as well.

“There was a strong sense of lack of representation in the decision-making process” (Interview, 25 June, 2016)

On the other hand, the sense of representation could be described as government’s lack of will power to implement blasphemous laws concerning to the fact of bloggers. In another sense, the parliament was lacking representation of major Islamic party Jamaat e Islami in a time period of Awami League’s first period from 2009 to 2014. Either away lack of representation was there, and this lacking is described by Moghaddam (2005) in his staircase model, as a key source of perceived injustice and lack of support towards authority on the first floor of the radicalization process.

Altogether with the lack of legitimacy of government and political culture of the country does give a clear picture for student radicalization in the country for two reasons. Despite the number of people those felt betrayed and not being represented is far more than the number of terrorists has emerged and there was over the course of the history, when Bangladesh has experienced the act of terror despite the same political circumstances. But it is also true that the political polarization among the major parties and violence on the street was on high at these time period starting from 2013 to all the way to 2015. It would not be wrong to describe political circumstances as a catalyst for radicalization. However, political circumstances within the country are just one piece of the very complex puzzle of radicalization. The international political situation bears an equal importance for understanding the radicalization process.

4.2.7. Influence from outside:

Given the nature of the country's political structure, it has been in this way for at least after the country has started its walking in the democratic pathway since 1990. There should be other than only political culture. The possible answer rests in the global situation and increase of fanaticism. The political circumstances coupled with global phenomenon. Based on this assumption this paper has turned on to put forward this question to the interviewee from BEI.

“The reinterpretation of the jihadi concept from *al jihad al akbar* to *al jihad al asghar* by groups like al Qaeda and lately by ISIS” (interview, 21 June 2016)

What the interviewee meant here, is the conversion of the jihad. According to Streusand (1997) Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) described warfare after coming back from a war as lesser jihad or *al jihad al asghar*, compare to the bigger jihad *al jihad al akbar* and describing *al jihad al akbar* as one's struggle against own self. But the groups like al Qaeda and other Islamist extremist groups has really turned the table and put forward *al Jihad al asghar* in front of *al jihad al akbar* as a form of constant warfare and as a struggle between civilization. This notion of struggle has been reemerged or reshaped. If we look into the sudden rise of jihadi ideology in the international arena after a pause, by killing of Osama bin Laden through the Arab spring and long lasting Syrian civil war. The war in Syria has managed to help the resurgent of *Jihadi* ideology in the international context coupled with the bloodbath in Libya. The enormous suffering of the civilian population in these conflicts has undoubtedly shocked the young mind and made them vulnerable to the jihadi ideology. This means that the influence of their international view surely has an impact on their decision making and their persuasion of the global system

“There is a strong Us Vs Them view present in all the perpetrators, where Us are the Muslims all over the world and Them are the Western governments” (Interview, 25 June 2016)

The ongoing violence in majority Muslim population countries and the sufferings of the civilian population in the conflict situation has helped to shape this view. As put forward by the interviewee from the CTTC of DMP.

“Palestinian cause has strong influence in shaping their world view coupled with sufferings of the fellow Muslims in Myanmar” (Interview, 20 June 2016)

The importance of national and international circumstances is bold in the course of radicalization. As described by Pick et al. (2009) general frustration over national or global politics or historical events are also leading to feelings of humiliation and apathy. But in the shaping of the Us Vs Them and using the international certain conflicts is a practice that is performed from inside the traditional practice of religion. Touched by the interviewee from BEI.

“Local mullahs in the country are responsible for creating a fertile ground for radicalization, as they continued to talk about international issues and putting western nations responsible for all the sufferings of the Muslims all over the world in Friday’s religious preaching” (Interview, 21June,2016)

There is no single cause that can be hold up as single reasons that is about to describe why students from private universities are joining extremist groups. Rather it is a complex mixture of multiple pushes and pull factors that derives from personal and structural causes. And those structural causes contain both national and international causes, which is manipulated by forces from inside and outside of the country. Considering outside influence, one important piece of the puzzle at least for the era of globalization is Internet.

4.2.8. Online radicalization:

Globalization of the world has managed to demolish walls that has previously left state authority to restrict an individual from engaging in the global stage. “Individual can increasingly act on the world stage directly - unmediated by a state”(Friedman 2000)p.13. The Internet has facilitated this act and it is also available for extremist groups to manipulate this opportunity in order to reach to the farthest corner of the earth to the single individual. Simultaneously individuals have also been equipped with the tool to get connected with jihadi ideology. The very sense of getting connected with the internet and global free web of communication gives a sense of global citizen and establishing a connection with a jihadi forum gives the feel of a part of a bigger movement. “Without the restraints from real interactions with the social world, this virtual world allows extreme violence against the presumed conspirators against virtual Ummah”(Sageman 2004)p.161. This feeling of virtual Ummah gives individual incentives to fight, kill and get killed in the name of bigger achievement and defending a higher cause. Moreover, the internet allows according to Neumann et al. (2007) recruits among like-minded and communicate beyond their

core groups of friends and conspirators. The limits of Internet do not stop only on connection or recruitment but has far reaching implication. “The internet has been used extensively by the plotters of terrorist attacks in choosing targets, formulating the mode of attack and acquiring the technical capability” (Silber et al. 2007)p.47. Using the internet for the purpose of radicalization is not new, so where does it fits in today’s context and why it bears more significance than before? The answer relies on social media as White House’s counter radicalization report mentioned, “the important role the internet and social networking sites play in advancing violent extremism narratives”(House 2011)p.6. The user number of social media (Facebook, Tweeter , YouTube, Google+) is enormous and extremist groups have jumped in to exploit that opportunity to reach to the mass number of population with little or no risk and almost free of cost. “Social media differs from traditional and conventional media in many aspects, such as in interactivity, reach, frequency, usability, immediacy and performance”(Weimann 2014)p.2.For example according to Berger and Morgan (2015), most conservative estimated number of Daesh supportive tweeter counts 46000 and maximum 90000, and the most number of account created in the month of September 2014. So how do the internet and social media influencing student radicalization in Bangladesh?

“There are immense amounts of influence from social media (e.g.: Facebook, Tweeter), it works like a primary mood of recruitment and principal source of indoctrination, because it facilitates interpersonal, individualized and customized communication” (Interview, 19 July 2016)

Bangladesh has been according to Alam (2015) named “State of Broadband 2013” by International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and UNESCO. This is significant in its merit because of the large number tech-savvy young population in the country. According to PRB (2013) Bangladesh has a population of 46.7 million youths ages between 10-24 which is 30 percent of the total population. Availability of cheap smartphone in the country has given the youth access to the internet facility. Students from the private university have a better accessibility considering the infrastructural facility is given to them, because all the private universities this researcher has visited for questionnaire survey experienced the presence of Wi-Fi network. So it is presumable that private university students have frequent access to the internet which makes it easy for them to take a look at the jihadi propaganda or make them vulnerable to come into contact with jihadi propaganda through social media. Circumstances outside the

country is an important variable which coupled with an important variable like institution, where students stay a large chunk of their daily life.

4.2.9. Role of Institution:

Because the perpetrators of the killing of Rajib Haider from same educational institution, this paper head out to look into for any clues that can emerge from particular institutions, which may help us to understand, why students got radicalized. The same institution came into the forefront of the discussion as it has been revealed that at least one of the attacker in the Holy Artisan Bakery in 1st July 2016, which has resulted in the killing of 20 individuals including 17 westerners belong to the same North South University. In addition to that according to eduicon (2016) one of the individuals who took part in the attack near the eid gathering for prayer marking the end of Ramadan just after less than a week later the Dhaka hostage crisis also belongs to North South University. According to bdnews24 (2016) at least of the influential ministers has indicated taking actions against North South University. On my focus interview, combined with students from NSU, put force on one particular thing about individuals who has taken part in the Rajib Haider killing in 2013.

“They were brainwashed, they were motivated by purely religious term, they were motivated from outside and there was nothing to do with the university” (Interview, 14 June 2016)

There is a sense of defending own institution that seems to work here, which make the interviewer curious about knowing the integration or students’ activities in the university. On this question (see annex) one participant came to answer it.

“There is individual freedom here if someone thinks that he will participate in clubbing, he can choose from 22 clubs in the campus. It is entirely his own decision” (Interview, 14 June, 2016)

Here it is important to make mark that students are given choices to make themselves belong to any community. But only facilitation of belonging does not stop ideas to flourish including *Jihadi* ideology. What is about the security issue? (see annex)

“No we have not approached by any extremist groups inside university and the security system is very strong and it is very unlikely that someone can come into and able to spread jihadi ideology”

(Interview, 14 June, 2016)

The nature of the security also echoed in the voice of teacher from the same university, on that particular interview one other important thing which my interviewee described.

“The relationship between teacher and student is in a healthy situation” (interview, June 21).

Level of security, clubbing for integration and healthy student-teacher relation leaves the question, why there is a number terror incident where students from that particular institution came out. But the problem does not really reside with any particular institution.

“Private universities lacks cultural activities, which keeps students busy and creates space for interaction, socialization, positive competition and good human being” (Interview, 19 July 2016)

The lack of cultural activities is being a problem not only for the students from private university but also for the families of affluent society in the country. This lack of cultural activities drives them away from their cultural identity, which they want to fill up with a larger identity sometimes it is in a form of westernized or as a sense of global Muslim Ummah.

4.2.10. Role of family:

Radicalization from peer to peer is a common form at least in the recent times when we see individuals taking part in terrorist act as pair from the same family. According to Times (2016) and Nagourney et al. (2016) The Kouachi brothers in the Charlie Hebdo shooting in Paris in January 2015, Abdeslam brothers in Paris attack November 2015, Tsarnaev brothers in Boston Marathon bombing, Bakraoui brothers in Brussels attack and newly married couple in the san Bernardino attack all the way to the 3 pairs of brothers in the 9/11 attack in 2001. The trend is particularly important because of the radicalization of individuals who was not known previously to the security agencies for any kind of radical acts before the terrorist acts that they performed.

“Those who do make such a leap without prior activism often do so at the hand of radicalized family members or friends who transfer their radicalism onto others by virtue of having preexisting bonds of trust and personal interdependence”(Hafez 2016). Based on such assumption that there could be an influential figure from the family that drove those individual towards radicalization, the researcher put forward this question to the interviewee from the CTTC of

DMP in Bangladesh.

“Mastermind’s families have an attachment to radical groups but sentenced students did not have a family member or kinship relationship who had had a radicalized background.” (Interview, 20 June, 2016)

An absence of such relationship made researcher think about, what other kind of influence from the family could possibly be there. As described by Wallace-Wells (2016) that families of those brothers who took part in terrorist acts does not work as a single unit, rather works like nesting box and holds compartments within compartments. This line of description for families does apply for the families from Bangladesh as well.

“Affluent families in Bangladesh distanced them from the mainstream culture of society, lacking sense of challenge in life. Also hierarchical structure of the family that deters children to talk with their parents about problems in the fear of negative feedback” (Interview, 19 July, 2016)

Country’s economic development has managed to create a new section in the country, who has because of their new status started to distance them from the culture of the country and began to behave as more westernized. This is not an extensive commonality among the student in private university.

“There is a growing number of students who are not coming from wealthy upper middle class families and lot of students coming from small towns as well” (Interview 19 July, 2016)

Although there is a growing number of students coming from middle class family, the nature of radicalization within the private university students has been observed in the students who are from upper middle-class and affluent and also from big cities. So, the question remains how students got radicalized.

“The customized and individualized messages that individuals receiving through social media shares with like minded and here comes the group dynamics, which enables them to reinforce their radical believe. It may be in the campus may be in the club or playing field” (Interview, 19 July 2016)

This shows us a bottom-up approach where individual takes the initiative to get radicalized and

the presence of group dynamics.

In the qualitative findings what has come out is a range of issues that facilitates individual's descent into radicalization. The Role of ideology is seeming to have an important place in the student radicalization process as number of interviewees has touched it and also emerged from the focus group discussion with students from NSU. The role of ideology got further strengthened as we discovered motivational factors derives from religion, work as a pull factor for individual for radicalization. Religion also works to shape individual's world view and shape a supreme position for own self and for the particular faith.

One significant finding that emerged from the qualitative result is the absence of any criminal background of perpetrators as opposed to European terrorists or extremists. But none of the causes is so influential on an individual than structural causes. Which includes political circumstances within the country, the political culture of the country and lack of legitimacy for the ruling regime of the country. Among these causes, political culture and policy of suppression got the most attention from the interviewee These are the factors that interviewees put pressure to describe why students engage in extremist acts. But all together these structural causes fall short to describe why such radicalization is taking place now? The answer relies on the international milieu, as qualitative data found a substantial level of influence from international rise in the terrorist act has influenced the rise of terrorism and student radicalization. This emergence of terrorism on the world stage has carried out to the students by the internet and particularly by social media.

5. Discussion:

5.1. Sense of deprivation:

The role of relative deprivation as a reason for radicalization has been present in the private university student radicalization in Bangladesh as well. This research has found from the quantitative survey that Students from NSU felt that inability to pay money for having a job make their future more vulnerable. We need to bear in mind that students from NSU pay more for their education, than all the other universities that have been surveyed even in the country. Despite having this costly education they find themselves in a situation where they can not find a job without paying money. This is a harsh reality in Bangladesh, as it stays according to Transparency International (2015) on 139 position among 168 countries in corruption perceptions index 2015. According to Chayes (2016) corruption perpetrated by officials of many governments around the world, helping to generate terrorist threat. Socio-economy as a source for radicalization does not seem to have big influence but has an influence which very normal to speculate, that increase in the level of satisfaction will eventually decrease the chances of radicalization. This claim got further strengthened when we look at the data from NSU. Students are equally divided among two groups, one who are happy with the economic support from the family and the other feels that the help they are getting is falls short of their expectation. “It is argued that tension based on the perception of deprivation is the basic condition for participation in collective civil violence.”(Brynjar & Skjølberg 2007). We can see it from another dimension as well, as we found on qualitative findings that, not all the students that are joining private university are from neither from big cities nor from upper middle-class family. So there is a variation of capabilities among the families of individuals. It means there is a difference in capabilities of families. So because as we saw in the general information part students are dependent on their family’s money for education and monthly expenses their lifestyle may differ. So students who may not able to attain the life style of his fellow classmate may discover himself on disequilibrium.

5.2 Modernization of the society:

The role of family has also found in the finding part as we saw how interviewee linked the economic development with the decrease in the family bonding. “(T)errorism is fundamentally a reaction to the world as revealed and reorganized by science.” Dingley (2016)p.7. This re-

organisation is felt in the family as well, where there is increasing lack of challenges in the family due to the economic well-being. Modernization of families especially in the upper middle class and upper class of the society left them in a situation where they can not go back to their traditions or cultures and can not incorporate the sense of modernization. Clearly, there is a sign of transition. “(T)he real culprit is social anarchy produced by globalization and the difficulties attending the transition to a market economy”(Mousseau 2006). One interesting point to be made here that there is the presence of transformation within the family as well, on the one hand, there is a touch of modernization but on the contrary there is the presence of the traditional structure of family where a hierarchy is present. So it is understandable that this has very little influence. The role of the family did not look so important as we compare those individuals with individuals from Europe who was joining radical groups. Because in European case we saw an influence from family, where individual has already a member of family radicalized in number of cases, which is not present in the case of Bangladeshi students. What is present is the group dynamics, as one of my interviewees indicated that individual take initiative to get radicalized and then share his view with like minded and thus reinforcing their radical view.

5.3 Development in Communication:

How does individual at the first stage got indoctrinated? The answer exists in with the social media and the development of interpersonal communication with individual in the farthest corner of the globe. As we found in the finding this interpersonal communication helped to indoctrinate a person with customized and individualized information. This process has been designated as *Framing Theory*. “This is a recursive process in which the movement’s idea entrepreneurs attempt to frame message in ways that will best resonate with the interests, attitudes and beliefs of its potential constituency”(Borum 2011a). This phenomenon also inclines with the modernization of the communication and media and as well, how terrorist organizations are manipulating that opportunity. But here it is important to mention that this *Framing Theory* has enjoyed an increased use now a day through the rapid development of communication and social media. And this development could be understood under the *Social Learning Theory*. As it has been described by Albert Bandura that Individual can learn from observation and there is evident process for that learning “(t)he final process governing observational learning involves

motivational value” (Grusec 1992). Individual to engage in extremism there are plenty of motivation, and the largest of all get a global attention to a cause and to a group.

5.4 Global upsurge of intolerance:

In recent days the upsurge of intolerance in the country could be understood as a consequence of the global upsurge of terrorism, specially with the emergence of Daesh and groups that has pledged allegiance to them. “Incidents of terrorism in other countries are observed and then performed as a direct consequence of that observation”(Crenshaw et al. 1980).On the qualitative findings we saw how students are described as sourcing their grievances from international conflicts for example Palestinian cause and Muslim repression in Myanmar. This kind of phenomenon having been addressed by *Contagion Theory*. The contagion theory is to explain why conflict in one country is replicate or imitated by another group in another country.

5.5. Finding oneself in the world stage:

Looking into the causes derives from outside the country in order to understand violence and students` radicalization in the country, leads us to look at, how students perceive the world situation. Half of the students in the quantitative survey responded in support of the sense of Us versus Them, where Us are Muslims all over the world and Them are western governments. “Terrorism requires having divided people into two categories: those whose interest are to be advanced through terrorist activities (“us”) and those against whom the terrorist activities are to be directed (“them”)” (Schwartz et al. 2009). The interviewee from counter terrorism branch revealed that, sentenced students also holds the sense of categorical thinking. Implication of this categorical thinking in radicalization has been shown by Moghaddam (2005) in his staircase model, where he described on the fourth floor the necessity of social categorization as psychological process for individual’s radicalization.

5.6. State of Ideology within students:

This categorization does not represent the initial stage but rather an advance stage, when individual has already come through ideological indoctrinations and evolved as a potential radicalized individual, who is ready to commit atrocity. This picture does not represent the students that this paper has surveyed. So we need to look back and try to understand what is the ideological stands for these students. The qualitative data findings demonstrate that there was

large implication of ideology on the individuals, who has been sentenced for their extremist acts. Data from focus group interview and interviewee from CTTC of DMP both unequivocally condemned ideology for their descent into radicalization. Consequently, qualitative data also got answer which does not blame ideology for the central cause of students' descent into radicalization but rather looked at the political and international circumstances for those individuals' radicalization. To look for a cause which is triggering for individuals' radicalization this paper turned to the quantitative survey and start exploring the ideological causes, which was embedded with questions that are not offending to any participant.

According to Fuller (2003) many radical Islamist cite Qur'anic verses to justify intolerance. So this paper began search for extremist ideological element within students from the sense of intolerance. The quantitative finding showed that 63 percent of the surveyed students supported the idea of silencing the critics of Islam. This number has increased among the students from NSU. The understanding that emerges from this finding does incline with the sense that, there is an indulgence among the students about intolerance, which does also represent by extremist groups as well. Extremist groups have managed to successfully exploit this feeling at least within the students from NSU, from where we have seen a number of students joined extremist groups and took part in terrorist acts. This in turn justifies the finding in the qualitative part. Ideological motivation or radicalization and eventually taking part in terrorist acts better understood through the lenses of *Rational Choice Theory*. This particular theory describes why despite knowing the consequences (e.g., violence, possibility of being killed, jeopardizing relationship with family, possible risk of getting arrested) that follows joining a radical group, individuals join radical groups. If the relative gain outweighs losses, then individuals join radical groups. In the case of Haider killing the possible gain could be serving a greater cause of saving the faith or avenging the mocking of prophet (PBUH). Opposite to the values that Bangladeshi constitution is based on and also contrary to the democratic spirit of the country.

5.7. Legitimation for Democracy:

“One major problem with Islamist groups in general is that they don't conceive of any separation between politics and religion and presume that the state should govern both their daily habit and the laws of Islam.”(Jordan & Boix 2004). Extremist groups turn this to implementation of strict form of Sharia (Islamic jurisprudence). Where do students find themselves between

democracy and Sharia? In the questionnaire survey this research found that 70 percent of the respondents supports Sharia as a legitimate form of state ruling form, because Bangladesh is a majority Muslim country. In addition, 63 percent of the student thinks an Islamic regime should take over the power because of the same cause. In both cases NSU students overwhelmingly supported the Sharia as well as Islamic regime. Due to the fact that students this paper has surveyed are not necessarily, the one who are radicalized, so best we can come forward is speculate a situation based on the data we found. Given the situation of disbelief for the democratic system and intolerance towards different opinion, as individual took initiative to get engaged with like minded people as we found in the qualitative data, reinforces their radical ideology and directs their hate towards an enemy (e.g. critics of Islam). “Socialization within radical organization facilitates the use of violent behaviour through learning mechanisms of moral disengagement”.(Crossett & Spitaletta 2010). Above mention phenomenon can be useful to describe, how individual delegitimize a democratic system of governance but it is not clear why individual holds such radical idea. A key influence for students to have extreme holdings could be related to the political circumstances of the country.

5.8. Democracy and Terrorism:

Political system and radicalization is intertwined, tracing causes for radicalization worth looking into the political system. “the availability of greater political representation in democracies provides alternative means of political action to terrorism”(Wade & Reiter 2007). On the other hand “(d)emocratic countries provide relatively more freedom of speech, movement, and association, permitting parochial interests to get organized and reducing the costs of conducting terrorist activities.”(Li 2005). Literatures within the political dimension of the phenomenon of terrorism gives us a different lens to look at terrorism and their overarching view. From the political discourse it looks like more of political struggle rather than religious struggle. According to Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011) the goal of Islamic extremist organizations is to politicize religion or a ideology in the cost of secular governments and also establishing authentic Islamic governments and implement Islamic laws and its world view. In pursuing so they demonize the democratically elected government and use it to radicalize youth. Government has also paved the way to demonize itself by adapting a policy of repression on opposition political parties and particularly on religious party. “ The renewal of extremism represented by the bloggers’ killing

is tied to the creeping secular authoritarianism of the Awami League.”(Macdonald 2016). So governments continuous repression on opposition made a situation where opposition does not practice their democratic rights, thus creating a ground for extremist groups to thrive and radicalize youths and students.

5.9. Government's legitimacy:

Inspiration or facilitation for terrorism can also derive from, how a government is ruling the country. In this research it is found that majority students do not believe government is ensuring human rights for it's citizen. The qualitative findings presented a positive correlation between higher number of students' opinion about government's low ensuring of human rights and probability of getting radicalized. The same applies as we looked how students feels about their representation political process. Majority of the students feel that yes they are left behind in the political process, which also indicates positive correlation with probability of being radicalized. So here we are seeing a situation where students from private university do feel that they are left behind in the political process due to not being allowed to take part in the political parties' students wing in the country and simultaneously they feel government does not ensure human rights for its citizen, which gives them a sense that system is not open for all. “(S)emi open societies (partial democracies) are most prone to terrorism because they cannot capitalize on the advantages of either “pure” regime”(Krieger & Meierrieks 2011). Semi open character of country's democracy is even bolder, when we look at qualitative data, where participants has expressed their concern about the squeezed space for students to take part in the normal political process. Another participant has talked about the violent culture of country's politics and government's character of accusing opposition for any irregularities in the country and act of suppression, which altogether created a space where there are enough ingredients to source grievance and extremist groups to manipulate students. In 2015 and 2016 Bangladesh has experienced a series of blogger killing together with minority religious leader and academics. Extremist groups like Daesh and AQIS took responsibilities for these killings, but government was not acknowledging the presence of any transnational terrorist branch in Bangladesh. Government is accusing opposition for this terror. “The ruling party leaders insists that opposition political parties are trying to tarnish the good image of the government by killing the foreigners”(Riaz & Rahman 2016). Findings in the qualitative part discovered that accusing

opposition government create space for extremist groups to flourish, because security arrangement shift their focus on opposition political party rather than extremist groups. Government is also squeezing political space for opposition religious political parties. This gave a momentum to extremist groups to thrive and spread their ideology among student because “as democratic space has started to shrink, it has created a hospitable environment for the militant groups to operate”(Parkinson 2015a).

This research was destined to answer why students from private universities and who are also from affluent families join extremist groups despite having all the economic facilities and having secular education. Answering this question was never before this much important as the whole country has stunned in the case seizure of café in Dhaka on 1st of July. Particularly because perpetrators of that attack was also young university going individuals. As information and broadcasting minister Hassanul Haq Inna described the perpetrators of that attack “were from a top school and university in Dhaka...the parents of these boys are normal and have secular credentials”(James Griffiths 2016). Answering this question is also very important because the demographic composition of population, there are large number of youth population now in Bangladesh. One third of country’s population are now between 10-24 years, which could emerge as a problem in near future, if country does not manage to create job for this population.

Research finding has exposed that there are multiple reasons, behind individual’s decision behind joining radical groups. From the findings of qualitative data, it suggests that the possible process of radicalization is bottom up where individual actively seeks opportunity to get radicalized and start socializing with like minded people and consequently creating a group dynamics and reinforcing his radical view. Sageman and Dela Porta was explicitly arguing the strong presence of network under *Network theory*, prior to individual joining extremist organizations. In the case of student radicalization in Bangladesh, we did not observe the same path as these two academics was describing, rather we found individual is motivated by own and seek like-minded to reinforce his believe. Now why individual at the first stage wants to get radicalized could be a range of issues. In our findings we found the influence of ideology in both qualitative and quantitative method. As we found ideology as a cause among the students from NSU as well, from where we have seen a number of students joined extremist group. There was a presence of high level of intolerance among the students from NSU as well. As we came to know that the perpetrators of

Haider killing has been also defined as ideologically motivated. Ideology could be understood as a guidance for their extremist acts “the moral and political vision that inspires their violence, shapes the way in which they see the world, and defines how they judge the actions of people and institutions”(Drake 1998). The sense of serving a greater good and achieving the spiritual benefit may have worked to inspire through an ideology and work on it. As we saw in the case of café attackers they are all normal human being and from secular family, these characteristics was common among the student that has committed atrocities. Besides prior to the crime there was no offense recorded against their name. This research did not come to know that any of the individual that took part in the Haider killing was suffering from psychological disorder. This makes it hard to believe that only ideological influence could suddenly turn a normal student a killer.

Sense of deprivation may have played a role for the process of radicalization, as we saw in the case of NSU students where half of the students thinks that they are not having enough support from family. This may have created a sense of deprivation which helped them to discover them in the disequilibrium. But this sense of disequilibrium does not get much support as we looked at the individual’s family background and all most all of them coming from a very affluent family. Besides, we have found very little significance of socioeconomic variable on probability of being radicalized, so “attempts at using socioeconomic profiling to identify potential terrorists are unlikely to be effective.”(Dalgaard-Nielsen 2010). Moreover, in their radicalization process there was no economical incentives. As Jeff Victoroff was coating Brian Crozier “Men do not necessarily rebel merely because their conditions of life are intolerable: it takes a rebel to rebel”(Victoroff 2005). Reinforcing the psychological part of individual. But we need to look at the broader picture where this kind of events took place because “(e)ven in the case terrorist who is clearly psychotic and delusional in his thinking, awareness of political realities can play a significant role in determining behavior.”(Fried 1982). Relative deprivation could be understood as form of political discrimination as well, which can emerge from government’s incapability to integrate every section of the society.

Presence of political grievances has come out as a major cause behind individual’s radicalization in both occasion and in more than one dimension it has impact on radicalization. *First* students perceive the government as an entity which has failed to ensure peoples human rights. Which

may have generated a lack of legitimation for government's authority. *Second* a big chunk of students feels that they are betrayed by the political system since they can't take part in the political process. But most of all country's political culture seems to have played a big role. Aggressive rhetoric in the political discourse and suppression of opposition. The lack of strong opposition has given ruling party unprecedented power over parliament and over people's daily life, which could be defined as one party rule. Moreover, government has been portrayed as apostate, because it did not punish the blogger who has been accused of criticizing Islam and its Prophet (PBUH). Also overwhelming majority of the students supported *Sharia* as a legitimate form of ruling, since Bangladesh is a Muslim majority country. A clear majority also support that an Islamic regime should take over the power. Only political culture or violent character of politics could not hold as responsible for the radical view of students.

The development in the communication and the nature of personnel communication has particularly set the tone for the increase in the radical view within the students. As students are found as tech savvy, they are the very first receiver of any new technological advancement and in Bangladesh recently there is a new wave of digitalization has been taking place. This new wave has also come with its cons as well. Any atrocities around the world could very easily come into contact with students. So through social media students have begun to imagine themselves in the global stage and with the oppressed. Which is really one of the key factor for their ideological reinforcement. Technological advancement has made it easy for terrorist organizations to reach individual with their black and white solution for every complex problem of the world and gave the students role to save the Muslim Ummah. "It has been proposed that candidates for terrorism are young people lacking self-esteem who have strong or even desperate to consolidate their identities"(Victoroff 2005). Students are shaping their this new identity by declaring allegiance towards extremist groups facilitated by political circumstances and eased by social media.

5. Conclusion

Radicalization of youth sector of society is a problem that has been felt by major western countries as well as countries with moderate Muslim majority population. Particularly religious radicalization, which is in the forefront of international struggle today. Unlike western European countries, where grievances can be sourced from discrimination and from backdrop of proper integration of youth from families with immigrant background, Bangladesh is experiencing that from prosperous sector of the society, who earns a good money and manage to send their children to expensive educational institutes. Radicalization of private university students' has made it clear that, role of institutions or of religion is very minimum in the radicalization process, because conventionally there was a strong believe that Madrasas (religious seminaries) and religion are to blame for radicalization. In the recent past Bangladesh has found involvement of students from country's prosperous private universities. Here it is not destined to discard the role of religion or ideology as cause for radicalization rather opposing the traditional stand point about religion as solely responsible for radicalization. Radicalization is not solely driven by any single cause, as we saw in the discussion part of this paper, rather it is a complex mix issues that covers individual's religious believe, political circumstances, modernization of the society and communication. This research has found in the quantitative part that political circumstances experienced by students, increase the probability of radicalization. In the qualitative part we found how violent culture of the political sphere creates intolerance to the young minds and makes them vulnerable to the appeal of radicalization. In this research it has also found that students follow a bottom up approach, where individual looks up for the possibility of getting radicalized. Religious and ideological factors certainly play a role for radicalization and it is result of changing social structure of the family. Political circumstances play a role when individual searches for the reinforcement of his believe and starts socializing with other like minded and creates a group dynamic. Group's ideological believe strengthened by pointing out political irregularities. So, countering radicalization needs to widen the perception and look for root causes in various source not narrowly focusing on any single cause.

A holistic effort is needed to confront this challenges. Governments and law enforcing agencies need to take proactive effort rather than reactive. International terrorist organizations are planning to get their influence not for short time but in the longer run, so countering this phenomenon

should also need long term solution. In the case of radicalization there is no silver bullet neither in the case of radicalization nor in the case of counter radicalization. Work need to done in the educational level, societal level, technological level as well as political level. On the educational level there should be teaching about the religious tolerance and peacefulness of the religion of Islam. Societal level need to build up a friendly relationship between children and parents where young can share their experiences with their family and parents need to spend more time with children and a cultural environment should be build in the family which admires the tradition and culture of the country. There should be some measure through which we can able to resist youths from unbound access to internet and more precisely communicating media which facilitates interpersonal communication. This should be happening on the family and on the policy level there should monitoring of sites which contains extremist ideology and banned them. In the political level there should enough space created where everyone is able to take part, government need to reach out to the opposition and bring them to the negotiation table on various issue including the issue of student radicalization. Political parties need to develop sense of tolerance for opposing opinion and pay respect to opponent. International community need to expand their help on various issue starting with counter radicalization. Here one thing need to remind Bangladesh is a young nation where democracy is still finding its feet, so we need time we need support.

This research has gone through difficulties of getting data from the destined actors, because of the sensitivity of the issue. Except students my interviewees were cautious about taking part in the interview. In addition, this interviewee from security apparatus was giving information supportive to government policy of accusing opposition and making ideology as a major driver for radicalization. In that sense including convicted personals would have been giving more accurate understanding. It was not possible because they are serving punishment. Best could be can be done to get interview of the previously convicted and served their term of punishment, but those personals were scared to come along and talk about their past life. Interview with convicted students' family could have also provide valuable insight. Student radicalization could be better understood looking into more universities and larger number of population. This paper acknowledges that there could be different outcome if it was a bigger population. More tailor-made methodological approach and comparative analysis would have increase the validity and reliability of the data.

7. References

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8. Appendix

Gender:

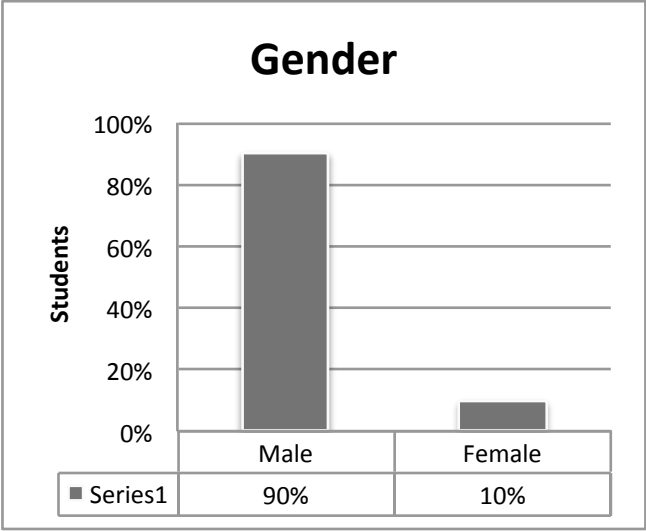
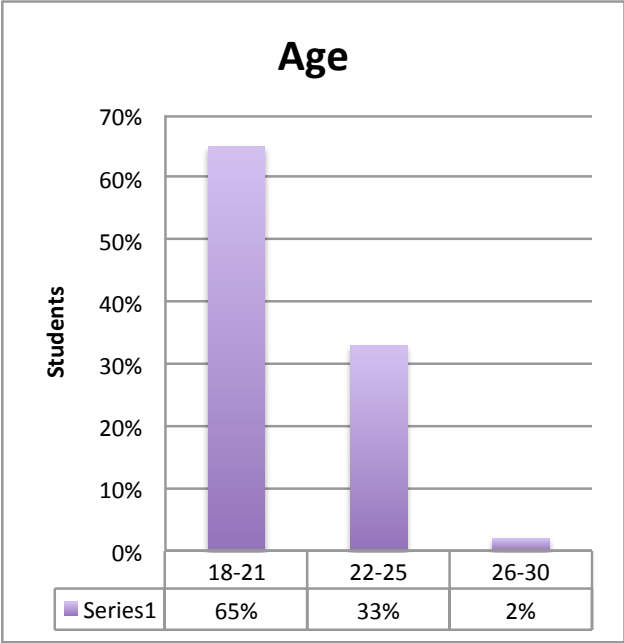
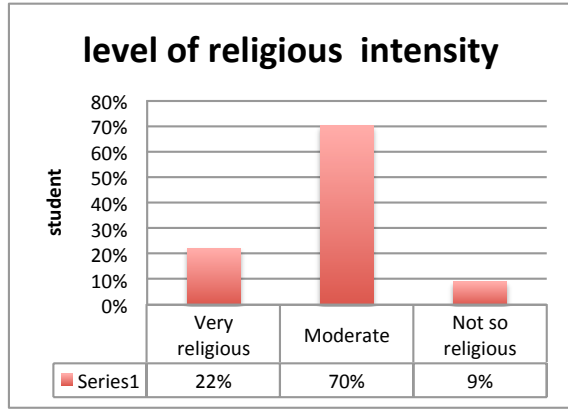


Figure: Percentage of students in Gender

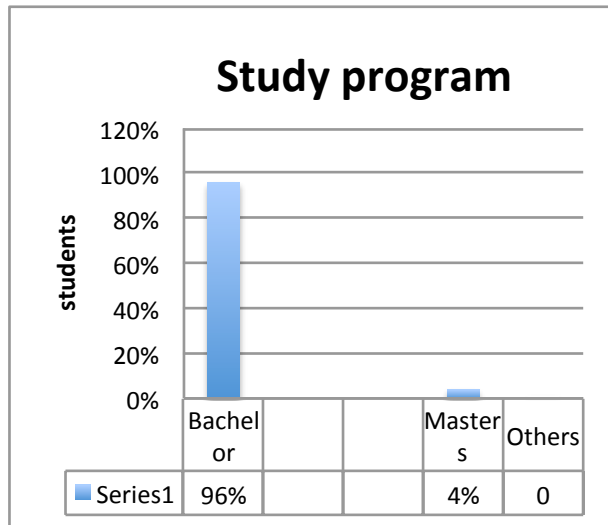
Age:



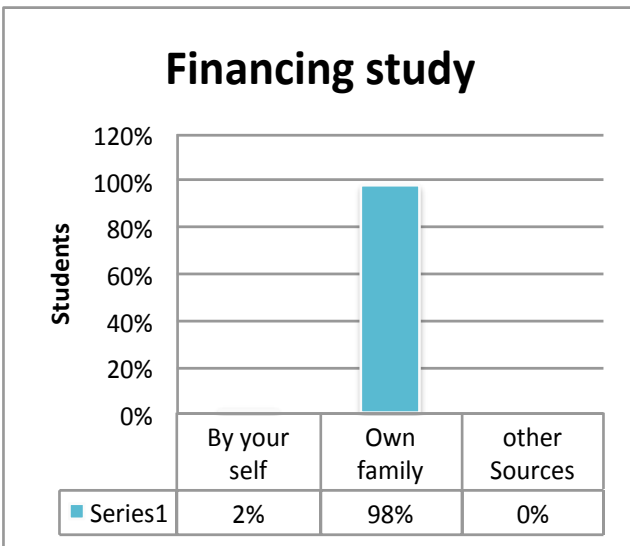
Religion:



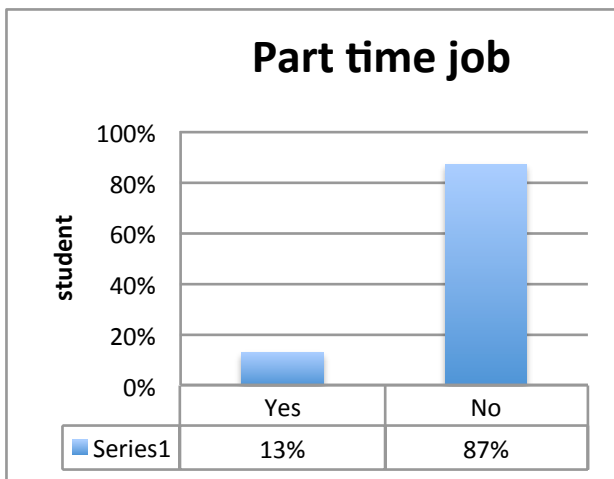
Study Program:



Financing of study:



Part time job



Semi structured interview with Security Personals

Personal Info:

Name:

Age:

Designation/position:

Questions	Note
How would you describe those Individuals?	
Were they Ideologically motivated or they were a product of the socio-economic circumstances?	
Did any of the Individual has past criminal history prior to Rajib Haider killing?	
Did any of the sentenced students has family members or friends has a previous tie with extremist organization?	
Did they the world as “Us” versus “Them” or Muslims versus western Governments?	
What was their pathway towards terrorism?	
Did they thought as a superior?	
Did they felt betrayed by government and started to distrust the system?	
Did they felt left out from the decision making process?	
Was there any personal trauma in any of the individual’s life?	
How long did it took for them to be terrorist from law abiding citizen?	

Semi structure interview for experts on Bangladeshi terrorism:

Personal Info:

Name:

Age:

Portfolio:

Questions	Note
How does Social status of individual's family influenced them for radicalization?	
What about the role of social media/internet?	
Do you think government lacks political will to address this problem?	
Do you think particular institution should be make responsible for radicalization?	
Do you think government's growing autocratic/one party rule is responsible for the rise of terrorism in the recent past?	
Do you think there is a cultural distance in the family from the traditions of Bengali society?	
Do you think there is lack of communication between parents and children that make them vulnerable toward extremist ideas?	
How do they start having extreme religious ideology and what was role of ideology?	
What was the reason behind individuals descent into radicalization?	
Do you think political culture of the country is responsible for their radicalization?	
How would you describe the influence of family and religion for their radicalization?	
How do you think international development of terrorist acts influenced them	

Semi structure questionnaire for Focus Group Interview:

Personal Info:

Name	Age	Study Program

Questions	Note
Did anyone experienced of any extremist intrusion of radicalized groups in the university campus?	
How would you describe those individuals who has joined extremist groups?	
Was it ideology or socio-economic cause that drove them towards extremism	
Do you feel that students from private universities should get the chance of engaging with political parties?	
Did you ever felt segregated because of not being abled to take part in active politics, where as public university students can take part?	
Did feel lack of belongingness?	
Despite being not exposed to political violence and having all the necessities fulfilled, why do you think there is such incident?	
Did you ever approached by any extremist organizations?	
How would you describe the integration process in NSU?	

Questionnaire for Quantitative Survey

1. Name of the Institution:
2. Age:
 - 18-21
 - 22-25
 - 26-30
3. Sex:
 - Male
 - Female
4. Current Study Programme?
 - Bachelor
 - Masters
 - Others
5. How do you finance your study?
 - By yourself
 - Own family
 - Other sources
6. Are you satisfied with your monthly expenditure?
 - Yes
 - No
7. How would you consider your economic soundness in a scale of 1-5, where 1 is very poor and 5 is very good
 - 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
8. How would you consider your economic soundness in relation with your classmates or friends in the campus in a scale of 1-5, where 1 is very poor and 5 is very good.
 - 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
9. How would you consider the help/support you get from family in economic form in a scale of 1-5 , where 1 is very poor and 5 is very good.
 - 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
10. How would you consider the help/ support you got from your family in psychological form (e.g mental support, encouragement) in a scale of 1-5, where 1 is very poor and 5 is very good.
 - 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1

11. Do you feel that you are under pressure from family for good results, if they are paying for your study.
 - Yes
 - No
12. Do you have any work/job while you are studying?
 - Yes
 - No
13. Regarding to the competence you gained during your current (main) study programme, how well do you think that you are prepared for the job market after finishing study?
 - Very well
 - Well
 - Poor
 - Very Poor
14. Do you think educational competence is enough to get a job?
 - Yes
 - No
15. Regarding to the barriers for getting job despite having educational competence, which of the following you consider the biggest barrier?
 - Lack of experience
 - Lack of powerful relative
 - Incapable of paying money for getting job
16. Do your Institution helps to get job after finishing study?
 - Yes
 - No
17. If yes do you think that you will get a job through that process?
 - Yes
 - No
18. How satisfied you are regarding to the teaching quality of your study programme?
 - Very satisfied
 - Satisfied
 - It is short of my expectation
 - Not satisfied
 - Not satisfied at all
19. How satisfied you are regarding to the study facilities(Library, computers,classrooms)?
 - Very satisfied
 - Satisfied
 - It is short of my expectation
 - Not satisfied
 - Not satisfied at all
20. Do you think your institution is profit driven rather than service driven?
 - Yes
 - No
21. Do you live with your family?
 - Yes
 - No
22. If no, whom do you live with?
 - Other students
 - Relatives
 - Friends
23. How secure do you feel at campus regarding to the infiltration of extremist groups in a scale of 1-5, where 1 is not secure and 5 is very secure

- 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
24. How would you consider present government regarding to protecting democratic values and constitutional rights? In a scale of 1-5 where 1 is very poor and 5 is very good.
- 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
25. Do you think government is ennsuring human rights for citizens?
- Yes
 - No
26. Do you feel government is taking a strong stand inorder to fight against corruption since Bangladsh stands with the bottom countries of the corruption index by Transparency International (TI)?
- Yes
 - No
27. Do you think government has accountability?
- Yes
 - No
28. Do you feel represented in the decision making process ?
- Yes
 - No
29. Do you trust the political leadership?
- Yes
 - No
30. Do you think under the present political situation you can fulfill your dream?
- Yes
 - No
31. Do you support sharia (Islamic jurisprudence) as a legitimate form of rule for Bangladesh, since Bangladesh is a majority muslim country?
- Yes
 - No
32. Do you support that an Islamic regime should take over the power since Bangladesh is a majority Muslim country?
- Yes
 - No
33. Do you support the idea that if necessary there should be armed jihad inorder to establish Islamic law?
- Yes
 - No
34. Do you support the idea that students should take part in the normal political process?
- Yes
 - No
35. Do you feel left behind from the political process, since private university students are not allowed to take part in political parties' students wings?
- Yes
 - No
36. How religious you are?

- Very religious
 - Moderate
 - Not so religious
37. Do you support the idea of silencing of all the critics that is addressing extremist elements within Islam?
- Yes
 - No
38. Do you think religious ideology as the main driving force towards radicalization into violent extremism?
- Yes
 - No
39. How would you consider a student who has joined an extremist group?
- Motivated by religious ideology
 - Psychologically disordered
 - A rational actor
 - Socially and economically deprived
40. Do you think armed jihad is a religious duty, that every Muslim should perform?
- Yes
 - No
41. Do you believe in the sense of *Muslim Ummah*?
- Yes
 - No
42. Do you support the idea of `us`versus `them`,where us is the Muslims all over the world and them is the Western world?
- Yes
 - No
43. Do you support the idea that supremacy of Islam should prevail all over the world , if needed through violence?
- Yes
 - No
44. Do you think Muslims all over the world are suppressed by the western government?
- Yes
 - No
45. Do you know anything about international terrorist organizations (e.g ISIS, al Qaeda)?
- Yes
 - No
46. If yes,how did you first came to know about those groups?
- Newspaper
 - Electronic media
 - Social media
 - Other
47. How frequent do you have access to internet?
- Very frequent
 - Frequent
 - Not too frequent
 - Not at all
48. Regarding to the pattern of internet using which of the following is on the top of the list?
- Social Media (e.g facebook)
 - Surfing for information relating to study

- News both International and National
 - Entertainment
49. Have you ever come into contact with any jihadi propaganda?
- Yes
 - No
50. If yes, what was the medium?
- Social Media
 - Jihadi Website
 - Other



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