



Holey Artisan Attack And Changing Perceptions Towards 'Jihad' And 'Jihadists': Public-Private University Campuses As Sites Of Investigation

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary Bangladesh is facing remarkable changes both politically and economically. The transition from traditional to modern systems is giving rise to new levels of security concerns. 'Terrorism' is a type of phenomenon. The aim of this study is to find out that the media (newspaper) how contents/headlines/ themes/ editorials/comments/articles portrays the issue 'Terror'/'Terrorism' in Bangladesh and to explore the framing study regarding 'terrorism' issue and try to understand the changing perceptions on 'terror' and 'terrorism' background and how administrations dealing with the current state of 'jihadist'/'terrorist' after the holy artisan case. For that it has chosen some methods like case study, interview and content analysis. By applying these methods, the data have been analyzed. The research found the relevance and significance of global 'terrorism' in influencing and motivating the 'terrorism' in the context of Bangladesh. The changing nature in family structures and falling social solidarity within and outside households, the persecution of Muslims all over the world and a conflict between the Muslim and Bengali identity, uneven development and unemployment and many other issues altogether have left the 'youths' in a chaos and made them highly susceptible towards the changing perceptions. The war on terror project, Islamophobia (dislike of or prejudice against Islam or Muslims, especially as a political force) have given rise to anti-west sentiments among the youth. This perception is being utilized by the terrorist groups through the misinterpretation of Islamic texts and online indoctrination that have further expanded their networks and strengthened their conviction. In situations like this, promoting transformative inter-faith & intercultural dialogues, enhancing government supervision and regulation of educational institutions, the promotion of sustainable development, preservation and promotion of cultural values, strengthening bonds within the family and community are some of the recommendations that came out as strategic counter approaches.

1.1 Introduction

Contemporary societies are facing a lot of violence like terrorism and many other forms of social trouble more frequently where Muslim or those who are just adopting the religion of Islam are apparently the first targeted people who are known as a 'terrorist'/'jihadists'/'militant' across the globe. In identifying 'militant' Madrasah education is somehow conceived as a prime indicator to the mainstream intelligence/civil society/progressive group/law-enforcement agencies of Bangladesh but the holey artisan tragedy appeared as ground breaking challenge for this existing dominant formula though some intellectuals and activists have been speaking about this gap of understanding for long. Olivier Roy's (2017) thinking on 'new jihadists' may give a new impression to get a better understanding of this Jihadist nature globally. In this context the society is growing more complex day by day and threatens our 'young generation' which is a very alarming issue for any kind of society. Moreover, since 2000 Bangladesh has experienced more than 100 incidents of Islamist terrorism (SAS, 2011). More recently, the Islamic state (IS) and Al Qaeda Indian subcontinent have assaulted religious and ethnic minorities as well as secular and liberal activities. Terrorism, using social

media has become one of the most concerning issues across the world. There is interplay between home-grown terrorist groups and international terrorist organizations which is playing the central role in accelerating the situations. The members of the terrorist organizations are spreading their ideological thoughts, propaganda and their activities not only to south Asia but also to the world, using social media platforms.

Before Holly Artisan's attacks almost each and every violence was the same and those who are involved with these activities, their attachment with "Islamic" education which is known as "Madrasah" and their motto is nearly the same (Dhaka Tribune-2017). But after the Holly Artisan's case, the scenario has changed dramatically. There is something new about the jihadi terrorist violence of the past two decades. Both terrorism and jihad have existed for many years, and forms of "globalized" terror in which highly symbolic locations or innocent civilians are targeted, with no regard for national borders. What is unprecedented is the way that terrorists now deliberately pursue their own deaths.

In my research, we try to explore and analyze what is the present perception about 'terror' and 'terrorism' and how has the Bangladeshi media presented these issues in recent times? And try to see the changing identity/background of jihadists. Some qualitative methods and tools such as informal, unstructured interview, checklist etc. are employed to complete my research. We follow the concept of Oliver Roy Who Are the New Jihadis? To analyze before the Holly Artisan's attackers background and after the Holly Artisan's 'terrorist' background of this study.

1.2 Literature review

The most prominent writer Abul Barakat's book **Fundamentalism in Bangladesh:**

External and Internal Dimensions of the Political Economy of Militancy (2018) trying to show something that is linked into the religious fundamentalism, imperialism, politics of political economy of militancy in Bangladesh. This book explores the roots, strengths, and limits of religion based on fundamentalism and militarism, evolution of Islam in east Bengal, linkage among economics, politics, and possible areas of militancy through the hand of neoliberalism.

The author mentions that 'fundamentalism' is a term coined by western mass media. It means an aggressive religious fear that prepares everyone for war. The context implies of course, there is a nexus between fundamentalism (external and internal facts) and imperialism as American hegemony is prevailing everywhere. Professor Barakat analyzes that historically the evolution of Islam in Bengal is liberal and its mostly immigration, patronage, social liberation under the theory of 'Sufism'. But the liberal Islam has converted into political Islam through militarism, inequality, discrimination, and states collapse to touch mass people. He points out criminalization of politics and economics has formed a capacity to control market, election, muscle power, fundamentalist groups, terrorists' body, law/justice and media – the common stature which makes people stillness. Finally, the author recommends and focuses on economic strength on the basis of fundamentalism, Islamic fundamentalism and militarisms in the context of Bangladesh.

Mohammad Azizur Rahman attempts to explore **The Forms and Ecologies of Islamist militancy and terrorism in Bangladesh (2016)** published by journal for de-Radicalization.

Islamist militancy and terrorism, a major socio political issue of Bangladesh today, has largely remained under-researched. This paper mainly explores the forms and ecologies of Islamist militancy and terrorism based on the content analysis of media reports and interviews with some experts in Bangladesh. Ecologies, in this paper, refer to the multiple interrelated and interdependent environments: social, political, and religious, that foster, germinate and nurture the growth of militancy and terrorism. Despite Bangladesh being globally identified as a moderate Muslim country located in South Asia, Islamist radicalization, extremism and militancy have become a major concern since the incidence of nationwide serial bomb blasts in 2005. Although an estimation of the group operatives may not be possible because these groups change names or members change groups from time to time, the presence of seventy Islamist militant outfits with thousands of militant members was identified during 1999-2010. Islamist militants carried out over 203 attacks killing 164 innocent people and injuring more than 2,658 people in this period. Using bomb explosions, these attacks targeted political parties, cultural groups, intellectuals, diplomats, movie theaters, NGO offices, and minority religious institutions. In response to these attacks, the government has adopted mostly a law-enforcement centric approach, but this study suggests a comprehensive strategy balancing enforcement, intervention and prevention urgently needed for de-radicalization and counterterrorism in Bangladesh --- the 8th most populous country and the 3rd largest Muslim country of the world. Although foreign journalistic and intelligence-based reports have argued that Islamist militants have links with madrasahs (Islamic seminary institutions). Research suggests that unemployment problems, poverty, illiteracy, and ignorance about religious matters among the youths are the common drivers for Islamist militancy in Bangladesh. An unfocused national educational policy on madrasah, the narrow and dated madrasah curriculum, and frustrations felt by madrasah graduates who cannot find jobs are likely to instigate the madrasah students to get involved in militancy. Political, educational, and religious interventions are must for countering radicalization effectively. Improving education policy and creating

employment opportunities for the unemployed youth can begin to address the problem of Islamist militancy and terrorism in Bangladesh.

Robin Wright's book **Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam (2001)** tried to cover the historical part of Islamic militantism such as; crusade war, Iran and North America, and Osama bin Laden and Afghanistan etc. perspective of these. For a generation, Muslim extremists have targeted Americans in an escalation of terror that culminated in the September 11 attacks. Our shared confusion - Who are the attackers? Why are we targets? - is cleared away in a book as dramatic as it is authoritative. Updated with new chapters on Afghanistan and the broader Islamic movement, Sacred Rage combines Robin Wright's extraordinary reportage on the Islamic world with an historian's grasp of context to explain the roots, the motives, and the goals of the Islamic resurgence. Wright talked to terrorists, militant religious leaders, and fighters from Beirut to Islamabad and Kabul. Their voices of rage reverberate here - right up to the attacks in New York and Washington. Across continents extends a challenge we fail to understand at our peril.

Al Mamun have tried to investigate about the role and cohesion between media and militancy in his writing **Rashtr, Gonomadhyom O Jongibad (2019)**. If militant is counted as a category, then this a negative category and more negative form of Bangladesh perspective. In the history of Islam, Jamayate Islam party is like a 'problematic party'. This is the type of that with Pakistani govt. and made such link of believe/narrative that "protecting Pakistan is the way of protecting Islam", where the meaning of being pious was to work for Pakistan and that's why, there remained a negative impression on them from the past time. Now that the idea of militant has arrived, the choice of denying if and keeping if in a negative representation is totally a normal thing. In the western world, Islam been counted for its negative representation from many days. It has grown more after the time of 9/11. It is the element used for anti-militancy via popular mobilization in several countries of the west. Every anti-militant war has its own country. It's called intensive warfare. There won't happens any war in this modern country or society. It will happen only inside the nation, different community groups, institution will fight together inside a nation by capturing different ideals. Militancy is such kind of war that can be represented as global warfare, intensive warfare and war inside different nation. In any

anti-militant war, in America there are found a lot of publicity. Among all of supports, media is such kind of support that can be changes anything in the any perspective. One of specialist Ali Riaz who worked on behind this. Militant war is gift or something like that. For that purposes the Americans special security sectors has name Homeland security wouldn't be established if 9/11 did not happen. In that planning the govt. and companies spent billion dollars. The media has their business too with this. This kind of business interest, political interest, these things are controlling and things are directly related to the 'militancy' discourse. As a result, it makes an obvious negative representation in the mainstream media. We definitely need to know the real story, the real news but these will never be known. We won't see that, we also won't be able to make them understand stories will be made only for popular mobilization against Islam and Muslims. Unfortunately, the scenario in Bangladesh is the same though here Muslims are the majority. Here work two factors. 1. Media is used for business interests only and their ideology is Western. 2. We have historical experiences relating to Pakistan where religion was used for political interest. That's why we have grown negative about religion historically.

These literatures gave me a wide lens to highlight the discourse analysis. By reviewing all of literature it explores that the 'militancy' and 'Islamic militancy' both are describing the phenomena as following the traditional roots not to mention the recent things that are actually happening globally and affected locally. But the thing is the conceptual changes of Bangladesh's 'Militant' discourse in the consequences of Holly artisan's attacks and it proves the breakdown of traditional roots of 'Militancy' discourse and changes the conceptual meaning of 'Militancy' discourse in the perspective of Bangladesh. In the light of Olivier Roy (2017) theory, we tried to see how the conceptual changes about 'Militancy' discourse and who are the new 'jihadist' in the context of global phenomena. And try to identify how it is connected with representation of politics (Media) and try to know the perception of young people about 'terrorism' or 'Militant' discourse in the context of Bangladesh.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Bangladesh has experienced terrorism conducted by a number of radical local Islamist organizations. In the past, both The Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham and al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent had claimed to be active in the country however, the Bangladeshi government believes that they mainly operated through local affiliates. The main goal of most Islamist groups in Bangladesh is to create a separate Islamic state, and to establish Sharia Law as national governance. Islamist groups have conducted terrorist attacks against both the government and the general public. According to the South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP-2001) published a report with a list of major incidents of Islamic terrorist violence since 1996. Here mentioned the major incidents of 'terrorist' violence before since the Holly Artisan's attacks.

S.L	Year and Date	Place and description of the incident	Claimed or Suspected Groups	Casualties	
				Death	Injuries
1	7 th march 1999	Six persons are killed and approximately 100 others are injured in two bomb explosions at a cultural function in Jessore district.	Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami	6	126
2	14 th april 2001	Eight persons are killed in a bomb explosion set off by suspected Islamist fundamentalists at a Bengali New Year cultural function in Dhaka.	Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami	8	17
3	7 th December 2002	18 persons are killed and approximately 300 others are injured in serial bomb blasts at four cinema halls in and around Mymensingh District.	Jama'atul Mujahedeen Bangladesh	18	300

(Source: South Asia Terrorism Portal 2001.)

The previous notions regarding terrors in Bangladesh was attached to the 'Islamic' or 'Madrasa' education which was challenged and questioned after Holey Artisan attack as the attackers have different educational institution orientation those who were involved: The five terrorists who died during rescue operation by military and joint forces are: According to BBC(2016) news,

- Nibras Islam
- Rohan Imtiaz
- Meer Saameh Mubasheer
- Khairul Islam
- Shafiqul Islam

The attackers, all in their late teens or early 20s, were identified as wealthy men from Bangladesh's elite, having attended top private schools and universities in Bangladesh and abroad. It was revealed that three of the attackers came from a privileged background, educated with western curricula. Police named the five gunmen who attacked the restaurant as Nibras Islam, Rohan Imtiaz, Meer Saameh Mubasheer, Khairul Islam and Shafiqul Islam. One of them, Nibras Islam was known as a "fun-loving, in and out of love, and keen on sport" (The Daily

Star-2016). He attended Monash University in Malaysia and returned because "he didn't like it in Monash". Nibras' father was a businessman with two houses in Dhaka, and one of his uncles was a Deputy Secretary to the Bangladesh Government. It was revealed that Nibras was following a Twitter account belonging to an Islamic State propagandist named Mehdi Masroor Biswas, who was arrested in Bangalore in 2015. Two gunmen were identified as Meer Sameh Mubashir and Rohan Imtiaz. Both went to Scholastica School which follows Cambridge International Examinations curriculum. Local newspapers reported that both of them had gone missing long before the attack. Rohan Imtiaz has been identified as the son of a politician in Bangladesh's ruling party Awami League. Police then identified another gunman, named as Shafiqul Islam Ujjal from Koiyagarhi village, Bogra District. He enrolled at Government Azizul Haque College in Bogra for graduation after passing higher secondary examinations. He had left the college later and took up a teaching job at a kindergarten school in Shajahan Market area in Dhaka (Dhaka Tribune, 21st March 2019).

According to the concept of Olivier Roy, 'who are the new jihadists' claims that, most of the new radicals or 'jihadist' are deeply immersed in 'youth culture': they go to nightclubs, pick up girls, smoke and drink. Nearly 50% of the 'jihadist' in France, according to my database, have a history of petty crime – mainly drug dealing, but also acts of violence and, less frequently, armed robbery. A similar figure is found in Germany and the United States – including a surprising number of arrests for drunk driving. Their dress habits also conform to those of today's youth: brands, baseball caps, hoods, in other words streetwear, and not even of the Islamic variety.

Their musical tastes are also those of the times: they like rap music and go out to clubs. One of the best-known radicalized figures is a German rapper, Denis Cuspert – first known as Deso Dogg, then as Abu Talha al-Almani – who went to fight in Syria. Naturally, they are also gaming enthusiasts and are fond of violence American movies.

In the aftermath of the holey artisan tragedy, photos of suspected attackers surfaced in public domain, prompting social media users and journalists to search for their identities and look into family and educational backgrounds. There have been some findings but a lot more is yet to be unearthed. Most of the suspected Holey Artisan 'terrorist' or attackers, whose background surfaced through different sources, were from well-off families', social position of strength and had English medium educational backgrounds. By

providing all of evidence have to show that these people are different in many ways such as their educational institutions, family background etc. And they have just adopted Islam religion not perceived in the inner meaning of Islam.

According to Olivier Roy (2017) "It highlights the significance of generational dimension of radicalization" which is known 'second generation of Muslim's as well as 'Born again Muslim's'. In this circumstance, there is a crying need to do more research in this sector specially focusing the conceptual changes of Bangladesh's militant's discourse in the aftermath of HoleyArtisan's Bakery attacks. In such, following questions has been answered in this research:

- Is there a change of the notion of 'terror' or 'militant' and their identity/background?
- How "terrorist" is being (re)presented or (re)constructed in the media?
- And what is the general conception about "terrorism" and "terrors" in Bangladesh?

1.4 Objectives

The main objective of the research is to look at the conceptions of the changing identity/background and changes of conceptions regarding 'terror'/'militant' discourse in Bangladesh after HABA. More specifically my research objectives are:

- To compare the contents/headlines of the reporting media outlets in framing of the *Jihadists* through pre/post Holy Artisan attack to understand the re(making) of public discourses
- To know the current conception on characterizing present *Jihadists* in the public and private universities
- To understand how the university administrations has been dealing with the current conceptions and governing the students

1.5 Methods of the Study

Methods or research methodology includes the whole process and procedure of a research. The study will be done by qualitative research method. Qualitative research focuses on specific situations and emphasizes words rather than numbers. In this research qualitative approach is used because the study is exploratory and it seeks to listen to informers and build a picture on their perceptions and ideas and. Moreover, this research will be conducted by interpreting field and secondary data also included here. There is a target to fulfill for the appropriate data collection. Fouche and Delport (2011:65) described a qualitative approach as capturing the perception and experiences of research participants because it elicits participant's accounts of meaning, experience or perceptions.

1.5.1 Place and People

For doing such research where actually needed an 'educated' young people those who are studying university level. We need to such area where a university stayed just because of know the conception of current young people about 'terror' or 'militant' discourse. For my research, We have selected two universities of Sylhet district named Shahjalal University of Science & Technology (SUST) and Leading University which have been selected due to the exposures in mainstream media as 'fertile grounds' for 'Jihadists'. Many students especially those have applied science background were picked up by anti-terrorism squad. For the last two years, authorities have employed many protective measures to deal with the situation. So we think, those universities are helpful for me to explore my research questions and objectives. We have selected those university as my research area, because this is not so far from my living place and as we have visited here regularly.

1.5.2 Population and Informant Number

For the first objective we select Prothom Alo (Bengali) New Age/ The Daily Star (English) newspapers to see how contents/headlines/themes/editorials/comments/articles portray the issue of Jihad and *Jihadists* in Bangladesh. Total 57 students of 6/7th semester from Sociology/English and IPE/CSE from both Universities and the faculties, some members from political and cultural organizations (10% randomly) also some activists of Sylhet Town have been selected for understanding the current perceptions on Jihadists and their activities. Selected Members of the Proctorial Committee and Advisors have been interviewed to detail out how they deal with the current state of Jihadism in their Universities.

1.5.3 Data Collection Methods

1.5.3.1 Archival Research

Archival research is research that involves searching for and extracting information and evidence from original archives. Archives are historical – non-current – documents, records and other sources relating to the activities and claims of individuals, entities or both. They exist both to preserve historic material of value and to make it available for future use. Archives are usually held either by an individual organization or government body or in some type of repository, such as a library or a database. Archival research provides information of interest to research professionals across a wide range of fields, including journalists and other

media professionals, researchers, historians, genealogists, knowledge managers, legal professionals and more. Given the vast sea of archived material available, archival research is typically more complex and time-consuming than your average online search, but it often yields more reliable results (LexisNexis, 2013). According to Berger (1991) – Content analysis is a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something (violence, negative portrayals of women or whatever) in a representation sampling of some mass mediated popular form of art (p.25).

Qualitative content analysis applicable to analyses media content, include text analysis, rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, interpretive analysis and semiotic analysis as well as some of the techniques used in literary studying such as critical analysis. (Hijamas 1996). In this study, Contents of the Newspapers has been analyzed through archival research going one year back to Holy Artisan Attack and years after post Artisan.

1.5.3.2 In-depth Interview

Data collection is done mainly through the verbal interaction between the respondents and the interviewer. In-depth interview is a qualitative research technique involving intensive individual interviews with a few respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. In-depth interview is a way to know the detailed experiences of interviewees (Henn et al. 2006). The views and ideas of other persons can be elicited through an interview. The reason for selecting this method is to know and understand their opinions and understanding of life deeply. We want detailed information about the perception of 'young people', student advisors of those departments as well as the Proctorial committee about the changes of discursive meaning of 'Militancy' discourse and the notion of 'terror' and 'terrorism'. The reason for selecting this method is to know and understand their opinions and understanding of life deeply.

1.5.3.3 Case Study

Anthropologists use "case" in a very different way than other legal scholars or psychoanalysis, either of whom might use cases to illustrate their points or theories. Anthropologists often describe a case first and then extract a general rule or custom from it in the manner of inductive reasoning. Most often, the event is complex, or even a series of events and we call these social situations, which can be analyzed to show that the dissimilarity is a conflictive notion on the same social system. The case study as a part of "situation analysis" which is a prime role that is used in anthropological research. It discusses the actions of individuals and groups within these situations to exhibit the morphology of a social structure, which is most often held together by conflict itself. Each case is taken as evidence of the stages in the unfolding process of social relations between specific persons and groups.

1.5.4 Data Analysis Methods

My research has been conducted using a qualitative research approach. To conduct this research, we used archival research, In-depth Interview and Case study method. After collecting all of the data we have been analyzed by those research methods. By the use of archival research, content analysis is such a remarkable data analysis part where one can find the variation of data and get a chance of discourse analysis, which is a very domain part of data analysis. To understand the formation of public discourse of media or mass communication presenting contents/ headlines/ editorials/ comments or something like that, here the Content Analysis is the key indicator. Qualitative content analysis applicable to analyses media content, include text analysis, rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, interpretive analysis and semiotic analysis.

1.6 Theoretical Background

Stuart Hall describes the theory of representation which connects the meaning and language to culture. Representation means using language to say something meaningful about or to represent the world meaningfully to other people. It is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture (Hall ed. 1997). Stuart Hall describes the theory of '**The Politics of Representation**' meaning have all sorts of effects from the construction of knowledge to the subjection of the subject to the meaning offered. If they have an influence on behavior it is more likely to be indirect because knowledge is always implicated in power and power implies limits on what can be seen and shown, thought and said. (Hall, 1999:311). Michel Foucault's approach to representation is concerned about the production of knowledge and meaning through discourse. His concern is with knowledge provided by human and social science, which organizes conduct, understanding, practice and belief, the regulation of bodies as well as whole populations (Hall 1992:291).

Noam Chomsky describes the theory or concept of **Manufacturing Consent: the political economy of the mass media** in this path breaking work show that, contrary to the usual image of the news media as cantankerous, obstinate, and ubiquitous in their search for truth and defense of justice, in their actual practice they defend the economic, social, and political agendas of the privileged groups that dominate domestic society, the state, and the global order (Chomsky 1988). In which the authors propose that the mass communication media of the U.S. "are effective and powerful ideological institutions that carry out a system-supportive propaganda function, by reliance on market forces, internalized assumptions, and self-censorship, and without overt coercion", by means of the propaganda model of communication. A

propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public.

Olivier Roy concept of **Who Are the New Jihadis?** Biographies of 'homegrown' European terrorists show they are violent nihilists who adopt Islam, rather than religious fundamentalists who turn to violence. There is something new about the jihadi terrorist violence of the past two decades. Both terrorism and jihad have existed for many years, and forms of "globalised" terror – in which highly symbolic locations or innocent civilians are targeted, with no regard for national borders – go back at least as far as the anarchist movement of the late 19th century. What is unprecedented is the way that terrorists now deliberately pursue their own deaths. (Roy 2017)

"We love death as you love life." Now, the terrorist's death is no longer just a possibility or an unfortunate consequence of his actions; it is a central part of his plan. The same fascination with death is found among the jihadis who join Islamic State. Suicide attacks are perceived as the ultimate goal of their engagement. In his recent book "**Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of Islamic State,**" Roy argues that about 70 percent of these young people have scant knowledge of Islam, and suggests they are "radical" before even choosing Islam. He dubs them "born again Muslims" who lead libertine lives before their sudden conversion to violent fundamentalism. "It's the Islamification of radicalism that we need to investigate, not the radicalization of Islam," Roy says, begging the question of why radical youths would choose violent fundamentalist Islam over other destructive creeds to engage in terrorism.? To summarize the typical radical is a young, second-generation immigrant or convert, very often involved in episodes of petty crime, with practically no religious education, but having a rapid and recent trajectory of conversion/reconversion, more often in the framework of a group of friends or over the internet than in the context of a mosque.

1.7 Significance of the study

Each and every research has some significance or importance. Regarding the statement this research carried out some importance. The issue of 'Militancy' in providing some discourse and aftermath of Holly artisan's attacks, the conceptual changes of Bangladesh's 'Militant' discourse has not been revealed by the research and hasn't got much priority yet in earlier research. As an academic research, my study will add some undiscovered information about 'Militancy' and 'Islamic Militancy' discourse which are interconnected with religious fundamentalism, imperialism, politics of political economy of militancy in Bangladesh. In the context of Bangladesh, before happening the Holey Artisan's attack the stereotype thinking about 'Militancy' discourse was quality of being a part of one condition of Madrasah background students but after the Holly Artisan's the conceptual changes of Holly Artisan's attackers and changing identity or background of jihadis. Policy makers or researchers might use this data to ensure a sustainable future for all people especially young people as if they aren't involved with militants. Beside these, this issue is global phenomena and recent times which is threatened. So it must be researchable.

1.8 Ethical Issues

To conduct research norms or codes of behavior is essential to keep a respondent's confidentiality. Being a student of Anthropology, it is our high responsibility to keep the research ethics in our mind to conduct the research work. The respondents are pretty much informed about the true purpose of my work and any kind of inquiry will be clearly explained to them. During conducting the field work verbal consent has been taken from them before taking interview.

1.9 Limitations

Every research has some advantages and some limitations. No one study is possible without its limitations. For that my research has some limitations. Undoubtedly, 'terrorism' and 'extremism' is a sensitive and stigmatized issue in Bangladesh. Doing this study, the first and foremost obstacle that we faced is people are so often cowering away or hesitate to be openly discussing these issues. It had been difficult to convince various respondents. The other major limitation to this research study has been not being able to interview the 'terror' suspects that actually we could not have reached them. The existing Jail Code of the country didn't allow it.

The study involved interviews with several experts, academicians, students from both public-private universities and other stakeholders, it was often difficult to manage interviews with them due to their tight schedule that eventually led to a lot of time being invested and delayed. Besides, due to time and budget constraints, the project could not be conducted on as large a scale as necessitated. It is hence further recommended that the budget constraint and involvement of a larger scale has actually needed much more of this type of study.

MEDIA COVERAGE AND THE (RE)MAKING OF PUBLIC CONCEPTION

2.1 Major incidents of pre-holy artisan bakery attacks

2.1.1 Jihad and the Jihadists

The previous notions regarding 'terror' and 'terrorism' were attached to the 'Islamic' or Madrasah education. In that sense, Harkat-ul-jihad al-Islami, Jama'atul Mujahideen 'millitant' and Islamic fundamentalist group. These suspected groups functioned brutally in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh's Islamist landscape unexpectedly expanded with a reported resurgence of al-Qaeda-linked Harkat-ul Jihad al-Islami-Bangladesh (HUJI-B—Movement of Islamic Holy War-Bangladesh) 'terrorist' group, which has been lying dormant for over a decade (Terrorismmonitor, 2014).

Bangladesh's history is replete with HuJI-B's violent campaigns against the pro-democratic and secular Awami League (AL) political party and other civil society members. The leaders who have spearheaded the Sunni (Hanafi-Deobandi) militant movement in Bangladesh, such as Mufti Hannan, Sheikh Farid, and Maulana Abdus Salam guided both covert and overt actions of the group in Bangladesh and beyond, especially in neighboring Myanmar, where the HuJI-Arakan (named after present day Rakhine state, Myanmar) period was active for several years.

HuJI-B was blamed for a number of violent attacks primarily targeting Awami League (AL) political rallies and conspiracies to assassinate its leader Sheikh Hasina between 1999 and 2004. Under the leadership of Mufti Abdul Hannan, the HUJI-B on August 21, 2004 launched a grenade attack on Sheikh Hasina's rally in Dhaka that claimed the lives of 24 AL party workers, including a senior women affairs secretary Ivy Rahman (Daily Star, August 22, 2004). Exactly three months before, on May 21, 2004, HuJI-B attempted to assassinate British High Commissioner to Bangladesh Anwar Choudhury at Hazrat Shahjalal Shrine in Sylhet. Though Choudhury escaped with minor injuries, at least three people were killed in the grenade blast at the historic shrine (Daily Star, May 22, 2004).

HuJI-B conducted two other major attacks, including a bombing in Ramna Batamul, Dhaka, in mid-April 2001 that targeted a Bengali New Year celebration. Here, 8 persons are killed and 17 persons injured in a bomb explosion set off by suspected fundamentalists at a Bengali New Year cultural function in Dhaka (Daily Star, 2001). And an attack in March 1999 on a cultural function of Udichi in Jessore. Six persons are killed and approximately 100 others are injured in two bomb explosions at a cultural function in Jessore district (Daily Star, 1999). The masterminds of these violent attacks were Mufti Abdul Hannan—then chief of HuJI-B—and his accomplice's Sharif Alam Bipul and Delwar Hossain. Mufti Abdul Hannan, one of the country's most dreaded militants, was involved in plotting and carrying out all the terror attacks by Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami Bangladesh. The Huji chief was responsible for the killing of more than a hundred people in 13 militant attacks between 1999 and 2005. The families of the victims can now heave a sigh of relief as the notorious militant walked the gallows last night along with his two cohorts -- Sharif Shahedul Alam Bipul and Delwar Hossain alias Ripon -- for carrying out a grenade attack on the then British high commissioner Anwar Choudhury in Sylhet on May 21, 2004. (Dhaka Tribune, April 13, 2017). Home Minister Mohammad Nasim told UNI over the telephone that anti-liberation and fundamentalist elements were responsible for the "heinous" bomb attack to create political instability and embarrass the government (Daily Star, 2007)

2.1.2. Political Assistance

In 2002, the US blacklisted Huji as an international terrorist organisation. It took the government three more years to ban it on October 17, 2005 after much denial of its existence in Bangladesh. The US went one step forward to blacklist the Bangladesh chapter of Huji in 2003, but the government's denial continued as the then foreign minister M Morshed Khan said he had not seen "any activity of such organisation in Bangladesh".

Lawmakers of Jamaat-e-Islami who had alleged links with the militants also denied Huji existence in Bangladesh. Former Jamaat lawmaker Riasat Ali Biswas told parliament on September 11, 2005: "Reports of militant training of Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh [JMB] and Harkatul Jihad to turn Bangladesh into an Islamic state are nothing but propaganda.". So, we can see how the then government has given less emphasis on the terrorist groups existence and how the jamayat-e Islami lawmakers had given the groups much time to organize the militant groups and set them up.

2.1.3. Madrasa as Production House

Under such lenience and denials, Huji spread its wing in madrasas, set up training camps in the greater Chittagong and three hill districts and carried out terrorist activities. The New Age reported in 2009 – *Are Madrasas creating Jihadists?* Again, The Daily Star reported in April 19, 2010 *Huji leader Mostofa was adviser to Bhola madrasa*. According to Prothom Alo (7 October 2013) "A Search is Underway around the Madrasa in Chittagong". Detained UK unit chief of banned militant outfit Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI) Golam Mostofa was a close aide to another fugitive Bangladesh-born UK citizen Mustafa Faisal and an adviser to his Green Crescent Madrasa in Bhola. The London police also picked up Golam Mostofa several times for interrogation after they arrested Mustafa Faisal, who was declared a terror suspect in 1996 and 2002 by British courts. Bangladesh-born British citizen Mostofa, who was arrested in Sylhet on Thursday, disclosed this to the detectives during interrogation yesterday, the second day of his four-day remand, said a Detective Branch (DB) official. Mustafa Faisal had also been arrested by Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) in

April last year but he came out on bail later. He has reportedly left Bangladesh.

2.2 Holy Artisan Case

2.2.1 Jihad in Holy Artisan Cafe

After the Holy Artisan attack in 2016 the national and international media did cover the then jihadist expression in a new way. The international media which has covered, so far, that the madrasa education or the lower socio-economic background people connect with such jihad activities has proven wrong.

The judge of the hearing declared that the attack was done with a jihadi motive. Al Jazeera titled *Holey Artisan cafe attack: Dhaka court sentences seven to death* reported, "These people wanted to wreak havoc in the society and wanted to establish a Jihadist state. As their activities threaten public safety, they will be executed by hanging until they are pronounced dead," Judge Rahman pronounced. "With this verdict, Bangladesh, as a country, legally establishes its zero-tolerance stance against militancy and terrorism," he told Al Jazeera.

2.2.2 Are they neo-Jihadists or not?

From the Holy Artisan case the media at first assumed the attackers as neo-jihadists on the basis of their family, economical, educational background and so on. "You will be judged by Allah in the afterlife," one of them shouted at Judge Rahman when the hearing was going on.

The other patterns of their gesture, posture and words along with expression proves their confidence level and capacity that to what extent they could engage themselves in jihadi activities and, also, how such -ism has been embedded in themselves. All these and the statements by ISIS assure us that the attackers have done such to establish Bangladesh as an Islamic State and these are not different from the jihadists of pre-Holey Artisan Bakery attacks without the educational, socio-economic and family background of some attackers. The fundamental point of view has remained the same as before in this particular attack. On this note, we can say that the attackers in the Holy Artisan Bakery attacks are not such an exception, actually.

2.2.3 'Not more than madrasas, but more general education is involved in militancy':

Two of the convicts were seen wearing prayer caps with insignia of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL, or ISIS) group. Farhana Parveen on June 22, 2019 reported in BBC Bangla titled: 'Not more than madrasas, but more general education is involved in militancy': police survey data. According to a report by the Anti-Terrorism Unit of the Bangladesh Police, 3 percent of the people accused of militancy are coming from general education and 22 percent from the background of madrasa education. Those who monitor Bangladesh's militant activity - say, 'militant recruits' recruit only those who have studied general education and have good ideas about technology. Police say they have arrested more than 20 people for their involvement in terrorism from 20 to 25, and they have analyzed the past lives and socio-economic status of the men. In this, they found that 5 percent of them are those who have studied in general education, i.e. in various public-private schools, colleges or universities.

Additional Deputy Police Inspector of the Anti-Terrorism Unit. Moniruzzaman said, "Only 22 percent of those arrested are people studying madrasa education. They are not the only ones who come from madrasa education." The Anti-Terrorism Police report states that the remaining 22 percent of those who are either illiterate or have studied in English medium. Many were shocked to find the identity of the attackers after the militant attack on Holy Artisan in Gulshan in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. Because most of them were university students studying in English, some had a very good family status.

2.2.4 Prologue of the family and society

This particular attack and the huge media cover up have been able to change the mindset of the mass people as well as the different institutions or organizations who thought that madrasas are the major power house of creating such jihadists. The then Home Minister gave a statement that it is the family who is the most responsible for the children's act. Only good socialization can control and monitor such acts from the micro level.

While talking about the role of family and society, the first step towards addressing the issue is through maintaining trust and composure in the face of the crisis (Kevin, 2014). The coming of globalization and modernization has led to a change in family structures from joint families to nuclear families. Not only have the family structures changed, but also there has been a change in social functioning and values resulting in weaker family bonds (Kumar, 2012). With both working parents, children are today left unsupervised and unaccompanied in their homes creating weakened family relationships. This emotional dissociation with parents and family creates a vacuum for love. As a result of an incident of July 1st 2016 at Holy Artisan, it was later to be found out that most of the 'militants' were so dissociated from their families that many of them have been missing for several months including Rohan Imtiaz who had been missing for a year, Nibras Islam since early 2016 and Khairul Islam Payel to have been out of contact of his family for more than two months (Daily Star, 2016). This shows the extent to which families have been oblivious to their children's activities that it eventually led to something as dreadful as terrorism and attention which is eventually exploited by the opportunistic extremists.

2.2.5 Induction of Government and law enforcement agency

Throughout the years, different countries have adopted different anti-terrorist strategies depending on the different nature of the threat of 'terrorism'. The state focused on identifying and obstructing the strength and sponsors of terrorist organizations through sanctions and alienation. As for the battle of ideas, the state strived in maintaining correct democracy and stability within and outside the country (Geugies, 2007). Likewise, Bangladesh needs to understand the causative factors of radicalization in this country and develop a wide policy implementation addressing all of these factors. Law enforcement agencies must focus on both "lethal forces (bombings and shootings) and non-lethal forces (arrest, detention and investigation)" (Sabir, 2014) in order to curb the terrorist attacks and missions. Bangladesh has already demonstrated an excellent and exemplary instance of this approach through their prompt and effective policy implementation of 'zero tolerance against terrorism' and law enforcement pursuits.

2.3 A 'New Dimension' of 'Terrorism' in Bangladesh: Framing and Terming

On July 1, 2016, Bangladesh saw a bloodbath at the Holey Artisan Bakery, a ritzy eatery a stone's throw away from the American embassy inside the heavily fortified diplomatic enclave of the country's capital Dhaka. "Holey was a totally new phenomenon – a new chapter for us in law enforcement," Deputy Commissioner Mohibul Islam, the lead investigator of the Holey Artisan and Sholakia cases, told (The New Age, 2016). The approach toward killing had changed as well. Where previously attackers would ambush targets and run away, the new ones stayed their ground and died in combat. "They came ready to die," Mastaan, a cook at the Holey Artisan said to me. "They broke their Ramadan fast after sundown – cooking themselves meals in the kitchen with the help of one of our colleagues. When eating they'd said to him: 'The next meal will be in heaven – see you there' (The Daily Star, 2016). According to the concept of Olivier Roy (2017) The first motivation cited is atrocities committed by western countries against the "Muslim people" (in the transcript he says, "my people all over the world"); the second is the role of avenging hero ("I am directly responsible for protecting and avenging my Muslim brothers and sisters," "Now you too will taste the reality of this situation"); the third is death ("We love death as much as you love life"), and his reception in heaven ("May Allah ... raise me amongst those whom I love like the prophets, the messengers, the martyrs"). Taken together, the attacks in the second half of 2016 pointed to a whole new level of indoctrination. Where Islamists of the past had killed in the name of religion, the new breed was willing to die for it. Another indicator of change was the socioeconomic backgrounds of the new terrorists – something that had taken Bangladesh by surprise.

Unlike the superstitious people of past decades, who had modeled themselves after the Taliban of Afghanistan, the Holey Artisan attackers were not schooled in madrassas imparting religious education. Instead, similar to iconic Islamic State militants like Muhammad Jassim Abdul karim Olayan al-Dhafiri (aka Jihadi John) and or Siddhartha Dhar (aka Abu Rumaysah

al-Britani), these young men hailed from well-to-do families and had access to expensive English language higher education. Similar phenomena happened in the holy artisan attacks where those attackers, all in their late teens or early 20s, were identified as wealthy men from Bangladesh's elite, having attended top private schools and universities in Bangladesh and abroad. It was revealed that three of the attackers came from a privileged background, educated with western curricula. Police named the five gunmen who attacked the restaurant as Nibras Islam, Rohan Imtiaz, Meer Saameh Mubasheer, Khairul Islam and Shafiqul Islam. One of them, Nibras Islam was known as a "fun-loving, in and out of love, and keen on sport". He attended Monash University in Malaysia and returned because "he didn't like it in Monash ". Nibras' father was a businessman with two houses in Dhaka, and one of his uncles was a Deputy Secretary to the Bangladesh Government. It was revealed that Nibras was following a Twitter account belonging to an Islamic State propagandist named Mehdi Masroor Biswas, who was arrested in Bangalore in 2015 (The Daily Star-2016). According to the concept of Olivier Roy (2017), 'who are the new jihadists' claims that, most of the new radicals or 'jihadist' are deeply immersed in 'youth culture' they go to nightclubs, pick up girls, smoke and drink and also adopt that "It highlights the significance of generational dimension of radicalization" which is known 'second generation of Muslim's as well as 'Born again Muslim's'.

CONCEPTIONS AROUND 'JIHAD' AND 'JIHADISTS' AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

This chapter discusses the public-private university student conceptions regarding jihad and jihadist issues and what and how they conceived around these issues. The current perceptions on characterizing present 'Jihadists' in Bangladesh. The notions regarding jihad and jihadism in Bangladesh which was attached to the madrasah curriculum but after the holy artisan bakery tragedy, the notions have been changed dramatically. After the holy artisan attack the previous notions regarding 'terrorism' which was challenged and questioned because of as the attackers have different educational institution orientation and most suspected 'terrorist' or attackers, whose background surfaced through different sources, were from well-off families, social position of strength and had English medium educational backgrounds. For that reason of changing, here we try to demonstrate the current conception on characterizing present 'jihadists' in Bangladesh. That means what people are conceived regarding jihad and jihadist and their background changes after the holy artisan attacks.

The consistency of the conceptions of public-private university students is given below by the of mention

comparative table:

3.1 Jihad (Conceptions)- in the Eye of university students

Place	Question	What do they know? Narratives (Themes)	Respondent's Number	How do they know? (Source)	Respondent's Number	Not Interested
Public University	What is Jihad?	A terrorist activity	5	Online newsPortal	9	6 Male: 2 Female: 4
		A movement of Islamist fundamentalists	4	Facebook	7	
Private University		A politicalagenda	5	Print media	6	3 Male: 1 Female: 2
		A representation	9	Friends	5	
		A part of the world politics	7	Class	4	
		A movement of Islamist fundamentalists	6	Books	3	
		Attack by different religion	5	Online newsportal	5	
		A politicalagenda	4	Class	4	
A terrorist activity	3	Print media	5			

Table No: 1

From this table, showing the notion of jihad claimed different things that is counted as *holy war* and it's nothing but it's an ideology of some group of people. And also indicates that jihad is an outcome of global politics. Both of university student are conceived the variation conceptions regarding jihad issue

Place	Question	What do they know? Narratives (Themes)	Respondent's Number	How do they know? (Source)	Respondent's Number	Not Interested
Public University	Who are Jihadist?	A terrorist group	5	Online newsPortal	4	5 Male: 1 Female: 4
		Islamist fundamentalists	4	Facebook	7	
Private University		Most of the madrasah background student	5	Print media	5	4 Male: 2 Female: 2
		Islamic militant	6	Friends	6	
		Part of English medium student	6	Class	6	
		Islamist fundamentalists	6	Books	5	
		Islamic extremist	5	Online newsportal	7	
		Terrorist group	7	Class	3	
Part of well off economic background students	4	Print media	3			

Table No:2

This table illustrates that the question or theme is who are jihadist? By these questions, the mixed up conceptions are perceived. Like some of the respondents said that jihadist is *an Islamist fundamentalist group*, it also indicates that they entered the space of international politics and media discourse and some are perceived as part of well off economic background students and part of English medium background students.

Place	Question	What do they know? Narratives (Themes)	Respondent's Number	How do they know? (Source)
Public University	What are the production house?	A terrorist group	7	Online news Portal

	Islamist fundamentalists group	8	Facebook
	ISIS	5	Print media
	Western colony	4	Friends
	Madrasah	6	Class
Private University	ISIS	6	Books
	Islamic extremist group	4	Online news portal
	Terrorist group	4	Class
	Madrasah	4	Print media

Table No:3

On the basis of the question, what are the production houses? Some are conceived as *Madrasah*, *ISIS* and so on. Different kinds of production are coming forward to the world by the media portrayed over decades. In which conceptions among university students indicate that the changing dimension regarding jihad issue over a period of time whose result/outcome is holey artisan case.

Place	Question	What do they know? Narratives (Themes)	Respondent's Number	How do they know? (Source)
Public University	Why are these production houses?	Link with terrorist group	7	Online news Portal
		Lineage with Islamist fundamentalists group	8	Facebook
		ISIS confession	5	Print media

Private University	Western colony legitimization	4	Friends
	Madrasah background	6	Class
	ISIS confession	10	Books
	Islamic extremist group	5	Online news portal
	Terrorist group	5	Class
	Madrasah as production house	3	Print media

Table No:4

This table demonstrates the basis of the production house. Pre/post holy artisan attacks prove that there are so many incidents or violence claimed with the connection of global terrorism which is known to the world as ISIS. Beside these madrasah background orientation JMB, neo-jmb and so on. Conceptions coming from different sources like print media, online news portal etc. among the public-private university students.

Place	Question	What do they know? Narratives (Themes)	Respondent's Number	How do they know? (Source)	Respondent's Number	Not Interested
Public University		Role of society and family	7	Online news Portal	4	7 Male: 3 Female: 4
		Role of collective dynamics	8	Facebook	8	
		Tackling the media and internet	5	Print media	4	
		Role of government and	7	Friends	5	
	How and in which way to overcome/ deal with the current state of situation?	law enforcement agency				
		Strengthening bonds within the family	5	Class	6	
Private University		Developing in educational curriculum	9	Books	3	4 Male: 1 Female: 3
		Building Tolerant Children through Moral Development	5	Online news portal	11	
		Encouraging Extra-Curricular Activities	10	Class	5	
		Government Supervision and Regulation of Educational Institutes	9	Print media	3	

Table No: 5

By this table and the question How and in which way to follow the overcome/ deal the current state of situation? It discloses a variety of preventive strategies such as Government Supervision and Regulation of Educational Institutes, Encouraging Extra-Curricular Activities, Strengthening bonds within the family etc.

3.2 Facilitating causes/factors behind 'jihad'/'jihadism'

3.2.1 Islamophobia

Islamophobia is a widely used concept in public and scholarly circles. It was originally developed in the late 1990s and early 2000s by political activists, nongovernmental organizations

(NGOs), public commentators, and international organizations to draw attention to harmful rhetoric and actions directed at Islam and Muslims in Western liberal democracies (Arab news, 2018). For actors like these, the term not only identifies anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim sentiments, it also provides a language for denouncing them. In some senses, Islamophobia is a new word for an old concept. At least since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in the late 1970s, it has been widely accepted that "the West" has long associated Islam with negative images, sentiments, and stereotypes (Said, 1978/1979, pp. 58-75). Yet Islamophobia only emerged in contemporary discourse with the 1997 publication of the report "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All" by the British race relations NGO the Runnymede Trust (1997). Since then, and especially since 2001, it has been regularly used by the media, citizens, and NGOs in Britain, France, and the United States (Lee, Gibbons, Thompson, & Timani, 2009, pp. 92-93, Zuquete, 2008, pp. 321-322). *"The popular perception is that the torture at Palestine in the Middle East is a result of Western Conspiracy, the torture on the Rohingyas is a Buddhist conspiracy; in India it is led by the Hindu conspirators against Islam. So, we have built a certain perception that Muslims are being tortured and persecuted all over the world" says Mostofa (illusive name)*. By the western conspiracy, Islamophobia is known as a dismay all over the world and the word Islam becoming a 'phobia'. As a result, the 'young' generation diverted into 'terrorism' activities because the tag (phobia) is associated with the Islam and misinterpretation of Islamic knowledge.

3.2.2 Persecution of Muslims around the Globe

The history of the persecution of Muslims trails way back to the medieval times. But this regenerated after the 9/11 attacks in the USA in 2001. The Afghan war started back in 1979 when the Soviet invaded them in order to remove their communist government. This was a part of the cold war and later was called a war against 'terrorism' (BBC,2018). Though this has impacts on the whole world in some way, it affects the Muslims around the globe a lot more deeply. *"The problems and conditions of the Muslims in Palestine and Iraq were exploited by them. And this motivates us here. More than ideological affiliation, they had that Muslims being killed. That was the motivation, not so much as Islam was being destroyed," says Nur (illusive name)*. These attacks, war-killings are developing a strong sense of hatefulness which at some point blinds the person. This feeling of hatred motivates people to take action against the persecution. The global persecution of Muslim has, therefore, come out as one of the major religious sources of radicalization. The sense of Muslim Fraternity (Ummah Feeling) is very strong among many Bangladeshis and it is very easy for the homegrown terrorist outfits to manipulate the youth using the "Stand for our Persecute Brothers" approaches.

3.2.3 Changes in family structure and weak Relationships

A key change in family structures can be noticed in contemporary Bangladesh. In earlier times, there was a prevalence of joint extended families. More than one family lived under one household so the responsibilities were shared. A head of the house made all major decisions and everyone obeyed or answered to that person. Forbes India says, "There was common living, shared responsibilities and utilities and also co-existence, which played a key role in development." (Terentia Consultants, 2017). Since the families consisted of a large number of members, it was easier for everyone to talk to someone in the family, spend leisure time productively and to receive the much-needed mental support whenever required. But a radical shift from joint families to nuclear ones can be seen in the last few decades. Dr. Yasmeen Haque, Professor at Shahjalal University of Science and Technology says, *"I think loneliness is basically created as the socialization and the family connection is weak. In past where there were joint families, we didn't observe these things."* For a person, family and its ties are of the most personal and prized possessions. A family is responsible for the psychic development, behavior, upbringing of a person. It molds one's understanding and approach to the world. So, if there is any lacking in the family bonding, it might have minor or major effects on one's psychology, that's called bipolar approach. Bipolar disorder is a mental illness marked by extreme changes in mood from high to low, and from low to high. Highs are periods of mania while lows are periods of depression (Healthline,2017). The changes in mood may even become mixed, so you might feel elated and depressed at the same time. Bipolar disorder isn't a rare diagnosis. A 2005 study found that 2.6 percent of the U.S. population, or more than 5 million people, are living with some form of bipolar disorder. Symptoms tend to appear in a person's late teens or early adult years, but they can occur in children as well (Healthline,2017). Even though it aims for positive things, this structure opens the possibility of the family members especially the youth feeling vulnerable, deprived and frustrated.

3.2.4 Lack of Proper Religious Education

One of the major causes behind 'terrorism' or violent extremism is the misinterpretation of religious texts. Although almost everyone is a follower of some faith, they often fail to educate themselves with that faith's teachings. *"Proper knowledge about one's religion makes them aware and resistant to anyone trying to use it to misguide them"*. "Religion is the impotence of the human mind to deal with occurrences it cannot understand" (Karl Marx). "Terrorists' use religion as a tool to justify their actions and to recruit people. They take texts out of context, modify it to their own benefit and present it before the vulnerable. The lack of religious knowledge of the public helps them use religion as both a tool and a cause. An English medium

school student says, “*Through misinterpretation of the Quran, if wanted, one can show it in a very negative way*”. And that is what they are exactly doing. The ‘terrorists’ are quoting three lines from the Quran without explaining the context and are saying – look you are asked to kill the non-believers. They get to wage wars and indulge in violence using the name of that religion. They selectively choose the verses which fit to their vision and then they are depicted in such a way so that the verses back up their statement diluting the original meaning (Holbrook, 2010).

3.2.5 Role of Political and Socio-Economic Factors

It is quite evident how almost all of these drivers are present in the political economic system of Bangladesh and thus functional as potential facilitative factors of radicalization in the country. An activist said that, “*On one hand, there was the education system, disparity, social inequality, and on another hand, the failure of our local political parties not being able to prepare them accordingly; the affluent generation who are updated with the world, eventually channeled out their frustration and thus quickly they were motivated by the activities of the extremists who were out to rectify these issues.*” Thus, understandably, ‘terrorists, or extremists exploit these prevailing factors in shaping their narratives to radicalize individuals who continue to be affected by these conditions. When a country’s established laws, legislations and systems are utilized in a way to benefit a certain social or political group and deprive the other identity groups from fulfilling their desired needs and demands from the state, it proves to be an instance of institutionalized oppression (TACS, 2006). These instances of oppression emerged from political abuse of power and gave birth to discrimination and other inequality of political and civil rights. When individuals become victims of such abuse of power and discrimination, naturally they look for means to uphold and immunize their beliefs and identity. Thus, when the identity or existence of any social or political group is threatened, the path to political radicalization is paved whereby the members identify an increased use of violence to fulfill and justify the sustenance of their beliefs, ideologies and identity (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008).

3.2.6 Dimension of Radicalization

The field of security studies has long been impaired by the lack of a universal understanding of the term radicalization. Radicalization as a term is often misunderstood and misused. Here, in this study, radicalization has been defined as ‘the social and psychological process of increasing commitment to extremist political or religious ideology’. Bangladesh has suffered different ‘terrorist’ attacks in the last few decades where Madrasa students of low socio-economic status were involved with the view to establishing the Caliphate (Cole, 2015).

However, ever since the occurrence of the ‘terrorist’ attacks at Gulshan Holey Artisan Bakery on the 1st of July, 2016 and the Sholakia Eid congregation a few days later, a panic has risen as a result of radicalization to the forefront of nationals that raised the question of why the rich and affluent young individuals are falling prey to ‘terrorism’. The question has stressed how significant this ‘terrorist’ attack is in Bangladesh as for the first time, terrorists attacked the heart of the elite enclave and diplomatic zone in Bangladesh, killing 17 foreigners and three well-to-do Bangladeshis. Most importantly, rich, secular-educated urban terrorists killed the foreigners exclusively because of their national and religious identities and the three Bangladeshis from well-to-do families for reasons best known to them (Hashmi, 2016). These attacks first brought attention to the fact that alongside radical militants with educational backgrounds at Madrasas and of low socio-economic status, affluent and educated young individuals are being radicalized in Bangladesh. According to the concept of Olivier Roy, ‘who are the new jihadists’ claims that, most of the new radicals or ‘jihadist’ are deeply immersed in ‘youth culture’: they go to nightclubs, pick up girls, smoke and drink. According to Olivier Roy (2017) “It highlights the significance of the generational dimension of radicalization” which is known ‘second generation of Muslim’s as well as ‘Born again Muslim’s’. The dangers of radicalization can be found at its full potential in an environment that gives them the sense of injustice, deprivation and perceived humiliation. So in order to understand violent radicalization, it is necessary to study the members of terrorist organizations all of whom, in some way, have gone down the path of radicalization based on their context (Reinares, 2008). So, it is safe to say that radicalization is immensely dangerous and in the suitable environment almost always leads to violence or ‘terrorism’. Now, the fact that radicalization as a global phenomenon is on a rise and its threat even in Bangladesh has been recognized, the first step to countering this is to identify the root causes.

3.2.7 Globalization and Role of Technology

Globalization and technology are intertwined. With the blessings of ‘global info-techno revolution’ terrorists use end-to-end encryption to communicate without being intercepted and store information in a secure manner (Graham, 2016). The video clippings made available through technology are used globally to indoctrinate the youth towards radicalization. Besides communication, technology has helped in improving their weaponries and knowledge regarding ammunition. The homegrown terrorist outfits are leveraging technology to the fullest in disseminating their mission and vision to the grassroots. They are showing the video of Muslim Persecutions by the West and diverting the young minds to become radical for the ‘Global Muslim Ummah’. They are also seen taking responsibility for different terrorist attacks by posting

declarations on their websites. A student of CSE dept. says

“Very easily they do these things, the software that they need for worry-free communication is made available. One can now through the internet learn very easily how to make bombs, and get ideas about the latest encryption devices. You won’t believe with vegetable oil they are making lethal”.

The Internet and social media play a major role in the recruitment process of terrorists.

Recruiters keep an eye on potential targets on various online platforms and follow their activities for years. Social media platforms, especially Facebook, gives them some advantages which help them in their recruiting process. They provide the terrorists with open platforms where they get to stage a properly thought drama for the millions of audiences around the world sitting behind computers or with mobile phones in their hands watching with awe (Torok, 2015). The findings say that, ‘terrorists’ have been using the boom of globalization and technology in innumerable ways and purposes.

3.2.8 Power/ Dimension of Capitalism

The study of capitalist processes, whether foregrounded or backgrounded, has served to shift the field of anthropological inquiry away from predominant concern with non-Western societies and to place the Western and non-Western on a more equal footing. Neither Marx, Weber nor Mauss provide the sole focus for the wide range of study conducted. Issues of money, the commodity, religious resistance and identity formation through the construction of mass markets break out of the easy definitions of capitalism, and anthropologists’ case studies reveal the diversity of the phenomena while at the same time pointing to certain regularities that obtain. Here, the dimension or power of capitalism indicates that the spread out of capitalism. *We are passing such a stage of capitalism where in one family parents are busy with their social organization, maintaining hierarchy. For that reason, they don’t give enough time to their children and create a basic distance between parents and their children. As a result, children are growing up in such a vacuum of infatuation. After passing some time they feel that money is the source of all kinds of demand and that’s why children are given some more emphasis on material things. Furthermore, when they become adults, their mind thinks differently. Mentionable attribute is the alarming presence of identity crisis in the society. This is mostly seen among the youth and if not addressed in time, can have disastrous effects on them. Young people are always trying to fit in and to hold on to a sense of belongingness. This sort of gives them a purpose to live with and helps maintain the balance between their social and personal lives. But when people are filled with confusion about their identity, it makes them feel insecure and vulnerable. As a result of availability, ‘moral’ development or ‘moral’ study is not fit among the ‘young’ generation, says Mahdi (illusive name) 2019. ‘Terrorist’ organizations target these people for recruitment as they are vulnerable and easy targets. They take advantage of the feeling of wanting to belong somewhere and brainwash them into believing that these organizations are where they belong (Martinez, 2016). Whatever else they do, capitalist enterprises produce a plethora of new, often dangerous material substances, many of them rich with their own abilities to act. Some studies focus on the human relationships with materials transformed — in corporate laboratories through science, manufacturing and marketing — into consumer items that form great networks of objects, scientific claims, political responses and consumer anxieties, preferences and identities (Appadurai, 1986)*

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATIONS AND (RE)APPROACHING ‘JIHAD’ AND ‘JIHADISTS’

This chapter illustrates the counter part of this study. It also gives a detailed discussion about preventing a system of transformative situations. Trying to detail out how administrators deal with the current state of ‘Jihadism’ in their territory. In these situations like, promoting transformative inter-faith & intercultural dialogues, enhancing government supervision and regulation of educational institutions, the promotion of sustainable development, preservation and promotion of cultural values, strengthening bonds within the family and community are some of the recommendations that came out as strategic counter approaches.

4.1 Impression towards Jihad and Jihadists

The word jihad literally means “strive” or “struggle.” Of the five dimensions of jihad discussed in the Quran, the most emphasized is an individual’s internal struggle for self-restraint and piety.

The Quran also uses the word jihad in connection with charity and, to a lesser extent, academic achievement, societal reform and defensive war. In verse 15 of Surat al-Hujurat, the Quran reveals that true believers “strive hard in Allah’s cause with their possessions and their lives.” Terrorists have exploited the word jihad to create the false impression that the text of the Quran supports their violent crimes. As with any religious text, a scholar can selectively extract and interpret verses from the Quran to support opposing arguments.

Jihad is to point out the resistance movement by the fundamentalist ethnic groups who want to protect their traditions, heritage and identity from the flow of globalization. Jihad is a propagandistic device which causes ideological conflict. Jihad is the struggle to build a good society. Losing the Meaning of Jihad: Terrorism and the US Media. Jihad is to affair a harmony among Islam (IDI, 2019)

Traditional concept of jihadist propaganda. These are common impressions/scenarios towards jihad and

jihadism among the university authorities.

4.2 Arrangements, Mechanisms and Apparatus to Deal the Issue

4.2.1 Encouraging Extra-Curricular Activities

The education of today has been confined to the sole purpose of preparing students for examinations and its rightful performance. This has caused the inordinately sprouting of coaching centers and tuition teachers making the students lose sight of other aspects of their life. This creates an emotional or purposive void further causing an identity crisis. Hence, educational institutions need to take responsibility for this crisis through increased practice of

extra-curricular activities and other workshops. The role of arranging these extra-curricular activities and workshops is vital in establishing a multifaceted dimension to a student's life whereby s/he explores his/her potential, discovers him/herself and goes beyond the questions and confusions of his/her identity or true self.

4.2.2 Developing an Electric Curriculum

An educational curriculum should not just consist of theoretical and bookish knowledge; it has to impart context relevant and relatable teachings. A curriculum should not be merely built upon policymakers' perception of what the youth should be learning, it must also address the interest of the youths only with which can the youths be drawn towards education. Once the two factors are taken into account, education can be effective in building responsible and knowledgeable citizens (Bangladesh Enterprise Institute, 2015).

Since the broader goal of education is to instill resilience and harmony, the curriculum must include resources of varying cultures, traditions and heritage that will promote diversity.

4.2.3 Tackling the Media and Internet

With the internet being one of the handiest tools in this age, spreading radical propaganda has now become as easy like never before. Terrorists now no longer need to go door to door of individuals communicating and convincing them of their extremist ideologies. Thanks to the internet, the world is intricately connected at a distance of just one click away. Therefore, the government needs to recognize the consequential role of this tool and adopt pertinent legislation and policy in regulating this momentous media so that extremists cannot exploit it in propagating. In Bangladesh such kinds of measures and supervising bodies to regulate the online platform must be established. If the use of the internet is supervised by a legal authority, it will be more effective to keep our youth supervised as well as safe from misuse.

On the other hand, the same media that is used by the extremists in fulfilling their purpose, can be used by the government and law enforcement in our spreading counter narratives. Besides regulating the media activities, McGill asserts that this platform can be used to clarify the misconceptions and misinterpretations of religious texts or materials that are crucial in radicalization. Furthermore, the government can always use the media to depict diversity and tolerance to its audience through their content that is shown (as cited in Kevin, 2014).

4.2.4 Workshops, Research and Social Learning

University campaign and so other social activity by the research or study and spread out the awareness from the higher to the root people of the society. Workshops, research is the way of social learning to create awareness of the current state of situation of the campuses or in the perspective of society. So in one sense, it must carry out some important that has regulated by the authority of the university administrations.

4.3 Integrations with Government's intervention and Regulations of Educational Institutions

Given the extremely branched off education system of Bangladesh, the need for a revision and change has become imperious. With the English Medium, Bengali Medium, English Version, Madrasa Education and two further divisions of Aliya and the education system of Bangladesh is diverged right now. The abolishment of so many mediums of education is unfeasible and unreasonable but educational institutes need to make an honest effort in establishing common grounds of education. Each medium of education system has to incorporate mandatory courses of Bangladesh Studies, History and Moral Education in their curriculum that shall enlighten the students with an increased knowledge of diversity and sense of belongingness of this country and its roots.

While speaking of revision of curriculum, it is needless to reiterate the need for supervision and regulation of Madrasa education, especially. This implies that the state should pay more attention to any radical education or propaganda that might be taught in any medium. Even though the long-held notion of Madrasa students being the prime targets of radicalization has been shattered since the incident of Holey Artisan, this does not negate the necessity of bringing these institutions under supervision.

4.4 Advising, Counseling and Providing Financial Assistance: Adoption of a Participatory Approach

We need to understand that preventive strategies are more crucial which has to be adopted by both families and educational institutions and administrations and their governing body through instilling moral values, increased supervision of their children and broader education of diversity, inclusion and resilience. The university administrations take some necessary steps to control the current state of 'terrorists' attacks after the holy artisan case. Like increased supervision programs for the students, focused on class attendance etc. Under the supervision program, each and every department has appointed a student counselor both side of male and female and provided a student counselor as a guardian of the department. Under the counseling program, students must be monitored by the student counselor. Beside these, the administrations focused on the student attendance system where one student cannot be absent from their daily class. This rule is strictly followed by the authorities. Bangladesh's higher education regulatory body, the University Grants Commission or UGC, has told all

public-private universities in the country to form a 'monitoring cell' to create awareness among students "against terrorism, extremism and militancy". The new units will have to send monthly monitoring reports to the education ministry and UGC.

The move to step up supervision of private institutions came after law enforcement authorities found some private university students had been involved in recent attacks by Islamist extremists in the country. After the 1 July attack on the Holey Artisan Bakery, a café in the capital Dhaka, police revealed that one of the attackers, Rohan Imtiaz (20), was a student of the private BRAC University in Dhaka. Some 22 people including two policemen, nine Italians, seven Japanese, an Indian and an American were killed in the attack, for which Islamic State or ISIS claimed responsibility. The government held meetings with private universities on 17 July involving Home Minister Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal, Education Minister Nurul Islam Nahid and UGC Chairman Abdul Mannan, and police and top security officials. Mannan said the UGC would set up a committee to make surprise visits to universities and report back to the education ministry and law enforcement agencies if it found proof of militant activity on campuses.

Mannan said the UGC had visited the private University of South Asia. Mannan said he told the university authorities "stern action" would be taken if they fail to follow government instructions.

The university has been under much scrutiny ever since the attacks in Gulshan on July 1 and Sholakia on July 7 this year, as some of the terrorists involved were identified to be students of the university. Chairman of UGC, Prof Abdul Mannan, stated that the UGC is investigating why students of NSU have been found to be involved in terrorism. The investigation will involve questioning executive bodies, faculty members and counseling bodies of the university.

University authorities observed that students visit the university two to four days in a week, and spend most of their time outside the university. They have suggested that students may be asked to take more courses so that they can remain within the university for observation.

UGC recommended to the student welfare department to engage them in more social activities. UGC also suggested that the student body of 20,000 should form smaller groups of 40 students with one teacher. The teacher will be evaluating the students' behavior, results, class discipline, analyze student activities and counsel students to be more engaged in academics.

UGC also advised parents and guardians with student ID numbers, so that they can check student grades and how many courses they are taking online. UGC also suggested that each and every student should have their attendance tracked, so that missing and dropout students can be easily identified.

CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion

The Holey Artisan Bakery attack by the 5 young boys has become one of the new dimensions in the history of the Jihadist or terrorist attacks in Bangladesh. Whereas almost all the past attacks in such ways have been reported by the then media claiming that such terrorism is being done by the jihadists- an Islamic term which has different meanings or acts fixed by the Almighty Allah. But, over time the meaning and the acts have been seen in the name of Jihadists activities are not much similar to the Jihad as the Quran says. Media representation and the western world's state leader's statement has almost established that Islam is the opposite name of terrorism. Islamophobia has been determined and has become a huge concern by various 'developed' countries and by these in many countries Muslims are being harassed and hassled. This paper claims that it will explore the conceptions of the changing identity/background and changes of conceptions regarding 'terror'/militant' discourse in Bangladesh after HABA. At this we needed to compare the contents/headlines of the reporting media outlets in framing of the

Jihadists through pre/post Holy Artisan attack to understand the (re)making of public discourses. The findings illustrate that the media captured the pre-Holy Artisan attacks in Bangladesh as terrorist attacks. The term Jihad was quite absent in the media or news reports. My argument is- by not using the Jihad word where the attackers have claimed (most of the times ISIS claimed) they wanted to see the country as an Islamic state and their point is they are doing that for Allah and for everyone's good. As one of them shouted at Judge Rahman -"You will be judged by Allah in the afterlife," when the hearing was going on.

For that, we can find that the media is framing the Islamic jihadist's Jihad as terrorism and, also, the other

political and the terrorist attacks as Terrorism, also, in one row. At this, whenever any terror attack happens, people (the audience, reader or the listener of these media) start thinking that these are being done/happening by the Islamists. Thus, by the media, framing and terming is opening doors for the other terror groups and, also, for the political groups in Bangladesh where blame game is going on, always.

Whereas the media have always portrayed over years how madrasas and the Islamic religious groups are giving shelters or producing these terror groups, now-a-days, news or statements by the law enforcers like Additional Deputy Police Inspector of the Anti-Terrorism Unit. Moniruzzaman said, "Only 22 percent of those arrested are people studying madrassa education. They are not the only ones who come from madrassa education" are creating new thoughts and questions as well as dimension in the people's mind who have seen the jihad or terror attacks in the same way how the media portrayed over years. The discourses have become much stronger when the government declares that every public institution must have to report the missing issues or regular absence of anyone. State apparatus, thus, are formulating the discursive practice in every layer of the society/country. What is the educational background of the students or peoples doesn't matter in the contemporary period after the Holey Artisan Bakery attack at Gulshan in Bangladesh.

The current conception regarding the jihad and the jihadists among the public and the private universities is almost the same. But it is significant that the data reflects that almost half

of the randomly chosen students (both male and female) of the public and private universities say that madrasa is no longer the only production house or training unit of the jihadist activities.

And, the Holey Artisan attack proves that to them.

The administration of both public and private universities have taken lots of steps to face the challenges thrown by the Holey Artisan Bakery attack. The university administrations are following the government's instructions accordingly. Students who are becoming irregular and remain absent for minimum 10 days get show cause and need to clarify to the Student Councilor. In classes his/her inquiry is being run. All the students are also advised to observe their close friend's/batchmate's activities and, also, they are requested to report if any mysterious things take place.

5.2 Conclusion

The study started off with content analysis from reliable secondary sources to grasp and understand the patterns and the notions regarding 'terror' and 'terrorism' and it looks at the conceptions of the changing identity/background and extremism at large in the context of Bangladesh. Since the study is more focused on the issue of the changing identity and changes of perceptions regarding 'terror'/'militant' discourse in Bangladesh after the holy artisan attacks and afterward attacks were studied carefully to understand this phenomenon in Bangladesh. Case studies on ten terrorists were done from reliable secondary sources like newspapers, articles, etc. to comprehend the background of these terrorists. Eventually an opinion interview was conducted of 23 and many more respondents being students mainly, coming from both public and private universities to understand how they perceive the changing perceptions on 'terror' issues in this country and their opinions on its causes and influencing factors. A detailed analysis was done later on this opinion to outline the key findings of the interview.

In order to achieve a much broader understanding of this study and its result, the study involved unstructured interviews with relevant experts, academicians, stakeholders and teachers of educational institutions. Almost all of the interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded manually to find out the major findings and underlying concepts of the phenomena. However, other than these root causes, there are several kinds of push and pull factors, facilitated by different vulnerability factors that work in instigating or allowing the process and incidence of radicalization. Research showed that most recruitment of terrorism or victims took place within the age group of 16 to 30 years. "People of the age group of 18 to 20 are the ones who do not have any love for life whose result is holey artisan attackers. Because of youth's impulsiveness, a growing sense of identity crisis and attachment void they particularly become vulnerable to such instigation. "An estimated 60 percent of those who espouse violent 'jihadism' in Europe are second-generation Muslims who have lost their connection with their country of origin and have failed to integrate into Western societies," Roy says (2017).

They are subject to a "process of deculturation" that leaves them ignorant of and detached from both the European society and the one of their origins. The result, Roy argues, is a dangerous "identity vacuum" in which "violent extremism thrives."

There are other factors within and outside their homes which lead them towards astray. With changing family structures and both working parents, children suffer from an emotional dissociation with their parents. Not only it causes the children to look for emotional attachment replacements but also, they begin to look for role models outside their family, outside their home. These sorts of emotional dissociation, degrading moral development and lack of belongingness create an apathy towards this worldly life which is further exacerbated by the extremists' radical and misconstrued narratives of the Quran justifying and in fact encouraging this apathy of worldly life. Parents' obliviousness and absence in their children's life gets them to technological addiction which has proved to be one of the easiest and most effective platforms for misusing.

Counter approach suggestions have come from all stakeholders of the society including experts, academicians, teachers, security members and family, all of who agreed wholeheartedly on need of an all-

encompassing model of counter approach focusing on counter narratives on misconceptions about the religion which is one of the oft-used tools of the extremists. We need to understand that preventive strategies are more crucial which has to be adopted by both families and educational institutions through instilling moral values, increased supervision of their children and broader education of diversity, inclusion and resilience.

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