

A New Paradigm of Tripartite Connectivity: Civil Intellectuals, Resistance, and the Collective Social Movement

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Abstract

In broad intelligentsia, approaches for defining Civil Intellectuals seem to be a never-ending philosophical battle even for the intellectuals themselves. Due to the lack of capable interpretation with the help of traditional ways, definitions for Civil Intellectuals are not able to meet their wide range of hybrid activities in various faces in social activism. Rather seeing them in the continuous political and philosophical struggle, this article attempts to analyze them in two other notions of Resistance and Collective Social Movement. It argues that the notion of Civil Intellectual has the potential to reflect through an understanding of Resistance and Collective Social Movement to challenge various oppressive power constructions in the society. It aims to investigate on another two sub-arguments: a) Civil Intellectuals' function as a constant pressure group entities and b) The concept of Resistance is predominantly more countering in nature than the notion of Collective Social Movement. In that continuation, this article presents *tripartite connectivity* coining a case of Collective Social Movement in the context of Bangladesh. Additionally, it tries to offer an extended model of Civil intellectual's social placement mode in society. This study accessed secondary data resources of various scholarly medium and sources where the three notions are discussed in a complimentary way. Besides, with the use of empirical observation, participation, and first-hand field data; the study detects Civil Intellectuals with comprehensive activism in the issues of social protests. The findings suggest that Resistance itself functions through a 'contradicting approach' to the power structure.

Key words: civil intellectuals, resistance, collective social movement, power, activism, public space

1. Introduction

Regarding the prime discussions for this article, it intends to explore the definition of Civil Intellectuals in society and their connectivity to Collective Social Movements through the Resistance. This article also focuses on the alignment between the concepts of 'intelligentsia' and 'intellectuals'. Therefore, this study utilizes the term called 'Civil Intellectuals' in this conversation. Giving this inquisition more validity, we ask: 'why are Civil Intellectuals problematized in the vocation of social movements or resistance?' The answer could lie with the particular conscious existence of Civil Intellectuals in a society, where they are believed to uphold the degree of socio-cultural authority in exercising intellectual capacity through their critical, intelligent language. The central idea in Antonio Gramsci's explanation was simple on this. It states that considering 'the intellectual' as a distinct social category is rather a myth where all people have a potential to act intellectually, though all of them do not act accordingly by their social function (Gramsci, cited in Hoare & Smith, 1999). Associating this idea of their existence to resistance and social resistance; it may indicate their organized social effort for making protests with mass people to withstand the authority or established government. Even in a certain context, it can include various intellectual activisms of civil professionals as well. As a result, quite often the political manifestations like various collective movements in society become not only a group of or simple collective actions but rather become recognized as unique sets of organizational structures and strategies that ensure a call for people's

empowerment. It may enable oppressed populations to support ongoing challenges and resist the more powerful and advantaged upper classes (Glasberg & Shanon, 2011).

This article is articulated in two significant directions. Initially, it offers a scholarly interpretive understandings on Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and Collective Social Movement issues while mentioning the relationship to social media and public spheres. In the second direction, it puts the regional example for further explanations regarding conceptual assembly and connectivity of these three notions using a case from Bangladesh in South Asia. In recent times Bangladesh has become a significant illustration of several social resistances and movements due to its continuous undemocratic and oppressive political order. Consequently, appearing as a counterbalance, vocals started speaking up publicly raising their conscious voices; mostly approaching from progressive civil intellectual's core categories. A unique sense of hybrid activism¹ from civil intellectual groups is taking place in the complex political web of society. They are questioning previous ideas towards political and nationalistic issues directly connected to the power establishment of past and present history of Bangladesh. Thus for this article, the reason behind coining the example related to resistance and social movements; actually lies in the concerns of existing political instability in Bangladesh. This interest leads the author to understand the process of the current activism of Civil Intellectuals of Bangladesh and their influences on social movement issues.

The article reviews the literature that seeks the meaning of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and Collective Social Movements, respectively, and their observable connectivity to each other. The article purposes of analyzing the fundamental intersecting distinctive dialogues between the concept of intellectuals and civil society along with their ideological tendencies in the global intelligentsia based on relevant academic works. It also encompasses some perspectives of Bengali literature towards the nature of intellectual entities in the context of the Bengal sub-continent and Bangladesh. Two rudimentary propositions lead the entire discussion, in this article:

1. The first proposition argues that the traversed and indefinite notion of Civil Intellectuals provides a vast horizon of intellectual performance which has a great potential to be reflected through Resistance affairs and Collective Social Movement. In the process of intellectual struggle, often the conscious social obligations and quest for accountability interest intellectual entities to meet social resistance and movement issues resulting from various oppressive power constructions and behaviors in the state. In response to social justice, the inevitable urge of Resistance (the rejection or circumvention of social change) and Collective Social Movement (a collective enterprise for social change) is to engage them in the enactment of public domains for effective intellectual demonstrations.

2. The second proposition intends to justify the conceptual *tripartite connectivity* of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and Collective Social Movement in the understanding within its adopted tri-scope formation. Therefore, it argues for including two sub-propositions: a) Civil Intellectuals function as a constant pressure group in performing Collective Social Movement within the structure of Resistances against unjust power and b) The concept of Resistance is predominantly more countering in nature than the notion of Collective Social Movement. To argue for these two sub-propositions, a current evident case of the protest movement of Bangladesh is explained, along with the association of its social components. The case of Anti-Rampal protest movement is coined which represents the function and formation of Civil Intellectuals in the expression of their resistance. It also shows how intellectual entities take a stand against the state's destructive environmental policies and their tie to foreign corporate business force. The situation questions the authoritarian governance process of the state where it attempts weakening mangrove forest Sundarban's environmental eco-system in the name of 'development'. Besides, in this certain theoretical frame it is shown that how the three notions of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance, and the Collective Social Movement are being coincided in their tripartite engagement. On this support, Civil Intellectuals' social placement mode² is also presented with the findings of previous studies on Bangladesh.

2. Notions of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and the Collective Social Movement: Rationale for the Study

In this paper Civil Intellectual, Resistance, and Collective Social Movement bring a discussion together regarding the importance of intellectualizing their social connections, coinciding factors and interdependency in academic understanding. In the age of neoliberal globalization, there are new rising unique tendencies³ in resistance and movement issues where the role of civil intellectuals is being tested in different social judgment calls. Thus, in this logic, the following few rational points can be useful.

2.1 Imagined Connectivity of Tripartite Force

To explain the proposed notions of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and the Collective Social Movement in their concentration, their *tripartite connectivity* is imagined in this discussion. The word 'tripartite' refers to an alignment of three potent factors. Similarly, to create an inventive understanding for this article, the ideas of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance, and the Collective Social

Movement are placed imaginatively in a conceptual tripartite abstract frame where they are to meet each other with equal significance.

2.2 Three Focused Notions

In this discussion, the three notions, are more focused, among many of other several concepts only because of their reflective bond. Civil Intellectuals belong to several cultural categories in a society where everyone doesn't act equally. However, there are significant portions that perform actively in vibrant attributes with advanced responsive action on social issues. Among this group of Illuminati⁴, a Civil Intellectual's capacity for appearing as an intellectual entity depends on her or his social quest for knowledge making, reflexive activism and mass engagement in democratic affairs. Civil Intellectual representatives are likely to act as a 'cultural nationalist' group which continues to offer constant critiques for socio-political policies in given contexts. Perhaps their most important contribution is producing narratives which give intelligent accounts of connected events. Discussing the intellectual's movement, Frickel and Gross (2005) argued that, being inherently political, their engagement in the movement involves the transformation of thoughts, ideas, and knowledge of those who are subjected to scrutiny, forms credible or true significant change. Touraine (2002) considered the social movement to be an answer directly linked to the control that a social group has over its capacity to make decisions and to control changes which must be identified with the presence of civil society actors.

Moreover, the new language and pattern of political resistance, social resistance, and collective movements are questioning the traditional forms of intellectual class and the function of Hegemony in society. To identify Civil Intellectuals, Gramsci talked about civil society or the political society or state which corresponds to the practice of hegemony. Here the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand there is direct domination by political forces where they represent organizational and connective power paradigm. Gramsci also classified civil intellectuals into traditional and organic civil (Gramsci, cited in Hoare & Smith, 1971). The rationale given by Whitehead (2015) also states about intellectuals when they are the dominant group deputies practicing the subaltern functions of social hegemony. Very interestingly, for the past two decades, the number of public intellectuals, activists and to be more precise, the hybrid intelligentsia have risen in a more applied form where people sometimes offer the alternative conception of public intellectuals and their responsibilities. Dallyn, Merinotto, and Cederstrom (2015) presented their idea of public intellectuals, who are observed as more integrated, and the nonconformist. Now various layered social tensions worldwide often respond to the immediate essentials of many movements. These are continually engaging with the needs to regenerate the role and notion of categories for intellectuals.

2.3 New Language Patterns of Movements

The new movements are experiencing a trend toward resistive public languages⁵ which also questions the language application of the broad elite intelligentsia. As the movements are getting originated from the different oppressed class sections of the society, it is approaching forth with the interrogative attitude towards the traditional usage of so-called classy academic languages. With the emergence of social media, accessibility to the public media sphere, techno-empowerment, self-efficiency, and neoliberal consumerism – the activities are more attached to public spaces where they can easily express or speak. Besides, through the expansion of various media apparatus, debates, public speeches, seminars, and socio-cultural demonstrations is also influencing political ideology. For example, when they call for public gathering on the road regarding any free demonstration through Facebook, the subscribers can make it 'viral' and anyone can attend even virtually without being physically present. However, the formation of a new language pattern can also reflect on the idea of Derrida for Deconstruction and its implication on language in resistance issues. According to Derrida (1991) and Hepburn (1999), the concept of deconstruction is best understood through Ferdinand Saussure's Semiology. It gives accounts for a parasitic construction of the human mind that says, "If there is something assigned previously with a need of being definitive about something; the process of deconstruction automatically takes a binary stand as a counter force." Thus, it is also very relevant for bringing up the construction and deconstruction processes of movement language patterns.

2.4 Pursuing Pro-active Role

The reason for alienation or for the position of a state speaks for itself regarding the causes of political, social or collective resistance. When the state is incapable of meeting the democratic demands of the masses, then various types of social movements may occur. In the state when the need for law and order in judgment fails to ensure mass people's interests, this becomes an obvious call for protest and movements. It also connects the representation of Civil Intellectuals and witnesses how they deal with their courtship with society's movement when it is necessary. It is certainly the prerequisite of a social movement to have the ideological thinking and scholarly writings which are supposed to come from these sections of intellectuals in the society. This

dilemma argues that in resistance or movement, people can be the moderators of activism, but the force of movement also needs the narrator from a reasonable level of society. Castle and McDonald (2017) argued that the activism of intellectuals contributes to research and academia. They repeated Giroux's (2004) insight about where the intellectuals incorporate ideas into their classrooms as radical pedagogues but with engaging people in critical debates either. Presenting initiatives for understanding knowledge, authority, and power they provide a sense of the opportunity to mobilize moral outrage, social responsibility, and collective action.

2.5 Bangladesh as a Representative Case

To give an account on the *tripartite connectivity* of Civil Intellectual, Resistance and the Collective Social Movement in the context of South Asia, a country like Bangladesh seems distinctively interesting for a particular motive.

It is evident for practical examples of resistance and movements when various vocals coming from social intelligentsia participated in the implementation of fruitful social change joining other mass forces in a given condition. The most important example must be the endeavor for obtaining complete independence in the Liberation War of 1971 against the West Pakistani regime. A large number of intellectual bodies participated in the fight and sacrificed their lives for liberation to establish sovereignty. In the last 50 years of its independence, Bangladesh has witnessed several political challenges those cemented the paths toward resistance. Immense protests like the 2013 Shahbag protests, the 2015 Bangladesh student protests against VAT on education, and the 2018 Bangladesh road-safety protest are recent examples of several social resistances that have ensured the presence of Civil Intellectuals in its knowledge function. Importantly, the Shahbag protests re-questioned Bangladeshi nationalism and its issues of political forces (Roy, 2018; Zaman, 2016 & Sabur, 2013) where 2015 Bangladesh student protests show the matter of neoliberalism and student's social struggle (Kabir & Greenwood, 2017). Even Anti-Rampal Power Plant Protest becomes the movement for protecting world's biggest mangrove forest, the Sundarbans is also functioning as a national resources movement too which is mostly run by progressive left oriented intellectuals and activists (Author's Fieldwork, 2018). Relevantly, 2006 Phulbari Coal Resistance also included intellectual activism that ran in respects of mobilizing protest initiatives attaching transnational ties (Luthfa 2012, 2017). On this evidence, Faruque (2017) shows how the national resource protection committee of Bangladesh which is contained by several intellectual activists stands for counter-hegemonic social movement practices.

3. Frame of the Discussion

For the initial portion, this paper is based on secondary sources where, in its formation; it incorporates the idea of tripartite relation among concepts of Civil Intellectual, Resistance, and Collective Social Movement. Keeping three terms in the discussion ground respectively in the first section, the article includes the case of Bangladesh in the second portion consisting of further clarification. In this regard first-hand fieldwork data were used as sources. Therefore, the whole discussion is arranged into two major sections.

1. An introduction to the concepts of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and the Collective Social Movement
2. The *tripartite connectivity* of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and the Collective Social Movement

The first section conventionally seeks the central meaning of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and the Collective Social Movement respectively with the help of related literature. At this section, Civil Intellectuals are discoursed and placed in the broad intelligentsia with their connection to civil society and the public engagement process. A brief literature on the understanding of Civil Intellectuals in Bengal is also added here. Later in the continuation, the notion of Resistance is talked where the next moves focused on the origin of the Collective Social Movement by linking itself with the public domain. After mentioning the gaps among extracted writing, the *tripartite connectivity* among three notions is discussed hypothetically in the second part of the article. This section presents the connectivity of the proposed three ideas with the help of a movement case study of Bangladesh.

Aiming for a conceptual understanding, this study followed secondary data resources of scholarly articles from popular journals, books, reports, reviews, and writing blogs. For the review section, this article trailed database search articles. Additionally, another two initiatives were taken: **(a)** it investigated quite some area in academia of social sciences where the three issues are discussed complementarily. This study encompassed numbers of philosophical and theoretical interdisciplinary perspectives extracting from anthropology, sociology, political sciences, international relations, resistance, and movement studies and psychology as well and **(b)** it searched with critical vital terms those are interlocked with each other in discourse analysis due to the interdependent nature of these notions in social philosophy.

4. An Introduction to the Concepts of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and the Collective Social Movement

This section attempts to give conceptual accounts for the first proposition of this article. For a suitable understanding, it

discusses the meaning of Civil Intellectual, Resistance, and Collective Social Movement respectively, based on extracted literature. It includes the connection of the intelligentsia to civil society, the nature of Bengali intellectual society in Bengali literature and Civil Intellectuals' general nature of public engagement. Giving clarity to the notion of Resistance and in understanding the Collective Social Movement, a cohesive motion of social movement stages consisting of their response to the public domain is described. In this section, the three gaps observed in the literature are also mentioned.

4.1 Civil Intellectuals in a Hypothetical Pace: A Traversed Notion of Intellectuals and Civil Society

Civil intellectual's social, and genetic practicality functions with the process of knowledge-making in the academic ground. From Herodotus to the present influences by Noam Chomsky or Arundhati Roy- the journey of intellectuals has dealt with the reasoning process, ethics, morality and most importantly wisdom exercises of a human being in any given situations among societies. It nourished their independent delivery with the implication of theory and practice in the community's academic or public sphere. In the sense of being 'civil' in the organized thinking process, the philosophical and of course, paradoxical lounge of the broad intelligentsia represented scholars who recognized social puzzles in various relative cultural struggles and insights. Even the era of Antiquity, Age of Enlightenment, and the School of Romanticism and European inspirations contributed to the process of constructing ideologies. The bodies of intelligentsia executed power for understanding the world and at the same time; an individual's entity. Conceiving parallels and sense of divergence in academic expansion and institutionalization process; various schools were working on narratives, discourses, and pathologies sensing in a society which promoted them of having an inhabiting a body of knowledge (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001; Smith, 2001; Singh & Guyer, 2016). Quite remarkably, since the Sixties, after the end of World War II, the political climate has changed and reentered in international political affairs. This process paved the way for challenging the notion of authority with a new wave of understanding political controversies and newfangled political tensions.

Basset (1996) points out about intellectuals in civil and community space which is rather conceived of as a universal class. It is argued that there happened the chronological establishment of discourses. Lenin and the Russian Marxists drilled into the organic level of political awareness spheres. At the same time explanations offered by Julian Benda, Antonio Gramsci; and other forerunners were also groundbreaking. Basset argues that interpretation by Marxist Sociologist Gouldner who stressed the Hegelian- Marxist intellectual framework with an understanding of this new class with a specific ideology- was bold and stimulating. Mentioning Hegel and Marx in a metaphysical analysis; Corradetti (2013) stressed the reflective valuation and critique of society and culture by applying knowledge from the social sciences and the humanities. Max Horkheimer (1972) described this as it seeks "to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (O'Connell and Others, 1982). Foucault's postmodernist concepts of power, knowledge and social control nourished the critical approach for reading the discourse analysis (Cited in Borin, 2001) which was further motivation for intellectuals in questioning the power structure differently. Similarly, for explaining intellectuals in a power role, Bourdieu offered some theoretical tools where it states that intellectuals' political orientation and taste comes from their situation of social privilege that connects the idea of intellectual habitus (Cited in Li, 2010).

Probably the new idea of intellectuals was becoming present in the discussion of existences of new categories⁶, but most importantly, from 1970. It was also the time for questioning authority worldwide where history witnessed the growing participation of conscious civil society and vocal intellectuals (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001). Similarly, regarding the debate between the history of 'intellectuals' and the 'social history of intellectuals,' Wickberg (2001) described the emergence of social history which was a product of the quite self-conscious crisis of intellectual history of the 1970s. A constant urge of self-assessment for traditional intelligentsia was forthcoming with questions and inquiries to the new formation of social power and textural change. Perhaps it challenged traditional intellectual history, transforming it into social history that would meet the contemporary problems of resistance, political, and ideological counter and encounters and certainly social movement issues in the new paradigm. The responsibility of intellectuals achieved the priority again, but this time with the integration of civil society in a more complex way.

Later, in the 1980s and 1990s, by establishing the active domain of academia, through public debate, campaigns, street demonstrations and other forms of popular mobilization (Robinson & Friedman, 2005), civil society played a crucial role in democratic transitions in the West and the East. These events raised the international profile of civil society. Thus, intellectuals from civil society came to play a major role in global responses to make criticisms against various power constructions and events at the levels of policy execution. Therefore, on this historical location of the intelligentsia and civil society bodies, this article raised a curious question as 'how the intellectuals associate themselves in the civil arena about engaging themselves in social responsibilities including present days' social justice issues and movements?'

Due to the integral correlation between civil characteristics and their existence in the intelligentsia, perhaps, the initial attempt for focusing on civil society in theoretical pace would be somewhat helpful. Historically civil society was seen as a sphere of social interaction between the economic base and the state consisting of organizations. Its function was to improve collective goals. This term can also be conceptualized from two sources, firstly; a history of theories, and secondly; the self-understanding of social

movement actors (Cohen & Arato, 1992; Pedersen, 1994, pp. 181-182). Hegel identified civil society as a 'system of needs' where individuals resolve their particular private interests with social demands and expectations, which are ultimately mediated by the universal state (Cited in Laine, 2014). For Zaleski (2008), Marx recognized civil society as the byproduct of the bourgeoisie's interest which permitted the legitimacy of its functional intellectual struggle in the name of the interest and welfare of the masses, against the completely raw form of state domination. Jichang (2015) explained how the understanding of civil society helps to identify civil spirit in the liberal construction and development of social classes no matter how long the state has had control of masses.

Antonio Gramsci divided Marx's notion of 'superstructure' into political society and civil society where political society consists of the organized forces of society (such as the police and the military). Civil society refers to the consensus-creating elements of society that contribute to Hegemony and Cultural Hegemony. He observed civil society as the career for bourgeois hegemony when it just represents a particular class with some sorts of ideological apparatus with consensus power (Joseph, 2002; Bobbio, 1989). Gramsci suggested that the formation of Hegemony is nothing but the construction of the class power of the bourgeoisie which makes the bourgeois class more unified (Gundogan, 2008; Arthur, 1986). To make it more clarified, Buttigieg (2005) and Gogoi (2014) reaffirms where Gramsci writes about the integral relationship between civil society and the state. In this argument, it is mentioned that these two institutions together constitute an integral understanding for themselves. Observing civil society in the creative social classes, they were sometimes identified as historical blocs where they conceived a pattern of established power relations among social groups in a given historical-political situation; in the process of Hegemony (Brighenti, 2016).

According to Tok (2003), Gramsci's notion of civil society intelligentsia circulated among his originated and interpreted ideas of Practice, Superstructure, War of position, Organic intellectuality, Cultural Hegemony and matter of Coercion and Consensus. On the other hand, civil society represents active functional historical development (Mouffe, ed., 1979). Coining the word from Gramsci, to assess another 'political society' Chatterjee (2004) discussed perspectives of the post-colonial state in the context of India. He distinguishes of two ways in which the modern state views people as citizens (rights-bearing members of a national political fraternity) and as populations, (subjects who are constantly divided and re-arranged by the government as targets of policy). He argues that the post-colonial state deals with its people as governed populations, and ultimately this mode of operation has been reinforced in the name of 'development' (Williams, 2008). Besides, Chatterjee also states that only a handful of elites in post-colonial countries can meet the criterion of citizenship. The citizens are instead a byproduct of modernity that has been inherited from colonialism (Sarkar, 2012).

Showing the nature of civil society in a democratic space Jaysawal (2013) relates the discussion of Hegel, Marx, Gramsci, Arato, and Cohen respectively with the argument of the classical notion of civil society, claimed as synonymous with the state. Placing intellectuals in the civil category in thinking jargon, Said (1996) mentioned a dilemma with an exceptional eloquence, about civil intellectuals' ability to speak the truth against inequality issues with the settings of money, power, and access to resources; where they seem to have the potential to be much functional in the state. Flyvbjerg (1998) emphasized on Jürgen Habermas (1981) and Michel Foucault's (Cited in Daldal, 2014) thought in the understanding of Modernity that asks about social justice issue which works for strengthening the function of civil society in intellectual action. Questioning civil society in accountability Kaldor (2003) argues that rather civil society is to be assessed in moral responsibility in national and religious movements in different contexts around the world. Some arguments offer that civil society appeared in Gramscian theory as the mediating agent (Maglaras, 2013) which is the first state in the competition of the social classes, an initial phase in the struggle for ideological hegemony.

At this point, some noteworthy Bengali literature is also reviewed here because of the further relevance of Bangladesh case to present tripartite connection among Civil Intellectual, Resistance and Collective Social Movement in the second section of the article.

4.1.1 Intellectual Class and Civil Society in Bangladesh

The integral root of intellectuals and civil classes of Bangladesh must be seen in the colonial historical womb of the emerging new middle class in the society. Sen (1978) portrayed a compilation of different experiences regarding his understanding of 'Babu' coming from a conscious middle class of Bengal during and after the end of the British colony in India (Chanda, ed., 2015). Detecting the changing pattern of social classes in the Bengal subcontinent was a notable finding of sociologist A. K. Nazmul Karim where he saw the emergence of national and political awareness among Bengali Muslim classes who profoundly met contemporary national issues with the experience of struggle for partition during 1947 (Sen, Ohid & Ghosh, 2008).

With a chronological understanding of society and history; Bangladeshi intellectuals identified political character of nationalistic philosophy of Bangladesh which had been conceived with the idea of Bengali nationalism issues along with

secularism, particularly for 20th century (Habib, 2007) where Dey (2017) also made a perspective to see Bengali intellectuals in social alienation during the 20th century. ,

The formation of civil society in Bangladesh resulted from the past colonial phenomenon, dialectical self-identity, the construction of caste and religion and the complex idea of Bengali nationalism. Matters of economic change and urbanization, democracy, an ideological stand of ruling political parties remained as significant factors as well (Khan, 2015). Importance of re-exploring the Bengal and the Bengali identity of people has been discussed in (Islam, ed., 2011) whereas for Moudud (2011) civil classes were the result of the social and cultural transformation in their contemporary social mechanism. Umor (2006) stressed the problems of history and its practice for self-identity construction process in the context of Bangladesh. Coining the issues of national language, education, politics, trauma for Bengal partition, secularism, economy, women empowerment, and struggles in unity approach; Bengali nationalism is questioned and analyzed by (Chowdhury, 2000) towards an academic understanding of political reality.

After the Liberation War of Bangladesh in 1971, the country experienced a very different struggle regarding the nation-making process. Various aids and funds were coming into the fragmented economy of war-affected Bangladesh where the existence and activities of different civil class entities became very important to the connection of today's conscious class of intelligentsia. In this relevance, in Chowdhury (2013), a continuous analysis for questioning self-identity in economical changing pattern and formation of new classes is observed. This inquiry somewhat sharpened various issues regarding the study of intellectual class, democracy, state power and their integration in the nation-building process. In the question for the need of a satisfactory civil society, Siddiqui (2001) mentioned about its sporadic nature; carrying a concern to see its role in the political crisis, assembled a justification for expected civic liberty and duty. Maleque (2007) observed the civil society of Bangladesh rather as a unified and compact character. He refocused on its role as a pressure group in politics, advocacy, administration, defense, development sector, trade unions and even in the discussion of ethnic identity.

After World War II, welfare organizations were formalized within nations through new means and mottos. Afterward, similarly, it shaped its formation appearing into various NGOs or development organizations. In the case of Bangladesh, subsequently, after 1971, once the immediate post-war threat of economic disaster had been resolved and the worst damages were restored, foreign aid became a fundamental component of the development process. In that circumstance, it was the government's decision for welcoming all the international and national welfare agencies to join the welfare venture (Khan, Ahmed, & Quddus, 2009). Since then, their gradual growth ruled for decades until today's social development sector in the various processes. In this significance, Quadir and Tsujinaka (eds., 2015) also explored a civil society in a matter of democracy and development. Being freed in a natural state, they tried to see civil society's capacity for vigilant and vibrant contribution. Questioning an informal governing system and the local attribution of civil society, an attempt was made examining advocacy of civil groups.

So, why is the discussion of civil society and NGOs becoming essential for understanding active intellectual class in Bangladesh? Definitely, in its case, the process of participation in the development and practice areas has contributed some significant classes that, later, engaged themselves in the democratic thinking process and in broad, intelligent groups.

In the context of Bangladesh, whenever initiatives are taken to analyze the civil representatives, there appeared different specific categories of civil body collaborators. White (1999) emphasized her writing in the context of Bangladesh in this relevance. She argued that to verify nature of CSBs; NGO's, Civil Society and State in Bangladesh are needed to be assessed critically where it confirms its theoretical existence as well as the capability for being locally contextualized. To analyze the NGO-Civil society-State, White searched into the root of the history of Bangladesh which shines on the fundamental development of civil society body organizations.

The next subsection focuses on the literature of public engagement of Civil Intellectuals which affirms a sense of their reflection and strong association to masses in society.

4.1.2 Cognizant Public Engagement of Civil Intellectuals

The contemporary wide-ranging social intelligentsia is giving birth to new propensities for the transformation of a new category of public characters of intellect. Here many of them are getting originated from various civil categories conceiving alternative perception of public intellectual life.

Regarding an intellectual's political orientation, Li (2010) determines her or his own choice for becoming public figures and endeavor which does not come from a specific sociocultural type but consists of intellect to research the original intellectual liberty (Fatsis, 2016). Relevantly, Jgaib (2009) shows the political nature of the public intellectual supported by Gramsci's definition of being an intellectual. It points to a person who performs organizational and directive functions those are constitutive parts of the civil society and political society. He identifies these public characters as another kind of organic intellectuals by giving leadership roles through a web of social persuasion. From a different aspect, Bijker (2003) argued in the accounts for public intellectuals on

understanding the technological culture more in rethinking the academic highway. Fascinatingly, the intellectual's duty in public engagement is also seen in the bioethical roles argued by Parsi and Geraghty, (2004). They suggest that in reshaping educated citizenry on various democratic issues require intellectuals to play roles in educating the public.

Giving strengths to civil intellectuals in social responsibility; Singh and Cowden (2009) examine the state of intellectual activity within social work under the conditions of neoliberalism. Considering the different meaning of the terms "intellectual," they emphasized that social work activists were new kinds of public sector professionals as "transformative intellectuals." Examining public engagement in the professionalized academy (Dallyan et al., 2015) sees the concept of public intellectual more critically with evidence of new flourishing intellect. To him, they are to go beyond academic institutional norms and requirements which are *in* but not *of* the academic profession only. In this continuation, apart from social activism, even in academia the transformative role of cultural studies for an insightful understanding of power, politics, agency, actor and public discourses demands a specific pedagogical shift in which the responsibility of intellectuals can function effectively.

Giroux (2004) argued about the promise of cultural studies. It ultimately resides in a larger transformative and democratic politics where public pedagogy and agency play a central role. Historically, since the origin of becoming a notion, the meaning of 'intellectual' started having particular terms. By associating themselves with debates, they have tried to situate themselves socially, politically and culturally. Gradually in the changing civilized setting of the intelligentsia, the new public activism revolts against real and imaginary rivals and has tried to exclude its competitors from the traditional agora⁷ (Fleck, Hess, & Lyon; 2009). Contrarily, Dawson (2003) argues that individual intellectuals in public spheres became an exemplary figure of the New Humanities. Comparatively, in a wide range of discussion for the intelligentsia, Gouldner (1975) focused on intellectuals in contemporary revolutionary transformations apprehending their character and meaning. Constructing two arguments, he tried to identify the socio-historical mechanism and their indispensable revolutionary role in this regard.

As the second proposed term belonging to the *tripartite connectivity* of Civil Intellectual, Resistance, and the Collective Social Movement; Resistance is discussed in the next subsection.

4.2 Readings on the Notion of Resistance

In socio-political understanding, Resistance refers to the refusal where protesters of some nondominant or suppressed representative groups or even the suppresser tend to act or react through various demonstrative power behaviors. Lee (2017) points that resistance surely demands a variety of activities to gain popular support and maintain access to the population which also includes information campaign, publications, public demonstrations, and cultural and educational events, etc. The nature of self-sufficiency seems a very critical requirement for any political or social resistance as well. The notion of resistance became legendary when Michel Foucault (Cited in Daldal, 2014) dissected its' practiced feature of power texture inside.

Regarding the perpetual subject of some ideological construction of a man, Foucault tried to locate the "modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects" to shape some points of resistance. This generally portrays itself in the form of "anti-authority" struggles (Cited in Daldal, 2014). So when does this start to happen? The answer is not easy to find in a particular timeframe or context. The core term resistance instead comes with the formation of 'power'. When it is a matter of social resistance it indicates some points of unequal access to social capital in a broad sense. Over the last few decades, the concept of resistance has achieved tremendous importance as a tool for exploring power mechanisms about politics. In other words, it can be said that resistance brings its autonomous nature into Hegemony which is relatively exercised and quite promisingly, far-reaching. Resistance covers every counter attitude of human being in a specific socio-political setting. Giving as an example from behavior in academia, Slavoj Žižek (2002) points merely hegemonic attitude in the social sciences of today as he writes:

The hegemonic attitude of academia is that of resistance – all the poetics of the dispersed marginal sexual, ethnic, lifestyle multitudes (the mentally ill, prisoners) resisting the mysterious central (capitalized) Power. Everyone resists, from gays and lesbians to rightist survivalists – so why not make the logical conclusion that this discourse of resistance is the norm today and, as such, the main obstacle to the emergence of the discourse that would effectively question the dominant relations of Power?

(Žižek, 2002, p, 66-67; cited in Lilja, Baaz, Schulz & Vinthagen, 2017)

The prerequisites of resistance in social affairs come along with the altered unique condition that determines its attributes in creative functions. Apprehended by social, cultural, economic, religious, political complaints; very importantly ideological stand shapes its aims and prospect. Figuring resistance dynamics and social movement theory (Lee, 2017) also identify critical conditions, mechanisms, and moreover the effects which can be employed for associating resistance movements. Another feature of modern resistance is observed here as it tends to take place in politically austere environments as well.

For an articulated understanding of general resistance and unified resistance, the dimensions of resistance in the social power

maze are expected to be theorized about the concepts of 'agency,' 'self-reflexivity' and the 'techniques of the self' (Lilja et al., 2017). James C. Scott (1985, 1989) contributed extensively to the development of 'everyday resistance' as an analytical category within the emerging academic field of study of resistance. His argument states that 'everyday resistance' displays an alternative form of resistance; that is not intensified and perceptible as rebellions, riots, demonstrations, revolutions, civil war and other organized, collective and not at all confrontational articulation (Scott 1985, 1989). His (1989) argument for 'usual resistance' learning in power relations makes an exceptional stand to modify 'unified resistance.' Though it was deeply insightful, Bayat (1997) criticized that Scott's observation for class struggle and resistance is inadequate to give a rationale for understanding activities of the urban poor in other contexts (Lilja et al., 2017). Similarly, on this account, Sivaramakrishnan (2005) gives affirmation of Scott's understanding of resistance where he summarized his ideas as ultimately an 'understanding of the class relationship.' He shapes Scott's idea where to him; the politics of subordinate groups mostly fell into the category of everyday forms of resistance.

Quite inevitably Foucault's interpretation was revolutionary so far as it collides concepts among 'power' and 'resistance' which is ever complementary in the political philosophy. In Foucault's notion, there is no possibility of resistance where there are no relations of power (Cited in Marandi; Ramin & Shabanirad, 2017). To Dreyfus, (1983, p. 220), the study of power should be the study of "the total structure of actions brought to bear" on the action of others, and of the resistances and evasions encountered by those actions. At the same time, Zollar's and Fairhurst's (2007) statement showed that many critical organizational studies focus on power and resistance as a dialectical relationship rather than as a binary one. In the context of organizational resistance, for them; the dialectical approach to power and resistance can have significant control over power tendencies.

Interestingly, in arguing for the core elements of resistance in the social sphere as extracted from previous scholarly studies, Hollander and Einwohner (2004) stated about 'action' and 'opposition'. In their words for 'action'-resistance is not about an actor or its condition of being but some active behavior like verbal, cognitive or physical. For using 'opposition'; interpretations like a counter, contradict, social change, reject, challenge, subversive and disrupt, etc. have been used. Locating resistance in social theory, Brighenti (2011) argued that there are two major traditions in conceptualizing resistances that can be summarized as 'materialist' and the 'culturalist' ones. In this debate, the materialist one was guided by the orthodox Marxist tradition whereas the pre-Gramscian Marxist authors too; saw resistance as a substantive, material action nurtured against or interfering with the operation of the capitalist socio-economic system.

In contrast, authors with a phenomenological orientation emphasized a culturalist interpretation of resistance which acted as a matter of symbolic challenge against supremacy. But one dichotomy between these two was again researched due to the presence of the notable work by Gramsci. He observed the existence of cultural dynamics at the heart of the economic relation of society. Foucault (Cited in Daldal, 2014) further pushed it. Later, Bourdieu's concept of Habitus seeks position-dispositions of action that leads the actor to capture certain positions vis-à-vis power itself.

To understand Collective Social Movement for the article, general concepts of social movement are analyzed in the next subsection below. This next part also states that social movement belongs to the public domain which is discussed in the latter section of this point.

4.3 Movement, Social Movements and New Social Movement: Cohesive Motion for Gradual Change in Society and Academia?

In this article, at this stage, one thing must be clarified that when we place the term 'movement', we are referring to social movement issues. In epistemological understanding, movement can be explained through different disciplinary terms indeed wherein anthropology, along with other branches of social sciences- the term possesses the aptitude to interpret some sorts of group action of people- which is social movements. In this practice, they may have organizational arrangements and strategies that can enable the oppressed section for meeting necessary initiatives and resist the advantaged groups with access to socio-cultural capital resources or political facilities. A social movement is seen as a cluster of opinions and beliefs in a group that contribute for bringing elements for the social structure and reward distribution of a society (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), where the process denotes to resource mobilization issues. Their argument talks for the particular approach in this regard which emphasizes social support and constraints of social movement phenomena. Here an illustrative theoretical hypothesis about the social movement sector (SMS), social movement industries (SMI) and social movement organizations (SMO) is given. Besides, the authors presented factors regarding social support, strategy and tactics and internal relations to broader society. Defining social movement is abstract in a sense as it does not give any single consensus definition.

In giving an introduction to the study of social movements, Touraine (1985) argued that so far a very general agreement about the social movement is conceived as a particular type of social conflict. In this case, a conflict initiates a clear identification of opponents or competing for social actors and the agendas they are fighting for. This idea sharpened the functional happenings in

the public spheres aligning concept of agency, actor, and arena together in the era of neoliberalism; which term was originated by Jürgen Habermas (1989). Touraine (1985), presented on some considerations quite directly for analyzing social movements. It states that these are always defined by social conflict, so by clearly defined opponents. It defends the most controversial idea that in a given societal type there is only one central couple of conflicting social movements. To Touraine (1985), social movements are not positive or negative agents of history or modernization or liberation of humankind. These movements act in a given type of social production and organization. In his argument, people identify social movements with the opposition which challenges social order. He identifies uneasiness of the idea for a central social movement. It can be a long tradition that recognizes social movements and political action as an organized action aiming to control the state power. Finally, Touraine (1985) talks about three main kinds of social movements like ‘social movements’, ‘historical movements’, and ‘cultural movements’ to be distinguished. Later, in this argument, Touraine (1985) witnessed a historical shift of social movement to the new social movement coining the importance of its organization that can justify the idea of new society which he preferred to call as programmed than just a postindustrial society, certainly in a contextual process. Furthermore, Mario Diani (1992) mentions social movement in three criteria as comprising: “a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups, and organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, by a shared collective identity.”

Furthermore, elaborating the previous works by Ralph Turner, Lewis Killian, John McCarthy, and Meyer Zald (1977), Charles Tilly, Alien Touraine (1985, 2002), and Alberto Melucci who represented four main trends within social movement analysis since the 1960’s- Diani (1992) tried to focus of two aspects of it. He saw (1) social movement as a combination of the principal of identity, a principal of opposition and a principal of totality (1981, p.81) where social actors identify themselves and find (2) social movements with the presence of high differentiation of belief and orientations within itself.

For Habermas (1981) the new conflicts gradually arose in areas of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization which are manifested in sub-institutional, extra-parliamentary forms of protest. These reflect a reification of communicative spheres of action where the media of money and power are not sufficient to avoid this reification. Locating new conflicts as a concern of ‘grammar of forms of life’ than ‘problems of distribution’, Habermas saw new social movements between the system and life-world and social exchange of private and public sphere of society. Peter Levin (2017) criticized that the new social movement theory holds a comparatively conservative role where according to him- progressive movements must address injustices about various issues which is not merely economics- but always the explicit pursuit of a common good.

Regarding changing the paradigms and assessing the forms of politics towards the discussion of the social movement, Edelman (2001) presides theories of collective action- some paradigm shifts from mass behavior to resource mobilization; from the political process and even through new social movements. Researchers centered debates and arguments with the understandings of diverse social settings, historical periodization of collective action, identity politics and the issue of political engagement. Their approaches associate with the focus on active transnational networks, and new protest ranges to rethink conventional approaches for social movements. Quite importantly, Edelman (2001) puts lights on the transnational approaches by civil society in this engagement of collective action behavior. Ethnographers for explaining social movements who share their sensibilities for indicating their political involvement are discussed in their accessibility to activist interlocutors. Here it questions their way of depiction in academia indicating a matter of personal political representation at the same time. Baud and Rutten (eds., 2004) also showed a specific category of ‘popular intellectuals,’ who reflect on social reality, speak in the name of popular classes and who articulate ideas that inspire collective action. They focused on the experiences of popular intellectuals in non-western societies, who operate within social-movement networks that link local, regional, and international arenas, and connect to a global flow of ideas. Eight case studies on different societies in 20th century Asia, Africa, and Latin America highlighted specific activist intellectuals and their role in collective action (De Lame, 2010).

Exploring from another viewpoint, social movement research in studying resistance and neoliberal globalization, Cox and Nilsen, (2007) investigated the state of research on the ‘movement of movements’ against neoliberal globalization. In their argument, they questioned the response of social movement researchers who fell short on fulfilling expectations regarding adequacy and its knowledge production process. Along with a discussion of the possible contribution by Marx and other engaged academics, they also emphasized on extensive theoretical literature generated by activists within the movement including the importance of dialogue between activist and academic theorization and research. In the continuation of this same debate, Cox (2014) and Cox (2015) highlighted the latent contributions to reintroduce sociological processes of theorizing, teaching and engaging research respectively, with incorporating practices of ‘talking between worlds’ which concludes for a call of dialogue towards critical solidarity between public sociology and new forms of production for social knowledge. Rooting practice between the intelligentsia and activism the argument revisits the use of Gramsci’s distinction between traditional and organic intellectuals to contrast academic and activist modes for theorizing social movements.

4.3.1 Social Movement: of the Public Domain and in Social Media

Undoubtedly, any social movement conceives people, and deliberately it remains in the public domain where construction of opinion gets shaped in a functionary manners. Movements may occur domestically from the bottom-up perspectives as well as it can connect the transnational public spheres in the state power machinery. Describing social movements as ‘actor’ and ‘arena’, Bourne (2017) presented a theoretical and empirical exploration of the role of social movements in a set of transforming spaces of political communication as public spheres. In the argument, ‘arena’ works when activists evaluate the nature of movements in a comparative way. The ‘actor’ needs to go beyond its limitations with focusing on similar movements occurring abroad which gives itself functioning in a transnational mode. In political philosophy, seeing the public sphere critically Rauchfleisch (2017) identified different research communities and empirically observed some conditions of the public sphere which eventually would make it a contested concept in the argument. Benson (2009) debates about shaping the public sphere in the theory of Jürgen Habermas that is previously discussed. Attempting questions about the theoretical contribution of Habermas in the study of media and social psyche including crucial gaps on conceptual problems, it discusses on contribution and shortcomings of structural transformation with three empirical models of the public sphere like ‘Peters/ Habermas Revised model’ (1981), ‘Bourdieu’s Field Theory’ and on ‘New Institutionalism’.

In recent decades, a simple social absorption in discourse has appeared in the concentrations of academic research on the social movement. That is the emergence of social media and its connectivity to social resistance issues. Reflexing the world of an information system to social media, Qi, Monod, Fang, and Deng (2018) argued the four trajectories of philosophical foundations by linking Erving Goffman’s ‘presentation of self’; Bourdieu’s ‘social capital’, Sartre’s understanding of ‘self-existentialism’ and Heidegger’s concept of ‘shared –world’. In this context, not in a very similar way, social media is rather analyzed from the angle of personal behavior theories, social behavior theories and mass communication theories by Ngai; Tao and Moon (2014) concerning the adoption and usage of virtual space. Social media have become increasingly pervasive where evaluation of the use of it is seen from an organizational perspective and understanding. Its influences indicate organizational communication as a necessity (Murthy, 2018).

Regarding social impact, sometimes the coherent relation is discussed by addressing two overreaching interrelated factors like opportunity structures and mobilization structures in (Lopes, 2014). Initiating a clear notion of identifying political connectivity, quite importantly; social media political participation model has been suggested in the idea by Knoll, Matthes and Heiss (2018). Here, the argument takes a goal system perspective, specifying a set of interrelated processes by outlining key cognizant conditions and insights for fostering political participation as activism. Shangapour; Hosseini and Hashemnejad (2011) showed the importance of various key factors like ongoing network leadership, user practices and online-offline participation that affect the interaction between cyber social networks and social movements by seeking for socio-political pluralists in the virtual settings. Differently, social media surveillance is a monitoring process on people’s activities in the setting of various social roles that create a multitude of data about that entity. In this relevance, Fuchs and Trottier (2015) thus outlined a theoretical framework for defining this kind of surveillance in contemporary society by identifying principal characteristics including broad societal implications. Moreover, critical emphasis on free media was presented using qualitative research approach by Stephansen (2017).

5. Observations from the Literature

In this writing, pointing out the gaps in literature seem a little challenging due to carrying an explicit condition in the context. To develop an introductory discussion on this tripartite notion of Civil Intellectual, Resistance, and the Collective Social Movement along with reviewing them in basic components- literature is collected from the various intersecting discipline of epistemology which is rather explained with different unique perspectives in academia. This situation makes a crisscrossed interpretive stand towards the connection that gives this attempt a definite sense of ambiguity to some extent. However, the gaps in the reviewed literatures still lead to some significant observations.

5.1 ‘Civil Intellectuals’ as an Elusive Term

In the academic theoretical lenses including existing literature, the definition of Civil Intellectuals is still elusive that, in most cases, it continuously offers the conventional fluid notion which partially serves the purpose for establishing a concrete understanding of their ‘being’ in society. Quite practically, they can’t be put in a simple structure with a single incomprehensive aspect of ideology, so as their belongingness can’t be measured only through the issue of the cultural explanation of class, politics, economic mode or conformist intelligent function in society. Perhaps, they are only readable by their action, legible by their active behavior in the social existence of an intelligent nexus of relationships.

5.2 The Notion of Civil Intellectuals is Contextual

The idea of Civil Intellectual is satisfactorily contextual and relative. They are not even identical in the way of their cultural expression and social action in protest in general sense. For example, the emergence of public intellectuals in a developing country may be radically different from the cultural development of intellectuals in the West due to being in its political struggle in the neoliberal age.

5.3 Countering Nature of Resistance

It is presumed, the notion of Resistance; itself has a countering nature for exercising power in the state machinery which is different from the power mechanism of Collective Social Movement. In the available literature, theoretically; Resistance is seen as integrated into movement issues where the political and existential originality of resistance deals with power relations. Resistance itself is a unique autonomous way of doing 'countering.' It is reflexive while confrontation happens in the active or passive sense that is due for discovering social resistance as well. In most literature in spite of having enough discursive stands, dissecting resistance became a blur as unfinished, not in a clear interpretation.

5.4 Collective Social Movement in Theory and Practice

Ascertaining Collective Social Movement seems differential between the assertions of theory and practice in studying them. Indeed, social movement phenomena are consistently growing fallouts and consequences of power and governance in social conflict issues. In contemporary global political order, it becomes transformed in every day's collective social, political and virtual action in public spaces. There are enormous possibilities for fulfilling the gaps between practice and theory. Making a holistic study through more qualitative in-depth participation in the actual field can strengthen its exploration of reality. Documenting the unique cases in research contextually addresses another gap which requires not to see movements in a generalized order. Moreover, changing the organic segments of society is not assessed satisfactorily in the found materials.

Every Collective Social Movement as part of the understanding of Resistance; demands intellectual labor for its authentic documentation. The historical necessity of people's struggles for social change engage intellectuals and activists in making contemporary histories, memories, narratives and ideas widely (Choudry, 2016). At this stage of this article, the findings seem supportive to the first proposition as it argued about a traversed notion of Civil Intellectuals' whose social existence can be reflected through the realization of Resistance mechanisms and Collective Social Movement.

6. Civil Intellectuals, Resistance, and the Collective Social Movement: The Nexus of *Tripartite Connectivity*

At this stage, the notions of Civil Intellectual, Resistance, and the Collective Social Movement adopt their tripartite connection through presentation of an example. In this order, again, *tripartite connectivity* follows two sub-propositions:

- a) Civil Intellectuals function as a constant pressure group.
- b) The concept of Resistance is predominantly more 'countering' in nature than the notion of the Collective Social Movement.

The first sub-proposition considers Civil Intellectuals as a constant pressure creating entity. For this, it can be stated that contextually, civil society members may transform into Civil Intellectuals who appear as a powerful pressure group in shaping and formulating social philosophy through their being both 'agency' and 'actor' in 'idea' and 'knowledge practice.' The sub-preposition emphasizes their purposes of 'who,' 'why' and 'how.' Quite clearly, 'who' consists of the people who are their subjects whereas their ideologically conscious stand speaks for 'why' and if focusing on their epistemological weapon knowledge as power; it leads them answering the inquiry of 'how'.

The second sub-proposition sees Resistance as more 'countering' than Collective Social Movement. The argument is Resistance has a reflective face in exercising power forces when a Collective Social Movement moves in a comparatively unilinear direction (though can be multidimensional in social texture). In Resistance, the way of 'resistance' can portray reciprocal attributes from both sides of 'supreme' and 'suppressed'. In contrast, the Collective Social Movement is organized against an unequal power relationship, in general.

This second section offers two perspectives for supporting two sub-propositions. **Firstly**, it discusses the mode of Civil Intellectual by analyzing them through a model of social placement mode, first originated by Lambros Fatsis (2016). Among the seven aspects of Fatsis's (2016) model; the author further contributes theoretically in one particular aspect which is based on h/his recent research. **Secondly**, this section presents an apperant tripartite relationship between among Civil Intellectual, Resistance, and the Collective Social Movement in the context of Bangladesh coining a significant case of social movement. In this discussion, the first surface sharpens the second surface to understand Civil Intellectual's 'action' in its importance.

6.1 Mode of Civil Intellectual’s being in Action

Loosely using the direct term Civil Intellectuals in providing the rationale for civil society’s active response, DeWiel (1997) identified three elements that are essential to the modern understanding of their entity. These elements are: (1) Civil Intellectuals’ autonomy from the state, (2) their interdependence with the state, and (3) the pluralism of values, ideals and ways of their life embodied in their institutions. In this response, one fundamental question is relevant that how do Civil Intellectuals execute their activities in ways which finds them responsible for their action?

In the argument, (Fatsis 2016) formed an indication mode for intellectuals where he looked at seven aspects like who is an intellectual (identity), what intellectuals do (role), where they are (place), when they act (time), their stand (position), their way of speaking (mode) and about their subject of statement (content). Likewise, another study was conducted on representatives from Civil Society Bodies (CSB)⁸ in Bangladesh. It observed their potential role in contributing to the improvement of labor right policies for ready-made garment workers through intellectual protests and social initiatives. Seven indicators for testing CSB’s social role as measuring tools had been used to examine their engagement, presence, and function in the development of labor rights and labor movements. In that context, the indicators of the presence of their ideas and engagement on the issue of labor rights policy, their participation in policy- making regarding labor rights, nature of activities, their motivation, contribution in making leadership towards organic relationship and class consciousness, their demonstration in protest, and finally their ideological position were used to identify CSBs’ role. In this current study, a significant finding for detecting CSB’s activism was their ‘mode of activity’ in a society which was classified into two categories (Huq, 2017). It is argued that to be functional and vocal in labor rights and labor movement issues, a CSB functions in their mode of activity through two types of activism. These are:

1. Academic Epistemic Activism (AEA)
2. Institutional Applied Activism (IAA)

Thus, Huq’s (2017) former study showed that to achieve expected goals; Academic Epistemic Activism (AEA) encompasses comprehensive research and writing, public dialogue sessions, affiliation with civil cells, creating socio-cultural pressure through academic activities like seminars and symposiums, monitoring at macro and micro levels, publishing reports, undertaking development consultancies, giving public speeches and promotional lectures by CSB members. While on the other hand; Institutional Applied Activism (IAA) involves CSB’s applied functions like public promotional activities, dialogue with state and private sector entrepreneurs, participation in the direct policy-making process, self-expression for pursuing as functional think tank through a comprehensive and holistic networking, affiliation with other human rights activists, being a watchdog, socio-political and cultural demonstrations, participation in public spheres like TV and Radio media channels; participation in social media like Facebook, Twitter and web blogs and participation in partisan politics.

For this current article, understanding Civil Intellectuals’ social placement in activism, Figure 1 below combines two ideas,

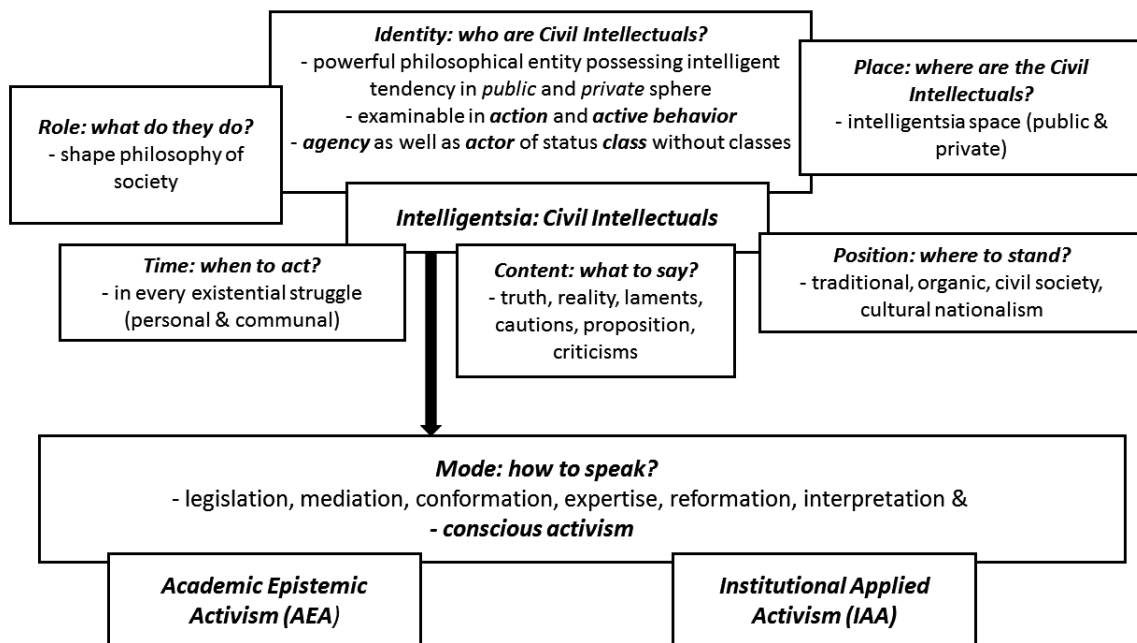


Figure 1. Active Mode of Civil Intellectuals in Society

Sources: Fatsis (2016) “Modes of being an intellectual”; Huq (2017) “Mode of activity of civil society bodies”

comprising Fatsis's (2016) 'Modes of being an intellectual' and Huq's (2017) 'Mode of activity' of CSB's. Therefore, for this article, Figure 1 represents this modified articulation for presenting 'Active Mode of Civil Intellectuals' in society, as a combined idea arising from the previous studies of Fatsis (2016) and Huq (2017):

Figure 1, explains Active Mode of Civil Intellectuals in society, in this figure Huq's (2017) idea of two kinds of activism is added as supplementary to the seventh aspect of Mode of Civil Intellectuals of Fatsis (2016). Aspects of Civil Intellectuals' identity, role, place, time, content, position, and most importantly mode are explained with key points previously identified by Fatsis. In Huq's contribution, among Academic Epistemic Activism (AEA) and Institutional Applied Activism (IAA); the first activism refers to the comprehensive way of academic activism, and the other activism includes all the applied forms of intellectual demonstration exercised by Civil Intellectuals. But both activism function integrating with the factors of legislation, mediation, conformation, expertise, reformation, interpretation, and conscious activism as Fatsis argued earlier. Among the aspects designed by Fatsis, the seventh aspect 'mode' seems to be very significant as it determines Civil Intellectuals' way of action and active expression towards social injustice and unequal issues. In this regard, Huq's (2017) additional idea of categorizing these two kinds of activism has the opportunity to make this understanding sharper, stronger and unique in order to understand Civil Intellectual entities' nature in resistance and protest issues.

6.2 Tripartite Connectivity of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance, and the Collective Social Movement in the Case of Bangladesh: Movement against Rampal Power Plant Project

6.2.1 Case Background of Anti-Rampal Protest Movement

For the last few years, Bangladesh government has been working to establish a 1320 megawatt coal-fired power station at Rampal Upazila of the Bagerhat District in Khulna, Bangladesh in a partnership with India. This joint partnership between India's state-owned National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC)⁹ and Bangladesh Power Development Board (BPDB)¹⁰ is known as Bangladesh India Friendship Power Company (BIFPC) (Kumar, 2013). This proposed power plant project, covering 1834 acres of land, is situated only 14 kilometers north of the world's largest mangrove forest, the Sundarbans which is a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) world heritage site. The BPDB and the NTPC agreed to implement the project on a 50:50 equity basis. Though the current government believes this to be the country's largest power plant; scientists and environmentalists suspect that very soon it will destroy the whole mangrove forest and its unique ecosystem. This project already violates the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) guidelines for coal-based thermal power plants. It is examined that most of the impacts of this coal-fired power plant are negative and irreversible for the biodiversity (Chowdhury, 2017).

The Bangladesh government rejects allegations of the power plant's adverse effects. Thus, since 2012, the National Committee (NC)¹¹ for Protecting Oil, Gas, Mineral Resources, Power, and Ports; of Bangladesh has been involved in this Anti-Rampal protest movement and campaign against the India–Bangladesh joint venture coal-based power plant near the Sundarbans, along with other civil intellectual bodies. Their stand argues that the power plant will destroy Bangladesh's only mangrove forest, the Sundarbans (National Committee, 2013). Faruque (2017) states that the National Committee does not oppose the extraction and use of coal for the plant; rather they oppose the site as it has potentially devastating effects on the Sundarbans. They also criticize India's motives, as India does not allow similar power plants near its own ecologically fragile areas. Besides, their friendly alliance groups like the National Committee for Saving the Sundarbans (NCSS)¹², Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA)¹³, Poribesh Bachao Andolon (POBA)¹⁴ or [Save the Environment Movement (SEM)], Bangladesh Poribesh Andolon (BAPA)¹⁵ or [Bangladesh Environmental Movement (BEM)], Bam Morcha (BM)¹⁶, Moulik Bangla (MB)¹⁷, various activists and people from affected area- have worked together to run the movement.

The Anti-Rampal protest movement consists of members of the National Committee, along with the association of other activist organizations including many intellectual activist representatives coming from various Civil Intellectual categories in Bangladesh. Besides, it incorporates many people who come from the affected area looking for a permanent, sustainable solution. In 2013, this National Committee on the protection of oil, gas, mineral resources, and power-port along with environmentalist groups, bodies of the left-leaning parties and the general people of Bangladesh vowed to resist the planned inauguration of the Rampal power plant (Haroon, 2013). On 24 September 2013 thousands of people in Bangladesh began a rally for five days. Their 'long march' started in the capital city of Dhaka but slowly went to the world's largest mangrove forest, the Sundarbans. Functioning in this way of resistance, protesters are organizing a collective movement approach that frequently contradicts the will and interests of the government of Bangladesh regarding the project. As a result, different kind of suppressive initiatives and violent offenses are taken by the government to stop the Anti-Rampal protest. In 2017, on a day of their protest demonstration, police used tear gas and rubber bullets to break up the Anti-Rampal protests in a university area in Dhaka city (bdnews24.com, 2017). However, the Anti-Rampal protest continues with its inspiration until today. The whole movement can be divided into six significant phases. The first phase was 'primary reaction' which began after the announcement of the contract between the

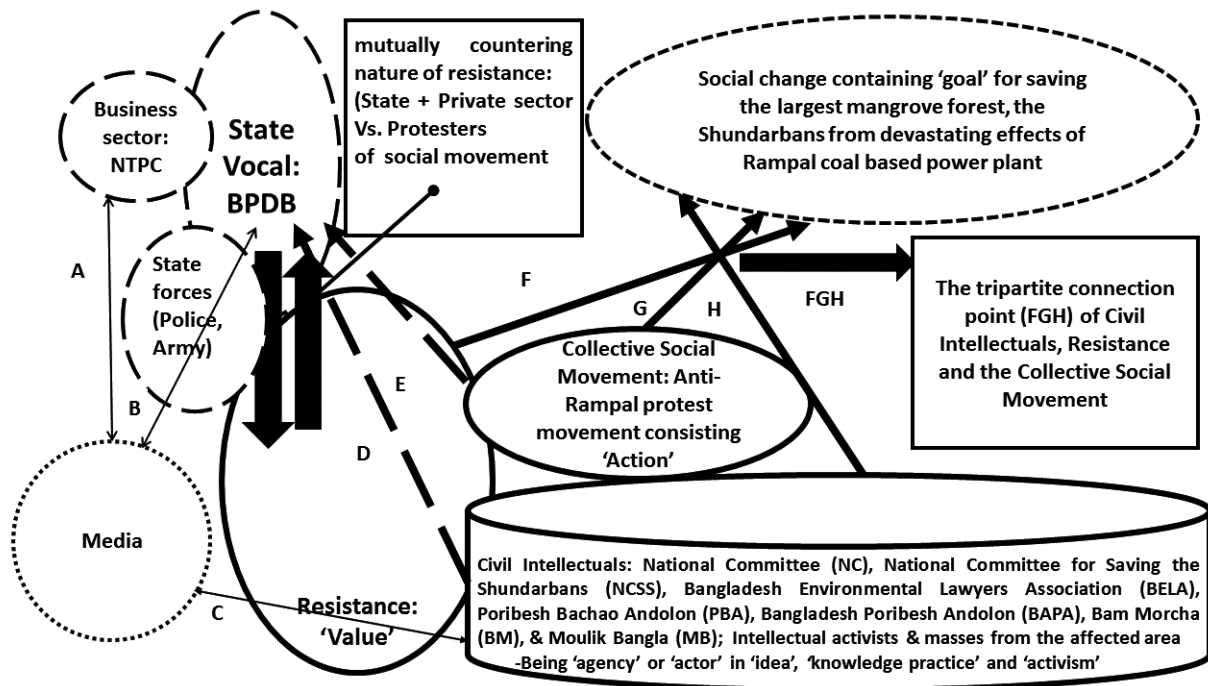


Figure 2. Tripartite Connectivity of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and the Collective Social Movement in the case of Anti-Rampal Protest Movement, Bangladesh.
Sources: Author’s Fieldwork (February 2018- March 2019)

Bangladesh government and India to establish the power plant. This phase occurred from January 2012 to August 2013. The second phase was the ‘initial stage of the movement’ which was between September, 2013 and December 2013. The months between January 2014 and July 2015 comprised the third phase which was the ‘interval for national election and post reaction’. The period between October 2015 and November 2016 was the fourth phase termed ‘rigorous movement’. In the fifth phase, the movement appeared a little ‘slow and mild’ which occurred from December 2016 to March 2017. The sixth phase, ‘stages of resettlement and reconstitution’ are the forces those are happening from April 2017 to the present time (author’s fieldwork, February-March 2019).

The case study explained above; holds a complex web of the relationships between various influential power organizations and their influences on the mechanism. The case of Anti-Rampal protest movement and its illustration of political abstract, conceiving respective three notions of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and Collective Social Movement acting in *tripartite connectivity* are presented in figure 2.

Stressing on the focused *tripartite connectivity* between Civil Intellectual, Resistance, and Collective Social Movement; Figure 2 illustrates the complex web of power association between various political organizations such as the state, the private sector, and the media, and their ties to each other. The three concepts of the study’s focus are also placed in this structure. In this figure of Anti-Rampal protest, Civil Intellectuals are presented as a blend form of several intellectual entities. These concepts introduce a wide range of intellectual attributes of these bodies with their perceived features of ‘idea,’ knowledge practice’, and the process of ‘activism.’ Being the ‘agency’ and the ‘actor’ they connect with their ‘value’ of resistance process. Approaching the process of Resistance, they unite people with the same aim into Collective Social Movement which conceives the ‘action’ for social change that contains common ‘goal’.

In contrast, the state itself, aligning with the foreign business sector and state forces; delivers the ‘counter-resistance’ using various methods of suppression. The concept of Resistance is portrayed as having a more countering nature than the Collective Social Movement due to its reflective function. Collective Social Movement refers to multidimensional group action in gaining collective change, whereas Resistance promotes antagonist factors for disagreement on common interests. In the specific context of Bangladesh, the state, which combines with the business sector and state forces also practice counter ‘resistance’ towards the Anti-Rampal protest. Consequently, media are presented here as a factor maintaining equal links with the state, the business sector, and Civil Intellectual entities.

In Figure 2, the two-pointed arrows of A, B, and C show the maintained tie of Bangladeshi media to business sector NTPC, BPDB as a state representative and Civil Intellectuals. One pointed arrow like D and E represent the process of questioning government by intellectual bodies and people demanding rights about the government unjust decisions. The tripartite forces of

Resistance, Collective Social Movement, and Civil Intellectuals share grounds with each other in their circles and commonly move to the circle of social change having similar 'goal'. These three forces are identified in three arrows named F, G, and H respectively in the illustration. During their collaboration, these notions intersect with each other at a point which is found as their *tripartite connectivity*; the point of FGH. In Figure 2, the circle of Resistance also involves the space for the state. In that circle, two conflicting ways of resistance are marked with two thick black arrows that define their mutually countering characters.

At this point of the discussion, the diagram of the Anti-Rampal protest movement of Bangladesh presents the two sub-propositions in order. Firstly, it shows the effectiveness of Civil Intellectuals in society where they perform as a constant pressure group, questioning the state's policy on the wrong for this wrong placement of fatal power plant through their 'value' of resistance, aligned with other vocals. Secondly, in this movement, the presence of the countering platform of Resistance is exercised by both 'forces', in other words which is from the level of state power as well as from the power of the protesters. Thus, this manifests as a very interesting compartment for studying the function of the power mechanism in this practical story of the protest movement.

Conclusion

This article sought to present the *tripartite connectivity* between the notions of Civil Intellectuals, Resistance and Collective Social Movement mainly from the perspective of conceptual understanding. In the first phase, especially, the notion of Civil Intellectuals was argued based on its all-encompassing and inexact definition on epistemological grounds which still requires further understanding through rigorous, in-depth studies. Similarly, it became evident that holding a unique nature towards intellectual activism, this notion is capable of being reflected through an understanding of Resistance and the Collective Social Movement. This endeavor, consciously comprehends Civil Intellectuals with a continuous public engagement in various ways in society. The second phase was argued with two considerations. It showed that perhaps Civil Intellectual grasps the highest capacity to pressurize the state level's decision for ensuring the interest of mass people due to having a conscious mind that can propose the counter-hegemonic solution through their intelligent language. Associating the argument, a model of intellectual's social placement is presented with a brief discussion. This article has also suggested that as a concept; Resistance doesn't seem as plain as the formation of Collective Social Movement. Instead, its dynamism must be understood through its mirror impression which counts the power of the 'oppressed' and the 'dominant' at the same time. In furthering this idea, this article has used a practical case of social protest in Bangladesh to shed further light on the proposed *tripartite connectivity* between these three notions.

Endnotes

- ¹ For this article, the 'hybrid activism' of Civil Intellectual refers to the mixed activism of various newly emerging intellectual bodies contributing in both academic and applied ways.
- ² To locate Civil Intellectuals in their society, the author used the model of "social placement mode" of intellectuals given by Fatsis (2016) and later modified by Huq (2017). In his argument Fatsis formed an indication model for intellectuals where he looked at seven aspects for determining their social placement. With the help of this model, the author further contributed theoretically in one particular aspect based on h/his own previous research.
- ³ "New rising unique tendencies" refers to the exotic pattern of new social movements where a movement can occur and run without a leader or it gives an impression of being "leaderless" (Hardt & Negri, 2017).
- ⁴ Plural of Latin "illuminatus", which means "enlightened". Historically, the name usually refers to the Bavarian Illuminati, an Enlightenment-era secret society founded on 1 May 1776. For this article the word is used rather rhetorically to address much core conscious active intellectuals.
- ⁵ The resistive public language is has been appeared in recent social protest demonstrations in Bangladesh. The protesters are not following traditional polite words. Instead some slang words became quite popular in the recent teen-movement of 2018 Bangladesh road-safety protest.
- ⁶ It refers to the newly emerging intellectuals who started having the contemporary intellectual need for making social history in new perspectives rather than performing in traditional ways. After the World War II, world history started witnessing range of global political changes which influenced the process of rethinking on human rights and movements. Through questioning authority, a number of intellectuals along with representatives from civil society also emphasized an applied intellectualism.
- ⁷ In the context of this article, the word agora is used to refer intellectual knowledge space.
- ⁸ In Huq's (2017) study, the term Civil Society Bodies (CSB) was used to address different professionals who tended to function intellectually in society ensuring that civil rights came from various civil representative categories in Bangladesh. Being neither a Civil Society (CS) nor a Civil Society Organization (CSO), Civil Society Bodies (CSB) was used as a single unified term by the author in the study.
- ⁹ National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) or NTPC Limited is an Indian business group generating electricity and does allied activities. This company is also engaged into gas exploration and coal mining projects.
- ¹⁰ Belonging to the Bangladesh Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources; the Bangladesh Power Development Board (BPDB) performs as a public sector organization to boost the country's power sector.
- ¹¹ The full name is National Committee to Protect Oil Gas Mineral Resources Power and Ports. It is an official committee for organizing the Anti-Rampal protest movement consisting of left-oriented organizations along with representatives of Civil Intellectual bodies.
- ¹² The National Committee for Saving the Shundarbans (NCSS) is a civil organization which is a coalition of more than 50 environmental organizations with a motto for saving eco-system and cultural tradition of the Sundarbans.
- ¹³ The Bangladesh Environmental Lawyers Association (BELA) gives advocacy towards environmental justice.
- ¹⁴ Poribesh Bachao Andolon (POBA) or [Save Environment Movement (SEM) is a voluntary organization fighting eco-political conspiracy in national and international issues.

- ¹⁵ Bangladesh Poribesh Andolon (BAPA) or [Bangladesh Environmental Movement (BEM)] is an organization in dealing environmental disaster issues consisting various environmental expertise and professionals.
- ¹⁶ Bam Morcha (BM) is an association of eight left partisan political groups.
- ¹⁷ Moulik Bangla (MB) is a group of young activists with the aim of working for the democratic liberty of the people.

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