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Leadership, digital mobilization, and movement outcomes: Evidence from the July 2024 student uprising in Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

The July 2024 student uprising marked a critical turning point in Bangladesh's political landscape, yet empirical evidence on its underlying drivers remains limited. This study examines how leadership dynamics, resource mobilization, and digital framing shaped movement outcomes, including collective identity, public opinion, and quality-of-life concerns. Using a quantitative cross-sectional design, data were collected via a structured survey administered to 386 university students selected purposively. Descriptive and inferential analyses were performed through SPSS 26. The findings indicate that leadership strength ($r = 0.274$, $p < .001$; $\Phi = 0.442$, $p < .001$), leadership influence ($\rho = 0.307$, $p < .001$), and social media effectiveness ($r = 0.320$, $p < .001$; $\Phi = 0.465$, $p < .001$) were the strongest associated with movement outcomes. In contrast, financial resources and media fairness exhibited weak or non-significant associations. These results challenge classical assumptions of Resource Mobilization Theory by demonstrating the primacy of leadership networks, digital engagement, and value-oriented framing over material resources. The study contributes to social movement outcomes by highlighting digitally mediated mobilization in postcolonial contexts and by suggesting avenues for future research on the long-term political impacts.

1. Introduction

Student movements have historically operated as pivotal agents in contesting and transforming structural inequities shaped by colonial legacies and neoliberal restructuring across diverse political contexts (Mbembe, 2001). In Bangladesh, student activism has been deeply embedded in the country's political trajectory, from the Language Movement of 1952 to the democratic mobilizations of the 1990s, the Shahbag movement of 2013, and the quota reform protests of 2018 (Zaman, 2018). Within this historical continuum, the July 2024 uprising represents a qualitatively distinct episode of contention that warrants focused scholarly investigation. Initially emerging as a narrowly defined grievance over the reinstatement of the Public Service Commission quota system, the movement rapidly transformed into a broader anti-authoritarian mobilization centered on demands for democratic accountability, civil liberties, and governmental responsiveness. Within a compressed timeframe, it mobilized hundreds of thousands of students across urban centers, relied extensively on digitally mediated coordination networks, and encountered severe state repression that reportedly resulted in over 250 deaths (Sufi et al., 2026). This rapid escalation from sectoral grievance to multi-issue confrontation, combined with distributed leadership and digitally enabled coordination under repression, renders the July 2024 uprising a critical case for examining contemporary youth-led activism in Global South contexts (Sufi et al., 2026).

Despite the expansion of social movement scholarship, significant analytical and geographical gaps persist in understanding how contemporary student mobilizations unfold in politically constrained environments. Existing quantitative research remains disproportionately concentrated in Western and East Asian contexts (Yom, 2015), limiting the applicability of dominant theoretical models to South Asian democracies characterized by weaker institutional constraints on executive authority and restricted civil liberties. In Bangladesh, while the literature on student activism is historically rich, it remains largely descriptive and insufficiently attentive to the causal mechanisms through which leadership capacity, communication technologies, and symbolic framing interact to sustain collective action under repression (Zaman, 2018). Moreover, although recent scholarship has highlighted the centrality of digital platforms in contemporary protest dynamics (Jorgensen, 2021; Lupien et al., 2024), the relational interplay between

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digital infrastructures, organizational forms, leadership practices, and framing processes remains under-theorized, particularly within Global South settings.

This study addresses these gaps through a theoretically grounded and empirically robust design that advances the literature in several interrelated ways. It introduces original quantitative survey data collected from 386 students across 23 universities in Bangladesh during September-October 2024, approximately two to three months after the July uprising. This temporal proximity enables the measurement of participation, perceptions of leadership, digital platform use, framing exposure, and resource availability in a context where respondents' experiences remain closely tied to the unfolding political moment, thereby reducing retrospective bias and capturing situated interpretations of mobilization under conditions of ongoing uncertainty. In addition, the study advances an explicitly integrated analytical framework by synthesizing Resource Mobilization Theory and Framing Theory, operationalizing constructs from both traditions and examining their interaction rather than treating them as discrete explanatory lenses. This integration allows for a more comprehensive analysis of how material resources, leadership coordination, digital infrastructures, and meaning-making processes jointly shape movement trajectories. Furthermore, the study contributes empirically to the underrepresented Global South literature by positioning Bangladesh as a critical case a South Asian democracy marked by a strong history of student activism, persistent constraints on democratic space, and contemporary forms of youth mobilization mediated through digital platforms (Lupien et al., 2024).

The analytical significance of the July 2024 uprising lies not only in its scale but also in the conditions under which it unfolded, which expose the limitations of applying Resource Mobilization Theory and Framing Theory in isolation. Resource Mobilization Theory emphasizes the role of organizational resources, including leadership structures, networks, and financial support, in enabling movements to overcome collective action problems and sustain participation (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). While this perspective elucidates how student networks, university-based organizing, and distributed leadership facilitated large-scale mobilization, it has been critiqued for underestimating affective and symbolic dimensions, for insufficient engagement with communication technologies, and for treating resources independently of the cultural processes through which they acquire mobilizing force (Tufekci, 2017). Framing Theory, in contrast, provides critical insight into how movements construct interpretive schemas that define grievances, attribute responsibility, and generate legitimacy and public resonance (Benford & Snow, 2000a). In the Bangladesh context, framing processes enabled the reinterpretation of the quota issue as symptomatic of broader democratic exclusion, thereby expanding the movement's scope and coalition. However, framing alone cannot account for sustained mobilization without the organizational capacity, leadership coordination, and resource infrastructures necessary to disseminate and institutionalize these frames (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015).

Accordingly, this study adopts an integrated analytical perspective in which leadership capacity, digital mobilization, framing processes, resource availability, and repression are conceptualized as interdependent mechanisms shaping collective action. Leadership operates as a coordinating force that aligns resources, sustains participation under risk, and enables adaptive responses to repression, particularly in distributed and non-hierarchical forms (Morris, 2000). Digital platforms function as enabling infrastructures that accelerate network formation, reduce information diffusion costs, and amplify framing processes, while simultaneously introducing vulnerabilities such as surveillance and infiltration (Jorgensen, 2021). Framing generates legitimacy and resonance, yet its effectiveness depends on organizational and technological capacities for dissemination and reinforcement. Resource mobilization extends beyond material assets to include social networks, moral authority, and affective solidarity as critical supports for sustained participation (Inclán, 2008). Repression, rather than functioning solely as a constraint, operates as an adaptive pressure that reshapes leadership structures, intensifies collective identity, and influences tactical innovation (Honari, 2018). Taken together, this integrated framework provides a more comprehensive and contextually grounded understanding of how contemporary student movements in politically constrained environments mobilize, adapt, and generate broader political impact.

1.1. Research objectives

This study pursues four integrated research objectives.

1. To analyze the effect of leadership strength on movement outcomes such as participation scale, public support, and tactical effectiveness.
2. To examine the role of digital mobilization, including platform use intensity, network coordination, and real-time information diffusion, in facilitating rapid network formation, scaling participation, and reaching dispersed constituencies.
3. To assess how grievance articulation, value resonance, and narrative framing influence moral legitimacy, political interpretation, coalition expansion, and sustained participation across different phases of the movement.
4. To evaluate the contribution of financial, human, social, and moral resources to sustaining mobilization.

2. Literature review

2.1. Student movements, state-society relations, and the Bangladeshi political tradition

Student movements have long shaped political transformation by redefining state-society relations, widening civic participation, and converting collective grievances into public claims on power. In Bangladesh, this tradition should be situated more directly within the country's own political history, where student mobilization has repeatedly intersected with struggles over language, democracy, public legitimacy, and national identity (Haque, 2023). Comparative studies from Indonesia and Chile confirm that student activism can influence electoral accountability and reframe democratic debate, but these examples are most useful when they illuminate mechanisms relevant to the Bangladeshi case rather than functioning as extended descriptive parallels (Palacios-Valladares, 2020; Syahrul et al., 2020). This repositioning foreground conceptual relevance over broad contextual exposition and frames student activism as a recurring political mechanism rather than episodic dissent.

2.2. The July 2024 uprising as a critical analytical case

The July 2024 uprising should be treated not merely as another episode of youth protest, but as a critical case for analysing how grievance, repression, and digital coordination interact in a contemporary Global South setting. What began as a quota-related grievance expanded into a broader confrontation over exclusion, authoritarian governance, and democratic voice. Available scholarship points to crisis-management failure, civic restriction, and escalating state violence as central to this transformation (Chowdhury, 2025a; Mahmud, 2025). Brief references to the Arab Spring or other global movements remain useful only insofar as they clarify mechanisms such as trigger events, digital acceleration, and protest escalation (Bayat, 2013; Fuchs, 2012). This sharper positioning directly clarifies why the July 2024 uprising warrants focused scholarly investigation.

2.3. Leadership and organizational capacity in student mobilization

The literature review should make leadership an explicit analytical category, because movement outcomes depend not only on grievance intensity but also on coordination, credibility, organizational discipline,

and the ability to sustain collective action under pressure. Studies on student activism in Bangladesh and elsewhere suggest that leaders matter in transforming diffuse dissatisfaction into strategic mobilization and broader public legitimacy (Haque, 2023). The July 2024 case has not yet been examined sufficiently in terms of how leadership capacity interacted with movement endurance, public resonance, and organizational coherence. This section therefore aligns the review more directly with the study variable of leadership strength.

2.4. Digital mobilization, framing, and value resonance

Contemporary student protest increasingly unfolds through networked publics in which digital media do more than circulate information; they also amplify symbols, emotions, and moral claims (Tufekci, 2017). In Bangladesh, social media played a significant role in Shahbag and the 2018 quota reform movement, while also enabling misinformation, counter-propaganda, and heightened contention (Hasan et al., 2020). This makes Framing Theory especially important for the present study, because the success of mobilization depends partly on whether grievances are articulated in morally resonant ways that secure legitimacy, sympathy, and public alignment (Benford & Snow, 2000a). For July 2024, the unresolved question is how digital mobilization, grievance articulation, and value resonance interacted under conditions of repression. The revision therefore brings framing and value resonance into direct alignment with the study variables.

2.5. Grievances, discrimination, and supportive resources

The existing literature correctly notes that perceived discrimination in public recruitment, education, and access to opportunity gave student protest a strong moral vocabulary of fairness, entitlement, and exclusion (Chowdhury, 2025b). However, grievances alone are not enough to explain sustained mobilization. Resource Mobilization Theory shows that labour, money, expertise, and supportive networks shape whether discontent can be organized and maintained over time (Jenkins, 1983). In low-resource contexts, such enabling capacity may be expressed through volunteer labour, solidarity economies, informal coordination, and skills-based contributions rather than through formal funding structures (Ghosh, 2023). This reformulation links grievance, resources, and supportive networks more clearly to the explanatory variables used in the study.

2.6. Research gap and analytical positioning

Despite a conceptually rich literature on student activism, the Bangladeshi scholarship remains fragmented across historical narrative, event description, and largely qualitative interpretation. There is still limited quantitative evidence on how leadership, digital mobilization, grievance communication, value resonance, and supportive resources jointly shape movement outcomes in the July 2024 uprising. This is also a theoretical gap: Resource Mobilization Theory explains organizational and material capacity, whereas Framing Theory clarifies meaning construction, legitimacy, and interpretive alignment; neither framework is sufficient on its own for explaining a digitally mediated uprising under repression in a Global South context (Benford & Snow, 2000a; Jenkins, 1983). Accordingly, the present study integrates these perspectives in a variable-aligned literature review and empirical design. This closing section addresses the need for clearer theoretical contribution, clearer variable alignment, and tighter overall flow.

3. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework specifies the conceptual logic linking theory, variables, and empirical interpretation. In this study, it is used to explain why leadership strength, digital mobilization, grievance communication, value resonance, and supportive resources are treated as analytically relevant dimensions of movement outcomes. The July 2024 student uprising in Bangladesh is examined through an integrated framework combining Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) and Framing Theory because the movement involved both organizational coordination and symbolic contestation. This integration addresses a key theoretical gap: classical resource-based explanations are less able to capture digitally accelerated mobilization under repression, while framing-based explanations alone cannot explain how narratives are converted into sustained collective capacity. Accordingly, the framework is designed not merely as background theory but as an explicit guide to variable selection, interpretation, and the explanation of movement effectiveness in a contemporary Global South protest setting.

3.1. Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)

Resource Mobilization Theory argues that social movements are not spontaneous eruptions of grievance but organized collective efforts dependent on the mobilization of leadership, labor, networks, communication channels, and material support (Edwards & Gillham, 2013; Jenkins, 1983). For the present study, RMT is used to explain how student activists translated available resources into organizational capacity during the July 2024 uprising, including volunteer participation, social networks, digital competencies, solidarity ties, and communicative infrastructure. This perspective is particularly useful for analysing leadership coordination, networked cooperation, and the practical conditions that enabled protest continuity under repressive circumstances. At the same time, the framework is applied critically: classical RMT tends to privilege formal organization and material resources, and therefore requires adaptation to account for digitally mediated coordination, symbolic resources, and informal solidarities that were central to the Bangladesh case. Within this study, RMT therefore anchors the structural side of the analysis by linking resource configuration to the movement's capacity to sustain mobilization and generate visible collective effects.

3.2. Framing theory

Framing Theory explains how movement actors construct interpretive frames that define grievances, assign responsibility, and motivate participation (Benford & Snow, 2000a; Chong & Druckman, 2007). Its relevance to this study lies in clarifying how student leaders transformed specific complaints such as discrimination, unemployment, and governance failure into broader narratives of justice, dignity, legitimacy, and national responsibility. The theory's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational dimensions are especially useful for understanding grievance communication, value resonance, and narrative persuasiveness as measurable components of mobilization. This addresses another theoretical limitation identified by the reviewers: resource-based approaches alone do not sufficiently explain how moral claims, emotional appeal, and value alignment widened public sympathy beyond the immediate student constituency. In the context of July 2024, framing theory helps explain how a campus-based protest acquired wider civic meaning through justice-oriented and patriotic narratives that resonated across social and geographic boundaries.

3.2.1. Integrated analytical logic

Taken together, RMT explains the organizational feasibility of collective action, whereas Framing Theory explains its symbolic force and public resonance. Their combination is therefore a conceptual strength of the study rather than a merely descriptive pairing. RMT clarifies how mobilization was sustained; Framing Theory clarifies why it attracted legitimacy, identification, and emotional support. This integrated framework also creates a direct bridge between theory and measurement by linking the study variables to specific theoretical mechanisms: leadership, networks, and supportive resources are grounded primarily in RMT, whereas grievance articulation, value resonance, and narrative

persuasion are grounded primarily in Framing Theory (see Fig. 1)

3.2.2. Research hypothesis

Hypothesis 1. .

H1: Effective mobilization of resources such as leadership strength, social media effectiveness, and supporter networks positively associates with the success of student movements in terms of sustaining momentum, shaping public opinion, and achieving policy outcomes.

Hypothesis 2. .

H2: Strategic framing of grievances through compelling narratives, alignment with societal values, and resonance with personal experiences significantly enhances collective identity, public legitimacy, and long-term socio-political impact of student movements. The observables and predictive variables are postulated by the associated theories and testable hypotheses considered in this study.

This study presents two overarching hypotheses (H1 and H2), each hypothesis encompasses multiple observable variables derived from the theoretical framework. These variables are operationalized and tested individually in the empirical analysis to capture the multidimensional nature of mobilization processes. Therefore, the multiple statistical tests reported in the results section represent the empirical operationalization of these broader hypotheses, rather than separate independent hypotheses.

4. Method and materials

4.1. Study design

This study utilized a quantitative cross-sectional design to investigate the factors influencing the success of the July 2024 student uprising in Bangladesh. It employed a deductive approach progressing from established theory to research questions, formulating hypotheses, and subsequently analysing the outcomes to corroborate the theory. A structured online survey was conducted to gather uniform data across several institutional contexts, facilitating statistical analysis of the links between resource availability, framing methods, and perceived movement outcomes (Babbie, 2020; Bryman, 2016). Participants were informed via an ethical consent form. The research focused on university students from several public and private institutions in Bangladesh, as they were pivotal players in the July 2024 revolt. A varied array of 23 universities in Bangladesh, encompassing both public and private institutions, was included to examine variances in student activity across distinct academic settings. The inclusion of respondents from 23 universities across multiple regions of Bangladesh enhances the dataset's diversity and representativeness. Although purposive sampling was employed, the multi-institutional scope of the study broadens the study's descriptive breadth by capturing a wide range of student experiences, institutional contexts, and patterns of political engagement. Two dedicated researchers in social movement studies evaluated the instrument to verify its content and construct validity, guaranteeing that all items appropriately represented the Data. Quality was maintained using a systematic monitoring methodology. The survey design developed with KoboToolbox included logic checks, skip patterns, and required fields to mitigate data entry errors and incomplete submissions. A researcher was solely designated for quality assurance, performing regular audits, random verification of submissions, and assessments of data consistency. Ethical approval was granted by the Society for Research and Development (SRD), and informed consent was obtained from all participants before data collection.

4.2. Study area

This study was conducted across selected higher education institutions in Bangladesh, focusing on students who actively participated in the July 2024 uprising. Given the central role of university students in mobilization and collective action, institutions with visible student engagement were purposively selected. The study area covered 23 educational institutions, as shown in Fig. 2, including public universities, engineering universities, National University-affiliated colleges, and private universities. These institutions are located across Bangladesh's primary administrative divisions and span both metropolitan and regional settings. This diversity allowed the study to capture variations in student political engagement across different institutional structures, academic environments, and organizational cultures. This multi-institutional coverage is a key strength of the research design, as it enables a more comprehensive understanding of the movement across diverse academic and geographic settings, thereby enhancing the study's analytical depth. A detailed list of the selected institutions is provided in Supplementary Table A1.

4.3. Sample size and sampling procedure

Given the unknown population, the study used Cochran's formula, widely used in survey research to determine an adequate sample size based on the population proportion, confidence level, and margin of error (Taherdoost, 2016; Woolson et al., 1986). The formula is

$$n_0 = \frac{Z^2 pq}{e^2}$$

where:

n_0 = Sample size
Z^2 = Square of the critical value of the normal distribution
P= Estimated population proportion
q = 1-p
e = Margin of error

The common population proportion for the uncertain nature of the population *(p)=0.5* is taken. Researcher is intended to get 95% confidence (i.e., at least ± 5% precision). Following the Z table, a 95% confidence level is indicated by Z values of 1.96 in the normal table, while a 5% margin of error is considered. Based on these quotations, the sample size of this study could be calculated as,

$$n_0 = \frac{Z^2 pq}{e^2}$$

$$= \frac{\left((1.96)^2 \, x \, .5(.5)\right)}{(.05)^2}$$

$$= \frac{(3.8416 \text{ x } .25)}{.0025}$$

$$= \frac{.9604}{.0025}$$

$$= 384.16$$

$$= 385$$

A minimum of 385 respondents was required, and purposive sampling covered public and private universities across metropolitan and regional areas involved in the July 2024 uprising. Data were analysed using SPSS 26 with descriptive and inferential statistics to examine key relationships. As purposive sampling was employed, findings should be interpreted with caution in terms of generalizability, though the approach remains appropriate for exploratory analysis of movement participants.

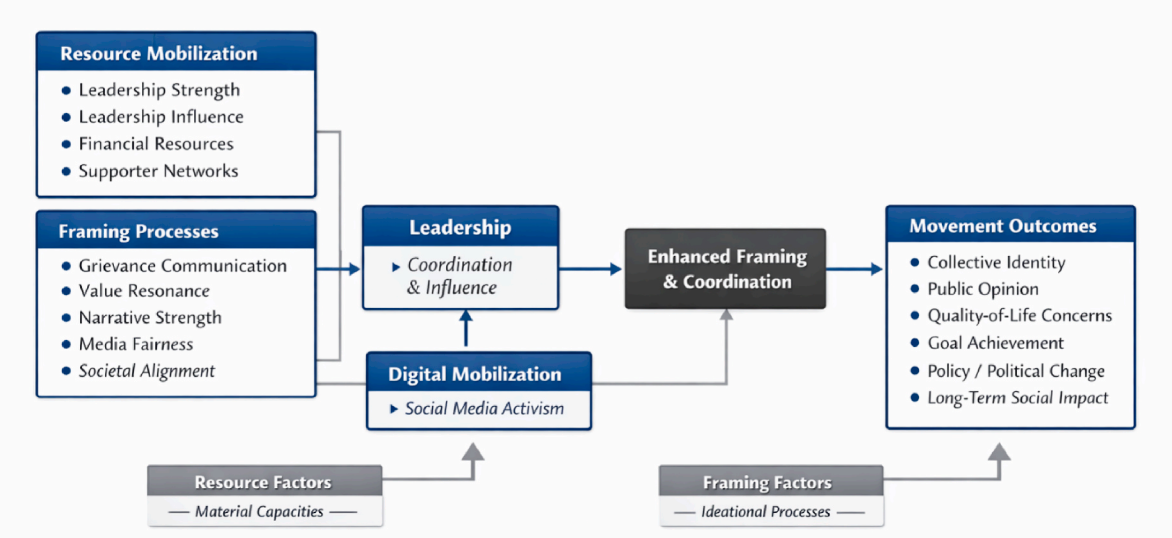


Fig. 1. Integrated theoretical framework linking resource mobilization and framing processes to movement outcomes in the July 2024 student uprising in Bangladesh.

4.4. Data collection and instruments

Data were collected through a structured online survey. The questionnaire was designed using Kobo toolbox based on the theoretical framework, which measures students' material collection, symbolic resource use, framing strategies, and movement outcomes. The questions were included Likert scales and closed-ended questions, which are suitable for quantitative analysis (Baburajan et al., 2021; Geoffrey Darnton, 2023; Kagerbauer & Magdolen, 2024). A research team of 15 members was engaged in data collection, ensuring the distribution and monitoring of survey links through university student groups, mailing lists, and online platforms. The data collection period was from September 2 to October 10, 2024, conducted only a few months after the July uprising. This relatively short time gap between the event and data collection enhances the reliability of respondents' perceptions and reduces recall bias. Unlike many studies of social movements that rely on retrospective accounts collected years later, this study captures near real-time experiences and attitudes, thereby strengthening the methodological robustness and empirical validity of the findings. A pre-test was conducted to ensure the clarity, relevance, and usability of the questions. Participation in the survey was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained from each student. The confidentiality and ethics of the participants were fully protected, and no personal or sensitive information was disclosed. All key constructs, including leadership strength, grievance communication, value resonance, and media fairness, were operationalized using multiple survey items measured on a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). These items were designed to capture both resource-based and framing-based dimensions of the movement, ensuring conceptual clarity and measurement consistency across variables. This study adopts a systematic, quantitative approach to measuring key dimensions of mobilization, thereby making a significant methodological contribution. Core constructs such as leadership strength, leadership influence, social media effectiveness, financial resources, supporter networks, grievance communication, value resonance, and narrative strength were operationalized into measurable variables using multiple Likert-scale items. Each construct was carefully derived from the theoretical framework, ensuring alignment with both Resource Mobilization Theory and Framing Theory.

This structured operationalization enabled the transformation of complex mobilization dynamics into quantifiable indicators, allowing for rigorous statistical testing of relationships between mobilization factors and movement outcomes. By integrating multiple dimensions of mobilization into a unified analytical model, the study moves beyond purely descriptive or qualitative accounts and provides empirical evidence on how different mobilization components interact. This systematic measurement approach enhances the study's analytical precision, replicability, and contribution to quantitative social movement research, particularly in the Global South. For reliability of the measurement scales, reliability analysis was conducted for all multi-item constructs using Cronbach's alpha. The overall reliability coefficient for the scale was $\alpha = .79$, indicating satisfactory internal consistency among the items used to measure mobilization and framing dimensions.

4.5. Data analysis

Data was analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 26) to ensure analytical precision, replicability, and methodological transparency. Before statistical testing, the raw survey data were screened for missing values, outliers, and violations of normality assumptions. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used to examine hypothesized relationships derived from the study's theoretical framework. Parametric and nonparametric correlation tests were used to assess linear and monotonic relationships between independent (resource and framing variables) and dependent (movement outcomes) constructs. Given that most variables were measured using Likert-type scales, they were treated as ordinal; therefore, nonparametric statistics (Spearman's rho and Kendall's tau-b) were prioritized, while Pearson correlations were reported for robustness and comparability. Additionally, cross-tabulation analyses and Phi (Φ) coefficients were used to explore the strength of associations between categorical variables, particularly leadership influence, digital activism, and movement success indicators. Phi (Φ) and Cramer's V were applied following categorization of variables to examine association strength between nominal constructs derived from Likert responses, consistent with cross-tabulation analysis procedures. The 95% confidence interval ($p < .05$) was adopted as the threshold for statistical significance across all analyses. Analytical syntax was stored and executed directly within SPSS to minimize manual errors and enhance reproducibility. To account for multiple hypothesis testing and reduce the risk of Type I error inflation, a Bonferroni-adjusted significance threshold was used to interpret inferential (correlation and regression analyses), results, and findings were interpreted cautiously based on effect size and consistency across models. As the analyses are based on correlation and association measures (e.g., Phi,

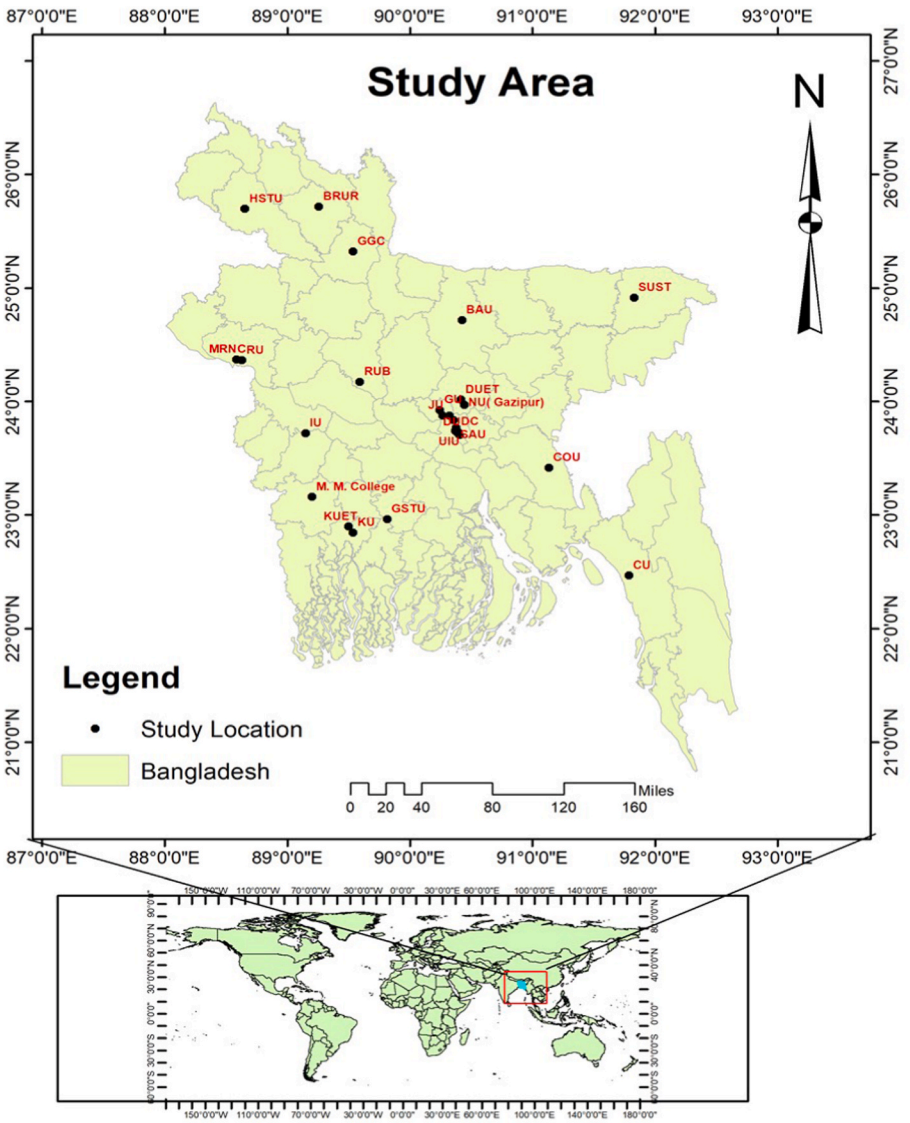


Fig. 2. Study Locations.
Source: Auhtors; produced through ArcGIS based on the GIS locations of the respondents.

Cramer's V, and Pearson correlation), the findings are interpreted as associations rather than causal or predictive relationships. This study is based on cross-sectional survey data collected at a single point in time following the uprising. As such, the findings reflect participants' perceptions and reported relationships rather than observed temporal dynamics. This design limits the ability to draw causal inferences about how mobilization processes unfolded during the movement. Multiple statistical techniques, including descriptive statistics and correlation analysis (Pearson and Spearman), were systematically applied to examine relationships among variables. The inclusion of multiple statistical tests for similar constructs was intentional, enabling cross-validation of findings and ensuring that results are not dependent on a single analytical method. Furthermore, detailed reporting of coefficients, effect sizes, and significance levels enables readers to independently evaluate the robustness, consistency, and reliability of the observed relationships. Reliability diagnostics (Cronbach's alpha) were performed prior to inferential analysis to confirm the internal consistency of multi-item constructs.

5. Result

The results are organized thematically, integrating descriptive and inferential numerical analysis to reflect the multifaceted nature of the student movement in Bangladesh.

5.1. Descriptive statistics

5.1.1. Demographic profile of the respondents

According to the demographic profile, the majority of the 386 participants in this study were male, accounting for about 59% of the total participants. Female participants accounted for about 41%, and only one participant declined to disclose their gender. To enhance transparency and provide a comprehensive overview of the sample, Table 1 presents the distribution of respondents across key demographics, including gender, academic level, and geographic location. This distribution contextualizes the subsequent statistical analyses and ensures clarity regarding sample composition.

5.1.2. Descriptive statistics of survey responses on movement characteristics

According to participants' perceptions, social media usage was rated

Table 1
Demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Variable	Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Gender (respondents, N=386)	Male	227	59.1
	Female	157	40.7
	Prefer not to say	1	0.3
Current Academic Year (respondents, N=386)	First year	123	31.9
	Second Year	84	21.8
	Third Year	40	10.4
	Final Year	63	16.3
	Masters	76	19.7
Geographic Location (University, N=23)	Metropolitan Area	12	52.17
	Regional Area	11	47.83

Note: Students' are organized and mobilized mainly university campus based during movement period. Hence, geographic locations are characterized by the locations of the university, not by respondents.

highest in effectiveness (M = 4.39, SD = 0.78), highlighting its central role in coordination and communication. Leadership influence on mobilization (M = 4.10) and resonance with personal values (M = 4.03) were also highly rated, indicating strong alignment between participants' values and movement goals. Moderate agreement was observed for movement leadership strength (M = 3.94), compelling narrative (M = 3.79), and supporter access (M = 3.73). In contrast, financial resources (M = 2.90) and media fairness (M = 2.57) scored below neutral, reflecting perceived material constraints and limited media support. The findings suggest that the uprising relied primarily on symbolic, digital, and leadership resources rather than financial or institutional backing, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Descriptive statistics of movement-related variables with operational definitions (N = 386).

Variable	Description	Mean	SD	Median/ Mode
Movement Leadership Strength	Perceived effectiveness, coordination, and strategic capacity of student leaders (5-point Likert scale)	3.94	1.03	4/4
Sufficiency of Financial Resources	Perceived availability of financial and material resources (5-point Likert scale)	2.90	1.09	3/2
Leadership Influence on Mobilization	Extent to which leadership influenced participation decisions (5-point Likert scale)	4.10	0.93	4/4
Effectiveness of Social Media Usage	Effectiveness of social media in communication and mobilization (5-point Likert scale)	4.39	0.78	5/5
Access to and Connection with Supporters	Access to supporter networks and mobilization capacity (5-point Likert scale)	3.73	0.92	4/4
Resonance with Personal Values	Alignment of movement goals with personal values (5-point Likert scale)	4.03	0.84	4/4
Fairness and Accuracy of Media Coverage	Perceived neutrality and fairness of mainstream media (5-point Likert scale)	2.57	1.12	2/2
Compelling Nature of Movement Narrative	Strength and persuasiveness of movement narrative (5-point Likert scale)	3.79	0.87	4/4

Note. All variables were measured using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Descriptions clarify the operationalization of each construct.
Source: Field survey, 2024.

5.1.3. Inferential statistics

Effect sizes were interpreted following conventional thresholds (e.g., small ≈ 0.10, moderate ≈ 0.30, strong ≥0.50), allowing a more meaningful understanding of practical significance beyond p-values. To enhance analytical clarity and avoid redundancy, multiple statistical tests examining similar relationships were consolidated. While initial analyses included Pearson, Spearman, and nonparametric correlations, only the most theoretically and methodologically appropriate results are presented in the main text. Specifically, Phi (Φ) coefficients are retained for categorical associations, and Spearman's rho is presented for robustness checks. Additional statistical outputs have been removed from the main manuscript and are available upon request or can be included as supplementary materials. This approach improves readability while maintaining analytical rigor.

5.1.4. Associations between resource mobilization factors and movement outcomes

The July 2024 student uprising was mainly driven by leadership strength and digital activism, with leadership showing strong associations (As shown in Table 3) with public opinion ($\Phi = 0.442$, $p < .001$), collective identity ($\Phi = 0.418$, $p < .001$), and quality-of-life concerns ($\Phi = 0.415$, $p < .001$). Financial resources and supporter networks played supportive roles, significantly aiding momentum ($\Phi = 0.331$, $p < .001$) and policy influence ($\Phi = 0.354$, $p < .001$). At the same time, long-term societal change remained limited ($\Phi = 0.228$, $p = .219$), highlighting the central role of leadership and digital engagement in achieving immediate movement outcomes.

5.1.5. Correlations analysis (RMT and outcome variables)

The findings indicate that leadership strength and social media effectiveness are the most influential factors shaping movement outcomes. Leadership strength shows significant positive associations with quality-of-life concerns ($\rho = 0.308$, $p < .001$), public opinion ($\rho = 0.219$, $p < .001$), policy influence ($\rho = 0.234$, $p < .001$), and collective identity ($\rho = 0.205$, $p < .001$) (As shown in Table 5). Similarly, social media effectiveness shows strong, consistent correlations with collective identity ($\rho = 0.257$, $p < .001$), quality-of-life concerns ($\rho = 0.300$, $p < .001$), and public opinion ($\rho = 0.306$, $p < .001$), underscoring its critical role in digital mobilization and narrative amplification. Leadership influence also exhibits significant associations across key outcomes, particularly public opinion ($\rho = 0.307$, $p < .001$). In contrast, financial resources do not show statistically significant relationships with most outcome variables, indicating a limited role of material resources in the movement's effectiveness. Supporter access contributes modestly, with significant associations observed for policy influence ($\rho = 0.145$, $p < .01$) and public opinion ($\rho = 0.156$, $p < .01$). The results reinforce the primacy of leadership capacity and digital engagement over financial capital in shaping the trajectory and impact of the July 2024 student uprising.

To provide a clear and concise overview of the key empirical findings, a graphical summary is presented in Fig. 3. This figure illustrates the relative strength of associations between major explanatory variables and movement outcomes, based on effect-size estimates from the analysis.

The graphical summary clearly demonstrates that grievance communication and value resonance are the most influential factors shaping movement outcomes. Social media effectiveness and leadership strength also show strong associations, highlighting the importance of digital mobilization and leadership capacity. In contrast, financial resources exhibit comparatively weaker relationships, reinforcing the finding that symbolic, communicative, and value-driven factors played a more decisive role than material resources in the movement's success.

5.1.6. Associations between Framing Factors and Movement Outcomes

As shown in Table 4, leadership strength was significantly associated with collective identity ($\Phi = 0.418$, $p < .001$), quality-of-life concerns

Table 3
Associations between resource mobilization factors and movement outcomes.

Resource (R)	Outcome (O)	Φ (Phi)	Cramer's V	Sig. (p)
R2 Leadership Strength	O1 Collective Identity	0.418	0.209	0.000
	O2 QoL Concerns	0.415	0.207	0.000
	O3 Sustain Momentum	0.278	0.139	0.019
	O4 Achieve Goals	0.315	0.157	0.001
	O5 Policy Influence	0.342	0.171	0.000
	O6 Public Opinion	0.442	0.221	0.000
	O7 Long-Term Change	0.333	0.166	0.000
R3 Financial Resources	O1 Collective Identity	0.356	0.178	0.000
	O2 QoL Concerns	0.241	0.121	0.129
	O3 Sustain Momentum	0.331	0.165	0.000
	O4 Achieve Goals	0.305	0.152	0.003
	O5 Policy Influence	0.336	0.168	0.000
	O6 Public Opinion	0.241	0.120	0.131
	O7 Long-Term Change	0.256	0.128	0.066
R4 Leadership Influence	O1 Collective Identity	0.323	0.161	0.001
	O2 QoL Concerns	0.376	0.188	0.000
	O3 Sustain Momentum	0.345	0.173	0.000
	O4 Achieve Goals	0.312	0.156	0.002
	O5 Policy Influence	0.371	0.186	0.000
	O6 Public Opinion	0.415	0.208	0.000
	O7 Long-Term Change	0.228	0.114	0.219
R6 Social Media Effectiveness	O1 Collective Identity	0.465	0.268	0.000
	O2 QoL Concerns	0.442	0.255	0.000
	O3 Sustain Momentum	0.304	0.175	0.000
	O4 Achieve Goals	0.261	0.150	0.010
	O5 Policy Influence	0.372	0.215	0.000
	O6 Public Opinion	0.446	0.258	0.000
	O7 Long-Term Change	0.284	0.164	0.002
R7 Supporter Access	O1 Collective Identity	0.357	0.206	0.000
	O2 QoL Concerns	0.349	0.202	0.000
	O3 Sustain Momentum	0.283	0.163	0.002
	O4 Achieve Goals	0.185	0.107	0.355
	O5 Policy Influence	0.354	0.204	0.000
	O6 Public Opinion	0.354	0.204	0.000
	O7 Long-Term Change	0.212	0.122	0.138

Note. Φ (Phi) coefficients are reported for associations between categorical variables. Values are rounded to three decimal places.
Source: Field survey, 2024.

(Φ = 0.415, p < .001), and public opinion (Φ = 0.442, p < .001). Social media effectiveness was the strongest associated with movement outcomes, including collective identity (Φ = 0.465, p < .001) and public opinion (Φ = 0.446, p < .001). In addition to Table 3, Fig. 4 shows that Financial resources contributed significantly to momentum (Φ = 0.331, p < .001) and goal achievement (Φ = 0.305, p = .003), but had a limited impact on broader societal change. Value resonance and compelling narratives were strongly linked to collective identity (Φ = 0.783, p < .001) and policy influence (Φ = 0.629, p < .001), whereas media fairness showed weaker associations. These findings suggest that leadership, digital engagement, and effective framing were the primary drivers

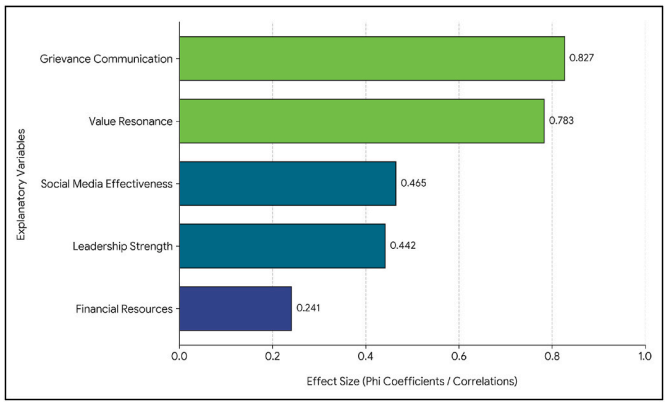


Fig. 3. Effect Size Comparison of Key Explanatory Variables and Movement Outcomes. Note. X-axis represents effect sizes (Φ coefficients and correlations); Y-axis lists explanatory variables.

of the uprising, with financial resources and media support playing secondary roles (see Fig. 5).

5.1.7. *Correlation analysis (framing factors and outcome variables)*

As shown in Table 6, the effectiveness of grievance communication shows as the most decisive framing factor, showing strong correlations with quality-of-life concerns (r = 0.576, p < .001), public opinion (r = 0.432, p < .001), and collective identity (r = 0.378, p < .001). Resonance with personal values was similarly influential, significantly linked with collective identity (r = 0.475, p < .001) and quality-of-life concerns (r = 0.447, p < .001), indicating that value alignment deepened participants' commitment. The compelling nature of the movement narrative also exhibited strong associations, particularly with public opinion (r = 0.372, p < .001) and policy influence (r = 0.231, p < .001), underscoring storytelling as a catalyst for legitimacy and mobilization. In contrast, fairness and accuracy of media coverage showed weak, non-significant correlations, suggesting limited perceived influence of traditional media. Alignment with broader societal values, however, remained robust across all outcomes (r = 0.369-0.507, p < .001), highlighting its role in ensuring long-term resonance and legitimacy. Overall, the interlinked framing factors (As shown in Fig. 4), grievance communication, value resonance, narrative strength, and societal alignment, showed as key drivers of both internal solidarity and external recognition in the July 2024 student uprising.

Importantly, the consistency of findings across different statistical techniques (e.g., Phi coefficients and Spearman correlations) strengthens the robustness of the results. Key variables such as leadership strength, social media effectiveness, grievance communication, and value resonance consistently demonstrate significant associations with movement outcomes across models, reinforcing the validity of the study's conclusions.

5.1.8. *Decision on hypotheses: RMT and framing theory*

To enhance interpretive clarity and provide a direct link between theoretical expectations and empirical findings, a consolidated summary of hypothesis testing is presented in Table 7. The results indicate that resource mobilization factors such as leadership strength, leadership influence, and social media effectiveness significantly influence key movement outcomes, including collective identity, public opinion, and policy impact, thereby supporting Hypothesis 1. In contrast, financial resources show no significant effects, while supporter access exerts only a partial influence. Regarding Hypothesis 2, framing-related variables—including value resonance, grievance communication, and narrative persuasiveness—show strong, consistent associations with movement outcomes, particularly collective identity, quality-of-life concerns, and long-term societal impact. However, media fairness

Table 4
Narrative analysis of associations: Narrative and value-oriented factors and movement outcomes.

Framing Factor (F)	Outcome (O)	Φ (Phi)	Cramer's V	p-value
F2: Effectiveness in Communicating Grievances	Collective Identity	0.585	0.292	<0.001
	Quality-of-Life Concerns	0.827	0.414	<0.001
	Sustaining Momentum	0.450	0.225	<0.001
	Achieving Goals	0.503	0.251	<0.001
	Policy/Political Outcomes	0.608	0.304	<0.001
	Public Opinion	0.680	0.340	<0.001
	Long-Term Change	0.530	0.265	<0.001
F3: Resonance with Personal Values	Collective Identity	0.783	0.392	<0.001
	Quality-of-Life Concerns	0.710	0.355	<0.001
	Sustaining Momentum	0.499	0.249	<0.001
	Achieving Goals	0.462	0.231	<0.001
	Policy/Political Outcomes	0.629	0.314	<0.001
	Public Opinion	0.580	0.290	<0.001
	Long-Term Change	0.420	0.210	<0.001
F4: Media Fairness & Accuracy	Collective Identity	0.305	0.153	0.003
	Quality-of-Life Concerns	0.398	0.199	<0.001
	Sustaining Momentum	0.370	0.185	<0.001
	Achieving Goals	0.298	0.149	0.005
	Policy/Political Outcomes	0.355	0.178	<0.001
	Public Opinion	0.306	0.153	0.003
	Long-Term Change	0.292	0.146	0.008
F5: Compelling Movement Narrative	Collective Identity	0.683	0.342	<0.001
	Quality-of-Life Concerns	0.463	0.232	<0.001
	Sustaining Momentum	0.424	0.212	<0.001
	Achieving Goals	0.440	0.220	<0.001
	Policy/Political Outcomes	0.577	0.288	<0.001
	Public Opinion	0.874	0.437	<0.001
	Long-Term Change	0.520	0.260	<0.001
F6: Alignment with Societal Values	Collective Identity	0.718	0.359	<0.001
	Quality-of-Life Concerns	0.848	0.424	<0.001
	Sustaining Momentum	0.694	0.347	<0.001
	Achieving Goals	0.616	0.308	<0.001
	Policy/Political Outcomes	0.587	0.293	<0.001
	Public Opinion	0.708	0.354	<0.001
	Long-Term Change	0.778	0.389	<0.001

Note. Φ (Phi) and Cramer's V are reported as measures of association. All values are rounded to three decimal places. p-values are reported following APA guidelines.

shows comparatively weak or non-significant effects. Overall, the findings suggest that while resource mobilization enhances operational capacity, strategic framing plays a more decisive role in shaping legitimacy, identity formation, and broader societal resonance. Importantly, these statistical results provide a direct empirical basis for evaluating the theoretical assumptions of Resource Mobilization Theory and Framing Theory, which are further elaborated in the discussion section.

6. Discussion

The findings of this study are based on correlation and association analyses. Therefore, the relationships identified between movement-related factors and outcomes should be interpreted as associative rather than causal. While variables such as leadership strength, digital mobilization, and framing processes show strong relationships with movement outcomes, these do not imply direct causation. The findings reveal that the movement's success depended on the robustness and impact of its leadership, the effectiveness of its social media, and the organization of its communications. Leadership strength and influence exhibited substantial positive correlations with public opinion, collective identity, and quality-of-life concerns ($r = 0.274$, $p < .001$; $\Phi = 0.442$, $p < .001$), suggesting that effective leadership enhanced both internal cohesion and the movement's external legitimacy. Likewise, the efficacy of social media showed as the predominant factor in the formation of collective identity ($\Phi = 0.465$, $p < .001$) and in shaping public opinion ($r = 0.320$, $p < .001$), indicating that digital platforms constituted the essential framework for the movement's success. Conversely, the influence of financial resources suggests that the movement's momentum and endurance relied on volunteers, organizational cohesion, and cultural solidarity rather than financial capital. The movement's success was primarily associated with the strategic integration of symbolic resources, digital engagement, and value alignment, as reflected in statistically significant relationships across multiple outcome variables. These findings remain grounded in the observed empirical patterns rather than broader normative interpretations. The present study's results align significantly with previous studies. Leadership roles, digital involvement, and value-based framing have been recognized as critical factors of movement success in numerous prior studies. The power and influence of leadership are the paramount factors associated with movement success ($r = 0.274$, $p < .001$). This aligns with Andrews et al. (2010) view, in which leadership is a strategic capacity that confers moral and organizational legitimacy upon the movement. Klandermans et al. (2008) showed that the interaction between leadership and social identity enhances involvement in movements. Hushen (2024) study highlighted the correlation between social media leadership and the creation of public opinion in Bangladesh, aligning completely with the findings of this study.

Given the limited availability of prior empirical research on the July 2024 student uprising, this study adopts an exploratory quantitative approach to examine mobilization dynamics. Rather than testing well-established causal models, the analysis is intended to provide an initial empirical mapping of relationships between key mobilization factors and movement outcomes. In this sense, the findings should be interpreted as foundational insights that identify significant patterns, associations, and emerging trends within the movement. This exploratory perspective is particularly important in understudied contexts such as Bangladesh, where systematic quantitative evidence on student activism remains scarce. Moreover, the current study analysis identified the most significant impact of social media on digital engagement ($\Phi = 0.465$, $p < .001$) that is similar to Tufekci (2017) notion of the "networked public," wherein digital platforms are perceived not merely as conduits for information transmission but also as an emotional and cultural framework for movements. Gerbaudo has illustrated that digital networks in contemporary social movements foster "connective action" and "affective infrastructure," which support the emotions associated with involvement and political imagination. The empirical findings provide important implications for Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT). Classical RMT emphasizes the centrality of material resources in determining a movement's success. However, the present results show that financial resources have weak or non-significant associations with most movement outcomes ($\rho \approx 0$, $p > .05$), while leadership strength ($\Phi = 0.442$, $p < .001$) and social media effectiveness ($\Phi = 0.465$, $p < .001$) exhibit strong and consistent effects. This indicates that, in the context of the July 2024 uprising, non-material resources, such as leadership

Table 5
Spearman's correlation matrix between resource mobilization factors and movement outcomes.

Variables	O1 Collective Identity	O2 QoL Concerns	O3 Sustaining Momentum	O4 Achieving Goals	O5 Policy Influence	O6 Public Opinion	O7 Long-Term Change
R2 Leadership Strength	0.205[a]	0.308[a]	0.189[a]	0.198[a]	0.234[a]	0.219[a]	0.156[a]
R3 Financial Resources	−0.057	−0.005	−0.011	−0.084	−0.011	0.071	0.034
R4 Leadership Influence	0.205[a]	0.252[a]	0.189[a]	0.198[a]	0.234[a]	0.307[a]	0.156[a]
R6 Social Media Effectiveness	0.257[a]	0.300[a]	0.123[b]	0.125[b]	0.253[a]	0.306[a]	0.199[a]
R7 Supporter Access	0.091[b]	0.091[b]	0.046	0.031	0.145[a]	0.156[a]	0.057

Note: Spearman's rho is reported as the primary correlation coefficient due to the ordinal nature of Likert-scale variables. This consolidated matrix replaces previously separated correlation tables to improve clarity and reduce redundancy.
[a] Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
[b] Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

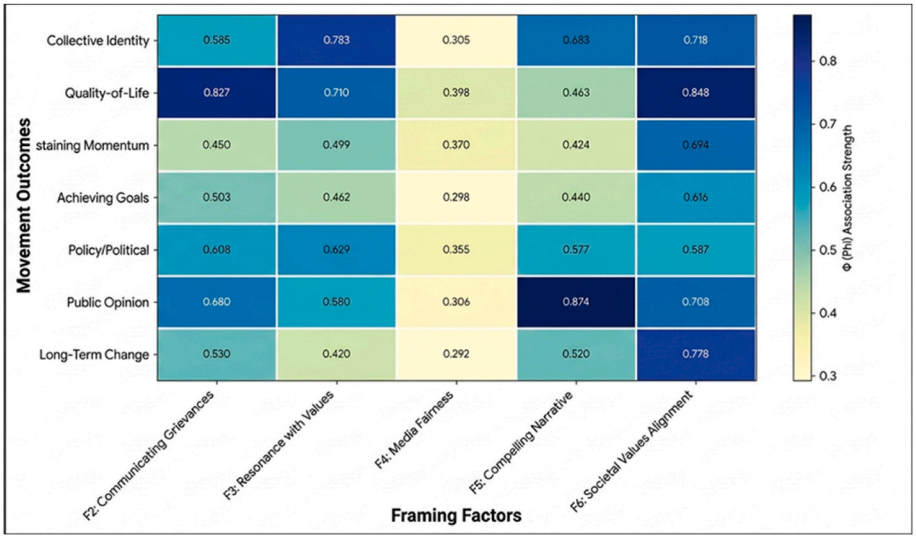


Fig. 4. Heatmap of association strengths between framing factors and movement outcomes.

coordination, digital communication, and networked participation, served as primary drivers of mobilization. Therefore, rather than rejecting RMT, the findings refine the theory by demonstrating a shift from material-resource dependence toward digitally mediated and relational forms of resource mobilization.

The study's results further substantiate and elaborate on the fundamental tenets of Framing Theory Benford and Snow (2000b), highlighting strong empirical support for Framing Theory by demonstrating how framing mechanisms translate into measurable movement outcomes. Variables associated with framing—such as grievance communication ($r = 0.576$, $p < .001$), value resonance ($\Phi = 0.783$, $p < .001$), and narrative strength ($\Phi = 0.874$, $p < .001$)—show consistently strong associations with collective identity, public opinion, and policy-related outcomes. These results directly correspond to the core components of Framing Theory: diagnostic framing (problem identification through grievances), prognostic framing (articulation of solutions), and motivational framing (value-based resonance and emotional appeal). The statistical strength of these relationships confirms that effective framing was not only conceptually relevant but also empirically decisive in shaping both the movement's internal cohesion and its external legitimacy. Importantly, the strength of the dataset allows for a meaningful empirical engagement with both Resource Mobilization Theory and Framing Theory. The quantitative indicators of leadership structures, resource flows, and digital coordination provide measurable insights into mobilization capacity, while variables related to slogans, narratives, and symbolic expressions enable an assessment of framing processes. This integration demonstrates how structural resources and interpretive meaning-making jointly shape contemporary student activism, thereby empirically extending these theoretical perspectives into the context of Bangladesh's July 2024 uprising.

Conversely, the diminished influence of traditional media ($r = 0.068$, $p > .05$) aligns with Cammaerts' assertion that individuals involved in contemporary student protests are evolving into "alternative media producers," hence rendering mainstream media mostly inconsequential (Cammaerts, 2012). Prior research has predominantly examined student mobility focused on Western or industrialized nations. In the context of Bangladesh or the Global South, analyses constrained by social, cultural, and digital realities are limited. This study analyzes the efficacy of movements by quantitative correlation, integrating leadership, digital engagement, and framing theory, which is very novel compared to prior research. In addition, the empirical originality of this study lies in its use of primary survey data collected directly from participants involved in the July 2024 uprising across 23 institutions. Such real-time quantitative evidence on a recent political mobilization remains scarce in the existing literature, which has predominantly relied on retrospective or qualitative analyses. Therefore, this study makes a unique contribution by offering systematic, data-driven insights into an ongoing socio-political transformation. It extends the conventional concept of Resource Mobilization Theory to demonstrate that volunteering and symbolic capital are essential forces in contemporary movements, even in the absence of economic resources. Framing Theory has illustrated how the congruence of language, cultural symbols, and ideals engenders widespread acceptance. This context-specific research offers novel theoretical insights for movements in the Global South, particularly in Bangladesh. In doing so, the study addresses a significant gap in the literature by providing quantitative evidence from a Global South

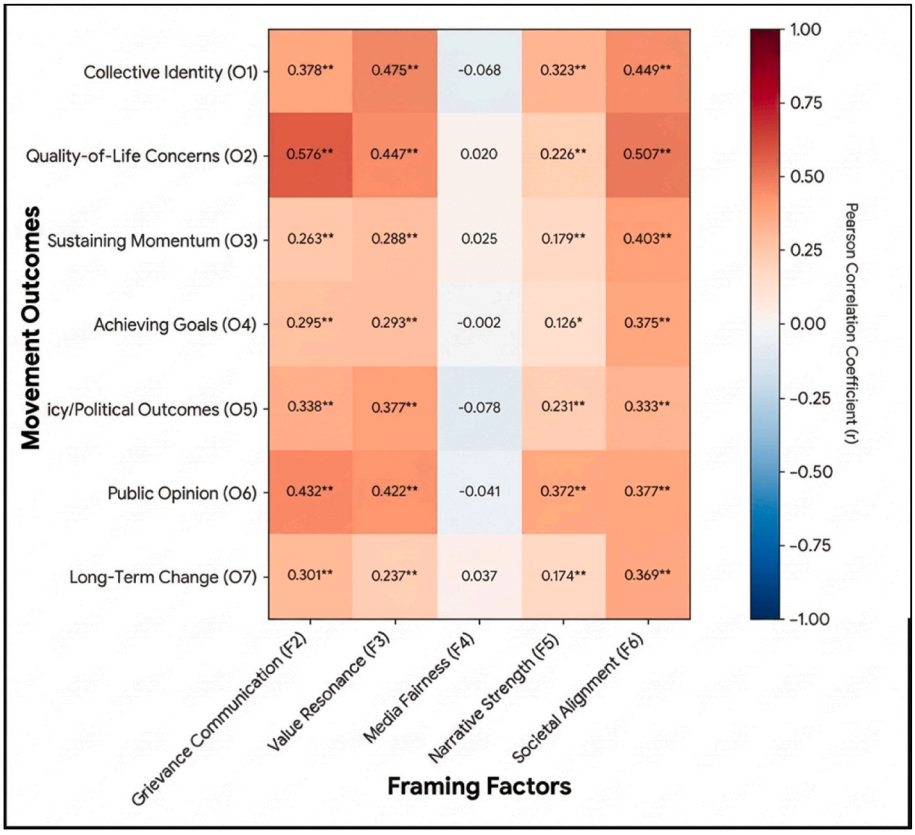


Fig. 5. Heatmap of pearson correlation coefficients between framing factors and movement outcomes.

Table 6
Association between framing factors and movement outcomes.

Outcome	Grievance Communication (F2)	Value Resonance (F3)	Media Fairness (F4)	Narrative Strength (F5)	Societal Alignment (F6)
Collective Identity (O1)	0.378**	0.475**	−0.068	0.323**	0.449**
Quality-of-Life Concerns (O2)	0.576**	0.447**	0.020	0.226**	0.507**
Sustaining Momentum (O3)	0.263**	0.288**	0.025	0.179**	0.403**
Achieving Goals (O4)	0.295**	0.293**	−0.002	0.126*	0.375**
Policy/Political Outcomes (O5)	0.338**	0.377**	−0.078	0.231**	0.333**
Public Opinion (O6)	0.432**	0.422**	−0.041	0.372**	0.377**
Long-Term Change (O7)	0.301**	0.237**	0.037	0.174**	0.369**

Note. Pearson correlation coefficients are reported.
**p < .01, *p < .05.
All coefficients are rounded to three decimal places. Non-significant values are retained for completeness.

Table 7
Summary of hypotheses testing and statistical results.

Hypothesis	Predictors	Movement Outcome	Test Used	Coefficient	p-value	Decision
H1	Leadership Strength	Collective Identity, QoL, Public Opinion	Spearman's rho	$\rho = 0.205 - 0.308$	<0.001	Supported
H1	Social Media Effectiveness	Collective Identity, Public Opinion	Spearman's rho	$\rho = 0.257 - 0.306$	<0.001	Supported
H1	Financial Resources	Movement Outcomes	Spearman's rho	$\rho \approx 0$	>0.05	Not Supported
H1	Supporter Access	Policy Influence, Public Opinion	Spearman's rho	$\rho = 0.091 - 0.156$	<0.05	Partially Supported
H2	Value Resonance	Collective Identity, QoL	Phi (Φ)	$\Phi = 0.420 - 0.783$	<0.001	Supported
H2	Narrative Persuasiveness	Public Opinion	Phi (Φ)	$\Phi = 0.440 - 0.874$	<0.001	Supported
H2	Media Fairness	Movement Outcomes	Phi (Φ)	$\Phi = 0.292 - 0.398$	<0.01	Weak/Not Supported

Note: This table integrates hypothesis-testing results from multiple statistical analyses to improve clarity, reduce redundancy, and enhance transparency.

context, where empirical analyses of student movements remain limited. This contribution not only contextualizes existing theories but also enhances their applicability beyond Western-centric frameworks. The study's findings indicate that tactics can be developed based on cultural values, internet networks, and distributed leadership to guarantee sustained influence in future movements.

While the empirical findings of this study are based strictly on statistical associations, the July 2024 student uprising may also be interpreted within a broader socio-political and historical context. The prominence of leadership, digital engagement, and value-based framing suggests that the movement resonated beyond immediate organizational outcomes, potentially reflecting wider processes of political awareness,

identity formation, and civic engagement among youth. These interpretations, however, extend beyond the scope of the quantitative data presented in this study and should be understood as contextual reflections rather than empirically verified conclusions. Future research using qualitative or longitudinal approaches would be necessary to systematically examine these broader political and societal transformations. The timeliness of the data collection represents a key methodological strength of this study. As the survey was conducted shortly after the July 2024 uprising, participants' responses are likely to reflect more accurate and immediate perceptions of the movement dynamics. This minimizes retrospective distortion and enhances the credibility of the empirical findings compared to studies relying on long-term recall.

Despite purposive sampling, the inclusion of participants from 23 universities across Bangladesh provides a broader empirical base than single-institution studies. This multi-site approach enhances the diversity of perspectives captured and strengthens the overall descriptive validity of the findings.

This study has limitations due to its cross-sectional design, reliance on self-reported data, and purposive sampling, all of which limit causal inference and generalizability. Because the survey was conducted after the uprising, the results capture participants' retrospective perceptions rather than real-time processes. Consequently, the observed relationships should be interpreted as indicative of perceived associations at a single point in time, rather than as evidence of causal mechanisms operating throughout the movement. Although confidence intervals were not reported for all estimates, future studies are encouraged to incorporate interval estimation to enhance inferential precision. Moreover, this study is based on purposive sampling across 23 universities and therefore reflects the perspectives of the surveyed participants rather than the entire student population in Bangladesh. As such, the results should be interpreted as context-specific insights rather than generalizable conclusions about all student movements in mobilization processes. Future studies using probability-based sampling techniques would be necessary to establish broader generalizability. In addition, a longitudinal, mixed-methods approach to examine how leadership, digital mobilization, and framing strategies evolve over time and shape long-term political and cultural outcomes. Comparative and qualitative studies would further strengthen the understanding of student-led movements in the Global South. Given the limited availability of prior empirical research on the July 2024 student uprising in Bangladesh, this study adopts an exploratory analytical approach. Rather than making definitive causal claims, the statistical analysis provides an initial empirical mapping of mobilization dynamics, including leadership structures, resource flows, and framing processes. As a foundational investigation, the findings offer important directions for future research to build more comprehensive and longitudinal analyses of student movements in similar socio-political contexts.

7. Conclusion

This study provides empirical insights from survey respondents at 23 universities, illustrating how specific resource mobilization and framing dynamics operated during the July 2024 student uprising. It indicated that the movement's success was predominantly contingent upon the robustness of leadership, the efficacy of social media, and the strategic formulation of messaging. The findings demonstrate that robust leadership significantly enhanced the movement's cohesion, public endorsement, and moral validity. Likewise, social media serves not only as a conduit for information dissemination but also as an emotional and cultural arena that fosters engagement and solidarity. Conversely, the influence of economic resources was minimal, indicating that contemporary social movements may rely on voluntary labor, symbolic capital, and cultural cohesion. This study has theoretically expanded the use of Resource Mobilization Theory and Framing Theory. The former indicates that non-social resources, such as leadership, organization, and networking, sustain the movement's continuity; the latter emphasizes that moral speech, symbols, and values-based framing confer social legitimacy and moral authority on movements.

This study offers several notable methodological strengths. First, it is based on original primary data collected from participants across multiple institutions, ensuring broader representation of the student movement. Second, the study employs a systematic quantitative approach to measure diverse dimensions of mobilization, including leadership, communication networks, financial resources, and value framing. Third, by integrating Resource Mobilization Theory with Framing Theory, the research provides a comprehensive analytical framework for understanding both structural and interpretive dimensions of collective action. Together, these strengths position the study as an important empirical contribution to the emerging scholarship on student movements in Bangladesh. In this setting, the Bangladeshi student movement exemplifies the fusion of cultural symbols and national consciousness to forge a communal identity. This conclusion conveys essential insights for future social movement organizers, emphasizing the necessity of leadership development, digital organizing, and values-based messaging techniques as requirements for success. Given the study's constraints, including the limited time frame and sample size, subsequent research should examine larger populations, long-term consequences, and political responses. Specifically, examining the influence of local leadership, cultural resistance, and digital citizenship will provide new insights into social movements in Bangladesh. This study ultimately reveals that leadership, enthusiasm, and cultural cohesion, rather than economic influence, are the true catalysts of contemporary student movements. The July 2024 student movement has established a new narrative on the political awareness, ethical fortitude, and social creativity of the youth in Bangladesh. Given the cross-sectional design, future research using longitudinal or process-based approaches would be valuable to better understand how mobilization dynamics evolve over time. However, the findings should be interpreted within the scope of the study sample and are not intended to represent all student movements or youth populations in Bangladesh.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Md. Rakibul Islam: Writing – original draft, Methodology, Formal analysis, Data curation. **Md. Noman Amin:** Writing – review & editing, Validation, Supervision, Data curation, Conceptualization.

Data availability statement

Due to ethical and confidentiality considerations, the interview data supporting the findings of this study are not publicly available but may be available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

Ethics statement

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Society for Research and Development (SRD) (Memo: SRD/ERB/2024/06) prior to data collection. All participants were informed about the purpose of the study and provided informed consent before participation. Participation was voluntary, and respondents were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. No personally identifiable information was collected, and the data were used solely for academic research purposes.

Declaration of AI using assisted technologies

The authors used AI-assisted tools solely for language editing, improving clarity, and refining the academic tone of the manuscript. The authors take full responsibility for the content of the work.

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Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

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