



---

**ANALYZING THE CAUSES BEHIND THE JULY MOVEMENT IN  
BANGLADESH 2024**

SADIA SHARMIN<sup>a</sup>, & MAHADI-UL-MORSHED<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sadia Sharmin, Clinical Psychologist, Centre for Psychological Health, UK & BD, <sup>b</sup> Mahadi-Ul-Morshed, Head, Research Division, Centre For Research In Multidiscipline - CRM, & BONDHU.

---

**Abstract**

The July Movement was happened in Bangladesh due to protest against autocratic government who ruled very rudely, tortured the people, killed about 1500 and injured more than 20,000 people in July, 2024 .he present research was conducted to see the causes of the July Movement in Bangladesh according to the perspective of the students. To fulfil the purpose of the research 375 under – graduate and post –graduate students who were directly participated in the July Movement were taken as participants .Participants were taken from four division of Bangladesh by purposive sampling technique.To find out the causes of this Personal Information Form was used to collect data from the participants .The data were analyzed by SPSS(version no.26). The findings of the present study revealed that-social class ,family income level, lack of freedom of speech , political pressure, political violence, lack of social support , facing injustice and lack of social protection were the significant causes of the July Movement from the perspective of the students. The conclusion was taken into account that facing discrimination, facing injustice & political violence, the students were directly involved in the July Movement and that might be the causes of the July Movement of Bangladesh.

---

**Keywords:** Causes, July Movement, & Bangladesh

---

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh has a glorious history of mass movement. After a nine-month battle against Pakistani forces in 1971, it gained its independence, and its citizens have remained steadfast in their defense of their democratic rights. However, the way the populace accepted the previous Prime Minister's overly authoritarian rule

---

Corresponding author: Mahadi-Ul-Morshed  
E-mail address: mahadi.psy2006@gmail.com

---

over the course of the last fifteen years (2009–2024) led many to believe that, even with more powerful forces on the ground, it is now impossible to carry out similar movements or that some of the earlier triumphs would not have materialized if they had taken place in the modern era.

Disaster, war & political violence are major traumatic events that share the important quality of being outside of people's control, occurring to large groups of people that share a social space (e.g-city, nation) and have the potential to cause great harm psychologically or physically (Hobfoll, 1989, & 1998). The young people in July and August of 2024 took it upon themselves to demonstrate that the ancient spirit of battling injustice is still alive and much stronger in the modern day. And the world watched in wonder as the student-led mass movement brought down the autocratic system, which was long believed to be unbeatable.

The movement continued 36 days at stretch .At least 1200 died and thousands suffered injuries, mostly in police shootings, throughout the protests. It is found from research that political violence caused physical damage and psychological distress, anxiety & depression (Galea, et al 2002). Political violence is a complex phenomenon influenced by various factors. These include socio-economic grievances, political exclusion, ideological radicalization, ethnic or religious tensions, territorial disputes & power struggles. In contexts of inequality, poverty & marginalization individuals/ groups may resort to violence as a means to enforce their beliefs, challenge existing power. Deprivation, or the willful denial of fundamental needs and human rights, is another aspect of political violence as defined by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2002). Examples include restrictions on the right to free speech, such as depriving people or activists who criticize a regime of access to food, education, healthcare, and sanitation (Robben, 2005).

De Jong et al. (2008) conducted a study in the Indian Kashmir Valley and discovered that the most frequently reported coping mechanisms for political violence were isolation, aggressive behavior, and stopping communication with others (64.1%, 46.1%, and 36.9%, respectively). These strategies were far more common than talking to others (22.9%) or asking family for support (12.4%). The intentional use of force and authority to further political objectives is known as political violence (WHO, 2002). Political violence, according to the WHO (2002), is defined as physical and psychological acts that are intended to harm or intimidate populations. Examples include home demolitions, detentions, arrests, torture, and shootings or aerial bombardments (Basoglu, Livanou & Crnobaric, 2005; Jong et al, 2002; Hobfol et al, 2007).

The ways that social structures (such as the legal, cultural, educational, and healthcare systems) subtly function as the "Social machinery of oppression" (Farmer, 2006:307) to routinely, methodically, and purposefully prevent the realization of full human potential through unequal arrangements of social,

economic, and political power are closely linked to political violence (Farmer et al., 2004, 2006). Political upheavals and rebellions, followed by the violent repressions that define political violence, are sometimes caused by structural inequalities based on factors such as socioeconomic class, nationalities, or ethnic groupings (Cairns et al, 1998; de Jong, 2010).

The presence of political coercion and violence significantly compromises individuals' ability to engage with and trust in social and civic life. This deterioration fosters a sense of isolation and encourages people to retreat from societal involvement. Consequently, individuals begin to lose faith in others, as well as in the justice system, government institutions, and the principles of democracy. This decline in trust ultimately leads to a reduced willingness or capacity to participate in various activities within society, further deepening their sense of alienation. When individuals are subjected to political coercion and violence, their ability to engage in and trust social and civic life is severely compromised. This situation often results in increased isolation and a withdrawal from active participation in society. Such a decline not only affects their faith in fellow citizens but also undermines their trust in justice, governmental institutions, and the democratic process itself. Ultimately, this erosion of trust can lead to a diminished willingness or capacity to engage in a variety of societal activities, perpetuating their disconnection from the community.

Political violence, which takes the form of repression, torture, and forced exile, is often aimed at those perceived as the most significant threat to the prevailing oppressive social structure (Blum, 2000; Esparza, 2005; Robben, 2005). This kind of political coercion and violence undermines individuals' ability to engage in and trust social and civic life, resulting in greater isolation and withdrawal from society. Such decline impacts individuals' faith in others, as well as in justice, governmental institutions, and democracy itself, ultimately reducing their willingness or capacity to participate in various societal activities. According to reports by Esparza (2005) and Lykes et al. (2007), withdrawal, suspicion, mistrust, and experiences of injustice lead to individuals becoming isolated from the wider community and social life as a result of political pressure and violence. Studies show that injustice prevails and truth is frequently overlooked through systems of oppression, political authority, coercion, and violence (Rotberg, 2000).

A community is typically characterized as a network of social connections, frequently based in a specific physical location, which includes shared beliefs and circumstances. This connectedness is vital for the health and well-being of individuals, especially when they face significant human tragedies. According to

Johnston (2005), their research indicated that social communication, social networks, and social support were hindered by political pressure and violence. Individuals may limit their social actions in an effort to safeguard themselves from political violence, as noted by Skidmore in Burma (2003) and Esparza in Guatemala (2005).

People lived in terror and were unable to effectively assert their rights because of the autocratic government's use of violence and political pressure (Hayner, 2001). The previous administration in Bangladesh was led by an authoritarian who gave the police and members of his own political party orders to commit acts of violence all around the nation. In addition, the previous administration destroyed the nation's educational system and economic growth and development while weakening social norms, morals, social networks, and social support systems through the use of violence, political pressure, and political power. According to several studies, political pressure and violence impede economic progress and the infrastructure of society (Skidmore, 2003; Lykes et al, 2007; Esparza, 2005; Ugalde et al, 2000).

### **Research Question**

What are the causes of the July Movement who directly took part to this movement from the perspective of the students (among under graduate and post graduate students)?

### **Rationale of the study**

In our country there was no movement like July Movement before. In this July Movement more than 20,000 persons were injured and 1500 people were killed., so it is necessary to know the causes of this movement why people were directly involve the movement. If we find out the causes of movement, then the government and politician would be taken proper preventive measures in future as previously no one did this type of this research.

## **2. OBJECTIVE**

### **2.1. OBJECTIVE**

To find out the causes of July Movement in Bangladesh who directly took part to this movement (among under graduate & post graduate students).

### **Specific objectives**

i) To find out the social condition/social class of under graduate & post graduate students which influenced to attend directly to this July Movement.

- ii) To explore out the economic condition /family income of under graduate & post graduate students which led to attend in the July Movement directly.
- iii) To search the condition of freedom of speech among under graduate & post graduate students which led to directly attend in the July Movement.
- iv) To find out the condition of facing injustice among under graduate & post graduate students which led to actively participate in the July Movement.
- v) To find out the political pressure which was faced by the under graduate & post graduate students and this led to actively participate in the July Movement.
- vi) To find out the condition of political violence which faced by the under graduate & post graduate students which led them to directly involve in this July Movement.
- vii) To find out the condition/position of lack of social support among under graduate & post graduate students which led to directly involve in the July Movement.
- viii) To find out the real condition /position of lack of social protection among under graduate & post graduate students which led to actively participate in the July Movement.

### **3. METHOD**

Target population were under graduate and post graduate students who took part directly in the July Movement in Bangladesh 2024. The inclusion criteria of the samples (under graduate & post graduate students) were who took part directly at least 5 days in the movement. The exclusion criteria of the sample as under graduate and post graduate who directly involved & injured in the July Movement.

#### **3.1 Sample and Sampling Technique**

The sample for the present study comprised of 375 undergraduate & post graduate students from Dhaka, Chittagong, Sylhet & Rajshahi city. The samples were between 20 years to 25 years of age. Purposive sampling technique was applied for collecting data.

#### **3.2 The instruments**

“The demographic data” of the respondents were recorded in PIF.

The researchers developed the Personal Information Form (PIF) by reviewing literature review of movements. The PIF was a structured form. This form was designed to collect personal information of the sample like-age, sex, education level, family members, social class, economic level, parental educational background, parental occupation, lack of social support, lack of social protection,

lack of freedom of speech , facing injustice, political pressure's level and political violence's level.

### 3.3. Procedure

First, consent was obtained to gather data and build relationships with participants to collect precise data from them. Once they had established a rapport, the researcher went over the investigation's objectives while assuring them that their responses would remain confidential. Subsequently, the participants were directed to carefully read the components and provide prompt answers on the Personal Information Form (PIF). The respondents were instructed to quickly answer the statements and carefully read the items/statements. They were also asked not to leave any item / statement on the PIF. They were instructed to select the corresponding box and to be informed that there was no right or wrong response. They were ensured that the information would be kept private and used exclusively for research. When they completed the work, they received a lot of praise. On average an estimated 8 to 10 minutes were needed for each respondent to complete the PIF. The collection of all data took one month.

### 3.4. The design

A cross-sectional survey design was used for the present study. All data were collected at a single point in time.

## 4. RESULTS

In the present study the collected data of each participant's responses were scored according to the scoring principle of Personal Information Form (PIF) Then the obtained data were fed into computer for analyzing of SPSS. The obtained results are presented in the table.

Table 1 Economic Condition of participants in July movement in Bangladesh

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Valid	5	1.3	1.3	1.3
Lower Class	58	15.5	15.5	16.8
Middle Class	301	80.3	80.3	97.1
Upper Class	11	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	375	100.0	100.0	

Table 1 showed that the Economic condition as Social class of participants according to their responses and percent. It is shown that 301 belongs to Middle class & 80.3%; 58 belongs to Lower Class & 15.5%; 11 belongs to Upper Class with 2.9%.

Table: 2 Family Income level of the participants

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Valid	3	0.8	.8	.8
Lower than 30,000	143	38.1	38.1	38.9
31,000-50,000	160	42.7	42.7	81.6
51,000-1,00000	53	14.1	14.1	95.7
Above 1,00000	16	4.3	4.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

The table - 2 showed that the Family Income of the participants according to their response & percentage. It is shown that 160 belongs to 31,000 to 50,000 thousand income category & 42.7% ;143 belongs to Lower than 30,000 thousand income &38.1%; 53 belongs to 51,000 –1,00000 income & 14.1% and 16 belongs to Above 1,00000 income &4.3%.

Table: 3 Lack of Freedom of Speech of the participant

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Valid	3	.8	.8	.8
Mid Level	168	44.8	44.8	45.6
Moderate level	138	36.8	36.8	82.4
Severe level	66	17.6	17.6	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

The table - 3 showed that the Freedom of Speech of the participants according to their response & percentage. It is shown that 168 belongs to Mild level & 44.8% ;138 belongs to Moderate level & 36.8% and 66 belongs to Severe level & 17.6%.

Table: 4 Facing Injustice of the participants

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Valid	6	1.6	1.6	1.6
Mild level	101	26.9	26.9	28.5
Moderate level	170	45.3	45.3	73.9
Severe level	98	26.1	26.1	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

The table - 4 showed that the Facing Injustice of the participants according to their response & percentage. It is shown that 101 belongs to Mild level & 26.9% ;170 belongs to Moderate level & 45.3% and 98 belongs to Severe level &26.1%.

Table: 5 Facing Political Pressure of the participants

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Valid	8	2.1	2.1	2.1
Mild level	161	42.9	42.9	45.1
Moderate level	122	32.5	32.5	77.6
Severe level	84	22.4	22.4	100.0
Total	375	100.0	100.0	

The table -5 showed that the Facing Political Pressure of the participants according to their response & percentage. It is shown that 161 belongs to Mild level & 42.9%; 122 belongs to Moderate level & 32.5% and 84 belongs to Severe level &22.4%.

Table: 6 Facing Political Violence of the participants

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Valid	8	2.1	2.1	2.1
Mild level	171	45.6	45.6	47.7
Moderate level	135	36.0	36.0	83.7
Severe level	61	16.3	16.3	100.0
Total	375	100.0	100.0	

The table - 6 showed that, the Facing Political Violence of the participants according to their response & percentage. It is shown that 171 belongs to Mild level & 45.6% ;135 belongs to Moderate level & 36.0% and 61 belongs to Severe level & 16.3%.

Table:7 Lack of Social Support of the participants

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Valid	6	1.6	1.6	1.6
Mild level	168	44.8	44.8	46.4
Moderate level	141	37.6	37.6	84.0

Severe level	60	16.0	16.0	100.0
Total	375	100.0	100.0	

The table -7 showed that the Facing of Lack of Social Support of the participants according to their response & percentage. It is shown that 168 belongs to Mild level & 44.8%; 141 belongs to Moderate level & 37.6% and 60 belongs to Severe level &16.0%.

Table:8 Lack of Social Protection of the participants

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	4	1.1	1.1	1.1
Mild level	129	34.4	34.4	35.5
Moderate level	168	44.8	44.8	80.3
Severe level	74	19.7	19.7	100.0
Total	375	100.0	100.0	

From the table - 8, the Lack of Social Protection of the Participants according to their response and percentage. It is shown that 129 belongs to the Mild level & 43.4%; 168 belongs to the Moderate level & 44.8% and 74 belongs to the Severe level &19.7%.

## 5. DISCUSSION

### 6.

Violence, conflict, political pressure and military occupation may have a significant impact on public health influencing both mental and physical well-being Political violence can also lead to a serious decline in economic conditions, social and educational services, the availability of food , goods & health facilities and the availability of jobs and income in low - income areas of the world.

Study showed that political violence as torture and witness of killing has been related with elevated symptoms of health (Basu,2004) and this current research also support the research . Generally disrupted emotional control such as extremely high or low anxiety level, is likely the cause of experiencing or facing excessive aggression and violence. Political violence was found to be related with people's health (Basoglu, et al 2005;Steel et al 2009) and this study is similar to the present study.

Due to political pressure and political violence, the participants' family income and economic condition of the current research were affected and these were similar to the research findings of de Jong (2010), Cairns et al (1998), Farmer (2004). Another specific objective of this present research was freedom of speech

was suppressed by political pressure and political violence and this was similar to the study of Rotberg (2000).

Faced injustice by the participants' was another indicator of this research and this was assemble to the research of Johnston (2005). In this study other two important points were facing political pressure and political violence and these were also same as found to the research finding of Hayner (2001). Withdrawal ,distrust ,isolation ,mistrust from larger social community's support and from social protection due to political pressure & political violence reported by Flores, et al (2009) and these are similar to this research's other two objectives.

However, as governments are undermined by foreign targeting or turn against their own populace, political violence and coercion erode participation. According to reports from Guatemala, Argentina, and Myanmar (formerly Burma) (Skidmore, 2003; Robben, 2005), the goal of political violence committed by the people's own government is frequently to erode political opposition. The current study's conclusions were consistent with these findings. The high frequency and consequences of governments' denial of atrocities and lack of accountability for wrongdoings during political violence in Peru, the former Yugoslavia, El Salvador, and Guatemala are documented in literature from these countries (Lykes et al., 2007; Preti, 2002; Basoglu et al., 2005a).

## **7. LIMITATION AND SUGGESTION**

Although this study focused on higher educational institutions., the respondents were only from university level (e.g 5 public university) and limited sample. In addition, the study focused on a narrow geographical area like Dhaka, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Sylhet City, hence the findings might not be sufficiently indicative nor conclusive to generalize to all students in Bangladesh those who joined directly the July Movement. Immediate after the July Movement researchers decided to do a research on this movement and at that time physically injured students were not fit for asking about these questions as they were in very much physical trauma and pain. And for this reason researchers thought that this time was not appropriate to involve them in this study. As researcher made a structured information form-PIF and there was limited points were listed and that was why many other causes could not found.

## **8. RECOMENDATION**

Future research should broaden the scope of sample size to also include all types of educational institutions, universities, madrasa, schools, colleges, vocational colleges, private offices, businessmen, labors, garments workers,

workers, rickshaw pullers, street food sellers, street hawkers and from their perspectives will get more causes for the July Movement in Bangladesh.

### **8. IMPLICATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

Therefore, further study should validate the findings of this research with a large sample size with a reasonable ratio. Findings of this research provide implications for research, specifically, there is a need to-

(a) Examine health effects of political violence across multiple, & inter dependent areas of influence.

(b) Collect and refine indicators of collective functioning ,especially those that may be effected by political violence, and

(c) Continue to develop and improve multilevel conceptual models that represent the diverse effects political violence on health, family, society across and within levels.

### **9. CONCLUSION**

From this study belonging low-class, low-income level of family, facing injustice, lack of freedom of speech, lack of social support, lack of social protection, facing political pressure and facing political violence might be the causes of the July Movement in Bangladesh 2024 according to the students participants' perspective. Further research with a large scale study, inter dependent areas of influence , collect & refine indicators of collective functioning and continue to develop & improve multilevel conceptual models that represent the diverse effects of political violence on family, society & economic sectors are recommended to this 2024 Movement.

*Received at: 01.06.2025 , Accepted for publication on: 23.06.2025.*

### **REFERENCES**

Basu, P. (2004). Iraq's public health infrastructure a casualty of war . *Nature medicine*.

Basoglu, M., Livanou, M., Crnobaric, C. Franciskovic, T., Suljic, E., Duric, D., & Vranesic, M. (2005b). Psychiatric and Cognitive Effects of War in Former Yugoslavia: Association of Lack of Redress for Trauma and Posttraumatic Stress Reactions *JAMA. The journal of the American Medical Association.*, 294:580.

Blum, W. (2000). *Rogue State : A guide to the World's only superpower*. Monroe, MC: Common Courage Press.

- Cairns, E., & Darby, J. (1998). The conflict in Northern Ireland : Causes, consequences and controls .*American Psychologist* , 53(7):754-760.
- de Jong, K., Mulhern, M., Ford., Simpson, I., Swan, A., & Van Der Kam, S. (2002). *Psychological trauma of the civil war in Sri Lanka*. *The Lancet*; 359:1517-1518.
- de Jong, J. T. V. M., Komproe, I. H., van Ommeren , M.V. (2003). *Common mental disorders in post conflict settings* .*The Lancet*; 2128-2130.
- de Jong, J. T. V. M. (2010). A public health framework to translate risk factors related to political violence and war into multi-level preventive intervention. *Social Science & Medicine*, 70; 71-79.
- Esparza, M. (2005). Post war Guatemala: Long term effects of psychological and ideological militarization of the Quiche Mayans . *Journal of Genocide Research*, 7:377-391.
- Farmer, P. Political Violence and Public Health in Haiti. *The New England Journal of Medicine*; 350:1483-1486.
- Farmer, P. E., Nizeye, B., Stulac, S., & Keshavjee, S. (2006). Structural Violence and Clinical medicine. *PLOS Medicine*; 3(10):e 449.
- Flores, W., Ruano, A. L., Funchal, D. P. (2009). Social Participation within a Context of Political Violence: Implications for the Promotion and Exercise of the Right to Health in Guatemala. *Health and Human Rights*, 11; 37-48.
- Galea, S., Ahern, J., Resnick, H., Kipatrack, D., Bucuvalas, M., & Gold, J. (2002). Psychological sequence of the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York City. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 346; 982-987.
- Hobfoll, S. E. (1989). Conservation of resources: A new attempt at conceptualizing stress. *American Psychologist*, 44;513-524.
- Hobfoll, S. E. (1998). *Stress, Culture and community. The psychology and philosophy of stress*, New York: Plenum Press.
- Hobfoll, S. E., Watson, P., Bell, C. C., Bryant, R. A., Brymer, M. J., Friedman, M. J., Friedman, M., Gersons, B. P. R., De Jong, J. T., Layne, C. M., Maguen, S., Neria, Y., Norwood, A. E., Pynoos, R. S., Reissman, D., Ruzek, J. (2007). Five Essential Elements of immediate and midterm Man Trauma Intervention: Empirical Evidence. *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Process*, 70; 283-315.
- Hayner, P. B. (2001) *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*. New York: Routledge.
- Johnston, B. R. (2005). *Social Commitments and Resettlement obligations: Promises, Action Consequential Damages and Community Needs Report*. New York: American Association for the Advancement of Science. Center for Political Ecology.
- Lykes, M. B., Beristain, C. M., Perez- Armioan, M. L. C. (2007). Political Violence, Impunity and Emotional Climate in Maya Communities. *Journal of Social Issues*, 63; 369-385.
- Preti, A. (2002). Guatemala: Violence in Peace time –A Critical Analysis of the Armed Conflict and the Peace Process. *Disasters*, 26; 99-111.
- Robben, A. C. G. M. (2005). *Political Violence and Trauma in Argentinia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press;
- Rotberg, R. I.(2000) *Truth Commissions and the Provision of Truth justice and Reconciliation*, in R.A.D.T Rotberg (ed) *Truth VS Justice*, 3-21. Princeton, N J: Princeton University Press.

Rubbin, G. J., Brewin, C. R., Greenberg, N., Simpson J., & Wessely, S. (2005). Psychological and behavioral reactions to the bombings in London On 7 July 2005: Cross sectional survey of a representative sample of Londoners. *British Medical Journal*, 331-606.

Skidmore, M. (2003). Darker than Midnight: Fear, Vulnerability and Terror Making in Urban Burma (Myanmar). *American Ethnologist*, 30; 5-21.

Ugalde, A., Selva-Sutter, E., Castillo, C., Paz, C., Canas, S. (2000). Conflict and health: The health costs of war: Can they be measured? Lessons from EL Salvador: *British Medical Journal*, 321;169-172.

Vohan, C. (2023). Causes and Impacts of Political Violence Multi- factorial Issues. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, 11(2).

World Health Organization (2008). Closing the gap in a generation: Health equity through action on the social determinants of health.

World Health Organization (2001) The World Health report 2001-Mental Health: New understanding, new hope. Geneva: W. Press;

World Health Organization (2002) World Report on Violence and Health .Geneva.

**Copyright:** Submission of a manuscript implies that the work described has not except in the form of an abstract or as part of a published lecture, been published before (or thesis) and it is not under consideration for publication elsewhere; that when the manuscript is accepted for publication, the authors agree to automatic transfer of the copyright to the publisher.