



Establishing Democracy in Bangladesh: Evaluating the Role of Media

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Abstract

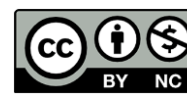
Purpose of the study: This paper aims to examine the role of media and its significance in a democratic society like Bangladesh. The paper is also an attempt to identify the major challenges of working of media in the way to establishing the democracy in Bangladesh.

Methodology: The study is mainly qualitative and descriptive in nature. The study is based on secondary data and archival resources. A comprehensive literature review was undertaken using current and historical materials relevant to media and democracy interface.

Findings: The paper finds that despite of having several measures for media and the existence of number of media, free working environment for media is still heavily obstructed in Bangladesh.

Implications: This study highlights, for the interest of democracy, the interface among the media, democracy, good governance, and the peaceful development of society. The identification of challenges of working of media freely can pave the way for establishing democracy in Bangladesh.

Limitations and Future direction: The paper is mainly based on secondary sources and analysis of existing literature. No primary data has been collected and utilized and as such future studies should adopt a holistic approach to portray the meaningful role of media in establishing democracy in Bangladesh.



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1. Introduction

The existence of free and fearless media is the utmost demand of democracy (Repucci, 2019). Democracy must be free from any restriction and enjoy such freedom to ensure democratic norms and values. The voice of the media is in fact, the voice of the people. However, the actual survival of democracy ineluctably relies on the free environment for media of a country. Nevertheless, it should be ensured that the media is not neglected to follow its code of conduct (Khan & Kaarisma, 2014). As such, mass media, has been considered as the fourth organ of government because of the power that they hold and the oversight activities they perform. Since the 17th century, the democratic governing style of media has been acknowledged and remained as a basic element of modern-day democratic theory and practice (Hart, 1991).

After the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country in 1971, a wide variety of media appeared and disappeared. In the present days, three categories of media in Bangladesh like print, broadcast (Television & Radio) and Online Media are seen. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh has already assured the freedom of media to work independently. Here an overview of the present situation of mass media in Bangladesh is described briefly. In order to advance and develop the country's democracy, Bangladeshi media is doing their restless job and playing a greater role. Interestingly, there is an integration of state and private owned media where state-owned medias are limited in number to the private medias. However, it's a prime responsibility of every media to publish and broadcast the authentic and real scenario of an event and focus on the different multidimensional issues of the society, which is really to come forward and need improvement for the betterment of the state democracy.

A plethora of literature indicates that, democracy is nothing but all about the people and their interests and focuses on the welfare of the state. The definition of American president Abraham Lincoln is like democracy is "of the people, by the people, for the people", as it depends on an active role of the people. On the contrary, Winston Churchill who was in against democracy, and he quite utterly remarked democratic government as 'the worst form of government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time'. But Abraham Lincoln demonstrated his stand in another way round and substantiated that democracy is the best and the last hope on the earth (Flanagan et al., 2005). There are two separate reasons for defining the importance of free environment for media in a democratic country. Firstly, it ensures that citizens will be informed, responsible and obviously out of the misinterpretation of any event. Secondly, it serves as a checking function that the politician upholds their word and wishes in practice (Ahmmed, 2014). So, this is very clear how important the media is for a state democracy. The media in Bangladesh are pressurized and influenced by different factors and the actors of the government. The machinery of the government creates heavy pressure on media nowadays. Journalist uses personal censorship by going out of fear of its consequences to speak against the party that is in power. Such journalism has some serious consequences like violent attacks and intimidation by government leaders and political activists. This study has been conducted considering the role of media and its challenges to the state democracy of Bangladesh and taking steps to overcome these challenges.

This study's main objective is to examine the media and democracy interface in Bangladesh. The specific objectives of this study are to analyze the role of media in deepening democracy in Bangladesh and to identify the challenges of media in the way of democracy. This study also tried to give some important policy notes to overcome the current challenges of media in Bangladesh.

2. Literature Review

The review of literature provides the researcher some conceptual ideas on specific issue that delineates what has the previous researcher said on the issue. It is an important step to find out the existing gap that needs to be improved. This portion of this study includes the review of related literatures.

Azad (2019) describes the freedom of media to work independently is not often seen even in independent Bangladesh. The issues of freedom of press and media had come forward in June 1975 when the party who was in power at that time made an executive order to shut down some Medias. After that time Bangladesh got

into the grips of consecutive military juntas who deteriorated the room of free media and independent press for minimum subsequent of 15 years. Later, the media sector of Bangladesh again started to be on with the spirit of democracy when parliamentary system of government was introduced in the year of 1991. However, it is alarming that, the autocratic attitudes toward media and its freedom by successive government decreases the opportunity to make authentic news and restricts the freedom of expression of the media. Today, the position of the media is against the truth because of such gloomy environment created by the party in power. It is concerning that media has been lifting from their absolute responsibility. Today, there are some other complains from the side of the owners and the editors that they receive lots of phone calls to hide some news and write wrong news on the paper to harass political rivals which basically deteriorates the image of the government.

Khan and Kaarisma (2014) examine the importance of a free media and its democratic values which is the bridge between government and mass people. This writing is all about the historical overview of media laws and regulation and its application in different time periods. After that, the article describes about the constitutional guidelines and its directions to the media sector of Bangladesh. It also interprets some essential acts of media like Printing Presses and Publications Act, 1973 which provides for the operation of printing presses. Later on, the article highlights the appropriate application of this Act and the tools and mechanism for making it into reality. Finally, this writing goes through the interpretation of the relation among press, government and others and suggests some essential measures for ensuring democratic development of the country.

Ahmed (2014) focuses on the structural framework of political communication, and its socialization process where media is the core element of such socialization process. This study tries to give a glimpse of political socialization, and political communication. Basically, this kind of communication indicates the interaction among the political system and the governance of media and its independence to work at local and international level. In democracy, voting and responding to polls ensures the public participation and people's decision to select their representative during the election. At that time, media plays a role of creating political awareness and campaigning on election and the different aspects of election. This is rising that the external influences like political influences on media sectors are completely threatening for Bangladeshi media and its freedom to investigate a real story.

Rashid and Islam (2013) mention that media is the fourth organ of the government, plays an important role in all the democratic countries. As a democratic country, Bangladesh Media also play their role. But recently it is seen that Media cannot play the role properly. Sometimes Media play the negative role by replacing the important news through the less important news. The rape of Tanu in Comilla Cantonment can be the best example of it. In this incident, Media could not play the role properly. That's why many people claim that media, today, play the negative role in our country. For this, the study tries much to explore the real fact about the claim of the people.

Babul (2013) notes modern pluralist democracy has some important values like free to work, freedom of expression, free to make opinion, right to work independently, freedom of media and press to carry out the truth from the field. Without such values of democracy, it cannot be imagined to go ahead. That is why all of this rights and values need to be preserved and protected. If we talk about the freedom of media of central Europe, it shows that media has significant contribution to create a strong civil society for state democracy in the last decade. He also states that without freedom of expressions and free environment for media, the democratic values and norms will not be conceived. One thing should be mentioned that a free media or free environment for media is always a strong opponent of dictatorship and makes it impossible in its own way.

Chowdhury (2005) addresses the usefulness of media and its independence to work are impacted by the lack of capacity, poor quality of internal governance of media independence. It is widely observed that the business houses and the politician (also called political actors) are influencing the free flow of the media functioning and its autonomy and efficacy. The less credible and dysfunctional, anti-freedom and partisan character of Bangladesh press council is alarming for media practitioner and observers. It is reported by the group of media practitioners that the integrity of media is endangered for inability of different journalist's associations and their

partnership. There is another most important limitation of media is the limited financial resources and capacities and the lack of professional and managerial skills of its members to do their tasks properly. This is very alarming for media both in print and electronic.

CDG (1999) states the relation between media and democracy. He states that the prime objective of media should be to serve the interest of the community, interest of the people and the interest of the country. Media must have a degree of independence to work freely to serve the welfare of the state, which is completely dependent on the governance style of the country. Democracy is also depending on the working of media in practice, but different issues of the society make the freedom of media within a boundary. The goal of media is the development of such environment which will create the opportunity to investigate real story without any harassment and make people well informed about any issues. Making citizens well informed is the main goal of media and creating a participatory society.

3. Methodology of the Study

The study is mainly qualitative and descriptive in nature. The study is based on the secondary data and archival resources. A comprehensive literature review was undertaken using current and historical materials relevant to media and democracy interface. Salient literature includes newspaper articles, books, peer reviewed journals, scholarly reports, policy papers, working papers, issue briefs, special reports, and various national and international policy documents of renowned research institutions from home and abroad. Different media regulations and Acts have been studied, i.e. the Printing Presses and Publication Act, 1973, the Penal Code 1860 (Modified on December 31, 1983), Code of Criminal Procedure 1898 and Right to Information Act 2009 and the Digital Security Act to analyze the issue intensively.

4. Discussion and Findings

Citizen with information is the most important apparatus for healthy democracy in a state because it ensures authentic and reliable information to the public which will make the elected representatives more accountable to their constituencies as well as to the government. A healthy relationship between media and government is prerequisite for fully functioning democracy in a state. (CDG, 1999). Democracy basically defines itself as rule of the people, rule for the people and rule by the people or popular power of the people. If the government entities or private entities have no influence or pressures on the media, they can perform their task in a democratic manner and have that opportunity to create favorable environment for practicing democratic values and norms (Beetham & Boyle, 1995). So, the independence of the media is the most significant thing for democracy. The main tasks of the media are to make the general people well informed, and to check the government activities out and working as means of providing public demands to the government by their news and reports (Arblaster, 1994).

However, Bangladesh has different forms of media like television, newspaper, online newspaper, and those are considered as the mainstream media of the nation. The newspaper industry in Bangladesh has been survived for many years after closing down of an amount of old newspaper by successive government and reducing their circulation in the last two or more decades. The print media is the second largest media industry of the world with its 23.8 % readers (National Media Survey, 2016). The topmost two leading newspapers in Bangladesh are the daily *Prothom Alo* and *Bangladesh Protidin* with publishing nearly one million copies across the board (Azad, 2019). Although radio industry has not been growing like other media in Bangladesh, but it has high potentiality, and it is considered as a strong media in Bangladesh. Now, we see the commercial and online radio stations. But the background of the radio is older than the history of television broadcasting. For the first time radio came forward in the subcontinent at the time of British rule and also speeded out itself at the duration of Pakistani rule (1947-1971) when Bangladesh was part of Pakistan and called East Pakistan. Radio industry in Bangladesh had a glorious chapter of its journey during nine-month war of independence in 1971 and its contribution to the country (Azad, 2019). In 1964, the year, when the television was introduced in the East

Pakistan (now Bangladesh) just before the independence. Bangladesh Television was the only state owned single broad caster in Bangladesh just after gaining independence. Bangladesh Television had a monopoly role for the next three decades with doing nothing rather providing undulated government propaganda (Anam, 2002). According to both NMS and Nielsen Bangladesh survey revealed the persistent increase in TV consumption. Within two decades, viewership has been increased from 42 percent to 82.9 percent which is almost double as revealed by NMS in 2016. The disparities and viewership gap between urban and rural have been narrowed down as well. According to Nielsen 2017 survey TV is the top media regarding viewing or watching in Bangladesh. Views increased from 76% to 84 %. However, it saw a little decrease that is 80 percent in 2017 (EJC, 2019). Bangladesh has 30 television stations. 29 out of 30 are private owned in Bangladesh. Now most of the media has online version of it .Such as web page, portals, Facebook page, twitter account and You-tube channel also (Azad, 2019).

4.1 Legal Challenges

The prime limitation of this broadcasting industry is due to the fact that Bangladesh is yet to formulate national policy. It has been a known fact that liberalization of broadcast media has highlighted the development process in neighboring countries and still we don't have a set of policy statement yet. Amidst the trends of a fast moving and globally connected world, the lack of a reasonably configured national broadcast media policy leaves us lagging behind. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh has guaranteed the freedom of thought and conscience by the described Article of 39. At the same time, the provision imposes limitations on the other freedom like expressions and opinions and press. The limitations and the restrictions related to the human behavior, supremacy of the court and the security of the state also dealt by it. The punishments for violations that offend the press limit are described by the Penal Code, Special Powers Act and the Contempt of Courts Act.

Along with, the protection of privacy to the citizen is provided by article 43 under similar provision of restriction. This provision is also creating limits the right of the press to retain confidential information as inferred. The Section IXA of the constitutions of the people's republic of Bangladesh prescribes the provisions of emergency situations. Because of this dealing of emergency, president has the right to suspend all fundamental rights including press freedom during emergency for the sake of the security of the country. The government has the right to detain any journalist for minimum six months without trial under the Special Powers Act of 1974. It is obviously a threat for the freedom of press and media. There is also a problem we have for not having clear government policy on satellite broadcasting has created problems for the sustainability of private broadcasters in Bangladesh. However, for example Bangladesh Nationalist Party (a major political party in Bangladesh) shut down the channel named Ekushey-TV (E'TV) when they came forward with power which created the need for a comprehensive broadcast media policy for Bangladesh (Ullah, 2005).

The legislation under the printing press and publication act 1973, the section 20 empowers the district magistrate, who is eligible to cancel the license of any media and the section 20A also empowers the government to shut down the certain publications and the activities like. This is completely contradictory to the provision of freedom of press and media (Khan & Kaarisma, 2014). Distressed by this action, an independent Member of Parliament, Abdullah Sarker said:

"It is nothing but another black law. The journalists will not be able to express their independent opinion. There will be only a blue print filled in with the praises for the government. The aim of the present Presses and Publications Bill will be to publish news directly by the Government" (Anonymous, 2015).

Under the Code of Criminal Procedure, the section no 99A, the government has the right to impose limits and it can close down or suspend any printing media on sedition charge which is also contradictory to the standard of international freedom of press and media. There is another loophole in special power act of 1974 where the government has the authority to make pre-censorship, restrict any publication, and even making the editor into the jail deemed to be prejudicial. 'SPA is a black law' said Muhammad Zamir, Chief Information Commissioner on May 02, 2018. We have seen that all the successive government used the authority of special power act on

their party interest and controlled the power of expression in different ways and made the political opposition into the suppression.

Information is power and the spirit of democracy and the right to access information is a pillar of any democratic system. On 29 March 2009, the Parliament adopted the Right to Information Act 2009. In Section 2, it is specified that the definition of right to information means right to contain data and information from many other authorities. The primary purpose of the legislation of Official Secrets Act 1923 is not to disclose state information to anyone. This law is contradicting with RTI Act which harms democratic principles.

Now come to Digital Security Act of 2018, these laws entirely diminish the freedom of media and also press to investigate real story. The provisions of the digital security act restrict journalist to inquire real thing from the field. This law will also be used to those who speak out about any issues of government. Under the information and communication technology act, hundreds of people were arrested arbitral in different periods. The act was normally approved by the parliament without seeking the concern of journalist in the section no 8, 28, 29, and 31 which normally deal with disrupting public order, hurting religious values, dishing out defaming information and causing deterioration of laws and order situation (Hasan, 2018).

4.2 Ignoring the Importance and Impact of Private Broadcast Media

In Bangladesh, the government and policy makers have ignored the importance and impact of private broadcast media. Therefore, in the contemporary society we see a huge ‘media divide’ and ‘media darkness’ which is also alarming. According to a survey in 2010, it shows that 20% of Bangladeshis did not have any access to regular media like radio, newspaper and television, magazines or any other options i.e. Cinema, which may be considered as a ‘media dark’. In the rural areas, this figure rises to 25% while among women it is 20%. In this table, we can see that only 8% rural people have access to private cable TV and 65.5% people have access to state run BTV (Neilson, 2010).

Table 1: Media reach in Bangladesh

Reach/ usage	Internet	Newspapers	Cable TV	Terrestrial TV	Radio
All	2.2%	30.5%	18%	80%	35%
Rural	0.9%	15.9%	8%	65.5%	30%

Source: Bangladesh Media and Demographic survey, AC Nielsen, 2010.

Table 2: Reach of TV in Bangladesh

Monthly Household Income	BTV (Terrestrial)	ATN Bangla (Cable)	NTV (Cable)	Channel (Cable)
Up to \$ 40 US	45%	1.6%	1.2%	1.3%
\$40 - \$ 100 US	67.2%	8.8%	7.5%	8.0%
\$100-\$ 210 US	78.8%	27%	25.7%	26.3%
Over \$ 250 US	78.3%	44.9%	43.3%	41.5%

Source: Bangladesh Media and Demographic survey, AC Nielsen, 2005.

Here, terrestrial TV has far greater reach in every household compared to private TV channels in Bangladesh. Along with the reach, the funding and the economic sustainability are also challenges for the private broadcasters. Bangladesh television normally gets the subsidies and funds from different sources like

advertising, receiver license fee. Bangladesh television is broadcasting around 80% of domestic program including commercial advertisement within 77 hours daily transmission (Ullah, 1993). It also gets money from the fee of license and its income also. On the contrary, the advertisement is the only source of earning for private owned TV channel in Bangladesh. Therefore, the private channels are trying to broadcast quality programs and news bulletin and making their earning better. Monopoly is still present in terrestrial broadcasting system and no specific law has been developed to allow private sector in this industry. At present day, Bangladesh has the lack of clear and specific law to guide and direct private TV channels. The traditional and colonial laws and acts are used now a days to issue different licenses and allocate frequencies for the channel and oversee technological aspects for broadcasting media (Wireless Telegraphy Act, 1885 & the Telegraphic Act, 1933).

4.3 The Owners of the Media and the Journalists: Another Challenge for Democracy

The media of Bangladesh has a significant contribution to the different development aspects of the country like Bangladesh. It has a glorious history. But the scenario has already been broken down recently. The journalist community has been divided and encouraged by different political ideology of the owners of media or influenced by the political ideology of editors of the media. You can find a line from the writings of a journalist that clearly indicates that he surely serves a certain ideology of politics (Khatun et al, 2017). The community of journalists is not even united in their some personal matters like ensuring good wages, their job security, etc. This condition of journalist association weakens the journalist's voice and the mechanism of upholding and protecting freedom of expression and press freedom in the country. The political support and the affiliation of politics of journalist are the major problems of news media industry in Bangladesh. Another problem for news media industry in Bangladesh is journalists' political affiliation. Plethora of literature found that there is a huge political polarization of journalist and prevails it into different private news media- according to IPI mission. The report of the IPI mission massively indicates that the journalist and the editors of the news media are working according to the ideology of AL or BNP with great disregard to their professional ethics (Hasan, 2011).

The owners of the media influence the freedom of news or freedom of expression of the journalist. Sometimes we hear that the owners of the media or their representatives tell the newsroom to publish wrong news just to harass someone and sometimes tell not to publish real story to save some big fish. The other side is, if any news or event goes against the business policy of media, the event will come forward even (Khatun et al, 2017)

4.4 Challenges from National Broadcasting Authority (NBA)

The most significant issue in the media discourse is decentralized regulatory system. In our country, national broadcasting authority is the highest regulatory body of state broadcasting. NBA is under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. But no broadcasting policy has been developed until 2014 to regulate all broadcasting related issues. As a result, the media authority of Bangladesh including the Radio and Television authority follow a 27-point guideline for broadcasting activities (Rahman, 2004). In 2014, a policy known as the National Broadcasting Policy has been adopted by the Government of Bangladesh.

4.5 Government and Ruling Political Parties

Government and ruling political parties and also their willingness are the biggest factors for free media and press in specially developing and underdeveloped countries. Normally government try to control the media for their interest, and it more comes into the light during the undemocratic regime, when government used to send press advices in order to control the press. The situation what we have already discussed has already been changed but the control of government over the autonomy of media is also present now. Government tries to take control over the media freedom by imposing limits or giving advice. For instance, by considering the following headline: "Media cautioned: Information Minister warns some newspapers against religious instigation". The headline tells us, 'the ruling party told all the media to stay away from any events or any story

that deteriorates the people's religious sentiments (Daily Star, 2013). The government makes influences over the activities of media by dictating their actions and activities (Khan & Kaarisma, 2014).

4.6 Corporate Pressure on Media

The income of media is normally relied on the advertisement from the different public and private companies. Just because of their income, they sacrifice their professional ethics and behave in a right manner towards negative news of its advertisers otherwise they may lose the advertiser (Khatun et al, 2017). To get maximum number of advertisements and audience, our media are competing with each other on the market. The natures of the market where the media are competing influence the activities of the media. The needs and the demands of the greater audience are the prior activity of market driven media and they want to satisfy their greater audience. This struggle of satisfying the audience designs peculiar trends and patterns. The financial institutions are connected to the media corporation deeply. Person from non-media institution is working as journalist and he is also belonging to board of directors is normally threat to the autonomy of press media (Ahmmed, 2014). Although the income from advertisement is the biggest source, one telephone survey indicates that some news against big-fish or big multinational companies died before coming into the front which ultimately provides handsome amount of advertisement to publish and print (Hasan, 2011).

4.7 Harassment of Journalists: Threats and Killings

We always get the news of journalist harassment through the newspaper reading. It's a common scenario in Bangladesh now that is working against the democratic culture of a country and media freedom to work independently. Since 1992, 34 journalists and media workers have been murdered (Roy & Habib, 2022). As such, the country is regarded as dangerous for the survival of journalists (IPI Report, 1998). Most of them were murdered for exposing or investigating illegal actions while others of the killings were for security apparatus. According to another report, In 2008, around 33 media man I mean journalists has been assaulted which specifies the constraints for journalist to work in the country (Hasan, 2011). According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ, 2012), the time period between 1992 to 2012, 12 journalists were murdered in Bangladesh. Majority of the murderers escaped prosecution. (CDAC, 2012).

4.8 Tension between Media and Government

The interaction between media and the government is a common phenomenon in every country. Bangladesh is not the exception. The tension between media and government is always present here in Bangladesh. It is observed that government directing the media to be more objective while publishing report and making it on factual basis. And they try to bash the media when it publishes a news report by criticizing government. Meanwhile, journalists felt that politician failed to realize, making the government accountable is the core functions of journalism. It completely indicates that they failed to understand the significance and the essence of investigating journalism. The IPI report stresses that "*the government is perceived as abusing its power to allocate advertisements by refusing to advertise in newspapers perceived as critical of its policies*". It deprives the media specially newspapers from a huge income source, creating undue pressure on independence of editorial persons" (FORUM, 2011).

5. Recommendation

With a view to creating a free environment for the democratic development in Bangladesh, the authors would recommend the following policy options:

- Related laws and acts need to be amended (especially the Digital Security Act 2018) to ensure the freedom of the media so that they can collect and provide authentic information and ensure government accountability.
- A mutual relationship should be built between the authority and the journalists. The authority has to maintain positive reaction to the journalist's criticism. They have to keep in their mind that they are not opposite to each other rather working for common goals.
- All the laws and regulations including acts should be formulated on the basis of international standards by which we can get the freedom of media and press. Laws must have coherent relation to the article 39 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.
- Wellbeing of the journalist must be secured and protected. Journalist should be given the highest security of the international standard. Laws and practices must be stopped if it goes against the journalist needs and demands.
- The functions of the National Broadcasting Authority (NBA) need to be revised. Effective working condition needs to be developed in NBA.
- Interest of the state over the business interest should be prioritized by both journalist and the owners of the media. Different corporate level influences should be removed because it creates obstruction for free media and press.
- Importance should be given to the private broadcast media to reduce "media divide" and "media darkness".
- In order to look after the media freedom, an independent, autonomous and self-reliant watchdog should be developed.
- A common ground must be created for journalist where independent and voluntary codes of ethics will be developed. Journalist as well as owners of the media should follow the ethical and moral values in producing a news or report.
- Financial Rewards for journalist can be introduced for making them encouraged to do their task in an ethical manner.

6. Concluding Remarks

The Media is playing a crucial role to make the democracy established in Bangladesh. If the authority can create an enabling environment for democratic practice, then the media can practice the democratic values and norms to improve the state democratic standards. However, in Bangladesh, it is facing some debilitating challenges that hinder the institutionalized democracy in the country. The media itself, for instance, needs the requisite skills and expertise that an emerging democracy requires. A strong accountability and transparency mechanism should also be ensured, and the ethical and professional standards of the journalists and the owners of the media should be in line with international standards. Financial resources are significant thing of any organization to perform its tasks smoothly. The autonomy and the independence of media are always depend upon the financial viability, free of intervening media owners and the state, and also the competition. The wide range of people needs to be engaged with the media to make a bridge between government and the public. Efforts to help the media should be directed toward the protection of press rights, enhancing media accountability, building media capacity, and democratizing media access. We hope that concerned authority will take all those necessary initiatives to create a friendly environment for media so that they can uphold the democratic values and norms in Bangladesh. The adoption of new policies with regards to the working of media can make a substantial impact for establishing democracy in Bangladesh.

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