

**The Role of Mass Media in Increasing the Political Awareness:
A Study in Khulna Division (2005-2012)**

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Session: 2011-2012

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A Thesis Submitted to the University of Dhaka in Conformity with the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy.

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by

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December, 2016

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that the thesis entitled “The Role of Mass Media in Increasing the Political Awareness: A Study in Khulna Division (2005-2012)” is based on my own research work; it has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university of the world. I confirm that this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except by way of quotation and duly acknowledged.

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Jahan-E-Gulshan
Registration No.: 126
Session: 2011-2012

CERTIFICATE OF SUPERVISOR

The thesis entitled “The Role of Mass Media in Increasing the Political Awareness: A Study in Khulna Division (2005-2012)” submitted by Jahan-E-Gulshan for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of Dhaka, Dhaka, Bangladesh. She has carried out the research work under my direct supervision and the manuscript of the thesis has been scrutinized by me. The entire thesis comprises the candidate’s own work and it is her own personal achievement. It has not previously been submitted for any degree, diploma or other similar title of recognition.

Dated, Dhaka

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Jahan-E-Gulshan

ABSTRACT

Mass media is known as the fourth branch of state because of the power the media wield and the oversight function they exercise. A free, accountable and vibrant mass media disseminates information, inform the public and policy makers alike, creates space for diverse views regarding socio-economic and political processes, and increases people's scope for democratic participation. Through the media we can know what is happening in the nation and around the world. A free and vigorous media is an important part of the process of democratization in Bangladesh also media is an agency of representation, by enabling various social groups to express alternative viewpoints. In the time between 2005 to 2012 many important political events occurred in Bangladesh which was highlighted by the mass media and through which people were able to know about the political situation of the country but because of the control of the government many times people could not get the real information. The main objective of this study is to assess the role of mass media in increasing the political awareness of the people of Khulna Division and the specific objectives of the study are to: determine the behavior of certain institutions the media organizations, determine the association between the mass media and politics of the country, determine the association between the mass media and general people of the country, determine how mass media influence political behavior of general people, determine the control of government over the mass media, to know about the freedom of mass media in expressing the real political condition of the country. There are three research questions of this study: How mass media influence political

behavior of general people? Is the freedom of mass media exists in expressing the real political condition of the country? Is government of Bangladesh controlling the mass media?

This is an explanatory type of research work that has been conducted in quantitative approach; data was collected through questionnaire survey.

The questionnaire was semi-structured interviewed with three groups of subjects: the general people, the media professional (electronic and print) and the politicians. All the data gathered from interview was analyzed through computer program 'Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS)'.

The findings show that mass media plays a powerful and influential role in creating political awareness among mass people of the study area but control of government and political influence sometimes create obstacle to do their duties properly. Depending on the result of the thesis it can be said that the most of the respondent (98.3%) of the study area mostly depend on mass media in getting political news or information. Among print media they think The Daily Prothom Alo, Bangladesh Protidin and among electronic media Independent, Somoy and Maasranga TV channel did their duty properly during the period of 2005-2012 and help them to be politically concern.

85% mass people of the study area think that mass media played effective role in increasing the political awareness between 2005-2012. The election of 2008 was the most important political event in the period of 2005-2012, general people think that due to control of government mass media didn't do their duty properly also media professional think that due to this reason they

couldn't publish or broadcast the real election news though they were able to collect it. So, it is evident that in Bangladesh the government is controlling the mass media. Also media professional think that the relation between mass media and Bangladesh government is controlled by the government and they think the control of the government of Bangladesh is in medium level. So, it can be said that, the mass media is partly controlled by the government of Bangladesh which several time create obstacle in the path of mass media in increasing the political awareness. Also politician said that, there is political control over the mass media. With the entire obstacle in that circumstance media carried out immense responsibilities in increasing the political awareness of the people in the study area. But the media's role would be better if it was free from various control and influence. If the freedom of mass media is increased and government takes necessary step to protect the right of mass media the situation will be better. Also mass media has the responsibility to enhance its accountability and building media capacity to do their duties in increasing the political awareness.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Mass media always had been an important means of communication. Over a period of time it has passed through various changes and has gradually acquired a new significance and importance in the present time. Because of the power the media wield and the oversight function they exercise, they are often referred to as the fourth branch of government (Sheila S. Coronel). The media's key role in democratic governance has been recognized since the late 17th century, and remains a fundamental principle of modern-day democratic theory and practice. Nowadays mass media became a tool for politicians to carry out their political campaigns and for activists to create awareness on political issues and mobilize protests. In this world media is a vast and varied concept. When we define the media it's mean we talk about the constantly change, development of the society and technologies. Also current development discourse strongly identifies an independent media as one of the main components of ensuring good governance and strengthening democracy. A free, accountable and vibrant mass media disseminates information, informs the public and policy makers alike, creates space for diverse views regarding socio-economic and political processes, and increases people's scope for democratic participation (Hudock, A., 2003; Besley, et al., 2002). The advent of mass media has shown that the world is made up of a mass of circulating, disjointed, and often contradictory information. An effective flow of information between the various distinct groups in the public sphere has historically been made possible by the mass media, which systematically edit and interpret the mass of information, making

some sense of the world for audiences. As certain knowledge have been promoted over others, they have effectively been given the privileged status of being authoritative and, in some cases, truthful (Fairclough, 2003; Glasgow University Media Group, 1976, 1980, 1982; Herman & Chomsky, 1994; Van Dijk, 1998). In Bangladesh, a country where democracy and state institutions are in their nascence, the mass media's relatively free operation is the prime means of examining governance and demanding accountability from state machineries. It is often the people's only source of information regarding the functioning of the state and political processes (Irum Shehreen Ali, 2006). Through the media we can know what is happening in the nation and around the world. The media scene in Bangladesh has undergone a dramatic transformation over the past forty years. What initially started as an outcome of missionary zeal has now grown into a full-fledged industry, employing a significant number of journalists and plays an important role in the shaping of democracy in Bangladesh. With an increase in the number of distribution channels as a result of significant new investment, the media's role has expanded in both the print and electronic domains. (Mridul Chowdhury and Asif Saleh, June 2009)

Print Media: Newspapers published in Bangladesh are written in Bengali or English versions. Most Bangladeshi daily newspapers are usually printed in broadsheets; few daily tabloids exist. Daily newspapers in Bangladesh are published in the capital, Dhaka, as well as in major regional cities such as Chittagong, Khulna, Rajshahi, Sylhet and Barisal. All daily newspapers are morning editions; there are no evening editions in Bangladesh. Some newspapers offer online versions (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia).

As on March 17, 2003, declaration had been given to 496 dailies, of which 330 are being published. Declarations were granted to 806 weeklies, of which only 470 are coming out while out of 212 fortnightlies, only 168 see the stands. Bangladesh now has more than four hundred registered newspapers. However, of significance are the top seven in Bangla and top three in English. Based on circulation data, the top seven Bangla newspapers together sell about 800,000 copies across the five divisions every day. The weekly newspapers have, however, been declining with very few reaching significant circulation, in part because almost all the leading daily newspapers have free weekend supplements, thus negatively affecting the demand for weeklies. Now in Bangladesh there are 978 dailies. (Information Minister at National Assembly; on 4th October 2016)

Electronic Media: This sector is highly competitive, with about forty-one independent satellite channels and one government controlled terrestrial channel (Information minister at National Assembly; on 4th October 2016). The degree of professionalism and public acceptance of the channels vary widely. As in the print sector, most of these channels are not economically viable and survive only due to political patronage.

Private radio channels too have been increasing in recent years. Until very recently, the government controlled Bangladesh Betar was the only radio option available in addition to the BBC Bangla Radio Service broadcast from London. However, within the last five years, several private radio channels have come up. Though mostly focusing on entertainment and targeting the young urban population, they are now showing an increasing maturity in news reporting.

Print media in our country is very powerful. People read newspapers for learning different aspects about life, art, culture, science and politics of both home and abroad. Almost every newspaper has its own education and editorial page. In the page, they published special articles about education, politics, social matter and so on written by columnist, writers, teachers, trainers, students, and experts. And all the newspaper considered as the main source of knowing about political event of the country.

In the cases of developing countries, like Bangladesh, implementation of education and information about politics mostly depends on appropriate use of broadcasting media technology. And the government as well as private organizations are using Radio and television for meeting these demands.

A significant result has already been achieved in the field of mass education and politics of Bangladesh by using broadcasting media and also print media. All the TV and Radio channels present various programmes for the people. These programmes become very popular in the country which help people build up their political consciousness. In the time between 2005 to 2012 many important political event occurred in Bangladesh which was highlighted by the mass media and for this people was able to know about the political situation of the country but because of the control of the government many times people could not get the real information. The purpose of this study is to assess the role of mass media in increasing the political awareness of the people of Khulna Division (2005-2012).

1.2 Mass Media in Bangladesh

From its beginnings as an arm of the nationalist movement in the 1960s to its uneasy existence during the military dictatorships of the 1970s and 80s to its post-1990 liberalization, expansion and deregulation, the Bangladeshi media has come a long way. During its time, the media has undertaken a variety of functions: as a tool of political protest against repressive governments, a discursive space for battling political parties and coalitions, an extension of owners' personal ideological beliefs, a conduit for social education and as a means of cultural self-expression for the people, albeit predominantly the elite, and subsequently, the middle classes. Over time, the media has undergone a succession of repressive regulatory regimes, and is currently regulated by the relevant Constitutional laws and the Press Council of Bangladesh. (Irum Shehreen Ali, 2006) The changing face of the media has reflected the increasing literacy 41.1% (UNDP 2005), purchasing power and sophistication of the Bangladeshi polity. However, media penetration in Bangladesh continues to be extremely low, as can be deduced from the overall low levels of telephone and cellular access, as well as extremely low Internet use (UNDP 2005). Despite its continuing trials and tribulations, the industry's continuing growth and professionalization look set to continue. The study of the media is severely handicapped by the lack of available academic resources on its history, role and governance. The pre-Independence media is marked by a pro-nationalist and anti-establishment politicization (Chowdhury, 2005). During that time the weekly Holiday and the Dainik Ittefaq both functioned as opposition to the day's political regime, the former as a leftist anti-establishment publication and the latter as a mouthpiece for the nationalist movement (Chowdhury, 1999; Khan 2006). Due to its limited experience within an

extremely politicised context, the post-1971 media continued to function as a political tool. During this time, the Dainik Ittefaq asserted itself as the market leader in news coverage, while Holiday continued to be daring in its unique willingness to confront the new nation with unpleasant truths (Chowdhury, 1999). Political crises within the ruling Awami League led to the establishment of one party rule and the imposition of state ideology adverse to dissenting views (Bagchi, 2002). The subsequent closure of independent media outlets and presence of four state approved newspapers – two English and two Bangla dailies – was consistent with this political strategy (Chowdhury, 2005; Kabir, 2003). The imposition of the first martial law regime of General Zia in late 1975 began a period of unconstitutionality and state control of the media that carried through until the end of H. M. Ershad’s dictatorship through a mass urban upsurge of the people (Holiday 1990).

In the media, this period was marked by the “lack of due process, low accountability and connection capitalism” (Chowdhury, 2005). However, media owners and practitioners despite being under coercive regimes created strong and innovative news products that served people’s need for information to the best of its ability. During the 1970s and 80s, the weekly news and current affairs magazine Bichitra began to represent the emerging aspirations and ideology of a burgeoning urban middle class (Chowdhury, 2005). The weekly Jai Jai Din was the first to introduce newsprint based magazine publishing that increased people’s access to publishing. The 80s saw the proliferation of several small underground publications, but this trend did not last and the media became a “collaboration of wealthy investors and professional middle class workers’ (Chowdhury, 2005). The daily Inquilab was the newspaper of the conservative, rightist and pro-Islamic segment of the society, a role

that it carries out to this day. Other notable publications during this time were the weekly Bichinta, an anarchic alternative to the mainstream Khoborer Kagoj, which itself offered an alternative to the by then establishment Ittefaq and was a precursor to today's existing mainstream dailies. And now in Bangladesh daily great number have published and contributing in the sector of politics, democracy and of course in creating political awareness. At the time of beginning the in Bangladesh the only TV channel was BTV and now there are forty-one independent satellite channels and one government controlled terrestrial channel. People of all over the country specially the people of rural area mostly depend on these channels in getting political news. Focusing the above scenario it can be said that with the increasing number of newspaper and TV channels mass media is performing as a reliable source of political information.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

South Asian countries have had a variable democratic history since their emergence from British colonial rule in the late 1940s. The region's political diversity is exemplified by monarchical rule in Nepal, long-running instability in Sri Lanka, alternating military and civilian regimes in Bangladesh and Pakistan, and India's established democratic system (Haynes, 2001). The wave of democratization that swept across South Asia in the late 1980s and early 1990s heralded a resurgence of the debate on press freedom.

The birth of mass media in Bangladesh can be traced to the connection of political parties in the early 60s' during the heady days of the anti-autocratic movement in the East Pakistan. The build-up to the national

struggle for independence and the subsequent liberation war in 1971 saw the emergence of a fervent nationalistic media attempting to counter the media propaganda from West Pakistan. The immediate post-liberation era during the regime of the founding father, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, ironically culminated in efforts at a 'nationalization' of the print media, thus largely stripping it off its independence. The infamous Printing Press and Publications Ordinance enacted in 1973 was used by successive governments for the next 18 years to keep a tight control over the media.

During the subsequent General Ziaur Rahman regime that assumed power in 1976, although newspapers were once again deregulated, they continued to be placed under strict censorship by the military, an approach that was largely followed, if not further intensified, by the next military dictator, General Ershad. Public criticism of the government was discouraged, often resulting in years of incarceration. And media could not play effective role to create political awareness among people.

However, as the anti-autocracy political movement gathered strength in the late 1980s, journalists became increasingly bold, eventually resulting in a media non-cooperation movement with the government and a refusal to publish in solidarity with the opposition's campaign. It is believed that this non-cooperation by the media played an important role in the eventual down-fall of autocracy, thus elevating the status of media and certain editors and journalists in popular perception. (Mridul Chowdhury and Asif Saleh, 2009)

A free and vigorous mass media is an important part of the process of democratization in Bangladesh also media is an agency of representation, by enabling various social groups to express alternative viewpoints. But the mass media encounter several problems in their attempt to fulfill the democratic goals. Many perceive that restrictive media legislation that affects media attempts to gather and disseminate information inhibits democratization. (Ahmed, A. M.)

Freedom is primarily analyzed as a matter of the legal and statutory environment in which the mass media and journalism operate and which shapes public information flows. Key to assessing this are: the legal status of freedom of expression and media freedom, as well as how this is translated, or not, into practice; freedom of information; whether media are censored or banned; whether defamation is criminalized and whether it or other laws are used against media and those producing journalism in order to illegitimately restrict freedom of expression; the freedom and status of investigative journalism; and the protection of journalists' sources.(UNESCO, 2014)

Rules and regulation were imposed from British period to Pakistan period and after the independence of Bangladesh. Some of the press law and regulation are given below.

Table 1: The British Colonial Rule: Press Laws and Regulations (1799-1947)

Period	Traits	Nature of Press Laws and Regulations
1799-1947	Incorporation of British laws to suppress and control the press	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First Censorship Law (1799) 2. Censorship Law Modifications (1813) 3. Censorship Law Modifications (1813) 4. Regulations for Registration (1823) 5. Metcalfe’s Act of 1835 (Registration of the Press Act) 6. New Regulations on Printing Presses (1857) 7. Indian Penal Code (1860) 8. Press and Registration Act 1867 9. Vernacular Press Act (1878) 10. Criminal Procedure Code (1898) 11. Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act (1908) 12. Indian Press Act (1910) 13. Official Secrets Act (1923) 14. Indian Press (Emergency Power) (1931)

(Ahmed, A. M.)

Table 2: Pakistan Rule (1947-71): Press Laws and Regulations

Period	Traits	Nature of Press Laws and Regulations
1947-1971	<p>1. The successive Pakistani governments perpetuated authoritarian rule keeping the colonial British press laws.</p> <p>2. The laws were suppressive, anti-freedom.</p>	<p>1. Security of Pakistan Act 1952</p> <p>2. Martial Law promulgation 1958 (October 7)</p> <p>3. Presses and Publications Ordinance 1960 [this ordinance was the combined form of Press and Registration Act 1867 & Indian Press (Emergency Power) 1931]</p> <p>4. Presses and Publications (Amendment) Ordinance 1963</p> <p>5. National Press Trust 1964</p> <p>6. Defense of Pakistan Ordinance 1965</p> <p>7. Defense of Pakistan Rules 1965</p> <p>8. Martial Law promulgation 1969 (March 25)</p> <p>9. Promulgation of ML Rules 6, 17 & 19 in 1969 (March 26)</p> <p>10. Promulgation of Martial Law rules 110 in 1971 (March 1)</p> <p>11. Official Secrets Act (1923)</p>

(Ahmed, A. M.)

Table 3: Press Laws and Regulations in Bangladesh since 1972-2003

Period	Traits	Nature of Press Laws and Regulations
1972-2003	1. The successive ruling parties made election pledges or joint political commitments to repeal or amend the regulations that infringe on press freedom. But they did not do that. Rather they consolidated their authoritarian rule over the press, keeping the colonial and post independence press laws and regulations.	I. Official Secrets Act 1923 II. Printing Presses and Publications Act 1973 III. Special Powers Act 1974 IV. The Newspapers (Annulment of Declaration) Ordinance 1975 V. The Code of Criminal Procedure 1898 VI. The Penal Code 1860 VII. Press Council Act 1974 VIII. Bangladesh Government Servants (Conduct) Rules 1979 IX. Oath of Secrecy & Article 39 in Bangladesh Constitution X. Emergency Powers Ordinance 1974 XI. Law of Defamation XII. Advertisement Distribution Policy 1976 & 1987 XIII. Martial Law Ordinance, Orders and Regulations, September 26, 1975 -1990

(Ahmed, A. M.)

Most of the Acts discussed in this paper are not compatible with the changed environment in Bangladesh. Some laws are restrictive and they limit the access to information in Bangladesh. With the existence of these restrictive laws governing media, it is difficult to support any contention that the press is free in Bangladesh.

From the beginning to now government of Bangladesh and different organization create many obstacles to media which interrupt the process of creating political awareness of the general people. Now media is partly controlled by government, if the government does not do so many facts will come to light and help the people to know the ins and outs of every event of the country which make them more politically conscious.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to assess the role of mass media in increasing the political awareness of the people of Khulna Division.

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Determine the behavior of certain institutions the media organizations.
- Determine the association between the mass media and politics of the country.
- Determine the association between the mass media and general people of the country.

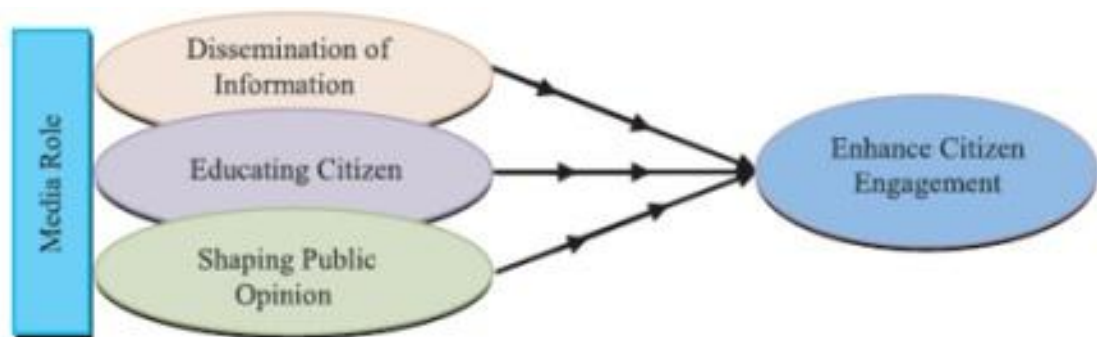
- Determine how mass media influence political behavior of general people.
- Determine the control of government over the mass media.
- To know about the freedom of mass media in expressing the real political condition of the country.

1.5 Rational of the Study

We know that mass media's influences to the political values, morality and democratic responsibility is very high. In fact, the responsibility contains three separate political virtues, which often work together but are logically different. The first kind of responsibility is informational responsibility: knowledge about government actors and decisions and access to government information. Informational responsibility can be expanded by requiring public statements of the reasons for government action, or requiring release of information the government has collected. A second type of responsibility is participatory responsibility: the ability to participate in political decisions either through fair representation or direct involvement. A third kind of responsibility is accountability responsibility: the ability to hold government officials accountable - either to the legal system or to public opinion - when they violate the law or when they act in ways that hurt people's interests, mass media can make the political system more clearly in all three respects: mass media can help people understand the operations of government, participate in political decisions, and hold government officials accountable. In practice, however, its effects are often quite different. In the age of mass media, democratic governments and politicians may find it useful to simulate the political qualities of responsibility through verbal and media

influence. Mass media by disseminating information creates space for diverse public views regarding socio-economic and political processes and increases people’s scope for democratic participation (Hudock 2003, Besely et al. 2002) consequently. Its role has become ‘larger than life’ (Anam, 2007). Today political responsibility is virtually impossible without some form of mass media coverage. So it is evident that mass media has a great role in increasing the political awareness among the general people. We can show it through a framework.

Figure: 1 Media’s role in increasing the political awareness.



Source: Role of mass media in facilitating citizen participation in Bangladesh public procurement, Brac University Policy note, February, 2013.

1.6 Research Methodology

This is an explanatory type of research work that has been conducted in quantitative approach. In order to be able to analyze the role of mass media in increasing the political awareness of the people of Khulna Division, the findings presented in this paper are based on primary data collection. Mainly the data for the thesis has been collected from primary sources. Primary data was collected through a comprehensive questionnaire, empirical observation and books, journal articles, records

of different organizations, media reports, etc. as the secondary sources of content analysis was used in this project. The questionnaire was semi-structured interviewed with three groups of subjects: the general people, media professionals (electronic and print) and the politicians. All the data, gathered from interview, is analyzed through computer program Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS).

1.7 Research Questions

There are three research questions of this study:

- How mess media influence political behavior of general people?
- Is the freedom of mass media exists in expressing the real political condition of the country?
- Is the government of Bangladesh controlling the mass media?

1.8 Theoretical Framework

George Sutherland, an English-born U.S. jurist and political figure once quoted -

“A free press stands as one of the great interpreters between the government and the people. To allow it to be fettered is to fetter ourselves.”

(Tahsin Khan& Sabah Eqbal Kaarisma, 2014),

One of the most important elements of democracy is the existence of free and fearless mass media. In a democratic system, the mass media must enjoy complete freedom and not be barred to any restriction. The voice of mass media is the voice of the people. Censoring the mass media means the suppression of people’s voice. Therefore, the very survival of democracy inevitably depends upon the freedom of the mass media. On

the other hand, at the same time, the mass media must not fail to follow its code of conduct and abuse the freedom. A free mass media is the symbol of free people. Nowadays it is difficult for the mass media to be free. Bangladesh is a pre-dominantly Muslim country in Southeast Asia. It gained independence on 16 December 1971 after a long and bitter liberation war waged against Pakistan. Soon after that, a democratic government and a liberal constitution were adopted and a general election was held the next year. On the other hand, democratic progress was quickly shortened when a trend towards authoritarianism began with one party rule in 1975 and endured for sixteen years. Ultimately, this regime was toppled in 1991, but the road to democracy and media freedom has been a long and hard fought. The 1990s has marked a new era of media freedom as granted in the Constitution. Despite these freedoms, the media face many challenges in performing their functions. While the media is a large sector and free in Bangladesh, members of the press and media routinely face violence or restrictions making it difficult to practice journalism or carry out media activities in a free manner. So it can be said that in Bangladesh there is a negative association exists between the mass media and politics where media remain the main source of information relating to politics. From the time of liberation war to now mass media play active role to make people conscious about politics. For this reason in this study historical method should be followed. The historical method seems to be quite appropriate to analysis the above said mater in combination of the present and the past.

1.9 Mass Media and Political Awareness

Without mass media, openness and accountability are impossible in contemporary democracies (J.M. Balkin, 1999). Openness and

accountability of government help mass media to supply correct information to the people which is essential in increasing political awareness. The goal of the theme increasing political awareness is to help people watch over the operations of government and the behaviour of government officials and in this sector there is no alternative of mass media's role. So it can be said that mass media and political awareness are strongly linked.

1.10 Chapters of the Research

The whole thesis includes six chapters. The introductory chapter is the first one which includes statement of the problem, mass media in Bangladesh, rationale of the study, objective of the study, conceptual framework, research questions, mass media and political awareness, chapters of the research and limitation of the study and conclusion. Literature review is the second chapter which incorporates different literature related to the present study. Review of the papers of Bangladesh and review of the papers of other countries are presented here. Chapter Three incorporates the study area and research methodology which includes rationale for selecting study area, variable and indicators of the study, operationalization of variables and their indicators, sample design, sampling unit, sample size, sampling methods, methods of data collection and data processing and analysis techniques. Mass media and political awareness is the fourth chapter. Data analysis and findings of the study presented in chapter five. Finally chapter six incorporates an overall recommendations and conclusion.

1.11 Limitations of the Study

Khulna is a Division with the population of 15,687,759 (2011 census) and they vary to great extent to their nature, behavior, living pattern, values and personality. The sample size of the study may not be representative or enough for the population. Due to inadequate financial and logistic support, time and manpower, it is not been possible to take large sample for the study. For this reason it was not possible to cover all determinants of role of mass media in increasing political awareness.

While conducting the field work sometimes respondent were shy or afraid of providing information which was an obstacle to get the real information.

With all these limitations the study was conducted and presented in a printed form.

1.12 Conclusion

The best thing about the mass media is that it immediately provides us with the latest information about the things happening around us. Both electronic and print media have been used instantaneously for transmission development communications but this determination has agonized on numerous problems like government control, political influence, lack of professional environment and so no which hinder mass media in performing their role properly. In this scenario the aim of the study are to assess the role of mass media in increasing political awareness, media's role as a important institution in the society also to know whether the government of Bangladesh is controlling the mass media.

CHAPTER TWO
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

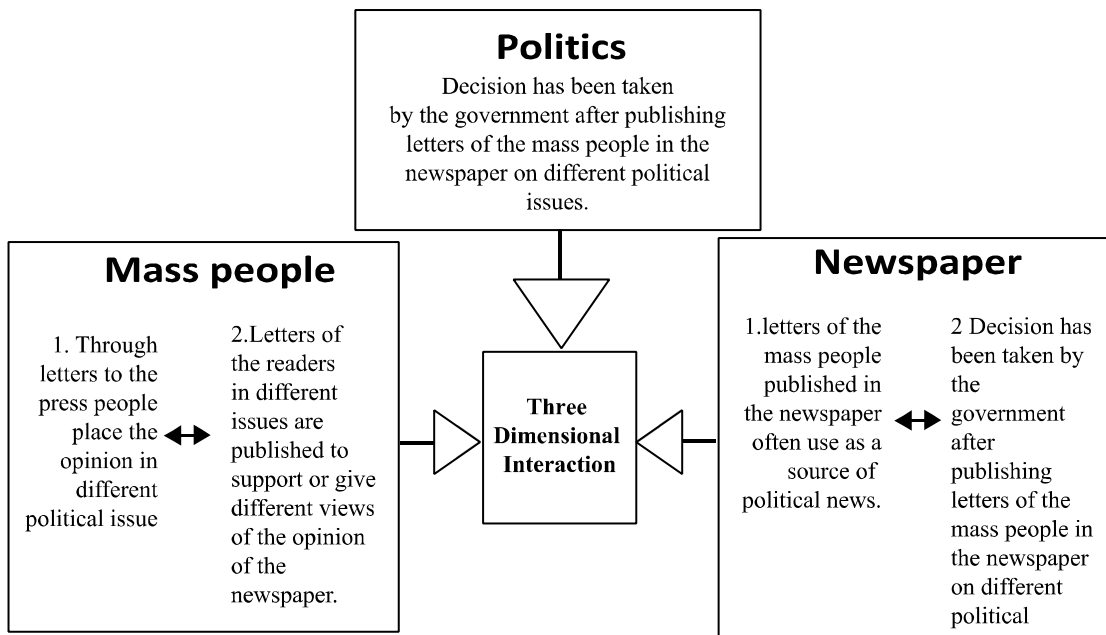
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In contemporary democracies without mass media, people's awareness about politics, openness and accountability are impossible. Politicians and political operatives can simulate the political awareness through rhetorical and media manipulation. Today political awareness is virtually impossible without some form of mass media coverage. Mass media play active role as a medium of various political events. Mass media keeps the political movement and struggle active and lively. Some news of political events are focused by the media and become important as political issue and influence the general mass. The news papers explain and analysis political issues and publishes its own opinion through its editorial, sub-editorial and regular column. In this way it is play an effective role in creating public opinion and awareness.

On the other hand the readers express their opinion in the political issues by writings letters. And the letters which are published in the latter page of the newspaper often use as a link of news. Through the letters published in the news paper the readers claim and address their demands and also express their valuable opinion which influences the political and governmental decision. In these way three dimensional interactions has happened among the mass media, mass population and politics which have great impact on political awareness. The three dimensional is given below through a diagram.

Figure: 2 Three dimensional interactions among the mass media, mass population and politics



To know how mass media create awareness among people it is essential to know media's roll relating to this issue not only in Bangladesh but also in all over the world and for this literature review is essential.

Literature review is a crucial part of every scientific research. Literature reviews have many benefits for the researchers. By starting with a comprehensive literature review, a researcher,

- Gets a deeper knowledge on the studies made on the subject and gains from different perspectives.
- Learns different research methods to select the best suiting for her research.
- Avoids repeating what others did. (Ender Yunus, 2013)

Paul Leedy notes that the more knowledgeable you are, the better you will be able to understand your problem (Leedy, 1989). Jean Aitchison supports the view that a literature review allows the researcher to find out

what has been done in terms of the problem being investigated - to ensure that duplication does not occur (Aitchison, 1998).

Review of different literature given below.

Ahmed Mortuza (2014), Impact of Mass Media in Creating Political Concern in Bangladesh. Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies Volume: 4 – Issue: 2 – April – 2014.

Through media people can be better informed and in touch with the latest news, they should be aware that accepting this enormous flow of information and allowing it to make their mind. Media can ensure smooth functioning of a democratic system which is linked with media role for diffusion in field of innovations and information. Formation of public opinion and mobilization are caused due to involvement of media, political institutions and other networks. (Ahmed Mortuza, 2014). This Paper develops a framework of political socialization in Bangladesh. This study is exploratory and explanatory in nature and investigates political socialization through media. Media is a salvation of socialization. This study describes the terms political socialization and political communication. The field of political communication interacts between media and political systems at local, national and international level. Public opinion is made in democracy by voting and responding to polls besides participating in elections. Special emphasis has been put on electioneering campaigns, voting behaviors and role of media in creating political awareness. Influences on political content of the mass media have been studied through triangulation method; qualitative and quantitative approaches are combined for valid inferences. This study is based on triangulation method. Qualitative and quantitative methods are applied. Political contents of Bangladeshi media are analyzed and its

impact on literate youth is measured through survey. This integrated study to measure effects of political content may help to evaluate and judge the extent to which mass media are performing their roles in Bangladeshi society. Data for the analyses and valid inferences are collected through survey and interviews. Survey method helped to get details from practicing reporters, sub-editors, editors, producers, and anchors. The data assisted to explore the micro and macro level influences on the articulation of political discourse in the media. Survey from media and non-media students helped to compare and evaluate viewership patterns, likings, awareness and the influence of political discourses. From media content one may infer many of the facts or influences that shaped it. This paper investigates assorted influences on political discourses disseminated through Bangladeshi mass media.

The results of this study give support to the "Mobilization" approach, suggesting that the more people use mass media for political information, the more they tend to participate in different forms of political actions. Giving credit to the second-level agenda-setting theory to explain cognitive effects of mass media in a transitional society, this study provides evidence that citizens learn from the media about the efficacy and integrity of political institutions in their country, thus gaining an in-depth understanding of their general performance. Consequently, the information acquired through news media becomes an important dimension of attitude formation towards those political institutions. This study provides theoretical argumentation and empirical evidence suggesting that by affecting different levels of political trust, mass media create an environment in which citizens are not blindly submissive and trusting but neither totally distrustful of the political institutions in their country. The evidence from this study suggests that rather than inducing

opinion change, media effect in a transitional society are more likely to crystallize previous predispositions. Particularly, the existence of a pluralistic partisan press in some transitional societies might provide to have a rather important role in building partisan loyalties and stabilizing the volatile electorate, characteristic for transitional societies.

Ahmed, A. M., Media, Politics and the Emergence of Democracy in Bangladesh. Canadian Journal of Media Studies, Vol. 5(1)

Media, Politics, political awareness and the emergence of democracy always being important in Bangladesh. As Bangladesh started its democratization process through the transition from military rule to civilian rule in late 1990s, the fundamental relationship between freedom of the press and emerging democracy was recognized and integrated in the debates about the extent that an independent press depends upon democratic institutions.(Ahmed, M. A)

Because the press can pursue democratic goals and objectives only in the ways that are permitted by the environment in which they operate, it is believed that restrictions on the press which hamper the press's functioning are believed also to hamper the functioning of the democratic system itself. The focus of this paper is on the nature and operation of laws and regulations in Bangladesh that have been used to limit press freedom from 1972 through 2003. The majority of the regulations have their origins during British colonial period 1857-1947. Through a legal and political analysis of the evolution and use of these laws and regulations by successive governments in Bangladesh, the study provides an important perspective on the struggle for democracy in that country. It is evident from the findings that political institutions in Bangladesh are

fragile in absence of democratic political culture. The research reveals that the government is aware of the shortcomings in the regulations and laws relating to the press, but is not willing to offer genuine and comprehensive reforms. In this study qualitative interviews are conducted with elite individuals representing different elements in the press-government relationship to gain expert insight into the phenomenon of press freedom, regulation and policy. This study is based on document analysis in broader perspective. In this paper archival research was applied using both primary and secondary sources. This study has shown that, the majority of the laws and regulations that pertain to the media tend to inhibit press freedom in Bangladesh. Most of the acts and regulations discussed in this study are not compatible with the changed environment in Bangladesh.

The research points to a number of factors that affect the relationship between the media and democracy and form the contest of on-going debates on the role of the media in the democratization process.

In this study it is found that most of the informed sources interviewed believe in the significance of freedom of the press for the promotion of democracy. They state that a free and vigorous press is an important part of the process of democratization in Bangladesh. It is also shown in this paper that the media should be an agency of representation, by enabling various social groups to express alternative viewpoints. But the media meet several problems in their attempt to fulfill the democratic goals. Many perceive that restrictive media legislation that affects media attempts to gather and disseminate information inhibits democratization.

The study demonstrates the use of press regulations as a governing instrument for successive governments in Bangladesh and assesses the prospects for reform. The existing laws and regulations permit

government to limit the capacity of the press to scrutinize government actions, thereby constraining the growth of democratic institutions. Most respondents agreed that the development of a democratic political culture is essential for the protection of civil liberties and the rule of law. In fact, most of the provisions of the Acts cited above are violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and arguably violate the Constitution of Bangladesh. It is clear that some provisions of these acts are incompatible with democratic values and those provisions in various degrees impinge upon press freedom. The study also demonstrates that the oath of secrecy in the Bangladesh Constitution prevents ministers from providing or disclosing any public information, document or information to the press.

Sheila S. Coronel, the Role of the Media in Deeping Democracy.

Now democracy or democratic government is the most expected government system through all over the world. And general people specially conscious mass people is the heart of democracy and in democratic government system media play active role in creating political awareness. Democracy requires the active participation of citizens. Ideally, the media should keep citizens engaged in the business of governance by informing, educating and mobilising the public. In many new democracies the media can also help build peace and social consensus, without which democracy is threatened. (Sheila S. Coronel) This paper examines the complex and multi-dimensional linkages among the media, democracy, good governance and peaceful development. The paper explains the constraints that hobble the media's ability to play a positive role in new democracies and also looks at the variety of ways in

which the various media have been used to support democracy and development.

The media can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to do so. They need the requisite skills for the kind of in-depth reporting that a new democracy requires. There should also be mechanisms to ensure they are held accountable to the public and that ethical and professional standards are upheld. This paper shows that in the reality, however, is that the media in new and restored democracy do not always live up to the ideal. They are hobbled by stringent laws, monopolistic ownership, and sometimes, the threat of brute force. State controls are not the only constraints. Serious reporting is difficult to sustain in competitive media markets that put a premium on the shallow and sensational. Moreover, the media are sometimes used as proxies in the battle between rival political groups, in the process sowing divisiveness rather than consensus, hate speech instead of sober debate, and suspicion rather than social trust. In these cases, the media contribute to public cynicism and democratic decay.

Media independence is guaranteed if media organizations are financially viable, free from intervention of media owners and the state, and operate in a competitive environment. The media should also be accessible to as wide a segment of society as possible. Efforts to help the media should be directed toward: the protection of press rights, enhancing media accountability, building media capacity and democratising media access in society. Democracy suffers if large segments of society are inaccessible to the media and therefore excluded from the arena of public debate. So this paper emphasize on the freedom of media. The media can make full use of their potential to contribute to the consolidation of

democracy if their rights are protected. Moreover they need to have the requisite skills for the kind of textured and in-depth reporting that new democracies require. Because the media are powerful, there should also be mechanisms to ensure they are held accountable to the public and that ethical and professional standards are upheld. Media independence is guaranteed if media organizations are financially viable, free from the intervention of media owners and operate in a competitive media environment. Finally, the media's power is enhanced if they have broad reach in, and support from, society. Democracy suffers if large segments of society are inaccessible to the media and therefore excluded from the arena of public debate.

Rahman, A., Akther, A., Rajeb, M., Akter, N., Gulshan, S., (2009) Credibility of TV News in Bangladesh: What really matters to the audience? October 9 & 10, 2009 JFK School of Government Harvard University.

Television has become the most global as well as national form of all media, taking advantage of its capacity to transcend linguistic and geographical barriers. Communication theorists argue that television has become not only a national unifier but also a “preacher” (Katz, E. 2008). Creating awareness among people about politics television plays vital role. In Bangladesh the television media is popular, powerful and has the potential to give voice to the masses, which is very important for a emerging democracy and good governance. Credibility of television news is becoming a vitally important matter, as television news programmes are becoming increasingly popular within society (Rahman, A., et al, 2009). This paper is based upon a survey within Dhaka City Corporation through a questionnaire, this study explores the factors that explain

credibility of TV news. Six factors were hypothesized to examine the perception of audience from all walks of life. Using factor analysis and multiple regressions, five of the six factors were found to have a significant effect on perceptions of credibility of TV news. These include objectivity of TV news, social role of TV news, regular update of news, independence of news, and presenting truthful account of events in the TV news. Frequency distributions were obtained to check for data entry errors and to obtain descriptive statistics. Factor analytical method using principal components analysis with varimax rotation was applied on the data after removal of the errors. This research indicates that the audiences of television news expect the media to play a significant social role by providing messages of development and social awareness to the audience. At the same time, audiences expect a higher credibility in the TV news. If the TV news can carry out the credible social roles, it may strengthen the sharing of information among public, help in the process of economic development and accelerates the pace of cultural development. so the research shown that media can play its expected role on advancing the democracy and creating awareness.

Dalei, P., & Mishra, K., (2009), Role of Media in a Political Crisis. Proceedings and E-Journal of the 7th AMSAR Conference on Roles of Media during Political Crisis Bangkok, Thailand, 20th May 2009.

Media plays a crucial role in a political crisis, that of a Watchdog and Director; objectively informing the masses about the crisis (Dalei, P., et al.). Knowing about political crisis through media people become more conscious about politics of the country. In those countries where the Press does not enjoy freedom, its role during a political crisis is not even worth

mentioning. This is not because the Press or media there is irresponsible or unaware, ignorant of the surrounding environment but because of the draconian restrictions imposed on them by the government. In this paper it is highlighted that media is not doing what is expected of it. Because of a provocative and over-hyped coverage by the media there is a high level of public interest in political crises, generally. Most of the time political news is more about personalities and their clashes than about ideologies. People have become pessimistic about politics because of such negative coverage given to it.

During political crisis media also faces many challenges and obstacles. Impact of censorship, external influence and Media's inherent problems like concentration of media sources in few mammoth corporations and bias are discussed. Many of the thinkers speak out that media is just a instrument in the hands of a so called 'democratic' government to rule the masses by influencing their thinking process itself. Many times media is unfortunately playing into the hands of such vested interests. Terrorism, which has the potential to suddenly turn into a political crisis, thrives and grows on the publicity given to it by the media. Terrorists have hijacked the fundamentals of objective journalism and are exploiting it to their advantage, having full knowledge that economic considerations and its thirst for controversy will compel media to comprehensively cover any attack. Thus, there is a desperate need on the part of media to withhold potentially counterproductive information. Accepting the danger of media being misused does not mean any less commitment to a Free and Independent Press. Rather the media itself must balance the public's right to know with related responsibilities: Its obligations to safeguard human life and to ensure the preservation of a democratic society. This world really needs a vibrant media aware of its responsibilities. Self restraint is

the need of the hour. The immense power which media has, that of Investigative reporting and its control over any person's image needs to be exercised by it judiciously and in the interests of the people. The importance and necessity of media cannot be ignored. Therefore, media, while being sine qua non, must also exercise reasonable restraint and justify its status as the revered Fourth Estate.

Laittos projects (2013), The Role of Community Newspapers in Political Awareness.

The significant role media plays in fostering an environment of good governance and political awareness needs hardly be emphasized. As the watchdog and interpreter of public issues and events, the media has a special role in every society. In our information-based society the media has a disproportionately visible and influential role. (Laittos projects 2013). The study was conducted Boriye local government. The objectives of the research were to know the contribution of mass media on political awareness in rural area, to highlight the challenges facing mass media in educating electorates on their political right and power, to examine how mass media political program have impacted on voting behavior of electorates, to study the best media to use in converging political messages to electorate particularly rural dwellers, to know how mass media political crusade have been able to change the apathy orientation of women. The findings of the study was in a developing country like Nepal, the relatively low level of literacy, the variations in topography and limited access to electricity all make radio the most suitable medium to satisfy the information needs of the masses.

Pal, S., Dutta, N., Roy, S. (2011) Media Freedom, Socio-Political Stability and Economic Growth.

A free media can be a useful tool in promoting socio-political stability, which is very essential for the government as well as for the people. In a socio-political stable environment people can be more interested about politics and would be able to properly aware of a political system. Free media may improve the responsiveness of authorities by making the government more transparent and answerable to the public and also helps to overcome the principal-agent problem that typically characterizes the relationship between citizens and their governments. (Pal, S., et al., 2011)

The name of the paper is Media Freedom, Socio-Political Stability and Economic Growth. Using a panel of 138 countries over 1994-2005 the authors of this paper identify a channel through which a media free from government control promotes economic growth and development as deliberate by domestic investment. Enhancing socio-political stability and creates a favorable investment climate leading to higher investment a free media may play active role. In this paper simultaneous equation model was used where investment and socio-political stability are jointly determined. Here various indicators of socio-political stability were taken into account such as ethnic tensions, external and internal conflict, government stability, law and order, military participation in government and religious tensions are used to construct an index of socio-political stability by applying the method of principal components. Socio-political stability may be promoted through media freedom by pursuing the government to act in the interest of the people and socio-political stability provides a favorable business climate which in turn promotes investment. The results support the hypothesis. The paper is divided into the following sections. Section 2 describes the role of free media in

promoting socio-political stability and sheds light on the literature on the link between socio-political stability and economic development. Section 3 presents the empirical model and strategy. Section 4 provides an overview of the variables and data used in the study. Section 5 discusses the estimation results. Section 6 provides an analysis of various robustness checks and section 7 concludes. In this paper data was obtained from various sources. The main variables of interest are domestic investment, socio-political stability and media freedom. This paper shows that free media has a positive correlation with socio-political stability and greater socio-political stability enhances domestic investment. Thus this paper asserts that free media may promote economic development by improving socio-political stability. Several sensitivity tests reinforce the papers hypothesis.

Ahmad, N., Hussain, A., Tariq, M. S. (2014), Electronic Media, A Tool For Public Awareness On political Issues. Management Review Vol. 4, Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and No.2; October. 2014.

Today, News channel has achieved important position within public. News channel gives chance to people to speak openly against corrupt politicians. Now a day, electronic media has become the representative of general public.

This study shows that the awareness level of people and their political participation regarding politics and news channels/talk shows. News, Talk Shows/current affairs are helpful in changing the behavior of the people, political views, political scenario and political development. In the research most of the respondents said that news channels help people to understand political issues and news channels are credible source of

information. Electronic media should be used to create a positive political awareness among the people of the area. The population of the study was all the male and female have education above intermediate, aged 20-40 years and living in D.G.Khan city. The objectives of the research are, how the Electronic media is promoting people to participate in public debates, to investigate the role of news channels creating political awareness among people, to study how much changes Electronic media has been brought in the attitude of the people about the country's political conditions and determine how social electronic media effects on society. The findings of the research was that most of the people said that that electronic media affects political perception about county's political situation to great extent and also percent respondents said news channels increasing political awareness to great extent. So electronic media puts a great impact on people's lives in the present world.

Bhatti, A. A., Ali, H., Hasan, A. (2016), the role of electronic media in political awareness among youth of district Okara in Pakistan. International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research, Volume 7, Issue 3, March-2016 539 ISSN 2229-5518.

The best thing about the media especially electronic media is that it immediately provides us with the latest information about the things happening around us. This study was conducted by (Bhatti, A. A., et al, 2016) in District Okara in Pakistannamed the role of electronic media in political awareness among youth of district Okara in Pakistan. In the study data was collected with the help of a well-designed interview schedule. Collected data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Descriptive statistics, including frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations, were used to summarize different

variables. Data was interpreted with the help of a computer software statistical package for social sciences. In the study it was found that the respondents used electronic media for information (90.8%) and education (28.3%) purpose, while 60.8% of them used 'to a great extent' for entertainment purpose. A huge majority (92.5%) of the respondents reported that the electronic media presents the political awareness. 61.7% of the respondents were watching/listening political talk show and majority of them were agreed that political talk shows provide political knowledge to them. It was found that the PTV is a main TV channel in rural areas. So government should broadcast political awareness programs on this channel.

Riaz Saqib, Effects of New Media on Political Communication. Journal of Political Studies, Vol. 1, Issue 2, 161-173.

Today we are living in the age of democracy and democracy is only possible in the societies where there is freedom of information and discussion. Free media is a pivotal part of the democratic societies. And in democratic society political Communication is one of the most important areas of Journalism and Mass Communication. Political Communication includes the use of media by the governments and political parties to obtain public support whether in the election times or other than the election times. This research was conducted by (Riaz Saqib) on effects of new media technologies on political communication.

This paper mainly elaborates the influence of new media technology on political communication. The new media technology has a great extent of influenced on the political communication in the whole world. The effects are more evident in the developed parts of the world where this technology is easily available. However, it has also influenced the process

of political communication in the developing countries. These countries are now giving more attention to the spread of modern technologies like internet and mobile phones etc. It has been found that the new media technology has changed the political attitudes and behaviors in the countries where it is used frequently. The developing countries can also adopt the same way to bring a positive change in the political attitudes and behaviors of their public. The wide-range availability of the internet in the far-away rural areas of the developing countries including Pakistan is a major challenge in this regard. Once, this challenge is met, there will be a huge positive change in the society. It will promote a culture of tolerance and understanding. This culture of political tolerance will then lead Pakistani society to the path of development, prosperity and political stability.

Media Development Investment Fund,(MDIF). Media Development's Role in Social, Economic, And Political Progress.

More recently, the UN acknowledged the important role of independent media in bringing about good governance, something increasingly demanded by citizens transversely the globe. On the importance of media development in broader social, economic and political progress, the international community governments, development agencies, donors largely views the development of an independent media sector as a secondary objective instead of a matter of critical importance. Consequently international donors allocate less than 1% of international aid budgets to media development. (Media development investment fund) In this study three sectors have been shown three sections addressing three areas where media can have a positive effect on societies:

Governance Impact: Corruption has a negative impact on society, particularly in furthering poverty and income inequality.⁵ Numerous studies show a robust link between a free, strong, and independent press and reduced corruption. A free press exposes private and public sector corruption. It monitors government officials and increases voters' knowledge, allowing voters to hold corrupt politicians accountable during elections, causing politicians to reduce corruption.

Economic Impact: Economic actors need accurate and timely information to allocate resources efficiently. Investors and other groups increasing value and demand a governance-monitoring role from the media. A free and independent press can provide information and monitoring to the economic policy development process leading to more effective economic policies. It can also reduce political risk and increase good governance conditions that are important for robust economic development.

Social Impact: In order for development to be just and sustainable, citizens must productively participate in the decisions that shape their lives. Participation requires an informed citizenry. A free and independent media supply timely and relevant information to citizens allowing them to change their own behavior and to demand higher social standards for society.

This paper also shows that there is a strong link between media development and government openness, especially to the poor, who have numerical strength in a democracy but are often ignored by politicians. A media sector that reaches and gives voice to the vulnerable can create informed citizens that can better keep an eye on the actions of present politicians and use this information in their voting decisions. This paper

suggest that independent media play a significant role in improving governance and reducing corruption, increasing economic efficiency and stability, and creating positive social and environmental change. The media provide information to actors throughout society allowing them to participate in the decisions and debates that shape their lives. The media also play an important monitoring role in a democracy that enables citizens to hold their governments and elected officials accountable—leading to better policies and service implementation. For these reasons and others media development should be viewed as a desirable development outcome that underpins all others.

Irum Shehreen Ali, I. S.(2006). Governance and the Media: Research and Evaluation Division (RED) BRAC.

Current development discourse strongly identifies an independent media as one of the main components of ensuring good governance and strengthening democracy. A free, accountable and vibrant mass media disseminates information, inform the public and policy makers alike, creates space for diverse views regarding socio-economic and political processes, and increases people's scope for democratic participation. In Bangladesh, a country where democracy and state institutions are in their nascence, the mass media's relatively free operation is the prime means of examining governance and demanding accountability from state machineries (Irum Shehreen Ali 2006). In this study both primary and secondary data was used. Secondary literature on the media and primary data collected via in-depth interviews with a diverse range of government officials, journalists, academics, researchers, law makers, NGO representatives, social activists and political actors, this paper examines the role and impact of a diverse range of media outlets on various aspects of governance in Bangladesh. It looks at an interlinked set of issues

encompassing the national media's role as a state watchdog and shaper of public opinion, and how this is enhanced or hindered by its lack of capacity, ownership structure and internal governance. The findings of the research paper is the Bangladeshi media, driven over the past 15 years by the entry of new media outlets into the market, has begun to play effective role by its ever-increasing coverage of governance issues and corruption. It has had an impact on governance in that it has raised public awareness regarding these issues, and has also created a discursive space for their debate and proliferation. The media has been handicapped by its inherently partisan nature, its pervasive internal governance, regulation, capacity and ownership issues as well as by the lack of a permissive legal framework that implements the media's right to information. Despite this, the progressive trend in the media has been commendable and encouraging, opening up the way for greater governance impacts. This research paper also suggests that many researches also need to be done on the current state of regulation of the media sector, and the effect of such regulation or lack thereof.

The African Council for Communication Education ACCE (2011), Mass Media, Political Awareness and Voting Behavior in the Nigeria's 2011 Presidential Election. 20th-22nd September, 2011.

It is an acknowledged fact that the mass media influence how people experience their political life. Media, comprising newspapers, magazines, bill boards, radio, television, film, internet and even the GSM as well as leaflets are important sources of information and education. One of the traditional functions of the mass media is to inform and educate citizenry about all aspects of human endeavour including their political life. (ACCE 2011)This paper was on mass media influenced political

awareness and the voting pattern in the 2011 presidential election in Nigeria. The objectives of the study are to determine the level of political awareness among the Nigerian electorate, verify the extent to which the mass media created awareness about the political process before and during the 2011 presidential election and verify factors responsible for the voting behavior of electorate. Research questions are what is the level of political awareness among the Nigerian electorate? To what extent did the mass media create awareness about the political process before and during the 2011 presidential election? What factors influenced the voting behavior of electorates during the 2011 presidential election?

A survey was carried out in this study and was done through a questionnaire. The study population was residents of Ilorin, Kwara State capital, Nigeria. Where the mass media use has gained ascendancy in creating political awareness among electorate, politicians ceaselessly use it for similar purpose. The findings of the research are that the mass media were inadequate but they played significant role in creating general awareness in the political process. The study recommends that political communication should be a continuous activity rather than a periodic ritual. Also, interpersonal communication should play a complementary role in enlightening and mobilizing the rural communities particularly in preparatory for subsequent elections.

Maura Misiti, Public Awareness and the Role of Media: An Italian Survey on the 6 Billion Day.

A complex relationship exists between the media and public opinion. The relationship between public opinion and the media intuitively seems very simple. It quickly becomes complicated however when we try to

conceptualize it or force it into a rigorous and clear relation.(Maura Misiti). The name of the paper is public awareness and the role of media: an Italian survey on the 6 billion day.

This study has focused on the problems attendant on that relationship in Italy. The field of observation was the relationship between public opinion and demographic information, and how the information is transmitted by the media. This report attempt to answer two questions: how public opinion and demographic information interact? How this information is transmitted by the media? The survey had several purposes: to gain a clearer understanding of what Italian public knows about world demographic trends and what sources uses to build demographic knowledge; to assess the role played by media communication on knowledge and attitudes toward population issues and to analyze the contents on the information supplied by newspapers and TV broadcasts. The first part of the paper concerns the assessment of the impact of the media on knowledge about the event, the analysis of the ways in which people put the information to use, their learning strategies, and the characteristics of the various segments of the population which participated in the survey. A second aim of this work is to know what information is communicated, how the media treat demographic information, the balance given to articles and broadcasts, how deeply questions are probed. In the study three types of analysis techniques were used: correspondence analysis, cluster analysis and analysis of the specificity of forms and phrases of a text according to the frequency with which they occur. And the findings are that media play important role in creating public awareness.

Happer, C., & Philo, G., The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change. Journal of Social and Political Psychology jspp.psychopen.eu | 2195-3325

The media play a central role in informing the public about what happens in the world, particularly in those areas in which audiences do not possess direct knowledge or experience. (Happer, C., & Philo, G.) This article examines the impact the media has in the construction of public belief and attitudes and its relationship to social change. The objectives of the research were to look at the impact of media coverage in areas such as disability, climate change and economic development. In the paper findings across these areas show the way in which the media shape public debate in terms of setting agendas and focusing public interest on particular subjects. For example, in this research work on disability it has been shown the relationship between negative media coverage of people on disability benefit and a hardening of attitudes towards them. Further, the paper found that the media also severely limit the information with which audiences understand these issues and those alternative solutions to political problems are effectively removed from public debate. The research paper also found other evidence of the way in which media coverage can operate to limit understanding of possibilities of social change. In this study of news reporting of climate change, it has been traced the way that the media have constructed uncertainty around the issue and how this has led to disengagement in relation to possible changes in personal behaviors. Finally, in the paper discuss the implications for communications and policy and how both the traditional and new media might help in the development of better informed public debate.

Besley, et al. (2002). Mass Media and Political Accountability. In: The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development. Washington d. C.: World Bank. 45-60.

Mass media can play a key role in enabling citizens to monitor the actions of incumbents and to use this information in their voting decisions. This can lead to government which is more accountable and responsive to its citizens' needs. A free press can also serve as a direct check on the excesses of politicians.(Besley, et al., 2002.). The name of the paper is Mass Media and Political Accountability. In the study first discussed issue was the forces that influence the effectiveness of free and independent media. There are three main routes by which non-captured media can affect political outcomes: sorting, discipline and policy salience were also discussed in the study. The analytical framework of the study has served to identify a number of channels through which mass media can influence policy making. Information provided via the media can be used in voting decisions. This can both increase the salience of particular issues and of selecting politicians which act in the public interest. This paper suggested that a free and independent press working in conjunction with democratic institutions can make governments more responsive to the needs to citizens. This paper also discussed the various chains of influence via which the media can have an important input into the policy process. The central conclusion of the study a free and independent media should not be viewed as a luxury that only rich countries can afford. Instead the analysis of the study suggests that it should be viewed as a requisite and integral part of representative democracy. Finally this paper declared that media is a different industry because of its role as political watchdog. Consumer welfare, defined in terms of the interest of customers (viewers and advertisers), is a limiting

notion in that it does not take into account the effect of the industry on voters' welfare and suggests that future research in the area should re-evaluate existing regulatory regimes in this new light.

Camaj,L. (2014), Media Use and Political Trust in an Emerging Democracy: Setting the Institutional Trust Agenda in Kosovo. International Journal of Communication 8 (2014), 187–209.

The debate about the relationship between democratization and media has long focused on the empowering virtues of the state versus the market, producing some pessimistic observations about the outcome of the media system in all over the world. The relationship between media use and political attitudes is highly dependent on audience characteristics and media characteristics. Citizens' media choices also seem to be important dimensions for citizens in countries undergoing political transitions as they "influence the development of political attitudes and thus have political consequences" (Loveless, 2010, p. 470). This study focuses on the type of media content as a mediator between media use and political trust. (Camaj, L.)This study aims to investigate the role of mass media in democratization processes in Kosovo, a post-conflict transitional society in Southeastern Europe, by examining media effects on citizens' political trust. This study explores how agenda-setting effects on institutional attributes and performance prime citizens' trust in political institutions in a transitional society. Basis on survey and content analysis data, it suggests that the most important dimension of political trust is media priming of institutional efficiency and honesty. Whereas perceptions of economic performance have a significant positive relationship with trust in institutions, perceptions of political performance do not show any significant correlation with political trust.

Khan, T., & Eqbal, S. (2014), Freedom Of The Press In Bangladesh. The International Journal of Social Science. 30th July 2014. Vol.25 No.1.

Media need full freedom for playing effective role in creating political awareness among people. On this issue Tahsin Khan & Sabah Eqbal Kaarisma wrote an article named Freedom of the Press in Bangladesh. This article examines the freedom of the press in Bangladesh. This article at first provides a bird's-eye view of the brief history of the medial laws and regulations. Then it highlights the constitutional provisions relating to freedom of the press and the Printing Presses and Publications Act, 1973 which provides for the operation of printing presses. Also it points out the application of the said Act as well as the mechanism for enforcing it. The article further looks into the interaction among press, government and others. Finally it strives to lay down some guidelines for enhancing the freedom of the press in Bangladesh. (Khan, T., & Eqbal, S.)

Ahmed, A. M., Freedom of the Press and its Constraints: A Study of Press Regulations in Bangladesh. Communication and Culture York University.

The Indian sub-continent state of Bangladesh is just one of a number of developing nations that has yet to come to grips with the concept of liberalism and its co companion a free and open press. Restrictions on press activity in that nation began with the British and the occupation by the East India Company some two centuries ago. Since independence in 1947, there have been waves of freedom for the press and subsequent clamp downs by various regimes under various political stripes. (Ahmed, A. M.). The name of the paper is freedom of the Press and its Constraints:

A Study of Press Regulations in Bangladesh. This paper investigated both the history of the press in that part of Asia and documents the behavior of the authorities toward press activity in Bangladesh. The primary goal of this paper was to focus on the nature and operation of press regulations in Bangladesh. This study is historical and archival in nature and seeks to investigate how these regulations limit media freedom and how they impinge on the media's roles in advancing the interests of democracy. In this regard, this study examines only key press regulations in Bangladesh. This study was based on document analysis in its broader perspective. Archival research on the use of secondary sources, sometimes combined with primary sources in order to examine documents such as ordinances, executive orders, Acts, specific amendments, enactments, press or legal review concerning press regulations was applied. This paper worked on different press rules and regulations. The finding of the paper was that the provisions of these various Acts violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and arguably also violates the Constitution of Bangladesh. It goes far beyond what is expected of a democracy in protecting its vital interests. Some provisions of these Acts are incompatible with democratic values and those provisions in various degrees impinge upon press freedom.

Muhammad Anwar Mirza Jan. Role of Media in Political Socialization: The Case of Pakistan.

Media plays an important role in creating political awareness among the people and ensures their participation in the democratic process.

This Paper builds a framework of political socialization in Pakistan.

This is an exploratory and explanatory type of study and investigates political socialization through media. Media is a salvation of socialization. This study describes the terms political socialization and political communication. Objectives of the research study were to understand the new style of political campaign in media and its effects in formation of political attitude. To know political socialization through media. To enquire media effects on the voting behavior. This study was conducted in district Peshawar, the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. All the 92 union councils (UC) of district Peshawar were sampled systematically for the study. In this cross-sectional survey, it is retained to cover at least the exact number from each Union Council of the district. The analysis of the study was done through both types of statistics (descriptive & inferential). This study has provided a considerable theoretical realization as well as imperative and informative material for all participating sectors in this work. Pakistan among parties within a variety of particular conditions; mainly relate to the central pillars of the public participation in political activities that were initially discussed in the theoretical part of this research. Impartial political programs are the essence of democratic system.

2.2 Conclusion

All the discussed literature show that mass media play important role in political crisis, good governance, democratization process, political socialization, political communication and of course in creating political awareness.

CHAPTER THREE
STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH
METHODOLOGY

STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Methodology is considered as the “heart of research”. The methods and techniques followed in accomplishing the study have been described in this chapter. Rationale for selecting study area, sampling unit, sampling methods, methods of data collection and data processing and analysis techniques are discussed in this chapter.

3.2 Rationale for Selecting Study Area

Khulna is one of the progressive divisions with the area of 22,284.22 km² (8,603.99 sq mi). The division was formed in 1960. Khulna Division consists of ten districts (*zilas*) named: Bagerhat District, Chuadanga District, Jessore District, Jhenaidah District, Khulna District, Kushtia District, Magura District, Meherpur District, Narail District, Satkhira District, subdivided into 59 sub-districts (*upazilas*) and the total population is 15,687,759 (Census, 2011). For the present study, we selected three districts namely Jessore, Jhenaidha and Satkhira. Finally, purposively selected 100 respondents were interviewed from these 3 Districts and media professionals and politicians. They were divided into three categories: the mass people, the media professionals (electronic and print) and the politicians.

Khulna division is selected as the study area due to several reasons. Firstly, a huge number of researches have been conducted on several topics but little research was done relating political awareness and mass media which is important part of citizen’s political life. Secondly, for

mixed socio-economic situation and diversified occupational status, this area is important for studying different political, socio-cultural and economic factors which are directly or indirectly related to the development of life.

3.3 Geographical Location of the Study Area

Figure: 3



Source: www.Google.com

3.4 Sample Design

For getting optimum outcome and explore in depth information in a research work a proper sample design is needed. Sampling unit, sample size, and sampling methods are the three main components of a sample design. Details of these three components under this research are going to be discussed hereunder.

3.4.1 The Sampling Unit

To know about sample unit it is necessary to know about the population and the frame.

The Population: Population is a group of interest to the researcher to which the result of the study will be generalized. The entire pool from which a statistical sample is drawn. In statistical equations, population is usually denoted with a capital 'N', while the sample is usually denoted with a lowercase 'n' (www.investopedia.com). The researcher should determine that the population from which he draws the sample is appropriate for the specific study objective. In the present study total people of Khulna division is our population.

The Frame: This is the actual list of sampling units from which the sample, or some stage of the sample, is selected. It is simply a list of the study population. In statistics, a sampling frame is the source material or device from which a sample is drawn. It is a list of all those within a population who can be sampled, and may include individuals, households or institutions (en.wikipedia.org/frame). Having established the frame; there are a number of ways for organizing it to improve efficiency and

effectiveness. It's at this stage that the researcher should decide whether the sample is in fact to be the whole population and would therefore be a census. Because of there is no convenient representation exists a sampling frame must be constructed by the researcher.

The Sampling Unit: This is that element or set of elements considered for selection in some stage of sampling (same as the elements, in a simple single-stage sample). In a multi-stage sample, the sampling unit could be blocks, households, and individuals within the household (en.wikipedia.org). A sampling unit in a research application is the item that the researcher actually subjects to examine for the purpose of the study. General people, media professionals (electronic and print) and politicians are considered as sampling unit for the present study.

3.4.2 Sampling Technique

Multistage sampling was used to select our desired sample. At first Khulna division was stratified into its ten districts. From there three districts namely Jessore, Jhenaidha and Satkhira were selected randomly. From the selected districts 60 respondents were selected and from media professionals and politicians 40 respondents were selected. The target populations from each selected district and from media professionals and politicians were selected randomly at last stage.

3.4.3 Sample Size:

Due to time and budgetary constraints purposively the study was taken 100 people as sample.

3.4.4 Sample Allocation

The desired 100 sample were allocated equally into five stages. The sample allocation is represented below by a table:

Table.4 Sample Allocation

District	Sample Size
Jessore	20
Jhenaidha	20
Satkhira	20
Media professionals (Electronic and Print)	20
Politicians	20
Total	100

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

A comprehensive questionnaire was used for collecting data. At the time of the survey all respondents were asked about a common question that is media play effective role in creating political awareness. In the research purposively selected 100 respondents were interviewed from the 3Districts and media professionals and politicians. They were divided into three categories the mass people, the media professionals (electronic and print) and the politicians. The number of mass people was 60, 20 media professionals and 20 politicians.

3.6 Data Processing and Analysis

Collected data were analyzed on the basis of following steps: collect data-prepare data for analysis-read through data- code the data for describe to be used in research report.

Validity and accuracy of the answers has been checked after collection of data. For the fulfillment of the study purpose each variable has been coded on the basis of their category. For data analysis computer software Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) was used.

CHAPTER FOUR
MASS MEDIA AND POLITICAL
AWARENESS

MASS MEDIA AND POLITICAL AWARENESS

4.1 Mass Media and Political Awareness

Mass media is an information amplifier. It amplifies the distribution and impact of information leading to better political awareness. Therefore, it is critical to manage 'good' public attitude to ensure that it never leads to misinformation. Social media constitutes the people who are a part of it. Its participants define and communicate its purpose. Social media reflects what the society thinks. It is important to ensure that social media is democratic, transparent and it promotes healthy dialogue & constructive criticism. Therefore, "good" public attitude becomes important. (Mridul Chowdhury and Asif Saleh, 2009)

Mass Media

The national organization of the press and broadcasting (Radio and Television) has been a distinctive feature of these mass media throughout this century.

Mass media dominate the mental life of modern societies, and therefore are of intense interest to sociologists. Early studies by Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld, and others seemed to show that media effects were indeed direct and powerful—the so-called 'hypodermic' model of influence. But more intensive research revealed that mass communications are mediated in complex ways, and that their effects on the audience depend on factors such as class, social context, values, beliefs, emotional state, and even the time of day (Gordon Marshall, 1998).

Mass media means technology that is intended to reach a mass audience. It is the primary means of communication used to reach the vast majority of the general public. The mass media is a diversified collection of media technologies that reach a large audience via mass communication. The technologies through which this communication takes place include a variety of outlets. (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia)

The most common platforms for mass media are newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and the internet. The general public typically relies on the mass media to provide information regarding political issues, social issues, entertainment, and news in pop culture. In the late 20th century, mass media could be classified into eight mass media industries: books, the internet, magazines, movies, newspapers, radio, recordings, and television. (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia)

The mass media are defined as large-scale organizations which use one or more of these technologies to communicate with large numbers of people 'mass communications'. (Gordon Marshall, 1998)

As defined by C. Wright Mills in *The Power Elite* (1956), the mass media have two important sociological characteristics: first, very few people can communicate to a great number; and, second, the audience has no effective way of answering back. Mass communication is by definition a one-way process. Media organizations are bureaucratic and (except in societies where all media are state-controlled) corporate in nature. Media output is regulated by governments everywhere, but the restrictions vary from very light advisory regulation (for example no cigarette advertising or nudity on TV), to the most comprehensive forms of censorship in totalitarian societies. (Gordon Marshall, 1998)

Political Awareness

With the growing talk of the role social media can play in the rise of political awareness and political activism, it is important to know what is political awareness and before that it is important to know what is awareness is.

Awareness is the state or ability to perceive, to feel, or to be conscious of events, objects, or sensory patterns. In this level of consciousness, sense data can be confirmed by an observer without necessarily implying understanding. More broadly, it is the state or quality of being aware of something. In biological psychology, awareness is defined as a human's or an animal's perception and cognitive reaction to a condition or event (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia).

Political Awareness maybe defined as the extent to which the public is aware of the politics prevalent in the society. Politically aware society possesses the following characteristics, “*foundation and contemporary knowledge of politics, access to elite opinion, forum to discuss individual opinion*” (Ankit Sharma, 2012).

There are five levels of political awareness (Alex Hutchinson, 2007). The following are general definitions for the five levels of political awareness.

1. Illiterate – A person who is politically illiterate might know who the President is or perhaps the Governor of their state but that’s usually about it. They don’t watch the news. They have no knowledge of the issues and don’t know the difference between a Republican and a Democrat. This person does not vote.

2. Misinformed – This category is for those who have latched onto an extreme sect, an emotional issue, a movement or a charismatic

personality. They are often dogmatic about their views and prefer partisan rancor because they would lose an objective debate. They often know little if anything about other perspectives. They have a slow growing awareness of officials but are primarily focused on those they dislike. While this person might be passionate and loud about their views, they are also often hypocritical when it comes to the practice of these views. Politics is a character crutch for them. So in turn this person will usually claim to vote but often does not.

3. General – This is probably where most Americans reside. A general awareness is as the name implies. This person knows who some of the government officials are, they know some of the issues and can tell the difference between a Republican and a Democrat. They might be strongly motivated on one or two issues. They might pick their candidates based on personal appeal rather than party affiliation. They lean towards stability, moderation and bipartisan movements. This person votes in almost every general election.

4. Activist – This individual gets involved. Here you have a person with a good grasp of the issues, who can recite the details of sects within each party and has worked on at least one election. This person reads books about politics, keeps up with the daily news and might write articles or a blog with a political hook in it. They have a preference for direct contact and search for an abundance of information wherever possible. They learn how to build coalitions in order to advance their agendas. This person knows who all the candidates are and votes in every election.

5. Expert – This is the flip side of political awareness where-in the individual is the one making the news instead of following it. The expert might work in government, knows all the issues, knows all the candidates

and power players sometimes personally. This person is likely to have worked in many elections. They understand the language of diplomacy and can strategize with institutions and community organizations when necessary. They can, as Jane Dudman of the Guardian newspaper said, “Exhibit sensitivity to different viewpoints and hidden agendas.” This person might appear on the talk shows, they might write political books and their opinions carry weight in the political community. They always vote and do so publicly.

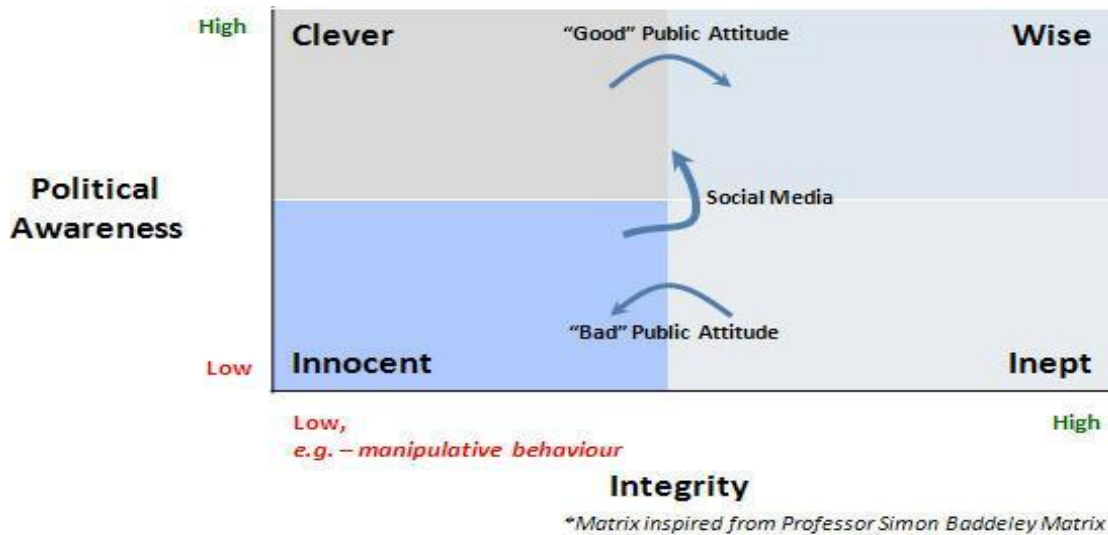
These categories are not meant to demean anyone. Having more or less political awareness does not disqualify the value of an opinion’s importance to the holder. Not everyone will agree on the exact definitions or whether they are fair, but they allow a basis with which you can measure who you are talking to before diving into a potentially disastrous confrontation. However, more and more in our society these conversations are necessary to advance any cause or simply to run a business. In modern day America there is a political component attached to nearly every public transaction. Still, keep in mind that it is always better to stay calm and stick to provable facts when addressing anyone on issues of public importance. Ultimately we are all climbing the ladder towards a better understanding of each other. Knowing where we stand might give us a good place to start.

4.2 Relation between Mass Media and Political Awareness

With the growing talk of the role mass media can play in the rise of political awareness and political activism, there is a matrix proposed by Professor Simon Baddeley from University of Birmingham to develop a model of political behavior using “political awareness and acting with

integrity” as two dimensions to create distinct behavioral categories for the public.

Figure: 4 Model of political behavior using “political awareness and acting with integrity”.



(Ankit Sharma, 2012)

The arrows in the matrix depict that by acting as a source of information social media improves political awareness of the public, whereas, the influence of public attitude depends on its nature. If the public attitude is “good” it will invariably lead to shift of the public towards the quadrants lying in the high integrity half of the quadrant. However, “bad” public attitude leads to a shift towards the quadrants in the low integrity half. (Ankit Sharma, 2012).

Mass media and political awareness is strongly linked as the media’s main role in broadcasting and publishing political news. The political leaders are elected by the people as ruling party of the state works for the

government and their political party also. They have their personal interests too. The other parties also work to protect peoples and their own interest. Media try to collect all types of news and express those to the people whom the politicians are accountable to. People by getting those news understand what's going on in the country beside political parties own views. So mass media aware people about the situations and the motives of the politicians by providing the people news and views.

CHAPTER FIVE
FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The main findings of the study have been presented in this chapter into several sections based on the objective of the study. A total number of 100 respondents of Khulna division and from media professionals (electronic and print) and politicians were interviewed to recognize the role of mass media in increasing political awareness in 2005-2012. Total 100 data have been collected from 3 districts namely Jessore, Jhenaidha, Satkhira and from media professionals and politicians. This part of the study is divided into three sections based on the three categories of respondents: general people, media professionals (electronic and print) and politicians.

5.2.1 Distribution of the Information Collected from General People

Information collected from general people of the three districts named Jessore, Jhenaidha and Satkhira is given below through table and graphical presentation. Also the interpretation of the table and graphical presentation is given here.

5.2.2 Distribution of Existing Political System

Percentage distribution of existing political system in Bangladesh is given below through table 5.

Table 5: Existing political system in Bangladesh

Political System	Percentage
Democracy	86.7
Dictatorship	3.3
Mixed	10.0
Total	100

To assess the basic concept of politics of the general people they were asked a common question that which type of political system exist in Bangladesh?86.7percent of the respondents said that in Bangladesh democratic political system is exist. So it can be said that most of the respondents of the study area are concern about politics.

5.2.3 Distribution of the Sources on Which the Respondents are Mostly Depend on in Getting Political Information

Percentage distribution of the sources in which the respondents are mostly depending on in getting political information is given below through table 6.

Table 6: Sources in which the respondents are mostly depend on

Sources	Percentage
Mass media	98.3
News from other people	1.7
Other sources	0.0
Total	100

Table 6 illustrates that most of the respondents of the study area depend on mass media in getting political information.

5.2.4 Distribution of the Types of Mass Media in Which the Respondents are Mostly Depend on in Getting Political Information

Percentage distribution of the types of mass media in which the respondents are mostly depend on in getting political information is given below through table 7.

Table 7: Types of mass media in which the respondents are mostly depend on.

Mass Media	Percentage
Electronic media	66.7
Print media	11.7
Both	21.7
Total	100

Table 7 illustrates that about 66.7 percent of respondents of the study area depend on electronic media. 11.7 percent depend on print media and 21.7 percent depend on both types of media. So it can be said that in getting political information respondents of the study area are mostly depend on electronic media.

5.2.5 Distribution of the Effectiveness of Electronic and Print Media in Increasing the Political Awareness.

Percentage distribution of the effectiveness of electronic and print media in increasing political awareness is given below through figure 5.

Figure 5: The effectiveness of electronic and print media in increasing political awareness.

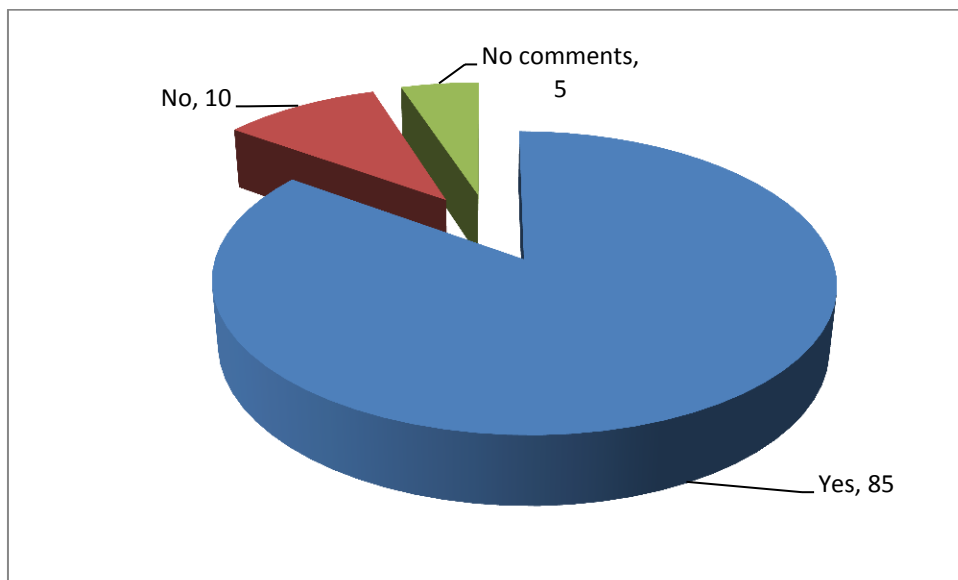


Figure 5 illustrates that 85.0 percent of the respondents said that electronic and print media play effective role in 2005-2012 in increasing political awareness. 10.0 percent said that mass media was not that much effective and 5.0 percent didn't want to comment on the topic. So it can be said that in the time duration media was effective in increasing political awareness.

5.2.6 Distribution of the Newspapers that are Playing Important Role in Increasing the Political Awareness.

Percentage distribution of the newspapers that are playing important role in increasing political awareness is given below through table 8.

Table 8: Names of the newspapers that are playing important role in increasing political awareness.

Newspaper	Percentage
Alokito Bangladesh, Bangladesh Protidin	1.7
Alokito Bangladesh, Bangladesh Protidin.	1.7
Alokito Bangladesh, Bangladesh Protidin.	1.7
AmaderSomoy, NayaDiganto, ProthomAlo.	1.7
Amar Desh, ProthomAlo.	1.7
BD Protidin, Janakantho.	1.7
BD Protidin, AmaderSomoy.	1.7
BD Protidin, Janakantho.	1.7
BD Protidin, ProthomAlo, Ittefaq.	1.7
BD Protidin, Songbad, Ittefaq.	1.7
Daily ProthomAlo, Ittefaq, Somokal.	1.7
Daily Songbad, Daily ProthomAlo	1.7
Ittefaq.	1.7
ProthomAlo, AmaderSomoy, BD Protidin.	1.7
ProthomAlo, AmaderSomoy, Songbad.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Amar Desh, KalerKontho.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Bangladesh Pratidin.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Bangladesh Protidin, Sangbad	1.7
ProthomAlo, BD Protidin, VorerKagoj.	1.7
ProthomAlo, BD Protidin.	6.7
ProthomAlo, Daily Songbad, Somokal, KalerKantho.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Daily Star, Ittefaq.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Ittefaq, BD Protidin.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Ittefaq, KalerKontho, BD Protidin.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Ittefaq, KalerKontho, NayaDiganta, BD Protidin.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Ittefaq, NayaDiganta, Songram.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Ittefaq, NayaDiganta.	1.7

ProthomAlo, Ittefaq, New Age.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Ittefaq.	3.3
ProthomAlo, Jugantor, Daily Star.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Jugantor, Ittefaq.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Jugantor, KalerKontho, NayaDiganta	1.7
ProthomAlo, Jugantor.	5.0
ProthomAlo, KalerKontho.	3.3
ProthomAlo, ManobJamin, Jugantor.	1.7
ProthomAlo, ManobJamin.	1.7
ProthomAlo, NayaDiganta, BD Protidin. AmaderSomoy.	1.7
ProthomAlo, NayaDiganta, Somokal, Jay Jay Din.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Somokal, Ittefaq, Janakantho, Jugantor.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Songbad, Daily Star, Ittefaq.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Songbad, NayaDiganta, BD Protidin, KalerKontho.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Songbad, NayaDiganta, KalerKontho,BDProtidin.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Songbad, Somokal, KalerKontho.	1.7
ProthomAlo, Songbad.	5.0
ProthomAlo.	5.0
Somokal, Amar Desh.	1.7
Somokal, ProthomAlo.	1.7
No Idea	3.3
Total	100.0

During the time of interview when the question asked to the respondents that among the published newspapers which were playing important role in 2005-2012 in political issues. Through the interview it has become known that among all the newspapers The Daily Prothom Alo and Bangladesh Protidin were did their job well in political issues.

5.2.7 Distribution of the TV Channels that are Playing Important Role in Increasing the Political Awareness.

Percentage distribution of the TV channels that are playing important role in increasing political awareness is given below through table 9.

Table 9: Name of the TV channels that are playing important role in increasing political awareness.

TV Channels	Percentage
Mohona, ATN.	1.7
71, Chaneel I, Ekushe.	1.7
71, Channel I, Ekushe TV	1.7
71, Channel I, Ekushe.	1.7
71, NTV, ATN News.	1.7
71, Somoy, Channel 24, 24 Hours News.	1.7
71	1.7
ATN Bangla, Channel I, 71, Independent.	1.7
ATN News, Independent, Somoy, 71	1.7
ATN News, News 24.	1.7
ATN News, NTV, Channel I.	1.7
ATN, Channel I, 71	1.7
ATN, Channel I, NTV, Ekushe, Banglavisision, Somoy.	1.7
ATN, NTV, RTV, Channel I	1.7
ATN, NTV, RTV, Channel I.	1.7
ATN, NTV, RTV.	1.7
ATN, NTV, Somoy.	1.7
Channel 24, Independent, BBC, Somoy, ATN	1.7
Channel 71, Independent, Somoy TV, ATN	1.7
Bangla	
Channel 71, NTV	1.7
Channel I, ATN Bangla, 71.	1.7
Channel I, ATN News.	1.7
Channel I, My TV, RTV, Maasranga.	1.7
Channel I, NTV	1.7
Channel I, NTV, ATN News, ATN TV.	1.7

Channel I, NTV, Bangla Vision, Maasranga.	1.7
Channel I, RTV, Somoy.	1.7
Channel I, Somoy, 71, NTV, Independent.	1.7
Channel I, Somoy, ATN.	1.7
Channel I, Somoy, NTV, RTV.	1.7
Channel I, Independent, 71, Channel 24, RTV, NTV	1.7
Ekushe TV.	1.7
ETV, Channel I, NTV.	1.7
Independent, Desh TV, Ekushe, Channel I, ATN News.	1.7
Independent, Somoy, 71, Channel I, NTV.	1.7
ITV, My TV, Somoy TV	1.7
ITV, NTV.	1.7
Maasranga, NTV, BTV.	1.7
Masranga, My TV, Somoy	1.7
My TV, NTV, SA TV.	1.7
News 24, Independent.	1.7
NTV, ATN Bangla, Channel I, Somoy, Jamuna.	1.7
NTV, Channel I, Somoy TV	1.7
NTV, Channel I, Somoy TV, 71, Independent	1.7
NTV, Channel I.	1.7
NTV, RTV, Channel I.	1.7
Somoy TV, NTV, Channel I.	1.7
Somoy, 71, ATN News, Channel I, Gazi TV.	1.7
Somoy, 71, ATN.	1.7
Somoy, Channel I, Masranga, Ekushe.	1.7
Somoy, Maasranga.	1.7
Somoy, RTV.	1.7
No Idea	13.3
Total	100.0

During the time of interview when the question asked to the respondents that among the TV channels which were playing important role in 2005-2012 in political issues? According to the answer of the respondents it

can be said Independent, Somoy and Maasranga TV channel are mostly viewed by the people of the study area and people of the study area mostly depend on this channels in getting political news among all the TV channels of electronic media.

5.2.8 Distribution of the Mass Media’s Role in the Election Of 2008.

Percentage distribution of the mass media’s role in the election of 2008 given below through table 10.

Table 10: Mass media’s role in the election of 2008

Media’s Role	Percentage
Yes	17.7
No	42.3
No Comments	30.0
No Idea	10.0
Total	100

One of the most important events in the time between 2005 to 2012 is the election of 2008. During the interview the respondents were asked a question that was the mass media play effective role in the time of 2008’s National Election. The motive behind the question was to measure are the people concern about politics and to measure the media’s role. 17.7% of the respondents said media played the effective role, 42.3% said media could not play effective role, 30.0% people didn’t want to comment on this topic and 10.0% have no idea about the election.

5.2.9 Distribution of Things that Affect Mass Media's Role in the Election of 2008.

Percentage distribution of things that affect mass media's role in the election of 2008 is given below through table 11.

Table 11: Things that affect mass media's role in the election of 2008.

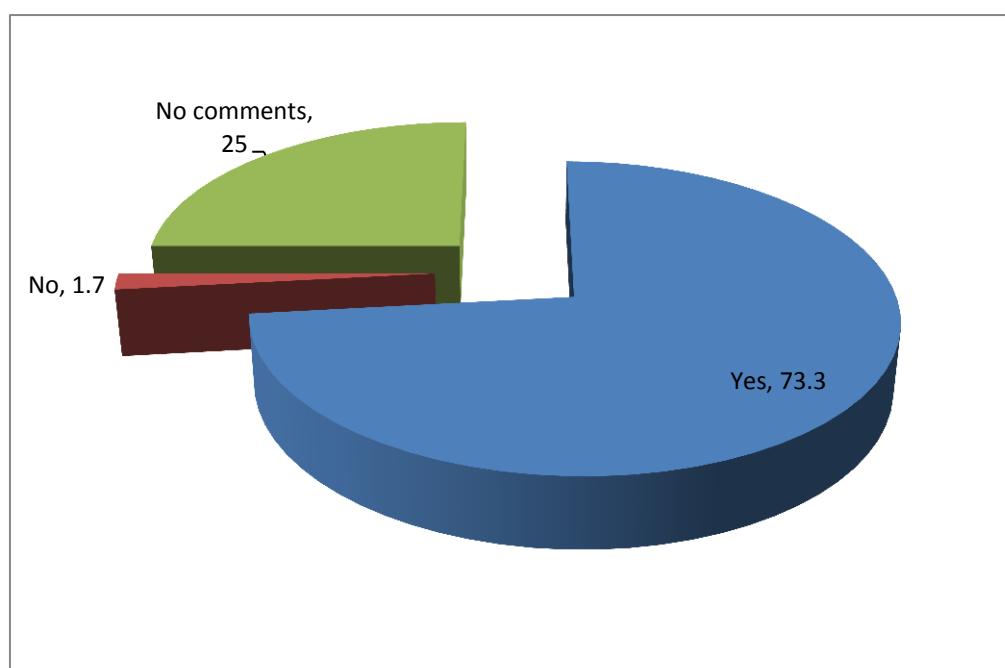
Things That Affect Mass Media's Role	Percentage
Govt. Control	38.3
Lack of Real Information	20.0
Lack of Fair Election	31.7
No Idea	10.0
Total	100

To know the influence on media which create obstacle in publishing or broadcasting real information in the time of 2008's national election a question was asked during the interview that which thing affect the media in doing their duties properly in that time. 38.3% respondents said due to government control media didn't do their duty during the time of 2008's election. 20.0% said lack of real information was the obstacle in the way to the media's role and 31.7% said that lack of fair election environment was the reason behind the media's role. So it can be said that due to the control of Bangladesh government and lack of fair election environment media didn't play their role properly.

5.2.10 Distribution of the Control of Government over Media.

Percentage distribution of the control of Government on media is given below through figure 6.

Figure 6: The control of Government on media.



To measure the public opinion about the relation between government and mass media a general question was asked during the interview that is the media is controlled by the government of Bangladesh? Answering the question 73.3% said yes, 1.7% said there is no control and 25.0% didn't want to comment on this topic. So it can be said that the mass media controlled by the Bangladesh government.

5.2.11 Distribution of Whether the Government Control over Media Create any Obstacle in Getting Real Information of Mass People.

Percentage distribution of whether the government control over media creates any obstacle in getting real information of mass people is given below through table 12.

Table 12: Whether the government's control over media creates any obstacle in getting real information of the mass people.

Obstacles	Percentage
Yes	66.7
No	1.7
No Comments	25.0
No Idea	6.7
Total	100

Table 12 Illustrates that 66.7% of the respondents think that government control over media create obstacle in getting real information. Only 1.7% thinks that the control of government creates no obstacle.

5.2.12 Distribution of Media's Role as a Bridge between Mass People and the Politicians.

Percentage distribution of media's role as a bridge between mass people and politicians is given below through table 13.

Table 13: Media’s role as a bridge between mass people and politicians.

As A Bridge	Percentage
Yes	31.7
No	33.3
No Comments	33.3
No Idea	1.7
Total	100

To measure the media’s role as a bridge between mass people and politicians, a general question was asked that, is the media perform as a bridge between the general people and politicians? 31.7% of the respondents said yes the media play effective role as a bridge between the general people and politicians and 33.3% said no. So it can be said that media’s performance as a linking thing between mass people and politicians is not so good.

5.3.1 Distribution of the Information Collected from Media Professionals

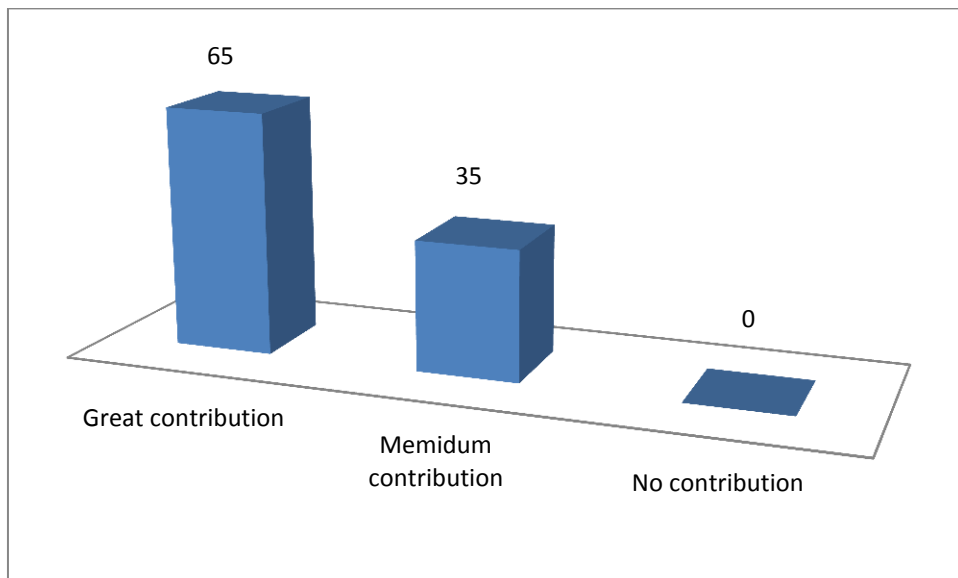
Information collected from media professionals is given below through table and graphical presentation. Also the interpretation of the table and graphical presentation is given here.

5.3.2 All the 20 respondents were asked a question how long they worked in the media. The average working time of the respondents get from the analysis is 8 years.

5.3.3 Distribution of Media's Role in Increasing Political Awareness by Providing Right Information.

Percentage distribution of media's role in increasing political awareness by providing right information is given below through figure 7.

Figure 7: Media's role in increasing political awareness by providing right information.



To assess the contribution of media a question was asked to the respondents that what type of role media play in increasing the political awareness by providing right political information 65.0% of the respondents said that media has a great contribution in increasing the political awareness. 35.0% said that media's role is medium in this connection. So it can be said that media has great contribution in increasing the political awareness by providing right political information.

5.3.4 Distribution of the Relation Exists between Bangladesh Government and Mass Media.

Percentage distribution of the relation exists between Bangladesh government and mass media is given below through table no 14.

Table 14: Type of relation exists between Bangladesh government and mass media.

Relations	Percentage
Helpful	35.0
Contradictory	15.0
Neutral	5.0
Controlled	45.0
Total	100

Table no.14 illustrates that 35.0% of the respondents think that relation between Bangladesh government and mass media is helpful. 15.0% said that the relation is contradictory. 5.0% think that media and the government are neutral in their own position. 45.0% said that the government of Bangladesh is controlling the mass media. So it can be said that the government of Bangladesh is controlling the mass media.

5.3.5 Distribution of the Controlling Level of Government over Media.

Percentage distribution of the controlling level of government over media is given below through table no15.

Table 15: The controlling level of government over media

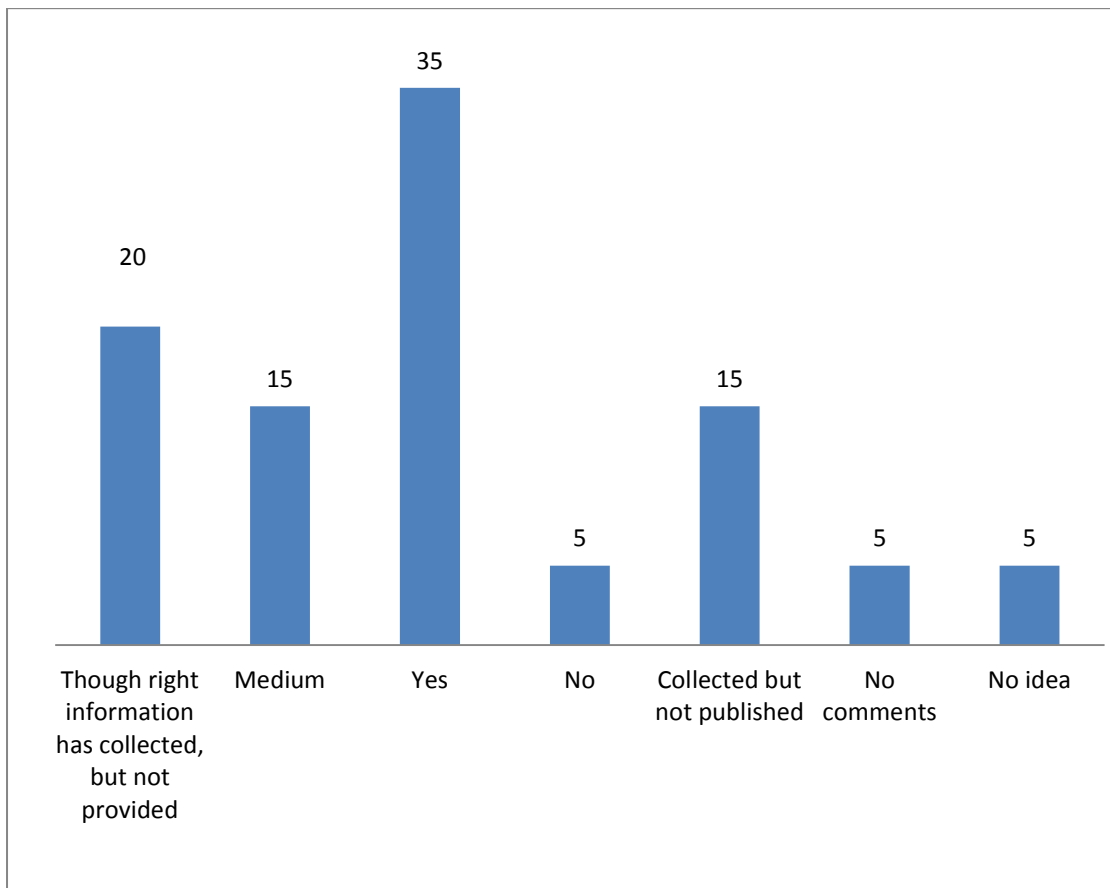
Controlling Level	Percentage
Vast	25.0
Medium	50.0
Little	15.0
No Control	10.0
Total	100

To know whether the media is controlled by the government or not a question was asked to the respondents that if the government of Bangladesh controlled the mass media then what the controlling level is. 25.0% of the respondents said that government is controlling media vastly. 50.0% said that the control is in medium level and only 10.0% said that the controlling is little. So it can be said that, the mass media is partly controlled by the government.

5.3.6 Distribution of the Role of Media in the Election of 2008

Percentage distribution of the role of media in the election of 2008 is given below through figure 8.

Figure 8: The role of media in the election of 2008



To know media's role and to measure how much it is independent in publishing and broadcasting real news a question was asked to the respondents that was the media able to collect and provide the real information during the period of 2008's election?

In response to the question 35.0% of the respondents said that media was able to collect and provide the real information, 35.0% respondents said that though media was collect the real information but could not able to provide it, 15.0% respondents said that media's role was not so satisfactory it was in medium level and 5.0% respondents said that, media was totally failed to collect and provide the real information. So it can be

said that media was successfully able to collect the real information but could not provide it.

5.3.7 Distribution of the Mass Media on Which Rural People Mostly Dependent on.

Percentage distribution of the mass media on which rural people mostly depend on is given below through table 16.

Table 16: The mass media on which rural people mostly depend on in the study area.

Mass Media	Percentage
Electronic Media	55.0
Printed Media	30.0
Both Media	15.0
Total	100.0

Table 16 illustrates that 55.0% of the respondents depend on electronic media, 30.0% of respondents depend on printed media and 15.0% people depend on both type of media. So it can be said that people of the rural area mostly depend on electronic media.

5.4.1 Distribution of the Information Collected from Politicians

Information collected from politicians given below through table and graphical presentation. Also the interpretation of the table and graphical presentation is given here.

5.4.2 All the 20 respondents were asked a question from which year they are politically active. The average duration of the political life of the respondents is 10 years.

5.4.3 All the 20 respondents were asked why they engaged in politics. Most of the politicians said that they engaged in politics for the welfare of the country and people.

5.4.4 Distribution of the Sources on Which Politicians are Depended on Getting Political Information

Percentage distribution of the sources on which politicians are depending on getting political information is given below through table 17.

Table 17: The sources on which politicians are depend on getting political information.

Sources	Percentage
Mass Media	30.0
Mass Media and Internet	5.0
Mass Media, Internet and Other Politicians.	65.0
Total	100.0

Table 17 illustrates that 30% of the respondents depend on mass media. 5% depend on mass media and internet and 65% depend on mass Media, internet and other politicians. So it can be said that most of the politician depend on mass media, and also on internet and other politician in getting political news.

5.4.5 Distribution of the Role of Media in Increasing Political Awareness in Participatory Politics.

Percentage distribution of the role of media in increasing political awareness in participatory politics is given below through table 18.

Table 18: The role of media in increasing political awareness in participatory politics

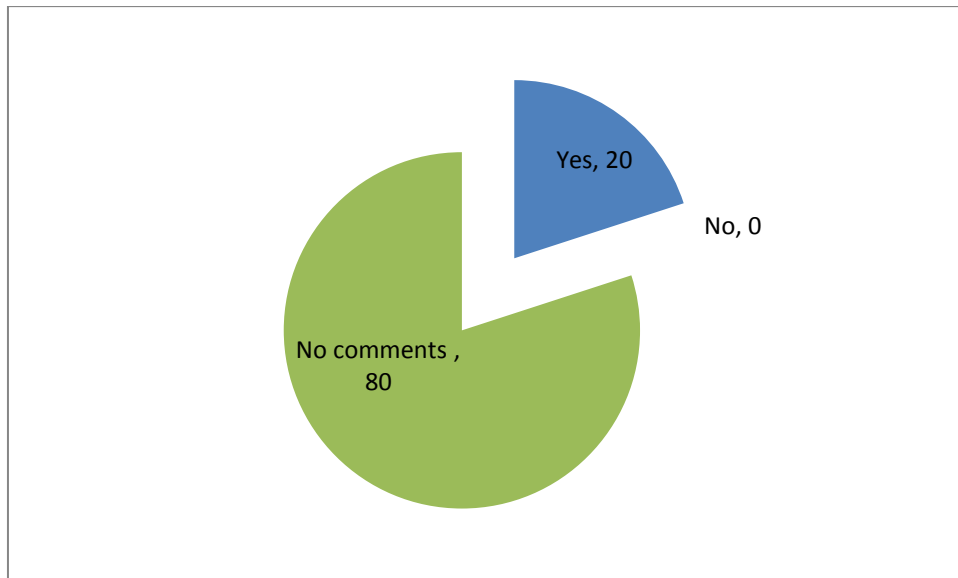
The Role of Media	Percentage
Yes	100
No	0.0
No Comments	0.0
Total	100

Table 18 illustrates that all the respondent (100%) the politician think that mass media play important role in increasing political awareness in participatory political system.

5.4.6 Distribution of the Political Control over Media.

Percentage distribution of the political control on media is given below through figure 9.

Figure 9: Political control over media.



During the time of survey the respondents were asked is the political system of Bangladesh controlling the mass media. 20% of the respondents said yes and 80% didn't want to comment on the topic. So it can be said that there is political control on mass media in Bangladesh.

5.4.7 Distribution of Political Control that affects the Information Flow to the People

Percentage distribution of political control that affects the information flow to the people is given below through figure 10

Figure 10: Political control that affects the information flow to the people

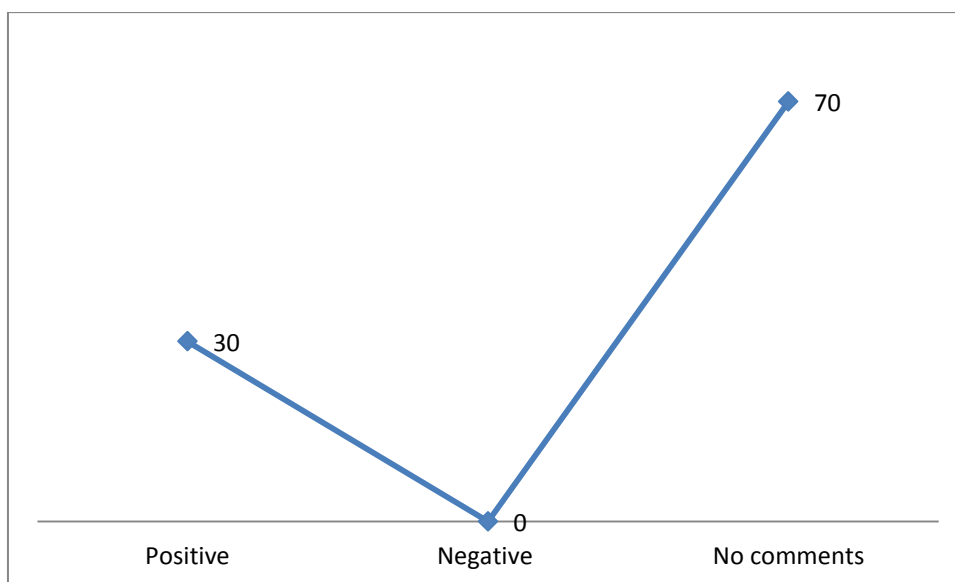


Figure 10 illustrate that 30% politician think that political control over media positively affect the news flow of the mass media and 70% didn't want to comment on the topic.

5.4.8 Percentage Distribution of Necessity of Media Freedom

Percentage distribution of necessity of media freedom is given

Below through table 19

Table 19: Necessity of media freedom

Necessity of Media Freedom	Percentage
Yes	95.0
No Idea	5.0
Total	100

Table 19 illustrates that 95% politician said that mass media need more freedom to perform properly in increasing political awareness. So it can be said that mass media are not enjoying full freedom in Bangladesh.

5.4.9 Distribution of the Role of Media in Developing Political Leadership

Percentage distribution of media's role in developing political leadership is given below table 20.

Table 20: The role of media in developing political leadership

The Role of Media	Percentage
Yes	95.0
No Comments	5.0
Total	100

Table 20 illustrates that 95% respondent think that media play effective role in developing political leadership.

There are three research questions in the study

One of the research questions is how mass media influences political behavior of general people?

Depending on the answer of the three categories' respondents firstly it can be said that mass media is the most important source on which most of the respondents of the study area depend on in getting political information.

85.0 percent of the respondents (general people) said that electronic and print media play effective role in 2005-2012 in increasing political awareness.

To assess the contribution of media a question was asked to the respondents (media professional) that what type of role media play in

increasing the political awareness by providing right political information. 65.0% of the respondents said that media has a great contribution in increasing the political awareness. 35.0% said that media's role is medium in this connection. So it can be said that media has great contribution in increasing the political awareness by providing right political information.

So it can be said media play important role in increasing political awareness.

To measure the media's role as a bridge between mass people and politicians, a general question was asked that, is the media perform as a bridge between the general people and politicians? 31.7% of the respondents said yes the media play effective role as a bridge between the general people and politicians and 33.3% said no.

The result shows that media's performance as a linking thing between mass people and politicians is not so good.

95% respondents think that media play effective role in developing political leadership.

During the time of survey the respondents (the politicians) were asked is the political system of Bangladesh controlling the mass media. 20% of the respondents said yes and 80% didn't want to comment on the topic. So it can be said that there is political control on mass media in Bangladesh.

So it can be said that a positive association exists between the mass media and general people of the country. Mass media is the most important source on which most of the people depend on in getting political

information and also it play important role in increasing political awareness.

Another question is the government of Bangladesh controlling the mass media?

Answering the question 73.3% said yes, 1.7% said there is no control and 25.0% didn't want to comment on this topic. So it can be said that the mass media controlled by the Bangladesh government.

35.0% of the respondents (media professionals) think that relation between Bangladesh government and mass media is helpful. 15.0% said that the relation is contradictory. 5.0% think that media and the government are neutral in their own position. 45.0% said that the government of Bangladesh is controlling the mass media. So it can be said that the government of Bangladesh is controlling the mass media.

The last question is the freedom of mass media is exist in expressing the real political condition of the country?

73.3% general people said that mass media controlled by the Bangladesh government. 45.0% media professionals said that the government of Bangladesh is controlling the mass media.

20% of the political said that the political system of Bangladesh controlling the mass media.

To know the influences on media which create obstacle in publish or broadcast real information in the time of 2008's National Election a question was asked (to general people) during the interview that which thing affect the media in doing their duties properly in that time.38.3%

respondents said due to government control media didn't do their duty during the time of 2008's election.

To know media's role and to measure how much it is independent in publishing and broadcasting real news a question was asked to the respondents (media professionals) that was the media able to collect and provide the real information during the period of 2008's election?

In response to the question 35.0% respondents said that, media was able to collect and provide the real information, 35.0% respondents said that, though media was collect the real information but could not able to provide it, 15.0% respondents said that media's role was not so satisfactory it was in medium level and 5.0% respondents said that, media was totally failed to collect and provide the real information. So it can be said that, media was successfully able to collect the real information but could not provide it.

95% respondents think that media play effective role in developing political leadership.

So it can be said that in Bangladesh proper freedom of mass media is not exist in expressing the real political condition of the country.

CHAPTER SIX
RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Recommendations

The findings show that mass media plays a powerful and influential role in creating political awareness among mass people of the study area but control of government and political influence sometimes create obstacle to do their properly. The result of this paper suggests that independent media play important role in democracy, good governance overall connecting people to the political system. Various initiatives which have contributed to creating an enabling environment that allows the media to be an effective agent for deepening democracy and make people aware of politics they are given below:

Enhancing the Freedom of Media: Media freedom is valued in democracy because of the inherent value it has in safeguarding democracy and acting as a bridge between politics and mass people.

In those countries where the mass media does not enjoy freedom, its role during a political crisis is not even worth mentioning. There is an intricate link between democracy and freedom of media. Although the Constitution of Bangladesh provides freedom of expression subject to reasonable restrictions, the press is constrained by national security legislation as well as sedition and criminal libel laws. As the media plays a very positive and constructive role in democracy and building public opinion so freedom of media is the crucial need for mass people and for the country.

Media Right Should Be Protected: The media provide information to actors throughout society allowing them to participate in the decisions

and debates that shape their lives. The media also play an important monitoring role in a democracy that enables citizens to hold their governments and elected officials accountable leading to better policies and service implementation. For these reasons media development should be viewed as a desirable development outcome that underpins all others. The media can make full use of their potential to contribute to the consolidation of democracy if their rights are protected.

Enhancing Media Accountability: The credibility of media as a democratic institution is enhanced if they are accountable to the public, acknowledge their mistakes and ensure that ethical and professional standards are upheld. In many countries, press and broadcast councils composed of media representatives have taken the lead in enforcing ethical standards and codes of conduct. These councils mediate between the public and the media. Some hear grievances against erring news organizations and impose sanctions. And also a Journalists Association can issued warnings to journalists about possible ethical lapses, including receiving gifts from sources. If these things will become possible in Bangladesh media will perform better than now in creating political awareness. Overall, independent efforts to watch the watchdog have contributed to the media being more responsive to public sensitivities and to be more vigilant against lapses in professional conduct.

Building Media Capacity: In nearly Bangladesh has undergone through democratic transition, it is widely acknowledged that a major factor that hobbles media development is the lack of skills. Newspapers and broadcast stations liberated from the constraints imposed by dictatorship find that reporting on a democracy requires new skills and fresh talent.

Freedom alone does not suffice. Journalists have to be weaned away from reliance on press releases, press conferences and information ministries. They must learn how to write with depth and insight and also be adept in variety of fields and it will help the people to get right information and be politically concern.

Democratizing Access: The media can be effective only if they are accessible to a wide part of the population. If not, they only aggravate the marginalization of social sectors that have access neither to the media nor to the centers of wealth and power. Efforts to democratize access in Bangladesh include subsidizing community and local media, especially in poor and remote areas or in places where groups, such as indigenous peoples, have traditionally been at the margins of social life. Making the media available to a broad segment of society helps redress long-standing social inequities and gives representation and voice to citizens so they can participate more meaningfully in public life.

Overall governments proper step will help the mass media increasing the political awareness of the people.

Reaching To Rural People: Mass media's voice should reach to rural people or to the people of rural areas. It was observed through the survey that main stream print media failed to reach rural people. Peoples of those areas mainly depend on electronic media. But in many rural areas of the country is still away from getting electrical power connections, so people living there can't use TV sets to get news. If people don't get news from direct source they are pushed to more darkness by biased news or fake news. So government and main stream mass media should take initiatives to reach the rural people.

Developing Relations with Politicians and People: People are the owner of the democratic state. Politicians are the group of people who comes forward to speak for the people and run the government. People choose the politicians to lead them by elections. Politicians are meant to serve the citizens. They rule the country according to law. They hold power so they may be corrupted. Here comes the role of mass media. They act as a bridge between politicians and people to serve news to people. So, they should keep a healthy and lawful ethical relation with the politicians and the people.

Further Research

Policy implications are suggested to be followed by policy makers as well as social workers. There is more scope to further research on the role of mass media in increasing political awareness. In Bangladesh still mass media cannot perform their duties properly due to government control, political pressure, and weak professional environment lack of accountability and so on. These issues are getting vitality for more and more academic or non-academic research.

6.2 Conclusion

Post-independence regimes at each stage of the political evolution of Bangladesh, kept most of the press regulations, including British colonial legislations for controlling the press, to serve their vested interests. The historical review presented here strongly supports my argument that an independent press is a prerequisite for the development of democratic institutions. However, it is arguable that an independent press is difficult to achieve in an atmosphere of strong ideological disagreement (Ahmed, A.M). In these circumstances proper role of media in increasing political awareness is difficult.

General people, media professionals (electronic and print) and politicians were considered as sampling unit for the present study.

General People

Most of the respondents 98.3% of the study area depend on mass media in getting political information.

For the research work from mass media electronic and print media was selected in the study area 66.7 percent respondents depend on electronic media. 11.7 percent depend on print media and 21.7 percent depend on both types of media. So it can be said that in getting political information respondents of the study area are mostly depend on electronic media.

According to the answer of the respondents it can be said that The Daily Prothom Alo and Bangladesh Protidin did their job well in political issues among all the newspaper of print media.

According to the answer of the respondents it can be said Independent, Somoy and Maasranga TV channel are mostly viewed by the people of

the study area and people of the study area mostly depend on this channel in getting political news among all the TV channels of electronic media.

85.0 percent of the respondents said that electronic and print media play effective role in 2005-2012 in increasing political awareness.

One of the most important events in the time between 2005 to 2012 is the parliament election of 2008. During the interview the respondents were asked a question that was the mass media play effective role in the time of 2008's National Election. The motive behind the question was to measure the people's concern about politics and to measure the media role. 17.7% of the respondents said media played an effective role, 42.3% said media could not play effective role, 30.0% people didn't want to comment on this topic and 10.0% have no idea about the election. Depending on the answer of the respondents it can be said that media's role was not satisfactory. 38.3% respondents said due to government control media didn't do their duty during the time of 2008's election. 20.0% said lack of real information was the obstacle in the way to the media role and 31.7% said that lack of fair election environment was the reason behind the media's role.

To measure the public opinion about the relation between government and mass media a general question was asked during the interview that is the media controlled by the government of Bangladesh. Answering the question 73.3% said yes, 1.7% said there is no control and 25.0% didn't want to comment on this topic. So it can be said that the mass media controlled by the Bangladesh government.

To measure the media's role as a bridge between mass people and politicians a general question was asked that is the media perform as a bridge between the general people and politicians? 31.7% of the

respondents said yes the media play effective role as a bridge between the general people and politicians and 33.3% said no. So it can be said that media's performance as a linking thing between mass people and politicians is not so good.

Media Professionals

To assess the contribution of media a question was asked to the respondents that "what type of role media play in increasing the political awareness by providing right political information?" 65.0% of the respondents said that media has a great contribution in increasing the political awareness. 35.0% said that media role is medium in this connection. So it can be said that media has great contribution in increasing the political awareness by providing right political information.

35.0% of the respondents think that relation between Bangladesh government and mass media is helpful. 15.0% said that the relation is contradictory. 5.0% think that media and the government is neutral in their own position. 45.0% said that the government of Bangladesh is controlling the mass media. So it can be said that the government of Bangladesh is controlling the mass media.

25.0% of the respondents said that government is controlling media vastly. 50.0% said that the control is in medium level and only 10.0% said that the controlling level is little. So it can be said that, the mass media is partly controlled by the government.

To know media's role and to measure how much it is independent in publishing and broadcasting real news a question was asked to the respondents that "was the media able to collect and provide the real information during the period of 2008's election?"

In response to the question 35.0% of the respondents said that, media was able to collect and provide the real information, 35.0% respondents said that, though media was collect the real information but could not able to provide it, 15.0% respondents said that media's role was not so satisfactory it was in medium level and 5.0% of the respondents said that, media was totally failed to collect and provide the real information. So it can be said that, media was successfully able to collect the real information but could not provide it. And according to the media professionals people of the rural area mostly depend on electronic media.

The Politicians

In getting political news 30% of the respondents depend on mass media. 5% depend on mass media and internet and 65% depend on mass Media, internet and other politicians. So it can be said that most of the politician depend on mass media, and also on internet and other politician in getting political news.

Among all the respondents (100%) of the politician think that mass media play important role in increasing political awareness in participatory political system.

During the time of survey the respondents were asked "is the political system of Bangladesh controlling the mass media?" 20% of the respondents said yes and 80% didn't want to comment on the topic. So it can be said that there is political control on mass media in Bangladesh.

30% politicians think that political control over media positively affects the news flow of the mass media and 70% didn't want to comment on the topic

95% politicians said that mass media need more freedom to perform properly in increasing political awareness. So it can be said that mass media are not enjoying full freedom in Bangladesh.

Depending on the result of the thesis it can be said that the most of the respondents (98.3%) of the study area mostly depend on mass media in getting political news or information: Among print media they think The Daily Prothom Alo, Bangladesh Protidin and among electronic media Independent, Somoy and Maasranga TV channel did their duty properly during the period of 2005-2012 and help them to be politically concern.

85% mass people of the study area think that in that time mass media play effective role in increasing the political awareness. The election of 2008 was the most important political event in the period of 2005-2012, general people think that due to control of government mass media didn't do their duty properly also media professional think that due to this reason they couldn't publish or broadcast the real election news though they were able to collect it. So, it is evident that in Bangladesh the government is controlling the mass media. Also media professionals think that the relation between mass media and Bangladesh government is controlled by the government and they think the control of the government of Bangladesh is in medium level. So, it can be said that, the mass media is partly controlled by the government of Bangladesh which several time create obstacle in the path of mass media in increasing the political awareness. Also politician said that, there is political control over the mass media. Thus, we conclude with the argument that with the entire obstacle in that circumstance media carry out immense responsibility in increasing the political awareness of the people in the study area. But the media's role would be better if it was free from various control and influences.

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APPENDIX
Interview Schedule for a Survey
on
The Role of Mass Media in Increasing the Political
Awareness:
A Study in Khulna Division (2005-2012)

রাজনৈতিক সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধিতে গণমাধ্যমের ভূমিকা সংক্রান্ত গবেষণার তথ্য সংগ্রহের প্রশ্নমালা :

<p>পরিচয় ও সম্মতিপত্র</p> <p>আসসালামুআলাইকুম। আমি ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগের একজন ছাত্রী জাহান-ই-গুলশান। আমার এম.ফিল থিসিসের জন্য গবেষণা করা আবশ্যিক। আমার গবেষণা তত্ত্বাবধায়ক (শিক্ষক)-এর পরামর্শ নিয়ে আমি গবেষণা কর্ম করছি।</p> <p>এ গবেষণা কর্মে আপনি যদি অংশ নেন তবে আমি অত্যন্ত উপকৃত ও খুশী হবো।</p> <p>এ গবেষণাধর্মী সাক্ষাৎকারে অংশ নেয়া সম্পূর্ণ স্বেচ্ছামূলক এবং আপনি চাইলে কোন কোন প্রশ্নের, এমনকি সব প্রশ্নের উত্তর না দেয়ার ইচ্ছা পোষণ করতে পারেন। তবে আশা করবো আপনি এ সাক্ষাৎকারে অংশ নেবেন কারণ আপনার মতামত অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। আমি এটা নিশ্চিত করতে চাই যে, আপনার দেয়া তথ্য পুরোপুরি গোপন রাখা হবে এবং কোন তথ্যই আপনার জন্য প্রত্যক্ষ বা পরোক্ষভাবে ক্ষতিকর হবেনা।</p> <p>আমি কি এখন সাক্ষাৎকারপর্বটি শুরু করতে পারি ?</p>	
<p>সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণকারীর স্বাক্ষর :</p> <p>উত্তরদাতা সাক্ষাৎকার প্রদানে সম্মত হয়েছেন</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করণ</p>	<p>তারিখ :</p> <p>উত্তরদাতা সাক্ষাৎকার প্রদানে অসম্মত হয়েছেন.....</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>সাক্ষাৎকার শেষ করণ</p>
<p>উত্তরদাতার পরিচিতি :</p>	
<p>নাম :</p>	<p>শিক্ষা :</p>
<p>বয়স :</p>	<p>জেভার-নারী/ পুরুষ/ :</p>
<p>ঠিকানা :</p>	<p>পেশা :</p>

ক - অংশ : সাধারণ জনগণ

ক্রমিক নং	প্রশ্ন সমূহ	উত্তর সমূহ
১.	বাংলাদেশে কোন ধরনের রাজনৈতিক পদ্ধতি বিদ্যমান ?	(ক) গণতান্ত্রিক (খ) এক নায়কতান্ত্রিক (গ) মিশ্র ধরনের ।
২.	রাজনৈতিক তথ্য প্রাপ্তির ক্ষেত্রে আপনি কোন মাধ্যমের উপর নির্ভর করেন ?	(ক) গণমাধ্যম (খ) লোকমুখে প্রচলিত সংবাদ (গ) অন্যান্য
৩.	রাজনৈতিক তথ্য প্রাপ্তির মাধ্যম যদি গণমাধ্যম হয় তাহলে কোন ধরনের গণমাধ্যম ?	(ক) ইলেকট্রনিক মিডিয়া (খ) প্রিন্টেড মিডিয়া । গ) উভয় মিডিয়া
৪.	আপনি কি মনে করেন রাজনৈতিক সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধিতে ২০০৫ থেকে ২০১২ সালের মধ্যে এই দুই ধরনের গণমাধ্যম সহায়ক ভূমিকা পালন করেছে ?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক ।
৫.	রাজনৈতিক তথ্য প্রদানের মাধ্যমে রাজনৈতিক সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধিতে বাংলাদেশে প্রচলিত কোন কোন পত্রিকা উল্লেখযোগ্য ভূমিকা পালন করেছে বলে আপনি মনে করেন ?
৬.	কোন কোন টিভি চ্যানেল রাজনৈতিক সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধিতে বস্তুনিষ্ঠ সংবাদ প্রচার করেছে বলে আপনি মনে করেন?
৭.	২০০৮ সালের নির্বাচনে উপরোল্লিখিত গণমাধ্যমগুলো সঠিক ভূমিকা রাখতে পেরেছিল কিনা ?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক (ঘ) ধারণা নেই ।
৮.	২০০৮ সালের নির্বাচনে গণমাধ্যম যদি সঠিক ভূমিকা পালন করতে না পারে সেক্ষেত্রে গণমাধ্যমকে কোন বিষয়টি প্রভাবিত করেছে?	(ক) সরকারের নিয়ন্ত্রন (খ) সঠিক তথ্য না পাওয়া (গ) সুষ্ঠু নির্বাচনী পরিবেশের অভাব ।
৯.	বাংলাদেশে গণমাধ্যমের উপর সরকারের নিয়ন্ত্রন আছে কিনা?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক ।

ক্রমিক নং	প্রশ্ন সমূহ	উত্তর সমূহ
১০.	গণমাধ্যমের উপর সরকারের যদি নিয়ন্ত্রন থাকে তাহলে তা জনগণের তথ্য প্রাপ্তিতে বাধা সৃষ্টি করছে কিনা ?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক ।
১১.	সাধারণ জনগণ ও রাজনৈতিক ব্যক্তিত্বের মধ্যে সংযোগরক্ষাকারী হিসাবে গণমাধ্যম ভূমিকা রাখতে পারছে কি?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক ।

সাক্ষাৎকারটি এখানেই শেষ করছি । সাক্ষাৎকারপর্বে অংশগ্রহন করার জন্য আপনাকে অনেক ধন্যবাদ ।

খ- অংশ গণমাধ্যম ব্যক্তিত্ব

ক্রমিক নং	প্রশ্ন সমূহ	উত্তর সমূহ
১.	আপনি কতদিন ধরে গণমাধ্যমে কাজ করছেন ?
২.	বাংলাদেশে সঠিক রাজনৈতিক তথ্য পরিবেশনের মাধ্যমে জনগণের রাজনীতিক সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধি করতে গণমাধ্যম কি ধরনের ভূমিকা পালন করছে ?	(ক) বড় ধরনের ভূমিকা পালন করছে (খ) মোটামুটি ভূমিকা পালন করছে (গ) কোনো ভূমিকা পালন করছে না ।
৩.	বাংলাদেশের সরকার ও গণমাধ্যমের মধ্যে কি ধরনের সম্পর্ক বিদ্যমান ?	(ক) সহযোগীতাপূর্ণ (খ) বিরোধপূর্ণ (গ) যে যার অবস্থানে নিরপেক্ষ (ঘ) নিয়ন্ত্রণমূলক ।
৪.	গণমাধ্যম যদি সরকার নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে থাকে তাহলে তা কতটুকু ?	(ক) ব্যাপক আকারে (খ) মাঝারি আকারে (গ) খুব সামান্য (ঘ) নিয়ন্ত্রণ করছে না
৫.	২০০৮ সালের নির্বাচনে গণমাধ্যম সঠিক তথ্য সংগ্রহ ও পরিবেশন করতে পেরেছে কি?
৬.	প্রত্যন্ত অঞ্চলের মানুষ তথ্য প্রাপ্তিতে কোন ধরনের গণমাধ্যমের উপর নির্ভরশীল ?	(ক) ইলেকট্রনিক মিডিয়া (খ) প্রিন্টেড মিডিয়া ।

সাক্ষাৎকারটি এখানেই শেষ করছি । সাক্ষাৎকারপর্বে অংশগ্রহণ করার জন্য আপনাকে অনেক ধন্যবাদ ।

গ - অংশ রাজনৈতিক ব্যক্তিত্ব

ক্রমিক নং	প্রশ্ন সমূহ	উত্তর সমূহ
১.	আপনি কত সাল হতে সক্রিয়ভাবে রাজনীতিতে অংশগ্রহণ করছেন?
২.	আপনি কেন রাজনীতিতে এসেছেন ?
৩.	দেশের রাজনৈতিক তথ্য প্রাপ্তির ক্ষেত্রে আপনি মূলত কোন মাধ্যমের উপর নির্ভর করেন ?	(ক) গণমাধ্যম (খ) ইন্টারনেট (গ) বিভিন্ন নেতাকর্মী (ঘ) অন্যান্য।
৪.	অংশগ্রহণমূলক রাজনীতিতে জনগণের সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধিতে গণমাধ্যম ভূমিকা রাখে কিনা ?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক।
৫.	গণমাধ্যমের উপর রাজনৈতিক নিয়ন্ত্রণ আছে কিনা ?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক।
৬.	গণমাধ্যমের উপর যদি রাজনৈতিক নিয়ন্ত্রণ থেকে থাকে তাহলে সেটা জনগণের তথ্য প্রাপ্তিকে কিভাবে প্রভাবিত করছে ?	(ক) ইতিবাচক (খ) নেতিবাচক (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক।
৭.	জনগণকে রাজনীতিতে আরও বেশী সচেতন করতে গণমাধ্যমকে আরও স্বাধীনতা দেওয়া উচিত কিনা ?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক।
৮.	রাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্বের বিকাশে গণমাধ্যম কোনো ভূমিকা রাখছে কিনা ?	(ক) হ্যাঁ (খ) না (গ) মন্তব্য করতে অনিচ্ছুক।

সাক্ষাৎকারটি এখানেই শেষ করছি। সাক্ষাৎকারপূর্বে অংশগ্রহণ করার জন্য আপনাকে অনেক ধন্যবাদ।