The Role of Television Programmes in Promoting Political Participation of the Youth in Bangladesh

A dissertation submitted to the Institute of Bangladesh Studies (IBS), University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

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Institute of Bangladesh Studies (IBS)
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January, 2016

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Declaration

It is hereby declared that the dissertation entitled **"The Role of Television Programmes in Promoting Political Participation of the Youth in Bangladesh"** has been prepared by me under the supervision of Prof. **Dr. Md. Moksuder Rahman.** The dissertation has not been submitted, either wholly or partly, to any academic institution or university in pursuing any degree or diploma. All sources of scholarly information, used in this thesis, are duly acknowledged.

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Supervisor's Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **"The Role of Television Programmes in Promoting Political Participation of the Youth in Bangladesh"** is an original work accomplished by **Md. Jahidul Islam**, Ph.D. Fellow in Political Science of the session 2012-2013 at the Institute of Bangladesh Studies (IBS), University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh. The findings and views, expressed in the dissertation, are originated from both primary and secondary data and are entirely his contribution. He has prepared this dissertation under my supervision and guidance. As far as I know the dissertation has not been submitted anywhere else for any academic purpose, e.g., any degree, diploma or publication. I have gone through the draft of the dissertation thoroughly and found it satisfactory for submission. The dissertation is, therefore, recommended and forwarded to the University of Rajshahi through Institute of Bangladesh Studies (IBS) for necessary formalities leading to its acceptance in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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Abstract

Questioning the level of active social and political engagements of youths in Bangladesh, this study has attempted to identify the role of the political contents of STV (News and Talk shows) in boosting youths' engagements in the social and political arena, concerning the debate of media malaise and mobilization. Mixed method approach has been followed in this study. Questionnaire survey and focus group discussion have been used to collect the data in a purposive mode. The data have been analysed in a qualitative manner, where cross tabulation and insight from the qualitative data have been entangled to draw the findings. The study has revealed that youths of Bangladesh moderately engage in political and social activities. The contents of STV play a relative role in the promotion of their political participation. It has been observed, that political contents of STV are offering political information and cognition to youths, but all the time these matters do not translate into political participation. It seems that youths of Bangladesh are becoming the spectators of public affairs than joining practically. The study has outlined that not only TV contents, but other social and demographic variables like patterns of TV watching, socioeconomic differences, attitude towards politics and overall political culture may intervene the level of political participation of youths. More comprehensive research should be initiated in pursuit of determining the relation of political culture with media–which might be the driving force of political participation. In addition, concentrated study could be initiated regarding the overgrowing media diffusion and its impact on citizens' engagements in the political arena.

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ABBREVIATION

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BFUJ	Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalist
BTRC	Bangladesh Telecommunications Regulatory Authority
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BTV	Bangladesh Television
CEC	Chief Election Commissioner
CNN	Cable News Network
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
DUJ	Dhaka Journalist Union
HSC	Higher Secondary Certificate
IPI	International Press Institute
MOI	Ministry of Information
NPC	National Press Club
NPI	National Press Institute
PIB	Public Information Bureau
RAJUK	Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
STV	Satellite Television
TV	Television
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

Chapter One
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Political participation is the centre of democratic discourse. Any political system, which cannot involve people in the decision making process, could be turned into authoritarian one. For democratic consolidation, participation of all sections of mass people is expected, but the youth are considered with most importance. The youth will operate the state in the future and their civic and political participation are necessary to make them competent for the upcoming leadership. According to literacy survey report of Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS, 2011) about one-third of our whole population are the youth, As well as an influential portion of our voters are the youth. So the youth are most potential sections for social and political perspective of Bangladesh. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2015) has projected that Bangladesh has 46.7 million of the youth and it is a big challenge for her to translate this 'Youth Bulge' into demographic dividend.

In Bangladesh, the youth have a vibrant history of civic and political participations but it is said that contemporary political culture is hindering the civic and political participation of the Bangladeshi youth. We cannot prove this matter through voter turnout because the turnout rate of the national polls is quite satisfactory than developed countries. But according to the scholars of democracy, political participation should not be defined only within the boundary of electoral participation. It includes cognitive, deliberative, civic and other forms of participation.

However, political participation does not create from emptiness, it needs proper space. In this perspective media could be the important instruments of demonstrating

people towards political participation directly or indirectly. Concerning world phenomena, media have reached a great height. Though Bangladesh is less competent on account of media expansion with other developed countries, in case of TV medium she is moving very rapidly. A notable numbers of private satellite TV channels have included in the media world of Bangladesh. These TV channels are telecasting various programmes including political contents like news and talk shows, where opinions, government policies, criticism on important political and economic agenda, discussions and analyses of the special topics are telecasted. So it could be a important matter of discussion that whether these programmes or these political contents of TV have any role in creating political awareness, enthusiasms, efficacies, attitudes, and beliefs among the citizens, especially the youth. Thus, the current research paper has focused on the present state of TV channels and its programmes related to politics, perception of the youth about TV medium and its political contents, influence of TV programmes on the youth' political socialization and political activities.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Political participation is indispensable for better working of political and social institutions. But the modes of civic apathy and political disengagement among the youth have become increasingly prevalent in Bangladesh with other liberal democracies. A recent survey, conducted by Democracy International (2012) has projected that 59% of the Bangladeshi the youth do not participate in politics and most of them participate only by casting their votes. But voting is not the only way for political participation. As Verba, Schlozman & Brady (1995, p. 38) has stated that citizens have a wider area of political activity than just the election. The country expects a better future of leadership from the youth. But very least of formal orientations have been given to them on the issues of

politics, democracy, people's participation and finally the governance system of the state. A big portion of our voters are the youth and in every five years new the youth voters are joining with the whole electorates. So, special concentration is essential for the civic development of the youth.

In every country, democracy does not work in a same direction, it depends on the political culture of that country. Political culture is the barometer for examining the democratic depth of a country. As Almond and Verba (1963, p. 19) mentioned that, in a participatory democracy, it needs the participatory political culture. It means that the members of the polity should be completely oriented by the system. The nature of political institutions and their patterns of performing are very much related to the political culture of a country. As Putnam (1993) has noted that, culture is more influential than economic factor. After the birth of Bangladesh the nation observed acute crises in legitimacy, stability and democratic norms. The political assassinations, coups and counter coups were the initial crises of the newborn country; as a result democracy was crumbling from the very beginning. The unconventional way of people's participation 'the mass up charge' reinvents Bangladesh as a democratic polity. But people's aspiration doesn't find the light because of the culture of our politics. Politics of patronage, crisis of leadership, patron-client network, and lack of consensus among the political parties and failure of the political institutions are the common features of our political culture. So it is a challenge for Bangladesh to establish a functioning and participatory democracy. As Riaz (2012, p.1) has clarified the mode of political culture of Bangladesh by defining the political system, he has mentioned "The System may allow regular elections, methods of apparent political participations, and some semblance of the rule of law; but in essence functions as a Kleptocracy"

Democracy needs the art of compromise to perform smoothly, but in our political culture the policy of 'winner takes all' is established. On the other hand the minority of parliament doesn't behave like a responsible or loyal opposition. As a result the parliament and other democratic institutions don't work properly. So people's voice doesn't reflect in the political arena. As a consequence, there could be a growing scepticism, frustration, indeed even cynicism toward the political classes and institutions. This form of political culture gives a narrow way for the youth political socialization and shrinks the space for the youth's political participation. Political trust is necessary for participation, but instability in politics dimmed the level of internal and external political efficacy of the new generation. At this juncture, the youth expect the platform where they can express them, raise their voice and can make them hear to the governing elites. Here the emerging media space could be the probable remedy.

Media is one of the important factors for the youth political socialization with other socialization agents, which are family, peer group, political party and school. But in modern information societies mass media have taken very important positions in making people politically aware. While analysing about the political function of mass media, Tan (1980, pp. 241-288) said, "The influence of traditional political socialization agents has eroded to the point where the mass media have become important and influencing factors". The mediating role of mass media gives media a position to influence the minds of the people in terms of selection and perception of political content. Although mass media is claimed as an influential sources of knowledge (Carpini & Ketter, 1996) the media, especially TV has also been criticized as the cause of civic disengagement (Putnam, 2000). In Bangladesh, among all the media, TV is used by most of the youth. TV was introduced in Bangladesh in 1964, and now it comprises

of state owned and good number of private owned satellite channels. All of these channels are telecasting news, talk shows, debates, live political programmes, political analyses, political interviews and entertainment programmes. According to socioeconomic and demographic report of BBS (2011), 44.80% of the people watch TV in Bangladesh. It is quite more in comparison with other media. Therefore, TV medium might be influential for the youth in case of gaining information and education. This could be a great source of political socialization of the youth by enhancing political awareness, efficacy, trust, political knowledge and social capital. After all, TV programmes could be effective in making the youth politically active. But it depends on how the media expose, how the media enterprises maintain their neutrality and how the youth perceive the media.

Therefore, TV and its role of the youth political socialization and political participation are the matter of importance and worthy for concentrated exploration in Bangladesh. Therefore, from the above statement, the current study has introduced some questions about STV of Bangladesh and its position on the political life of the Bangladeshi educated youth.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the state of STV Channels in Bangladesh?
2. How do the youth perceive STV programmes (News, Talk Shows) in Bangladesh?
3. What are the roles of STV in political socialization of the youth in Bangladesh?
4. What are the roles of STV programmes in encouraging political participation of the youth in Bangladesh?

1.4 Study Objectives

General Objective: The general objective of this study is to analyse the role of TV programmes (News and Talk shows) in promoting political participation of the youth in Bangladesh.

Specific Objectives:

1. To assess the state of private satellite TV in Bangladesh.
2. To analyse the perception of the youth about the political contents (News and Talk Show) of STV channels in Bangladesh.
3. To reveal the role of STV programmes in political socialization of the youth in Bangladesh.
4. To identify the role of TV programmes in encouraging political participation of the youth in Bangladesh.

1.5 Definitions of the Key Concepts

Political Participation

Political participation is the inclusion of the citizens in the political system by systematic and constitutional way, as well as political participation is the scale of democratic polity.

There are various ways to participate in politics. The conventional ways of participation include voting, campaigning and volunteering for individual party or candidate. So in conventional participation, election and state power are the central discussion. But there may be lack of the expected response from the government in traditional modes of participation. People could choose other ways of political engagements; including volunteering, rallies, peaceful protests, signing petitions, demonstrations, meetings, discussions, following the political issues, awareness buildings, community works and many more. Most of these activities are not closely

related to electoral outcomes, but indirectly have influence on decision making. It also indirectly influences the electoral game.

In this study, political participation has not been judged within the boundary of electoral engagements, rather it has been treated comprehensively by encompassing civic and cognitive engagements on the periphery of political participation.

Political Socialization

The concept of political socialization defines how citizens assimilate themselves in the political community and how they develop their norms and attitudes towards political objects, actors, symbols and processes. Political Socialization can thus be seen as a procedure whereby each society tries to shape the new and young members of society and to prepare them for successful incorporation in group life through political learning. Political socialization involves individual roles, contents and agents in a process of learning about politics.

In this Study, political socialization indicates the way of being conscious about politics. It refers the way of gaining political knowledge, awareness, political efficacy, competence, political identity and attitudes towards social capital.

Political Culture

Political culture is the concept by which a nation or group of people maintains similar political philosophies and viewpoints. This over used term highlights peoples' political orientations and attitudes toward the political system. So, how people think, practice and assimilate to the political processes and institutions and how the political elite and institutions response, could be called political culture. Political culture points out political behaviour of a particular nation.

In this study, political culture indicates citizens thinking's, orientations, behaviours or attitudes towards politics and political system, which could be conceptualized through political history, institutional workings and patterns.

Media

Media is a 'Channel of communication'-a means through which people send and receive information. There are a variety of communication media like newspaper, radio, TV, and internet. All these instruments are individually the medium of communication and the plural form is called the media. When we add mass to the media it refers the media of many, where all the people can receive their information from one specific media.

In this study, media indicate the different types of medium like TV, Newspaper, Radio and Internet.

Television

In this research Television means the private satellite TV channels of Bangladesh.

TV Programmes

In this research political content of TV channels (News, Talk shows) have been identified as TV programmes.

Youth

In this research, whose age range is between (18-35) and have educational attainments from SSC to post graduate have been considered as a youth. According to the youth policy of Bangladesh (2003) the citizens, who are at the age limit of 18-35 are defined as the youth.

1.6 Theoretical Understanding

The main objective of this study is to explore the role of television in promoting political and social engagement among the educated the youth of Bangladesh. To understand the relationship between the political contents (News and Talk show) of the indigenous satellite channels and its influence on the youth political gratification, political learning and engagement this research demands theoretical grounding.

For theoretical underpinning, this research has coined four grounded theories. These are Uses and gratification theory, Cultivation theory, agenda setting theory and Social learning theory. The youth may be selective in choosing their media to gratify their need of political information. In the U&G approach the youth are identified as selective and active. There are various media options where they can gratify their political needs. From these media options the youth can choose their best for political information. Another theory of media especially for the television media is cultivation theory. Where it is assumed that the youth insight about politics is cultivated by TV programmes. The exposure of television intends the youth to think the world within the boundary of television. On the other hand Agenda setting theory has been selected because it is assumed that media make the situation of what to think about through the agenda. In addition, social learning theory emphasizes that peoples are joined with the learning process from the society. They are being socialized by their observation. The political contents of the television become so ubiquitous in our society that the youth somehow observe the political content and make their orientation with the politics.

From these theoretical understandings we could make a concise understanding about the role of political contents of the television and arrange a conceptual framework for the current study.

1.6.1 Uses and Gratification Theory

Uses and gratifications theory is considered a mental communication perspective that focuses on individual use and choice by asserting that different people can use the same mass medium for different purposes. In the contemporary world, people have diverse needs and taste about different matters. There are many media which could be effective to satisfy their needs on the basis of their priority and mental state. It is the individual, who can choose the specific media or media content to gratify their special purpose. The main proposition of uses and gratification theory illustrates that people are active in searching for specific media or contents to maintain their specific need. As West & Turner have highlighted the theory:

> People are active in choosing and using particular media to satisfy specific needs. Emphasizing a limited effects position, this theory views the media as having a limited effect because users are able to exercise choice and control. People are Self-aware, and they are able to understand and articulate the reasons they use media. They see media as one way to gratify the needs they have (West & Turner, 2010, p. 397).

In the prior research of mass media, like the concept that people are bound to be mediated by authoritative media atmosphere—explained the relationship between audiences and the media they consumed. Gradually this hypothesis became weak because research could not confirm the notion of media control. It was seen that most people not directly affected by media messages, but when they were influenced, they were not all influenced similarly (West & Turner, 2010, p. 393).

As a consequence, Mass Society Theory was replaced by the limited effect theory**.** This theory predicts that media influence is minimized or limited by certain aspects of individual audience members' personal and social lives. People have difference in their cognition and pattern of life; these variations determine the level of

media oriented influence. In response to these theories, Elihu Katz, Jay G. Blumler, and Michael Gurevitch (1974) presented a systematic and comprehensive articulation of the audience members' role in the mass communication process. They formalized their thinking and identified Uses and Gratifications Theory (UGT). The theory holds that people actively seek out specific media and specific content to generate specific gratifications (or results). Theorists in Uses and Gratifications view people as active because they are able to examine and evaluate various types of media to accomplish communication goals.

Uses and Gratifications Theory is an extension of needs and motivation theory (Maslow, 1970). In needs and motivation theory, Abraham Maslow has posited that people actively seek to satisfy a hierarchy of needs. Once they have achieved the goals they seek on one level of the hierarchy, they are able to move to the next level. There are different typologies in the uses and gratification research. For example, Alan Rubin (1981) found that motivations for television use clustered into the following categories: to pass the time, for companionship, excitement, escape, enjoyment, social interaction, relaxation, information, and to learn about a specific content. Other researchers (McQuail, Blumler, & Brown, 1972) asserted that media use could be categorized with only four basic divisions: diversion, personal relationships, personal identity, and surveillance.

Many of the assumptions of UGT were clearly articulated by the founders of the approach (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974). They contend that there are five basic assumptions of Uses and Gratifications Theory: 1) the audience is active and its media use is goal oriented; 2) The initiative in linking need gratification to a specific medium choice rests with the audience member; 3) The media compete with other sources for need satisfaction; 4) People have enough self-awareness of their media use, interests,

and motives to be able to provide researchers with an accurate picture of that use; 5) Value judgments of media content can only be assessed by the audience.

This current study is somehow related to uses and gratification research. The study intends to identify the role of political contents of TV in the political life of the educated the youth of Bangladesh. Different prior studies have assessed TV role in the political life of the audience. As an example, the study of Jay Blumler and Denis McQuail (1969) began untangling reasons that people watch political programs. They found a number of motives for watching political broadcasts. This work formed an important foundation for researchers in Uses and Gratifications. It is evident that the youth use various kinds of media to meet their various needs. This may be cognitive, affective, personal integrative, social integrative and tension release (Katz, Gurevitch, & Haas, 1973). Among these various need, how the youth use TV medium to attend the political information, which may be necessary for their political socialization and participation. How they evaluate TV media for political information in respect of other media option. To attend this research question this study rely on the audience response, which methodologically approve the assumption of uses and gratification research (West & Turner, 2010, p.399). The current study also deals with the evaluation of TV contents like news and Talk shows by the youth audience. According to theorists of Uses and Gratifications, content found in such news and talk shows may be functional if it provides gratifications for the audience.

1.6.2 Cultivation Theory

Television became a daily experience of our life. People tune to a variety of programmes, from news to entertainment. Television aquire our living room, our conversation and even our mental state (West & Turner, 2010). In response to the

presence of television in our society George Gerbner and his colleague Lawrence Gross (1972) has remarked that people watch television and get accustomed to the social phenomena. As Gerbner & Gross attributed this matter as a cultivation process For the audience about the social reality (Gerbner & Gross, 1972, p.174)

Cultivation is a process that predicts and interprets the understanding, perceptions and beliefs of the audience about the world, which is an outcome of high viewing. The scholars of cultivation theory mainly made a causal argument (Television cultivates ⟶ Causes ⟶ Conception of social reality). The argument of Gerbner suggests that mass communication, especially television cultivates certain beliefs that are held in common by mass consumers (West & Turner, 2010). Thus Gerbner explained the theory as a long term causal argument.

The stories of media make us conscious about our society and political reality. Media process this reality and disseminate it for the viewer. People learn these realities and make a psychological map in according to the story the Television process. The youth could observe the political contents like news and talk show, which might make them knowledgeable and aware about the political reality in our political culture. If the message of TV disseminate distorted picture of politics then the high viewer of the political contents could understood politics as a matter of violence and instability. As a whole the negative picture presented by TV channels could guide the youth towards a negative political socialization process, which could lead them to lack of political efficacy and could introduce cynicism among them.

In the initial stage of cultivation research, it analysed the contribution of TV contents in generating the picture of violence among the youth. This initiative was criticized by the media industries and the researcher of limited effect theory. This theory was questioned in many ways; like-why focus only on violence? How violence is

defined? Why other social issues are not examined? (West & Turner, 2010). Letter cultivation analysis has expanded in various sections including politics.

As a whole, cultivation theory exposed an assumption that television and other media play an essential role in shaping people's sight about the world. This is particularly in the case of violence. Thus, heavy viewers of television see the world in the eye of television.

The central assumptions of cultivation analysis are as follows:

1) Television is fundamentally different from other form of media;

2) The way of thinking about our society is shaped by television;

3) Television has limited influence.

The first assumption implies that from various aspects TV is different from other media. The audiovisual effect, accessibility and the ability of combining different groups, who have different views about the content (West & Turner, 2010). Another assumption argued that cultivation theory possesses the idea that the consumers of violence TV do not insist its viewers to do the same action but transfer a outlook for the viewers about the society. Thus TV cultivates an image of fear among the youth of every sector.

The last assumption is concerned with the least impact of television, though it has been said that television has a pervasive appeal. In answering this paradoxical assumption, Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli (1980, p.14) have stated , " just as an average temperature shift of a fewer degrees can lead to an ice age or the outcomes of elections can be determined by a slight margin, so too can a relatively small but pervasive influence can make a crucial difference".

Importantly, cultivation study proposed a cultural view of the society within the message of TV. As an agent of socialization, it transfers concepts, beliefs and outlook to the audience. As Gerbner and Gross (1976) have described the functions of television:

> We begin with the assertion that Television is the central cultural arm of…society. It is an agency of the established order and as such serves primarily to extend and maintained rather than to alter, threaten, or weaken conventional conception, beliefs and behaviours. Its chief cultural function is to spread and stabilize social patterns, to cultivate not change but resistance to change. Television is a medium of the socialization of most of the people …its function, in a word, enculturation (Gerbner & Gross, 1976, p. 175)

However, though the cultivation thesis has gained a remarkable response from the media researcher, it is not out of criticism. The socialization process of the audience is not a standalone factor. Cultivation of social reality might have the co-relation with other social phenomena, like lifestyle, socio-economic condition and other media outlet. As Hughes (1980) has commented that cultural diffusion may standardize the ways of conceptualizing the world. Additionally, the political economy of media, the market mechanism could be the determinants of the products, which the user of TV is consuming.

However, this research is somehow related to cultivation theory. The political contents of satellite channels (News and Talk shows) may cultivate the youth political insight. This process could be positively or adversely affect the political socialization as well as political engagement of the youth.

1.6.3 Social Cognitive Theory

People learn from observation. When a person observes a model's behaviour, he could acquire the modelled responses while they are occurring only in a representational form. The observers get symbolic representation rather specific stimulus-response

(Banduara, 1969a; 1971b). The influence of the model operates through informative function. The modelling process consists of four subsystem. These are attentional process, retention process, motor reproduction process, motivational and reinforcement process (Banduara, 1972).

The social cognitive theory was introduced by Neal Miller and John Dollar (1941). They argued that people could learn if they imitate what they see and go through a reinforcement process. As Baran and Davis (2012, p.194) have argued that Miller and Dollard have seen social learning as an information-response system.

Social cognitive theory (Prior which was known as social learning theory) represents that observers can get a symbolic representation of the behaviour. Media as a form of model can influence behaviour through what they watch on the screen. There is no need to re-enforce from the audience (Baran & Davis, 2012).

The basement of social cognitive theory is learning from the environment. According to Albert Bandura, "Social cognitive theory explains psychosocial functioning in terms of triadic reciprocal causation. In this model of reciprocal determinism, behavior; cognitive, biological, and other personal factors; and environmental events all operate as interacting determinants that influence each other bidirectionally" (1994, p. 61). What we experience in our environments may affect our behaviours, and that effect is related to our personal and institutional factors.

This social cognition through the use of media representativeness operates in some special ways (Bandura, 1971, 1994). These are observational learning or learning through viewing, inhibitory effects and disinhibitory effects. When one watches something in media where the model get rewarded or punished create likelihood or apathy for the certain work performed by the model (Baran & Davis, 2012, p.197).

Another important proposition *vicarious reinforcement* is central to social cognition through the mass media. Although observational learning can occur in the absence of any reinforcement, vicarious or real, weather observers *actually engage in* that learned behaviour is a function of the reinforcement contingencies (positive or negative) they associate with it. When any one watch something integrated with her real life may seem that she is present and related to that character presented in the media.

However, this study offers some research questions, which would find theoretical insight from these propositions of social cognitive theory. The satellite channels broadcast a range of news and talk shows which relate to our society and politics. The youth who watch these news and talk show could learn the society and politics from these political contents. They also become familiar with the unstable political culture of our country through political contents. These positive or negative news might cause political socialization and lead them to political or social engagement which is somehow congruent to social cognitive hypothesis.

1.6.4 Agenda Setting Theory

There are too many issues in a polity, which are salient for public thinking. These issues are covered from political to economic, from country level to global. Very few of these issues or agenda are highlighted and get value. The questions may arise that who makes these issues important or trifling? The procedure of making these issues worthy and salient is called agenda setting. The process mainly handled by different media. The main motive of agenda setting theory is not to tell the people what to think, but what to think about.

People are not equipped to deal these agenda and numerous branches of the agenda. The media with its equipment select the agenda, which might be accepted by

the people. Thus the media agenda become public agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The public priorities a issue when media emphasize the matter to be important (Cohen, 1963; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Numerous studies all over the world established firm correlations between media and public priorities (Dearing & Rogers, 1996; McCombs & Shaw, 1993). The mixing of media and political agenda have got focus in 1980s, scholars began to concentrate on the media and the political agenda. Though Cohen's writing was the initial stage of agenda setting function of the mass media. Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972, p.176) explained their interpretation of agenda-setting in the perspective of political reality. How news story determine the importance of a particular issue of politics in the way of making the audience informed about the issues, even media set the 'agenda' of the campaign. But there are many other issues other than campaign, in that case, how the media set the agenda? Do media set the agenda or media satisfy the need of the audience. It may be the audience who actually sets the agenda and media organize it (Baran & Davis, 2012, p. 295). The preliminary study of agenda settings has given priority of media to the audience centred proposition. But there are no media who do not think about his customer, so it might be the customer or audience who set the agenda. As there is no concrete theory which can prove the media effect to the audience , researcher test the priority settings, presentation style, the position of the news, specification of some issues from a broader issues, as a whole which is called *Priming.* The basic difference is, Agenda setting works for the overall news, but priming make a stress on specific terms (Iyengar, 1991, p.133).

Another extension of Agenda setting hypothesis is agenda building-is a procedure where people, government and media collectively build the agenda, Here some reciprocal influence creates the agenda. The active citizen, media and government mutually determine the importance.

In other words, the society specifies the agenda (Protess et al., 1991, p. 6). Lang and Lang (1983) have defined "agenda-building—a more apt term than agenda-setting. It is a macro level thinking of agenda setting theory. Here the media motivate the institution and the society as well as the government to determine the ranking of their priority.

The latest development of agenda setting theory is *framing* coined by the pioneer of agenda setting theory (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). McCombs defines framing as a second level of agenda settings. In tradition agenda setting research only focus on the object (Eg. Candidate, issues, campaign) level research, but the agenda setting proposition is also related to the attribute of the object. To deal with the attribute of the object *framing* hypothesis has introduced. Here the media not only think what to think about, but also say how to think (Baran & Davis, 2012, p. 297).

The current study thinks that the youth may get the issue of their political thinking from TV news and talk show. But it depends on the procedures of setting the agenda by TV. As well as how the agenda make them politically knowledgeable and may enhance the thinking capabilities about political matters, which might promote the political and social engagement of the youth.

In the light of these theories stated above, the current study has borrowed insight and endeavoured to assess the objectives of the research. At first why and how the youth watch and evaluate the political contents of TV channels, which might be consistent with the U&G theory. This part of the research question also encircled by the agenda setting theory. Do the agenda of TV channels satisfy the need of the youth's political life? Another research question is related to the political socialization of the youth; here

the study would examine the position of TV contents in political socialization of the educated the youth. The social learning theory and cultivation theory would be helpful to attend this research question. The vicarious position of TV would be work as an instrumental role in political learning and knowledge. On the other hand the patchy message of TV could cultivate the youth as a narrow viewer of the world. In sum, all of these theories might offer a basement to examine the role of TV contents in promoting political participation of the youth

1.7 Literature Review

This study is concerned with political participation of the youth and its relation to the contents of the media, particularly with the political contents (News and Talk shows) of indigenous TV Channels of Bangladesh. To assess this relation, the study has been proceeding with the inquiry of the state of TV medium, use and evaluation of TV contents among the youth and the role of political contents of TV in the process of political socialization of them. These research questions seem to be important to reach the core objective of this study. To identify the position of STV contents in the political life of the youth, it may be necessary to know the overall state of STV including the political contents. Moreover, the patterns of the use of TV contents also might be influential to determine the impact of news and talk shows in the way of political engagements. Political socialization may have deep rooted relation to political participation–which might determine the level of political engagements. Therefore, the study has explored the process of the youth' political learning, and how TV contents concerning politics promote or demote the processes of political socialization are the important issues of this research. So, literatures regarding media use, media malaise and mobilization, media and political efficacy, media and political knowledge, social capital

and its relation to media, political cynicism and media, political economy and media, political identity and media have been reviewed. Overall, the literatures have been categorized on four broad concepts, namely media malaise and mobilization; political socialization and media; political participation and media and lastly literatures concerning Bangladeshi media have been studied.

Though very few literatures have found about the media role on the youth political participation in Bangladesh, numerous study are available mainly from Europe and American context on the discussed topic. In these researches various forms of media have been examined by the scholars, for examining the influence of media on civic and political participations. In this current research, the role of TV on the youth' political participation has been examined.

1.7.1 Mobilization and Malaise

Too many researchers have analysed media and media contents to determine its effect on human political behaviour. They have got contradictory notion about the outcome of media use. Some have argued that the media is malicious for the political life of the citizen. The person who is a high viewer of television gets less time for civic and political engagement. There is a time displacement effect in high media use behaviour. This behaviour may cause the loss of social capital–trust, engagement, bonding and reciprocity among the citizen.

Putnum (2000) in his prominent thesis, '*Bowling Alone'* has blamed TV for the decline of social and political engagement among the youth of America. Analysing the time series data Putnum has tried to prove that people are less interested in social relation than their prior generation; they are expending more time with the electronic device.

Electronic device, especially TV makes them home centred. He has argued that like other media, TV has both informational and entertainment genres. He has accepted that the people who use TV for information are more knowledgeable than who do not. But most viewers of TV use this specific media, mainly for entertainment. He argued that the newspaper readers get more knowledge from this because they pay more attention to it. He also argued that the internet is an additional source of information with TV and newspaper. Yet this medium does not acquire the reliability to become a substitution for TV. But the question remains that how TV is hazardous for civic and political engagement? In answer to this question, Putnum has argued that individual viewing pattern of the audience trend them in non-participation in the collective work. The high viewers engage less in the collective work (e.g. Joining political parties, attending public meetings). Similarly, he has shown a negative co-relation between TV viewing and social engagement. In a word, his analysis about TV and political life has leaned towards media malaise hypothesis through the shrinking of social capital. Putnam has made TV responsible for the declining tendency of social capital, but it stands weak statistical basement. There are various media and their various contents, from that, which cause malaise in case of decreasing social capital and the consequence of non-engagement. Without control experiment, the easy generalization is less acceptable.

As a reply of Putnum thesis, Pippa Noris, in his study, titled `*Does Television Erode Social Capital? A Reply to Putnum*' has supported a macro outlook rather blaming TV as a sole instrument for declining social capital. There are numerous variables which are related to social and political engagement. These may be the structure of the economy, political culture, changes in family structure and growth of the welfare state. The time displacement effect or the leisure activities through TV atmosphere may be one of the causes of civic and political disengagement. Though

Robinson and Sheehan (1983) and Patterson (1994, p. 52) has argued that the presentation of violence, overstating and negativity towards politics and politician in TV makes the citizen less informed and may cause civic and political disengagement, but it does not prove that TV is the main reason of cynicism about politics. There are other channels of communication which could be the motivator of political apathy (Norris, 1996, p. 475). The people who are receiving the message are also important to analyse the overall situation of media and audience relation to the pursuit of social and political engagement. The people who are partisan and poorly educated could not be socialized politically in a same depth (Norris, 1996, p. 475). Norris has found that there is a positive co-relation between news viewing and political involvement. He has mentioned that the time of TV use is very significant for political engagement. With a same voice with Putnum, he has agreed that heavy viewer and entertainment viewer are less active in politics than the news viewer or light viewer. Beside these, demographic variable is also may determine the level of political and social engagement. So making TV the sole responsive for political disengagement may cause spurious result.

Newton (1999) has defined that the media is not the subject matter which cause 'Malaise' or 'Mobilization', rather it is the contents of media which might be reliable for enhancing or discourage political or social engagement. Negative news and talk show can create cynicism and low efficacy towards politics and political participation among the youth. On the contrary, Aarts and Semetko (2003) has concluded that viewing public affairs generate internal efficacy. On the other side thought provoking or insightful news and talk show could increase political knowledge. Norris has also noticed that it is not TV, which could create malaise; newspaper could also create malaise through the distorted news. Interest in politics is also congruent with political

engagement. Those who are interested in politics engage more in politics and news watching generate interest in politics (Newton, 1999, p. 592).

A study, conducted by Pasek, Kensi, Romer, and Jamieson (2006), have noted that, news media increase political awareness and promote political activity like political conversation, discussion and disagreement, which are essential for competence building about civic sense. He has added that excessive use of TV media may have the negative effect.

Similarly, Shah (1998) has suggested that television is not the monolithic danger of declining of social capital. The relationship among the use of television, civic engagement and interpersonal trust must be viewed as more conditional; highly dependent on the types of programmes is taken under consideration and the pattern of watching. He has mentioned that how much television people appear to be less important than what they are watching.

Another proposition is also available, that the visual nature of TV helps more in processing political knowledge. As Aarts & Semetko (2003) has pointed out, "Political information on television is better processed and retained by citizen because of the visual nature of the medium".

Entman (1989), in his remarkable thesis '*Democracy without citizen'* has critically analysed the intrinsic relation among democracy, citizen and media. The study analysed both the electronic and print media. Here the question of democracy and press freedom; media biases and news slant and its consequence have been described. As Entman has argued that there is a vicious circle of interdependence among the political elite, the media and the public. The message disseminated by the media in not solely their own creation, it depends on the power structure, the schema level of the audience,

the corporate orientation of the media and many other things. Entman has stressed that many developing countries have lack of proper party mechanism. The only available and acceptable way of participating with most of the people is voting. The source of message is mainly guided by the political and business elite. Thus, news bias and slant is not the creation of the media only. Political culture is too much integrated with this mechanism. For democratic consolidation democratic citizenship is necessary. As well as for the free press sophisticated audience is also necessary. Entman has pointed that there is a lack of cognitive or critical viewing among the audience. He added, there is an overstating nature of claiming citizenship among the people. Media has a little impact on politics, as Entman has highlighted that the media only reinforce existing preference rather formulating new attitude. He has further suggested that different people have different ideological biases, so different groups of people have different interest in news. So the effect of media should not be overestimated.

1.7.2 Political Socialization and Media

Most of the researches have extended the idea that the youth are alienated from politics . The position of various media in the political life of the youth generation is one of the prioritized research questions in the realm of political engagement research. Why is media important? How is media make the youth informed and knowledgeable about the political information and how is media related information is acquainted with political knowledge? These are the matters of discussion of research in political socialization. The political acculturation process of the youth is too much related to political participation, this process is directed by various socialization agents (e.g. Family, school, peer group and media). From these agents the history of media oriented socialization about the political life is not very old. Before 1970 most of the research

works about political socialization have been done about the traditional socialization agents. But the emergence of democracy, social change, liberalism, and profit oriented mechanism have changed the pattern of acculturation. The process of political socialization becomes more complex than before. In many aspects the traditional instrument of political socialization some time seems to be insufficient for the better understanding of complex political relation. In this consequence, Herbert Hyman (1972), stressed his position on the role of communication in socialization as well as political socialization of the audience. He has focused on the political socialization process or the re-socialization process, as he has argued:

> The nonpolitical content mediates and modifies the response to political communication by acting not merely as filler, but also as buffer between the audience and the political world, insulating them from the undesirable effects of an overdose of politics. …Certainly political communication serves the function of bringing home reality, of inducting the citizen into his proper responsibilities and concern (Hyman, 1972, p.132).

The importance of mass media in transitional societies lies in the process of understanding about the institutions and political change by the citizens (Pye, 1972, p. 4). The citizen can take part in deliberation for their collective goals if they belong the common information and know how about the system of the decision making process. The mass media offer the citizen about the causal relation of their political life, which should be taken into account (Pye, 1972, p.7).

Lee, Shah and McLeod (2012) have shown that media use facilitates civic and political engagements. This paper has argued that the overall impact of media is complimentary of civic development and making of participatory behaviour and norms. This study has explored that media plays varied roles in socializing the youth and making them democratic citizens. The paper suggests that for civic activism basic

communication skills and motivations are needed and by the informational use of media can fulfil this type of competence.

Berman & Stookey (1980) have commented on the relationship between TV viewing and the youth orientation towards government. The study has indicated that TV contents can produce political malice in young people. The study also has denoted that families, peer groups, and other institutions are also useful to investigate the youth' support towards government.

Kotzé (1986) has arranged a study on the impact of TV in political socialization of the African society. The study has identified that different groups of people have different impact of TV media in the process of political learning.

Louw (2005) has illustrated that media create political and social identity through disseminating information and stories. Through media different sort of people are transferring their ideas and policy–which may determine the group identities or political identities of the people. This process of media could patronize the 'capitalistic' or 'liberal' identity.

Garramone & Atkin (1986) have examined the media's role of political socialization. They have argued that broadcast news is more integrated with political knowledge than print news; on the contrary, print media seem to be important for fundamental knowledge. In addition, the study has predicted that broadcast news inspires political discussion, on the other hand, it needs cognitive ability to interpret the print news, and however, it may be easier for broadcast news.

Buckingham (2006) has assessed the connections between news media and the youth' political understanding. He has noticed the traditional notion that the youth are

alienated from the arena of politics in a different angle, he has argued that the youth are not alienated rather the political system might not interpret their needs to become an active citizen. In this juncture how the media could make them informed and active as a democratic citizen has been analysed here in a qualitative mode. How and to what extent TV contents could interpret the changing needs about the factual interpretation of the youth, how the youth view the news critically or with general cynicism has been explored in this study. In sum, the study has outlined the contemporary debate about the role of news media in the process of political acculturation of the youth in a qualitative way. Most importantly, the research has claimed that 'critical viewing' and 'cynical rejection' of news should be understood on the basis of social settings, where the youth attitudes towards 'personal' and 'political' are being constructed.

1.7.3 Political Participation and Media

Livingstone & Markham (2008) has indicated that voting, interest in politics and actions taken in public issues is closely correlated to media use. The findings don't go with the assumption of media malaise theory. It finds positive findings about media consumption and the youth cognitional and motivational advancement related participation.

Drucman (2003) has pointed out that TV programmes; like presidential debate and others have significant influences on the political behaviour of the electorate. Here the researcher has introduced the audience with Kennedy Versus Nixon first debate and its influence on people.

Katz (2009) has put forward that TV has an enduring effect on electorate perception regarding political values and institutions; like democracy, social integration, identity, trust and auspiciousness.

Lunt (2009) has outlined that new forms of TV programmes; like talk shows have introduced new social and political issues to the people. These programmes work like the agents that include audience in a normative discourse.

Hayes (2009) has claimed that the personal characters of the candidates represented in TV might not determine electorate's preference. Partisanship is rather stronger than candidates' image–which could make an impact on political judgments.

1.7.4 Bangladesh Perspective

The relation between media and political life of Bangladeshi people has been hardly highlighted in the literatures of Bangladesh politics. Most of the literatures have stressed about the political economy of media–where the power relation of media, corporate cultures, quality of media contents, Media freedom, the anomaly of rules and regulations has been discussed. The roles of media in promoting political and civic activities of the citizens have been focused rarely.

Harun (1986) has included a chapter concerning media impact on the voting behaviour of the Bangladeshi electorate in his psephological study. Newspaper, Radio and Television programmes related election has been examined here elaborately. Here the researcher has found little impact of media in determining peoples voting attitude. They rely on the information of media, these media gives an illusory mind among the electorate for being involved in the election process, but their decision about voting preference are not easily driven by media message.

Similarly, in the study of Jahan (1980), we have observed that people of Bangladesh have prior disposition about electoral choice, media provide necessary information about elections, political party and other information related to politics, but

their political alignment is not solely guided by media, rather socioeconomic and historic factors are closely related to the formation of the political mind of Bangladeshi electorate. However, in these studies, media relation to the electoral participation of the people is highlighted dominantly. Other forms of political and social activities have hardly examined. The current research has initiated to explore this gap.

Rahman et. al. (2009) in their conference paper have argued that TV news in Bangladesh is popular, influential and has the potential to give voice to the masses, which is vital for a nascent democracy and good governance. They have opined that the commercialization and influence of ownership of TV media may undercut the independence and objectivity of media; thereby affect the credibility of TV news. This study has explored the objectivity of TV news, the social role of TV news, regular update of news, independence of news and presenting truthful accounts of events in TV news. This research has only identified the news content of TV medium, other political contents have not been explored. But this research will be helpful for the current research to understand about news content of TV media.

Recent research on Bangladesh media BBC (2012) has described a detail picture of media, media corporations and how media have dealt with mass issues. The study has reached a conclusion that there is a good progress in the media sector of Bangladesh but they partially lead the people's voice. The paper has not shown perception about media and the relation of political participation and media influence. This paper has given an overall idea about contemporary media which will be the insight to the current study.

Barman, Rahman & Siddique (n.d.) have Stated that media of Bangladesh have expanded, but still these are not free from all the aspects. They have argued that some

laws and regulations are hindering the free movement of media. Actually, they want to say that,media are partially independent. They also have opined that some time media are influenced by political party. This study mainly deals with media liberty. It has not explored the relation between media contents and political participation.

Wahid (2007) has described the socio–political and cultural background of satellite TV in Bangladesh. In this research, the scholar has introduced a criticism about government enigmatic attitude towards the cultural hegemony of media enriched country through satellite TV. The researcher has opined that Bangladesh should gain more competence about media rather discourage the content of other's. This research has not given any indication about people's perceptions about satellite TV and their after effect. The current research will try to fill up this gap.

Jahangir (2008, 2010, 2012, & 2013) has outlined the quantitative development of the satellite channels. On the contrary, these studies have criticized the quality of the political contents of STV, These studies have questioned about the freedom of TV channels, standard of law, rules, regulation and policy about STV, though, these studies have acclaimed this change in the media.

Haider (2013) has highlighted the pattern and depth of political contents of STV in Bangladesh. Through content analysis, he has illustrated the inner quality of news–presented in the satellite channels. He has commented that news contents are dominated by politics and political elite. Most of the news are urban centred and have corporate linking. He has stated there may be a change in the pattern of presenting the news, but little change has been initiated in the quality of news. In this study how the audience feels about the news is completely absent. The current study may attend this gap.

In sum, it is clear that media role in the procedure of the youth political engagements has been neglected in the studies of political participation of Bangladesh. This very research may contribute to this area of study.

1.8 Conceptual Frame

Form the above stated theories and reviewed literature we can draw a conceptual framework for this study. The present study is designed on the basis of some logical assumptions. In the contemporary political culture of Bangladesh, there are some TV programmes, which are related to politics, by watching these programmes our the youth can be informed and educated.

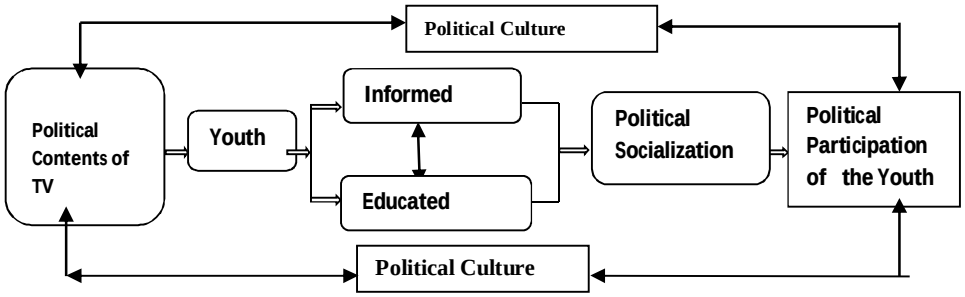

Figure 1.1: **Media and Youth Political Participation Framework (Developed by the Researcher)**

These Information and education could create political socialization among our the youth. In this way TV programmes, related to political issues, may promote political participation among the educated the youth of our country.

1.9 Justification of the Study

This study offers a new insight to understand the role of TV in the political life of our the youth. How the youth of Bangladesh joined themselves in social and political engagements? How and to what extent the political contents of STV promote or relegate their social and political inclusions have been introduced in this study.

It is beyond question that democratic consolidation depends on the active and conscious participation of the citizens. Participation of all sections of the people in every sphere of public life has been inspired by the constitution of Bangladesh. One of the core focuses of this study is to identify the standard of political and social engagements of the educated the youth of Bangladesh, which have hardly explored in the literatures of politics in Bangladesh. This study could be the primary step in this research area.

Political participation of the citizens is not a stand-alone factor. It needs different forms of ancillary supports and congenial political culture to participate actively. Free flow of information is one of the crucial factors of democratic political culture. Many scholars of politics and communication have argued that a lack of information may cause disengagements from the social, political or policy matters. With this reality, Peoples Republic of Bangladesh has passed an act namely RTI act-2009–to ensure uninterrupted flow of information and to establish people's right to information. In this perspective, the current research may be a timely effort to evaluate the role of STV in disseminating quality information, which could motivate the youth to include them in the policy matters.

It is supposed that the emergence of private satellite channels and the change in the presentation of the news have greatly enhanced and strengthened the quality of democracy in Bangladesh. The news channels are offering a better atmosphere for deliberation and dialogue based democracy through their news–which is necessary for people engagement. On the other hand, these channels are not out of criticism for their linkage with the power and corporate elites and their trend concerning profit maximization. So, this study is worthy to explore the current status of news programmes and its impact on the youth of Bangladesh with the veracity of contemporary political culture.

Although Television has emerged in 60s and experienced a boom in 1990s, still the growing tendency in the case of the frequencies of indigenous satellite channels and in the magnitudes of disseminating information through different forms of news is ongoing. But trifling research initiatives have been taken in this area of study. More importantly, media effects on the political life of the citizens have hardly examined. This study could introduce the importance of STV in the political life of Bangladeshi the youth.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Research Approach

This study has attended both qualitative and quantitative or mix approaches. Questionnaire survey, content analysis and focus group study have been used for the mixing or triangulation of the study. The main objective of this study is to identify the role of television programmes in encouraging political participation of the youth in Bangladesh. The study is not merely the effect analysis of Television programmes, but to identify the position of the television programmes, or the political contents (News and Talk Show) of the television in the context of political participation of the youth through political socialization within the realm of contemporary political culture of Bangladesh. Though in developed countries, these forms of media research have gained its basement, in context of the research domain of Bangladesh, this form of research is very limited. From the few of the studies, which have been initiated are mainly about the political economy of media and its relation to the state. So the current study is supposed to be the initial step to explore the status quo of the relation between audience and the media concerning the political life of the youth citizen. To attain the research question the study has encouraged with the descriptive mode of analysis. The study offers a narrative

explanation of the intrinsic relation between political contents of satellite TV of Bangladesh and political life of the educated the youth of Bangladesh. That is why, the sole quantification of the data would not be sufficient to go to the depth of the enquiry. To qualify these purposes, the study has been organized in a way of qualitative and quantitative mode. Quantitative approach advocates for time-bound and context-free generalization, whereas the qualitative paradigm negates with the view of value free generalization and prefer a thick descriptive mode, direct writing or informal way of analysing (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004, p. 14). Both of the approach have a comparative weakness and stand for becoming a firm research paradigm. Here in this research, we have tried to combine the qualitative and quantitative tools, methods, approaches and concepts for better understanding and intrinsic study. As Lieberman (2005) has pointed out that the use of the mixed strategy helps to overcome potential sources of bias and to sort out spurious findings. It is true that most of the research about the media–audience relation have been followed by quantitative approach, but simultaneously, some study with scholarly value have assimilate mix method as their approach (Putnum, 2000; Buckingham, 2006).

1.10.2 Sources of Data and Method

This study has collected data from a number of sources. These include secondary literature, video contents, questionnaire survey and FGDs.

Secondary literature

To understand the contemporary thinking and debates about media in relation to political and social engagements, acquisition of political knowledge through media, the political efficacy of the youth and its media linking a comprehensive review of available secondary literature has been done. Secondary data of this study are comprised of book,

articles, newspaper reports, thesis papers and databases. These secondary sources have provided intensive understanding of the research issues and the basement of formulating the questionnaire for sample survey and check list for the FGDs of different subgroups of the educated youth of Bangladesh including students, service holders, business men, unemployed and house wives.

Sample survey

A Questionnaire survey method has been used to collect the primary data from the selected respondents of this study. A semi structured questionnaire has been designed to attend the purpose of the research. Two graduate level students have been hired by the researcher to help the survey work. The questionnaire has been organized in such a way that it would address the research objectives and different issues related to the objectives. To make a clear understanding of the issues, most of the questions have been guided by the general questions followed by a sequence of sub-questions. The questionnaire is comprised of open ended and close ended question options. The open ended question has been chosen for grabbing the diverse opinions of the respondents about a specific issue. The close ended questions have been framed with simple dichotomous questions, multiple choice questions and Scaled questions (See Appendix-1). Before finalizing, the draft questionnaire was pre tested among the target respondents to determine the effectiveness of the questionnaire and to identify the ambiguity. This pre-testing has helped to clarify the wording of the questionnaire. Necessary addition and omission has also been made in the questionnaire on the basis of the pre-testing. For providing a clear understanding of the questions, primarily, the language of the questionnaire was Bengali. The questionnaire has been translated into English after completing the survey.

The questionnaire is consisting of five parts: these are TV viewing habit (specially the viewing habit of news and talk shows); questions related to political culture where the youth has been asked about their outlook about politics, political institutions and political participation; the youth knowledge, awareness, efficacy and behaviour toward politics and its relation to the political contents of TV; the questionnaire about the youth political and social activity and the position of TV contents among these involvements; and lastly the question of demography of the youth respondents.

To know about TV viewing habit, the study has asked the youth about their total viewing and cognitive viewing pattern of satellite channels. Then, they are asked about their assessment of the political contents.

The political socialization of the youth and its relation to TV contents are judged by the battery of questionnaire associated with socialization agents, political efficacy, social capital, political awareness, political knowledge and behaviour. A test (consist of 10 questions) has been introduced in this section of the questionnaire to judge the political knowledge of the educated the youth. The respondents, who have answered <= 2 question are identified as “Very low knowledgeable”; respondents who have answered 3-4 questions have recognized as “ Low Knowledgeable”; Marked as “ Moderate knowledgeable” the youth who have answered 5-6 questions; have answered 7-8 question have labelled as “ High knowledgeable” and have answered 9-10 questions has been identified as “Very High knowledgeable”.

In the section of political participation the youth have been asked about their political and social engagement. The variables of political and social engagements like voting, campaign, party and other forms of membership, volunteering, issue following, political discussion were the topics of the questionnaire.

Sample Selection and Distribution

The population of age group 18-35 has diverse engagements with the society of Bangladesh. To select the educated the youth of the mentioned age group quota sampling method has been applied. The Population has been grouped into five (05) sub groups, namely students, service holder, business man, unemployed and house wives. Educational qualification of the respondents has been determined as SSC (Secondary School Certificate) to post graduate. Information about the study has been obtained from 384 the youth of Bangladesh, considering the predefined age limit and subgroups.

The survey was conducted during August 2014 to February 2015. For the sample survey respondents have been selected from Rajshshi and Kushtia district purposively. Rajshahi is an old district of north region and comprises of urban and rural geography. As a divisional headquarter Rajshahi city includes various educational institutions, government and non-government offices. As well as Kushtia is well known historical district of Khulna division has attributed by urban characteristics and rural settings. As a whole, these two districts may represent the whole scenario of the educated the youth and their political life in respect of their use of the political contents of the Television.

However, to obtain the information from every sphere of our society respondents have been selected from urban, suburban and rural community of Rajshahi and Kushtia districts. The Educated the youth of different subgroups have been selected from the mentioned districts proportionately and in such a manner that it would meet the purpose of the research. Table-1.1 shows that 57 percent of the respondents have been selected from Rajshahi district and 43 percent from Kushtia district. Then the total respondents of each district have been distributed among urban, suburban and rural area of that district, which have been selected purposively. The of city/town level, Upazilla level and union level distribution of the respondents has been shown in Table-1.1.

Table 1.1
Distribution of the Respondents in Rajshahi and Kushtia Districts

Address of the Respondents	District of the respondents		Total Respondents
	Rajshahi	Kushtia	
Rajshahi city, Rajshahi	112(29.2%)	-	112
Kushtia Town, Kushtia	-	78(20.3%)	78
Putia Upazilla Sadar, Putia Rajshahi	65(16.9%)	-	65
Mirpur Upazilla Sadar, Mirpuir, Kushtia	-	52(13.5%)	52
Geupara Union, Putia, Rajshahi	42(10.9%)	-	42
Poradaha union, Mirpur, Kushtia	-	35(9.1%)	35
Total	**219(57.0%)***	**165 (43.0%)***	**384**

* The parenthesis presents the percentage of respondents on the basis of total respondents.

In the pre testing phase, we have observed that most of the educational institution, office and organization are still urban base. As a consequence, the rate of the dwellings of the educated youth is comparatively more in urban areas. With this reality, the study has selected 49.4 percent of the youth respondents from urban areas. 30.4 percent from semi-urban area and 20.05 percent of rural area. Table-1.2 shows the distribution of the respondents in pursuit of the nature of the residence.

Table 1.2
Nature of Residence of the Respondents

Nature Of Residence	District of the Respondents		Total(n)
	Rajshahi	Kushtia	
Urban	112(29.2%)	78(20.3%)	190(49.5%)
Semi urban	65(16.9%)	52(13.5%)	117(30.4%)
Rural	42(10.9%)	35(9.1%)	77(20.1%)
Total			384(100%)

The Educated youth of Bangladesh are comprised of different subgroups. To represent the diverse sub groups of the youth, the total respondents have been sub grouped into five categories (See Table-1.3). The respondents of the subgroup have been taken from urban, suburban and rural settings. Eight educational institutions (Two universities, two master's level colleges, four degree level colleges) have been selected

purposively to select the students. Others sub group respondents have been selected from different offices, residences, tea stalls, clubs, business centres of the selected urban, suburban and rural area of Rajshshi and kushtia districts purposively (For details of the distribution of the sub groups see annex Table-1.1). In the pilot survey we have seen that students and Service men, mostly meet the predefined age limit and educational level of the study. So, 41.9 percent of the total respondents have been taken from Students followed by 21.1 percent of servicemen.

Table 1.3
Subgroup Wise Distribution of the Sample

Sub groups	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Students	161	41.9
Housewife	57	14.8
Unemployed	32	8.3
Business man	53	13.8
Service	81	21.1
Total	384	100.0

The study has endeavoured to select women and men in equal ratio, but both in the pilot survey and in the final, it has been observed that women are less informed and interested in politics. In addition, they are less inclined to the informational use of TV. Both in the questionnaire survey and the FGDs the researcher has faced some difficulties to pursue the women as respondents. As a result, the female respondents are somehow less than the male.

Table 1.4
Sex Wise Distribution of the Sample

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Woman	166	43.2
Man	218	56.8
Total	384	100.0

The distribution of the respondents on the basis of educational attainment, age and income level are presented in the following tables (See Table no. 1.5, 1.6, 1.7).

Table 1.5
Educational Attainment and Distribution of the Respondents

Educational attainment	Frequency	Percent
SSC	37	9.6
HSC	59	15.4
Degree/Honours	162	42.2
Masters	126	32.8
Total	384	100.0

Table 1.6
Age Wise Distribution of the Respondents

Age Range	Frequency	Percent
18-23	147	38.3
24-29	153	39.8
30-35	84	21.9
Total	384	100.0

Table 1.7
Income Wise Distribution of the Respondents

Income level	Frequency	Percent
5000-8000	45	11.7
8001-11000	96	25.0
11001-15000	87	22.7
15001-20000	60	15.6
20001-25000	53	13.8
More than 25000	43	11.2
Total	384	100.0

Focus Group Discussion

The study has organized eight focus group study to assess the intrinsic relation between political contents (News and Talk show) and political participation. For the

qualitative judgment, the study has arranged these focus group studies beside questionnaire survey. The study has tried to cover all of the subgroups of the sample with considering their demographic difference. The average respondents of each focus group study were 8-10 on average.Table-1.8 shows the formulation of the focus group study.

Table 1.8
Formation of Focus Group Studies

Name of the FGD	Place of the FGD	NO of respondents and Sex
FGD-1	Rajshahi University	(08 Males + 05 females)=13
FGD-2	Rajshshi City	(05 Males+ 03 females)=08
FGD-3	Kushtia Town	(05 Males + 03 females)=08
FGD-4	Putia Upazilla, Rajshshi	(05 Males + 03 females)=08
FGD-5	Kushtia Government College	(07 Males + 05 females)=12
FGD-6	Mirpur Upazila	(05 Males + 03 females)=08
FGD-7	Poradaha Union	(05 Males + 04 females)=09
FGD-8	Geupara Union	(05 Males + 02 females)=07

A checklist (Appendix-2) has been maintained in the study to discuss the core issues and sub issues. The focus group studies have been recorded with the help of the research assistant, recruited by the researcher in a mobile phone and transcribe the recoded contents as per the research objectives.

Content Analysis

The proposed research is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. To assess the political contents of the purposively selected channels (Ntv, Ekushey TV, Channel i and ATN news) ‘content analysis’ method has been used. The news and talk shows, which were telecast through the selected TV channels, are considered as text. In this research the news and talk shows of all private satellite channels, which were telecast in the month of February, 2014 in Bangladesh are considered as population. The researcher has taken 28 news programmes (Seven from each selected channel, telecast

on the date of 3rd, 8th, 15th, 19th, 21st, 25th and 28th February in the year of 2014) and 24 talk shows purposively (See Annex Table-1.2), which have been telecast in these four channels within the stipulated time on the basis of availability. Though the sample is not so large, but the researcher has taken it for an in-depth understanding of the content. The Researcher has collected these video contents from 'YouTube', which is considered as a reliable source for various forms of research areas (Kousha et al. 2012, p. 1). The researcher has stored the collected contents on a Compact disk, and then the Researcher has transcribed the acquired video contents for analysing the text of the contents.

1.10.3 Data Analysis and Presentation

The collected data have been arranged and scrutinized cautiously in accordance with demonstrable indicators of objectives. The processing steps are: editing, coding and classification. Some measurements of descriptive statistics (Frequency distributions and cross tabulation) have been done in analysing the data. Graphical techniques (Bar-diagram, pie chart, histogram etc.) have been used to present the data. The Content analysis technique has been used to analyse the video contents (News, Talk Show). Focus group data also have been classified and edited and being used for triangulation. The statistical software SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) has been used as a tools for data analysis.

1.11 Construction of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the present dissertation develops its research base and empirical findings, supplementary analysis and reaches to the conclusion through five more chapters.

Chapter one covers statement of the problems, research questions and objectives, theoretical understanding, literature review, justification of the study, research methodology.

To assess the position of political contents of STV in the political life of the youth of Bangladesh, an understanding about the background and the current state of STV and its political contents seems to be necessary. Chapter two has highlighted the current state of the satellite channels and its contents by analysing secondary data.

Chapter three has projected the patterns of TV watching of the youth. The central questions of this chapter are how the youth share their time with TV? How and to what extent they watch the cognitive contents of STV? And how they evaluate the political contents of STV?

According to the prior literatures, the process of political socialization may determine the level of political participation of the citizen. Chapter four has tried to assess the inner relation between political contents of STV and political knowledge, political identity, social capital and political efficacy–which may be the influential variables in studying political socialization and political participation.

To attend the central research question, how and to what extent political contents of STV are related to the political participation of the youth of Bangladesh? Chapter five has examined the pattern and intensity of political participation among the youth and the contribution of the political contents of STV in the process of social and political engagements. At last, chapter six has drawn a conclusion of the study. This chapter is comprised of major findings from the previous chapters, implications of the study and questions for further study.

Chapter Two
State of Indigenous Satellite TV in Bangladesh: An Assessment

2.1 Introduction

The role of TV regarding political learning, political behaviour and political participation of citizens has captured the attention of a broad set of scholars since the invention of this media in 1950s. Yet clear answer still remains elusive (Drucman 2003). In Bangladesh, TV was introduced in the 1960s, but researches, in this area are very insufficient.

The main focus of this study is to identify the role of TV on the youth political participation in Bangladesh. The participation of people in the political process depends on various factors, including the state of media in the modern democratic world. Scholars have justified that media have a substantial impact on people's political participation by informing them the truth and making them knowledgeable about the ins and outs of politics. Entman (1989, p. 3) has argued, the press is supposed to enhance democracy by both stimulating the citizenry's political interest and providing the specific information they need to hold government accountable. Media nowadays enjoy authority and prestige, and therefore, the image of media attracts and influences the social change and the acquisition of new lifestyles and values. In this media sphere, TV is alive and influential part of the widespread mix of communications (Lunt, 2009). TV is still the trusted provider of audio visual information and has the potential of bringing nations together. After the conclusion of the age of cold war, the world politics is somehow dominated by the liberal democratic culture. The emergence of consumer society has altered the way of working of media. Now the media is mainly

dominated by the big corporations and mostly stand on the mechanism of profit gaining. These corporations are the amalgamation of various farms, with various products including media. TV media is not out of this global trend. In the last portion of the 90s, there happened an important change in the arena of mass media. With the reality of the global market, the monopolistic control of the government over media has shifted in the hand of private ownership. The rise of private satellite TV dramatically changed the decade long monopolistic culture of state run TV. Mehta (2008, p. 2) has expressed, "The rise of private satellite TV, after decades of state monopoly over media, has engendered a transformation in India's political and public culture". In case of Bangladesh, the effect of the emergence of satellite TV is not very different. Private Satellite channels have been inaugurated in Bangladesh in 1990s. Nowadays, in Bangladesh a variety of satellite channels are broadcasting programmes. Among them, a big number of Bangladeshi satellite channels are on air to entertain the people as well as to promote the art, culture and heritage of the country. The BBC (2012) has acknowledged that over the past 10 years media market in Bangladesh has expanded by a notable number of newspapers and satellite TV channels dominated by a few corporations. Beside home TV channels, different types of foreign TV channels also managed to enter the country. Before examining the role of STV media on the youth political socialization and participation, it is important to examine the current state of private satellite TV channels and their programmes in Bangladesh. For this reason, this chapter aims to examine the unprecedented expansion of STV channels in Bangladesh, political contents of satellite TV (News and Talk Shows) and its discourse, the relation between TV and the democracy in Bangladesh. This chapter also seeks to investigate the freedom of media, especially the STV. In this chapter the researcher has chosen four

private satellite channels (Purposively) for analysing their contents. These Channels are *Channel i, Etv (Ekusey TV), Ntv and ATN News.*

2.2 TV and its Beginning

Bangladesh is the mentionable country in South Asia for 'TV media boom'. But this enhancement of media does not come in a day, before the inclusion of TV, media of this region broadly media of the Indian subcontinent were dominated by newspaper and radio. Mostly the history of newspaper is much diversified.

The regular transmission of TV was started in the world level in just after the 2nd world war but in this subcontinent, it was started two decades later (Banglapedia 2012). TV service was inaugurated in East Pakistan in 1964 as a pilot project (TV Guide, 1980-82, p. 3). Then it was one of the major decisions of the governing military elite of Pakistan to launch TV service in the country. After adopting such decision, the eastern wing of the country entered into TV world, when TV station was officially introduced by president Ayub Khan in Dhaka in 1964, on 25th December (BTV Profile 1989, p. 15). It was then called Dhaka TV. In 1967 TV was turned into Private Corporation. In 1971, after the nine months of liberation war when Bangladesh achieved her national independence from Pakistan on 16 December, the Pakistan TV transferred into the Bangladesh TV (BTV) on 17 December of the same year. The first civilian government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took the immediate decision to take over the Pakistan TV Corporation on 13 September 1972 (Huda 2004) through the promulgation of the Presidential order no. 115. DIT (now RAJUK) was the first official building of Bangladesh TV. On 06 march 1975, TV centre was moved to its own house at Rampura, Dhaka. In the initial stage, TV broadcasting was limited in case of time and area. The Daily broadcast was for three hours only in the evening and it used to cover only a

radius of 16 k.m. With the help of TNT board, by using microwave connection BTV transmission was expanded in major cities of Bangladesh (Banglapedia, 2014). In 1980, BTV started transmission in colour. This was a milestone in the way of modernization of TV. BTV has gradually increased its limit of telecasting in the pursuit of time and covering area. Since joining with the global media system, BTV has introduced its Satellite part '*BTV world'* in 2004.

2.3 Expansion of TV through Satellite Channels

The expansion of TV occurred with the inception of satellite channels. Satellite TV Channel was introduced in Bangladesh in the 1990s. On September 29 in 1992, the US TV network CNN was started relaying its transmission via satellite in Bangladesh for a few hours every day using the BTV channel (Hossain, 2013). The same year, the BBC started the same under similar arrangements. Permission to use dish antennas for receiving satellite transmissions directly by general users opened up new opportunities for the Bangladeshi viewers to see programmes from the outside world. Between 1992 and 1995, more than 10 foreign TV channels entered Bangladeshi homes. Today this number stands at more than 100 (Hossain, 2013).

The satellite TV channels are now the most popular sources of entertainment for the people. In addition to CNN and BBC, new channels were introduced in 1992 in Bangladesh. These were basically the Star TV Network, the Zee TV network, the Indian TV and the Pakistan TV. Some early users bought dish antennas for very high prices and installed them on their roofs. Very soon, the innovative entrepreneurs, foreseeing a lucrative business, started operating private cable networks, which mushroomed throughout the country. The number of channels subscribed increased substantially in the major cities. Private satellite TV channels of Bangladesh like the *ATN Bangla*, the

Channel i also went into operation since the late nineties. The *NTV* and the *Etv* (Ekushey TV) appeared with a variety of news and programme soon becoming popular satellite TV channels. According to MOI (2015) there are 41 (Forty one) STV channels (Private) in Bangladesh (See Annex Table-5.1 for the list of private channels).

So it is clear that after 90's the reintroduction of parliamentary democracy and the effect of market liberalization have accelerated the growth of private satellite channels in Bangladesh. The scenario of the growth of TV channels in Bangladesh is shown in the figure-5.1 below.

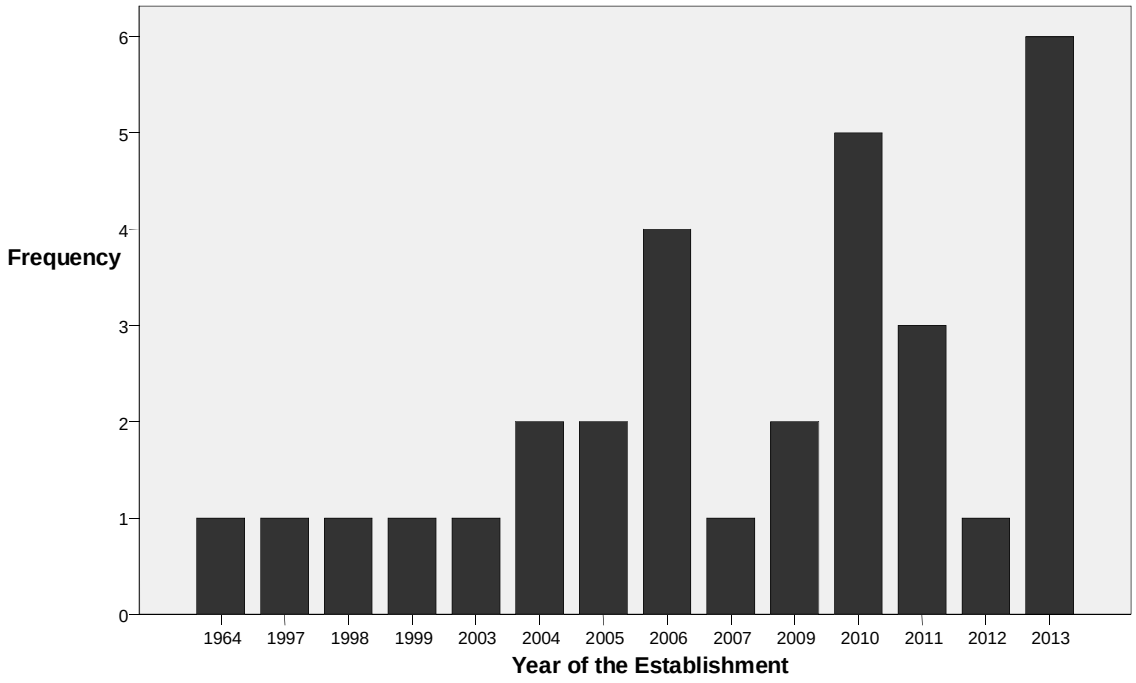

Figure 2.1: Growth of TV Channels from 1964-2013 (Developed by the Researcher)

2.4 Ownership of TV Channels

From the previous discussion, it is clear that since the government of Bangladesh permitted private satellite TV channels, a huge investment in the establishment of TV stations, programmes production and advertisement sectors have been facilitated by the

dominant political and commercial elites of the country. With the concept of media merger big business organizations are merging together to establish their market authority and for the maximization of the profit. This integration of media is called ‘Mega Media’ or ‘Tran’s National Media’. These corporations are working in the field of mass media like broadcasting, publishing, film and recording. ‘American Online Time Warner’, ‘Disney’, ‘News Corporation’ are these types of organizations. These institutions are governed by corporate ownership.

In Bangladesh the ownership of TV media is not out of the global reality. Most of the satellite TV ownership is in the hand of big corporations. Table-2.1 shows the corporate ownership of some popular satellite TV channels in Bangladesh:

Table 2.1
Corporate Linkage of the Satellite Channels of Bangladesh.

Name of the Channels	Corporate Linkage
Channel I	Impress Tele Film Ltd.
Somoy TV	City Group
Channel 24	Hamim Group
Massranga TV	Square Group
Independent TV	Beximco Group
Boishakhi TV	Destiny Group
RTV	Bengal Group
GTV	Gazi Group

The table presented above shows that many of TV channels are affiliated with big corporations. Not surprisingly, most of the owners of Bangladesh private TV channels are connected to influential political parties (Rahman, 2009). A close interrelation among media, corporate world and politics is a reality of the market oriented media system. Chowdhury (2003) has denoted the 1980’s as the decade, which gave rise of the 'Owner-

Editor Class', which was a new phenomenon that ensured control and prestige through editorship, first of a newspaper and subsequently of a TV station.

2.5 Contents of TV

There are various contents telecast through the private satellite channels of Bangladesh. These are different forms of entertainment programmes, News, Talk Shows, Documentaries, Live Programmes and many more. The researcher has chosen the news and the talk show genre as the content of the proposed research, because it is assumed that these contents are closely related to state politics and power relation.

First, the researcher has analysed the news content of the satellite channels, then the talk shows of the channels. The researcher has selected 04 satellite channels purposively.

The channels are 1) *Ekushey TV* (ETV); 2) *Channel I*; 3) *Ntv*; 4) *ATN News*. The logic behind the selection of the channels is:

1) *Ekushey TV* (ETV) is the pioneer of TV news industry. It has established a new dimension of news making and presentation.
2) *Channel i* is the first digital 1st generation satellite channel in Bangladesh.
3) *Ntv* is the 2nd generation satellite channel, popular for news, talk shows and other programmes.
4) *Atn News* is first 24 hour 3rd generation news channel.

The researcher has not taken BTV as a sample because it is assumed that BTV is less competent in case of objectivity and credibility of the news, in comparison with the private satellite channels. As Haider (2013, 117) and Jahangir (2010) have argued that though BTV disseminate information by news, it has the lack of objectivity and professionalism.

The researcher has taken 28 news programmes (Seven from each selected channel, telecast on the date of 3rd, 8th, 15th, 19th, 21st, 25th and 28th February in the year of 2014) and 24 talk shows (See Annex Table-1.2 for Details of Selected Talk shows) purposively, which have been telecast in these four channels within the stipulated time on the basis of availability.

2.5.1 TV as a Medium of News

From the multidimensional forms of TV programmes news has gained its importance. In 1900, people over the world got their news from the printed editions of their local paper. A hundred years later, they are getting it from various types of media but, in between, for a long time TV was the dominant media for the news. As a source of entertainment and news TV has changed all the forms of media prior to it (Williams, 1974, p.3). The most amazing part of TV is visualization with audio. The news broadcast on TV are carefully scheduled, edited, sequenced, branded, heard and seen simultaneously (Blondheim & Liebes, 2009). The audience felt closeness when they visualize the screen and it has an additional reflection. As an example, Haider (2013, p. 119) has pointed out that if a person reads a news of public meeting and at the same time, if the visualization of that very meeting happened, the person may feel a direct presence in that meeting. In addition, the news can be transmitted very easily for every class of people, educated or uneducated. Literacy is not essential in viewing TV (Nasrin, 1999, p.20).

2.5.1.1 News and Satellite TV of Bangladesh

Recently different kinds of discourses about satellite TV and its various contents are going on in various stages of our society. Specially, the news content of satellite TV channels is the centre of the discussion (Haider, 2013, p. 117). Bangladesh TV has been telecasting news from its inception, but after the inclusion of private satellite channels the forms and natures of news production have changed dramatically. The news

programmes became more credible than those of the era of BTV monopoly. In this research, the news programmes, which have been included in the sample, have been divided into 11 categories. Each of the categories may have various dimensions. A news item can be grouped simultaneously in the category of political and crime news. In the same way, economic news may have political direction. In these cases, the intrinsic tendency of the news has determined the category of that news.

Table 2.2
Item Wise Distribution of the News (On the Basis of the News Content Analysis by the Researcher)

Types of News	Number of Items	% of the News Item
Political News	92	35%
Diplomatic News	20	8%
Crime News	13	5%
Accident	8	3%
Court, Law and Order Related News	25	9%
Education and Culture	14	5%
Agriculture, Economy and Commerce	23	9%
Governance related	22	8%
International news	15	6%
Health	5	2%
Games	29	11%
Total	266	100%

From table-2.2, we can easily say that a substantial portion of news programmes on the satellite channels are enclosed by political news. If we analyse the political news, we can detect some directions of these types of news. For this purpose, we need to clear up the concept of 'Discourse of News' items.

2.5.1.2 Discourse of News

The term 'discourse' refers to anything written or spoken under the normal usage of language. Surface meanings are always different from the real meanings. The aim of discourse is to bring forth how speech patterns are working in a particular framework and

how they are being utilized in the society. Primarily, it was the matter of language, but now it has a wider application. Besides focusing on the meaning of a given discourse, the distinguishing characteristic of this approach is its stress on power relationships. Michel Foucault has brought a new dimension to the meaning of discourse analysis, according to Foucault, these are expressed through language and behaviour, and the relationship between language and power. The method analyses how the social world, expressed through language, is affected by various sources of power (Hall, 1992, p. 291). The news of TV builds one kind of discourse. It creates a realistic experience for us, which is not very easy for us to achieve by other means. It also made us believe that realism.

Political News

In our country, from the very beginning of our journalism, even still now, the value of political news is more than other types of news. The percentage of the above table examines that. We can clear it up with a graphical representation.

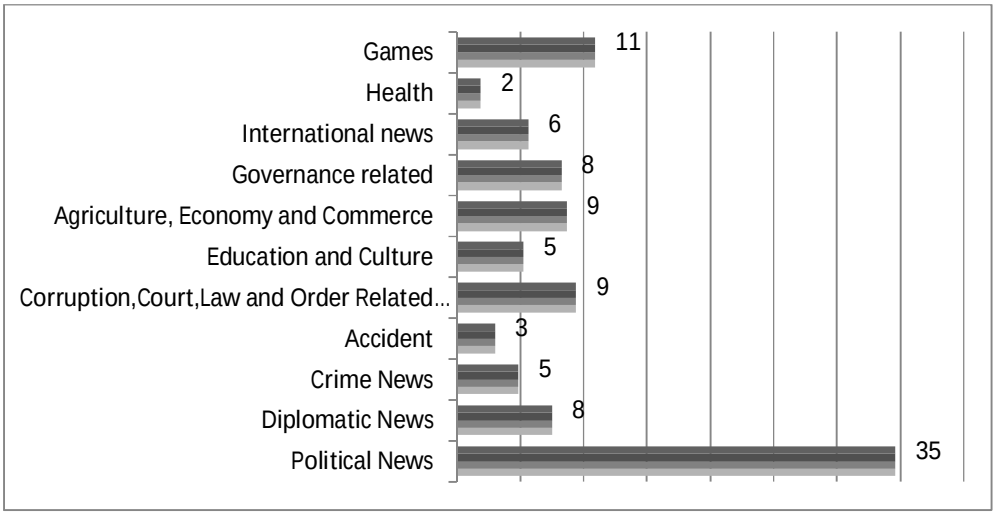

Figure 2.2: % of News Item Telecast in the Satellite Channels. (Developed by the Researcher)

By analysing the sample news programmes, it has found that, political news generally comprises of the news of the ruling and the other influential political parties. It

can be characterized as a news slot for the Members of the Parliament, Ministers and other political leaders. By analysing the sample news programmes the researcher has found some categories of political news. These are:

Table 2.3
Category of Political News

1) News of Election
2) News of Influential Political Party
3) Speech of Party Leaders in Various Issues
4) Position of Political Party about Important Issues
5) Various Governmental works of MPs and Ministers.

By giving some examples from the sample news, it can be made apparent. The sample news have been taken in the month of February, 2014. The local government election (Upazila Parisad)[1], 1st and 2nd phases were held in this month. As a result the news coverage was dominated by the news of the election. The news were mainly about the campaign of the election, the candidate's and voter's perception about the election, comments of election commission, observation of political analyst about the election and its relation to the national politics, comments of central leaders of influential party about local government election, law and order situation regarding election, were telecast.

Figure 2.3: News of Campaign, Voter Perception in Durgapur Upazila, Netrokona; February 15, 2014 Ekushey Television (ETV) Noon Time News

Ekushey TV telecast the campaign of the candidates in the upazilas of Netrokona district on February 15, 2014 (All Daily Newspaper, 2014). In this report the candidates, voters and the officials utter their observation about the election.

[1] Upazila Parishad is a Part of Local Government in Bangladesh.

Channel i, covered the first phase of upazila election, which was held on 19th February, 2014. In the news, they telecast the news about voting centre, counting of vote and different opinions of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and the Awami League's potential leaders about the vote (MdNEWSMEDIA, 2014). This channel also telecasts the press conference of CEC about the election.

Figure 2.4: Channel i, Election Related News (19 February, 2014, 9.00 pm)

The channels also presented the post election impression of the political parties. Usually the comments of the two influential parties about the overall situation of the upazila election were completely reverse. NTV gave the coverage of press conference of the BNP and the Awami League about upazila election on 19 February 2014, where the Awami League spokesman said that the party could take pride for conducting such a fair and free election, on the other hand, the BNP spokesman said that it was a peculiar election with the accusation of rigging in the election (MdNEWSMEDIA, 2014).

Figure 2.5: Press Conference of BNP and Awami League about 1st Phase Upazilla Parisad Election, (*NTV* , 19 February, 2014)

TV has become an important sphere of Government, political parties and civil societies in expressing their views, ideological dimensions, steps and observations about the matters related to politics, development, governance and many more. Nowadays, TV channels cover most of the meetings, gatherings, processions and other daily works of the prominent political parties.

Figure 2.6: Minister of Power, Energy & Mineral Resources, in a Workshop on Coal Based Power Plant (ATN NEWS, 3rd February, 2014)

In a workshop on 3rd February 2014, about the need of establishing coal based power plant, the Minister (*Ministry of Power, Energy & Mineral Resources*) expressed his concern about coal based power plant to shrink the growing needs of electricity (MdNEWSMEDIA, 2014)). In this news the channel did not create a background of power shortage and the place where the proposed plants are going to be made. The channel did not take any interview of the people of the concern area, which is essential for the completion of the news.

Ntv aired a report on February 8, 2014 about 7 point suggestion offered by the member of the Presidium of Awami League, Nuh-Ul-Alam Lenin, in the context of permanent solution of political instability (Aseef Nazrul, 2014). The points were:

1) To establish election time government on the light of the constitution.

2) To ban Jammat-e-Islami Bangladesh.

3) To ban religion based politics.

4) No boycotting of Parliament by the political party.

5) To stop arrest and harassment of the opposition party.

6) To ban hartal and blockade.

7) To stop political intrusion in judicial system.

NTV also interviewed Barrister Rafiqul Islam[2] and Hossain Zillur Rahman[3] about the offered points. Where barrister Rafiqul Islam opposed the view of Lenin. Hossain Zillur Rahman argued for the duty of civil society in this context. *NTV* did not take any view of another influential political party the BNP, which is necessary for the fruitfulness of the news topic like this.

Diplomatic News

The visit of the president, the prime minister, high officials of any country, high officials of various international organizations in Bangladesh or the statements of foreign leaders about the various issues regarding Bangladesh are categorized as diplomatic news. In the sample news, there are some reports in these criteria.

In the diplomatic news *NTV* telecast a very potential report on February 15, 2014, concerning the foreign interference in the national politics of Bangladesh

[2] Barrister Rafiqul Islam is a renowned lawer and political analyst.
[3] Hossain Zillur Rahman is the former member of caretaker government.

(MdNEWSMEDIA, 2014). NTV started the report with a statement "It is common phenomenon that foreign countries are messing with the national-political issues of Bangladesh". It quoted that at the time of 10th parliamentary election, the foreigners put forward various suggestions. They also argued, "the world power is still divided in case of the political issues of Bangladesh". *NTV* arranged an interview of former ambassador of Bangladesh Faruk Ahmed Chowdhury and political Scientist, Professor Dilara Jaman. Both of them opined "the developed countries are more concerned about the interest of their own, they are interfering for their own interest not for the betterment of Bangladesh". They also commented that Bangladesh should take her political decision by her own mechanism not by the prescription of others.

The news coverage was comparatively comprehensive but no comments were taken from the leaders of major political parties, which is very rational for this type of news.

Another news was about the visit of deputy foreign minister of America, *Atul Kesap*, was cast by NTV on 25 February 2014, where the minister argued in a press conference that all the political parties of Bangladesh should work together to defend militancy (Bangla News, 2014). He also consented for the participatory democracy. Actually we are living in such a power structure, where the United States is a big factor for us in various aspects. This insists media to cover all sorts of news like these.

The news coverage of *Channel I*, about the meeting of parting Iranian ambassador with Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on 3rd February, 2014 gives us a new notion that Bangladesh wants to expand her strategic and commercial bonding with Muslim countries (Bangla TV Talk Show, 2014).

Crime, Law and Order Related News

In table 2.2, we have categorized crime and law and order related news separately, the researcher has analysed these two types of news equally because of their close co-relation. Generally, the activity which is not justified by the law of a state is identified as a crime. This kind of news has classified as crime news. In the sample news programmes most of the crime news were related to murder, robbery, smuggling and cross fire of RAB.

In this section a special report was cast by *ATN News* on 15 February, 2014. Where Rapid Action Battalion had arrested a group of gold and dollar smugglers, but the important part of the news was the involvement of Bangladesh Police and Bangladesh Army members in this smugglers group. The channels covered a detail picture of the incident.

Figure 2.7: Rab had Arrested a Group of Smugglers (ATN NEWS, 15 February, 2014)

Report about death in the police custody was telecast in NTV and Ekushey TV simultaneously on 3rd February and 28th February. In these reports the relatives of the victims accused police of the death, but the police administration denied the charge (Bangla TV News Live & Bangladesh TV News, 2014)

All of the four channels gave coverage and update of the news about the video message of AL-Qaida leader Ayman al-Zawahiri about Bangladesh and the escape of militant prisoner from a prison van. All of the channels tried to unveil the intrinsic causes of this kind of incident, which are very threatening to the security of Bangladesh.

In the sample news, there were a good number of law and order related news. Most of them were about the bail of political leaders. All of the channels emphasized in the news of '*BIDIAR BIDROHO TRIAL'*[4]. In this matter, *Channel i* aired news very elaborately with the background of the incident and the current situation of the trial on 25 February, 2014 (All Bangla Newspaper, 2014). *ATN NEWS* focused only on the current improvement of the whole situation of the BGB.The verdict of Ten-Truck arms haul case also engrossed the attention of the selected four channels.

Education and Cultural News

In the sample news programmes, there were a few numbers of educational and cultural news. As it was the month of February, all of the four channels telecast the news about international mother language day or 21st February. Mainly, the programmes were on the basis of that specific day. *Channel i* was the only exception, which regularly interviewed of the persons, who took part in the language movement in 1952, coming from various areas of Bangladesh.

In this consequence, on February 3, 2014 *Channel i* introduced Nurul Islam, a participant of the language movement and also a valiant freedom fighter, of Gobindagonj, Gaibandha district. He narrated his experience of language movement and liberation war. He said, "We should always try to uplift our language, and for this we should use it in every sphere of life". For the youth generation, he suggested to be guided by the morality, not by money (All daily newspaper, 2014). Actually, Media can build up our identity by sharing the experience of these resource people.

The number of news related to education was not very high. Two news items, related to the agitation of the general students of two public universities, were covered by all

[4] The trial of Bangladesh Rifles (**BDR**) members involved in the mutiny on February 25 and 26, 2009 in Dhaka and elsewhere in the country.

of the channels. One was the protest of the students of Rajshahi University, demanding cancellation of the university authority's decision of fee hike and continuing the evening master's programme. Most of the channels highlighted the attack on general students. They also described all the background of the incident and took interviews of all concerning persons, including education minister, university authorities and general students.

ATN NEWS took an interview of the education minister about the issue on February 3, 2014. He said, 'necessary steps will be taken after investigation of the matter' (Aseef Nazrul, 2014).

News coverage, handled by 04 of the selected channels, was the agitation of the students of the Jagannath University, on the demands of freeing university dormitories from illegal occupants and continuation of government funding for the university.

NTV cast news about the incidence of Jagannath University on 25th February, 2014, where the channel showed the demonstration of the students and the teachers of Jagannath University, interviews of the teachers and students about their demands and next agenda (Aseef Nazrul, 2014). The channel did not take any interview of the education minister on the subject matter, which was essential for the completion of the reporting.

In reality, media can accelerate these kinds of demands of the youth by creating a platform for them, but in many cases they do not play their due role.

Governance Related News

Governance is the core issue of democracy. Without good governance it is merely impossible to ensure people's participation. So ultimately democracy mostly depends on the depth of governance. Politics of any country is closely associated with economy, commerce, infrastructure, investment and many more things. In this portion, the

researcher has seen governance as a broad perspective. Corruption is one of the main obstacles in our country to establish good governance. It also causes mal-governance in government development planning. There are some governance related news in the sample. Anti-Corruption Commission has taken a special drive to investigate the wealth of government high officials and ministers. In that consequence, in the four channels, there were some reports of corruption cases filed by the Anti-Corruption Commission. All the four channels cast the news of corruption cases against ministers, politicians and government officials with a detail background of the alleged person, the abnormality of the growth of his current assets. The channels also took interviews of the general people about the accused man. The accused man was also interviewed by the channels to defend him. In the list of accusations, there were the influential persons of both of the prominent political parties. In an interview with *Channel I* on 25th February, 2014, the chairman of the Anti-Corruption Commission argued, No particular party or ideology is the criteria for any corruption case, corruption cases will be filed on the basis of the merit of evidence.

A report of mal-governance in the economic sector, the Hall Mark Group monetary corruption and the slow procedure of the Sonali Bank in taking legal action was telecast by Channel I on February 8, 2014. The report unveiled that Sonali Bank is very slow-moving in maintaining the case against Hall Mark for the money they borrowed from the bank with mischief (MdNEWSMEDIA, 2014).

ATN NEWS cast news about environment governance on 3rd February 2014. The report cleared that a group of powerful people graved the Buriganga river, which was once the lifeline of Dhaka city (Aseef Nazrul, 2014).

Another news report aired by *Ekushey TV* on 3rd February, 2014 disclosed that the house rent in the Dhaka city is increasing, without following any rules and

regulations. In this case the authority-city corporation officials did not express their views regarding the report (Bangladeshi News and talk show, 2014).

In this way, the channels are highlighting the governance issues, which are very essential for deliberative democracy.

Agriculture, Economy and Commerce News

Politics is not an isolated matter. It has a reflective correlation with economy. In a word, politics and economy depend on each other. Without political stability, economic development is not possible, on the other hand the economic development accelerates political stability in many ways. The economy of Bangladesh is mostly dependent on agriculture, but in the sample of the news programmes the researcher has observed very little portion of agricultural news. Most of the channels only define the instant problems of agriculture and the farmers. There are very minimum numbers of comprehensive news coverage about agriculture. As an example, on 8th February, 2014 *ETV* telecast a news about the diseases and lower price of potato (All daily Newspaper, 2014). The channel took interview of the potato farmer and concerning agriculture extension authority. They thrust the blame on each other, but the report did not search for a solution of the problem. In the same news programme there was reported about the excess stock of shrimp and the demand of the shrimp traders for the government initiative of solving the problem. In this report, no interview of the concerning government authority was taken by the channel. Among the four channels, comparatively *Channel i* give more coverage to the agriculture news.

Most of the commerce related news were about the conference of the big business companies. *ETV* telecast daily updates of share market very comprehensively in their commerce related news.

In the news on *NTV* on 25th February 2014, Dr. Debapriya Bhattacharya[5] was interviewed about the current condition of Bangladesh economy (Behiye Arcan, 2014).

Figure 2.8: Ntv Taking Interview of Debapriya Bhattacharya

He argued, 'By increasing political stability, we have to increase the collection of revenue, private investment, remittance flow and other economic indicators of a stable economy of the country'. This report proves that economy is closely related to politics, and by the help of these forms of news the audience can understand the inner relation between politics and economy.

In addition to this news item there are international news, health news and news about games. In the global world, no country can move forward without the co-operation of others. Every country is somehow dependent to others in various aspects. So, international news is very important in this global village. In the sample, most of the international news were related to war and political clash of foreign countries.

Like the agriculture sector, the news of health sector was very low in frequency. In case of the news of games every channel gives special priority, because the news of games can attract advertisement very easily.

[5]Dr. *Debapriya Bhattacharya* is a macro-economist and public policy analyst. Currently he is a Distinguished Fellow at the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD).

2.5.2 Talk Shows

Electronic Media in Bangladesh have been more informative than ever before. Broadly speaking, media in a country create public enlightenment about socio-political issues such as health, education, sanitation, unemployment, the price hike of essential commodities and the state of the country and the nation. It is used as an instrument of policy formulation and implementation by the government as well as an effective channel of interest aggregation and articulation. It is said that media of a country continuously shape and reshape public opinions, attitudes and perceptions about politics, political participation, political culture, public demand, political development and governance. These are done by the help of the argumentative nature of media. TV talk or the argumentative nature of TV accelerates the democratic nature of deliberative media. For this reason the portion of the chapter will throw light on other content of the Bangladeshi satellite channel the 'Talk Shows', which seems to be very popular as well as criticized on various grounds. As Mittel (2003) has addressed, "Despite the frequent condemnation from cultural critics, talk shows remain one of the most popular and influential forms of TV programme" This part of the chapter has highlighted the form, nature and subject matters of TV talk shows which telecast in the selected satellite channels.

2.5.2.1 What is 'Talk Show'?

The talk show is a TV genre, in which various political, social, moral and governance related issues are discussed. Normally these types of programmes are arranged inside the indoor studio. There are some common elements in every talk show and these are TV studio, the host, and the interviewee.

On the talk show, TV studio is the place of the programme. The role of TV media in the talk show is to be both the event in itself and to be the place of the event at

one and the same time (Bruun, 1999). Talk shows offer a particular case study in linking identity and taste (Mittel, 2003). The matter which is broadly associated with this genre of TV is, the hosts, panels of guests, interviewees, involved audiences, question and answer and contemporary issues.

The matters discussed in the talk shows in such a way that the audiences feel a close relation with the issue and the programme. Bruun (1999, p. 243) has clarified that the aim of the show is first of all to give viewers an experience of simultaneity between the time of the programme and its transmission. Secondly, the aim is to create an experience of emergence of space between the programme and the viewers.

In the western world, the genre is as old as the TV medium itself, and today, talk shows comprise no small percentage of available programmes on commercial as well as non-commercial TV stations. Some renowned Talk Shows and the anchors are '*The late show*' with David Letterman; '*The Jerry Springer Show'* by Jerry Springer; '*Larry King Live*' With renowned journalist Larry King and most recently '*The Oprah Winfrey Show'* by Oprah Winfrey. Talk shows are cheap to produce and popular among viewers, and the ability of this genre is to attract viewers is no new phenomenon. But it is, comparatively new phenomenon in countries like Bangladesh.

2.5.2.2 'Talk Shows' in TV Channels of Bangladesh

'Talk Show' is comparatively a new content for TV of Bangladesh. At first this genre was introduced by the Bangladesh TV (BTV). *'Apni Ki Bhabchen'*(*What are you thinking*) was the first live and phone in 'Talk show' telecast by BTV in 1977 (Jahangir, 2012, p. 203). The director of the show was Belal Begh[6]. At that time BTV was

[6] A renowned media personality of Bangladesh.

completely controlled by the government and for this reason it was not possible to discuss politics and matters related to government.

After the reintroduction of parliamentary form of government in 1991, media got an atmosphere of expansion. Satellite channels emerged and TV media got a new look in terms of presenting news and views. 'Talk Show' introduced broadly by many private channels after the huge popularity of *'Sanglap'* presented by BBC World Service in Bangladesh context (BBC, 2012). Now 'Talk Show' is telecast by most of TV channels of Bangladesh.

In this researcher has selected 04 (four) satellite channels (ATN News, Channel I, NTV, ETV) to analyse their TV Talk shows. 24 Talk show programmes (06 from each channel) have selected purposively on the basis of availability on You Tube. The broadcasting month of the talk shows was February, 2014. For covering most of the issues of the month, contents have selected from first, middle and last 10 days of the month (See Annex Table-2.1).

Most of the Talk shows are telecast at late night. The duration of the programmes is, on an average, one hour. All of the four Talk shows are broadcast from inside studio of the channels. Among them, *Atn news* some time adds link studio with the main. The *Atn news* channel some time also maintains a link with an outer spot for maintaining a live connection with the targeted audience. Both *Atn News* and *ETV* receive phone calls from the audience of their show.'*Tritio Matra*' of *Channel i* maintains a voting of the audience through SMS, to provide the audience to express their views about the arguments of the guests. The programmes are started by showing a video clip or describing a background of the proposed matter of discussion by the anchor.

Figure 2.9: Talk Show On *Channel i* (Tritio Matra)

The host or the anchor of the talk show plays a substantial role to maintain the show in such a way that the discussed matter can be critically judged by the guests. She/he asks specific questions and gives time for the specific answer. She/he maintains a time allocation for each of the invited guests. Sometime he/she adds, subtracts or makes correction of the argument placed by the guest.

Figure 2.10: ATN NEWS Talk Show (News Hour Extra) with Link Studio

2.5.2.3 Who are The Guests?

The guests or the participants of talk shows are potential personalities, who have substantial knowledge and experience on the subject matter of Talk Shows. The researcher has identified that the most of the participants of talk shows of this 4(four)

channels were Politicians, University Professors, Government Officials, Intellectuals, Journalists, Lawyers, Constitution Specialist, Editors, Civil Society Members etc. The Chart below shows the percentage of the professionals, who were the guest of the selected Talk shows:

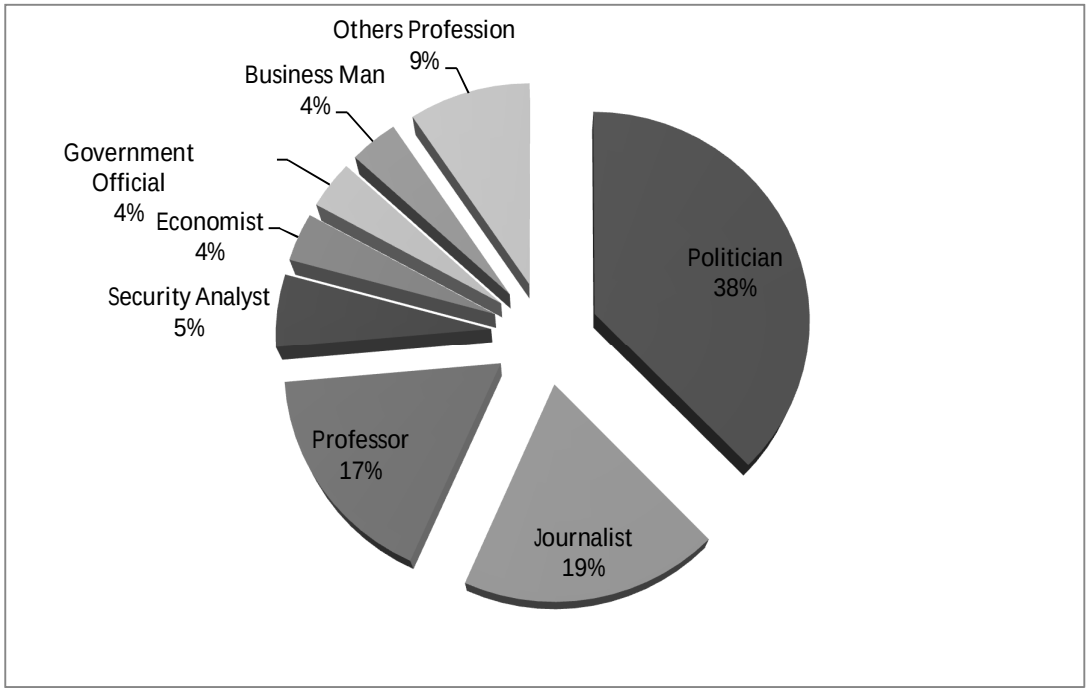

Figure 2.11: Guest in the Talk Shows (Derived from the Content by the Researcher)

So it is easily understandable that, politicians are the main visitors of TV Talk shows followed by the Journalist and the University professors.

2.5.2.4 The Subject Matters of the Talk

The subject matter of the talk shows, presented in the satellite channels of Bangladesh, are mainly politics centric. It also includes society, commerce, culture, media and governance as an issue of discussion. By analysing the 24 Talk show programmes which was telecast in the aforementioned channels, the researcher has categorized the subject matter of the talk shows, which are stated in table-2.4.

Table 2.4
Agenda of Talk Shows

Main category	Topic Disscussed
Politics and Democracy	a) Local Government Election; b) Hartal; c) Reelection Debate; d) Internal Democracy in the Major Party System; e) Future of the Major Political party; f) Dialogue between two Major Party g) Relation of Jammat-e-Islami and Bangladesh Nationalist Party; h) Election and Bangladesh Nationalist Party; i) Local Government and Party affiliation; j) Effectiveness of Local Government; k) Opposition of the Current Parliament.
Governance	Corruption, Educational Governance, Corporate Governance, Government Accountability of various issues, The Effectiveness of Government Institution (Election Commission).
International Relation and Diplomacy	Relation With Neighbour Country, Interference of the Foreign Countries in Domestic Politics.
Economy	Minimum Wage of Garment Worker and its Implementation
Education and Culture	Property of Jagannath University, Bengali Language Day Rajshahi University Incident, Problems in Education System
Law, Order and Justice	Ten-Truck Arms Haul Case, Escape of JMB Militants from the Prison Van, Video Message Of Ayman al-Zawahiri about Bangladesh.

So it is transparent that most of the talk shows are related to politics and democracy. The other topics also have co-relation with the prior one. On the other hand the show is mostly dominated by the members of two major political parties.

2.6 STV and Democracy of Bangladesh

After decades of state monopoly over TV Bangladeshi viewers have got the taste of private TV in the late 1990s. The expansion of private satellite channels and its political contents like news, talk shows have brought a new scenario in the arena of democracy in Bangladesh. The inner depth of democracy depends on the participation of people in the form of argumentation and deliberation. Now the people are more conscious and informed about the political matters. This change has intensified with the initiation of news TV in Bangladesh. Somehow it has also created a public sphere for the viewer.

Now the shape of Bangladesh politics is also closely related to the political contents of TV. The government, political parties are immensely involved with TV channels for expressing their views about the political matters. As the constitutional place for constructive debate about the important matters of the nation is somehow moribund, TV channels have become the first choice of the politicians and the law- makers for the argument and the debate through the news and talk show programmes. As Mehta (2008, p. 35) has argued that, with the expansion of news audience, the shape of politics has been changed. In a similar way with the boost of private channels the mode of Bangladesh politics and the nature of people's participation are also changing. We can explain it with the concept of the public sphere and argumentative nature of the people.

2.6.1 The Argumentative Bangladeshi

TV has been called the private life of the nation-state (Hartley, 1992, p. 101); it cannot be understood in isolation from its social context. It's closely related with its political and social culture. TV is treated differently in different countries. In Bangladesh TV is also interrelated with the political culture. The key argument of this portion of the thesis is that Bangladeshi private TV and its political contents (News, Talk shows) have a link to long 'Dialogic' and 'argumentative tradition' of diverse debate among the people of Bangladesh. The news and the talk shows on TV are the continuation of that argumentative nature of the people of this subcontinent. Amartya Sen has argued that there is an intimate connection between historical traditions of argumentation and Indian democracy (Sen, 2005, p. 30). He has also claimed that the process of public reasoning is the roots of stronger democracy and easier to preserve.

If one analyse the historical background of Bangladeshi, we can observe that they made their argument against the illogical view of the ruling elite in 1952, in the question

of state language, which was the basement of the liberation war of Bangladesh. In 1990s the nation again showed their argument against the autocratic ruler and reestablished parliamentary form of government. In today's Bangladesh the political culture is not supportable for deliberative democracy. People are losing their platform for expressing their argument. In this situation the private channels have made a room for peoples argument with their programmes like news and talk shows, where people can express themselves or find the ingredients of argumentations. To extend that argument further, news and talk shows in the private TV gives a new publicness to older traditions of debate and dissent. It combines these traditions with the existence of strong oral cultures and mediates them to a larger audience.TV adds newer technologies and influences through audience poll, live debate of political leaders through talk shows, which may inspire public discussion about the political matters. These forms of argument could be very influential for the deliberative democracy and democratic consolidation in Bangladesh.

2.6.2 TV as a Public Sphere

The Public sphere is a forum in which the people come together to form a community, readied themselves to make public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion (Habermas, 1962/89, p. 25-26). Habermas also argued that such a public sphere was central to the project of liberal democracy in the western world (Habermas 2001, pp. 102-7). With some criticism the private satellite channels are playing a substantial role by making people informed and creating a platform in expressing their views. In the news programmes people give their views on the political matter. They criticize the ruling and opposition in context of specific issues. On talk shows the special guest makes their cautious comments and in some cases gives the answer of the audience about the political matters. This way the private satellite channels make a platform or sphere for the public. Democracy is closely connected to the mechanism of public discussion and as a platform for people TV as a public sphere inspiring this mechanism.

So, as a means of argumentation and as a public sphere STV is expanding rapidly in Bangladesh, but the forms of political culture, the market orientation of media, lack of regulation some time blurs the expected role of TV.

2.7 Media Freedom and TV in Bangladesh

For a democratic government it is essential to maintain media, which is free from all forms of suppression. Media freedom signifies the right of free speech and it is crucial for promoting respect for differences of opinions; a key aspect of a democratic society. In Bangladesh, despite media are playing a positive role in upholding the democratic values in many aspects, freedom of media is still heavily constrained in many aspects. *Freedom House* (2013) reports on Bangladesh, ranks the country as, "Partly Free". *Reporters Without Borders* (2013), ranks the country as the 144th out of 179 countries in terms of media freedom index, 2013 stating "Its journalists are frequently becoming the targets of police violence". The organization also mentioned about the murder of journalist couple Sagar-Runi, in the report.

Democracy in Bangladesh still has many challenges to overcome. Similarly, the challenge of media freedom is not a standalone factor. The freedom of TV media is engulfed with various issues such as:

1) Legal Framework and Policy Landscape; 2) Position of Journalist; 3) Corporate Interest; 4) Media and Political Elite relation.

2.7.1 Legal Framework and Policy Landscape

Media is changing quite fast, although we may be critical of the quality of output and social responsibilities performed by the broadcasting media. While discussing broadcasting in a changing media world, it is important to touch upon the regulatory system that affects the media freedom and governance in Bangladesh. There is no

comprehensive broadcasting policy for the satellite channels in Bangladesh. There are around 50 laws and regulations those currently govern media and communication, advertisement and entertainment (Reza, 2012). Among them some laws have either direct or indirect influence on audiovisual media like TV. These are:

a) Provisions of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh;

b) The Penal Code, 1860;

c) The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898;

d) Official Secret Act, 1923;

e) The Contempt of Court Act, 1926;

f) (Provisions of) The Special Power Act, 1974;

The Bangladesh constitution guarantees conditional freedom of the media. The constitution in its section 39, says:

"39. (1) Freedom of thought and conscience is guaranteed.

(2) Subject to any reasonable restriction as imposed by law in the interest of the security of the state , friendly relations with foreign states, public order , decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of the court, defamation or incitement to an offence,

(a.) The right of every citizen to freedom of speech and expression; and

(b) Freedom of the press guaranteed"[7]

The constitution, on the one hand, guarantees freedom of expression; on the other hand, says that the government can curb the freedom to protect state security. These issues are so pervasive and fluid that these can be defined in many ways and the laws framed to protect freedom of media can be a boon to regulate the media for one's own interest (Bhuiyan, 2011). The official secret act may be used to hide government information while the special power act has the provision to punish journalist. The penal code has provisions to punish anyone,

[7] The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, p.11

including journalists, to protect national security, law and order and prevent moral decay. The code of criminal procedure empowers the government to ban any publication or broadcasting which is treasonous and hurts people's religious and social sentiments.

As there are various rules and regulations about media, some time it become ambiguous and as a consequence TV channels are directed by the power relation and the profit mechanism. Because of policy limitations, some time TV channels are closed on the ground of illegitimate broadcasting or failure to comply with the regulatory authority's conditions for permission. In this way the *Ekushey TV* was closed in August, 2002, and it was the introduction of the closure of satellite channels. The Private TV station *CSB* was shut down in 2007 and the *channel 1* was closed up in 2010. The *Diganta TV* and the *Islamic TV* were closed in May, 2013. In the same way there is no specific policy guideline for getting the licences of new channels. As a result the freedom of TV media is somehow controlled by the ruling authority, which hinders the real freedom of media.

Although our anticipation of an integrated broadcasting policy still remains unfulfilled. A number of new rules and regulations, which are related to media regulation and freedom, were formulated in recent years. These are as follows:-

1) Bangladesh Telecommunications Regulatory Commission (BTRC) Act, 2001;

2) Preservation for BTV of Terrestrial TV Broadcast Facilities Act, 2009;

3) The Right to Information Act, 2009;

4) Ordinance for Cable TV Network Operation and Related Regulations, 2006;

5) Information and Communication Technology Act, 2006;

5) National Broadcasting Policy, 2014.

From these new laws and regulations the *RTI-2009* was passed in the parliament in March 2009. Theoretically, it ensures all citizens' access to information provided by any public authority, but the practical implementation of the law is still questionable.

The Bangladesh Press Council, a statutory body, fully controlled by the government, issued a code of conduct in 1993 (amended in 2002) for newspapers, news agencies and journalists but the code has no authority over broadcasting media.

Broadcasting media fall under the BTRC, created by the Telecommunication Act of 2001. Now the question is how this Commission implements National Broadcasting Policy, 2014 with the reality of political culture.

2.7.2 Position of Journalists and Freedom of TV

Harassment of journalists is a common issue in Bangladesh that hinders media freedom. The recent murder of journalist couple Sagar-Runi re-established the fact. According to the IPI report (2012) twenty four journalists were killed in Bangladesh since 1998, making the country one of the most dangerous place for journalists. Some were killed for investigating or exposing illegal activities, while others died at the hands of the security personnel.

Furthermore, the IPI stresses that the impunity with respect to murder of journalists is one of the greatest problems in Bangladesh. According to the report, 'journalists remain under the impression that the government has not taken these murders seriously and has not done enough to discourage or stop attacks against journalists'. When journalist are harassed, sued, abused or threatened; it does not portray a satisfactory level of press freedom (Nasrin, 2012).

Another problem for news media in Bangladesh is journalists' political affiliation. There is a deep political polarization that prevails among journalists, working

in various private news media. The medium tend to favour either one of the two main political parties with great disregard of their professional duty of fairness overlooking the fact that 'good journalism is good business'. As Nasrin (2012) has argued that, political inclination of journalists is a big barrier for media objectivity, The BFUJ and the NPC are now divided into two groups. It is now quite difficult for the journalist to raise a united voice against the suppression of media and journalists. Bhuiyan (2011) has argued that, professional organization of journalists such as DUJ, BFUJ and the Press Club can help instill professionalism in journalism. In addition, there is a lack of training institutions for journalists. The PIB, NIMCO and NPI for electronic media are the government institutions for the training of the journalists, but it is almost negligible for the ever growing media industry.

Apart from a few national privately run satellite TVs and newspapers, 'good-wages' for journalists are still a big problem for the news-media industry. Therefore, many journalists are reportedly involved in unethical activities.

2.7.3 Corporate Ownership, Political Elite and Self-Censorship of Media

At present one of the emerging trends in media ownership is that big conglomerates own newspapers and private satellite channels. Theoretically, and in practice, therefore, media are influenced by the ownership pattern. Since advertisements are still a major source of profits generation of TV media, some news against big multinational companies which provide a noteworthy sum of advertisements to electronic media pass away before the cast. Thus, the electronic media fail to remain objective in one area that is protecting the interest of the owners and the advertisers (Bhuiyan, 2011).There has always been tension between the media and the political elite of Bangladesh. The private satellite channels are still dependent on government for most of the news.

Whenever a news report criticizes the political elite, we see they are bashing the media, advising it to be more 'objective' and report on 'factual basis'. On the other hand, according to IPI (2012), Journalists, in the meantime, felt that politicians fail to understand that holding government to account is one of the fundamental roles of journalism. This means that many politicians fail to appreciate the importance of investigative and independent journalism. The IPI report stresses that 'the government is perceived as abusing its power to allocate advertisements'. These phenomena have made the private channels on imposing self-censorship which is a core obstacle to media freedom.

2.8 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter of the study has explored the state of TV in Bangladesh. For this purpose, the researcher has analysed the growth of TV channels, the political contents of TV (News and Talk shows), the nature of ownership and the freedom of private satellite TV in Bangladesh. This chapter has also judged the inner relation between democracy and TV in Bangladesh.

The researcher has observed a rapid growth in the frequency of satellite TV channels and the trend still exists. More than a dozen channels have included in the arena of TV media in the time frame of 2010-2013. The researcher has observed that the ownership of the channels is dominated by big corporate house as well as most of the channels have political affiliation with influential political parties.

In case of TV contents, the study has indicated that though the quality and objectivity of the news programmes telecast in the private satellite channels are comparatively credible than the age of BTV monopoly, still there are many questions about the objectivity of the news. Most of the news channels are covering news of the elite class or the influential class of the society. The mass is getting less priority. Another

common feature about the news surveyed is that TV channels give priority on the face value and the protocol value rather than the news value of an event or matter. Another harsh truth has revealed that profit maximization is the eventual motto of the satellite TV channels. To serve this purpose, the channels give more priority on advertisements, even at the cost of objectivity and quality of the contents. The news surveyed and analysed seemed that all of the channels collected the news in a similar manner and from the uniform sources. As a result, there are no mentionable variations in the presentation of the news. All channels have almost similar news item to offer their audience.

In the matter of 'Talk Show' programmes, it has been observed that these programmes can create a different platform for the citizenry. These offer an alternative public sphere, in case of absence of the parliamentary debate in our contemporary political culture. But there also have some anomalies in these programmes. In most of the channels, the same persons are invited as a guest of the show in various matters. As a result, it becomes monotonous for the audience. Sometime the arguments among the guests turn into so inconsiderate that it reaches at the stage of personal attack. It has also seen that there is a lack of variety in the selection of the topics of the Talk.

The researcher has also identified that there are various issues which are making obstacle in the freedom of TV. The most alarming matter is the lack of concrete rules and regulations about broadcasting. This issue is hindering the freedom of TV channels. Moreover, political lineages, lack of professionalism among the journalist are barriers for the freedom of TV.

Despite so many constraints, Bangladeshi satellite TV media play very inspiring and praiseworthy role in upholding democratic values. Therefore, government, political parties and media owners must realize the importance of freedom of TV channels for a participatory democratic society.

Chapter Three
Political Contents of the Television and the Youth: Viewings and Perceptions

3.1 Introduction

Most of the matters we know from others. We view and hear various stories about different matters from various media. These stories may or may not satisfy our needs. Television is one of these storytellers. The ubiquity of the television and its exposures to the audience is an established statement with various criticisms and evaluation. In a preface, George Gerbner augmented:

> The second great transformation, the electronic revolution, ushers in the telecommunications era. Its mainstream, television, is superimposed upon and reorganizes print-based culture. Unlike the industrial revolution, the new upheaval does not uproot people from their homes, but transports them in their homes. It re-trivsalizes modern society. It challenges and changes the role of both church and education in the new culture (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. Xi).

Agreeing with Gerbner proposition, it is also true that other old and new forms of media are competing with the television. Importantly, the inclusion of cybernetics diffusion of media could challenge the overwhelming effect of television.

However, the youth audiences of media have different needs and patterns of using different kinds of media. In the question of their political life, there is a controversial claim about the media effect (Newton, 1999, p. 577). This research also intended to quest the position of political contents (News, Talk shows) of television in acculturating the youth about their political culture. At the same time, essentially, the study also wants to investigate the contribution of the contents in the process of reinforcement or demotivation of the Bangladeshi youth from political and social engagements.

In this procedure, this seems to be essential to recognize the patterns of the youth's use of the political contents of the STV. How the educated youth of Bangladesh watch the political contents of television, how these contents gratify them are the concerning factors of this chapter.

3.2 Viewing Pattern

It is not overstating that over the last six decades and still today TV is the most consumed media in the world. Shanon (1999, p. 1) has stressed the presence of TV, "the medium has permeated every corner of public and private space, shaping consciousness, defining our "reality," drawing us together, and pulling us apart, in ways that will uniquely enshrine this historical period as the Age of television." Almost in the same breath we can claim that somehow TV is closely related to the life of Bangladeshi people. The educated the youth of Bangladesh is not out of that claim. The current study has perceived the same fact. 98.7 percent of the youth watch TV (Table-3.1).

Table 3.1
Viewers of TV

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	379	98.7	98.7
No	5	1.3	1.3
Total	384	100.0	100.0

The table above shows that very insignificant portion of the youth is not involved with Television. Demographic difference has no impact on watching television. Television has made an opportunity for our family to meet. Table-3.2 shows that 88.8% of the youth watch TV in their own home. This data replicate that the television set is available in most of the house, irrespective of urban and rural residents.

Table 3.2
Place of TV Viewing

	Frequency	Percent
Home	341	88.8
Club	4	1.0
Tea stalls	3	.8
Other place	30	7.8
No answer	3	.8

Now the question is how they spent their daily time in consuming TV content? The pattern of their TV time and the choice of their programme assumed to be important to judge the relation of TV to the political life of the youth.

3.2.1 Time Spent in TV Viewing

One of the major trends of the twentieth century is the diffusive use of mass media in various sections of human life. The relation of the individual with the Society and the state is also changed in this process of expansion. The hour of citizens' life is critically shared with media and other forms of societal agents. Somehow, the new media atmosphere is converting the way of our daily schedule (Putnum, 2000, p. 217). The youth are the biggest client of every kind of media. So this section of the study deals with the pattern of the youth TV watching with other media.

Most of the focus group respondents have consented that TV is very essential in their life. They spent a noteworthy portion of their leisure by watching TV. In the FGD-*3* a university student has argued that TV gives us information, entertainment and perception about different things, we spent a notable amount of time in watching television. So it is beyond debate that we are depending on TV in different aspects. A house wife of kushtia town has commented, in the *FGD-5* "TV is the best accompany of my leisure, at the same time it gives us knowledge about our country and the world". In the *FGD-9* a teacher of *Poradaha union* has mentioned about the lessening of digital

divide between rural and urban area, he has stressed, “with the satellite connection, like the urban area, most of the village of Bangladesh is connected to the whole world through TV”. From these statements, it is evident that the educated the youth of Bangladesh spend an important part of their time in front of television. Figure-3.1 projects the time spending pattern of the youth by watching TV.

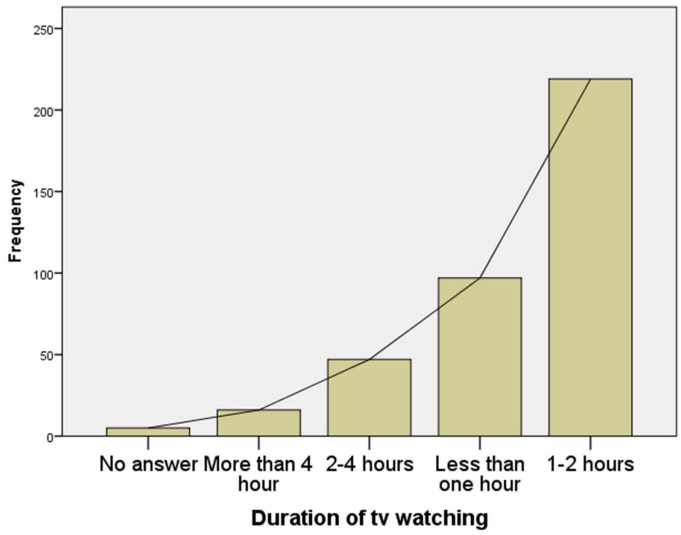

Figure 3.1: Duration of TV Watching of Youths

From Table-3.3 and figure-3.1 we come to know that 57 percent of the educated the youth use the television on average 1-2 hours, 25.3 percent use less than 1 hour whereas 12.2 percent use TV 2-4 hours. 4.2 percent of the youth stay more than 4 hours of TV watching. The mean watching hour is 1.99 and standard deviation is .813.

Table 3.3
TV Watching Hours of the Youth

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Less than one hour	97	25.3	25.3
1-2 hours	219	57.0	57.0
2-4 hours	47	12.2	12.2
More than 4 hours	16	4.2	4.2
No answer	5	1.3	1.3
Total	384	100.0	100.0

Thus, it is clear that a notable portion of the youth spends their time with TV, but there have some little differences of time spent on the basis of socioeconomic conditions. The educated the youth of rural area spend less time with TV than the urban the youth. Students watch more TV than other subgroups, male pay more time for TV than female, the lower age group is a little bit TV centric than other age group (See Annex Tables: 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, & 3.4).

Though most of the youth are inclined to TV, the youth are not out of the touch of other conventional and new forms of media. Table-3.4 presents the youth trends in using other media beside TV.

Table 3.4
Pattern of Using Different Media

Types of media	Frequency	Percent
Radio	12	3.1
Newspaper	187	48.7
Internet	85	22.1
Others	36	9.4
No answer	64	16.7
Total	384	100.0

From the above table, we can claim that a substantial portion of our educated the youth still read newspaper. It is also worthy to say that habits of internet use are also increasing gradually. It is clear that the today's youth are using various forms of media, where television is dominating, but most important discussion should be drawn on the matter of their preference of genre.

3.2.2 What they Watch?

Most of the media have two broad purposes to serve. One is disseminating information and other is giving entertainment. It is the audience who sets his preference of use. Sometime media amalgamate these two forms as '*infotainment*'. With the inclusion and expansion of STV channels of Bangladesh are offering these two forms of

the genre. Although some channels have presented them as only for information (news channel) purpose, they launch their information as a mode of infotainment.

In this position of TV media, the youth have immense opportunity to shift their time between information and entertainment.

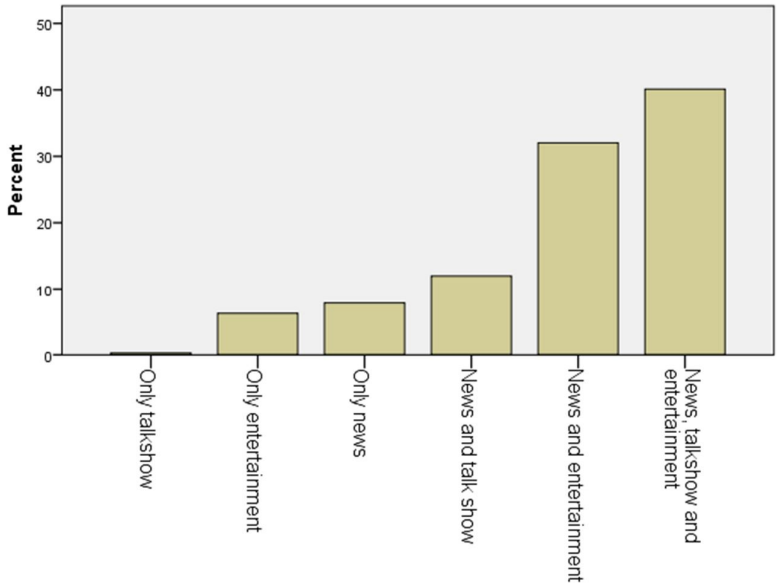

Figure 3.2: Preference of TV Contents among Youths

Figure-3.2 depicts that educated the youth of Bangladesh have a diverse mode of TV use. Most of them use TV for information and entertainment. The portion of the youth who use television only for entertainment is 3.3. A substantial portion of the educated the youth joins TV for news, talk shows and entertainment. Still now, talk shows are not the genre of the youth's everyday life. In the survey we have found very negligible part of the youth who use their TV time only for talk shows.

The above result shows a flat result of preference about TV genre among the youth. If we look into the data carefully, we can observe some keen difference of choice of TV programs in the basis of socioeconomic condition. Figure-3.3 shows that women respondents are more fond of entertainment programmes than their male counterpart. 5.48 % women use television only for entertainment purpose, but the percent of males is

1.44 for this. The respondents who prefer only news and talk shows in their TV viewing also postulate a sharp difference between the men and women respondent. Where women scored 1.44% and men is 11.82%.

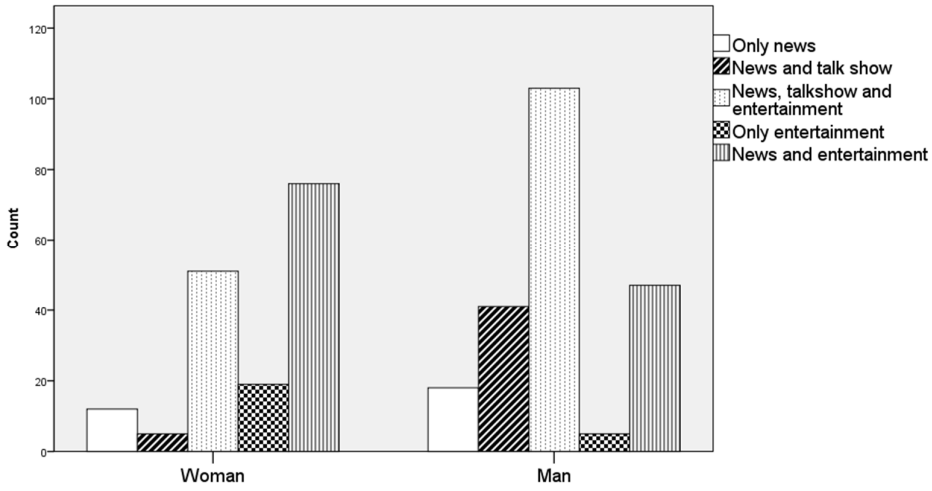

Figure 3.3: Sex of the Respondents and Preference of TV Contents

The difference is also found in the context of age group, educational attainment and residential difference (See Annex Table: 3.5, 3.6 & 3.7). Paradoxically, the result shows that in some sacle the rural youth are tending to view more news and talk shows than the urban youth (Annex Table-3.7). Most of the focus group findings replicate that the older age group of the youth, especially the male and who are in service and business have less liking in entertainment programmes in comparison with other lower age group of the youth. A business man from Putia Upazila argued "I got very small time to view TV, so, when i got it in the night, I like to know about the current incident of the country and the world"(FGD-7*).* On the other hand a housewife from the *Kushtia Town* in her 24 of age, stressed his preference about entertainment, she said, TV is the daily instrument for my recreation and information, but I prefer TV for entertainment" (FGD-3). The data show that the higher the educational level lower the entertainment use of television (Annex Table-3.6). Analysing the table, we can see that 4.5% of the

youth with higher educational background watch TV for entertainment, where the percentage is 11.4 for the lower educational level.

Thus, we can summarize from the above data and discussion that there are varieties in the viewing pattern of the youth on the basis of demographic difference.

In other word, we could specify that the youth have dimension in the cognitive and entertainment use of television. But to know how and from where they get the political information? Why, how and to what extent the youth use TV news and talk shows? How they evaluate these political contents would be the central focus of the following discussion.

3.3 Political Contents of Television and Exposure of the Youth

The relation between communication and politics begin with the question of spreading the political information and debate in the broader area of the polity (Pye, 1972, p 21). People get the debates and agenda of politics, the view of the politician and their relationship with that from the communication process. News media play a crucial role in this arena of political communication by giving a mode of nationhood, ideological rapport and enthusiasm for political discussion (Lane, 1966, p. 288).

The effectiveness of news media depends on the exposure of the audience. If they do not keep their sight and ear in these political contents of media than the communication channel is not proved to be effective in socialize the audience politically and give them the reinforcement to be political. Though we cannot proceed without mentioning the demographic variable (family, age, income, education) and of course the political culture, there is no need for an argument that in the sphere of political life of the people, especially for the youth, media plays an essential role. The complex nature of today's politics and the diffusion and interrelation among politics, economy and culture has made the process of understanding about political phenomena more

complicated. Here the political contents specially (News, Talk shows) take the responsibility. We have seen in the first chapter that news and talk shows is a common genre for most of the native satellite channel of Bangladesh. In this portion of the chapter, we would like to give a look about the use of News and talk shows programmes among the youth of Bangladesh. How they use television media for news and talk shows? How this use is comparable in terms of other media? What is the purpose of heir viewing of news? how much information they got from this news?. As well as their evaluation about the political content will also be judged.

Although in this study news and talk shows have been treated as an integrated unit of political contents of television, we have introduced these two genres differently for the betterment of discussion.

3.3.1 News

In the focus group study most of the respondents postulate their arguments about the importance of news programmes telecasted by the satellite channels. They mentioned that their life is too much integrated with the political culture of the country. The daily news keeps them updated and conscious about the daily incidents of the country. The survey result also quantifies their claim.

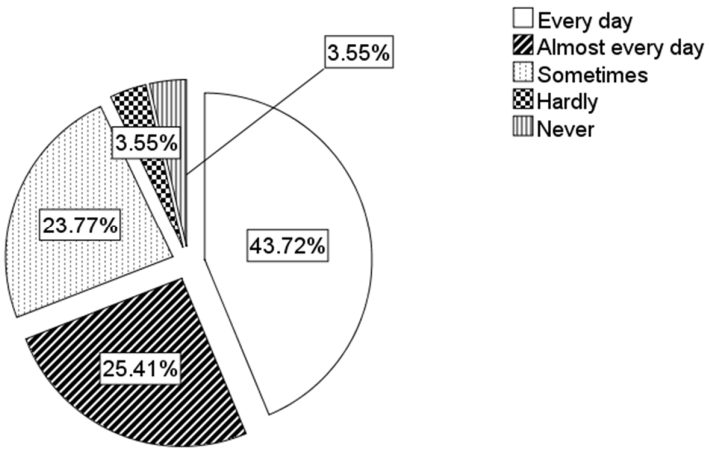

Figure 3.4 : Frequency of News Viewing among Youths

Figure-3.4 has projected that only 8.07 percent of the respondents claim that they never watch TV news. 41.67 percent claim that they watch the television news every d9ay. 24.22 percent assert for almost every day and 22.66 percent said sometimes. A small portion of the youth claimed that they hardly watch television for news. So at the first view, it seems that most of the educated the youth are somehow joined with news programmes of satellite channels.

The intensity of their viewing could be traced out by the time they use for news programmes. From the viewers who watch news.

Table 3.5
Duration of Watching News

Duration	Frequency	Percent
Ten minutes	84	21.9
Twenty minutes	122	31.8
Thirty minutes	101	26.3
More than 30 minuets	46	12.0

According to Table-3.5, 12 percent the youth watch news more than 30 minutes, 26.3 percent use television thirty minutes and 31.8 percent watch television for news purpose. 21.9 percent view 10 minutes for news purpose. But if we assess the duration of news watching on the basis of total time used for TV viewing we can identify the real scenario of cognitive use or informational use of television.

From Table-3.6, one can observe that total viewing hours may have little impact on the cognitive use of TV. The intensity of News viewing between heavy viewer and light viewer of TV are not significantly different.

Table 3.6
Total TV Watching and News Watching

Duration of TV watching	Duration Of Watching News					Total
	Ten Minutes	Twenty Minutes	Thirty Minutes	More than 30 Minutes	No Answer	
Less than One Hour	26.8%	28.9%	29.9%	6.2%	8.2%	100.0%
1-2 Hours	20.5%	33.3%	28.8%	12.3%	5.0%	100.0%
2-4 Hours	23.4%	34.0%	14.9%	17.0%	10.6%	100.0%
More than 4 Hours	12.5%	31.2%	12.5%	31.2%	12.5%	100.0%
No Answer	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	21.9%	31.8%	26.3%	12.0%	8.1%	100.0%

Thus, we can conclude that heavy viewing has little consequence in cognitive viewing or informational use of television. Analysing it demographically, we have found some difference in News viewing, the differences are, higher educational attainment has a positive impact in viewing TV news, and better educated the youth are more inclined to news than the youth of lower educational background. Figure-3.5 shows the difference in news viewing on the basis of educational attainment.

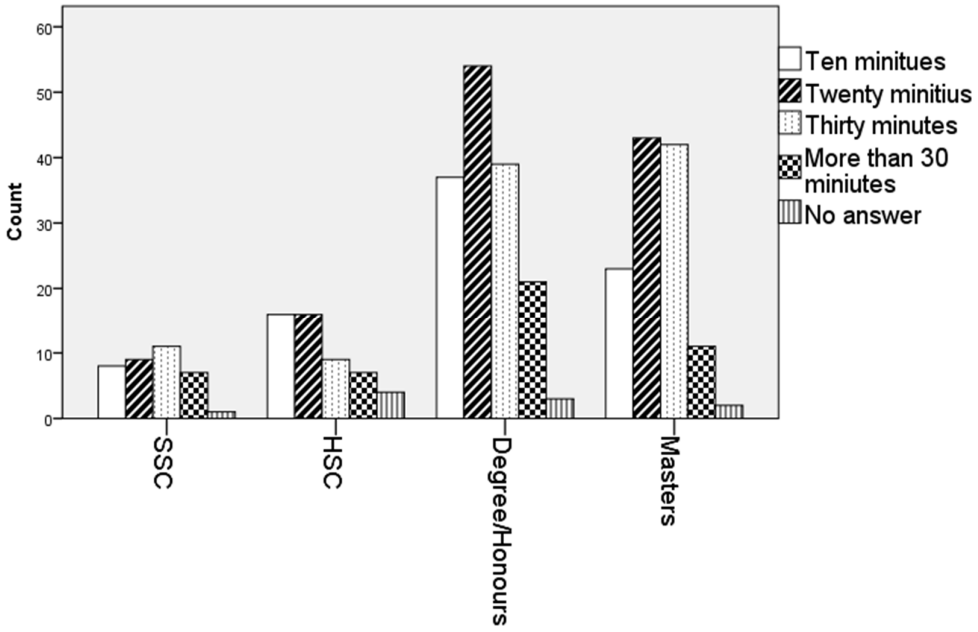

Figure 3.5: Educational Attainment of the Respondent

Nevertheless, News genre consists of different parts, it covers politics, daily incidents, international affairs, economic matters and others form. In chapter two, the content analysis of news of the four channels, we have assessed that a substantial part of news programmes are covered by political news. The audiences have different taste and choice about the different part of news. In the following table we have seen that educated the youth have different priority of watching news:

Table 3.7
Preference of News Types among the Youth

Part Of News	Frequency	Percent
Political	120	31.3
Economics	9	2.3
International	42	10.9
Daily incidents	148	38.5
Others	6	1.6
No answer	32	.8
All of the matters	27	7.0
Total	384	100.0

31.3 percent likes political news, 38.5 percent like daily incidents. So it can be assumed that most of the youth watch news to update them about the daily incidents. Likelihood to be a political news viewer depends on other variables–these can be demographic or related to political cultural. Figure-3.6 has clarified that the respondents who have a negative outlook about politics are slightly less fond of political news, and has an inclination for daily incidents. Some respondents have argued that they do not want to comment about this matter. It could be predict that these types of the youth are also have a negative outlook about politics

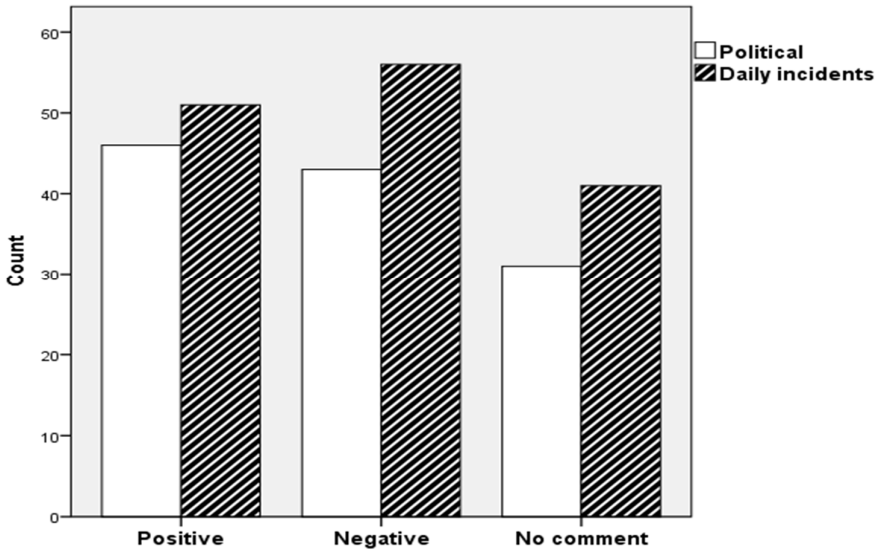

Figure 3.6: Attitude Towards Politics and Preference for News Type

Many of the respondents have argued that they do not want to watch the political news, but most of the part of the news is full of political linking. The majority of them advocated about TV news because of the audio visual facilities of TV media.

Some respondent gave a pragmatic example for the effectiveness of TV news. A housewife in her 23, resident of the suburban area Mirpur of Kushtia district, said, ``there are various TV channels disseminating information about various issues, we have the opportunity to observe and evaluate the information''(FGD-6). The better educated respondent possess a curious look about TV news, they agreed about the importance of news, but they think that TV news is not out of the objection of '*News Slant'* and lack of objectivity'. One of the respondents, a businessman from *Kushtia Town* has mentioned, "Sometimes the political alignment and business relation of TV channels influence the objectivity of news and introduce biasness'' (FGD-3).

However, some respondent of the focus group reported about their status of viewing TV News mentioning them as '*Issue Viewer'*. They watch news, but they give very little attention to news. When any big issue occurred, then they became an active

viewer. As Buckingham mentioned about the unawareness of TV viewers, they invest a little effort about the causal relation and the consequence of the information (Buckingham, 2006, p.14). There is also some active viewer who wants the detail of news and the consequence. A business man of Rajshahi town asserted “Sometime news channels give imparting information without giving the details” (FGD- 2).

3.3.2 Talk Shows and the Viewer

The talk shows is a form of soft news programming shares certain charecterstics (Hamilton, 2004; Patterson, 2000), comparatively a new genre in TV history of Bangladesh. These forms of news do not deal with day to day public affairs like traditional hard news. This form of news may focus one or a few topics of public affairs for intrinsic discussion. This may include several types of programmes like cable news magazine shows, entertainment and tabloid magazine shows, daytime and late night talk shows (Baum, 2003). Our concern in this study mainly focusses the daytime or late night talk shows of the indigenous satellite channels of Bangladesh.

The study has observed in the second chapter that most of the talk shows of the satellite channels of Bangladesh are mainly late night talk shows. Some of them talk about specific issues of contemporary social and political life (Mainly political). Some of them introduce issues which acquire priority in the agenda of hard news (Day to day news programming). Few of the talk shows programmes assimilate the audience with the issues of the talk. Through the programmes they make a bridge between the audience and the concerning authority of the discussed issues. They try to make the authority responsible with the query of the mass people. So there seems to be an atmosphere of public sphere could be emerged with this kind of soft news.

However, the question of this study is, how these forms of soft news are viewed by the youth of Bangladesh and to what to what extent and how this news is involved with the political understanding and engagement. We have asked the youth about the frequency of watching talk shows, both the quantitative and qualitative finding projects that the youth of Bangladesh are not too much interested in this type of soft news programmes. Figure 3.7 projects that the tendencies of viewing talk shows among the educated the youth are leaning towards never to some time. Most of them may not be habituated or fond of this type of news, but the trend of viewing is growing gradually. In most of the FGDs the youth who are lower in age group and have not engaged in professional life, has shown little enthusiasm about this kind of genre. A student of Rajshahi University has objected that most of the talk shows programmes are being telecasted in late night, so it is not easy for us to manage time to watch it (FGD-1). One of the housewife from kushtia town has claimed that these serious forms of talking, the conversation are very hard to understand, I feel bored (FGD-3).

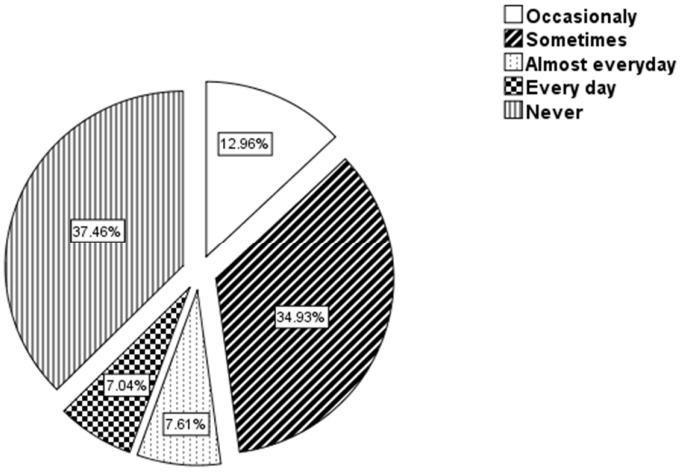

Figure 3.7: Patterns of Talk Show Viewing among the Youth

But the study has identified that the youth of a higher age group and male respondents have a higher concentration about these forms of news (See figure 3.8 and 3.9).

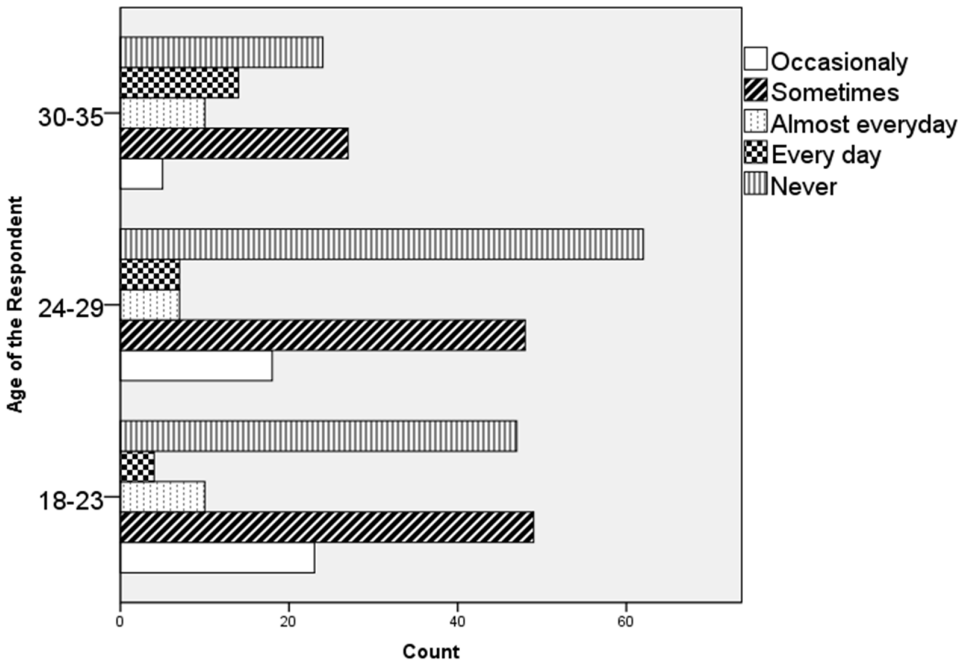

Figure 3.8: Age and Talk Show Viewing

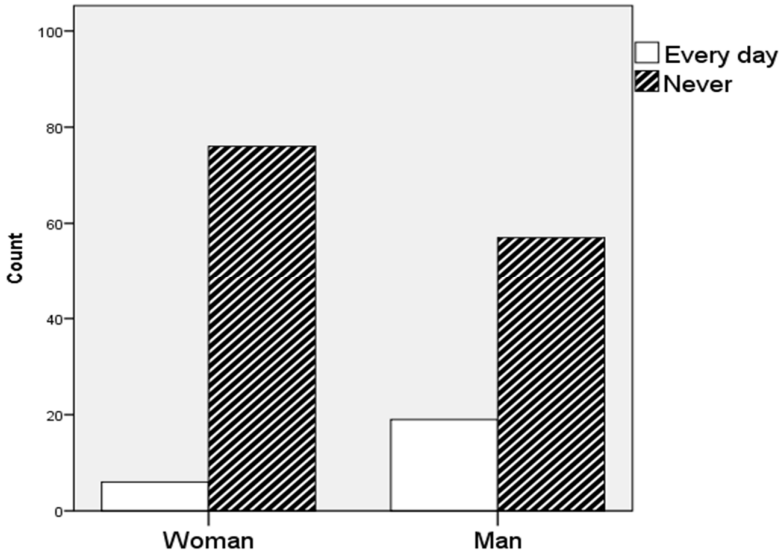

Figure 3.9: Sex and Talk Show Viewing

Other socioeconomic variables like income level and residential status have the impacts on the tendency of talk shows viewing. The respondents of higher income status, the male and urban residence seems to be more interested in these types of soft news (See Annex Table: 3.8, 3.9 & 3.10).

3.4 Diffusion of Media, Political Information and the Youth

Marshall McLuhan (1994, p. 3-4), in his remarkable book, 'Understanding *Media: The extension of man'* has explained media atmosphere, " The technological simulation of consciousness, when the creative process of knowing will be collectively and corporately extended to the whole of human society, much as we have already extended our senses and our nerves by the various media". Now in this 21st century the diffusion of media has extended in such a height that it is not an easy task to identify the media's role in pursuit of an individual medium, though this current research has aimed to examine the role of TV contents in promoting political involvement of the educated the youth of Bangladesh.

From the findings of this current research it seems that the youth of Bangladesh are the user of diverse media for diverse purpose including their political information. Table-3.8 shows that the youth of Bangladesh are using different media to gratify their political needs. The table summarizes that substantial portion of the youth use TV to know their political information. The table also shows that beside TV, newspaper is also a reliable source for the youth to know the political information and analysis. Even in some scale newspaper is more reliable than TV (27.6 percent of the youth use TV always for political know how) but TV seems to be more used media in every scale.

Table 3.8
Media Preference For Political Information And Analysis

Media Preference	Mode of Use (in %)			
	Always	Some Time	Hardly	Never
TV news and talk shows	20.1	52.1	18.8	6.5
Radio news and talk shows	3.1	14.1	20.1	60.2
Newspaper news and editorial	27.6	38.5	14.3	16.9
Internet news, blog, social network	15.1	28.9	19.5	33.9

In many FGDs, importantly the urban residence, male and better educated portion prefer newspaper than TV to know their political surroundings and analysis. A student of Rajshshi University has marked newspaper more effective for political learning than TV news. He has noted that it needs more attention to follow newspaper, as well as it gives more insight (FGD-1). In the earlier portion of this chapter, we have observed that most of the viewers of TV news prefer TV to know about the daily incidents, rather for inner analysis of politics and political cognition. A substantial portion of the FGD respondents have argued that TV news is superficial; we could know only the surface news from it. Newspaper news and editorial are more preferable for the depth understanding of political matters than TV news and talk shows. It seems that a notable part of the youth are flash viewers of TV. They pay very less attention when they view TV-they are cognitive miser.

Though the use of internet is less in comparison with Newspaper and TV, this media has different wing and used by 15.1 percent of the youth use it always for their political information. In some of the FGDs, some users of the net have argued that TV and newspaper are characterized by one-way channel have very limited opportunity for the audience to stretch their feedback. In case of internet media, with its multi-channel facilities users have the opportunity to extend their response. A respondent from Rajshshi University has stressed that from the net atmosphere people get the opportunity to unbiased news (FGD-1). In contrast, some of the respondents of different focus group studies have claimed that net facility is not so available, like TV and newspaper. They also have mentioned that like TV, internet also has the malicious effect-which depends on the type of heir use.

However, with all of these discourses, TV still got the priority in respect of demographic difference. As the Table-3.8 states that 52.1 percent of the youth use TV sometimes for political understanding. In sum, the imagery appeal and ubiquity of TV has made the medium preferable for many of the subgroups of the youth.

3.5 Evaluation about TV Contents

Why media is important in our life? How media could be an important instrument for our political socialization? To what extent and how media can influence our political behaviour? Before answering these questions we should have conferred about the outlook of the youth about the contents of TV media. The levels of satisfaction about news and talk shows, the neutrality of the contents, freedom of TV and the youth perception about these matters are the main arguments of this section of the study.

These factors of the medium and the youth gratification should not be looked at one way, these have profound relation to other forms of variable associated with political economy and culture. On the other hand, the evaluations of the youth about TV contents also have to be understood in the light of their social settings, cognitive standard, pattern of media use and attitude toward politics and political engagement. Thus, this section of the study has discussed about the youth evaluation of the message or story they get from TV.

3.5.1 What They Want, What They Get?

The Audience has diverse expectations from the media. They want intuitive information and analysis with neutrality, expect media as a mediator between them and the political elites, want to think media as a platform for their debate or as '*Public sphere'*, the youth are not out of that line. Even, they want more because of their thinking of

disfranchisement from the political arena. From the focus group discussion, we have come to know that most of the youth are agreed that news channels of Bangladesh are playing a crucial role in the sense of maintaining the rights of people's information. In focus group studies with rural the youth, the respondents came to consent that the enhancement of TV channels and their news programmes makes them more aware and boost up their analytic faculty. A respondent of *Poradha* union has noted that now it is easy for us to know the stand of influential political person and group about the important matters of our country (FGD-7). Some respondents of higher socioeconomic condition express their view about compliment and criticism. They have argued that TV contents are essential part of our daily life, but we have questions about the neutrality and media freedom.

In the survey, when we asked the youth to evaluate the contents of TV, most of them were somehow confused to express their stand about media performance. The questions were about the information providing ability of TV contents, '*neutrality'* of the contents, and '*freedom'* of media. The questionnaires have also asked the preference of the youth about the different sections and types of news and talk shows.

Most of them have taken a moderate position to judge the above mentioned matters. This position of the youth could be the result of their standard of inquisitiveness about the inner message of the society or they may lack the necessary knowledge to evaluate the inherent mechanism of the media-audience or media-elite relation. This standard also might be the result of the social settings of our the youth or the political socialization process.

In response to the question, how much information they are getting from the news genre of STV? 10.4 percent of the youth have answered '*completely'*. 55.7 percent of the respondents have answered 'moderately'(Table-3.9).

Table 3.9
Status of Getting Information from STV News

	Frequency	Percent
All Information	40	10.4
Most of the information	78	20.3
Average	214	55.7
Very little	18	4.7
Not at all	3	.8
No answer	31	8.1
Total	384	100.0

In a focus group discussion the better educated part of the youth is critical in evaluating news programmes of STV. In FGD-2, an housewife of Rajshahi, in her 30, has mentioned her cynical attitude towards TV news, she has stressed that the pattern of showing our daily life in news is vibrant, but the question of the completeness of news is questionable. Many of the respondents in the FGDs have pointed out that many crucial issues are being outlined by news and talk shows, but there may found little implementation at the policy level. One of the students of Rajshahi university has mentioned that he watches news and talk shows sometime, most of the time he keeps himself outside of these political contents, because there is a lack of implementation of the argued matters and recommendation made by the media (FGD-1). A graduate students from the Kushtia College, in the FGD-5 has outlined that sometimes news seems to be superficial–these maintains the current need of our information, but news channels make some kind of balance in making of news, sometimes they are biased–in the sense that they are not always making critical judgments of the crucial issues related to politics and social issues. The channels are persuaded with the front news, but there may lack of analysis in case of cause and consequence. Many of them blame about the political leanings of the channels–which may reflect on their news and talk shows presentation. One of the serviceman from Putia Upazilla has argued that it's become

clear that most of STVs have their political leanings (FGD-4). Similarly the respondents have blamed about the corporate culture and profit maximization trend in STV. One business man from Mirpur Upazilla has argued that there is a nexus between big corporate house, political parties and TV Channels. Each of them patronizes other– which could be perilous for democratic culture (FGD-6). They have also questioned the licensing process of STV, one of the servicemen from Putia has argued that most of our indigenous satellite channels are being licensed on the basis of political alignment–so there may biasness in their news manufacturing (FGD-4). They have argued that even in the selection n of talk shows guest and analyst of specific matters the channels seem to maintain their political balance. A housewife from Putia has claimed that she watch talk shows very little because of the biasness of the guest invited by the channels (FGD-4).

With this criticism many of them acclaimed news and talk shows programmes. They have mentioned that there is many shortcomings of these programmes but a massive change has been happening in our media atmosphere with the inclusion of different home grown STV. In addition, they have outlined that now it is very cheap and easy for any type of people to gain information about contemporary politics and policy issues. There may be political leanings of the channels, but it is easy for an audience to understand the real incidents through different channels. Some of them have illustrated that news channels have lessened the digital divide between urban and rural people one of the respondents from Geupara union has argued that now the village people are also very conscious about political and social debate with the help of news programmes (FGD-8). One of the respondents from Mirpur upazilla has mentioned that there are various limitations in the political contents of STV, nonetheless in our political culture; we are being introduced by different agenda through news and talk shows. It is not easy to solve all of these issues in a night, but in respect of our democracy these news and talk show presentation may be very crucial.

Simultaneously, when we have asked the respondents that which media they rely more for political information? 57 percent have given their accent for TV contents followed by internet 19.8 percent and 18.2 percent of newspaper (See Table 3.10).

Table 3.10
Reliable Medium for Political News

Types of Media	Frequency	Percent
Television	219	57.0
Newspaper	70	18.2
Radio	7	1.8
Internet	76	19.8
Others	12	2.1
Total	384	100.0

On the other hand, the survey results show that the youth possess a meticulous outlook in question of neutrality and freedom of STV in broadcasting political contents (See Table- 3.11 & 3.12).

Table 3.11
TV News and the Youth Evaluation

	Evaluation of the youth(in percent)			
	Completely	Most of the cases	Average	Very little
Neutrality Of News	4.9	22.5	58.4	14.2
Trust On News	8.5	36.5	51.3	3.7

Table 3.12
Talk Shows and the Youth Evaluation

	Evaluation of the youth(in percent)			
	Completely	Most of the cases	Average	Very little
Neutrality	8.0	37.1	53.8	18.9
Coverage	15.5	37.1	37.6	9.9

However, when the respondents have been asked about their expectation from the political contents of STV, most of the respondents have given priority to the

freedom of media, the neutrality and mass orientations with media. In the FGDs, an influential portion of the youth have illustrated that in the news more attention should be concentrated for mass people than the political and commercial elite. They also expect unbiased and prudent personalities in issue analysis and as a talk show guest. One of the servicemen from Kushtia Town has outlined that they are watching the same guest in various issues in various channels; they expect more sagacious and professional personality in discussing the different policy issue (FGD-3).

In the matter of selecting their preferred channel to watch political contents, both the survey and the FGD result have denoted that the youth have diverse choice about their selection of best channel but there seems to have some similarity in the causes of choosing. Most of them have emphasized about the comparative neutrality, objectivity and presentation quality of the preferred channel.

3.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The influence of media lies in the way of disseminating their message. It affects the thinking of the audience (Entman, 1989, p.8) through gratifying their need of information about diverse subjects including political information. Media may gratify the diverse need of political information. Here the question of media performance or the acceptability of media arises. On the other hand, the nature of the audiences also determines how much they could extract from the message. In this chapter we have assessed the watching patterns of the political contents among the youth, in addition, how the youth evaluate the political contents of STV have also been examined. The study has revealed that still TV is ubiquitous and pervasive in the case of maintaining their need of political information. As Shanahan and Morgan (1999) have described the Pervasiveness of TV:

> Although Television predates the 1950s and will certainly survive the millennium, there is no gainsaying that for roughly fifty years the medium has permeated every corner of public and private space, shaping consciousness, defining our "reality", drawing us together, and pulling us apart, in ways that will uniquely enshrine the historical period as the age of Television (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, p. 1).

This study has observed the notion again. The life of our educated youth is also encompassed by TV. A Very insignificant portion of them are out of TV exposure, though on the basis of the demography their choices of contents, total time of using TV have some difference.

The educated youth of Bangladesh use other forms of medium (Newspaper, Internet, Radio) besides TV. From these media, Newspaper still gets the priority over other media. The use of the internet is also growing gradually. But as a whole the user of TV is more than any kind of electronic media.

The educated youth use TV to meet their diverse need for information and entertainment. The study has observed that TV gratifies both of their information and entertainment related need. A Very small portion of them use TV only for entertainment or information. As a result TV has become an instrument of infotainment.

In case of news viewing, the study has noticed that most of the youth watch the news without giving more attention to that. Those who watch TV only for news is compact (7.8%). The use of their time for news viewing is very little in comparison with their total viewing. This trend is similar to that of other developed country. As Buckingham (2000) has informed that the tendency of media use among the youth in England aligned to entertainment rather than information seeking. The study has indicated that the more the hour of TV viewing the less the tendency of cognitive viewing of the youth. Thus it denotes that most of the youth use TV for entertainment. Another observation about news viewing pattern of the youth is very important, that is

that most of the youth join news programmes to know the *daily incidents* not an analysis of the political matters. This pattern of viewing may indicate the lack of interest in politics–which may necessary for seeking political information and political discussion. In a focus group discussion, it has been observed the apathy among the youth towards political news. They think that sheer portion of news political–which are very much similar in nature and the subject matters of most of news tend to politically inclined burdened with over the presentation of politics. These over presentations of politics might lead the youth to political apathy. As Newton (1999, p. 577) has mentioned that huge coverage of politics may generate a political overload among the youth, which could lead them to the avoidance of news and current affairs.

In case of talk shows viewing the data do not show satisfactory results in comparison with total viewing and even news viewing. This form of soft news is not so popular among the youth. A Very insignificant portion of the them seem to be the regular viewer of talk shows (7%) and use TV only for talk shows viewing is even more insignificant (.3%). But in the focus group study, we have observed that most of them have participated in the evaluation of talk shows. This result may indicate that either the viewers of talk shows are increasing or they are doing the easy generalization about the political contents. From the overall viewing pattern of the political contents among the youth, one could generalize that heavy consumption of TV has a negative co-relation with cognitive viewing.

The pattern of cognitive viewing also has some differences in the pursuit of demographic difference. Women are less interested than the male in respect of news and talk shows watching, on the other hand male respondents use less time than the women in consideration of viewing entertainment related question. The tendency of cognitive viewing is higher among the higher age group and employed than the lower age group and unemployed the youth. Educational attainment and place of residence also seems to

be the important indicators of cognitive viewing, the higher educated the youth are more inclined to cognitive use of TV. As a whole the study has noticed that higher SES the youth might be more interested in the informational use of TV.

Though TV is the most preferred media for news, but the study has outlined that for the depth of political learning newspaper seems to be trusted by most of the youth, whether they use it or not. Putnum (2000) in his commended thesis '*Bowling Alone'* has highlighted newspaper by stating that the readers of a newspaper are more engaged and knowledgeable about the contemporary phenomena than news viewer. Though in a small scale, a new trend has been shown among them about the using of the internet for political information. In the focus group studies, these users have illustrated that in the conventional media there is a very minimum opportunity for feedback, whereas in internet there are multi channels for express one's own view. Telecommunication technology has offered audience different way of communicative structure, in them, Television offers the two way communication, but the internet has disclosed the multi-channel of communication. (Robinson, Kestnbaum, Neustadtl & Alvarez, 2000). The user can simultaneously get, process and transfer information and views. As a result, in future, there may be declination in TV news viewing (Buckingham, 2000, p.2).

There might have a mixed response among the youth about the utility of the political contents of STV. They are agreed that news and talk shows are necessary for disseminating important information and analysis about the political matters, but these contents are not out of criticism. In case of objectivity, completeness, neutrality and freedom of media, they might be in a cautious stand. They think that news channels are balancing their neutrality to maintain their commercial and political linkage. As Entman (1989, p. 17) has pointed out that news outlets are bound to compete with each other for profit maximization and to continue their business. In addition, they think that there is a lack of critical analysis of political and social agenda and the future consequence in TV

news. On the contrary, some of them think that with the reality of political economy and culture, TV channels are trying their best to disseminate information and analysis of the contemporary politics and related matters. It may have an influential impact on the democratic consolidation of Bangladesh.

Furthermore, the study has revealed that the youth have a diverse preference for the channel, but most of them have argued that their preference for a specific channel is guided by the 'objectivity', 'neutrality', and 'presentation' quality of the very channel. Thus, it is apparently clear that there has a little consensus among them about the neutrality of the channels. So there could be some sort of partisan viewing among them in choosing TV channels for political information.

To be an informed citizen one has to engage him in critical viewing or reading. But in our analysis we have found that a notable portion of the youth uses TV for entertainment. So they get very little time for news and talk shows. But in the focus group study and questionnaire survey they might overstate their informational use of TV (Entman, 1989, p. 24). Thus, the quick generalization of the youth should be rechecked.

Another matter, the study has identified that most of the youth have a negative outlook for politics. As a consequence, when they view news they want to validate their predisposition. Thus, they could perceive a little from news.

From the above discussion and findings one can conclude that the youth of Bangladesh have a diverse mode of viewing political contents. Sheer portions of them watch news, but there could be lack of critical viewing among them. There seems to be an intrinsic relation to demographic variable and viewing patterns of the youth. Moreover the process of political socialization is important in case of seeking political information. The consequent chapter has dealt with the factors of the youth political socialization through TV contents.

Chapter Four
Political Socialization of the Youth in Bangladesh: TV as an Agent

4.1 Introduction

Political socialization and its relation to media have clasped very little attention in the political literatures of Bangladesh. Though, media have diversely highlighted in the study of western literatures concerning the youth' political socialization. Political socialization is the process of learning about politics, which is mobilized by many agents. Normally, people are being socialized by their surroundings, where the traditional apparatuses of socialization make them accustomed to politics. As the political circumstances have become complex, in many aspects, the traditional agents of political socialization may become less effective in their role of socializing the citizens politically. With the development of a liberal economy, media also have transformed with a new understanding of audience need and the pressure of profit maximization. In consequence, the message becomes like the product with regular effort to update and to meet the growing need of information from the various sections of the society. In this diffusion of media, audience and political system, media have turned into an essential instrument for political understanding and in the acculturation process with the political system.

Though, the central focus of the study is to identify the position of TV in the political and social engagements of the youth in Bangladesh, the study proceeds with this chapter because political socialization is too much related to political participation in relation to political knowledge, political efficacy and political identity. Media, especially the political contents of TV could serve as a requisite source of political

information, which could lead the youth to access to the public sphere. In addition, it might be an initiator of public reasoning.

Thus, this chapter has focused the political socialization process of the youth of Bangladesh and the position of TV contents as an agent of political socialization. The study has also explored the behavioural variables of political socialization and its relation to TV contents-which are also, seem to be integrated with political and social engagements.

4.2 Political Socialization?

Political socialization is a process of learning about the politics and political system. Within this process citizens learn and acquire cognitions, attitudes, and behaviours relating to their political surroundings (Langton, 1969; Hess & Torny, 1967; & Hyman, 1959). Before 1959, when Herbert Hyman published a book, entitled "Political Socialization" the phrase *political socialization* was exotic.

The field of political socialization is well-suited with the proposition of behaviourist approach promoted by Robert Dhal (1961). Behavioralism emphasized four major points; all of them could be examined by the process of studying political socialization. These points are identifying the importance of person for the purpose of functioning of political institution and process; an effort to make an interdisciplinary political concept; stressed in systematic measurement and the development of generalizable theories regarding political behaviour (Renshon, 1992, p. 443). Sapiro (2004, p. 2) has stated that the major theoretical justification for the study of political socialization was found most explicitly in Almond and Verba's *Civic Culture* (1963) and in Easton's system theory (1965). At the macro level, political socialization was seen as a

crucial mechanism for the development of the political culture (Almond & Verba, 1963) that enables democratic institutions and practices to function or for development of a diffuse support (Easton, 1965) of the political system. At the micro level, the research on political socialization concentrated on the patterns and processes which individuals engage during their development and learning processes, and which contract their relationship to the political context around them. While these two approaches to political socialization are complementary, they have framed the research questions and methods, at a certain extent into different directions as those orientated at the micro level have concentrated more on developmental and cognitive processes (Sapiro, 2004, pp. 2-3). In contrast to the specific support, diffuse support is not based on the output of the political system, but on the political attitudes and values citizens hold towards the prevailing system and is therefore essential for its stability. Though, many studies have found that the children of pre adult stage have been marked as the main target group of political socialization. Many scholars have identified political socialization in a broader perspective (Almond & Verba, 1963, p.324; Greenstein, 1970, p. 971). In the decade of 70s the study of political socialization flourished. In effect, it was diversified to such a degree that Greenstein declared, “Political Socialization is a growth stock”. According to Greenstein (1970, pp. 970-972), one could indicate at least four prevailing usages for the concept of political socialization: 1) The study of political orientations; 2) The study of acquisition of prevailing norms; 3) The study of any political learning, whether of conformity or deviance, and at any stage of individual’s life cycle, and 4) Actual observations of socialization processes, in any aforementioned meaning, taken into account both the socialized and the socialization agents. Hence, it became obvious that the study in the field needed some clarification. In the late 1970’s, the study of political socialization begun to move into a new direction, characterized by three interrelated

concepts (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977, pp. 210-211). First of all, scholars in the field of political socialization started to pay more attention to the adult life span recognizing that adult attitudes may change more substantially than was acknowledged earlier. The second focus concerned the importance of the life cycle, period effects and generational effects in explaining that change. The third focus was also related to the first two as it emphasized the role of events and the environment in general as socialization agents. The post-modernization theories, aimed at describing the change that the Western societies were facing, gained ground. These theories emphasized amongst other things, the value shifts from materialist to post materialist values (Inglehart, 1997), the loosening of traditional collective ties and thus general individualization. The role of an individual was seen as central in defining his or her identity and it was recognized that these identities are not necessarily stable but instead negotiable depending on the context. This discussion was somewhat contradictory to the premises of the study of political socialization, which consider political behaviour as the result of a learning process where the individual adapts different influences from outside.

A person's behaviour can be continuous or discontinuous with his or her own generation or with the preceding generations. Moreover, at the level of political processes and institutions, the effect of an individual's behaviour, whether to show continuity or not, may lead either to political continuity or change. In either case, the behaviour is partly due to situational stimuli and partly due to persons dispositions regarding attitudes and values, the latter being undeniably learned or "socialized". In effect, some changes in the political involvement and participation may be due to the generational replacement stemming from the fact that younger age cohorts have adapted essentially different values and patterns of behaviour than the previous ones and keep

them throughout their life cycle (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977, p. 226; Putnam, 2000). Although a divergent development of the younger generation does not necessarily, or not even usually, lead to generational cleavages, some potential for that still exists (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977, p. 224). It is essential to recognize this potential for "clash" between generations due to different key experiences and their concomitant impact on attitudes and values of each generation.

Besides having a conservative bias, the study of political socialization can be criticized for being normative. If we think, for example, political participation, and the "goal" for a successful socialization process is an individual acting a certain way, we may ask whose values this process ought to project. The various theories of democracy display very differently the ideal amount of participation amongst citizens on one hand and the ideal scope of participation on the other (Dalton, 1996). Consequently, political socialization may very well be used as an explanatory variable while examining the causes of differences in political participation between generations, but we should be careful not to load any prescriptive value in it.

4.2.1 Inner Relation, Political Socialization-Political Participation

Political culture is defined by the attitude of the citizen towards the political system. The process of learning about the system through the social agents is called political socialization. The attitude may attribute the nature of the citizen's mode of participation, if the agents of political socialization possess a parochial or subject political culture, then they may transfer the same outlook for the political system to the younger citizens of the polity. On the other hand, if there remains a participant political culture, the new generation would get a participatory lesson from the agents. Amond &

Verba (1963, p. 324) have mentioned that political socialization can have more direct impact on basic political behaviour of the citizens like partisanship and engagement in politics. Sears (1975, p. 94) has also reported that the study of political socialization is surrounded by three rough categories. These are integrated with the political system, partisanship and political participation.

The diversity of political engagement is also determined by the nature of political socialization. If a political system offers only the traditional way of political participation and people are socialized in this pattern of participation, then this pattern gradually established in the political behaviour of the people. This pattern of socialization can produce low efficacy and even cynicism among the youth, which might devalue political and social engagement.

When the agents of socialization are less active in creating social capital, Social institutions might be loosened and the area of political participant can be lessened. Political socialization is also related to generating of political knowledge, that is seems to be essential for effective political participation. The knowledge of specific political issues is reassigned by the process of political socialization, which could promote specific forms of political participation.

The socialization study in the 60s and late 70s mainly focused on the individual development procedure of political life , show minimum stress in community life (Niemi & Junn, 1998). However, Easton and Dennis (1969) have noted this problem of identifying the micro level definition of political development in context of the relation to the citizen and the system.

To understand the political socialization paradigm as a political theory, one could think it as publicly rather than individually to overcome the ambiguity of socialization theory-to present the whole society by examining the political life of the individual (Mcintosh & Youniss, 2010). To define the theory of political socialization collectively, Mcintosh & Youniss (2010) have theorized political socialization by integrating it with the concept of political participation. They have argued that to conceive the public nature of political engagement, it needs '*Collaboration*', '*Difference of ideology and interest*' and '*Volunteerism*'. These natures of political engagement demand the socialization process, which is characterized by '*Situated learning*'- learning through the involvement in the community practice. Necessary supports and sharing of knowledge or '*Scaffolding*' is also necessary for participation in the broader perspective (Mcintosh & Youniss, 2010).

4.2.2 Mass Media and Political Socialization

One of the major issues of political socialisation research is the role of agents of political socialisation. An emphasis on these agents is due to the domination of the teaching perspective in contrast to the learning approach, which stresses the individual's own learning activities (Renshon, 1977, p. 115). A political system impresses norms and values in its members through its agents. Basic political orientations are, for the most part, transferred from those institutions that also contribute most to the non-political socialisation of the young or new members of a society, for example, the family, the school, peer group and mass media (Renshon, 1977, pp. 22-138.) In the present study the emphasis is only on mass media. The following perspectives on the role of the mass media in the political socialisation process obtain in social science literature today, (a) The mass media are the major sources of political information among citizens in various cultures (Connell, 1971;

Koff & Muhl, 1973); (b) A very common argument in the literature is that the media have no or very little impact on the political socialization process.

Klapper (1960) argues that opinion leaders usually interpose themselves between media and the receiver. In other words, media message is defined for the receiver by his interaction with other opinion formers, for instance, the family, school or peer groups. Sears and Whitney (1973) on the other hand, argued that there is evidence that the receivers have direct access to media messages, but these messages are rejected if the information contained therein is not congruent with beliefs already held. The implication in both cases is that the media have a relatively limited role as agent of political socialization; and, (c) The role of media in transmitting political orientations cannot however be underestimated. So, in the prior literature, we have found a comparative standard among the scholar about the relation of mass media and political socialization. Thus, we could assess the co-relation of TV contents and political socialization of the youth of Bangladesh.

4.3 The Youth, Political Learning and TV

This part of the chapter considers the place of news media, especially TV media in the way of the youth' political learning. Similarly, it has pointed the relation of TV to the level of political knowledge among the educated the youth of Bangladesh.

Political learning is a process of assimilating with politics. There is debate about the stage of initialization of political understandings. Some early researchers have claimed childhood as the significant stage of political learning (Easton & Dennis, 1969; Greenstein, 1965 & Hess & Torney, 1967), while other have denied (Sears, 1990). In this current study, when the youth are asked about the primary learning regarding

political matters (e.g. Politics, Political party, Leadership, Power, Election), most of them answered that they understand the political term from their late adolescence or in the primary stage of their youth. When they have been asked about the sources of their political learning, a substantial portion of them claimed that family and media are the central agents of their political learning. As table-4.1 projects that most of the youth have answered media as their influential source of political learning followed by the family. In most of the FGDs also the youth have argued that they learn about political matters from different sources, but media are the main source of their political learning. One of the respondents from Rajshshi University has argued, "We get the primary knowledge of politics from family in our early the youth, but when we want more key understanding about politics and different political institutions, we have to rely on media" (FGD-1).

Table 4.1
Influential Agents of the Youth Political Learning

Agents	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Family	116	30.2	30.2
Media	196	51.0	51.0
Political leader	15	3.9	3.9
Friends, peers and Neighbours	18	4.7	4.7
Educational institute	38	9.9	9.9
Others	1	.3	.3
Total	384	100.0	100.0

Another respondent from Poradaha union has claimed that it is difficult for other socialization agents to meet the diverse political query; here different media are the influential provider of political information (FGD-07). Actually, it is difficult to identify the exact source of political learning. Family as a primary source of political learning is

still very influential, but the complexity of political learning has made media more influential in some aspect. When the youth have been asked about their source of getting information of different political institution, most of them have nominated for media. As figure-4.1 shows that very small part of the respondents think that they learn about the political institution from family, friends, educational institutes and other institutions.

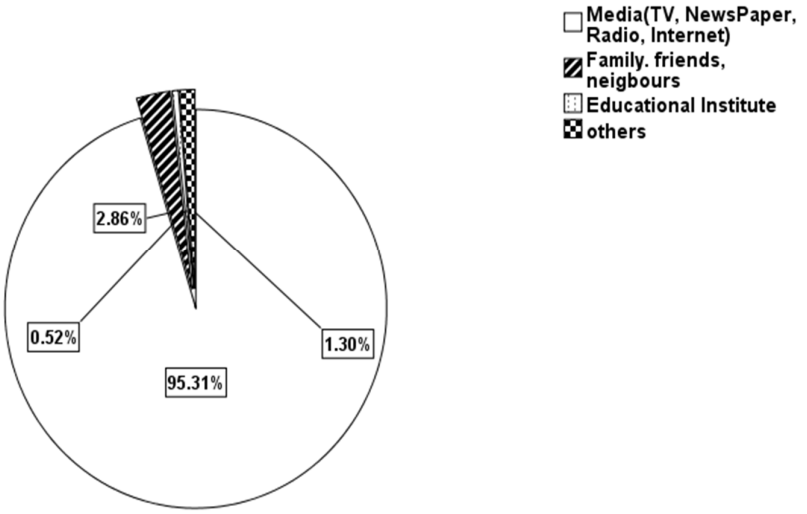

Figure 4.1: Place of Getting Information about Different Institutions

Now the question is where the position of TV in the context of political learning of the youth. There are various media from where they can get their necessary information about different matters including politics. In focus group studies we have observed that most of the respondents have noted that TV is the prominent source of their political learning, followed by newspaper and internet. A Very scanty part of respondents have claimed radio as their source of political learning. In chapter three also, we have observed that most of the youth use TV news as their source of political information. Some of them specially the better educated portion use newspaper including TV to learn about the politics. As table-4.2 projects that 61.7 percent of the youth prefer TV for their political learning, where 20.8 percent of them use newspaper

and 13.8 percent of them have a preference for the internet. The pictorial impact of TV makes media more audience friendly concerning political learning. In most of the FGDs, the study has found that the youth of the younger age group, female and less educated the youth are more inclined to TV. However, the central question is how and to what extent the political contents of TV makes the youth learn about politics. Prior literature about media's role on political learning do not projects an easy generalization.

Table 4.2
Media Preference for Political Learning

Media	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Television	237	61.7	61.7
Newspaper	80	20.8	20.8
Radio	3	.8	.8
Internet	53	13.8	13.8
Do not know	11	2.9	2.9
Total	384	100.0	100.0

As Buckingham (2000) has argued that the audience may learn very little from what they view because of the lack of attention, less background knowledge. The pictorial message sometimes makes an illusion of learning (Robinson & Levy, 1986). People pay very little attention about what they watch on TV. As Graber (1988) argues that people are generally '*cognitive miser'*-very selective in thinking about news topic. In this study, when we have asked the youth about their remembrance of news, 2.9 percent of them have replied that they never forget the news; 49.7 of them can remember very small and 41.7 percent have replied that they do not forget for a long time (Table-4.3). Similarly, when they have been questioned, whether they think about the political contents that they see, 48.7 percent of them have answered "sometimes"

and 29.4 percent have answered “always” (Table-4.4). In the same manner, Table-4.5 projects that political contents of TV may have moderate to less impact on changing the prior conceptions of the youth about politics, though 21.4 percent of them have mentioned that their earlier concepts about different political matters are being changed by watching political contents. As a whole the tables (4.3, 4.4 & 4.5) have presented a mix result about the learning process of the youth from TV contents. This may create a partial understanding about the political matters.

Table 4.3
Remembrance of News Among the youth

	Frequency	Percent
Very small	191	49.7
Never forget	11	2.9
Do not forget for a long time	160	41.7
Do not know	6	1.6
Moderately	4	1.0
No answer	12	3.1
Total	384	100.0

Table 4.4
Watching Political Contents and Thinking

	Frequency	Percent
Think always	113	29.4
Think Sometimes	187	48.7
Think hardly	57	14.8
Think never	10	2.6
Do not know	4	1.0
No answer	13	3.4
Total	384	100.0

Table 4.5
Watching Political Contents and Changing of Prior Disposition

	Frequency	Percent
Always change	82	21.4
Sometimes change	179	46.6
Rarely change	84	21.9
Never change	25	6.6
No answer	14	3.6
Total	384	100.0

In the FGDs, we have found that the youth are less concerned about their watching and political learning. An influential portion of them remember the topic or incidents which are closely related to their practical life. On the other hand, most of them hardy remember the political news that they watch in TV. They think that every day there happened numerous political incidents. It is not an easy task for them to remember about these matters, but somehow these matters make them informed. Some of the respondents have argued that sometime we forget the content because we have no background knowledge about that. It seems that demographic factors are important in the learning process from TV contents. In most of the FGDs better educated, male and higher age group of the respondents, who watch political contents seems to have gained more political learning than other sections of the youth. We could draw a clear understanding of the above matters if we can examine the level of political knowledge on the basis of watching habits of political contents among them.

4.4 Political Knowledge and TV

'Political knowledge' refers the ability of a person to interpret the fundamental matters of politics and its heterogeneous relation with social surroundings. People acquire political knowledge from various agents of socialization like family, school, peer group,

political party and media. The family may be the primary initiator for the children to get the political understanding. School and other social institution come after them. They get primary outlook about politics from this institution, though in early childhood the level of political interest, capability of information processing may be less than the period of adolescence and the youth. People may try more to conceive the political information and knowledge when their everyday lives are being felt in the political process. This impact of political settings may be understood fully at the stage of the youth or later.

It is obvious that modern form of politics is multifaceted and distinctly linked with other social and economic phenomena. Without neglecting the traditional agents of political socialization, it may assume that media could manage the complex realm of political information and can educate the youth by disseminating necessary information and identifying the inner relation of politics and other social and economic variables integrated with the daily settings of the youth life. After all, media could manage the complex process of the youth political socialization skillfully than other agents of political socialization.

The core understanding of political socialization study is to assimilate the new generation with the political settings. The role of media begins from this point. Media represent the political agenda, disclose the structure and working of political institution as well as it present the daily schedule of the political elite. In these ways media represent the political society. This text or messages consumed by the audience may create some sort of knowledge base gradually. This process of knowledge acquisition may also relate to the socioeconomic background of the audience, the level of interest about politics and prior knowledge.

However, this section of this chapter has dealt with the knowledge level of Bangladeshi educated the youth on the basis of their intensity of TV viewing, the choice of the contents of TV and their demographic character.

To determine the knowledge level of the youth the study has included ten quiz type questions. These questions are comprised of general understanding to intrinsic matters of Bangladesh politics. The respondents have been ranked as very low to very highly knowledgeable on the basis of their performance in the quiz test. As table-4.6 shows that total 64.9% of the youth are moderate to highly knowledgeable in pursuit of political understanding. Of this, 32.6 percent are moderately knowledgeable, 13.8 percent are highly knowledgeable and 18.5 percent are very highly knowledgeable.

Table 4.6
Level of Political Knowledge among the Youth

	Frequency	Percent
Very low (Answered 2 or less questions)	29	7.6
Low (Answered 3-4 questions)	106	27.6
Moderate (Answered 5-6 questions)	125	32.6
High (answered 7-8 questions)	53	13.8
Very high (Answered 9-10 questions)	71	18.5
Total	384	100.0

The study did not find a significant relationship between hour the youth spend in front of TV and their knowledge level. As table-4.7 shows 8.2 percent who watch television for less than one hour have very low knowledge, but the percentage is 6.2 percent of the youth who watch TV more than 4 hours. Similarly, 18.8 percent of the youth who watch TV more than 4 hours possess a very high level of knowledge and the percentage is 21.6 percent for the viewer of less than one hour. Likewise, 30.6 percent of the youth who watch TV for 1-2 hour are moderately knowledgeable, where the percentage is 38.3 for the youth of 2-4

hours TV viewer. So one may conclude that hour of TV use is not significantly related to the level political knowledge of the Bangladeshi the youth.

On the other hand, in the context of the preference of TV contents and political knowledge, it has been identified in the focus group study that the youth who have said that they regularly watch news and talk shows simultaneously, are more prompt in political discussion and making an argument about the policy matters. Most of the respondents in the FGDs have a positive outlook for TV news in question of acquiring political knowledge as well as they think that the youth who watch cognitive contents of media are more knowledgeable than who do not. Table- 4.8 shows that the youth who have claimed that they watch both of the cognitive contents are seem to be more knowledgeable than the youth who use television only for entertainment.

Table 4.7
Duration of TV Watching and Knowledge Level

Duration of TV watching		Knowledge Test					Total
		Very Low (answered 2 or less questions)	Low (Answered 3-4 questions)	Moderate (answered 5-6 questions)	High (answered 7-8 questions)	Very high (answered 9-10 questions)	
Less than one hour	Count	8	22	34	12	21	97
	%	8.2	22.7	35.1	12.4	21.6	100.0
1-2 hours	Count	15	68	67	32	37	219
	%	6.8	31.1	30.6	14.6	16.9	100.0
2-4 hours	Count	4	10	18	6	9	47
	%	8.5	21.3	38.3	12.8	19.1	100.0
More than 4 hours	Count	1	5	5	2	3	16
	%	6.2	31.2	31.2	12.5	18.8	100.0
No answer	Count	1	1	1	1	1	5
	%	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	Count	29	106	125	53	71	384
		7.6	27.6	32.6	13.8	18.5	100.0

Table 4.8
Preference of TV contents and Level of Knowledge

What do you watch in television	Knowledge level					Total
	Very Low (Answered 2 Or Less Questions)	Low (Answered 3-4 Questions)	Moderate (Answered 5-6 Questions)	High (Answered 7-8 Questions)	Very High (Answered 9-10 Questions)	
Only news	5(16.7%)	7(23.3%)	10(33.3%)	2(6.7%)	6(20.0%)	30(100%)
Only talk show	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(100.0%)
News and talk shows	1(2.2%)	8(17.4%)	14(30.4%)	7(15.2%)	16(34.8%)	46(100.0%)
News, Talk show and Entertainment	4(2.6%)	43(27.9%)	52(33.8%)	24(15.6%)	31(20.1%)	154(100.0%)
Only entertainment	6(25.0%)	9(37.5%)	6(25.0%)	2(8.3%)	1(4.2%)	24(100.0%)
News and Entertainment	12(9.8%)	38(30.9%)	41(33.3%)	16(13.0%)	16(13.0%)	123(100.0%)
Total	29(7.6%)	106(27.6%)	125(32.6%)	53(13.8%)	71(18.5%)	384(100.0%)

Both of the questionnaire survey and the FGDs, the study has observed that there are varieties in political interest among the youth. The lower age group, women and who have low levels of educational attainment seems to have low interest in politics. Prior study about political knowledge also support that demographic variables are closely integrated with political knowledge. As Table-4.9 and 4.10 reflects that the male respondents and the higher educated youth are more knowledgeable. Actually political interest or inquisitiveness about political matters may inspire the youth to seek political information and attend political contents of the television. One of the respondents from Poradaha union has argued that he watches news and talk show regularly and these content gives him deep insight about politics and create further enthusiasm for political information. On the other hand, one of the respondents of Rajshahi Town, a housewife has argued that she does not feel any willingness for news viewing, for her TV is an entertainment Box (FGD-7&1). From the survey we have recognized that very small portion of the youth watch news programmes for more than thirty minutes. Similarly

very few of the youth watch talk shows regularly. All of these viewing patterns may have some co-relation to the depth of interest about the politics, which inspire the audience to grab political information and analysis. In addition, sheer portions of the youth have argued that they watch TV news for current events not for political understanding.

Table 4.9
Sex of the Respondents and Political Knowledge

Sex of the respondents	Knowledge Test					**Total**
	Very low (Answered 2 or less questions)	**low (Answered 3-4 questions)**	**Moderate (Answered 5-6 questions)**	**High(Answered 7-8 questions)**	**very hig (Answered 9-10 questions)**	
Female	16(9.6%)	60(36.1%)	49(29.5%)	19(11.4%)	22(13.3%)	**166(100.0%)**
Male	13(6.0%)	46(21.1%)	76(34.9%)	34(15.6%)	49(22.5%)	**218(100.0%)**
Total	**29(7.6%)**	**106(27.6%)**	**125(32.6%)**	**53(13.8%)**	**71(18.5%)**	**384(100.0%)**

Table 4.10
Educational Attainment of the Respondents and Level of Political Knowledge

Educational attainment		Knowledge Test					Total
		Very low (answered 2 or less questions)	Low (answered 3-4 questions)	Moderate (answered 5-6 questions)	High (answered 7-8 questions)	Very high (answered 9-10 questions)	
SSC	Count	6	13	11	5	2	37
	%	16.2	35.1	29.7	13.5	5.4	100.0
HSC	Count	7	22	20	6	4	59
	%	11.9	37.3	33.9	10.2	6.8	100.0
Degree/Honors	Count	11	54	57	22	18	162
	%	6.8	33.3	35.2	13.6	11.1	100.0
Masters	Count	5	17	37	20	47	126
	%	4.0	13.5	29.4	15.9	37.3	100.0
Total	Count	29	106	125	53	71	384
	%	7.6	27.6	32.6	13.8	18.5	100.0

After all, political knowledge of the youth may depend on various factors, including political interests, demographic variables and so forth. The choice of TV contents in one of them–which could be a considerable source for political knowledge.

4.5 Political Behaviours and TV

A modern communication system is far more than just the mass media. There may have a complex relationship between media and general, more informed, attentive or passive public concerning the impact of media on their political behaviour. As Pye has illustrated:

> In transitional societies there are usually a variety of diverging and contending notions and sentiments about the nature and the purpose of politics. There are invariably many people of both high and low station…In all transitional societies there are those with mature sentiments and rational outlooks on the functions of the government. The writers and the journalists have a unique role in helping the people with all of these different orientations to arrive at working agreements (1966 pp. 167-168)

However, political culture and other socialization agents may have immense effect on the formation of the political behavior of the youth, but at the same breath media could be influential in the process of infiltration of new political attitude or re-distribution of prior political behaviour. Thus, this part of the chapter would examine the relation of TV contents to the Political Behaviour (Political efficacy, Political identity, Attitude towards the social capital of the youth.

4.5.1 Political Efficacy

Political efficacy is the sense of an individual that he can effectively take part in the political system. An efficacious person belief that he is able to understand the mechanism of politics and can influence the decision making process directly or indirectly. In analysing the norm of efficacy, Easton and Dennis has defined political efficacy in the following manner:

> A sense of the direct political potency of the individual; a belief in the responsiveness of the government to the desires of the individuals; the idea of the comprehensibility of government; the ability of adequate means of influence; and a general resistance to fatalism about the tractability of government to anyone ruler or rule (Easton & Dennis, 1967, p. 35).

The Lower level of political efficacy could be termed as the state of lower political understanding and response from the individual and from the institution (Coleman & Davis, 1976, p.189-190). There are two types of political efficacy, internal and external-internal political efficacy demonstrates the individual belief that he is a part of the polity or he can take part in the political process, on the other hand, external efficacy expressess the beliefs about political institution (Craig & Maggiotto, 1982, p. 87).

Political efficacy is deeply related to political participation. The citizens who believe that they have duties and right in the realm of the political system may be more responsive to political and social engagement (Valentino, Gregorowicz & Groenendyk, 2009). They have claimed that Political behaviours are consisting of different types of cognitive resources, including political efficacy-which may be important to minimize the barrier of political participation.

Since the 1960s, much political efficacy research has analysed the causal chains between exposure to broadcast media and an individual's sense of political efficacy. Robinson's has concluded that watching television news serves to "frustrate subjects, forcing them to turn inward and doubt their own ability to comprehend and cope with politics" (Robinson, 1976, p. 417). This hypothesis have been pursued in later years by other scholars (Newton, 1999; Putnam, 2000). Other academics have found a positive relationship between some forms of media use, particularly for news consumption, and political efficacy (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; McLeod et al., 1996; Norris, 2000; Scheufele, 2002; Aarts & Semetko, 2003)

In this study, firstly, we have examined the level of political efficacy of the educated youth of Bangladesh then we have assessed the relationship of TV with the political efficacy. In case of internal efficacy the study shows that the youth are satisfactorily efficacious than external efficacy. When they have been asked about the importance of their political and social engagement, 60.2 percent of them have asserted that it is most important (See Table-4.11).

Table 4.11
Youth Perception about their Political Participation

How important is your participation	Frequency	Percent
Most important	231	60.2
Important	98	25.5
Moderately important	38	9.9
Not important	9	2.3
Not important at all	8	2.1
Total	384	100.0

In focus group studies when they have been asked about the social and political engagement, most of them have argued that the youth's social and political engagement is very important for the proper working of democracy. One of the respondents from Geupara union has asserted that without active participation of the youth, it is impossible to bring a positive change in the political culture (FGD-8). One of the respondents from Rajshshi University has pointed out that in every country, including Bangladesh, the youth are the vanguard of established democratic governance (FGD-1).

One of the respondents from Putia Upazilla has argued that the youth are one third of the whole population, as well as they are the major portion of the electorate, so the youth are the most valuable portion of the population (FGD-4).

But in case of external efficacy the study has found some negative indication from the youth. The respondents of the focus group study have argued that they have very little opportunity to participate. They blame the political culture and the institution for their disengagement. One of the respondents of kushtia town has mentioned that our institutions are less democratic than other developed country, so people have limited opportunity to work in collaboration (FGD-3). A student of kushtia Government College has stressed that there is a lack of accountability and transparency in our political institution, thus we feel disintegrated from these institutions (FGD-5). In figure-4.2, we can observe that immense parts of the youth are not satisfied with the workings of political institutions.

So it could be understood that the youth of Bangladesh may have confidence about the importance of their political and social engagement, but at the same time they have less confidence in the political institution-which demonstrate the external political efficacy.

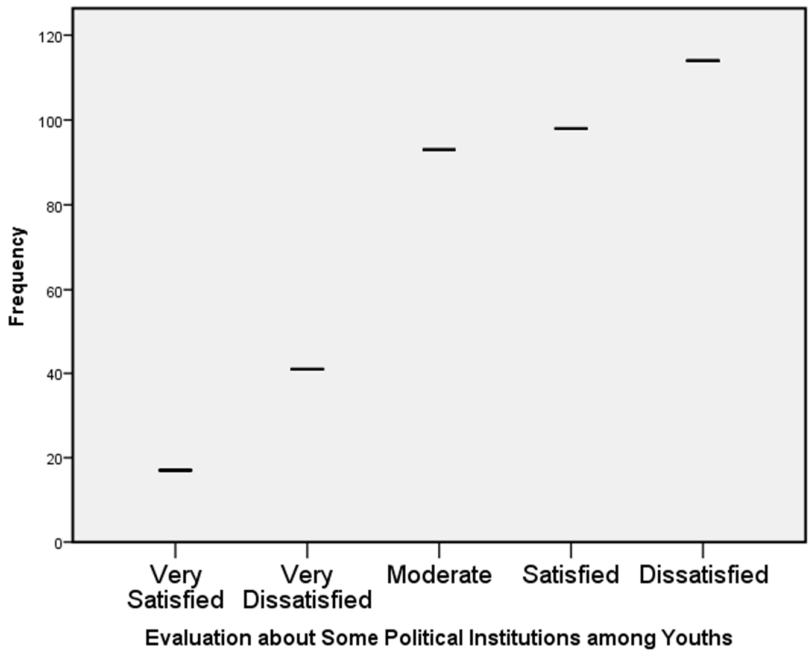

Figure 4.2: Institutional Efficacy of Youths

When the youth are asked about the political contents of TV-whether these news and talk show makes them feel that they are important? In addition, they have been asked whether these contents of TV make them cynic about politics. The study has found a mix standard among the youth about this question. They have claimed that news and talk shows sometime make them optimistic about their potency in the political system, on the other hand sometimes these make them cynic about the politics. As figure-4.3 shows that about 25 percent of the youth feel themselves important moderately as a citizen when they watch news and talk shows. More than 20 percent of them always feel themselves important.

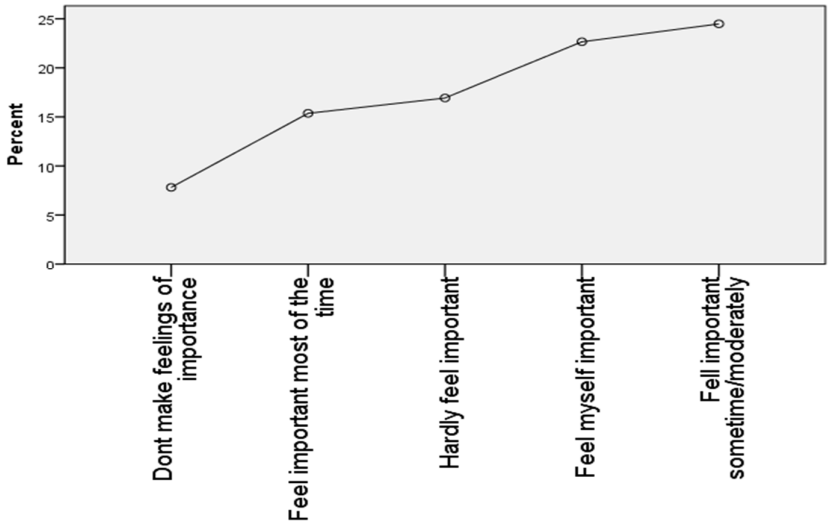

Figure 4.3 : Watching News and Political Efficacy

In contrast, figure-4.4 shows that 55.85 percent of the youth think that news and talk shows make them cynic moderately. In focus group studies the respondents have claimed that TV makes them confident as well as cynic about their potency. Sometimes, news and talk shows priorities mass people, and make an argument for the people. The agenda of TV news and talk shows make them knowledgeable about the inner working of the system. Similarly, it presents the demand of the mass to the political elite. These

in turn encourage them to participate in the political system. On the other hand the biasness and the slanted nature of TV channels, the news of traditional narrow political culture, and the representation of bifurcated political and social elite offer them a parochial space for participation. This presentation of TV may turn them cynic and may cause disengagement.

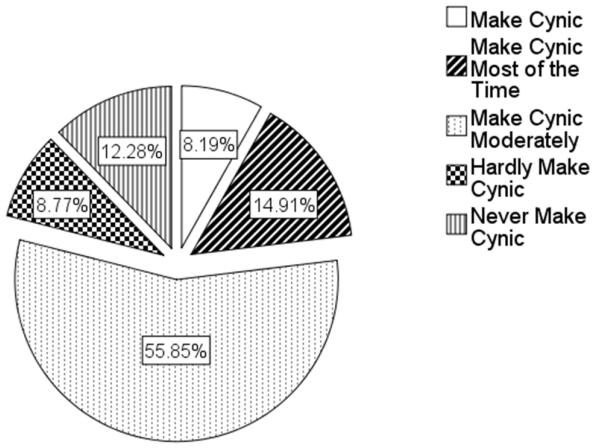

Figure 4.4: TV Watching and Political Cynicism

Note: Respondents who do not give any answer has been excluded from the chart

Thus we can conclude that political efficacy and cynicism of the youth have limited co-relation to TV contents. One of the respondents from Kushtia town has concluded, "We become cynic or pessimist on the basis of the nature of our politics. The stories of TV intensify or sometime add some new look in the prior disposition"(FGD-3). After all the mode of political culture may intrinsically related to the level of political efficacy or cynicism of the youth.

4.5.2 Social Capital

Social capital defines the network of people living in the societies. Where they work, discuss and solve problems in an integrated way. It is a kind of social intercourse–

where an individual does not feel helpless or independent from the social responsibility. Putnum (1993, 2000) has used the term broadly (following Coleman, 1990) in explaining the essentials of social life-such as networks, norms and trusts. These elements are essential for collective life. The term is not strictly related to political life rather it is sets of social values–which might be fruitful for effective political life (Shah, 1998). Putnum has illustrated social capital, "Connections among individuals–social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called "civic virtue". When people join in the social institutions, a form of bonding emerges among them, have important significances for the citizens' confidence in political institutions (Brehm & Rahn, 1997).

Putnum (2000) has measured social capital of America by examining the depth of a range of social and political participation of the citizen. He has claimed a sharp decline of social capital in American society and most interestingly, he has blamed media, especially TV for the declination, though many scholars have criticized his sole identification of TV as a cause of decreasing social capital (Norris, 1996; Shah, 1998; Capella et al., 1997).

In this section of the study, we have not examined social capital directly by judging the civic or political participation of the youth; rather we have examined the attitude of the educated youth towards social capital (state of social bondings, participation, reciprocity and trust). This could be essential for active engagement in the social and political sphere. Simultaneously, we have examined the relation of TV in the formation of this behaviour. In

chapter-five we have examined the mode of political participation–which could elaborate the nature of social capital among the youth of Bangladesh.

The FGD findings denote that the youth think that social capital is decreasing. They have posited that mutual trusts among them are shrinking. The rise of capitalist phenomena and the extension of diverse technology are pushing them to the individualistic nature of life. They have outlined that there is a mutual network among the youth, but this network are alienated from social settings–which could hardly meet the characteristics of social capital. There is private linking among the youth but this link is not in the surrounding of the social or political institution. Some respondents have argued that new forms of social network have initiated through the help of technological extension (e.g. Facebook, Twitter)–which are making virtual relation among the youth, but how much this network are creating trust, bonding is questionable. One of the respondents from Rajshshi University has noted that trust and bonding are lessening and this situation is the outcome of the political culture and the use of various media (FGD-1). A serviceman from kushtia town has blamed the scarcity of time and individualistic nature of the youth for civic disengagement (FGD-3). One of the respondents from the Geupapra union in (FGD-8) has claimed that social trust and engagement are reducing but it is still better than urban areas. A housewife from Mirpur Upazila in (FGD-6) has questioned the unstable social phenomena–where mistrust grows naturally.

Very few of the respondents have accused TV for distrust or disengagement. They think that people are more accustomed with various media, though TV is the frequently used medium among them. One of the respondents from kushtia College in

(FGD-5) has mentioned that only TV is not reliable for civic disengagement, there are other forms of media should take into account in searching the causal effect of media. Most of the FGD respondents have indicated the nature of politics and the erosion of moral values as the dominant causes of the declining of political and social engagement. At the same time they have mentioned that the civic and political engagements of the youth are necessary for democracy.

The survey result also shows that the educated youth of Bangladesh think that social capital are reducing (See Annex Table: 4.1, 4.3 & 4.4), but very little portion of them think that TV is the main culprit. As table-4.12 projects that very small portion of the youth blame TV for social disengagement, rather they have indicated a bewildering array of reasons for the declining of social and political involvement (Table- 4.13). A sheer portion of them blame lack of ethics (41.7%) for this declining. 21.6 percent denote over the use of media–it may not indicate only TV media.

Table 4.12
TV and Disengagement

Do TV Make You Disengaged?	Frequency	Percent
Yes do	32	8.3
Sometimes	73	19.0
Very rarely	78	20.3
Never	188	49.0
No answer	8	2.1
Do not know	5	1.3
Total	384	100.0

Table 4.13
Causes of Lessening Social Capital

Causes	Frequency	Percent
Shortage of time	8	2.0
Political reason	87	22.7
Lack of ethics	160	41.7
Over use of media	83	21.6
Others	11	2.9
No answer	23	6.0
Do not know	12	3.1
Total	384	100.0

The overall findings predict that social capital is decreasing in Bangladesh but TV could not be accused solely for this lessening of social capital.

4.5.3 Political Identity

People live in a social settings share some common feelings of collectiveness through different level of communication and institutional belongings. These feelings of collectiveness could be understood as political identity, when we conceptualize it with political framework. As Nisbet & Myers (2010, p. 347) have highlighted political identity, "As a form of individual schemas that organize information about our political location, status, and social relationships". This group adherence could be based on common political histories, nationalism, race, language, territory and so forth. In a broader sense this political identity could be thought the combination of national identity and social identity-where national identity refers to one's loyalty towards national symbols, pride about the nationhood and belief about the superiority in some aspect (Huddy & Khatib, 2007, p. 63). On the other hand, social identity refers one's attachment or impartial membership with a group (Tajfel, 1981). In this study, we have seen these two forms of

identity in an integrated way. Formation of national identity is important in analysing political or civic involvement. It is expected that the feelings of national identity increase group belongings and political involvements (Huddy & Khatib, 2007, p.66).

The mass media have been claimed as an influential instrument for the formation of national identity. As Nisbet and Myers (2010, p. 347) have illustrated, " The mass media have long been linked to the historical development and the emergence of national identities and the modern nation-state by creating bounded spaces of political communication and discourse". Several scholars have mentioned that media play an important role in the increase of nationalism (Anderson, 1991; Calhoun, 1988; Habermas, 1989). These literatures have stated how media create a common sense of belongings through mediated communication in a modern nation-state. This pattern of identity formation through media message may be conceptualized as "spiral of identity"- where media have an impact on the salience of respected political identities (Slater, 2007)

However, when we consider media as the instrument of identity formation, TV has been assessed with more importance than other media (Meyrowitz, 1985). Electronic media like TV could be a symbolic place rather a physical location–where people can be influenced to build their social and political identities with common social, political, cultural attributes (Nisbet & Myers, 2010, p. 349). Media oriented political identity formation may be conceptualized as a form of secondary instrument–which may work with the primary socialization agents like family, education. The more educated youth could get more cues from media (Eveland & Scheufele, 2000; Nisbet, 2008).

This study also has attempted to identify the position of TV contents in the formation of political identity of the educated the youth of Bangladesh. As we have

indicated that political identity has been taken in the realm of social identity and political identity. Firstly, we have tried to trace out the meaning of national identity among the youth. We have found a confusing standard among the youth in the formation of political identity. The study has revealed that prior historical events like language movement; liberation war offers them a common identity as a citizen of Bangladesh. In most of the FGDs the respondents have claimed that these historical events give them a basement for thought themselves as a part of the nation. One of the respondents from Rajshahi University has argued that when we hear about language movement and liberation war, we feel proud, the sentiments of belonging emerge (FGD-1). A housewife from kushtia Town has pointed out that language movement; the liberation war give us enthusiasm and inspiration to live as a nation (FGD-3). Most of the youth have argued that this feeling of collectiveness from these historical events has been emerged from various socialization agents like family, educational institute, political party and others. It is difficult for them to denote the role of TV contents in this perspective. However, a sheer portion of them have emphasized that the contents represent the historical events in different format and in various dimensions–which provide new light and analysis about these factors and provide new avenues for analysing our national identity. One of the respondents form Geupara Union, a primary school teacher, has stressed that we have prior knowledge about the historical development of our country, but TV contents give us new and innovative outline about these matters (FGD-8). In the questionnaire survey, we have noted that substantial portions of the youth are agreed that the historical representation in TV contents influence their patriotic feeling positively (See Table-4.14). As Huda (2004) has illustrated that Dhaka TV has played a pivotal role in the formation of Bengali identity by providing thoughts, philosophy and imageries. The youth of current age may conceptualize the historical events differently, they do not want the verbosely

representation of these historical events–they want to bridge these matters with current phenomena. One of the respondents of Kushtia College has mentioned that we observe the different matters of language movement and liberation war in different TV channels, but there may have some lack of current implementation of these happenings (FGD-5). In the case of contemporary political culture, TV contents and formation of political identity, the findings shows that the over representation of political matters, the obdurate nature of the politicians and scholars of politics presented in news and talk shows make them distracted from politics–which could form a negative political identity among them.

Table 4.14
Patriotic Feelings and TV Contents

Do TV News Make You Patriotic?	Frequency	Percent
Never	26	6.8
Occasionally	30	7.8
Sometimes	86	22.4
Frequently	92	24.0
Always	126	32.8
No answer	10	2.6
Do not know	14	3.6
Total	384	100.0

A respondent from Mirpur Upazila has noted that some time we feel bored when the political elite make comment garrulously about the identity of the nation referring the history (FGD-6).

In case of social identity formation the role of TV seems to be more promising. Most of the FGDs have identified that the youth come to the social issues from TV

contents (News and Talk show) with other media like Newspaper and Internet. From the pictorial representation of different issues, there may usher a group adherence to the social matters. Many of them have uttered that though they do not join all of the social issues, the social matters presented in TV contents give them a sense of awareness and belongings about the matters. As Table-4.15 represent that a good portion of the youth think that TV contents offer them social awareness about crucial social matters (e.g.Corruption, Drug Addiction, Food Adulteration, Unemployment, Women Harassment). A female respondent from Poradaha union has mentioned, "We become conscious and aware by watching news related to women trafficking and harassment" (FGD-7). A respondent from Rajshshi Univesity has pointed out that the coverage of land grabbing, air and water pollution, inspire them to join against these (FGD-1).

Table 4.15
TV Contents and Social Awareness

Do TV Contents Make You Awared	Frequency	Percent
Very low	8	2.1
Low	26	6.8
Moderately	159	41.4
High	123	32.0
Very high	63	16.4
No answer	4	1.0
Do not know	1	.3
Total	384	100.0

Overall, the qualitative and quantitative findings of this study inform that TV contents have a contradictory role in making the political identity of the educated the youth of Bangladesh.

4.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The study has projected that the youth learn about the political matters from various sources, but media seem to be the most influential instrument in their political learning. They get the primary concept of politics from family, but extended learning about politics is strongly depended on media. The study has outlined that family is still influential for political learning, but complex understanding of politics is influenced by media contents. Specially, to learn about political institutions, media are the best instrument.

Among the different types of media, TV seems to be the most reliable and used source of political learning followed by newspaper and internet, though the better educated part of the youth are the dominant users of newspaper and internet beside TV.

The depth of political learning from TV should be scrutinized cautiously. The study has found that an influential part of the youth do not think and cannot memorize what they watch on TV news. There may be little change occurred in their prior disposition after viewing TV contents. It seems that they have some prior concept or ideology about political matters in their mind, if the contents of TV do not match with their mind setup; they hardly accept the intrinsic meaning of the contents. On the other hand, it seems that very few of them pay concentration on the political contents–which may be essential for learning from the contents. However, the youth possess some kind of illusion of political learning from TV contents, at the same time, most of them think that to know about the political surrounding is one of their social duties. In addition, it has been observed that the youth are more inclined to the political contents which are integrated with their practical life. These notions about the relation of TV contents and political learning do not indicate that TV is less important in the political life of the

youth, rather the process of learning from the political contents should be assessed by concerning the learning process of the youth–which may depend on various matters like background knowledge, schema and other demographic factors.

To identify the relation of TV with political learning of the youth more profoundly, the study has included a knowledge test. Though it is not a flat matter to judge one's knowledge level by some specific questions, the test has been performed to examine the level of knowledge on the basis of their viewing hours and preference of TV contents. The test has projected that viewing hour of TV is not too much related to political understanding or political knowledge. The difference of knowledge level among the heavy users, the moderate users and the light users seem to be insignificant.

In case of the choice of the contents, the study has identified that the preference of TV contents might be influential for the level of political knowledge. The youth, who prefer cognitive contents of TV seem to be more knowledgeable than the youth who prefer entertainment. However, demographic factors may be influential in case of the depth of political knowledge. The study has found that male and better educated portions of the youth are more knowledgeable than others. So it may conclude that the political understanding of the youth is not solely depends on TV contents, rather it could be judged with cultural and demographic factors.

Moreover examining the process of political learning of the youth and the position of TV news in this process, this study has examined the relation between political behaviours of the youth and the political contents of TV. Three behavioural variables have been assessed here–these are political efficacy, attitude towards social

capital and political identity. Numerous literatures have examined these political behaviours as essential elements in the study of political participation.

The study has outlined a confusing level of efficacy among the youth of Bangladesh. On the one hand, most of the youth believe that social and political engagements of the youth are essential for democratic consolidation, but in contrast, they think that they have very little to do in this political culture. Especially, there may lack of institutional efficacy among the educated the youth of Bangladesh.

The study has found a mix standard among the youth about the political contents of TV. They have claimed that news and talk shows, sometime makes them optimistic about their potency in the political system, on the other hand sometimes these make them cynic about the politics. The unstable condition of the political culture being represented in TV contents could make the youth less efficacious and lead them to cynic towards politics. Similarly, TV news and talk shows represent their or the people's voice or work as a public sphere could inspire their level of political efficacy. It seems that TV does a little in increasing or decreasing their level of efficacy, rather TV represents the political culture–which may be more influential in constructing their level of efficacy.

In the perspective of attitude of the youth towards social capital, the study has revealed that according to the youth social capital (Social bonds, reciprocity, social and political involvement, trust) is decreasing, but unlike Putnum (1993, 2000) most of them thinks that TV is not the monolithic cause of reducing social capital. They have claimed that lack of ethics, capitalism, individualism and diverse use of various media could be the causes of the decline of the social capital.

Another behavioural variable of political socialization has been examined in this study is political identity. To what extent and how TV is related to the formation of national and social identity? In answer to this question the study has extended that the youth of Bangladesh have prior values about national identities. The formation of the national identity has been grown on the basis of some historical events and symbols like language movement and liberation war. They came to know about these matters from various sources including media. It seems that the contents of TV make them aware about their national identities as well as it gives them pride as a nation, but at the same time they think that TV some time make the verbose representation of these events. In fact, the youth want the contemporary implementation of these historical symbols–which may construct their national identities. On the other hand, most of the youth think that TV news and talk shows introduce them to the social realities of their current life–where their social identities emerge.

In sum, political contents of TV might be considered as a persuasive source for political understanding and knowledge with other political socialization agents like family, educational institutions and peer groups. The contents may also moderately influence the behavioural variables–which seem to be important for the study of political participation.

Chapter Five
Political Participation, the Youth and Television: Towards Active Citizenship

5.1 Introduction

The modes of political participation among the youth of developed countries are seemed to be changing rapidly. Literatures concerning social capital, political socialization and most importantly, political participation certify this assumption (Putnum, 1993, 2000; Norris, 1996). With the generational difference, the patterns of conventional forms of political participation are declining, though many of the social engagement scholars have argued that new forms of political participation are emerging among the youth. As Putnum has claimed that Americans are more active in the outside of the polling booths (Putnum, 2000, p. 263). Contrasting Putnum assumption, in Bangladesh, voter turnout is satisfactory. But, little research has been attended in concern of other forms of political and social activities among the people of Bangladesh. Specially, the dimensions of the youth engagements in the social and political arena have been highlighted hardly. Through web.02 phenomena the avenues of participation are not encircled only by off-line participation. In particular, the youth seem to be more concentrated in their social connectivity (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Blog), though depths and patterns of these on-line participation are not out of criticism.

With the growing trend of net atmosphere, TV is still alive and disseminating information with a new outlook and diversity of contents. In the context of Bangladesh, the digital divide may not have been eradicated completely and still the net facility is not available for all demography. Statistically, TV is the most used medium in our country, telecasting political contents like news and talk shows, offering greater

dimensions than the monopolistic era of BTV. It may be argued that the dramatic change in TV medium with the inclusion of satellite channels, as well as the political contents of these channels may have offered a new form of communication phenomena, where educated the youth of Bangladesh could get an innovative space for political information. Moreover, these political contents could make them motivated for political and social engagements.

Though voting is not the only indicator of political participation, in the developing nations like Bangladesh, election is the main catalyst of the political system. The cause behind this pattern may congruent with the narrow space in the political settings, where people can express their positions on the policy questions. In developed nations, the practice of voting is shrinking rapidly, but countries like Bangladesh have a satisfactory turnout. On the contrary, other forms of participation beyond voting may not be as satisfactory as the voting.

However, in this chapter we have presented the patterns and frequencies of different forms of political, social and cognitive engagements of the educated the youth of Bangladesh. Simultaneously, we have examined the position of TV contents, especially the political contents of satellite TV in promoting the political and social engagements of them. In addition, to assess the dynamics of political participation elaborately, we have analysed the natures of political participation on the basis of demographic differences and attitudes of the youth towards political culture.

5.2 Political Participation in Context

Stability of democratic polity depends on the conscious engagements of the members of the polity. Though, beginning of a liberal economy, change in the family

structure, leadership pattern and effectiveness of political institution may cause variations in the modes of political participation among different polity. Most of the theorists, from Aristotle to Sydney Verba have stressed that democracy is driven by the active participation of the citizens in political and civic matters, where essential information about public life would be available. It also includes a sense of civic responsibility and awareness about the people's right.

However, democratic political culture and political participation are closely related. Political culture is profoundly integrated with the patterns of authority, the process of political socialization of the citizens and the diffusion of communication process among the citizens, media and political elite (Almond & Verba, 1963, p. 5). Political participation is a multifaceted terminology, where drawing a concrete definition may create ambiguity.

Most traditional, but the authentic notations of political participation have been articulated by Sydney Verba and his colleagues, they have identified political participation as, " activity that has the intent or influencing government action-either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people, who make those policies" (1995, p. 38). This statement clarifies that electoral participation, mainly the act of voting is the most important activity of the citizens in this realm of participation, but it also includes activities like campaigning, vote seeking and initiative in making or altering public policies (Zukin, Keeter & Carpini, 2006, p. 6).

This notation could margin the concept of political participation within the area of electoral participation. Advocating about the wider area of political participation Robert E Lane argued in his well-known thesis 'Political life':

> This clearly means more than voting; indeed, in some areas of politics, voting is a minor feature of the public participation in the political process. A letter to a congress man, a contribution to a candidate's campaign, support of a lobby, even just being a member of political audience–these too, form essential features of political participation. (Lane, 1965, p. 45)

In his remarkable writing, Bowling Alone, Putnum (2000, p. 31) has defined political participation with a broader perspective, according to him, political participation has encompassed by multiple paths of citizens expressions and exercises. This includes contracting local and international officials, deliberations, attending public meetings, signing petitions and other movements.

Political participation should not be understood only in the arena of political activities, rather it should be defined within the context of society. Amarty Sen has illustrated democracy as a tradition of '*Argument*'. He has pointed out that democracy and public reasoning depend on the tradition of discussion and argument among the people (Sen, 2004, p. xiii). The forms of deliberative participation, discussion and counter reasoning are the essence of democracy. These forms of participation boost up conventional forms of participation.

Many scholars of democracy, consider social engagements in the discussion of political participation. It has deep rooted relation to political participation. Unlike political participation, it is direct works done by the members of the polity for the betterment of the polity in cooperation with others (Zukin et al., p.51), generally these types of engagements do not touch the electoral work and done in the periphery of nongovernmental, in many cases nonpolitical organizations. '*Volunteering*' is the noticeable example of these kinds of works.

But these forms of nonpolitical engagements or volunteering in the community level have a positive co-relation with representative forms of government (Putnum, 2000; Skopol, 2003). These civic engagements are mainly concerned with the welfare of the mass as the democratic government is concerned. In many cases, government cannot directly deal with the micro level problems of the community. By the civic attentiveness, the problems are solved, the government could be the facilitator in this case (Zukin et al., p. 51). The civic engagement has empirical linkages with the political engagement. Putnum in his regional study in 1993 has assessed that a vibrant civil society has a positive relation to democratic consolidation and political engagements (Putnum, 1993). So it is evident that political participation has a wider area and should not be discussed only on the boundary of electoral participation.

Another question is very important in the argument of political participation. Why we care about civic or political participation? This question could be answered in many ways, but it should be introduced by raising another question, what will be the consequences, if society lacks political and civic engagements? No elections, no discussions about politics and civic matters, leads to low trust and low efficacy of the citizens. This is not symmetrical with participatory democracy. To answer the why question Verba and his colleagues have stressed for individual capacity building, creating community feelings and mutual protection of interest (Scholzman, Verba & Brady, 1999, p. 427)

The second important question is who participate? All of the citizens do not participate in the same manner or in the same depth. Some of them are more active; some are less or rarely participating in the political process. Asymmetries in social and political engagements do not have unidirectional causes. Verb and his mates

hypothesized three dimensions of non-participation: they cannot; they do not want to; and nobody asked them to participate (Scholzman, et al., 1999, p. 430)

5.2.1 Information, Political Participation and Media

The hypothesis about the link between information and political engagement presents a puzzle. The most common idea about information and engagement depicts that information is used as an instrument for engagement (Bimer, 2001, p. 55). So information mainly used as purposefully for rational decision making for participation. People need information to perform effectively and they have to invest time and money to buy information (Bimer, 2001). It also reduces uncertainty. Lack of information may cause indecision of engagement.

For political mobilization, it needs information. Information friendly political phenomena patronize the patterns of citizens monitoring about the working of the political system (Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1993). The political elite take the advantage of media to pursue and motivate people by delivering their message through media. Now a day, political campaigning is too much media centred. People come to know their political information and evaluate or change their prior disposition.

There is an intense relationship between education and participation. Education generates and process information–which leads to political cognitions and sophistications. This process of political cognitions and sophistication are supportive for political involvements (Verba, Scholzman & Brady, 1995). So education and information seem to be synonymous. The interaction between these two may create capabilities to acquire new information (Bimer, 2001).

Another assumption about information and political engagement posits that more information leads to more participation. Information may create a sense of belongingness among the citizens. The citizens who are information poor may get little thinking about the political system. Thus, information generate political knowledge which seems to be the requisite of political engagement (Carpini, Michael, Keeter, & Kennamer, 1994). No media could be proved as informative, if it failed to improve the pathway of access to information (Luskin, 1993).

Though TV cannot facilitates the audiences as much as talked in the literatures, still it is a big source of information (Bimer, 2001). It could enhance the flow of visual information with the criticism of negative advertising about politics (Norris, 1996; Patterson, 1980). In sum, there may have little evidences about the interlink between information and political participation. The proposition of the co-relation between political knowledge and political information is also debatable. The patchy procedure of the turning of information to knowledge has created this doubt. The schema theory has introduced these from of confusion-which illustrates that human interpretations of information are filtered by various variables. It may create different sorts and patterns of knowledge base on the basis of predispositions. Sometime these predispositions may create political understanding with biasness (Patterson, 1980).

As a whole, the pattern of political information is changing rapidly with the development of new media atmosphere. So, more concentrated study should be initiated to unfold the relation between information and political participation.

Now the study will proceed to analyse the patterns of political, social, cognitive engagements of the youth of Bangladesh. As well as it will examine the position of the political contents of satellite channels in the procedure of these participation.

5.3 Electoral Participation and TV

There are various forms of electoral participation like voting, campaigning, attending public meetings, seeking votes from door to door, working for political parties as a member and other political organizations, wearing buttons and stickers in favour of political parties or candidates and many more. All of us do not participate or worth to participate all of the categories of electoral engagements. As Woshinsky (2008, p. 103) has noted that political activists vary enormously. Some are the stereotypical "good citizens performing their civic duty." Some are the stereotypical "opportunists hoping to enrich themselves." But simplistic images like these distort realities. Like most people, those who are interested in politics, display a mix of motives and a range of personalities.

From these forms of participation, voting is the most common practice of political engagement. Other forms of political engagements are also related to the voting coherently or ancillary way. Actually voting is the final stage in relation with other categories of political inclusion (Lipset, 1963). Historically, in Bangladesh voting is the most common arrangement of political engagement. Voting is the direct activity of the members of a polity, by which they get the access to select the power elite. This inclusion into the power mechanism make them interested to talk, think about and cast their vote, though most of the time they may think that they are out of the power relation. For these reasons, the subsequent sections of this chapter have analysed the voting participation individually, then it has dealt with other forms of political and social engagements.

5.3.1 Voting

The act of democratic citizenship begins with the act of voting. In every democracy, for every section of the people, the election is important from various aspects. As Putnum (2000, p. 31) has stressed the importance of voting by concerning the decline of the turnout rate of American democracy. But in case of Bangladesh, the voter turnout rate is quite satisfactory. As table-5.1 denotes the growing tendency of voter turnout in Bangladesh, noteworthy portions of the electorates of Bangladesh are the youth and it seems that they might not be out of this trend. Firstly, this section of the study has presented the status of voting of the educated the youth of Bangladesh, then the relation to TV contents to voting behaviour has been analysed.

Table 5.1
Parliamentary Election Voter Turnout in Bangladesh

Year	Voter Turnout	Total vote	Registration
2008	85.26%	69,172,649	81,130,973
2001	74.97%	56,185,707	74,946,364
1996	75.60%	42,880,564	56,716,935
1991	55.45%	34,477,803	62,181,743
1988	51.81%	25,832,858	49,863,829
1986	60.31%	28,873,540	47,876,979
1979	51.29%	19,676,124	38,363,858
1973	54.91%	19,329,683	35,205,642

Source: Idea International (2014)

In this study, the growing tendency of voting participation has been identified again. Most of the respondents, irrespective of demographic differences have enthusiasms for casting their vote (Table-5.2). The current study shows that 93 percent of the respondents have registered themselves as a voter and 91.9 percent have cast their vote in the previous elections (Local or national level elections). The youth who are newly registered are also inclined to cast their vote.

Table 5.2
Registered as a Voter and Voting Tendency among the Youth

Registered as a voter	Frequency	Percent	Vote regularly	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	357	93.0	yes	353	91.9
No	27	7.0	no	31	8.1
Total	384	100.0	Total	384	100.0

In focus group studies, the respondents of all sub groups have expressed positive notions for the voting. One of the female respondents from the Rajshahi city, in the FGD-2 has expressed her enthusiasm for voting, she has stated that in every circumstance she moves to the voting booth to cast her vote. From the very beginning of the independent Bangladesh, elections have become a special event in the political life of the inhabitants of Bangladesh. This trend is still prevailing. One of the respondents from Geupara union has urged that election creates a festive mood among them (FGD-8).

This trend indicates that voting participation is very meaningful and integrated into the political life of the youth. This essential mode of participation offers them the opportunity to take part in the political process. They select their political party as well as leaders with their feelings of duty and right as a citizen. The study shows that there are overlapping causes of voting among the youth of Bangladesh. Figure–5.1 shows the youth' responses to the causes of their voting participation. From the figure, one can conclude that there might be differences in the causal relation, but the youth of Bangladesh are positively exercising their enfranchisement. The figure shows that the educated the youth of Bangladesh are joining in the voting procedure to select their preferred candidates. Similarly, they want to establish their citizen rights as well as they want to perform their responsibilities in the way of voting. Most of the focus group studies have identified that the respondents have a narrow mind setup about the political culture. They think that though political participation encircled by different forms of

social and political engagements, there are limited opportunities for them to participate in the political arena, but voting is the important opportunity for them in this alienated pattern of political culture, where they can participate easily.

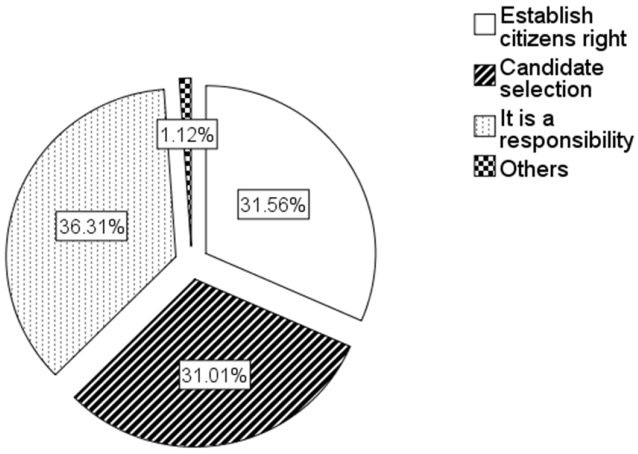

Figure 5.1: Reasons of Casting Vote among the Youths

Political participation depends on the level of efficacy among the citizens. If the citizens have the confidence that their decisions matters for the political elites, then they may get the zeal of participation. In case of voting participation, major portions of the youth have shown a high level of political efficacy. They think that they are an influential part of the society. Their vote can fetch change. Very small portions (6 %) of them think that their votes do not matter. The lack of efficacy about the vote may have manifold reasons. The youth of this study mainly blame the political culture, where there is vacuum of political leadership, political stability and consensus. One of the respondents from kushtia town, an business man has expressed his pessimism about casting vote, he has mentioned that in Bangladesh a cycle of political heredity has been established, so a limited portion of political elites are governing us, in this pattern of democracy there is little opportunity for people to be active in political engagements (FGD-03).

5.3.1.1 Television and Voting

Media is a prominent source of election information. During election time, the news and talk show programmes of the satellite channels of Bangladesh are leaned towards the information and analysis of election with other media. In the content analysis of chapter-two we have observed that in election time, sheer portions of the news and talk shows time are shared by different types of agenda related to the election. This news comprises of the information of the parties, candidates, and stands of the parties about different national and international issues, specialist views, campaign shows, and comparative analysis of the manifestos of the parties. In talk shows, most of the topics are vote centric at election time. In this news and talk shows, the audiences can observe the debate of the members of different influential parties. People expectations and achievements of the different parties are also highlighted in these political contents of the satellite channels. But the question is how the citizens get acquainted with TV contents? And how these programmes are related to their voting preferences? Though many scholars of media and politics have argued that TV has an immense effect on voting preference of the audience, little evidences have been found in this context. Hayes (2009, p. 231) has summarized that TV may accelerate partisan or ideology based voting, but it may have little influence in case of personalization of voting. Some study has pointed out that TV has a negative impact on turnout. They have blamed that citizens use television mainly to pass their lazier with entertainment programmes-which turned them as less informative about politics and less interested in casting their vote (Putnum, 2000; Gentzkow, 2006).

The present study shows that the greater part of the youth prefer TV for the information about elections. They have argued that in various satellite channels we get

information and analysis of elections. TV news informs us about the manifestos of the parties and their future agenda concerning the development of the country. As figure-5.2 shows that major portions (69%) of the youth prefer TV for their election related information. Though there are overlapping uses of media for election news, still TV may be the most used media by the youth. The figure also shows that Newspaper stands in the second position (14.6%) as a principal source of election related news followed by Internet news (8.9%). So, In comparison, TV seems to be the more preferable for election related news among the educated the youth of Bangladesh.

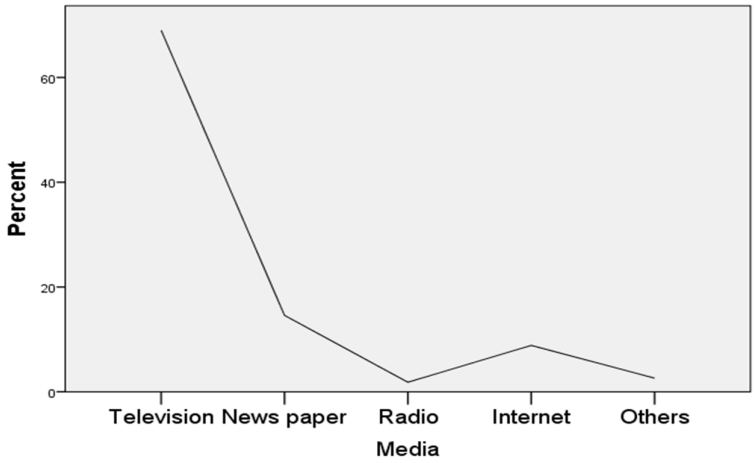

Figure 5.2: Media Preference of the Youths for Election Related News

Moreover, in the focus group studies, most of the respondents have stressed about the domination of TV contents for their election oriented queries. Some of them also use newspapers and internet as their central sources of election news. In the FGDs the respondents of *Rajshahi City* and *kushtia Town*, especially the better educated portions have claimed that they use both newspapers and TV for this purpose. Furthermore, the cross tabulation data (See Annex Table–5.1) show that the youth who have claimed Newspaper and Internet as their preferable sources for election oriented information are mainly the better educated portions of the respondents.

To know the influence of news and Talk shows in pursuit of determining their voting preference, the study has questioned the youth, whether they always vote for one party. This question is important, because if a voter is partisan then the influence of other variables could have a little impact on the formation of voting behaviour. As Table-5.3 shows that 52.3 percent of the youth have argued that they possess a partisan attitude in casting their vote. It is obvious that television has brought a transformation in the process of election campaigning (West, 2001) and political learning (Patterson, 1994). But it is still questionable about the role of TV in making citizen voting choice (Hayes, 2009, p. 232).

Table 5.3
Frequency of Partisan Voters

Do you always vote for one party	Frequency	Percent
Yes	201	52.3
No	183	47.7
Total	384	100.0

The respondents who do not cast their vote for one party might be motivated by diverse modes of internal and external factors in case of their voting behaviour. Media or TV could be one of them. In the FGDs, when the respondents have been asked about media, most of them have argued that the news and talk shows are disseminating much more information about the election. These types of contents give us multidimensional indications about the parties, policies and other factors related to the election. Most of them have pointed out that this information make us informed and conscious about the vote, but at the same time they have mentioned that these contents have little influence in constructing their voting preferences. One of the respondents, a housewife of Rajshahi city has pointed out that in her family there is an atmosphere of choosing the candidate and party independently to vote, but most of the time she follows her husband

to determine her voting preference (FGD-2). Considerable portions of the youth have argued that they have had a predisposition in choosing the party or candidate for voting. This predisposition is made up of a complex amalgamation of various external and internal variables, including ideologies, family traditions, power relations and various expectations. One of the respondents from Rajshshi University, an undergraduate student has mentioned that from the contents of TV we can judge the intrinsic factors and issues of the election but still now we are guided by family lineage (FGD-1). Many of the respondents of the FGDs have pointed out that elections in their locality are guided by patron-client relationship-where the political elites give assurance of patronization or create pressure on the voters to maintain their alignment, on the other hand, the clients or the voters seek some advantages or power connections to cope up with the power centric society. As Table-5.4 shows that a big portion of the youth believe that the voters are guided by the political elites. As David lewis (2011, p. 22) has projected the power relation of the society of Bangladesh, "*Samaj* can be also seen as an associational realm animated primarily by the power of elite charismatic leaders and their supporters, framed by patron-client relationships".

Table 5.4
Influence of Political Elite on Voters

	Frequency	Percent
Never	33	8.6
Occasionally	43	11.2
Sometimes	162	42.2
Most of the times	94	24.5
Always	52	13.5
Total	384	100.0

The study shows that there may weak co-relation between voting preference and watching TV. The quantitative and qualitative data show that both of the viewers and non-viewers of political contents are interested in casting vote. In addition, demographic differences among the youth also could influence little in casting vote. Like the questionnaire survey, the focus group studies also indicate that most of the youth have a keen enthusiasm for their voting right irrespective of the viewers or non-viewers of news and talk shows. Though, in this study, most of the respondents have argued that the vote is a very special event in their political life, very few, who are not interested to participate in voting (8.1%) seem to have less political efficacy and negative outlook for the political culture. In sum, the study indicates that TV could be influential in the growth of voter turnout among the youth, but may have insignificant influence on determining voting choice.

5.4 Political Participation Beyond Voting and TV

Though in developing country like Bangladesh, the central discussion of political participation is mainly outlined by voting participation, the periphery of political participation is not merely encircled with voting. It includes other forms of political engagements, including active membership in a political party, campaigning, vote seeking for party, joining electoral meeting and many more. Voting may be the week indication of political activeness in comparison with these mentioned forms of political engagements. These forms of participation may demand more active efforts and efficacy than voting. As (Table-5.5) shows that unlike voting participation the trend of other political activities among the youth are not satisfactory. Only 22.1 percent of the youth have an active membership in a political party, 55.4 percent of them never

participate in the campaign work, 11.3 percent of them always seek vote for their parties or candidates, 48.2 percent never join in the electoral meetings as well as 65.9 percent of the youth have never joined in displaying Buttons, Signs, Stickers for their parties or candidates.

Table 5.5
Political Participation among the Youth beyond Voting

Types of political engagements	Status of Joining						
	Yes	No	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Very little	Never
Active membership in a political party	22.1%	77.9%	-	-	-	-	-
Campaigning	-	-	6.8%	2.3%	19.8%	15.6%	55.4%
Vote Seeking or persuading others	-	-	11.3%	10.8%	23.7%	14.8%	39.4%
Joining electoral meeting	-	-	6%	6.5%	20.3%	19%	48.2%
Displaying buttons, signs, stickers	-	-	5.7%	4.2%	9.6.6%	14.6%	65.9%
Joining political demonstration, blockade and strike	-	-	2.3%	6.0%	17.2%	19.3%	55.2%

Only 2.3 percent of the youth always join in the unconventional political participation like political demonstrations, blockades and strikes.

5.4.1 TV Hour and Political Engagements beyond Voting

The overall pictures of political engagements of the youth present that beyond voting the educated the youth of Bangladesh have a little engagement in the political arena. Though political engagement depends on various internal and external variables, this study has initiated to understand the relation of political contents of satellite television and its role in promoting political engagements. To meet this objective the study has looked the co-relation of political engagement and TV viewing hour. As Putnam (1995, 2000) has stressed that the youth are spending more time with TV and they are getting

less time for political engagements. To judge this hypothesis in the context of Bangladeshi the youth, at first, we have examined the relation to TV viewing hours and their patterns of political engagements; secondly, we would observe the likely hood of the youth about political contents of TV and its impact on their political involvements.

We have seen in table-5.5 that the educated the youth of Bangladesh have the decreasing tendency to political engagements. But the question is how this mode of participation is congruent with watching TV. The study shows that the difference of viewing hour may have very insignificant influence on political engagements of the youth. Table-5.6 shows that 25 percent of the youth who watch TV more than four hours are members of a political Party, but 19.6 percent of the youth who watch TV less than one hour have a membership for the same.

Table 5.6
Duration of TV Watching and Membership in Political Party

Duration of TV watching		Membership		Total
		Yes	No	
Less than one hour	Count	19	78	97
	%	19.6%	80.4%	100.0%
1-2 hours	Count	53	166	219
	%	24.2%	75.8%	100.0%
2-4 hours	Count	8	39	47
	%	17.0%	83.0%	100.0%
More than 4 hours	Count	4	12	16
	%	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
No answer	Count	0	5	5
	%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	84	300	384
	%	21.9%	78.1%	100.0%

Table 5.7
Duration of TV Watching and Joining Electoral Campaign

Duration of TV watching		Joining electoral campaign					Total
		Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Less than one hour	Count	49	18	22	3	5	97
	%	50.5	18.6	22.7	3.1	5.2	100.0
1-2 hour	Count	126	36	38	4	15	219
	%	57.5	16.4	17.4	1.8	6.8	100.0
2-4 hour	Count	25	6	11	2	3	47
	%	53.2	12.8	23.4	4.3	6.4	100.0
More than 4 hours	Count	9	0	4	0	3	16
	%	56.2	0.0	25.0	0.0	18.8	100.0
No answer	Count	4	0	1	0	0	5
	%	80.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Count	213	60	76	9	26	384
	%	55.5	15.6	19.8	2.3	6.8	100.0

Similarly, Table-5.7 shows that there is little difference in attending campaign work between heavy viewers and light viewers of TV. Though the table shows that moderate and light viewers of TV are less consistent in campaign participation than heavy viewers.

In case of vote seeking or persuading anyone to give vote the heavy viewer of TV seems to be more active (Table-5.8). 25% of them always seek vote or persuade others to vote his or her preferred party or candidate. On the other hand, the youth who watch TV for 1-2 hours are less active (10.5%) in joining this type of work.

Table 5.8
Duration of TV Watching and Persuading others to Vote

Duration of TV Watching	Persuasion for Vote						Total
	Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	No answer	
Less than one hour	38.1%	14.4%	24.7%	8.2%	14.4%	-	100.0%
1-2 hours	37.0%	16.9%	22.8%	11.0%	10.5%	1.8%	100.0%
2-4 hours	46.8%	8.5%	21.3%	17.0%	4.3%	2.1%	100.0%
More than 4 hours	31.2%	6.2%	31.2%	6.2%	25.0%	-	100.0%
No answer	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	-	-	-	100.0%
Total	38.3%	14.8%	23.7%	10.7%	11.2%	1.3%	100.0%

Similarly, the study has not found any major difference in political engagement like procession, blockade as well as wearing buttons, stickers for one's favourite party or candidate in pursuit of their watching hours. 64.4 percent of the youth who watch TV for 1-2 hours never wear stickers, buttons for his or her party; on the contrary 62.5 percent who watch more than 4 hours do the same. Figure-5.3 shows that in case of joining procession, blockade or unconventional form of participation TV viewing hours is not so influential.

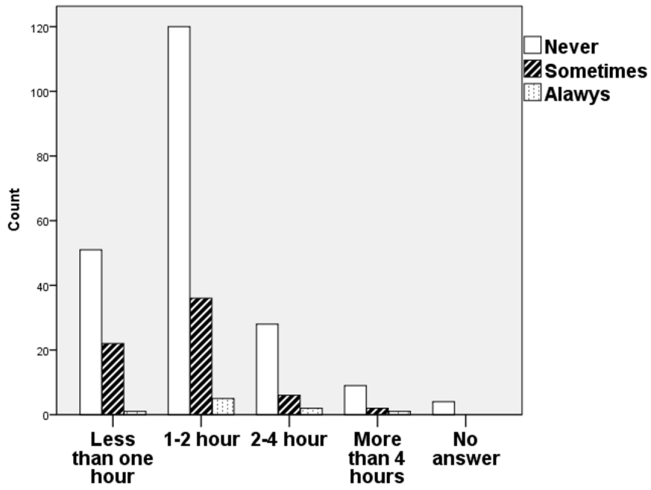

Figure 5.3:Duration of TV Watching and Joining Processions, Blockades

After all, from the above analysis one could conclude that TV viewing hours may not be so influential for the educated the youth in involving political engagements. But, it has been argued in many prior literatures that it is not the viewing hours rather the contents of TV are influential in relation to political participation.

5.4.2 Political Contents of TV and Political Engagements

Prior study has identified that TV might cause malaise or mobilization for the youth to take part in political and civic engagements (Putnum, 1993, 2000). We have seen that the educated the youth of Bangladesh are not satisfactorily involved in

political participation. Without voting they seem to be less active in other forms of political participation like campaigning, party membership, joining procession, wearing stickers and pursuing for vote. At the same time, we also have observed that TV hours may not be so influential in the context of political engagements. But in case of political contents of the satellite channels (news and talk shows) the study has found some positive correlation. The study indicates that the youth who watch political contents like news and talk shows are more active in their political engagements than the non-viewers. The study has found that very few of the youth who use TV only for news, Talk shows or entertainment. It has also been observed that very few portions of the youth who watch TV only for news or talk shows also have little political engagements, but this non engagements is comparatively noteworthy in the case of the youth who view TV only for entertainment. Table-5.9 shows that 54.3 percent of the youth who watch TV for news and talk show have a membership in a political party, but 20.8 percent for the same who use TV only for entertainment

Table 5.9
Party Membership and Watching TV Contents

Preference of TV contents	Membership		Total
	Yes	No	
Only News	5(16.7%)	25(83.3%)	30(100.0%)
Only Talk Show	0(0.0%)	1(100.0%)	1(100.0%)
News And Talk Show	25(54.3%)	21(45.7%)	46(100.0%)
News, Talk Show and Entertainment	32(20.8%)	122(79.2%)	154(100.0%)
Only entertainment	5(20.8%)	19(79.2%)	24(100.0%)
News and entertainment	17(13.8%)	106(86.2%)	123(100.0%)
No answer	0(0.0%)	6(100.0%)	6(100.0%)
Total	84(21.9%)	300(78.1%)	384(100.0%)

Similarly, (Table-5.9) shows that who watch news and talk shows beside entertainment are more active in joining the electoral campaign than who only watch

entertainment in their TV hours. The Same trend has also been seen in concern of joining electoral meetings (Figure-5.4), persuading others for giving vote to one's favoured party or candidate (Figure-5.5) and wearing stickers, buttons for preferred party or candidate (See table 5.10). 66.7 percent of the youth who use TV only for entertainment never join in the electoral campaign, which is 39.1 percent for news and talk show viewers.

Table 5.10
Preference of TV Contents and Joining Electoral Campaign

Preference	Joining electoral campaign					Total
	Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Only news	18(60.0%)	5(16.7%)	7(23.7%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	30(100%)
Only talk show	1(100%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(100%)
News and talk show	18(39.1%)	4(8.7%)	9(19.6%)	4(8.7%)	11(23.9%)	46(100%)
News, talk shows and entertainment	78(50.6%)	31(20.1%)	32(20.8%)	4(2.6%)	9(5.8%)	154(100%)
Only entertainment	16(66.7%)	4(16.7%)	3(12.5%)	0(0.0%)	1(4.2%)	24(100%)
News and entertainment	77(62.6%)	16(13.0%)	24(19.5%)	1(0.8%)	5(4.1%)	123(100%)
No answer	5(83.6%)	0(0.0%)	1(16.7%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	6(100%)
Total	**213(55.5%)**	**60(15.6%)**	**76(19.8%)**	**9(2.3%)**	**26(6.8%)**	**384(100%)**

17.4 percent of the youth who use TV for watching news and Talk shows attend the electoral meeting always but the percentage is nil for the only entertainment user.

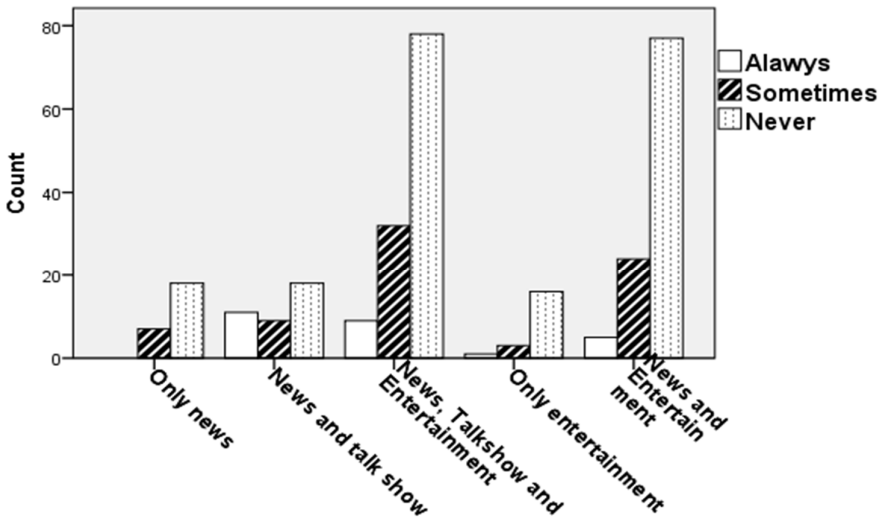

Figure 5.4: Preference of TV Contents and Joining Electoral Meeting

Similarly, the same trend has been observed for the only entertainment user in case of the form of engagements like persuading others for giving vote (Figure-5.5) or wearing button or sticker (Table-5.11).

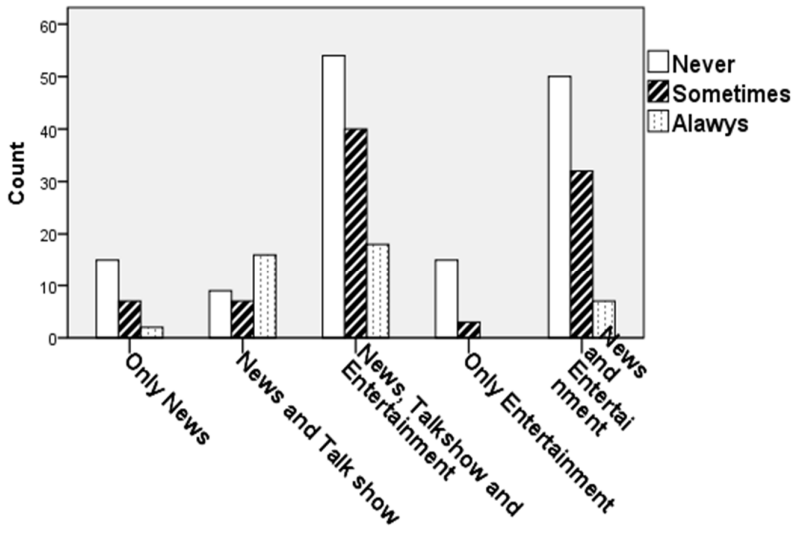

Figure 5.5: Preference of TV Contents and Persuading Others for Vote

Table 5.11
Preference of TV Contents and Wearing Sticker, Button for Preferred Party or Candidate

Preference	Wearing stickers, Buttons for Party or Candidate					Total
	Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Only news	23(76.7)	2(6.7)	4(13.3)	1(3.3)	0(0.0)	**30(100%)**
Only talk show	1(100)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	**1(100%)**
News and talk show	23(50.0)	4(8.7)	6(13.0)	2(4.3)	11(23.9)	**46(100%)**
News, talk shows and entertainment	94(61.0)	26(16.9)	16(10.4)	10(6.5)	8(5.2)	**154(100%)**
Only entertainment	19(79.2)	2(8.3)	2(8.3)	1(4.2)	0(0.0)	**24(100%)**
News and entertainment	88(71.5)	22(17.9)	8(6.5)	2(1.6)	3(2.4)	**123(100%)**
No answer	5(83.3)	0(0.0)	1(16.7)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	**6(100%)**
Total	**253(65.9%)**	**56(14.6%)**	**37(9.6%)**	**16(4.2%)**	**22(5.7%)**	**384(100%)**

From the overall analyses, one could conclude that though the political engagements beyond voting among the youth are not inspiring, but the difference of the preference of TV contents among them might be influential for examining the level of political engagements. The youth, who use TV for watching news and talk shows are seem to be more active in political engagements than the entertainment users.

5.5 Civic Engagements

In this study, we have considered political participation within a broader perspective. The study has examined the social engagements of the youth beside their electoral engagement. It has been assessed in various literatures that the youth who are active in social engagements tend to be more active in their political life in comparison with others. Robert D. Putnum (1993, 2000) has explained the relation between civic and political engagements by claiming the declination of civic involvements among the American youths. Putnum has argued that by the means of civic participation–a form of collectiveness, trust and network- as a whole *social capital* emerged among the citizens. This formation of social capital is helpful for promoting political participation. Politics is not a standalone factor; it is too much integrated with social settings. Joining a club, volunteering, joining awareness programmes, meeting an influential person or media to address a problem of the locality may have political outcomes in citizens life. Within these social engagements the youth may learn or assimilate themselves with the social settings.

However, this part of the study has endeavoured to identify the natures of social engagements among the youth of Bangladesh. At the same time, it has initiated to analyse media relation of social engagements of the educated the youth. Specially, this

section of the study has been assessed the role of political contents of TV in promoting or discouraging the mode of social inclusion of the youth in Bangladesh.

5.5.1 Pattern of Civic Engagements

The lack of prior data and study about the social and political engagements of the youth of Bangladesh is an important obstacle to performing this form of communication and politics oriented study. So, at first the current study has considered the pattern and depth of the nature of civic engagements of the youth. Then it has initiated to observe the position of TV contents in context of civic activities of the youth.

The result of the analysis of the frequency and qualitative reasoning show that the natures of the youth civic involvements among the youth in Bangladesh society do not indicate a satisfactory notion. The percentage of joining a social organization, performing developmental work in the locality, drawing money for benevolent purpose, meeting influential persons in the community and joining awareness programmes are not up to the mark for denoting a strong basement of social capital or collectiveness (Table-5.12). The table also indicates that the more the direct nature of civic activity (e.g Meet influential person, Signing petition) has got less engagement. 3.7% of the total respondents met influential persons for the community and 5.8% of the youth sign petition always. Though, the percentage of joining in a social organisation is comparatively satisfactory than other forms of activities. But, some time taking membership of a social organization does not replicate the activeness of the members. Many of the FGDs respondents have told that they are members of different social organisations, but they are not active . The data indicate that the nature of engagements are mostly aligned with sometimes to never-which might direct the notion of civic disengagements.

Table 5.12
Status of Joining Civic Activities among the Educated the Youth of Bangladesh

Types of Civic Engagements	Status of Joining						
	Yes	No	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Very little	Never
Membership of Social Organization	42.0%	58.0%	-	-	-	-	-
Joining Development work in the locality	-	-	9.5%	7.1%	34.8%	21.1%	27.2%
Drawing Money for Benevolent Purpose	-	-	9.8%	10.6%	38.3%	20.6%	20.6%
Joining Awareness Programmes and Local Meeting	-	-	8.2%	7.7%	36.4%	21.1%	26.4%
Meeting Influential Person	-	-	3.7%	7.4%	26.1%	22.4%	40.1%
Signing Petition	-	-	5.8%	4.2%	19.0%	20.1%	50.4%

Social engagements of the youth are dependent on a number of matters. These include socioeconomic condition, the process of socialization, the state of political efficacy and cynicism and also the nature of the political culture of a country and the position of the media and its use.

Media is a crucial instrument, which disseminate information and increase the awareness about the society and political arena. These information and awareness may create knowledge about the society and policy question. The motivational process of media can influence the citizen to involve in the social phenomena. Thus, media could create a sense of collectiveness among the youth, which might inspire them to become an active citizen. On the other hand, media could be proved as a malaise for civic activity. If the nature of the information is burdened with the distorted pictures of the society, if it represents the elite section of the society and become hyperbolic about social and political matters-could create a lack of political efficacy and may generate cynicism among the youth. At the same time, the effect of media may depend on the patterns of using it. The time disposition effect of media could create a negative mobilization towards civic engagement.

5.5.2 TV Hour, TV Contents and Civic Attachments

Numerous studies have assessed that more television watching discourage every form of civic participation. Though, some of them have blamed the intensity of TV consumption, some have accused the pattern of political coverage of TV channels (Capella & Jamieson, 1997). In his study, Robert. D Putnum has undermined TV by presenting time series analysis of the declining of civic participation with the invent of TV (Putnum, 2000). In our study, at first, we have examined the relation between TV watching hour and the depth of civic engagements. Then we have explored the relation of TV contents and civic participation. Prior studies have predicted that contents (News, Talk show) related to political information have influential links with civic participation, similarly contents joined with entertainment may have a negative association with civic engagements. As Aarts and Semetko (2003, p.777) has stressed that it is the content, not the form is reliable for mobilization or malaise. The current study has observed little association between television watching hours of the youth and the level of their civic activities (See Annex Table: 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 & 5.6). In the context of civic engagements, there may have insignificant differences among heavy, light and moderate viewers . 36.1 % of t the youth who watch television less than one hour have claimed them as a member of non-political organization, but 43.8 % of them who watch TV more than four hours have membership in nonpolitical organization. When they have been asked about the engagements of local development work, 16.3% of the low viewer (watch less than one hour) and moderate viewers (Watch 1-2 hours) have claimed that they *always* join the development work of their locality. In contrast, 33.7 % of the Heavy viewers (Watch TV 2-4 hours) and very heavy viewers (Watch more than 4 hours) do the same. A similar tendency has also been observed in case of joining awareness programmes. A little exception in this case has been identified in case of

solving the local problem, The result shows that <5% of the youth who watch TV more than four hours have joined in solving local problems. Similarly the analysis also have found that spending more time in front of TV is negatively integrated with the civic engagements like joining in the awareness programmes, drawing money for benevolent purpose and meeting influential person for the community. From the overall findings one may conclude that with some exception viewing hour of TV is not too much related to promote or discourage social engagements.

However, in most of the focus group study, it has been observed that the respondents who have claimed that they spend most of the time in front of TV are less interested in civic matters and having less interest in politics. One of the female respondents from Putia has mentioned that she spent a sheer portion of her leisure with television, and the priority is entertainment, she has also mentioned that normally she does not engage herself in social engagement (FGD-04). In contrast, one of the service holders of Rajshai city stressed about the importance of news and Talk show, mentioning that he watches TV to view the news and Talk show-which are very important for civic and political understanding, he has added that he tries to get involved in the civic work (FGD-2). From the overall findings, it could be assumed that it is important to assess the content of the television to evaluate the contribution of TV in pursuit of civic engagement. At the same time the socioeconomic condition of the respondents might be important in examining the level of social engagements of the youth.

In chapter three, we have observed that the youth have a diverse mode in using TV. Most of the youth use TV for overlapping causes. A very small portion of the youth watch TV only to serve informational or entertainment purpose. The diverse choice of

contents may generate different level of political and social learning–which could lead diverse model of social engagements.

From the cross tabulation analysis, we have come to know that the preference of contents might be influential for social engagements. Figure-5.6 shows that very little portion of the youth watch television for only news or talk shows and even for entertainment. The figure also shows that who use TV only for news or entertainment could be less interested in joining as a member of a nonpolitical organization.

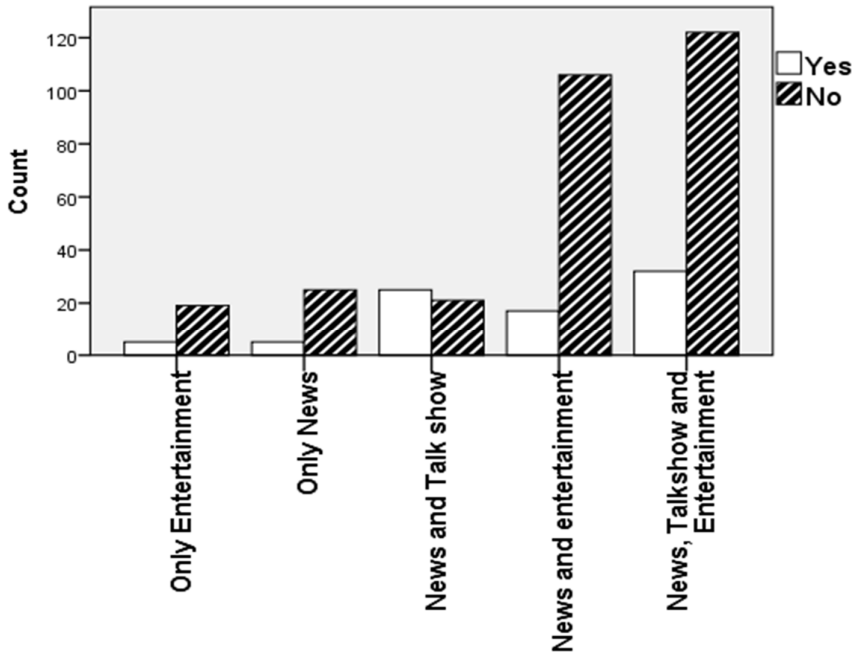

Figure 5.6: Preference of TV Contents and Membership in a Non-Political Organisation

Seventy five percent of the youth who prefer only entertainment have no membership in a nonpolitical organization. But the bins of the figure presents that who use television for informational purpose have high engagement in nonpolitical organization. In case of joining development work in the locality, as Table-5.13 shows that entertainment use of television has a negative impact on civic engagement. 41.7%

of the youths who are used to use TV only for entertainment never participate in the development work of their locality. On the contrary, 30.4 percent of them, who use TV for news and talk shows, always join in the development work of their locality.

Table 5.13
Preference of TV Contents and Joining Development Work

Preference of TV Contents		Status of joining in development work (road repairing, stopping child marriage)					Total
		Never	Very Little	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Only News	Count	9	4	12	4	1	30
	%	30.0	13.3	40.0	13.3	3.3	100.0
Only Talkshow	Count	1	0	0	0	0	1
	%	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
News and Talk Show	Count	5	7	18	2	14	46
	%	10.9	15.2	39.1	4.3	30.4	100.0
News, Talkshow and Entertainment	Count	36	30	60	11	17	154
	%	23.4	19.5	39.0	7.1	11.0	100.0
Only Entertainment	Count	10	10	2	1	1	24
	%	41.7	41.7	8.3	4.2	4.2	100.0
News and Entertainment	Count	42	29	40	9	3	123
	%	34.1	23.6	32.5	7.3	2.4	100.0
No Answer	Count	3	0	3	0	0	6
	%	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Count	106	80	135	27	36	384
	%	27.6	20.8	35.2	7.0	9.4	100.0

In the same manner, Figure-5.7and figure-5.8 show that the choice of the contents of the television has different effects on drawing money for local development and joining awareness programmes. The portion of the youth who use televisions for informational purpose are more consistent in engaging in these works than that of the entertainment user. The youth who are inclined to informational use of television has better engaged in drawing money in comparison to the youth who use TV only for entertainment. Both of the figure shows that the viewer of news and talk shows are more in frequency in question of joining these social engagements.

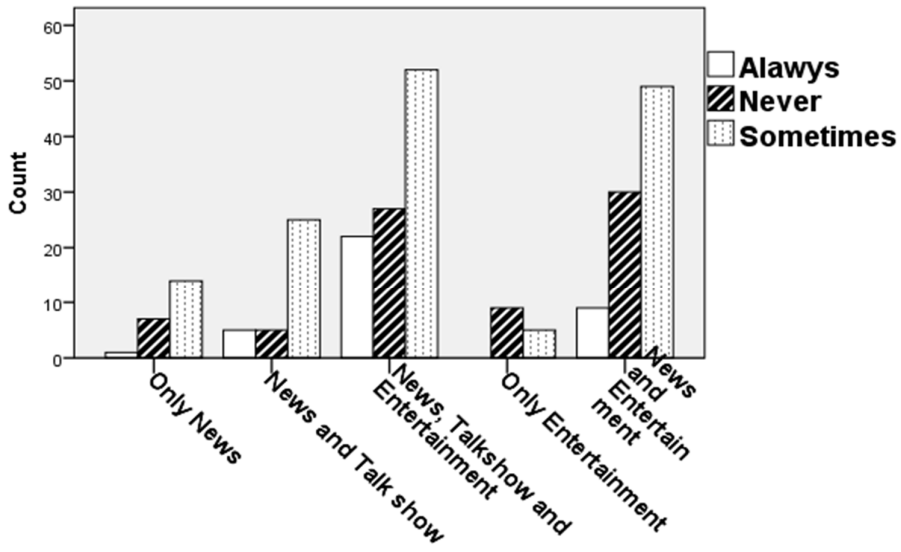

Figure 5.7: Preference of TV Contents and Drawing Money for Local Development

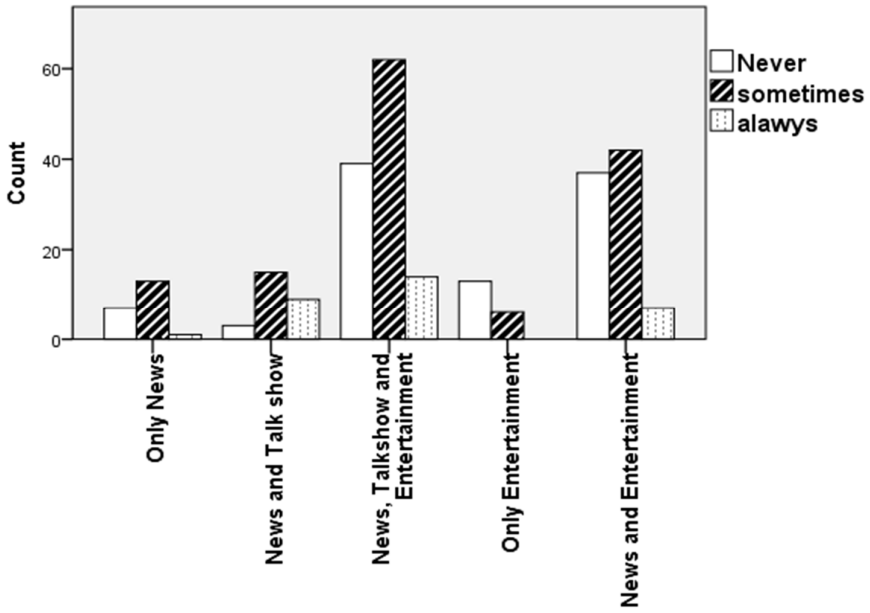

Figure 5.8: Preference of TV Contents and Joining Awareness Programmes

Similar forms of co-relation have also been observed in case of meeting influential persons for solving local problems and signing petitions (See Annex Table-5.7 & 5.8). 19.6 percent of the youth who watch TV for news and talk show sign petition, but the percentage is nil for them who use TV only for entertainment.

Similarly, 8.7 percent of the news and talk show viewer meet influential persons for solving local problems, on the other hand 0.0 percent of the youth who watch TV only for entertainment do the same.

As a whole, predicting other demographic and cultural variable constant, from the above analysis one could easily conclude that TV hour is partially related to civic engagements and contents of TV are influential in case of examining the youth social engagements .

5.6 Cognitive Engagements

In the operational definition we have stressed that in this study, we have not encircled political participation only within the boundary of electoral engagement. This study has included cognitive attachments of the youth in the realm of political participation. In this stage, the study has initiated to examine the state of cognitive engagement among the educated the youth. At the same time the relation with political contents of TV and cognitive engagement has been assessed. Following public issues and discussings about the contemporary political and social matters have been discussed as a form of cognitive engagements.

Cognitive engagement refers the process of attention, recognition and elaboration of the information (Greenwald & Leavitt, 1984). In this process audience make an effort to be responsive about the information, compare it with the prior knowledge to understand whether it is familiar or not and relates it to the prior knowledge (Perse, 1990). Following contemporary political and social issues are important indicators for political consciousness and activeness as a political citizen. Similarly, political deliberation might be expected to have a positive impact on others

form of direct engagement and seems to be helpful for encouraging social bonds and networks, which are the prerequisites of social capital (Putnum, 1993, 2000).

People may follow issues related to their political and social life. Both the quantitative query and most of the focus group studies have identified that the youth of Bangladesh follow contemporary political and social issues, though it is not obvious that they do this consciously. In the FGD-3, one respondent of kushtia town has noted that political and social issues are too much integrated with their daily life, whether they have interest in politics or not, the political and social surroundings force them to follow the contemporary political issues. Another housewife from Rajshahi city has informed that there are too many media, from where, we could get informed about the important information of our daily life-which may very much integrated with our daily life. The integration between private and public become so acute in our country that public issues determine economic, social matters of private life. One of the students of Rajshahi University in the FGD-3 has claimed that we become informed about daily incidents because it has a different impact on our academic life. As Table-5.14 shows that a big portion of the educated the youth follows issues.

Table 5.14
Following Contemporary Issues

Following contemporary issues	Frequency	Percent
Never	14	3.6
Occasionally	43	11.2
Sometimes	146	38.0
Most of the times	127	33.1
Always	54	14.1
Total	384	100.0

On the other hand, political deliberation–a form of discussion and disagreement among the citizens about the political incident, this form of discussion and disagreement about political and social agenda create a space for democratic public sphere-where people express their opinion and make arguments. These forms of deliberation create some collectiveness and socialization among the inhabitants of the polity. The range of discussion could be from public policy to its relation to citizen's life. The strong public sphere is a prerequisite for democratic consolidation. People can assimilate and understand their positions in the way of this discussion.

In this study when the youth respondents have been asked whether they discuss political matters or not? With some variations, a sheer portion of them have claimed that they take part in the political discussions. Table-5.15 shows that only 3.6 percent of the youth have never taken part in political discussion.

In the FGDs, like issue following ,most of the youth irrespective of demographic difference have claimed that most of the time they make political debate and discussion. One of the respondents of Poradaha Union in the FGD-7 has argued that these types of discussion give us new insights for political learning. Another respondent from Putia Upazilla has pointed out that he feels prestigious when he attend this type of political discussion (FGD-04). A business man from kushtia town has mentioned that this type of discussion is helpful for democracy, but he gets little implication of this deliberation.

Table 5.15
Status of Political Discussion among the Youth

Status	Frequency	Percent
Never	14	3.6
Occasionally	49	12.8
Sometimes	210	54.7
Frequently	74	19.3
Always	37	9.6
Total	384	100.0

So it could be argued that the youth of Bangladesh are some extent active in deliberative engagement, but how TV helps them in this engagement?

5.6.1 What TV Do?

Media introduces different types of agenda and issues to the public. Media highlight the political matters, which are sensitive and innately integrated with public life-actually media influence the audience for what to think about. As Mccombs (1972, 1993, 2004) has stressed that media or the broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. There may be significant effects on political participation for exposure and attention to public affairs and entertainment content, both in newspapers and on television (McLeod et al, 1996). Researchers like Lemert (1984) and Schudson (1995) have argued that mass media do not enable citizens to participate in political processes to the degree that they are providng more mobilizing information. This information may make people up to date about the contemporary issues and give evidence and information for public deliberation. Figure-5.9 shows that a major portion of the youth are agreeing that TV is very important for political issue following.

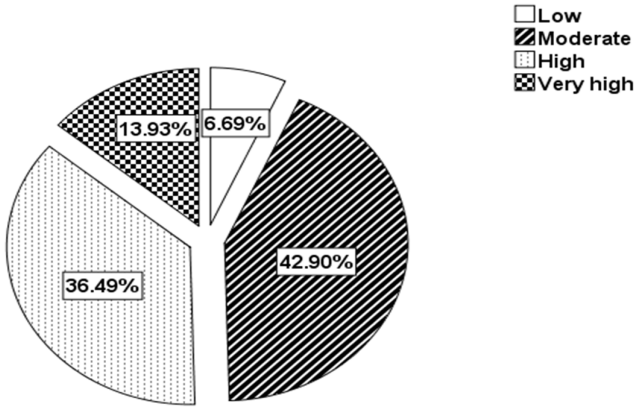

Figure 5.9: Role of TV in Issue Following

In most of the FGDs, the respondents have stressed on the importance of TV for issue following. A respondent from Kushtia town, a service holder, has pointed out that political contents of TV are essential with others media contents to know about the contemporary issues about politics, the audio visualization and presentation give us a total understanding of the issues and debates(FGD-3). Another respondent from Mirpur upazilla has argued that TV gives us the new information and updates of previous information, but we pay little attention to it (FGD-6).Some of the focus group respondents have claimed critically about the contribution of news and talk shows in the context of the issue following and political deliberations. They have argued that it is true that TV has an important role in providing new outlooks and issues, similarly it is also true that a big portion of TV news are aligned to local crimes and overloaded political discussions- which create political cynicism among us.

In case of political deliberation TV news and Talk show may offer new agenda and logic for political discussion. In political discussion there may be debate on various issues among the youth. Figure-5.10 shows that a good portion of the youth have argued that there is disagreement among them in political discussion.

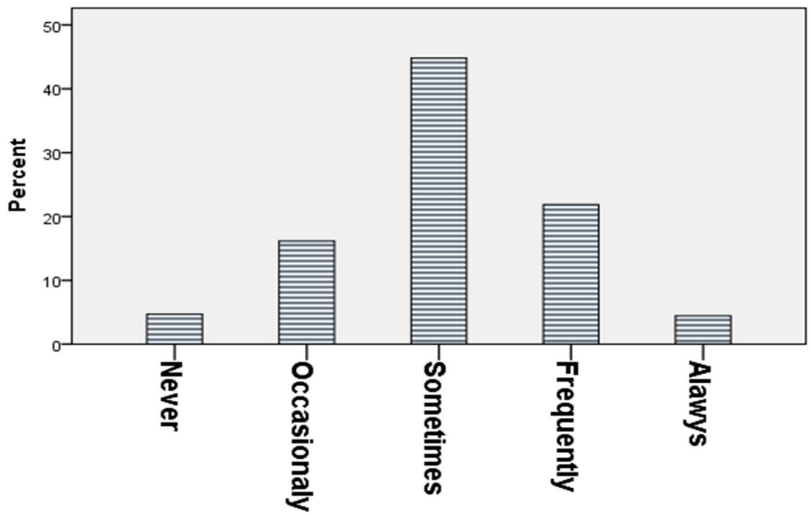

Figure 5.10: Different Views in Political Discussion

Where TV news and talk shows give them necessary indication and information to establish their views (Figure-5.11).

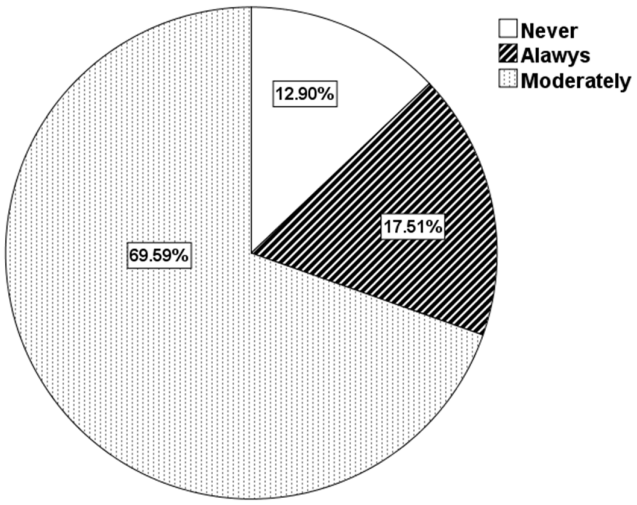

Figure 5.11: TV and Establishing One's View

Robinson (1976) affirmed that, when interpersonal and mass media sources are compared or in conflict, interpersonal sources can be expected to exercise greater influence, though news media may produce stronger gross effects because of wider use. In fact, TV may re-enforce the youth to become an opinion leader, it can also function as a better predictor of issue salience (Wanta & Wu, 1992). Talk about issues in the news has also been shown to increase markedly respondents' understanding of the news itself (Robinson & Levy, 1986; Robinson & Davis, 1990). Further, controversial issues that prompt wide discussion have been shown to decrease the size of knowledge gaps among populations (Tichenor, Donohue, & alien, 1980). An influential part of the FGD respondents have mentioned that discussion in this procedure by disseminating image and information, but the discussion itself is more effective than TV contents for democracy. Some female respondents have mentioned in the FGDs that they are less interested in watching political discussion, but when they meet with others, who are more inclined or interested in cognitive use of TV, they could learn about different issues of politics.

The youth who watch news and talk shows may have a better intention to discuss about the contemporary political matters. As Table-5.16 shows that the youth who use TV for entertainment purpose only have a low tendency in participating deliberative engagement. At the same time the youth who use more time in front of TV are less active in deliberative engagements (Figure-5.12).

Table 5.16
Preference of TV Contents and Political Discussion

Preference of TV contents	Discussion about Contemporary Political Matters					Total
	Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Only news	2(6.7%)	5(16.7%)	19(63.3%)	1(3.3%)	3(10.0%)	30(100%)
Only talk show	0(0.0%)	1(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(100%)
News and talk show	1(2.2%)	1(2.2%)	24(52.2%)	13(28.2%)	7(15.2%)	46(100%)
News, talk show and entertainment	2(1.3%)	18(11.7%)	82(53.2%)	35(22.7%)	17(11.0%)	154(100%)
Only entertainment	2(8.3%)	5(20.8%)	13(54.2%)	3(12.5%)	1(4.2%)	24(100%)
News and entertainment	6(4.1%)	17(13.8%)	69(56.1%)	22(17.9%)	9(7.3%)	123(100%)
No answer	1(16.7%)	2(33.3)	3(50%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	6(100%)
Total	14(3.6%)	49(12.8%)	210(54.7%)	74(19.3%)	37(9.6%)	384(100%)

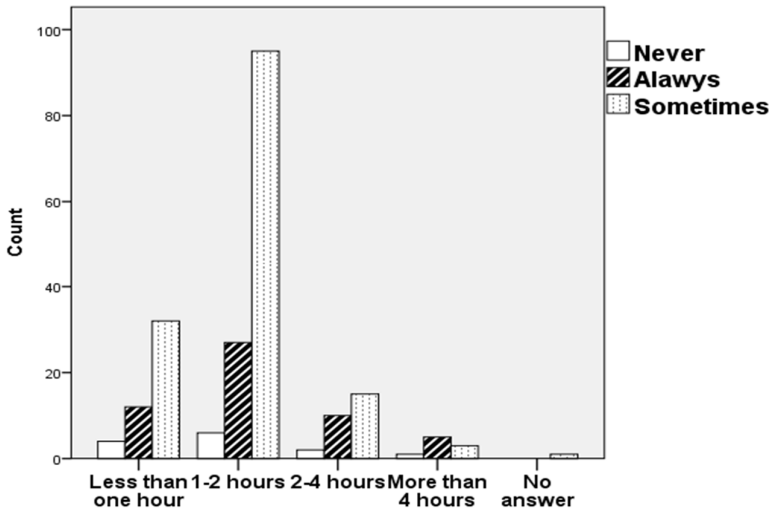

Figure 5.12: Duration of TV Watching and Issue Following

As a whole, it could be concluded that STV is helpful for deliberative participation, but it depends on how the youth use it. The demographic factors might be influential to determine the influence of TV in the practice of deliverations among them.

5.7 Socioeconomic and Cultural Variables

The central motive of this study is to identify the locus of TV in accelerating the state of the youth political involvement. Media may hold a special catalyst in the ground of politics and participation, but the position of media should be assessed with other social and cultural variables. Many influential studies have permitted that political and social engagements have deep rooted relation with socioeconomic conditions and people's attitude towards politics. Vecchione and Capara (2009) have stated that gender, education and age are influential variables which may influence the level of participation. Stolle and Hooghe (2009) have also focused these variables in measuring political participation. Verba et al. (1995) have suggested that education is an active predictor of political participation. So, without discussing these variables, we may not judge the penetration of TV as a communication channel. Both of the FGDs and questionnaire survey of this study, we have traced that male respondents are more prompt and interested in talking about politics than their women counterpart. On the other hand the respondents who have better educational attainment are seems to be more cautious and coherent in their political deliberation than the youth having a lower educational background. As Table-5.17 and figure-5.13 show that women are less engaged in political campaign and membership in a political party. In the FGD-5 one of the female respondents, an undergraduate student of Kushtia Government college, has stressed that in our society, still politics and power, are dominated by men. Our society treats a woman negatively when she becomes active in politics. Another housewife from

the Rajshahi city has mentioned that as she busy with her family, she gets little time to engage her in political and social engagements (FGD-2).

Table 5.17
Sex of the Respondents and Joining Electoral Campaign

Sex of the Respondents		Joining Electoral Campaign					Total
		Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Woman	Count	119	18	23	1	5	166
	%	71.7	10.8	13.9	0.6	3.0	100.0
Man	Count	94	42	53	8	21	218
	%	43.1	19.3	24.3	3.7	9.6	100.0
Total	Count	213	60	76	9	26	384
	%	55.5	15.6	19.8	2.3	6.8	100.0

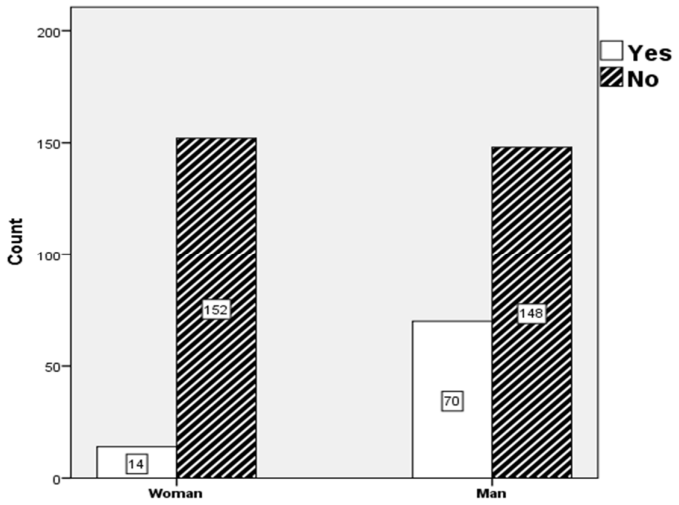

Figure 5.13: Sex and Membership in a Political Party

Many literatures have claimed that citizens who are better educated are more inclined to politics, but the cross table about level of education and the nature of political and social engagement (See Annex Table-5.9) has summarized a paradoxical result. In most cases the better educated the youth are less active in political and social engagement. In the prior chapter we have examined that more educated the youth are more interested in cognitive viewing of TV than the less educated portion of the sample. As well as they are more knowledgeable than the less educated portion. The study has

got a positive correlation between deliberative participation and level of education. Also in focus group discussion the study has identified that better educated portion of the youth are well informed about politics, but they are not interested in the pattern of engagement which need direct involvement. In addition, they think that the political culture is not suitable for social and political engagement.

The youth who have a positive attitude towards politics may be more inclined to political and social participation. Table-5.18 and figure-5.14 show that the youth who have a negative outlook for politics comparatively less engaged in political participation.

Table 5.18
Opinion about Politics and Seeking Vote from Door to Door

Opinion about Politics		Seeking Vote						Total
		Never	Very little	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	No answer	
Positive	Count	81	14	11	6	8	1	121
	%	66.9	11.6	9.1	5.0	6.6	0.8	100.0
Negative	Count	94	32	12	5	6	1	150
	%	62.7	21.3	8.0	3.3	4.0	0.7	100.0
No comment	Count	80	13	9	7	3	1	113
	%	70.8	11.5	8.0	6.2	2.7	0.9	100.0
Total	Count	255	59	32	18	17	3	384
	%	66.4	15.4	8.3	4.7	4.4	0.8	100.0

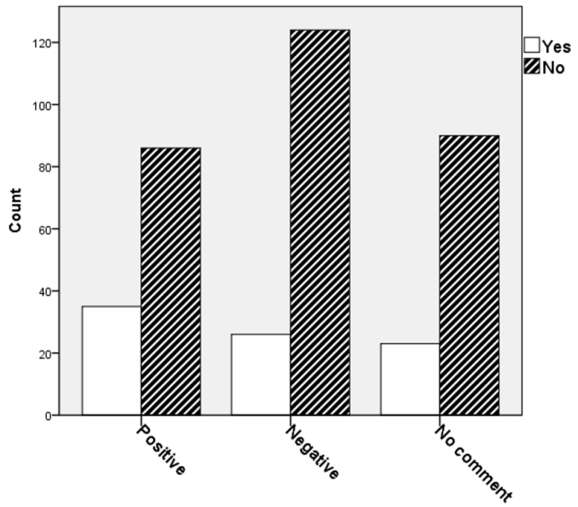

Figure 5.14: Attitude Towards Politics and Membership in Political Party

The study has also identified that age, residential status, income and level of knowledge are also related to the array of political participation. The youth of higher age group and in most of the cases rural the youth have been seen more active in social and political engagement than the lower age group and urban or semi urban the youth (See Annex Table: 5.10–5.14); On the other hand the youth who are in mid income level are more inclined to every form of activities in comparison with lower and higher income level; Similarly, the youth who possesses high knowledge about politics are more motivated to political participation (See Annex Table: 5.15–5.19).

In chapter three we have observed that better educated and male respondents are more interested in cognitive contents of TV. Similarly the youth who have positive outlook for politics, watch news and talk shows more than who have negative for the same. So it may be argued that contents of television is not solely responsible for political, social or cognitive (dis) engagement rather it could be the part of the whole political culture or social settings where the youth live.

5.8 Discussion and Conclusion

The media landscape of Bangladesh has changed dramatically over the past decade. Especially the arena of indigenous satellite channels has expanded with other media outlets. This expansion of media could create a diverse impact on social, political and economic atmosphere of Bangladesh. However, this study has dealt with the relation of TV programmes to the educated the youth's social and political engagement in Bangladesh. Though numerous studies about the relation between media and political participation have generated a contradictory conclusion that mass media have motivational or malicious impact on civic and political engagements (Putnum, 2000; Newton, 1999; Norris, 1996; Shah, 1998), in a recent study Curran et. al. (2014) has

concluded that media have both of the effects, but it depends on the social and political systems related to political engagements. The results of these studies have not reached in a concrete conclusion about media and political participation dynamics.

This chapter of the study also, has identified the position of TV contents in the political life of Bangladeshi the youth. To obtain this objective, at first, this chapter of the study has identified the patterns of political participation of the youth then it has commenced to look the position of TV and its contents to promote or discourage political or social engagements.

In case of electoral participation the study has observed that contents of TV may have very little impact on voting behaviour. People of Bangladesh are historically too much interested in voting participation. The educated the youth of Bangladesh are not out of that trend. The educated the youth of Bangladesh give priority to TV for their election related information, but their decision of party choice or candidate selection for vote is derived by various variables including family heritage, patron-client relation, ideological background and the matters related to political culture. Though, the qualitative findings denote that news and talk shows might increase the tendency of casting vote and discussions about elections, which can accelerate voter turnout, though some of the studies of developed countries have predicted that development of media specially TV is reliable for the declining of turn out (Putnum, 2000; Gentzkow, 2006).

The study shows that beyond voting the youth are less active in other forms of electoral engagements. Most of the youth are not directly involved in electoral campaigning, joining electoral meetings or persuading others to vote and work as a member of a political party. The study has noticed very insignificant relation between

the hours of TV watching and the depths of electoral engagements. Unlike Putnum (2000), the study has observed that TV viewing hours may have little influence on political engagements of the youth. The study has found insignificant differences in the depth of political engagements between heavy viewers and light viewers. Though in some extents the light viewers seem to be a little more consistent in their political activities than the heavy viewers.

On the contrary, the study has assessed a sharp difference between the youth who use TV for informational purpose and who for entertainment, though most of them are habituated to use TV to address both of the needs. According to the current study, the youth who use TV only for entertainment are less engaged in most of the types of political engagements than who use it for information or cognitive purposes. When the respondents have been asked whether they watch electoral campaign or meeting on TV, most of them answered positively. As well as they also have argued that they watch electoral analysis and specialist views about election, but in case of direct involvements in various forms of electoral engagements they seem to be less active. From quantitative and qualitative study, we could argue that TV has little impact on encouraging electoral engagements (Political campaign, Joining the electoral meeting, persuading others for voting or joining a political party as a member). Similarly, the study cannot identify strong evidences to blame TV as a significant instrument for discourage these forms of engagements. Most of the youth have noticed that it is not TV rather the political culture might be the cause of these dis-engagements. However, demographic differences among them could be influential in determining the depth of electoral participation. Nonetheless, it could be conclude that the informational nature of TV motivates the youth cognitively; in contrast, distorted pictures of TV could lessen the efficacy of the

youth and increase cynicism among them, which might be cultivated in the political behaviour of the youth within the political culture.

The study shows that in the case of civic involvements, the common trends of the youth are never to sometimes. It has been noticed that a notable part of the youth have claimed them as members of non-political organization or social organization, but other forms of civic involvement are seem to be neglected by the youth. Like the political participation, civic involvement of the youth might be less influenced by TV watching hours. We have observed trifling difference between heavy viewers and light viewers in questions of the depth of civic engagements with few exceptions. In contrast, the study has pointed the differences of engagements among the youth, when it has been judged on the basis of the preferences of TV contents. The cognitive users of TV might be more inclined to the civic involvements in comparison to the youth who use TV for entertainment.

In case of cognitive participation most of the respondents have claimed that TV news and talk shows are helpful for being integrated with the current political, social and policy matters. The political contents of the television initiate new agenda and offer logic for participating in the political discussion. Most of the youth have argued that the political contents of TV help them to establish their arguments, which seem to be helpful for deliberative participation. Here also, the light viewers and cognitive users of TV could be more active than the heavy viewers and entertainment users of TV.

This research has noticed that TV has both *mobilization* and *malaise* effects. It may promote political and civic involvements as well as may discourage all sorts of engagements, but it depends on how TV is used. The findings also have suggested that demographic and cultural variables should be treated more carefully when we assess the

scale of political engagements. When we have scrutinized demographic variables, we have noted that age, sex, educational attainment, attitude towards politics, income and residential status might be important to determine the status of political participation. The Higher age group may be more enthusiastic in all forms of electoral, civic and political engagements than the lower. The women respondents seem to be more dis-engaged in every form of participation than their male counterparts. The youth who have a positive outlook for politics and political institutions are more involved than who possesses negative understandings about politics and political institutions with little differences in cognitive engagements. In case of the relation between educational attainment and political participation the study has got a paradoxical result. Normally, it could be assumed that more educated persons are more active in political, social and cognitive engagements, but the current study has projected that better educated the youth are less engaged in political and civic activities. In contrast, they are more inclined to cognitive engagement (Following contemporary issues; Political Discussion). In chapter Three we have seen that better educated watch more news and talk show than the less educated part of the youth, but the paradox is that they do not turn their cognition into political action. The study has also identified that the youth who are more knowledgeable and seem to be more engaged in every form of activities, this findings may create a proposition that the cognitive viewing of TV could promote participation. Because when we have assessed political knowledge of the youth we have observed that the youth who are cognitive viewers of TV are more knowledgeable than the youth who use it for entertainment purposes only.

Both the qualitative and quantitative study have assessed that TV is not the monolithic instrument for promoting or discouraging political, social and cognitive engagements. Demographic variables are also significant indicators in pursuit of

engagement. Similarly, the attitudes of the youth towards politics and political institutions and leadership quality may be very important for political and civic engagements of the youth. Most of the focus group studies have identified that the youth have very pessimistic outlooks about politics. They do not think that contemporary politics can make positive notion for better democracy. An influential part of them have argued that the youth should participate in social and political engagements. Similarly, most of them have claimed that in this political culture how the youth could participate in the political process? Culture of fear and uncertainty hinder them to participate. They agree that TV contents like news and talk shows make them informed and knowledgeable but it also represents bias, slanted and overloaded pictures of politics. These forms of political information could intensify negative outlooks for political and civic engagements. This may turn them cynic and less efficacious about politics. In sum, it could be argued that the overall social settings or the nature of political culture are too much integrated with the nature and depth of political participation. The influence of TV and its contents are not out of this culture.

Chapter Six
Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In the way of assessing the nexus between the cognitive contents of STV and the youth political activeness, this chapter has accumulated the major findings–which have been outlined in the previous parts of the study. These findings have been drawn out on the basis of the research questions–where the current state of political contents (News, Talk shows), the youth perceptions and evaluations about the political contents, the role of these contents in promoting political socialization and participation have been examined. The first section of the chapter has summarized the central questions of the study along with key observations. The second part outlines the broader implications of the major findings. The final section indicates the scope of further research.

6.2 Research Questions and Major Findings

To examine the central research question–the position of political contents of STV in the procedure of enhancing the youth's political participation in Bangladesh, it has been broken into four elaborated questions. To know the impact or influence of STV contents, at first the current state of STV, its political contents have been examined–which might be influential for scrutinizing the pattern of the influence media could offer the audience. The pattern of ownership, objectivity of the news, freedom of media, different rules and regulations, neutrality could be the mentionable indicators–which might determine the influence of media. As scholars in this field have questioned the growth of STV and the quality of its cognitive contents (Razzaque, 2013; Jahangir, 2010, 2013; Haider, 2013). Herman & Chomsky (1988) in their noted thesis 'Manufacturing Consent' have interrogated media by questioning the power relation and the profit orientation of media.

The viewing pattern of the audiences, their perceptions about the contents and their evaluations seems to be important (Newton, 1999; Putnum 2000; Aarts & Semetko, 2003 & Norris, 1996) to examine the role of the contents of STV in accelerating the political activity through disseminating political information and by enhancing political knowledge. So the second research question is related to the exposures of the youth towards the political contents and their evaluation about these contents. The patterns of people's political participation may depend on the political acculturation process (Almond &Verba, 1963). How they learn about the political matters? How the socialization agents accustomed them to the political institutions? How much political knowledge they acquire from the agents of political socialization (Glaston, 2001)? How and to what extent the contents of STV are related to their political behaviour (Atkin & Gantz, 1978) have been examined in the light of the third research question. Finally, to examine the relation of the political contents with the youth social and political activities, the pattern and frequency of their political and social engagements have been assessed with their watching habits of the political contents.

The study provides clear indications that the youth of Bangladesh are moderately engaged in social and political activity, but the study does not show any strong relation between watching cognitive contents of STV (News and Talk show) and level of political and social engagement. There may be patchy and weak evidences about the promotion or discouraging role of TV programs in the context of thier political engagements.

Unlike the youth of the developing countries most of the educated the youth are inclined to cast their vote-the most conventional and important form of political participation, but TV might be less influential in the formation this behaviour (Gentzkow, 2006), though qualitative findings of the current study show that the pictorial representation of election related news could enhance voter turnout and discussion about

elections. The study indicates that STV is the most reliable source of their voting information, but the political contents seem to be insignificant in determining their loyalty towards a candidate or party, rather family lineage, patron-client relationship (Lewis, 2011) ideological alignment could be important in this matter.

The study has outlined that beyond voting the youth are less engaged in other forms of electoral and political engagements (e.g. Campaigning, Membership in a political party, Wearing button or sticker for preferred party or candidate). However, with little difference, the study indicates that TV viewing hours might be less important in the question of the disengagement of the youth. On the other hand, the study has outlined that the preference of contents might be influential for political engagement (Aarts & Semetko, 2003). The youth who prefer cognitive contents of STV seem to be more active than who prefer only entertainment.

Like the political engagement, in question of civic engagement of the youth the trend is not so optimistic. Sheer portion of the youth's response in question of most of the civic activities was sometimes to never. Dominantly in question of direct voluntary activities (e.g. Raising money for the development work, Joining development works, Meeting influential person for local development, Working for stopping child marriage and Drug addiction) the rate of engagement was very insignificant. Like political engagement the study has revealed that the intensity of viewing TV is not so important in the case of civic activity, but the fondness of the content may be valuable indicators in enhancing civic activities among them.

However the study shows that in promoting cognitive participation (e.g. Issue following, Political discussion) news and talk shows are more influential. The youth who watch news and talk shows seem to be more active in following contemporary

social and political issues, and join deliberative participation than who do not. In a same breathe, Newton (1999, pp. 577-599) has claimed that regular watching of Television news is connected with greater political learning and enthusiasm. Regular viewers of political contents grab more political and social agenda, information and analyses– which could offer them logic to establish or reorganize their views.

In chapter four we have seen that political contents of STV may play influential role in complex political understanding and acquiring political knowledge– which might be necessary to participate more effectively. The study has demonstrated that the youth who watch political contents seem to possess more political knowledge than others who do not. In addition, this study has examined some behavioural variables (Political efficacy, Political Identity and Attitude of the youth towards social capital) and its relation with TV contents. These variables may have profound relation to political and civic activity.

The study has perceived a paradoxical standard among the youth regarding political efficacy. Most of them believe that the youth of Bangladesh should be more active in the social and political arena; at the same time they have less confidence in the system–where they could engage them. Concerning this state of the political efficacy of the youth, according to the current study, the political contents of TV play a mixed role. On one hand, when these contents represent public voice and introduce rational public agenda–which could make the governing elite more accountable and responsible to the people, makes the youth confident about the working of democracy, on the other hand, when the political contents represent the political or corporate elite with bias and slanted information–which may block mass voice and turned them as a cynical viewers of politics. As Newton (1999, p. 578) has claimed that the presentation of over stated political criticism in media cultivates an impression of negativity towards politics.

Like Putnum (1993, 2000) the current study has observed that there is a strong trend of declination of the social capital, the youth of Bangladesh thinks that they are less engaged in social and political activities, possess less trust in others. In a word, they might have a lack of collectivity efforts, social bonds and cohesion. On the contrary, contrasting Putnum assumption the study could not find TV as the exclusive cause of this decrease. Rather, political culture, lack of moral values, over the use of different media, including TV could be the causes of this trend.

The third behavioural variable is 'Political identity'–that may be important in the discussion of political participation, has been examined in this study. The study has projected that the youth have a prior disposition about their national identity, some historical events and symbols are the basement of this disposition. With other sources the political contents of TV might be helpful to make them aware and update about these symbols–which generate a sense of uniqueness among them as a nation. In addition, the contents of TV could create the kind of social consciousness among them–which could offer them group feelings as a member of the society. In contrast, the verbose representation of these symbols without showing the present implementation could create a contradictory state among them about their identity.

However, all of these findings should be considered with caution. A Number of scholars have suspicion about the role of news (Newton, 1999; Entman, 1989), they have argued that news is a perishable matter–changing the focus very quickly, sometime news is too much short and lacks background. In addition, people pay very little attention to the news; most of them pay little cognitive effort to understanding the cause and consequence of the news. In this study, we have observed that the youth prioritize news which are more oriented with their practical life. Sometime the youth arrange an

easy generalization about the news and news channels without paying due attention to the discussed matters. Moreover, they possess an illusion of learning from the news– which may turn into alienation from political life (Robinson, 1983). Prior evidence has supported that the political participation of the people is related to multi-faceted matters. Demographic difference, interest in politics, standard of political culture could be the influential variables which can influence political participation as well as the pattern of media use (Aarts & Semetko, 2003; Norris, 1996; Verba, Burns & Schlozman, 1997). In this study, when we examined the level of political participation on the basis of demography, we have found that better educated, males and the youth of a higher age group are more engaged in social, political and cognitive engagements. The study has also indicated that level of political knowledge is important (Galston, 2001, p. 217) for some kind of activity, mostly the cognitive activity. The more knowledgeable the youth seem to be more engaged in issue following and political discussion. Thus, there may be a virtuous relation between political knowledge and cognitive viewing (Aarts & Semetko, 2003, p. 775), The current study shows that the youth who use TV for informational purpose are more knowledgeable than the others who do not. But there is no clear indication about that, the more knowledgeable the youth are more active in every form of social and political engagements. In addition, attitude towards politics and political institution may be important regarding political activeness of the youth.

6.3 Implications of the Study

This study is an initiative to explore the position of TV programmes in the political life of our the youth. It may be very complex task to amalgamate two different established disciplines into a unique approach, as both of the disciplines have different approaches and methods. As shah (1998, p. 469) has pointed that the ‘disciplinary

divide' between politics and communication could create an incomplete picture about the co-relation between media and politics.

Therefore, the current study may be the primary initiative of this kind of research agenda in Bnagladesh–where TV medium and the youth political life have been examined. Most of the prior literatures have presented the relation of media to the political economy of our country. There may have a broad gap in the area of study regarding media-audience political relation. This piece of research could be the preliminary step in this area.

Giving a close look to the process of expansion of STV, we can observe that after a long dearth of democratic governance, when the parliamentary form of government has been re-established, the media industries experienced the expansion of STV. So one could argue that there may intimate relation between media expansion and the democratic governance. However, there also have other arguments–where the expansions of media have been identified as a byproduct of capitalism. Where, media have been addressed as a 'propaganda machine' or tools of 'hegemony'. In this debate, it may be an important question that how and to what extent the expansion of STV and dimensions of political contents (News, Talk shows) could inspire or discourage the youth in consideration of their political activity. This study has raised this question and observed that the political life of the youth of Bangladesh might moderately influence by the political contents of STV with the reality of political culture, socioeconomic differences of the youth and market orientation of STV. This question and importantly the observation of the current study may enhance the opportunity for future research regarding this research area. In addition the findings may help in the procedure of policy formulation concerning the youth, media or governance.

Though this study aims to assess the position of STV contents related to politics in the political and social life of the youth, with the consequence of the study and for depth understanding about the political lives of the youth, it has illustrated the pattern of political and social engagements of the youth, their level of political efficacy, attitude towards social capital, the process of political learning, level of political knowledge and outlook for political identity. Each of these concepts could offer new prospect for future research.

In case of theoretical implications the study has predicted that unlike U&G theory, audiences are not as active as the theory predict. Their political learning depends on various matters like demographic factors, political interest and their schema to grab the political information. It is true that like the proposition of social cognitive theory and agenda setting theory, the youth get incidental knowledge and information from the news and talk shows. In addition, they can understand the contemporary agenda of political surroundings, but according to the observation of this study that the youth are in contradiction, whether all of the agenda of media replicate the agenda of mass? The power connection and corporate connection of media could motivate it to frame the agenda in favour of political or corporate elite. These factors may important in the discussion of media impact on the youth political participation.

On the other hand, as the cultivation theory predicts that the outlooks of the youth about politics are guided by the pictorial message of media. Dominantly the distorted pictures of media offer them a narrower view of the political life–that constructs their political outlook. This could be pessimistic for their political involvements and may turn them as cynical toward political lives. Contrasting with the view of cultivation theory the current research has outlined that TV may not the sole agents for the declination of political and social engagement. TV may be the one of the

causes for lessening social capital. Civic culture may be the root cause for the declination of collective life and social cohesion.

All of these notions about the political life of the youth and its integration with STV contents may generate new understanding and avenues for further research and might be helpful for policy questions and implementation.

6.4 Questions for Further Research

This thesis is an attempt to examine the intrinsic relation of the youth political participation and the political contents of media. In the process of reaching the central research question, the study has encountered different issues and agenda related to the nexus of the youth political participation and TV media. These issues and agenda could open new avenue for further research in this field. Within this study, we have experienced that both TV media and the youth' political engagement are overwhelmingly integrated with the political culture of our country. Most of the youth respondents have claimed that it is not the media, rather the political culture, which determine the depth of their political participation. On the other hand, in chapter two we have seen that political culture is deeply reliable concerning media freedom–on which the neutrality and the objectivity of media may depend. So, further question could be raised in pursuit of the relation between political culture and TV media. From 90s frequency of STV channels is growing rapidly, whether this growth has a positive or negative impact on the political culture of our country? In fact, this query may determine the level of people's orientation with the public sphere–which seems to be important for democratic governance.

Most of the literatures, which are related to media impact on political participation of the youth, are based on the developed countries. In these countries

democracy is more consolidated than the developing countries like us, where TV media could get more freedom than that of developing countries. So, it is not logical to examine the effect of TV media in the same manner. A comparative study among the countries of similar political culture could be effective to examine the role of TV contents in promoting social or political engagement.

STV has become so ubiquitous that every section of the people may have some exposures to the political contents of STV. The current study has assessed the impact of political contents on the educated the youth of Bangladesh. There may be a comprehensive study, where audience of different cohort could be included. In addition, we could draw more concrete findings in this field of media-audience relation by probability sampling and by initiating control variables.

Political efficacy is a special indicator for the study of political participation. In this study, we have assessed the nexus between political efficacy and TV contents on a limited scale. Thus, there could be depth study concerning political efficacy of the youth and its relation to the political contents of media. As well as, very minimum literatures have been found regarding the role of TV media in the formation of political identity, thus there could be a comprehensive study in this area.

The current research assessed the role of political contents of TV only. Therefore the study indicates that the user of the internet is increasing gradually. Similarly, as the most old media, the appeal of print media is still exists. So an in-depth study could be organized in a fashion so that it will examine the impact of all influential medium concerning the role of these media in the political life of the citizens.

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ANNEXES

Annex Table 1.1: Detail Distribution of the Sample

Sub Group Of the youth		Place Of The Respondents	Number of Respondents	Process of selection
Student	University Students	Rajshahi University, Rajshahi	40	Purposibly
		Islamic University, Kushtia	32	
	Students Of Suburban Educational Institute	Rajshahi College, Rajshahi	25	
		Kushtia Government College, Kushtia	18	
		Laskarpur Degree College, Putia.	15	
		Mahmuda Haq Degree Mohila College, Mirpur, Kushtia .	14	
	Students Of Rural Educational Institution	Poradaha Degree College, Poradaha Union, Mirpur Kushtia	10	
		Dhopa Para Degree College, Geu Para Union, Putia, Rajshshi	7	
Total Student			**161**	
Service Holder	Rajshahi City (Ward No 27 And 30)		30	Purposibly
	Kushtia Town (Ward No 5 And 10)		18	
	Putia Upazilla Sadar Of Rajshahi (Ward No 3 And 5)		12	
	Mirpur Upazilla Sadar Of Kushtia(Ward No 3 And 8)		08	
	Geu Para Union From Putia , Rajshshi(Village: Dhopa Para,)		7	
	Poradaha Union From Mirpur Upazilla, Kushtia (Village: Katdaha)		5	
Total Service Holder			**81**	
House Wife	Rajshahi City (Ward No 27 And 30)		18	Purposibly
	Kushtia Town (Ward No 5 And 10)		14	
	Putia Upazilla Sadar Of Rajshahi (Ward No 3 And 5)		09	
	Mirpur Upazilla Sadar Of Kushtia(Ward No 3 And 8)		07	
	Geu Para Union From Putia , Rajshshi(Village: Dhopa Para,)		5	
	Poradaha Union From Mirpur Upazilla, Kushtia(Village: Katdaha)		4	
Total House Wife			**57**	
Business Man	Rajshahi City (Ward No 27 And 30)		20	Purposibly
	Kushtia Town (Ward No 5 And 10)		15	
	Putia Upazilla Sadar Of Rajshahi (Ward No 3 And 5)		7	
	Mirpur Upazilla Sadar Of Kushtia(Ward No 3 And 8)		5	
	Geu Para Union From Putia , Rajshshi(Village: Dhopa Para,)		3	
	Poradaha Union From Mirpur Upazilla, Kushtia(Village: Katdaha)		3	
Total Business Men			**53**	
Unemployed	Rajshahi City (Ward No 27 And 30)		10	Purposibly
	Kushtia Town (Ward No 5 And 10)		08	
	Putia Upazilla Sadar Of Rajshahi (Ward No 3 And 5)		05	
	Mirpur Upazilla Sadar Of Kushtia(Ward No 3 And 8)		04	
	Geu Para Union From Putia , Rajshshi(Village: Dhopa Para,)		03	
	Poradaha Union From Mirpur Upazilla, Kushtia(Village: Katdaha)		02	
Total Unemployed			**32**	
Total Respondents			**384**	

Annex Table 1.2: Talk Shows of Selected Channels

Name Of the Channels	Name of the Talk Show	Date of Telecast	Selection Process
Etv (Ekushey TV)	Ekusher Raat	February 07, 12, 18, 20,21, and 27 of the year 2014	Purposive
Channel i	Tritio Matra	February 03, 08,13, 14, 25 and 27 of the year 2014	Purposive
Atn News	News Hour Extra	February 06, 09,12, 20, 21 and 26 of the year 2014	Purposive
Ntv	Ei Somoy	February 02, 06, 11, 13, 19 and 24 of the year 2014	Purposive

Annex Table 2.1: List of Private Satellite TV Channels in Bangladesh

Name of TV	Established	Base
ATN Bangla	1997	Dhaka
ETV (Ekushey TV)	1998	Dhaka
Channel I	1999	Dhaka
Ntv	2003	Dhaka
Boishaki TV	2004	Dhaka
RTV	2005	Dhaka
Bangla Vision	2006	Dhaka
Diganta TV*	2006	Dhaka
Islamic TV*	2006	Dhaka
Jamuna TV	2009	Dhaka
Desh TV	2009	Dhaka
Atn News	2010	Dhaka
Independent TV	2010	Dhaka
Ekattor TV	2012	Dhaka
Somoy TV	2011	Dhaka
Bijoy TV	2013	Dhaka
S. A. Channel	2013	Dhaka
GAZI TV	2013	Dhaka
Channel 9	2010	Dhaka
My TV	2010	Dhaka
Asian Tv	2013	Dhaka
Channel 21	2005	Dhaka
MohonaTV	2010	Dhaka
Masranga TV	2012	Dhaka
Bangla TV	2015	Dhaka
Channel 21	2015	Dhaka
Utshav TV	2015	Dhaka
Renaissance TV	2015	Dhaka
Dhaka Bangla TV	2015	Dhaka
News 24	2015	Dhaka
Amar Gan	2015	Dhaka
Cambrian TV	2015	Dhaka
New Vision TV	2015	Dhaka
Rangdhonu TV	2015	Dhaka
Green TV	2015	Dhaka
ATV	2015	Dhaka
Jadu Media Ltd	2015	Dhaka
Titash TV	2015	Dhaka
Times Media Ltd	2015	Dhaka
Channel-52	2015	Dhaka
Dipto Bangla	2015	Dhaka

*Defunct Channels Source: Ministry of Information(2015)

Annex Table 3.1: Nature of Residence and Duration of TV Watching

Duration Of TV Watching		Nature Of Residence			Total
		Urban	Semi Urban	Rural	
Less Than One Hours	Count	51	32	14	97
	%	52.6%	33.0%	14.4%	100.0%
1-2 Hours	Count	105	63	51	219
	%	47.9%	28.8%	23.3%	100.0%
2-4 Hours	Count	25	13	9	47
	%	53.2%	27.7%	19.1%	100.0%
More Than 4 Hours	Count	6	7	3	16
	%	37.5%	43.8%	18.8%	100.0%
No Answer	Count	3	2	0	5
	%	60.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	190	117	77	384
	%	49.5%	30.5%	20.1%	100.0%

Annex Table 3.2: Profession and Viewing Hour

Duration of TV Watching		Profession Of The Respondents					Total
		Student	Housewife	Unemployed	Business Man	Service	
Less Than One Hour	Count	42	14	8	15	18	97
	%	43.3	14.4	8.2	15.5	18.6	100.0
1-2 Hours	Count	90	32	21	29	47	219
	%	41.1	14.6	9.6	13.2	21.5	100.0
2-4 Hours	Count	19	7	1	7	13	47
	%	40.4	14.9	2.1	14.9	27.7	100.0
More Than 4 Hours	Count	7	3	1	2	3	16
	%	43.8	18.8	6.2	12.5	18.8	100.0
No Answer	Count	3	1	1	0	0	5
	%	60.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Count	161	57	32	53	81	384
	%	41.9	14.8	8.3	13.8	21.1	100.0

Annex Table 3.3: Sex and Duration of TV Watching

Duration of TV Watching		Sex of the Respondent		Total
		Woman	Man	
less than one hour	Count	43	54	97
	%	44.3	55.7	100.0
1-2 hour	Count	96	123	219
	%	43.8	56.2	100.0
2-4 hour	Count	17	30	47
	%	36.2	63.8	100.0
more than 4 hour	Count	8	8	16
	%	50.0	50.0	100.0
no answer	Count	2	3	5
	%	40.0	60.0	100.0
Total	Count	166	218	384
	%	43.2	56.8	100.0

Annex Table 3.4: Age Group and Duration of TV Watching

Duration of TV Watching		Age of the Respondents			Total
		18-23	24-29	30-35	
Less than One Hour	Count	38	37	22	97
	%	39.2	38.1	22.7	100.0
1-2 Hours	Count	86	87	46	219
	%	39.3	39.7	21.0	100.0
2-4 Hours	Count	16	19	12	47
	%	34.0	40.4	25.5	100.0
More than 4 Hours	Count	4	9	3	16
	%	25.0	56.2	18.8	100.0
No Answer	Count	3	1	1	5
	%	60.0	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	Count	147	153	84	384
	%	38.3	39.8	21.9	100.0

Annex Table 3.5: Age Group and Preference of Contents

Age of the Respondents		What Do You Watch in Television							Total
		Only News	Only Talk Show	News And Talk Shows	News, Talk Shows And Entertainment	Only Entertainment	News And Entertainment	No Answer	
18-23	Count	8	0	14	62	10	50	3	147
	%	5.4	0.0	9.5	42.2	6.8	34.0	2.0	100.0
24-29	Count	12	1	13	56	13	57	1	153
	%	7.8	0.7	8.5	36.6	8.5	37.3	0.7	100.0
30-35	Count	10	0	19	36	1	16	2	84
	%	11.9	0.0	22.6	42.9	1.2	19.0	2.4	100.0
Total	Count	30	1	46	154	24	123	6	384
	%	7.8	0.3	12.0	40.1	6.2	32.0	1.6	100.0

Annex Table 3.6: Educational Attainment And Preference Of TV Contents

Educational Attainment Of The Respondents		What Do You Watch In Television							Total
		Only News	Only Talk show	News And Talk Shows	News, Talk show And Entertainment	Only Entertainment	News And Entertainment	No Answer	
SSC	Count	4	0	10	7	2	14	0	37
	%	10.8	0.0	27.0	18.9	5.4	37.8	0.0	100.0
HSC	Count	3	0	5	19	9	21	2	59
	%	5.1	0.0	8.5	32.2	15.3	35.6	3.4	100.0
Degree/Honours	Count	13	0	18	68	9	52	2	162
	%	8.0	0.0	11.1	42.0	5.6	32.1	1.2	100.0
Masters	Count	10	1	13	60	4	36	2	126
	%	7.9	0.8	10.3	47.6	3.2	28.6	1.6	100.0
Total	Count	30	1	46	154	24	123	6	384
	%	7.8	0.3	12.0	40.1	6.2	32.0	1.6	100.0

Annex Table 3.7: Nature Of Residence And Preference Of TV Contents

Nature Of Residence		Preference of TV contents							Total
		Only News	Only Talkshow	News And Talk Shows	News, Talk show And Entertainment	Only Entertainment	News And Entertainment	No Answer	
Urban	Count	14	1	19	80	9	64	3	190
	%	7.4	0.5	10.0	42.1	4.7	33.7	1.6	100.0
Semi Urban	Count	5	0	11	49	11	38	3	117
	%	4.3	0.0	9.4	41.9	9.4	32.5	2.6	100.0
Rural	Count	11	0	16	25	4	21	0	77
	%	14.3	0.	20.8	32.5	5.2	27.3	0.0	100.0
Total	Count	30	1	46	154	24	123	6	384
	%	7.8	0.3	12.0	40.1	6.2	32.0	1.6	100.0

Annex Table 3.8 : Income Level and Frequency Of Talk Show Viewing

Watching Talk Show		Income Level Of The Respondents						Total
		5000-8000	8001-11000	11001-15000	15001-20000	20001-25000	More than 25000	
Occasionally	Count	7	12	12	8	2	5	46
	%	15.2	26.1	26.1	17.4	4.3	10.9	100.0
Sometimes	Count	11	28	34	17	17	17	124
	%	8.9	22.6	27.4	13.7	13.7	13.7	100.0
Almost Everyday	Count	2	8	6	4	3	4	27
	%	7.4	29.6	22.2	14.8	11.1	14.8	100.0
Every Day	Count	1	3	6	0	8	7	25
	%	4.0	12.0	24.0	0.0	32.0	28.0	100.0
Never	Count	24	45	29	31	23	10	162
	%	14.8	27.8	17.9	19.1	14.2	6.2	100.0
Total	Count	45	96	87	60	53	43	384
	%	11.7	25.0	22.7	15.6	13.8	11.2	100.0

Annex Table 3.9: Sex Of The Respondents and Talk Show Viewing

Sex of the Respondent		Frequency of Talk show viewing					Total
		Occasionally	Sometimes	Almost Everyday	Every Day	Never	
Woman	Count	18	42	5	6	95	166
	%	10.8	25.3	3.0	3.6	57.2	100.0
man	Count	28	82	22	19	67	218
	%	12.8	37.6	10.1	8.7	30.7	100.0
Total	Count	46	124	27	25	162	384
	%	12.0	32.3	7.0	6.5	42.2	100.0

Annex Table 3.10 :Nature Of Residence And Talk Show Viewing

Nature Of Residence		Frequency Of Talk show Viewing					Total
		Occasionally	Sometimes	Almost Everyday	Every Day	Never	
Urban	Count	22	66	15	10	77	190
	%	11.6	34.7	7.9	5.3	40.5	100.0
Semi Urban	Count	15	39	5	7	51	117
	%	12.8	33.3	4.3	6.0	43.6	100.0
Rural	Count	9	19	7	8	34	77
	%	11.7	24.7	9.1	10.4	44.2	100.0
Total	Count	46	124	27	25	162	384
	%	12.0	32.3	7.0	6.5	42.2	100.0

Annex Table 4.1: Level of Trust among The Youth

	Frequency	Percent
Very Less	27	7.0
Less	80	20.8
Moderate	179	46.6
Much	39	10.2
Very Much	51	13.3
No Answer	3	.8
Do Not Know	5	1.3
Total	384	100.0

Annex Table 4.2: Level of Reciprocity among the youth of Bangladesh

	Frequency	Percent
Very less	18	4.7
Less	92	24.0
Moderate	191	49.7
Much	58	15.1
Very much	18	4.7
No answer	4	1.0
Do not know	3	.8
Total	384	100.0

Annex Table 4.3: Attitude towards the Level of Civic Engagement of the Bangladeshi Youth

	Frequency	Percent
Very less	30	7.8
Less	120	31.3
Moderate	178	46.4
Much	31	8.1
Very much	17	4.4
No answer	5	1.3
Do not know	3	.8
Total	384	100.0

Annex Table 5.1*:* Educational Attainment and Media preference for Voting Information

Educational attainment of the respondent		Media Preference						Total
		Television	News Paper	Radio	Internet	Others	No Answer	
SSC	N	30	5	0	1	1	0	37
	%	81.1	13.5	0.0	2.7	2.7	0.0	100.0
HSC	N	41	6	1	3	3	5	59
	%	69.5	10.2	1.7	5.1	5.1	8.5	100.0
Degree/Honours	N	112	24	3	17	3	3	162
	%	69.1	14.8	1.9	10.5	1.9	1.8	100.0
Masters	N	82	21	3	13	3	4	126
	%	65.1	16.7	2.4	10.3	2.4	3.2	100.0
Total	N	265	56	7	34	10	12	384
	%	69.0	14.6	1.8	8.9	2.6	3.1	100.0

Annex Table 5.2: Duration of TV watching and joining in development work (road repairing, stopping child marriage)

Duration of TV watching		Joining in development work (road repairing, stopping child marriage)					Total
		never	very little	sometimes	frequently	always	
less than one hour	N	26	18	36	12	5	97
	%	26.8	18.6	37.1	12.4	5.2	100.0
1-2 hour	N	60	49	76	12	22	219
	%	27.4	22.4	34.7	5.5	10.0	100.0
2-4 hour	N	11	13	15	2	6	47
	%	23.4	27.7	31.9	4.3	12.8	100.0
more than 4 hour	N	7	0	5	1	3	16
	%	43.8	0.0	31.2	6.2	18.8	100.0
no answer	N	2	0	3	0	0	5
	%	40.0	0.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	N	106	80	135	27	36	384
	%	27.6	20.8	35.2	7.0	9.4	100.0

Annex Table 5.3: Duration of TV Watching and Membership of a Nonpolitical Organization

Duration of TV Watching		Membership in a Nonpolitical Organization		Total
		Yes	No	
Less Than One Hour	Count	35	62	97
	%	36.1	63.9	100.0
1-2 Hour	Count	98	121	219
	%	44.7	55.3	100.0
2-4 Hour	Count	19	28	47
	%	40.4	59.6	100.0
More Than 4 Hour	Count	7	9	16
	%	43.8	56.2	100.0
No Answer	Count	0	5	5
	%	0.0	100.0	100.0
Total	Count	159	225	384
	%	41.4	58.6	100.0

Annex Table 5.4: Duration of TV Watching and Drawing Money for Local Development

Duration Of TV Watching		Drawing Money for Local Development					Total
		Never	Very Little	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Less than one hour	Count	21	18	39	12	7	97
	%	21.6	18.6	40.2	12.4	7.2	100.0
1-2 hour	Count	43	48	90	18	20	219
	%	19.6	21.9	41.1	8.2	9.1	100.0
2-4 hour	Count	10	9	13	8	7	47
	%	21.3	19.1	27.7	17.0	14.9	100.0
More than 4 hour	Count	5	3	3	2	3	16
	%	31.2	18.8	18.8	12.5	18.8	100.0
No answer	Count	0	1	3	0	1	5
	%	0.0	20.0	60.0	0.0	20.0	100.0
Total	Count	79	79	148	40	38	384
	%	20.6	20.6	38.5	10.4	9.9	100.0

Annex Table 5.5: Duration of TV Watching and Joining Awareness Programmes

Duration of TV watching		Joining Awareness Programmes					Total
		Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Less Than One Hour	Count	25	20	41	6	5	97
	%	25.8	20.6	42.3	6.2	5.2	100.0
1-2 Hour	Count	58	51	75	18	17	219
	%	26.5	23.3	34.2	8.2	7.8	100.0
2-4 Hour	Count	11	8	17	4	7	47
	%	23.4	17.0	36.2	8.5	14.9	100.0
More Than 4 Hour	Count	7	1	5	1	2	16
	%	43.8	6.2	31.2	6.2	12.5	100.0
No Answer	Count	1	0	4	0	0	5
	%	20.0	0.0	80.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Count	102	80	142	29	31	384
	%	26.6	20.8	37.0	7.6	8.1	100.0

Annex Table 5.6*:* Duration of TV Watching and Frequency of Meeting Influential Persons to Solve the Problem of the Locality

Duration of TV watching		Meeting Influential Person to Solve the Problem of own Locality					Total
		Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Less Than One Hour	Count	38	24	27	5	3	97
	%	39.2	24.7	27.8	5.2	3.1	100.0
1-2 Hour	Count	89	46	58	17	9	219
	%	40.6	21.0	26.5	7.8	4.1	100.0
2-4 Hour	Count	19	12	10	4	2	47
	%	40.4	25.5	21.3	8.5	4.3	100.0
More Than 4 Hour	Count	7	3	4	2	0	16
	%	43.8	18.8	25.0	12.5	0.0	100.0
No Answer	Count	3	1	1	0	0	5
	%	60.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Count	156	86	100	28	14	384
	%	40.6	22.4	26.0	7.3	3.6	100.0

Annex Table 5.7 : Preference of TV Contents and Meeting Influential Persons for Local Development

Preference of Contents		Meeting Influential Persons					Total
		Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Only news	N	8	8	12	2	0	30
	%	26.7	26.7	40.0	6.7	0.0	100.0
Only talkshow	N	1	0	0	0	0	1
	%	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
News and talk show	N	12	9	15	6	4	46
	%	26.1	19.6	32.6	13.0	8.7	100.0
News, talk show and entertainment	N	51	36	47	13	7	154
	%	33.1	23.4	30.5	8.4	4.5	100.0
Only entertainment	N	17	3	4	0	0	24
	%	70.8	12.5	16.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
News and entertainment	N	63	29	21	7	3	123
	%	51.2	23.6	17.1	5.7	2.4	100.0
No answer	N	4	1	1	0	0	6
	%	66.7	16.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	N	156	86	100	28	14	384
	%	40.6	22.4	26.0	7.3	3.6	100.0

Annex Table 5.8 : Preference of TV Contents and Signing Petition

Preference Of Contents		Signing Petition					Total
		Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Only News	Count	13	8	6	2	1	30
	%	43.3%	26.7%	20.0%	6.7%	3.3%	100.0%
Only Talk show	Count	1	0	0	0	0	1
	%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
News And Talk Show	Count	12	6	16	3	9	46
	%	26.1%	13.0%	34.8%	6.5%	19.6%	100.0%
News, Talkshow And Entertainment	Count	62	41	31	10	10	154
	%	40.3%	26.6%	20.1%	6.5%	6.5%	100.0%
Only Entertainment	Count	20	2	2	0	0	24
	%	83.3%	8.3%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
News And Entertainment	Count	84	19	17	1	2	123
	%	68.3%	15.4%	13.8%	0.8%	1.6%	100.0%
No Answer	Count	4	1	1	0	0	6
	%	66.7%	16.7%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	196	77	73	16	22	384
	%	51.0%	20.1%	19.0%	4.2%	5.7%	100.0%

Annex Table 5.9: Educational Attainment and Pattern of Political and Civic Participation

Educational Attainment	Pattern of political and civic participation (in percentage)													
	Membership in a political party		Membership in a nonpolitical organization		Joining Electoral Campaigning		Unconventional participation		Development Work		Persuading for vote		Political discussion	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Always	Never	Always	Never	Always	Never	Always	Never	Always	Never
SSC	51.4	48.6	45.9	54.1	18.9	37.8	8.1	51.4	16.2	29.7	18.9	27.0	5.4	10.8
HSC	15.3	84.7	35.6	64.4	5.1	61.0	1.7	62.7	8.5	30.5	8.5	42.4	6.8	8.5
Degree/ Honours	22.2	77.8	38.3	61.7	7.4	50.0	1.2	55.6	9.3	29.0	12.3	37.7	9.9	1.9
Masters	15.9	84.1	46.8	53.2	3.2	65.1	2.4	52.4	7.9	23.8	8.7	40.5	11.9	0.8

Annex Table 5.10: Age Level and Joining in Development Work (Road Repairing, Stopping child Marriage)

Age of the Respondent		Joining Development Work (road repairing, stopping child marriage)					Total
		Never	Very Little	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
18-23	Count	44	28	50	12	13	147
	%	29.9	19.0	34.0	8.2	8.8	100.0
24-29	Count	47	32	52	12	10	153
	%	30.7	20.9	34.0	7.8	6.5	100.0
30-35	Count	15	20	33	3	13	84
	%	17.9	23.8	39.3	3.6	15.5	100.0
Total	Count	106	80	135	27	36	384
	%	27.6	20.8	35.2	7.0	9.4	100.0

Annex Table 5.11: Age Level and Membership of a Political Party

Age of the Respondent		Membership		Total
		Yes	No	
18-23	Count	30	117	147
	%	20.4	79.6	100.0
24-29	Count	33	120	153
	%	21.6	78.4	100.0
30-35	Count	21	63	84
	%	25.0	75.0	100.0
Total	Count	84	300	384
	%	21.9	78.1	100.0

Annex Table 5.12: Age Level And Status Of Joining Electoral Campaign

Age of the Respondent		Joining Campaign					Total
		never	occasionally	sometimes	frequently	always	
18-23	Count	80	22	29	4	12	147
	%	54.4	15.0	19.7	2.7	8.2	100.0
24-29	Count	89	23	31	3	7	153
	%	58.2	15.0	20.3	2.0	4.6	100.0
30-35	Count	44	15	16	2	7	84
	%	52.4	17.9	19.0	2.4	8.3	100.0
Total	Count	213	60	76	9	26	384
	%	55.5	15.6	19.8	2.3	6.8	100.0

Annex Table 5.13: Nature of Residence and Status of Joining Development Work (road repairing, stopping child marriage)

Nature Of Residence		Joining Development Work (road repairing, stopping child marriage)					Total
		Never	Very Little	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Urban	Count	50	48	69	9	14	190
	%	26.3	25.3	36.3	4.7	7.4	100.0
Semi urban	Count	33	19	40	16	9	117
	%	28.2	16.2	34.2	13.7	7.7	100.0
Rural	Count	23	13	26	2	13	77
	%	29.9	16.9	33.8	2.6	16.9	100.0
Total	Count	106	80	135	27	36	384
	%	27.6	20.8	35.2	7.0	9.4	100.0

Annex Table 5.14: Nature of Residence and Membership of a Nonpolitical Organization

Nature Of Residence		Membership		Total
		Yes	No	
Urban	Count	72	118	190
	%	37.9	62.1	100.0
Semi urban	Count	53	64	117
	%	45.3	54.7	100.0
Rural	Count	34	43	77
	%	44.2	55.8	100.0
Total	Count	159	225	384
	%	41.4	58.6	100.0

Annex Table 5.15: Level of Income and Membership of a Nonpolitical Organization

Income level of the respondents		Membership in a nonpolitical organization		Total
		Yes	No	
5000-8000	Count	17	28	45
	%	37.8	62.2	100.0
8001-11000	Count	43	53	96
	%	44.8	55.2	100.0
11001-15000	Count	38	49	87
	%	43.7	56.3	100.0
15001-20000	Count	18	42	60
	%	30.0	70.0	100.0
20001-25000	Count	22	31	53
	%	41.5	58.5	100.0
More than 25000	Count	21	22	43
	%	48.8	51.2	100.0
Total	Count	159	225	384
	%	41.4	58.6	100.0

Annex Table 5.16: Level of income and membership of a political party

Income level of the respondent		Membership		Total
		yes	no	
5000-8000	Count	11	34	45
	%	24.4	75.6	100.0
8001-11000	Count	21	75	96
	%	21.9	78.1	100.0
11001-15000	Count	29	58	87
	%	33.3	66.7	100.0
15001-20000	Count	8	52	60
	%	13.3	86.7	100.0
20001-25000	Count	10	43	53
	%	18.9	81.1	100.0
More than 25000	Count	5	38	43
	%	11.6	88.4	100.0
Total	Count	84	300	384
	%	21.9%	78.1%	100.0%

Table 5.17: Level of Income and Joining Electoral Campaign

Income level		Joining Electoral Campaign					Total
		Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
5000-8000	Count	21	11	11	0	2	45
	%	46.7	24.4	24.4	0.0	4.4	100.0
8001-11000	Count	54	16	20	1	5	96
	%	56.2	16.7	20.8	1.0	5.2	100.0
11001-15000	Count	48	4	23	5	7	87
	%	55.2	4.6	26.4	5.7	8.0	100.0
15001-20000	Count	31	13	10	2	4	60
	%	51.7	21.7	16.7	3.3	6.7	100.0
20001-25000	Count	34	4	8	1	6	53
	%	64.2	7.5	15.1	1.9	11.3	100.0
More than 25000	Count	25	12	4	0	2	43
	%	58.1	27.9	9.3	0.0	4.7	100.0
Total	Count	213	60	76	9	26	384
	%	55.5	15.	19.8	2.3	6.8	100.0

Table 5.18: Knowledge Level and Joining Electoral Campaign

Knowledge Test		Joining Electoral Campaign					Total
		Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Frequently	Always	
Very Low(answered 2 or less questions)	Count	11	5	11	1	1	29
	%	37.9	17.2	37.9	3.4	3.4	100.0
Low (Answered 3-4 questions)	Count	73	11	19	0	3	106
	%	68.9	10.4	17.9	0.0	2.8	100.0
Moderate (answered 5-6 questions)	Count	66	19	28	4	8	125
	%	52.8	15.2	22.4	3.2	6.4	100.0
High(answered 7-8 questions)	Count	27	9	9	1	7	53
	%	50.9	17.0	17.0	1.9	13.2	100.0
Very High (answered 9-10 questions)	Count	36	16	9	3	7	71
	%	50.7	22.5	12.7	4.2	9.9	100.0
Total	Count	213	60	76	9	26	384
	%	55.5	15.6	19.8	2.3	6.8	100.0

Annex Table 5.19 : Knowledge Level and Membership in Nonpolitical Organization

Knowledge Test		Membership		Total
		yes	no	
Very Low(Answered 2 or Less Questions)	Count	12	17	29
	%	41.4	58.6	100.0
Low (Answered 3-4 Questions)	Count	30	76	106
	%	28.3	71.7	100.0
Moderate (Answered 5-6 Questions)	Count	53	72	125
	%	42.4	57.6	100.0
High(Answered 7-8 Questions)	Count	23	30	53
	%	43.4	56.6	100.0
Very High (Answered 9-10 Questions)	Count	41	30	71
	%	57.7	42.3	100.0
Total	Count	159	225	384
	%	41.4	58.6	100.0

Appendix-1

Questionnaire for the Sample Survey

(Translated from Bangla)

1. Personal Information:

SL. No		Options	Give tick mark/comment
1.1	Name(Optional)		
1.2	Sex	Male	
		Female	
1.3	Age	18-23	
		24-29	
		30-35	
1.4	Profession	Student	
		Service Holder	
		House wife	
		Business man	
		Unemoloyed	
		others	
1.5	Monthly Average Income	5000- 8000	
		8001- 11000	
		11,001- 15000	
		15001-20000	
		20001-25000	
		25001- AwaK	
1.6	Educational Qualification	SSC	
		HSC	
		Degree/Honours	
		Masters	
1.7	Address	Village/Ward	
		Union	
		Subdistrict/Municiplity	
		District	

Subjective Questions Based on Research Objectives

(Please give tick mark in your preferred answer or comment)

2. *TV and the youth: Pattern of use and evaluation*

2.1 Do you watch tv?

A)Yes	B. No

If Answer Of The Question No. 2.1 Is 'Yes' Then

2.2 Where do you watch tv?

a) Home	B) Club	C) Tea Stall	D) Other Place

2.3 How much time do you spend in watching tv?

A) Less than one hour	B) 1-2 Hours	C) 2-4 Hours	D.2- 4 Hours	E. More than 4 hours

2.4 Do you have stv connection?

A. Yes	B. No

2.5 From where do you come to know about important news about politics and others ?

A.TV	B. Internet	C. Radio	D. Newspaper

2.6 What do you watch in tv mainly (answer could be more than one)?

A. News	B.Talk Shows	C) Entertainment	D) Others

If answer of the question no. 2.6 is 'a' then

2.7 How Regularly You Watch News?

A)Everyday	B) Almost Everyday	C)Sometimes	D)Hardly

2.8 When you watch news?

A) Morning	B) Noon	C) Night	D) Every Time

2.9 How much time do you spend in watching news?

A) 10 Minutes	B) 20 Minutes	C) 30 Minutes	D) More Than Thirty Minutes

2.10 What type of news do you prefer to watch?

A) Political	B) Economic	C) International	D) Daily Incident	E. Others

2.11 How much information do you get from tv?

A)Completely	B)Most Of The Cases	C)Average	D)Very Rare	E)Not At All

2.11 How much you believe the news?

A) Completely	B) Most Of The Cases	C) Average	D) Very Rare	E) Not At All

2.12. Are these news neutral?

A)Completely	B)Most Of The Cases	C)Average	D)Very Rare	E)Not At All

2.13 How effective the news are in creating public opinion?

A)Very Effective	B)Most Of The Cases	C)Average	D)Very Less	E)Not At All

2.14. What is your opinion about the state of freedom of tv channels?

A)Enjoy Freedom Completely	B)Most Of The Cases Are Free	C)Average	D)Very Less	E)Not At All

2.15. How frequently you watch talk shows?

A)Every Day	B) Almost Every Day	C) Average	D) Occasionally	E) Never

2.16. When you have last viewed talks shows?

A)In This Week	B)Before Two Weeks	C)Before Two Months	D)Four Month Ago	E)No Answer

2.17 Neutrality of talk shows**?**

A)Completely	B)Most Of The Cases	C)Moderately	D)Very Poor	E)Not At All

2.18 Do talkshow can cover the important discourse of politics?

A) Completely	B) Most Of The Cases	C) Moderately	D) Very Poor	E) Not At All

If answer of question no. 2.6 is not from 'a' to 'b' then

2.19 Why You Do Not Watch News And Talk Show?

A. Dont Get Time	B. It Is Not	C. Not Neutral	D. Not Attractive	E. No Answer

2.20 Do news and talk show make you cynic?

A)Make Cynic	B)Make Cynic Most Of The Time;	C)Make Cynic Moderately	D)Hardly Make Cynic	E)Never Make Cynic

2.21 Seems yourself important after watching political content**?**

A)Feel Myself Important	B)Feel Important Most Of The Time Time	C)Sometime/Moderately	D)Hardly Feel Important	E)Never

2.22 How news and talk show could be more beneficial for people?

A)By Neutrality	B)By Objectivity Time Time;	C)By Raising Peoples Issues More	D)More Freedom	E)Dont Know

2.23 Which media is most reliable?

A)Television	B)News Paper	C)Radio	D)Internet	E)Dont Know

2.24 Why you rely this media?

…….

2.25Use Of different media for political information

Read Below	Pattern Of Use			
	Always	Sometimes	Hardly	Never
Television				
Newspaper				
Radio				
Internet				

2.26 Satisfaction level to politics related news?

A)Very Satisfied	B)Satisfied	C)Moderately Satisfied	D)Not Satisfied	E)Not Satisfied At All	F)No Answer

2.27 Need of (news and talkshow) for political awareness?

A)Very Necessary	B)Necessary	C)Somehow Necessary	D.Not Very Nessary	E)Not Necessary At All

2.28 Relevance of the news and talk show in our practical life?

A. Very Much	B. Relevant	C. Some How Relevant	D. Least Relev ant	E. Completely Irrelevant

2.29 Which matter do you prefer most in watching news and talk show?

A. Specialist View	B. Public View	C. Political Leaders View	D. Critical Analysis	E. Others

2.30 Do news and talk show express the whole situation, background of the news?

A. All the Time	B. Most of the Time	C. Moderately	D. Hardly Highlited	E. Never

2.31 Most enjoyable part of news?

A. Specialist View	B. Public View	C. Political Leaders View	D. Critical Analysis	E. No Answer

2.32 Do you chose any specific channel for news, if yes. then why?

Political Culture:(*Please Give Tick Mark Or Comment*)

1.0) What Is your opinion about politics?

2.0) "Political party is the central institution for the development of the country" – your opinion?

A)Strongly Disagree	B)Disagree	C)Moderate	D)Agree	E)Strongly Agree

3.0) What is your opinion about the youth' active political engagements (1= do not agree; 5= strongly agree)?

---1---- ---2---- ------3---- ---4--- -----5----

4.0) "Citizens political engagements should be encircled only by voting"- are you agree?

A. Yes	B. No

If Answer of Question No. 4.0 Is 'No' Then

5.0) What forms of others activities beyond voting should be performed ?

A .Social Engagements	B. Political Deleverations	C. Political And Social Awareness Buildings	D. Solve Social Problems By All	E. All

6.0) 'The youth can bring positive change in every sphere of the society'- Your Opinion?

a. Strongly Disagree	b. Disagree	c. Moderately Agree	d. Agree	e. Do Not Know

7.0) Obstacle in participating in political and social engagements?

Political Socialization Of The youth And TV:
(*Please Give Tick Mark Or Comment*)

1.0) When you heared this key word about politics?

a. 15-20y	b. 21-25y	c. 26-30y	d. 30-35Y

2.0) From where you have heard this key words about politics?

A. Family	B. Media	C. Political Leader	d. Friends, Peers And Neighbors	e. Educational Institutes	f. Others

3.0) Evaluation about some institution (parliament, government offices, political parties)

A. Very Satisfied	B. Satisfied	C. Moderate	D. Dissatisfied	E. Very Dissatisfied

4.0) From where you know about this institutions?

A) Media	B. Family	C. Peers	D. Educational Institutes	C. Friends

If answer of question no. 4.0 is 'a' then

4.1) Which media is best?

A. TV	B. News Paper	C. Internet	D. Radio

5.0) Is political knowledge essential?

A. Yes	B. No

6.0 Do you think that the people who watch more news are more knowledgeable?

A. Yes	B. No

7.0) Beyond media, other social and political matters influence political participation (social surroundings, religion, political culture)?

A. Dominantly	B. Both Are Important	C. Now Media Is More Important	D. Do Not Know

8.0) Political Efficacy (How Important Is Your Participation)?

A. Most Important	B. Important	C) Moderately Important	D. Not Important	E. Not Important At All

8.1 Why Your Participation Is Important? Why Not? (Depend On The Answer Of Question No 8.0
……

8.2) Are news and talk show are reliable for this efficacy or cynicism?

A. Substantial	B. Other Factors Are Also Liable	C. Very Small	D. Not At All	E. Do Not Know

9.0) Do your thinking and your ancestor thinking are same?

A. Never	B. Sometimes	C. Most Of The Time	D. Always	E. Do Not Know

10.0) Do you think about tv contents?

A. Create Thinking	B. Think Sometimes	C. Think Hardly	D. Never Think	E. Do Not Know

11.0) Do your prior thinking changed by tv contents?

A. Changed	B. Sometimes	C. Rarely Changed	D. Never Changed	E. No Answer

12.0) How much you can remember about the contents?

A. Very Small	B. Never Forget	C. Dont Forget For	D. Moderately	E. No Answer

12.1) If forget then does it influence you politically?

A. Yes	B. No

13.0) Do tv contents play role as an instrument of education or a tutor?

A. Do Help	B. Help Most Of The Time	C. Help Moderately	D. Help Rarely	E.Do Not Help	F. No Answer

14.0) Does tv keep you out from social engagement?

A. Yes Does	B) Very Rarely	C) Sometimes	D) Never	E) No Answer

15.0) Do tv contents (news) helps to make you patriotic?

A) Never	B) Occasionally	C) Sometimes	D) Frequently	E) Always

16.0) Do TV Contents make you awared about Socio political and political matters (e. g. corruption, drug, food adulteration, environment, women harassment)?

A.Very Less	B.Less	C.Moderate	D.Much	E.Very Much

17.0) Do tv contents create negative perceptions about politics?

A) Never	B) Ocasionally	C) Sometimes	D) Frequently	E) Always

18.0) Do tv contents have influence on your family member who watch news?

A) Never	B) Occasionally	C) Sometimes	D) Frequently	E) Always

19.0) Your opinion toward the listed matters

Subject	Very Less	Less	Moderate	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Social Trust					
Social Engagement					
Political Engagement					
Reciprocity					

If answer of question no. 19.0 is 'moderate' to negative' then

20.0) Why these matters are declining?

A.Shortage Of Time	B.Political Reason	C.Over Use Of Media	D.Lack Of Ethics	E.Others

If answer of question no. 20.0 is 'over use of media' then

20.1) Which media is mostly reliable for declining social capital?

A. Television	B. News Paper	C. Radio	D. Internet

21.0) Do achievements of Bangladesh makes you happy?

A. Very Less	B. Less	C. Moderate	D. Much	E. Very

22.0) Which media do you prefer to know about government position about some matter

A. Television	B. News Paper	C. Radio	D. From Other People	E. Internet

23.0) Do distorted picture of Bangladeshi politics presented in tv makes you cynic?

24.0) Where you have learn about your duty and rights?

A. Family	B. Television	C. Internet	D. News Paper	E. Others

25.0) **What Is Your Idea Or Opinion About The Following Matters ?**

A. Parliament Of Bangladesh.
B. Opposition Party Of Bangladesh.
C. President Of Bangladesh.
D. Amendment Of Constitution.
E. Bilateral Relation Between Bangladesh And India.
F. Democracy.
G. Alliance Among Political Parties In Bangladesh.
H. Social Problems Of Bangladesh.
G. Right To Information.
H. Consensus Among Political Parties.

Political Participation And TV

(Please Give Tic Mark Or Make Comments Where Necessary)

1.0) Are you a voter?

a. Yes	b. No

If answer of question no 1.0 is 'yes' then

1.1) Do you vote regularly?

A) Yes	B) No

1.1 If answer of question no 1.0 is 'yes' then

1.1.1 What do you want to do by casting your vote?

A) Establish Citizen Right	B. Candidate Selection	C. It Is A Responsibility	D. Others	E.No Answer

2.0 Vote is a valuable citizen rights, every body should cast his/her vote, your opinion?

A. Strongly Disagree	B. Disagree	C. Moderately Agree	D. Agree	E. Strongly Agree

If answer of question no 2.0 is from 'a' to 'c'

2.1. Why your vote is not special?

A. My Vote, What Will Change?	B. Lack Of Time	C. Vote Is Not Valuable	D. Lack Of Leadership And Political Party	E. NO Answer

3.0. Do you vote for one party?

a. Yes	b. No

If answer of question no. 3.0 is 'no' then

3.1. If you vote for different party then which matter influence you? (can answer more than one)

A. Family	B. Friends	C. Media	D. Influential Leader	E. Political Party

If answer of question no. 3.1 is more than one then

3.1.1. If influential matters are more than one than which matter influence most?

A.Media	B.Family	C Friends	D.Political Ideology	E. No Answer

3.1.2 Do people of your locality are influenced by eleite class in giving their vote?

A. Never	B. Occasionaly	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

If Answer Of Question No. 3.1.2 Is 'Sometimes' To 'Always Then

3.1.3 Why they are influenced?

------ ------ ------ ---- ------ ----------

4.0. Which media do you prefer to know about the vote (give 5 for best choice and 1 for least)?

A)Television	B)News Paper	C)Radio	D)Internet	E)Others

5.0. Do you join electoral campaign?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Alawys

If answer of the question no. 5.0 is from 'sometimes' to 'always' then

5.1. Why you join electoral campaign?

A. As My Own Choice	B. As A Request Of The Leader	C. For My Own Party Or Candidate	D. Others	E. No Answer

6.0. Do you see campaign programme in television?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

If answer of the question no. 6.0 is from 'sometimes' to 'always' then

6.1. Do this programmes related to campaign make you awared about parties or candidates?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

7.0. Do you attend electoral meeting?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

8.0. Do you watch electoral meeting in tv?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

If answer of the question no. 8.0 is from 'sometimes' to 'always' then

8.1. How much you became influenced by watching this electoral meeting?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

9.0. Do you watch talk show analysis in election ?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

If answer of the question no. 9.0 is from 'sometimes' to 'always' then

9.1. Do this news and talk show about election made influence in your vote choice?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times

10.0. Do you advice any one to give his/her vote to your preferred party or candidate?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

If Answer of the question no. 10.0 is from 'sometimes' to 'always' then

10.1. Does tv contents help in this advice?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

11.0. Do you wear sticker, button for your party?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

12.0. Do you seek vote from door to door?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

If answer of the question no. 12.0 is from 'sometimes' to 'always' then

12.1. Why you do this work?

A. As My Own Choice	B. As A Request Of The Leader	C. For My Own Party Or Candidate	D. Others

13.0. Whose decision do you prefer to select your candidate or party in giving vote?

A. Family	B. Friends	C. Political Leaders	D. Overall Political Situations	E. Others

14.0. Are you a member of political party?

A. Yes	B. No

15.0. Are you a member of non political organization?

A. Yes	B. No

17.0. Do you join in solving the problem of your locality?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

18.0. Do you join in development work of your locality (road repairing, stopping child marriage, dowry, maintaining law and order)?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

19.0. Do you draw money for local development?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

21.0. Do you join awareness programmes?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

21.0. Do you meet influential person to solve the problem of your locality?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

22.0. Do you join procession , blockade,?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

23.0) Do you sign petition?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

24.0. How TV make awareness about these mentioned matters?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

25.0. Do You Follow The Contemporary Political , International, Economic And Other Matters?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

If answer of the question no. 25.0 is from ‘a’ to ‘c’ then

25.1. How TV help in this issue following?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

26.0. Do you make discussion about contemporary political matters with your friends, family?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

If answer of the question no. 26.0 is from ‘a’ to ‘c’

26.1. Which matter do you proffered for discussion?

A. National Politics And Social Problem	B. Commerce And Economics	C. International Affairs	D. Entertainment	E. Others	F. No Answer

26.2. If answer of question no. 26.0 is from ‘a’ to ‘c’ then have there any different views in the discussions?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

26.3. If answers of 26.2 are from ‘sometimes’ to ‘always’ Do tv help to establish your view?

A. Never	B. Occasionally	C. Sometimes	D. Most Of The Times	E. Always

27.0. Have you engaged yourself with any social work in one year (e.g. preventing dowry, drug, women harassment, corruption)?

A. Yes	B. No

27.1. Give me a practical example of your social work done in the previous six months

Signature of the respondents

Thank you for your valuable assistance

Appendix 2
FGD Check List

Watching Pattern and Evaluation:

1) Please give a brief about your TV Viewing pattern. (How much you watch entertainment or information [News, Talk Shows] related programmes)?.
2) Why you (do not) watch these cognitive contents?
3) How you evaluate these informational contents (e.g. Neutrality, objectivity, freedom, coverage, completeness)?
4) What types of improvement you expect from TV channels in the context of disseminating political of policy related discourse?

Political Culture:

1) What are your views about the following matters ?
    a. Political party, parliament, leadership
2) Please say about your attitude towards political and social engagements.

Political Socialization:

1) Please describe how your political understanding has been build up?
2) How do you evaluate TV contents in the context of your political understanding?
3) Please describe how TV is related to the political behaviours (e.g. Political efficacy, Political identity, attitude towards social capital).

Political participation:

1) Please provide a brief about the patterns of your political, social, and cognitive engagements.
2) How TV is congruent with your political life (e.g. Voting decision, electoral engagement beyond voting, social engagements, cognitive engagements)