



**The State of Bangladesh's
Political Governance,
Development and Society:
According to Its Citizens**

A Survey of the Bangladeshi People

2022 Edition

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The Asia Foundation

Improving Lives, Expanding Opportunities



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governance &
development

2022 Edition

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A Survey of the Bangladeshi People

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Table of Contents

Preface	x
Acknowledgements	xii
Executive Summary	1
1. Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile	7
2. Perceptions of Society, Politics and Economy	11
2.1 The direction of the country	12
2.1.1 Social direction	12
2.1.2 Political direction	14
2.1.3 Economic direction	18
2.2 The major problems faced by the country	20
3. Politics and Elected Leaders	21
3.1 Awareness and expectations of national representatives	22
3.2 Awareness of and expectations from local representatives	26
3.3.1 Political identity, loyalty, and attitude towards political parties	28
3.3.2 Deciding to vote	30
3.4 Political violence	31
4. Citizenship	32
4.1 Citizens' relationship with the government	33
4.2 Living with dignity	33
4.3 Living with freedom	36
5. Democracy	37
5.1 Understanding of democracy in Bangladesh	38
5.2 Election and voting behavior	40

5.3	Democratic practices in Bangladesh	40
5.4	Impact of the dominant party system	41
5.5	Discussing and expressing political views	43
5.6	Deliberative democracy and rural justice forums: Awareness and effectiveness	45
5.6.1	Social safety net	46
5.7	Gender and governance	48
5.8	Trust in institution	50
6.	Digitalized Bangladesh, Social Media, and Policy Influence	53
6.1	Access to mobile phones and the internet	54
6.1.1	Communicating through the Internet	55
6.2	Use of Facebook	57
6.2.1	Ensuring governance through Facebook	57
6.2.2	Ensuring accountability through Facebook	58
6.3	Posting opinions on Facebook	58
6.4	Freedom of speech & press	59
6.4.1	Trust in media	59
6.4.2	Freedom of media	61
7.	Inclusive Development	63
7.1	Understanding development	64
7.2	Perceptions regarding inclusive development	65
8.	Social Cohesion, Trust and Rohingya Issues	67
8.1	Trust	68
8.2	Attitudes towards Rohingya's	72

9. Contemporary Issues	80
9.1 Padma bridge	81
9.2 Price hike	84
9.2.1 Fuel price hike	84
9.2.2 Commodity price hike	84
9.3 Production of electricity and nationwide electrification	85
9.4 Covid-19 mass vaccination drive	86
9.5 Women empowerment	87
9.6 Religious tolerance	92
Appendix 1: Survey Methodology	95
Appendix 2: Bibliography	98
Appendix 3: Survey Questionnaire	100

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Summary of response to what direction the country is heading	2
Figure 1.2: Respondents' age and gender	8
Figure 1.3: Respondents' education (by gender).	9
Figure 1.4: Respondents' occupation (by strata).	9
Figure 1.5: Household monthly income (by strata).	10
Figure 2.1: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction socially? (by area)	12
Figure 2.2: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction socially (by income)?	12
Figure 2.3: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction socially (by division)?	14
Figure 2.4: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction politically (by strata)?	15
Figure 2.5: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right or wrong direction politically (by income)?	15
Figure 2.6: Do you think Bangladesh is politically going in the right direction (by division)?	17
Figure 2.7: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction economically? (by area)	18
Figure 2.8: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction economically (by income)?	18
Figure 2.9: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction economically (by division)?	20
Figure 3.1: Can you name your MPs correctly (by year)?	22
Figure 3.2: Did your MP visit the locality in recent years (by year)?	23

Figure 3.3: Do you agree or disagree MPs care about general citizens (by division)?	24
Figure 3.4: What MPs do and what they should do (These were multiple choice questions).	25
Figure 3.5: How satisfied are you with your MP's work (by year)?	25
Figure 3.6: How satisfied are you with your MP's work (by division)?	26
Figure 3.7: Did you contact your local representatives and local administration in the last year?	27
Figure 3.8: Did you contact your local representatives and local administrates in the last year (by income)?	27
Figure 3.9: Did you contact your local representatives and local administrates in the last year (by gender)?	28
Figure 3.10 Will you vote for a candidate you have voted for before if he changes his party or contests individually/ for a new party whose ideology is similar to yours?	29
Figure 3.11: Will you vote for a candidate you have voted for before in case he changes party or contests individually for a new party whose ideology is similar to yours (by age)?	29
Figure 3.12: Most important attribute for individuals to get elected (by education).	31
Figure 4.1 What are the three most important things that you need to have a dignified life?	34
Figure 4.2: What is the first thing that you need to have a dignified life (by education groups)?	35
Figure 4.3: What are the three most important things required to live freely (by education)?	36
Figure 5.1: When a country is called democratic, what do you understand by that? Multiple responses. (by income).	39
Figure 5.2: At present, one can observe a dominant role of one party in politics/governance (by income).	41

Figure 5.3: Impact of a dominant party system on politics (by income).	42
Figure 5.4: How often do you discuss political affairs with friends (by education, and income)?	43
Figure 5.5: To what extent do the people of your locality feel free to express their political opinions (by education and income)?	44
Figure 5.6: Knowledge about Ward Shobha and open budget forums (by education and income).	46
Figure 5.7: Sufficiency and distribution of social safety nets (by year).	47
Figure 5.8: Fairness of distribution of social safety nets (by income).	47
Figure 5.9: Support for female leadership in different institutions.	48
Figure 5.10: Support for female leadership in various institutions (by gender).	49
Figure 5.11: Irrespective of the qualification of a man, woman, or third gender, who would you prefer to vote for in your constituency in the national election? (by gender).	50
Figure 5.12: Trust in different institutions.	51
Figure 5.13: Trust in institutions (by education).	52
Figure 6.1: Mobile phone ownership (by education).	55
Figure 6.2: Access to the internet (by education).	55
Figure 6.3: Communication platforms (by gender).	56
Figure 6.4: Communication platforms (by region).	56
Figure 6.5: Can citizens ensure the responsiveness of the state through Facebook (by education)?	57
Figure 6.6: Can citizens ensure the accountability of the state through Facebook (by education)?	58
Figure 6.7: Do you feel safe posting opinions regarding the political governance of the country on Facebook (by education)?	58
Figure 6.8: Do you feel safe posting opinions regarding social issues of the country on Facebook (by education)?	59

Figure 6.9: Preferred media sources for news (by education).	60
Figure 6.10: Trust in different media sources (by education, location, and overall).	61
Figure 6.11: Freedom of media.	62
Figure 7.1: Do you believe the current development outcomes are beneficial for all income classes (by education)?	65
Figure 7.2: Do you believe the current development outcomes are beneficial for all income classes (By income)?	66
Figure 8.1: Attitudes toward trust (by gender and education).	68
Figure 8.2: Trust in neighbours, community leaders, and community groups/ organisations.	69
Figure 8.3: Trust toward neighbors (by income).	70
Figure 8.4: Trust toward neighbours (by education).	70
Figure 8.5: Trust toward community members (by gender and education)?	71
Figure 8.6: Trust in toward community leader (by income).	71
Figure 8.7: Trust in community groups/organizations (by income).	72
Figure 8.8: Trust in community groups/organizations (by education).	72
Figure 8.9: Will you welcome Rohingya refugees into your community (by region)?	74
Figure 8.10: Is the Bangladesh government doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees or not (by year)?	74
Figure 8.11: Is the Bangladesh Government doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees (by income)?	75
Figure 8.12: Is the Bangladesh Government doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees (by region)?	76
Figure 8.13: Is the International Community doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees (by education)?	77
Figure 8.14: Do you think that the International Community is doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees or not (by region)?	77

Figure 8.15: In your opinion, how long should Rohingya refugees be allowed to stay in Bangladesh?	78
Figure 8.16: In your opinion, how long should Rohingya refugees be allowed to stay in Bangladesh (by education)?	79
Figure 8.17: What kind of immediate effect did the Rohingya refugees entering Bangladesh bring (by strata and year)?	79
Figure 9.1: The opening of Padma Bridge for public use (by age).	82
Figure 9.2: The opening of Padma Bridge for public use (by income).	82
Figure 9.3: The opening of Padma Bridge for public use (by region).	83
Figure 9.4: Effect of recent commodity price hike (by income).	85
Figure 9.5: Government's success regarding the Covid-19 mass vaccination drive (by education).	86
Figure 9.6: Support for women's participation in economic activities (by strata, education, and gender).	88
Figure 9.7: Support for women working outside of the home (by education).	88
Figure 9.8: Support for men to be prioritized over women in case of employment (by education).	89
Figure 9.9: Both men and women should have an equal share of the father's property (by education).	89
Figure 9.10: Females can dress as they like (by age and education).	90
Figure 9.11: Unacceptable dress for women (by strata and gender).	91
Figure 9.12: Unacceptable dress for women (by education).	92
Figure 9.13: Relationship with people from different religious communities in the local area (by education and gender).	93
Figure 9.14: Relationship with people from different religious communities in Bangladesh (by education and gender).	94
Figure 10.1: Sampling Design Flowchart.	96

List of Abbreviations

BIGD	BRAC Institute of Governance and Development
IRB	Institutional Review Board
MP	Member of Parliament
UNO	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
UP	Union Parishad
RAB	Rapid Action Battalion
BDT	Bangladeshi Taka
CI	Corrugated galvanized Iron
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
DC	District Commissioner
OBM	Open Budget Meetings
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
BTV	Bangladesh Television
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
TK	Taka
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease-19
MW	Megawatts
DE	Design Effect

Preface

The Asia Foundation in Bangladesh and BIGD of BRAC University jointly conducted the second Citizens' Perceptions Survey on Governance, Development, and Society: *A Survey of the Bangladeshi People* – produced by The Asia Foundation since 2014. This latest report uses a divisionally representative survey, with fieldwork conducted from November 2022 to January 2023 in all 64 districts of Bangladesh with a sample of 10,240 men and women.

Principal themes covered in the survey include citizens' perception of Bangladesh's society, politics, and economics articulated through perceptions of political governance and representation, citizenship, democracy, and inclusive development. Perceptions on cross-cutting issues such as social cohesion and trust are also included. Contemporary issues ranging from perceptions about digitalized Bangladesh, and social media's role in influencing policymaking to perceptions of what should women wear are also covered.

This survey creates a longitudinal series of respondent perceptions of the political, economic, and social atmosphere of the country. In an effort to ensure the relevance and timeliness of the survey, the instrument is updated annually. While some of the questions are kept to ensure longitudinal comparability, a large set of questions are added or modified to capture the recent changes in the governance environment of the country. Regarding the survey method, we attempt to record citizens' views as accurately as possible. None of the open-ended survey options are read out loud. All the standard monitoring protocols are strictly followed to ensure data quality. Data safety and privacy protocols are strictly upheld.

Monitoring citizens' perceptions over time and on emerging issues is important for developing a culture of deliberative democracy. This needs to be rigorously designed, contextualized, implemented, and analyzed. Inclusive and innovative dissemination of the results to create public discourse on issues is critical. We hope to continue working on these challenges.

We are grateful to the Australian High Commission in Bangladesh for supporting this survey. We are also thankful to the editor of the report, Dr. Tabasum Akseer. The Institutional Review Board provided ethical clearance and guidance to the survey, which enhanced the survey quality. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the respondents across the country who willingly took the time to answer our questions on critical issues and collectively contributed to a richer understanding of the perspectives of the Bangladeshi people.

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The Institutional Review Board (IRB) provided valuable assistance in securing permission to conduct fieldwork, while the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics provided population estimates used for the formulation of survey weights.

The Asia Foundation is grateful to the respondents who took the time to participate in this survey.

The Asia Foundation thanks the Australian High Commission in Bangladesh for their financial assistance that enabled the survey to take place.



Bangladeshi students during a protest for removing or reforming a quota system in government jobs in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Executive Summary

In this year's *The state of Bangladesh's Political, Governance, Development and Society: According to its Citizens survey*, a total of 10,240 respondents are surveyed across the country from November 13, 2022, to January 26, 2023. The final sample size was 50% men and 50% women. All respondents are aged 18 years and above, the majority between 18 and 30 years old (46%), 39% aged 31 to 50 years, and 15% over 50 years old. More than half, 64% of the sample are from rural areas, and 36% from urban.

Perceptions of Society, Politics, and Economy

Respondents are asked about the political direction of the country, and if they think Bangladesh is heading in the right or wrong direction. Almost half of respondents (48%) say Bangladesh is heading in the wrong direction, an increase from 31% in 2019.

Figure 1.1: Summary of response to what direction the country is heading.

Focus Area	Social		Political		Economical	
Year	2019	2022	2019	2022	2019	2022
Right direction (%)	77.0	57.5	63.6	39.1	70.3	25.2
Wrong direction (%)	21.9	38.7	30.7	47.5	28.0	69.7

* The table doesn't include "no response" and "don't know" responses

The proportion of respondents who believe Bangladesh is moving in the right direction socially dropped from 77% in 2019 to 58% in 2022, a decrease of 19 percentage points.

From an economic perspective, 70% of respondents in 2019 thought the country was heading in the right direction, however, this dropped to 25% in 2022.

Seventy-one percent of respondents can accurately name their Members of Parliament (MPs), a relative decrease from the highest recorded in 2017 with 86%. Under half (45%) say their MPs have visited their local areas in 2022.

More than half of respondents (64%) are satisfied with their MPs' work, compared to 27% who are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their MP's work. A majority (86%) can accurately identify their local chairperson/ mayor.

Less than half (44%) are very satisfied with the UP chairperson/ municipality mayor, while 31% are somewhat satisfied. A similar proportion (46%) are unlikely to vote for a candidate if he/she changed their political party. Almost half (49%) consider the personal traits of candidates the most important factor for being elected.

Respondents are asked to report any types of political violence they have observed in Bangladesh. A quarter did not want to provide an answer. Among the remaining, 24% say political conflicts between parties or factions are the major types of violence they observe, followed by one sided politics (7%), *mastani*¹ (4%), revenge (3%), and corruption (3%).

¹ Mastani can be portrayed as running extortion networks and providing political muscle.

Citizenship

Respondents are asked to identify three things they would need as a citizen to live with dignity: 27% cite money as the primary factor for a dignified life, followed by education (13%), good manners (10%), and food (8%).

The *Survey* asks what is most required to live freely, similar responses are captured with almost a third cite money (32%), freedom of movement (9%), education (8%), safety (5%), food (5%), employment (4%) and freedom of expression (4%). As education levels increase, there is a decrease in the proportion of respondents who cite money, 40% among those with no formal education compared to 13% of those with graduate and above.

Democracy

More than a third of respondents admit they “don’t know” (36%) what is meant when a country is called democratic. Nearly one-fifth said “equal rights for all” (18%), people’s freedom (17%), government by the people (15%), the opportunity to vote freely (15%), freedom of speech (11%), and public participation in all activities (7%) are the most popular response fiftieth selected “other” responses (20%), and 4% did not provide an answer. The proportion of respondents who “don’t know” what is meant by democracy increased from 5% in 2019 to 36% in 2022.

More than half of respondents say they voted in the previous UP/ Municipality/City Corporation (69%) and national parliamentary elections (52%). Findings show 96% intend to vote in the upcoming elections. A majority (72%) strongly or mostly agreed with the statement: “One can observe a dominant role of one party in politics/governance,” a decrease from 86% in 2019. The proportion of respondents who say the dominant party system has a positive impact on politics, decreased from 45% in 2019 to 19% in 2022. In governance, the percentage of respondents who say the impact of the dominant party system is positive also dropped from 47% in 2019 to 22% in 2022.

When asked if people in their locality felt free to express their political opinions, 43% feel free, an increase from 37% in 2019.

A majority, 96% are aware of the different cards and allowances distributed by the government, similar to the 99% in 2019. More than half 59% said they are sufficient, an increase compared to 48% in 2019. When asked about fairness in distribution, an increased percentage felt that the social safety net distribution is done “fairly,” from 20% in 2019 to 32% in 2022. When asked about women’s engagement in politics and leadership, the strongest support is for women’s participation in the national parliament (53%), Zila Parishad (48%), and Upazila Parishad (47%), Pouroshabha/ City Corporation (46%), and Union Parishad (44%). More than half said they would vote for a man (58%), 18% said woman, 4% said transgender, 3% said either man or woman but not transgendered person and 16% said gender did not matter.

Among the institutions, elected offices and officials are highly trusted. People also have trust in the military. In contrast, 67% of the respondents felt that political parties are trustworthy. Interestingly, compared to 2019, the trust in institutions didn’t change much but close examination suggests that for some institutions, the percentage of people expressing high trust has decreased. For instance, trust in Army and RAB has decreased by 11 and 14 percentage points. A similar trend is noted with respect to political parties and parliament.

Digitalized Bangladesh, Social Media, and Policy Influence

A majority of respondents, 82%, have their own mobile phones. Nearly half use the internet at 47%. A majority who have access to the internet use Facebook (85%), Messenger (72%), and IMO (71%). Almost a third of respondents who use Facebook, do so to obtain national news (28%, 21% for entertainment purposes, 16% use Facebook to share news/ideas/ concerns with friends and family, 10% use the platform to communicate with family and friends, and 6% use the platform to watch movies.

Half of the respondents say Facebook cannot be used to ensure responsiveness of the state (not very often and never). More than half, 55% say Facebook cannot be used to ensure accountability of the state (not very often and never). Seventy-three percent say it is never or not very often safe to post political opinions on Facebook. Sixty-three percent believe it

is never or not very often safe to post opinions about social issues in the country. A majority follow news through Facebook (73%), 60% watch private channel news, and 25% read the newspaper. Bangladesh television (60%) and print media (50%) are the most trusted as they are viewed as very and mostly free.

Inclusive Development

More than half of respondents consider the development of infrastructure to be the ‘development’ of the country, at 67%. For 52%, the development of everything was needed as a precursor to ensuring the development of the country, 36% said the development of education (36%), development of electricity, water, and gas (17%), poverty reduction (12%), development of religious infrastructure (11%), and employment generation (11%), price control (10%), development of environment (10%), law and order (8%), other (6%) and political development (5%). Minor differences emerge among urban and rural respondents.

Social Cohesion, Trust and Rohingya Issues

In 2018, 34% of respondents said they would welcome Rohingya in their communities, this dropped to 15% in 2019, and again to 13% in 2022. Asked if the Bangladesh government was doing enough for the Rohingya refugees, 85% feel the government is either doing enough or a lot for the refugees.

Forty percent of respondents say the international community is doing enough for the Rohingya, 19% say the international community is doing a lot, and 13% say the international community is not doing enough. Almost a quarter (23%) don’t know if the international community is doing enough or not. In 2018, 45% said Rohingya should stay until it is safe to return, in 2022 this dropped to 14%. A majority believe the Rohingya refugees have brought about negative effects, 81%. Only 8% say the changes have been positive, while 6% say they don’t know, and 4% say there are no effects.

Contemporary Issues

A majority say the opening of Padma Bridge for public use is the most important success at 72%, and 20% identified it as an important positive event, 4% are concerned about its cost or implementation, 3% are concerned about the benefit compared to the cost, and 1% did not know about the bridge. Nearly half (47%) credit the bridge's construction to the Prime Minister or Sheikh Hasina, while 28% credit the Bangladesh government. When asked if they can think of any benefit the bridge may bring, 89% responded affirmatively, 8% said no and 3% did not know. Asked if the recent fuel price hike affected their lives, 81% say their lives are severely affected, and 15% are somewhat affected. Similarly, 84% say the recent commodity price hike severely affected their lives, for 13% it has somewhat affected their lives. More than half, 62% said the increased electricity production and nationwide electrification is the most important success, while 19% say it is an important positive event. A similar percentage say the government's vaccination drive was very successful 62%, 19% somewhat successful, 13% unsuccessful and 5% consider the drive very unsuccessful.

A majority (83%) support women's participation in earning activities, 70% agree both men and women should have an equal share of their father's property, 69% support women working outside of the home, 62% say men should be prioritized over women for employment opportunities, and 40% agree women should dress how they prefer. More than half (53%) says western dresses are unacceptable for women, followed by 23% who say sleeveless dresses are unacceptable, and 16% who say indecent dresses.

When asked what kind of relationship they have with people from different religious communities, 55% have a good relationship, and 41% have a very good relationship. When asked what kind of relationship people from different religious communities in Bangladesh have with one another, 63% say the relationships are good, and 21% say very good.



Workers gather in the morning at a boat terminal waiting to cross the Mongla River in Khulna, Bangladesh.

01

Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile

Bangladesh is a rapidly developing country with a young and growing population. While the nation has made significant progress in reducing poverty and improving its economy, challenges such as inequality and the need for sustainable development, remain.

Perceptions, challenges, and experiences of the Bangladeshi people are explored in this year's *The State of Bangladesh's Political, Governance, Development and Society: According to Its Citizens*. A total of 10,240 men and women are surveyed across the country from November 13, 2022, to January 26, 2023. The final sample size is 50% men and 50% women. Nearly half of respondents are aged between 18 and 30 years old (46%), 39% are aged 31 to 50 years, and 15% are over 50 years old. More than half (64%) of respondents are from rural areas and are 36% from urban.

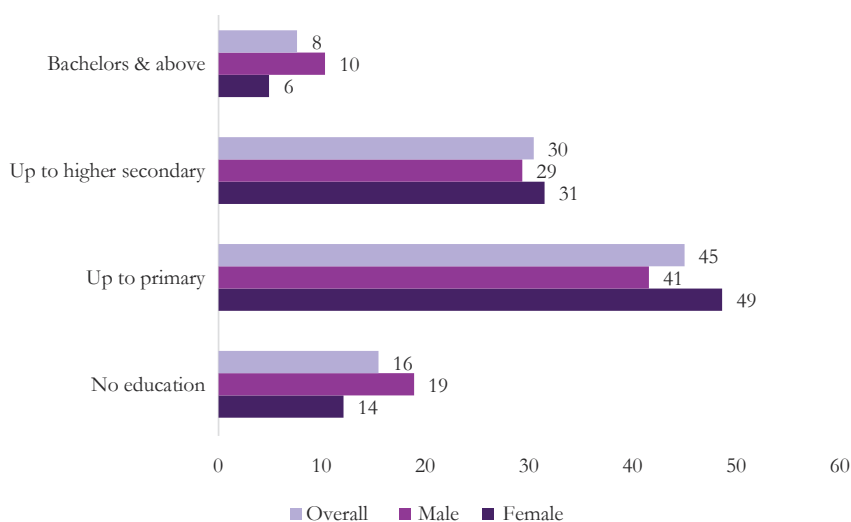
Figure 1.2: Respondents' age and gender

	Category	Percentage (%)	Sample size (n)
Gender	Male	50	5,120
	Female	50	5,120
Age group	18-35	58.89	6,030
	36-55	30.32	3,105
	55 and up	10.79	1,105

A lower-middle-income country, the nation's economy has proliferated in recent years, with an average annual growth rate of around 6% over the past decade (Asian Development Bank, 2023). The country still faces significant challenges, such as high poverty rates and inequality. Around 10.44% of the population lives below the poverty line (Poverty and Equity Brief, South East Asia, Bangladesh, 2023), disproportionately affecting rural areas. The country has made significant progress in reducing poverty in recent years, and the government has set a target of eradicating extreme poverty by 2030 (UN, n.d.).

Less than a fifth of respondents have no formal education (18%), this proportion is slightly higher among men (19%) compared to women (14%). Nearly half have up to primary education 45%, 30% up to higher secondary, and 8% have a bachelor's degree or higher. A slightly higher proportion of women (9%) completed higher education compared to men (6%).

Figure 1.3: Respondents' education (by gender).



In both urban and rural areas, the majority of female respondents are housewives. In rural areas, the majority of male respondents identify as farmers, being involved in business or job holders. However, occupational variations are not very pronounced among rural and urban areas.

Figure 1.4: Respondents' occupation (by strata).

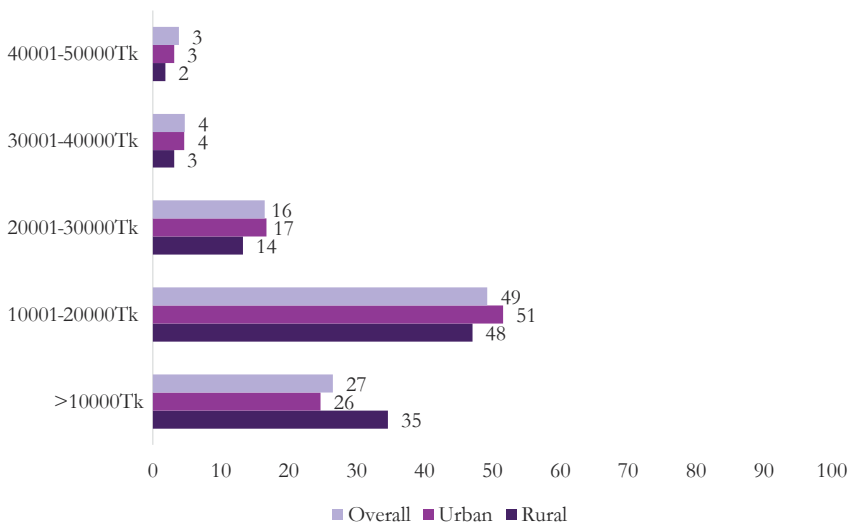
Occupation	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Farmer	20	9	30	11
Transport worker	6	0	5	0
Job holder	19	11	13	8
Housewife	0	67	0	66
Student	13	9	13	10
Not working	11	2	11	2
Business	18	1	15	1
Other	13	2	14	2

The average household has approximately 5 members, consistent for both urban and rural households. Respondent's income levels are varied. Almost a third (27%) report a monthly household income of 10,000 TK or under.

Household income distribution

Almost half of report earning between 10,000 to 20,000 TK per month (49%). Approximately 27% of households report less than 10,000 TK per month, while only 3% of households reported around 40,001 to 50,000 TK per month. On average, households report spending about 18,470 TK per month. Notably, households from rural areas reported spending approximately 1,871 TK less per month compared to households in urban areas.

Figure 1.5: Household monthly income (by strata).



Half of the households are built with brick (50%) or Corrugated galvanized Iron (CI) sheet, tin, or wood (43%). Only 7% of the households are built with other elements.



An employee of a fuel station fills petrol in a vehicle in the Paribagh area in Dhaka.

02

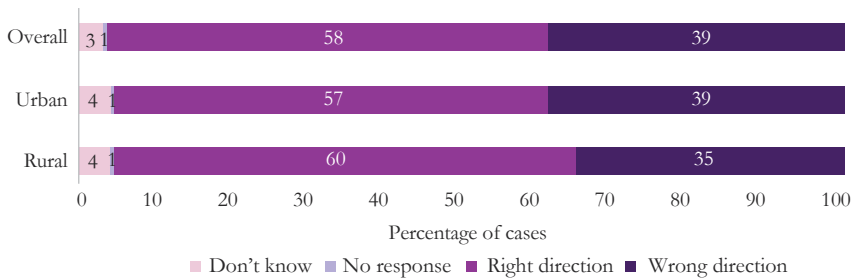
Perceptions of Society, Politics and Economy

2.1 The direction of the country

2.1.1 Social direction

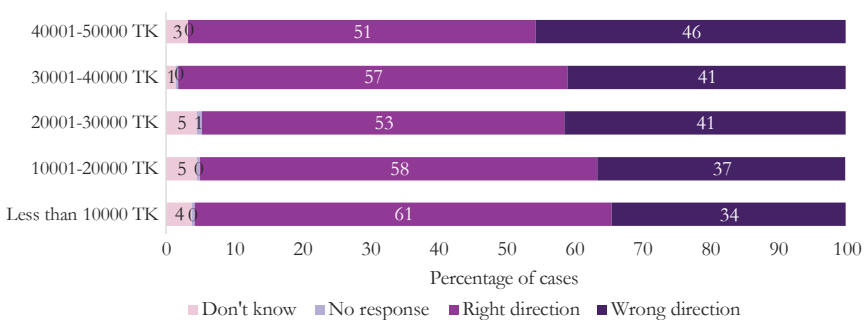
Respondents are asked if they think the country is socially heading in the right or wrong direction. The proportion who say the country is socially heading in the right direction dropped from 77% in 2019 to 58% in 2022, a decrease of 19 percentage points. Those who say the wrong direction increased from 22% in 2019 to 39% in 2022. Urban respondents are somewhat more likely to say things are heading in the wrong direction (39%) than rural respondents (35%).

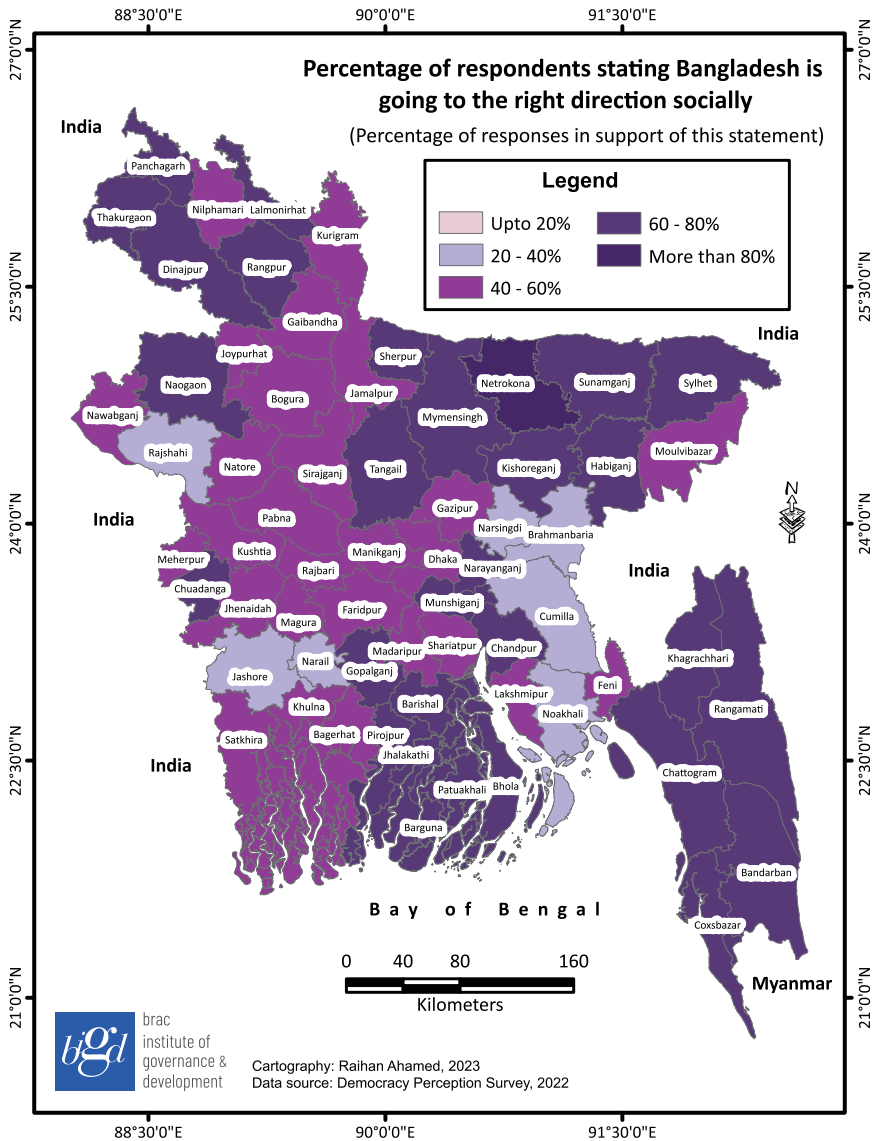
Figure 2.1: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction socially? (by area)



By income, some differences arise. More than half of respondents earning less than 10,000 TK per month believe Bangladesh is going in the right direction socially, 61%. However, as income increases, so does pessimism among respondents who think Bangladesh is going in the wrong direction socially. Over half of those who make between 40,001 TK to 50,000 TK say Bangladesh is going in the wrong direction socially (51%).

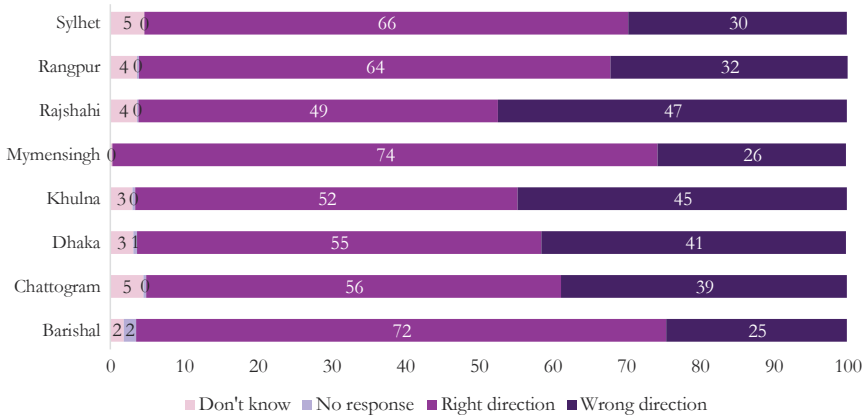
Figure 2.2: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction socially? (by income)?





By division, respondents in Mymensingh are most optimistic (74%) the country is going in the right direction. Barishal, Sylhet, and Rangpur divisions also had more than 60% of respondents share this opinion.

Figure 2.3: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction socially (by division)?



Among respondents who say Bangladesh is socially heading in the right direction, the main reasons for optimism are; people are working for society (48%), security is good (39%), there is law and order (30%), good education quality (13%), everyone can practice their religion (11%), good governance (8%), and 11% cited other reasons.

Among the 39% who say the country is socially heading in the wrong direction, the top cited reasons are: deterioration of law and order (64%), increase in corruption (23%), bad education system (16%), increase in drug use (16%), innocent people are being tortured (11%), increased violence against women (9%), rich people have more power (7%), boys/girls are getting spoiled (6%), women have no freedom (6%), increase in rape (5%), and 11% cited other reasons.

2.1.2 Political direction

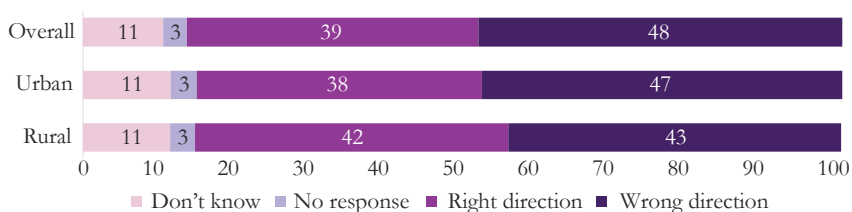
Politics in Bangladesh are dominated by two major parties, the Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). The former, the Awami League has been in power since 2009, led by Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina. In recent years, the nation's economy has grown steadily, with a focus on exports and the garment industry. The country has made significant progress in poverty reduction, and the poverty rate has decreased from over 40% in 2005 to less than 20% in 2021 (Ministry of Finance,

2022). However, Bangladesh still faces challenges including corruption, poor infrastructure, and climate change. Despite the political and economic challenges, the country has shown resilience and progress in recent years.

Respondents are asked about the political direction of the country, and if they think Bangladesh is heading in the right or wrong direction. Just under half (48%) say Bangladesh is heading in the wrong direction, an increase from 31% in 2019. More than one-third (39%) say the country is heading in the right direction, a decrease from 64% in 2019. The percentage of respondents uncertain about the direction of the country also increased from 5% in 2019 to 11% in 2022.

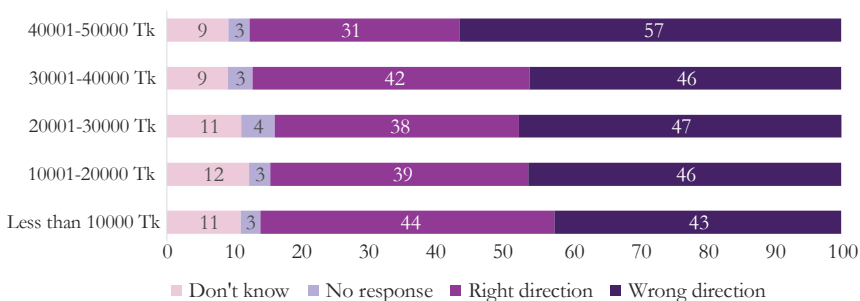
Findings are somewhat consistent among urban and rural populations, with the latter being more optimistic things are politically heading in the right direction (42%) than urban respondents (38%). (Figure 2.4).

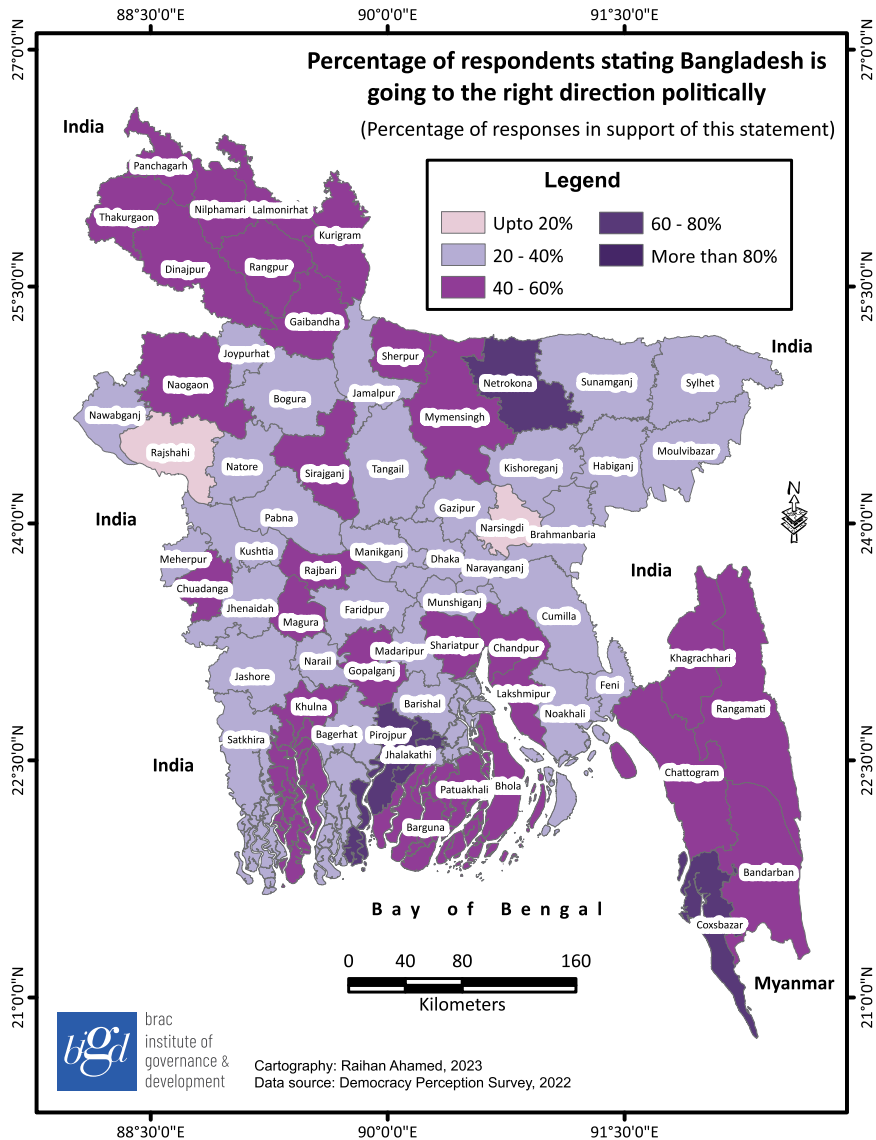
Figure 2.4: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction politically (by strata)?



Interestingly respondents with a lower monthly household income are more likely to say the country is going in the right direction. The reverse is also true as respondents reporting the highest monthly income are more likely to say Bangladesh is going in the wrong direction (Figure 2.5).

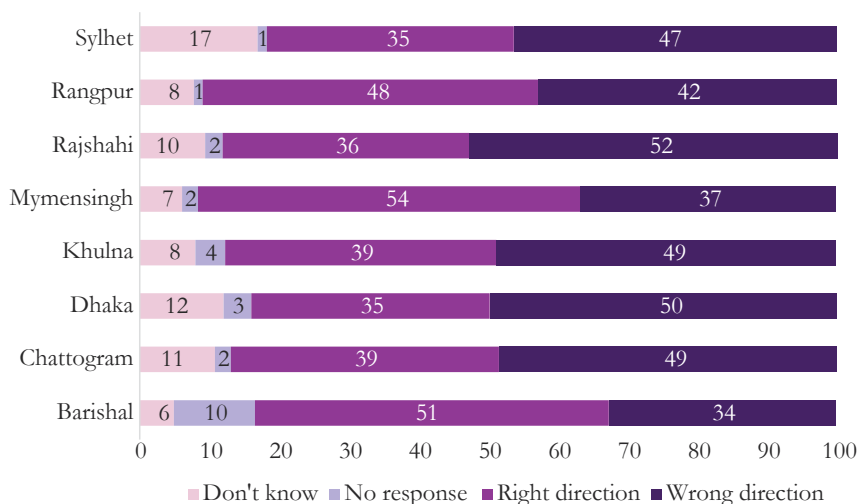
Figure 2.5: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right or wrong direction politically (by income)?





Higher levels of optimism are among respondents from Mymensingh (54%), Barishal (51%), and Rangpur (48%) who say things are politically heading in the right direction. Lower optimism levels are among those in the capital, Dhaka (35%), Sylhet (35%), and Rajshahi (36%).

Figure 2.6: Do you think Bangladesh is politically going in the right direction (by division)?



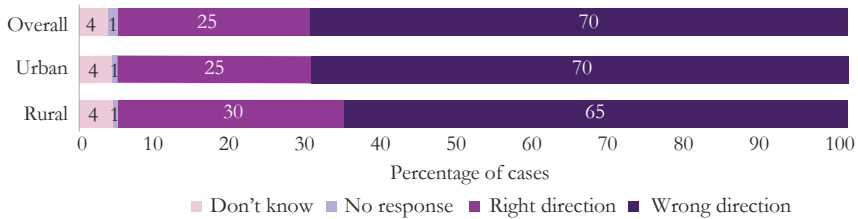
Among the 39% of respondents who say Bangladesh is moving in the right direction, in a follow-up question they provide reasons why. Just over half, 51% cite political stability as a reason why Bangladesh is moving in the right direction. Other reasons include: the development of the country (22%), improved human rights situation (20%), reduced political violence (15%), reduced terrorism activities (10%), and infrastructure development (2%).

Among the 48% who say Bangladesh is politically heading in the wrong direction, top cited reasons ranged from instability (46%), the dominance of one political party (25%), price hikes (20%), 12% stated their vote was cast without their consent, increase in terrorist activities (11%), a lack of discipline (11%), no democracy (10%), one-sided politics (10%), and a lack of opportunity to express opinion (9%).

2.1.3 Economic direction

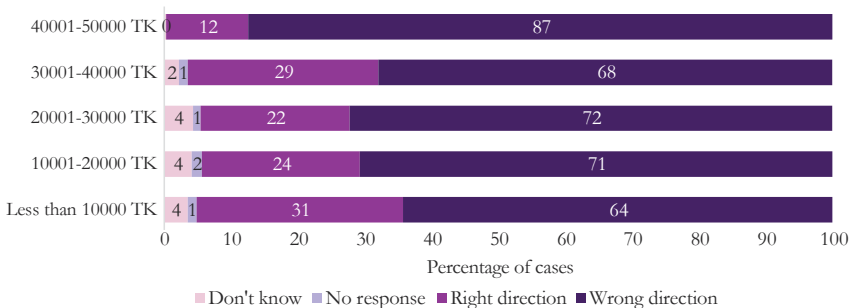
Respondents are asked if, from an economic perspective, the country is heading in the right or wrong direction. Findings are dramatically different than in 2019, when 70% said the country is heading in the right direction, this dropped to 25% in 2022. In 2019, 28% said the country was heading in the wrong direction, this increased to 70% in 2022. Rural respondents are more optimistic about the direction of the country than urban respondents (30% rural compared to 25% urban respectively).

Figure 2.7: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction economically? (by area)



Interesting variations emerge by income. While the majority of respondents across all income groups say Bangladesh is going in the wrong economic direction, however respondents among the highest income group are the most pessimistic, with 87% who say Bangladesh is going in the wrong direction. The lowest income group was slightly less negative, with 64%.

Figure 2.8: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction economically (by income)?



By division, the highest levels of pessimism were among respondents in Sylhet with 76% who say Bangladesh is going in the wrong direction, while the lowest levels are in Mymensingh at 49%.

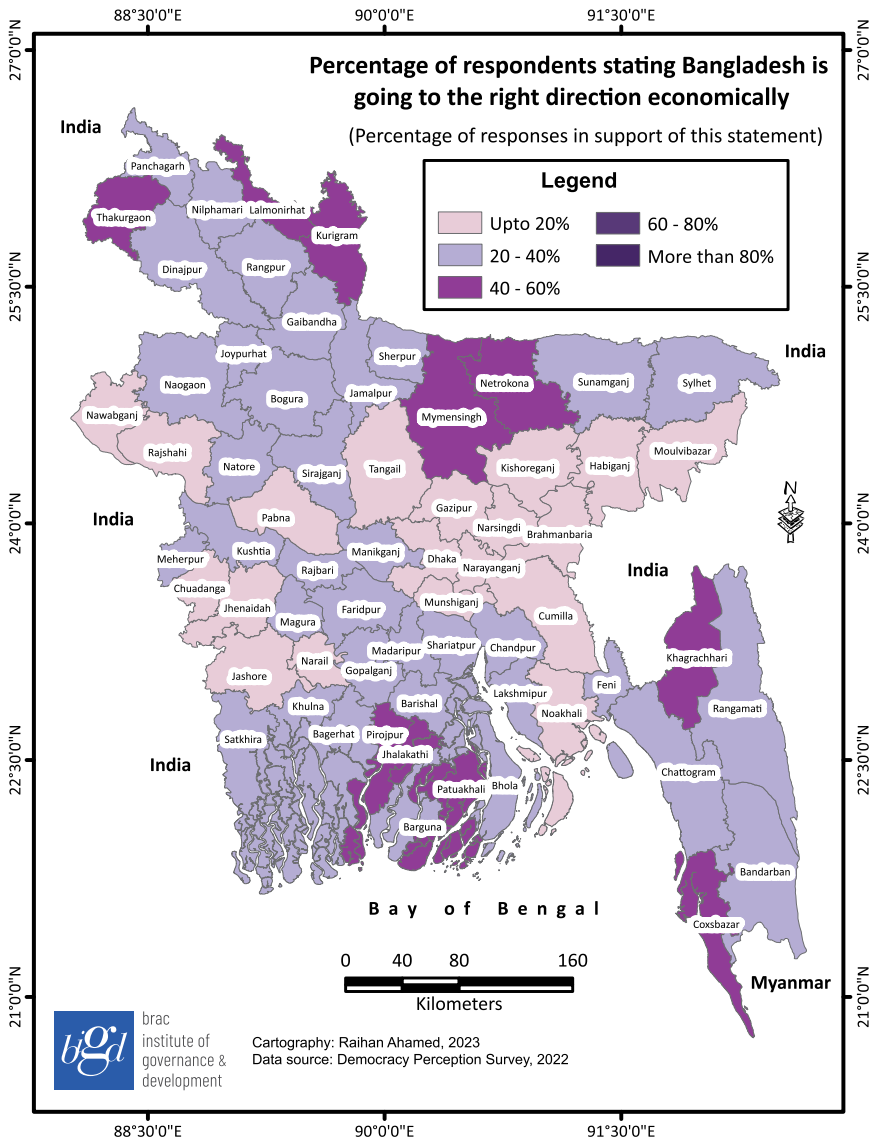
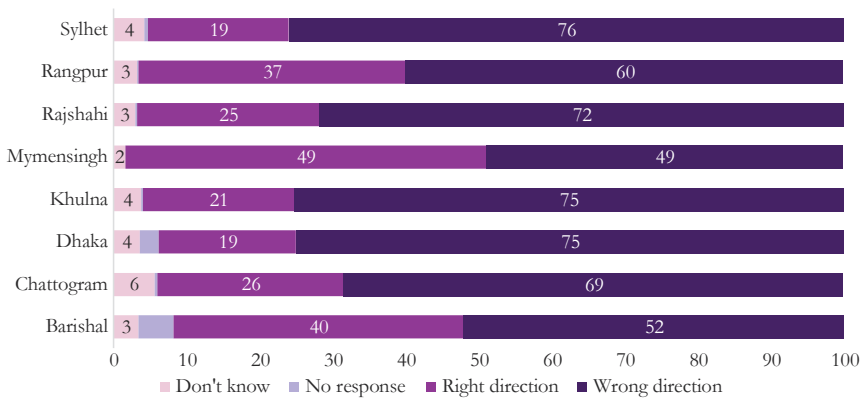


Figure 2.9: Do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction economically (by division)?



Among the quarter of respondents who say the country is heading in the right direction, the top reasons include: good economic condition (46%), overall development (36%), good infrastructure (27%), increased employment (16%), increased quality of life (14%), there is no shortage (14%), improved business (11%), offering of various government allowances (10%), communication system improvements (9%), improved electricity system (7%), salary increases for government jobs (4%), and 9% cited other reasons.

Among the 70% who say Bangladesh’s economy is heading in the wrong direction, the most frequently cited reasons are the high price of products (84%), poor economic conditions (35%), increased scarcity of necessary goods (25%), lack of employment opportunities (16%), pay is less compared to workload (10%), decent employment opportunities (8%), business is down (8%), and 6% cite other reasons.

2.2 The major problems faced by the country

The respondents were asked to identify the major challenges currently faced by the country, and about 44% said that the main problem in Bangladesh is ‘price hike’. Other significant issues mentioned by the respondents include business downturn (11%), unemployment (10%), political instability (8%) and corruption (3%).



After casting vote, a voter displays the indelible ink mark on her finger.

03

Politics and Elected Leaders

Chapter 3 explores citizens’ perceptions of politics, political parties, elected representatives, and respondents’ awareness and expectations of elected leaders. This chapter also explores citizens’ perceptions of political identity, loyalty towards political parties, and the political process.

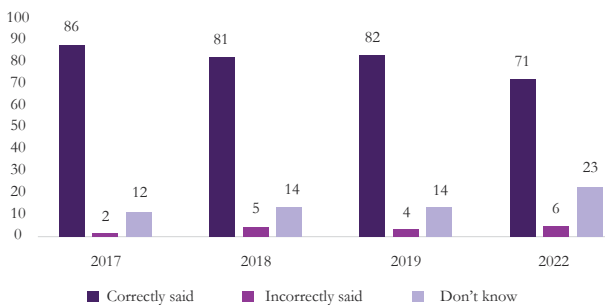
In Bangladesh, political polarisation is typical, and political views can be influenced by factors such as religion, ethnicity, educational background, political affiliation, and socioeconomic status. Perceptions of politicians and elected leaders vary. As findings demonstrate, some view leaders as effective and honest, while others view leaders as corrupt and unresponsive to their needs. While some respondents may be actively engaged in politics and hold strong opinions therein, others are apathetic. Amid positive developments, such as the emergence of civil society groups and the growth of a vibrant media sector, concerns about the lack of transparency and accountability in government, allegations of electoral fraud and human rights abuses exist. Political perceptions in Bangladesh remain complex and multifaceted, reflecting its citizens’ diverse experiences and perspectives.

3.1 Awareness and expectations of national representatives

When asked, 71% of respondents can correctly name their Members of Parliament (MPs). While this percentage is high, it is relatively lower than in previous years, the highest recorded was in 2017 with 86%, followed by 81% in 2018, and 82% in 2019.

Notable differences emerge by gender, 90% of men compared to 61% of women can correctly identify their MP. Rural respondents are only slightly more informed compared to urban respondents (77% compared to 71%).

Figure 3.1: Can you name your MPs correctly (by year)?



A majority (90%) of respondents with higher levels of education can accurately identify their MP, whereas this percentage drops to 71% among those with no formal education.

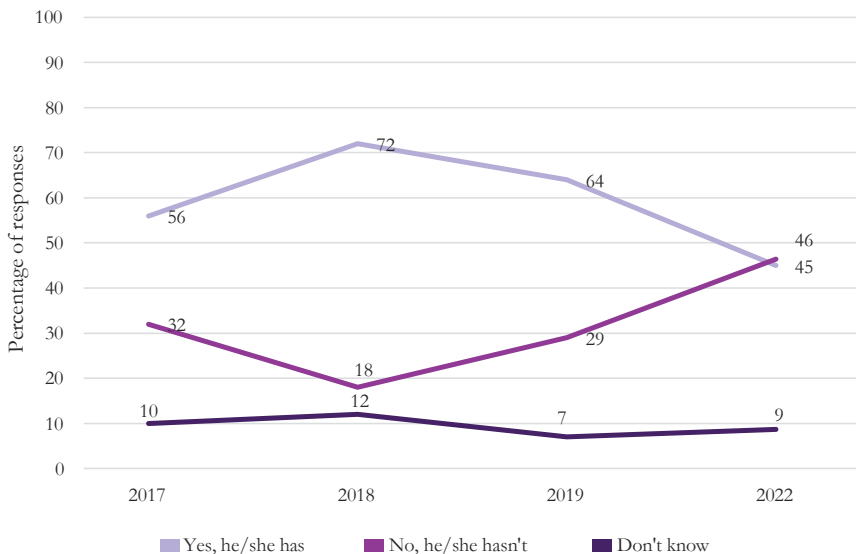
By income, only 62% of respondents reporting less than 5000 TK per month are accurate, compared to 90% of respondents earning more than 50,000TK.

As age increases, so does the ability to identify their MPs. Among those aged 55 years and above, 84% can identify their MP, higher than 70% of those aged 18–25 years.

Interestingly, by division respondents in Dhaka are much less able to accurately identify their MP (65%) than those in Barishal (80%), the highest among all divisions.

Respondents are also asked if their MPs have visited their local areas. In 2017, 56% said their MP had visited, however after an upward spike to 72% in 2018, this decreased to 45% in 2022.

Figure 3.2: Did your MP visit the locality in recent years (by year)?

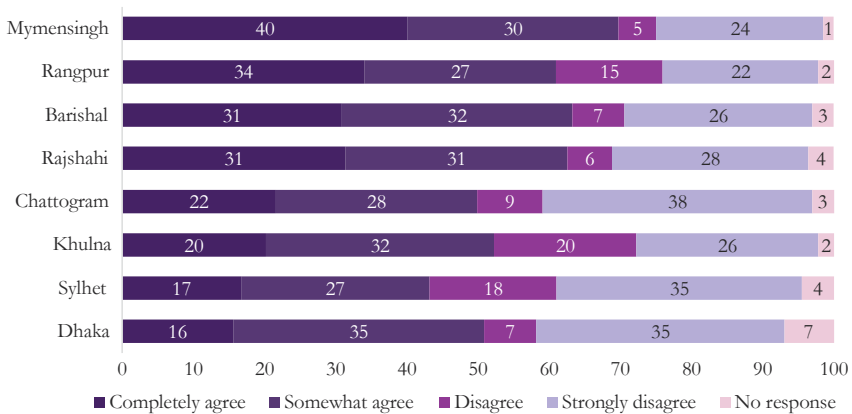


Similar responses are recorded when asked if respondents remember any specific task or initiative their MP took last year, 30% said yes, and 70% could not remember any specific task.

Respondents are asked if they agree or disagree with the statement: “MPs care about general citizens.” More than half (55%) completely or somewhat agree MPs care about their constituencies, a decrease from 64% in 2019. Forty-two percent disagree that MPs care about general citizens.

Interesting trends emerge with respondents in Dhaka, Sylhet, and Chattogram more likely to disagree with the sentiment that MPs care about general citizens.

Figure 3.3: Do you agree or disagree MPs care about general citizens (by division)?



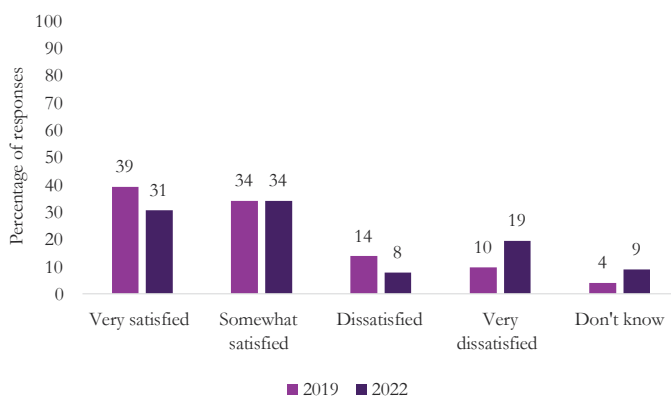
The *Survey* also explores citizens’ perceptions of what MPs currently do and what they should do. Responses to both open-ended questions are aligned, the top responses in both categories are solving local people’s problems, development of infrastructure, and development of locality. A notable difference emerges as more respondents say MPs should ensure welfare in society (37%) while this did not emerge at all for what MPs do. (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: What MPs do and what they should do (These were multiple choice questions).

	What MPs should do (%)	What MPs do (%)
Solving local people's problem	27	64
Development of infrastructure	51	48
Development of the locality	37	43
Educational development/ establishment of school / college	21	8
To serve the people	-	15
Overseeing development work	7	11
Bringing local problems to parliament	1	6
Discussing different issues and making law in the parliament	1	2
Ensuring justice	-	2
Ensuring welfare in the society	37	-
Helping poor people	24	-
Visiting the area	3	-
Providing employment	2	-
Development of the country	2	-
Supervision of local development work	2	-
Provide housing	2	-

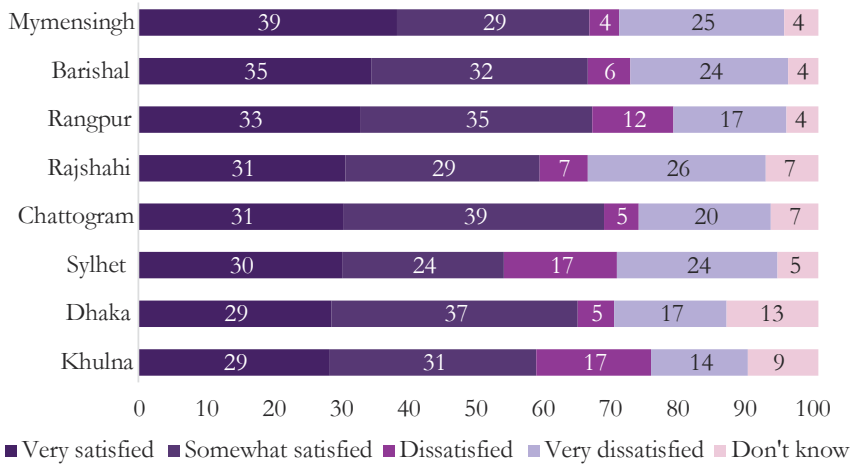
More than half of respondents (64%) are satisfied or somewhat satisfied with their MP's work, compared to 27% dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. Compared with 2019, there is a proportional decrease in those stating they are very satisfied and an increase among those who are very dissatisfied.

Figure 3.5: How satisfied are you with your MP's work (by year)?



There are no notable differences in responses by income, education, gender, and strata. By division, some variances emerge for example the highest levels of satisfaction in Mymensingh and Barishal, compared to the lowest in Khulna and Dhaka.

Figure 3.6: How satisfied are you with your MP's work (by division)?

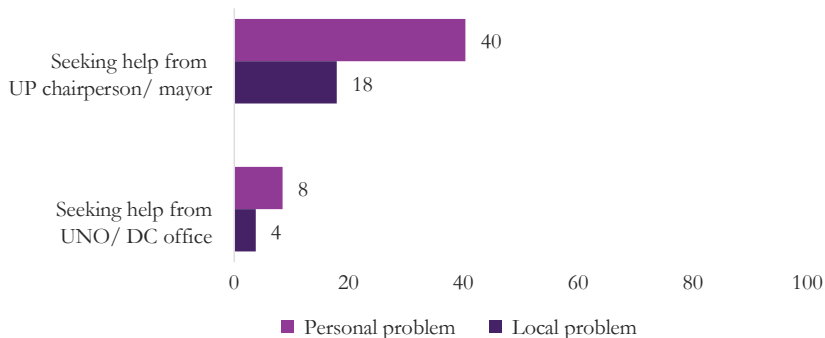


3.2 Awareness of and expectations from local representatives

Respondents are asked about their local representatives. A majority, 86% can accurately identify their local chairperson/ mayor. This is a decrease of 5 percentage points compared to 2019. Rural respondents are slightly more informed about their local representation than urban respondents (92% vs 88%).

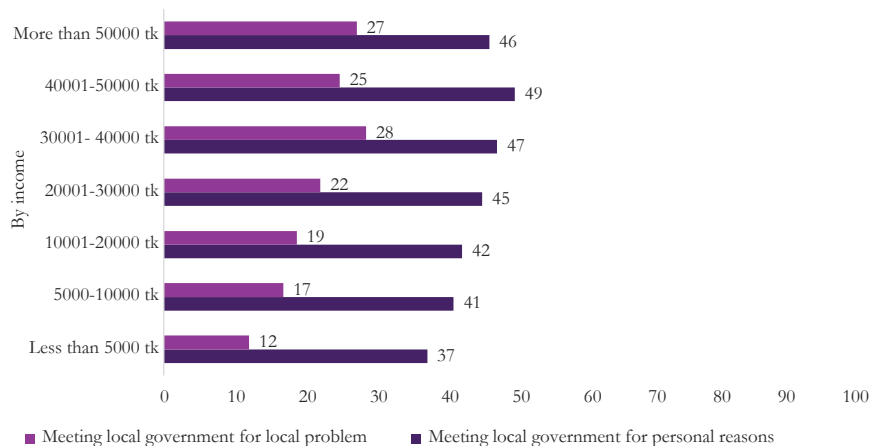
Seeking support for local and personal problems from local government representatives is much more prevalent than seeking help from the local administration: 40% sought help from UP Chairperson/MP for a personal matter, compared to 8% who sought help from UNO/DC office.

Figure 3.7: Did you contact your local representatives and local administration in the last year?



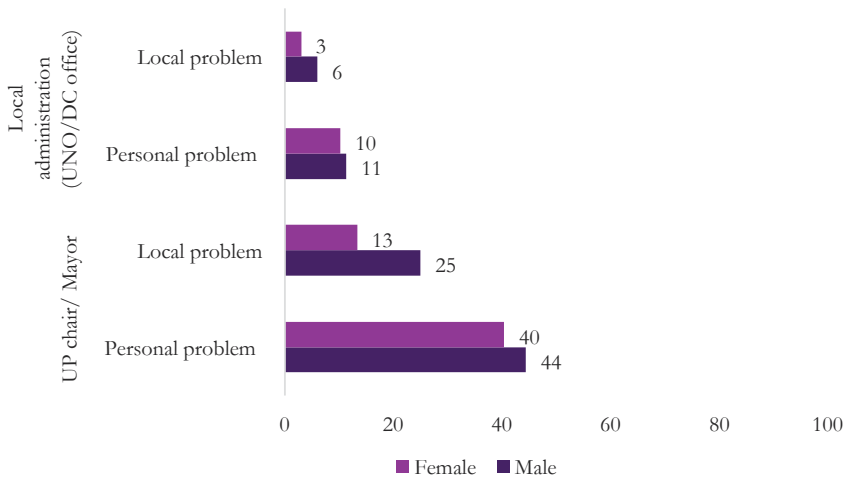
Respondents with higher levels of income and education are more likely to contact their local government for both personal issues and local problems.

Figure 3.8: Did you contact your local representatives and local administrators in the last year (by income)?



Across all categories, women are slightly less likely than men to seek help from local representatives and administrators for personal and local issues.

Figure 3.9: Did you contact your local representatives and local administrates in the last year (by gender)?



When asked about levels of satisfaction regarding the UP chairperson or the municipality mayor, 44% are very satisfied, and 31% are somewhat satisfied. Findings are similar to 2019, however, the percentage of very dissatisfied increased in 2022 compared to 2019 (from 7% to 14%). No notable trends emerge by gender, income, education, strata, and division.

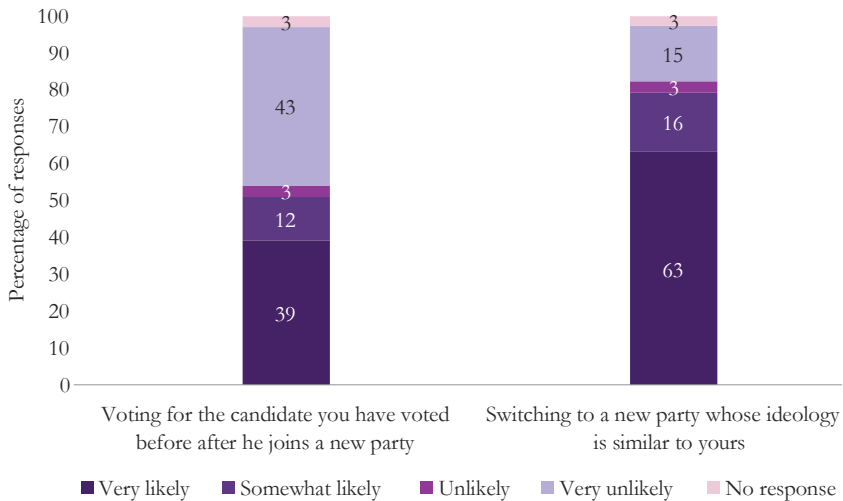
3.3.1 Political identity, loyalty, and attitude towards political parties

This section explores perceptions related to appealing attributes of political candidates and respondent attitudes towards political parties.

Importance of political identity

The survey explores the role of a candidate's party identity and his/her electability. When asked how likely respondents are to vote for a candidate of their preference if he/she changed their political party, approximately 46% are very and somewhat unlikely to vote for that candidate. This is a notable shift from the 76% recorded in 2019.

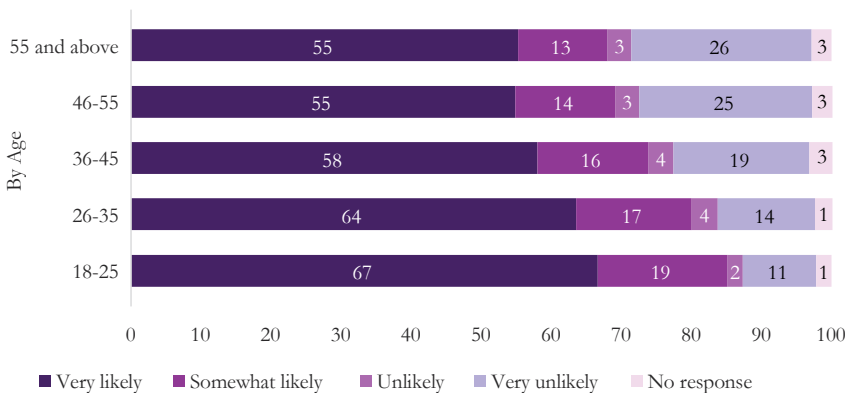
Figure 3.10 Will you vote for a candidate you have voted for before if he changes his party or contests individually/ for a new party whose ideology is similar to yours?



Interestingly, 63% are very likely and 16% are likely to affiliate themselves with a new party (or switch their support to a new party if the ideology is similar). This is an increase of 12 percentage points, from 67% (very likely and likely) in 2019.

The responses are consistent across gender, strata, education, and income. Differences emerge by age, as age increases respondents are less likely to say they will vote for the same candidate who changes parties.

Figure 3.11: Will you vote for a candidate you have voted for before in case he changes party or contests individually for a new party whose ideology is similar to yours (by age)?



3.3.2 Deciding to vote

Almost half of respondents (49%) consider the personal traits of candidates as the most important factor for being elected. The political commitment, career, and track record of the candidate received support from 34% of respondents. Only 5% emphasized the networking, accessibility, and availability of the candidate, a drastic decrease from 38% in 2019. This year, political expectations such as working for the people, and local development are more frequently cited than previous waves.

Within the broad group of personal traits for a candidate, the top responses are; good manners and etiquette (11%), integrity (10%), education (10%), and personal character (9%). For political commitment and track record, a candidate who will work for the people of the country received the most support of 14%, followed by a candidate working for local development (10%), and a candidate who will address the problems of the poor (5%).

Opinions vary by education (Figure 3-13). For example, on personal traits, respondents with no formal education say good manners are the most important trait, while respondents among the highest education bracket say integrity and education is the most important trait.

In the political track or commitment group, variation in responses is less pronounced. Candidates who will work for people are selected by respondents across all education groups, though candidates who will work for the poor are chosen often by respondents with no education. Preference for a candidate who is accessible in time of need is more frequently cited among respondents with no formal education.

Figure 3.12: Most important attribute for individuals to get elected (by education).

		No education	Primary	Higher secondary	Graduate and above
Personal traits	Good manners/ etiquette	13	14	10	6
	Integrity	4	6	14	21
	Education	7	9	13	13
	Character	7	7	10	11
	Good person	6	5	4	2
	With principles	3	3	4	6
	Religious	1	1	1	2
Political commitment/ track record/ career	Work for the people	14	16	13	14
	Work for the development of the locality	7	9	8	4
	Address problems of the poor	9	7	4	2
	Track record	2	1	1	1
	Popularity of candidate	5	4	4	4
Accessibility	Available in time of need	9	7	4	4
Others	Others	9	9	9	11
Don't know	Don't know	4	3	2	1

3.4 Political violence

Respondents are asked to report any types of political violence they have observed in Bangladesh. This is different from previous waves that asked respondents to report the *causes* of violence. A quarter of respondents didn't want to provide an answer this year. Among the remaining, 24% say political conflicts between parties or factions are the major types of violence they observe, followed by one-sided politics (7%), *mastani* (4%), revenge (3%), and corruption (3%). In their second response, the types of violence observed are consistent with those offered in the first response.



Women's rights activists bring out a torch procession to protest the violence against women in Dhaka.

04

Citizenship

4.1 Citizens' relationship with the government

This Survey aimed to understand how Bangladeshi citizens perceive their relationship with their government. About 48% of the citizens responded that they see the government as their patron or mentor, followed by 20% who view the government as their representative. About 7% view the government as their protector and service provider. Interestingly, about 9% view that they have no ties with the government. Also, about 4% saw their relationship with the government as the one between a king and his subjects.

4.2 Living with dignity

Citizenship and belonging create social and political conditions that enable individuals to live with dignity through access to basic resources, protection against discrimination, and political representation. The important role and necessary conditions citizenship plays in promoting human dignity cannot be ignored (Turner, Handbook of Citizenship Studies, 2002). Similarly, the relationship between citizenship and economic inequality is also crucial. Economic inequality can undermine the ability of individuals to live with dignity by limiting access to basic resources and opportunities (Turner, Outline of a theory of Citizenship, 1990). Citizenship can promote economic equality, for example, through enabling access to education and training, healthcare, and promoting economic growth and development.

Respondents are asked to identify three things they require to live with dignity: 27% cite money as the primary factor for a dignified life, followed by education (13%), good manners (10%), and food (8%). Money, good manners, and education are prioritized as the second most important things to have a dignified life (14%, 10%, and 9%). When asked for the third most important thing, housing was cited by 11% of respondents.

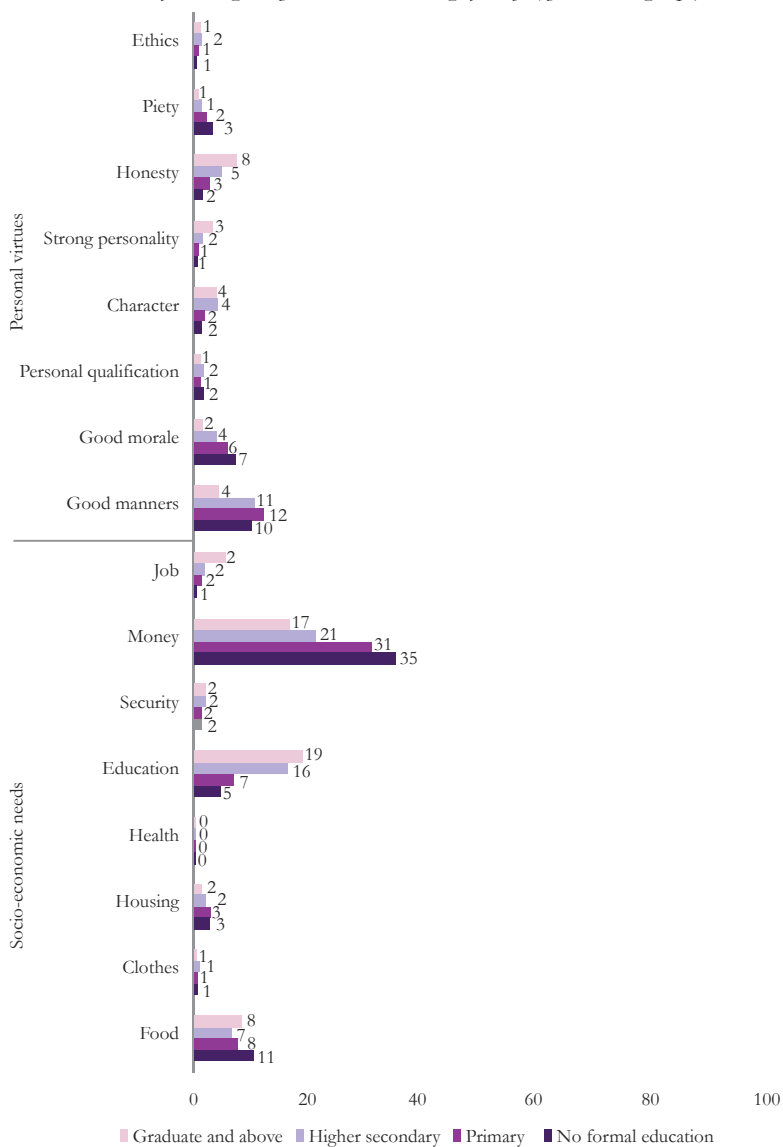
Figure 4.1 What are the three most important things that you need to have a dignified life?

		1st important thing	2nd important thing	3rd important thing
Socio-economic needs	Money	27	14	8
	Education	13	9	6
	Food	8	6	5
	Job	2	4	4
	Good living standard	2	3	3
	Housing	3	7	11
	Clothes	1	4	3
	Security	2	2	0
	Health	0	1	
Personal virtues	Good manners	10	10	7
	Values	5	5	3
	Honesty	4	4	2
	Good morale	5	8	8
	Character	3	3	3
	Personal qualities	2	2	2
	Piety	2	1	2
	Strong personality	2	2	3
	Ethics	1	1	2
Liberal democratic rights	Rule of Law	1	1	1
	Freedom	1	1	1
	Human Rights	1	1	1
Other	Don't know	1	3	5
	No responses	0	5	5

Responses vary by education. For instance, respondents with no formal education are more likely to say money is the most important factor for a dignified life. The proportion who say money decreases as levels of education increase. The importance of education for a dignified life also increases with levels of education.

Among the personal values category, the percentage who say good manners and morale decreases with increased levels of education. Support for honesty, character, and personality increases with education levels.

Figure 4.2: What is the first thing that you need to have a dignified life (by education groups)?



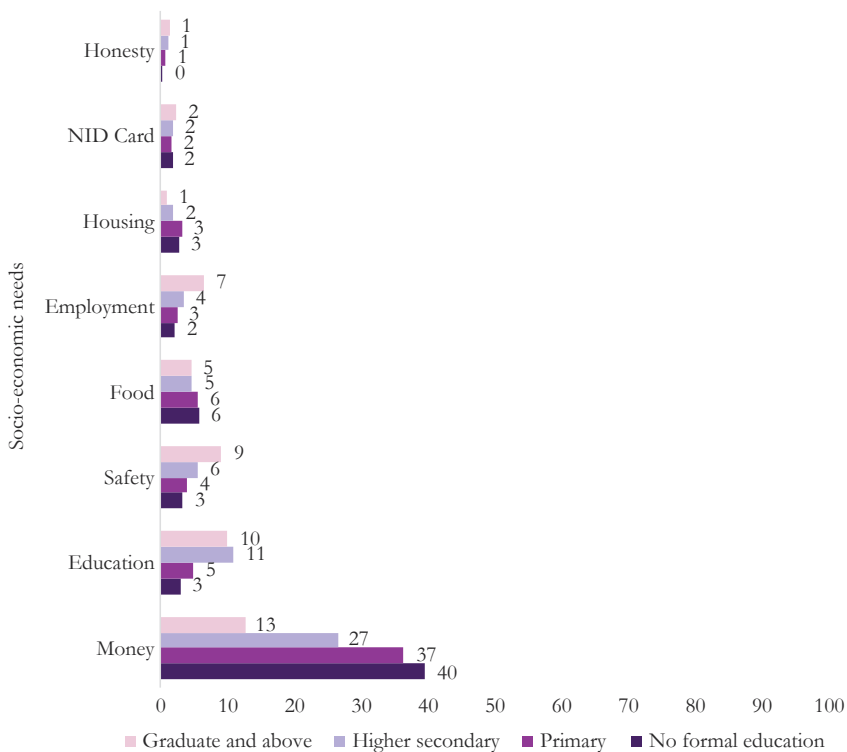
Responses do not vary by gender or along the rural/urban divide.

4.3 Living with freedom

Respondents are asked what three things are required to live with freedom. Similar responses are captured with almost a third who cite money (32%), followed by freedom of movement (9%), education (8%), safety (5%), food (5%), employment (4%) and freedom of expression (4%).

As levels of education increase, there is a decrease in respondents who cite money, 40% among those with no formal education compared to 13% with graduates and above.

Figure 4.3: What are the three most important things required to live freely (by education)?





A woman casts her vote during the city corporation election at Narayanganj.

05

Democracy

5.1 Understanding of democracy in Bangladesh

Since its independence in 1971, Bangladesh has experienced periods of military rule and political unrest. However, since the early 1990s, the country has made significant progress toward strengthening its democratic institutions. The country has a multiparty-political system, with national elections held every five years. Despite allegations of electoral fraud, corruption, and political violence, Bangladesh has made strides toward democratization in recent years, with increased participation from women and minorities in politics and improvements in the rule of law (Khanom, 2021). However, there is still much work to be done to fully consolidate and strengthen democratic institutions in the country.

The survey explores perceptions of democracy and democratic principles. When asked what they understand by democracy, more than a third of respondents admit they “don’t know” (36%). Nearly one-fifth said “equal rights for all” (18%), people’s freedom (17%), government by the people (15%), the opportunity to vote freely (15%), freedom of speech (11%), and public participation in all activities (7%) are what they understand to be a democracy. Another one-fifth selected “other” responses (20%) and 4% selected no answer.

Interestingly, the proportion of respondents who do not know what is meant by democracy increased from 5% in 2019 to 36% in 2022.² Respondents who view democracy as “government by the people” also fluctuated from 15% in 2017, to 26% in 2018, before dropping to 17% in 2019, and 15% in 2022. All other responses remain consistent across the years.

Pronounced differences emerge by education level as respondents with a bachelor’s degree or above are more likely to describe democracy as the opportunity to vote freely (16%), equal rights for all (14%), and people’s freedom (12%). In contrast, 48% of respondents with no formal education say “don’t know”, followed by equal rights for all (33%), government by the people (31%), and people’s freedom (27%).

² The survey report from 2017 and 2018 presented the combined percentage of “Don’t know” and “No response” in the report. Therefore, we do not know the separate percentage of responses for these options. They have been left blank in the corresponding figure.

As income levels decrease, respondents are more likely to say they do not know what democracy means: 53% of respondents who make less than 5,000 TK compared to 20% who make between 40,000- 50,000 TK and 20% who make more than 50,000 TK. People’s freedom (30%) was valued by the highest share of respondents in the income group above 50,000 TK. The opportunity to vote freely (26%) was also the most valued by the highest income group.

Figure 5.1: When a country is called democratic, what do you understand by that? Multiple responses. (by income).



5.2 Election and voting behavior

In a series of questions on voting behavior, respondents are asked if they voted in the previous local and national elections, and if they plan to vote in the upcoming elections. More than half say they voted in the previous UP/ Municipality/City Corporation (69%) and national parliamentary elections (52%). A majority, 96%, intend to vote in the upcoming election.

There is little variation by education level and among urban and rural respondents' intention to vote in national and local elections. Some variation emerges by income levels, where 91% of respondents in the income group earning 50,000 TK plan to vote in the national and local elections compared to 94–99% across all other income categories.

5.3 Democratic practices in Bangladesh

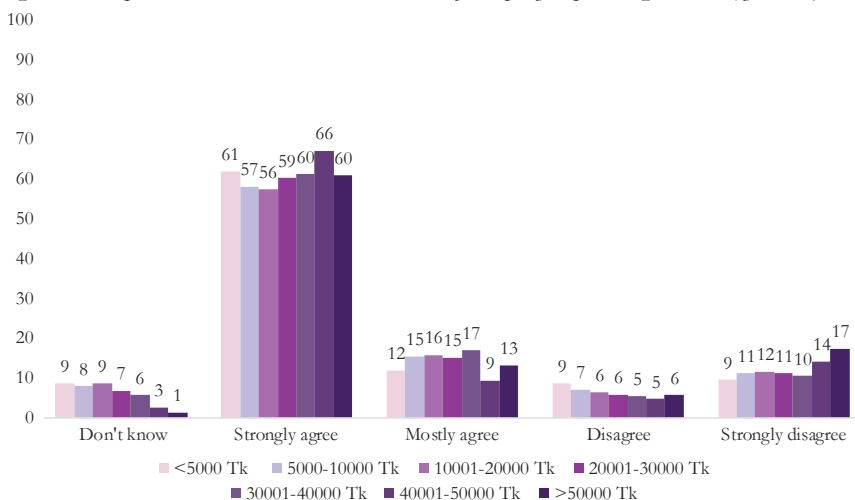
Respondents are asked if they agree or disagree with the statement, “One can observe a dominant role of one party in politics/governance.” A majority (72%) strongly or mostly agree with the statement, a decrease from 86% in 2019.

Men are more likely to strongly agree with the statement than women (63% compared to 52% of women). Women are more likely to say they “don't know” (12%) compared to 4% of men.

Little variation is found among urban and rural respondents. By education, graduates or above are more likely to agree with the statement (77%) than respondents among other education groups. The proportion of “don't know” responses decrease as education levels increase, with 11% of respondents with no education compared to 4% of respondents with a graduate degree and above.

Income levels show a pattern. The percentage who strongly disagrees increases with income, with 9% of those who make less than 5000 TK compared to 17% who make more than 50,000 TK per month.

Figure 5.2: At present, one can observe a dominant role of one party in politics/governance (by income).



5.4 Impact of the dominant party system

The *Survey* explores the impact of a party system where one political party holds a dominant role in the political process, and its influence on politics, business, governance, and society.

Since 2019, there is a decrease in respondents who say the dominant party system has a positive impact on politics, from 45% in 2019 to 19% in 2022. Similarly, respondents who say the impact is completely negative increased from 11% to 31% during the same timeframe.

In business, the percentage of respondents who say the impact of a dominant party system is positive decreased from 41% in 2019 to 17% in 2022. Those who say the impact is completely negative increased from 10% to 27% between 2019 to 2022.

In governance, those who say the impact of the dominant party system is positive dropped from 47% in 2019 to 22% in 2022. Those who say it is a completely negative impact increased from 11% to 28% during the same timeframe.

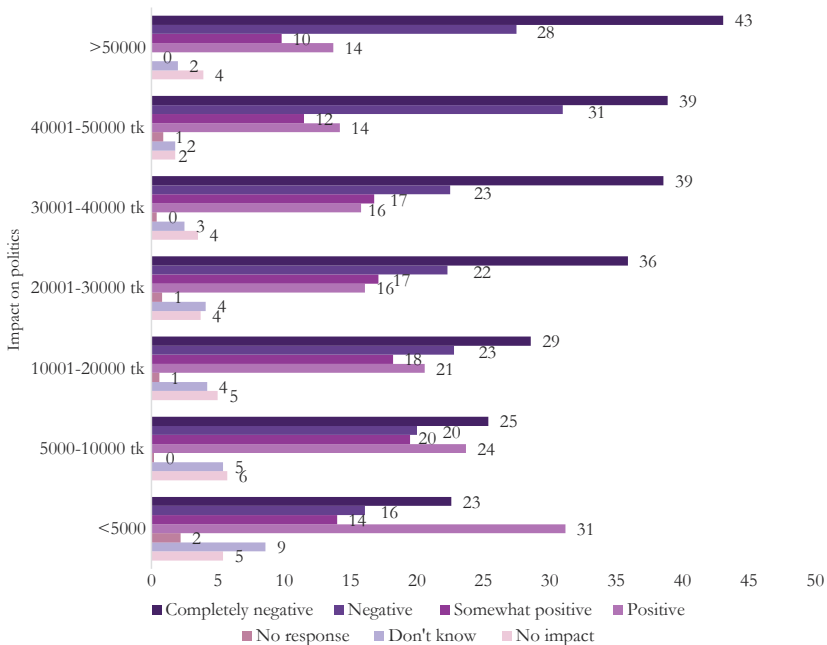
In society, the percentage of respondents who say the impact of the dominant party system is positive also dropped dramatically, from 47% in 2019 to 23% in 2022. Those who say it was completely negative, increased from 8% in 2019 to 25% in 2022.

Minor differences emerge by gender: male respondents are more likely to say it is negative and completely negative across all four segments compared to females. The biggest gap between men and women is on the impact of the dominant party system on politics, where 34% of men say it is completely negative compared to 25% of women. Minor differences emerge among urban and rural respondents.

Through education, notable differences arise. Across all four categories, respondents who are graduates (or above) share the highest percentage of negative and completely negative responses. In contrast, respondents with no education share the highest percentage of positive responses in all four questions. Furthermore, the percentage of positive responses decreases as education levels increase.

A similar pattern is noted by income. As income increases, so does skepticism: respondents with income greater than 50,000 TK or more likely to select completely negative, while respondents with less than 5,000 TK have the highest percentage of positive responses. As income levels rise, responses shift from positive to negative, a pattern consistent with the increase in education levels. The figure below illustrates the impact on politics.

Figure 5.3: Impact of a dominant party system on politics (by income).



5.5 Discussing and expressing political views

Respondents are asked if they discuss political affairs with family and friends, and if they feel free to express political opinions. Respondents who say they “almost always” discuss political affairs with friends is low, at 4%. On the other hand, the percentage who rarely discuss political affairs decreased from 23% in 2019 to 14% in 2022. During the same time, respondents who rarely discuss politics increased from 57% to 62% in 2022.

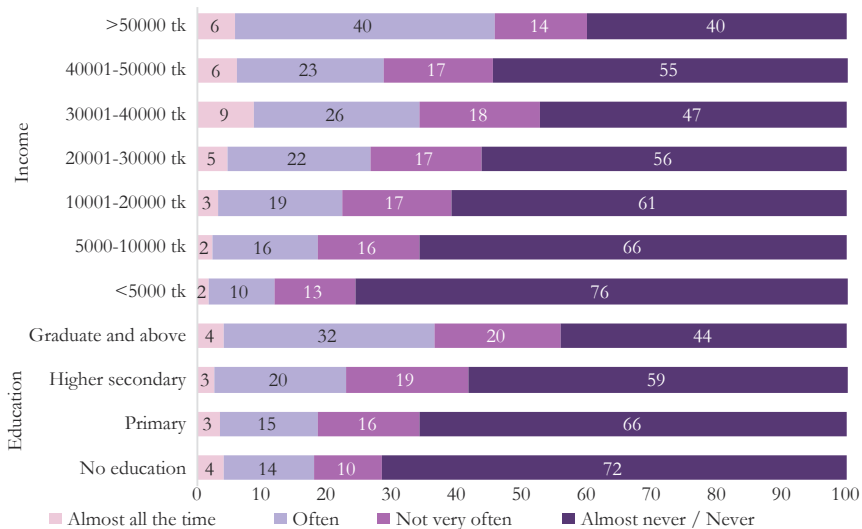
Discussing politics is significantly less popular among women than men, half of men (50%) say they rarely (or never) discuss political affairs, compared to 73% of women.

Differences emerge by age, for example, respondents aged 46–55 years are more likely to discuss politics (31% say often or almost all the time), compared to those aged 18–25 at 20%, and 21% of respondents 26–35 years of age.

A pattern emerges with education, as education levels increase, so does the willingness to discuss politics with friends. For example, only 18% of respondents with no education discuss politics with friends, compared to 23% who completed higher secondary, and 36% with graduate and above degree. See Figure 5-4 below.

This pattern is also visible across income groups, as respondents with higher income are more likely to discuss political affairs: 46% of those who make more than 50,000 TK compared to 12% who make less than 5000 TK per month.

Figure 5.4: How often do you discuss political affairs with friends (by education, and income)?



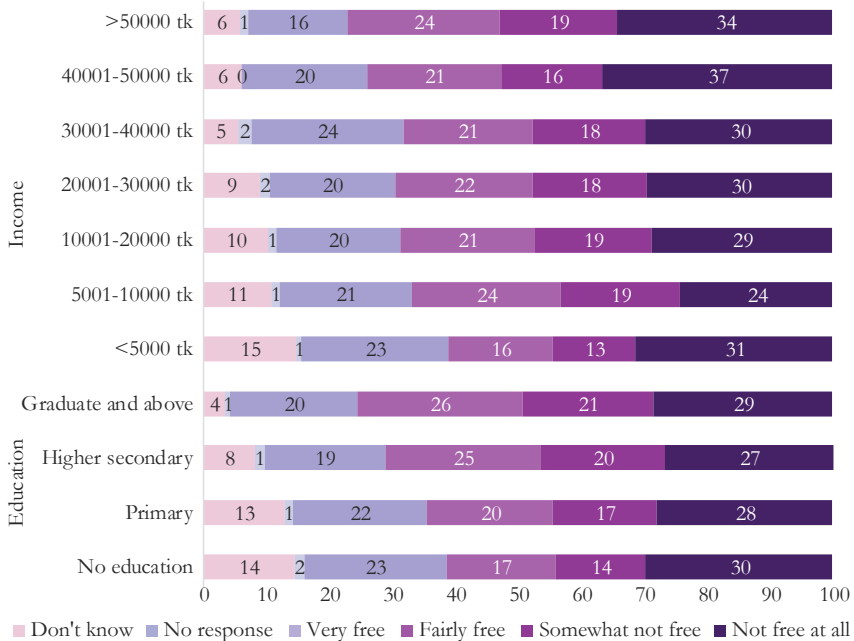
When asked if people in their locality feel free to express their political opinions, 43% say people in their locality feel free (fairly and very free), an increase from 37% in 2019. In comparison, 47% did not feel free (somewhat and not free at all) in 2022, compared to 57% in 2019.

A higher percentage of male respondents (50%) say people in their locality are somewhat or fully unfree in expressing their political opinions, compared to 43% of female respondents. Dismissible differences emerge among urban and rural populations.

A pattern emerges by education, respondents with higher education are more likely to feel their locality is more restrained in expressing political opinions than respondents from lower education groups.

Similar patterns emerge by income category: as income increases so does concern regarding freedom of expression.

Figure 5.5: To what extent do the people of your locality feel free to express their political opinions (by education and income)?



Respondents aged 26–35 years old are more likely to say people in their locality did not feel free at all to express their political opinion.

5.6 Deliberative democracy and rural justice forums: Awareness and effectiveness

Questions in the following section are only asked rural respondents (7,450n) to assess awareness and effectiveness of the local government forums in rural Bangladesh.

Respondents are asked about their knowledge of Ward Shobha and Open Budget Meetings (OBM). A small percentage, 9% knew about *Unmukto Budget Shobha* (OBM), a decrease from 16% in 2019. Among the 9% who know about OBMs, 48% know where they take place, a decrease from 77% in 2019.

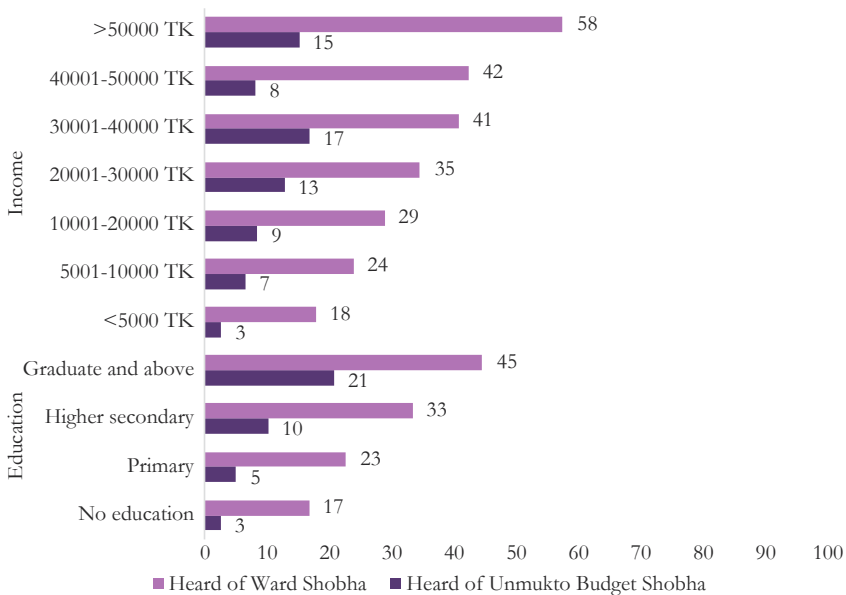
Similarly, 28% have heard of Ward Shobha, a decrease from 34% in 2019. And 86% of respondents who heard of Ward Shobha could correctly identify where it takes place, consistent with 87% in 2019.

Female participants are less familiar with Ward Shobha (22%) and OBM (6%), compared with male respondents at 35% and 11% respectively.

Education levels appear to be markers of knowledge about these forums. Respondents with graduate-level education or above are most likely to know about Ward Shobha (45%) and OBM (21%). In contrast, respondents with no formal education are much less likely in this regard (17% and 3% respectively).

Similarly, respondents' knowledge about Ward Shobha steadily rises with income. More than half of the respondents who make 50,000 TK know of Ward Shobha, 58%. In contrast, only 18% of the respondents who made less than 5,000 TK know about Ward Shobha. This latter income group also had the lowest awareness of OBM (3%).

Figure 5.6: Knowledge about Ward Shobha and open budget forums (by education and income).



Respondents in Barishal are most likely to have heard about Ward Shobha (41%) compared to 20% in Dhaka. Respondents in Sylhet 17% had the highest percentage who knew about OBM compared to the lowest in Khulna, 5%.

5.6.1 Social safety net

Respondents are asked about the social safety net services provided by the government. A majority, 96% are aware of the different cards and allowances distributed by the government, similar to the 99% in 2019. More than half say they are sufficient (somewhat enough and enough) at 59%, an increase from 48% in 2019.

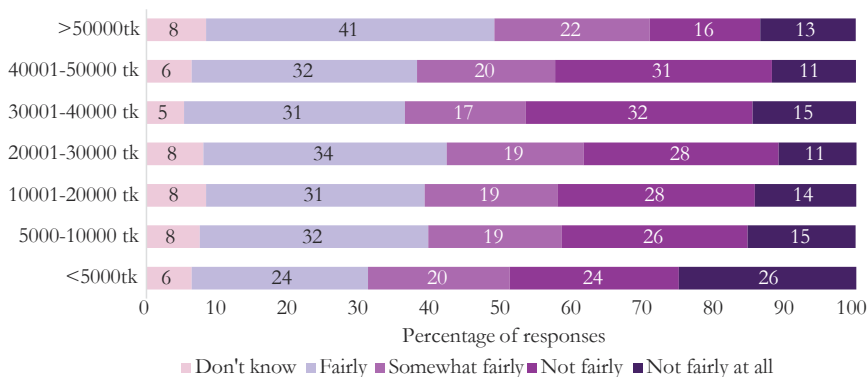
A similar pattern emerges when asked about fairness in distribution, an increased percentage say the social safety net distribution is done “fairly,” from 20% in 2019 to 32% in 2022. Respondents perceiving that the distribution is “not fairly” decreased from 40% to 28% during this time.

Figure 5.7: Sufficiency and distribution of social safety nets (by year).



By income, half of respondents who make less than 5000 TK per month say the distribution was unfair (not fair or not fair at all). On the other hand, respondents who make more than 50,000 TK per month are less likely to feel this way (29%).

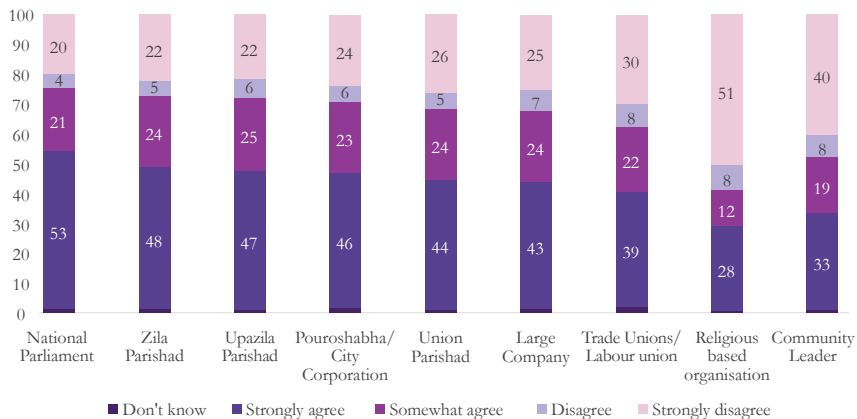
Figure 5.8: Fairness of distribution of social safety nets (by income).



5.7 Gender and governance

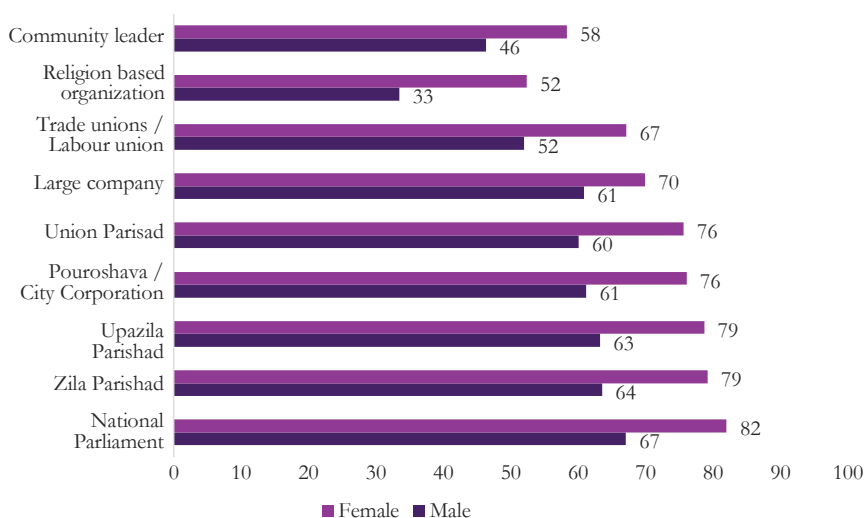
The survey explores respondent views on gender-related issues, including the representation of women in various leadership positions across different types of institutions, government offices, religious places, and private organizations. Respondents are asked if they agree or disagree with women's leadership in these roles. The highest proportion of strong agreement is for women's participation in the national parliament, with 53%. Strong support for female leadership in government offices including Zila Parishad (48%), Upazila Parishad (47%), Pouroshabha/ City Corporation (46%), and Union Parishad (44%) also emerges. On the opposite spectrum, the *Survey* reveals the biggest disagreement toward women's leadership in religious organizations (51%) and community leader positions (40%). These findings are consistent with previous years.

Figure 5.9: Support for female leadership in different institutions.



Across all categories, females show higher levels of support for women's engagement in leadership roles. The largest gap in support between men and women is a 19% gap in support for women's leadership in religious-based organizations, with 52% of women in support compared to 33% of men.

Figure 5.10: Support for female leadership in various institutions (by gender).



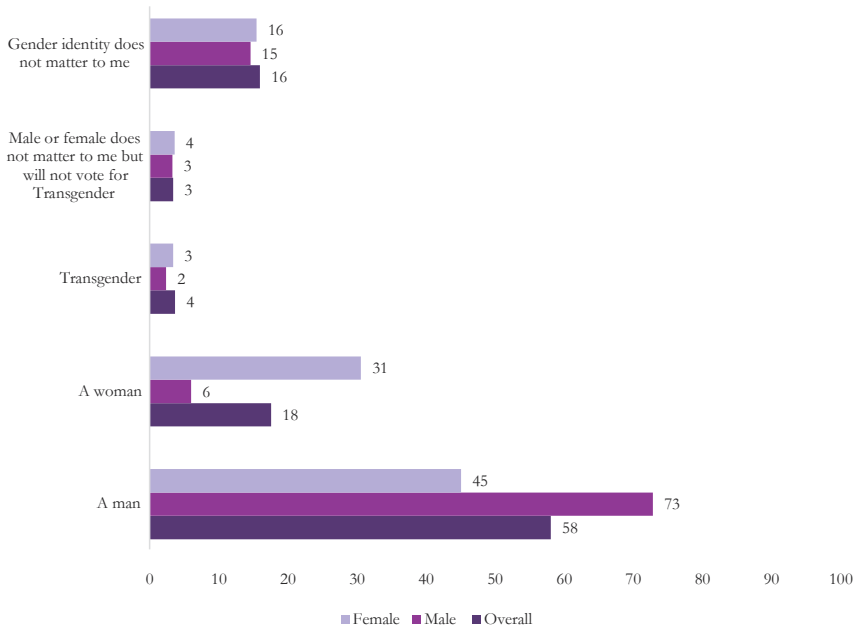
Income does not play a notable role in support for women’s leadership roles. Among those who make more than 50,000 TK per month, the highest levels of strong support are for Zila Parishad (76%), whereas for those earning less than 5,000 TK per month, the highest support is for women’s leadership in the National Parliament (72%).

The highest opposition to women’s leadership in the National Parliament is among those earning 50,000 TK per month (29% disagreed, however, this is relative to the range of 23% to 26% for the same category).

Survey findings reveal the strongest opposition to female leadership within religious-based organizations, where respondents earning more than 50,000 TK showed the most opposition at 69%, compared to those earning less than 5000 TK, at 50%.

Respondents are asked about their preferences for whom to vote for in a national election if they would be for a man, woman, transgender, either man or woman but not a transgendered person, or if gender did not matter. More than half, 58% say they will vote for a man (73% male respondents, 45% female respondents), 18% will vote for a woman (31% female, 6% male), 4% say transgender, and 16% say gender did not matter. Male and female responses for the latter two categories are consistent.

Figure 5.11: Irrespective of the qualification of a man, woman, or third gender, who would you prefer to vote for in your constituency in the national election? (by gender).

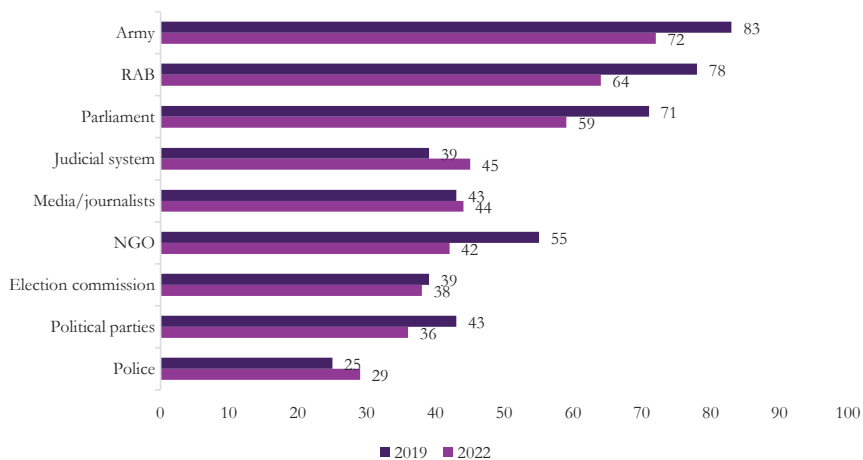


5.8 Trust in institution

The *survey* evaluated citizens’ trust in various institutions. Figure 5.12 indicates that elected offices and officials are highly trusted. 55% of the respondents found Upazila Parishad and Union Parishad Chairman highly trustworthy. For national parliament, this percentage is 59%. The Judiciary (45%) and the election commission (38%) had lower percentages in this regard than all the elected and administrative officials/offices. In contrast, 36% of the respondents felt that political parties are trustworthy.

Regarding other agencies, the Bangladesh Army was highly trusted by 72% of respondents, followed by 64% who trusted the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB). In contrast, the Police were trusted by 29% of the respondents. When asked about trust in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the media, approximately 42% of respondents found NGOs to be highly trustworthy, while around 44% expressed similar views about the media.

Figure 5.12: Trust in different institutions.

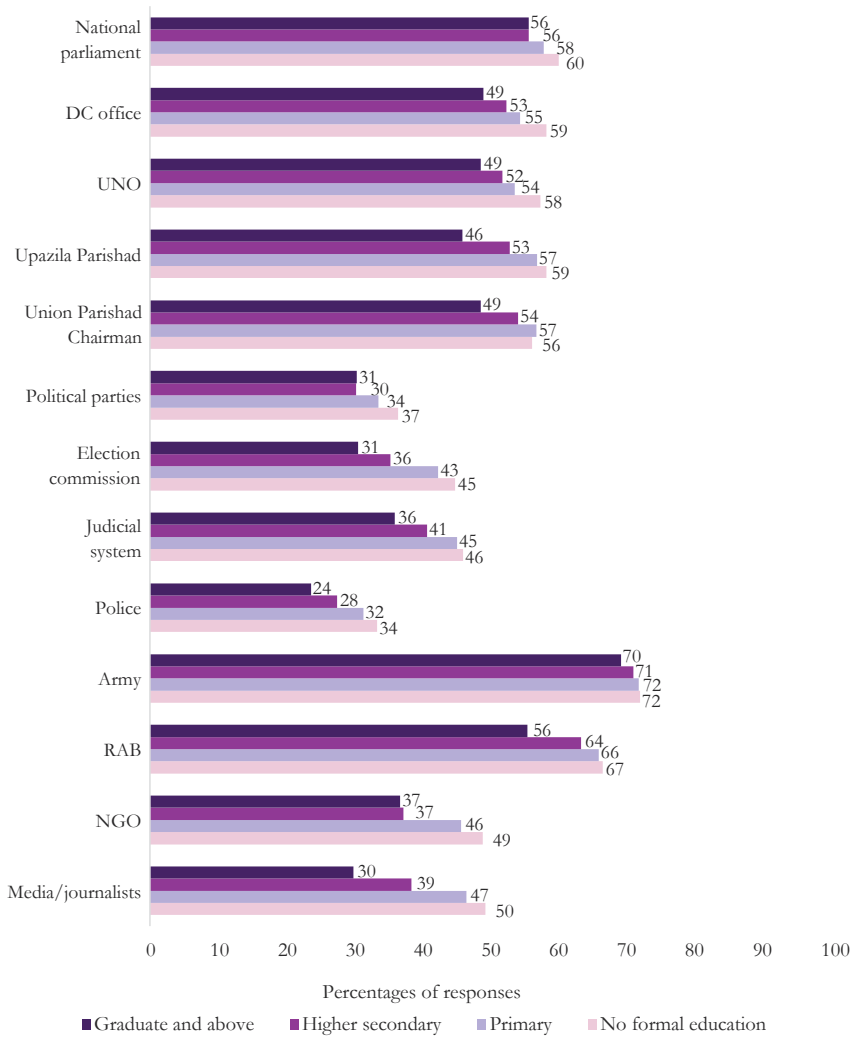


* showing % of responses expressing high trust

In contrast to 2019, trust in certain institutions such as the judiciary and police experienced a slight increase, while trust in the majority of other institutes declined. In 2022, about 72% and 64% of respondents expressed high trust in Army and RAB respectively, compared a higher percentage of respondents expressed high trust in those two institutions in 2019 (83% and 78%). A similar trend is noted with respect to political parties and parliament.

There is not much difference when the responses are disaggregated by education level. The no-education group showed the lowest percentages among the four groups for the national parliament, Upazila Parishad, Union Parishad Chairman, judicial system, Police, and the Army, albeit with very little difference.

Figure 5.13: Trust in institutions (by education).





Students accessing the internet and their laptop at Dhaka University.

06

Digitalized Bangladesh, Social Media, and Policy Influence

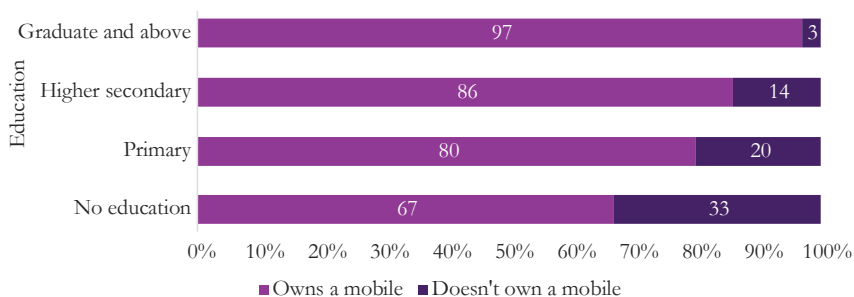
Digital Bangladesh is a vision introduced by the government to transform the country into a knowledge-based society by 2021 (Bangladesh Business Summit, n.d.). The goal of *Digital Bangladesh* was to leverage technology and innovation to improve education, healthcare, and other sectors, and to promote economic growth and development. To achieve this vision, the government launched several initiatives to expand access to digital technologies and promote digital literacy. These include programs to expand broadband Internet access, increase the availability of digital content and services, and provide training and support for entrepreneurs and start-ups.

6.1 Access to mobile phones and the internet

A notable aspect of Bangladesh's digital transformation is the widespread adoption of Facebook, a popular platform for communication, news, and commerce in the country. Facebook has played a significant role in connecting people across the country and promoting digital inclusion and social development. However, there have been concerns about the negative impact of Facebook on society, particularly in the spread of fake news, hate speech, and political propaganda. The government has taken steps to address these issues, including the introduction of laws and regulations to combat online misinformation and hate speech (Sakib, 2022).

Overall, Bangladesh's digital transformation is a step towards creating a more inclusive and prosperous society. Over the past few years, Bangladesh has seen massive increases in the use of mobile phones and the internet. The *Survey* findings reflect this trend quite well. A majority (82%) of respondents have their own mobile phones, higher among men (91%) than women (76%). Minor differences emerge among urban and rural respondents (84% and 82%, respectively). Mobile ownership increases with higher education, for example, 67% of those with no education compared to 97% with graduate and above level education have a mobile phone.

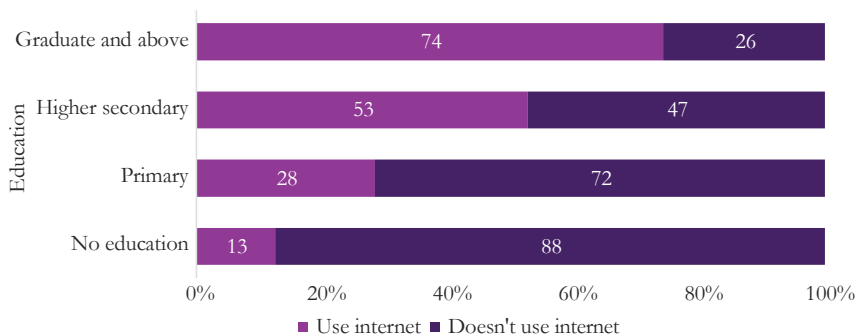
Figure 6.1: Mobile phone ownership (by education).



No discernible differences arise by income.

Although nearly half (47%) of respondents use the Internet, differences exist by gender with 51% of men and 38% of women using the Internet. Urban (47%) respondents are more likely to use the Internet than rural, 43%. Access to the Internet increases with education.

Figure 6.2: Access to the internet (by education).

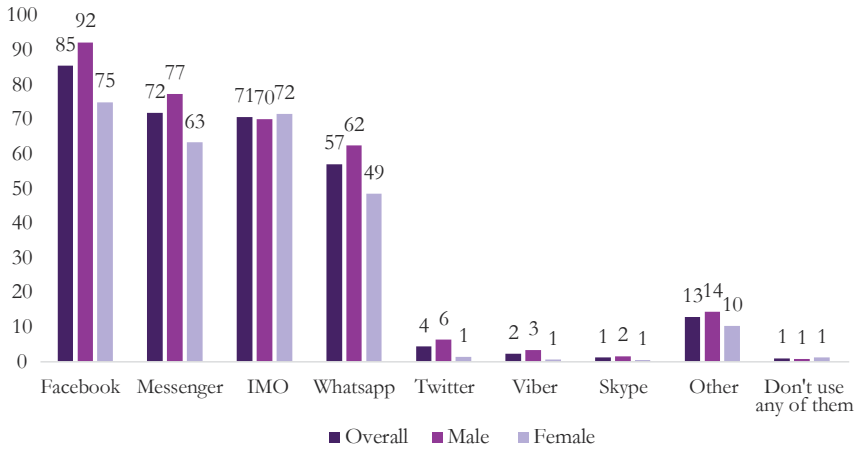


Respondents from higher income groups are also more likely to have Internet access.

6.1.1 Communicating through the Internet

Respondents who have access to the Internet were asked what platforms they use to communicate with others. A majority use Facebook (85%), Messenger (72%), and IMO (71%). Interestingly, all the platforms, except IMO, are more popular among men than women.

Figure 6.3: Communication platforms (by gender).



Facebook remains the most popular platform across all education categories. Except for IMO, the use of all other platforms increases with education.

Preferences vary by division. Facebook is most popular in Rangpur, while Messenger is most popular in Mymensingh. Preference for WhatsApp is high in Sylhet, whereas IMO is more popular in Dhaka, Chittagong, and Sylhet.

Figure 6.4: Communication platforms (by region).

	Facebook	Messenger	IMO	WhatsApp	Twitter	Viber	Skype	Other	Don't use any
Barishal	86	76	67	60	8	3	2	14	2
Chattogram	85	69	77	61	4	2	1	10	1
Dhaka	81	65	80	56	3	2	1	14	1
Khulna	83	78	76	50	5	4	2	12	1
Mymensingh	91	87	55	50	4	2	1	5	0
Rajshahi	86	77	62	55	7	2	1	21	1
Rangpur	93	76	49	45	3	1	1	18	1
Sylhet	87	58	77	86	3	1	0	2	0

Respondents are asked what they use the platforms for. In general, the top response is making phone calls, both audio and video. Among the platforms, Facebook and Twitter are commonly used for sharing opinions on different issues, including social and political, news, entertainment, etc.

6.2 Use of Facebook

Respondents who use Facebook/Twitter were asked why they use these platforms. Over a fourth (28%) use Facebook to obtain national news, 21% use it for entertainment purposes, 16% share news/ideas/concerns with friends and family, 10% communicate with family and friends, and 6% use the platform to watch movies.

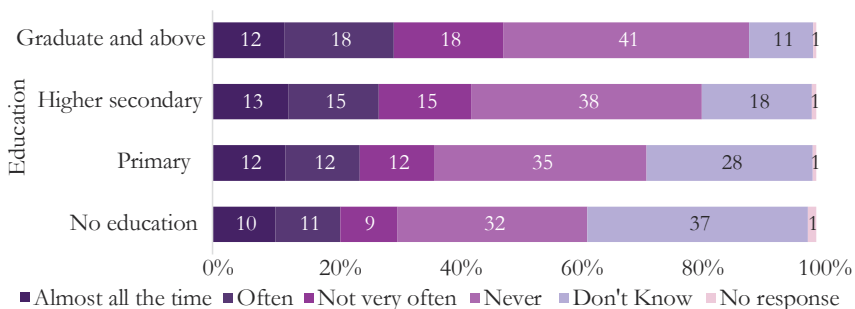
The percentage of respondents using Facebook to obtain national news decreases with education: 74% with no education, 66% primary, 63% higher secondary, and 65% graduate and above use Facebook to obtain national news. There are dismissible differences by gender, 66% of males and 65% of females use Facebook to obtain national news.

6.2.1 Ensuring governance through Facebook

Half of the respondents say Facebook cannot be used to ensure governance responsiveness of the state (combining not very often and never). Less than one-third of respondents (29%) believe citizens could ensure governance responsiveness (almost all the time or often) through Facebook. Differences by location are not very different.

However, men are slightly more likely to view that Facebook can be used to make state responsive (28%) compared to women (25%). Pessimism regarding the use of Facebook to enable governance responsiveness increases with education, with 21% of those with no education compared to 30% with graduates and above.

Figure 6.5: Can citizens ensure the responsiveness of the state through Facebook (by education)?

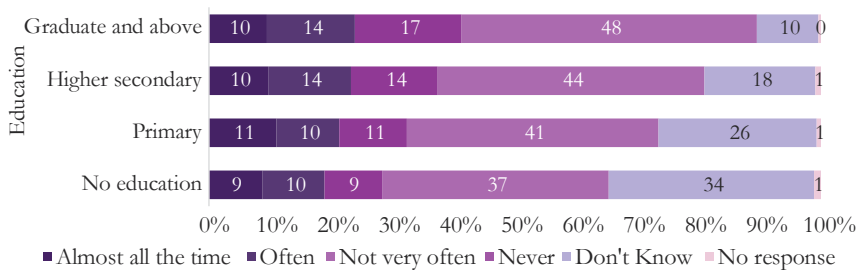


Respondents across all income groups are consistent on whether citizens can ensure responsiveness of the state through Facebook.

6.2.2 Ensuring accountability through Facebook

The *Survey* explores if citizens can ensure accountability of the state through Facebook, 55% said Facebook cannot be used to ensure accountability of the state (not very often and never). Less than one-third of respondents (27%) say citizens can ensure accountability (all the time or often) through Facebook. Differences by location and gender are not very pronounced. Pessimism regarding the use of Facebook by citizens to hold the state accountable increases with education (see Figure 6.6):

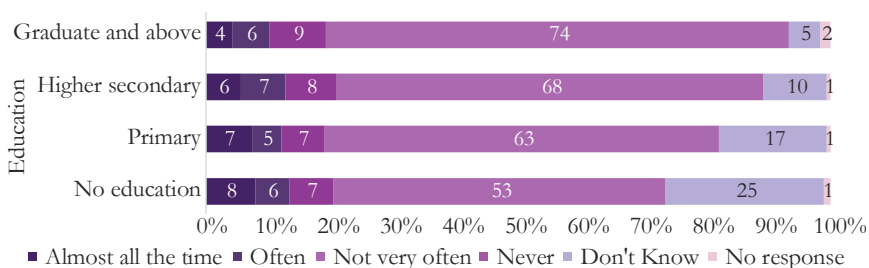
Figure 6.6: Can citizens ensure the accountability of the state through Facebook (by education)?



6.3 Posting opinions on Facebook

A majority of respondents do not feel safe posting opinions on the national political governance of Facebook. Seventy-three percent say that it is never or not very often safe to post political opinions on Facebook. Only 7% say it is generally safe. Reticence toward political opinions on Facebook increases with education. Eighty-three percent of respondents who have a graduate degree say it is not safe to post their opinions regarding political governance, compared to 61% of those without a formal education.

Figure 6.7: Do you feel safe posting opinions regarding the political governance of the country on Facebook (by education)?

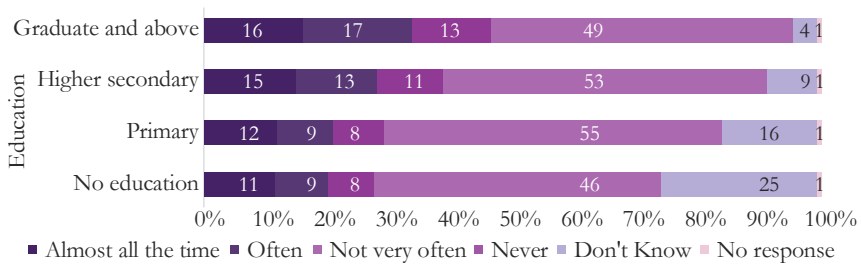


There are no major differences by location.

Respondents who make more per month are more likely to think that it is never safe to post opinions regarding the political governance of the country than other income groups.

Fourteen percent of respondents say it is always safe to post about social issues across the country (12% women and 15% men). However, 63% say it is never or not very often safe to post opinions about social issues in the country. While there are no differences by gender and location, opinions vary by education level. Respondents with higher levels of education are more cautious about posting about social issues on Facebook (not very often and never).

Figure 6.8: Do you feel safe posting opinions regarding social issues of the country on Facebook (by education)?

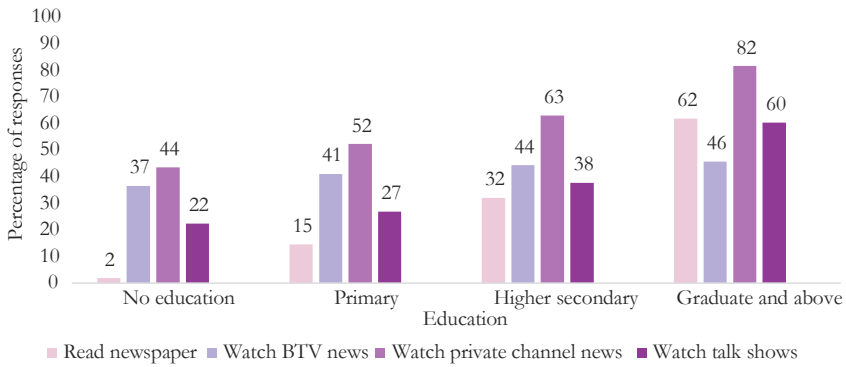


6.4 Freedom of speech & press

6.4.1 Trust in media

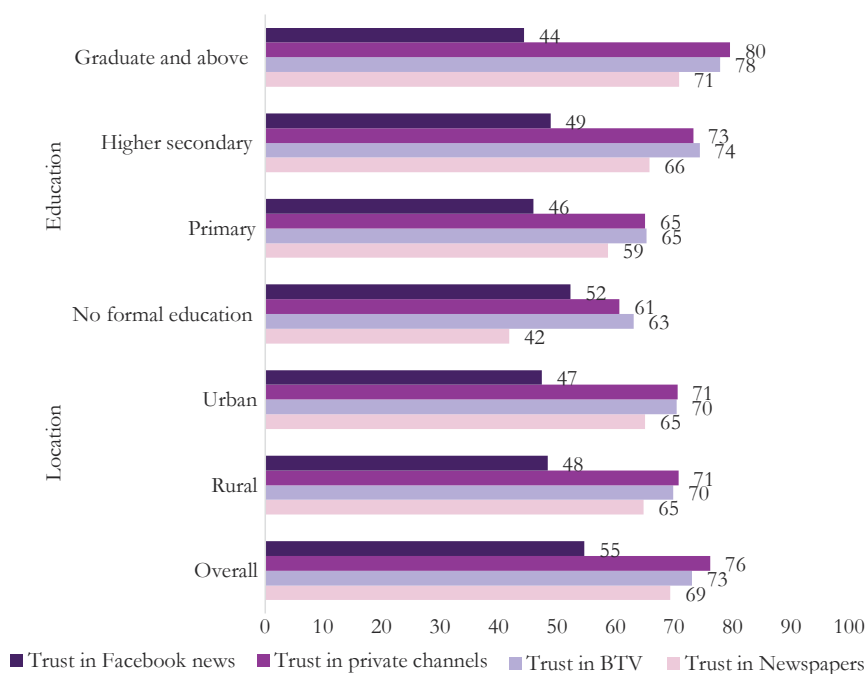
Findings suggest that 60% follow private channels for news, followed by 44% who watch BTV for news. About 36% watch TV talk shows. Among the internet users, 73% follow news through Facebook.

Figure 6.9: Preferred media sources for news (by education).



There is a relationship between trust in different media and education. As education levels increase, so do respondents’ tendency to follow the news from various media also increases. Talk shows are mostly popular for respondents who have completed their graduation and above. The survey asked if people trust the media from which they consume news or information. Among people who follow private channels for news, 76% said they trust the source. Among those who watch BTV, 73% trust the source. Among those who read the news from newspapers, 69% trust them. Among Facebook users, 55% trust the news that they receive from Facebook. (Figure 6.10)

Figure 6.10: Trust in different media sources (by education, location, and overall).

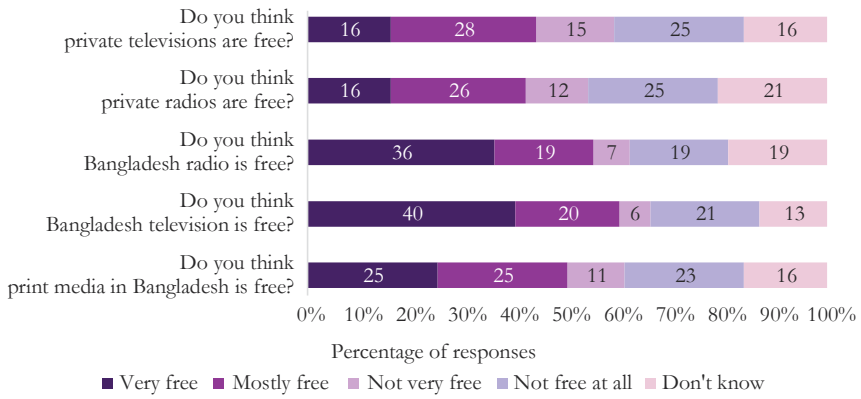


The condition of trust does not vary by location. On the other hand, respondents with no formal education have a higher level of trust in Facebook news (52%), and this is lowest among respondents with a graduate degree and above, 44%.

6.4.2 Freedom of media

Findings show respondents feel Bangladesh television (60%) and print media (50%) are the most trusted as very free and mostly free. Private radio and private television are rated as less free.

Figure 6.11: Freedom of media.





Newly established metro train takes a trial run at the Mirpur area in Dhaka.

07

Inclusive Development

7.1 Understanding development

Bangladesh has made significant progress in inclusive development over the past few decades. Despite being a low-income country, the country has achieved remarkable success in reducing poverty, improving social indicators, and promoting economic growth.

One of the key factors contributing to Bangladesh's inclusive development is its commitment to social safety net programs. These programs are designed to provide targeted assistance to vulnerable and marginalized groups, including the elderly, disabled, and female-headed households (Bank, 2019). The government has also prioritized education, healthcare, and nutrition programs, contributing to improvements in human development indicators such as literacy rates, life expectancy, and infant mortality.

In addition, Bangladesh has made efforts to promote inclusive economic growth, particularly in the agricultural sector. The government has implemented policies to support small-scale farmers and increase their productivity, which has helped to reduce poverty in rural areas. The country has also experienced significant growth in the ready-made garments industry, which has provided employment opportunities for millions of low-skilled workers, including women.

Climate change and environmental degradation also pose substantial challenges, particularly for vulnerable communities such as small-scale farmers and coastal communities.

Overall, while Bangladesh has made significant progress in inclusive development, there is still much work to be done to ensure that all members of society can participate in and benefit from the country's economic and social development.

Respondents are asked what they understood by the term 'development' of the country. More than half, 67% consider the development of infrastructure to be the 'development' of the country. For 52%, the development of everything was needed as a precursor to ensure the development of the country. This includes economic, agricultural, health systems development, and industrial plants, ensuring business development

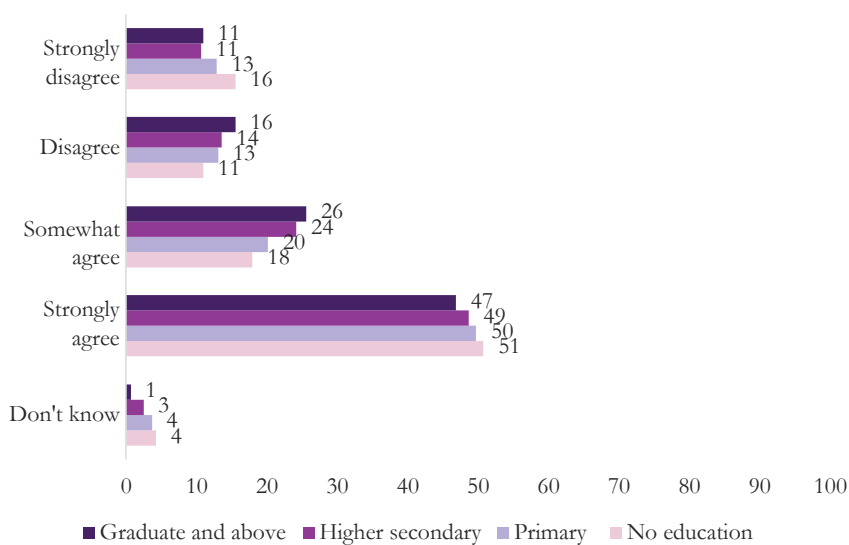
and financial growth, developing the fisheries sector, finding mineral resources, increasing salaries of government employees, and improving quality of life.

The third most cited metric of development according to respondents is the development of education (36%). Development of electricity, water, and gas (17%), poverty reduction (12%), development of religious infrastructure (11%), employment generation (11%), price control (10%), development of environment (10%), law and order (8%), other (6%) and political development (5%) also emerge. Minor differences emerge among urban and rural respondents.

7.2 Perceptions regarding inclusive development

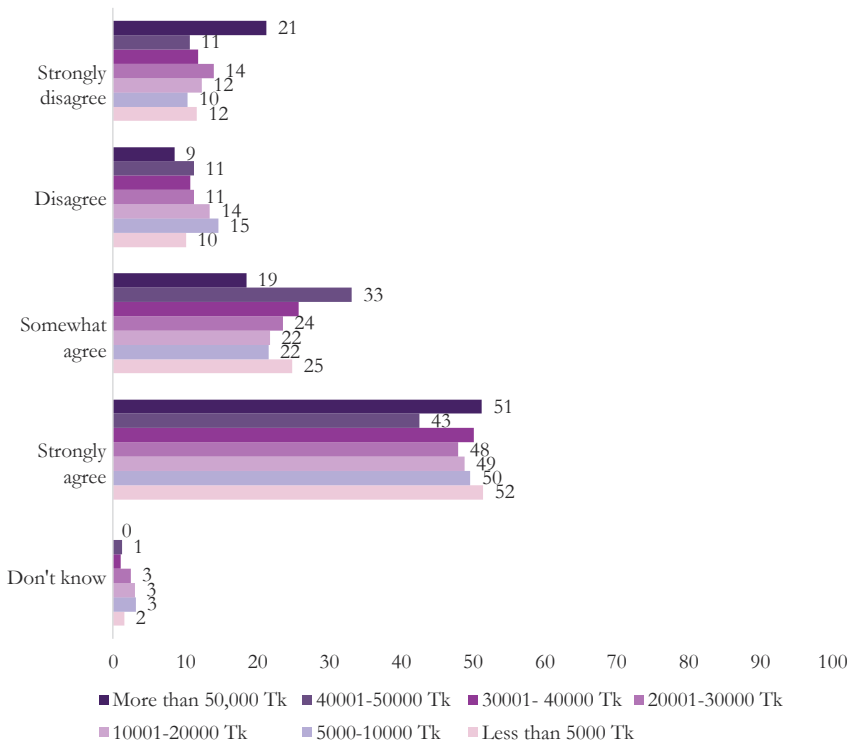
Respondents were asked if, and to what degree the current development outcomes are beneficial for all income classes. Minor differences emerge between men and women. Differences do emerge by education level. Respondents with no education are more likely to strongly agree that developmental outcomes are beneficial for all income classes (51%) compared to 47% of those with graduate or above education.

Figure 7.1: Do you believe the current development outcomes are beneficial for all income classes (by education)?



Respondents earning more than 50,000 TK are more likely to strongly disagree current development outcomes are beneficial (21%) compared to 12% of those who make less than 5,000 TK per month.

Figure 7.2: Do you believe the current development outcomes are beneficial for all income classes (By income)?





Protests broke out after a video of a group of men stripping and attacking a woman in a south-eastern district went public through Facebook.

08

Social Cohesion, Trust and Rohingya Issues

8.1 Trust

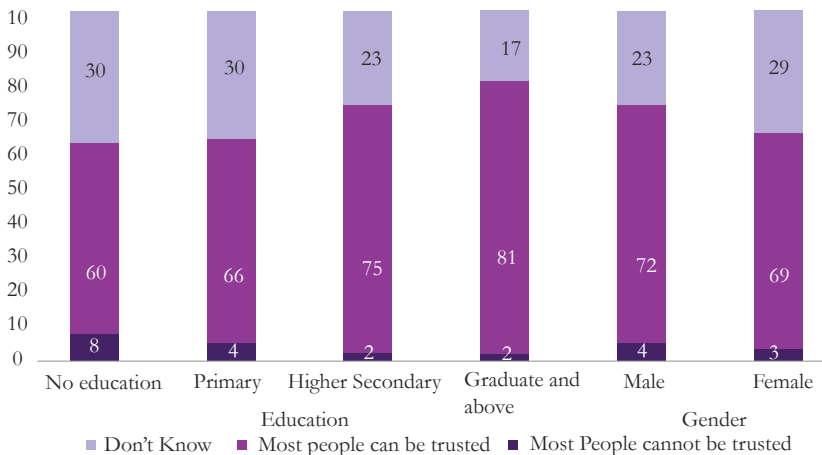
Social cohesion, trust, and participation in a society are critical drivers of long-term stability, prosperity, and economic growth. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) describes a cohesive society as one that “works towards the well-being of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalization, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members the opportunity of upward social mobility” (OECD, 2023).

Respondents are asked about trust and faith in one another, their neighbors, and the wider community. Seventy percent agree “Before trusting people we have to be very careful in dealing with people.” For 28% “most people cannot be trusted”, whereas for 3% the opposite is true and “most people can be trusted.”

Women are more likely to say “most people cannot be trusted” at 29% compared to 23% of men. There are minor differences among those who say “Before trusting people, you have to be very careful in dealing with people” with 69% women and 72% men.

Respondents with a graduate-level degree are more likely to believe this statement than other education groups, at 81%. Interestingly, for the statement “most people cannot be trusted”, respondents with a graduate degree or higher are less likely to believe this statement than others.

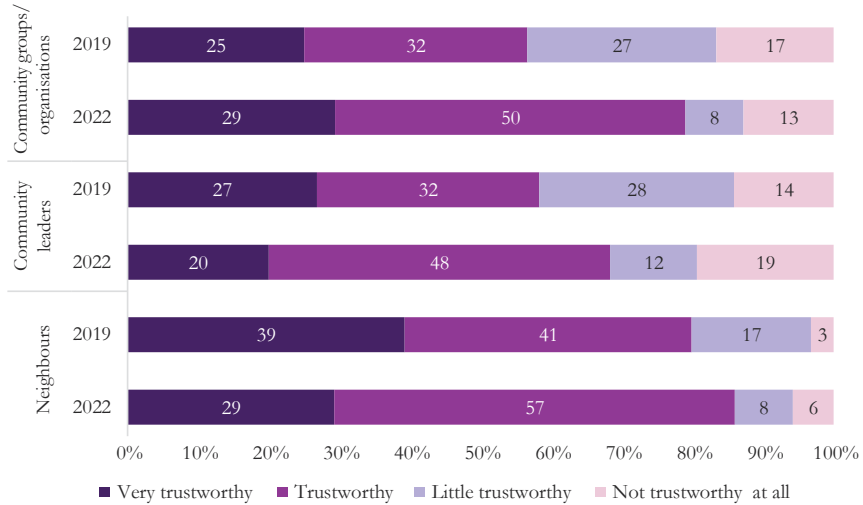
Figure 8.1: Attitudes toward trust (by gender and education).



There are no major differences between rural and urban respondents.

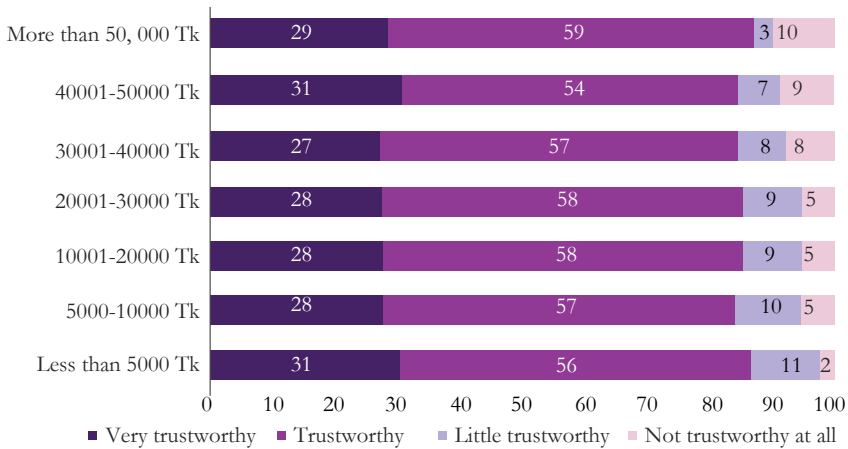
Respondents are asked to rate trust in neighbors, community leaders, and their community groups or organizations. Overall levels of trust increased toward neighbors and community leaders.

Figure 8.2: Trust in neighbours, community leaders, and community groups/ organisations.



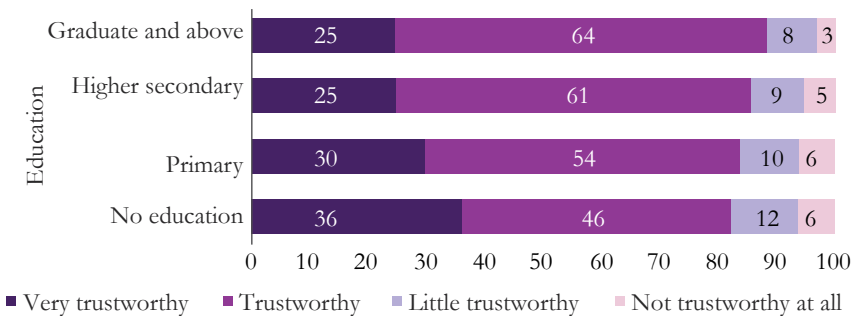
Levels of trust are consistent across all income groups. Interestingly, the proportion who have no trust at all in neighbors increases with income: from 2% of those who make less than 5,000 TK per month to 10% who make more than 50,000 TK per month.

Figure 8.3: Trust toward neighbors (by income).



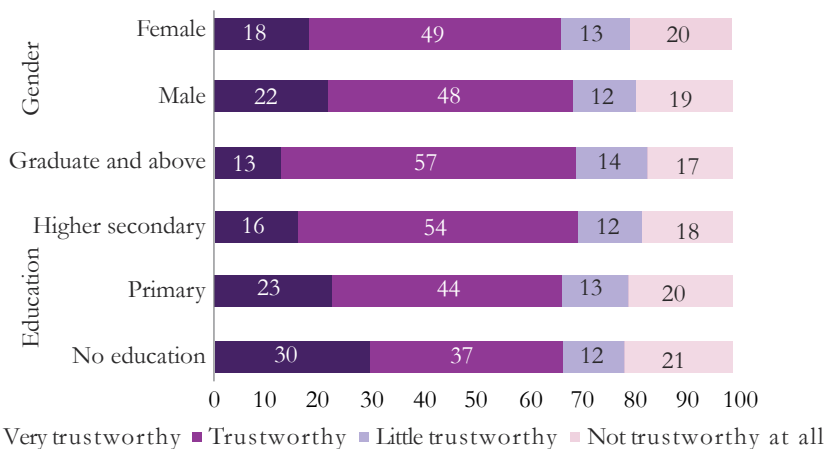
Male respondents are more likely to say neighbors are very trustworthy, 33% compared to 23% female. There are no major differences between urban and rural respondents. The proportion of respondents who have no formal education is more likely to say neighbors are very trustworthy (36%) compared to 25% of respondents who have a high school degree, and 25% with a graduate or above.

Figure 8.4: Trust toward neighbours (by education).



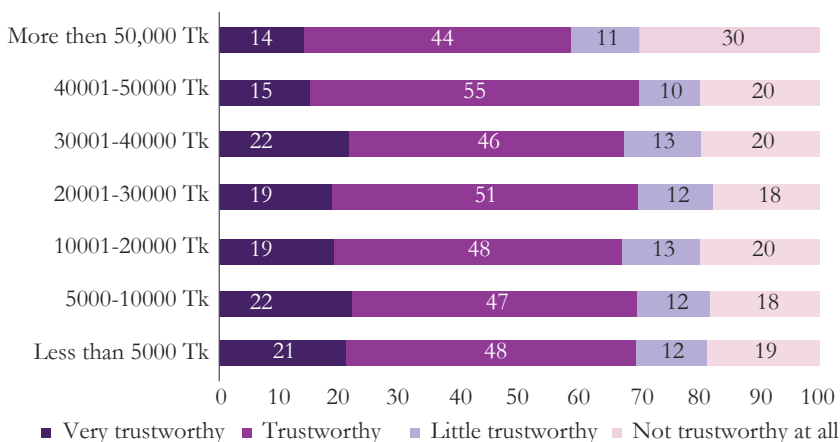
Respondents are asked about their level of trust toward community leaders. There were no notable differences by gender among urban and rural respondents. Some differences emerge by education, 13% of respondents with a graduate level and above find their community leaders very trustworthy, compared to 23% of respondents with primary education, and 30% with no formal education.

Figure 8.5: Trust toward community leaders (by gender and education)?



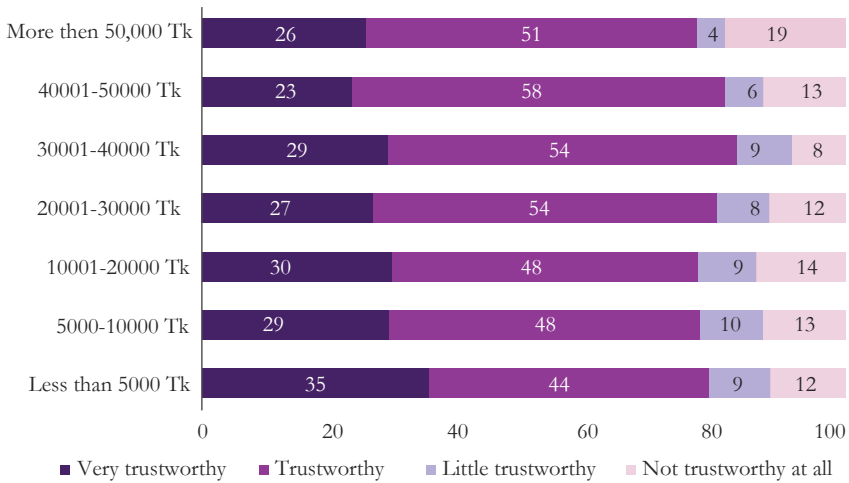
Some differences emerge by income and overall trust. Respondents earning more than 50,000 TK a month had the least trust in their community leaders, with 30% who say they were ‘not trustworthy at all’, compared to a range of 18-20% of respondents in all other income groups who do not trust their community leaders at all.

Figure 8.6: Trust in toward community leader (by income).



Similar trends can be seen in trust toward community groups/organizations. Respondents who make more than 50,000 TK are more likely to say community groups/organizations are not trustworthy at all (19%), compared to 12% of those who make less than 5,000 TK per month.

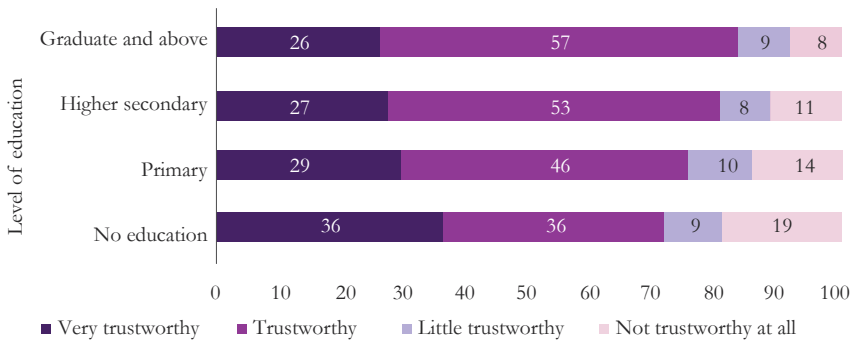
Figure 8.7: Trust in community groups/ organizations (by income).



Findings reveal education also plays a role in perceived levels of trust toward community groups and organizations. For example, 26% of those with a graduate degree or above say that community groups and organizations are very trustworthy compared to 36% who have no education.

Minor differences emerge by gender as men are more likely to say community leaders and organizations are very trustworthy (31%), compared to women (27%).

Figure 8.8: Trust in community groups/ organizations (by education).



8.2 Attitudes towards Rohingya's

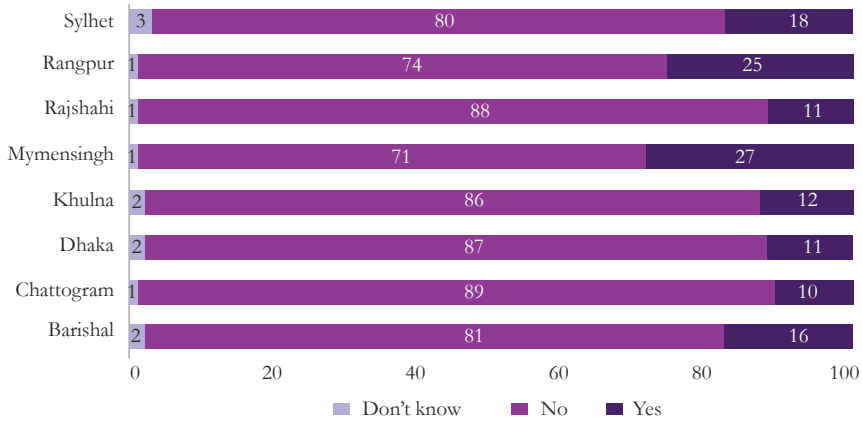
The humanitarian crisis involving the Rohingya refugees has been ongoing since 2017 when hundreds of thousands of Rohingya fled Myanmar's Rakhine state to escape persecution and violence. As of 2021, over 900,000 Rohingya are living in Bangladesh (UNHCR, 2022), one of the largest refugee populations in the world. The refugee camps are overcrowded and lack basic infrastructure, such as sanitation facilities and healthcare services. About 20,000 refugees so far have been relocated from camps in Cox's Bazar to Bhasan Char, a remote slit island in the Bay of Bengal (Molla, 2022).

The government has provided humanitarian assistance to refugees and worked with international organizations to provide aid and support. However, the situation remains dire, and there are concerns about the long-term prospects for the refugees. The government and international community have called on Myanmar to address the root causes of the crisis and create conditions for the safe and voluntary return of the Rohingya refugees (Kamruzzaman, 2022).

The *Survey* explores perceptions of Rohingya. In 2018, 34% of respondents said they would welcome Rohingya into their communities, this dropped to 15% in 2019, and again to 13% in 2022.

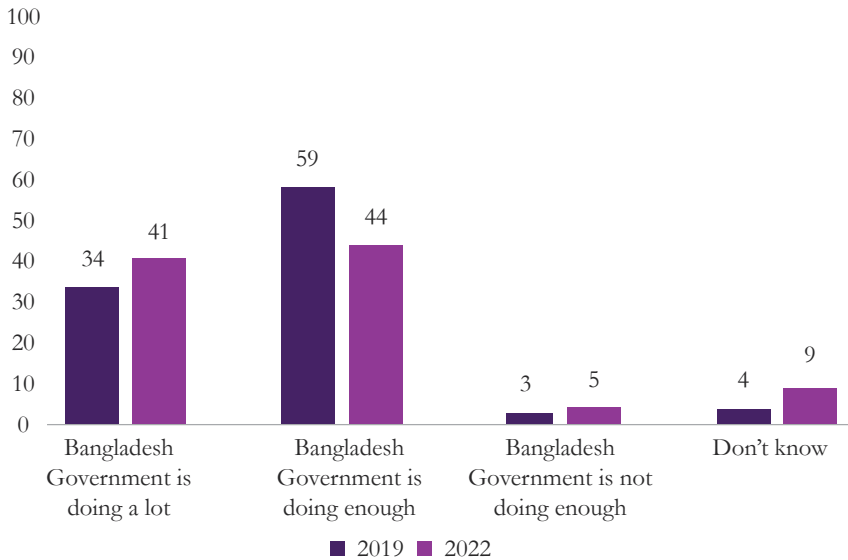
Given the proximity of where the Rohingya settlements in Cox's Bazar to Chattogram, respondents in Chattogram had the lowest level of support toward the refugees, with only 10%. Respondents in Mymensingh are more supportive with 27% who say they would welcome the refugees into their communities.

Figure 8.9: Will you welcome Rohingya refugees into your community (by region)?



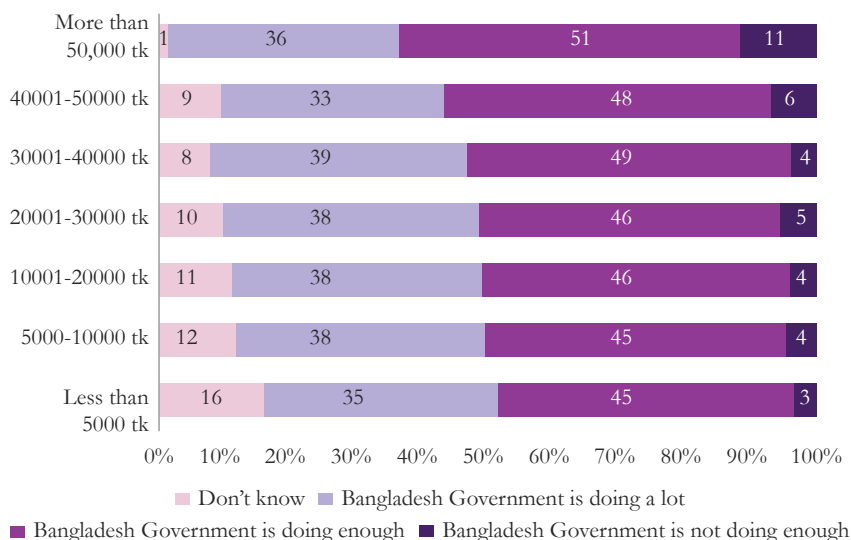
Respondents are asked if the Bangladesh government was doing enough for the Rohingya refugees. An overwhelming proportion (85%) say the government is doing enough, or a lot for the refugees, a decrease compared to 93% in 2019. Only 5% of respondents say the government is not doing enough, while 9% say they don't know.

Figure 8.10: Is the Bangladesh government doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees or not (by year)?



By income, between 33% to 39% of respondents in all income categories say the Bangladesh government is doing a lot for the Rohingya, and between 45% to 51% say the government is doing enough. Respondents in the highest income group are more likely to feel this way, at 51%, compared to 45% of respondents who earn less than 5000 TK per month.

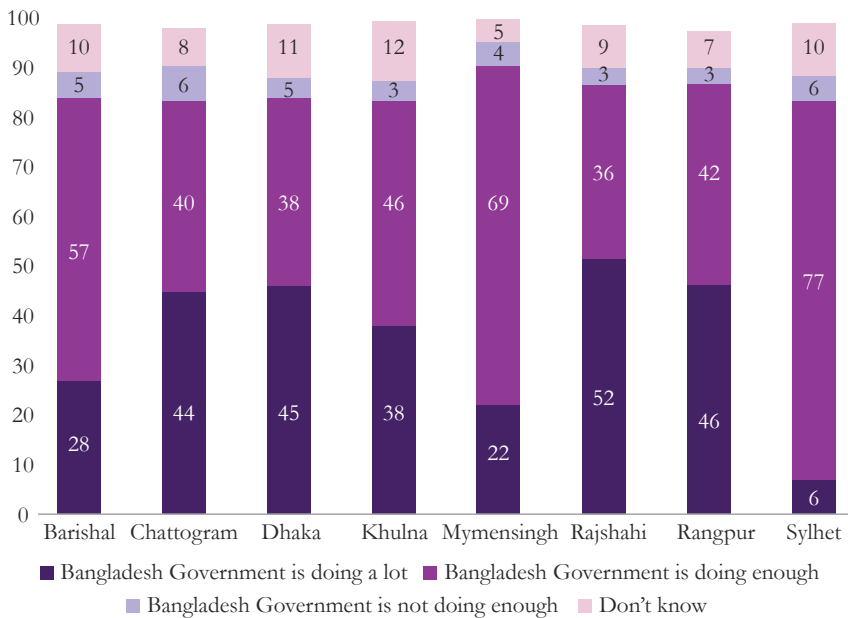
Figure 8.11: Is the Bangladesh Government doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees (by income)?



Respondents in Sylhet, Mymensingh, and Barishal are less likely to say the government is doing a lot for the Rohingya refugees at 6%, 22%, and 28% respectively.

Interestingly, respondents in Mymensingh are the most likely to say they would welcome Rohingya into their community, suggesting respondents may be most sympathetic towards Rohingya compared to other regions. Respondents in Sylhet, Mymensingh, and Barishal are among the three regions who strongly believe the government is doing enough, at 77%, 69%, and 57%.

Figure 8.12: Is the Bangladesh Government doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees (by region)?



Respondents were asked if the international community was doing enough for the Rohingya refugees. Less than half, 40% say the international community is doing enough, whereas 13% say they are not doing enough. A slightly higher proportion, 19% say the international community is doing a lot. However, almost a quarter (23%) don't know the answer to this question.

Respondents with lower levels of education are more likely to say the international community is doing a lot, for example, 20% of those with no education, compared to 13% of respondents with a graduate degree or above. Interestingly, 30% of respondents with no formal education share the highest levels of 'don't know' whether the international community's efforts are sufficient.

Figure 8.13: Is the International Community doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees (by education)?



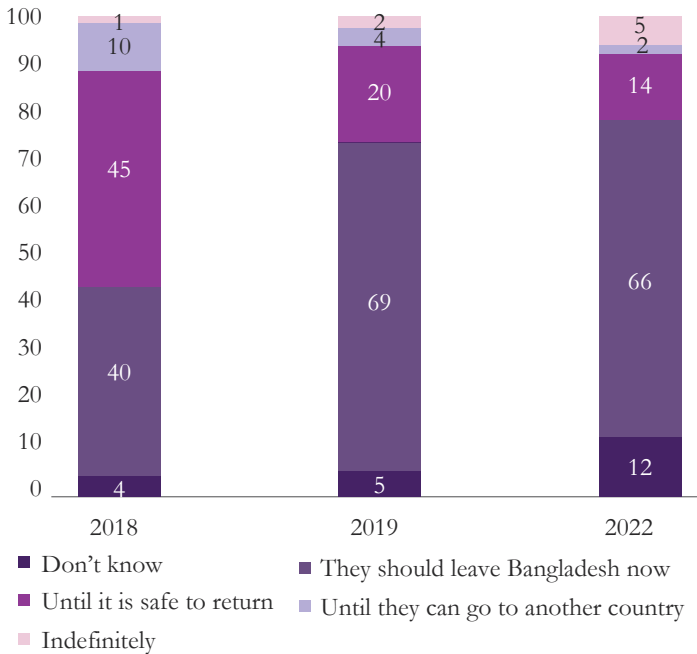
Regional variations emerge. While 30% of respondents in Chattogram say the international community is doing a lot for the Rohingya, this proportion drops to only 1% in Sylhet.

Figure 8.14: Do you think that the International Community is doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees or not (by region)?



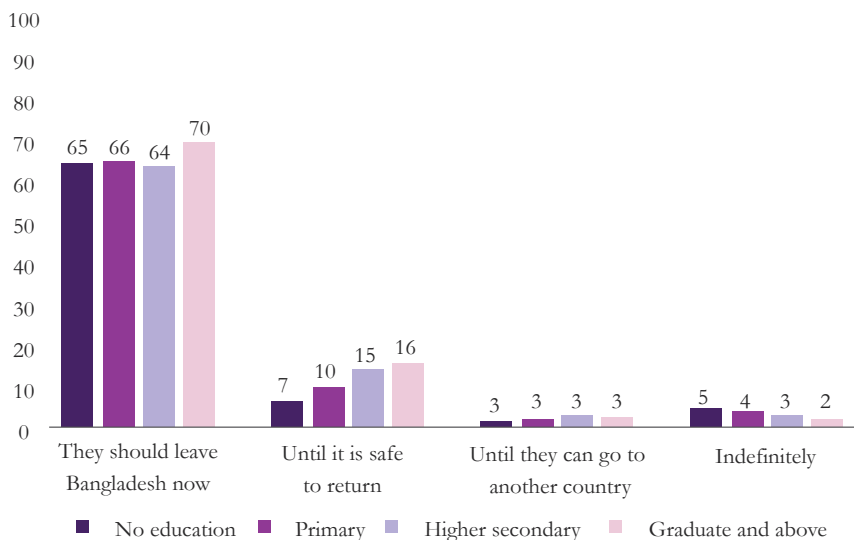
When respondents are asked how long the Rohingya should be allowed to stay in Bangladesh, overall, there are some shifts from 2018 to 2022. In 2018, 45% said Rohingya should stay until it is safe to return, by 2022, this dropped to 14%. In 2018, 40% said Rohingya should leave the country, and by 2022 this increased to 66%.

Figure 8.15: In your opinion, how long should Rohingya refugees be allowed to stay in Bangladesh?



An interesting pattern emerges from education. As education levels increase, so does the percentage who say Rohingya should stay until it is safe to return, from 7% of those with no education to 16% who have a graduate degree or above.

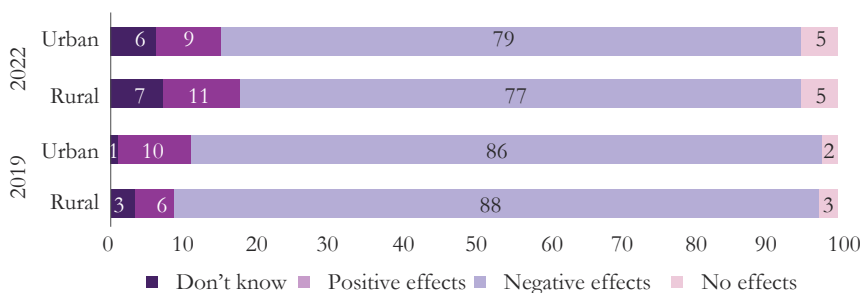
Figure 8.16: In your opinion, how long should Rohingya refugees be allowed to stay in Bangladesh (by education)?



The *Survey* also seeks to understand respondents’ perception of the impact of the influx of the Rohingya on the country. A majority, 81% believe the Rohingya refugees have brought negative effects. Only 8% say the changes have been positive, while 6% ‘don’t know’, and 4% say there are no effects.

Among rural and urban respondents, the negative effects are a decrease than findings from 2019. In 2019, 88% of rural respondents thought the effects were negative, a decrease to 77% in 2022. In 2022, more urban respondents say the effects have been negative at 79%, compared to 86% in 2019.

Figure 8.17: What kind of immediate effect did the Rohingya refugees entering Bangladesh bring (by strata and year)?





The newly constructed 6.1-kilometer Padma Bridge is the longest bridge in Bangladesh.

09

Contemporary Issues

9.1 Padma bridge

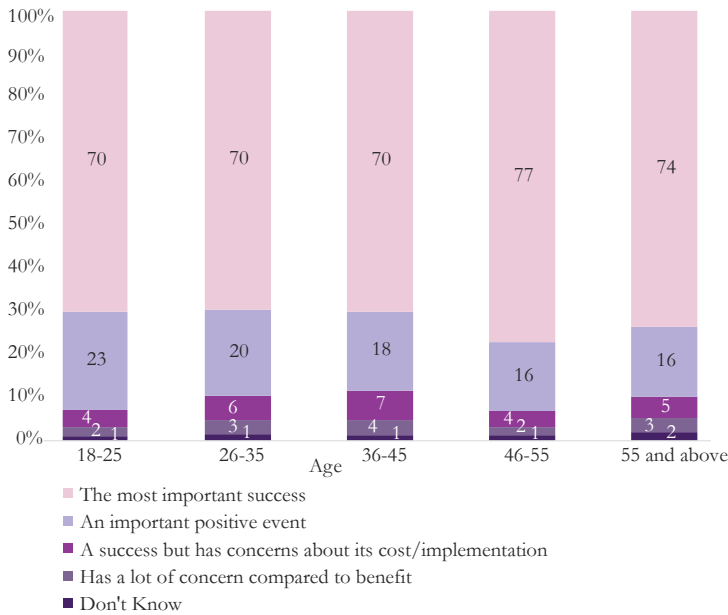
In recent years, Bangladesh has been investing heavily in infrastructure projects with a particular focus on improving transportation networks and connectivity within the country. One of the most significant infrastructure projects in Bangladesh is the Padma Bridge, a multipurpose road and rail bridge that will connect the southern part of the country to the capital, Dhaka.

Initially slated to be joint-funded by the Bangladesh government and international development partners, the government decided to complete the project using government funds (Padmabridge, n.d.). The Padma Bridge is expected to significantly impact the country's economy, as it will reduce transportation costs and improve access to markets and services (Mostofa, 2022). Other major infrastructure projects include the construction of the Dhaka Metro Rail, the expansion of Dhaka Shahjalal Airport with the construction of the new Terminal 3, and the Matarbari Deep Seaport.

Respondents are asked about the opening of Padma Bridge for public use. Seventy-two percent, say it is the most important success, 20% identify it as an important positive event, 4% are concerned about its cost or implementation, 3% are concerned about the benefit compared to the cost, and 1% responded as not knowing about it. There are no significant differences by location, education, or gender.

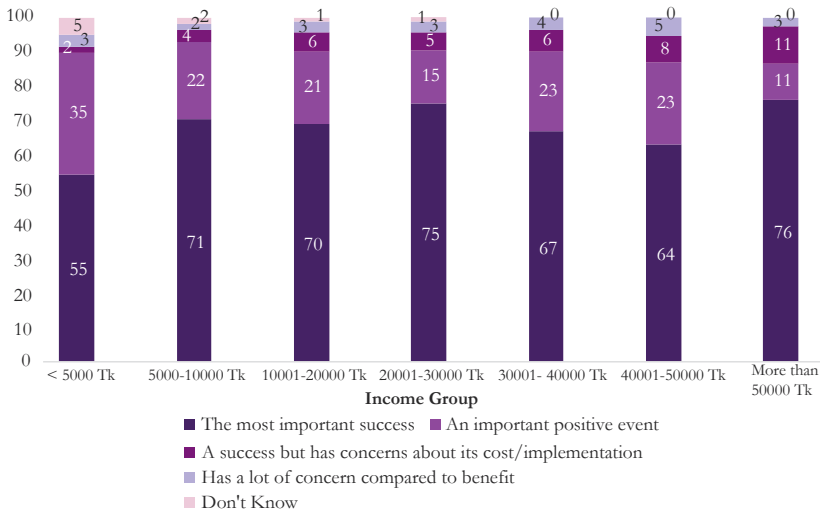
Respondents aged 46 and above are much more likely to say the Padma Bridge is the most important success (77%) compared to other groups.

Figure 9.1: The opening of Padma Bridge for public use (by age).



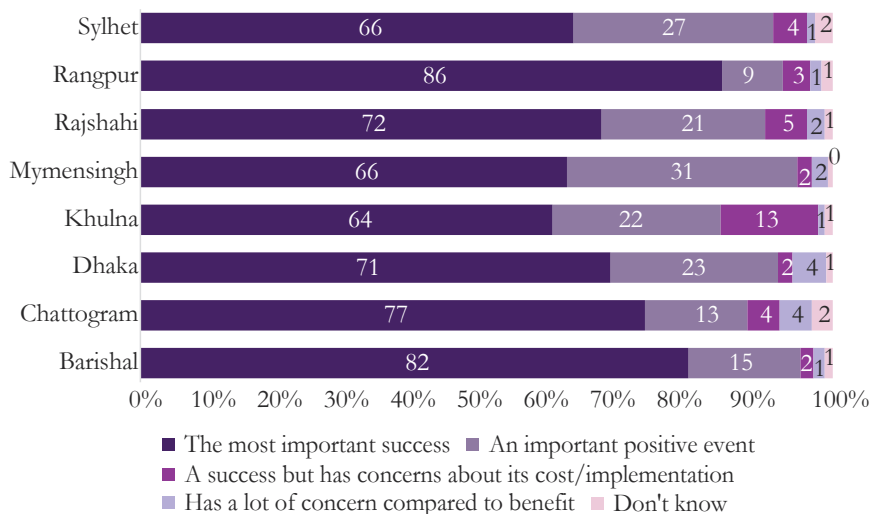
Respondents earning 50,000 TK monthly are more likely to say the bridge is the most important success (76%) compared to 55% of respondents earning less than 5,000 TK per month.

Figure 9.2: The opening of Padma Bridge for public use (by income).



Respondents from Barishal and Rangpur are more likely to say the opening of the bridge is the most important success, compared to respondents across other divisions (Figure).

Figure 9.3: The opening of Padma Bridge for public use (by region).



Overall, 47% of respondents attribute credit for the bridge’s construction to the Prime Minister or Sheikh Hasina, and 28% attribute credit to the Bangladesh government. This pattern is similar irrespective of respondents’ gender, education, or location.

When asked if they can think of any benefit the bridge may bring, 89% say yes, 8% say no and 3% did not know. Among those who said there are benefits, in a follow-up, 50% say traveling to other regions became easier, 25% say travel time is saved, 14% say work opportunities have increased, and 4% say travel costs have decreased because of the bridge.

Among the 8% that say the bridge was not beneficial, in a follow-up, the main reasons behind their lack of support were: costs associated with building the bridge higher than profits (50%), corruption (20%), the bridge will benefit few people (11%), and it took too long (2%). 18% cited other responses.

9.2 Price hike

The COVID-19 pandemic, natural disasters including floods and cyclones, the Ukraine war, and a surge in global commodity prices contributed to a notable price hike on several essential commodities. The price of rice, cooking oil, and vegetables has increased significantly, causing financial hardships for many households. For example, in January 2022, the price of rice increased by up to 20%, and the cost of cooking oil increased by up to 14% (The Business Standard, 2023). To control the price hike, the government increased the import of essential commodities and implemented price controls. However, these measures were largely unsuccessful in curbing the price hike. The government also implemented additional mitigation measures such as providing cash transfers to vulnerable households and increasing food distribution programs (Voice of America, 2022). However, the price hike continues to be a challenge for households, even now, as the government scrambles to ensure food security and stabilize commodity prices in the face of external shocks and domestic supply chain disruptions.

The *Survey* explores the impact of the financial crisis and respondents' perceptions towards the government measures.

9.2.1 Fuel price hike

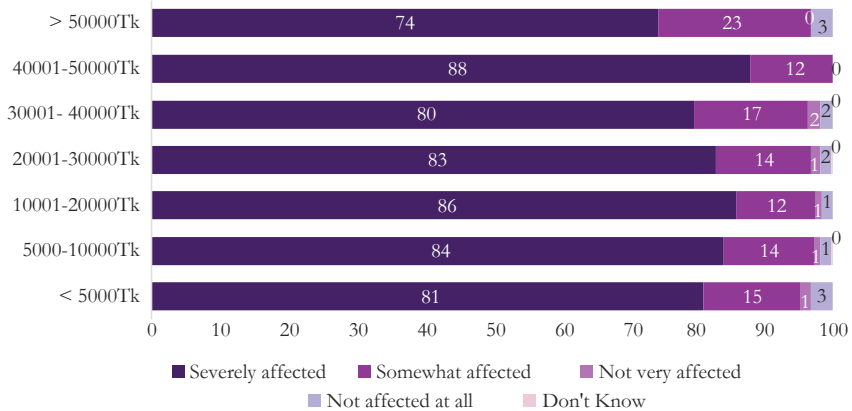
Respondents are asked if the recent fuel price hike affected their lives. In response, 81% say their lives are severely affected, and 15% say they are somewhat affected. Women were more likely than men to say they are severely affected (83% compared to 77% of men). Marginal differences are found among urban and rural respondents, and by education level. Some differences are found among those who make less than 5,000 TK (78%) compared to respondents earning more than 50,000 TK per month (73%).

9.2.2 Commodity price hike

Similarly, in response to whether the recent commodity price hike affected their lives, 84% say the recent price hike severely affected their lives, and 13% say the price hike somewhat affected their lives. Female respondents are more likely to say the commodity price hike severely affected their lives (83% compared to 77% of male respondents). No major differences are found in education or among urban and rural respondents.

Respondents across all income groups say they are severely and somewhat affected by recent commodity price hikes, interestingly, those who make between 40,000 to 50,000 TK (88%) are notably more affected than those making more than 50,000 TK (74%).

Figure 9.4: Effect of recent commodity price hike (by income).



9.3 Production of electricity and nationwide electrification

Bangladesh has made significant progress in expanding its electricity production, and distribution infrastructure in recent years, investing in a range of power generation technologies, including natural gas, coal, renewable energy, and nuclear energy. The government has set ambitious targets for expanding electricity access and reducing the country’s reliance on fossil fuels.

Despite these efforts, significant challenges remain in the country’s electricity sector, including ongoing power shortages and blackouts issues, particularly during peak demand periods. The government has implemented measures to address these issues, including investment in new power plants and transmission infrastructure, as well as efforts to promote energy efficiency and conservation. Bangladesh currently produces 25,560 MW of energy from different sources, while its electricity demand is approximately 20,000 MW. Due to overproduction and a lack of distribution and transmission networks, most of the electricity is left unused (Hossain E. , 2022).

Respondents are asked, “Considering all the major things that have happened in Bangladesh in the past several years, how would you describe the increase in the production of electricity and nationwide electrification?” More than half, 62% said the increased production is the most important success and 19% say it is an important positive event. Women are somewhat more likely to deem it the most important success, 60% compared to 56% of men. There are no significant differences in education or location.

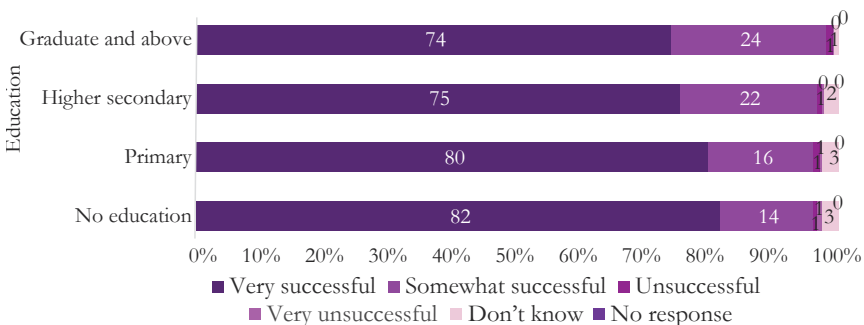
9.4 Covid-19 mass vaccination drive

Despite initial challenges with vaccine supply and distribution, Bangladesh made significant progress in vaccinating its population against the Covid-19 virus. As of April 2023, over 150 million doses have been administered, with around 70% of the eligible population receiving at least one dose (Welfare, n.d.). The government has launched several campaigns encouraging people to vaccinate, including outreach efforts to rural and hard-to-reach areas. The country has also partnered with private sector organizations to support the vaccination drive and increase awareness about the importance of vaccination.

Continued efforts will be needed to ensure that all sectors of the population have access to the vaccine and to maintain the momentum of the vaccination drive.

When asked about the government’s mass vaccination drive, 62% say the government was very successful, 19% somewhat successful, 13% unsuccessful, and 5% say very unsuccessful. As levels of education increase, so does skepticism regarding the success of the vaccination drive.

Figure 9.5: Government’s success regarding the Covid-19 mass vaccination drive (by education).



Differences by location and age group are not that pronounced. However, female respondents consider the vaccination drive slightly more successful than male respondents.

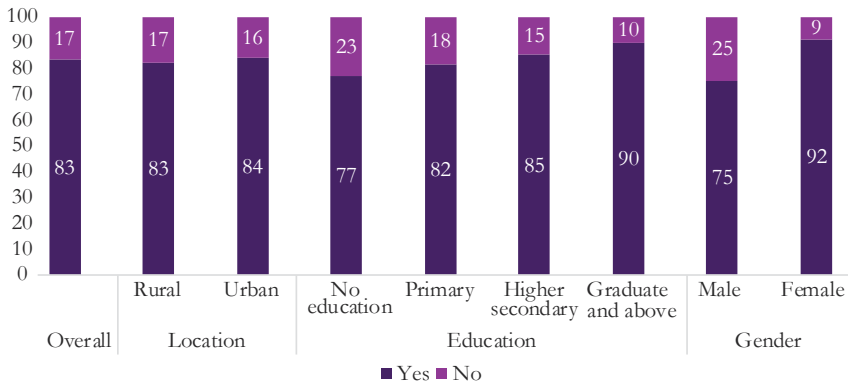
9.5 Women empowerment

Bangladesh has made significant progress in promoting women empowerment in recent years. The country has implemented policies and programs to improve women's access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities. As a result, the gender gap in education has narrowed significantly, and women's participation in the labor force has increased (The Financial Express, 2022). A significant initiative in this area is the National Women's Development Policy, which aims to promote gender equality and empower women in all areas of society (Affair, 2011). The policy includes provisions to address violence against women, increase access to education and healthcare, and promote women's participation in politics and decision-making.

In addition to policy initiatives, Bangladesh has also seen the emergence of women-led businesses and organizations. Women entrepreneurs play an increasingly important role in the country's economy, and numerous initiatives aim to promote their success with the provision of support and resources. However, despite these efforts, there are still significant challenges facing women in Bangladesh, particularly in rural areas. Women continue to face discrimination and unequal treatment in several aspects of society.

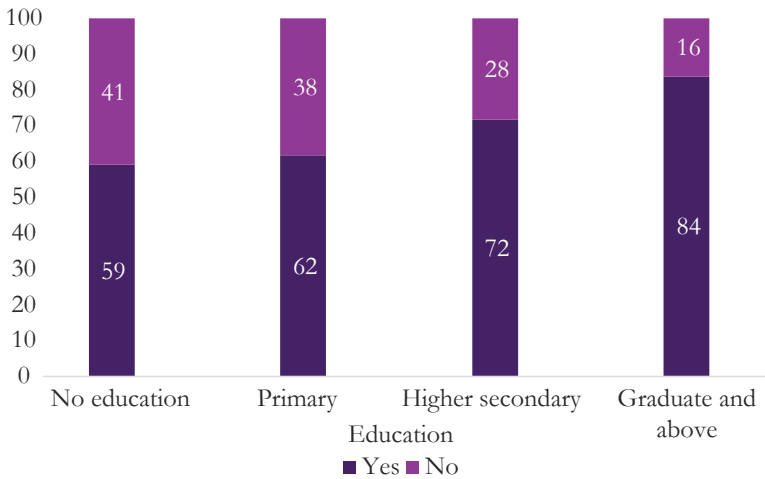
Respondents are asked if they support various statements related to women's rights, agency, and access to economic activities. Respondents are asked if they agree or disagree with these five particular statements. A majority (83%) support women's participation in earning activities, women are more likely to do so than men (92% compared to 75% of men).

Figure 9.6: Support for women's participation in economic activities (by strata, education, and gender).



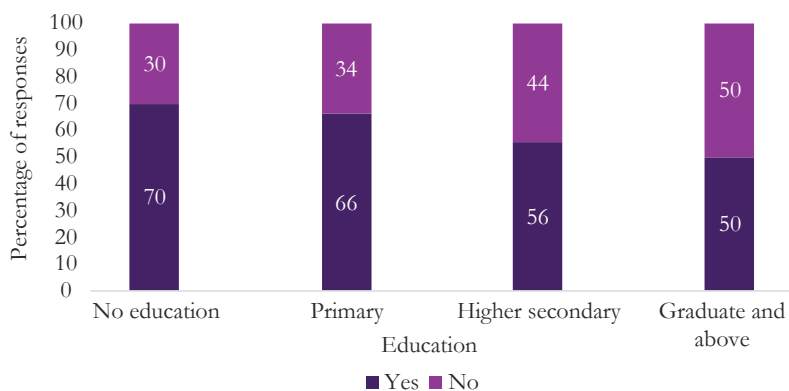
While 69% of respondents support women working outside of the home, there is greater support among urban (70%) than rural (66%) respondents. Women are also more supportive of this statement than men, 78% and 57% respectively. Support also increases with education.

Figure 9.7: Support for women working outside of the home (by education).



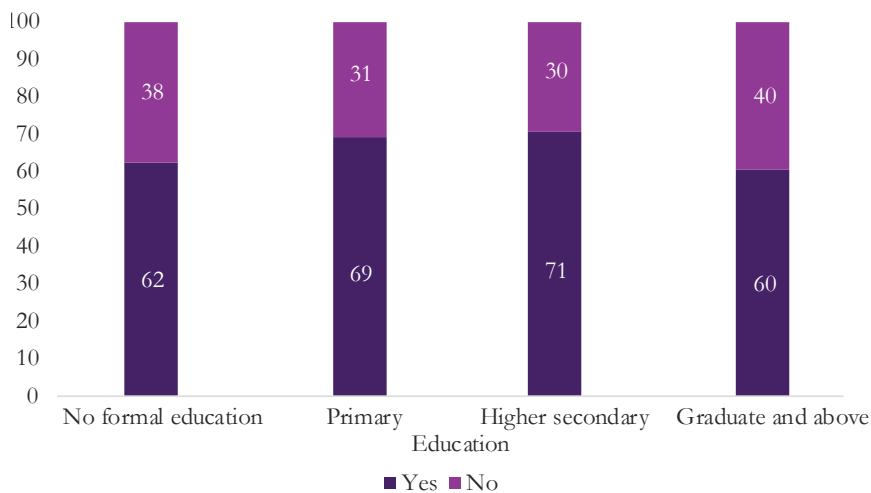
In response to the statement, “Males should be prioritized over female in case of employment”, 62% agree. Women are less likely to support this statement than men, 56% and 67% respectively. No differences emerge between urban and rural respondents. Support for males being prioritized over women decreases with increased education level.

Figure 9.8: Support for men to be prioritized over women in case of employment (by education).



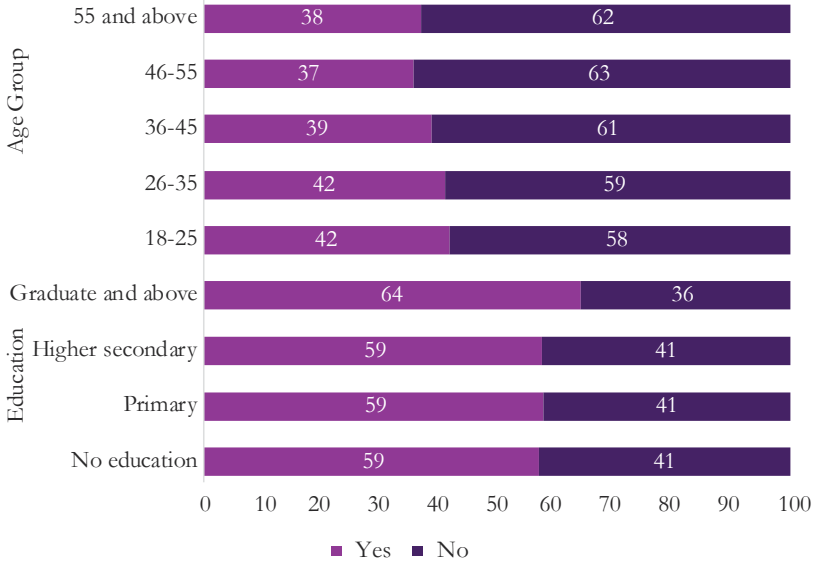
A large proportion, 70% agree both men and women should have an equal share of their father's property. Differences among urban and rural respondents are not that pronounced, but women are more likely to support this statement than men (78% compared to 57% respectively). Interestingly, the percentage of respondents supporting the statement increases with the increase of education level up to higher secondary, but support for this statement drops among those with graduate and above level education.

Figure 9.9: Both men and women should have an equal share of the father's property (by education).



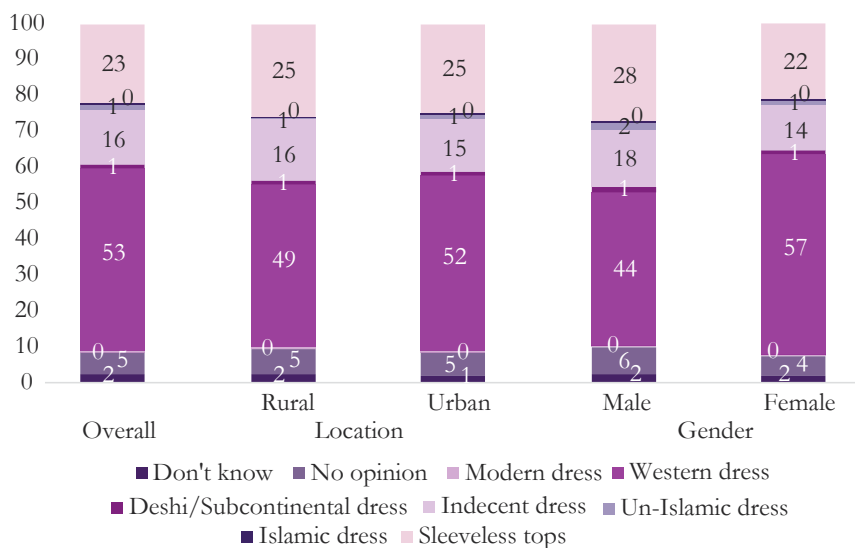
Forty percent of respondents agree with the statement that women can dress as they prefer (49% women and 32% men). Differences by location and education are not very significant, however, the percentage of respondents with graduate and above education are more likely to agree with this statement. On the other hand, older respondents are less likely to agree with the statement than younger respondents.

Figure 9.10: Females can dress as they like (by age and education).



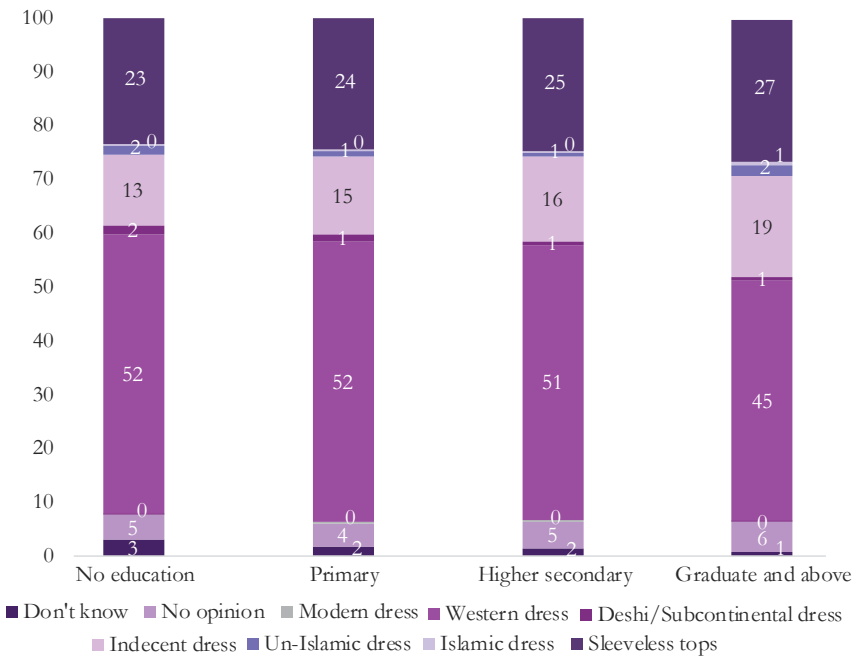
When asked which style of dress is unacceptable for women, 53% said western dress is unacceptable, followed by sleeveless dresses (23%) and indecent dresses (16%).

Figure 9.11: Unacceptable dress for women (by strata and gender).



The tendency to consider sleeveless dress as unacceptable is more prevalent among urban (52%) than rural respondents (49%). Female respondents (57%) are more likely than male (44%) respondents to consider western dress as unacceptable. Little differences emerge by educational level as respondents across all educational levels find western dress as the most unacceptable.

Figure 9.12: Unacceptable dress for women (by education).



9.6 Religious tolerance

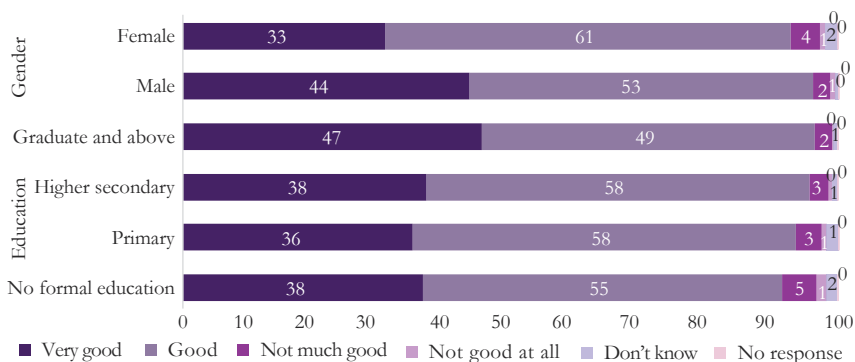
While a predominant Muslim society, Bangladesh is known for its tradition of religious tolerance, with significant Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian communities. The country’s constitution guarantees freedom of religion, and laws protect minority rights (Legislative and Parliamentary Affairs Division Ministry of Law, 1972). Interfaith relations in Bangladesh are generally peaceful, however, there have been instances of religious conflict and violence in Bangladesh, particularly in recent years. The rise of extremist groups has led to attacks on religious minorities (Hasan, 2022). These attacks have been condemned by the government and civil society organizations, and steps have been taken to increase security and protect minority communities.

Despite these challenges, Bangladesh remains committed to promoting religious tolerance and ensuring the safety and security of all its citizens. There are ongoing efforts to strengthen interfaith dialogue and promote

understanding across religious lines (Corraya, 2022). These efforts are essential for building a more inclusive and peaceful society and for ensuring all individuals are able to practice their faith freely and without fear.

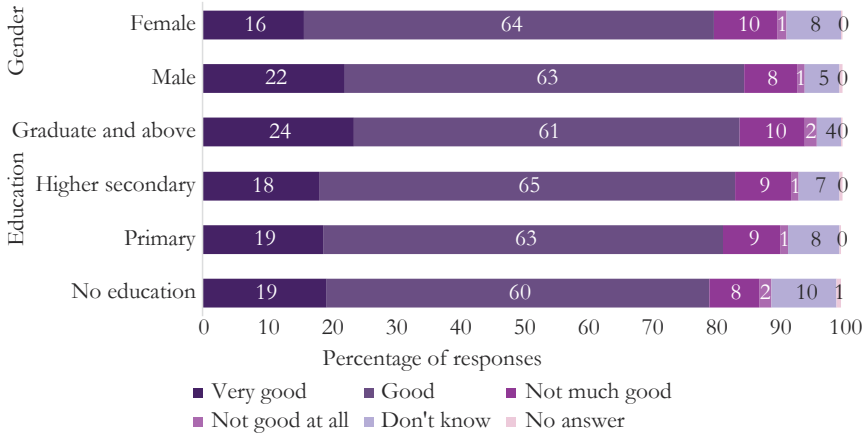
When asked what kind of relationship they have with people from different religious communities, 41% say very good relationship, 55% good relationship, 3% not very good, and 1% not good at all. Men are more likely to say their relationship is very good compared to women, 44% compared to 33% of women. No major differences emerge between urban and rural respondents.

Figure 9.13: Relationship with people from different religious communities in the local area (by education and gender).



When asked what kind of relationship people from different religious communities have with one another, 63% say the relationship is good, and 21% say very good. Men are more likely to say the relationship is very good (22%) compared to women (16%). There are no differences between urban and rural respondents. Respondents with a graduate degree or higher are more likely to say the relationship is very good (24%) than other education groups.

Figure 9.14: Relationship with people from different religious communities in Bangladesh (by education and gender).



Appendix 1: Survey Methodology

Fieldwork for the 2022 *A Survey of the Bangladeshi People* was conducted across all eight administrative divisions of Bangladesh with a total of 10,240 respondents across the country. Fieldwork was conducted through the SurveyCTO app on tablets. Data collection occurred between November 2022 and January 2023, with a minimum sample size of at least 640n per division. The sample size for each division was obtained through the following equation:

$$n = \frac{Z_{\alpha/2}^2 \times P(1-P)}{\epsilon^2} \times DE \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

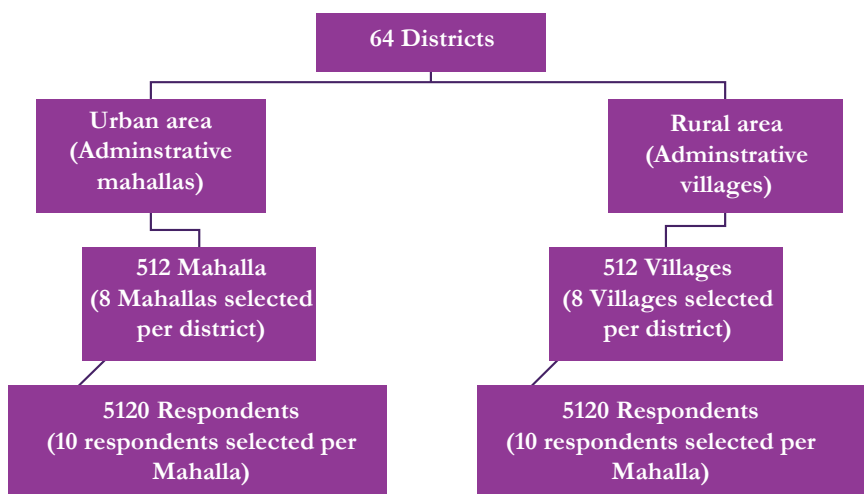
where n is the minimum level of the sample size required. $Z_{\alpha/2}^2$ is the critical value of a standard normal distribution with α confidence level, and DE is the design effect. Setting $P=0.5$, $\epsilon=0.05$, $Z_{\alpha/2}^2=1.96$ and, $DE=1.5$, the minimum required sample size becomes 578 households per division. Beyond divisional-level representation, this survey aimed used stratified random sampling to collect data from all 64 districts of Bangladesh. Thus, the sample sizes were increased to ensure district-level representation. From each district, we selected 16 administrative primary sampling units (known as Mahalla/village by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics), 8 of which were selected from rural and 8 were selected from urban. From each PSUs, we selected 10 respondents. Thus, the survey interviewed 160 households in each district. The divisional sample was assigned based on the number of districts in any particular division. With this, even the lowest sample size taken in a division was 640 (Sylhet and Mymensingh), higher than the required sample size of 578. Thus, the final sample sizes obtained are sufficient for district-level analyses. Table 1 shows the distribution of samples by division.

Table 1: Distribution of the samples by divisions.

Division	Number of districts	Total Sample
Barishal	6	960
Chattogram	11	1,760
Dhaka	13	2,080
Khulna	10	1,600
Mymensingh	4	640
Rajshahi	8	1,280
Rangpur	8	1,280
Sylhet	4	640
Total	64	10,240

The *A Survey of the Bangladeshi People* is a longitudinal survey that utilized the sampling distribution in each division based on the population proportion. However, in some districts, the number of urban population samples tends to be very low, prompting the adoption of an alternative approach. Therefore, in this survey, we interviewed an equal number of households from each district, including both urban and rural areas. Survey weights were utilized based on the population statistics of the 2011 Census to ensure proportional representation.

Figure 10.1: Sampling Design Flowchart.



Contact Procedures

During the visit to each PSU, enumerators initially collected data on the total number of households of that respective PSU from the local administration. Since the *Survey* aimed to collect 10 HH from each PSU, the total number of HH is then divided by 10 to get an idea of the interval required to maintain to cover the entire PSU.

Once the interval is determined, the enumerators started the survey from the North-West part of any village/ Mahalla and traveled counter-clockwise until they met the required number of households.

The enumerators were asked to select adult male and female respondents from alternate households. While selecting the respondents, along with the gender criteria, we used age as a primary selection criterion. For this, the age group has been defined into two broad groups, less than 35 years of age and older than 35 following the definition of the Bangladesh Government. So, if enumerators interviewed one male respondent who is in the youth age category, the next male respondents will be from the higher 35 age group. However, if the household has multiple males/females from the required age category, they chose the respondents based on the willingness of the respondents to participate.

A total of 11, 589 respondents were contacted, among which 11.64% (1349) refused to participate.

High-frequency checks (HFC) including backchecks were used to flag problems in the filled interviews which were solved/ clarified by calling respondents and reviewing randomly selected responses together for accuracy.

Appendix 2:

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Appendix 3: Survey Questionnaire _____

Citizen's Democracy Perception Survey

Interviewer's ID	:		Enumerator's name	:																							
Location: 1 Rural, 2 Urban																											
Division	District	Upazila	Union	Ward no	Village	Mahalla																					
General information:																											
Name of respondent	:																										
Contact no	:	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>																									
Consent of the respondent																											
<p>Instruction for interviewers: Clearly read out the following statement to the respondent and seek consent to carry out the interview.</p> <p>BRAC Institute of Governance and Development (BIGD) and The Asia Foundation are jointly conducting a survey on democracy and contemporary issues. To collect information for research purposes, some respondents have been selected randomly. You are one of the selected respondents. We will ask you the following questions to understand your individual opinion and experiences about various issues in the country. We will use this information only for research purposes and assure you of confidentiality. The survey will take 45-60 minutes, and participation is voluntary. It will not benefit nor harm you or put you at risk. You can stop providing information at any time. If anything is unclear, you can ask questions about this survey at any time. Do you agree to participate?</p>																											
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No																											

Socio-Economic Information of the Respondents

Serial	Question	Answer/code
1.	Respondent's Gender	1=Male; 2=Female Other=..... (specify) 99
2.	Age (In complete Years)	-----years
3.	Medium of Education	1=Bangla 2=Madrasa 3=English 4= technical/ vocational 5= No institutional education
4.	Education qualification (Completed)	<p>General Education Code: 1=Class 1, 2=Class 2, 3=Class 3, 4=Class 4, 5=Class 5, 6=Class 6, 7=Class 7, 8=Class 8, 9=Class 9, 10=Class 10, 11=SSC pass, 12=HSC pass, 13=Graduate pass, 14=Masters, 15=Preprimary school (e g, BRAC school); 16= Did not attend school but can read/write</p> <p>Madrasha Education code: 17 = Ebtedae Class 1, 18 = Ebtedae Class 2, 19= Ebtedae Class 3, 20= Ebtedae Class 4, 21= Ebtedae Class 5, 22= Dakhil Class 6, 23= Dakhil Class 7, 24= Dakhil Class 8, 25= Dakhil Class 9, 26= Dakhil Class 10, 27= Dhakil pass, 28= Alim pass, 29= Fazil pass + Kamil pass,.</p> <p>English Medium Education code: Grade 1 = 30, Grade 2 = 31, Grade 3 = 32, Grade 4 = 33, Grade 5 = 34 Grade 6 = 35, Grade 7 = 36, Grade 8 = 37, Grade 9 = 38, Grade 10 = 39, A level = 40, O level =41, Graduate & above =42</p>
5.	Primary occupation	2 Other transport drivers 3 Garment workers 4 construction workers 5 non-agricultural day labour 6 Agricultural daily labourers 8 maids 9 security personnel

- 10 Artisans (Blacksmiths, Potters, Goldsmiths)
- 11 Teacher/Home Tutor
- 12 street vendor
- 13 Government Jobs
- 14 pion
- 16 factory workers
- 17 Salon/Beauty Parlor Workers
- 18 Cleaners/Sweepers
- 19 Bhangari workers
- 20 sailors
- 21 Culinary Artist/Cook
- 22 private jobs
- 23 Small Businesses/SMEs
- 25 farmers
- 26 Skilled Workers (Electronic, Mechanical)
- 27 Begging
- 28 Employment in religious places of worship
- 29 transport workers
- 30 Professionals (Doctor/Village Doctor/Lawyer)
- 31 fishermen
- 33 Livestock (Cow/Goat/Buffalo/Sheep)
- 34 Poultry
- 35 runs on government allowance/other assistance
- 39 tailor
- 49 Pension
- 53 housewives
- 80 Rickshaw pullers/van drivers/easy bike drivers
- 81 big business
- 82 contract workers
- 83 Online Food/Groceries Deliveries
- 84 Masons/Carpenters/Other Masons
- 85 Online Education/Coaching
- 86 online business
- 87 Online Freelancing
- 88 Inward Remittances
- 89 retired
- 90 Shop Assistants

		91 Hotel Boy/Restaurant Assistant 92 unemployed 555 Mention other		
6.	Are you head of this household?	1=Yes; 2=No;		
7.	Number of family members	Male	Female	Other...
8.	Religion	1=Islam 2=Hindu 3= Buddhism 4=Christian 99=Others-(specify)		
9.	Respondent's ethnicity	1=Bengali, 2=Indegenous, 99=Other (specify)		
10.	Household Wall	1=Brick, 2=CI Sheet/tin 3=wood, 4=Mud wall, 5=Bamboo, 6 =Straw/jute stick/leaves, 7=Polythene, 99=Others (specify)		
11.	Source of light	1=Electricity 2=Solar panel 3=Kerosene 99=Others (specify)		
12.	What is your approximate monthly household cost?	----- BDT		
13.	Based on this the interviewer will fill the box below	1=Less than 5000 Taka 2=5000-10000 Taka 3=10001-20000 Taka 4=20001-30000 Taka 5=30001-40000 Taka 6=40001-50000 Taka 7=more than 50000		

Country's General Political, Economic, and Social Status

1. Considering the political dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or going in the wrong direction?

	Right direction	Wrong Direction	Don't know	No response
	1	2	-999	-888
Political				

2. Why are you saying this (Do not read the responses, identify the response(s), multiple response accepted)?

Reasons for the right direction	Reasons for the wrong direction
1. Political stability 2. Strong leadership 3. Less political violence 4. Better governance 5. Better law and order 6. Better human rights 7. Others....	1. Political instability 2. Over dominance of one party 3. Rigged elections 4. Political intolerance 5. Deterioration of law and order 6. Corruption 7. No chance to express opinions independently 8. Others

3. Considering the social dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or going in the wrong direction?

	Right direction	Wrong Direction	Don't know	No response
	1	2	-999	-888
Social				

4. Why are you saying this (Do not read the responses,), multiple responses accepted)

Reasons for the right direction	Reasons for the wrong direction
1. Improved economic condition 2. Improved infrastructure (Road bridge culvert) 3. Agricultural development	1. Inflation of necessary commodities 2. Price inflation of the gasoline prices 3. Lack of adequate power supply

Reasons for the right direction	Reasons for the wrong direction
1. Stability 2. Peace 3. Drug abuse has gone down 4. Education 5. Health 6. Women empowerment 7. Digitization 8. Overall development 9. Others	1. Violence in society 2. Domestic violence 3. Drugs 4. Bad traffic and transport system 5. Increasing terrorism 6. Electricity shortage 7. Gas shortage 8. No chance to express opinions independently 9. Deteriorating human rights condition 10. Rise in un-Islamic activities 11. Poor education system 12. Health threat posed by Covid-19 pandemic 13. Others

5. Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or going in the wrong direction?

	Right direction	Wrong Direction	Don't know	No response
	1	2	-999	-888
Economic				

6. Why are you saying this? (Do not read the responses, identify the response(s), Multiple responses accepted)

7. **[Do not read the responses]** In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Bangladesh at the national

Price hike of essentials	1
Corruption	2
Law and order	3
Unemployment	4
Electricity	5
Political instability and intolerance	6
Lack of democracy	7
Non-transparent Election	8
Violence against women	9
Religious extremism	10
Climate change	11
Population growth	12
Gas Crisis	13
Drug	14
Economic/business downturn	15
Water crisis	16
Quality of health services	17
Other (specify_____)	99
No response	+888

Citizenship

Awareness of national and local politics

8. Can you tell the name your MP (Member of Parliament)?

Name:

Correctly said	1
Incorrectly said	2
Don't know	99

9. As far as you know, has your Member of Parliament visited your community in the last year?

Yes, he/she has.	1
No, he/she hasn't	2
Don't know	99

10. Can you mention any specific job that your MP got done in your locality in a year?

1. Yes, I can. he did.....
2. No, I can't.

11. Do you know the name of your Union Parishad Chairperson/ Municipal Mayor?

Name:

Correctly said	1
Incorrectly said	2
Don't know	99

Communication with local government/Administration

12. Have you contacted anyone from your Union Parishad Chairperson / Municipal Mayor(chairman/mayor/member/ ward councilor) during the last one year for help in solving any of your personal problems?

Yes	1
No	2

13. Have you contacted your Union Parishad Chairperson/ Municipal Mayor during the last one year for help in solving any of your local problems

Yes	1
No	2

14. Have you contacted your UNO/ DC Office during the last one year for help in solving any of your personal problems?

Yes	1
No	2

15. Have you contacted your UNO/ DC Office during the last one year for help in solving any of your local problems?

Politics:

Politics, Expectations from parties and representatives

16. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

I think I have the ability to understand politics	Completely	Moderately	Very little	Don't understand at all
	1	2	3	4

17. What kind of traits one would expect from their top leaders who run the country?

18. What is your opinion regarding the following statement?

“Political parties in general care about people like you.”

Agree strongly	1
Agree somewhat	2
Disagree	3
Disagree strongly	4
No response	-888

19. What is your opinion regarding the following statement?

“MPs care about the ordinary citizens.”

Agree strongly	1
Agree somewhat	2
Disagree	3
Disagree strongly	4
No response	-888

20. **[Do not read the responses.]** What attribute do you consider most important for individuals to get elected? **(Circle first response.)** And which is the second most important? **(Circle second response.)**

	1 st	2 nd
Family background	1	1
Personal characteristics	2	2
Personal achievements	3	3
Education	4	4
Occupation	5	5
Wealth	6	6
Religious piety and values	7	7
Availability and accessibility	8	8
Your personal connection	9	9
Ability to win	10	10
Introduction by the party	11	11
They have done good things/ delivered	12	12
They are committed to development	13	13
Tradition / custom / community	14	14
Political identity of the candidate	15	15
Other (specify _____)	99	99
No response	-888	-888

21. **[Do not read the responses.]** What attribute do you consider most important for a party to be elected to government? **(Circle first response)** And which is the second most important? **(Circle second response) (Circle second response)**

	1 st	2 nd
History of the party	1	1
Party Ideology	2	2
Programs and proposals	3	3
Leaders of the party	4	4
Connection to religion	5	5
Accomplishments of the party (education, health, etc.)	6	6
Other (specify _____)	99	99
No response	-888	-888

22. **[Do not read the responses.]** What do you think MPs do? / what do you think is the job of MP? **Identify the response(s), multiple responses accepted)**

Participate in the National Parliament to make laws	1
Take part in discussions on national problems	2
Raise local problems in parliament	3
Take part in discussions on the quality of work of the different ministries	4
Work for local development	5
Solving problem of local people	6
Others (specify.....)	99

23. **[Do not read the responses.]** What do you think your MPs should do?
(Identify the response(s), Multiple answers)

Participate in the National Parliament to make laws	1
Take part in discussions on national problems	2
Raise local problems in parliament	3
Take part in discussions on the quality of work of the different ministries	4
Work for local development	5
Solving problem of local people	6
Others (specify.....)	99
Don't know	-999
No response	-888

24. What is your opinion regarding the job your MP is doing?

Very satisfied	1
Fairly / somewhat satisfied	2
Dissatisfied	3
Very dissatisfied	4
Don't know	-999
No response	-888

25. What is your opinion regarding the job of your Union Parishad Chairperson/
Municipal Mayor is doing?

Very satisfied	1
Fairly / somewhat satisfied	2
Dissatisfied	3
Very dissatisfied	4
Don't know	-999
No response	-888

Partisanship

26. Suppose a candidate from a political party whom you have voted in the past, decided to run independently (without a party) before the election. How likely would it be that you would still vote for that candidate?

Very likely	1
Somewhat likely	2
Somewhat unlikely	3
Very unlikely	4
No response	-888

27. If a new party started that had a platform closer to your views, how likely would you be to switch to that party? (single response)

Very likely	1
Somewhat likely	2
Somewhat unlikely	3
Very unlikely	4
No response	-888

Effects of individual's political identity

		Large impact	Some impact	Very Little impact	No impact	Don't know	No response
		1	2	3	4	-999	-888
28.	Do you think one's known political identity affects the following:						
	A. Personal Security						
	B. Accessing resources						
	C. Accessing justice						
	D. Accessing public services						
	E. Conducting business						
	F. Accessing administration						
	G. Accessing UP/Municipality						

Perception about political violence

29. [Don't read the response.] What kind of political violence do you see in Bangladesh? (Identify first 3 responses)

	1st response	2nd response	3rd response
Extortion	1	1	1
Mastani	2	2	2
Forceful disappearance	3	3	3
violence by state agencies	4	4	4
Forceful occupation of property by political leaders	5	5	5
Murder	6	6	6
Hartals	7	7	7
Arson	9	9	9
beating	10	10	10
Other (specify _____)	99	99	99
No response	-888	-888	-888

Elections

Voting Participation

30. Did you vote in the last election? Yes/NO
31. Do you know when the next election will be? Yes/NO
32. Do you plan to vote in the next parliamentary election? Yes/NO
33. **[Do not read the responses.]** what are the reasons for your voting in parliamentary election?, **multiple responses accepted**)

I would like to choose MP/ leader/ representative for the country or my areas	1
To elect my preferred party/government	2
I want to exercise my democratic right	3
I want to vote to end corruption	4
To elect an honest leader	5
I vote because my vote may make a difference	6
I have the freedom to vote	7
For Better roads / schools / housing / health care / mosques/ temples/ other material benefits	8
For continuation of democracy	9
Civic duty / duty as citizen / democratic obligation	10
As I was asked to vote by my family	11
As I was asked to vote by the local elites	12
Expected to receive money or gifts for voting	13
Because everyone participates	14
For the development of the country	15
Other (specify _____)	99
No response	-888

34. **[Please do not read responses.]** If answer to the question. 32 is ‘No’, what are the reasons for your decision against voting? , **multiple responses accepted)**

Don't understand politics	1
Don't know enough about the candidate/ parties	2
Don't support any party / candidate	3
My vote won't make a difference. / The election won't make a difference.	4
Fear of violence / intimidation	5
Personal reasons: too old, sick, against my religion, etc.	6
Not interested in politics / elections	
No time / too busy working	8
It doesn't matter who is in power, the situation will be the same.	9
I don't want the government to change	10
Cheating on polling or counting process	11
No trust in electoral process	12
Other (specify_____)	99
No response	-888

35. Did you vote in the elections for the Union Parishad / Municipality / City Corporation **(if applicable). (Single answer,)**

Yes	No	Don't know/Haven't decided	No response
1	2	-999	-888

36. Do you plan to vote for the elections for the Union Parishad / Municipality / City Corporation **(if applicable). (Single answer)**

Yes	No	Don't know/Haven't decided	No response
1	2	-999	-888

Perception of Democracy and democratic practices

Understanding of Democracy

A lot of people in Bangladesh today are talking about democracy.

37. If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? **(Maximum 3 responses)**

Don't read the answers, which reply will be consistent with the answer given below, circle appropriately, if not consistent with any answer given below, write the answer as the respondent it says in the next column, do not give any code.

Government by the people	1
Opportunity to vote freely	2
Equal rights for all	3
People's freedom	4
Freedom of speech/ opportunity to talk	5
Development in the country	6
Others	99
No response	-888

38. I don't care if Bangladesh is a democracy or not" Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

39. If agree with 41, why?

40. If you disagree with 41, why?

41. 48 As a citizen of Bangladesh do you consider yourself free?

42. 48.1 If yes, why?

43. 48.2 If no, why?

44. 49 As a member of the society to you consider yourself free?

45. If yes, why?

46. If no, why

47. **[Don't read the responses]** As a Bangladeshi citizen, in order to be able to live with dignity, what are the three major things that you need? **[Rank according to importance]**

Food	1
Clothing	2
Housing	3
Health	4
Education	5
Rule of law	6
Democracy	7
Human rights	8
Security	9
Money	10
Employment	11
Business	12
Women's right	13
Others (...)	99
No response	-888

48. **[Don't read the responses]** As a Bangladeshi citizen, in order to be able to live independently, what are the three major things that you need? **[Rank according to importance]**

Freedom of express	1
Freedom to move	2
Freedom to do politics	3
Freedom to practice religious practices	4
Freedom to criticize government	5
Public Safety	6
Others (...)	99
No response	-888

49. What do you understand by ‘government of the people’? **(Multiple responses)**

Government who cares for people	1
Government who honors people	2
Government who provides assistance during personal distress	3
Government who ensures fair justice	4
Government who promotes political freedom	5
Government who ensures economic prosperity	6
Government who ensures stability in the country	7
Government who listens to ordinary people	8
Government controlled by democracy	9
Others (...)	99
No response	-888

50. As a citizen of Bangladesh, What is your relationship with the government of Bangladesh?

State/ Government is my protector and service provider)	1
State/ Government is my patron	2
State/ Government is my representative	3
Others (...)	99
No response	-888

Freedom of expression

51. How often do you discuss political affairs with friends? (Circle the applicable response)

Almost all the time	1
Often	2
Not very often	3
Almost never / Never	4

52. To what extent do the people of your locality feel free in expressing their political opinions? (Circle the applicable response)

Very free	1
Fairly free	2
Somewhat not free	3
Not Free	4
Don't know	-999
No response	-888

Dominant-party system & its implication on democracy and development

53. 'At present one can observe a dominant role of one party in politics/governance'. To what extent do you agree or disagree?		Agree strongly	1				
		Mostly agree	2				
		Disagree	3				
		Strongly disagree	4				
		Do not know	-999				
		No response	-888				
54. If your answer is within 1-3 then what do you think of the following questions?							
		Positive (1)	Somewhat positive (2)	negative (3)	Completely Negative (4)	Don't know (-999)	No response (-888)
A	What is its impact on politics?						
B	What is its impact on governance?						
C	What is its impact on society?						
D	What is its impact on economic transactions?						

		Yes	No
		1	2
55.	Have you heard of Ward Shobha (UP only)		
56.	Where does the Ward Shobha take place?		
57.	(If the respondent has heard of Ward Shobha, 58 = 1) What are the functions of Ward Shobha? (Multiple responses)	1=To discuss about the development of Ward; 2=To contribute in Union budget plan 3=For creating list of people who will get government facilities 4=To create a list of things Ward needs 5=Communication with chairman/member of Union Parishad to get update on road and transport system 6=To help in different types of development activities in the Ward 99=Others (Please specify) -888=No answer	
58.	Do you know about open budget meeting?	Yes=1	No=2
59.	Where does the Open Budget Meeting take place?		
60.	What are the functions of Open Budget meeting? (multiple responses)	1=To discuss about Union Parishad budget 2=To discuss about income and expenditure of Union Parishad 3=To discuss about the final demand list 4=To discuss about accountability of representatives 99=Others (Specify) -888=No answer	

Safety net related service delivery by Local Government: Citizens' view (only for UP)

61.	Are you aware of different cards and allowances distributed by your UP? (if the answer is no, skip to 99)			Yes=1		No=2	
62.	If yes, does your UP give enough card and allowances?	Enough (1)	Somewhat enough (2)	Not enough (3)	Not enough at all (4)	Don't know	No answer
63.	Does your UP inform you about the cards and allowances regularly?			Yes=1		No=2	
64.	If yes, How?						
65.	Do you think these are distributed fairly?	Enough (1)	Somewhat enough (2)	Not enough (3)	Not enough at all (4)	Don't know (5)	No answer (6)
66.	If answer to question 68 is 3 or 4, why not?	1=Selection process is not well optimized 2=Kinship in selection 3=Grouping 4=Corruption 99=Others -888=No answer					

Trust in Institutions

67. I will read you a list of institutions. For each institution, please rate its integrity according to this scale

	high integrity	Moderate integrity	Low integrity	No integrity At all	No response	Don't know
National Parliament	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
DC Office	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
UNO	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
Upazila Parishad	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
Union Parishad Chairman	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
Political parties	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
Police	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
Courts/ Judges/ Lawyers/etc	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
Army	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
RAB	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
NGOs	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
Media/ journalists	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
Election Commission	1	2	3	4	-888	-999

Women and Democracy

68. If you think about the women leadership, then how much you support for the involvement of greater women leadership in following institutions? (Read the answers & circle applicable answer code in each line)

	Types of education	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	disagree	Strongly disagree	No response	Don't know
		1	2	3	4	-888	-999
A	National Parliament	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
B	Zila Parishad	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
C	Upazila Parishad	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
D	Pouroshava /City Corporation	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
E	Union Parisad	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
F	CEO of large company	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
G	Trade unions / Professionals Association / organizations	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
H	Religious based Association/ organization	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
I	Community leader	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
J	Others (specify...	1	2	3	4	-888	-999

Women choice in Elections

69. Irrespective of the qualification of a man, woman and the third gender, who do you prefer to vote for your constituency in the National election? (Circle the applicable response)

A man	1
A woman	2
Male or female does not matter to me but will not vote for Transgender	3
Gender identity does not matter to me	4
Don't know	-999
No response	-888

70. What are the challenges for women to participate in election? (Multiple responses)

Social norms	1
Conservative social system	2
Male dominated politics	3
Family barrier	4
Political violence	5
Lack of money	6
Religious barrier	7
Family responsibility	8
Others	99
No response	-888

Information and Social Media

Uses of technology

71. Do you own a mobile phone? (Circle the applicable response)

Yes	1
No	2
No response	-888

72. Do you use internet? (Circle the applicable response)

Yes	1
No	2
No response	-888

73. If 72 is yes, which platforms do you normally use to communicate online? , multiple responses accepted)

Facebook	1
WhatsApp	2
Viber/	3
Twitter	4
Skype	5
Imo	6
Messenger	7
Others (Specify.....)	99
No response	-888

74. If yes to Facebook, what do you use these platforms for? , multiple responses accepted)

To communicate with friends and family	1
To get national news	2
For educational purposes	3
For entertainment	4
For political information	5
For religious information	6
For business/shopping purposes	7
For sharing news/ideas/concerns with friends and community	8
Other (specify_____)	99
No response	-888

Social media & political empowerment		Almost all the time (1)	Often (2)	Not very often (3)	Never (4)	Don't know (99)	No response (-888)
75.	Can citizens ensure responsiveness of the state through Facebook?						
76.	Can citizens ensure accountability of the state through Facebook?						
77.	Do you feel safe to post your opinion regarding political governance of the country?						
78.	Do you feel safe to post/like/share your opinion regarding social issues of the country?						
Freedom of speech & press- trust in media, media efficacy for holding political accountability of the state							
79.	Do you read any newspaper?	1 Yes	2 No				
80.	In general do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely		4 Never	

81.	Do you watch BTV news?	1 Yes	2 No		
82.	In general do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never
83.	Do you watch private channel news?	1 Yes	2 No		
84.	In general do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never
85.	Do you watch talk shows?	1 Yes	2 No		
86.	In general do you think talk shows are useful?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never
87.	Do you watch news through Facebook?	1 Yes	2 No		
88.	In general, do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never
89.	Do you think print media in Bangladesh is free?	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free (3)	Not at all free (4)
90.	Do you think Bangladesh television is free?	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free (3)	Not at all free (4)
91.	Do you think Bangladesh Radio is free?	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free (3)	Not at all free (4)

92.	Do you think Private radios are free	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free (3)	Not at all free (4)
93.	Do you think Private televisions are free	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free (3)	Not at all free (4)

Inclusive Development

People's understanding of development							
94.	(Don't read the responses.) How do you define development? (multiple answers)	Poverty reduction					1
		Development of education					2
		Development of health system					3
		Development of Infrastructure (roads, bridge, culverts, etc.)					4
		Development of electricity/ water/ gas					5
		Prevention of Unemployment					6
		Others					99
		No response					-888
95.		Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know (-999)	No response (-888)
96.	The current development outcome is equally beneficial for men and women						
97.	The current development outcome is equally beneficial of all income classes						

98.	the current development outcome is equally beneficial for people of all religion?						
99.	the current development outcome is equally beneficial for people of all ethnic groups?						
100.	the current development outcome is inclusive to people with disabilities						

Social Cohesion & trust

101. Please review the following statements carefully and let us know which one is closest to your view?

(Single answer,

Most people can be trusted	1
Have to be very careful in dealing with people	2
Most people cannot be trusted	3
Don't know	-999
No response	-888

102.How would you rate your trust in the following

	Very trustworthy (1)	Trustworthy (2)	Little trustworthy (3)	Not trustworthy at all (4)
Neighbors				
Community leaders				
Community groups/ organizations				

Rohingya Refugees

103.Will you welcome Rohingya refugees living in your community?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	-999
No answer	-888

104.Do you think the Bangladesh government is doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees or not?

Bangladesh Government is doing a lot	1
Bangladesh Government is doing enough	2
Bangladesh Government is not doing enough	3
Bangladesh Government is doing nothing	4
Don't know	-999
No response	-888

105.Do you think the International Community is doing enough to support the Rohingya refugees or not?

International Community is doing a lot	1
International Community is doing enough	2
International Community is not doing enough	3
International Community is doing nothing	4
Don't know.	-999
No answer	-888

106. In your opinion, how long can Rohingya refugees be allowed to stay in Bangladesh?

They should leave now	1
Until it is safe to return	2
Until they can go to another country	3
Indefinitely	4
Don't know.	-999
No answer	-888

107. What kind of immediate effect did the Rohingya refugees entering Bangladesh bring?

Positive effects	1
Negative effects	2
No affects	3
Don't know.	-999
No answer	-888

Contemporary issues:

108. Do you know about Padma bridge?

Yes/ No

109. Considering all the major things that have happened in Bangladesh in the past several years, how would you describe the opening up of Padma bridge for public use?

Answer codes: 1=The most important success, 2=An important positive event, 3=A success but has concerns about its cost/implementation, 4=Has a lot of concern compared to benefit. 99=No opinion.

110. Who deserves the most credit for building the bridge?

Bangladesh Government	1
Prime Minister/ Sheikh Hasina	2
Awami league	3
The Ministry of Road Transport and Bridges	4
Others	99

111.Can you think of any benefits the bridge can bring?

Yes /No/ Don't know

112.If yes, what are the benefits?

Travel time saved	1
Travelling to other regions became easier	2
Travel cost decreased	3
Work opportunities increased	4
Others...	99

113.If no, why do you think that there are no benefits

The bridge will be beneficial for a very few people	1
Bridge making cost is higher than the profit	2
Lots of corruption happened	3
It took a lot of time	4
Others	99

If you know, please express your opinion regarding the following statements

Statements	Severely affected (1)	Somewhat affected (2)	Not very affected (3)	Not affected at all (4)	No response
114. How does recent the fuel price hike affect your life ?					
115. How does recent commodity price hike affected your life?					

116. Considering all the major things that have happened in Bangladesh in the past several years, how would you describe the increase in the production of electricity and nationwide electrification?

Answer codes: 1=The most important success, 2=An important positive event, 3=A success but has concerns about its cost/implementation, 4=Has a lot of concern compared to benefit. 99=No opinion.

117. How successful do you think the government was in the Covid-19 mass vaccination drive?

Very successful	1
Somewhat successful	2
Somewhat unsuccessful	3
Very unsuccessful	4
Don't know	-999

118. I support women's participation in earning activities". (Yes/no)

119. "I support women working outside of home" (yes/no)

120. "Male should be prioritized over female in case of employment" (Yes/no)

121. "Both Male and female should have an equal share of father's property" (Yes / no)

122. "I think females can wear dress as they like" (Yes/ no)

123. Which dresses do you find not acceptable for women? (DON'T PROBE)
[Multiple choice question]

Burka	1
Shirt/pant	2
Sleeveless tops	3
Others..... (specify)	99
Religious tolerance	

124. What kind of relationship do you think the people from different religious community in your area have between them?

Very good	1
Good	2
Not much good	3
Not good at all	4
Don't know	-999
No answer	-888

125. What kind of relationship do you think the people from different religious community in Bangladesh have between them?

Very good	1
Good	2
Not much good	3
Not good at all	4
Don't know	-999
No answer	-888



The Asia Foundation

The Asia Foundation is a non-profit international development organization committed to improving lives across a dynamic and developing Asia. Informed by six decades of experience and deep local expertise, our work across the region addresses five overarching goals—strengthen governance, empower women, expand economic opportunity, increase environmental resilience, and promote regional cooperation.

Headquartered in San Francisco, The Asia Foundation works through a network of offices in 18 Asian countries and in Washington, DC. Working with public and private partners, the Foundation receives funding from a diverse group of bilateral and multilateral development agencies, foundations, corporations, and individuals

Since 1954, The Asia Foundation has supported Bangladesh's progress toward and achievement of its development priorities and goals through long-standing partnerships with the government, civil society, religious communities and leaders, the private sector, and the Bangladeshi people. With a focus on gender equality, civic accountability, and social cohesion across all facets of our work, the Bangladesh Country Office encourages innovation and creativity in tackling community challenges, building leadership capacity that reflects the country's diversity, and facilitating broad-based participation in the country's development to help ensure that no one is left behind.

For more information: www.asiafoundation.org.

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