

# THE STATE OF **BANGLADESH'S** POLITICAL GOVERNANCE, DEVELOPMENT, AND SOCIETY

ACCORDING TO ITS CITIZENS



The Asia Foundation



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# THE STATE OF **BANGLADESH'S** POLITICAL GOVERNANCE, DEVELOPMENT, AND SOCIETY

*ACCORDING TO ITS CITIZENS*

A Survey of the **Bangladeshi People**  
2024 Edition



The Asia Foundation



years in bangladesh  
working together  
realizing potential



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# THE STATE OF **BANGLADESH'S** POLITICAL GOVERNANCE, DEVELOPMENT, AND SOCIETY ACCORDING TO ITS CITIZENS

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# LIST OF **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>BDT</b>	Bangladeshi Taka
<b>BIGD</b>	BRAC Institute of Governance and Development
<b>BNP</b>	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
<b>BTV</b>	Bangladesh Television
<b>COVID-19</b>	Coronavirus Disease-19
<b>DC</b>	Deputy Commissioner
<b>DE</b>	Design Effect
<b>DFM</b>	Data Field Management
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>HFC</b>	High Frequency Checks
<b>IRB</b>	Institutional Review Board
<b>MP</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>MW</b>	Megawatts
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>PSU</b>	Primary Sampling Unit
<b>RAB</b>	Rapid Action Battalion
<b>TK</b>	Taka
<b>UAE</b>	United Arab Emirates
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>UNO</b>	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
<b>UP</b>	Union Parishad

# PREFACE

The Asia Foundation (TAF), Bangladesh and the BRAC Institute of Governance and Development (BIGD), BRAC University are delighted to have collaborated for the third time to conduct the *survey, The State of Bangladesh's Political Governance, Development, and Society: According to its Citizens*— produced by The Asia Foundation since 2015. This latest iteration is divisionally representative, with fieldwork carried out from February 10 to March 6, 2024, with a sample size of 6,510 respondents across all 64 districts of Bangladesh.

Survey questions are carefully designed and implemented to address contextual relevance. This year's survey was conducted at a critical point in time, right after the much discussed national election on January 7, 2024. This year's report provides additional comparative analyses of election and non-election years.

The scope of this *Survey* is extensive, covering a wide range of themes such as society, politics, and economy, with a primary focus on democratic governance. While we maintain some core sections and questions to track the nation's mood over time, the *Survey* also delves into a diverse array of contemporary issues. These include perceptions about infrastructural development and economic shocks, youth opportunities, and climate change, among others.

The *Survey* not only aims to contribute to data-driven policymaking but also aims to reach a high methodological standard ensuring replicability over the years. We hope that in the future, our continuous strive for methodological excellence and transparency will promote the use of perception surveys as an ideal tool to implement, leading to further data-driven and evidence-based policy decisions.

In that endeavor, we continuously refine our tools and techniques to ensure the highest standards of rigor and relevance. The *Survey* instrument, for instance, has undergone rigorous review and field testing, incorporating lessons from previous surveys, and addressing present issues and challenges in politics, governance, economics, and society. Our commitment to accuracy is evident in our *Survey* method, where we strive to record citizens' views as faithfully as possible. No *Survey* options are read out loud, and we adhere to strict monitoring and data privacy protocols to safeguard data quality. We maintained a rigorous oversight of the process to minimize errors and biases during data collection and cleaning.

We extend our heartfelt gratitude to the European Union for supporting this *Survey*. We also express our thanks to the Principal Investigator and editor, Dr. Tabasum Akseer. We also thank the Institutional Review Board, which provided ethical clearance and guidance for the *Survey*. Most importantly, we acknowledge the invaluable contribution of the respondents across the country. Their willingness to share their perspectives on critical issues has greatly enriched our understanding of Bangladesh society, politics, and economy.

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The *Survey* report was produced under the guidance of Bangladesh Country Representative, Kazi Faisal Bin Seraj, and led by a team working under the direction of Nafees Maharuf Shafakat, Research Manager, The Asia Foundation. Methodological rigor of this report was ensured under the supervision of Dr. Mirza M. Hassan, Senior Research Fellow, BIGD.

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# Executive Summary





*Fieldwork for the 2024 The State of Bangladesh's Political Governance, Development, and Society: According to its Citizens was conducted from February 10 to March 6, 2024. Across the country, 6,510 men and women aged 18 years or older were polled. The final weighted sample represents 50% men and 50% women, 64.7% rural and 35.3% urban respondents.*

## **Society, Politics, and Economy**

When asked about the overall direction of the country, 39.2% of respondents said the country is heading in the right direction, 57.7% cited that it was in the wrong direction.

Socially, 51.6% say the country is heading in the right direction, while 42.5% say the country is heading in the wrong direction.

Politically, 41.4% say the country is heading in the right direction, and 43.3% respond negatively.

When asked about overall economic direction, 32.4% say the country is heading in the right economic direction, while 61.6% say it is heading in the wrong direction.

When asked if respondents have any members of the household living abroad, 13.6% said yes. Among this group, 78.2% receive regular remittance. Overall, this represents 10.5% of respondents.

When asked to identify major problems facing the country, if any, more than half (52.0%) identify price hikes of essential commodities as the first biggest problem. An additional 14.2% identify this as the second biggest problem the country was facing.

When asked if things in their locality are going in the right or wrong direction, more than half, 62.2% are optimistic and respond positively, while 35.3% are pessimistic. Respondents are more optimistic about things heading in the right direction in their local area compared to the national findings (62.2% local versus 39.2% national).

## **Political Interest and Efficacy**

The *Survey* asks respondents how often they discuss political affairs with friends. Overall, respondents' interest in discussing political affairs has been declining. Between 2022 and 2024, the percentage of respondents who say they "often" discuss political affairs with friends decreased from 19.6% to 11.3%.

At the same time, an increasing sense of political alienation is observed among respondents. Only half (49.3%) of respondents agree (strongly or somewhat) that Members of Parliament think about the common people.

When asked how much influence respondents think someone like them can have over national government decisions, 41.7% think they have no influence.

Over half (52.1%) of respondents feel they have an influence on the local government ("a lot" and "some" combined), while 44.8% are pessimistic ("very little" and "not at all" combined) about their influence.

## Political Parties and Representation

When respondents were asked to identify the most important factors for a candidate to win an election, individual characteristics emerged as the most prominent factor. More than a third (35.8%) refer to the personal characteristics of a candidate as the primary attribute, and another 12.0% identify this as the second important attribute.

When asked if they notice any differences among the various political parties in the country, 13.1% say there are no differences across the parties. For 33.6% the parties are distinct, however respondents are unable to articulate what the differences are.

The *Survey* also demonstrates acceptance toward new parties in the political field. When asked hypothetically if a new party comes into existence with views closer to their views, how likely respondents are to switch support to that party: 59.1% say it is very likely, and 17.3% say likely.

When asked to name their Member of Parliament (MP), 84.1% could do so correctly, a 13 percentage point increase from the 2022 (71.1%).

Respondents' awareness of local representation is comparable to that of MPs. A majority (83.0%) know the name of their local representatives (Union Parishad chairperson in rural areas, and mayor in urban areas).

More than a third (37.1%) report contacting their local government representatives for personal problems, while 15.6% contacted their representative for local problems.

About three-quarters of respondents are satisfied with the performance of the local government representatives; 38.6% very satisfied and 35.4% somewhat satisfied.

## Elections

Respondents who voted are asked to cite their reasons for voting in the last parliamentary election. More than a fourth (27.4%) say voting is an opportunity to choose a parliament member of their liking, while 18.0% cite electing representatives for the country's development, and 13.0% consider it their democratic right.

More than half (72.7%) of respondents report being familiar with the winning candidate of the last national parliamentary election before the start of the election campaign.

In a separate question, 69.0% of respondents say within their constituency, the winning candidate from the last National Parliament was involved in politics prior to the election.

More than half of respondents (52.9%) say they are likely to vote for a candidate who switches political party or participates independently in the election (very likely and somewhat likely responses merged). Less than half (44.6%) say they will not cast their vote for such a candidate (very unlikely and somewhat unlikely merged).

When respondents are asked if they support the opposition party boycotting the election, 59.0% say that they do not support it.

## Democratic Values and Trust in Institutions

When asked what they understand of democracy, almost a third (32.9%) of respondents said they do not know what democracy means, followed by equal rights for all (17.9%), freedom of people (10.7%), and government by the people (8.4%).

A quarter of the respondents describe their relationship with the government as a relationship between the prime minister and citizen (22.0%), followed by 14.0% who say “we are citizens and she is the head of the country”, a similar proportion, 14.0% say they have no relation with the government.

When asked, 43.2% agree all political parties including the ones most people do not like should be allowed to hold meetings, whereas 53.4% disagree. In a separate question, 48.8% say they are fine with friends who support a political party that most people do not like.

When respondents are asked: “How much freedom of expression do people in your area have to express their political opinions?”, a third (33.3%) say people of their locality are very free to express their political opinion. More than a quarter (28.1%) say people of their areas are fairly free to express their political opinion.

When asked whether most people can be trusted, 62.5% said they need to be cautious in dealing with the people.

The *Survey* evaluated citizens’ trust in various institutions. The integrity of elected offices and officials are very high. High integrity is noted by 50.8% of respondents for the Union Parishad Chairman, 45.7% for Upazila Parishad, and 45.5% for the DC office as institutions with very high integrity. For the National Parliament, a positive view is shared by 49.5% of respondents. The judiciary (38.2%) and the Election Commission (31.4%) are perceived as less trustworthy than the elected and administrative officials/offices. Over of a fifth (21.5%) of respondents perceive political parties are trustworthy.

When asked to share their understanding of what they think NGOs are or what NGOs do, 83.3% say NGOs are small loan providers (microfinance institutions), followed by organizations that provide services like health, education, etc. (4.5%).

## Gender Attitudes and Practices

A majority of respondents strongly agree women should have equal opportunities in education at all levels, including national and international universities. However, agreement on equal educational opportunities for women declines with increasing education levels. While 81.9% strongly agree on education up to the higher secondary level, and 78.5% strongly agree for local universities; this number drops where travel is required, down to 75.0% for universities across the country and 68.1% for studying abroad.

When asked if they support women’s leadership in various categories of organizations, 47.3% strongly support women’s leadership in the National Parliament. Respondents are more likely to support women’s leadership in government institutions (Zila Parishad, Upazila Parishad, Union Parishad) than non-government organizations. Respondents are least supportive of women’s leadership in community organizations (31.7%), religious-based organizations (30.8%), and professional associations (30.8%).

When asked their preference for the gender composition of the national parliament, 48.9% favor an equal number of men and women. However, 28.4% prefer a parliament with primarily men. Notably, only 4.8% believe gender is unimportant.

More than half (55.3%) prefer a male representative in the parliament when asked to choose between a male and a female with the same qualifications. Only 12.4% expressed a preference for a female representative, while 20.0% believed gender is not important. Less than a tenth (8.9%) indicate their disapproval for a transgender person as a representative.

## Digital Bangladesh, Social Media, and Policy Influence

The majority of respondents say they own a mobile phone (80.3%) in 2024. Less than half, 46.2% have access to the internet through their own device and 7.1% of respondents can access the Internet through alternative means.

Respondents who do not use the Internet are asked why they opt not to. More than half (61.6%) say they do not know how to use mobile phones or the Internet as their first reason for not using the Internet, and 18.7% say they do not find the Internet useful or interesting.

The 46.2% of respondents who use Internet through their own device and 7.1% of respondents who use Internet through alternative means, are asked about their Internet usage. Here, the top responses cited were communicating with friends and family (86.2%), entertainment (67.3%), and following news (54.3%).

Respondents with Internet access are asked about their preferred communication platforms. The majority use IMO (68.4%), Facebook (56.1%), WhatsApp (53.6%), and Messenger (44.6%).

Among the 56.1% who utilize Facebook, respondents are asked their reasons for using the platform. Sixty percent utilize Facebook to access national news, 59.8% for entertainment, 47.5% for communicating with family and friends, 23.5% for sharing news/ideas/concerns, and 16.1% for viewing pictures.

Less than half, 43.9% say Facebook cannot contribute to ensuring accountability of the state (combining "not very often" and "never"). Nearly a third (31.9%) say citizens can ensure accountability (combining "almost all the time" and "often") through Facebook.

More than half express reluctance to post their political opinion online; 66.5% say they never or not very often feel safe doing so, whereas only 13.9% claim they often or almost always feel secure expressing such opinions.

Respondents who use the Internet are also asked if they feel safe doing different activities online. A majority, 89.5% consider online gaming to be unsafe, while 77.0% share similar concerns about meeting someone online (combining "not at all secure" and "not really secure").

*Survey* findings show 81.9% of Internet users watch the news through Facebook, 56.8% watch the news private channels, 36.8% tune into BTV news, and an equal proportion watch talk shows. Additionally, 30.8% view news on YouTube, while 22.0% prefer traditional newspapers.

When asked if they trust certain media, 46.7% trust newspapers, 55.1% trust BTV news, 52.4% trust private channel news, 37.3% respondents have trust in Facebook news, and 35.7% trust YouTube channel news. Moreover, 40.8% think talk shows are useful.

Respondents are asked their opinions about the freedom of media and if certain media channels can operate independently without any external influence. Respondents perceive Bangladesh Television (46.3%) and Bangladesh Radio (46.0%) as operating independently.

## Security and Violence

When asked about the most significant cause of violence in the country, political conflict (42.9%) is the most common response. The response is cited as the second (10.7%) and the third (4.5%) significant cause of violence. Other responses include family issues (5.1%), drugs (4.9%), murder (2.1%), etc. A small proportion of respondents cannot articulate a cause of violence (11.6%) in the country. A handful say they do not know of any causes in their second (23.4%) and third (32.3%) responses.

When asked to cite the most significant causes of violence in their community, interestingly, 20.5% say violent acts are uncommon or non-existent in their community in their first response. A smaller proportion are unaware of any violence occurring, 6.9%.

The proportion of respondents who never experience fear for their or their family's safety has increased by 44.8 percentage points since 2018, from 32% to 76.8% in 2024.

Respondents are asked if they are concerned about themselves or family members being victims of specific kinds of violence. Almost two-thirds (64.3%) are fearful of being victims of criminal activities ("very concerned" and "somewhat concerned" combined). More than half (56.6%) are concerned about property issues such as illegal land occupation. Political and electoral violence are cited by 50.9% and 46.3%, respectively.

When asked how fearful respondents are of conducting certain activities, since 2018, the fear of moving around at night has decreased by 16.8 percentage points, from 56% to 38.8% in 2024. A smaller proportion of respondents express fear of voting in elections (28.1%), going to the police (25.4%), participating in a political procession (15.2%), and going to a government office (11.7%).

## Contemporary Issues

New in 2024, respondents are asked to share their understanding of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), what they think NGOs are or what NGOs do. The most frequently cited first response among 83.3% is that NGOs are small loan providers (microfinance institutions), followed by those who say NGOs are organizations that provide services like health, education, etc. (4.5%).

Two-thirds (63.4%) of respondents are aware of foreign aid/donations provided to Bangladesh, whereas 36.6% are unaware. Among those aware of foreign aid, 76.0% say foreign donations should be invested in poverty reduction, followed by mega infrastructure (43.7%), education (37.7%), relief/aid distribution (24.5%), and health (16.9%)

New in 2024, the *Survey* gauges respondents' perception of Bangladesh's relationship with other countries. Respondents are asked to cite a country they consider to be Bangladesh's best friend. Half of respondents cite India (50.6%), followed by Saudi Arabia (9%), China (5.1%), and the United States of America (3.3%). A marginal proportion 2.1% say Bangladesh has no best friend, and 23.1% do not know.

Respondents are asked to identify who benefits from new infrastructural investment projects. More than half of respondents (57.3%) identify common people as benefitting the most, almost one-fifth (19.5%) cite the government, and roughly 7% each cite leaders, and contractor/construction companies or those who implement large-scale projects, as beneficiaries.

More than half of respondents (61.6%) say the infrastructure projects positively impact their lives, and 22.7% say there is no such impact at all.

A new question in 2024, 23.6% of respondents are familiar with the issues of climate change or global warming. The majority, 76.4% are unaware of climate change.

Among those who are aware of climate change or global warming, over a third (37.7%) agree it is a serious and pressing problem and steps should be taken immediately to address it. At the same time, 45.2% select low-cost, gradual steps to combat climate change, reflecting a more cautious approach. Less than one-fifth (16.7%) believe no steps with economic costs should be taken now.

Among the 23.6% who understand what climate change is, 86.0% believe it is a significant threat to the country.

When all respondents are read a list of climate and weather events and asked if they have increased, decreased, or remained the same compared to five years ago, the majority say temperature (86.2%) and air pollution (63.7%) has increased. More than half (64.4%) say rain/monsoon has decreased compared to 5 years ago.

Respondents are asked how the recent commodity price hikes have impacted their lives. An overwhelming majority (95.1%) have been impacted by the price hikes ("severely" and "somewhat impacted" merged). A smaller proportion, 4.5% ("not much" and "not at all impacted" merged) did not face any impact. Respondents are asked to identify, if at all, how their lifestyles have changed due to the price hike of daily necessities. More than half (58.9%) had to make rent and utility cuts to deal with the price hike. Almost a fifth (19.7%) reduced their food quality, and 15.6% reduced food intake to cope with the high price of daily commodities.

When asked about the impact of the recent dollar price, 30.0% say they were severely impacted, and 26.6% not at all impacted. A similar percentage (26.6%) do not know.

A new question in 2024, the *Survey* explores respondents' thoughts on barriers to youth employment, with up to three responses recorded. The most frequently cited barriers to youth employment are; a lack of job opportunities in the market (42.7%), corruption (36.0%), lack of training or vocational education (7.2%), and high competition (2.5%).

In 2024, the *Survey* continues to explore perceptions of Rohingya across the country. In 2018, 34% of respondents said they would welcome Rohingya into their communities, in 2024, the rate declined to 9.2%.

Respondents are asked how long the Rohingya should be allowed to stay in Bangladesh, in 2019, 20.4% said Rohingya should stay until it is safe to return, this increased to 32.6% in 2024. In 2019, 68.6% said the Rohingya should leave the country now, and by 2024 this declined to 56.7%.

01

# Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile





Fieldwork for the 2024, *The State of Bangladesh's Political Governance, Development, and Society: According to its Citizens*—was conducted from February 10 to March 6, 2024. More than 6,700 men and women were polled across the country. Following data cleaning, a final sample of 6,510 respondents was achieved. Respondents are 50% male and 50% female, aged 18 years or older. Table 1.1 below shows the distribution of age across various categories.

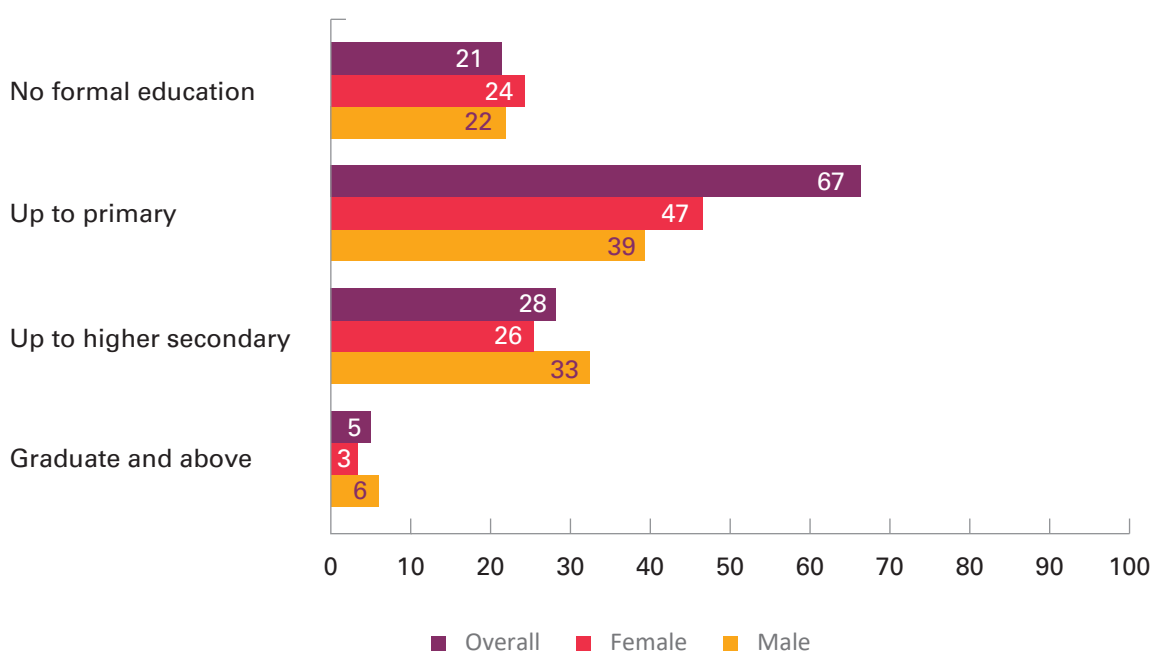
Table 1.1: Respondents' age and gender\*

		Percentage (%)	Sample Size (n)
Gender	Male	50	3,266
	Female	50	3,243
Age group	18–25	15	946
	26–35	22	1,446
	36–45	25	1,609
	46–55	10	664
	56 and up	28	1,844

More than half (64.7%) of respondents were surveyed from rural areas whereas the remaining 35.3% respondents were surveyed from urban areas.

Education levels varied across respondents. Just over a fifth (21.5%) have no formal education, with no significant difference among men and women. The largest proportion (66.7%) have education up to primary level, with a higher proportion of women (46.7%) compared to men (39.5%). The trend is reversed among the 29.0% of respondents with higher secondary school education with a higher proportion of men (32.5%) compared to women (25.5%). Only 5.0% possess a graduate-level and above education.

Figure 1.1: Respondents' education (By gender)



\*Our survey included options for various gender identities; however, all respondents identified as either male or female. Since we used a random sampling method, we did not intentionally include any specific group of respondents.

By occupation, more than a third are housewives (37.1%), farmers (15.0%), engaged in business (11.9%), and day laborers (10.2%). Gender differences in occupations is evident across locations. In both urban and rural areas, the majority of females are housewives. Rural area sees a higher percentage of females working as farmers (12.1%) compared to urban areas (9.5%).

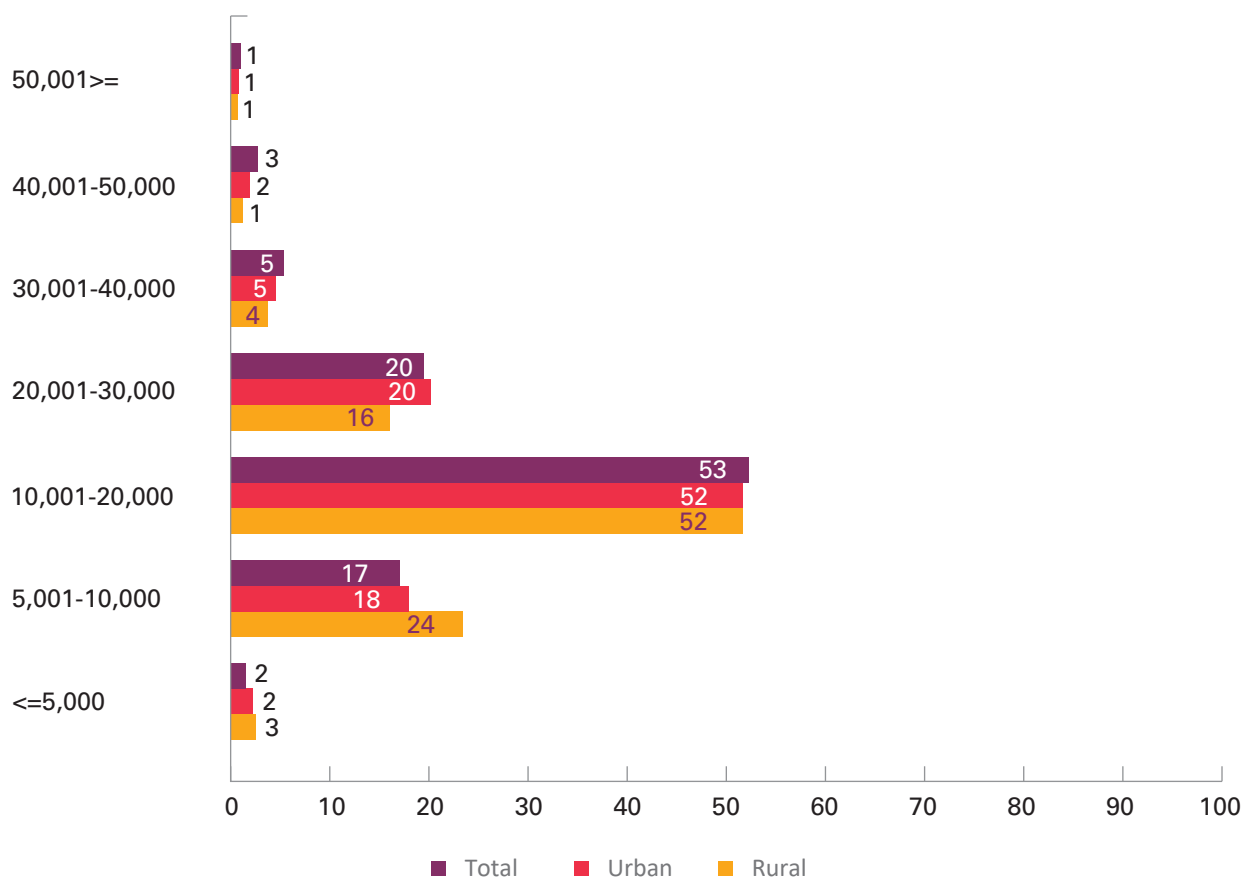
For males, the primary occupations in rural areas are farming (32.2%), working as day laborers (17.9%), and business (16.7%). The proportion of urban males working in the farming sector is higher in rural (32.2%) than urban areas (21.0%). On the other hand, the proportion of men working in business is slightly higher in urban (21.7%) than rural (16.7%) areas.

Table 1.2: Respondents' occupation

Occupation	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Housewife	0	70	0	69
Farmer	32	12	21	9
Worker/day laborer	18	3	17	2
Business	17	4	21	5
Other	9	5	12	7
Student	8	3	8	3
Job	6	2	8	3
Transport worker	6	0	8	0
Not working	3	0	4	1
Factory and other work	1	0	1	1

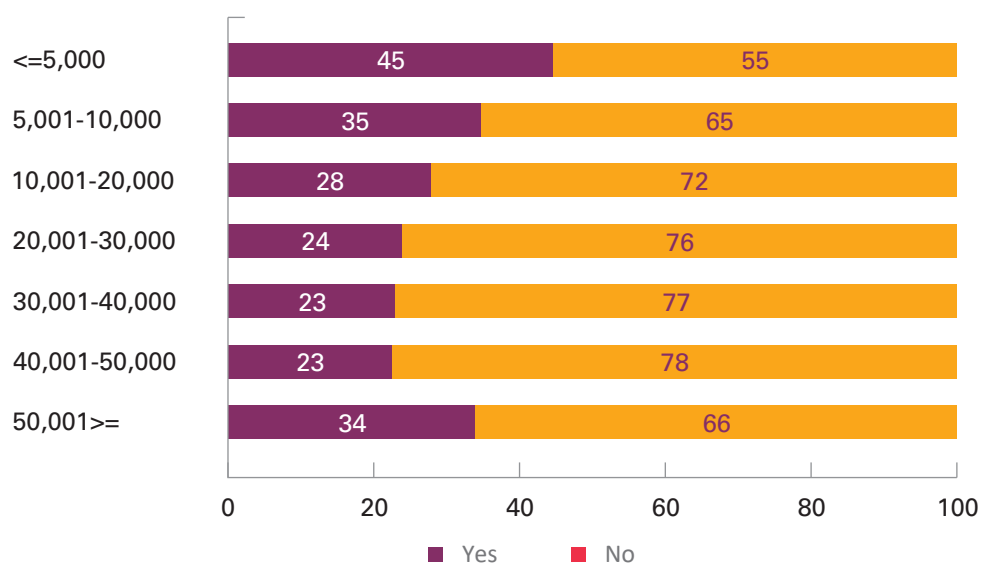
Over half (52.5%) of respondents report their household earnings between 10,001 BDT and 20,000 BDT. A lower-income segment makes up 17.2% of the sample, earning between 5,000 BDT to 10,000 BDT. The percentage of people belonging to this group is slightly more pronounced in rural (23.6%) than urban areas (18.1%). A small fraction (1.0%) report income exceeding 50,000 BDT. Only 13.2% report at least one household member works abroad.

Figure 1.2: Household monthly income



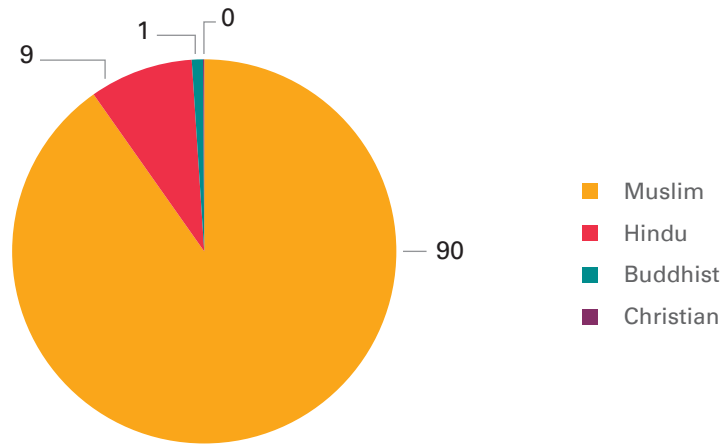
Almost a quarter (23.3%) of households receive an allowance from the local government. This benefit is most prevalent among the lowest income group of those earning less than or equal 5,000 BDT (44.6%), with the percentage steadily decreasing as income levels rise. Interestingly, the highest income group of 50,001 BDT (34.0%) shows a reversal of this trend. However, due to the small sample size in this group, this finding should be interpreted with caution.

Figure 1.3: Do you or anyone from your household receive any allowance from the local government? (By income)



Mirroring the national population, the *Survey* respondents are predominantly Muslim (around 90.2%). A smaller proportion identify with Hinduism (8.7%), Buddhism (0.9%), and Christianity (0.1%). The *Survey* participants were 98.7% Bengali and 1.3% indigenous.

Figure 1.4: Respondents' religion



Less than half of respondents' homes are made of brick and cement walls as the primary building materials (44.2%) and corrugated galvanized iron sheets (45.7%). The remaining population live in a wider variety of structures; mud (5.0%), wood (2.3%), bamboo (2.3%), and jute sticks (1.1%).



02

**Perceptions of  
Society, Politics and  
Economy**

Perceptions regarding the country's overall direction is often used as an indicator of the country's performance and policy direction. The *Survey of the Bangladeshi People* has been tracking citizen's perceptions of the country's direction for almost a decade since 2015. Over time, the *Survey* reveals notable variation in responses reflecting on the overall political and economic dynamic of the nation.

For instance, in 2019, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Bangladesh reached 351.2 billion USD a growth of 7.9 percent (World Bank, n.d).<sup>1</sup> In the same fiscal year, the remittance inflow increased by 35.3%, and the tax collection improvement of over 5% resulted a significant decline in fiscal deficit (Bangladesh Bank, 2019). At the same time in 2019, optimism regarding the direction of the country was highest at 70%.

The 2022 *Survey* conducted amid the global Covid-19 pandemic crisis reflected the global economic downfall. The GDP growth in 2022 was 460.2 billion USD, a growth of 7.1%. At the same time, inflation increased to 7.7% from 5.5% in 2021 (World Bank, n.d),<sup>2</sup> this was reflected in the drastic decrease in optimism levels regarding the country's direction.

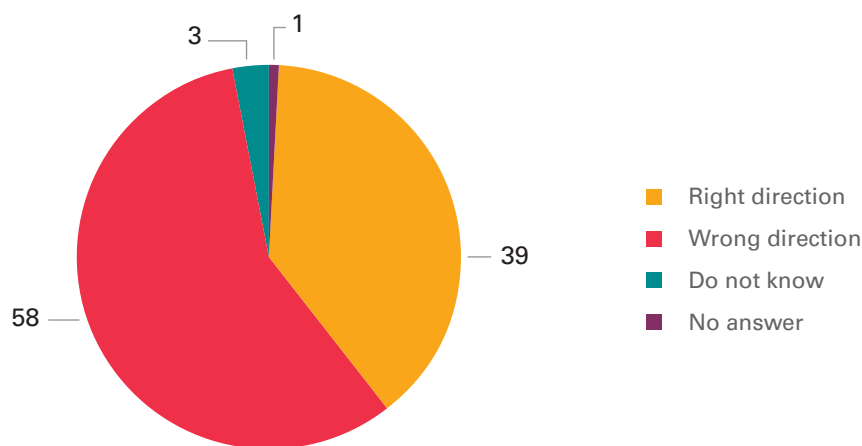
Estimates also suggest the economy in the fiscal year 2023–24 will record a downfall with a 5.6% of GDP growth rate (The Daily Star 2024),<sup>3</sup> while in the same period the country expected a soaring inflation of 9.69% (Bangladesh Bank, 2024).<sup>4</sup>

The *Survey* also reflects social and political shifts, including arising from the general election. Interestingly, the *Survey* was conducted immediately following the general election, from February 10 to March 6, 2024. This chapter explores respondents' perspectives on the overall direction of the country and provides a detailed examination of views on economic, social, and political dimensions.

## 2.1 Overall Direction

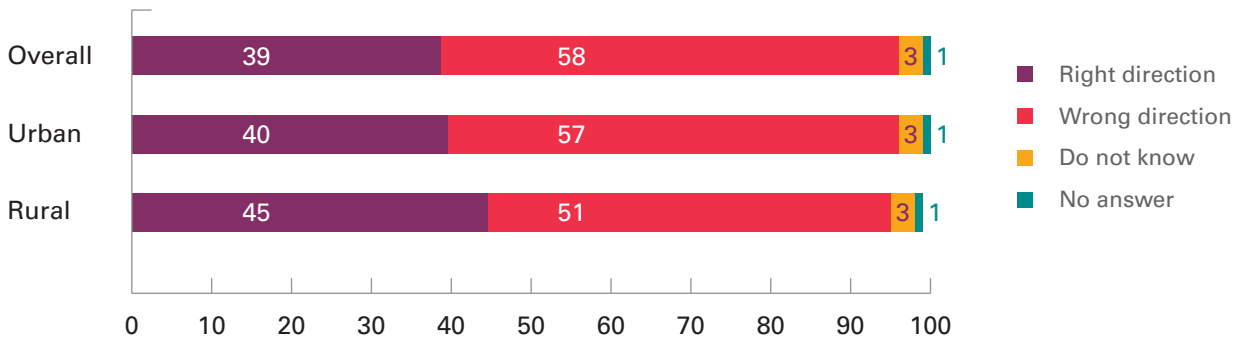
When asked about the overall direction of the country, 39.2% of respondents say the country is heading in the right direction, while 57.7% cite wrong direction (Figure 2.1). A smaller proportion (2.6%) do not know, and 0.5% did not offer a response.

Figure 2.1: Generally speaking, do you think things in Bangladesh today are heading in the right direction? (N= 6,510)



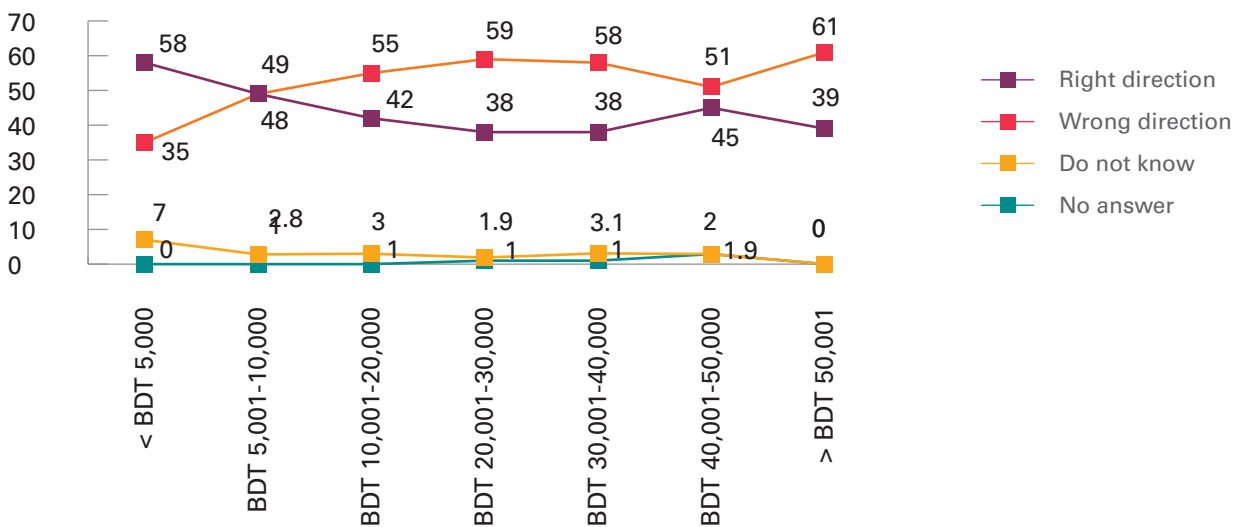
There is little variation in responses by location, gender, age, or education. However, urban respondents are slightly more pessimistic than their rural counterparts, 56.6% urban and 51.0% rural respectively (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Generally speaking, do you think things in Bangladesh today are heading in the right direction or wrong direction (By location)? (N=6,510)



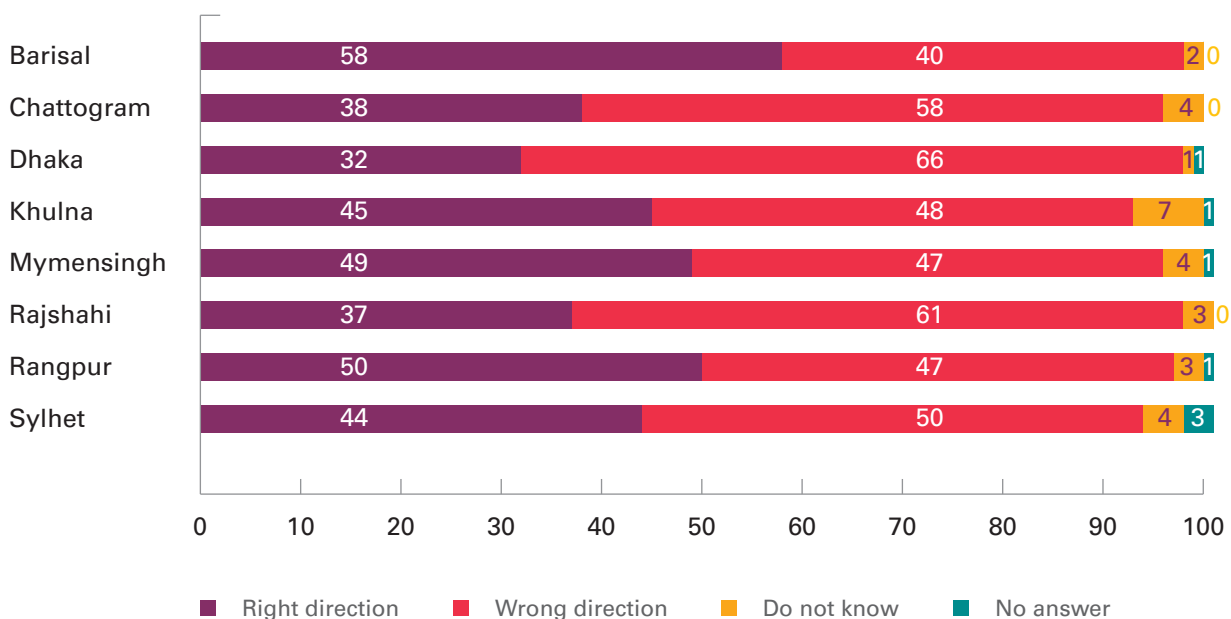
Interestingly, respondents with higher levels of income are more likely to be pessimistic about the country's direction compared to respondents in lower income groups. For instance, among respondents with an income higher than 50,001 BDT per month, 60.7% say the country is headed in the wrong direction, this is lower at 35.1% among the lowest income group (below 5,000 BDT per month) as seen in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Generally speaking, do you think things in Bangladesh today are heading in the right direction or wrong direction (By income groups, N=6,510)?



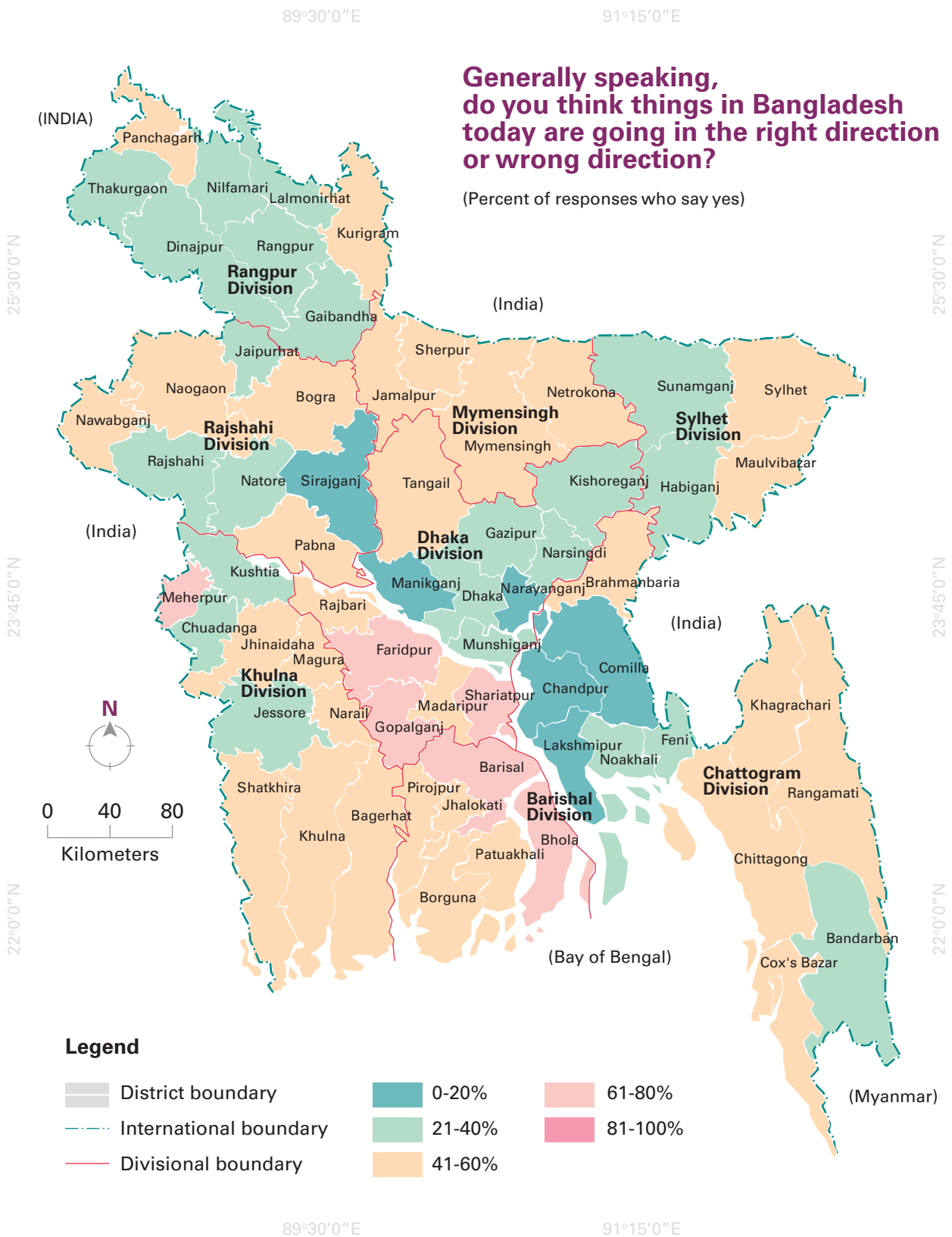
By division, respondents in Barisal are the most optimistic with 57.9% who say the country is generally headed in the right direction (Figure 2.4). On the contrary, respondents in Dhaka, Rajshahi, Chattogram, and Sylhet are the least optimistic with more than half of respondent in these divisions saying the country is heading in the wrong direction.

Figure 2.4: Generally speaking, do you think things in Bangladesh today are heading in the right direction or wrong direction? (By division, N=6,510)





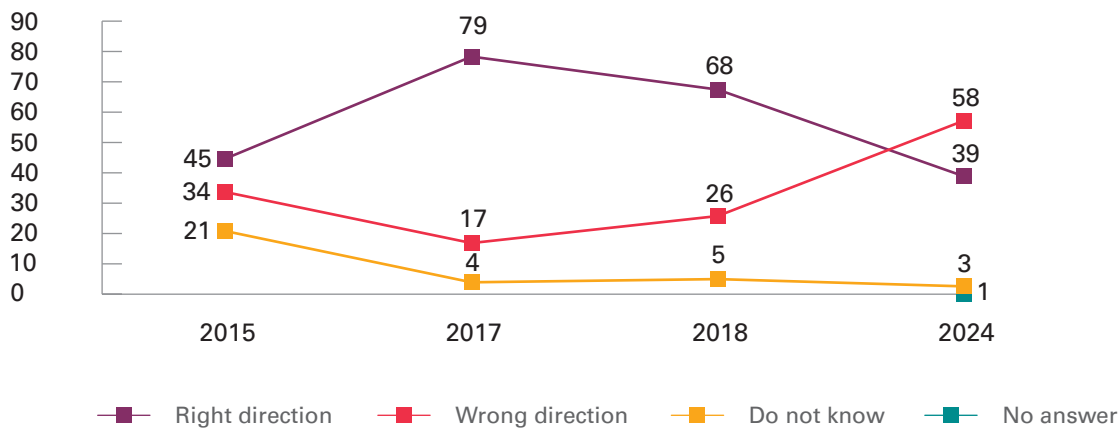
The geographic distribution of those who say the country is heading in the right direction is shown in the map below.



Map 1: Perceptions of Society, Economics, and Politics

When comparing these responses with previous years, overall optimism on country's direction declined from 2017 onwards (Figure 2.5). Since 2017, the percentage of respondents who say the country is heading in the wrong direction increased from 17% to 57.7% in 2024. During the same time, the proportion of respondents saying the country is going in the right-direction decreased from 79% to 39.2% in 2024.

Figure 2.5: Generally speaking, do you think things in Bangladesh today are heading in the right direction or wrong direction? (By year)?<sup>1</sup>



Respondents were asked to provide up to three reasons behind their optimism or pessimism (Table 2.1). Those who say the country is heading in the right direction, emphasize the improvements in infrastructural development across the country. Over a third (39.7%) identify this as the first reason, for 28.8% this is a second reason, and 12.3% identify this as the third reason for their optimism.

The second highest response among optimistic respondents was the 19.3% who report overall development in the country, 21.7% report this to be the second reason, and 23.0% report this to be the third reason behind their optimism.

Improvement in education is mentioned by 12.0%, 10.7%, and 7.1% in respondents' first, second and third reasons for optimism. Interestingly, political stability, better law and order, and human rights are largely absent from the reasons for optimism in the country's direction.

Table 2.1: What are the reasons behind perceiving that the country is heading in the right direction?<sup>2</sup>

	1st reason (N= 1,878)	2nd reason (N= 1,246)	3rd reason (N=568)
Better infrastructure (roads, bridges, etc.)	40	29	12
Overall development	19	22	23
Improvement of education (stipend, pass rate)	12	11	7
Economic development	8	11	7
Better safety /security	4	3	5
Improvement of law and order	3	3	5

<sup>1</sup>Question on the general direction of the country was asked in 2018, skipped in 2019 and 2022, and asked in 2024.

<sup>2</sup>Only the top ten results are shown in the table, the remaining are grouped under the 'other' category.

	1st reason (N= 1,878)	2nd reason (N= 1,246)	3rd reason (N=568)
People's contribution to societal development have increased	3	8	11
Political stability	2	2	7
Digitalized facilities/online facilities	2	2	5
Improvement in business	1	2	3
Others	5	8	15
Do not know	1	-	-
No answer	1	-	-

(Note: Frequency of responses (N) varies as a fraction of respondents who chose the right direction couldn't prioritize their reasons.)

Among the 57.7% who say the country is headed in the wrong direction, the most frequently cited reasons are predominantly economic (Table 2.2). Almost two-thirds of respondents who hold this view cite an increase in the price of the commodities as the main reason, 27.3% cite this in their second response, and 10.6% cite this in their third response. A lack of employment opportunities is mentioned by 4.7%, 7.4%, and 7.6% respectively as the first, second, and third reasons. Another 3.7% identify the overall deterioration of the economic condition as the first reason, followed by 8.4% who cite this as their second and 7.8% as their third reason. Prevailing low wages and increasing poverty also emerge as important reasons.

Table 2.2: What are the reasons behind perceiving that the country is heading in the wrong direction?<sup>3</sup>

	1st reason (N= 2,647)	2nd reason (N= 1,813)	3rd reason (N=795)
Increased price of commodities	65	32	13
Low wage	6	9	13
The overall deterioration of economic conditions	5	9	7
Lack of employment opportunities	4	6	7
Corruption	4	5	5
Increased poverty	3	8	14
Political instability	3	7	4
Low salary	2	4	7
Poor education system	1	3	5
Increased cost of agricultural production	1	6	5
Others	5	11	20
Do not know	0.2	-	-

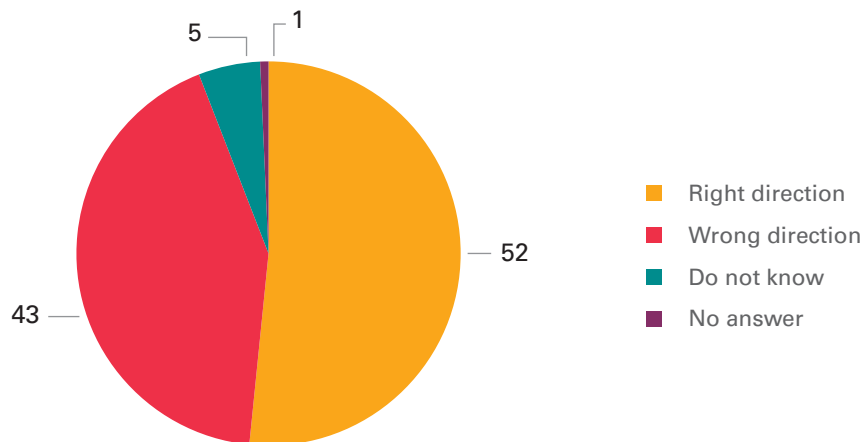
(Note: Frequency of responses (N) varies as a fraction of respondents who chose the wrong direction couldn't prioritize their reasons.)

<sup>3</sup>Only the top ten results are shown in the table, the remaining are grouped under the 'other' category.

## 2.2 Social Direction

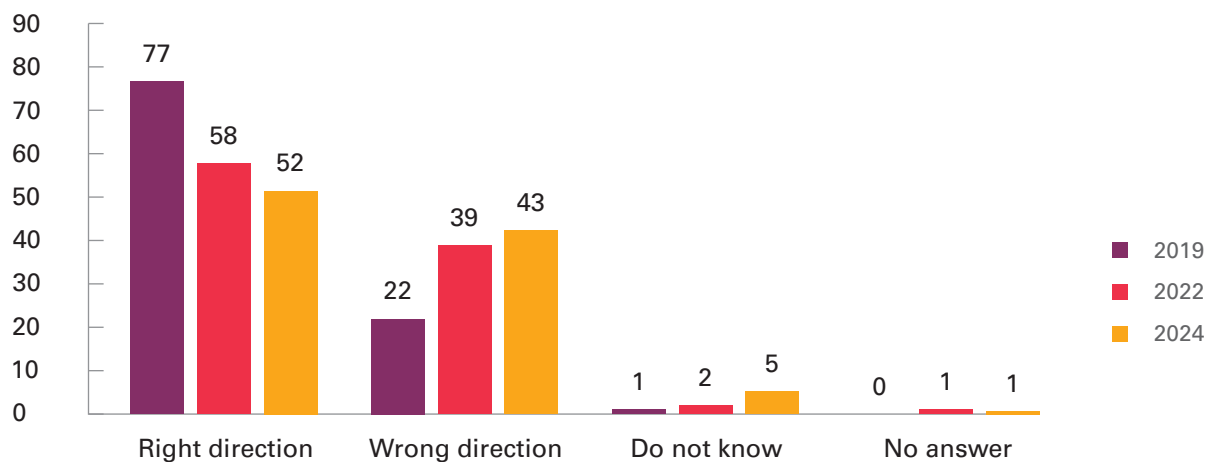
Respondents were asked if they think the country is socially heading in the right or wrong direction (Figure 2.6). Just over half (51.6%) say the country is heading in the right direction, and 42.5% say otherwise.

Figure 2.6: Considering the social dimension, do you think Bangladesh is in the right direction or wrong direction? (N=6,510)



The percentage of respondents who say the country is socially heading in the right direction has dropped over the years: from 77% in 2019, to 58% in 2022, to 51.6% in 2024 (Figure 2.7). Reversely, the share of wrong direction has increased from 22% in 2019, to 39% in 2022 and, 42.5% in 2024.

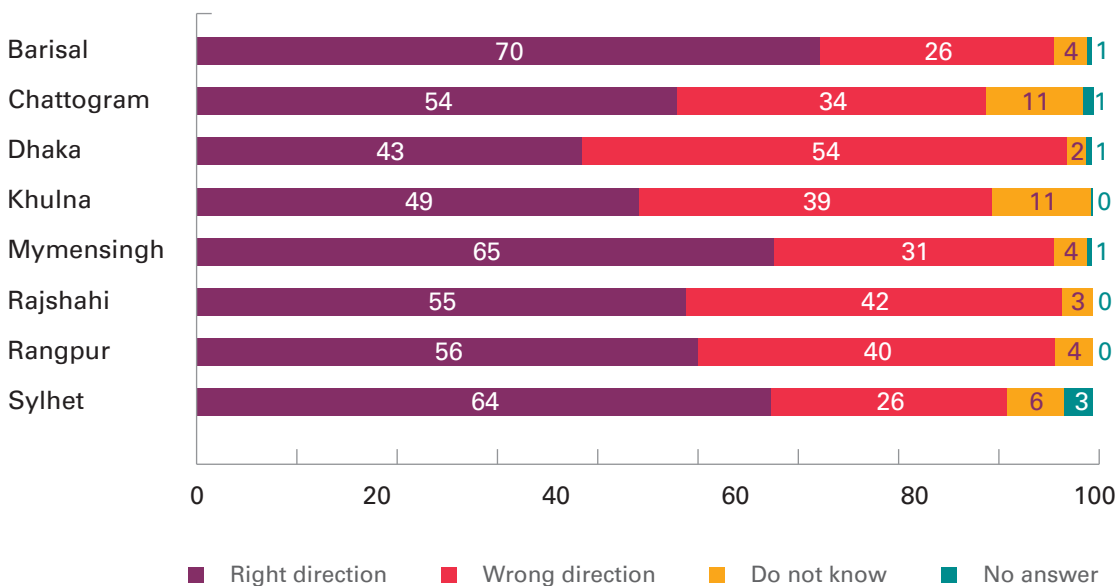
Figure 2.7: Considering the social dimension, do you think Bangladesh is in the right direction or wrong direction? (By year)



There does not appear to be any notable differences by gender or location. Respondents among the higher income and education categories tend to be more likely to say wrong direction than respondents in the lower income and education groups. For instance, 38.4% of respondents with no formal education say the country is heading in the wrong direction, compared to 44.9% of graduates. Among the respondents in the lowest income group ( $\leq 5,000$  BDT), 29.8% view the country as heading in the wrong direction, compared to 55.7% in the highest income group ( $\geq 50,001$  BDT).

By division (Figure 2.8), respondents in Barisal remain the most optimistic (69.6%), consistent with their responses to the country’s overall direction. On the reverse, respondents in Dhaka are the most pessimistic (54.2%). In general, with the exception of respondents in Dhaka and Khulna, more than half of respondents across all other divisions say socially the country is going in the right direction.

Figure 2.8: Considering the social dimension, do you think Bangladesh is in the right direction (By division)? (N=6,510)



The geographic distribution of those who say the country is heading in the right direction (socially) is shown in the map below.



Map 2: Perceptions of Society, Economics, and Politics

When asked to cite up to three reasons for their optimism regarding the country's social direction (Table 2.3), 27.8% cite better safety and security as their first reason, 20.1% identify this as their second response, and 19.7% identify this in their third response. The next most frequently cited reason for optimism is improved education, given as their first response by 25.7% of respondents, 18.5% in the second reason, and 3.7% in their third reason. Improved law and order is noted by 11.0%, 22.0% and 8.0% of the respondents in their first, second and third responses.

Table 2.3: Why do you think that the country is headed in the right direction socially? (Up to three responses)

	1st reason (N=2,496)	2nd reason (N=1,256)	3rd reason (N=421)
Improved safety and security	28	20	20
Improved education (stipend, passing rate)	26	19	4
Improved law and order	11	20	8
Improved administration	7	7	15
Freedom of religious practices	5	6	7
Improved health services	5	7	10
Improved housing services	5	4	5
Improved women's conditions	2	3	6
Improved <i>shalish</i> <sup>4</sup>	2	3	12
Increased government stipends	1	6	6
Reduced corruption	1	3	2
Decreased drug abuse	0	1	2
Improved Internet access	0	1	2
Other	3	2	2
Do not know	3	-	-

(Note: Frequency of responses (N) varies as a fraction of respondents who chose the right direction couldn't prioritize their reasons.)

Among the 42.5% who say the country is heading in the wrong direction socially, when asked to cite three reasons why, for their first response, 22.1% say it is due to the overall degradation of social values (Table 2.4). This is reaffirmed by 17.5% in their second, and 28.0% in their third reason. Increased corruption is highlighted by 19.5% of respondents as their first reason, 16.6% as their second reason, and 5.6% as their third reason. Deterioration of law and order is also prioritized by 11.9%, 14.1%, and 17.3% among respondents as first, second, and third response respectively.

<sup>4</sup>Shalish is a social system for informal adjudication of petty disputes both civil and criminal, by local notables, such as matbars (leaders) or shalishkars (adjudicators)

Table 2.4: Why do you think that the country is headed in the wrong direction socially? (Up to three answers, top responses only)

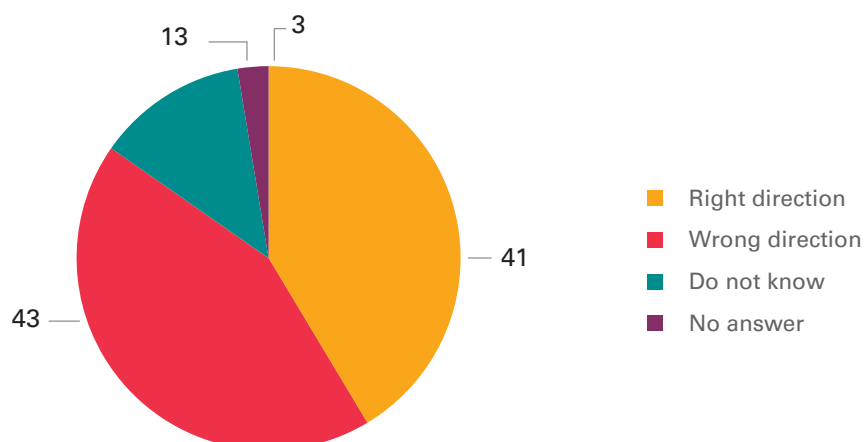
	1st reason (N=1,946)	2nd reason (N=1,121)	3rd reason (N=453)
Degradation of values in the society	22	18	28
Increased corruption	20	17	6
Deterioration of law and order	12	14	17
Drug abuse	9	7	10
Poor education sector	5	7	5
Rich have too much influence	4	7	3
Domestic violence (physical abuse, rape, dowry)	4	4	4
Women's lack of job opportunities	4	3	0
Negative influence of the Internet	4	2	4
Un-Islamic activities	3	3	2
Young adult's involvement in criminal activities increased	3	9	6
Cost of education	3	6	7
Increased extortion	2	0	2
Poor quality of healthcare	1	1	1
Lack of women's freedom	0	1	1
Child abuse	0	1	2
Others	3	1	1
Do not know	2	0	0

(Note: Frequency of responses (N) varies as a fraction of respondents who chose the wrong direction couldn't prioritize their reasons.)

## 2.3 Political Direction

When asked if they think the country is politically heading in the right or wrong direction, 41.4% respond positively, and 43.3% respond negatively (Figure 2.9). A smaller proportion, 12.7% do not know, and 2.6% refuse to provide a response.

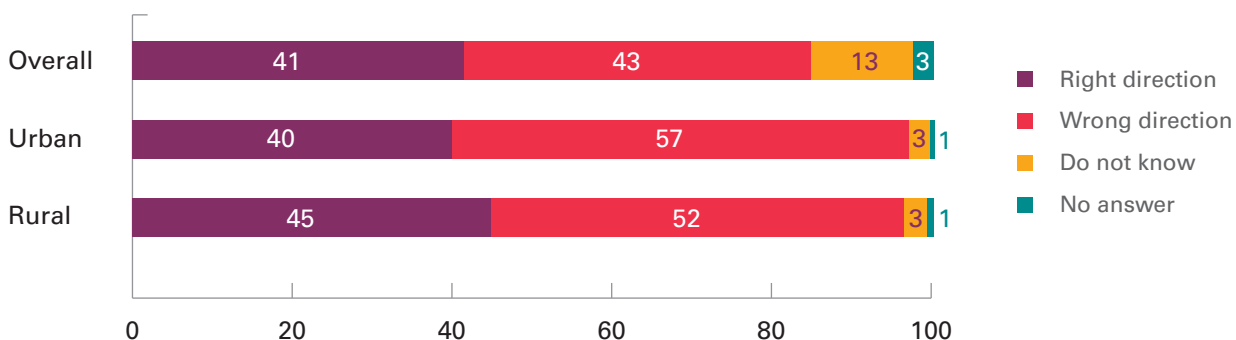
Figure 2.9: Considering the political dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading to the right direction or wrong direction? (N= 6,510)





Interestingly, women are more than twice as likely than men (18.3% vs 7.3%) to say they do not know whether the country is heading in the right or wrong direction politically. There does not appear to be much variation among urban and rural respondents (Figure 2.10)

Figure 2.10: Considering the political dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading to the right direction or wrong direction? (N= 6,510)



Further, the proportion who say wrong direction increases with education and income (Figure 2.5) More than half (50.8%) of respondents with a graduate degree and above say the country is politically heading in the wrong direction, compared to 40.6% with no formal education, 40.1% up to primary, and 40.8% with up to higher secondary education.

Table 2.5: Considering the political dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction (By education)? (N= 6,510)

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Right direction	44	43	44	38
Wrong direction	41	40	41	51
Do not know	14	14	11	6
No answer	2	3	4	5

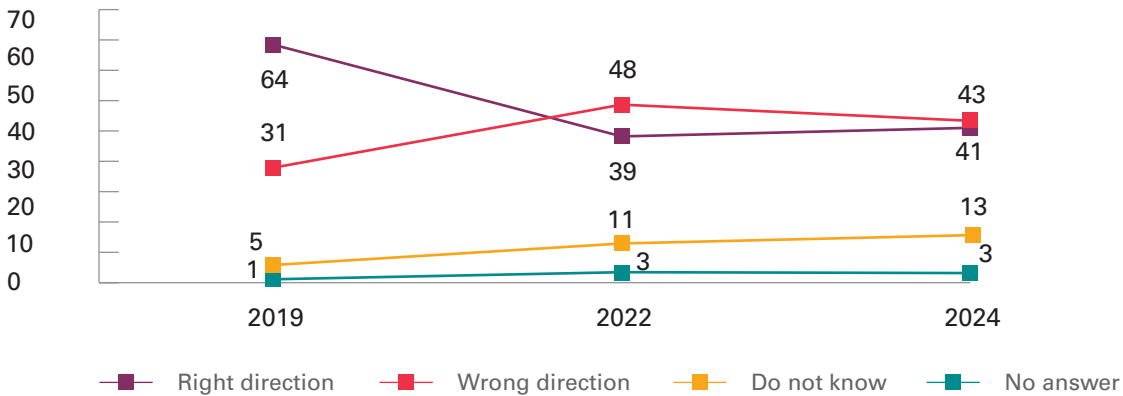
By income, there is a vast difference in sentiment among those who earn the highest and lowest (Table 2.6). Among respondents who earn ≤5,000 BDT, 35.7% say the country is politically heading in the wrong direction, compared to 44.0% of respondents who earn more than 50,001 BDT per month.

Table 2.6: Considering the political dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction (By income groups)? (N= 6,510)

	≤ 5,000 BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	50,001 ≥ BDT
Right direction	44	48	44	38	34	47	40
Wrong direction	36	38	40	47	48	40	44
Do not know	17	12	14	11	13	10	12
No answer	4	2	3	4	5	3	4

Compared to 2019, the proportion of respondents who say the country is politically heading in the right direction decreased, from 64% down to 41.4% in 2024. At the same time, the proportion of respondents who said the country is politically heading in the wrong direction increased from 31% to 47.6% from 2019 to 2022, and dropping slightly in 2024 to 43.3%. Interestingly, in 2019, 5% of respondents were unsure of the direction of the country politically, this uncertainty has increased by more than double to 12.7% in 2024 (Figure 2.11).

Figure 2.11: Considering the political dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction (By year)?

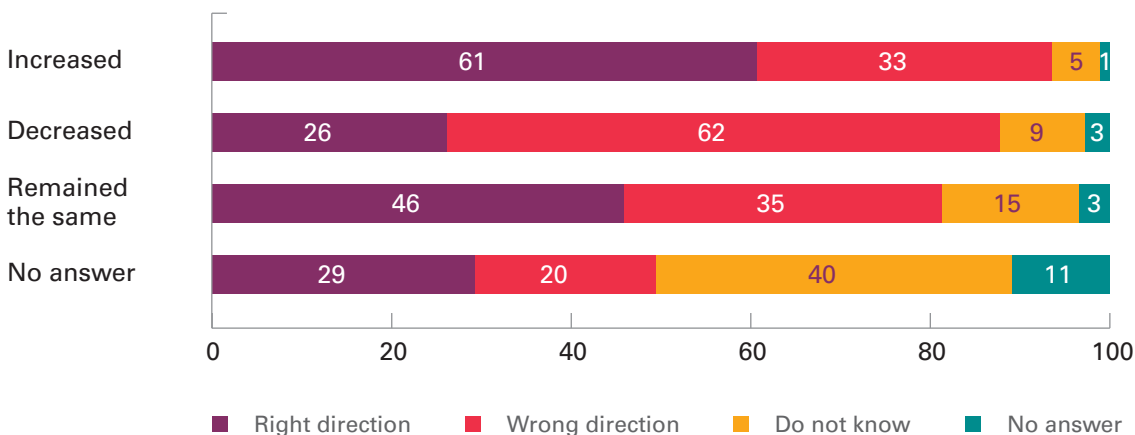


The *Survey* asks respondents whether their interest in politics has increased, decreased, or remained the same in the last three years (Figure 2.12). Overall, 25.1% say their interest in politics has increased, for 27.6% it has decreased, and 42.2% do not know.

Of the 25.1% of respondents who cite an increased interest in politics, 60.7% say the country is politically heading in the right direction, while 32.9% hold an opposing view. In the same category, 5.4% of respondents whose interest has increased say that they do not know if the country is heading in the right or wrong direction, while 1.0% refuse to respond.

Among those whose interest in politics decreased, just over a quarter (26.1%) say the country is politically headed in the right direction, and 61.6% disagree. Among those whose political interest remained the same over the last three years, 45.9% view the country is in the right political direction, and 35.4% say the country is heading in the wrong political direction.

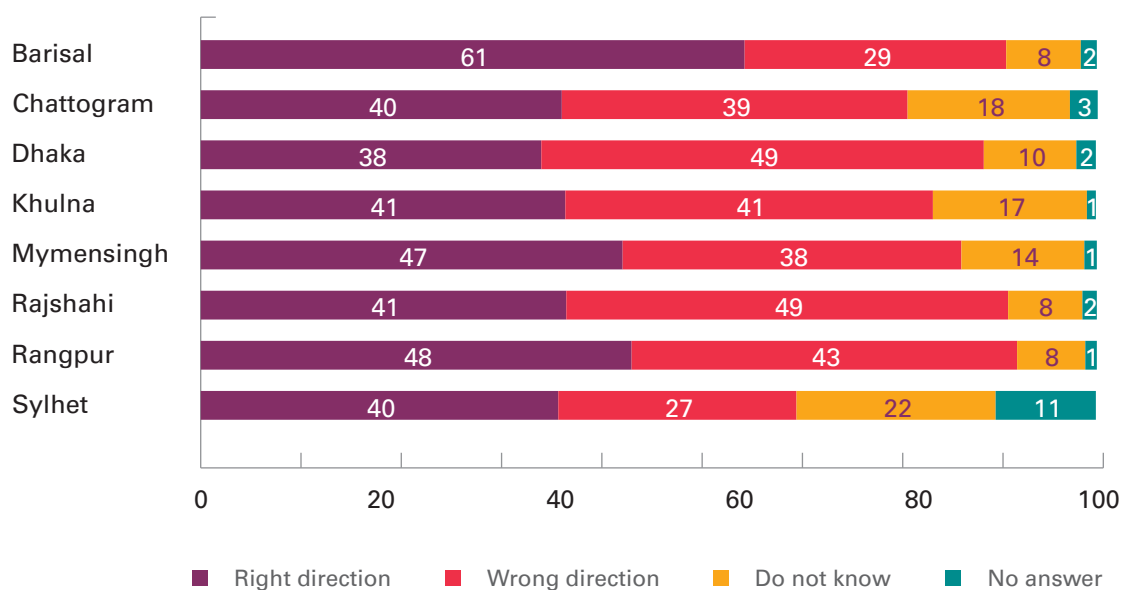
Figure 2.12: Considering the political dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction (By political interest)? (N= 6,510)



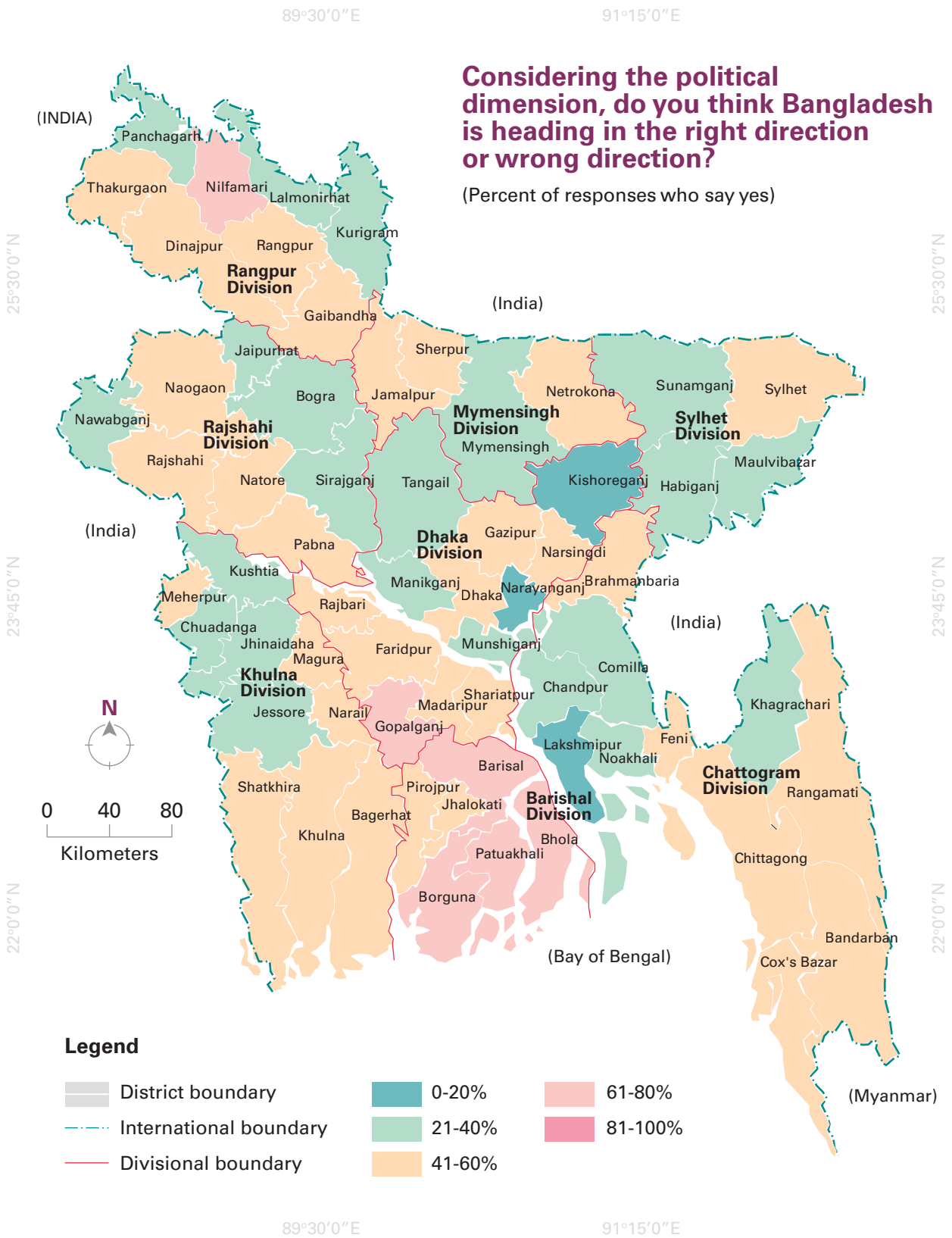
By division, respondents in Barisal remain the most optimistic regarding the political direction of the country (Figure 2.13). More than half, 60.7% of respondents in Barisal say the country is politically headed in the right direction, while in all other divisions, optimism among respondents ranges below 50%. Respondents in Dhaka (49.4%) and Rajshahi (49.3%) are the most pessimistic across all divisions.

The uncertainty among respondents regarding the political direction is highest in Sylhet, with the share of do not know responses at 22.2%, the highest across all divisions. Interestingly, the highest proportion of respondents who did not answer is also in Sylhet (11.2%) compared to 3% or less in other divisions.

Figure 2.13: Considering the political dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction? (By division, N= 6,510)



The geographic distribution of those who say the country is heading in the right direction (politically) is shown in the map below.



Map 3: Perceptions of Society, Economics, and Politics

Respondents who say the country is headed in the right direction politically, were asked to cite up to three reasons why they feel this way (Table 2.7). Overall, development of the country is mentioned most frequently, as the first reason among nearly half (47.9%) of respondents, as a second reason among 19.6%, and a third reason among 20.6% of respondents. Political stability is mentioned by 19.9%, 22.1%, and 22.1% of respondents in their first, second, and third reasons. Decreased political violence is highlighted by 7.7%, 8.8%, and 7.1% of respondents as their first, second and third reason why they think the country is headed in the right political direction.

Table 2.7: What are the reasons for perceiving that the country is headed in the right political direction?<sup>5</sup> (Up to three answers, top 10 responses only)<sup>6</sup>

	1st reason (N=2,045)	2nd reason (N=913)	3rd reason (N=318)
Development of the country	48	20	21
Political stability	20	22	22
Decreased political violence	8	9	7
Better law and order	7	21	16
Decreased terrorist activities	5	7	12
Better governance	4	10	11
Better human rights condition	2	6	3
Strong leadership	2	5	8
Others	0	1	1
Do not know	3	0	0

(Note: Frequency of responses (N) varies as a fraction of respondents who chose the right direction couldn't prioritize their reasons.)

Looking only at the first reasons given by respondents, those who say the country is headed in the wrong political direction attribute this to the dominance of one party (34.2%), corruption (18.1%), political instability (18.1%), and rigged elections (10.4%); see Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: What are the reasons for perceiving that the country is headed in the wrong political direction? (Up to three answers, top 10 responses only)

	1st reason (N=1,982)	2nd reason (N=1,014)	3rd reason (N=419)
Over-dominance of one political party	34	16	24
Political instability	19	18	19
Corruption	18	14	9
Rigged elections	10	11	15
No democracy	4	12	9
Deterioration of law and order	4	7	5
Political intolerance	3	11	5
No chance to express opinions freely	3	7	9
Increase in terrorist activities	1	4	5
Others	1	1	0
Do not know	2	0	0

(Note: Frequency of responses (N) varies as a fraction of respondents who chose the wrong direction couldn't prioritize their reasons.)

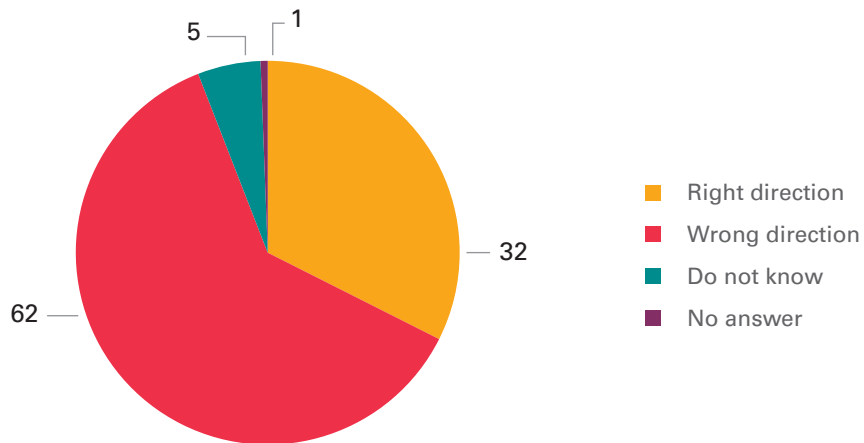
<sup>5</sup>Only the top ten results are shown in the table, the rest are grouped under the 'other' category.

<sup>6</sup>Only the top ten results are shown in the table, the rest are grouped under the 'other' category.

## 2.4 Economic Direction

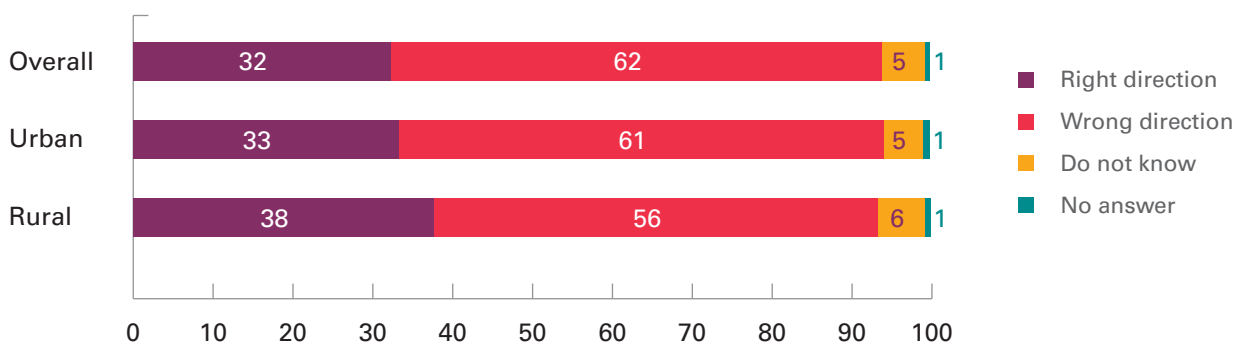
When asked about overall economic direction, one third (32.4%) of respondents say the country is heading in the right economic direction, and 61.6% say wrong direction (Figure 2.14).

Figure 2.14: Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction? (N= 6,510)



Rural respondents are slightly more optimistic than their urban counterparts when asked about the economic direction of the country, 37.8% compared to 33.4% respectively (Figure 2.15).

Figure 2.15: Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction? (N= 6,510)



The geographic distribution of those who say the country is heading in the right direction (socially) is shown in the map below.



Map 4: Perceptions of Society, Economics, and Politics

Interestingly, the proportion who do not know whether the country is heading in the right or wrong direction decreases as levels of education increase, from 6.7% of respondents with no formal education, to 2.3% of respondents with graduate and above.

Table 2.9: Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction (By education)? (N= 6,510)

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Right direction	36	34	36	33
Wrong direction	56	60	59	64
Do not know	7	6	4	2
No answer	1	1	1	1

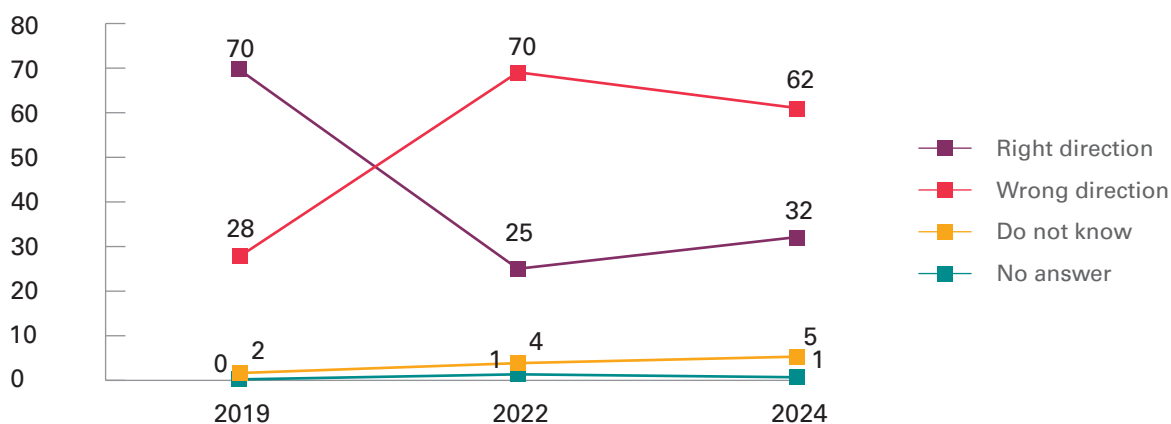
By income, respondents with higher levels of income are more likely to express their pessimism.

Table 2.10: Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction (By income)? (N= 6,510)

	≤ 5,000 BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	50,001 ≥ BDT
Right direction	33	43	35	31	26	30	33
Wrong direction	51	50	60	63	68	68	67
Do not know	14	6	5	5	5	1	0
No answer	2	1	1	1	2	1	0

Given the overall economic downturn the country has faced over the past three years, the impact on respondents' perceptions is noted. Optimism regarding the country's economic direction declined between 2019 and 2022 by 45 percentage points, from 70% to 25%, with an increase in 2024, at 32.4% (Figure 2.16). Since 2019, the proportion citing wrong direction increased from 28% to 61.6% in 2024.

Figure 2.16: Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction (By year)?





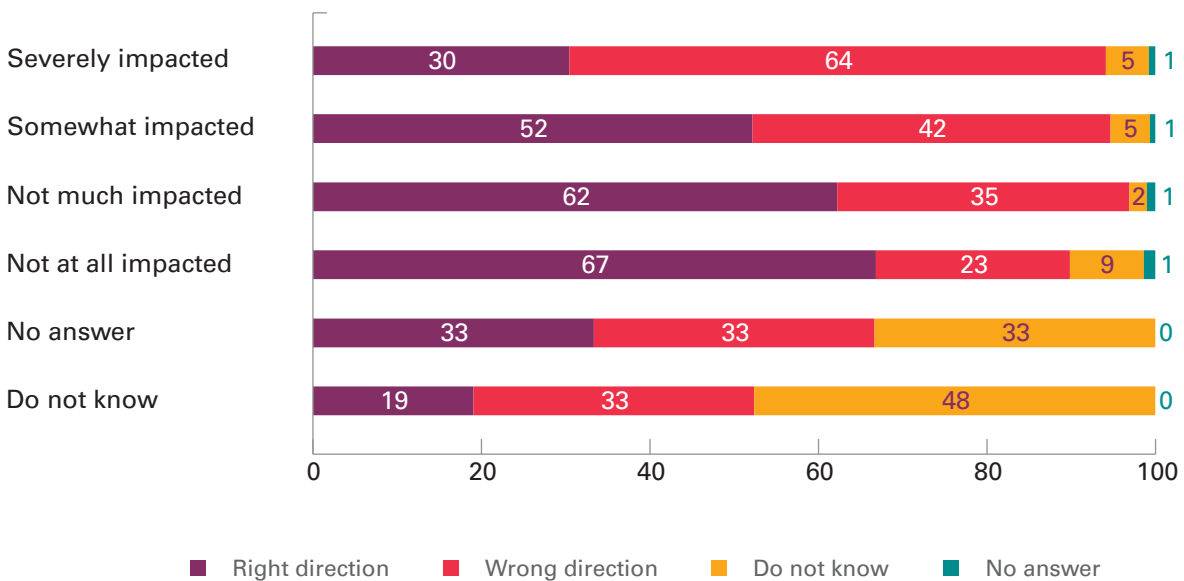
The *Survey* asks if respondents have any members of the household living abroad. Here, 13.6% said yes. Among this group, 78.2% receive regular remittance. Overall, this represents 10.5% of respondents. Interestingly, remittance-receiving households are slightly more likely to say the country is heading in the wrong direction, compared to non-remittance receiving households, 60.4% compared to 56.7% respectively.

Table 2.11: Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading in the right direction or wrong direction? (By remittance, N=672)

	Households receiving Remittances (%)	Households not receiving Remittances (%)
Right direction	33	34
Wrong direction	60	57
Do not know	5	8
No answer	1	1

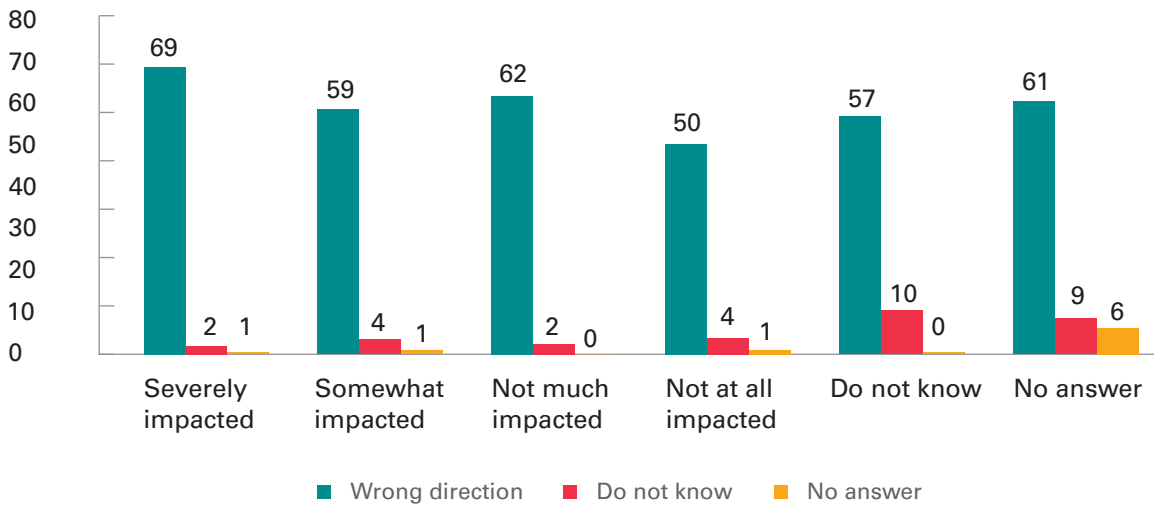
Respondents who are impacted by the price inflation are more likely to say that economically the country is headed in the wrong direction (Figure 2.17). There is a clear relationship among the respondents who are not much or at all affected by the price hike, and optimism about the economic direction of the country.

Figure 2.17: Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading to the right direction or wrong direction? (By impact of inflation, N= 6,510)



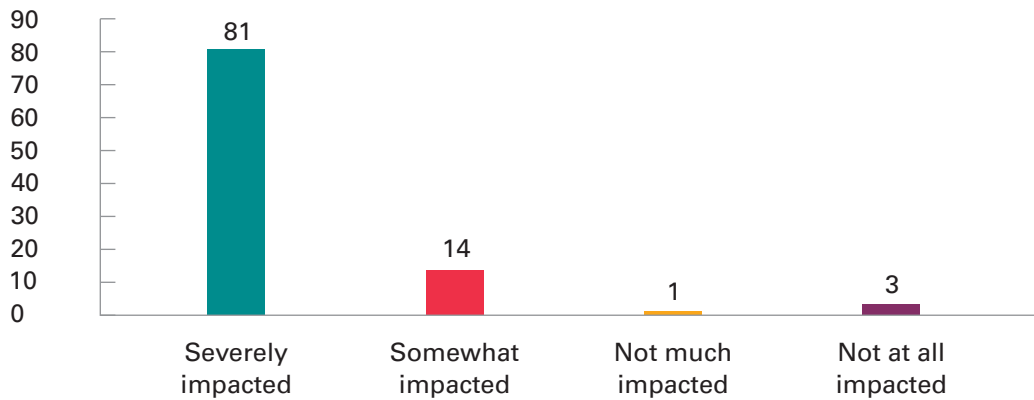
Respondents who are more reliant on dollar income are likely to be impacted more due to the dollar price increase. A similar trend is noted when asked if people have been impacted by the increase in dollar price (Figure 2.18). Among the 27.4% who say the dollar price rise has severely impacted their household, 68.9% say the country is headed in the wrong direction, dropping to 50.4% of respondents who say the increased dollar price did not impact them.

Figure 2.18: Considering the economic dimension, do you think Bangladesh is heading to the right direction or wrong direction? (By impact of dollar price increase, N= 6,510)



Similarly, the current price inflation has a strong impact on people’s lives and livelihoods. Respondents who are pessimistic about the economic direction are asked if the negative economic direction of the country has any implications on their household income (Figure 2.19), a majority (81.4%) agree it has impacted them severely. Just over a tenth, 13.5% say it impacted them somewhat, while only 4.5% say that it has very little or no impact on their household.

Figure 2.19: How has the recent price hike of the essential commodities impacted your life? (N= 6,510)



More than half of respondents, 58.9%, say they had to cut down the rent and utilities expenditure, while 20.0% adjusted their quality of food consumption (Table 2.12). An additional 15.6% consume less food compared to before, and 0.9% report reducing health and education expenditures.

Table 2.12: What are the changes you need to make to handle the impact? (N= 6,510)

Lifestyle changes	
Decrease in rent and utilities	59
Reduce the quality of food	20
Consuming less food	16
Reduce costs in education and health	1
Other	5

When asked to cite up to three reasons why the country is heading in the right direction economically, just over one-third cite better infrastructure (39.3%), the single largest reason among those who are optimistic (Table 2.13). This also emerges as the second and third most frequently cited responses (20.8% and 14.0%) respectively. The next most cited response, overall development, is stated by 12.5%, 11.4% and 9.3% as their first, second, and third reasons. Over a tenth, 12.2%, cite economic development as the first reason, 10.7% mentions this as the second reason, and 11.2% mention this as the third reason behind their perception.

Table 2.13: Why do you think that the country is going in the right economic direction? (Up to three responses)

	1st reason (N= 1,591)	2nd reason (N= 1,047)	3rd reason (N=475)
Better infrastructure	39	21	14
Overall development	13	11	9
Economic development	12	11	11
Scarcity has decreased	6	5	10
Increase in government stipends	5	15	7
Employment has increased	5	7	7
Business is going well	4	3	5
Livelihood conditions have improved	4	5	9
Communication systems have improved	3	5	6
Power supply has improved	2	12	16
Increasing remittance	1	1	2
Price of the land increased	1	1	3
Salary of government employees increased	1	2	1
Others	1	2	4
Do not know	2	0	0

The increased price of commodities in the first response is cited by 62.3% of respondents who say the economy is headed in the wrong direction; 25.3% and 7.8% of respondents cite this as the second and third reason respectively (Table 2.14). Lack of employment opportunities emerges as the second most common response, cited by 13.6%, 16.3% and 7.9% as the first, second and third reasons. Another 7%, 9.9% and 13.8% identify the deterioration of economic conditions as the first, second and third reasons for believing that the country is economically headed in the wrong direction.

Table 2.14: Why do you think that the country is going in the wrong economic direction? (Up to three responses)

	1st reason (N= 2,858)	2nd reason (N= 2,071)	3rd reason (N=951)
Increased price of commodities	62	25	8
Lack of employment opportunities	14	16	8
Deterioration of economic conditions	7	10	14
Increasing scarcity	4	10	9
Poor condition of agriculture sector	3	8	5
Poor communication infrastructure	2	3	7
High cost of electricity	1	10	27
High cost of cooking gas	1	8	11
Poor provision of cooking gas	1	1	4
Businesses are not doing well	1	4	3
Depleting bank reserves	1	2	1
Others	2	3	3
Do not know	0.3	-	-

## 2.5 Major Problems the Country is Facing

Respondents are asked to identify major problems the country is facing, if any, and allowed up to two responses. More than half of respondents (52.0%) identify the price hikes of essential commodities to be the first biggest problem, this response is shared by an additional 14.2% who identify this to be the second biggest problem (Table 2.15). The distribution of responses for other problems are diverse and reported at much lower rates compared to price hikes. For instance, unemployment as the first major problem is reported by only 8.3%, while corruption is reported by only 4.1%.

Table 2.15: What are the country's first and second biggest problems?

	1st problem (N= 6,510)	2nd problem (N=5,874)
Price hike of essentials	52	14
Unemployment	8	13
Corruption	4	5
Economic/business downturn	4	4
Political unrest and intolerance	4	2
Poverty	3	3
Difficulties in earning a living	2	7
Lack of communication infrastructure	2	3
Poor education system (cost, quality, passing rate)	1	2
One-party dominated politics	1	1
Population growth	1	1
Degradation of social values	1	1

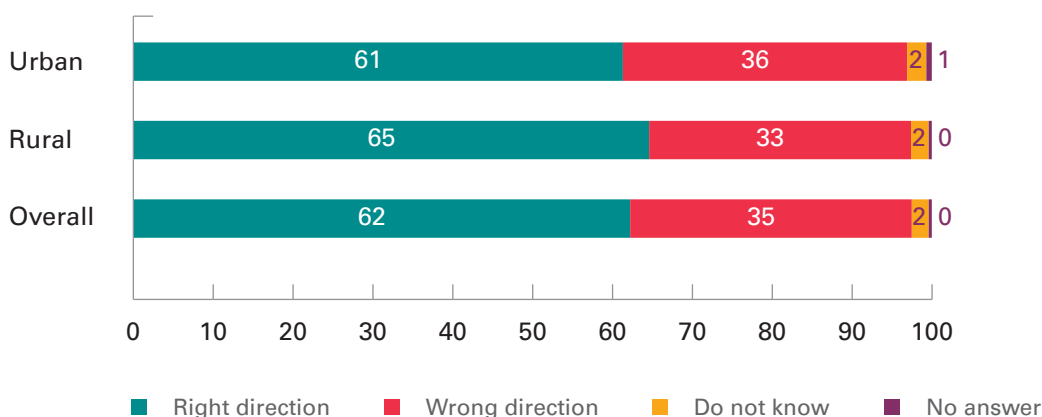
	1st problem (N= 6,510)	2nd problem (N=5,874)
No problem	3	5
Other	8	19
Do not know	4	18
No answer	1	3

## 2.6 Local Directions

The *Survey* asks respondents if things in their locality are going in the right direction or wrong direction (Figure 2.20). More than half (62.2%) are optimistic and respond positively, while 35.3% are pessimistic. Respondents are more optimistic about things in their local area compared to the national (62.2% compared to 39.2%).

Here too, urban respondents are slightly more likely to report pessimism in their localities compared to rural respondents, 35.6% compared to 32.8% respectively.

Figure 2.20: Generally speaking, do you think things in your area today are going in the right direction, or the wrong direction? (N= 6,510)



Respondents are asked to list the first and second biggest local problems (Table 2.16), and once again, price hikes emerge as the first biggest problem (19.1%), followed by the lack of communication infrastructure (17.5%). Unemployment is highlighted by 6.4% of respondents as the first problem, and 7.0% as the second problem.

Table 2.16: What are the first and second biggest problems in your locality?

	1st problem (N= 6,510)	2nd problem (N=5,137)
Price hike of essentials	19	12
Lack of proper communication infrastructure	18	6
Unemployment	6	7
Gambling/drug addiction	4	3
Crisis of provision/price of gas	4	2
Poverty	3	3
Scarcity of/quality of drinking water supply	3	3
Difficulties in earning a living	2	5
Degradation of values in the society	2	3
Political unrest and intolerance	2	1
Natural disasters (river erosion, saltwater intrusion, floods, etc.)	2	1
Corruption	1	2
Economic/business downturn	1	2
Deteriorating law and order	1	1
Extortion/terrorist activities/ <i>mastani</i>	1	1
Poor performing agriculture sector	1	2
Waterlogging	1	1
Poor education facilities and quality (cost, quality, passing rate, etc.)	1	2
Others	7	15
No problem	17	8
Do not know	3	16
No answer	1	3

03

## Political Interest and Efficacy

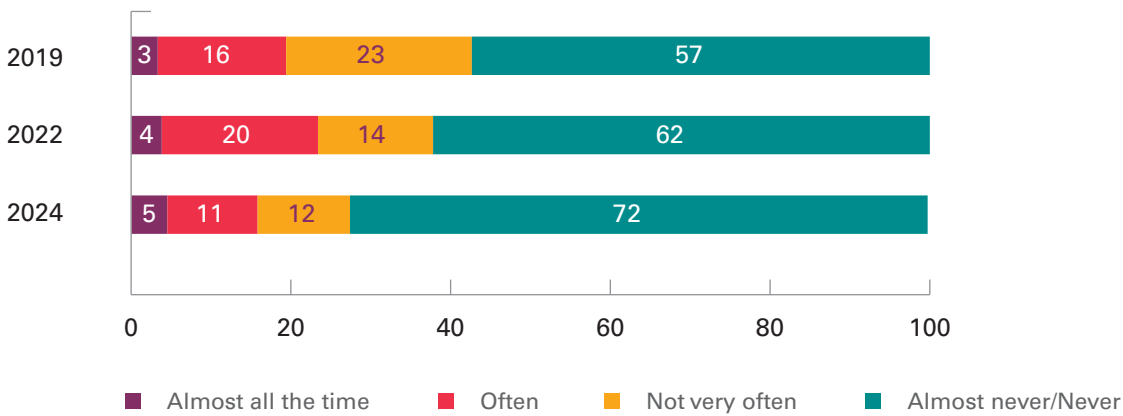


Interest in and awareness of political affairs among citizens is essential in a democracy.<sup>5</sup> Previous surveys have indicated an increasing apathy for political affairs and a growing apprehension towards engaging politically online.<sup>6</sup> This chapter explores political efficacy—the belief in one's ability to influence political events— of respondents and investigates if they feel their voices are heard, if their votes make an impact, and whether caring about politics is worthwhile.

### 3.1 Interest in Politics

The *Survey* asks respondents how often they discuss political affairs with friends. Overall, findings reveal that respondents' interest in discussing political affairs has been declining. Between 2022 and 2024, the percentage of respondents who say they “often” discuss political affairs with friends decreased from 19.6% to 11.3% (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: How often do you discuss political affairs with friends? (N=6,510)

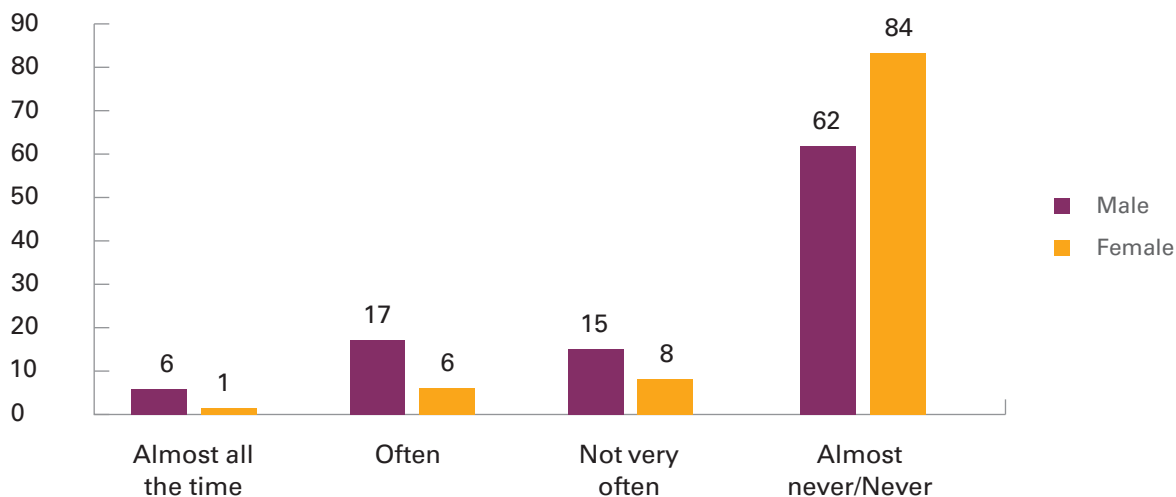


The declining interest in discussing politics appears to be a trend over the past six years. In 2018, 79% of respondents said they “not very often” or “never” discuss politics with friends, consistent with 2015 findings. In 2024, the sentiment was expressed by 83.9% of respondents. The shift in responses is reflected by the largest increase in the share of respondents saying “almost never/never” to this question: fifteen-percentage point increase between 2019 and 2024, from 57.3% to 72.3% respectively.

Discussing politics is significantly less popular among women than men: 76.9% of male respondents say they not very often or almost never/never discuss political affairs, compared to 91.7% of females (see Figure 3.2).

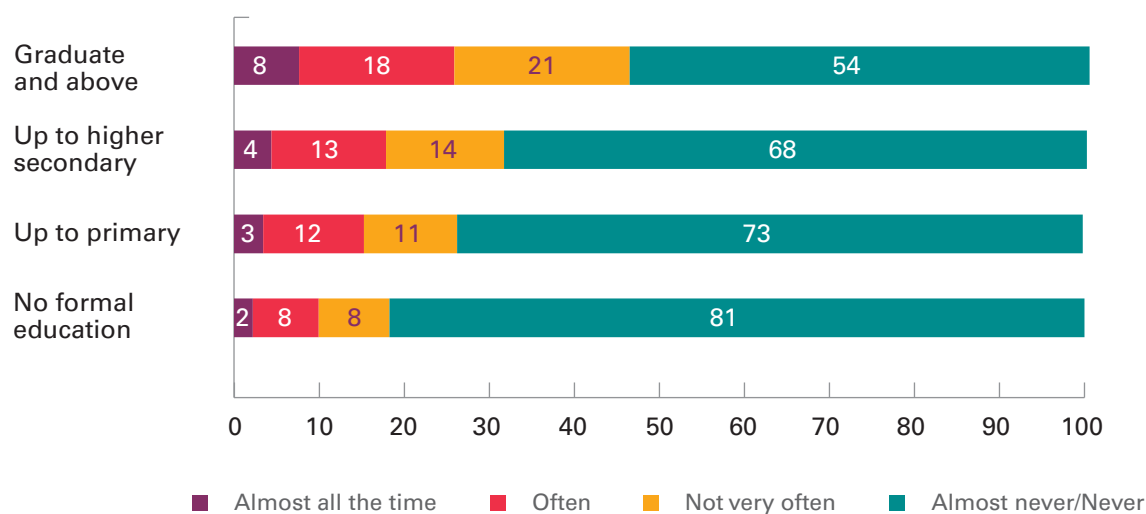


Figure 3.2: How often do you discuss political affairs with friends? (By gender)



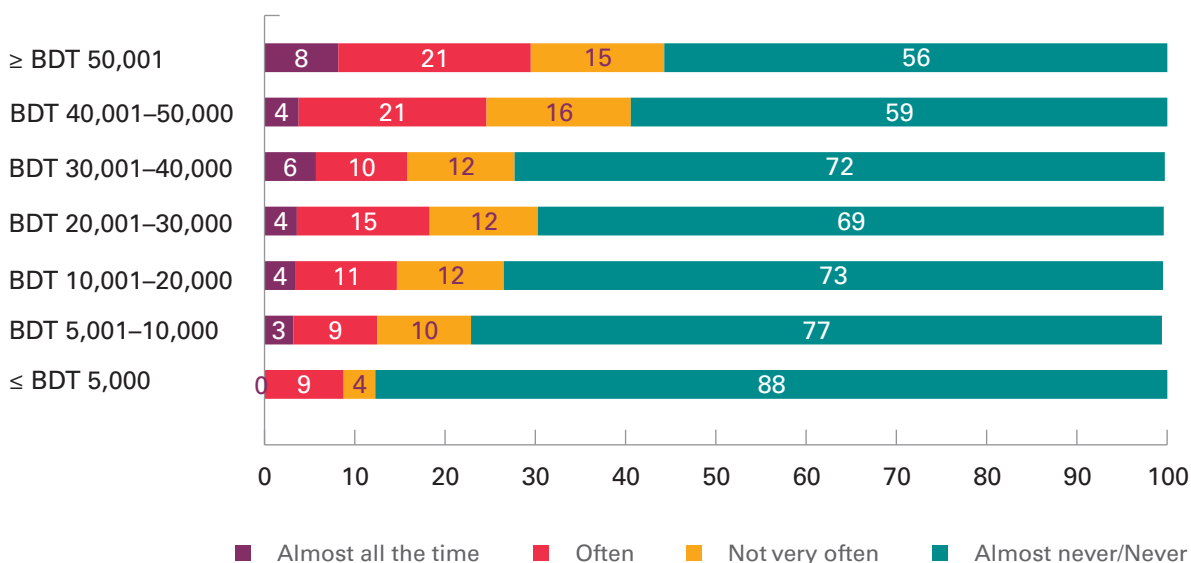
As levels of education increase, so does a willingness to discuss politics with friends. As shown in Figure 3.3, only 9.9% of respondents with no formal education say they discuss political affairs with friends often or almost all the time. In contrast, 25.8% of respondents with a graduate degree or above said the same.

Figure 3.3: How often respondents discuss political affairs with friends (By education level)



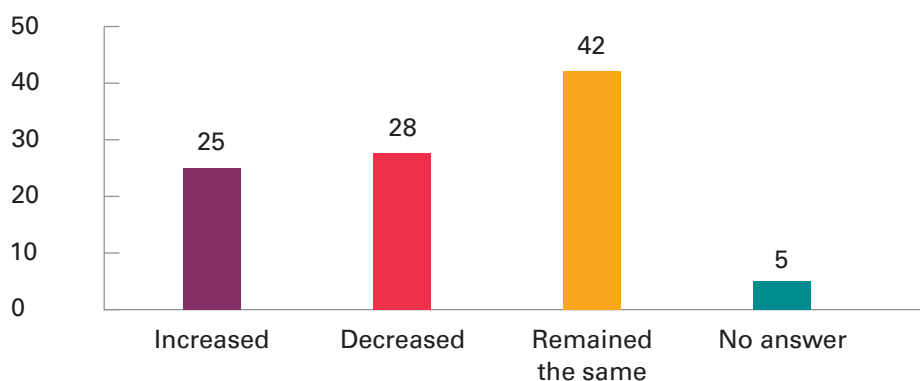
A similar pattern is visible across income groups. Respondents with higher incomes are more likely to discuss political affairs (almost all the time and often): 29.5% of those who make more than 50,001 BDT per month compared to 8.8% who make less than or equal to 5,000 BDT per month (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: How often respondents discuss political affairs with friends (By income level)



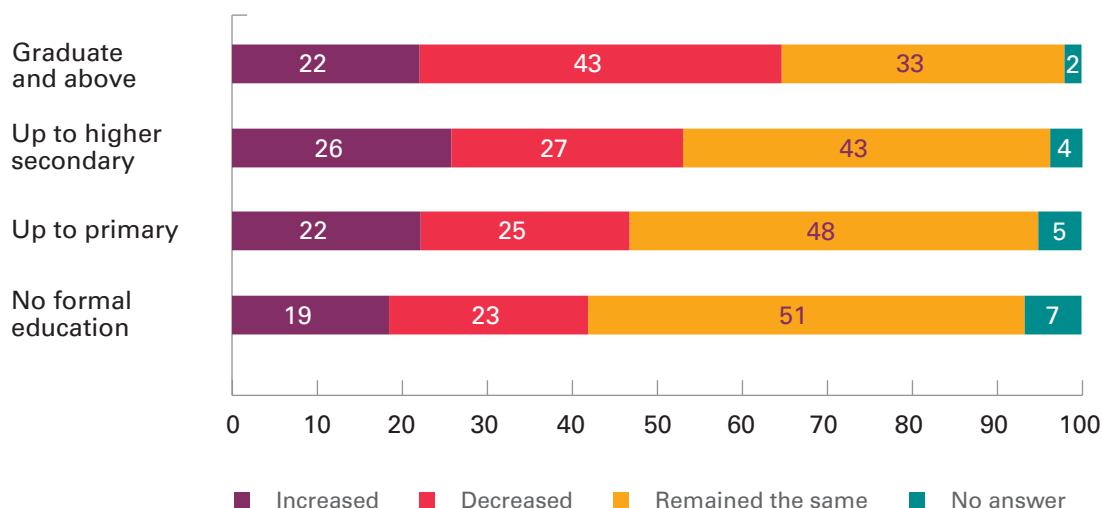
Respondents are asked if their interest in political affairs has increased, decreased, or remained the same during the past three years. One quarter (25.1%) say their interest in political affairs has increased, for 27.6% it has decreased, and it has remained the same for 42.2% (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: Interest in political affairs (N=6,510)



The decreased interest in political affairs is more prevalent among respondents with higher education (see Figure 3.6). Of respondents with a graduate degree, 42.6% say their interest in politics has decreased, in contrast to roughly a quarter of respondents with higher secondary, primary, or no formal education. However, the percentages of respondents who say their interest in politics increased vary across different educational categories.

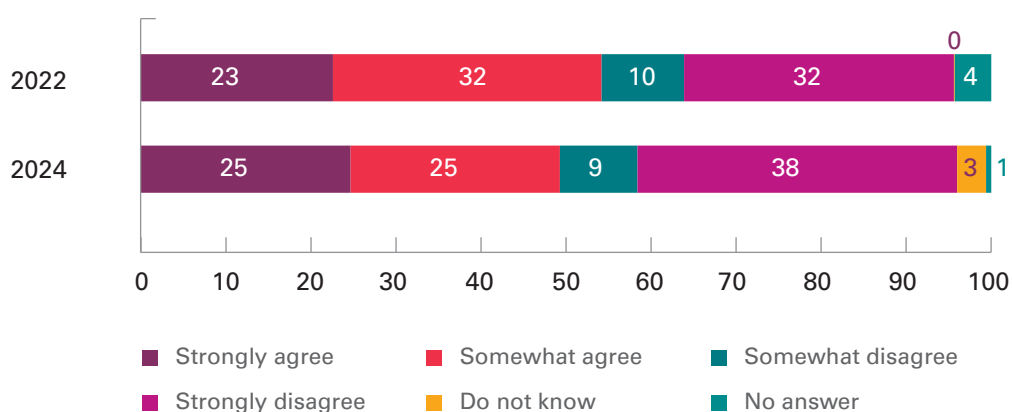
Figure 3.6: Interest in political affairs (By education level)



## 3.2 Political Alienation

An increasing sense of political alienation is observed among respondents. Almost half (49.3%) of respondents strongly or somewhat agree to the following statement: “Members of Parliament think about the common people.” This is a slight decrease from 2018 where 55% agreed to this statement. The percentage of respondents who strongly disagree has increased from 31.7% to 37.6% between 2022 and 2024.

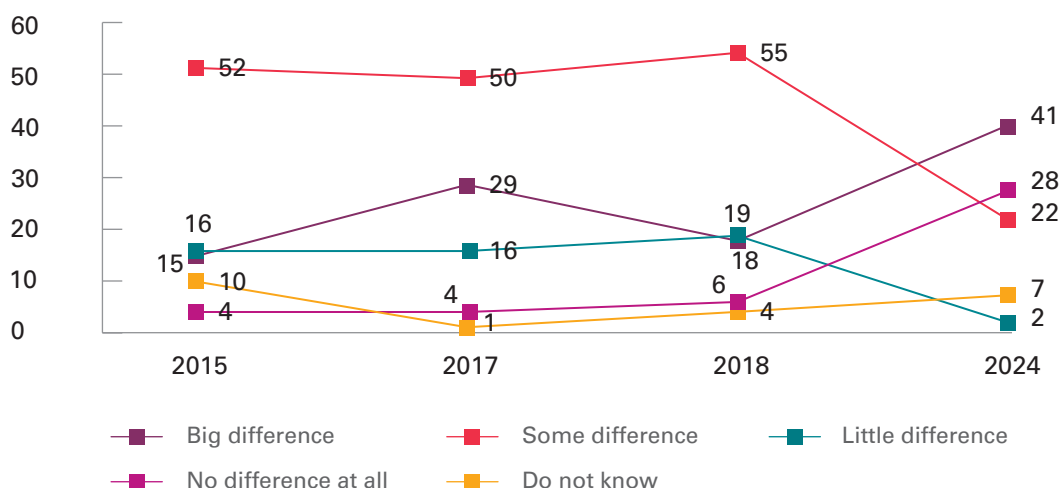
Figure 3.7: Opinion about the statement: Members of Parliament think about the common people (N=6,510)



## 3.3 Impact of Elections

To understand the general perception about the efficacy of elections, respondents were asked how much (beneficial) change voting in the national parliamentary elections can bring to the country. Compared to previous years, while a larger share of respondents opined that voting can make a big difference in development (40.8%), more than a quarter of respondents also say it makes no difference at all (27.9%), significantly higher than in previous years.

Figure 3.8: Opinion regarding how much (beneficial) change can be brought in the country by voting in the National Parliamentary elections (N=6,510)

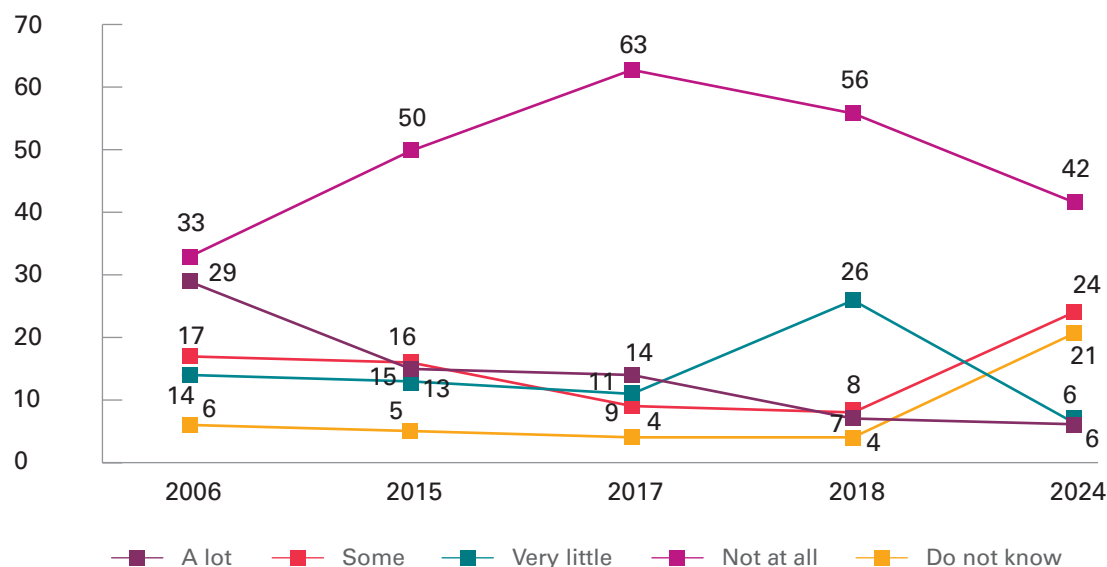


### 3.4 Political Efficacy

Respondents are asked how much influence they think someone like them can have over national government decisions (see Figure 3.9). The percentage of respondents who think they have no influence has been decreasing since 2017, down to 41.7% in 2024. This pessimism is shared by 44.1% of male and 39.1% of female respondents.

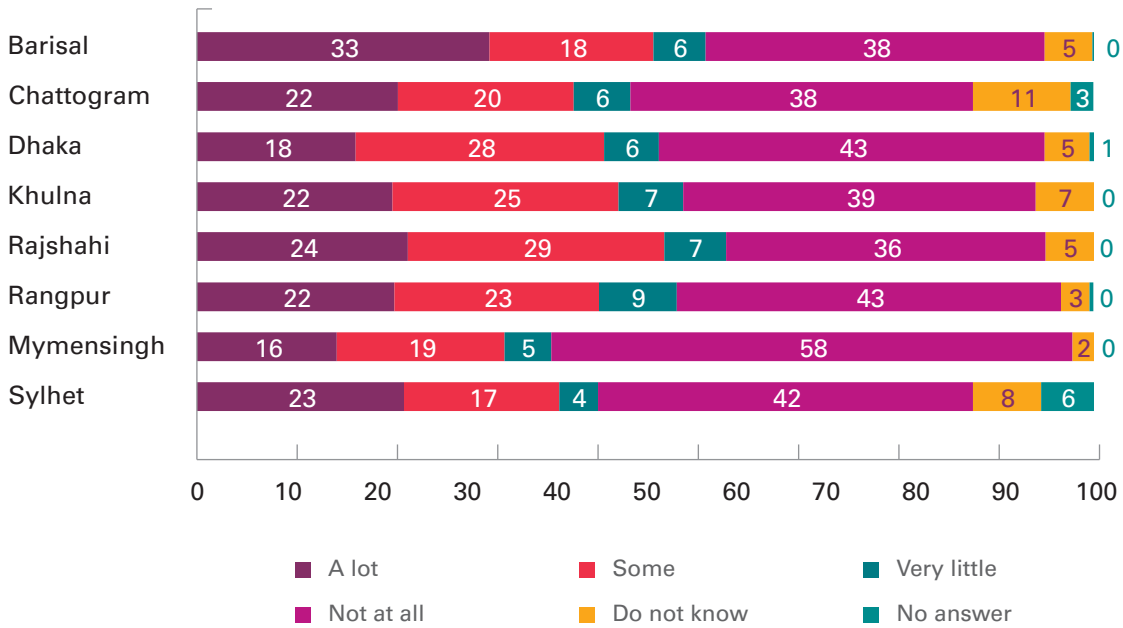
In 2006, 47% of respondents said they had very little or no influence over national government decisions. This rate increased to 63% in 2015, 74% in 2017, and 82% in 2018, and dropped to 48.0% in 2024.

Figure 3.9: Opinion on how much respondents think general people can influence the decisions of the national government (N=6,510)



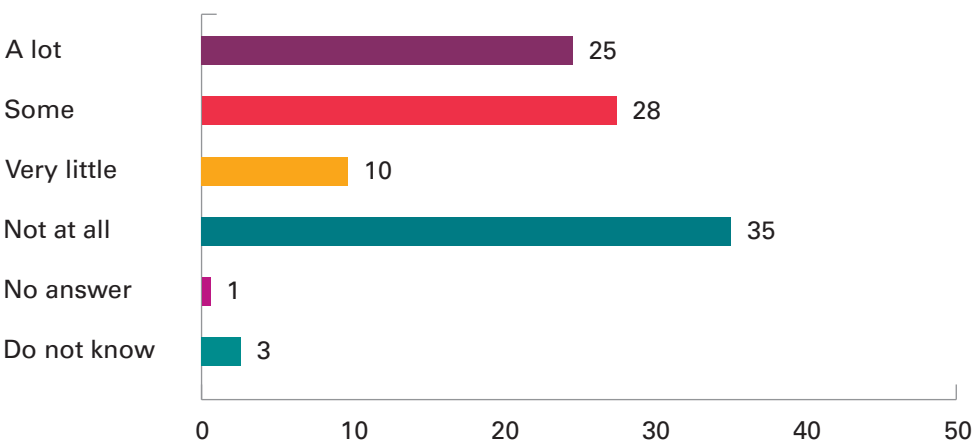
Respondents aged 55-and-above age group are the most skeptical of their influence in national level decisions (51.1%) in 2024. Among occupation groups, workers and day laborers (55.1%) are more skeptical than others. And by division, respondents in Mymensingh stand out (63.3%), Figure 3.10.

Figure 3.10: Opinion on how much respondents think general people can influence the decisions of the national government (By division)



Similarly, respondents are asked if they believe they can influence the decisions of the local government, including chairman, member, councilor, and mayor (see Figure 3.11). Over half (52.1%) of respondents feel they have an influence on the local government (“a lot” and “some” combined), while 44.8% are pessimistic (“very little” and “not at all” combined) about their influence.

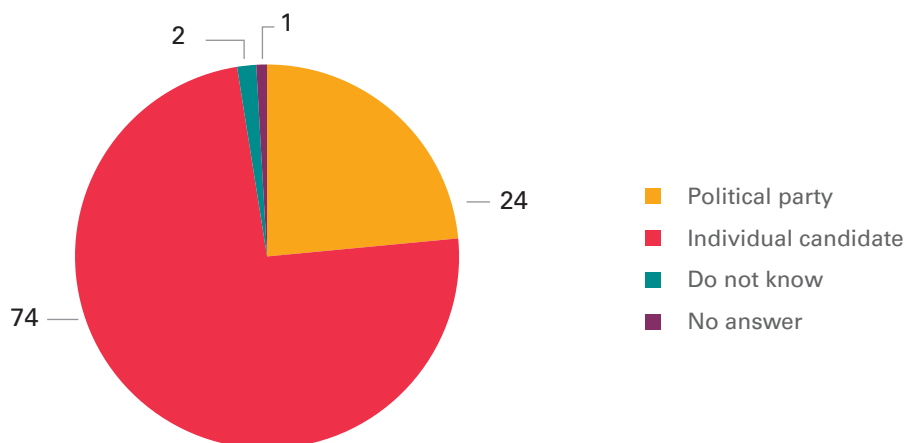
Figure 3.11: Opinion on how much respondents think general people can influence the decisions of the local government (N=6,510)



Pessimism is greater among respondents in the 55-and-above age group (46.2%), and respondents from Mymensingh (57.6%).

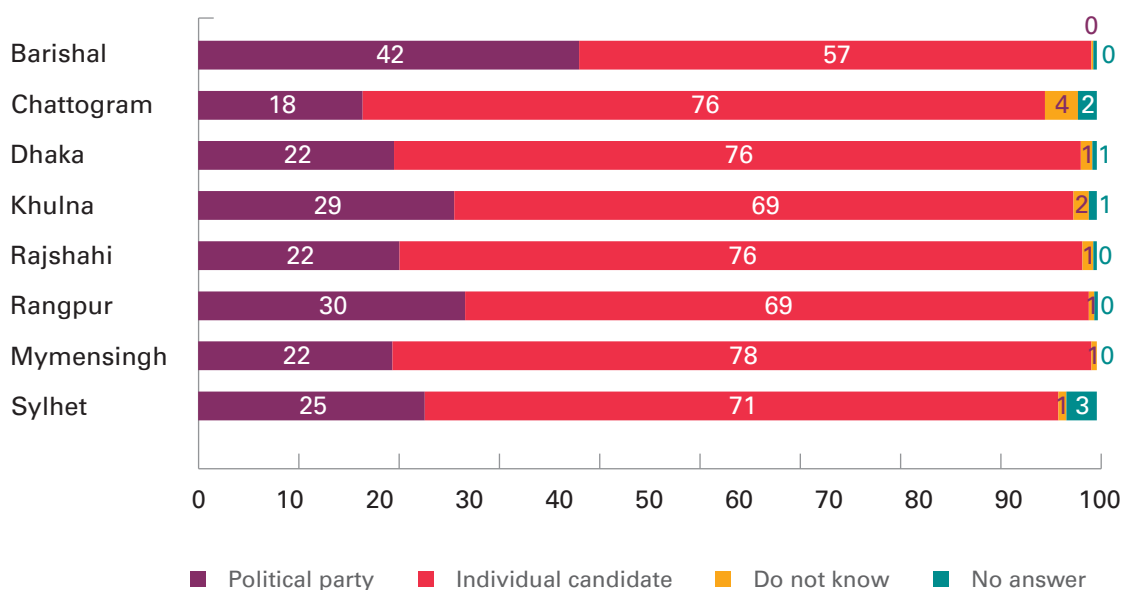
Respondents were asked if they prioritize the political party or the individual candidate when voting. Almost three-quarters (74.0%) of respondents say they prioritize the individual candidate, while 23.5% value the political party affiliation of the candidate more (see Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.12: Which is more important when choosing who to vote for– the political party or individual candidate? (N=6,510)



Across all the divisions, the largest share of respondents from Barishal (42.4%) prioritize political party affiliation while voting. On the other hand, 77.8% of respondents from Mymensingh value individual candidates, highest among all divisions (see Figure 3.13).

Figure 3.13: Which is more important when choosing who to vote for– the political party or individual candidate? (By division)



04

# Political Parties and Representation



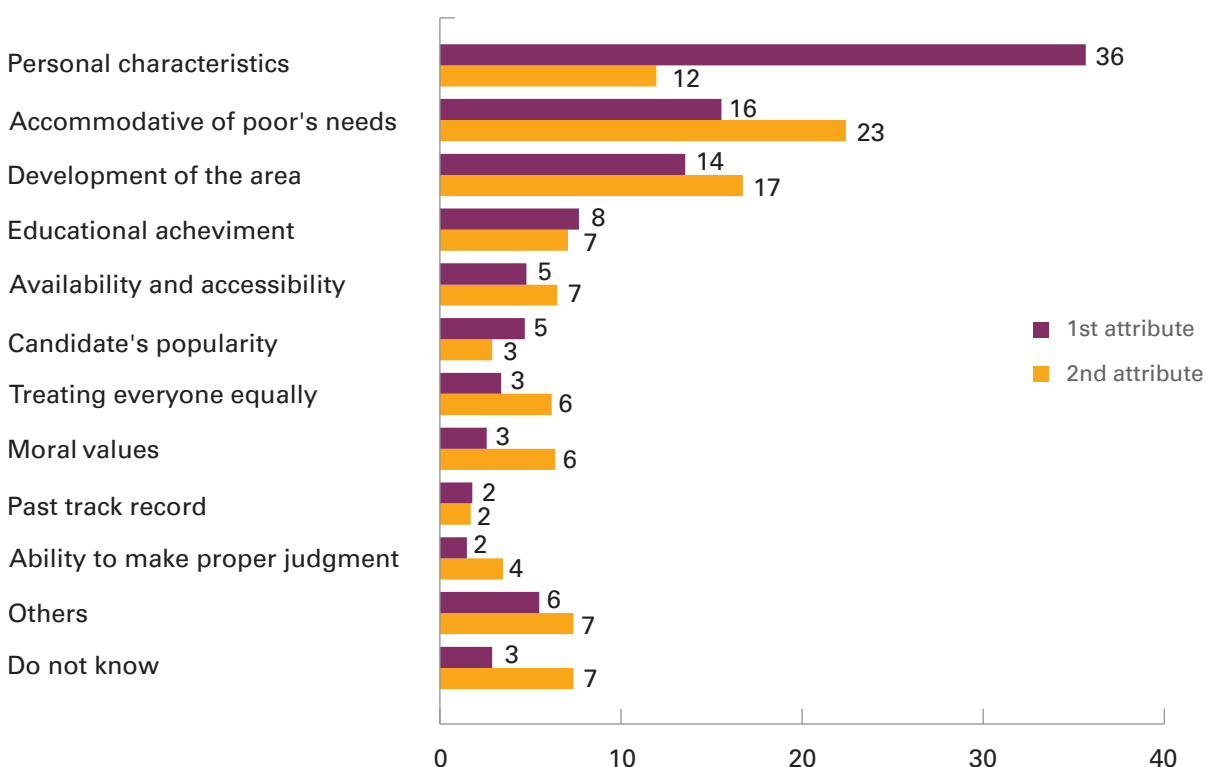
In developing contexts, there is a democratic emphasis on ensuring political stability, protection of minority rights, and the ability to achieve economic progress with a reasonable degree of social equity.<sup>7</sup> The concept of citizenship has also evolved differently in developing contexts than in developed contexts.<sup>8</sup> In Bangladesh, the relationship between the citizenry and elected officials is formed at the individual level, and their assessment of their representatives to an extent, depends on how the representatives respond to their locally oriented service delivery needs<sup>9</sup>.

In the context of a national election, this year's *Survey of the Bangladeshi People* explores the ideas around democracy, political representation of the Bangladeshi people at both national and local levels.

## 4.1 Candidate Attributes

When respondents were asked to identify the most important factors for a candidate to win an election, individual characteristics emerged as a prominent factor. More than a third (35.8%) refer to the personal characteristics of a candidate as the primary attribute, and another 12.0% identify this as the second important attribute (Figure 4.1). Candidates' ability to accommodate the needs of the poor is the next most important factor, in particular, for a candidate to win elections, as identified by 22.5% and 15.6%, respectively as the first and second priorities. Respondents also prioritize candidates' commitment towards local development work, as highlighted by 16.8% and 13.6% of respondents as a first and second attribute, respectively. Political affiliations and experience appear to be the least important factors that impact a candidate's winning possibilities.

Figure 4.1: What are the first and second important attributes for a candidate to win an election? (N= 6,510, 6,340 for 1st and second attributes)





There is little variation by location, gender, and age. However, responses vary notably with education (Table 4.1). For instance, as education levels increase, the proportion who cite personal characteristics increases. As seen in Table 4.1, 28.6% of respondents with no formal education opt for personal characteristics, yet this is as high as 43.6% among the respondents with graduate level education and above. On the contrary, the importance of attributes such as candidates being accommodative of the needs of the poor or candidates prioritizing the local development are reported more frequently among respondents in the lowest education categories.

Table 4.1: What attribute do you consider most important for individuals to get elected? (first response, N= 6,510)

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Personal characteristics	29	32	37	44
Accommodate the needs of the poor	22	19	13	9
Development of the area	13	15	13	8
Education	4	6	9	10
Availability and accessibility	6	5	5	4
Treating everyone equally	5	4	4	4
Candidate's popularity	3	4	4	3
Moral values	3	3	3	5
Past track record	2	2	2	2
Good leadership qualities	2	2	2	4
Ability to make proper judgment/bring justice to matters	2	2	2	1
Religious piety	1	1	1	2
Wealth	1	1	1	1
Others	3	2	2	4
Do not know	5	2	2	0

Similar trends are also noticed when the responses are disaggregated by income (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: What attribute do you consider most important for individuals to get elected? (First response only, by income group, N= 6,510)

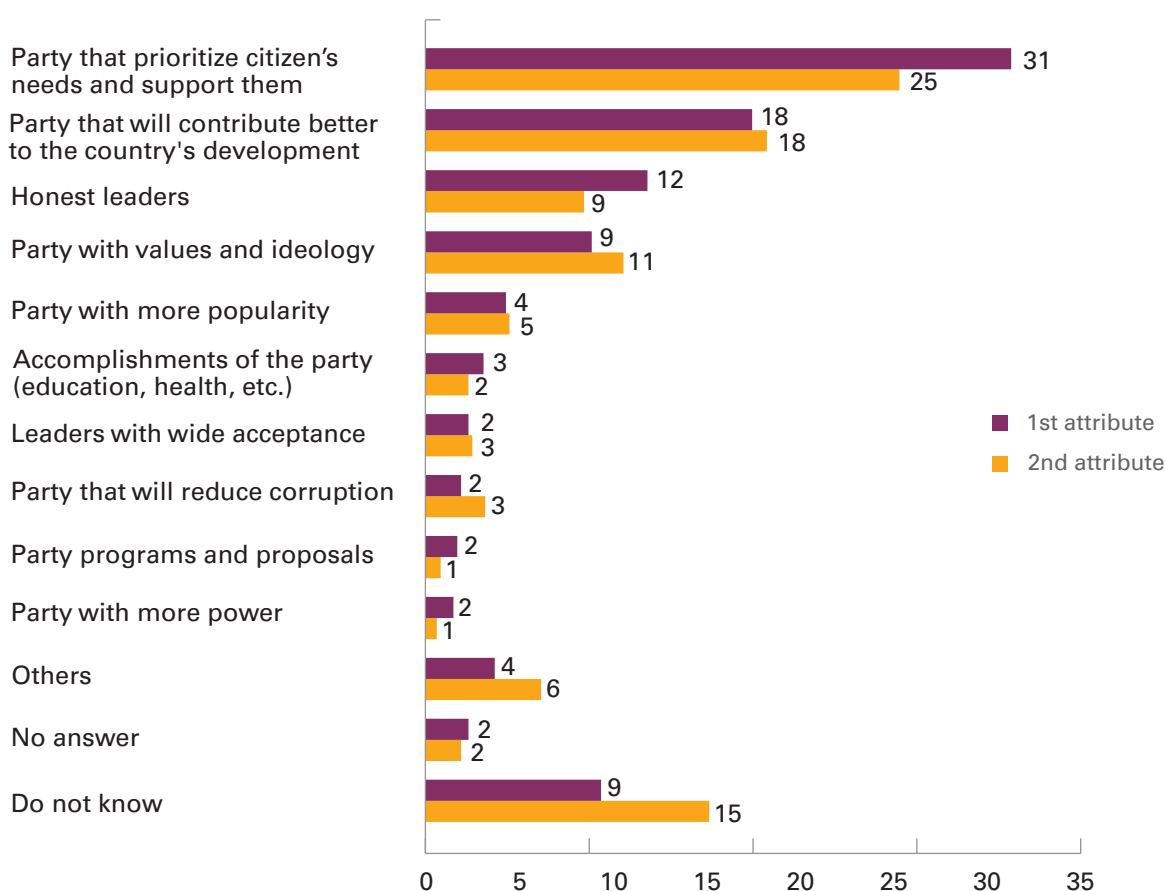
	≤ 5,000 BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	≥50,001 BDT
Personal characteristics	25	34	34	34	28	32	36
Accommodate the needs of the poor	26	19	18	16	13	16	16
Development of the area	18	15	13	13	15	9	8
Education	4	5	6	7	10	9	8
Availability and accessibility	4	6	5	5	3	9	5
Treating everyone equally	5	5	4	4	5	4	7
Candidate's popularity	4	3	4	4	4	6	5
Moral values	2	2	3	4	6	5	3
Past track record	2	2	2	2	2	3	2

	≤ 5,000 BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	≥50,001 BDT
Good leadership qualities	0	2	2	2	3	3	3
Ability to make proper judgment/bring justice to matters	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
Religious piety	2	1	1	1	2	2	0
Wealth	2	1	1	1	1	0	0
Others	2	2	3	3	4	3	3
Do not know	5	2	3	2	3	1	2

When compared to previous years, the personal characteristics of the candidates have always been considered the most important attribute for winning elections. In 2015, 2017, and 2018, selected by 44%, 39%, and 33% of respondents respectively.

The most important determinant for victory, as per respondents, is the party's responsiveness toward citizen's needs. Almost a third (31.4%) identify this as their first priority, while another 25.4% cite this as their second priority. Under one-fifth (17.5%) opt for the party's contribution to the country's development as the first priority and 18.3% view this as a second priority. The honesty of party leaders is also a determining factor for victory, as identified by 11.9% and 8.5% of the respondents as their first and second priority.

Figure 4.2: What attribute do you consider most important for a party to be elected to government? (N= 6,510 for first attribute, N=5,725 for the second attribute)



There are no notable differences by gender, location, and age. However, differences emerge by income levels (Table 4.3). Respondents in the lowest income group ( $\leq 5,000$  BDT) are more likely to view party programs and proposals as the most important factor, compared to the highest income groups (47.4% vs 3.3% respectively). On the contrary, respondents with higher incomes tend to emphasize the party's contribution to the development of the country, which is not a priority among the lowest income group (29.5% vs 5.3% respectively). Party's accomplishments are considered an important factor for respondents in all income groups, excluding the lowest income group.

Table 4.3: What attribute do you consider most important for a party to be elected to government? (first attribute, n=6,510, by income)

	$\leq 5,000$ BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	$\geq 50,000$ BDT
Party programs and proposals	47	31	32	31	28	29	3
Connection to religion	12	19	19	18	20	19	12
The party that will contribute better to the development of the country	5	10	9	11	10	9	30
Party that focuses on educational development	5	2	3	3	5	3	7
The party that will prioritize citizen's needs and support them	2	1	1	2	1	1	12
The party with more money	2	4	4	4	4	5	0
Accomplishments of the party	0	10	11	10	11	11	10
Leaders with wide acceptance	0	2	2	2	2	2	7
Honest leaders	0	2	3	3	3	2	3
Do not know	19	11	10	8	8	8	12
No answer	7	1	2	2	3	2	3
Others	0	5	5	6	7	10	3

When the responses are disaggregated by education (Figure 4.3), some differences emerge. Party programs and proposals are selected by a slightly higher percentage of respondents with no formal education. The share of 'do not know' responses is also higher in the lowest education group.

Figure 4.3: What attribute do you consider most important for a party to be elected to government? (First attribute, by education, N= 6,510)

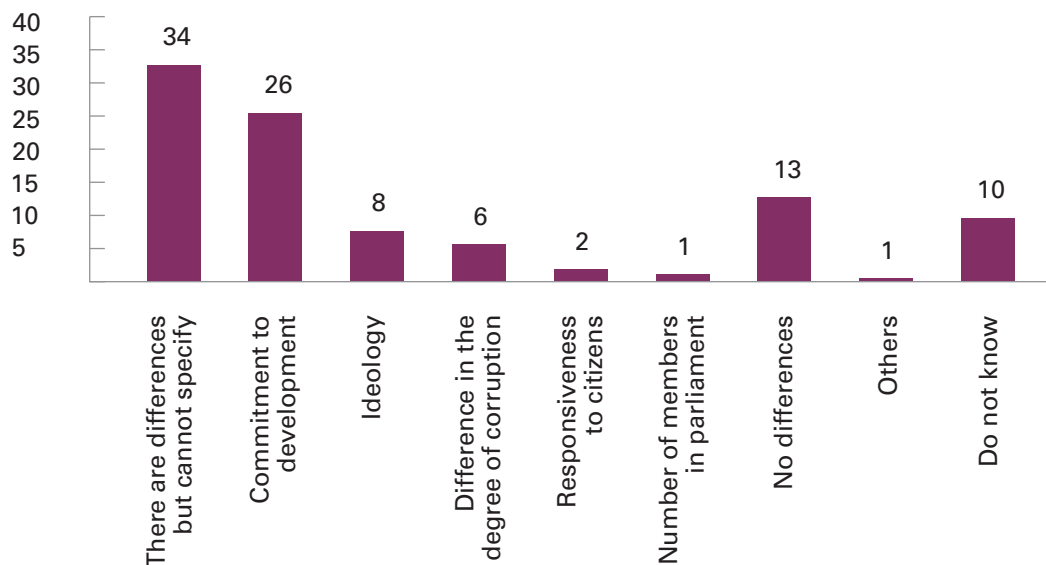
	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Party programs and proposals	34	31	31	26
Connection to religion	16	20	17	22
Accomplishments of the party (education, health, etc.)	9	9	13	11
The party that will contribute better to the development of the country	8	9	11	11
The party with more money	4	4	4	4
Party that focuses on educational development	2	3	3	5
Party that will reduce corruption	2	2	1	1

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Honest leaders	2	3	3	5
Leaders with wide acceptance	2	2	2	3
The party that will prioritize citizen's needs and support them	1	1	2	3
Others	3	4	4	5
No answer	3	2	2	2
Do not know	13	10	8	3

## 4.2 Views on Political Parties

When asked if they notice any differences among the various political parties in the country, 13.1% say that there are no differences across the parties (Figure 4.4). A third (33.6%) say the parties are different but cannot articulate what the differences are. More than a quarter, 26.2% say the parties are different in terms of their commitment to development, 7.9% say they have different ideologies, 5.8% note the differences in the degrees of corruption, 1.9% say parties' responsiveness toward citizens is different, 1.1% say on the number of members of parliament, and 9.9% say they 'do not know'.

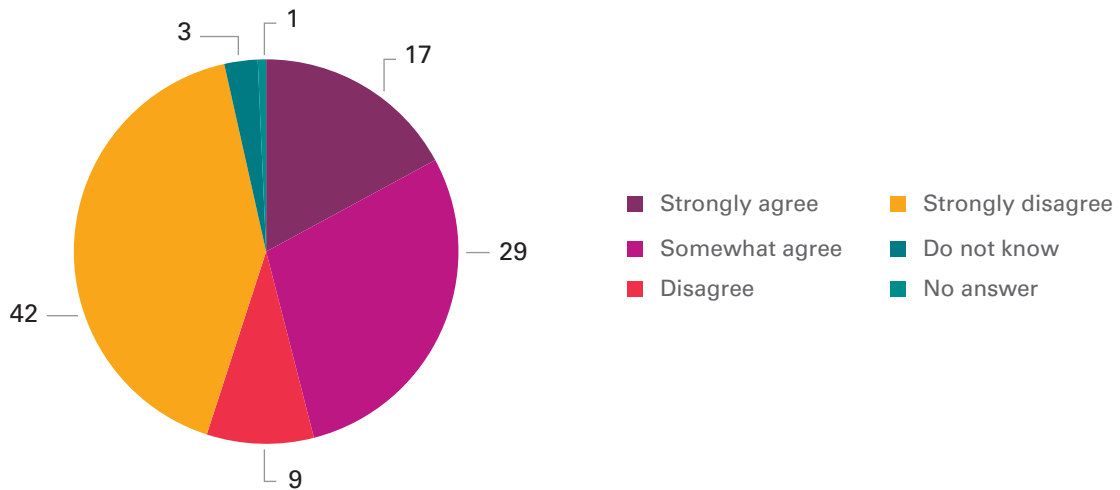
Figure 4.4: What difference do you see, if any, between the different parties in Bangladesh? (N= 6,510)



There are no notable differences by gender, age, income, and education. The top selected responses are consistent with 2018 *Survey* findings.

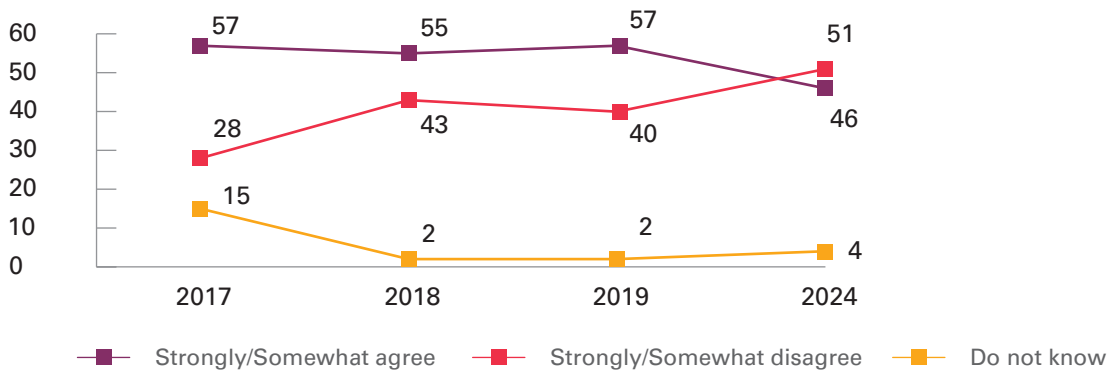
When asked if respondents agree with the statement that political parties care about citizens, the majority disagree (Figure 4.5): 41.5% strongly disagree and 9.0% somewhat disagree with the statement. On the contrary, 17.1% strongly agree with the statement, and 28.9% somewhat agree. The responses do not vary much by age, gender, or location.

Figure 4.5: Do you agree/disagree with the statement 'Political parties usually care about people like you'? (N= 6,510)



The proportion of disagreement has increased over the years (Figure 4.6). For instance, in the last six years, the share of disagreement with the statement has increased from 40.0% to 50.5%, while the proportion who agree decreased from 57.0% to 46.0% during this time.

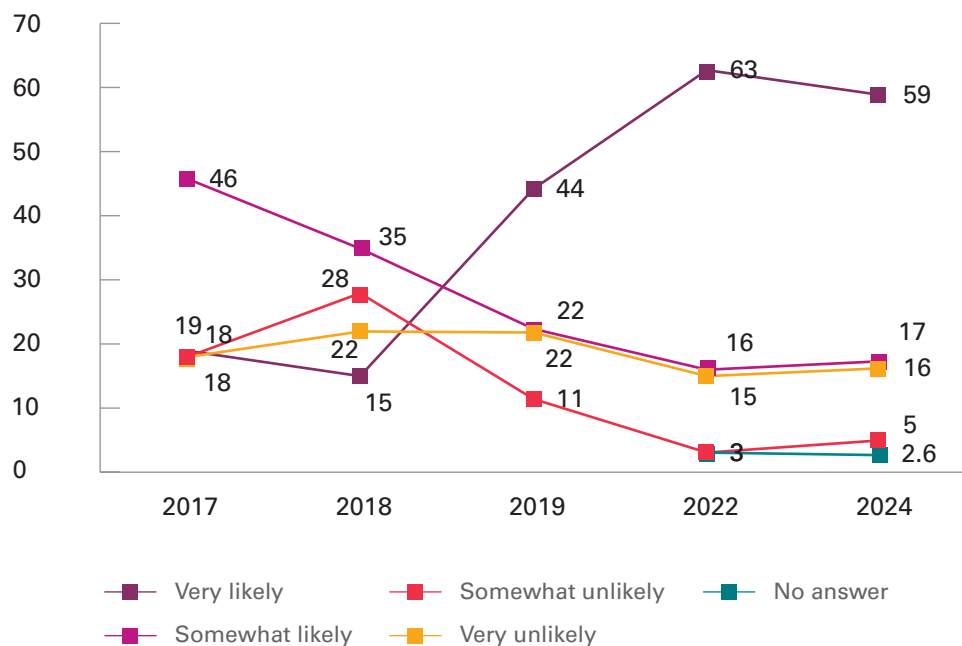
Figure 4.6: Do you agree/disagree with the statement 'Political parties usually care about people like you'? (By year, N=6,510)



The *Survey* also demonstrates that respondents are more open towards accepting new parties in the political field. Respondents are asked hypothetically, if new party comes into existence with views closer to their views, how likely they may switch support to that party (Figure 4.7). More than half, 59.1% say it is very likely, and 17.3% say it is likely. On the contrary, only 4.9% say it is unlikely, and 16.2% say it is very unlikely they will switch support.

Compared with previous years, the tendency to switch their support to a new party has been on the rise. For instance, in 2017 and 2018, only about 19% and 15% of the respondents said that they were very likely to switch to a new party, this increased to 44% in 2018, 63% in 2022, and 59% in 2024.

Figure 4.7: If a new party started that had a platform closer to your views, how likely would you be to switch to that party? (N= 6,510)



By education, the trend is consistent, although respondents in the highest education groups are slightly more likely to switch their support to a new party (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: If a new party started that had a platform closer to your views, how likely would you be to switch to that party? (By education, N= 6,510)

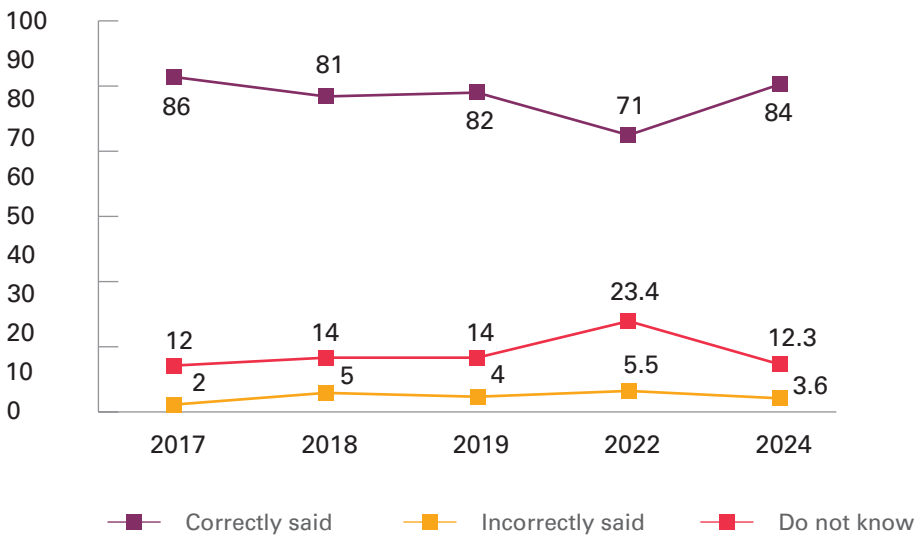
	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Very likely	57	59	60	60
Somewhat likely	16	17	18	16
Somewhat unlikely	5	5	4	5
Very unlikely	19	17	15	15
No answer	4	2	3	4

## 4.3 Views on Representation

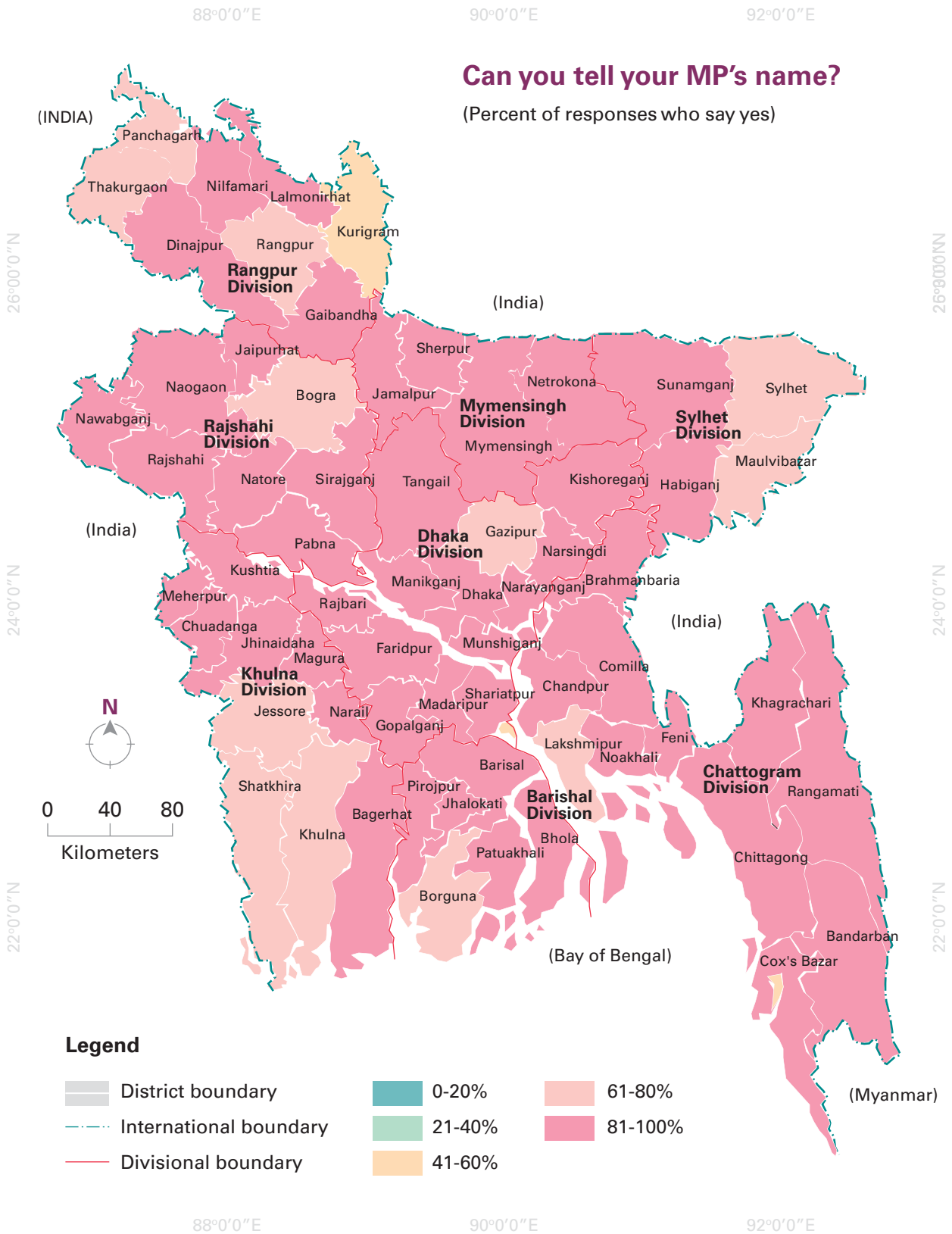
### 4.3.1 National Representation

Given fieldwork for this *Survey* was conducted immediately following the 2024 general election, the timing may have impacted respondents' level of knowledge on representation (Figure 4.8). When asked to name their Member of Parliament (MP), 84.1% of respondents could do so correctly, a 13 percentage point increase from 2022 (71.1%). The rate of awareness is higher among men than women (95.5% vs 77.9%), and slightly more so in rural areas compared to urban (87.5% vs 85.9%).

Figure 4.8: Can you tell us the name of your MP (By year)?



The geographic distribution of those who can accurately identify their MPs by name is seen in the map below.

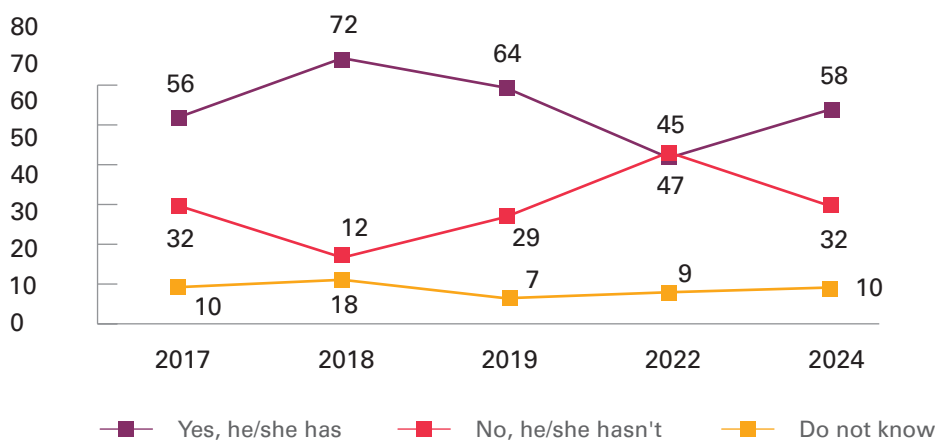


Map 5: Political Parties and Representation



Figure 4.9 compared to previous years, MP visits to respondents' locality increased by 13 percentage points (from 45% in 2022 to 58.3% in 2024), which may be attributed to the national election held in January 2024 (Figure 4.9). However, this increase remains lower than the highest of 72% recorded in 2018.

Figure 4.9: Has your Member of Parliament visited your community visited your locality in the last one year? (By year)



Respondents are asked what the first, second and third most important tasks an MP does (Table 4.5). Over a fourth (28.1%) say an MP's first important task is to ensure the infrastructural development, followed by 17.5% who say working for local development and solving local problems are MP's responsibilities. To take care of citizens, and help the poor are identified by 11.1% and 10.8% of the respondents, respectively. Infrastructural development is also identified by 27.0% and 22.1% of the respondents as the second and third priority. Interestingly, no respondents cite participating in parliament to make laws, or taking part in discussions on the quality of work across the different ministries.

Table 4.5: What is the first, second, and third important task that MP do?

	1st most important task (N= 4,606)	2nd most important task (N=4,034)	3rd most important task (N= 2,664)
Infrastructural development	28	27	22
Work for local development	18	17	20
Take care of the citizens	11	8	7
Help the poor	11	16	12
Development of the education sector	8	9	11
Provide social safety net stipends/cards	4	5	7
Work for the welfare of the society and country	3	4	5
Visit the area regularly	3	2	6
Give jobs to the unemployed	3	2	2
Monitor local development projects	2	3	2
Raise local problems in parliament	1	1	1
Take part in discussions on national problems	1	0	0
Participate in the national parliament to make laws	0	0	0

	1st most important task (N= 4,606)	2nd most important task (N=4,034)	3rd most important task (N= 2,664)
Take part in discussions on the quality of work of the different ministries	0	0	0
Others	5	5	4
Do not know	2	0	0
No answer	0	0	0

The responses are quite consistent with those in 2022.

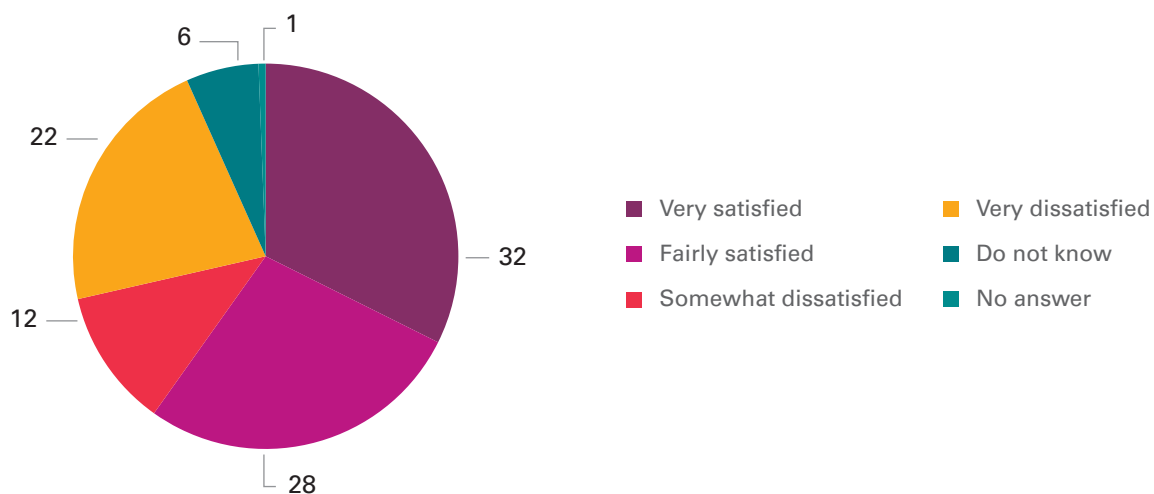
Table 4.6: What does MP do (By year)?

	2022 <sup>7</sup>	2024
Solving local people's problem/work for local development	45	18
Infrastructural development (road/bridge, etc.)	20	28
Educational development	8	8
To serve the people	6	8
Overseeing development work	5	2
Bringing local problems to parliament	2	1
Discussing different issues and making law in the parliament	1	0
Ensuring justice	1	1

However, it should be noted that in 2022, the responses recorded on MPs work were unlimited, while in 2024 respondents were limited to the first three priorities. This may contribute to the difference in percentages.

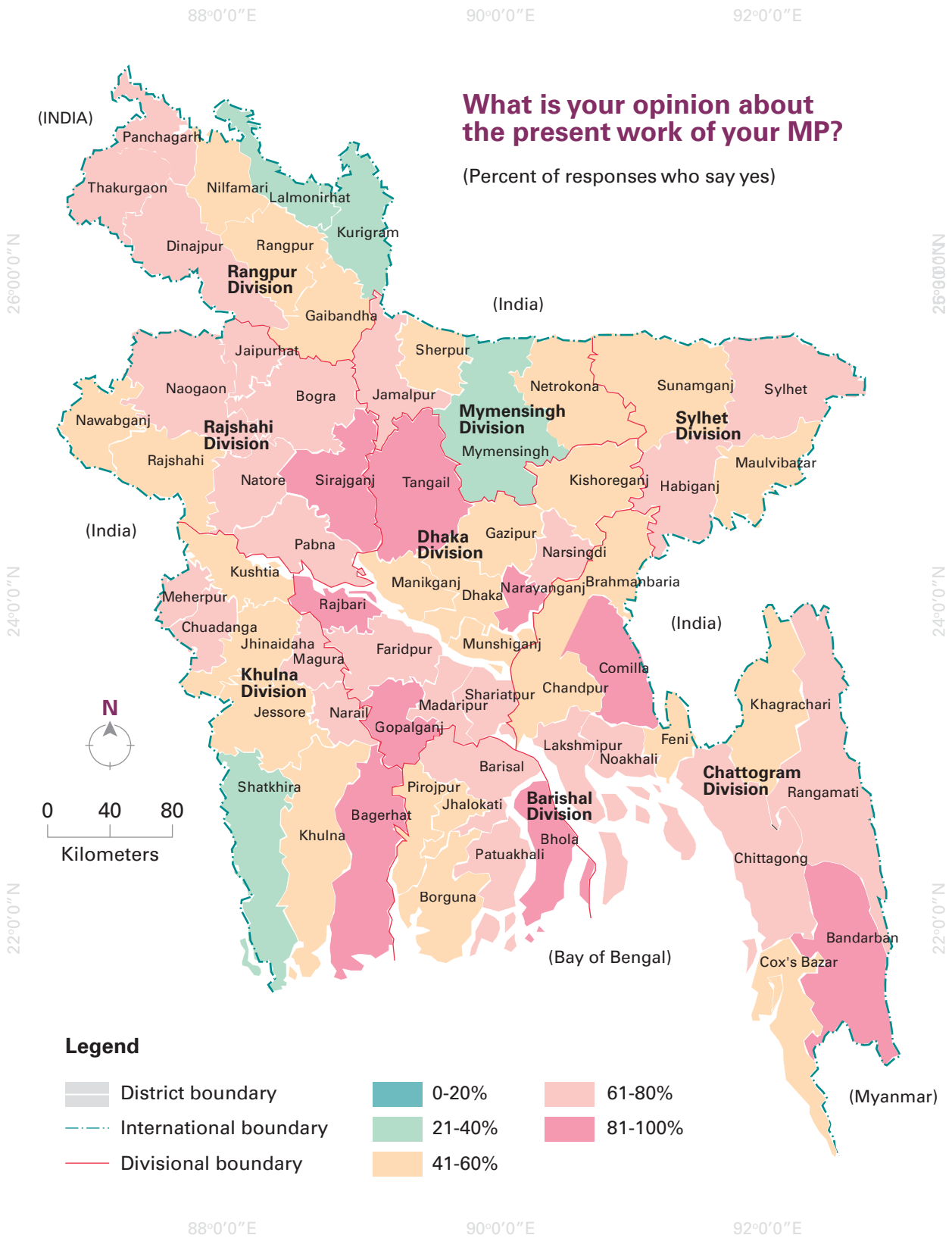
Almost three-fifths (59.9%) of respondents are satisfied with the work their MPs are doing, merging 'very satisfied' and 'somewhat satisfied' (Figure 4.10). On the other hand, one-third (33.5%) of respondents are somewhat or completely dissatisfied with the work their MPs are doing.

Figure 4.10: What is your opinion about the work of your MP? (N= 6,510)



<sup>7</sup>Multiple responses were recorded response in 2022, and first response only in 2024.

The geographic distribution of those who can accurately identify their MPs by name is seen in the map below.

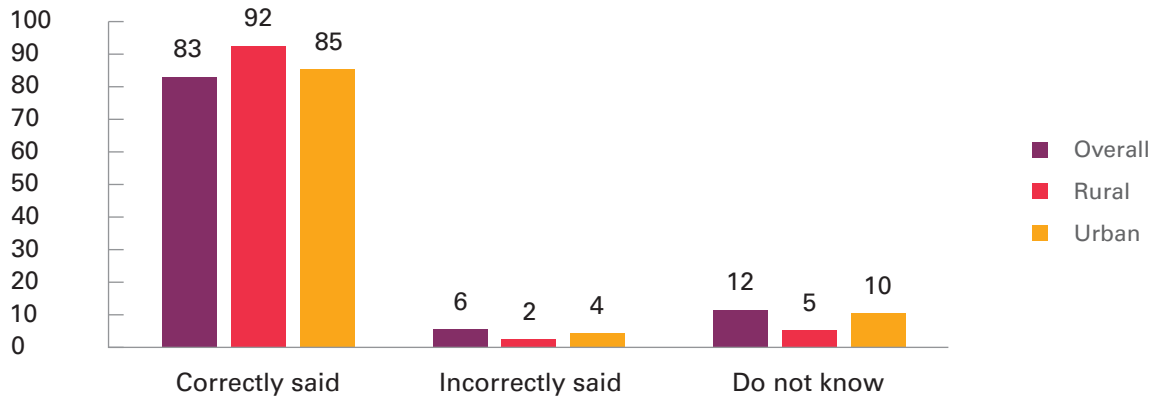


Map 6: Political Parties and Representation

### 4.3.2 Views on Local Representation

Respondents' awareness of local representation is comparable to that of MPs. A majority (83.0%) of respondents know the names of their local representatives (Union Parisad chairperson in rural areas, and mayor in urban areas). Rural citizens are more likely to accurately identify their representatives than compared to urban (Figure 4.11).

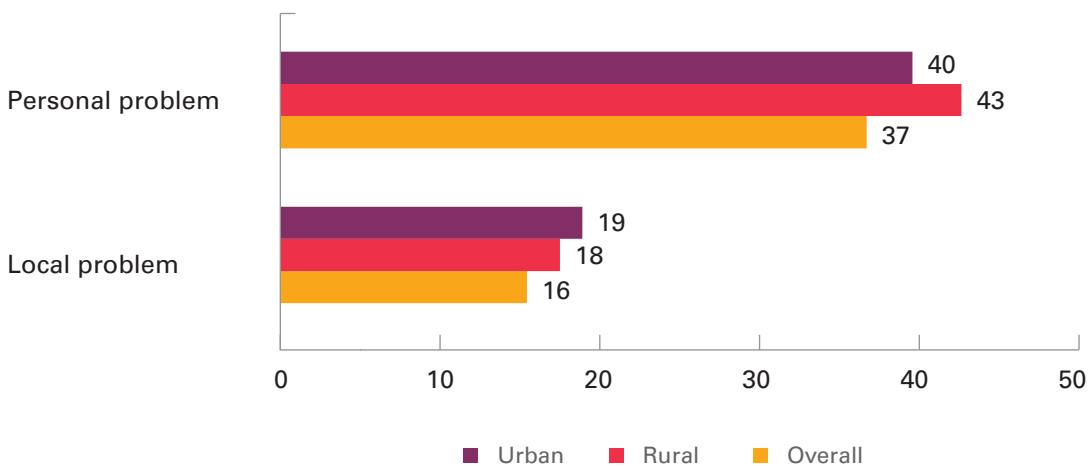
Figure 4.11: Can you tell us the name of your local representatives? (N=6,510)



### 4.3.3 Contacting Local Representatives

Respondents say they are more likely to contact their local government representatives (Union parisad chairperson in rural and mayor in urban) for personal reasons rather than to solve issues concerning their locality (Figure 4.12). More than a third (37.1%) of respondents report having contacted their local government representatives for personal problems, while 15.6% contacted their local representative for local problems. Rural respondents are slightly more likely to visit the local representatives for personal issues (43.1% vs 40.0% respectively), while urban respondents are slightly more likely to visit the local government for local problems (19.1% vs 17.7% respectively).

Figure 4.12: Have you (or a family member) contacted your local government representative in the last year? (N= 6,510)



Men are more likely, compared to women, to visit the local government regarding local issues (23.4% vs 13.4% respectively), while there are minor differences with contact for personal issues (42.5% vs 40.2% men and women respectively).

Findings also demonstrate with an increase in education levels, respondents' interaction with the local government officials increases (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Have you (or a family member) contacted your local government representative in the last year (By education)? (N= 6,510)

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Local problems	15	17	22	28
Personal problems	38	42	43	43

When respondents contact their local government representatives, they do so mostly to collect necessary documents, as identified by 41.2% of respondents as a first reason (Table 4.8). Social security service is the second most frequently cited reason for respondents to visit or contact local government, at 15.9%. Respondents also visit local government offices to solve issues concerning families and neighbors, regarding construction and repairment of infrastructure in their locality, and to resolve problems with utility services.

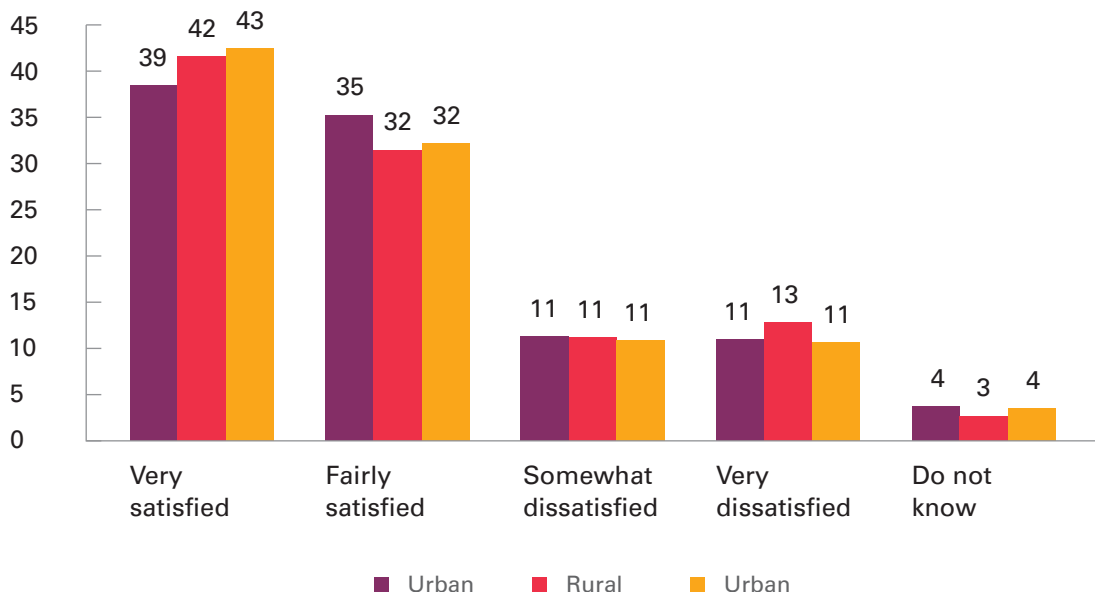
Table 4.8: What are the purposes for contacting the local government office/ representative?

Reasons for visit	1st reason (N=2,250)	2nd reason (N=537)	3rd reason (N=61)
To collect the necessary documents	41	24	17
Regarding relief/safety net assistance	16	22	10
Family problems	13	14	28
Construction/repair of roads, bridges, culverts, etc.	12	20	17
Land or property dispute	8	8	11
Issues regarding utilities (electricity, water, etc.)	4	8	5
Dispute with the neighbor	3	0	7
Other [specify]	2	5	5
No answer	.2	-	-

There are no notable differences among urban and rural respondents.

Respondents are generally satisfied with the work their local representatives are doing (Figure 4.13). About three-quarters of respondents are satisfied with the performance of the local government representatives, 38.6% are very satisfied and 35.4% are somewhat satisfied. On the contrary, 11.3% are somewhat dissatisfied and 11.0% are very dissatisfied of the work the local government representatives are doing. Respondents in urban areas are marginally more satisfied than compared to respondents in rural areas.

Figure 4.13: What is your opinion about the work of your local government representative? (N= 6,510)



Respondents are more satisfied with the work of local representatives than that of MPs (74.0% for local vs 59.9% for MPs, respectively).

#### 4.3.4 Contacting Local Administration

Respondents generally do not approach the local administration (Office of Upazila Nirbahi Officer/ Deputy Commissioner) with their personal or local issues. As the *Survey* findings reveal, only 8.0% of respondents say they communicated with their respective administrative office to solve a personal problem(s), even lower in case of local problem(s) (5.4%). The responses across rural and urban respondents are quite similar.

#### 4.3.5 Local Power Structure

Interestingly, respondents say the chairperson and members/councillors of the local government institutes are the most powerful person in their locality. A little less than a third of respondents (30.6%) say the UP chairperson or mayor are the most powerful person in the locality, and 16.4% say that the second tier of the local government representatives i.e., the members or councillors are the most powerful. The local political leaders as the most powerful are identified by 15.5% of respondents. Another 9.3% identify the MPs, and 7.3% identify influential village elites as the most powerful. On the contrary, religious leaders, police, and UNOs are seen as the least powerful, according to *Survey* respondents.

The map below illustrates the geographic distribution of the citizen's opinion regarding their Union Parishad Chairman/Municipal Mayor's work.

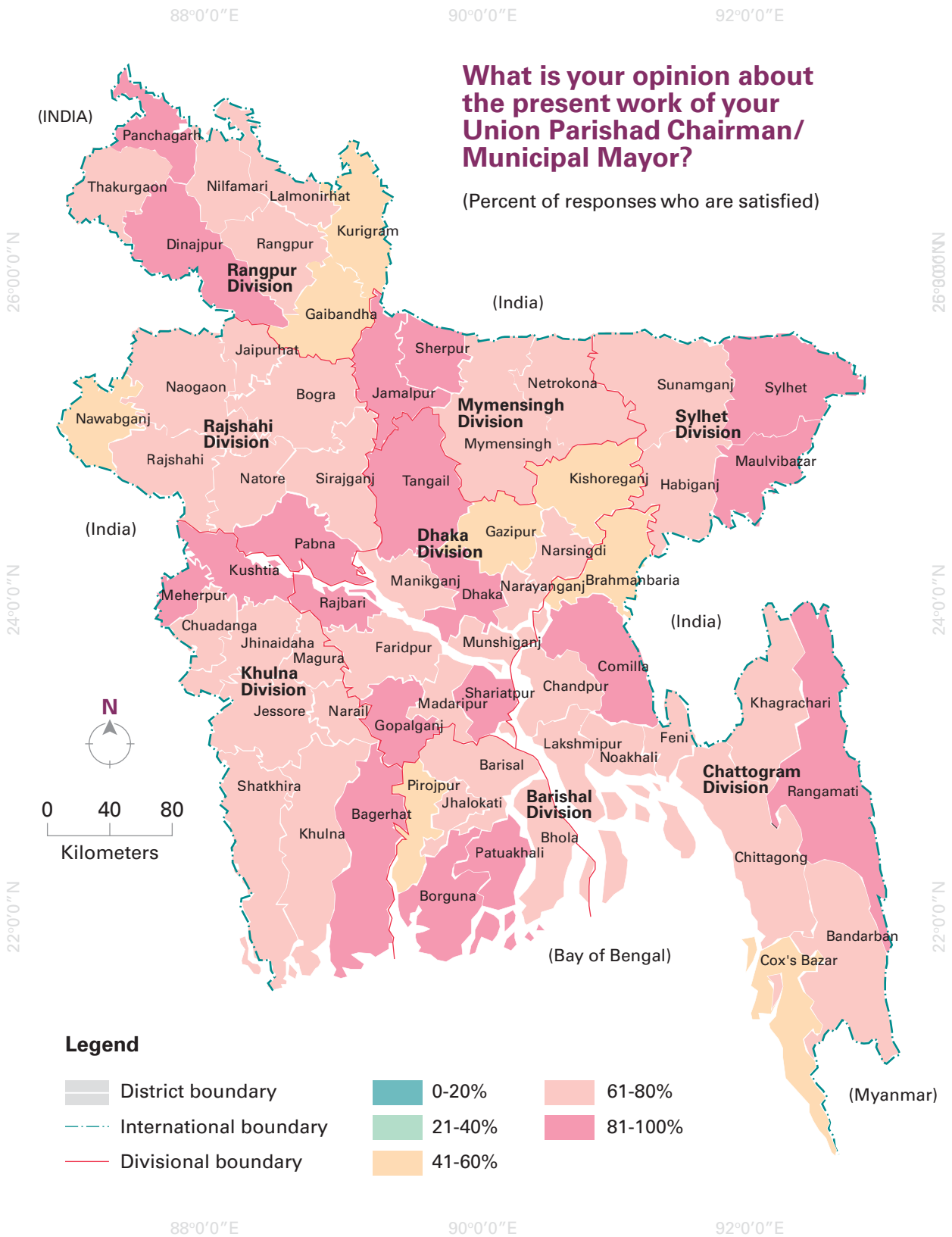
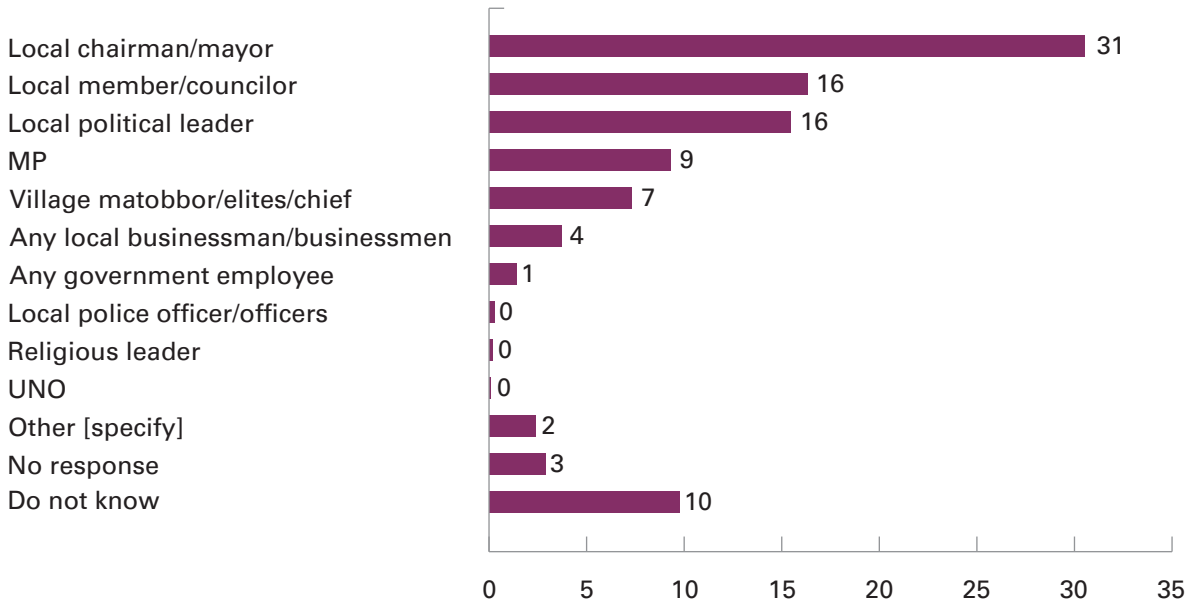
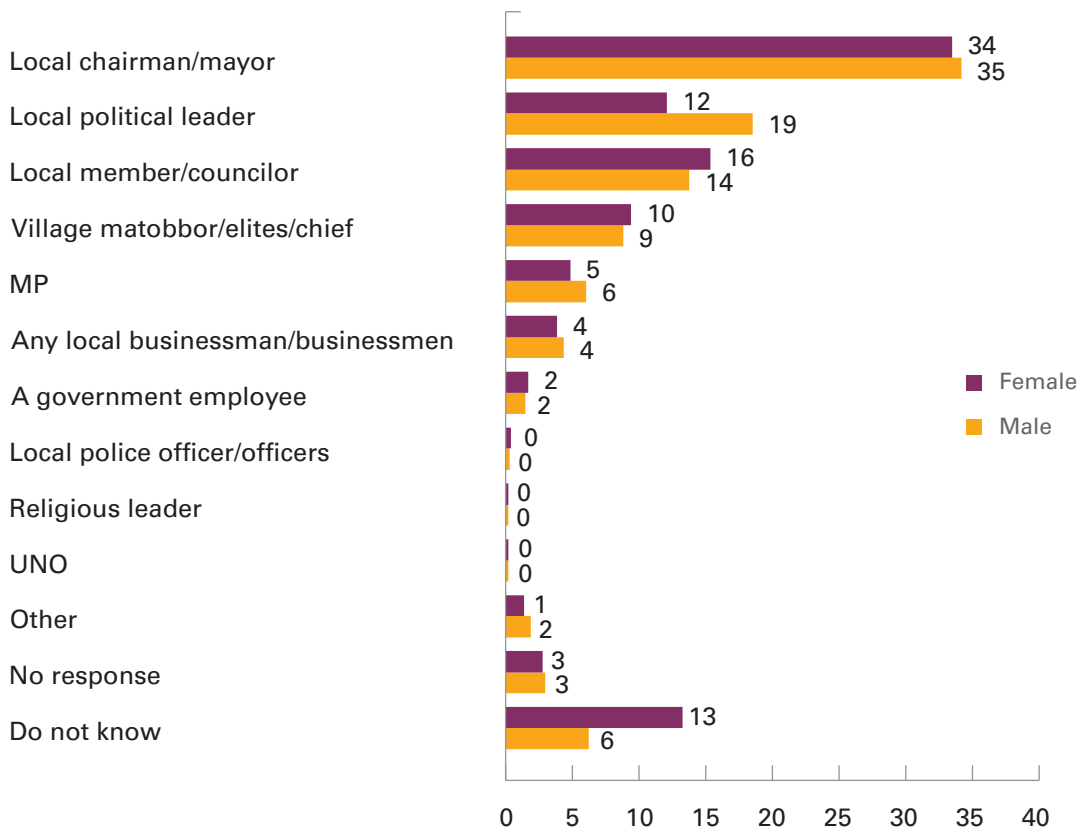


Figure 4.14: Who do you think is the most powerful person in your locality (village/union/ ward/ mahalla)? (N= 6,510)



By gender, some differences are noted (Figure 4.15). Men are more likely than women to view local political leaders as powerful (18.7% vs 12.2%, respectively). Reversely, women are more likely than men to view local member/ councillors as powerful (15.5% vs 13.9%, respectively).

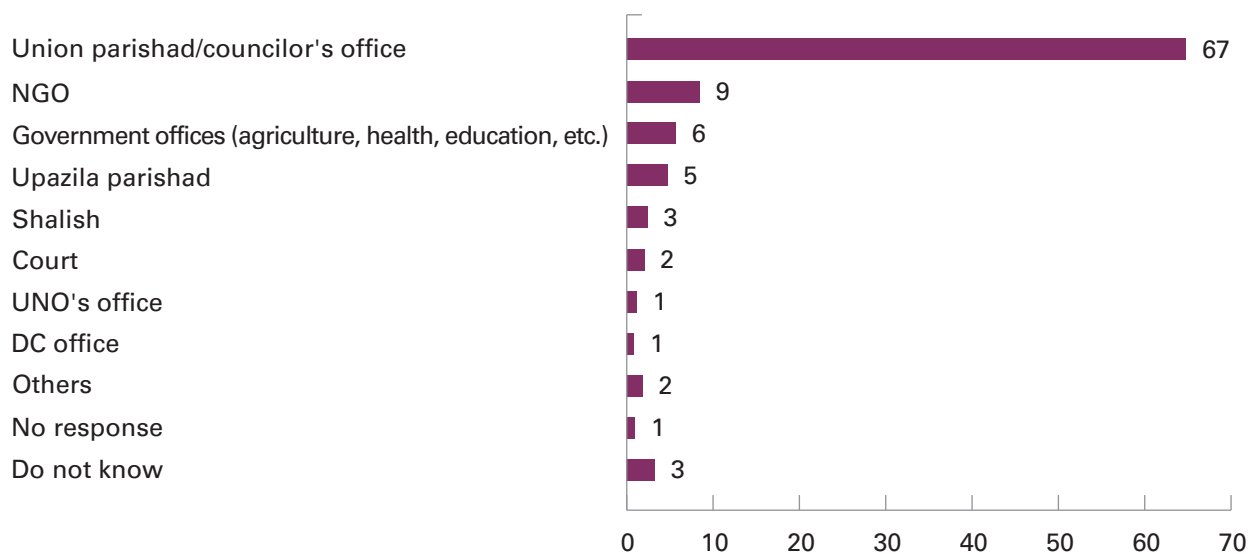
Figure 4.15: Who do you think is the most powerful person in your locality (By gender)? (N= 6,510)





Respondents are asked to specify which organizations they need the most in their everyday life, and over two thirds (67.4%) cite the local government offices. Another 8.8% cite NGOs and 5.6% cite different kinds of government offices. Upazila parishad and courts are reported by only 4.9% and 2.1% respondents, respectively.

Figure 4.16: Which among these organizations below do you think is the most important organization in your everyday life? (N= 6,510)



There are minor differences by gender (Table 4.9). The UP office is deemed slightly more important to men than women (65.7% men vs 63.8% women), while NGOs are deemed more important to women than men (8.9% men vs 11.5% women).

Table 4.9: Which among these organizations below do you think is the most important organization in your everyday life (By gender)? (N= 6,510)

	Male	Female
Union parishad/councilor's office	66	64
NGO	9	12
Upazila parishad	6	6
Government offices (agriculture, health, education, etc)	5	6
Shalish	3	2
Court	2	2
DC office	2	1
UNO's office	2	1
Do not know	3	4
No response	1	1
Others	2	2

05

**Elections**



Elections in Bangladesh symbolize the empowerment of citizens as they exercise their democratic right to vote. The 2024 Parliamentary election saw the Awami League secure its fourth consecutive victory, claiming 75% of parliamentary seats<sup>10</sup>. This chapter explores respondents' perceptions on elections, aiming to provide insight into the current electoral landscape from the respondents' viewpoint.

## 5.1 Election and Voting Behavior

Respondents who voted are asked to cite their reasons for voting in the last parliamentary election. More than a fourth (27.4%) say voting is an opportunity to choose a parliament member of their liking, while 18.0% cite electing representatives for the country's development, and 13.0% consider it their democratic right. However, 2.9% report being politically pressured or forced to vote, and 1.0% anticipate receiving money or gifts for voting, as illustrated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Reasons for voting in the last national parliamentary election

	1st reason (N=2,250)	2nd reason (N=537)	3rd reason (N=61)
Chance to choose parliament member of my liking	28	9	3
It is my democratic right	14	5	3
In order to stop corruption	1	1	1
Select honest leader	1	2	3
Vote may make a difference	2	2	2
I have freedom to vote	6	3	4
Better infrastructure (i.e. roads, schools, housing, health care, mosques, temples, etc.)	5	10	7
For continuity of democracy	1	1	2
Civic duty/duty as citizen/democratic obligation	14	4	5
Elected representative for developing the country	18	13	9
For leading the country appropriately	1	4	6
Expected to receive money or gifts for voting	1	2	1
For peace, not to have conflict/ peace for next generation	4	4	7
Fall under political pressure/forced	3	0	1
Other	2	2	4
Do not know	1	38	43

(Note: Frequency of responses (N) varies as fraction of respondents who voted couldn't prioritize their reasons.)

By age, 32.3% of respondents aged 18–25 years cite the "chance to choose a parliament member of their liking" as their reason for voting (Table 5.2). This reason is also cited by 26.1% of respondents aged 36–45, 27.0% of those aged 46–55, 27.1% of respondents aged 26–35, and 28.0% of respondents over the age of 55.

Table 5.2: First reason for voting in the last national parliamentary election (By age)

	18–25 years of age	26–35 years of age	36–45 years of age	46–55 years of age	55+ years of age
Chance to choose parliament member of my liking	32	27	26	27	28
It is my democratic right	19	18	16	18	12
In order to stop corruption	1	1	0	1	0
Select honest leader	2	1	1	2	2
Vote may make a difference	2	2	2	2	1
I have freedom to vote	5	6	5	4	5
Better infrastructure (i.e. roads, schools, housing, health care, mosques, temples, etc.)	4	6	4	5	6
For continuity of democracy	1	1	1	2	1
Civic duty/duty as citizen/democratic obligation	13	12	15	11	13
Elected representative for developing the country	18	18	18	16	17
For leading the country appropriately	1	1	2	3	2
Expected to receive money or gifts for voting	0	0	1	0	1
For peace, not to have conflict/peace for next generation	1	3	4	4	5
Fall under political pressure/forced	0	3	3	3	4
Other	0	1	1	2	1
Do not know	0	1	0	1	1

Furthermore, with the increase in educational levels, respondents' awareness of their democratic rights and duty as a citizen also increases (Table 5.3). Respondents with graduate and above level education are more likely to regard voting as a democratic right (23.5%), compared to 12.4% of respondents with no formal education. Similarly, 18.8% of respondents with a graduate degree or above perceive voting as a civic duty, while only 11.0% of those without a formal education share this perspective. However, the inclination to vote with the expectation of receiving money or under political pressure is more prevalent among respondents with no formal education compared with graduate and above.

Table 5.3: Reasons for voting in the last national parliamentary election (By education)

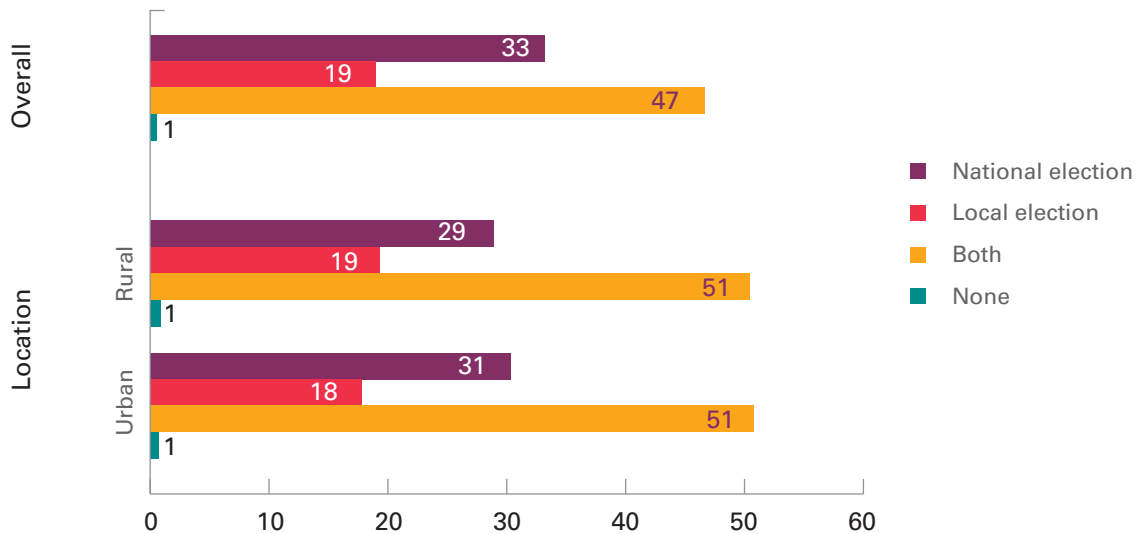
	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Chance to choose parliament member of my liking	27	28	28	32
It is my democratic right	12	15	20	24
In order to stop corruption	1	0	1	0
Select honest leader	1	2	2	1
Vote may make a difference	2	2	2	1
I have freedom to vote	7	6	3	1
Better infrastructure (i.e. roads, schools, housing, health care, mosques, temples, etc.)	6	6	4	5

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
For continuity of democracy	1	1	1	1
Civic duty/duty as citizen/democratic obligation	11	13	14	19
Elected representative for developing the country	18	18	17	11
For leading the country appropriately	2	2	1	3
Expected to receive money or gifts for voting	1	1	0	0
For peace, not to have conflict/peace for next generation	5	4	2	1
Fall under political pressure/forced	4	3	2	1
Other	1	1	1	1
Do not know	2	0	0	0

Although, no respondents from Khulna reported voting for financial gain, however, voting under political pressure is most common in this division, with 5.9% citing it as their primary reason for voting compared to other divisions. This is slightly higher than the 4.9% of respondents from Rajshahi, 3.1% from Dhaka, 3.8% from Barisal and 0.7% respondents from Rangpur who cite this reason.

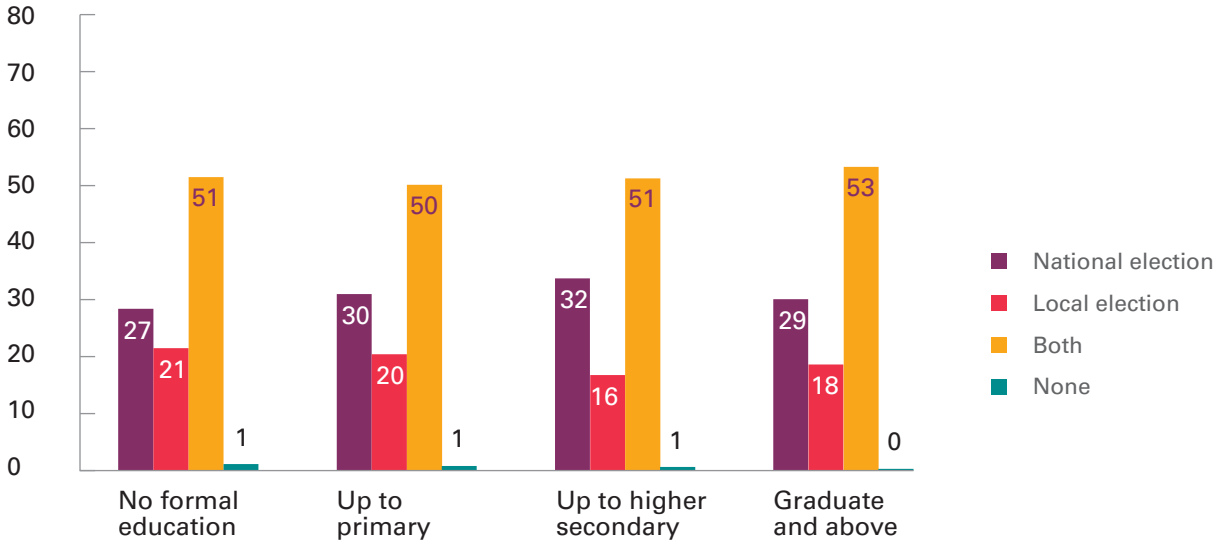
Respondents are asked about the significance of national and local elections, the majority (46.9%) expressed that both elections are important to them, while 33.3% emphasized the national election as more crucial (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Most important election for respondents



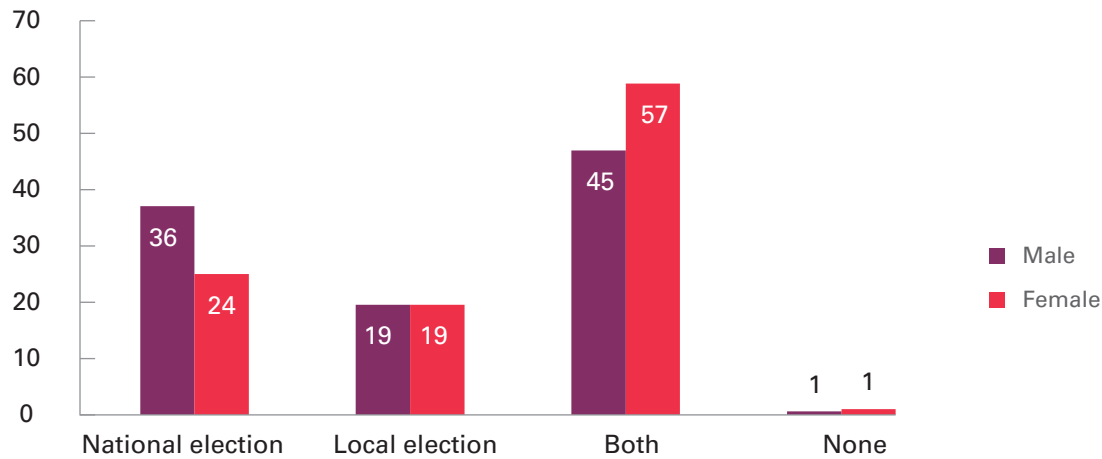
Only 0.6% indicate that no election holds importance for them. This trend remains consistent across gender, education, division, age, and income categories (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Most important election for respondents (By education)



Notably, a higher proportion of women (56.5%) emphasize the importance of both elections than men (45.1%).

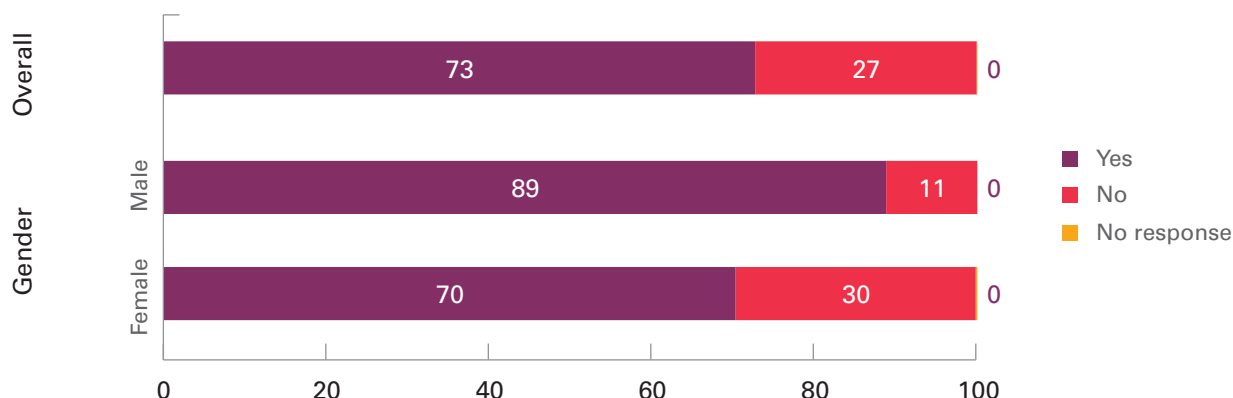
Figure 5.3: Most important election for respondents (By gender)



## 5.2 Election and Political Party

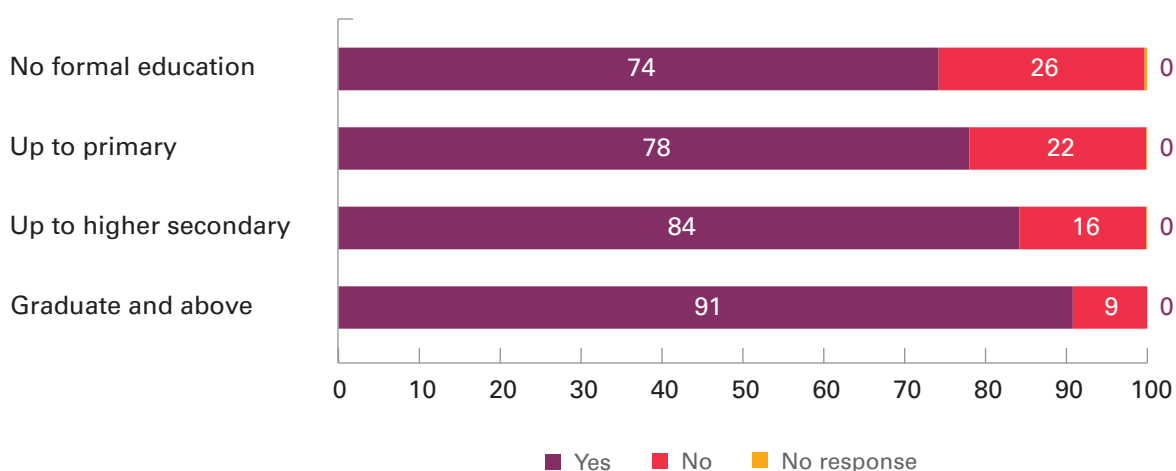
More than half (72.7%) of respondents report being familiar with the winning candidate of the last national parliamentary election before the start of the election campaign (Figure 5.4). Additionally, a greater number of male respondents (88.8%) claimed prior knowledge of the winning candidate, than female respondents (70.3%).

Figure 5.4: Did you know the elected candidate of last parliamentary election in your area?



Interestingly, as education levels increase, respondents exhibit a higher tendency to know the candidate before the election campaign, with 90.8% among those with graduate and above level of education, compared to 74.2% of respondents with no formal education (see Figure 5.5).

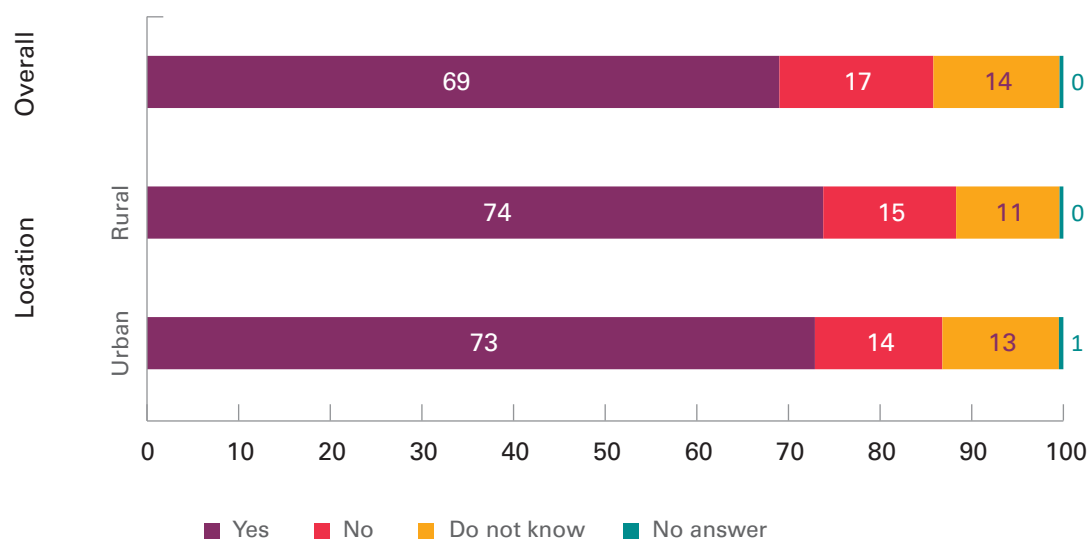
Figure 5.5: Did you know the elected candidate of last parliamentary election in your area? (By education)



Additionally, respondents from Rajshahi (83.9%), Chattogram (83.4%), and Rangpur (82.0%) are more likely to know the winning candidate from the last parliamentary election at the start of the election campaign, relative to respondents from other divisions.

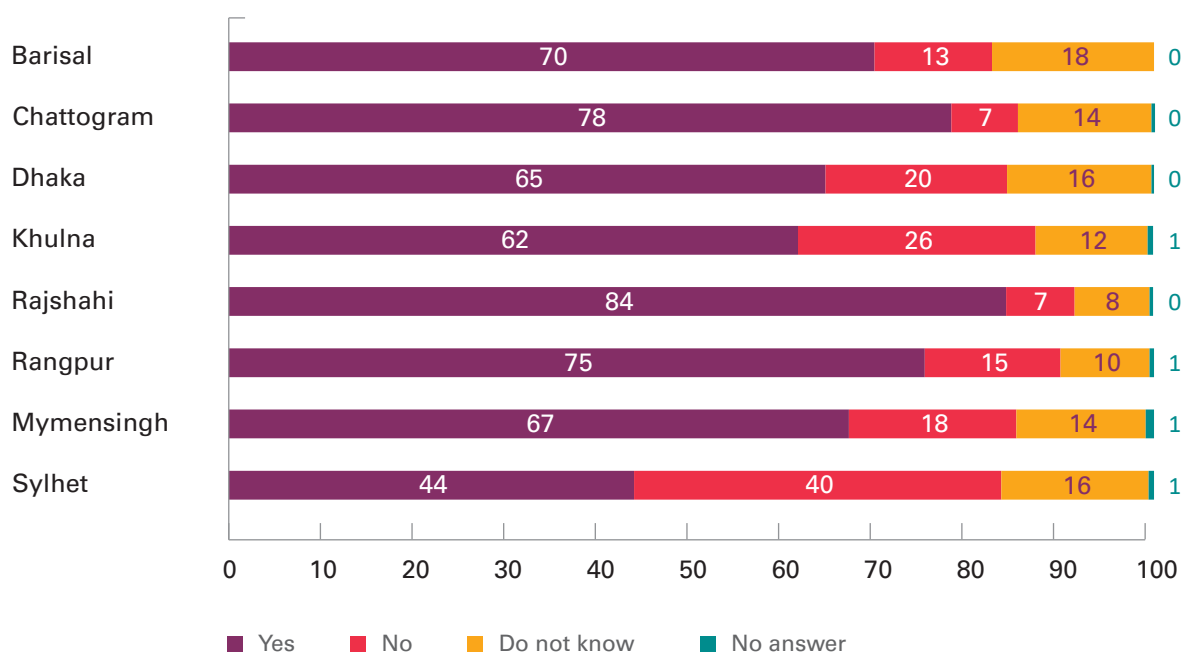
In a separate question, 69.0% of respondents say that within their constituency, the winning candidate from the last national parliamentary was involved in politics prior to the election. Differences are minor across urban and rural status: 73.8% rural respondents, compared to 72.9% urban, respectively (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6: Is the winning candidate from your constituency in the last national parliamentary election?



The majority of respondents in Rajshahi (84.0%) say the winning candidate had been involved in politics in their constituency prior to the election. This is less than half of respondents from Sylhet (43.8%) who reported prior involvement of the candidate (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: Is the winning candidate from your constituency in the last national parliamentary election? (By division)

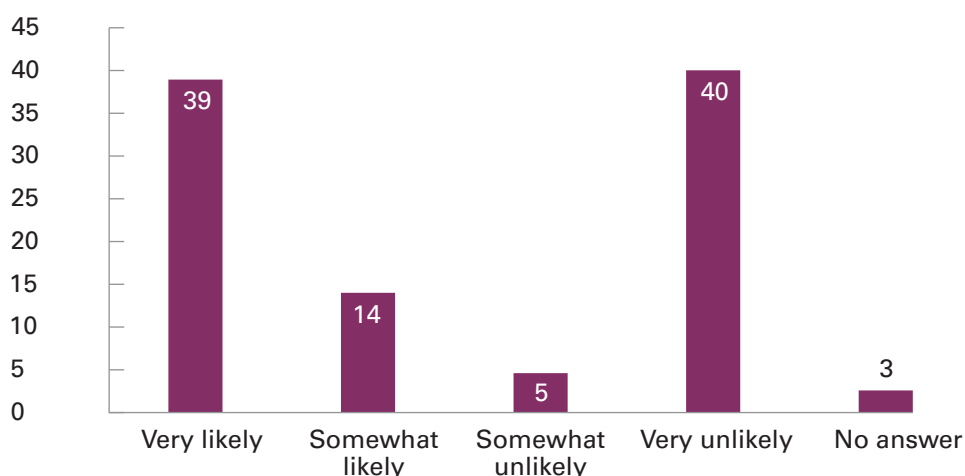




## 5.2.1 Political Identity, Loyalty, and Attitude Towards Political Parties

In a separate question, candidates are asked how likely they are to vote for a candidate who switches political parties or participates independently in the election. More than half of respondents (52.9%) express willingness to vote for such a candidate, even if they switch to a different party or participate independently (very likely and somewhat likely merged). Less than half of respondents, 44.6%, say they will not cast their vote for such a candidate (very unlikely and somewhat unlikely merged).

Figure 5.8: Voting for a candidate who switched their political party.



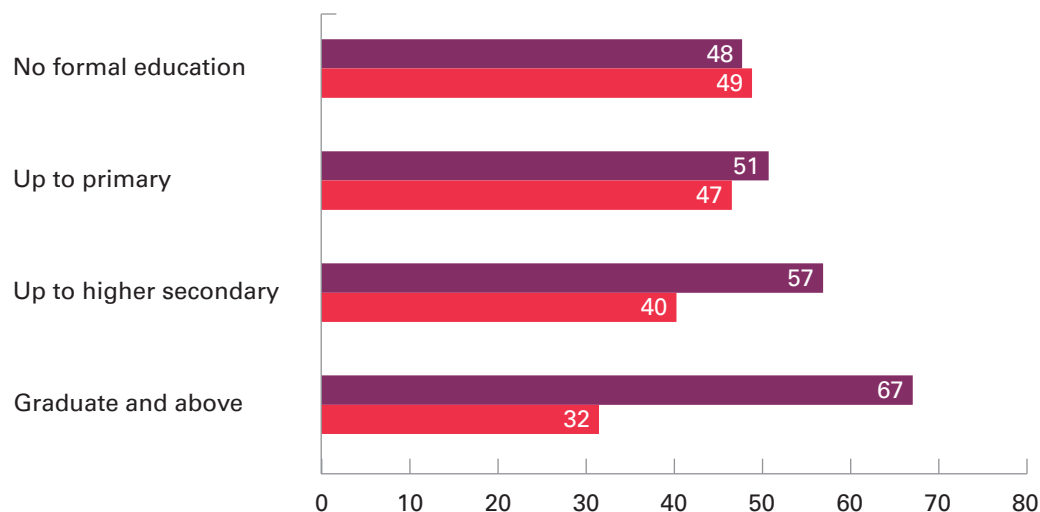
Differences in voting behavior by location is minimal, with 53.9% of urban and 51.7% of rural respondents expressing their willingness to vote for the candidate who switches political parties (Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9: Voting for a candidate who switched political parties (By location)



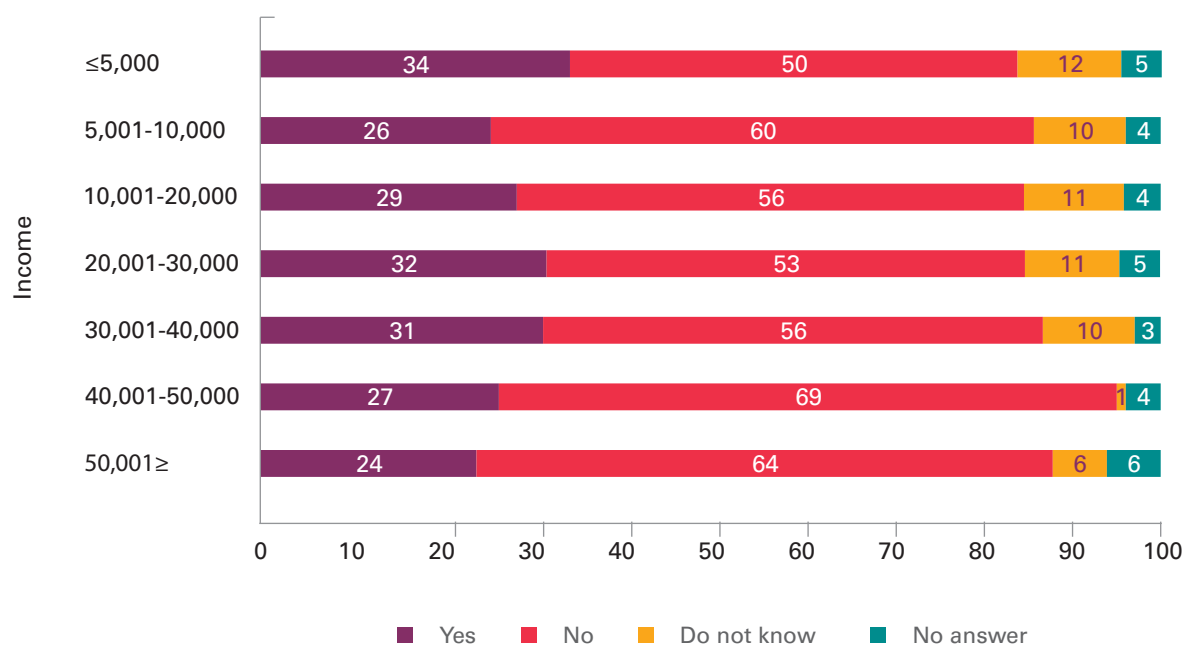
As education levels increase, so does the likelihood of voting for a candidate regardless of their political party affiliation. Respondents with no formal education are less likely to say they will not cast their vote if a candidate switches political party in the election (49.0%), than 67.3% of respondents with a graduate degree and above (likely and very likely).

Figure 5.10: Voting for a candidate who switched political parties (By education)

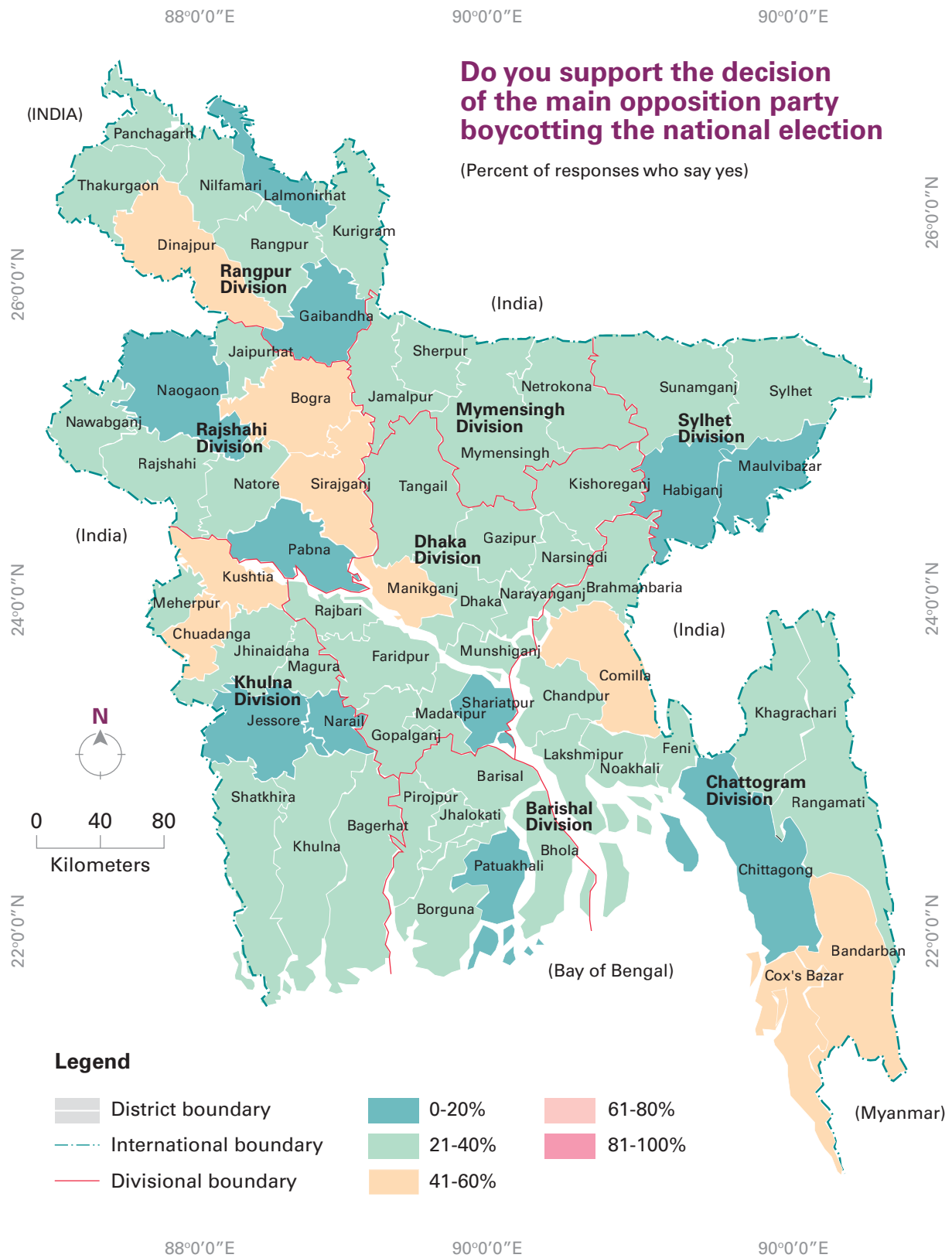


When respondents are asked if they support the opposition party boycotting the election, 59.0% say that they do not support it. However, as income rises, support for the opposition party's boycotting of the election decreases (Figure 5.11). Respondents with the lowest income ( $\leq 5,000$  BDT) are more likely to say they support the main opposition party's boycott of the election (34.4%), compared to respondents with an income level of more than or equal to 50,001 BDT (24.0%).

Figure 5.11: Support for main opposition party boycotting the national parliamentary election (By income)



Across the country, responses to this question vary. The map below illustrates the geographic distribution of the citizen's opinion on the main opposition party's boycott of the national election.



Map 8: Elections

## 5.3 Fairness of Election Process

When respondents are asked if they have witnessed any kind of unfairness or unrest in the election process of Bangladesh in general, frequently cited responses range from: “the potential for party workers or voters to be attacked during the election” (65.4%), “suspicions of rigged vote counting” (63.5%), “offers of gifts or money in exchange for votes” (61.1%), and instances of “coercion to vote for a particular political party” (56.3%) (Table 5.4). Minor differences emerge among urban and rural respondents. For example, at the national level 15.5% say “nothing is likely to happen”, this includes a slightly higher number of rural respondents (16.8%) than urban respondents (14.4%).

Table 5.4: Awareness of problems that may have occurred in the national parliamentary election

	Overall	Location	
		Rural	Urban
Party workers/voters may be attacked	65	65	67
Vote counting may be rigged	64	63	64
Gift/money will be paid to vote	61	60	60
Forcing people to vote for a particular political party	56	54	55
Secrecy of voting cannot be maintained	40	41	40
Nothing is likely to happen	16	17	14
Do not know	3	3	3
No answer	0	0	1
Others	0	0	0

Differences by gender are minor. Women are slightly less likely to report observing such cases in Bangladesh's elections compared to men, as depicted in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Awareness of problems that may have occurred in the national parliamentary election? (By gender)

	Male	Female
Party workers/voters may be attacked	67	64
Vote counting may be rigged	65	63
Gift/money will be paid to vote	62	59
Forcing people to vote for a particular political party	55	54
Secrecy of voting cannot be maintained	43	38
Nothing is likely to happen	16	15
Do not know	2	4
No answer	0	0
Others	0	0

Additionally, individuals with a graduate degree or higher are more likely to report election unfairness compared to those with lower levels of education (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Awareness of problems that may have occurred in the national parliamentary election (By education)

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate degree and above
Party workers/voters may be attacked	60	66	68	78
Vote counting may be rigged	62	65	63	67
Gift/money will be paid to vote	57	60	61	66
Forcing people to vote for a particular political party	53	56	54	56
Secrecy of voting cannot be maintained	38	41	41	49
Nothing is likely to happen	19	15	15	10
Do not know	3	3	3	1
No answer	0	0	0	1
Others	0	0	0	1

Changes arise over time with findings suggesting that perceived unfairness in politics has increased over the years. Table 5.7 illustrates the increase in those who say unfairness in the election process has increased over time. In 2017, only 32% of respondents feared “violence against party workers or voters”; this figure rose to 36% in 2018, and 65.4% in 2024. A similar trend is observed for other options. For example, in 2017, 35% respondents said, “nothing is likely to happen,” this decreased to 18% in 2018, and 15.5% in 2024.

Table 5.7: Awareness of problems that may have occurred in the national parliamentary election (By year)

	2017	2018	2024
Party workers/voters may be attacked	32	36	65
Vote counting may be rigged	29	46	64
Gift/money will be paid to vote	21	24	61
Forcing people to vote for a particular political party	17	22	56
Secrecy of voting cannot be maintained	3	5	40
Nothing is likely to happen	35	18	16

By division, responses vary. For example, instances such as “attacks on party workers or voters” and “potential vote rigging” are most prevalent in Mymensingh (76.5% and 72.0% respectively) and least prevalent in Sylhet (50.8% and 52.3% respectively). However, responses indicating “nothing is likely to happen” are highest for Sylhet (25.6%) and lowest in Chattogram (11.8%), as depicted in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Awareness of problems that may have occurred in the national parliamentary election (By division)

	Barisal	Chattogram	Dhaka	Khulna	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Mymensingh	Sylhet
Party workers/voters may be attacked	57	70	65	69	62	63	77	51
Vote counting may be rigged	56	59	67	59	64	66	72	52
Gift/money will be paid to vote	52	60	67	60	57	59	65	42
Forcing people to vote for a particular political party	50	59	59	57	54	47	67	37
Secrecy of voting cannot be maintained	39	37	39	41	46	33	51	33
Nothing is likely to happen	24	12	16	15	15	14	14	25
Do not know	4	9	2	1	1	2	0	7
No answer	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1

Furthermore, as income increases, the likelihood of respondents reporting such instances also increases, while the likelihood of “nothing is likely to happen” decreases, except for the highest income group (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Awareness of problems that may have occurred in the national parliamentary election? (By income)

	≤ 5,000 BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	50,001 ≥ BDT
Party workers/voters may be attacked	61	62	67	68	70	75	70
Vote counting may be rigged	61	61	64	65	66	73	66
Gift/money will be paid to vote	53	57	61	62	63	65	62
Forcing people to vote for a particular political party	51	51	55	57	59	61	62
Secrecy of voting cannot be maintained	30	39	40	42	45	54	56
Nothing is likely to happen	17	16	15	17	15	10	16
Do not know	3	3	3	3	3	2	6
No answer	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Others	1	0	0	0	0	1	0

No notable differences emerge across occupation groups.

06

**Democratic Values  
and Trust in Institutions**



Surveys in Bangladesh frequently explore how Bangladeshi people internalize and associate with the concept of democracy. Surveys also reveal that individuals find it difficult to define the concept as they understand it, and that their definitions and expectations of a democratic government are quite diverse. For instance, in the Governance Barometer Survey<sup>11</sup> less than half of the respondents (46%), could not articulate their understanding of democracy. Among respondents who could express their understanding of democracy, freedom of movement and freedom of expression were the dominant categories, followed by right to vote and equal rights for all. The Youth Survey<sup>12</sup> also noted the majority of youth viewed democracy as a 'process' rather than an outcome, as 65% defined democracy as holding free and fair elections. Another *Survey*<sup>13</sup> reveals that many of the respondents either do not know or do not want to comment on the current state of the democratic condition of the country. To some degree, findings from the 2024 *Survey of the Bangladeshi People*, remain consistent with previous surveys in Bangladesh.

## 6.1 Understanding of Democracy in Bangladesh

Respondents are asked what they understand by democracy and permitted up to two responses to this question. In their first response, almost a third (32.9%) of respondents said they do not know what democracy means, followed by equal rights for all (17.9%), freedom of people (10.7%), and government by the people (8.4%) (Table 6.2). When respondents are asked to provide a second response about what else democracy means to them, 17.1% view democracy as the opportunity to vote freely, 14.6% say equal rights for all, freedom of people (13.3%) and freedom of speech (12.7%). Unlike previous years, the proportion who said 'no answer' was zero.

Over time, responses to this question shift. In 2019, only 10.0% did not know what democracy meant. However, by 2022 this increased notably to 36.2% of respondents, and stayed at 32.9% (first response) in 2024. There is a gradual decline in responses between 2019 and 2024 across other reported indicators. For instance, 34.0% of respondents viewed democracy as freedom of people in 2019. This dropped to 16.9% in 2022, and continues to drop in 2024 (10.7%, first response). Similarly, respondents who identified democracy as a government by the people was 32.5% in 2019, dropping to 15.2% in 2022, and to 8.4% in 2024. The tendency to relate democracy with terms like peoples' opinions should be given importance, freedom of movement, and guarantee of fundamental rights has only slightly increased over the years (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: If a country is called democratic, what does that mean to you? (By year)

	2017	2018	2024 <sup>8</sup>
Freedom of people	34	17	11
Government by the people	33	15	8
Equal rights for all	32	18	18
Opportunity to vote freely	23	15	6
Freedom of speech	20	11	8
Development in the country	19	4	2
Guarantee of fundamental rights	0	2	2
Good governance	0	2	1

<sup>8</sup>In the 2019 and 2022 Surveys, this question was asked as a multiple-response question. It was also a multiple-response question in 2024, but respondents were also asked to prioritize their answers into first, second, and third choices. Here, the first-choice response of 2024 is reported.



	2017	2018	2024
People's opinions should be given importance	0	4	6
Freedom of movement	0	3	3
Others	0	4	3
Do not know	10	36	33
No answer	16	4	0

There is also some variance across respondents first and second responses to this question.

Table 6.2: If a country is called democratic, what does that mean to you? (Up to two responses allowed)

	1st response (N=4,606)	2nd response (N=1,522)
Equal rights for all	18	15
Freedom of people	11	13
Government by the people	8	5
Freedom of speech	8	13
Opportunity to vote freely	6	17
People's opinions should be given importance	6	10
Freedom of movement	3	9
Development in the country	2	6
Guarantee of fundamental rights	2	6
Justice	2	3
Good governance	1	2
Having a strong opposition	0	1
Others	1	0
Do not know	33	0

Pronounced differences emerge by education level, as the proportion who 'do not know' drastically declines with higher levels of education (Table 6.3). Over half (55.7%) of the respondents with no formal education said they 'do not know' what democracy means, whereas this is the case with only 7.2% of respondents with a bachelor's degree or above. Moreover, respondents with a bachelor's degree or above are more likely than other groups to associate democracy as freedom of speech (28%), equal rights for all (27%), government by the people (26.1%), freedom of people (23.3%), giving importance to peoples' opinions (22%) and guarantee of fundamental rights (16%). In contrast, 55.7% respondents with no formal education say they 'do not know', followed by equal rights for all (13.6%), people's freedom (10.6%) and opportunity to vote freely (9.8%). There was no significant variation in terms of location and gender.

Table 6.3: If a country is called democratic, what does that mean to you? (First response, by education)

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate degree and above
Equal rights for all	13	16	22	27
Freedom of people	11	14	21	23
Opportunity to vote freely	10	11	15	15
Government by the people	7	9	16	26
Freedom of speech	6	9	15	28
Development in the country	6	6	6	4
Freedom of movement	5	6	6	5
People's opinions should be given importance	4	6	13	22
Guarantee of fundamental rights	3	4	7	16
Justice	2	2	3	4
Good governance	2	2	3	2
Having a strong opposition	1	1	0	1
Others	1	1	1	1
Do not know	56	46	26	7

## 6.2 Citizens' Relationship with the Government

This *Survey* aims to understand how Bangladeshi citizens perceive their relationship with their government. Almost a quarter of respondents see their relationship with the government as a relationship between the prime minister and citizen (22.0%), followed by 14.0% who say “we are citizens and she is the head of the country”; and another 14.0% say they have no relation with the government. Only 5.1% of respondents think that the government is their representative. (Table 6.4).

In comparison to 2019, there is a drop in responses such as ‘government is my representative’, ‘government is my protector and service provider’, ‘government is my patron’ in 2024. In 2019, 30.6% of respondents viewed their relationship with the government as a representative one, this dropped significantly in 2022 to 7.4% and again in 2024 to 5.8%. Similarly, 27.4% of respondents identified the government as their protector and service provider in 2019, this dropped to 6.8% in 2022, and again in 2024 to 3.6%. Likewise, respondents who said the government is their patron decreased from 25.7% in 2019, to 6.8% in 2022, and just 2.4% in 2024.

Table 6.4: As a citizen of Bangladesh, what is your relationship with the government of Bangladesh?

	2019	2022	2024
Government is my protector and service provider	27	7	3
Government is my patron	26	7	2
The government is my representative	31	7	6
King-subject relationship	8	4	5
No relation	1	9	14
Prime minister and citizens	0	13	22
Mother and daughter/son	0	3	4
Mother	0	6	2
Friendly	0	8	7
Brothers and sisters	0	3	5
Country leader	0	2	4
We are in relation to civic votes	0	4	3
We are citizens he/she is the head of the government	0	6	14
Other	0	3	2
Do not know	5	8	5
No answer	0	2	2

There are no significant differences by gender, location or occupation. Respondents aged 18 to 25 years view their relationship with the government as much more detached than among other age groups. In this age group, 26.8% say their relationship with government is as a prime minister and citizens, whereas 13.5% say there is no relationship between them and the government. Moreover, 16.1% identify the relationship with the government as “we are citizens and she is the head of government.”

With increased education levels, the proportion of respondents who ‘do not know’ decreases. At the same time, the proportion who identify the relationship with government as prime minister/head of the government and citizen increases (Table 6.5). Interestingly, an equal share of respondents (15.3%) with no formal education and with bachelor’s degree and above say that they have no relationship with the government.

Table 6.5: As a citizen of Bangladesh, what is your relationship with the government of Bangladesh? (By education)

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate degree and above
Government is my protector and service provider	3	3	3	6
Government is my patron	2	2	2	4
Government is my representative	6	5	7	7
King-subject relationship	6	6	5	2
No relation	15	13	12	15
Prime minister and citizens	19	22	24	23
Mother and daughter/ son	4	5	3	3
Mother	3	3	2	1

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate degree and above
Friendly	7	6	9	10
Brothers and sisters	4	5	4	2
Country leader	4	3	3	2
Voter-candidate relationship	4	4	4	2
We are citizens, and she is the head of the government	12	14	17	19
Other	1	2	1	1
Do not know	7	6	4	2
No answer	2	2	1	2

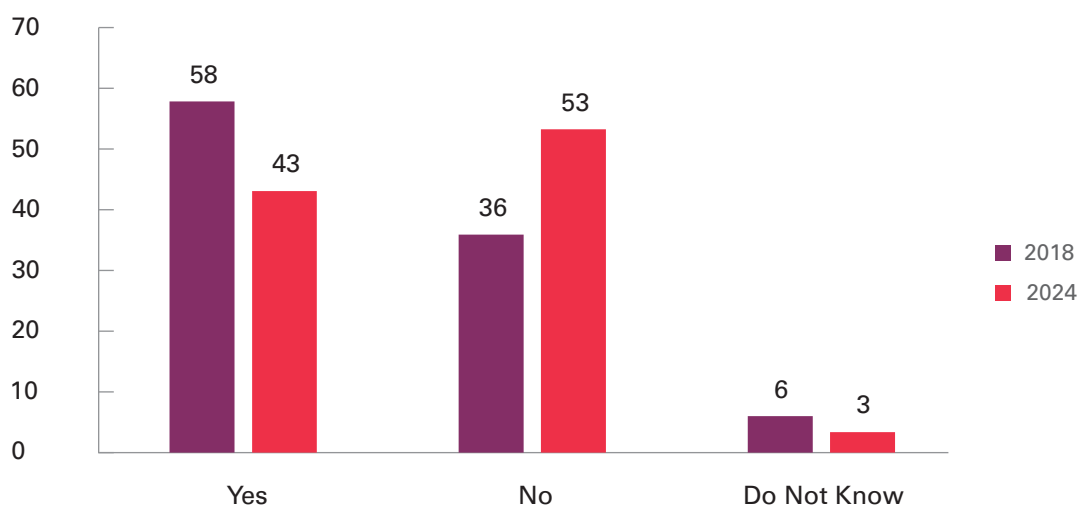
## 6.3 Democratic Practices in Bangladesh

### 6.3.1 Political Tolerance

Respondents are asked if they think all political parties, including the ones most people do not like, should hold meetings in their area. Less than half, 43.2%, agree all political parties should be allowed to hold meetings, whereas 53.4% disagree.

The situation was the reverse in 2018 when more than half (58%) of respondents agreed that all political parties, even those that most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in their area, and 36% disagreed (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area? (By year)

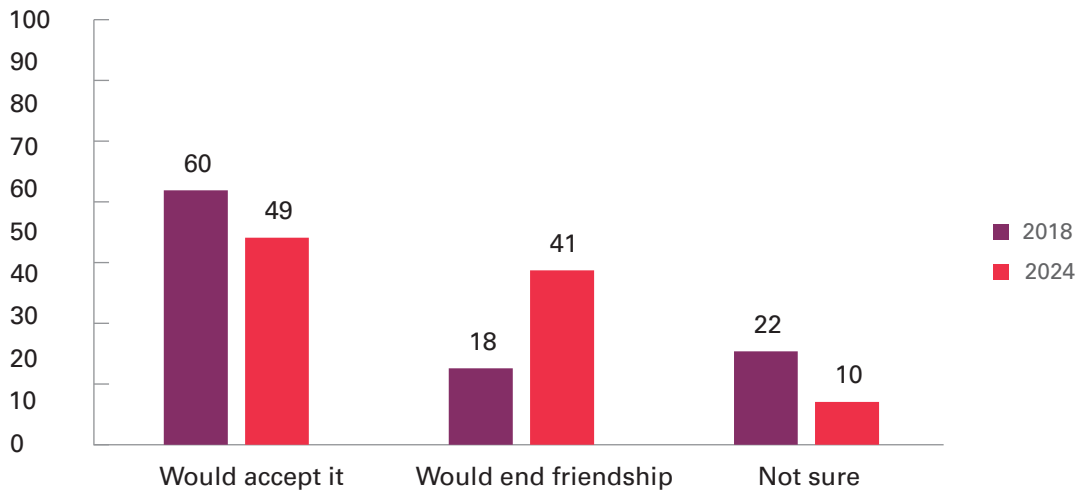


Female respondents (57.7%) are less intolerant in this regard compared to their male counterpart (45.2%) who disagree that political parties should be allowed to hold meetings in their area.

Respondents who earn more than 50,001 BDT are the least intolerant compared to respondents from other income levels.

In a separate question, close to half (48.8%) of respondents say they are fine with friends who support a political party that most people do not like. This rate of acceptance was higher in 2018 (60%). On the other hand, 41.1% said they would end their friendship if their friends supported a political party that most people do not like, a sharp increase from 18% in 2018. In 2024, respondents who are not sure (10.1%) about what they would do decreased from the 22% recorded in 2018.

Figure 6.2: Suppose a friend of yours supported a political party that most people do not like. Would you accept that, or would you end your friendship? (By year)



Respondents 18 to 25 years of age are more accepting compared to other age groups: 61.6% say they will accept a friend who supports a political party that most people do not like, while 31.4% said they would end the friendship.

Male respondents are more tolerant in this case compared to their female counterparts, 54.9% of men would accept the friendship compared to 48.4% of women.

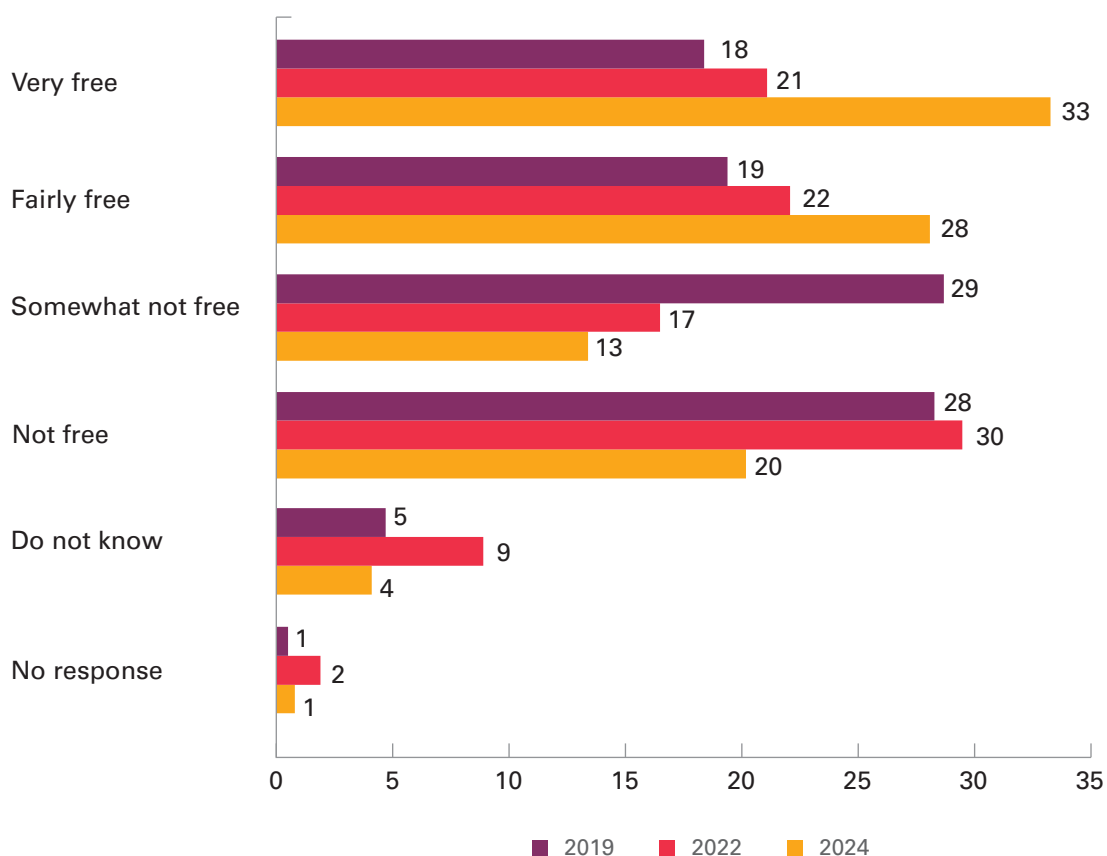
By occupation, jobholders are more tolerant than other professions, only 25.5% said they would end their friendship.

Respondents who belong to the income group of above 50,001 BDT are also more tolerant than respondents of other income groups.

### 6.3.2 Discussing and Expressing Political Views

When respondents are asked: “How much freedom of expression do people in your area have to express their political opinions?”, one-third (33.3%) of respondents say people of their locality are very free to express their political opinion, an increase over the years from 18.4% in 2019, and 21.1% in 2022. More than a quarter (28.1%) said people in their areas are fairly free to express their political opinion, an increase over the years (19.4% in 2019, and 22.1% in 2022).

Figure 6.3: How much freedom of expression do people in your area have to express their political opinions? (By year)



One fifth (20.2%) of respondents state that people of their locality are not free, and 13.4% state people of their locality are somewhat not free to express their political opinions, a decline over the years as in 2019 the rates were respectively 28.3% (not free) and 28.7% (somewhat not free).

There are some divisional variations as well. Respondents from Rangpur division are more likely to say people of their locality are freer in terms of expressing their political opinion, compared to respondents of other division (72.8%), very free and somewhat free combined (Figure 6.4). On the other hand, respondents from Mymensingh are more likely to say people of their locality are least free to voice their political opinions (41.3%) in relative to other divisions.

Table 6.6: How much freedom of expression do people in your area have to express their political opinions? (By division, N=6,510)

	Barisal	Chattogram	Dhaka	Khulna	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Mymensingh	Sylhet
Very free	40	29	30	35	40	49	19	48
Fairly free	20	34	29	24	25	24	35	18
Somewhat not free	13	10	19	13	8	9	11	10
Not free	22	20	18	24	24	14	30	14
Do not know	6	5	4	4	3	2	4	7
No response	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	3

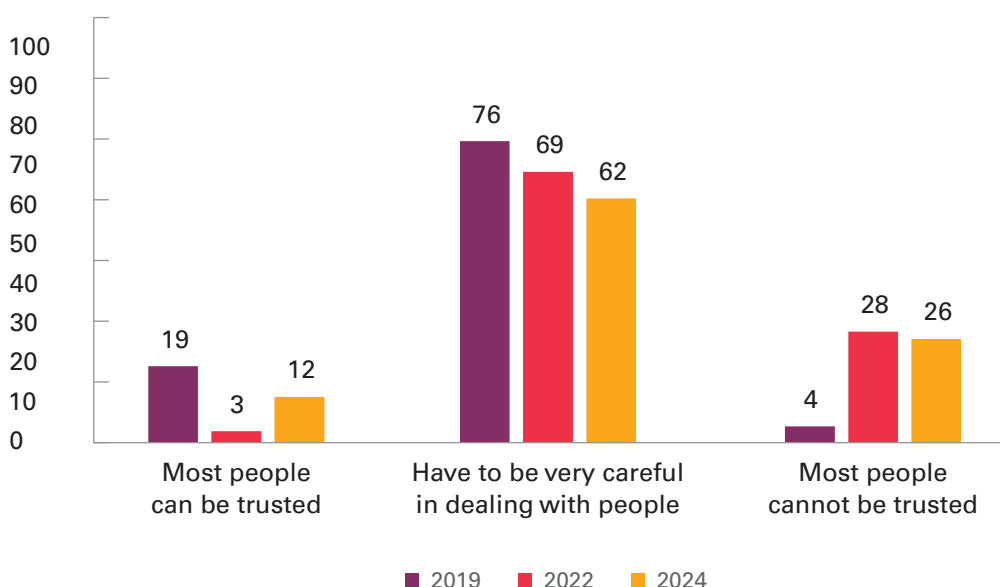
## 6.4 Trust

### 6.4.1 Trust in Neighbors

When respondents are asked whether they think most people can be trusted, more than half (62.5%) said they need to be cautious in dealing with the people (Figure 6.5), a decline over the years.

In 2019, 76.4% expressed this view, decreasing to 68.6% in 2022, and again to 61.9% in 2024. There was a significant drop in trust in 2022 when only 2.9% of respondents said most people can be trusted, and 28.1% said most people cannot be trusted. Compared to 2022, in 2024, trust levels increased from 2.9% in 2022 to 11.6% in 2024. Responses such as 'do not know' and 'no answer' were less than 0.4% in all three years (not shown in the figure below).

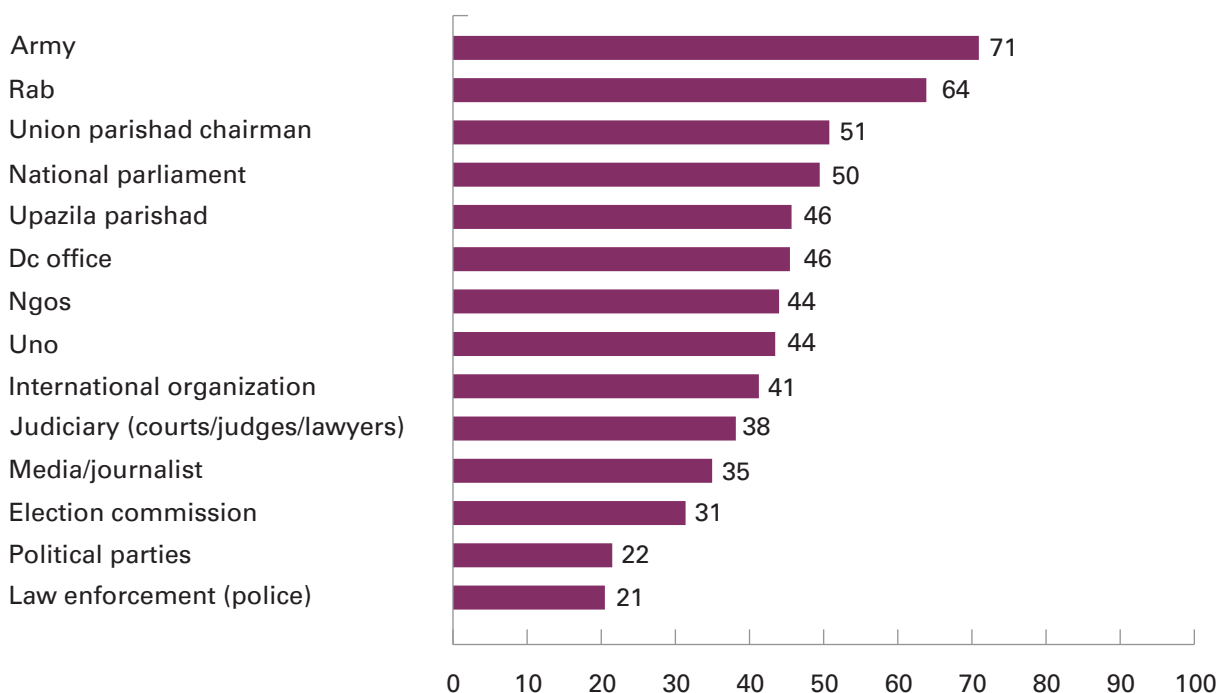
Figure 6.4: In general, do you think that most people can be trusted? (By year)



### 6.4.2 Trust in Institutions

The *Survey* evaluated citizens' trust in various institutions. As demonstrated in Figure 6.5 the integrity of elected offices and officials are very high. High integrity is noted by half (50.8%) of the respondents for the Union Parishad Chairman, 45.7% for Upazila Parishad, and 45.5% for the DC office as institutions with very high integrity. For the national parliament, a positive view is shared by 49.5% of respondents. The judiciary (38.2%) and the Election Commission (31.4%) are perceived as less trustworthy than the elected and administrative officials/offices. Over of a fifth (21.5%) of respondents perceive political parties are trustworthy.

Figure 6.5: Opinion on trust in institutions (Percentage of respondents who say very high integrity) (N=6,510)



Regarding other agencies, the Bangladesh Army was highly trusted by 71.0% of respondents, followed by 63.9% who trusted the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB). In contrast, the police were trusted by only 20.5% of the respondents. Approximately, 44.0% of respondents found non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to be highly trustworthy, while around 35.0% and 41.3% of respondents expressed this view about the media and international organizations respectively.

In contrast to 2019, trust in institutions like the national parliament, political parties, army and Election Commission declined (Table 6.7). While in 2022, trust in police, judiciary and media slightly increased compared to 2019, in 2024 trust in these institutions dropped again. For example, in 2019 trust in police was 24.6%, increasing to 29.4% in 2022. But in 2024, this dropped to only 20.5% who say police as an institution have very high integrity. Similarly, 38.9% of respondents in 2019 felt the judiciary (courts/judges/lawyers) is an institution with very high integrity, which increased in 2022 (44.5%). In 2024, trust in the judiciary declined to 38.2%. Despite slight declines compared to 2022 levels, Bangladesh Army and RAB still enjoy a very high level of public trust. Conversely, political parties and police are consistently ranked low over the years.

There is a slight increase in trust in NGOs (44%) compared to 2022 (42%).

Respondents from low-income group have higher trust in institutions compared to other income groups.

Table 6.7: Opinion on trust in institutions (Percent who say high integrity, by year)

	2019	2022	2024
National parliament	71	59	50
Uno	-	55	44
Dc office	-	54	46

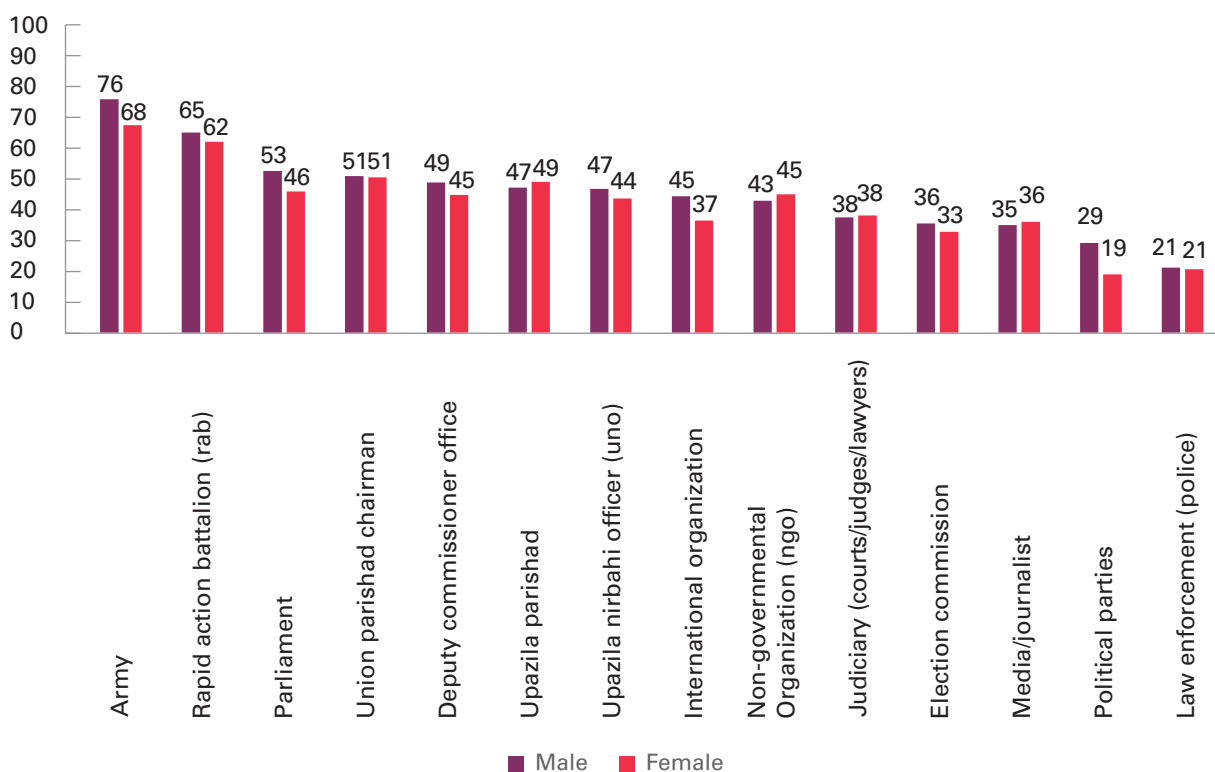


	2019	2022	2024
Upazila parishad	-	55	46
Union parishad chairman	-	54	51
Political parties	43	36	22
Law enforcement (police)	25	29	21
Judiciary (courts/judges/lawyers)	39	45	38
Army	83	72	71
Rapid action battalion (rab)	78	64	64
Media/journalist	43	44	35
Election commission	39	38	31
International organizations	-	-	41
Non-governmental organizations	-	42	44

\*Institutions not included in the 2019 and 2022 Survey are left blank

Generally, female respondents are more pessimistic of institutions compared to their male counterparts, but they have more trust in NGOs, Upazila Parishad and the judiciary than male respondents (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6: Opinion on trust in institutions (those who say very high integrity, by gender, N=6,510)



In a separate question, respondents were asked to share their understanding of NGOs, what they think NGOs are or what NGOs do. A majority (83.3%) of respondents state that NGOs are small loan providers (microfinance institutions), followed by organizations that provide services like health, education etc. (4.5%). About one in ten (9.1%) did not know how to define NGOs, and 1.2% did not provide an answer.

There is no significant difference by education, division, and age.

07

# Gender Attitudes and Practices



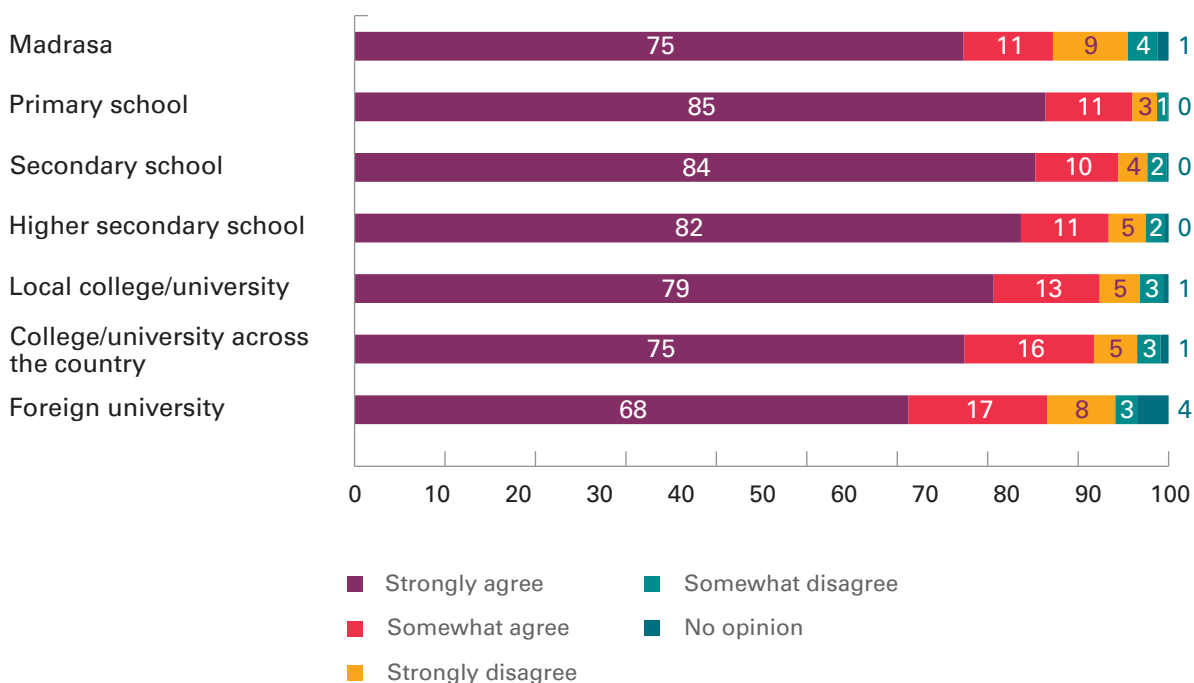
In Bangladesh, gender norms and attitudes generally follow traditional practices. Child marriage, limited access to education, and a restrictive labor market for women— reflect some of the existing challenges for women<sup>14 15</sup>. In the last few decades, there have been strong initiatives to support girls’ educational enrolment, and the rapid expansion of the Ready-Made Garments (RMG) industry have also improved women’s educational and employment attainment<sup>16 17</sup>. Civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have also played a role in ensuring social justice and promoting equal rights for women. The *Survey of the Bangladeshi People* explores issues regarding women’s education, their role in the public sphere, and overall gender attitudes and practices of the Bangladeshi people.

## 7.1 Access to Education for Women

The *Survey* gauges public opinion on women’s access to education across different levels. Findings reveal that a majority of respondents strongly agree women should have equal opportunities for education at all levels, including national and international universities.

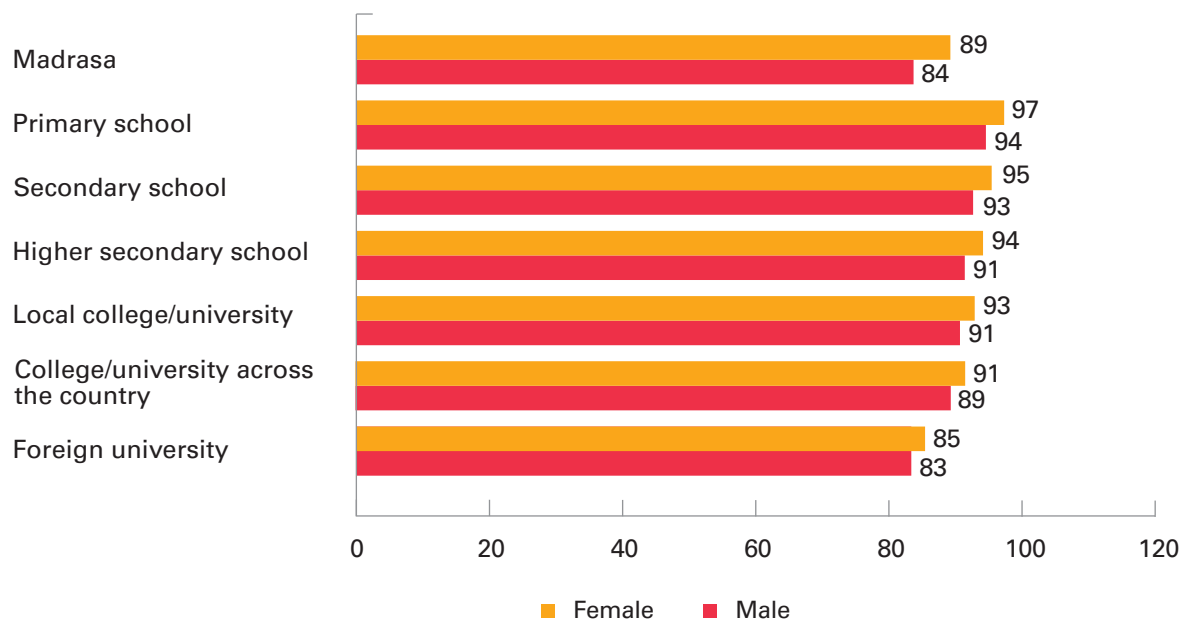
However, agreement on equal educational opportunities for women declines with increasing education levels. While 81.9% strongly agree on education up to the higher secondary level, 78.5% strongly agreed for local universities; this number drops to 75.0% for universities across the country and even lower for studying abroad (68.1%).

Figure 7.1: Women’s equal opportunities in education.



There is difference in opinion among male and female respondents. Across all education levels, females are consistently more likely to believe women deserve equal educational opportunities. Figure 7.2 shows the percentage of respondents who strongly or somewhat agree (combined) that women should have equal access to education by gender.

Figure 7.2: women must have equal opportunities in the following types of education, strongly and somewhat combined (By gender)



There is little to no difference between urban and rural areas in terms of the overall percentage supporting equal educational opportunities for women, Table 7.1 shows respondents who strongly or somewhat agree women should have equal access to education by their education qualifications.

Table 7.1: Women must have equal opportunities in the following types of education (By education)

	Foreign university	College/university across the country	Local college/university	Higher secondary school	Secondary school	Primary school	Madrasa
Graduate and above	91	96	97	97	98	99	87
Up to higher secondary	87	92	93	94	94	97	86
Up to primary	83	90	91	92	94	96	87
No formal education	81	88	89	91	93	94	86

Aside from Madrasa-educated women, female respondents with more education are more likely to agree that women must have equal opportunities at all levels of education. As Table 7.2 reveals, respondents with higher incomes are more likely to agree with the statement for all types of educational institutes except for the highest income group.

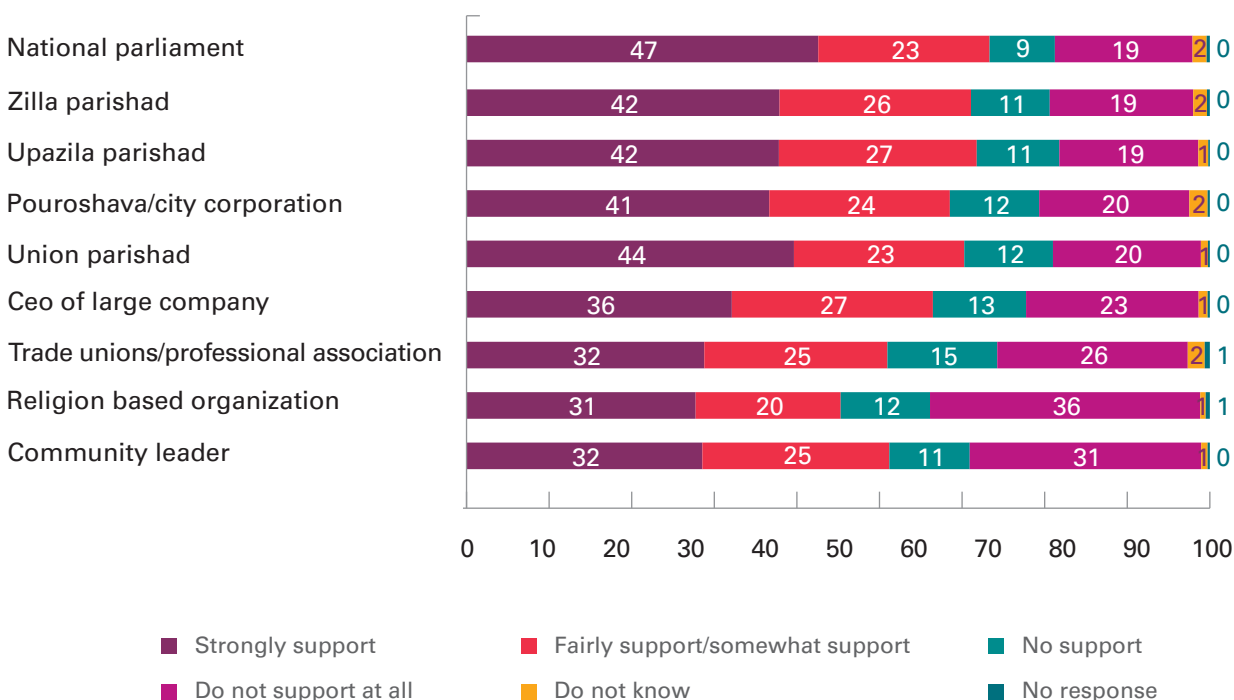
Table 7.2: Women must have equal opportunities in the following types of education (By income)

Income group	Foreign university	College/university across the country	Local college/university	Higher secondary school	Secondary school	Primary school	Madrassa
≤5,000 BDT	77	83	87	89	89	92	83
5,001–10,000 BDT	82	89	91	92	94	95	88
10,001–20,000 BDT	85	91	92	93	94	96	85
20,001–30,000 BDT	86	93	93	94	94	96	87
30,001–40,000 BDT	86	91	92	93	95	96	85
40,001–50,000 BDT	88	94	95	98	97	98	93
50,001 BDT≥	84	88	86	84	88	92	86

## 7.2 Perception of Women’s Leadership

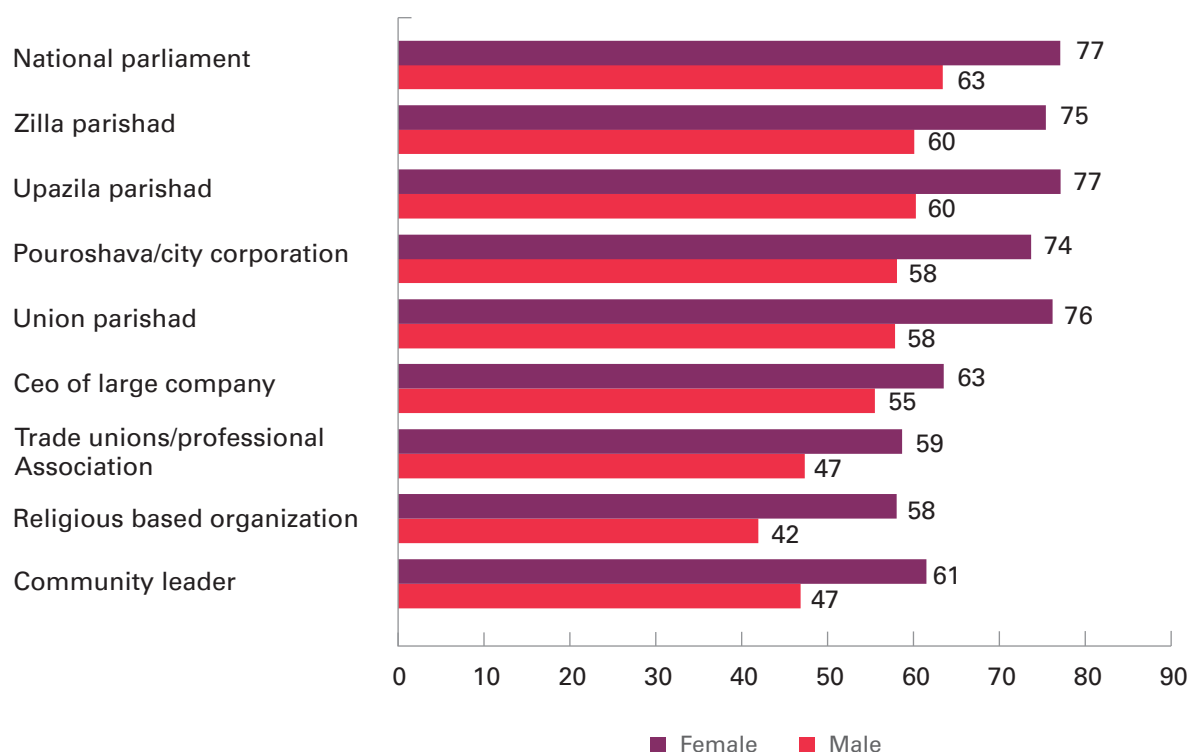
Since 1991, Bangladesh has been led by two female prime ministers. Khaleda Zia served as the Prime Minister from 1991 to 1996, and again from 2001 to 2006. Sheikh Hasina held the position from 1996 to 2001 and has been in office since 2009. While strong female leadership at the national level may influence social support for women’s leadership, however *Survey* data does not reflect this. Respondents are asked how much they support women’s leadership in various categories of organizations. Only 47.3% of people strongly support women’s leadership in the National Parliament. Respondents are more likely to support women’s leadership in government institutions (Zila Parishad, Upazila Parishad, Union Parishad) than NGOs. Respondents are least supportive of women’s leadership in community organizations (31.7%), religious-based organizations (30.8%), and professional associations (30.8%).

Figure 7.3: To what extent do you support women leadership in the following levels?



Women are significantly more supportive of female leadership than men. Figure 7.4 shows the percentage of respondents by gender who have strong or fair support for women in leadership roles across different types of organizations. Gender differences emerge, for example while a majority, 73.7% of female respondents support women leading government organizations, only 57.8% of males express the same sentiment. Support for female leadership in NGOs decreases for both men and women.

Figure 7.4: To what extent do you support women leadership in the following levels? (By gender)



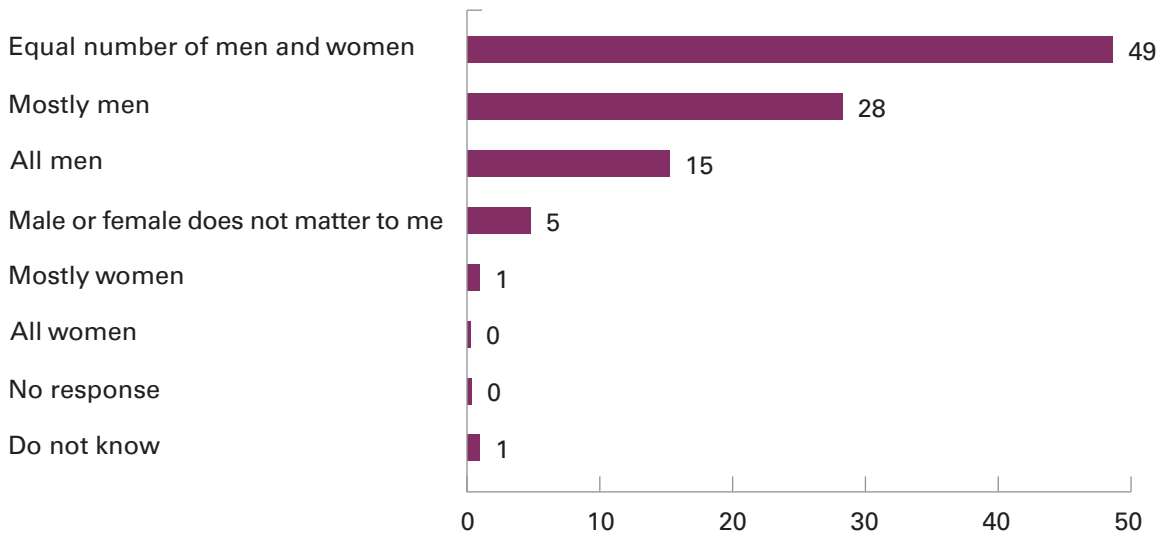
Educational attainment is also linked with support for women in leadership. Respondents with graduate degrees or higher consistently show the highest percentage of support across all organizations listed.

Table 7.3: To what extent do you support women leadership in the following levels? (By education)

Education qualification	Community leader	Religious based organization	Trade unions/professional association	CEO of large company	Union parishad	Pouroshava /City corporation	Upazila parishad	Zilla parishad	National parliament
Graduate and above	60	49	63	72	72	71	74	74	75
Up to higher secondary	54	49	56	63	67	67	69	69	74
Up to primary	53	50	52	57	67	66	69	68	70
No formal education	56	51	49	56	66	64	67	65	66

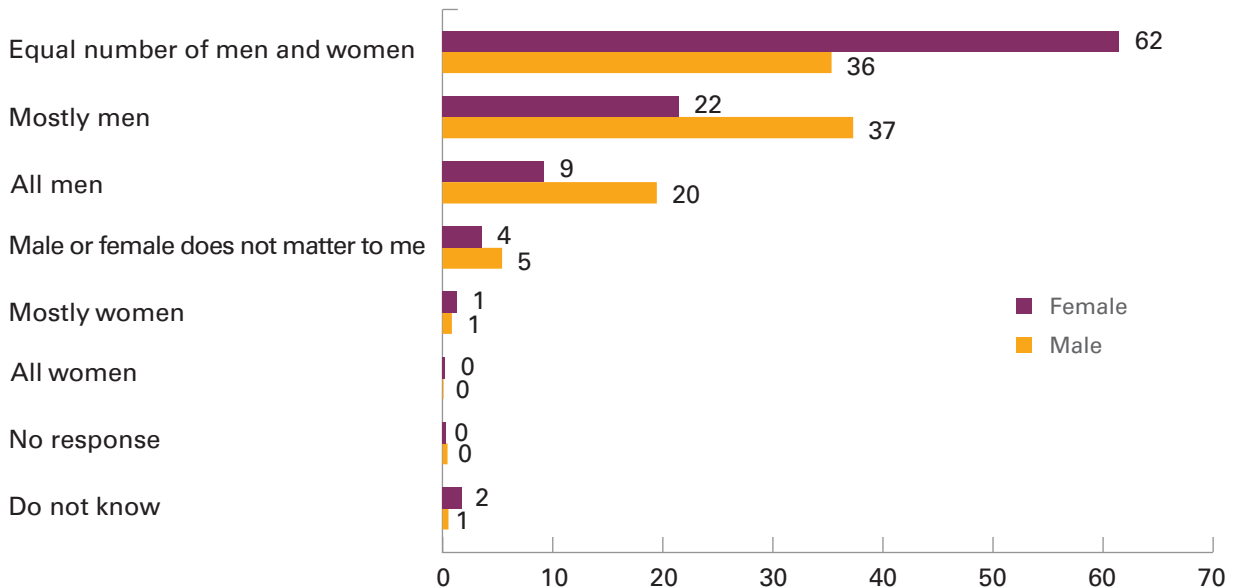
Respondents are asked their preference for the gender composition of the National Parliament. Nearly half (48.9%) favor an equal number of men and women. However, a notable portion (28.4%) still prefer a parliament with primarily men. Only 4.8% say gender is unimportant.

Figure 7.5: Do you think that Members of the National Parliament should be all men, mostly men, an equal number of men and women, mostly women, or all women?



More than half of female respondents (61.8%) want equal participation of men and women in parliament. Yet 9.3% of women state they prefer an all men National Parliament. Just over a third (35.5%) of men prefer equal participation of males and females, 21.6% prefer mostly men, and 19.6% prefer all men. The proportion of respondents stating “gender does not matter to them” is dismissible for both men and women.

Figure 7.6: Do you think that Members of the National Parliament should be all men, mostly men, equal number of men and women, mostly women, or all women? (By gender)



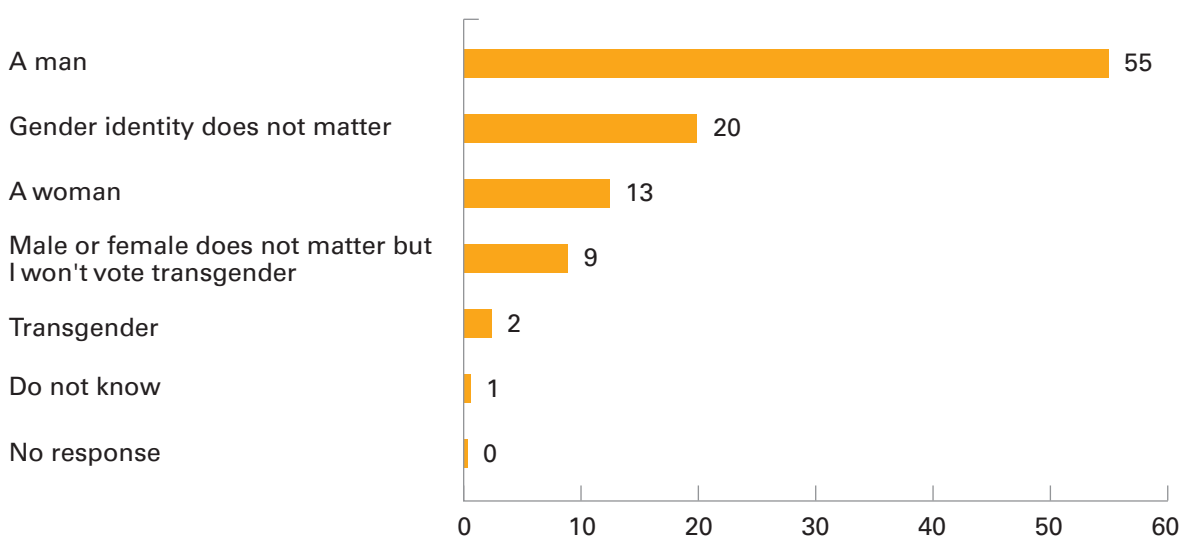
Interestingly, education level appears to have little influence on preference for gender parity in parliament. While respondents with no formal education (48.9%), and those with primary (49.0%) or secondary education (49.4%) show similar levels of support for an equal number of men and women, this support dips for those with graduate degrees or higher (40.9%). In fact, 38.2% of respondents with a graduate degree or above prefer a parliament with mostly men.

Table 7.4: Do you think that Members of the National Parliament should be all men, mostly men, an equal number of men and women, mostly women, or all women? (By education)

	Graduate and above	Up to higher secondary	Up to primary	No formal education
Equal number of men and women	41	49	49	49
Mostly men	38	32	28	28
All men	9	12	16	16
Male or female does not matter to me	11	6	4	3
Mostly women	0	1	1	2
All women	0	0	0	0
No response	1	0	0	1
Do not know	0	1	1	2

More than half (55.3%) of respondents prefer a male representative in the parliament when asked to choose between a male and a female with the same qualifications. Only 12.4% expressed a preference for a female representative, while 20.0% believed gender is not important. Less than a tenth (8.9%) indicate that they would not want a transgender person as a representative.

Figure 7.7: With the same qualification who do you prefer as a representative of your constituency in the National Parliament a man, a woman, a transgender or it makes no difference?

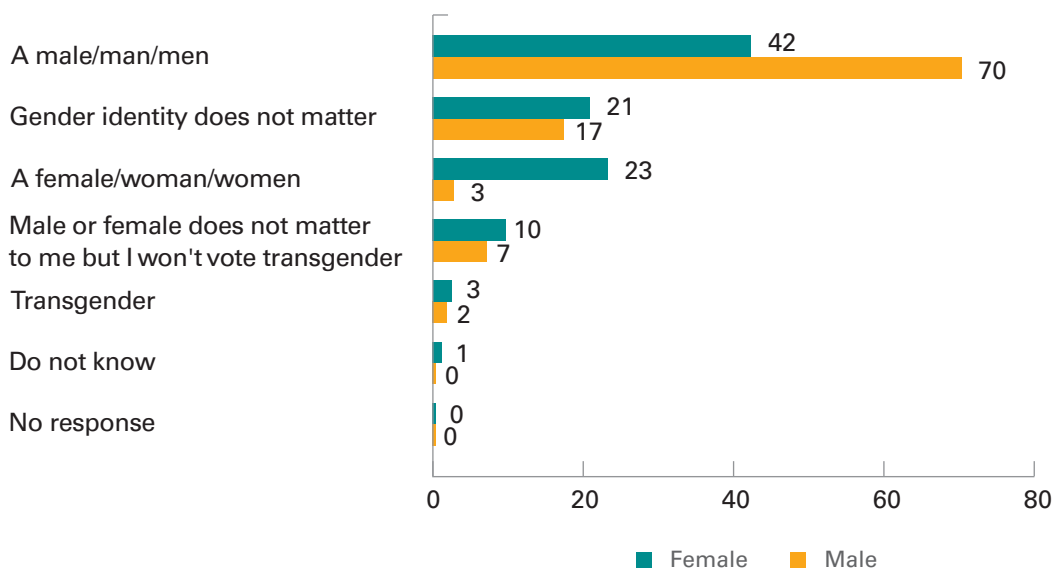


By gender, differences emerge. A large proportion of male respondents (70.1%) prefer a male leader, while only 2.8% of men favor a female leader. Interestingly, over a third of women (42.2%) also prefer a male leader.

When asked about preference for female leadership, a notable difference emerges here too. Female leadership is favoured by 23.3% of females compared to only 2.8% of males. For roughly one-fifth of both genders (20.8% females and 17.3% males), the leader's gender is not a significant factor.



Figure 7.8: With the same qualifications, who do you prefer as a representative of your constituency in the National Parliament a man, a woman, a transgender or it makes no difference? (By gender)



By division, the lowest proportion of respondents who prefer a male leader is in Rajshahi (44.1%) while the highest is in Barishal (62.5%). The proportion of people stating that gender doesn't matter is the highest in Khulna (27.2%) and the lowest in Sylhet (7.5%).

Table 7.5: Preferred gender of country leader (By division)

	Sylhet	Mymen singh	Rangpur	Rajshahi	Khulna	Dhaka	Chatto gram	Barisal
A male/man/men	57	61	58	44	55	54	55	63
Gender identity does not matter	8	17	17	21	27	22	21	11
A female/woman/women	22	11	16	7	9	15	16	21
Male or female does not matter to me but I won't vote transgender	8	8	5	25	4	7	4	1
Transgender	4	2	1	1	4	2	2	1
Do not know	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
No response	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1

08

# Digitalized Bangladesh, Social Media, and Policy Influence



## 8.1 Access to Mobile Phones and the Internet

Over the last decade, one of the most important priorities of the Bangladeshi government has been to bring about a digital revolution in the country<sup>18</sup>. Consequently, there has been a notable increase in mobile phone and Internet usage in recent years. Data from the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics and ICT Department reveals that currently 89.9% of individuals use mobile phones, with 30.9% opting for smartphones. Furthermore, there is an 8.2% increase in mobile phone usage over the past decade.<sup>19</sup>

Findings from the *Survey of the Bangladeshi People* also illustrate this: a majority of respondents own a mobile phone (80.3%), slightly lower than the 2022 findings on mobile phone ownership (81.9%).

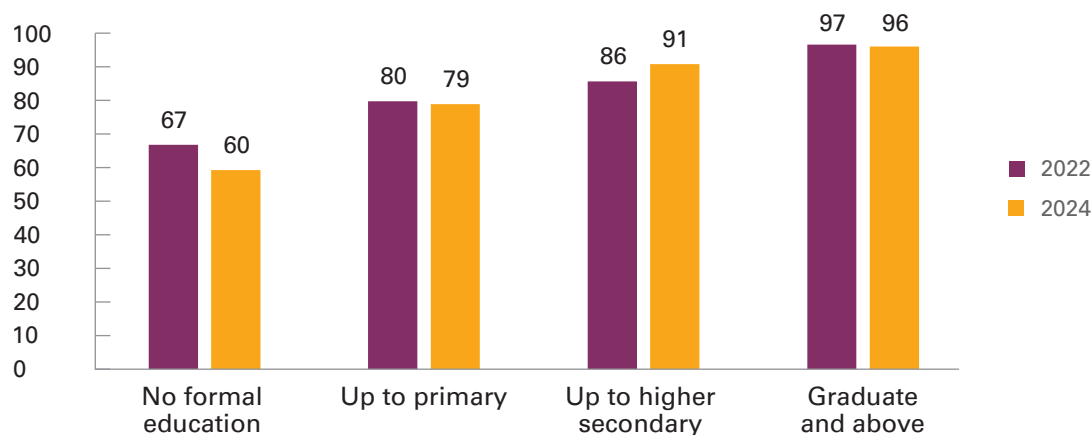
Mobile phone ownership is particularly prominent among respondents aged 26–35 years, with 88.1%. Additionally, access to mobile Internet is highest among the younger age group with 78.3% and overall 41.6% respondents have access to Internet.

Notably, 85.0% of individuals aged 55 and above who own a mobile phone report being unable to access the Internet through their devices.

By strata, there are negligible differences in mobile phone ownership (79.4% urban, 78.4% rural) and access to mobile Internet (43.3% urban, 41.2% rural).

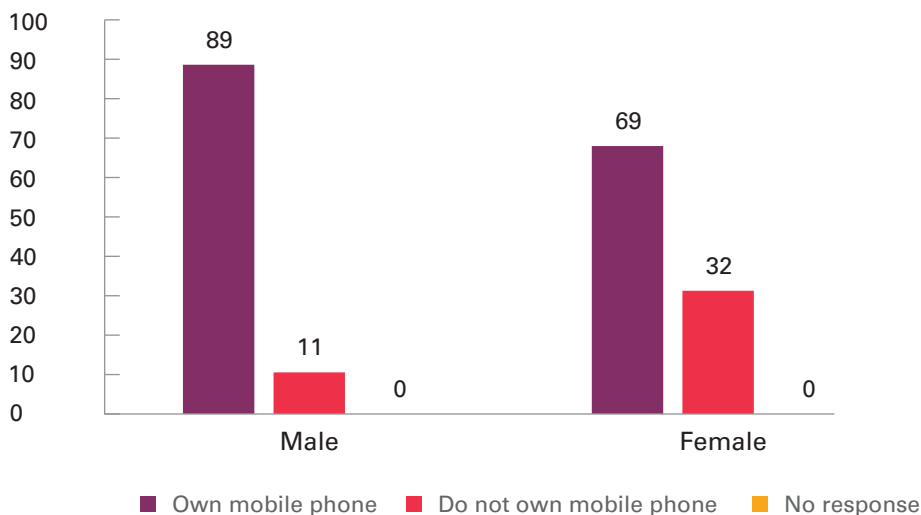
Mobile phone ownership increases with higher education (Figure 8.1). For instance, while 59.5% (compared to 66.7% in 2022) of respondents with no education own a mobile phone, this increases to 96.4% of respondents with graduate degrees or higher.

Figure 8.1: Mobile phone ownership (By education and year)



Furthermore, a gender disparity is observed in mobile phone ownership, with 89.3% of male respondents owning a mobile phone compared to 68.5% of female respondents (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2: Mobile phone ownership (By gender)



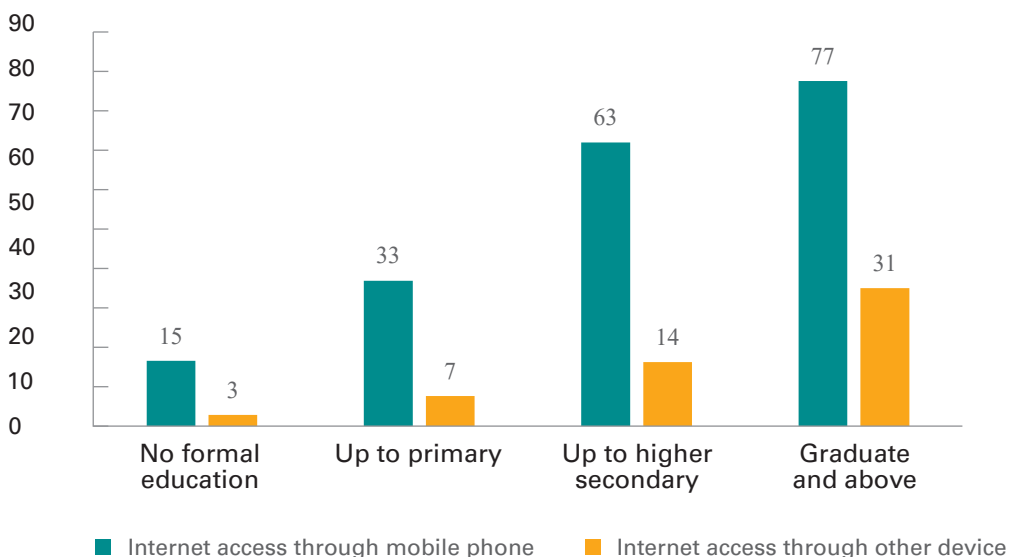
This trend also persisted in 2022 (91% male and 76% female) and 2019 (93.8% male and 84.5% female) surveys.

A similar pattern is observed for Internet access through personal mobile phone and access to the Internet through alternative means.

This trend continues by education and Internet usage. With increasing level of education, access to Internet usage also increase, as depicted in Figure 8.3. Among the respondents with mobile phone ownership, this represents 77.1% of those with graduate and above level of education who use the Internet, compared to 14.6% of respondents with no formal education.

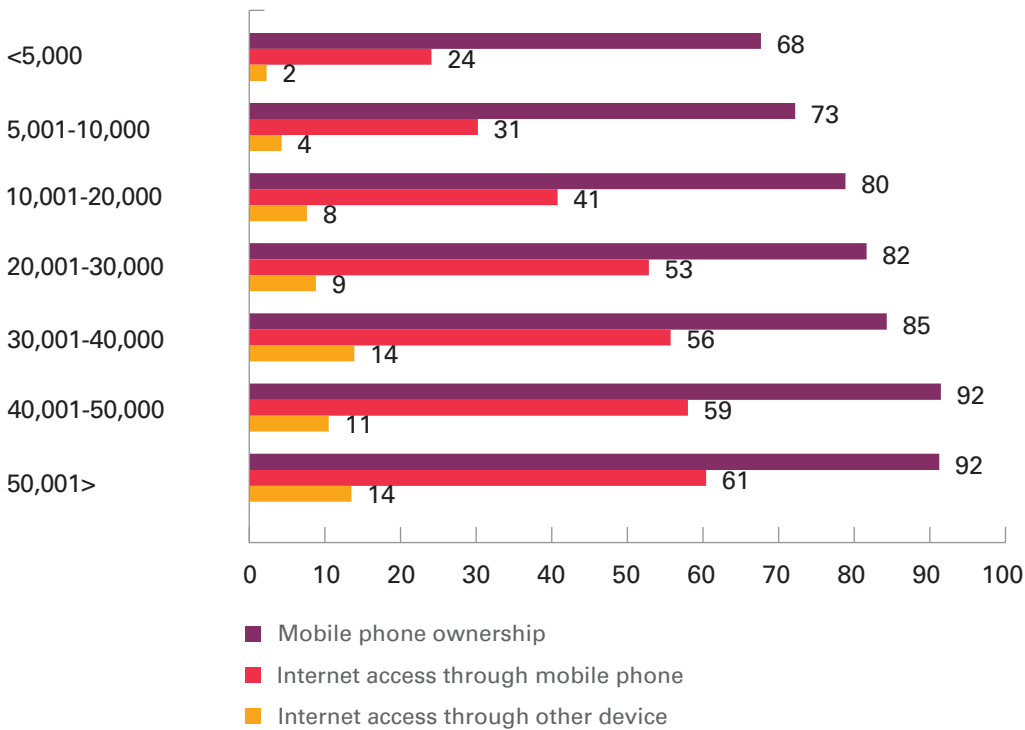
Moreover, respondents with no mobile phone access or with no access to the Internet through their mobile phone are asked if they use the Internet through other means. Among them, with increasing education access to the Internet through other means also increase.

Figure 8.3: Internet access (By education)



Additionally, mobile phone ownership and Internet access are positively associated with income. As income levels rise, so does access to mobile phones and the Internet (Figure 8.4). There is a higher percentage of individuals with higher incomes who own mobile phones (92.0%) and have Internet access (60.9%), compared to those in lower income brackets of less than 5,000 BDT (68.2% and 24.3% respectively).

Figure 8.4: Mobile phone ownership and Internet access (By income)



Gender differences also emerge regarding Internet access through mobile phones, 35.3% for women and 47.5% for men. Interestingly, no significant differences are observed among urban (35.7%) and rural (34.9%) women’s access to Internet through mobile phone.

Respondents who do not use the Internet are asked why they do not opt to, and up to three reasons are permitted. More than half (61.6%) say they do not know how to use mobile phones or the Internet as their first reason for not using the Internet, and 18.7% do not find the Internet useful or interesting. Moreover, 10.1% cite the high cost of the device as their first reason, 12.6% cite the high cost of Internet service as the second reason, and the same share of respondents cite this as the third reason for not using the Internet, as seen in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Reasons for not using the Internet (filtered by 4,027n who do not use the Internet)

	1st reason (N=4,027)	2nd reason (N=1,345)	3rd reason (N=806)
Do not need the Internet (not useful/not interesting)	19	8	8
Cost of the equipment is too high (phone, tablet, computer, etc.)	10	11	6
The cost of Internet service is too high	5	13	13
Privacy or security concerns	0	0	1
Internet services are not available in this area	0	0	1
Internet service is available, but it is too slow	0	0	1
Cultural reasons (exposure to harmful content)	1	2	2
Lack of local content	0	0	0
No electricity in the household	0	0	0
Language barriers	0	0	1
Do not know how to use mobile/Internet	62	18	12
Other	2	5	7
No response	1	43	50

(Note: Frequencies of responses (N) varies as fraction of respondents who do not use Internet couldn't prioritize their reasons.)

By gender, minor differences are evident. Sixty-five percent of women cite a lack of knowledge on how to use the mobile phone/ Internet as a reason for not accessing it, and the same reason is given by 62.1% of the men.

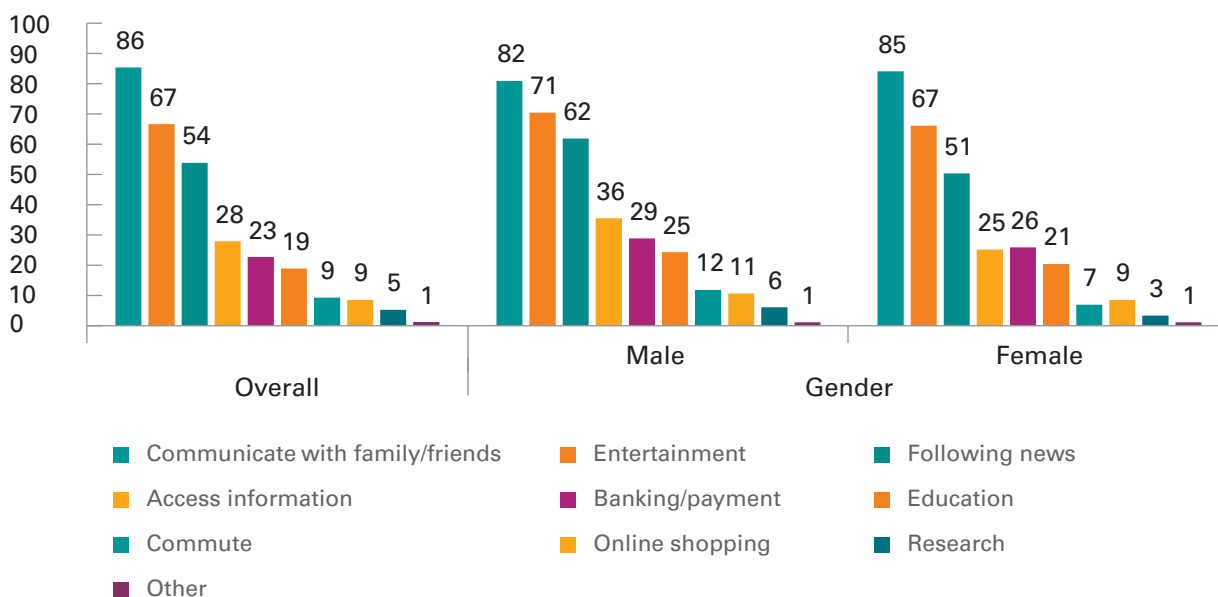
Although among all demographics, not knowing how to use a mobile phone/ Internet is the primary reason for not using the Internet, 44.4% of those with a graduate degree or above say the Internet is not useful or interesting, on the other hand, only 8.9% of respondents with no formal education choose this reason. Moreover, with a lower level of education, the response for do not know how to use mobile/ Internet increases: 35.2% of respondents with a graduate degree, 45.6% with up to a higher secondary school degree, 61.2% with up to a primary school degree, and 77.9% of respondents with no formal education choose this option.

### 8.1.1 Communicating Through the Internet

The 46.2% of respondents who use Internet through their own device and 7.1% of respondents who use Internet through alternative means, are asked about their Internet usage activities (Figure 8.5). Among this cohort, the top responses cited were communicating with friends and family (86.2%), entertainment (67.3%), and following news (54.3%).

Some differences in usage exist by gender. For example, 85.0% of female respondents use the Internet for communication, compared to 81.8% of male respondents. Half of female respondents use the Internet to follow the news (50.9%), while the figure is 62.5% for males.

Figure 8.5: Reasons for using the Internet



No notable variations are observed across locations.

As depicted in Table 8.2, Internet usage is more popular among younger respondents aged 18–25 years as a communication platform (87.0%), for entertainment (81.1%), accessing information (36.0%), banking/payment (31.3%), and education (34.1%). The exception to this trend is among those who follow the news, more popular among respondents aged 46–55 (61.2%). Overall, the reasons for Internet usage remains consistent across all age groups except for following news.

Table 8.2: Reasons for using Internet (By age)

	18–25 years of age	26–35 years of age	36–45 years of age	46–55 years of age	55+ years
Communicate with family/friends	87	83	81	80	77
Entertainment	81	73	62	55	47
Following news	57	57	58	61	60
Access information	36	32	29	29	28
Banking/payment	31	29	26	22	21
Education	34	20	18	16	13
Online shopping	13	11	8	7	4
Commute	12	10	8	9	6
Research	5	5	5	7	3
Other	1	2	1	1	1

Respondents with Internet access are asked about their preferred communication platforms. The majority use IMO (68.4%), Facebook (56.1%), WhatsApp (53.6%), and Messenger (44.6%). Apart from IMO, all other platforms are more popular among men than women, consistent with findings from 2019 and 2022 (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3: Use of communication platform (By gender)

	Male	Female
IMO	66	72
Facebook	70	49
WhatsApp	62	46
Messenger	56	41
Instagram	8	2
Twitter	4	2
Telegram	3	1
Viber	1	0
Skype	1	0
None	4	3
No response	0	1
Other	4	4

Consistent with the increase in education levels is the popularity of WhatsApp, Facebook, and Messenger. Conversely, IMO emerges as the most popular platform among respondents with up to primary level of education. Facebook is particularly popular among respondents aged 18–25 years (73.8%), while IMO is more popular among individuals aged 26-35 (72.4%).

By division, IMO is the most popular platform among respondents from all divisions except for Rangpur. IMO, Facebook, WhatsApp, and Messenger are the top four communication platforms across all divisions. Notably, 8.5% of respondents in Rangpur reported not using any communication platform, compared to just 0.1% in Sylhet (Table 8.4).

Table 8.4: Use of communication platform (By division)

	Barisal	Chattogram	Dhaka	Khulna	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Mymensingh	Sylhet
Imo	64	75	70	61	64	38	77	57
Facebook	59	70	48	49	57	69	62	56
WhatsApp	53	62	48	56	51	47	51	82
Messenger	46	45	41	50	56	46	62	32
Instagram	9	4	3	4	8	3	2	7
Telegram	3	2	3	0	3	1	3	2
Twitter	2	1	4	1	3	2	2	3
Viber	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Skype	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	17	8	0	1	3	10	2	5
None	4	2	1	3	5	9	3	0
No Response	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1



## 8.2 Use of Facebook

Among the 56.1% who utilize Facebook, respondents are asked their reasons for using the platform. Approximately, 60.0% utilize Facebook to access national news, 59.8% for entertainment, 47.5% for communicating with family and friends, 23.5% for sharing news/ideas/concerns, and 16.1% for viewing pictures. Similar trends were noted in the 2022 *Survey* for all categories, though with a sharp increase in percentages.

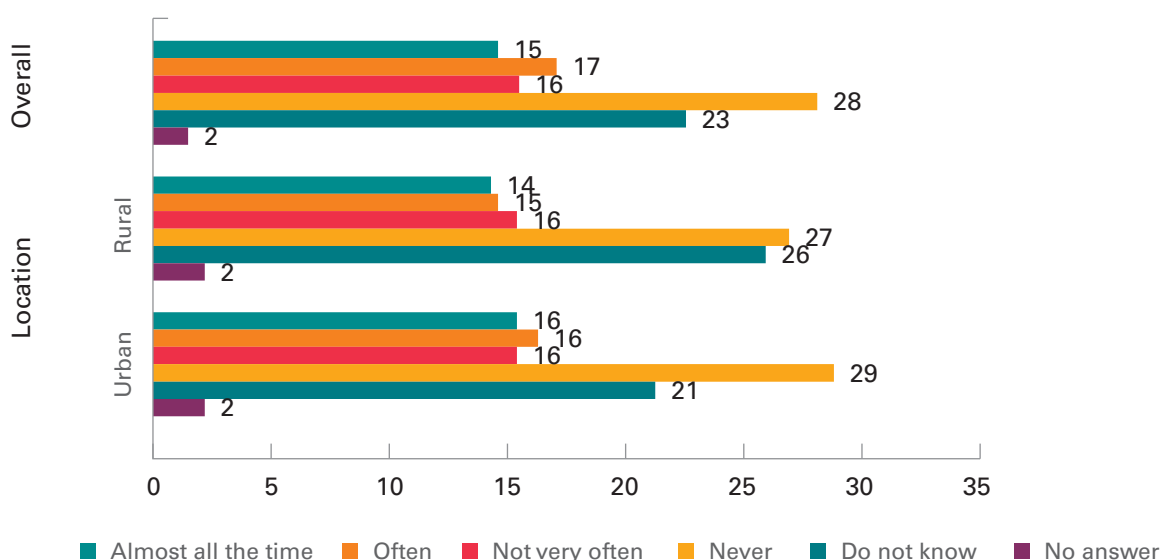
On the other hand, by gender, 65.4% of men use Facebook to obtain national news, compared to 60.3% of women, reflecting a similar trend observed in the 2022. Conversely, 66.2% of women use Facebook for entertainment, compared to only 58.7% of men who mentioned doing so.

Younger respondents (aged 18 to 25) are more likely to say they use Facebook to share news/ideas/concerns and educational purposes (33.9%), than the older age group (aged 46 to 55, 17.3%).

### 8.2.1 Ensuring Accountability through Facebook

Respondents are asked if they believe Facebook can ensure accountability of the state. Less than half (43.9%) believe Facebook cannot contribute to ensuring accountability of the state (combining "not very often" and "never") as illustrated in Figure 8.6. This is notably lower than the 55% recorded in 2022. Nearly a third (31.9%) believe citizens can ensure accountability (merging almost all the time and often) through Facebook, slightly higher than 27.0% in 2022. Differences by location are negligible, except rural respondents are somewhat more likely to respond they do not know than urban respondents (26.1% rural and 21.4% urban).

Figure 8.6: Ensuring accountability through Facebook



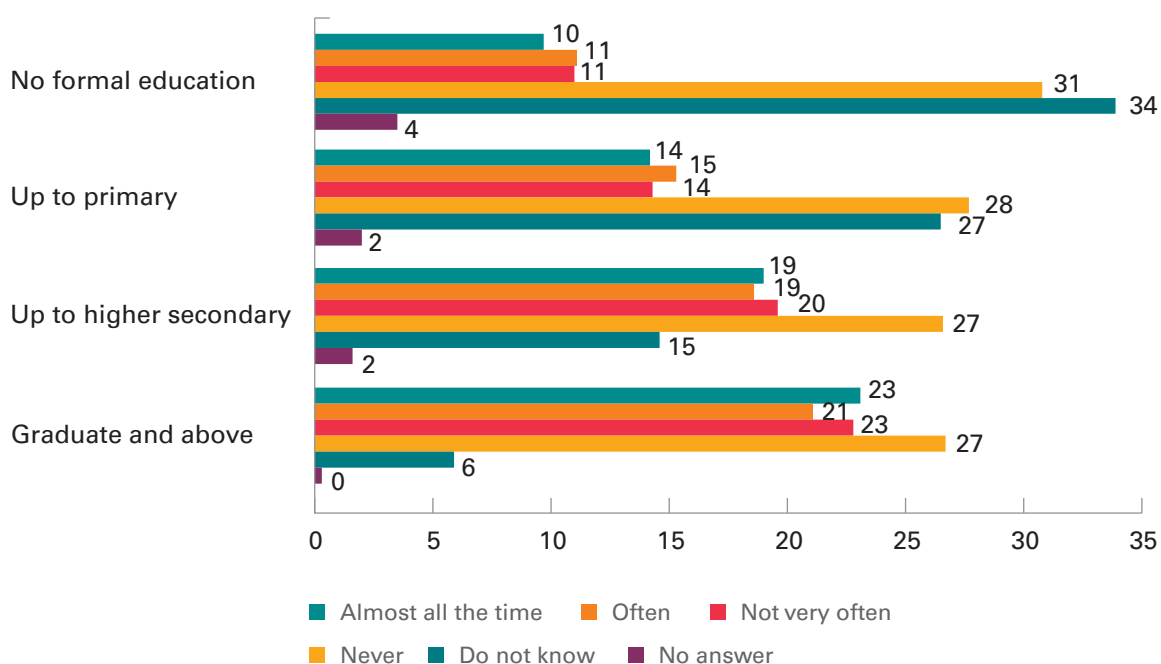
Moreover, belief in ensuring state accountability through Facebook decreases with age, with 37.3% of those aged 18–25 years compared to 23.9% aged 55 and above as shown in Table 8.5 (combining "almost all the time" and "often").

Table 8.5: Ensuring accountability through Facebook (By age)

	18–25 years of age	26–35 years of age	36–45 years of age	46–55 years of age	55+ years
Almost all the time	19	18	15	14	11
Often	19	18	16	14	13
Not very often	21	18	15	14	12
Never	30	28	29	27	27
Do not know	11	17	24	29	34
No answer	1	1	2	2	3

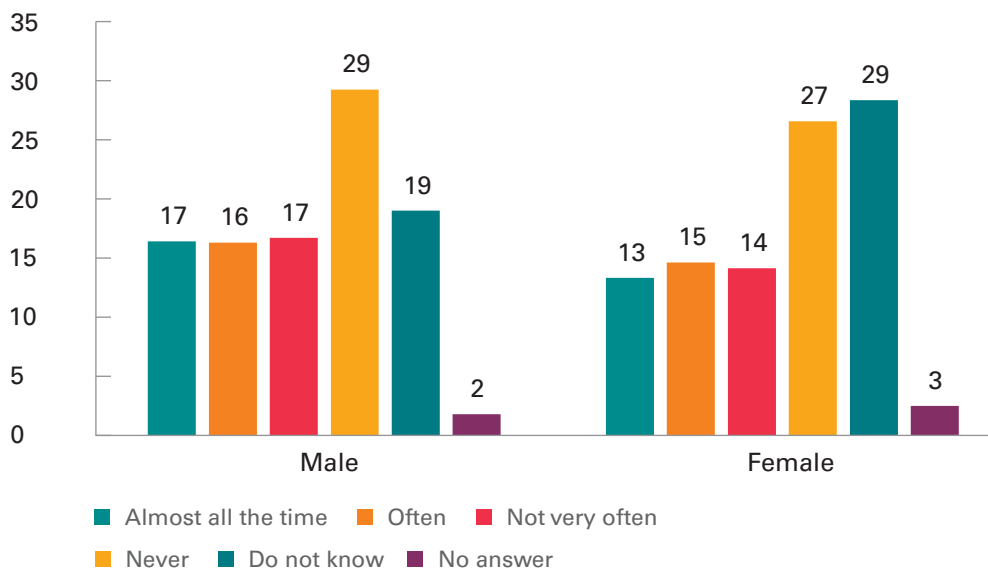
However, with increasing levels of education, pessimism regarding Facebook's ability to ensure accountability of the state increases, for example 44.2% of respondents with graduate degrees and above, compared to 20.8% of respondents with no formal education share this sentiment (Figure 8.7).

Figure 8.7: Ensuring accountability through Facebook (By education)



Additionally, 32.9% of male respondents say Facebook can be used to make the state responsive, compared to 28.1% of female respondents (Figure 8.8).

Figure 8.8: Ensuring accountability through Facebook (By gender)

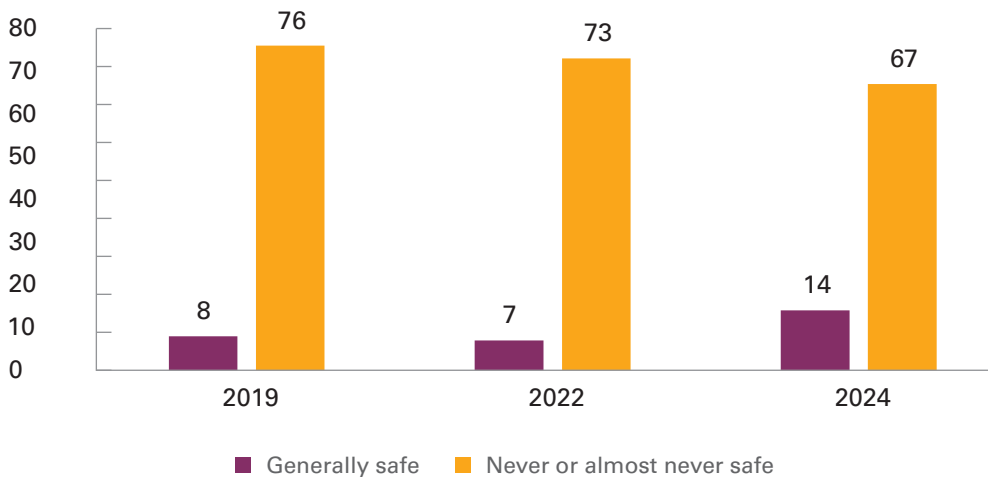


There are no notable differences by income as respondents across all income groups share a consistent view on whether citizens can ensure state responsiveness through Facebook.

### 8.2.2 Posting Opinions on Facebook

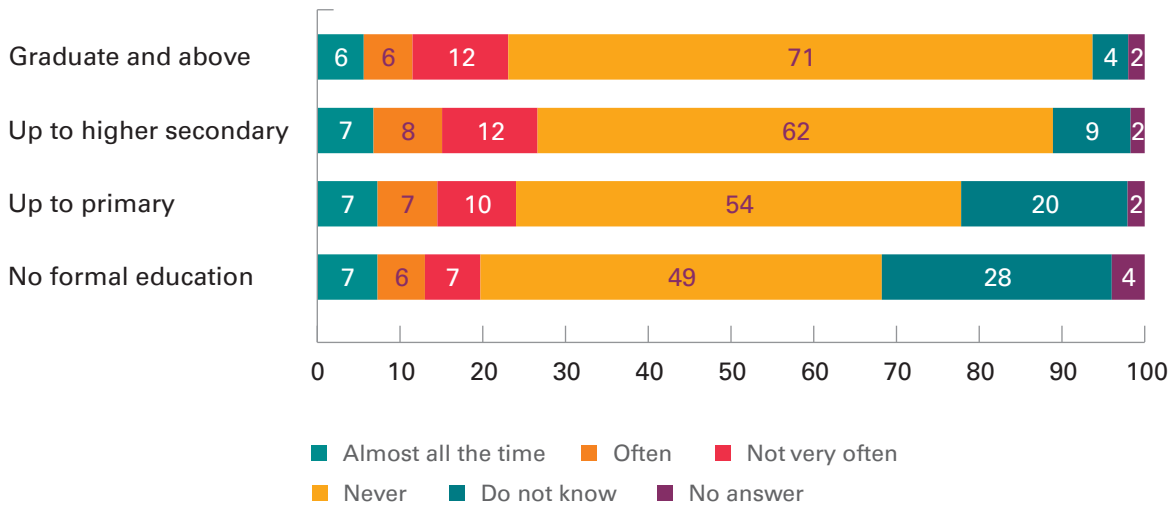
Respondents are asked if they feel safe posting their opinion on Facebook regarding political governance of Bangladesh. More than half express reluctance to post their political opinions. In fact, 66.5% say they never or not very often feel safe doing so, while only 13.9% claim they often or almost always feel secure expressing such opinions. These findings are relatively lower than 73% in 2022, and 76% in 2019 (Figure 8.9).

Figure 8.9: Do you feel safe to post your opinion regarding political governance of Bangladesh? (By year)



Not feeling safe to share political opinions increases with higher education levels (Figure 8.10). For instance, 82.2% of respondents with a graduate degree or above express this sentiment, compared to 55.2% of respondents with no formal education, aligning with the trend observed in 2022.

Figure 8.10: Do you feel safe to post your opinion regarding political governance of Bangladesh? (By education)



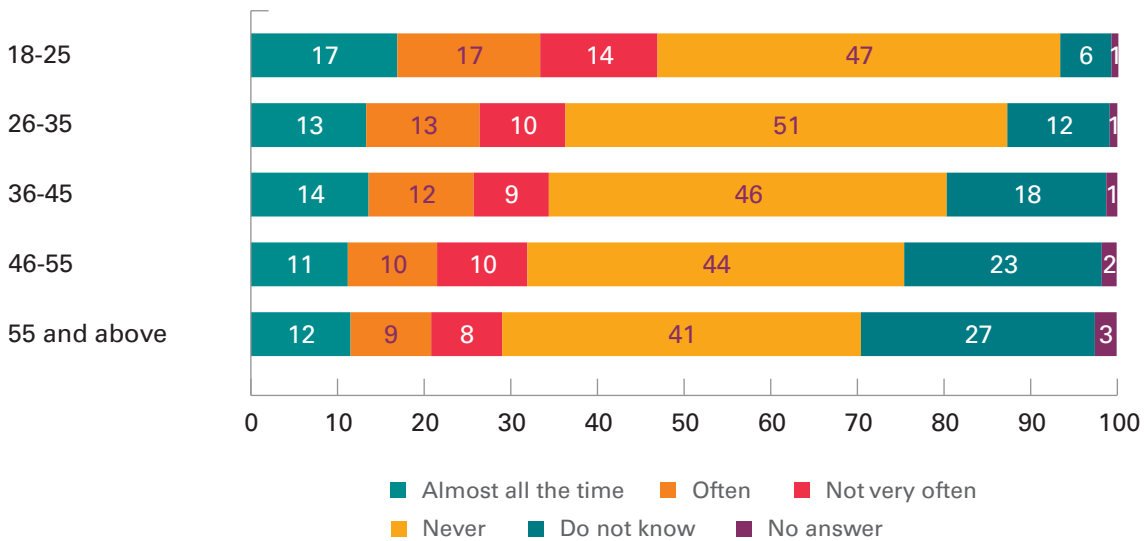
Notably, no significant differences are observed by location or income group.

Over half of respondents (57.8%) say they feel unsafe posting, liking, or sharing their opinions on social issues on Facebook.

By gender, there are differences: 28.4% of men and 22.0% of women mention feeling safe doing so.

Additionally, as age increases, the sense of safety in posting about social issues on Facebook decreases (Figure 8.11).

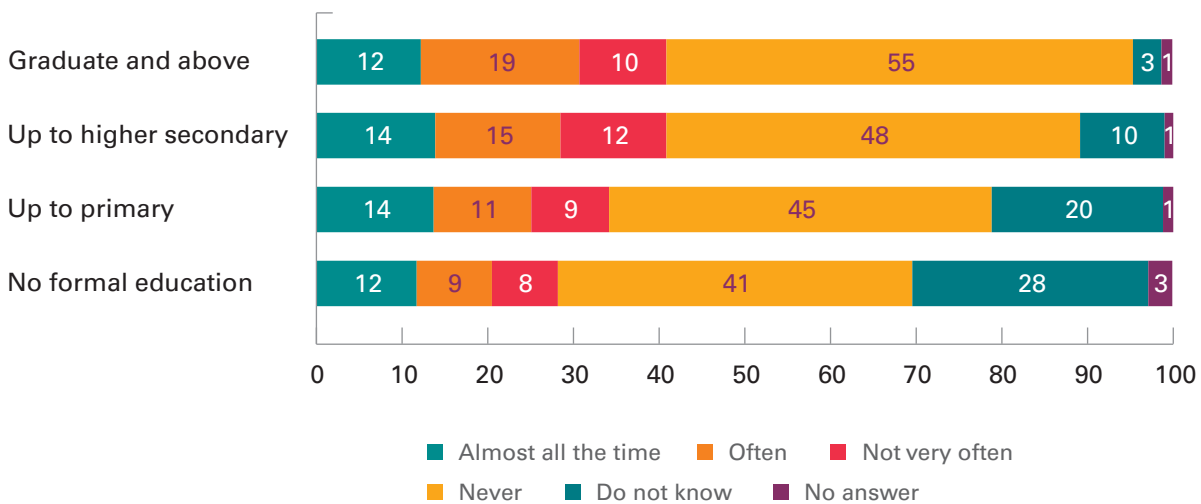
Figure 8.11: Do you feel safe posting opinions regarding the country's social issues on Facebook? (By age)



While there are no discernible differences by location, opinions vary by education level, as illustrated in Figure 8.12.

Respondents with higher levels of education are more hesitant to post regarding social issues on Facebook. Individuals with higher education are often more inclined to engage in discussions on social issues. They may also be more aware of the potential consequences of sharing controversial content on Facebook, especially considering the legal implications under The Digital Security Act, 2018 (amended as Cyber Security Act in 2023).

Figure 8.12: Do you feel safe posting opinions regarding the country's social issues on Facebook? (By education)



Additionally, opinions vary among income groups, but no discernible trend is evident.

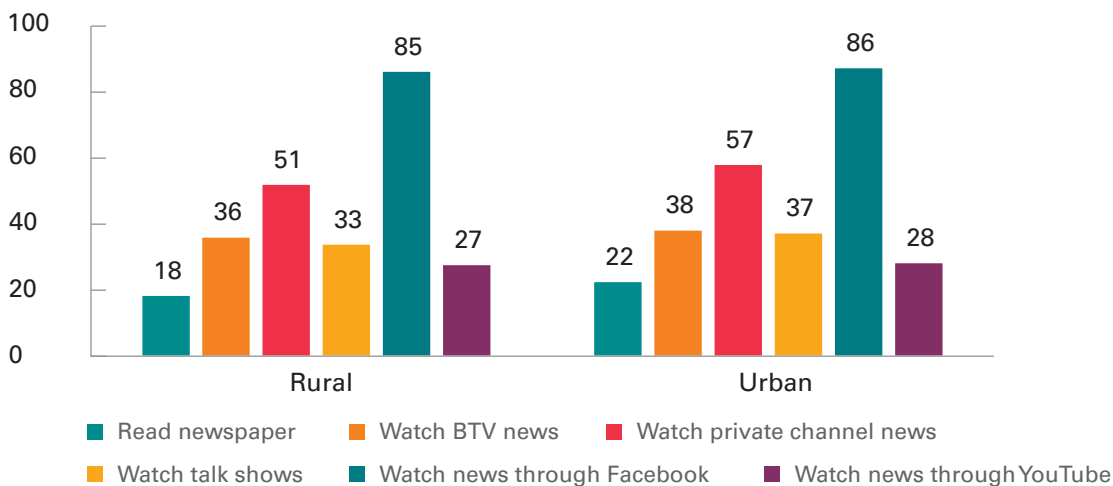
## 8.3 Freedom of Speech and Press

### 8.3.1 Trust in Media

Respondents are asked if they watch news through a variety of media sources. *Survey* findings show 81.9% of Internet users watch the news through Facebook, 56.8% watch the news via private channels, 36.8% tune into BTV news, and an equal proportion watch talk shows. Additionally, 30.8% view the news on YouTube, while 22.0% prefer traditional newspapers.

As shown in Figure 8.13, urban participants are more likely to read newspaper, than their rural counterparts (22.1% vs. 17.9%, respectively).

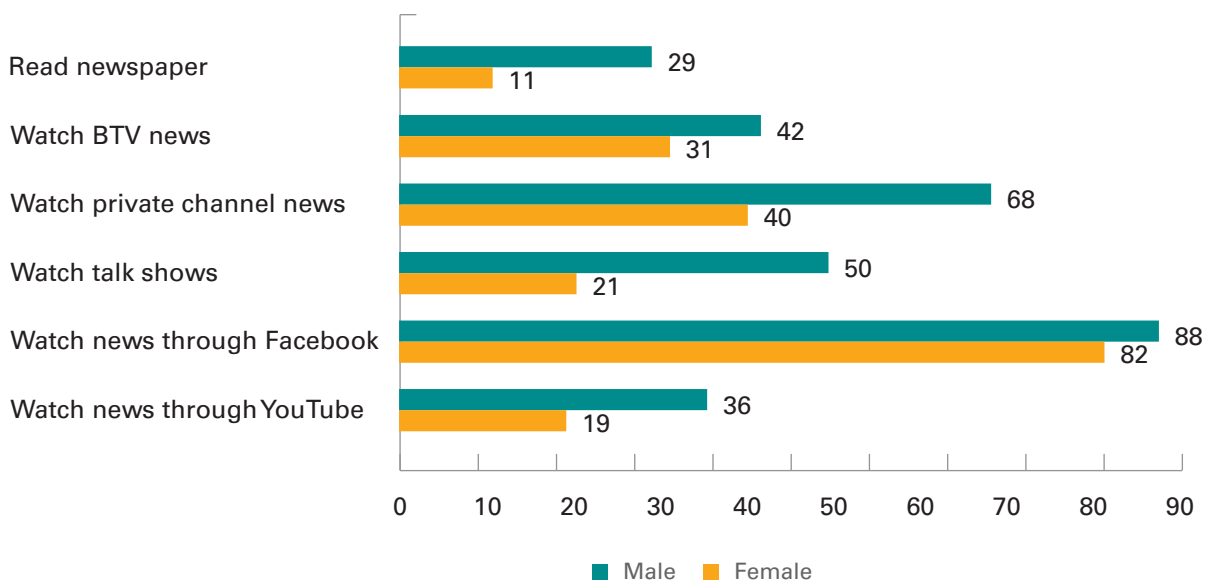
Figure 8.13: Preferred media sources (By location)



The percentage of individuals watching news through YouTube decreases with age (50.0% of respondents aged 18–25 years compared to 10.1% of respondents aged 55 and above).

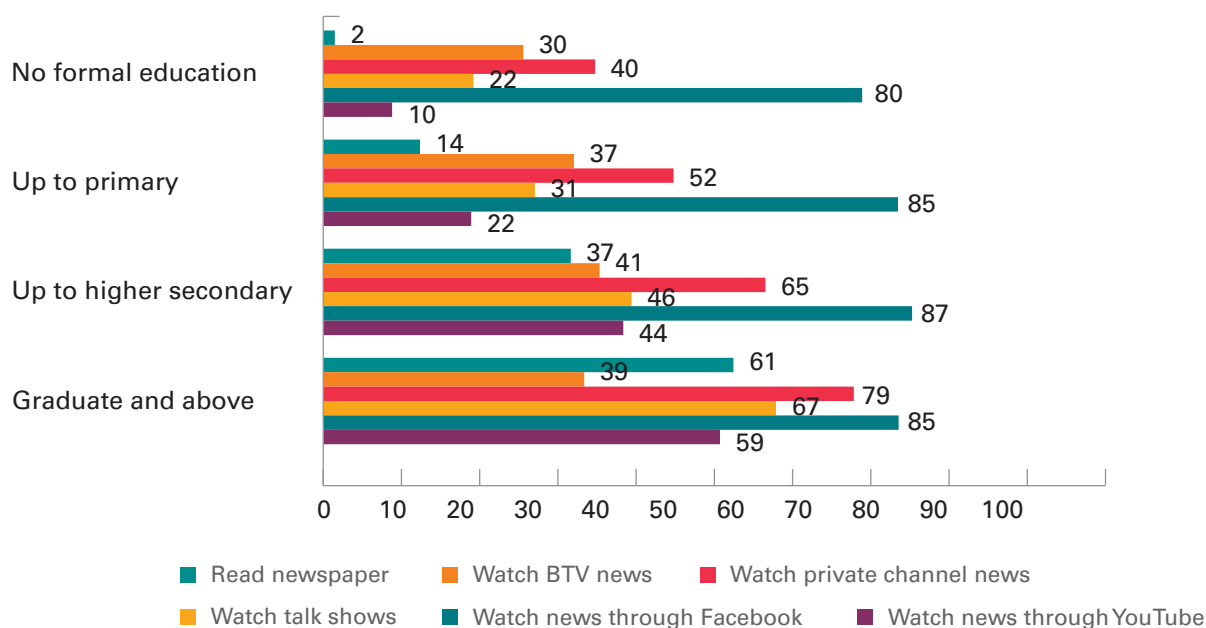
Furthermore, the proportion of men watching news through various channels and print media is higher than that of women (Figure 8.14).

Figure 8.14: Preferred media sources (By gender)



Reading newspapers, watching news on private channels and talk shows, and viewing news through YouTube increases with higher levels of education, from 10.2% of respondents with no formal education to 58.7% with a graduate and above degree (Figure 8.15).

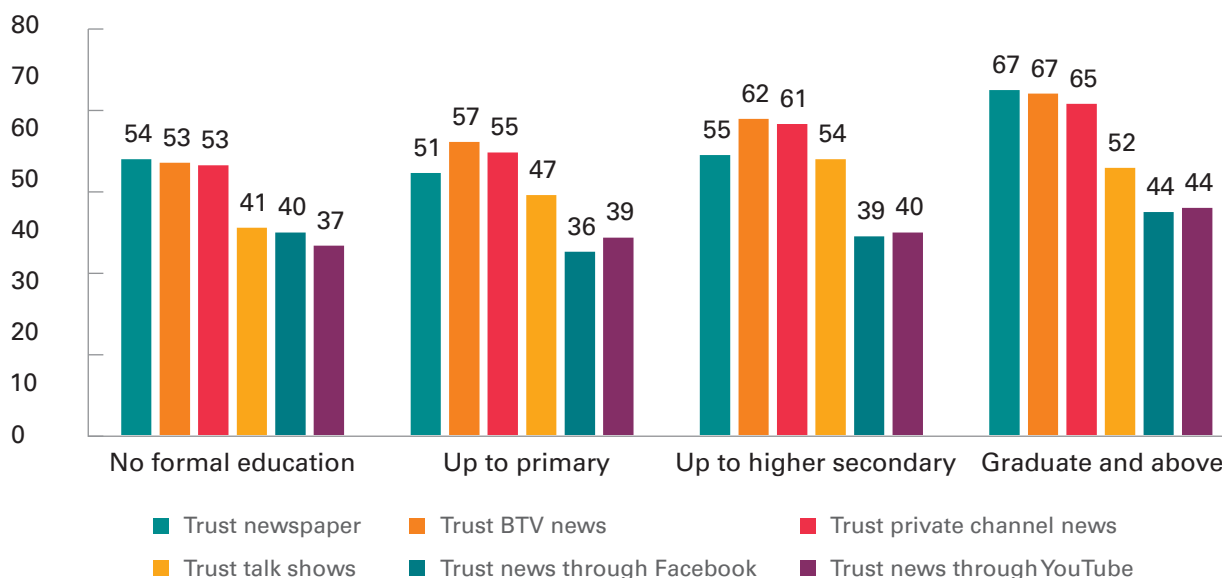
Figure 8.15: Preferred media sources (By education)



Respondents are asked if they trust certain media. Less than half, 46.7% trust newspapers, 55.1% trust BTV news, 52.4% trust private channel news, 37.3% respondents have trust in Facebook news, and 35.7% trust YouTube channel news, Moreover, 40.8% think that talk shows are useful.

As education increases, respondents' trust in different media increases, except for newspapers, talk shows, and Facebook news. Respondents with up to higher secondary and above have a higher level of trust in talk shows (Figure 8.16).

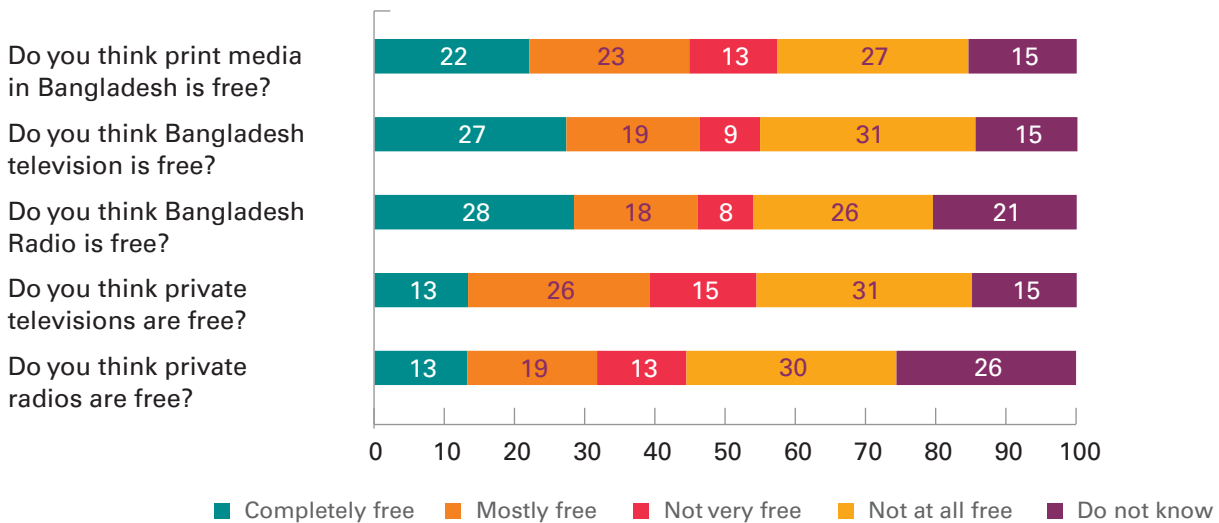
Figure 8.16: Trust in media (By education)



### 8.3.2 Freedom of Media

Respondents are asked their opinions about the freedom of media and if certain media channels can operate independently without any external influence. Respondents perceive Bangladesh Television (46.3%) and Bangladesh Radio (46.0%) as capable of operating independently. In contrast, private radios are perceived to be subject to control by external sources, as illustrated in Figure 8.17.

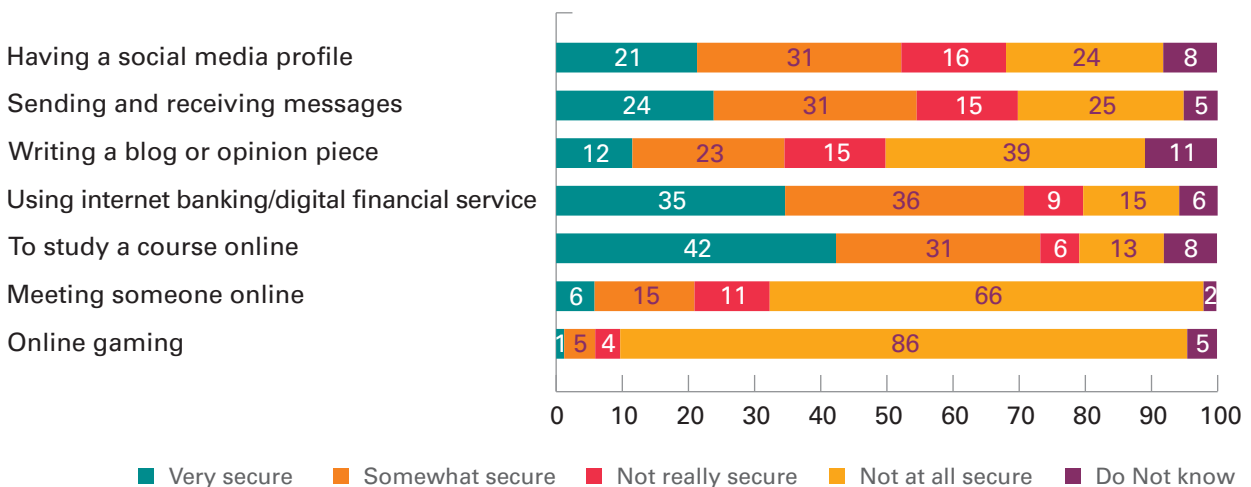
Figure 8.17: Freedom of media



### 8.4 Sense of Security Using the Internet

Respondents who use the Internet are asked if they feel safe conducting different activities online. A majority, 89.5% of respondents consider online gaming to be unsafe, while 77.0% share similar concerns about meeting someone online (combining "not at all secure" and "not really secure" responses). In contrast, the majority of respondents perceive studying an online course and using digital financial services to be secure (73.2% and 70.7%, respectively, combining "very secure" and "somewhat secure"). Conversely, 54.5% of respondents express concern about the safety of writing a blog or opinion piece on the Internet or social media, as depicted in Figure 8.18.

Figure 8.18: Feeling of security using the Internet





Differences emerge by gender. Women tend to feel less secure while using the Internet for various purposes, compared to men. For instance, while 62.9% of men report feeling secure having a social media profile, this is lower at 48.8% for women ("very secure" and "somewhat secure"). Similar trends are noted across all activities, see Table 8.6.

Table 8.6: Feeling of security using Internet (By gender)

	Male	Female
Having a social media profile	63	49
Sending and receiving messages	59	50
Writing a blog or opinion piece	42	34
Using Internet banking/digital financial service	73	65
To study a course online	71	70
Meeting someone online	28	14
Online gaming	9	4

No significant differences emerge by division, income, or education level.



09

**Security  
and Violence**

In recent years, Bangladesh has experienced violence by terrorists, militants, and political groups. Some of the most notable incidents include political violence with petrol bomb attacks, the Holey Artisan Bakery terrorist attack in 2016, multiple murders of bloggers in 2015 and 2016, and forced disappearances.<sup>20 21 22 23</sup> While terrorist activities have been declining, other forms of violence have given rise to safety concerns among the population.<sup>24 25</sup> Issues of theft, murder, violence against women, and other forms of violence have also been documented recently.<sup>26</sup> However, there is a lack of publicly available information detailing the prevalence rates of violent activities. This section shares citizens' perceptions regarding the kind of violence they observe locally and nationally, their fear of safety regarding participating in different activities, and the reasons for their fear of participation.

## 9.1 Causes of Violence Nationally

Survey respondents are asked about the most significant cause of violence in the country, with up to three responses recorded. Among all respondents, political conflict (42.9%) is the most common response (see Table 9.1). The response is cited as the second (10.7%) and the third (4.5%) significant cause of violence. Other responses include family issues (5.1%), drugs (4.9%), murder (2.1%), etc. A minority of respondents cannot articulate a cause of violence (11.6%) in the country. Many say they do not know of any causes in their second (23.4%) and third (32.3%) responses.

Table 9.1: In your view, what is Bangladesh's most significant cause of violence?

	1st reason (N=6,510)	2nd reason (N=5,539)	3rd reason (N=3,914)
Political conflict	43	11	5
Forceful occupation of property	6	10	6
Corruption	5	6	4
Family issues	5	6	5
Drugs	5	5	5
Creating influence in locality	3	8	7
Murder	2	2	1
Strike/Hartals and political violence	2	3	3
Theft	2	3	4
Kishore gang/Teenage crime	2	1	3
No answer	2	4	4
Others	11	18	21
Do not know	12	23	32

There is a notable shift in the perceived causes of violence, compared to the 2017 and 2018 findings (see Table 9.2). In 2024, a notable proportion of respondents cite political conflict (42.9%) as the primary cause, a change from previous years when corruption, theft, robbery, murder, and deteriorating conditions of law and order were more commonly cited. This shift could be attributed to the recent national elections and the ensuing political climate. Notably, responses indicating forceful occupation of property and teenage crime appear to be on the rise recently.

Table 9.2: In your view, what is the most significant cause of violence in Bangladesh? (By year)

	2017	2018	2024
Political conflict	28	31	43
Forceful occupation of property	1	2	6
Family issues	5	6	5
Corruption	19	10	5
Drugs	6	9	5
Theft, robbery, murder	13	11	5
Creating influence in locality	2	4	3
Strike/Hartals and political violence	2	6	2
Kishore gang/teenage crime	-	-	2
Extortion	3	5	1
Law & order situation	7	9	1
Others	10	4	8
No answer	-	-	2
Do not know	4	5	12

By division, differences in perceived causes of violence are evident (Table 9.3). Political conflict as the most significant cause of violence is most often cited in Barishal (57.9%) and least frequently in Sylhet (28.7%). Forceful occupation of property is more common in Mymensingh (12.8%) and Sylhet (11.6%). Drugs are more commonly cited by respondents in Dhaka (8.2%).

Table 9.3: Causes of violence in Bangladesh (selected) (By division)

	Barisal	Chatto gram	Dhaka	Khulna	Raj shahi	Rang pur	Mymen singh	Sylhet
Political conflict	58	37	45	49	48	35	42	29
Forceful occupation of property	5	5	7	4	5	5	13	12
Drugs	2	1	8	2	6	5	5	1
Theft, robbery, murder	3	5	5	3	4	7	3	5
Corruption	3	4	6	6	5	5	9	3

## 9.2 Causes of Violence Locally

When asked to cite their community's most significant causes of violence, interestingly, 20.5% say violent acts are uncommon or non-existent in their community, in their first response (Table 9.4). A smaller proportion say they are unaware of any violence occurring. 6.9% forceful occupation of property (16.3%), political conflict (12.8%), and family issues (12.6%) are cited as the most common reasons for violence in the community.

Table 9.4: In your view, what is the biggest cause of violence in your community?

	1st reason	2nd reason	3rd reason
Does not happen	21	11	8
Forceful occupation of property	16	12	4
Political conflict	13	7	4
Family issues	13	11	11
Drugs	8	6	5
Creating influence in locality	5	6	6
Theft	4	4	5
Kishore gang/teenage crime	3	2	3
Corruption	2	3	4
Mastani	2	2	3
No answer	1	2	2
Do not know	7	22	32
Others	8	14	14

Interestingly, the forceful occupation of property is the only response cited more often in 2024 than in previous years (Table 9.5). The perception that violence ‘does not happen’ is common in 2024 but was not cited in previous years. A possible reason for this could be a methodological difference across the years. In 2017 and 2018, respondents were asked to provide unlimited responses to this question; in 2024, this was limited to three, with the order of responses (first, second, and third) also recorded. Comparability across the years is thus caveated.

Table 9.5: In your view, what is the most significant cause of violence in your community? (By year)

Biggest cause of violence in your community? (1st reason)	2017	2018	2024 (N=6,510)
Does not happen	-	-	21
Forceful occupation of property	8	6	16
Political conflict	15	16	13
Family issues	-	-	13
Drugs	14	14	8
Creating influence in the locality/gain local control	6	10	5
Theft, robbery, murder	15	13	5
Mastani	5	3	2
Corruption	15	7	2
Extortion	3	6	1
Do not know	-	-	7
No answer	-	-	1
Others	8	7	8

By division, respondents from Chattogram (32.5%), Sylhet (32.8%), and Khulna (28%) are most likely to say violence is non-existent in their communities. Forceful occupation of property is most frequently (28.9%) cited by Mymensingh respondents (Table 9.6). Interestingly, when asked about the biggest cause of violence nationally, Mymensingh respondents have the highest proportion who also identify the same response (see Table 9.3).

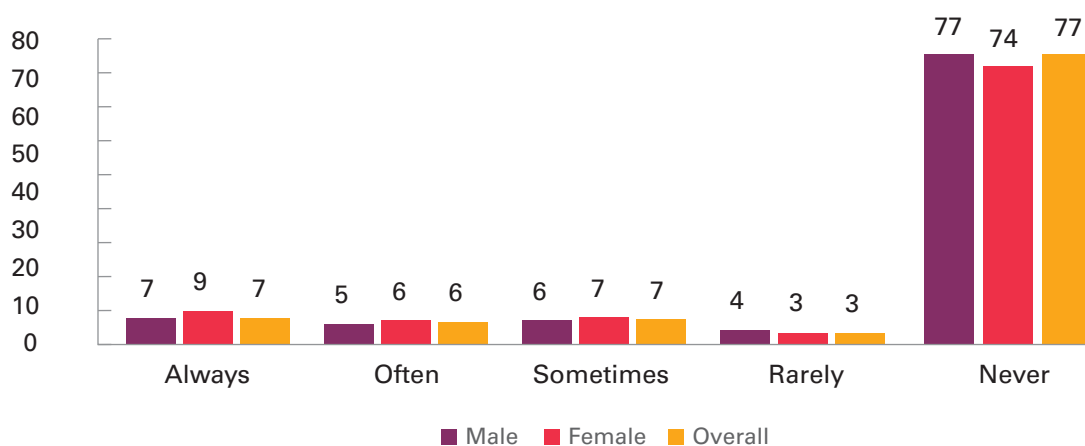
Table 9.6: In your view, what is the biggest cause of violence in your community? (selected) (By division)

Responses	Barisal	Chatto gram	Dhaka	Khulna	Raj shahi	Rang pur	Mymen singh	Sylhet
Does not happen	21	33	12	28	25	21	9	33
Political conflict	22	11	13	22	14	8	11	5
Forceful occupation of property	21	15	16	11	12	19	29	17
Family Issues	14	6	15	11	16	18	11	9
Drugs	3	4	12	3	8	9	11	1

### 9.3 Fear for Personal Safety

Findings show respondents are less fearful for their personal safety and security in recent times (Figure 9.1). The proportion of respondents who say they never fear for their or their family’s safety has increased by 44.8 percentage points since 2018 (from 32% to 76.8%). Women are slightly more likely to say they always fear for their personal safety than men (8.8% women, compared to 7.1% men respectively). A higher percentage of men (77.0%) say they never fear for their safety than women (73.8%). A dismissible proportion, 0.3% respondents do not know and 0.3% do not want to answer the question (not presented in the figure).

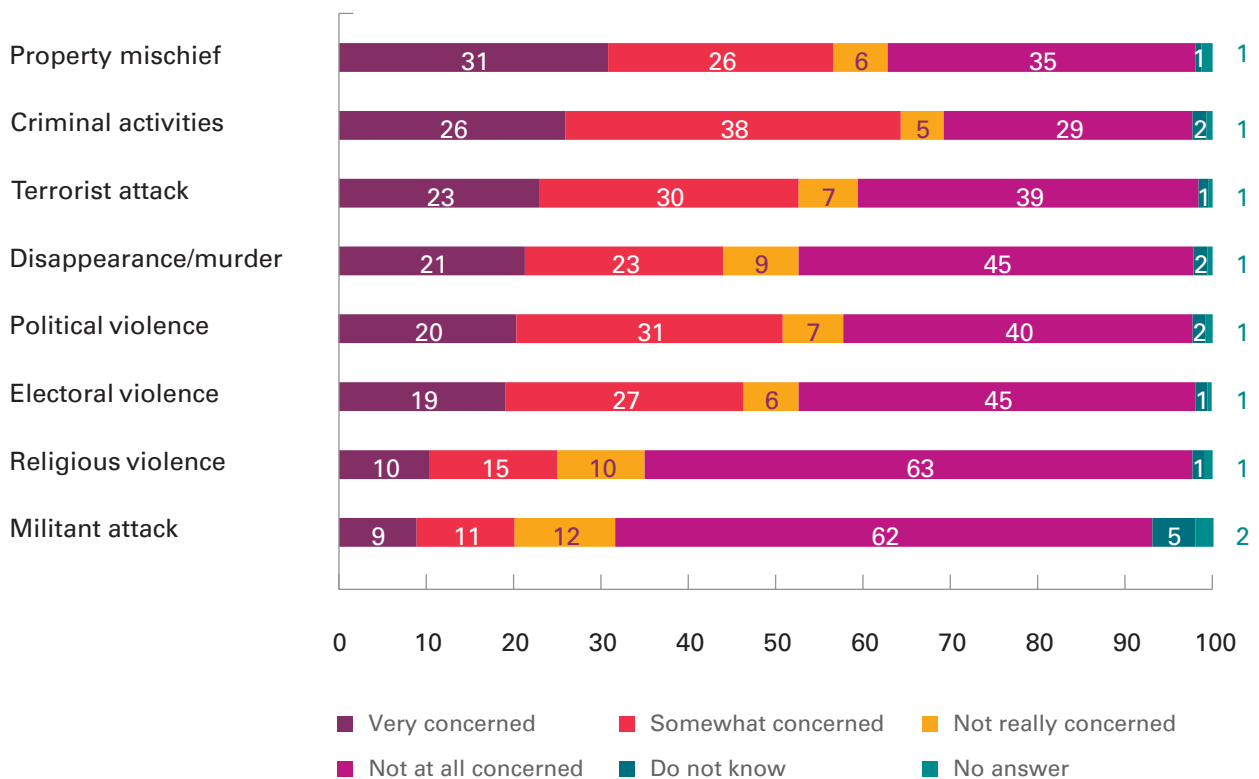
Figure 9.1: How often do you fear for your safety, security, or family these days?



## 9.4 Fear of Violence

Respondents are asked if they are concerned about themselves or family members being victims of specific kinds of violence. Almost two-thirds (64.3%) of respondents express concern about being victims of criminal activities (very and somewhat concerned combined). More than half (56.6%) of respondents are concerned about property issues, such as illegal land occupation. Political and electoral violence are cited by 50.9% and 46.3%, respectively. A majority said they are not at all concerned about militant attacks (73.0%) and religious violence (72.7%).

Figure 9.2: How concerned are you that you or any of your family members may be victims of any of the following types of violence?



A geographic distribution of fear is illustrated in the map below.



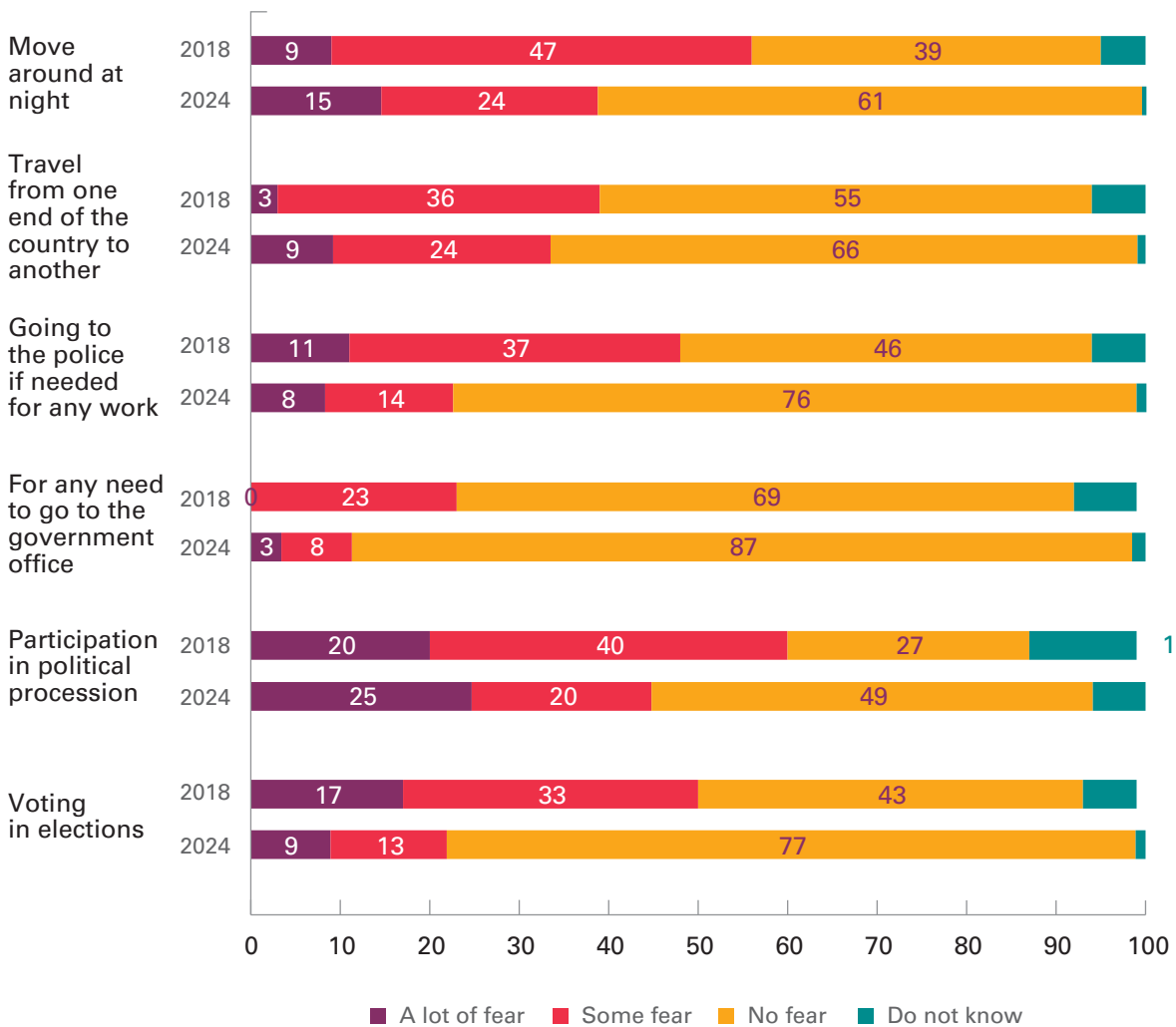
Map 9: Security and Violence



## 9.5 Fear of Participation in Certain Activities

Respondents are asked how fearful they are of conducting certain activities. Since 2018, the fear of moving around at night has decreased by 16.8 percentage points (from 56% to 38.8% in 2024). A similar decrease is found when asked about fear of going to the police (25.4%), to a government office (11.7%), participating in a political procession (15.2%), and voting in elections (28.1%). The lowest percentage of “no fear” reported in 2024 concerns participating in a political procession (49.3%).

Figure 9.3: How fearful are you while engaging in the following activities?



## 9.6 Reason for Fear

Respondents who are fearful of participating in certain events are asked why they fear those activities. Among the 21.8% (N=1351) of respondents who say they have some or a lot of fear regarding voting in elections (see Figure 9.3), they are then asked for their reasons for fear. Almost a third (29.9%) of this group cite fear of violent attacks by opposition political party activists, 25.4% fear violent attacks by ruling political party activists, and 21.1% fear getting into an accident. In addition, 18.3% of respondents report fear of terrorist attacks (see Table 9.7)

When asked about the reason for their fear of participating in a political demonstration (N=2,986) —fear of violent attacks by opposition political party activists (34.6%), ruling political party activists (14.3%), terrorist attacks (21.6%), and getting into an accident (20.6%) are noted. A small share (7.0%) of respondents also say they fear being attacked by the police.

When moving around at night (N=2,385), respondents mostly fear theft or hijacking (44.1%) and getting into an accident (42.3%). Fear of theft (20.5%) and accidents (71.3%) are also the key concerns regarding traveling around the country (N=2,221). An overwhelming majority (83.1%) of respondents say they are likely to be harassed by the police if they approach them for any service.

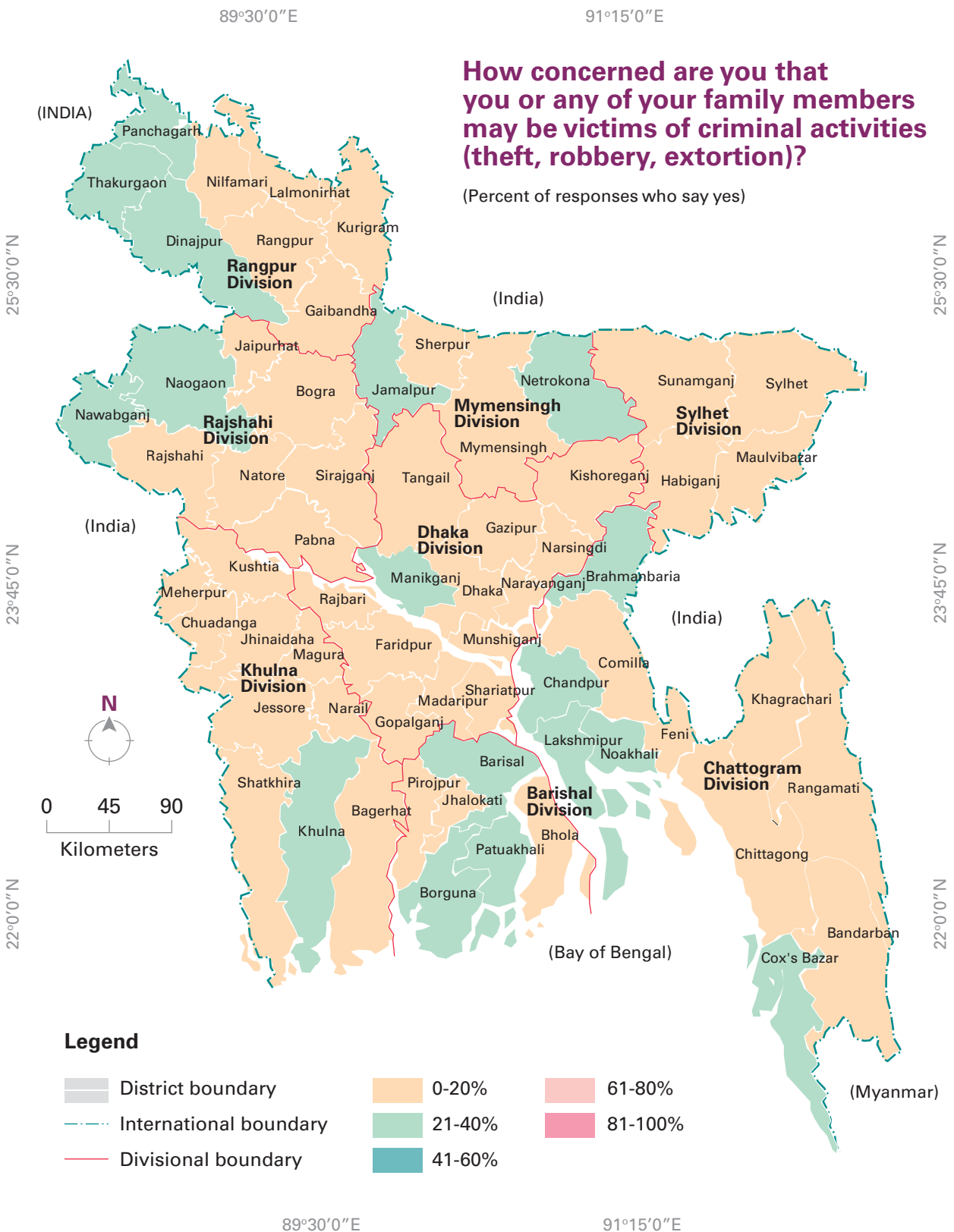
Table 9.7: Reasons to fear participation in certain activities

	Going to the government office (N=562)	Going to the police (N=1,318)	Travelling from one end of the country to another (N=2,221)	Moving around at night (N=2,385)	Participating in a political demonstration (N=2,986)
Fear of getting into an accident	78	11	71	42	21
Fears of harassment by the police	5	83	2	3	7
Fear of violent attacks by ruling political party activists	4	1	0	0	14
Fear of violent attacks by opposition political party activists	1	0	0	1	35
Fear of terrorist attacks	1	0	5	8	22
Fear of theft/hijacker	1	0	21	44	0
Others	7	3	1	1	1
Do not know	2	0	0	1	1
No answer	1	1	0	0	0

Geographical distribution of the respondents' concern for personal or family members' safety during electoral violence is depicted in the map below.



The map below depicts the geographic distribution of citizen concerns about personal and family security in relation to criminal activity.



Map 11: Security and violence

10

**Contemporary  
Issues**



In recent years, Bangladesh has been investing heavily in infrastructure projects, focusing on improving transportation networks and connectivity within the country. The government has inaugurated several infrastructure projects in recent years, including the Padma Bridge, a multipurpose road and rail bridge connecting the southern part of the country to the capital, Dhaka. Other significant mega projects include the Dhaka Metro Rail, the elevated expressway, and the Karnaphuli Tunnel.

Amid these developments, economic uncertainties continue across the country. An increase in the cost of daily essentials, a 10-year high inflation, and a massive fuel price hike—all in 2022—generated grievances across the general public, particularly among lower-income groups.<sup>27 28 29</sup> A surge in global commodity prices contributed to a notable price hike in several essential commodities and fossil fuels. However, experts argue that price hikes in Bangladesh exist regardless of the effects of such external events, and many internal controllable factors still impact commodity prices.<sup>30 31</sup>

This chapter explores perceptions around key challenges this year, including the recent electoral process, climate change, and youth unemployment, as infrastructure development, foreign aid, price hikes, and the Rohingya crisis.

## 10.1 International relations

### 10.1.1 NGOs

A new question in 2024, respondents are asked to share their understanding of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as what they think NGOs are or what NGOs do. The most frequently cited first response among the majority 83.3% is that NGOs are small loan providers (microfinance institutions), followed by those who say NGOs are organizations that provide services like health, education, etc. (4.5%) (Table 10.1). Almost one in ten (9.1%) do not know how to define NGOs, and 1.2% have no answer. In their second response, over half (52.5%) of respondents say they ‘do not know’, and 18.3% define NGOs as agencies that provide services like health, education, etc.

Table 10.1: What do NGOs do/who are the NGOs?

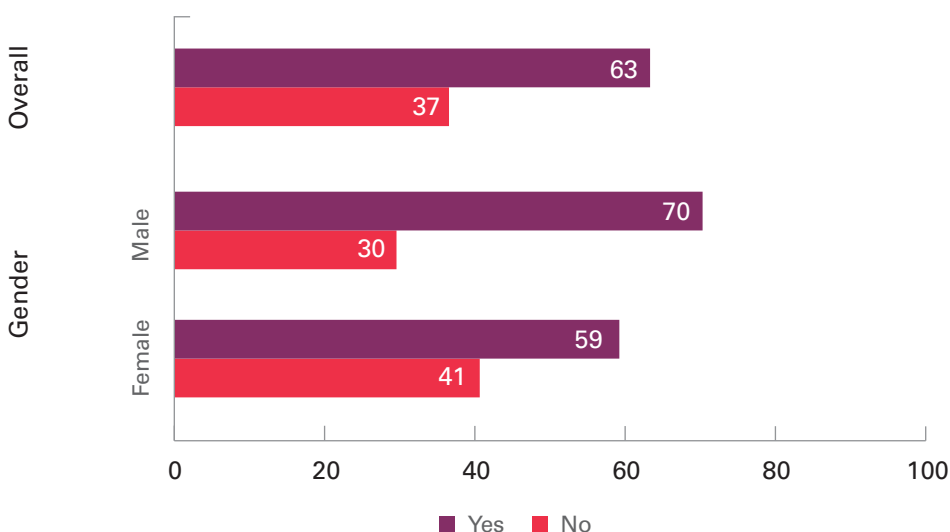
What do NGOs do or who are the NGOs?	1st response	2nd response
Small loan providers (microfinance institutions)	83	4
Provides services like health, education, etc.	5	18
Provides legal support	0	4
Works for women empowerment	0	2
Provides skill training	0	6
Others	1	4
Do not know	9	53
No answer	1	9

There are no significant differences in terms of gender and location. Respondents from Rajshahi (93.4%) more frequently associate NGOs with agencies providing small loans than those in other divisions.

## 10.1.2 Foreign Aid

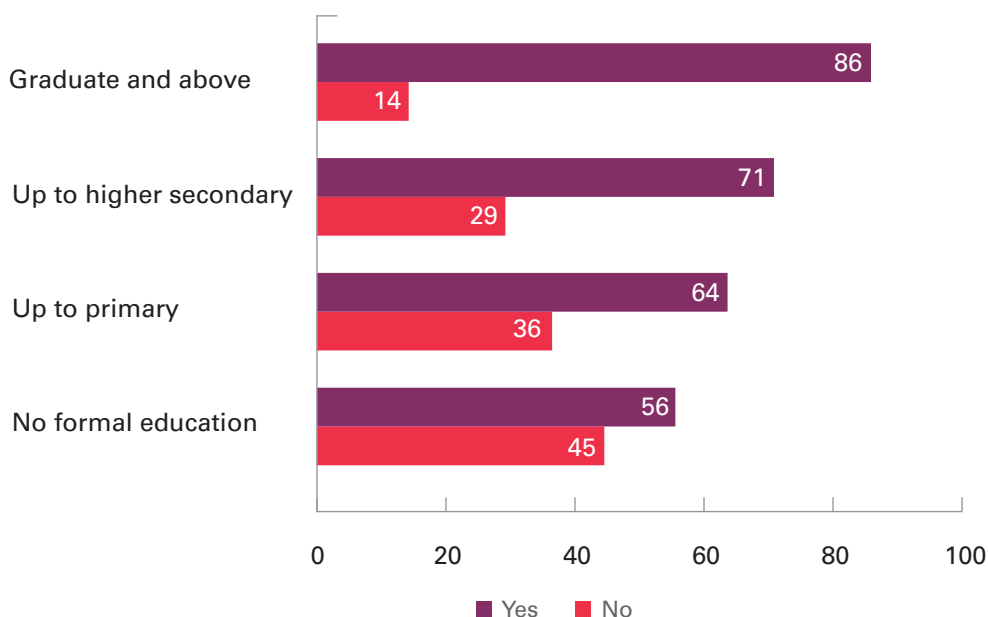
New in 2024, respondents are asked if they were aware of foreign aid/donations provided to Bangladesh. About two-thirds (63.4%) state they are aware of foreign aid, whereas 36.6% say they do not know (Figure 10.1).

Figure 10.1: Are you aware of foreign aid/donations provided to Bangladesh? (N=6,510)



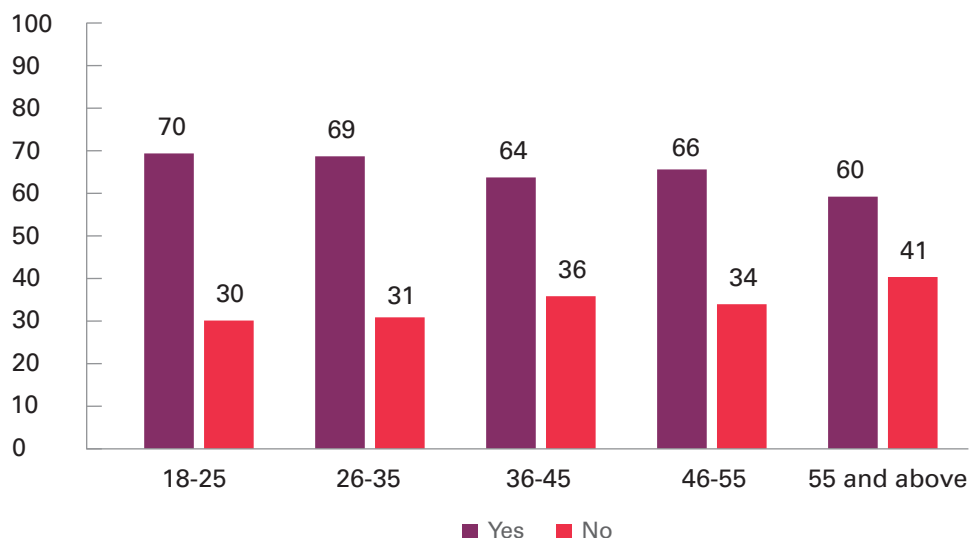
Male respondents are more likely to be aware of foreign aid compared to female respondents, 70.4% and 59.3%, respectively. With increased education, respondents' awareness about foreign aid or donations gradually increases (Figure 10.2).

Figure 10.2: Are you aware of foreign aid/donations provided to Bangladesh? (By education, N=6,510)



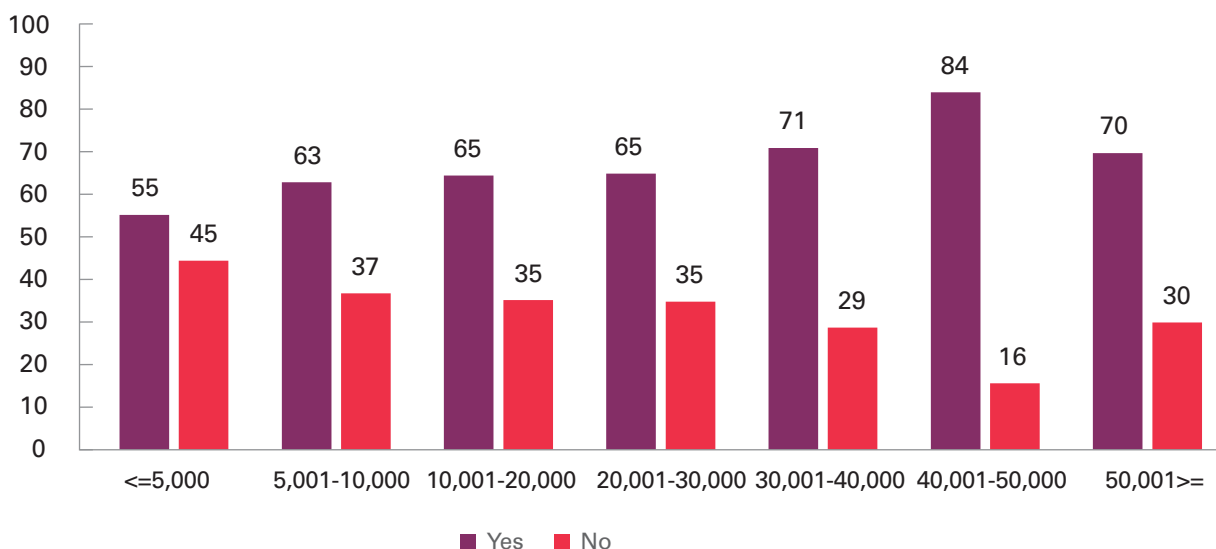
Interestingly, young adults (18–25 years of age) are comparatively well-informed about foreign donations (69.7%), with awareness levels slightly declining with age, down to 59.5% among those aged 55 and above (Figure 10.3).

Figure 10.3: Are you aware of foreign aid/donations provided to Bangladesh? (By age, N=6,510)



There are no significant differences in awareness based on location or occupation. However, with an increase in income, awareness regarding foreign aid increases (Figure 10.4). Respondents with less than 5,000 BDT are much less likely to report awareness of foreign aid than respondents across all other categories.

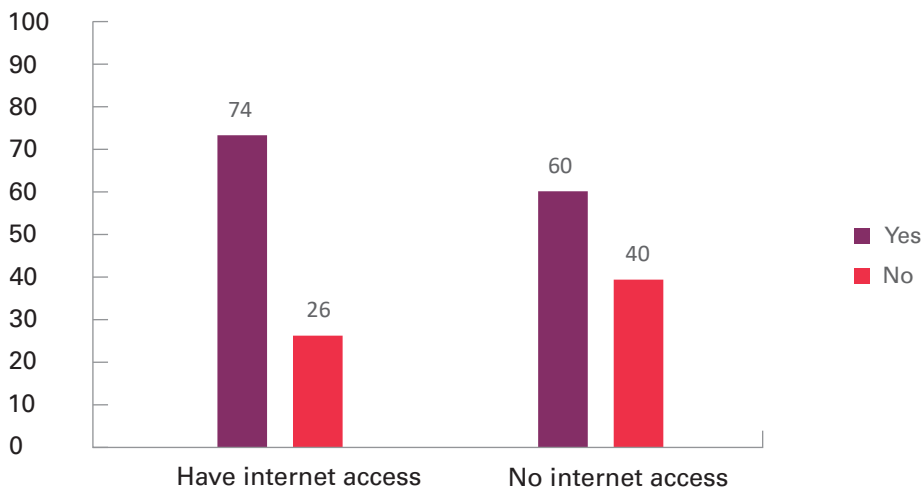
Figure 10.4: Are you aware of foreign aid/donations provided to Bangladesh? (By income, N=6,510)



Access to the Internet play a role: 73.7% of who have access to the Internet know about foreign aid, compared to 60.4% of non-Internet users (Figure 10.5).



Figure 10.5: Awareness of foreign aid/donations provided to Bangladesh (By access to the Internet, N=6,510)



New in 2024, respondents are asked what sectors of foreign aid should be invested in. Among those who are aware of foreign aid, 76.0%, say foreign donations should be invested in poverty reduction, followed by mega infrastructure (43.7%), education (37.7%), relief/aid distribution (24.5%), and health (16.9%) (Table 10.2).

Table 10.2: Which sectors should donations be invested in?

	Multiple responses <sup>9</sup>
Poverty reduction	76
Mega-Infrastructure	44
Education	37
Relief/aid distribution	25
Health	17
Others	7
Business	5
Do not know	4

There are few notable differences by gender, men are more likely to support mega infrastructure more than females (50.7% compared to 39.0% respectively).

Respondents with a bachelor’s degree and above (60.4%) are more likely to suggest foreign aid be invested in the education sector, whereas poverty reduction is the priority for respondents with no formal education (85.7%).

Respondents who have access to the Internet are more likely to prioritize poverty reduction (81.3%) and relief/aid distribution (32.0%) than respondents are with no Internet access (69.1% and 25.3%, respectively) (Table 10.3). On the contrary, respondents with no Internet access are more likely to prioritize mega infrastructure (49.3%), education (42.4%), and health (23.1%) sectors.

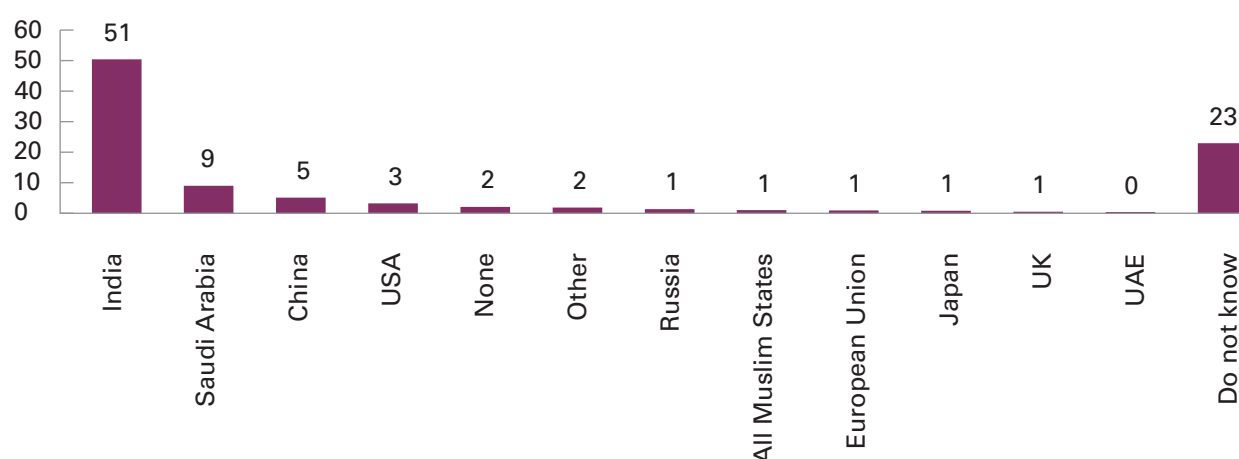
Table 10.3: Which sectors should donations be invested in? (By access to the Internet)

	No Internet access	Internet access
Mega infrastructure (buildings, highways, bridges, etc.)	49	43
Health sector	23	11
Education sector	42	31
Business sector	5	4
Relief/aid distribution	25	32
Poverty reduction	69	81
No answer	7	6
Do not know	3	4

### 10.1.3 Bangladesh's Best Friend

A new question in 2024, the *Survey* attempts to understand respondents' perception of Bangladesh's relationship with other countries. Respondents are asked to cite a country they consider to be Bangladesh's best friend (Figure 10.6). Half of respondents (50.6%) cite India, followed by Saudi Arabia (9%), China (5.1%), and the USA (3.3%). According to 2.1%, Bangladesh has no best friend, and 23.1% say they do not know.

Figure 10.6: Which country is Bangladesh's best friend? (N=6,510)



Interestingly, women are more likely to say they do not know (37.1%) than men (13.5%).

Differences emerge by division. Respondents from Khulna (57.3%) are more likely to say India is Bangladesh's best friend than respondents from other divisions. Saudi Arabia (16.3%) is the most frequent response in Mymensingh. The highest proportion of respondents who say they do not know is in Barishal (36.6%).

<sup>9</sup>Please note that multiple responses are merged here; thus, the percentages add to more than 100%.

Table 10.4: Which country is Bangladesh's best friend? (By division, N=6,510)

	Barisal	Chattogram	Dhaka	Khulna	Rajshahi	Rangpur	Mymensingh	Sylhet
India	48	42	56	57	53	54	48	34
China	3	4	8	4	2	4	2	4
Russia	0	3	1	1	1	2	1	1
USA	2	4	3	3	2	5	2	8
UK	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3
Saudi Arabia	5	11	8	5	10	6	16	12
UAE/Dubai/Abu Dhabi	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
European Union	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1
All Muslim States	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1
Japan	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	0
None	1	3	2	4	0	2	3	2
Other [Specify]	0	1	2	2	2	2	1	6
Do Not Know	36	27	18	22	28	24	24	28

There are no significant differences between urban and rural populations.

There are minor differences among respondents from households who receive remittances and households who do not receive remittances. The 22.5% of respondents from households who receive remittances are somewhat more likely to cite Saudi Arabia (12.2%) than non-remittance-receiving households who cite this (8.8%). Respondents who do not receive a remittance are more likely to cite India (49.8%) compared to 45.4% from remittance-receiving households, see Table 10.5.

On the other hand, among the respondents from non-remittance-receiving households, the more frequently cited response is India (49.8%), the USA (3.6%), and the UK (0.5%) as Bangladesh's best friend.

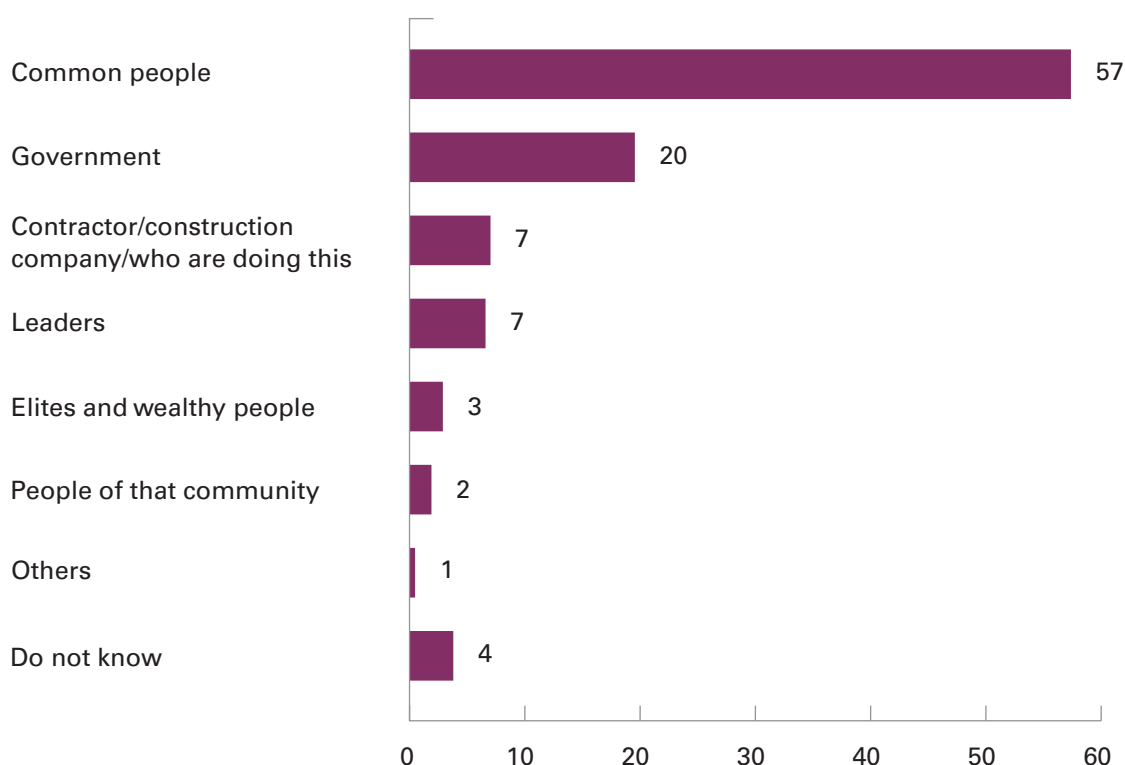
Table 10.5: Which country is Bangladesh's best friend? (By remittance)

	Receive remittance (N=198)	Do not receive remittance (N=682)
India	45	50
China	4	4
Russia	2	1
USA	2	4
UK	0	0
Saudi Arabia	12	9
UAE/Dubai/Abu Dhabi	0	0
European Union	1	1
All Muslim states	1	1
Japan	1	1
None	3	3
Other	2	1
Do not know	26	25

## 10.2 Infrastructural Development

The past few years have witnessed a surge in large-scale infrastructure development projects, such as large bridges, roads, railways, etc. including the Padma Bridge and the Dhaka Metro Rail. In this *Survey*, respondents are asked to identify who benefits from such investment projects. More than half of respondents (57.3%) identify the common people as benefitting the most, almost one-fifth (19.5%) cite the government, and roughly 7% each cite leaders, and contractor/construction companies or those who implementing such large-scale projects, are beneficiaries (Figure 10.7).

Figure 10.7: Who benefits from infrastructural development projects? (N=6,510)



There are minor differences among men and women; women are more likely to say the government will benefit the most than men (17.2% and 14.5% respectively).

Regardless of age, the most frequently cited responses are common people and community members. Respondents 36–45 years of age also cite the elite/wealthy people (4.2%) and contractors/construction companies/who are doing this (9.7%), more frequently than other age groups.

Interestingly, with the increase in education level, those who cite common people gradually increases (Table 10.6).

As education levels increase, of note is the decrease in the proportion who say the government benefits the most from infrastructural projects, from 19.2% with no formal education, to 9.6% with a graduate degree and above. Respondents with a graduate degree and above are more likely to say the common people (68.3%) largely benefit from such infrastructure, followed by the government (9.6%) and contractors/construction/who are doing the work (8.6%). Almost a fifth (19.2%) of respondents with no formal education say the government benefits the most from such investment, whereas among respondents with higher educational qualifications, this perception gradually declines.

Table 10.6: Who benefits from infrastructural development projects? (By education, N=6,510)

	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Common people	55	61	65	68
Elites and wealthy people	3	3	2	3
People of that community	3	3	2	2
Leaders	6	6	6	6
Government	19	17	13	10
Contractor/construction company/ who are doing this	8	8	8	9
Others	1	1	1	0
Do not know	5	3	4	1
No answer	0	1	0	1

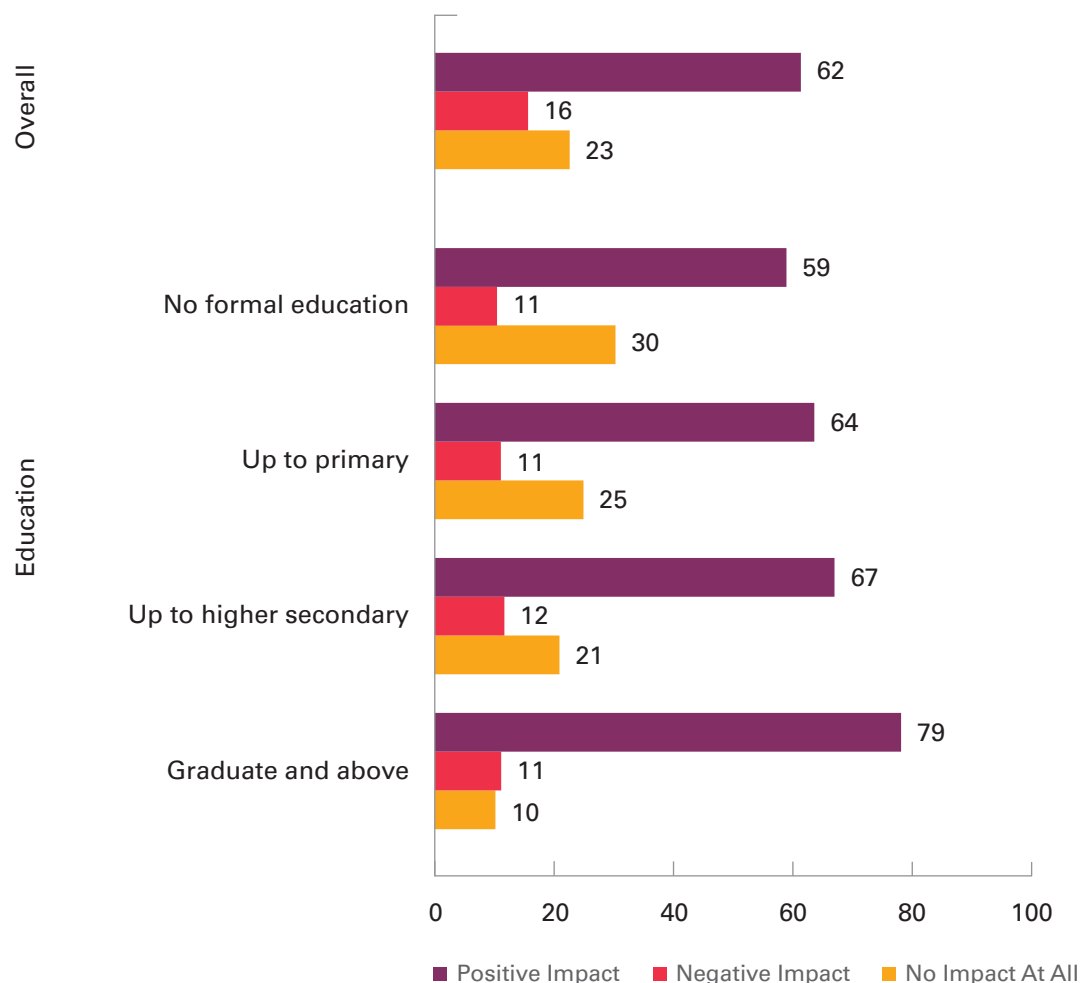
Respondents with access to the Internet are more likely to say common people benefit the most, 64.2% with access and 59.2% of those without Internet access respectively (Table 10.7). The proportion who say the government is the main beneficiary is slightly higher among those without Internet access (16.9%) than those with Internet access (13.7%).

Table 10.7: Who benefits from infrastructural development projects (By access to the Internet)

	No Internet access	Internet access
Common people	59	64
Elites and wealthy people	3	2
People of that community	3	2
Leaders	6	7
Government	17	14
Contractor/construction company/ who are doing this	8	8
Others	1	1
Do not know	4	3
No answer	0	0

In a separate question, respondents are asked about the impact of these projects on their lives. More than half (61.6%) say the infrastructure projects positively impact their lives, whereas for 22.7% there is no such impact at all (Figure 10.8). With the increase in education levels, the proportion who say there is a positive impact gradually increases.

Figure 10.8: Do you think these projects have had any impact on your life (By education)? (N=6,510)



For example, 78.5% of respondents with a graduate degree and above say these projects have a positive impact in their lives, whereas this is only 59.2% for respondents with no formal education.

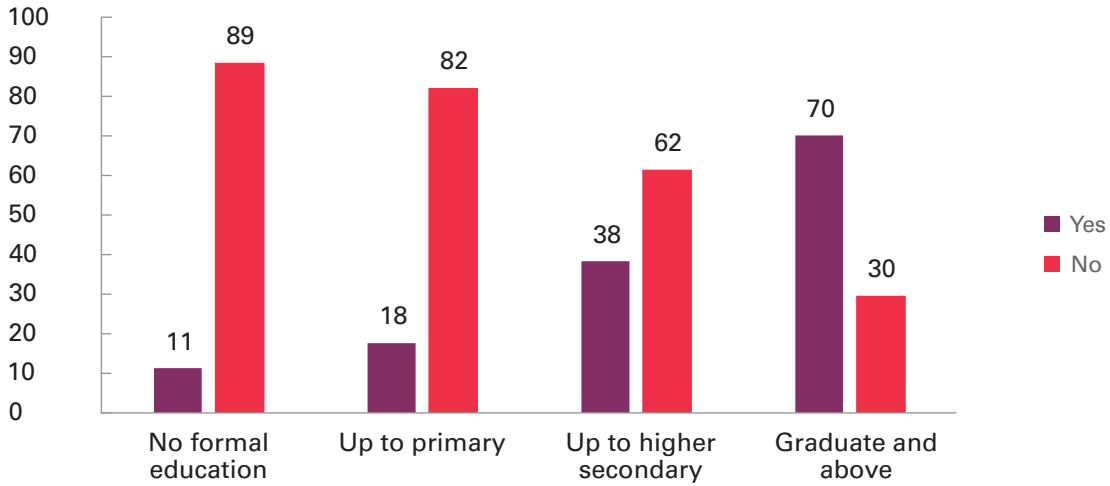
### 10.3 Climate Change

Given the rising concerns regarding climate change, a new series of questions gauge public perception on climate change and its effects. Although respondents may be aware of the changing weather landscape and increasing disasters, during fieldwork implementation, it was evident that there is low awareness of terminology like climate change and global warming, even when translated into Bangla.

Respondents are asked if they are familiar with the issues of climate change or global warming. Only 23.6% of respondents say they are, with the majority, 76.4% unaware of climate change.

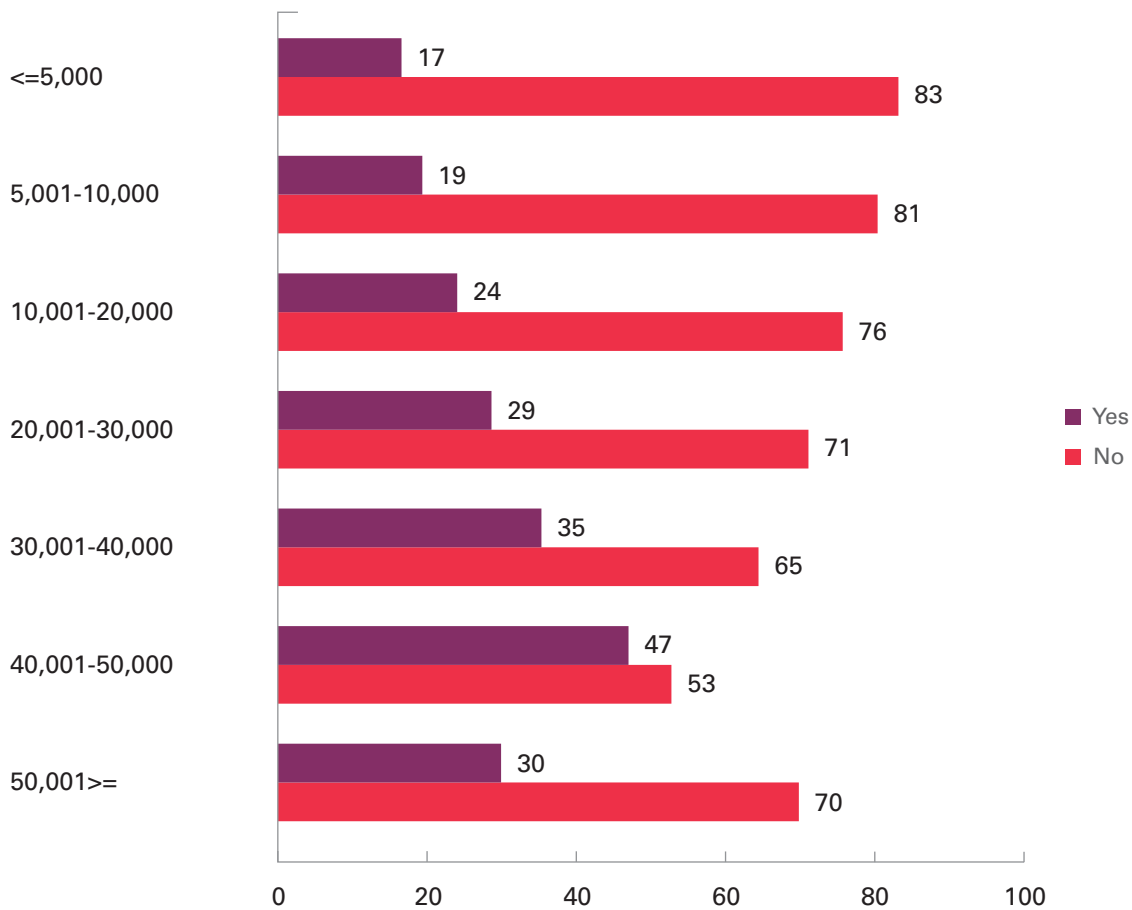
Awareness of climate change increases with education: 70.3% of respondents with a graduate degree or above are familiar with climate change, compared to 11.3% of respondents with no formal education do (Figure 10.9).

Figure 10.9: Familiarity with Global Warming/Climate Change (By education, N=6,510)



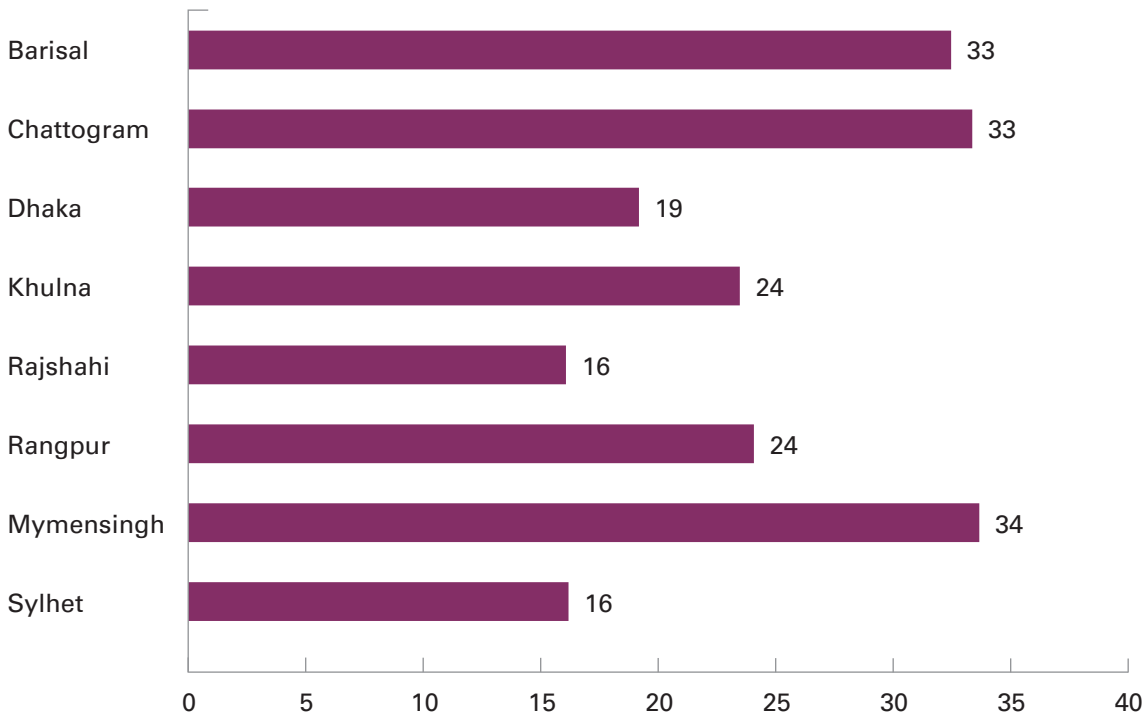
Awareness of climate change increases with income levels. The lowest awareness of climate change is found among respondents belonging to the lowest income group  $\leq 5,000$  BDT (16.6%). On the other hand, 30.0% of respondents in the highest income group are familiar with the concept, while the rate is 47.1% among respondents in the 40–50,001 BDT group (Figure 10.10).

Figure 10.10: Awareness of Global Warming/Climate Change (By income, N=6,510)



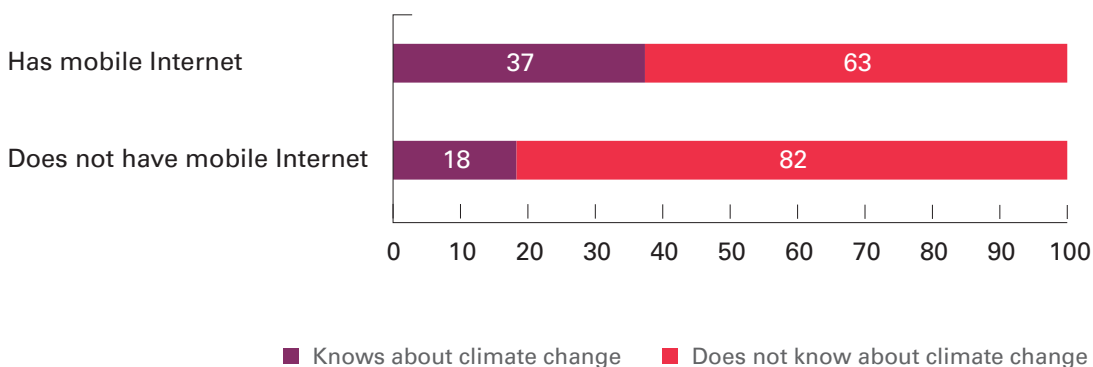
By division, differences emerge as 19.2% of respondents from Dhaka are familiar with climate change, the third-lowest percentage, above Sylhet (16.2%) and Rajshahi (16.1%), see Figure 10.11. The findings highlight the need for targeted awareness campaigns in these divisions, where the impact of climate change is often felt the most.

Figure 10.11: Familiarity with Global Warming/Climate Change (By division, N=6,510)



Interestingly, respondents with access to the Internet are more familiar with climate change (37.4%) than respondents are without access to the Internet (18.3%) (Figure 10.12).

Figure 10.12: Does access to mobile Internet increase familiarity with climate change?



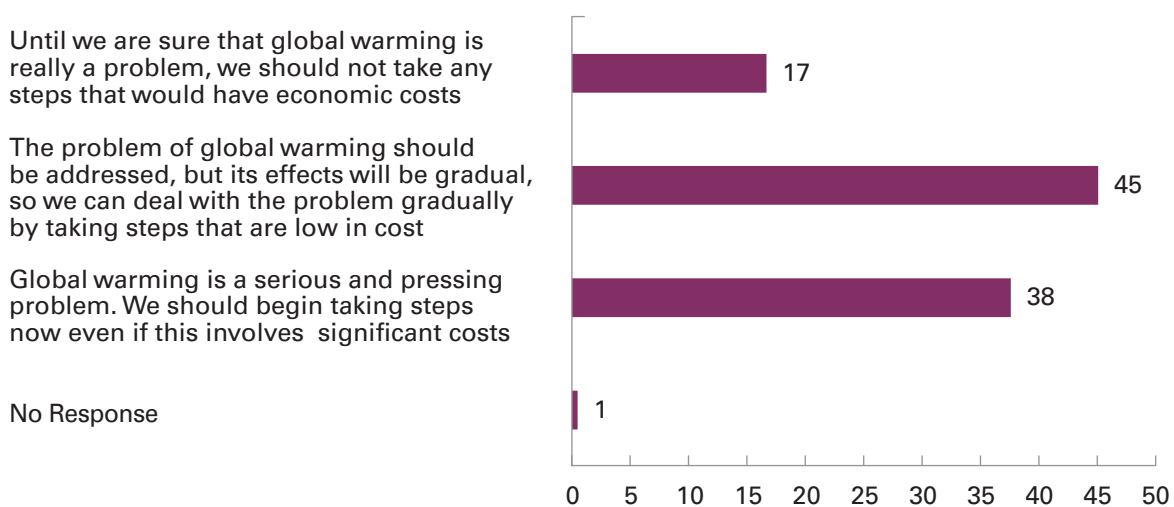


The 23.6% of respondents who are aware of climate change and global warming are given three hypothetical statements and asked which best aligns with their view. These statements are:

1. Global warming is a serious and pressing problem. We should start taking steps now even if this involves significant costs.
2. The problem of global warming should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost.
3. Until we are sure that global warming is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs.

Over a third (37.7%) agree that global warming is a serious and pressing problem and that steps should be taken immediately. On the other hand, 45.2% select low-cost, gradual steps to combat climate change, reflecting a more cautious approach. Less than one-fifth, 16.7%, believe no steps with economic costs should be taken now, highlighting the economic concerns associated with climate change (Figure 10.13). This diversity of opinions underscores the complexity and importance of the issue.

Figure 10.13: Which following statement most reflects respondents' view on climate change (N=1,606)



Among the 23.6% who understand what climate change is, a majority believe it is a significant threat to the country, 86.0% (Table 10.8). This perception increases with education. Respondents with a graduate degree and above are among the highest share (91.5%) who believe climate change is a major threat, and reflects the lowest share of those who believe it is not a threat at all (1.4%).

Table 10.8: Do you think global climate change is a big threat to our country, a small threat, or not a threat? (By education, N=1,606)

	Overall	No formal education	Up to primary	Up to higher secondary	Graduate and above
Not a threat	4	5	4	3	1
Minor threat	9	10	11	10	7
Major threat	86	81	83	86	92
Do not know	1	4	2	1	0

Although 76.4% of respondents are unfamiliar with the term climate change and global warming, changing weather patterns and the effects of climate change are visible to many. In a separate question, all respondents are read a list of climate and weather events and asked if they have increased, decreased, or remained the same compared to five years ago. The majority say temperature (86.2%) and air pollution (63.7%) increased compared to 5 years ago. At the same time, more than half (64.4%) say rain/monsoon has decreased compared to 5 years ago (Table 10.9).

Table 10.9: Changing weather events compared to 5 years ago (N=6,510)

Changes in weather events compared to 5 years ago	Temperature (heat)	Rain/monsoon	Cyclone/tidal wave	Flooding	Air pollution
Increased	86	21	38	27	64
Decreased	8	64	47	58	23
Stayed the same	6	6	8	5	11
Untimely	-	8	4	3	-
Does not occur	0	1	3	7	3

## 10.4 Economic Shocks and Access for Young People

### 10.4.1 Price Hikes

The *Survey* explores the impact of the financial crisis and respondents' perceptions about the government measures. Respondents are asked how the recent commodity price hike has impacted their lives. A majority (95.1%) say they have been impacted by the price hikes (severely impacted and somewhat impacted) (Table 10.10). A smaller proportion, 4.5% (not much and not at all impacted) did not face any impact.

Female respondents are more likely to say they have been impacted by price hikes severely in comparison to male respondents.

Table 10.10: Impact of recent price hike of essential commodities (By gender, N=6,510)

	Overall	Male	Female
Severely impacted	81	78	84
Somewhat impacted	14	16	13
Not much impacted	1	2	1
Not at all impacted	3	5	2
Do not know	0	0	1
No answer	0	0	0

Respondents across all income levels face somewhat similar impacts. More than two-thirds (70.0%) of respondents who earn 50,000 BDT and above are severely impacted by the recent commodity price hikes. As income level declines, the rate of those being impacted increases (Table 10.11).

Table 10.11: Impact of recent price hike of essential commodities (By income, N=6,510)

	≤5,000 BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	50,001 BDT≥=
Severely impacted	82	78	82	81	82	77	70
Somewhat impacted	7	16	13	15	15	12	14
Not much impacted	3	2	1	2	1	3	8
Not at all impacted	6	5	3	3	2	9	8
Do not know	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Survey respondents are asked to identify, if at all, how their lifestyles have changed due to the price hike of daily necessities. More than half (58.9%) say they had to make rent and utilities cuts to deal with the price hike (Table 10.12). Almost a fifth (19.7%) reduced their food quality, and 15.6% reduced food intake to cope with the high price of daily commodities.

Women are more likely to report compromising the quality of food (19.3%) and reducing food intake (16.6%) to cope with the price hike than male respondents (18.8% and 12.2% respectively). This trend reflects global trends on food insecurity.<sup>32</sup> Academics and aid organizations working with the food crisis point to prevailing patriarchal practices that prioritize men during mealtimes, leaving women more likely to go hungry. Women often reduce their food intake or skip meals to ensure their families including children have enough to eat, even if they have no choice in the matter.<sup>33</sup>

Table 10.12: Lifestyle changes due to the recent price hike of daily necessities (By gender, N=6,510)

	Overall	Male	Female
Had to make cuts to rent and utilities	49	62	60
Had to reduce the quality of food	20	19	19
Eating less food	16	12	17
Reduce costs in education	1	1	1
Reduce costs in health	0	0	0
Other	5	6	4

Respondents with higher educational backgrounds tend to cut back on rent, utilities, and the cost of education to cope with the price hike. On the other hand, respondents with no formal education or primary education qualification are more likely to reduce food intake. Data from many countries around the world show that hunger is highly correlated with educational deprivation.<sup>34</sup> In Western countries, higher wealth and educational attainment reflect healthier food choices, nutritional diversity, and less caloric intake. Whereas lower educational attainment is connected to diets high in carbohydrates, red meat, and low in fiber.<sup>35,36</sup> However, most studies look at correlations between education and food intake, not where reductions and lifestyles changes are made when resources are scarce.

*Survey* data reveals too that as income levels increase, so does the tendency to cut rent and utilities, and on the reverse, reductions to health and education costs increase (Table 10.13). Making changes in food habits is more prevalent in lower-income groups (below 10,000 BDT). Respondents who earn more than 50,000 BDT are different from other income groups as they make noticeable cuts in the quality of food and a slight change in the cost of education to deal with the price hike. This group is also more likely to identify other cuts than the remaining income groups, 12.0%.

The findings coincide with recent studies in Bangladesh and reflect citizens' negative coping mechanisms. A study by the NGO CARE surveyed 450 poor and ultra-poor households. 79.8% of respondents reported reductions to the quality of food, 76.7% reduced food purchase, 47.8% curtailed non-food expenses, and 31.6% curtailed treatment expenses due to increasing price hike of essential commodities, starting in February 2023.<sup>37</sup> A methodological variance may explain the different findings between CARE and the *Survey*. Findings in Table 10.13 are of a single-response question, while the study by CARE asked about each coping strategy separately. The CARE study also illustrated the link between price hike to stress, resulting in increased violence against women.

Table 10.13: Lifestyle changes due to the recent price hike of daily necessities (By income, N=6,510)

Lifestyle changes due to the recent price hike of daily necessities	≤5,000 BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	50,001 BDT ≥
Cuts to rent and utilities	55	56	61	66	66	67	54
Reduce the quality of food	23	19	19	18	18	15	22
Eating less food	17	19	15	11	8	7	10
Reduce costs in education	0	0	1	1	2	1	2
Reduce costs in health	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Other	5	5	4	4	5	10	12

Households with 6 or more individuals are more likely to reduce cuts in rents and utilities, and to reduce health costs to manage the high price of necessary goods (Table 10.14). Moreover, larger-sized households are less likely to reduce the quality of food or minimize food intake.

Table 10.14: Lifestyle changes due to the recent price hike of daily necessities (By household members)

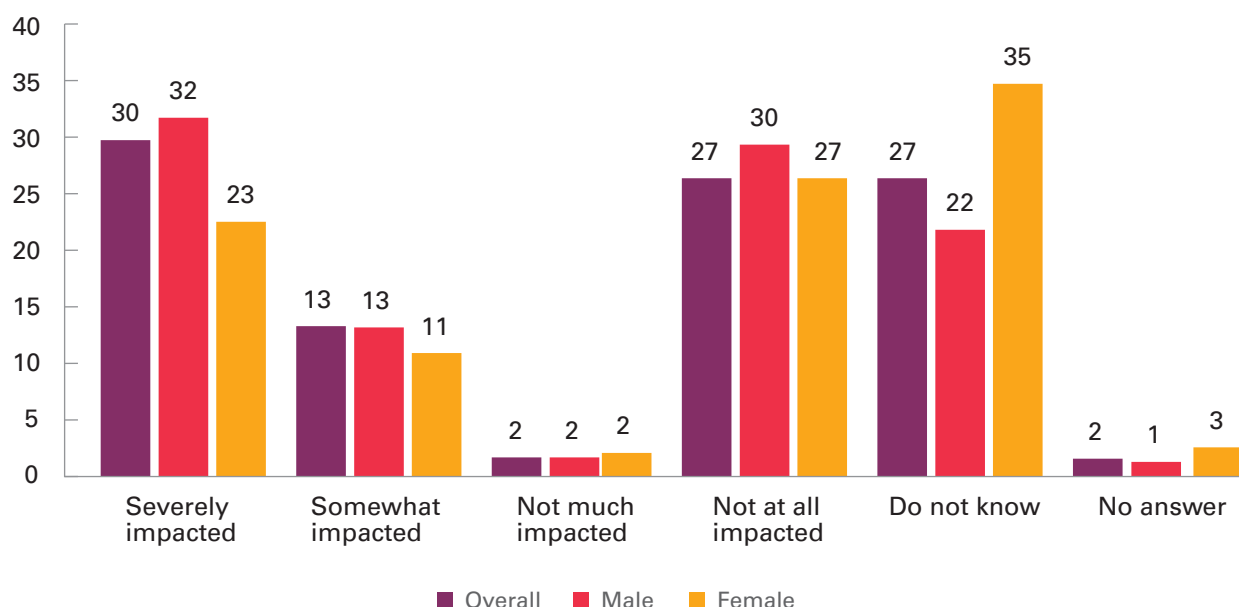
	Household size 1–5 persons	Household size 6–10 persons	Household size 11 and above
Cuts to rent and utilities	60	64	62
Reduce the quality of food	20	17	14
Eating less food	15	14	12
Reduce costs in education	1	1	1
Reduce costs in health	0	0	1
Other	4	5	10

## 10.4.2 Dollar Exchange Rate Rise

Survey respondents are asked about the impact of the recent dollar to taka conversion rate, 30.0% say they were severely impacted, and 26.6% say they were not at all impacted (Figure 10.14). A similar percentage (26.6%) say they do not know.

Gender differences are evident. Almost a third of men (32.0%) say they were severely impacted, whereas only 22.7% of female respondents cite this. On the other hand, women are much more likely to say they do not know than men, 35.0% compared to 22.0% respectively (Figure 10.14).

Figure 10.14: Impact of recent dollar price rise (By gender) (N=6,510)



Significant differences emerge in terms of education and income levels of respondents. With an increase in educational qualification, the impact of the dollar price becomes more severe (Table 10.15). Over a fifth (22.0%) of respondents with no formal education report being severely impacted by the dollar price hike, whereas the percentage is 46.6% for respondents who are graduates and above. Similarly, the rate is reversed among those who said they were not at all impacted: 29.6% among respondents without a formal education, and 23.8% respondents with a graduate degree or above.

Table 10.15: Impact of recent dollar price rise (By education, N=6,510)

	18–25 years of age	26–35 years of age	36–45 years of age	46–55 years of age	55 years of age and above
Severely impacted	81	83	81	78	80
Somewhat impacted	16	13	14	15	13
Not much impacted	1	1	2	2	2
Not at all impacted	2	2	3	5	5
Do not know	0	0	0	0	1
No answer	0	0	0	0	0

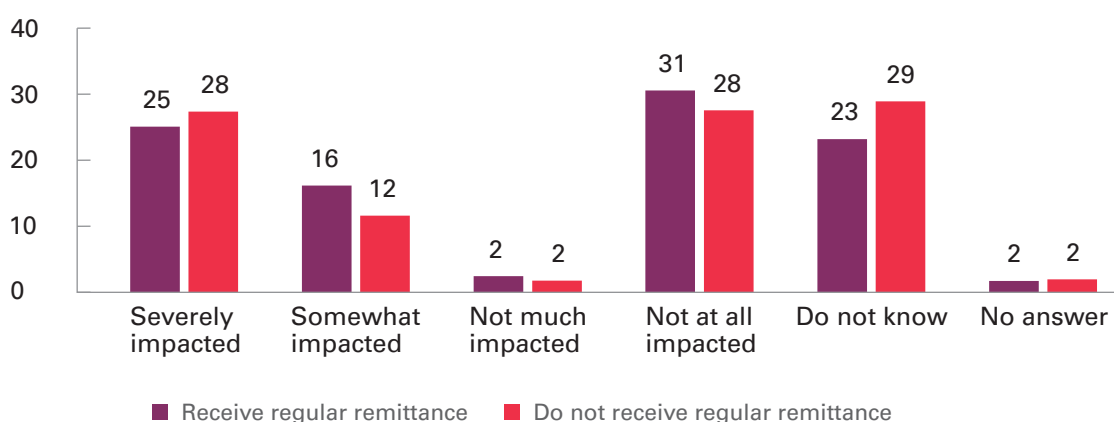
Similar to educational backgrounds, respondents with higher incomes tend to be more affected by the high dollar rate relative to respondents with lower incomes (Table 10.16). More than a third (38.0%) of respondents who earn more than 50,000 BDT report being severely impacted by the dollar price hike. Among respondents earning less than 5,000 BDT, the percentage is 19.7%. Interestingly, while those who say they are not at all impacted declines with increasing income, for respondents earning above 50,000 BDT, the response rate is high, at 38.0%. Among respondents earning more than 50,000 BDT, both the response rates of those who were severely impacted and not at all impacted were very high, relative to other income groups.

Table 10.16: Impact of recent dollar price rise (By income) (N=6,510)

	≤5,000 BDT	5,001 – 10,000 BDT	10,001 – 20,000 BDT	20,001 – 30,000 BDT	30,001 – 40,000 BDT	40,001 – 50,000 BDT	50,001 BDT ≥
Severely impacted	20	23	27	31	35	34	38
Somewhat impacted	5	11	12	15	13	19	4
Not much impacted	2	1	2	2	2	6	0
Not at all impacted	34	32	27	26	27	26	38
Do not know	36	31	29	25	23	15	18
No answer	4	2	2	2	1	1	2

Respondents from households that receive regular remittance are less severely impacted than those who do not receive a remittance (Figure 10.15). Almost a third (30.8%) of respondents from remittance receiving households and 27.8% of respondents from non-remittance receiving households are not impacted by the dollar price hike. On the other hand, rates of being severely impacted are 27.6% and 25.3% for respondents from households receiving and not receiving regular remittances, respectively.

Figure 10.15: Impact of recent dollar price rise (By remittance, N 880)



### 10.4.3 Youth Unemployment

According to the Population & Housing Census 2022,<sup>38</sup> the youth population (15–24 years of age) marginally increased from 18.16% in 2011 and to 19.11% in 2022. Youth unemployment is a critical contemporary issue. Bangladesh's youth unemployment rate was 12.54% in 2022, a 1.67% decline from 2021.

A new question in 2024, the *Survey* explores respondents' thoughts on barriers to youth employment (Table 10.17), with up to three responses recorded. The most frequently cited barriers to youth employment are, a lack of job opportunities in the market (42.7%) as the key reason for unemployment, followed by corruption (36.0%), lack of training or vocational education (7.2%), and high competition (2.5%). Lack of job opportunities is also heavily cited as the second (34.3%) and third (32.3%) most important reason for youth unemployment.

Table 10.17: Causes of youth unemployment

	1st reason (N=4,606)	2nd reason (N=1,915)	3rd reason (N=436)
Lack of job opportunities	43	34	32
Lack of interest in working among young people	2	7	9
Lack of qualification or skills	3	13	16
Lack of proper training/vocational education	7	14	15
Too much competition	3	11	16
Corruption	36	18	11
Other	2	2	2
Do not know	5	0	0

Among those aged 18–25 years, the top cited first reason for youth unemployment is corruption (43.7%) (Table 10.18). On the other hand, older respondents aged 46–55 years are more likely to cite a lack of job opportunities 44.6%.

Table 10.18: Causes of youth unemployment (1st reason, by age)

	18–25 years of age	26–35 years of age	36–45 years of age	46–55 years of age	55 years of age and above
Lack of job opportunities	35	40	40	44	45
Lack of interest in working among young people	3	2	3	3	3
Lack of qualification or skills	5	6	3	2	3
Lack of proper training/vocational education	6	7	4	5	3
Too much competition	3	3	3	3	3
Corruption	44	36	39	36	35
Other	1	2	2	3	2
Do not know	4	5	7	4	6

## 10.5 Rohingya

The Rohingya refugee humanitarian crisis 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 Rohingyas are living in Bangladesh<sup>10</sup>, one of the largest refugee populations in the world. The refugee camps are overcrowded and lack basic infrastructure, such as sanitation facilities and healthcare

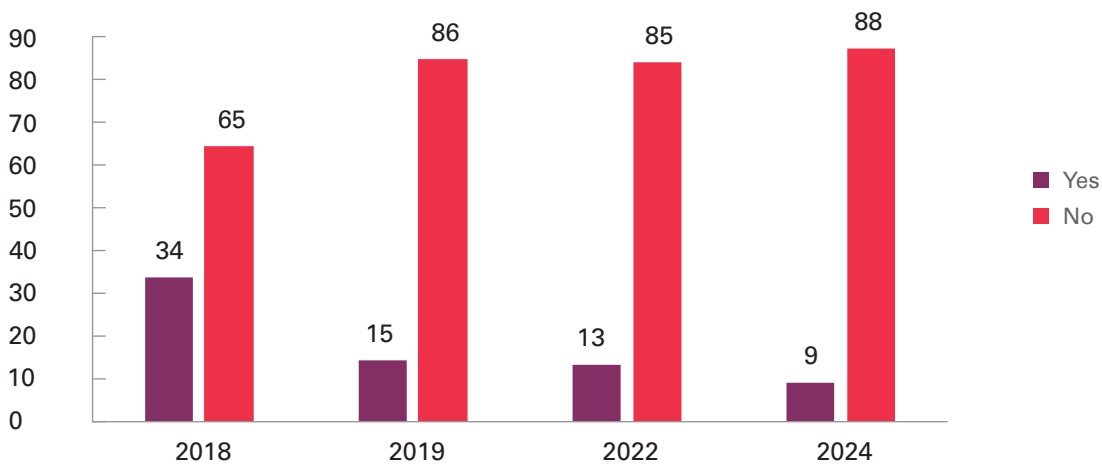
<sup>10</sup>UNHCR, 2022. Annual Result Report Bangladesh. UNHCR. <https://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/2023-06/Asia%20-%20Bangladesh.pdf>

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<sup>11</sup>.

The Bangladesh government continues providing humanitarian assistance to refugees, working with international organizations to provide aid and support. However, the situation remains dire, and there are concerns about the long-term prospects for the Rohingya. 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.<sup>40</sup>

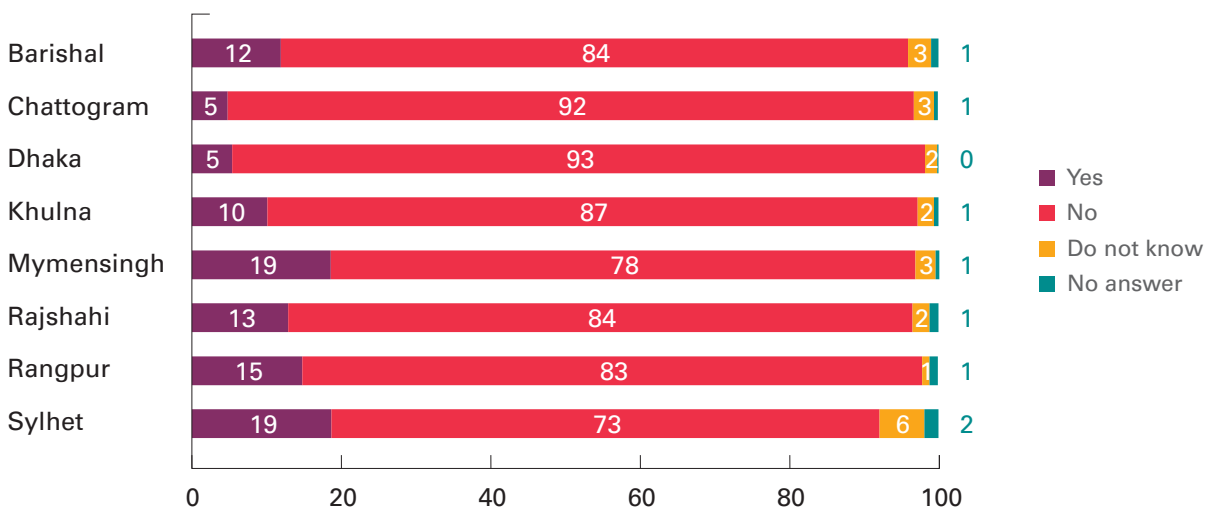
In 2024, the *Survey* continues to explore perceptions of Rohingya across the country. In 2018, 34% of respondents said they would welcome Rohingya into their communities; this rate dropped to 14.5% in 2019 and again to 13.4% in 2022. In 2024, the rate declined further to 9.2% (Figure 10.16).

Figure 10.16: Would you welcome Rohingya refugee living in your community? (N=6,510)



Given the Rohingya settlements are based in Chattogram district, respondents in this district had the lowest level of support for the refugees, at only 4.8%, followed by 5.4% in Dhaka (Figure 10.17). Respondents in Sylhet and Mymensingh are more supportive of the Rohingyas, 8.7% and 18.6% respectively saying they would welcome the refugees into their communities.

Figure 10.17: Would you welcome Rohingya refugee living in your community? (By division, N=6,510)



<sup>11</sup>Molla, MA. 2022. Bhasan Char: Better conditions, but home still beckons. The Daily Star. <https://www.thedailystar.net/rohingya-influx/news/bhasan-char-better-conditions-home-still-beckons-3102681>



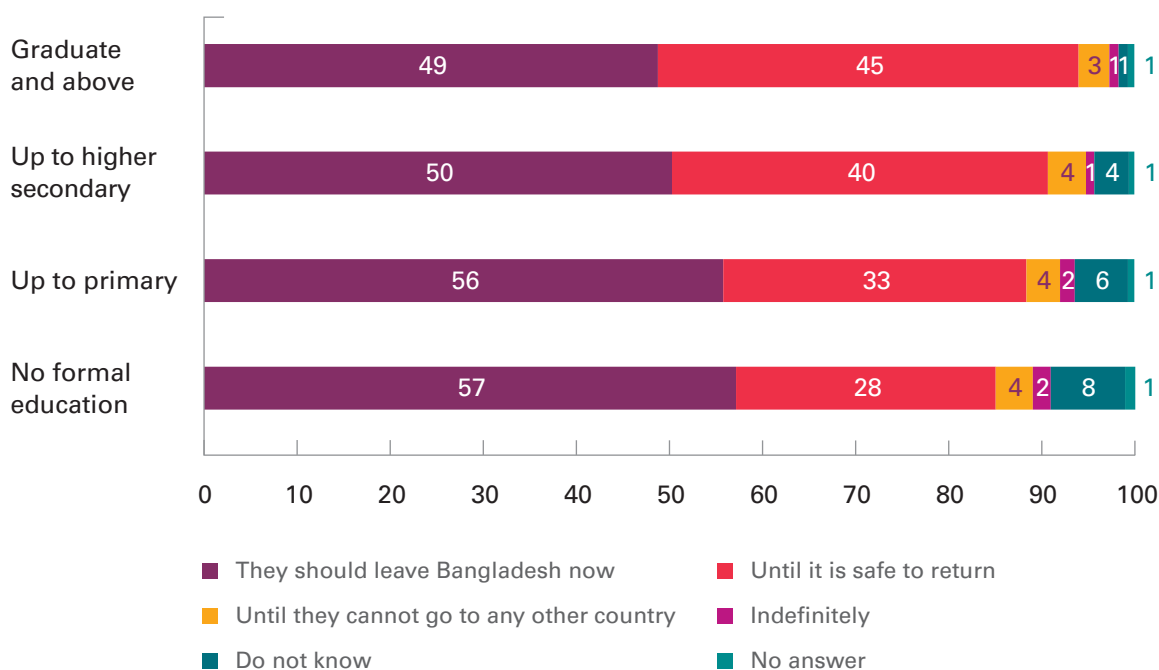
When respondents are asked how long the Rohingya should be allowed to stay in Bangladesh, there are shifts from 2018 to 2024 (Table 10.19). In 2019, 20.4% said Rohingya should stay until it is safe to return; this declined by 2022 to 13.8%. However, in 2024, there is a drastic increase, from 13.8% to 32.6%. In 2019, 68.6% said the Rohingya should leave the country now, and by 2024 this declined to 56.7%.

Table 10.19: How long should the Rohingya refugees be allowed to stay in Bangladesh? (By year)

	2019	2022	2024
They should leave Bangladesh now	69	66	57
Until it is safe to return	20	14	33
Until they cannot go to any other country	4	2	4
Indefinitely	2	5	1
Do not know	5	12	5
No answer	0	1	1

An interesting pattern emerges by education level of respondents (Figure 10.18)). As education levels increase, so does the sentiment that Rohingya should stay until it is safe to return, from 27.9% of respondents with no formal education to 45.2% of respondents with a graduate degree or above. On the contrary, the proportion who say the Rohingya should leave Bangladesh now declines with an increase in education, from 57.2% of respondents with no formal education, to 48.8% of respondents with a graduate degree and above.

Figure 10.18: How long should Rohingya refugees be allowed to stay in Bangladesh? (By education, N=6,510)



## Appendix 1: Survey Methodology

Fieldwork for the 2024 *Survey of the Bangladeshi People* was conducted across all eight administrative divisions of Bangladesh with a total of 6,784 respondents across the country. Fieldwork was conducted through the SurveyCTO app on tablets. Data collection occurred between February 10 and March 6, 2024, with a minimum sample size of at least 484 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 a confidence level, and DE is the design effect. Setting  $P=0.5$ ,  $\epsilon=0.05$ ,  $Z_{\alpha/2}^2=1.96$  and,  $DE=1.1$ , the minimum required sample size becomes 424 households per division.

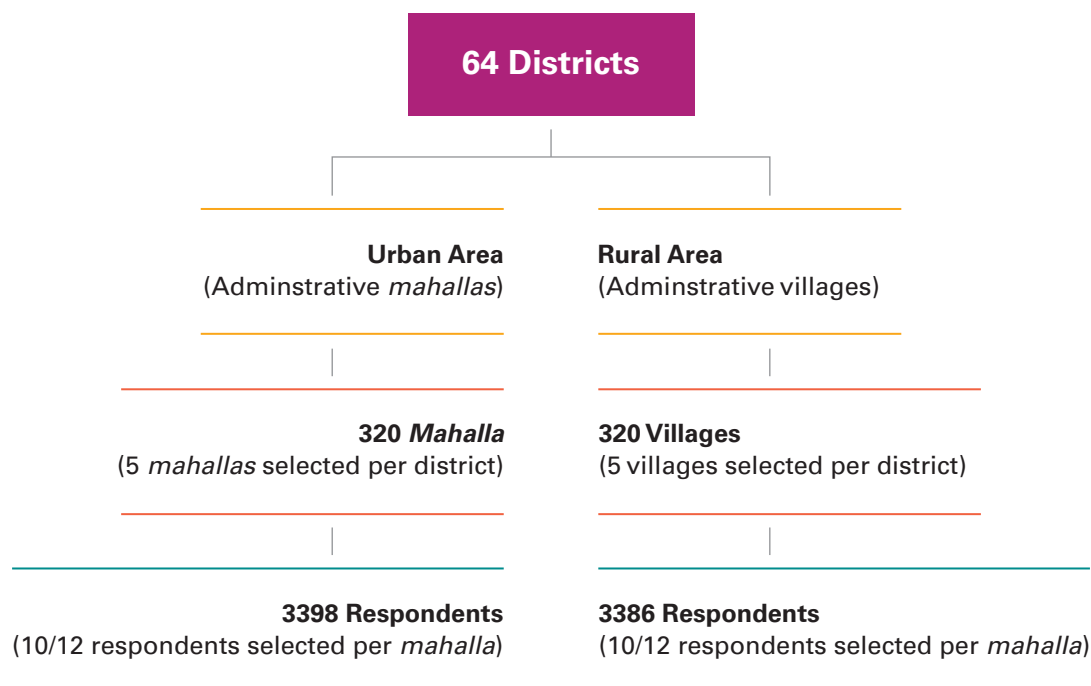
Beyond divisional-level representation, this *Survey* used stratified random sampling to collect data from all 64 districts of Bangladesh. Thus, the sample sizes were increased to ensure divisional-level representation. From each district, we selected 10 administrative primary sampling units (PSU, known as Mahalla/village by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics), 5 of which were selected from rural and 5 were selected from urban. From each PSUs, we selected 10 respondents. In each district, out of these 10 PSUs from 3 randomly selected PSUs additional 2 households were randomly selected. Thus, the *Survey* interviewed 106 households per each district. The divisional sample was assigned based on the number of districts in any particular division. With this, the lowest sample size taken in a division was 424 (Sylhet and Mymensingh). Thus, the final sample sizes obtained are sufficient for divisional level analyses. Table 1 shows the distribution of samples by division.

Table 1: Distribution of the samples by divisions

Division	Number of districts	Sample interviewed	Final number (cleaned)
Barishal	6	636	597
Chattogram	11	1,166	1,127
Dhaka	13	1,378	1,341
Khulna	10	1,060	1,006
Mymensingh	4	424	794
Rajshahi	8	848	831
Rangpur	8	848	409
Sylhet	4	424	405
Total	64	6,784	6,510

The *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. In the time of data analysis, the population statistics of the 2022 Census data was not available. Thus, *Survey* weights were utilizing based on the population statistics of the 2011 Census to ensure proportional representation.

Figure 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 key informants (Matbar/shopkeeper/elderly). Since the *Survey* aimed to collect 10 HH from each PSU, the total number of HH is then divided by 10 to identify the interval required to cover the entire PSU.

Once the interval is determined, the enumerators started conducting fieldwork data collection from the North-West part of any village/*mahalla* and travelled counter-clockwise until the required number of households was achieved.

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 youth according to the Bangladesh government. So, if enumerators interviewed one male respondent belonging to the youth age category, the next male respondents were selected from the 35+ age group. However, if the household had multiple males/females from the required age category, respondents were selected based on their willingness to participate.

A total of 7303 respondents were contacted, among which 7.71% (519) refused to participate. Informed consent was obtained from all respondents. Respondents were also given contact information for The Asia Foundation should they have any queries or wish to adjust or revoke their participation.

High-frequency checks (HFC) including backchecks were used to flag problems in the field which were clarified and/or resolved by contacting respondents and reviewing randomly selected responses together for accuracy. Once data collection was complete, additional data cleaning methods were applied including logic tests and patterns. In total, 274 interviews were removed from the dataset due to quality control issues.

The final sample size used for the *Survey* was 6,510.

*Survey* weights were assigned proportional to the population of different areas (urban, rural) and divisions. The following equation was used.

$$\text{rural weight}_i = \frac{\frac{\text{Total rural population in the district } i}{\text{Total population in the district } i}}{\frac{\text{Total rural sample in the district } i}{\text{Total sample in the district } i}}$$

$$\text{urban weight}_i = \frac{\frac{\text{Total urban population in the district } i}{\text{Total population in the district } i}}{\frac{\text{Total urban sample in the district } i}{\text{Total sample in the district } i}}$$

As each respondent is either from an urban or rural area, each response is weighted by the urban/rural weight. By combining both urban and rural weight in a single variable, we get an area weight variable.

Then the district weight is also calculated by following equation

$$\text{District weight}_i = \frac{\frac{\text{Total population in the district } i}{\text{Total population in Bangladesh}}}{\frac{\text{Total rural sample in the district } i}{\text{Total sample in Bangladesh}}}$$

To obtain the overall weight for each observation, we multiply the area weight and district weight. This weight allows us to analyze the data while considering divisional level representations.

## Confidence of the Enumerators

The 2024 questionnaire had 10 sections, 128 questions, with new contemporary questions included on foreign affairs, climate change, the economy, and youth unemployment.

At the end of the *Survey*, enumerators were asked to rate respondents' engagement. Specifically, enumerators were asked if respondents answered spontaneously, with fear, or with help from others. Overall, 85.1% of respondents answered spontaneously, 9.9% answered with fear, and the remaining 5.0% replied with help from others.

The average duration of each interview was 53 minutes.

Surveys often include the use of filtered questions that were asked only to a specific group of respondents. For instance, while all respondents answered the general question: 'Do you think things in Bangladesh are generally going in the right direction, or the wrong direction?' However, a more detailed follow-up question, 'Why do you think Bangladesh is going in the right direction?', is only asked to those who said things are going well. Thus, the sample size may differ in some analyses.

Sample sizes may also differ in instances where multiple responses for open-ended questions are provided. In some questions, respondents are allocated up to three responses, however, not all respondents were able to provide all three reasons. As a result, the sample size for some of these questions may also vary in our analysis. Due to the variances, sample sizes are indicated where relevant.

## Appendix 2: Survey Questionnaire

### Instruction for Interviewers:

1. Conduct the interview in an informal, conversational manner, asking questions with a soft tone.
2. Put the respondent at ease and be careful not to proceed in an interrogative manner or to intimidate the respondent.
3. Give sufficient time to the respondent to reflect and answer the questions without feeling rushed.
4. If respondent does not understand the question, please ask whether he/she wants it to be repeated.
5. Please follow instructions and guidelines provided in bolded parenthesis for each question.
6. Do not read out headings or sub-headings while conducting the interview.

Interviewer's ID	:		Enumerator's name	:	
Location: 1 Rural, 2 Urban					
Division	District	Upazila	Union	Ward no	Village <i>Mahalla</i>
General information:					
Name of respondent	:				
Contact no	:				
<b>Consent of the Respondent</b>					
<b>Instruction for interviewers:</b>					
<p>Hello, I am an enumerator with BRAC Institute of Governance and Development (BIGD). We are conducting a <i>Survey</i> on a tablet on behalf of The Asia Foundation and BIGD on your perceptions relating to democracy, governance, and contemporary issues. We will use this information only for research purposes and assure you of confidentiality. We will not share your personal information with anyone. Your responses will be generalized but no one will know what you said individually. We will not keep your personal information longer than up to three months, after that all your responses will be stored anonymously. The <i>Survey</i> 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 <i>Survey</i> at any time. Do you agree to participate?</p>					
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No					

### Socio-Economic Information of the Respondents

Question	Answer/code
1 Respondent's Gender	1=Male 2=Female Other=..... (specify) 99

Question	Answer/code
2. Age (In complete Years)	-----years
3. Medium of Education	1=Bangla 2=Madrasa 3=English 4= Technical/ vocational -666= Not applicable (No institutional education)
4. Education qualification (last completed class)	<b>General Education Code:</b> 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  <b>Madrasa Education code:</b> 17 = Ebtadaee Class 1 18 = Ebtadaee Class 2 19= Ebtadaee Class 3 20= Ebtadaee Class 4 21= Ebtadaee 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

Question	Answer/code
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**English Medium Education code:**

30=Grade 1

31=Grade 2

32=Grade 3

33=Grade 4

34=Grade 5

35=Grade 6

36=Grade 7

37=Grade 8

38=Grade 9

39=Grade 10

40=A level

41=O level

42=Graduate & above

55=Religious education

5. Primary occupation

1 Rickshaw driver/van driver/easy bike driver

2 bike/bus/truck driver

3 Other transport drivers

4 Garment workers

5 Factory worker

6 Saloon/beauty parlor worker

7 Construction workers

8 Transport worker

9 Contract workers

10 Skilled workers [electronic, mechanical]

11 Platform worker [online food/product delivery]

12 Mason/carpenter/other masons/smiths

13 Non-agricultural day labor

14 Agricultural daily laborer

15 Government employee

16 Private sector employee

17 Seller/feriola [street vendor]

18 Small business/SME

19 Big business

20 Tailor

21 Coaching center

22 Online education/Coaching



Question	Answer/code
	23 Online business
	24 Freelancing online
	25 Doctor
	26 Village doctor
	27 Lawyer
	28 School teacher
	29 College teacher
	30 University teacher
	31 House tutor
	32 Farmer
	33 Livestock (cow/goat/buffalo/sheep)
	34 Duck/chicken/poultry
	35 Fisherman
	36 Housewife
	37 Student
	38 Unemployed
	39 Pion
	40 Housekeeper/maids
	41 Culinary artist/cook
	42 Security personnel
	43 Artisans (Blacksmiths, Potters, Goldsmiths)
	44 Cleaners/Sweepers
	45 Vandalist/ Bhangari workers
	46 Sailors
	47 Begging
	48 Employment in religious places of worship
	49 Runs on government allowance/other assistance
	50 Remittance
	51 Retired
	52 Shop assistant
	53 Hotel boy/restaurant assistant
	54 Handicrafts/cottage industries
	55 Income by renting assets [house rent/shop rentals etc.]
	56 Unable to work
	57 Engineer
	555 Please specify the other

	Question	Answer/code
6.	Are you the head of this household? (Note enumerators, HoH means final decision-making authority)	1=Yes 2=No
7.	Number of family members living in this household (note: household is defined as having individual kitchens)	Male ..... Female ..... Other .....
8.	Religion	1=Muslim 2=Hindu 3= Buddhist 4=Christian 99=Other (specify)
9.	Respondent's ethnicity	1=Bengali 2=Indigenous 99=Other (specify)
10.	Household wall	1=Brick 2=Cl Sheet/tin 3=Wood 4=Mud 5=Bamboo 6 =Straw/jute stick/leaves 7=Polythene 99=Other (specify)
11.	Source of light	1=Electricity 2=Solar panel 3=Kerosene 99=Other (specify)
12.	What is your approximate monthly household expenses (including overall costs, and money spent on interests, and savings)?	----- BDT
13.	If exact number not provided, ask for range:	1=Less than 5,000 Taka 2=5,000-10,000 Taka 3=10,001-20,000 Taka 4=20,001-30,000 Taka 5=30,001-40,000 Taka 6=40,001-50,000 Taka 7=more than 50,000
14.	Do you have any household members working outside the country?	1 = yes 2 = no

	Question	Answer/code
15.	Does your household receive money as remittance from him/her/them on a regular basis?	1 = yes 2 = no
16.	Do you or anyone from your household receive any allowance?	1 = yes 2 = no
17.	If yes, how many allowances in your household do you receive?	..... (number)

## The National Mood

### Direction of the Country Mood

18. Generally speaking, do you think things in Bangladesh today are going in the right direction, or going in the wrong direction?

Right direction	1
Wrong direction	2
Do not know	888
No answer	-999

19. [Ask if RIGHT DIRECTION in Q 18] Considering which factors you say that?  
(Don't read the answers, Circle appropriate answer codes, select up to three answers. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response)

1.	Overall development of economic conditions
2.	Good infrastructures (road, bridges, etc.)
3.	Overall development
4.	Increase in government stipends
5.	Business is going well
6.	Political stability
7.	Less political violence
8.	Better human rights
9.	Good safety and security
10.	People are contributing to societal development
11.	Improvement of law and order
12.	Good administration
13.	Improvement of education (stipend, passing rate)
14.	Smart facility/online facility [submitting online form, etc]
15.	Other (specify)
16.	No answer
17.	Do not know

20. [Ask if WRONG DIRECTION in Q 1)] Considering which factors you say that?  
(Don't read the answers, select up to three answers. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response)

1. Increasing price of commodities
2. Overall deterioration of economic conditions
3. Poor transportation system
4. Increasing poverty/needs
5. Lack of employment opportunities
6. Low salary
7. Political instability
8. Corruption
9. Over-dominance of one party
10. Rigged elections
11. Political intolerance
12. Drug abuse
13. Poor education system
14. Deterioration of law and order
15. Domestic violence (rape, dowry)
16. Rich have too much influence
17. Lack of women's freedom
18. Labor costs are low
19. The cost of agricultural product has increased
20. Other [specify]
21. No answer
22. Don't know

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

Right direction	Wrong direction	Do not know	No response
1	2	-999	-888
Political			

22. Why are you saying this (Do not read the responses, select up to three answers. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response)

Reasons for the right direction	Reasons for the wrong direction
1. Political stability	1. Political instability
2. Decreased political violence	2. Over-dominance of one party
3. Better human rights conditions	3. Rigged elections
4. Decreased terrorist activities	4. Political intolerance
5. Strong leadership	5. Deterioration of law and order
6. Better governance	6. Corruption
7. Better law and order	7. Lack of freedom of speech

Reasons for the right direction	Reasons for the wrong direction
8. Development of the country	8. Increase in terrorist activities
9. Other (specify)	9. No democracy
10. Don't know	10. Others (specify)
	11. Don't know

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

Right direction	Wrong direction	Do not know	No response
1	2	-999	-888
Social			

24. Why are you saying this (Do not read the responses, up to three responses accepted. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response)

Reasons for the right direction	Reasons for the wrong direction
1. Good safety and security	1. Deterioration of law and order
2. Improved law and order	2. Increase in corruption
3. Good administration	3. Non-Islamic activities
4. Improved education (stipend, passing rate)	4. Poor education system
5. Development in women's conditions (violence/early marriage/dowry)	5. Drug abuse
6. Improved health services	6. Domestic violence (physical abuse, rape, dowry)
7. More government stipends	7. Rich have too much influence
8. Improved housing services	8. Child abuse
9. Freedom of religious practices	9. Women's lack of job opportunities
10. Decreasing drug abuse	10. Cost of education
11. Improved internet access	11. Negative influence of Internet
12. Better shalish	12. Lack of women's freedom
13. Decreasing corruption	13. Poor quality of healthcare
14. Other (specify):	14. Increased extortion
15. Don't know	15. Youngsters crime increased/Kishore gang
	16. Social degradation
	17. Other (specify):
	18. Don't know

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

Right direction	Wrong direction	Do not know	No response
1	2	-999	-888
Economic			

26. Why are you saying this? [up to three responses accepted. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response]

Reasons for the right direction	Reasons for the wrong direction
I. Overall development of economic conditions	I. Overall deterioration of economic conditions
II. Good infrastructures (road, bridges, etc.)	II. Poor transportation system
III. Overall development	III. Poor provision of power supply (electricity)
IV. Increase in government stipends	IV. High cost of electricity
V. Business is going well	V. Poor provision of cooking gas
VI. Long-term strategic planning	VI. High cost of cooking gas
VII. Salary increase of government employees	VII. Increasing price of commodities
VIII. Scarcity has decreased	VIII. Lack of employment opportunities/less pay than work/no good job
IX. Power system (electricity) has improved	IX. Increasing scarcity
X. Increasing remittance	X. Agriculture sector is not improving/price of agricultural products is low/price of rice is low
XI. Employment has increased	XI. Increasing taxes
XII. Land price has increased	XII. Depleting bank reserves
XIII. Communication systems have improved	XIII. Businesses are not doing well
XIV. Livelihood conditions have improved	XIV. Lack of investments
XV. Other (specify)	XV. Money laundering
XVI. Don't know	XVI. 555 Other (specify)
	XVII. -999=Don't know

27. [If the economy is headed in the wrong direction (Q 25)] Has this negative economic direction impacted your family's economic situation?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Do not know
- d. No response

28. In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Bangladesh at the national level? (2006 Q72, 2015 Q22, 2017 Q8, 2018 Q4, Q7 2023) (Do not read the responses. Circle first response.) And which is the second most important? (Circle second response.)

I. Price hike of essentials	I. Poor transportation system (poor roads, traffic, accidents, quality and availability of transports)
II. Corruption	II. Poverty
III. Deteriorating law and order	III. Extortion/terrorism
IV. Unemployment	IV. Lack of rule of law
V. Poor provision/price of power supply (electricity)	V. One-party dominated politics
VI. Political instability and intolerance	VI. Difficulties in earning a living
VII. Lack of democracy	

---

VIII. Non-transparent Election	VII. Abuse of power
IX. Violence against women (rape, eve teasing, dowry, early marriage)	VIII. Lack of justice
X. Religious extremism/terrorism	IX. Agriculture sector not improving
XI. Natural disasters (river erosion, saltwater intrusion, floods, etc.)	X. Price of agricultural products is low
XII. Population growth	XI. Food scarcity
XIII. Crisis of provision/price of gas	XII. Housing crisis
XIV. Economic/business downturn	XIII. Lack of safety
XV. Lack of/ quality of health services	XIV. Lack of freedom of speech
XVI. Scarcity of/ quality of drinkable water supply	XV. Drug abuse
XVII. Education system (cost, quality, passing rate, etc.)	XVI. -888 No answer
XVIII. Lack of good governance	XVII. -999 = don't know
XIX. No problems	XVIII. 99 = others
XX. Social degradation	XIX. -888 = no answer

---

29. Now let's talk about your local area. Generally speaking, do you think things in your area today are going in the right direction, or in the wrong direction?

a. Right direction	1
b. Wrong direction	2
c. Do not know	90
d. No answer	66

30. In your view, what is the biggest problem facing the people of your local area (Circle first response.)? And which is the second biggest problem? (Circle second response.)

---

I. Price hike of essentials	I. Poor transportation system (poor roads, traffic, accidents, quality and availability of transports)
II. Corruption	II. Poverty
III. Deteriorating law and order	III. Extortion/terrorism
IV. Unemployment	IV. Lack of rule of law
V. Poor provision/price of power supply (electricity)	V. One-party dominated politics
VI. Political instability and intolerance	VI. Difficulties in earning a living
VII. Lack of democracy	VII. Abuse of power
VIII. Non-transparent Election	VIII. Lack of justice
IX. Violence against women (rape, eve teasing, dowry, early marriage)	IX. Agriculture sector not improving
X. Religious extremism/terrorism	X. Price of agricultural products is low
XI. Natural disasters (river erosion, saltwater intrusion, floods, etc.)	XI. Food scarcity
XII. Population growth	XII. Housing crisis
XIII. Crisis of provision/price of gas	XIII. Lack of safety
XIV. Economic/business downturn	XIV. Lack of freedom of speech
	XV. Gambling/drug addiction

---

XV. Lack of/ quality of health services	XVI. Waterlogging
XVI. Scarcity of/ quality of drinkable water supply	-888 No answer
XVII. Education system (cost, quality, passing rate, etc.)	-999 = don't know
XVIII. Lack of good governance	99 = others
XIX. No problems	-888 = no answer
XX. Social degradation	

## Political Interest and Efficacy

### Interest in Politics

31. How often do you discuss political affairs with friends? Almost all the time, often, not very often, or almost never?
- |                        |    |
|------------------------|----|
| a. Almost all the time | 1  |
| b. Often               | 2  |
| c. Not very often      | 3  |
| d. Almost never/Never  | 4  |
| e. Do not know         | 90 |
32. Over the past three years, would you say that your interest in political affairs has increased, decreased, or remained the same?
- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| e. Increased         | 1 |
| f. Decreased         | 2 |
| g. Remained the same | 3 |
| h. No response       | 4 |

### Political Alienation

33. If you think about the people elected National Parliament, suppose someone said: "They care about people like you (they think about common people)" Would you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?
- |                      |    |
|----------------------|----|
| i. Agree strongly    | 1  |
| j. Agree somewhat    | 2  |
| k. Disagree somewhat | 3  |
| l. Disagree strongly | 4  |
| m. Do not know       | 90 |



## Political Efficiency

34. Do you think that voting in National Parliamentary Elections can make a big difference, some difference, little difference, or no difference at all to the country's wellbeing?

n.	Big difference	1
o.	Some difference	2
p.	Little difference	3
q.	No difference at all	4
r.	Do not know	90

35. [Ask if answer to Q33 is a-c]: In which cases there are changes? (Don't read the answers, circle appropriate answers, multiple response)

A Changes may be positive.	Code
Infrastructure development (road/bridge/culvert)	1
Education is improving	2
Law and order improve	3
Advanced economic status	4
Agriculture development	5
Overall development	6
Employment opportunities increases	7
Employment abroad increases	8
Improved healthcare	
Other Specify (-----)	51

36. How much influence do you think someone like you can have over national government decisions?

s.	A lot	1
t.	Some	2
u.	Very little	3
v.	None at all	4
w.	Do not know	90
x.	Non-response	66

37. How much influence do you think someone like you can have over local government decisions?

y.	A lot	1
z.	Some	2
aa.	Very little	3
bb.	None at all	4
cc.	Do not know	90
dd.	No Answer	66

38. Which is more important when choosing who to vote for– the political party or individual candidate?

ee.	Political party
ff.	Individual candidate
gg.	Do not know
hh.	No answer

### Voting Choice

39. Suppose a candidate you like, or have voted for in the past, switched to a different (or, “the other”) political 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
-888 No answer	

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

	1st	2nd
Family background	1	1
Personal characteristics (honesty, behavior)	2	2
Personal achievements	3	3
Education	4	4
Occupation	5	5
Religious piety	6	6
Moral values	7	7
Availability and accessibility	8	8
Candidate’s personal connection	9	9
Wealth	10	10
Past track record of doing good things	11	11
Candidate’s popularity	12	12
Experience in politics	13	13
Party of the candidate	14	14
Ability to make proper judgment/bring justice to matters	15	15
Treating everyone equally	16	16
Development of the area	17	17
Who benefits the people/poor	18	18
Good leadership qualities	19	19
Don’t know	-999	-999
Other (specify _____)	99	99

41. What attribute do you consider most important for a party to be elected to government? (Do not read the responses. Circle first response) And which is the second most important? (Circle second response) (Circle second response) (2015 Q35, 2017 Q20, 2018 Q21)

	1st	2nd
Party programs and proposals	1	1
Connection to religion	2	2
Accomplishments of the party (education, health, etc.)	3	3
Whichever party will better develop the country	4	4
The party with more money	5	5
Party that focuses on educational development	6	6
Honest leaders	7	7
Leaders with wide acceptance	8	8
Party which is always beside the citizens	9	9
Party which will reduce corruption	10	10
Party with more power	11	11
Party with good values and ideology	12	12
Party with more popularity	13	13
Party that reduces unemployment	14	14
Other (specify _____)	99	99
No response	-888	-888
Don't know	-999	-999

## Political Parties and Quality of Representation

### Political Parties

42. What difference do you see, if any, between the different parties in Bangladesh today? (Do not read the responses; single response) (2006 Q20, 2017 Q21, 2018 Q22)

a. No differences	1
b. There are differences but cannot specify	2
c. Number of members in Parliament	3
d. Responsiveness to citizens	4
e. Difference in the degree of corruption	5
f. Commitment to development	6
g. Ideology	7
h. Other (specify: _____)	51
i. Do not know	90

q42\_a: Why do you think there is no difference between the different political parties in Bangladesh? (Write down)

43. I don't want to know which party you support, but thinking about that party, suppose someone said: "they care about people like you." Would you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?

a. Agree strongly	1
b. Agree somewhat	2
c. Disagree somewhat	3
d. Disagree strongly	4
e. Do not know	90
f. No answer	66

44. 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)

ii. Very likely	
jj. Somewhat likely	
kk. Somewhat unlikely	
ll. Very unlikely	
mm. No answer	

### Representation in Parliament

45. Many people do not know the names of the MPs in their constituency representing the parliament. Can you name your MP?

Name:-----

Correctly said	1
Incorrectly said	2
Do not know	90

46. 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
Do not know	90

47. Different people have different ideas about what Members of Parliament do. What do you think they do? (Do not read the responses; up to three responses accepted- select as first most important, 2nd important and 3rd important task) (2006 Q29, 2015 Q40, 2017 Q25, 2018 Q27)

I. Participate in the National Parliament to make laws	I. Help the party people
II. Take part in discussions on national problems	II. Support in ensuring justice
III. Raise local problems in parliament	III. Take care of the citizens
IV. Take part in discussions on the quality of work of the different ministries	IV. Visit the area regularly
	V. Provide social safety net stipends/cards
	VI. Monitor local development projects
	VII. Give jobs to the unemployed

V. Work for local development/Solve local people's problems	VIII. Reduce price of commodities
VI. Help the poor	IX. Reduce food scarcity
VII. Development of agriculture	-888 No answer
VIII. Improve healthcare services	99 Others
IX. Work for the welfare of the society and country	-999 = Don't know
X. Development of the education sector	
XI. Infrastructural development	

48. Would you say you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the job your MP is doing? (2006 Q30, 2015 Q41, 2017 Q30)

a. Very satisfied	1
b. Fairly satisfied	2
c. Somewhat dissatisfied	3
d. Very dissatisfied	4
e. Do not know	90
f. No answer	66

### Local Representation

49. Do you know the name of your Union Parishad Chairman/Municipal Mayor?

Name:-----

nn. Correctly said	1
oo. Incorrectly said	2
pp. Do not know	90

50. Have you (you or a family member) contacted your Union Parishad chairman/Municipal Mayor or members during the last two years for help in solving any of your local problems? (Circle the applicable response, single response)

qq. Yes	1
rr. No	2

51. Have you (you or a family member) contacted your Union Parishad chairman/Municipal Mayor or members during the last two years for help in solving any of your personal problems? (single response)

ss. Yes	1
tt. No	2

52. [Ask if yes in Q 50 or 51] If you are comfortable in sharing, what was the issue you approached them for? (Do not read out list, up to 3 responses- select as first, 2nd and 3rd response)

a. Dispute with neighbour
b. Dispute with community member

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| c. | Land or property dispute  |  |
| d. | Family problems   |  |
| e. | Construction/repair of roads, bridges, culvert, etc.  |  |
| f. | Issues regarding utilities (electricity, water, etc.)   |  |
| g. | Various documentation-related issues (NID, birth certificate, social safety net, document attestation etc.) |  |
| h. | Regarding relief/safety net assistance  |  |
| i. | Other (specify):  |  |
| j. | Prefer not to say   |  |
53. Would you say you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the job of your Union Parishad elected representatives? (Circle the applicable response, single response)
- |    |                       |    |
|----|-----------------------|----|
| a. | Very satisfied        | 1  |
| b. | Fairly satisfied      | 2  |
| c. | Somewhat dissatisfied | 3  |
| d. | Very dissatisfied     | 4  |
| e. | Do not know           | 90 |
54. 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 |
55. Have you contacted your UNO/ DC Office during the last one year for help in solving any of your local problems?
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No  | 2 |
56. Who do you think is the most powerful person in your locality (village or union)?
- |    |                                   |  |
|----|-----------------------------------|--|
| a. | Local Chairman/Member             |  |
| b. | UNO                               |  |
| c. | Any local businessman/businessmen |  |
| d. | Local police officer/officers     |  |
| e. | Local political leader            |  |
| f. | A government employee             |  |
| g. | Village matobbor                  |  |
| h. | Religious leader                  |  |
| i. | Others (specify)                  |  |
| j. | Do not know                       |  |
| k. | No response                       |  |

57. Which among these organizations below do you think is most important organization in your daily life? (read the options, single response)

a.	Union parishad
b.	Upazila parishad
c.	UNO
d.	DC office
e.	Govt. office
f.	NGO
g.	Shalish
h.	Court
i.	Anything other than the mentioned
j.	No response
k.	Do not know

## Elections

### Voting Participation

58. [Do not read the responses] what were the reasons for voting in the last parliamentary election?

Ans: (Please do not read responses; select in order as first response, 2<sup>nd</sup> response and 3<sup>rd</sup> response)

a.	Chance to choose parliament member of my liking	1
b.	It is my democratic right	2
c.	End corruption	3
d.	Select honest leader	4
e.	Vote may make a difference	5
f.	I have the freedom to vote	6
g.	Better roads / schools / housing / health care / mosques/temples and other benefits	7
h.	For continuity democracy	8
i.	Civic duty / duty as citizen / democratic obligation	9
j.	Elected representative for developing the country	10
k.	For leading the country appropriately	11
l.	Expected to receive money or gifts for voting	12
m.	For peace, not to have conflict / peace for next generation	13
n.	Fall under political pressure/forced	13
o.	Other (specify _____)	51
p.	Do not know	90

59. what were the reasons for not voting in the last National Parliamentary Election?

Ans: (Please do not read responses; up to three responses accepted. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response)

a.	Absence of major political parties	1
b.	Cheating on polling or counting process/Rigged election	2
c.	Do not support any party/candidate	3
d.	My vote won't make a difference/The election won't make a difference	4
e.	Fear of violence/intimidation	5
f.	Personal reasons: too busy working/no time, too old, sick, against my religion, etc.	6
g.	Not interested in politics/elections	7
h.	It doesn't matter who is in power/Situation will be the same	8
i.	Do not understand politics	9
j.	Do not know enough about the candidate/ parties	10
k.	Was not old enough/ineligible to vote	11
l.	The polling center is far from home	12
m.	Other (specify _____)	51
n.	Do not know	90

60. Did you know of the top two candidates of your constituency in the last national election before the election campaign began?

Yes	1
No	2
No response	3

61. Was the winning candidate from your constituency in the last national election involved in the local politics of your area before?

Yes	1
No	2
Do not know	3
No response	4

62. Do you support the decision of the main opposition party boycotting the national election of 7 January, 2024?

Yes	1
No	2
Do not know	3
No response	4

63. Do you plan to vote in the next national parliamentary election?

Yes	1
No	2



	Do not know/have not decided	3
	No response	4
64.	Did you vote in the last Upazila Parishad / Municipality / City Corporation election (if applicable). (Single answer, circle appropriate answer code)	
	Yes	1
	No	2
	Was not old enough/ineligible to vote	3
	No response	4
65.	Which one of these elections are most important to you?	
a.	National election	
b.	Local election (Upazila Parishad/Municipality/City Corporation)	
c.	Both	
d.	None	

## Democratic Values

### Meaning of Democracy

66. Now I'd like to ask about something else. A lot of people in Bangladesh today are talking about democracy. If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you?

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 read out pre-codes (upto two response, order as first and second response)

- a. Government by the people
- b. Opportunity to vote freely
- c. Equal rights for all
- d. People's freedom
- e. Freedom of speech/ opportunity to talk
- f. Development in the country
- g. People's opinion should be given importance
- h. Freedom of movement
- i. Guarantee of fundamental rights
- j. Justice
- k. Good governance
- l. Having a strong opposition
- m. No democracy in the country
- n. Other (specify):
- o. No answer

67. As a citizen of Bangladesh, what is your relationship with the government of Bangladesh?

1.	Government is my protector and service provider
2.	Government is my patron
3.	State/ Government is my representative
4.	King-subject relationship
5.	No relationship
6.	Prime minister and citizens
7.	Mother-daughter/Mother-son /Mother/ Brother-sister/ Friendly
8.	Mother
9.	Friendly
10.	Brothers and sisters
11.	Country leader
12.	Voter-candidate relationship
13.	We are citizens he/she is the head of the government
-999	Don't know
55	Others
-888	No response

## Political Tolerance

68. Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area?

a.	Yes	1
b.	No	2
c.	Do not know	90

69. Suppose a friend of yours supported a political party that most people did not like. Would you accept that, or would it end your friendship?

a.	Would accept it	1
b.	Would end friendship	2
c.	Not sure	3

70. Do you discuss political issues with friends?

1.	Almost all the time
2.	Often
3.	Not too much
4.	Hardly/not at all

## Protection of Rights

71. To what extent do the people of your locality feel free in expressing their political opinions – very free, fairly free, somewhat not free, or not free?

a. Very free	1
b. Fairly free	2
c. Somewhat not free	3
d. Not free	4
e. Do not know	90
f. No response	66

## Trust

### Trust in Neighbors

72. Generally speaking, do you think that most people can be trusted or have to be very careful in dealing with people? (*Single answer, circle appropriate answer code*)

a. Most people can be trusted	1
b. Have to be very careful in dealing with people	2
c. Most people cannot be trusted	3
d. No answer	66
e. Do not know	66

### Trust in Institutions

73. I will read you a list of institutions, agencies or groups. For each category, please rate its integrity according to this scale (----Show card – Let respondent point to institutions and scale; for the illiterate- read institutions and scales. Circle applicable response for each institution)

	Very high integrity	High integrity	Low integrity	Very low integrity	No response	Do not know
a. National parliament	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
b. UNO	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
c. DC office	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
d. Upazila parishad	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
e. Union parishad chairman	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
f. Political parties	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
g. Law enforcement (police)	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
h. Judiciary (courts/judges/lawyers/etc)	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
i. Army	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
j. RAB (rapid action battalion)	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
k. Media/journalists	1	2	3	4	-888	-999

	Very high integrity	High integrity	Low integrity	Very low integrity	No response	Do not know
l. Election Commission	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
m. International organizations	1	2	3	4	-888	-999
n. NGOs	1	2	3	4	-888	-999

74. In your opinion, what do you think NGOs do? Allow up to 2 responses. (*Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, and second response*)

uu. Small loan providers (microfinance institutions)

vv. Provides services like health, education, etc.

ww. Provides legal support

xx. Works for women empowerment

yy. Provides skill training

zz. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

## Gender Attitude and Practices

### Gender Attitudes

75. To what extent do you agree or disagree that men and women must have equal opportunities in the following types of education.

Types of education	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	No opinion
a Madrasa education	1	2	3	4	-888
b Primary School	1	2	3	4	-888
c Secondary School	1	2	3	4	-888
d Higher Secondary education	1	2	3	4	-888
e Local Colleges/University	1	2	3	4	-888
f Colleges/universities across the country	1	2	3	4	-888
g Foreign Universities	1	2	3	4	-888

76. If you think about women leadership, then how much do you support women leadership in the following levels?

Types of education	Strongly support	Somewhat support	No support	Do not Support at all	No response	Do not know
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	-8,888	-999
i. Community leader	1	2	3	4	-888	-999

### Women Choice in Elections

77. Do you think that Members of the National Parliament should be all men, mostly men, equal number of men and women, mostly women, or all women?

a. All men	1
b. Mostly men	2
c. Equal number of men and women	3
d. Mostly women	4
e. All women	
f. Male or female does not matter to me	
g. No response	5
h. Do not know	90

78. With same qualifications, who do you prefer as a representative of your constituency in the National Parliament – a man, a woman, a transgender, or it makes no difference?

a. A man	1
b. A woman	2
c. Transgender	3
d. Male or female does not matter to me but will not vote for transgender	4
e. Gender identity does not matter to me	5
f. Do not know	90
g. No response	66

## Information and Social Media

79. Do you have or own a mobile phone?

Yes	1
No	2
No response	-888

80. Can you access the Internet from that phone?

Yes	1
No	2
No response	-888

81. [If no in Q 80] Do you have access to the Internet through other means, such as an house computer (using WiFi), Internet café, anyone else's phone, or other type of connection?

Yes	1
No	2
No response	-888

82. [If no in Q 80 and 81], no Internet access] If it is ok to ask, what is preventing you from accessing the Internet? [Do not read out list, select top 3 reasons. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response]

- a. Do not need the Internet (not useful, not interesting)
- b. Have access to Internet from elsewhere
- c. Cost of the equipment (phone, tablet, computer, etc) is too high
- d. Cost of Internet service is too high
- e. Privacy or security concerns
- f. Internet service not available in this area
- g. Internet service is available but it is too slow
- h. Cultural reasons (exposure to harmful content)
- i. Lack of local content
- j. No electricity in the household
- k. Language barriers
- l. Other (specify):
- m. No response

83. What do you use the Internet for? [If yes in Q 80 or 81, Select up to 3 options. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response]

- a. Access information
- b. Following news
- c. Communicate with family/friends
- d. Entertainment
- e. Research

f.	Commute	
g.	Banking/Payments	
h.	Education	
i.	Online shopping	
j.	Other (specify):	

84. [Ask if yes in Q 80 or 81] Which platforms do you normally use to communicate online?  
(Up to 3 responses accepted)

a.	Facebook	1
b.	WhatsApp	2
c.	Viber	3
d.	Twitter	4
e.	Skype	5
f.	Imo	6
g.	Messenger	7
h.	Telegram	8
i.	Others (Specify.....)	51
j.	None	55
k.	No response	-888

85. If yes to Facebook, what do you use this platform for? (Circle the applicable response(s), multiple response)

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 new/ideas/concerns with friends and community	8
To see pictures	9
To look for jobs	10
Other (specify_____)	99
No response	-888

## Social Media & Political Empowerment (Added from 2022)

	Almost all the time (1)	Often (2)	Not very often (3)	Never (4)	Don't know (99)	No response (-888)
86. Can citizens ensure accountability of the state through Facebook?						
87. Do you feel safe to post your opinion regarding political governance of the country?						
88. 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 (Added from 2022)

89. Do you read any newspaper?	1 Yes	2 No			
90. In general, do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never	
91. Do you watch BTV news?	1 Yes	2 No			
92. In general, do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never	
93. Do you watch private channel news?	1 Yes	2 No			
94. In general, do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never	
95. Do you watch talk shows?	1 Yes	2 No			
96. In general, do you think talk shows are useful?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never	
97. Do you watch news through Facebook?	1 Yes	2 No			
98. In general, do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never	
99. Do you watch news through YouTube?	1 Yes	2 No			
100. In general, do you trust it?	1 Always	2 Most of the times	3 Rarely	4 Never	
101. Do you think print media in Bangladesh is free?	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free(3)	Not at all free (4)	
102. Do you think Bangladesh television is free?	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free(3)	Not at all free (4)	
103. Do you think Bangladesh Radio is free	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free(3)	Not at all free (4)	
104. Do you think private radios are free	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free(3)	Not at all free (4)	
105. Do you think private televisions are free	Very free (1)	Mostly free (2)	Not very free(3)	Not at all free (4)	



106. [Ask if yes in Q 80 or 81, has access to Internet]: When you use the Internet, do you feel secure, about the following?

Very secure	Somewhat secure	Not really secure	Not at all secure	Don't know (-999)
-------------	-----------------	-------------------	-------------------	-------------------

- a) Having a social media profile
- b) Sending and receiving messages
- c) Writing a blog or opinion piece
- d) Using digital financial service (mobile money/Internet banking)
- e) Studying a course online
- f) Meeting someone online
- g) Online gaming

## Security and Violence

107. In your view, what are the biggest causes of violence in Bangladesh? [Do not read responses]. [Record response, up to three responses accepted. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response]

1. Theft
2. Robbery
3. Murder
4. Drugs
5. Extortion
6. Mastani
7. Human rights violations
8. Eve teasing
9. Law & order situation
10. Corruption
11. Creating influence in locality
12. Forceful occupation of property
13. Fundamentalism
14. Political conflict
15. Hartals and political violence
16. Labor unrest
17. Bringing the current government of Bangladesh into trouble
18. External influence on the attackers
19. International terrorist organizations
20. Family issues
21. Kishore gang/teenage crime
22. Gambling
23. Does not happen

- 24. Other (specify \_\_\_\_\_)
- 25. No answer
- 26. Do not know

108. In your view, what is the biggest causes of violence in your community? [Do not read the responses]. [Record response, up to three responses accepted. Ensure order of responses is recorded as first response, second response and third response].

- 1. Theft
- 2. Robbery
- 3. Murder
- 4. Drugs
- 5. Extortion
- 6. Mastani
- 7. Human rights violations
- 8. Eve teasing
- 9. Law & order situation
- 10. Corruption
- 11. Creating influence in locality
- 12. Forceful occupation of property
- 13. Fundamentalism
- 14. Political conflict
- 15. Hartals/strike and political violence
- 16. Labor unrest
- 17. Bringing the current government of Bangladesh into trouble
- 18. External influence on the attackers,
- 19. International terrorist organizations
- 20. Family issues
- 21. Kishore gang/teenage crime
- 22. Gamble
- 23. Not happen anything
- 24. Other (specify \_\_\_\_\_)
- 25. No answer
- 26. Do not know

109. How often do you fear for your own personal safety or security or for that of your family these days? (Single response)

- a. Always
- b. Often
- c. Sometimes
- d. Rarely
- e. Never
- f. Refused
- g. Do not know

110. Are you concerned you or any member of your family might be the victims of the following types of violence: (very concerned, somewhat concerned, not really concerned, not at all concerned)

	Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not really concerned	Not at all concerned	No answer	Do not know
a. Political violence	1	2	3	4	66	90
b. Electoral violence	1	2	3	4	66	90
c. Terrorist attack	1	2	3	4	66	90
d. Criminal activities (theft, robbery, extortion, etc.)	1	2	3	4	66	90
e. Domestic violence	1	2	3	4	66	90
f. Disappearance/murder	1	2	3	4	66	90
g. Property mischief	1	2	3	4	66	90

111. Please tell me how you would respond to the following activities or groups. Would you respond with no fear, some fear, or a lot of fear? Ans: (Read the answers & circle applicable answer code in each line) In column '5' which rows answer will be code '3'

	No fear	Some fear	A lot of fear	No answer	Do not know	Reason of fear (pre-codes below)
a. Voting in elections	1	2	3	66	90	
b. Participation in political procession						
c. For any need to go to the government office						
d. Going to the police	1	2	3	66	90	
e. Travel one end of the country to another	1	2	3	66	90	
f. Move around at night	1	2	3	66	90	

*Pre-codes for "reason for fear": (Respondents who said "some fear" or "a lot of fear)*

*In case of an accident - 1*

*Fear of theft/hijacker - 2;*

*Fear of harassment by police -3;*

*Fear of terrorist attacks - 4;*

*Fear of violent attacks by political party activists-5*

*Fear of violent attacks by anti-political activists- 6*

*Other (specify \_\_\_\_\_) 7*

## Rohingya Refugees

112. Do you welcome Rohingya refugees living in your community?

aaa. Yes

bbb. No

ccc. Do not know

ddd. No answer

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

a. They should leave Bangladesh now

b. Until it is safe to return

c. Until they can go to another country

d. Indefinitely

e. Do not know

f. No answer

## Contemporary Issues

114. Are you aware of foreign aid/ donations provided to Bangladesh?

Yes 1 (go to Q 115)

No 2

115. If yes, which sectors do you think these donations should be most invested on? (single response)

a. Mega-Infrastructure (building highways, bridges, etc.)

b. Health sector

c. Education sector

d. Business sector

e. Relief/aid distribution

f. Poverty reduction

g. Others (specify)

h. No answer

116. You may have seen that there have been many large-scale infrastructure development projects such as roads, bridges, metros, highways, land and seaports, etc. Who do you feel benefits most from these investments? (up single response)

eee. Common people

fff. Elites and wealthy people

ggg. People of that community

hhh. Leaders

iii. Government

jjj. Contractors/ Construction companies

- kkk. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_  
lll. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_  
mmm. No response \_\_\_\_\_

117. Do you think these projects have had any impact on your life?

- a. Positive impact \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Negative impact \_\_\_\_\_  
c. No impact at all \_\_\_\_\_  
d. No response \_\_\_\_\_

118. How did the recent price hikes of essential commodities impact you?

- a. Severely impacted \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Somewhat impacted \_\_\_\_\_  
c. Not much impacted \_\_\_\_\_  
d. Not at all impacted \_\_\_\_\_  
e. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_  
f. No response \_\_\_\_\_

119. [If a. and b. in Q 118] In what way did the price hikes impact your lifestyle? (Single response)

- a. Had to make cuts to rent and utilities \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Reduced the quality of food \_\_\_\_\_  
c. Reduced quantity of food intake \_\_\_\_\_  
d. Made cuts to school and tuition fees of family members (reduce costs in education) \_\_\_\_\_  
e. Made cuts to health and medical expenses (reduce costs in health) \_\_\_\_\_  
f. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

120. How did the recent price rise of dollar impact you?

- a. Severely impacted \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Somewhat impacted \_\_\_\_\_  
c. Not much impacted \_\_\_\_\_  
d. Not at all impacted \_\_\_\_\_  
e. No answer \_\_\_\_\_  
f. Don't know \_\_\_\_\_

## International Relations

121. Now I am going to ask you about Bangladesh's relationship with other countries. In your opinion, which country is Bangladesh's best friend?

- nnn. India \_\_\_\_\_  
ooo. China \_\_\_\_\_  
ppp. Russia \_\_\_\_\_

qqq.	United States
rrr.	United Kingdom
sss.	Saudi Arabia
ttt.	United Arab Emirates/Dubai/Abu Dhabi
uuu.	European Union
vvv.	All Muslim countries
www.	Japan
xxx.	No one
yyy.	Others (specify)

122. There are a lot of discussions going on about global climate change and global warming. Are you familiar with these issues?

zzz.	Yes
aaaa.	No (skip to Q 125)

123. [If yes to Q 122] Now about global warming. There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including Bangladesh, should do about the problem of global warming. Please indicate which of the following three statements comes closest to your own point of view.

- a. Global warming is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs
- b. The problem of global warming should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost.
- c. Until we are sure that global warming is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs
- d. No opinion

124. In your opinion, do you think global climate change is a \_\_\_\_ to our country? (new in 2024)

- a. Major threat
- b. Minor threat
- c. Not a threat
- d. Unsure (don't know)

125. Compared to 5 years ago, do you think the following have increased, decreased, or stayed the same:



- a. Temperature (heat)
- b. Rain/monsoon
- c. Cyclone/tidal wave
- d. Flooding
- e. Air pollution
- f. Others:

## Economic access for young people

126. We know that youth unemployment is a problem in Bangladesh. In your opinion, what do you think is the main barrier to youth employment? (Record up to 3 responses in order) (new in 2024)

- a. Lack of job opportunities
- b. Lack of interest among young people
- c. Lack of qualification or skills
- d. Lack of skill training/vocational education
- e. Too much competition
- f. Corruption
- g. Others

127. I am going to mention some problems that can occur in any elections globally. I will read out a few of these to you and you will tell me whether you have seen or heard such incidents in the Bangladesh National Parliamentary Election.

- I. Party workers/voters may be attacked
- II. Forcing people to vote for a particular party
- III. Secrecy of voting cannot be maintained
- IV. Gift/ money will be paid to vote
- V. Vote counting may be rigged
- VI. Nothing is likely to happen like this
- VII. No answer
- VIII. Don't know
- IX. Other (specify)

128. Are there any common names/words related to election/politics/voting, etc. in this area? If yes write it (in *Banglish*).

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