

**Broadcasting Policies in Bangladesh:  
A Case Analysis of Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and  
Operation Policy 2008**

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**Dedicated to**

**My son, Ishmam Suhrawardy who knows how to raise questions and get best answers. I always learn from him for interviewing people with valid enthusiasm.**

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## Abstract:

Broadcasting policies are very sensitive especially in case of Bangladesh since long. Finally, Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008 is formulated and being advocated by the civil society organizations, which is considered as an exception. The actors and factors for setting agenda for such policy demonstrate a new trend in broadcasting policy in the country. So, what actors played such role and how the policy came to light need to be analyzed by applying policy approaches framework and qualitative investigation.

The first question is to examine trend of formulating Broadcasting policies in Bangladesh and find out the dominant actors came forward and played tremendous role for setting agenda for community radio policy. It also needs to explore & examine the process and challenges of formulating such long awaited Community Radio Policy 2008 first time in Bangladesh. Obviously, there are other factors played a catalyst role to the process need to explore.

The researcher interviewed civil society organization leader, iconic personality, former civil servant, policy maker, the Officials of UN agencies and media personality by administering a set of checklist. Observation, field visit and secondary source for information have also been followed for better understanding of the agenda setting process.

In the past, a persuasive policy advocacy coalition emerged in Bangladesh, which has first managed to incorporate community radio broadcasting in policy agenda in 2007, and as a result, the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) has declared the policy in 2008. The GoB also responded to them in a modest way rather than confronting the issue. The qualitative method of investigation found that the caretaker government (2007-2009) was the dominant factor in the process of formulation of the policy. South Asian media context, natural disaster likes cyclone Sidr, media diversification & access to information issue in the country have also accelerated the process of policy formulation and community radio movement. Civil society organizations were the dominant players among others. At the same time, iconic personalities, media, UN

agencies and other development partners have played significant role in the process. A free media environment was in the background to make the process easy.

No opponents had (been) detected in the agenda setting process. Government was pro-active by directives receiving from the Chief Advisor's Office of the caretaker government. Bangladesh Betar, the largest and oldest public service broadcaster in the country, obliged the process in a positive way. Civil society members have also took part in the policy process while Press and Media extended support through advocacy on the issue. The indirect role played by the community to have community radio has also contributed. The NGOs have also campaigned for community radio policy. Surprisingly, there was no sign of demonstration and social disobedience anywhere in the country for demanding community radio policy. These suggest a win-win situation has been created.

The role of the international development partners in the agenda setting in community radio policy formulation is passive in spirit. They have extended technical assistance to the coalition rather than providing fund. It has taken ten years for convincing the Government on the policy. The analysis also made it clear that the community radio policy agenda was argued in a different way unlike other policy areas like health, environment or women development. Although community radio policy advocacy coalition has international links, international development partners didn't put any form of pressure on the Government. So, the whole process was an indigenous endeavor, which has made the advocacy campaign distinctive and attention-grabbing for the researchers.

The international development partners are becoming enthusiastic to provide fund and other support to implement the policy. The absence and presence of such support make lots of differences. So, it should be observed with due attention. This study also suggests that after the declaration of community radio policy, the changing role of the advocacy coalition needs to be observed keenly.

## **List of abbreviation**

AIS	: Agriculture Information Service
AMARC-AP	: l' Association mondiale de radiodiffuseurs communautaires Asia-Pacific
BISR	: Bangladesh Institute of Social Research
BNNRC	: Bangladesh NGOs Network for Radio and Communication
CCRU	: Coastal Community Radio Unit
CDC	: Centre for Development Communication
CIDA	: Canadian International Development Agency
CRS	: Community Radio Station
CSOs	: Civil Society Organizations
ECFC	: Empowerment of Coastal Communities for Livelihood Security
FAO	: Food and Agricultural Organization
FM	: Frequency Modulation
FOCUS	: the Forum for Development, Journalism and Communication Studies
GoB	: Government of Bangladesh
ICT	: Information and Communication Technology
ICT4D	: Information and Communication Technology for Development
MDG	: Millennium Development Goals
MMC	: Mass Line Media Centre
PRS	: Poverty Reduction Strategy
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	: United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	: United States AID
VOICE	: Voices for Interactive Choice and Empowerment
YPSA	: Young Power in Social Action

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## **1. Introduction:**

In this introductory chapter a brief media scenario in Bangladesh has been discussed along with the basic ideas of the research work. It is a qualitative study based on secondary data analysis and interview of key informants regarding Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008. The researcher identified the agenda setting of the said policy process as an exceptional case regarding broadcast related policies' history in Bangladesh. Background, rational, secondary information review, research objectives and scope, significance, research question, methodology, and few other basic matters have been conversed in this chapter.

Bangladesh doesn't have any comprehensive broadcasting policy. There are few broadcast related policies which are helping the media to operate. Among the other broadcasting policies Community Radio Installation, Broadcasting and Operation Policy 2008 is quite different in nature. This is the first time in the country a policy aimed to ensure community ownership and participation in the media with a non-profit fashion. This policy is in the main the focus of this study.

Media either owned by state or corporations (Hamelink, 1994). In Bangladesh both state and corporations have media where press in general is in the private sector, and radio and television under government control. There are few private satellite television channels and urban based commercial FM radios have been broadcasting though government orders but there was no policy. First satellite television channel started broadcasting in 1991 and private FM radio started in 2005. Though Bangladesh Betar, the government owned radio has been broadcasting since 1939 and Bangladesh Television, another government terrestrial television station has been broadcasting since 1963.

There are three schools of thought for analyzing media. Liberal Traditional Approaches consider media as medium between state and society to control people's opinion and consent. It is a watchdog in any democratic system. Marxist Approach defines media as a 'false consciousness' creator in the society. State uses media for remaking people's point of view

toward the rulers' mindset. Radical Approaches respect media as a medium to resolve or react in case of social conflict among contending power groups. In Post-Modern thought media examine in terms of culture forms and economic rational. In line with these approaches, media situation in the world has been evolved. Public service broadcast media like Bangladesh Betar and Bangladesh Television play role for creating consent and opinion, and in Marxist view point remaking false consciousness. Private owned medium play radical role. In case of community radio it is much closer to Post Modern thought.

So, community broadcasting is advance in nature. In terms of governance, Bangladesh is struggling to ensure its quality in global scale. It is a simple question, raised in researcher's mind, why does Bangladesh government declare a community radio policy? What are the deriving forces in it? This is a deep-seated inquire governance and public policy discipline to ask about. That is the motivation of this research to know the fact.

In this research broadcast related policies have analyzed to understand the recent trend of electronic media system in Bangladesh. Instead of media and communication approaches, policy analysis has chosen to find the recent trend of broadcast system in Bangladesh.

### 1.1 Background of the research topic

In Bangladesh there are three kinds of electronic media have been broadcasting programme and news namely, public service broadcasters, commercial broadcasters and International broadcasters. Bangladesh Betar and Bangladesh Television are public service broadcasters owned by the state. The commercial broadcasters are satellite TV channels and private FM radios. The B.B.C. World Service, V.O.A., D.W., N.H.K., etc. are International broadcasters, who broadcast programme in Bangla.

These three kinds of electronic media have different objectives and none of them have intention or ability to allow communities' people to put their voices in the media. This limitation of those media is a great concern of this day. Community ownership and participation are two potential issues in development paradigms. To solve this problem societies around the globe find community media an inexpensive and affordable device for the

communities to address their needs. Community radio ‘aims not only to participate in the life of the community, but also to allow the community to participate in the life of the station... at the level of ownership, programming, management, direction and financing’(Girard 1992:13). In the participation process special emphasis is given on dialogue and communication as a two-way process (Coarpentier et al. 2003). Ofor (2002) argues that, to promote social and cultural change, community radio needs to be not only a channel to transmit to people, but also a means of receiving from them: not only an instrument to hear from or about the world, but the people’s voice, to make their voice heard.

A number of civil society organizations have been functioning in Community Radio Movement in the country since 1989. A series of seminars, consultations, meetings, advocacy campaigns, negotiations, workshops and symposiums had been conducted by those civil society organizations sponsored or supported by International agencies.

During the last caretaker government (2007-2008) the Ministry of Information formed a Community Radio Policy draft committee chaired by the Director General of Bangladesh Betar. In that committee there were two members from civil society organizations and they played pivotal role to make the first draft. The public officials in the team including the chairman had acted as passive members to improve or correct the draft in line with government rules, regulations and national interests. As an actor community people were absent in the policy process and government was passive. But civil society organizations were played active and vibrant role in the policy process. The role of the advocacy coalition in the policy process is main objective of this research.

## 1.2 Statement of the research problem

Broadcasting policies are very sensitive in nature especially in case of Bangladesh. Still there is no extensive broadcasting policy in the country. Bangladesh Betar broadcasts in light of Wireless Telegraphy Act 1885, Telegraphy Act 1933 and Bangladesh Telecommunications Regulatory Commission Act, 2001. The National Broadcasting Authority Ordinance 1988 and The National Broadcasting Authority Ordinance (Amendment) 1988 are also two major policy guideline followed by the organization for day to day activities. In 2009, a Private FM Radio

Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy adopted for private radio stations. But before that a Community Radio Policy 2008 declared by the government which designed and advocated by the civil society organizations in an exceptional way. The actors and factors of Community Radio Policy 2008 demonstrate a new trend in broadcasting policy in Bangladesh. This trend analyzed with policy approach in the study.

### 1.3 Illustration of the problem

Compare to other broadcasting policies in Bangladesh, Community Radio Policy 2008 is unique in nature in terms of policy process. Usually broadcasting policies are processed in a closed door environment. This time it was being processed by policy coalition. In this coalition, there were civil society organizations, academicians, researcher, iconic personalities, media professionals, law makers, and international agencies.

In policy process there were different actors and factors. These actors and factors were playing roles according to their interests. In broadcasting policy process Bangladesh government had monopoly earlier. But in course of time, the paradigm shifted and private sector started interventions in the process to have share in the frequency allocation. Later the civil society organizations were took initiative to influence the broadcasting policy process. In the said policies, civil society and international agencies have played active roles including advocacy, campaign, drafting and negotiation with government. In this research the level and degree of influence of actors and factors like civil society, iconic personalities or international agencies will be examined with policy research tool to know the recent trend in broadcasting policy process.

At the Second Global Knowledge Conference in Kula Lumpur, March, 2000, World Bank President James Wolfensohn stated, ‘The answer is not just another series of projects, a bit more money to send from developed countries to developing countries... the answer clearly is knowledge, partnership and opportunity brought about by this new (knowledge and digital) revolution.’ Digital divide and information divide both can be minimized by community media as experienced in many part of the world. From that point of view community radio policy is a

serious matter to inspect. How did this enhanced policy agenda include in the policy process in Bangladesh without any potential resistance!

## 1.4 Review of literature

Community Radio Policy 2008 is the basic document for this research. The literature on community radio movement in Europe, North America, Latin America, Africa and Asia examined to find background information on historical perspectives of this alternative kind of media.

The Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008 is a living document to find the influential actors in the policy process. The licensing criteria are an indicator by which one could examine the degree of pressure of the interest group in the policy process. The following table (table: 1) shows a comparison of diverse set up of licensing grant in different countries.

Table-1: Eligibility and non-eligibility for having license of community radio in different countries.

Country	The entities that are eligible for license	The entities that are not eligible for license
Australia	Duly incorporated associations or companies that represent a community interest	
Bangladesh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Government research institutions and development organizations, which satisfy the conditions.</li> <li>- Non-government development organizations, with at least five years of operation and involved in poverty alleviation or media and ICT sector, which satisfy the basic principles. The organization should be a legal entity or registered from NGO Bureau</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Individuals and partnership firms</li> <li>- Political parties and their affiliate organizations including students' wings, trade unions, etc</li> <li>- Organizations and companies both local and foreign where profits are distribute to the owners/shareholders</li> <li>- International NGOs and foreign broadcasters/ channels and</li> <li>- Organizations banned by government.</li> </ul>
Canada	A registered non-profit community group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A business house</li> <li>- An individual</li> </ul>

Colombia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- An organized community having legal personality</li> <li>- Their social objective must be the promotion of mass communication as an instrument of development and community participation</li> <li>- They must be domiciled in the municipality in which the station is set up</li> </ul>	
Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- corporations of Ghanaian citizens</li> <li>- Associations registered in Ghana</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Political parties</li> <li>- Religious organizations</li> </ul>
India	Any legal entity should be eligible for grant of a community radio license	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Religious body</li> <li>- Publicly funded bodies</li> <li>- Banned organizations</li> </ul>
Poland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Persons of Polish nationality who reside permanently in Poland</li> <li>- Legal persons permanently domiciled in Poland (Shares held by foreign investors in the capital of Broadcasting Companies is limited to 33%)</li> </ul>	
South Africa		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Any party, movement, organization or alliance of a political nature</li> </ul>
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Legal entities</li> <li>- Individuals who are national of a member state of European Union or nationals of other state if so provided in international agreement</li> </ul>	
UK	Only bodies corporate (i.e. not individuals) can apply for community radio licenses	Holders of other broadcasting licenses

*Source: Media in Development- Bangladesh Enterprise Institute*

In Bangladesh, the broadcast related policy, ordinance or laws can be divided in three categories. The characteristics of these three categories are interesting because it shows the shift of ownership of broadcast media in Bangladesh. Category ‘A’ shows that government puts more and more control on broadcast system. Both the Telegraph Acts emphasized on control over radio frequencies. Television Corporation Ordinances described the ultimate government authority on telecasting programmes and news. Censorship on television film telecasting, guidelines for radio and TV broadcasting, broadcasting authority’s activities, license and possession of television apparatus, and preservation of terrestrial facilities for

national television are dedicated for a very rigid control on broadcast system. It is kind of monopoly of government over broadcasting. In category ‘B’ private programmes and films allowed in Bangladesh Television, is a breakthrough in the broadcast system. Than advertisement policy is something encouraging for the private sector for using public media. Cable TV, satellite TV, private radio, and leasing of BTV facilities are fostered private initiatives in the electronic media sector. Finally, new authority acts were passed in the Parliament for changing the management pattern of Bangladesh Betar and Bangladesh Television for more openness.

In the third category (C), media diversification and liberalization were introduced in a more realistic way. Bangladesh Telecommunications Regulatory Commission Act 2001 creates an enabling environment for the media to use spectrum beyond state owned media. Community radio policy allows community to own and operate community radio. There are four private FM radio has been broadcasting program since 2006, but a policy declared in 2010 to make the licensing process well structured. From the very beginning Community Radio gets privilege with a well defined policy guideline. This policy makes Community Radio initiatives robust and more competing with professional ability.

Table-2: List of broadcast related act and policies in Bangladesh

Category	Act/Ordinance/Rule/Regulation/Policy/Guideline
A	Wireless Telegraphy Act 1885
	Telegraphy Act 1933
	Television Corporation Ordinance 1967
	Television Corporation Ordinance 1972
	Bangladesh Television Film Censor Guidelines and Rules 1985
	Guidelines for Radio and Television Programme 1986
	The National Broadcasting Authority Ordinance 1988
	The National Broadcasting Authority Ordinance (Amendment) 1988
	The Television Receiving Apparatus (Possession and Licensing ) Rules 1970 (As amended up to 01, January 1995)
	Act for Reservation of Terrestrial Facilities for BTV 2006

B	Bangladesh Betar Advertisement Guidelines 1979
	Policy for supplying programmes by government, private and individual in BTV 1991
	Standard Leasing Rate of BTVs Facilities (Revised) 1991
	Private Programme Production Policy in BTV 2001
	Bangladesh Betar Authority Act 2001
	Bangladesh Television Authority Act 2001
	Private Radio Establishment and Operation Policy 2006
	Private Satellite Television Establishment and Operation Policy 2007
	Ordinance for Cable Television Network Operation and Related Regulations 2006
C	Bangladesh Telecommunications Regulatory Commission Act 2001
	Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008
	Private FM Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2010

There are two available base line surveys on audience; one was conducted by Bangladesh Betar (1989) and another was carried out by Bangladesh Institute of Social Research (2009). The first one showed that the national media are not addressing the local need properly. The second survey demonstrated that the audience of both national radio and TV are declining in the rural area, and on the other hand they are not covered by the private media. So, the media-dark population is increasing. A gap between centre and periphery is increasing alarmingly. As an alternative media community radio could be a solution to address this problem. But there is no evidence that community people are demanding for community radio. Even most of them don't know about community radio. They are asking for more quality time in the traditional or existing media.

Few other empirical studies tracks on media situation in Bangladesh included Kabir and Bhattachargee (1994), Kabir et al (2006), and Kabir et al (2008). Kabir and Bhattachargee mainly focused on the need based radio and television programmes. The behavior of the audience, programme effectiveness and impact and some other demand sides requirements are discovered in that study.



There is no existing policy analysis on community radio policy in Bangladesh. Even the newspapers haven't published any sub-editorial on the issue. Some NGOs have books and booklets on this policy, focused on the criterion for getting license or operational features. The policy process is being ignored by both the academia and researcher. Bangladesh Enterprise Institute conducted a research on Media Diversity in Bangladesh (2006) which has suggested comprehensive policy framework and greater investment in broadcasting. This research studied broadcasting policies to place recommendation for changes or formulate new policies.

Policy researchers in Bangladesh have done a good number of policy researches on environment, health, education, women, etc. But no significant policy analysis has yet to be found in the area of broadcasting.

### 1.5 Scope and objective of the research

The research is aimed to find out the dominant actors and factors in community radio policy's agenda setting process in Bangladesh. Government, public, civil society, development partners, donors or international agencies, all have role in policy making in Bangladesh. But the balance of power between actors is changing with global order or with other factors. Whether it is bad or good that is not the question. The basic urge of this study is to find the trend.

Identifying the trend of broadcasting policy process in Bangladesh in terms of dominant actor and factor is essential to analyze for understanding Bangladesh media system. In the governance and development process media and communication issues are very crucial to address. In this research, the agenda setting issue is going to scan. The future researchers will notice the impact of this trend and relate that with other policy issues. Actors and factors in policy process are significant indicators to analyze public policy. In the research this core question answered with empirical evidences. Understanding the trend in broadcasting policy formulation considering major actors and factors will help the media system to address its needs. In the same time that will help the academia, practitioner, and researchers to study and formulate effective and efficient broadcasting policy. In line with these objectives following research question has raised and analysis.

## 1.6 Research question

What are the dominant actors and factors in agenda setting in Community Radio Installation, Broadcasting and Operation Policy 2008?

## 1.7 Significance of the research

In policy process, the role and dominance of different actors is important to identify in an academic manner. If government is the dominant force than the public offices should build their capacity to generate solutions on different issues. Expertise and efficiency is needed to address the challenge of the changing world. If the research shows that the civil society is the dominant actors than the capacity of public offices should be increased to ensure proper check and balance. The global factor is another concern. Bargaining and negotiation capacity of the domestic actors to ensure a win-win situation is important in this regards.

A status quo or equilibrium point should identify to address the policy issues. That's why a proper diagnosis of policy process is needed. Depends on the recent trend a guideline could be developed to strengthen broadcasting policy process in Bangladesh.

## 1.8 Methodology

**Review of literature:** At the outset a review of literature have carried out following the standard method where materials from different sources collected and used. The review of literature covered all the published and unpublished documents related to broadcasting policy in Bangladesh and other South Asian countries available.

**Preparation of checklists:** The researcher prepared different set of questionnaires for interview. Based upon the review of literature and requirement of information for pursuing the research the checklists developed. Pre-test of the checklists carried out before conducting the actual interview.

**Data collection and processing:** The researcher collected the data from respective area. Before processing data, a sample check conducted by a third party to ensure its consistencies

and reliability. The research is qualitative in nature. Comparison and cross check were followed for verifications of data.

**Sample size and sampling method:** The researcher took 15 samples from 8 areas of interests, as follows; (a) The Community Radio Policy draft committee members – 2, (b) Iconic personalities - 2, (c) International Agency representatives – 1, (d) Civil society activists involved in CR Movement -5, (e) Academia and researcher involved with the issue – 2, (f) Media professionals-1, (g) Law maker-1, and (h) Technology expert-1

With a checklist, in-depth interview was taken by the researcher and cross-checked those with each others. In the same time different documents also reviewed to identify the KI's role in the community radio policy issue.

Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008 is a distinct policy which is almost untouched by the policy analysts. Even broadcast related policies in Bangladesh are some extent neglected in the academic arena. In this research only the agenda setting has been selected for in-depth analysis. First generation broadcast policies (A) were more conservative in nature where everything was under government control. In the second generation broadcast policies (B) some extend of liberalization has identified. Third generation broadcast policies (C) are a clear indication of media diversity, pluralism and pro-people broadcast system. The major and dominant actors and factors behind this new trend are examined in this study for better insight of the recent trend of broadcasting policies of Bangladesh.

Diversity of broadcasting system indicates the level of democratic practice of a society. From this view point, Community Radio initiative is a paradigm shift in Bangladesh polity. This analysis is essential for locating the dominant players behind this policy change. It will inspire the future researchers to investigate more on broadcasting policy issues for directing, and improving the media system in Bangladesh.

## 2. Theoretical framework

Policy making process generally examines by breaking it down in five stages. (Lasswell, 1956, Lyden et al., 1968, Simmons et al., 1974, Brewer, 1974, Jones, 1984 and Anderson, 1984). The stages are being followed by applied problem solving issues. In ‘agenda-setting’ refers to the process by which problems come to the notice of governments. For solving the referred issues, a package of solution is required which called, ‘policy formulation’. ‘Decision-making’ is a defined course of actions for doing thing or not doing thing by the government. Policies come to effect by ‘policy implementation’, and ‘policy evaluation’ monitors the result of the policy. These five stages are the lifecycle of a policy. In this research, only agenda-setting is studied with appropriate frameworks. The following table shows the applied problem-solving and its corresponding stages in the policy process.

Table-3: Five stages of the policy cycle and their relationship to applied problem-solving.

Applied problem-solving	Stage in policy cycle
Problem recognition	Agenda setting
Proposal of solution	Policy formulation
Choice of solution	Decision-making
Putting solution into effect	Policy implementation
Monitoring result	Policy evaluation

*Source: Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems by Michael Howlett & M. Ramesh.*

Group theory and the Advocacy Coalition Approach have consulted to answer the research question. According to group theory, public policy at any given time is the equilibrium reached in the group struggle. First generation broadcasting policies in Bangladesh were completely government domain where government was the sole determinant. But in the second generation broadcasting policies private sector becomes the player. In Community Radio Policy third sector showed-up as a player on behalf of the communities.

The Group theory has passed four stages, i.e, (1) the group theory of the 1950's, as represented by David Truman's *The Governmental Process*, for a decade a leading book in the discipline, to (2) the pluralist theory of power of Robert A. Dahl and his associates which flourished in the 1960's, but which actually de-emphasized the role of interest groups in politics, contrary to the conventional way of describing Dahl's work, to (3) the theory of multiple elitism of the 1970's, centering around the work of Theodore Lowi, Jr., and Mancur Olson, Jr., which stressed the problem of special interest rule, to (4) the neopluralist theory of the 1980's, as exemplified by Jack Walker and James Q. Wilson, which saw possibilities for effective representation of widely shared interests without assuming an equilibrium of democratic and fair representation.

According to the group theory, 'the State' is composed of actors, both institutional and non-institutional. The actors are a product of their historical, socio-economic, political and various other contexts. Groups have competing sets of interests and the State acts as a control mechanism. In group theory, pluralism and elitism are two sides of the coin. Pluralism recognizes a decentralized form of government wherein interest groups engage in conflict and dialogue where group interests are multiple and shifting. On the other hand, Elitism argues that a small minority, comprised of members of a socio-economic elite and policy hold the most power and influence in politics and policy making.

As policy actors, groups seem most effective in the problem identification, agenda setting, and policy formulation phases of the policy process. But a tension between Pluralist and Elitist conceptions of groups are a continuing debate in group theory for analyzing policy. From 1906 to 1970, Group theories were flourished in its high priority as a tool for social science research. Actually group theories began to develop as a reaction to the Institutionalism of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in which normative beliefs elevated political institutions to the level of Platonic ideals rather than contextualized such institutions in terms of their reality. "The group conception removed the veil of rhetoric that obscured the actual operation of government behind abstractions like 'the national interest.'"(Garson, 1978, pg.80) In nature, this study is a qualitative one rather than quantitative. Group theory is considered here as a relatively moderate way to define the role of actors and factors in agenda setting of Community Radio Policy process. In this study, there are two sets of actors identified, (1) internal and, (2)

external. As internal factors there were NGOs, academicians, researchers, iconic personalities, media professionals, cultural activists, law makers, etc. Among external factors there were international organizations.

Later, the friction between Pluralism and Elitism in Group Theories have mollified by Neo Pluralism. In the 1950s, a group of new-pluralists came onto the scene. For E.E. Schattschneider, group theory and specially Pluralism are evidenced by the transference of private conflicts into the public domain. Robert Dahl also talks about the fragmentation and conflict of public and private interests. While no group will ever be able to speak to interests of society as a whole. Dahl believed that group can be coordinated through a centralized positive state, and that consensus could emerge from the group process. At the early stage, Group Theories were not considered as a empirical rigor. But now it respects as a framework for analysis, or as description of the policy process. Groups do play a significant part in the policy process that is the strongest argument for using Group Theory in this policy analysis.

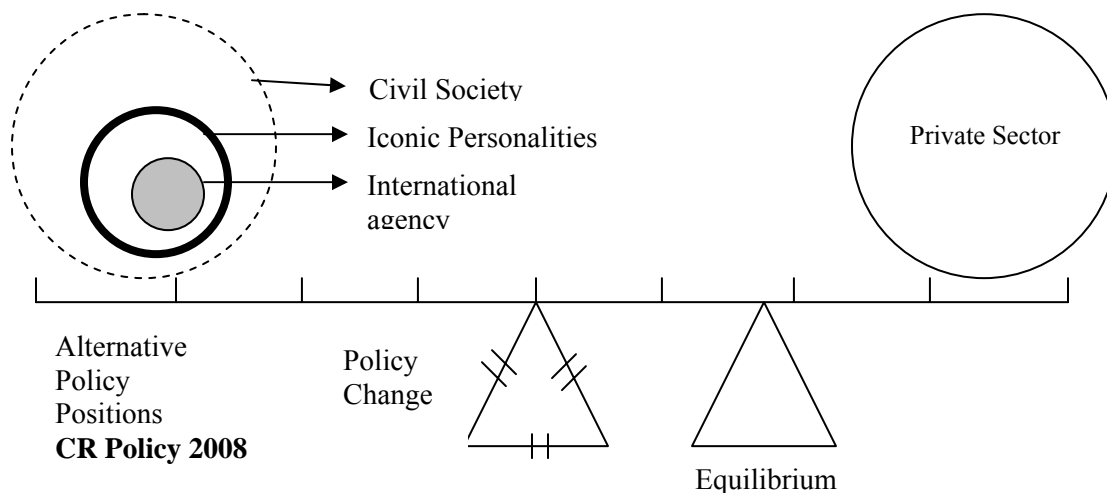
Political scientists haven't found any society purely pluralistic or elitist, but a blending of the two. Matthew Cahn talks about the tendency of groups in a democracy to factionalize in order to maximize their influence as they exercise their right to press their interests. (Cahn, 1995). In *Federalist Paper 10*, James Madison suggests that it is best to allow many competing factions to prevent any single faction's domination within the political system. (Madison, 1788). Pluralism by definition involves multiple centers of power that exert force upon each other. Interest groups, then, are collections of individuals interacting on the basis of shared attitudes or beliefs, exerting claims on other groups (Truman, 1971).

Group Theory illustrates the effect of multiple players on the policy process. In addition to elected officials and the court, it shows how staff, bureaucracy, the public, interest groups, lobbyists, media and think tanks range from less influential to very influential at each stage of the policy process. (Theodoulou and Kofinis, 2004). Conventionally, groups are persuading policy process indirectly when election takes place. But groups have direct influence on policy process as well. In this study, the researcher tries to find the major actors in the Community Radio Policy process and examine the dominances. In the framework of this theory, policy

making is about compromise, or about finding solutions that are best for a majority of groups. But there are always risks from the elites for their greater influences than the grassroots organizations. In that case, sometimes groups form coalition with other actors to gain power and resources. In the Community Radio Policy agenda setting process there were different groups, institutions and individuals. The study aimed to locate the dominant groups or actors in the process and subsequently tried to identify other members of the coalition, and their roles.

The reality of the present world is that it is impossible for legislators, bureaucracy, and each members of the cabinet to be knowledgeable of every issue area. The bureaucracy affiliated with more general issues. Highly specialized issue-based knowledge needs specialized groups to address. (Fiorina, 1989; Light, 1984; Wilson, 1975). Thus groups have effect upon the policy formulation when required in terms of specialized expertise. Smaller interest subsets of the society play important role in this situation. Here comes the issue of network, or shared knowledge groups focused on some aspect or problem in public policy, Hugh Hecllo talks about a form of intellectual Elitism he labels Technocracy. In a Technocracy individuals or, organizational systems are chosen because of their skills and qualifications. People are advanced by reputation, and specialization is selected for addressing problems. (Hecllo, 1978)

The following diagram shows the interest groups who played important role in the agenda setting in the Community Radio Policy process. Civil society, iconic personalities and international agencies were the vital players who influence the policy process for balancing the subsystem.



Besides Group Theory, Advocacy Coalition Approach has consulted for better understanding the role, and influence of the actors and factors in the agenda setting of the policy. Advocacy Coalition Approach is a conceptual framework of the policy process. An advocacy coalition consists of actors from many public and private organizations at all levels of government who share a set of basic beliefs and who seek to manipulate the rules of various governmental institutions to achieve those goals over time. Conflict among coalitions is mediated by 'policy brokers'. (Sabatier, 1991)

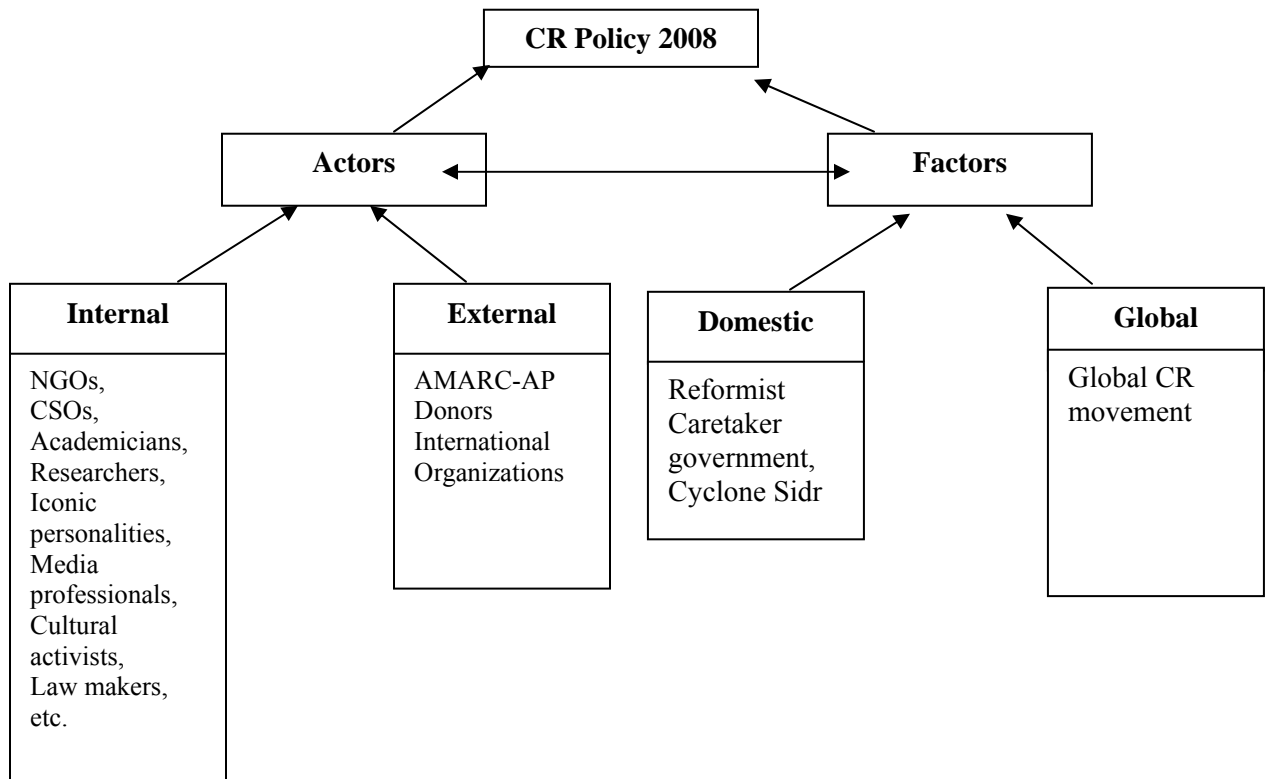
Sometimes the subsystem influences by other policy subsystems. During the reformist Caretaker Government System (2007-2009), the Right to Information Ordinance was initiated, and Citizen Charters were start formulated in different public offices. So, the access to information was in the center. Community Radio Policy was also part of that popular scheme as well. In the Advocacy Coalition Approach, coalitions are guessed to organize around common core beliefs. This core belief is in the axis of the coalition composition. The core belief is derives from policy learning system. There are 'relatively stable parameters' and 'external (system) events' which influence the subsystem. Policy brokers plays role as mediator to ensure equilibrium.

Public policy is a public domain. But International and civil society actors are playing significant role in the process. There are numbers of causes may be identifies. This trend is accelerating day by day. Public policy science has discussed a lot about policy universe and policy subsystem where integrated actors and institutions are mentioned essentially.

Community Radio Policy 2008 is the depended variable here to examine. Actors and factor are the independent variable which influences the agenda setting of the policy process. The study is interested to find the degree of influences of the factors and actors. Two sets of actors were there; one was internal and other was external. Internal actors were NGOs, CSOs, academicians, researchers, media professionals, law makers, iconic personalities and activists, while the external actors were AMARC-AP, donor and UN organizations. Factors are also



divided in two kinds. The domestic factors were Reformist Caretaker government and cyclone sidr, while the external factor was global community radio movement.



### **3. Concept of Community Radio and an overview of Bangladesh situation**

The history of Community Radio is almost fifty years old and started in Latin America. Bolivia is the champion for pioneering the alternative media in 1948. In the same year Columbia also launched local broadcasting by setting up Community Radio. Europe and Africa were started it later on. In this chapter, the basic concept of community broadcasting has discussed with brief global comparison. The perception of community is important to consider before going to talk about Community Radio. Different types of media and their specific objectives and management system are also focused in this chapter. Community Radio is pro-people media, ideally it owned and operated by community. It is different than the public service and commercial media system from philosophical point of view. There are different models of Community Radio in the world. This pinpointed here. The chapter has also an epigrammatic narrative about the evolution of the advocacy coalition.

#### **3.1 Concept of community radio**

Communities are complex entities and so what constitutes "community" in Community Radio is often a contentious and tricky debate and will vary from country to country. Community radio may also often be replaced by a range of terms like "alternative", "radical", or "citizen" radio. Traditionally in sociology, a "community" has been defined as a group of interacting people living in a common location. Community radio is often built around concepts of access and participation and so the term community may be thought of as often referring to geographical communities based around the possible reach of the radio's signal, i.e. the people who can receive the message, and their potential to participate in the creation of such messages. This is of course problematized by the fact that many radio stations now broadcast over the internet as well, thereby reaching potentially global audiences and communities.

The concept of community radio varies in different region with the local reality. In Bangladesh, there are three tier media system, i.e, state run public service broadcaster, commercial broadcaster and international broadcaster. These three media have been broadcasting for a long time, where rural poor are always neglected in terms of participation and consideration. They

are top-down media organizations. A community radio is a local broadcasting system with very limited coverage area focusing community's needs and involvement. The ownership is in the hand of the community while they are the programme planner, performer, administrator, manager, broadcaster and evaluator of the station.

### 3.2 Models of Community Radio

Philosophically two distinct approaches to community radio can be discerned, though the models are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

- One stresses service or community-mindedness, a focus on what the station can do for the community.
- The other stresses involvement and participation by the listener.

Within the service model localism is often prized, as community radio, as a third tier, can provide content focused on a more local or particular community than larger operations. Sometimes, though, the provision of syndicated content that is not already available within the station's service area is seen as a desirable form of service. Within the access or participatory model, the participation of community members in producing content is seen as a good in itself. While this model does not necessarily exclude a service approach, there is a tension between the two.

Community media, according to Kevin Howley (2002), are distinguished from their commercial and public service counterparts in three fundamental ways. First, community media provide local populations with access to the instruments of media production and distribution. Second, the organizational culture of community media stresses volunteerism over professionalism and promotes participatory management, governance and decision-making. Third, and perhaps most significantly, community media reject market-oriented approaches to communicative practices and are philosophically committed to nurturing mutually supportive, collaborative, and enduring communal relations.

In sum, community media play a vital, though largely unacknowledged role in preserving democratic forms of communication, defending local cultural autonomy, promoting civil society, and rebuilding a sense of community.

In Bangladesh context, the definition of community radio is mentioned in the Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008, “Community radio is a medium that gives a voice to the voiceless, serves as mouthpiece of the marginalized and is central to communication and democratic processes within societies [1(c)]” and “Community radio is a broadcasting system established by the efforts of a specific community, operated by the community for the purpose of the community’s welfare [1(b)] ” By nature it is a media system works as a public service broadcaster for local level. The ownership is an important issue here. Community is the owner and operator of this media. The form and format of the programmes follow the local context. The content developed in the same way. Most of the activities of the station are performed in volunteer basis.

In different part of the world community radio concept follows different philosophical stand-points. In Latin America, community radio defines as, “When radio fosters the participation of citizens and defends their interests; when it reflects the tastes of the majority and makes good humor and hope its main purpose; when it truly informs; when it helps resolve the thousand and one problems of daily life; when all ideas are debated in its programs and all opinions are respected; when cultural diversity is stimulated over commercial homogeneity; when women are main players in communication and not simply a pretty voice or a publicity gimmick; when no type of dictatorship is tolerated, not even the musical dictatorship of the big recording studios; when everyone’s words fly without discrimination or censorship, that is community radio.” (Vigil, 1997)

In African context, the historical philosophy of community radio is to use this medium as the voice of the voiceless, the mouthpiece of oppressed people (be it on racial, gender, or class grounds) and generally as a tool for development. Community radio is defined as having three aspects: non-profit making, community ownership and control, community participation. It should be made clear that community radio is not about doing something for the community

but about the community doing something for itself, i.e., owning and controlling its own means of communication. (Africa and Panos Southern Africa, 1998)

In Asian context, community radio means radio in the community, for the community, about the community and by the community. There is a wide participation from regular community members with respect to management and production of programs. This involvement of community members distinguishes it from the dominant commercial media in the Philippines that are operated for PPPP- Profit, propaganda, power, politics, privilege, etc. (TAMBULI-Communication Project: Philippines)

In South Asia, India is the first country who has a community radio policy prior to Bangladesh. Indian context has a more moderate view on community radio, which could be called a South Asian perspective. Firstly, Community Radio is characterized by the active participation of the community in the process of creating news, information, entertainment and culturally relevant material, with an emphasis on local issues and concerns. With training, local producers can create programmes using local voices. The community can also actively participate in the management of the station and have a say in the scheduling and content of the programmes. Secondly, it is essentially a non-profit enterprise. In these days of highly commercialized broadcasting, the ethos of community radio remains independence and responsibility to serve the community, not the advertiser. As the station is owned by the community, it also maintains some responsibility in the running of the station. Thirdly, community radio programming is designed by the community, to improve social conditions and the quality of its cultural life. The community itself decides what its priorities and needs are in terms of information provision. (VOICES, India)

So, the definitions of community radio differ with regional context. In Latin America, community radio movement was parallel to the revolutionary activities of the left political wings. Asian context community radio is a pro-development tool and South Asian consideration is more on development and promoting local culture.

### 3.3 Different between CR and other media

Globally there are three tier radio systems, i.e.

- Public Service Broadcasting
- Commercial Broadcasting, and
- Community Broadcasting

Public service broadcasting usually public sector broadcast system aimed for publicity of the government. It covers national issues according to government's priority. The peripheral or rural people eventually ignored in this kind of media. A nationwide consensus building or reconstruction of public consent is being propagated by public service broadcast. In commercial broadcasting system profit is the ultimate goal. Enterprises established radio for earning money by advertisement. So, the outreach becomes more isolated and peripheral. Community radio is a broadcast system owned, operated and broadcast by the community people. CR covers local issues. National and international issues also cover in line with community interests. It creates an environment of promoting local knowledge, cultural heritage, custom, practice and values. Usually low power FM transmitters used for broadcasting in CR for the specific area. Community motivation and participation are two powerful things which make CR different from traditional media system.

Table-4: Difference between different types of media

Area of comparison	Government media	Commercial media	Community media
Approach	Bureaucratic	Market driven	Participatory
Ownership	Government	Private	Collective
Audience	Passive	Carefree	Active/Participant
Responsibility	Toward government	Toward owners	Toward society
Style	Formal	Artificial	Natural/informal
Goal	Propaganda	Profit	Collective Welfare

*Source: Raghu Mainali, Nepal*

Ideally media is a watchdog in a democratic polity and called fourth estate. By media people opposed decisions of the government which would have harmful effects on them. But the fourth estate or fourth power no longer has this power. With the advent of globalization, global companies, with global economic interests controlled media and communication sector. In reality this fourth power is now exploiting and oppressing the populations for their own profit. So, a new media is needed as fifth power. (Ramonet, 2003). The philosophical argument of community radio is very simple; people need a media for them, by them and of them.

### 3.4 Community Radio: Overview of Bangladesh situation

In Bangladesh, there is a community radio policy. According to that policy a Regulatory Committee, Technical Sub-Committee and Central Monitoring Committee have formed by the Ministry of Information. After declaring the policy government asked for application and subsequently received four hundred applications mostly from NGOs. The regulatory and technical committee short listed 119 of them for further consideration (security clearance). The Ministry of Home primarily cleared 27 applicants for final approval. As a test case 23<sup>rd</sup> May government approved 12 organizations for installing community radio stations in their respective areas. Later another 2 organization received approval as part of the process. According to the Citizen Charter of the Ministry of Information, the licensing process mentioned as a continuous action reviewed in every six months. So, if not delayed by some other actors and factors, community radio will be operating around the country to create an alternative media environment for the community people.

There was a very small initiative taken by the Department of Fisheries of the Ministry of Agriculture in the coastal region of Cox's Bazar in 2000-2005, where a Coastal Community Radio Unit (CCRU) was established in collaboration with Bangladesh Betar, Cox's Bazar station. ECFC (Empowerment of Coastal Fisher Communities for Livelihood Security) project was funded by UNDP and assisted by FAO, where the CCRU ensured community participation for the fishers' community to broadcast their programme through national radio. That was small but a breakthrough in terms of community broadcasting in Bangladesh.

Satellite television channels have been broadcasting since 1991, while the commercial FM broadcasting started in 2006. The first broadcasting organization (Bangladesh Betar) incepted in 1939. But private initiatives allowed in radio sector after 67 years. Now the country has four private radio stations. A fresh call for license has announced in April 2010 for commercial FM radio installation. There are ten satellite television channels are broadcasting and ten more is in the pipeline for final approval. Press is comparatively free here. Diversified media environment is needed for balance development. Access to Information Act 2009 is created hope in civil society for allowing more open media system in the country.

In a recent seminar organized by BNNRC (5<sup>th</sup> May 2010), where the short listed community radio initiators approved by the government for operating radio gathered to discuss the challenges and opportunities for installing, operating and broadcasting community radio stations. The major challenges they pointed out are as follows:

- Capacity building
- Financial sustainability
- Political influences
- Content for broadcasting
- Technical difficulties
- Fund shortage
- Linkage with different government and non-government development initiatives
- Limitation of hands-on experience
- Lacking of strategic planning
- Community participation
- Addressing women issue
- Baseline survey for programming

### 3.5 Community Radio: South Asian Experiences

Community radio movement is very strong in South Asia, especially in Nepal. The country still doesn't have any community radio policy but it has 160 community radio stations. After the



multi-party democracy was restored in 1990, the media environment changed dramatically. In 1997, Radio Sagarmatha started broadcasting as a community radio, and that was the first community radio in South Asia. Women, marginalized and rural communities are now enjoying their participation in media. Radio Sagarmatha, a venture of the Nepal Forum of Environmental Journalists, supported by three other NGOs. Community Radio emerged in Nepal as the most promising and cost-effective communication medium, where about half of its population cannot read and write. (Bhattarai, 2007)

In Sri Lanka, community radio has been broadcasting programmes through state patronage. (Tilakawardana,) Mahaveli Community Radio was the first such radio station initiated as a joint ventures between the Sri Lanka government and international development agencies in 1981. Because of the absence of community ownership and mode of controlled management system it was not enlisted as the first community radio in South Asia. It was started as a settlement information service for villagers uprooted from their lands by the mammoth Mahaveli river diversion and damming scheme. The service was located in the gill capital city of Kandy, from where producers of the government-owned Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation were send to the villages to spend a few days among the people record interviews and then bring it back to Kandy for editing and broadcasting back to the people via the regional service Using the “voice of the people” principle of radio production, it was mainly geared to let the villagers know about the experience of each other in settling into a new environment (Seneviratne, 1995). After the Taliban root-out, Afghanistan now has more than hundred community radio airing programmes on nation-building.

Rural women and poor people are the major beneficiaries in community radio. Social inclusiveness is a rare opportunity for community radio to promote. South Asian experiences are creating example on that.

The following case study had written before India allowed community radio broadcaster to use radio frequency. Now the scenario changed a lot. India is the first country in the South Asia who has a community radio policy.

### **Case Study: 1**

#### **Namma Dhawani-Community Radio programmes disseminated through a cable television network and loudspeakers empower a farming community in South India**

The sun goes down beyond the bald granite rocks and dusty drylands of Kolar, a south Indian district adjoining the global infotech hub Bangalore. At Ambedkar Colony, a village 100 km from the tech city, men and women return home from fields, children settle down with their school homework and a loudspeaker tied on a tall tree cackles. It is a signature tune, a peppy jingle: “Namma dhawani, itu namma dhawani...(Our voice, it’s our voice...)” The local community radio comes alive at 7 p.m. for its daily 90-minute programme.

In the tiny, twin-room, first-floor studio of Namma Dhawani at the neighbouring farmers’ village of Budikote, programme managers G. Nagraja and Vijaya check the master copy of the day’s menu on a computer screen once again before leaving for a women’s group meet where their Cassettes would be played. Resource assistant Rupa now takes over the microphone. The content has rather down-to-earth, here and now quality- the day’s tomato prices at the local vegetable market, the Panchayat news, tips to chase mosquitoes away and a song request programme.

The studio is linked to over 600 households-with some 3,020 people in Budikote through the cable network of a local television service provider. Further, loudspeakers take the programmes to two adjoining villages Ambedkar Nagar, a twin hamlet of mostly Dalit labourers, together comprising over 50 households, and the farming village of Kodgurki with its 17 households. At three more villages in the area-Dinahalli, Tharlakki and Kamasamudram- recorded programmes are regularly narrowcast through loudspeakers. Thus, an estimated 6,000 people are covered by the initiative.

*Source: Case Study by Max Martin (IPDC/UNESCO, India)*

### 3.6 Evolution of advocacy coalition on community radio in Bangladesh

The advocacy coalition for community radio movement was formed in 1998. As part of a training program on Development Management in New Delhi, India organized by Participatory Research In Asia (PRIA) in the same year, Mr. A H M Bazlur Rahman designed an advocacy plan for community radio. The advocacy plan was published as a handbook where he described the differences between three tier media system (Public, Commercial and Community). It identified the potential persons for forming an advocacy coalition. That document also provides short and long term strategic planning for advocacy. (Rahman, 2005).

The formation of Bangladesh NGOs Network for Radio and Communication (BNNRC) was one of the turning points for the coalition. BNNRC is a “national networking body on alternative mass media working for building a democratic society based on the principles of free flow of information, equitable and affordable access to Information and Communication Technology for Development (ICT4D) and Right to Communication of remote and marginalized population.” (Suhrawardy, 2009). The organization was registered with NGO Affair Bureau and Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Bangladesh as an ICT4D Network and established in 2000 as per Article 19 charter of Universal Declaration of Human Right, where freedom of speech and access to information was recognized as basic human rights.

BNNRC’s outreach extends to local, national and international forums. Communication is recognized as an essential human need and, therefore, as a basic human right. In this backdrop, its working strategies are:

1. Communicating in public sphere
2. Communicating knowledge
3. Civil rights in communication
4. Cultural Rights in communication

The network developed a vast network with all concerned government ministries/bodies, political leaders, NGOs, CBOs, private sector, civil society actors, media, national and

international agencies and other stakeholders to promote ICT4D. A set of advanced learning and knowledge were disseminated by BNNRC such as Rural Knowledge Volunteers (RKV), ICT4D, Right to Information (RTI), Bridging the Digital Divide/ Information Divide/ Knowledge Divide through Community Radio, Rural Knowledge Center (RKC), Tele Center, Radio Amateur Civil Emergency Services (RACES) for Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) through Amateur Radio (HAM Radio) Promotion, People's Right to Telecommunication/ Global Commons/ Country Commons, Adoption of Free/ Open Source Software (FOSS), Open Standard and Open Content for Development, and so on.

A number of influential members (at least six among thirty-six) in the core coalition were took part in the formation of BNNRC. There were two other significant groups involved in the coalition; one is the Amateur Radio Operator (HAM Radio) and Fan Club of International broadcasters (especially VOA Fan Club). Some of the members of these groups have overlapping affiliation with different interests.

The members of the coalition attracted other actors with their enhanced learning on media, communication and communication technologies.

Community radio was discussed as a national issue for the first time in 1999 in the first National Mass Media Conference in Dhaka, Bangladesh arranged by Centre for Development Communication (CDC). In 2002, Bangladesh NGOs Network for Radio and Communication was established as a centre point for that coalition, and started its advocacy activities.

In 2005, BNNRC, MMC, FOCUS, YPSA and VOICE jointly organized a three-day long 'National Consultation on Designing and Enabling Framework for Community Radio in Bangladesh'. Joining that consultation, UNICEF, UNESCO and UNDP officially enrolled into the advocacy coalition. In that event a numbers of civil society leaders, think tank organization, research organizations, iconic personality, media personnel, cultural activists, journalist, government officials, policy makers and other important persons assembled from home and abroad, and promote community radio issue from their point of views. That was a major ice-breaking event for the community radio movement in Bangladesh.

Dhaka Declaration of Community Radio 2006 was declared from that event which was a guideline for the activists for promoting community radio in the country (Hai and Rahman: 2009: 13). That declaration was prepared by broadcast lawyers, university teachers, development communication expert, NGOs representatives, donor and development partner's representatives and civil society leaders in a three days conference. That declaration was recommended government to formulate a community radio policy in priority basis.

After the reformist caretaker government came into power, a letter campaign had taken by the BNNRC regarding community radio. The objective of the campaign was to open up the community radio as a pilot bases. As the outcome of the initiative, Chief Advisor sent a directive to the Ministry of Information to start scheme for community radio. Followed by that directive a high authority meeting was held in the ministry on community radio. In the meantime, concern ministry was asking for opinion from Bangladesh Betar authority on the issue. As the invited discussants former Advisor and Secretary of Information Mr. Abdul Muyeed Chowdhury, MMC Executive Director Mr. Kamrul Hasan Manju and BNNRC Chief Executive Director AHM Bazlur Rahman were presented as members of advocacy coalition representatives.

After a comprehensive discussion regarding community radio as a pilot basis the meeting takes decision to form a ministerial committee of 8 members convened by the Director General of Bangladesh Betar in May 2008, who prepared the concept paper, regulatory framework and application form in relation to community radio and submitted that to the ministry by a month. The Draft Committee officially presented the concept paper, policy and application form in October 2007. In that meeting, Mr. Abdul Muyeed Chowdhury was presented with other draft members of the committee. After a comprehensive discussion on the issue the meeting decided to send the copies to other concern ministries for ratification and comments. An inter - ministerial meeting was held in February 2008 before finalize the policy. At last, government formally announced the Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008 on 12<sup>th</sup> March 2008.

Community Radio is an alternative mass media for community people. It's an unconventional media, which allow common people in establishing, broadcasting and managing, and thus owning broadcasting system. In Bangladesh, Community Radio movement ripened with development issues rather than revolutionary attempts. It is in line with Asian practice.

#### **4. Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008: Actors and Factors in Agenda Setting**

A framework of ideas is needed to analyze public policy, where a number of actors and factors play role that explain certain policy (Chakraborty, 2008). The general outline of policy process is tracking a set of progression as follows (Dye, 1998);

Identifying problems → Setting the agenda for decision making → Formulating policy proposal → Legitimizing policies → Implementing policies → Evaluating policies

In this study, only agenda setting phase has considered to examine in the community radio policy analysis. Most of the policies are a combination of rational planning, incrementalism, interest group activity, elite preferences, systematic forces, game playing, public choice, political process, and institutional influences (Dye, 1998). In this study, initially Group Theory has chosen to explain the interaction among groups with common interests for having a community radio policy. Groups are competing each other in the society with a shared-attitude among them to achieve certain goal (Truman, 1954). The community radio advocacy coalition formed in 1998 has been acted as a group and becomes the bridge between government and communities. The task of the political system was to manage this group in four steps, like, 1) establishing rules of the game, 2) arranging compromises and balancing interests, 3) enacting compromises in the form of public policy, and 4) enforcing these compromises.

It takes ten years for the coalition to gain relative influence for expected result (1998-2008). The Caretaker government (2008) played role as legislative referees, which, ratified the victories of the successful coalition and declared Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008. In this way, a legislative referee ensures the conquests in the form of statutes (Latham, 1956). In terms of influence, the said group has been gaining weight through expansion its membership to different social entity and individuals. There were overlapping in the group. 'Community radio advocacy coalition', 'Access to Information advocacy coalition',

‘ICT for Development advocacy coalition’ and ‘Media Freedom advocacy coalition’ were the major overlapping coalitions in this policy process who played vital role.

Besides, Group Theory, for better understanding The Advocacy Coalition Approach developed by Paul Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith (Sabatier, 1987, Sabatier/Jenkins-Smith 1993; Sabatier 1998) has also been consulted to analyze the agenda setting of community radio policy in Bangladesh. In the Advocacy Coalition Framework (AFC) the coalition members have common core belief based on new information. New information doesn't directly relate to policy change but it is policy learning and has influence on policy change. Interpretist Learning Theory (ILT) defines the relationship between policy learning and policy change (cf. Marsh/Furlong 2002: 26-30).

The evolution of the community radio policy advocacy coalition showed the learning process and influence of that for policy change. In 1998, first time in Bangladesh history community radio's concept came into light by the event called Mass Media Conference organized by Centre for Development Communication (CDC) in Dhaka, Bangladesh. A concept paper was distributed in the event on community radio. That helped the media activists, NGOs, CSOs, media professionals and civil society leaders for understanding community radio. The power and opportunities of that media was well described in that paper. So, a learning process was started from that period for the members of the advocacy coalition. In the free media movement in Bangladesh, there were many issues like opening up the spectrum for radio frequencies, allow private sector for using terrestrial television facilities, providing autonomy to government owned media, curving the film censorship act or access to information. Among those, community radio movement came to the public policy agenda in 2007 by the continuous efforts of the coalition.

15 key informants interviewed in this research. They joined the coalition in different time with diverse interests as shown in table-2.



Table-5: List of key point informants interviewed

Sl. no	Name and organization	Year of joining	Interests
1	AZM Bazlur Rahman Bangladesh NGOs Network for Radio and communication	1998	People in the rural Bangladesh, who live without electricity. Could reach by community radio. Even illiterate people can have access to this media. Community radio could protect remote communities from cultural aggression and negative impact of globalization.
2	Kamrul Hasan Manju, Mass Line Media Centre	1998	Community radio could provide strength to foster democracy in local level. For survival, communication is an essential phenomenon. Community radio could do that in the community Level.
3	Rezaul Karim Chowdhury, Coast Trust	1998	20 million people depends on fishing in the coastal zone of the country. Information is required in local language. Community radio may aid the community in this regards. Radio frequency is public good and should use for serving public interest rather using for profit making.
4	Md. Rafiqul Alam, Dwip Unnoyon Songstha	1998	In the coastal regions, disaster preparedness information is not available in an understandable way. Even radio and television access is not existing in some areas. Not only disaster information, livelihood information is needed to prepare people for fighting disaster. Only community radio could serve these purposes.
5	<u>Arifur Rahman, YPSA</u>	1998	Right to get access to information is the prime concern for community radio. We have experiences on cable casting radio and that showed the community's empowerment when they have information in their own way.
6	Shameem Reza, Dhaka University	1998	Not only community, local government offices and local representatives also get access to media through community radio. Community radio is a platform for interaction between Government, communities and representatives.
7	Manjurul Ahsan Bulbul, ATN Bangla (now at Boishakhi Television)	1998	Bangladesh Betar and Bangladesh Television has access to rural areas but it doesn't broadcasts programmes in local dialect and style. Private FM radio and satellite television channels have influence in urban area. For community new media is needed to address their issues in their way and language.
8	Reza Selim, BFES	1998	Radio frequency is a public good, and it should be used for public welfare. Community radio could promote this philosophy.
9	Syed Marghub Morshed, Former Information Secretary and BTRC	2000	I prefer open licensing and equal opportunity for all without any manipulation. Community radio is community owned radio. It is a development agent and pro-people media. It

	Chairman		promote local heritage and ensure diversity. From both utility and aesthetic perspectives, I like Community radio.
10	Abdul Muhid Chowdhury, Advisor-CG	2004	In community radio community people involve in broadcasting in local dialect to cover their own issues. That driven me to join the movement. Bangladesh is a small country but there are diversities. Community radio could tailor messages for local people to inform, educate and motivate them.
11	Dr. Akram Hossain Chowdhury, M.P. Naogaon-3 (previously human right advocate)	2004	Community radio could do 75% of the communication, I am doing everyday for develop the community. It is useful for government to disseminate development information, by which community participation will be promoted.
12	Mr. Sohel Awarangajeb, And-beyond Technology Ltd	2006	With inexpensive technology, community radio could reach the peripheral people
13	Sahab Enam Khan, Bangladesh Enterprise Institute	2006	Most of the time we consider media issues form supply side. In demand side, there are so many interesting things to care about. Health, education, agriculture, family planning and other Livelihood information should convey in understandable manner. Community radio could do that well.
14	Prof. Dr. Hosne-Ara Begum, TMSS	2006	Information about agriculture production and market price are very important in terms of income generating activities. Community radio could disseminate useful information for those, which help the community to achieve livelihood securities.
15	G M Mourtoza, CCD	2006	Community radio in needed for local youth development, specially the ethnic minorities will get benefited by this.

Among the fifteen key point informants, eight of them joined the coalition at the beginning (1998). From 1 to 5 are the members of NGO sector. Dhaka University faculty from the department of journalism (6) enrolled in the advocacy coalition with visionary zeal for development communication. A common theme for alternative media like community radio is searching for alternative perspective of development. It criticized the ethnocentrism of the dominant Western development discourse and the violence inflicted upon local, non-Western, indigenous ways of life, cultural arrangements and knowledge structures. (Melkote, Steeves, 2001). In the interview, Dhaka University faculty was emphasized on local heritage and culture to promote by community radio. Media professional (7) signed up in the alliance for his passion in new media. He was an activist in different international forum. So, his international image gave the movement eligibility in the media sector. Amateur radio operator (8) involved in the movement from the view point of freeing the radio frequency for public use.

In 2000, the iconic personalities former BTRC chairman and information secretary (9) joined the coalition and gave it a new look. It helped the coalition to draw attention of the government offices regarding community broadcasting issue. It was a turning point for the group. From 2004 to 2006, five other members added value to the group by joining that coalition. Former advisor of the caretaker government (10) took part in the advocacy and made it potential to the government for final decision for formulating community radio policy. His connection and reputation in the bureaucracy aided the coalition with a charismatic appearance. ‘I paid back my own coin’, he stated in the interview in connection with his influence in the bureaucracy during the advocacy campaign.

In the said coalition the researcher found thirty six potential personalities from different areas (Annexure-I), who played vital role for influencing government to consider community radio as a policy agenda. Their distinctiveness could be distributed in the following way (table: 3)

Table-6: Core members of the community radio policy advocacy coalition

Sl. no	Area	No of personalities
1	NGO/CSO	14
2	Media professional/ Expert	4
3	Iconic personality	6
4	Academician/ Researcher	3
5	Policy maker	5
6	International agency	3
7	Cultural personality	1
Total		36

All NGOs members in the coalition have been advocating for the policy from 1998. So, they are the pioneer for community radio agenda setting process. Two of them were the member of the policy draft committee (Annexure-II: Policy draft committee) as well. The next largest membership was from iconic personality (six in number). Among them there were from former

civil servants, renowned journalists and academicians. They added value in the coalition by attending seminars, meetings, consultation, negotiation and presenting papers. Media professionals have been doing media coverage including news, talk-show, feature, interview and other documentary based presentation in both electronic and print media. Academicians and researchers have been conducting research and presenting papers in different community radio forum. Policy makers helped the coalition by promoting network and influencing other policy makers to aware on community radio issue. CSOs were playing role almost as the NGOs. Cultural personalities complemented the movement with their celebrity image and made the issue more sensible. The role of international agency, especially UNESCO was promoting community radio affair with technical knowledge sharing. This UN organization sets a trend in the media system around the globe by assisting community radio movement. But in Bangladesh, it spends only 2% of its fund for media and communication, which mainly allocated for print journalism. So, their monitory involvement was insignificant in nature though as a UN organization, its pro-active attitude created an enabling environment for the government to consider community radio as an issue for policy agenda.

The involvement of the members (interviewed) of the community radio advocacy coalition in terms of duration is shown in table: 4

Table-7: Member of the coalition in line with joining year

year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	1006	2007
NGO/CSO	→									
Media professional/ Expert	→									
Iconic personality			→							
Academician/ Researcher	→									
Policy maker							→			
International agency								→		
Cultural personality							→			

International agencies' Bangladesh offices joining were quite late in line with the formation of the advocacy coalition. Policy makers and cultural activists joined the coalition in 2004. As an actor they were influenced the process but the core people in the coalition were basically NGOs representatives. In the interview, NGO leaders informed that they use different strategies to attract the other members as required for influencing government decisions.

AMARC-AP (l'Association mondiale de radiodiffuseurs communautaires Asia-Pacific) was an external actor in the coalition which provides technical support and network for community radio advocacy coalition. It is a Canada based international organization for community radio world movement has been serving community radio movement, with almost 3000 members and associates in 110 countries since 1983. In the same time, AMAARC-AP conferences were external factors in the movement as described later.

#### 4.1 Factors for agenda setting in community radio policy

There are domestic and external factors identified in the policy agenda setting for community radio. In the domestic factors there were the reformist Caretaker Government (2007-2008) and cyclone Sidr (15<sup>th</sup> November 2007). As external factor the global community radio movement was being found. The caretaker government was little bit different from the earlier. In the caretaker government system, the duration of the interim government is 90 days and its job is to conduct a free and fair election for handing over power to a political ruler. This time the caretaker government has been in the power for two years and performed various duties including policy formulation and many other reforms. Separation of Judiciary, Right to Information Ordinance, draft for Women Policy, reorganize Anti Corruption Commission, signing UN Anti-Corruption Convention, and some other radical decisions have been taken by that government backed by military aid.

The primary directives for considering community radio policy agenda was being derived from the Chief Advisors office. In a meeting held in Ministry of Information in 15<sup>th</sup> July 2008, where Information Secretary described the background of this policy initiative (Proceeding of the meeting dated 20 July 2008, no- Tomo/ betar-2/ Comi: be:-02/ 2008/ 657/ 6, Ministry of

Information). The Advisory Council of the government was emphasized on community radio installation in line with the following considerations;

- Disaster preparedness after experiencing cyclone Sidr
- Comparison with neighboring countries (Nepal, Sri Lanka, India) regarding community radio
- Directives from Chief Advisor
- Empowerment of communities for quality participation in government development efforts

The disaster preparedness issue has risen by many coalition members during interviews. Among 15 key informants, the NGOs working in the coastal region have special respect for disaster forecasting in an effective way from community radio. The standard Bangla Language used by Bangladesh Betar is not understandable by the communities. Even the weather forecasting by Betar is not focused on localities. So, a community radio station only could do that job properly. This argument is a major factor for the coastal region of the country.

Despite different issues in mind the members of the coalition have come to a consensus on few soft arguments for the policy makers for comfortable negotiation. From that point of view policy makers acted upon. Chief Advisor of the caretaker government was visited a cable radio station in Sitakundo, Chittagong in 5<sup>th</sup> January 2007, few months before he became the head of the government. Young Power in Social Action (YPSA) was arranged that tour to inform him about the ICT tools using for disabled youth. Parts of the visit were in ICT4D project and youth community multimedia centre. Later during caretaker government tenure one of the advisors from the interim government visited the centre and learnt about the community broadcasting in detail. These visits were encouraged the government to take initiative for community radio policy formulation. When interviewed, the Executive Director of that organization mentioned these events as parts of advocacy campaign for sharing the learning with the policy maker.

Letter campaign was another attempt to brew the government for taking necessary initiatives for formulating community radio policy. Bangladesh NGOs Network for Radio and Communication posted five hundred letter requesting community radio approval with different

logical arguments to different government offices, donor agency, international organization, policy makers and partners including Chief Advisor. The summary of the letter was as follows;

“The proliferation and awareness regarding Community Radio is on the rise all over this world, especially in the developing regions. Many countries in the region, including India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Philippines, have demonstrated the great potential of local Community Radio as a hub for information and knowledge for development, learning and entertainment.

In Bangladesh, the Community Radio movement is at a very promising yet critical stage. Different NGOs civil society groups, journalists, intellectuals and other concerned entities of this country are putting continuous and ardent effort in order to come up with a Community Radio friendly regulatory environment through appropriate government regulations....

Their plan is to initiate any Community Radio project addressing the issues related with fulfilling Millennium Development Goals (MDG), World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) Action Plan, PRSP and knowledge based society. (Dated: 15<sup>th</sup> June 2007)”

In this letter campaign, four major areas of intervention described as MDG, WSIS, PRSP and Knowledge Based Society. Instead of transparency, accountability, anti-corruption and other governance issues, those soft areas were cozy issues for government to address, as some informants stated during interview.

As an external factor Global Community Radio Movement was added value to the advocacy coalition with knowledge and support. In 1998, this community radio world movement celebrated its 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary. When the Bangladesh community radio advocacy coalition formed (1998) at that time there was no Asia-Pacific Chapter of AMARC, but the coalition members had started correspondence with them for getting technical assistance. In 2003, first time coalition representatives attended the Katmandu’s 8<sup>th</sup> Conference of AMARC. It helped the regional community radio activists to design an Asia-Pacific Strategic Plan of Action. In continuation of that, Indonesia arranged the first AMARC-AP (AMARC-Asia-Pacific) Conference and it was created great opportunities for Bangladesh delegation to make regional

network. AMARC's 9<sup>th</sup> was held in Amman, Jordan, which also a global conference where Bangladesh delegate reinforced liaison with other international partners.

#### 4.2 The policy learning process of the advocacy coalition

There were many ways the coalition gathered knowledge and acquired policy lessons. AMARC-AP and UNESCO Dhaka office were two major source of knowledge. Other than these, they visited community radio stations in Nepal, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Laos and few other countries to get hands-on experiences. A series of seminar, workshop, symposium, meeting, consultation, and training programs have arranged by different bodies to aware and sensitize coalition members. Bangladesh NGOs Network for Radio and Communication (BNNRC), Mass-Line Media Centre (MMC), the Forum for Development, Journalism and Communication Studies (FOCUS), Voices for Interactive Choice and Empowerment (VOICE), Young Power In Social Action (YPSA) and some other NGOs had been engaged in those events. In 2005, they organized a National Consultation on Community Radio in Bangladesh with the assistance of UNICEF, UNESCO and UNDP. That was a major event where lots of external and internal actors presented their views and aspiration for community radio. Thirteen papers presented at that consultation where other than the coalition members few national and international figures mentioned about the urgency of community radio in Bangladesh. In that consultation there were member of parliaments, ministers, university scholars, journalists, international community radio practitioners and experts, international news agency representatives, NGO's leaders, international watchdog organization officials, development partners, international media associates, AMARC representatives, Ministry officials, public and private media representatives, lawyers, cultural personalities, researchers and UN organization's representatives. It was a big occasion indeed for the coalition for fostering their community radio movement.

In different way the coalition was attracted the government and achieve community radio policy 2008. The dominant actor in this coalition is the NGO leaders. In terms of factor, the reformist caretaker government should consider as a prime factor to allow community radio as an important issue to include in the policy agenda.



### 4.3 Overview of Community Radio Policy in Bangladesh

The Community Radio Installation, Broadcast and Operation Policy 2008 is the final output of the advocacy campaign. So, it is one of the indicators for measuring influences of actors and factors in the agenda setting. The policy itself shows a lot of road sign for further study. A quick overview of this policy is required to address the research question. In the licensing eligibility criteria, it is mentioned in section 3 as follow;

“3.1 The following types of organizations shall be considered eligible to apply for community radio establishment and operation:

- (a). Government research institutions and development organizations, which satisfy the conditions listed as ‘Para 2’ above.
- (b). Non-government development organizations, with at least five years of operation an involved in poverty alleviation or media and ICT sector, which satisfy the basic principles listed at ‘Para 2’ above. The organization should be a legal entity or registered from NGO Bureau.”

The ‘Para 2’ stated the fundamental principles of community radio where it says, “Internationally recognized and accepted fundamental principles of community radio will also be followed in Bangladesh. Any organization or institution intending to operate community radio must fulfill the following principle:-

- a) It should be explicitly constituted as a ‘non-profit’ organization
- b) The institution/ organization should have a proven record of providing service to local community for at least five years.
- c) The community to be served by the community radio station should be well specified and defined.
- d) It should have an ownership and management structure that is reflective of the community that the CRS seeks to serve.

- e) The program contents should cover educational, social, gender, economic, environmental and cultural fields are relevant to the needs of that particular community. It should not go beyond the community's cultural and historical heritage. Any kind of political, sectarian or doctrinal program shall be prohibited.
- f) The institution/ organization must be a Legal Entity.
- g) Preference should be given to rural communities during the pilot phase. The focus must be for communities deprived of the reach of mainstream media outlets.”

Foreign funded NGOs as stated, ‘the NGOs registered by the NGO Affair Bureau’ are eligible to get license means they are the most powerful interest group in the coalition. ‘Media and ICT sector NGO’ are much more pinpointed version of that clause. The overlapping interest groups function is a big concern in this policy. BNNRC, MMC, YPSA, CCD and some other influential partners of the coalition are working in the media and ICT components, so, they get privilege. Beyond that few government research institutes are included to make the equilibrium point perfect to keep the balance. In case of factors, the programme content refers to the policy [2(e)] cleared the reformist Caretaker Government’s intension to consider community radio as a development tool in the rural Bangladesh.

All key informants agreed upon the point that this policy has influenced mostly by NGOs. The dominant factor is the reformist Caretaker Government. UN organizations like UNESCO and UNICEF created a trustworthy environment for government for playing pro-active role in the policy process. South Asian experiences of Community Broadcasting gives kind of positive impact in policy makers’ mind for affirmative action.

## 5. Conclusion

The agenda setting of community radio policy was basically influenced by the NGOs/CSOs, where iconic personalities, cultural activists, media experts, researchers, academicians and international agencies played significant role. The reformist Caretaker Government System was the dominant factor in that process as the research finding shows. The coalition did all the advocacy work in a very tactical way where no coercion or civil disobedience showed-up in any steps of the movement. Some unique features came out from the coalition's activities which could titles as best practices, as follows;

- There were no opponent identified in the advocacy campaign
- The advocacy coalition never showed any civil disobedience to state and government
- The coalition tried their best to keep government in touch in every events
- It argues with development issues like MDG, PRSP, disaster preparedness or livelihood security.
- No political affiliation showed in the movement
- The donor or international development partner's involvement was restricted in knowledge share and technical assistant
- Most of the NGOs involved in the coalition have good reputation in the development field especially in the areas of media, communication and ICT

The policy declared in 2008 and a lot of progress has made during the meantime. In this research, those progresses were ignored to make the study manageable. The advocacy coalition is still in a good shape. Now they are trying to convince government for create 'Trust Fund' as stated in the policy to provide financial assistant to the community radio stations. In the changing situation the role of the coalition has transformed subsequently. Other than BNNRC, most of the NGOs members in the advocacy coalition are now applicants for community radio stations. So, there is an environment for competition has emerged in the field. It is a new scenario. New interest group and coalition may be formed to address upcoming issues. Most of the donor organization in the country are happily including in the coalition with their sectoral issues. UNICEF is interested in women and child development, while FAO likes to contribute

in agriculture development. USAID wants to intervene for promoting transparency, accountability and anti-corruption agendas. FREE VOICE like to promote community radio for ensure freedom of expression. UNESCO may interest to sponsor community radio for universal education. After start airing programmes, community radio will be for everyone who likes to develop communities. In this momentum, capacity building, community ownership and participation, sustainability and fair operation are few crucial things are to be addressed in a responsible way.

Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission, Regulatory Committee and Central Monitoring Committee, Information Commission and CSOs may protect the community radio stations from external pressure and political influences. Otherwise, there are chances to incorporate local elite's motives in the stations.

The planned activity of the community radio advocacy coalition is a unique lesson for other advocates of public policy. It could be an example in the developing world as a role model of advocacy. It takes ten years but in a very sustainable way the advocates incorporated the issue in different policy papers for making the implementation process easier. PRS-II, manifesto of the ruling political party, Concept Note of the Digital Bangladesh prepared by Prime Minister Office, Coastal Policy Paper, Parliamentary Q & A, Council Declaration of the ruling party and many other policy documents have included community radio as a development tool. So, now it is an issue of the government to implementation. Among the 14 approved community radio initiators, one is from a government agency (AIS) and that shows the willingness of the state to use the power of community radio for development.

A number of competing groups were campaigning for the Community Radio policy, but the NGOs dealt with media, communication and ICT were in the leading position. Private sector already has electronic media (private FM radio and satellite television), and government owned it long ago. The third sector (NGOs/ CSOs) was deprived of their own media. By putting the agenda in policy process is a wining situation for the third sector in terms of media possession. Some extent Community Radio is NGOs' radio in this moment though the policy has lot of restrictions to promote community ownership in the said media system. Community people or

demand side are not that much aware about this media. On behalf of the community NGOs are the prime actors in this area. A kind of equilibrium point has achieved by declaring Community Radio policy, but it could create another kind of motivation in the media world of the country. Twelve Community Radio initiators, who received final approval of the government, are already searching for overseas fund to establish station.

UNESCO, USAID, UNESCO, FAO, CIDA and some other donor organization have showed interests for capacity building of the station staff and funding for research, and programming. So, now Community Radio is a donor driven object for promoting development with sectoral views. Like UNICEF aims to child and women development issues, while USAID likes to encourage investigative reporting for curving corruption in the local level. None of these issues were raised by the community itself. The communities' sense of ownership may hamper by these intervention. In the agenda setting phase the international players were almost neglected the concern, but presently they are the influential actors.

Using group theory the study identified different interest groups and their influences. But Advocacy Coalition Approach has clarified their activities and role more precisely. The policy learning process of the coalition members developed some core belief and that made necessary change in the policy subsystem. Advocacy Coalition for Community Radio Policy offered a affordable model for the policy advocates to follow. Even it could be replicated in the other countries in developing world. Not only broadcasting policy, in any policy process may reproduce this model of advocacy with some indigenous consideration.

## Annex-I: List of community radio coalition's potential members

1. A H M Bazlur Rahman, BNNRC
2. Mohammad Jahangir, CDC
3. Kamrul Hasan Manju, MMC
4. Rezaul Karim Chowdhury, Coast Trust
5. Md. Rafiqul Alam, Dwip Unnoyon Songstha
6. Arifur Rahman, YPSA
7. Mirza Sahidul Islam Khaled, Sangkolpo
8. Zahirul Haque Bali, Bridge
9. Ziaul Ahsan, PGUS
10. Manjurul Alam, FAIRS Bangladesh
11. A H M Shamsul Islam, Speed Trust
12. Reza Selim, BFES
13. Shameem Reza, Dhaka University
14. Prof. Dulal Chandra Biswas, Rajshahi University
15. Manjurul Ahsan Bulbul, ATN Bangla
16. Dr. Tofayel Ahmed, Local Government Commission
17. Syed Marghub Morshed, Former Secretary
18. Dr. Mizanur Rahman Shelly, Media Commission
19. Dr. Hossain Zillur Rahman, Advisor-CG
20. Prof. Geete Ara Nasrin, Dhaka University
21. Dr. Deboprio Bhattacharia, BIDS
22. Abdullah Al Jacob, M.P.
23. Dr. Akram Hossain Chowdhury, M.P.
24. Rasheda K. Chowdhury, Advisor-CG
25. Late Enayet Ullah Khan, Weekly Holiday
26. Jaglul Ahmed Chowdhury, BSS
27. Ramenda Mojumdar, SSJ
28. Faruk Sobhan, BEI
29. Mr. Sohel Awarangajeb, CEO, And-beyond Technology Ltd
30. Sahab Enam Khan, BEI
31. Prof. Dr. Hosne-Ara Begum, TMSS
32. G M Mourtoza, CCD
33. Abdul Muhid Chowdhury, Advisor-CG
34. Dr. A F M Ruhul Haque, AL
35. Dr. Annanya Raihan, D.Net
36. Nurul Alam Lenin, AL
37. Ambassador Md. Jamir

## Annex-II

Committee on Community Radio  
(To Develop Draft Concept Paper, Policy and Application Form Ministry of  
Information  
People's Republic of Bangladesh)

Memo: 382/8,

Dated: 06/09/2007

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| 1. Mr. Md. Magbubul Alam<br>Director General, Bangladesh Betar  | Convener |
| 2. Mr. Iftekher Hossain<br>Principal Information Officer<br>(Current charge)  | Member   |
| 3. Mr. Nasimul Kader Chowdhury<br>Deputy Director General (News)<br>Bangladesh Betar                                | Member   |
| 4. Mr. Md. Abdur Rouf<br>Deputy Director General (Programme)<br>Bangladesh Betar                                    | Member   |
| 5. Mr. Mohesh Chandra Roy<br>Senior Engineer<br>Research and Reception Cell<br>Bangladesh Betar                     | Member   |
| 6. Mr. Faroha Suhrawardy<br>Deputy Director<br>Liaison and Research<br>Bangladesh Betar                             | Member   |
| 7. Mr. Kamrul Hasan Monju<br>Executive Director<br>Mass-Line Media Centre   | Member   |
| 8. Mr. AHM Bazlur Rahman-521BR<br>Chief Executive Officer<br>Bangladesh NGOs Network for Radio<br>and Communication | Member   |

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## **Checklists-I**

### General questions:

1. Why did you think community radio is important for Bangladesh?
2. What was your role in the movement?
3. What kind of challenges did you face in the team?
4. How did you incorporate your interests in the CR policy?
5. What was your advocacy technique in the policy process?
6. Who was the major factor in the CR policy formation?
7. Have you found any opponents in the movement? If, yes then explain
8. What factors did accelerate CR policy formulation?
9. Former Advisor of the Caretaker government was acted as a consultant to advocate on behalf of the CR movement. Do you think that iconic personalities help CR policy formulation? Please explain?
10. What was the role of donor agencies in the policy formulation?
11. Please explain the policy environment in case of CR policy process?
12. follow-up questions as required...

## **Checklists-II**

Questions for iconic personalities:

1. Why did you think community radio is important for Bangladesh?
2. What was your role in the movement?
3. What kind of challenges did you face in the team?
4. What was your advocacy technique in the policy process?
5. Who was the major actor/factor in the CR policy formation?
6. What was the role of donor agencies in the policy formulation?
7. Please explain the policy environment in case of CR policy formulation?
8. follow-up questions as required...

### **Checklists-III**

Questions for academician/researcher:

1. Background of community radio movement in Bangladesh?
2. Why community radio is needed in Bangladesh?
3. What is the community radio situation in South Asia?
4. Why did government declared CR policy, which are the actor and factor?
5. What are the major challenges the advocacy coalition did face?
6. What was your advocacy technique in the policy process?
7. What was the role of donor agencies in the policy formulation?
8. follow-up questions as required...