

**Bangladesh: Universal Periodic Review
commitments must be implemented ahead of
the 2026 General Election**

Universal Periodic Review Joint Mid-Term Report
October 2025

I. Introduction

ARTICLE 19, on behalf of seventeen civil society organisations, welcome the opportunity to submit a joint mid-term report for fourth Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of Bangladesh.ⁱ Since Bangladesh's fourth UPR in 2023, there has been minimal progress in improving the situation for the right to freedom of expression and information. According to ARTICLE 19's Global Expression Report, Bangladesh remains "in crisis" for the exercise of the right to freedom of expression.ⁱⁱ

During its review, Bangladesh received 301 UPR recommendations to improve its human rights record – including 30 specifically related to the right to freedom of expression and information – highlighting the scale of human rights challenges in the country.ⁱⁱⁱ However, the government has failed to meaningfully implement the vast majority of these recommendations.

Bangladesh is preparing for a general election in February 2026.^{iv} This follows the 2024 July Uprising, a mass wave of student-led and citizen-backed protests against authoritarian governance, corruption, and economic hardship. This subsequently led to the resignation of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and the formation of an interim government. An enabling environment for the right to freedom of expression and information and a healthy information ecosystem is absolutely crucial in ensuring free and fair upcoming elections.^v

This political reset has prompted major reforms in the digital regulatory framework, including through the Cyber Protection Ordinance (2025), the Draft Personal Data Protection Ordinance (2025), and amendments to the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulation Act (2001). As currently drafted, they risk overbroad content takedowns, intrusive surveillance, weak transparency, and due process gaps that violate the right to freedom of expression and deny a resilient election information space.

Civil society actors continue to face attacks for exercising their right to freedom of expression and information. UN experts have criticised the “appalling and pervasive” climate of impunity for egregious human rights violations against journalists and media workers in the country – from killings, to physical attacks, to harassment.^{vi} Women – especially those that face multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination – face uniquely gendered risks. The protection of these groups is essential in ensuring democratic resilience and inclusive civic engagement.

This UPR mid-term report provides an update on the situation for the right to freedom of expression and information in Bangladesh, and analyses the level of implementation of recommendations received by the government during the fourth cycle of the UPR. It concludes with recommendations the government must implement in order to fulfil its UPR commitments, especially to ensure free and fair elections in 2026.

II. Fourth Cycle Recommendations: A Snapshot

Of the 301 UPR recommendations received by Bangladesh during the fourth cycle, 211 were supported, while 90 were noted. Of the 30 specifically related to the right to freedom of expression and information and related rights, 15 were supported while 15 were noted. These recommendations came from 27 different countries from all world regions. Please see Annex 1 for a full list of relevant recommendations.

The relevant supported recommendations were either broadly focused on upholding the right to freedom of expression in law and practice or more specifically focused on journalists, human rights defenders, and other civil society actors, including ensuring an enabling environment for them to conduct their work and to protect them from killings, arbitrary detention, harassment, and other attacks.

The relevant noted recommendations pertained to reviewing, amending, or repealing specific laws – especially the Cybersecurity Act (2023) (CSA) – in line with international human rights law and standards.

The government has failed to meaningfully implement the vast majority of these recommendations. As detailed in later sections, the legal framework is still incredibly restrictive for the right to freedom of expression, and attacks on journalists, human rights defenders, and other civil society actors continue with impunity. Interestingly, the government did repeal the CSA despite noting those recommendations, but this has been replaced by other problematic legislation.

However, there have been some positive steps. In particular, the interim government's moves to replace or reshape the CSA and other problematic digital laws signal openness to recalibration.^{vii} At the same time, media and civil society scrutiny of recent laws has grown, creating opportunities to embed rights-protective safeguards.

III. Legal and Policy Framework

Article 39 of the Constitution of Bangladesh enshrines the right to freedom of expression and freedom of the press, while Article 43 safeguards the privacy of the home and correspondence.^{viii} Although the Constitution does not expressly provide for the right to data protection, jurisprudential interpretation allows this right to be derived from Article 31 on the right to protection of law and Article 32 on protection of life and personal liberty, when read in conjunction with Article 43. Collectively, these provisions establish the constitutional basis for recognising and developing data protection frameworks in Bangladesh.

However, there have been legal and policy developments that undermine the right to freedom of expression and information in practice.

The Cyber Protection Ordinance (2025)

Despite noting UPR fourth cycle recommendations to repeal specific laws, the interim government repealed the CSA and replaced it with the slightly more human rights compliant Cyber Protection Ordinance (2025) (CPO). This trajectory has been welcomed by independent legal and civil society analyses as a positive step away from the overly punitive CSA. Nevertheless, the CPO still raises serious concerns regarding the right to freedom of expression, data privacy, and other digital rights.

The CPO grants the government extensive authority to block and filter content, all without prior judicial oversight. While provisions exist for subsequent judicial review, such oversight is not a prerequisite, enabling the authorities to act first and only later seek judicial validation. It also fails to incorporate the internationally recognised principles of legitimacy, necessity, and proportionality, thereby leaving individuals' rights inadequately protected and creating scope for abuse.

Moreover, the CPO criminalises vague and overly broad categories of online expression, such as “publishing violence, hatred and hateful information on religious or ethnic issues in cyberspace,” or “publishing obscene content”. Such ambiguous language leaves wide scope for arbitrary interpretation and enforcement, threatening legitimate expression.

Finally, the absence of meaningful consultation with digital rights experts, journalists, and civil society organisations during the drafting process undermines the democratic legitimacy of the legislative practice.

The Draft Personal Data Protection Ordinance (2025)

Bangladesh's interim government is considering the enactment of the Draft Personal Data Protection Ordinance 2025 (DPDO). It is essential for the framework to be firmly grounded in international human rights law and standards and aligned with constitutional

guarantees, as well as to promote transparency. The protection of personal data is critical to safeguarding human rights, fostering an open and inclusive digital ecosystem.

During the drafting process, civil society organisations have raised concerns over certain provisions of the draft. If not amended, it could undermine the right to privacy through a lack of human rights protections around surveillance and also concentrate disproportionate power in the hands of government and regulatory authorities. While the draft aims to enhance data sovereignty, its restrictions on cross-border data flows – such as requiring government approval and mandating local storage for certain categories of data – risk undermining effective data protection by limiting access to advanced global security infrastructure and interoperable legal safeguards that often exist in international jurisdictions.

To ensure that the draft achieves its intended purpose of protecting citizens while supporting Bangladesh's digital transformation, the legislative process must be guided by a set of non-negotiable red lines. It requires substantial and procedural minimum safeguards to protect individuals' rights, foster responsible data-driven innovation, and ensure that the framework remains transparent, accountable, future-proof, and firmly anchored in human rights and the rule of law.^{ix}

Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulation (Amendment) Ordinance (2025)

The interim government is also currently considering amending the Telecommunications Act (2001) through the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulation (Amendment) Ordinance (2025) (BTRA). The current draft introduces significant changes to the country's telecommunications framework. It contains provisions for the restoration of the functional and operational independence of the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission (BTRC).^x The draft also tries to align the national framework with international standards with regards to surveillance activities.

While the full text of the draft Ordinance has not been publicly released, key provisions have been reported through various sources.^{xi} The key provisions of the draft Ordinance are:

- *Enhanced surveillance and real time monitoring*: The ordinance requires all licensed telecommunications operators, internet service providers (ISPs), and over the top platforms to enable real-time interception, allowing authorities to monitor communications for ‘criminal and national security purposes’.^{xii}
- *Expanded scope of telecommunication services*: The definition of ‘telecommunication services’ is broadened to encompass social media platforms, cloud services, and Internet of Things (IoT) systems. This expansion aims to address the evolving landscape of digital communication and ensure comprehensive regulatory oversight.^{xiii}
- *Expanded financial oversight power*: The draft Ordinance includes provisions that empower the BTRC to freeze the accounts of individuals or institutions through the Bangladesh Bank.^{xiv}
- *Mandatory prioritization of government communications*: Telecommunications operators are required to provide uninterrupted access to their networks for national security agencies, law enforcement, intelligence services, and emergency responders. Operators must legally prioritize these agencies during crises and provide technical support to ensure communication continuity.^{xv}
- *Intermediary liability*: Intermediaries are extended liability for third-party content on their platforms. Holding platforms liable for content of others would have a profound chilling effect on the freedom of expression of internet users, but also that it makes the platforms complicit in a substantial invasion of their users’ privacy.^{xvi}

Amendments to the BTRA should be guided by transparent, inclusive and effective public consultations, ensuring authority accountability, clear definitions, and robust judicial oversight.

IV. Safety of Journalists, Human Rights Defenders, and Civil Society Actors

In Bangladesh, there is a hostile environment for journalists, human rights defenders, and other civil society actors, with threats of killings, physical violence, harassment, and other attacks.

Over 13 years ago, journalist couple Sagar Sarowar and Meherun Runi were killed in their apartment and there has been no adequate investigation into their murder, despite repeated calls for accountability by UN experts.^{xvii} Their murder is emblematic of the “appalling and pervasive” climate of impunity for egregious human rights violations against journalists and media workers in the country. For example,^{xviii}

- In August 2025, Asaduzzaman Tuhin, the Gazipur staff reporter for Dainik Protidiner Kagoj, was murdered. Reports indicate that Tuhin was attacked after filming a group of four or five men, armed with weapons, assaulting a young man. Upon noticing Tuhin, the assailants briefly paused, looked back, and then chased him into a nearby tea shop, where they stabbed him to death before fleeing the scene.
- Also in August 2025, Anwar Hossain Sourav, a staff reporter for the daily Bangladesher Alo, was attacked in broad daylight, reportedly in front of police, while they were investigating allegations of extortion collected from battery-run and CNG-run auto-rickshaw drivers. The police did not intervene.
- In June 2025, Khandaker Shah Alam, the Nabinagar Upazila correspondent for the Bangla-language newspaper Daily Matrijagat, died after being assaulted by former prisoner Babul Mia, locally known as ‘Tiger Babul Dakat’, reportedly in retaliation for the journalist’s reporting on Babul Mia’s earlier arrest. Babul Mia, implicated in multiple robbery cases, had been released from prison earlier the same day.

ARTICLE 19 has found that women journalists face uniquely gendered risks – from workplace harassment to online rape threats and physical attacks.^{xix} A gendered lens is vital to understand and mitigate these risks. Women journalists are not a monolithic group. The risks and abuse they face differ depending on their race, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, and other characteristics. Those who already face oppression in one form or another typically face greater risks and harsher abuse.

V. Misinformation and Disinformation Landscape Ahead of Elections

Election cycles in Bangladesh often see spikes in misinformation and disinformation on voter registration, polling, and candidate eligibility, as well as hate speech. The 2024 upheaval has intensified misinformation and disinformation about the interim government, manipulated images of violence, and coordinated campaigns targeting journalists and human rights defenders.

Women journalists, political candidates, and human rights defenders are disproportionately affected, facing gendered harassment, threats, and intimidation – online and offline. Protecting these groups requires positive policy measures that address disinformation, mitigate gender-specific risks, and safeguard their freedom of expression and participation, thereby strengthening democratic resilience and inclusive civic engagement.

In the current scenario, we identify the following risk amplifiers:

- *Regulatory ambiguity*: Broad and ambiguous definitions of “anti-state,” “harmful,” or “fake” content in laws or proposed amendments relating to digital communication spaces incentivise platforms and ISPs to over-remove content during sensitive periods to avoid sanctions.
- *Enforcement risks*: Proposed fines and criminal penalties on online intermediaries encourage risk-averse behaviors (e.g. blanket geo-blocking, aggressive

takedowns, or data disclosure), undermining access to diverse and reliable information.^{xx}

- *Interception/shutdown powers*: Broad interception and shutdowns by public authorities, especially without prior judicial oversight, can disrupt independent verification efforts, fact-checking, and emergency communications during election week.^{xxi}
- *Institutional capacity*: Fact-checkers, newsrooms, and election authorities are unevenly resourced to counter complex influence operations at scale. Coordinated transparency with platforms remains limited.

VI. Priority Concerns Ahead of Elections

Free and fair elections and media freedom are the foundations of democracy. Elections are not only about casting a vote in fair conditions, but about ensuring citizens are informed about candidates, parties, and their political platforms. Candidates must be able to communicate their messages to the public so that voters can make an informed choice. Put simply – a democratic election is impossible without media freedom.

Our key concerns ahead of elections are:

- *Over-removal and self-censorship*: Platform and ISP liability proposals risk sweeping removals of political content – including bona fide watchdog reporting and election monitoring – under broadly interpreted legal provisions.^{xxii}
- *Opaque state demands*: Without mandatory transparency (public reporting of requests, judicial warrants, and notice to users), content takedown, data handover, and interception orders will be difficult to scrutinize and contest.^{xxiii}
- *Potential network restrictions*: Discretionary shutdown powers, if retained, could disrupt election information flows (hotline access, observer communications, live reporting).^{xxiv}

- *Harassment of journalist, human rights defenders, fact-checkers and other civil society actors*: Coordinated campaigns and legal harassment style actions deter counter-speech and verification, especially where vague offences remain criminal.
- *Safety of women and minority voices online*: Gender-based and identity-targeted disinformation campaigns may intensify, while institutional safeguards and rapid-response mechanisms to counter such threats remain insufficiently developed.^{xxv}

VII. Recommendations

Bangladesh must do the following to meaningfully implement the UPR recommendations received in the fourth cycle:

- Ensure the Cyber Protection Ordinance (2025) is fully compliant with international human rights law and standards pertaining to the right to freedom of expression and information, including by:
 - Repealing provisions that provide criminal penalties for vague and overly broad categories of online expression and codifying robust public interest and journalistic exemptions; and,
 - Ensuring blocking and filtering content is fully aligned with the principles of legality, necessity, legitimacy and proportionality and only with prior judicial oversight.
- Ensure the Draft Personal Data Protection Ordinance (2025) is fully compliant with international human rights law and standards pertaining to the right to freedom of expression and information, including by:
 - Embedding strong legal safeguards to ensure surveillance is only conducted when lawful, legitimate, necessary, and proportionate;
 - Clarifying vague or overly broad terms such as ‘public interest’ and ‘operational necessity’ to prevent their misuse as justifications for intrusive or discriminatory data processing;

- Ensuring the independence and transparency of the Data Protection Authority, including through secure tenure, financial autonomy, and freedom from political interference;
 - Protecting the right to freely given and revocable consent without penalty, particularly in contexts involving vulnerable or marginalised groups;
 - Guaranteeing procedural safeguards and redress mechanisms that are accessible, timely, and effective for individuals whose rights have been violated;
 - Narrowing and precisely defining exemptions, especially those related to law enforcement and national security, and subjecting them to independent judicial or parliamentary oversight;
 - Affirming the right to freedom of expression in all data governance processes, ensuring that data protection is not weaponised to suppress journalism, public criticism, or civil society advocacy; and,
 - Establishing participatory and transparent rulemaking processes that involve civil society, technical experts, and affected communities in shaping how data protection is implemented.
- Ensure the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulation (Amendment) Ordinance (2025) is fully compliant with international human rights law and standards pertaining to the right to freedom of expression and information, including by:
 - Repeal strict liability for internet intermediaries and punitive fines and replace this with a notice-and-judicial-order model, requiring court orders for content removal and data disclosure, with emergency pathways limited to imminent threats and subject to rapid judicial review.
 - Guarantee due process and user rights, including to mandate user notice, appeal pathways, and independent oversight (e.g. an appeals tribunal) for takedown and interception orders, and publish detailed government transparency reports every quarter through election certification.

- Ensure surveillance is only conducted in full compliance with the principles of legality, necessity, legitimacy, and proportionality, and with prior judicial authorization and time-bound orders.
- Refrain from internet shutdowns and other network shutdowns.
- Ensure accountability through the conduct of impartial, prompt, thorough, independent and effective investigations into all alleged cases of violence, threats and attacks against journalists, human rights defenders, and other civil society actors and through the establishment of prevention and protection mechanisms.
- Ensure responses on the safety of journalists have a gender-responsive approach, taking into consideration that women are not a homogeneous group and to consider specific aspects that affect their safety as a result of exercising their freedom of expression, including, race, ethnic origin, nationality, age, socioeconomic circumstances, religion or belief, sexual orientation, and urban/rural environment.
- Combat disinformation through holistic, positive measures, including by ensuring a diverse, free and independent media environment, protecting journalists and media workers, upholding right to information legislation, investing in media and digital literacy, and supporting civil society and the media in efforts to tackle disinformation.

Signatories:

- ARTICLE 19
- ABALAMBAN
- Ajker Arban
- Badabon Sangho
- Bangladesh Disabled Development Trust (BDDT)
- Bikrampur Chitra
- Chandradip Development Society (CDS)
- Chayatal Bangladesh

- Chinnomul Manob Kallayan Society (CMKS)
- Community Welfare Foundation (CWF)
- DHRUBA
- Free Press Unlimited
- Noboprobhaat Foundation
- Proyas Manobik Unnayan Society
- Report71.com
- Samajik Unnayan Sangstha (SUS)
- The Daily Probaha

Annex 1

Table 1: UPR recommendations relevant for the right to freedom of expression received in the fourth cycle by Bangladesh

Recommending State	Recommendation
Supported	
Costa Rica	Establish protection guarantees for human rights defenders
Finland	Protect human rights defenders, including women’s rights defenders, including through enhanced training and awareness-raising within the law enforcement structures
France	Strengthen guarantees on freedom of association and peaceful assembly
Gambia	Ensure full respect for the rights to freedom of religion or belief, freedom of expression and freedom of association in accordance with its human rights obligations in law and in practice
Italy	Enhance efforts to ensure the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the religious freedom of minorities
Liechtenstein	Protect all civil society activists, lawyers and journalists from harassment, arbitrary arrest, torture, ill-treatment and violence
Luxembourg	Put an end to obstacles to freedom of expression and peaceful association, pluralism of opinions and the work of civil society, and grant all fundamental legal guarantees to political opponents, activists and demonstrators
Norway	Ensure a safe and enabling environment for human rights defenders and civil society, including by ceasing all acts of reprisals
Poland	Ensure that human rights defenders, journalists and civil society have a safe and enabling environment and can operate freely without fear of reprisals
Romania	Strengthen the independence of the judicial system and measures to ensure respect for the rule of law and the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly, association and expression for all, especially for human rights defenders and journalists
Slovakia	Take effective measures to ensure that the press can work freely without censorship, threats, physical assaults or killings
Slovakia	Take effective measures to prevent arbitrary arrest, torture and other ill-treatment of civil society activists, lawyers and journalists who have criticized the authorities’ conduct, and investigate all existing cases
Ukraine	Uphold and protect freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association

United Kingdom	Take measures to guarantee a safe and transparent environment for civil society, human rights defenders and the media, ensuring that they can exercise their rights to freedom of expression and assembly without fear of repercussions
United States	Ensure that journalists, human rights and labour rights defenders and others are not prosecuted or detained for the exercise of their rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly or association, and ensure all individuals receive free trial guarantees
Noted	
Australia	Safeguard freedom of expression by amending the provisions of the Cybersecurity Act that criminalize speech
Belgium	Repeal or amend the laws restricting freedom of expression and freedom of peaceful assembly, including the Foreign Donations (Voluntary Activities) Regulation Act and the Cybersecurity Act, so that they are fully in line with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
Canada	Repeal the Cybersecurity Act which, like its predecessors, criminalizes freedom of expression and could facilitate the ongoing and increasing targeting and judicial harassment of dissenting voices
Denmark	Review and adjust its legislation, notably the Cybersecurity Act, to bring it into line with the right to freedom of expression as set out in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
Estonia	Revise all laws, regulations and practices concerning freedom of opinion and expression, both online and offline, to bring them into full compliance with international human rights standards and to remove undue restrictions on them
Germany	Ensure that the Cybersecurity Act, of 2023, is in full accordance with obligations under international law and ensure swift processing or termination of all outstanding cases under the old Digital Security Act
Ireland	Remove provisions limiting freedom of expression from the draft cybersecurity act and ensure that, once adopted, it is compliant with international human rights law
Liechtenstein	Review the Digital Security Act to ensure that it is in line with international standards regarding the right to privacy
Mexico	Issue an immediate moratorium on the use of the Digital Security Act and harmonize its provisions with international human rights law
Netherlands	Repeal the 2018 Digital Security Act and amend the Cybersecurity Act in line with the relevant international human rights treaties

Norway	Repeal or rewrite the Cybersecurity Act, as it fails to address the most problematic aspects of the former Digital Security Act
Republic of Korea	Take effective measures to protect freedom of expression and prevent violence against journalists, and ensure that the Cybersecurity Act is in line with international standards
Spain	Adapt the new Cybersecurity Act to allow journalists and human rights defenders to carry out their duties without fear of intimidation or reprisals
Sweden	Review laws and procedures, especially those aimed at governing digital space, to ensure alignment with international standards guaranteeing freedom of expression and to reduce the scope for judicial harassment
Switzerland	Amend the Cybersecurity Act, of 2023, so that it is brought into compliance with human rights, in particular with the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ⁱ This is a joint submission made by ARTICLE 19, ABALAMBAN, Ajker Arban, Badabon Sangho, Bangladesh Disabled Development Trust (BDDT), Bikrampur Chitra, Chandradip Development Society (CDS), Chayatal Bangladesh, Chinnomul Manob Kallayan Society (CMKS), Community Welfare Foundation (CWF), DHRUBA, Free Press Unlimited, Noboprobhaat Foundation, Proyas Manobik Unnayan Society, Report71.com, Samajik Unnayan Sangstha (SUS), and The Daily Probaha.

ⁱⁱ ARTICLE 19, 'Global Expression Report' (2025). Available at: <https://www.globalexpressionreport.org/>.

ⁱⁱⁱ UN Human Rights Council, 'Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review, Bangladesh', A/HRC/55/13 (2024). Available at: <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/55/13>.

^{iv} The general election in Bangladesh – held every five years – determines the composition of the Jatiya Sangsad (National Parliament) and plays a decisive role in shaping the country's political trajectory and governance.

^v ARTICLE 19, 'Elections and Freedom of Expression' (2025). Available at: <https://www.article19.org/elections-freedom-of-expression/>.

^{vi} UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 'Bangladesh: "Appalling and pervasive culture of impunity" for killings of journalists' (2022). Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/02/bangladesh-appalling-and-pervasive-culture-impunity-killings-journalists-un>.

^{vii} Tech Global Institute, 'Joint Statement: Cyber Security Ordinance, 2025 and the Concerns That Remain' (2025). Available at: <https://techglobalinstitute.com/announcements/press-release/joint-statement-cyber-security-ordinance-2025-and-the-concerns-that-remain/>.

^{viii} The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (1972). Available at: <http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/act-367.html>.

^{ix} ARTICLE 19, 'Bangladesh: Time to adopt a data protection regime that protects rights' (2025). Available at: <https://www.article19.org/resources/bangladesh-time-to-adopt-a-data-protection-regime-that-protects-rights/>.

^x Tech World Bangladesh, 'BTRC drafts law to ensure international standards on lawful interception' (2025). Available at: <https://techworldbd24.com/techworld/2873>.

^{xi} <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/anti-state-contents-btrc-moves-punish-social-media-platforms-3963161>.

^{xii} The Financial Express, 'BTRC plans for massive telecom law overhaul' (2025). Available at: <https://today.thefinancialexpress.com.bd/last-page/btrc-plans-for-massive-telecom-law-overhaul-1755109599>.

^{xiii} Daily Star: 'Draft telecom law seeks social media intermediaries under oversight' (2025). Available at: <https://www.thedailystar.net/business/news/draft-telecom-law-seeks-social-media-intermediaries-under-oversight-3962611>.

-
- ^{xiv} Bangla News 24, 'BTRC drafts law to align lawful interception with international standards' (2025). Available at: <https://www.banglanews24.com/english/technology/news/bd/183405.details>.
- ^{xv} The Financial Express, 'BTRC plans for massive telecom law overhaul' (2025). Available at: <https://today.thefinancialexpress.com.bd/last-page/btrc-plans-for-massive-telecom-law-overhaul-1755109599>.
- ^{xvi} Daily Star: 'Draft telecom law seeks social media intermediaries under oversight' (2025). Available at: <https://www.thedailystar.net/business/news/draft-telecom-law-seeks-social-media-intermediaries-under-oversight-3962611>.
- ^{xvii} UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 'Bangladesh: "Appalling and pervasive culture of impunity" for killings of journalists' (2022). Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/02/bangladesh-appalling-and-pervasive-culture-impunity-killings-journalists-un>.
- ^{xviii} ARTICLE 19, 'Bangladesh: Murder of journalist sparks safety fears for media workers' (2025). Available at: <https://www.article19.org/resources/bangladesh-murder-of-journalist-sparks-fear-for-safety-of-journalists/>.
- ^{xix} ARTICLE 19, 'Equally Safe: Towards a feminist approach to the safety of journalists' (2025). Available at: <https://www.article19.org/equally-safe/>.
- ^{xx} Daily Star, 'Anti-state' contents: BTRC moves to punish social media platforms' (2025). Available at: <https://www.thedailystar.net/news/bangladesh/news/anti-state-contents-btrc-moves-punish-social-media-platforms-3963161>.
- ^{xxi} ARTICLE 19, 'Bangladesh: Digital laws must be transparent and protect free expression' (2025). Available at: <https://www.article19.org/resources/bangladesh-digital-laws-must-be-transparent-and-protect-free-expression/>.
- ^{xxii} Daily Star: 'Draft telecom law seeks social media intermediaries under oversight' (2025). Available at: <https://www.thedailystar.net/business/news/draft-telecom-law-seeks-social-media-intermediaries-under-oversight-3962611>.
- ^{xxiii} ARTICLE 19, 'Bangladesh: Digital laws must be transparent and protect free expression' (2025). Available at: <https://www.article19.org/resources/bangladesh-digital-laws-must-be-transparent-and-protect-free-expression/>.
- ^{xxiv} ARTICLE 19, 'Bangladesh: Digital laws must be transparent and protect free expression' (2025). Available at: <https://www.article19.org/resources/bangladesh-digital-laws-must-be-transparent-and-protect-free-expression/>.
- ^{xxv} ARTICLE 19, 'Equally Safe: Towards a feminist approach to the safety of journalists, Case Study Bangladesh' (2022). Available at: <https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Bangladesh-FemSoj-2022-min.pdf>.