Social Media Landscape in Bhutan

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BMF
BHUTAN MEDIA FOUNDATION

Bhutan Media Foundation
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Executive Summary

- Penetration of social media is very high in Bhutan both from the perspective of its extensive and intensive usage. About 90% of people are active members of at least one social media. The high penetration rate is supported by widespread ownership of smartphones and greater access to the internet.

- Multiplatform membership is a defining feature of the social media landscape in Bhutan, with Facebook, WeChat, and YouTube being the three most popular platforms. Due to its high penetration rate both within and outside Bhutan, Facebook is the most widely used platform by organisations.

- On average, Bhutanese people spend 163 minutes every day on social media. Generation Z (age 13-29), Millennials (age 30-44), those with university-level qualifications, and employed persons are the most intensive users of social media, with each category spending four or more hours on social media per day. Baby boomers (age 60+), agricultural labourers, disabled persons, and illiterate persons are among the least intensive user categories.

- Seeking information and entertainment are two major purposes for people's engagement on social media. People use social media predominantly for messaging and to a lesser extent, for sharing personal information. Organisations use social media to communicate with the public, market their products, and promote brand value.

- Spam and indecent posts are the two most reported negative individual experiences on social media. Organisations reported that negative comments and fake reviews are their most common negative experiences.

- About three-fourths of the social media users in Bhutan have little or no awareness of privacy and ethical issues. Due to limited knowledge and awareness about ethical, privacy and safety issues, and increasing incidences of exposure to insidious or negative content, social media users may be highly vulnerable to negative experiences and cybercrime.

- People have conflicting views on the concept of *anonymity* on social media. While 97% of people conveyed that they use their true identity on social media platforms, only 67% of people believe that other people use their true identity on social media platforms. The truth may lie between these two extremes.

- Most non-government organisations do not have specific policies but rather apply moral suasion to guide their use of social media. Social media use in the government sector is regulated by the Social Media Policy for the Royal Government of Bhutan.

- Almost all organisations plan their social media engagements, but only about 4% of individual users regularly plan their social media activity. They use number of

likes, shares, and comments as yardsticks to evaluate their social media efforts. Organisations are careful to promote their "human face", and to make their content appealing to wider audiences.

- 64% of people believe that social media has allowed discussions to happen that were erstwhile considered taboo, and 55% believe these discussions are aimed at bringing positive changes. The composite score of public discourse value of social media is calculated to be moderately high, at 71.8/100. However, fewer people believe that social media is effectively contributing to strengthening community vitality. The composite index of community vitality value of social media is calculated to be 57.1/100, which is medium.

- Social media usage among children and young adults is a major issue of concern. 66% of parents believe that their children use social media at the expense of other good and healthy activities. Only around a third of parents regularly monitor their children's social media use.

- A mix of regulation and greater advocacy about social media ethics, privacy and security are widely considered to be necessary for promoting safe and healthy use of social media.

Introduction

Social media can be broadly defined as 'internet communications where more than one user can publish or post information within a community of users' (Luchman, Bergstrom, & Krulikowski, 2014). In 1997, SixDegrees was launched as the first recognised social media site. Since then, both the types of platforms and their membership has grown exponentially.

Table 1: Chronology of global social media platforms

Social Media Platform	Year of launch
SixDegrees.com	1997
Moveon	1998
LiveJournal	1999
LunarStorm	2000
Wikipedia	2001
Friendster, LastFM	2002
LinkedIn, Myspace, Flickr, World Press, SecondLife, Del.icio.us, Skype, Hi5	2003
Tagged, Orkut	2004
You tube, Qzone, Bebo, Reddit	2005
Facebook, Twitter, VK	2006
Tumblr	2007
Spotify, Ping, GroupOn, Kontain	2008
WhatsApp, Foursquare, Sina Weibo	2009
Instagram, Pinterest, Google Buzz	2010
WeChat, Pheed, Snapchat	2011
Vine, Tinder	2012
Google Hangout	2013
Musical.ly	2014
Periscope	2015
Tik Tok, Gab	2016
Co-star	2017
Parler	2018
Amazon Spark, Anchor, Lasso, Caffeine, Facecast	2019

Uses of Social Media

Social media is used for five major purposes encompassed by the acronym SLIME (**S**haring, **L**earning, **I**nteracting, **M**arketing and **E**ntertainment).

a) **Sharing**: People use social media to share information, views, and ideas for a variety of purposes. Social media platforms allow people to share written texts, photos, audio and videos with other members of society. Emerging patterns suggest that the use of social media for sharing video and photos has declined in recent years (Global Web Index, 2020).

b) **Learning**: Social media is widely used to learn about family members, friends and community members. Many extensively use social media to know others' views on relevant issues. It helps users get immediate updates on events happening around the world. In 2020, staying updated with news and information became the leading motivation for the use of social media across regions and age groups. About half of all internet users use social media sites for news updates, despite only 14% treating these as trustworthy sources (Global Web Index, 2020).

c) **Interacting**: People use social media for social interaction (making connections) in a variety of manners - discussions, online meetings, and chatting. Social media is increasingly playing an important role in shaping the nature of public discourse. It helps people connect and interact without the barriers of time and space. Recent findings suggest that the percentage use of social media for connecting with others has declined from 42% in 2017 to 33% in 2020 (Global Web Index, 2020). These trends reflect that social media has become less significant for sharing and interacting with other people.

d) **Marketing**: Social media is widely used by businesses to facilitate brand positioning and promote brand awareness (World Bank, 2021). The extensive outreach of social media makes it one of the most attractive platforms for broadcasting and promotional activities.

e) **Entertainment**: People increasingly use social media for fun and entertainment. It has become a favourite pastime of many people who have no specific motive to use social media, but use it recreationally and to break boredom. Recent evidence suggests that people increasingly use social media for entertainment and as a pass time activity, especially faced with lockdowns during the COVID-19 affected period. In 2020, about 40% of social media usage was for entertainment (Global Web Index, 2020).

Social media reach is widespread: in workplaces, homes, schools, politics, religious places and above all, our personal lives. Social media is evolving at a speed that makes it difficult to predict its shape in the future. For example, Facebook has evolved into a powerful tool that has virtually attracted a third of humanity and is used on average by two members in every household (Statista, 2021).

Global Social Media

Landscape

Uses of social media have grown significantly in recent years due to the continued evolution of Internet and Communication Technology (ICT) in business, society and culture. Digital media has become a cornerstone of our digital habit. In 2020, about 3.81 billion people globally used social media, rising from 2.8 billion in 2017 (Omnicore, 2020). The social media landscape is signified by multi-platform use, as a large number of people actively use two or more platforms. As of January 2021, Facebook is the most popular platform globally with 2.74 billion active monthly users, followed by YouTube (2.23 billion) and WhatsApp (2 billion). WeChat and Instagram also have 1.2 billion+ active users each (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Monthly Active users of major social media platforms in 2019 (in millions)
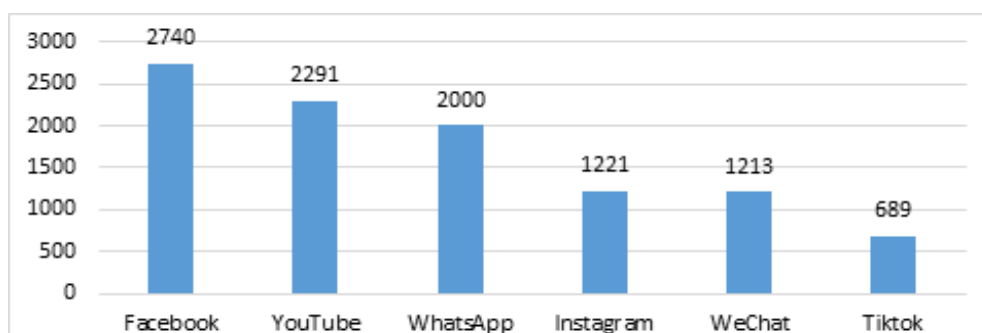
Source: (Statista, 2021)

More than 80% of internet users outside China (where several global platforms are blocked) use Facebook and YouTube, while Facebook Messenger, WhatsApp, and Instagram have attracted more than two-thirds of internet users (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Global internet users (outside China) who are members of social media (in %)
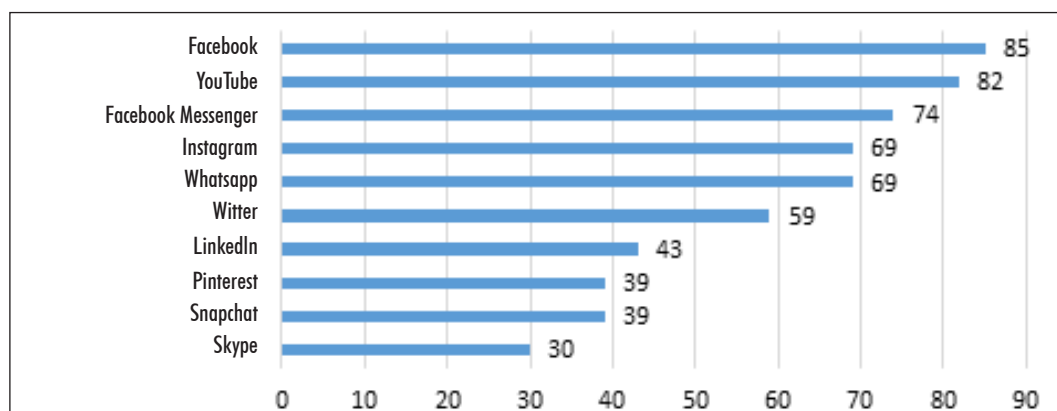
Source: (Global Web Index, 2020)

Younger age groups (Generation Z – ages 13-29, and Millennials – ages 30-44) are the largest users of social media, while other age groups are also rapidly catching up. The growth pattern of social media uses in the USA reflects that the younger age groups adopted social media quite rapidly - by 2013, almost 90% of cohorts had joined social media; the oldest age group, the baby boomers (ages 60+), is least attracted by social media, as only 40% of this cohort have joined (PEW Research Centre, 2019). The younger age groups are also more oriented to multi-networking, as they have about 8.5 social media accounts per person, compared to 6.5 accounts per person held by generation X and 4.7 accounts per person held by baby boomers (Global Web Index, 2020). Mobile phones accounted for 91% of the devices used for accessing social media.

Figure 3: US adults who use at least one social media site
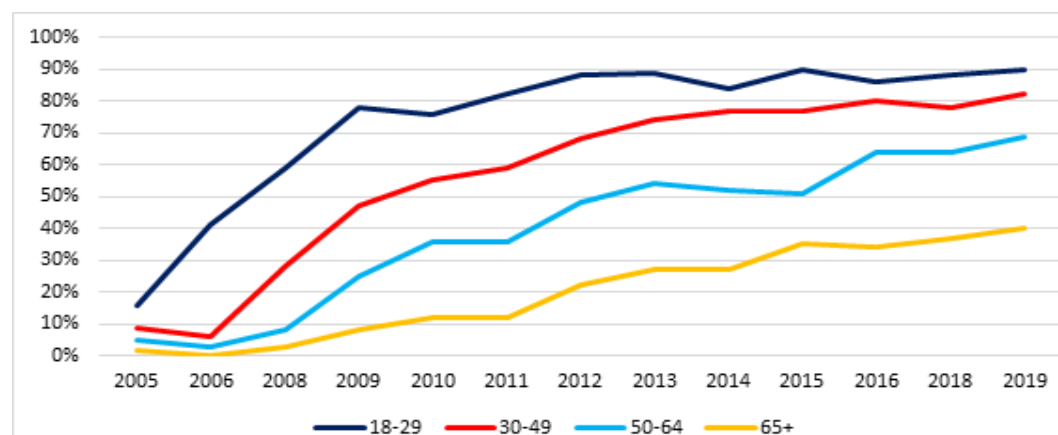
Source: Derived from (PEW Research Centre, 2019)

Social Media Engagement

The average time spent per day on social media has grown by 60% since 2012. In 2020, global internet users allocated an estimated 145 minutes on average every day for social media (Figure 4). Country-wise differences in time use of social media are substantial. At the top of the list, users in The Philippines allocated 233 minutes per day to social media use on average, while users in Japan allocated only 44 minutes per day.

Figure 4: Average time spent on social media every day (in minutes)
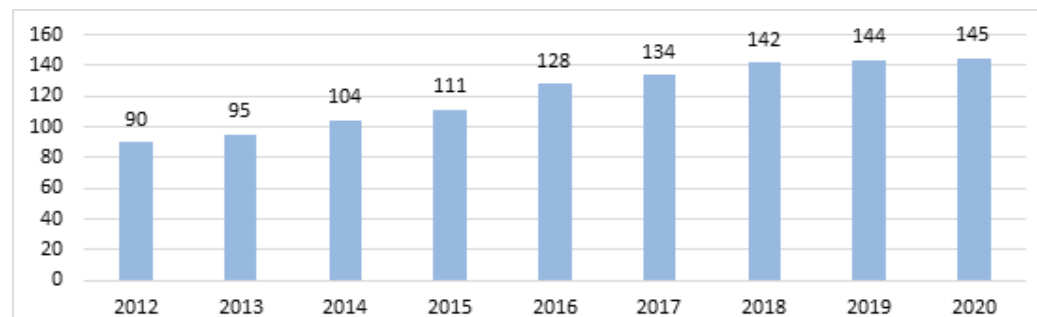
Source: (Statista, 2021)

Social Media in Bhutan

The Internet arrived in Bhutan on June 2, 1999, about a year after the first global social media platform 'SixDegrees' was launched. Although the Internet arrived in Bhutan almost a decade after it was first launched, the country caught up rapidly with the rest of the world. In January 2020, the internet penetration rate in Bhutan was 59%, at par with the global average, and above the South Asian average. The social media penetration rate in Bhutan was 56% in January 2020 (Datareportal, 2021). 96% of the country's population owned a mobile phone, and most Bhutanese use mobile phones to access social media. Besides these basic approximations, not much is known about the uses and understanding of social media in Bhutan. As social media is a powerful communication tool, opening up an entirely new framework of public and private discourse, understanding its usage and users is pertinent for guiding policies and initiatives across a variety of sectors, such as information and news media, education, commerce, politics and governance, culture and society.

At present, social media in Bhutan is regulated in a limited manner by the following policies and Acts:

1) Social Media Policy for the Royal Government of Bhutan, 2016

2) Information and Media Policy of the Royal Government of Bhutan, 2016

3) Information, Communications, and Media Act of Bhutan 2018

4) National Security Act, 1992 (sections 7, 8 and 9)

5) Penal Code of Bhutan, 2004

6) Bhutan Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 2011

7) Bhutan Civil Service Rules and Regulations, 2012

8) ECB Social Media Rules and Regulations of the Kingdom of Bhutan, 2018

Objectives

This study primarily aimed to generate data on the uses and understanding of social media in Bhutan. It will support evidence-based interventions to tackle emerging challenges from the potential misuse of social media. More specifically, Bhutan Media Foundation will use the information generated through this study to develop training modules on social media literacy. The findings will also be disseminated widely for applications in other sectors.

Specific questions of the study were:

1. How is social media used in Bhutan?

2. Why is social media used in Bhutan?

3. What are the devices used to access social media in Bhutan?

4. How frequently do Bhutanese people use social media?

5. What are the major types of content on social media consumed and produced in Bhutan?

6. How much understanding do users have about problems and concerns related to social media?

7. How much understanding do users have about the impacts, risks and opportunities of social media?

8. How much understanding do people have about the social media policies of the RGoB?

9. How much ethical and technical competence do users of social media have?

The study aimed to generate data covering all the dzongkhags, disaggregated by age group, education level, occupation and area of residence (rural/urban).

Methodological Framework

Study Design

A one-stage study was implemented to estimate social media uses by people 13 years of age and older in Bhutan. The analysis is based on primary data collected through an extensive questionnaire-based survey (Annexure 1) and key informant interviews (Annexure 2) with representatives of organizations using social media institutionally (Annexure 3). The survey questionnaire was designed to collect valid, reliable, and effective data. For this, the following aspects were incorporated into the survey data collection process:

Sample Design

The study applied a two-stage stratified sampling approach covering all 20 dzongkhags. The sample size for the survey was calculated using the following formula. The study applied a two-stage stratified cluster sampling approach for the selection of households.

$$n = \frac{\frac{z^2\, p(1-p)}{e^2}}{1 + \left(\frac{z^2\, p(1-p)}{e^2\, N}\right)}$$

Where *n* is the sample size, *z* is Z-score, *p* is the standard deviation, *e* is the margin of error, and *N* = population (number of households).

Z is taken as 2.576 (relevant for 99% confidence level), *p* = 0.5 (rule of thumb based standard value), *e* = 0.04 and *N* = 161,430 total households. The required sample size is calculated to be 1,009, which was up-scaled to 1,200.

For determining the sample size for each dzongkhag, probability proportional to size (PPS) was used. The demographic data from the Population and Housing Census of Bhutan (PHCB 2017) was used for determining the dzongkhags' weights. This method determines the minimum sample size for each dzongkhag; however, the size of the sample for smaller dzongkhags was scaled up to a minimum of 50. The sample frame of PHCB 2017 was used for non-probabilistic convenience sampling at the gewog level. Ease of movement and higher density of population in a chiwog were used as criteria for sampling. Households served as the sample units for this study.

Current and recently graduated college students were selected to work as enumerators for the end-user surveys. A three-day training workshop for the enumerators was organized on 10-12 December 2020 in Thimphu. On December 11, 2020, a pilot survey was undertaken to test the survey forms. Originally the survey was planned during 21-31 December 2020, but due to a nationwide lockdown, the survey started on January 4, 2021. Surveys were undertaken using two modes: most were administered through personal interviews, while

some limited numbers were self-administered online by email. Personal interview survey data were collected on paper and entered into a computerized spreadsheet format for analysis. Locales of personal interview surveys were verified through GPS on enumerators' mobile devices using the ArcGIS Survey123 system.

The timing of the field survey coincided with winter break and pandemic-related restrictions, so there was possible non-availability of younger age groups in villages. However, the survey team was able to reach out to them through telephone, social media, or email.

Qualitative data from organizational representatives and other stakeholders were collected through online (e-mail) and in-person interviews by the lead researchers. The interviews were undertaken during the third and fourth week of January 2021. The qualitative data were recorded through e-mail, field notes and audio recordings. Field notes included comments upon impression, behaviour, and recorded nonverbal clues.

Primary sample unit

The gewog list under each dzongkhag provided in the PHCB 2017 Master Sample Plan was used as a sample frame. Two gewogs were selected from each dzongkhag, except for Gasa, and PPS was applied for sample selection at this stage. The relative share of the two selected gewogs in their total population (total population of the two selected gewogs, in each dzongkhag) was used as a weight to determine the sample size for each gewog. Dzongkhag-specific samples we distributed between the gewogs in the manner described above. The calculated sample size for each gewog was distributed between chiwogs / towns (Local Area Plans, LAPs), using urban-rural weights (37% and 63%, respectively).

Secondary Sample Unit

Chiwogs and LAPs served as secondary sample units, representing rural and urban areas respectively. The list of chiwogs and LAPs under selected gewogs provided in the Master sample Plan PHCB 2017 was used as the sample frame. The selection of these units is based on the PPS method.

Households within each chiwog/LAP were selected based on a non-random sample selection process. Households were taken as sample units for this study, as an individual-level sample frame does not exist. Researchers concur that a sample of the general population should be selected by selecting sample households, as the mean and variance within households are rather uniform (Clark & Steel , 2002). Further stratification was done based on place of residence (rural and urban), gender, age groups {14-29 years (generation Z), 30-44 years (millennials), 45-59 years (generation X) and 60+ years (baby boomers)}[1], education status, occupation and disability status. For the place of residence, gender, and age group, weights were derived from the relevant demographic information from PHCB 2017. For occupation, NSB's occupational categorization was adopted. NSB defines occupation categories as: regular paid employees, contract employees, agricultural workers, and non-agricultural workers (NSB, 2018). Disability-wise stratification was based on three broad categories of disabilities: cognition, behaviour and fine motor (UNICEF, 2012).

1. *These age groups closely represent four generations termed Z, Millennials, X, and Baby boomers.*

Survey Data Analyses

The data collected were entered and tabulated in spreadsheet format. The data were evaluated and analysed using SPSS software. Standard descriptive and inferential statistical techniques were used for data analysis, and notable findings are reported herein.

Time spent on social media every day (T) is derived from the number of memberships (M) and self-reported frequency of social media visits (N), and the assumption that each visit takes 5 minutes. This methodology is adopted from prior studies (Levenson, Shensa, Sidani, Colditz, & Primack, 2016). The following equation is used to calculate the time spent on social media:

$$T = \left(\sum_{\square}^{\square} \frac{NM}{5} \right) * 60$$

The composite index of community vitality was constructed using Survey Questions 46-50. For Q46 and Q50 *strongly agree* means the most negative experience, while in others it means most positive experience. To remove the discrepancy, the response scale for Q46 and Q50 was reversed (1 as 5, 2 as 4, 4 as 2 and 5 as 1). The composite index was then calculated as 100*{(Sum of responses for 46-50)/25}.

The composite index of public discourse was constructed using Q51 and Q52. No rescaling was required. The composite index was calculated as 100*{(Sum of responses for 51, 52)/10}.

Key Informant Interviews

Information was also collected through key informant semi-structured interviews. Relevant representatives of 26 organisations (government, private, and civil society) were interviewed. These interviews aimed to investigate how and why organizations use social media. These interviews also sought to draw out organisations' concerns related to social media usage in Bhutan and views on possible ways to mitigate these concerns.

Limitations of the study

The findings of this study are subject to the following limitations:

1) In the sample design, the minimum sample sizes at the dzongkhag level were determined by the probability proportional to size method. However, the sample size of smaller dzongkhags was scaled up to a minimum of 50. Scaling up of sample size ensured that an adequate absolute number of samples are drawn from the dzongkhags with small populations. This process has one limitation in that it inserts sampling bias in the favour of smaller dzongkhags. The findings of this study are statistically reliable at the dzongkhag level, and at the national level ignoring internal geographic distribution.

2) Scaling up the sample size tends to increase non-sampling error, but also reduces sampling error. The trade-off between sampling and non-sampling error is a natural

limitation of any scientific study. However, most researchers agree on the merit of reducing sampling error.

3) The timing of the field survey is another source of limitation of this study. The field survey was undertaken during the COVID-19 pandemic period (December 18, 2020 - January 17, 2021) characterized by lockdowns and social distancing. These features of the pandemic period, since March 2020, have altered people's social media engagements (Global Web Index, 2020), and consequently, the survey findings may not authentically reflect the long-term pattern, but rather the short-term recent experience. From an alternative perspective, this may be a strength of this study, as it captures the changed behaviour, which is likely to be the trend of the "new normal".

4) Although a large fraction of the survey was undertaken in personal mode, some surveys were undertaken using online/telephonic methods due to extended lockdown conditions in Thimphu and Paro. Multimode surveys are potentially a source of non-sampling error. Even in the online/telephonic mode, however, the surveyors took all necessary steps to ensure that the selected samples provided authentic responses.

Sample characteristics

The survey covered all 20 dzongkhags in Bhutan and collected information from 1,244 samples. Dzongkhag-wise sample size is shown in Table 2. Samples characteristics (Table 3) closely conform to the national proportions.

Table 2: Dzongkhag-wise sample size

Dzongkhag	Sample Size	Dzongkhag	Sample Size
Bumthang	52	Samdrup Jongkhar	43
Chhukha	97	Samtse	96
Dagana	54	Sarpang	70
Gasa	25	Thimphu	187
Haa	50	Trashigang	75
Lhuntse	50	Trashiyangtse	50
Mongar	50	Trongsa	45
Paro	50	Tsirang	50
Pema Gatshel	50	Wangdue Phodrang	50
Punakha	50	Zhemgang	50

Table 3: Sample Characteristics

Category	Sample size
Total sample size	1,244
Area of residence	Rural (831); Urban (413)
Gender	Male (613); Female (631)
Age Groups	Generation Z, ages 13-29 (503); Millennials, ages 30-44 (453); generation X, ages 45-59 (163); Baby Boomers, ages 60+ (125)
Disability	Total (38): Cognition (5); Behaviour (7); fine motor (26)
Educational status	Illiterate (288); Primary (126); Middle secondary (250); Higher secondary (289); Tertiary (191); Non-formal (100)
Occupational category	Regular paid employees (188); Contract employees (57); Agricultural workers (493); Non-agricultural workers (163); Students (154); Unemployed (161); Monks (28)

Findings

Social Media Landscape in Bhutan

Higher social media penetration rate among the more literate and regularly paid employees

The survey findings show that the social media penetration rate in Bhutan is probably very high, as 90.5% of respondents are active members of at least one social media platform. The high penetration rate is supported by the ease of access to the internet using smartphones. According to Digital 2020, about 95% of Bhutan's population uses mobile phones (Datareportal, 2021).

The disaggregated data shows that the social media penetration rate in urban areas (96%) is almost eight percentage points higher than in rural areas (87.6%).

About 91.5% of males are active users of social media as compared to 89.5% of females.

The younger generations are more active than older generations in joining social media. The penetration of social media among generation Z users (ages 13-29, 98.8%) and Millennials (ages 30-44, 95.3%) is very high, while generation X (ages 45-59) is only slightly behind, with 83.4% penetration. Only 49% of baby boomers (ages 60+) are active members of social media.

Literacy level tends to positively influence social media membership. The survey shows that the social media penetration rate among illiterate people is the lowest at 68.4%, and it rises with higher education attainment. The social media penetration rate among university graduates in the sample is 100%.

From the occupational category perspective, the social media penetration rate is lowest among the agricultural labourers (81%), and highest among the regular paid employees and students (100% each). The social media penetration rate among unemployed persons (93.1%) is also very high.

Regionally, the social media penetration rate is 100% in the Gasa and Zhemgang samples, while the figure is lowest in Samtse at 75%. Figure 5 shows the dzongkhag-wise social media penetration rate.

Figure 5: Social media penetration rate, dzongkhag-wise
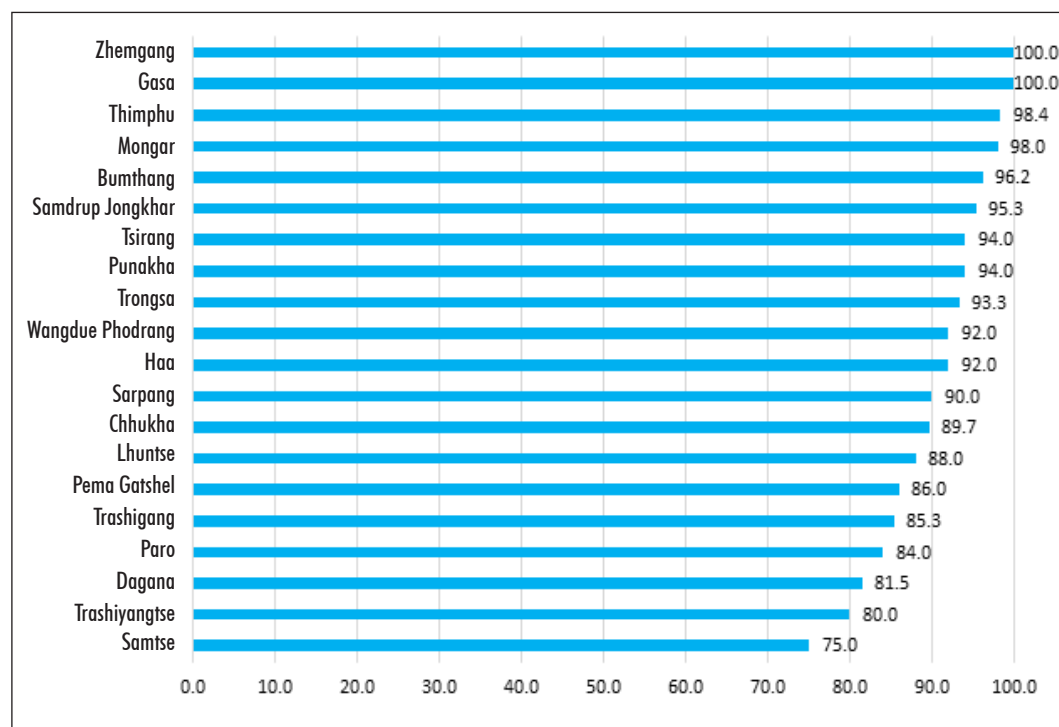
Generation Z leads the multi-platform user trend

Multi-platform membership is a key attribute of the social media landscape in Bhutan. An average Bhutanese person is an active member of four social media platforms. The average number of social media platforms used varies from 5.3 in Thimphu to 2.4 in Dagana. Figure 8 shows the dzongkhag-wise active platform accounts.
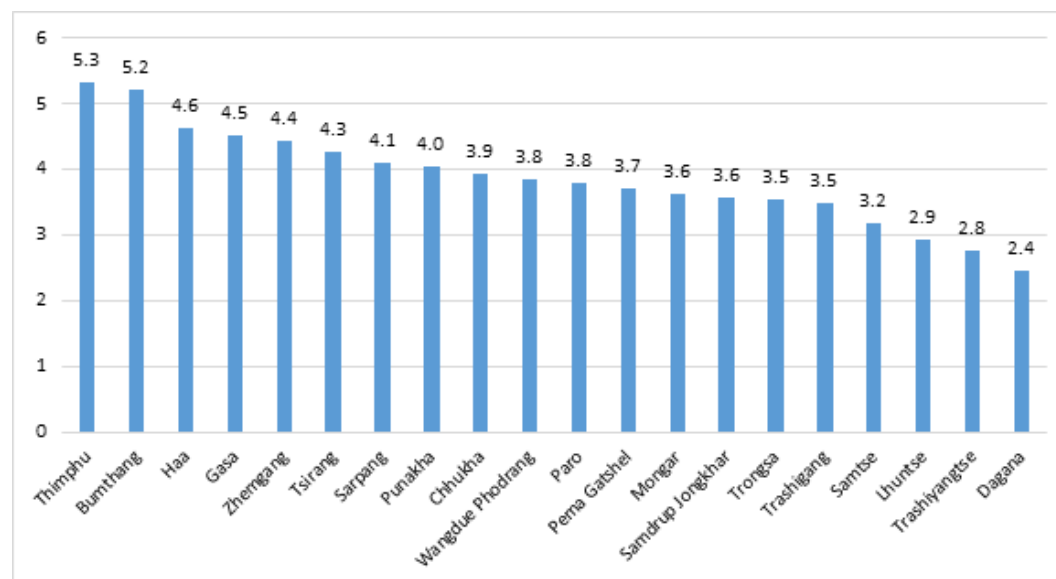
The younger generations are more oriented to membership of multiple platforms as compared to the older generations. The Generation Z (ages 13-29) sample holds on average 5.3 social media accounts, the Millennial (ages 30-44) sample holds an average of 3.9 social media accounts, the Generation X (ages 45-59) sample holds an average of 2.4 social media accounts, and the Baby Boomer (ages 60+) sample averages only 1 social media account. Younger generations also use social media more intensively than their older counterparts. However, Bhutanese are more selective in using multiple social media than the average global citizen.

Urban residents hold 5.3 social media accounts on average, as compared to 3.3 accounts held by rural residents. The gender-wise difference in social media membership is not large: males hold 4.2 social media accounts on average as compared to 3.7 by females. Agricultural workers hold 2.4 social media accounts, monks hold 3.6 accounts, students hold 5.2 accounts, and regularly paid employees hold 6.1 social media accounts on average. Social media is more popular among monks than farmers. People with disabilities hold fewer social media accounts on average, at 1.9. Disaggregating the sample further, people with cognitive disabilities hold 1.2 accounts, those with behavioural disabilities hold 2.4 accounts, and those with fine-motor disabilities hold 2 accounts on average.

High popularity and usage of Facebook and WeChat

Closely resembling the global pattern, Facebook is the most popular social media platform in Bhutan, with 77% of respondents being active members. Other popular platforms are WeChat (72%), YouTube (58.4%), Telegram (39.6%), WhatsApp (38.9%), Instagram (33.2%), and Gaming apps (29.7%). TikTok, a fairly young social media platform, is rapidly gaining

popularity with 20.6% of respondents being members. Facebook is the most used platform among generation Z (ages 13-29), while WeChat is the most widely used platform among the other generations. Popular social media platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube are yet to capture the attention of the elderly Baby boomers generation (ages 60+), while WeChat is more widely used by this generation. Figures 6 and 7 show the percentage of users of the top three social media categorized by generation and educational level.

Figure 6: Membership share by age cohort (in %)
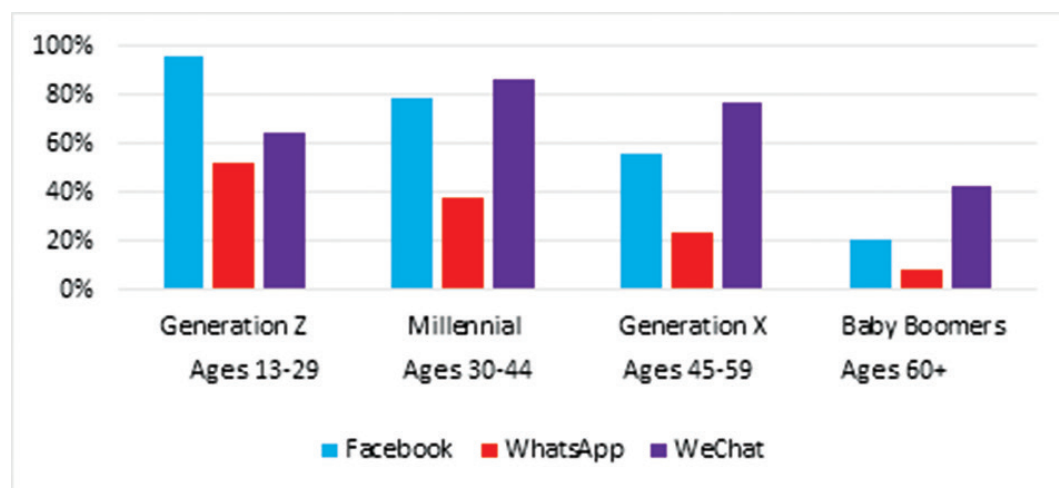
Figure 7: Membership share by education level (in %)
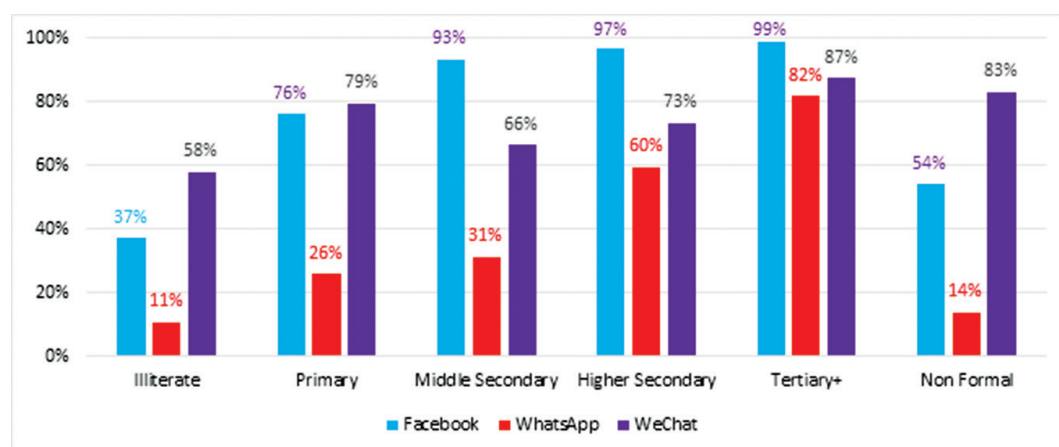
The pattern of social platform use is somewhat different among monks. WeChat is the most popular platform among monks, with 89.3% having being users, followed by Facebook (85.7%), YouTube (57%), WhatsApp (39.3%) and Telegram (35.7%).

Among respondents with disabilities, 40% use Facebook, 45% use WeChat, and 32% use YouTube.

Social media aligns with human psychology and stimulates a craving for connections and validation. Globally, people continue joining newer platforms and are spending increasingly more time on social media. Bhutan is probably no different, although there is no baseline data to support this yet.

Facebook and WeChat are the most heavily used platforms, with 28% and 24.9% of people, respectively, using these at least once per hour, and 43.8% and 38.4%, respectively, using these 3-4 times a day. Social media platforms like Twitter, blogs, Pinterest and LinkedIn are the least-used platforms both in terms of membership and intensity of use. Limited use of blogs and Twitter may reflect that Bhutanese users are broadly content consumers and not content producers. Table 4 provides information about the membership of social media platforms and use intensity.

Table 4: Social Media Membership and Intensity of Use (in %)

Social Media Platform	Membership among respondents	Intensity of Usage				
		Less than once a week	Once a week	Once a day	3- 4 times a day	More or once in an hour
Facebook	77	2.2	2.9	22.7	43.8	28.4
WeChat	72	3.7	6	27.1	38.4	24.9
YouTube	58.4	13.4	16.3	30.4	27	13.2
Telegram	39.6	15	16.8	27.4	27	13.8
WhatsApp	38.9	11.9	12.1	29.7	28.4	18
Instagram	33.2	9.2	10.9	29.5	31.2	19.1
Gaming apps	29.7	8.4	8.4	24.3	31.8	27.2
TikTok	20.6	15.3	14.5	31	27.1	12.2
Snapchat	13	22.4	15.5	20.5	22.4	19.3
Twitter	6.4	40	22.5	27.5	7.5	2.5
Pinterest	5.9	38.9	29.2	13.9	12.5	5.6
LinkedIn	4.3	56.6	26.4	9.4	2.7	1.9
Other(s)	3.5	23.9	10.9	17.4	41.3	6.5
Blogs	2.5	51.6	32.3	6.5	6.5	3.2

Employed persons are the most frequent occupational group of social media users

Occupation-wise, regular paid employees are the most intensive users of social media platforms in Bhutan. A majority of them use all of the five most-used platforms at least 3-4 times a day. About 83% of regular paid employees, students and unemployed people check Facebook at least 3-4 times a day. Casually paid employees are the second most intensive

users of the five most used platforms. Agricultural workers are the least intensive users of social media platforms. Students use Facebook most heavily, as 83% of them check it at least 3-4 times a day. Agricultural workers use WeChat most intensively, with about 69% of them checking it at least 3-4 times a day.

The findings that employees (regularly paid and casual) tend to be the most intensive users of social media suggests they may also be doing at the expense of their other engagements, including during working hours. This is one potential cause of concern, as it would typically go against the norms of appropriate workplace behaviour.

72% of the monks who use WeChat check it at least 3-4 times a day. About 57% of monks who use Facebook and YouTube, check these each at least 3-4 times a day.

Bhutanese people spend more time on social media than the global average

On average, a person in Bhutan spends 163 minutes every day on social media, with a higher degree of skewness. The average daily time spent on social media in Bhutan is higher than the estimated global average of 145 minutes (Statista, 2021; Global Web Index, 2020).

Nearly a quarter (24%) of them are *very heavy* users, spending more than four hours a day on social media, while 15% of them are *heavy* users spending 3-4 hours a day on social media. 22% of social media users in Bhutan are *light* users, spending less than an hour a day on social media.

Figure 9: Daily time spent on social media (as % of social media users)
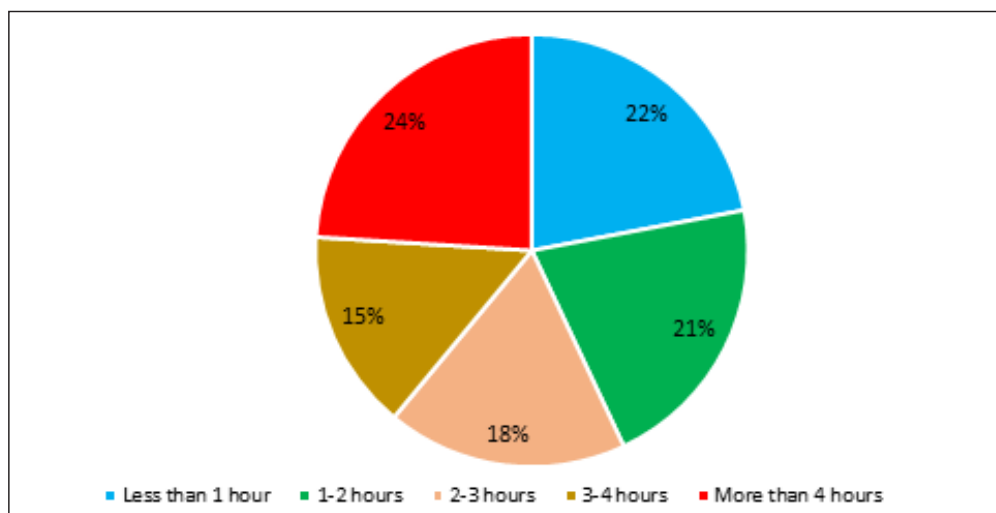
Among the dzongkhags, time spent on social media is highest among those in Thimphu (227 minutes) and lowest in Dagana (90 minutes). In 11 dzongkhags, the average time spent on social media is lower than the national average (Figure 10). Urban people spend 217 minutes per day, while rural people spend 136 minutes each day on social media.

Figure 10: Average time spent on social media, dzongkhag-wise (in minutes, per day)
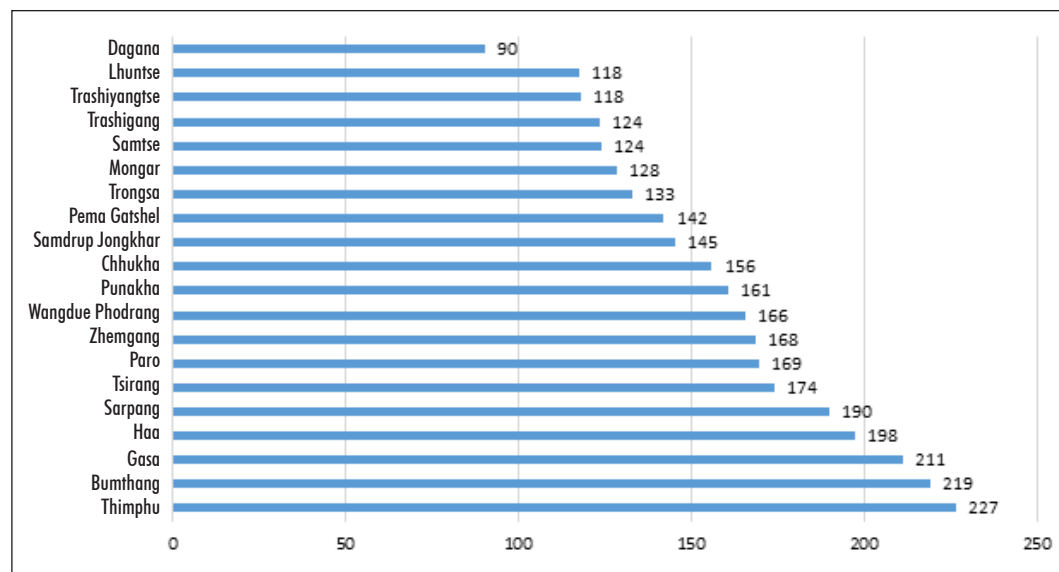
Males spend 175 minutes per day on social media while females spend 151 minutes on average. Younger generations spend more time every day on social media compared to older generations. Generation Z (ages 13-29) spends 210 minutes every day on social media on average, while baby boomers (ages 60+) spend only a fifth of that time on social media (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Average time spent on social media, age group-wise (in minutes per day)
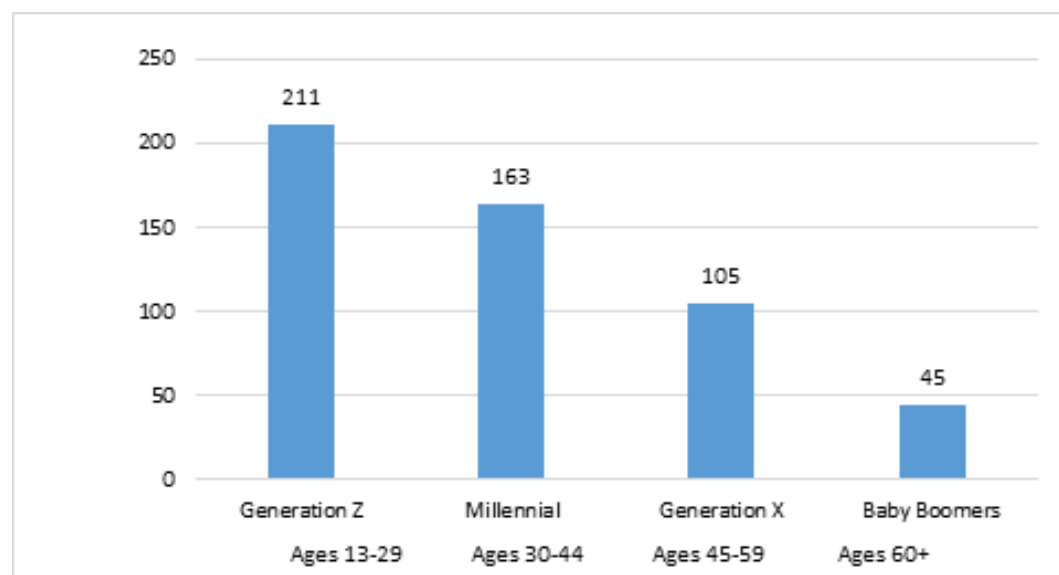
The tendency to spent time on social media rises with the level of education: Less educated people spend lesser time on social media compared to more educated people. Individuals with a university degree qualification or higher spend the largest time on social media at 269 minutes per day. Time use on social media jumps up by 80% among those with primary-level education compared to illiterate persons, and with each higher level of education, smaller incremental percentage changes ensue (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Average time spent on social media, education level-wise (in minutes per day)
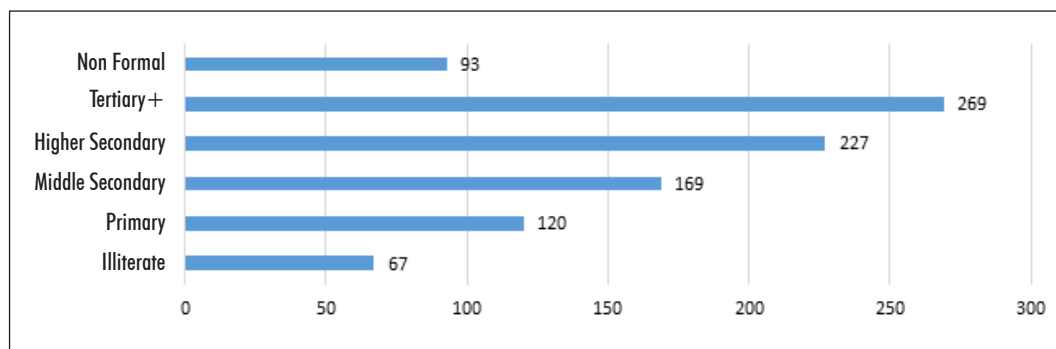
Occupation-wise disaggregated analysis reflects a high variation in the average time spent on social media. Regular employees, contract employees, students and unemployed persons are amongst the heaviest users, each spending more than 3 hours on social media per day (Figure 13). Very high usage among employees and students potentially reflects a substantial loss of productivity, unless it is used for education and work-related issues. Daily social media usage among monks is 153 minutes, which is below the national average. Persons with disabilities spend about 83 minutes per day on social media, which is about half of the average time spent by persons without disabilities.

Figure 13: Average time spent on social media, occupation-wise (in minutes per day)
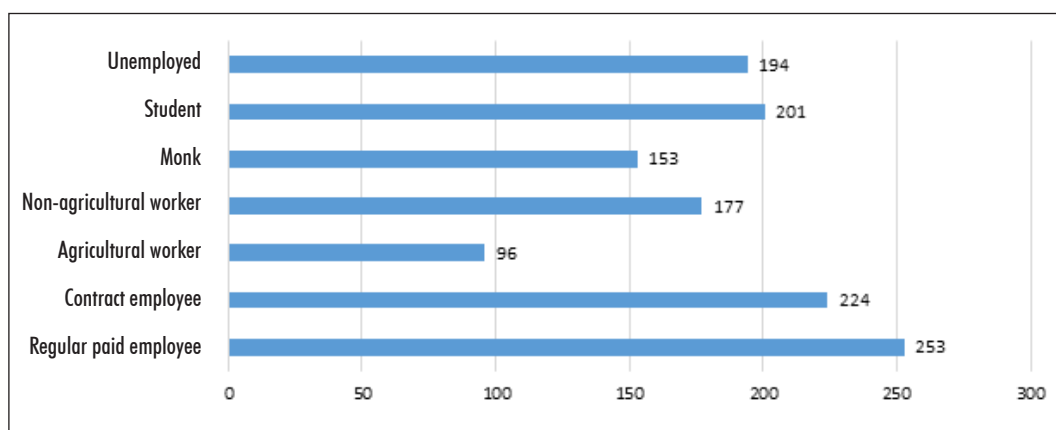
I use less, they use more syndrome

People have contrasting perceptions on the intensity of their own social media uses *vis a vis* that of others. The survey reflects that 63% of people think other people's social media use is either high or very high, while only 40% think that their own social media usage intensity is high or very high. 24.1% of agricultural workers and 35% of the monks reported that their use of social media is high or very high. About 50-55% of the regular employees, contract employees, students and unemployed believe that their use of social media is high or very high.

One important question is whether people realize that they overuse social media. This study attempted to capture this element. Despite the higher intensity of social media engagement by regular employees and contract employees, a relatively smaller percentage of them want to reduce their social media usage. On the contrary, a greater portion of agricultural workers, students and unemployed persons, who are actually already less-intensive users of social media, want to cut down their use of social media.

Bhutanese users may not be using social media at the expense of sleep

The survey findings herein show that a staggering 73.6% of people check their social media as the last thing they do before they sleep, while 43.6% reported that it is the first thing they do after waking up. Only 23% of monks check their social media soon after getting up. People developing anxiety when unable to check their social media for some time reflects addictive behaviour. Those with a higher level of anxiety run the risk of mental health issues (Pantic, 2014). About 45% of people conveyed that they feel uncomfortable when they cannot check their social media account for even some hours. On the other end, about 30% of people rarely feel uncomfortable, and about a fourth reported zero anxiety from an inability to check social media for some time.

Researchers have found a strong association between the intensity of social media use and sleep disturbance (Levenson, Shensa, Sidani, Colditz, & Primack, 2016). The sleep profile of the social media users in Bhutan reflects that the average sleep time is 7 hours 45 minutes, which is within the healthy sleep range of 7-9 hours. This raises an interesting pattern: some groups not only use social media very intensively (spending over 3.5 hours a day on it), yet get time to sleep for over 7.5 hours, implying their usage is during peak productive hours such as work time. This may be worrying for employers, as employees may use some of their work time for social media activity, and for educators, as students may use some of their study time similarly. However, it is also possible that social media overuse may not be done at the expense of work and sleep, rather at the expense of other leisure and healthy physical activity. Such association is not yet verified by research findings.

Smartphones are the most used devices for accessing social media

A predominant percentage (98%) of people regularly use smartphones to access social media, while personal computers and tablets are only used by a minuscule fraction (2%) of users regularly for accessing social media. Survey results show that people spend on average BTN 936 per month on the internet, and it can be safely assumed that they use a large part of it to support social media uses. On average, urban people spend more on the internet (BTN 1,128 per month) than rural people (BTN 821 per month) to support their higher usage of social media.

Social media engagements in Bhutan

Seeking information and entertainment are the top social media engagements

Broadly, people engage on social media as generators (producers) of content, consumers of content, or both. Most people use social media both as consumers and generators of content. People use social media for a variety of purposes: sharing (disseminating information), learning (seeking information, education), interacting (socialization, discussions), marketing (business and collaboration), entertainment, and others. Figure 14 shows that seeking information, entertainment, socialization, disseminating information and education are the top five purposes of the use of social media in Bhutan. Social media in Bhutan serves as the hub of digital news, as an entertainment platform, and as a focus of social connection. A global survey undertaken during quarter 3 of 2020 (Global Web Index, 2020) shows that during the pandemic time, social media has mainly been used for getting news, entertainment and socialization. The findings of this study fit well with the global pattern.

Figure 14: Most preferred purposes for social media use (in %)
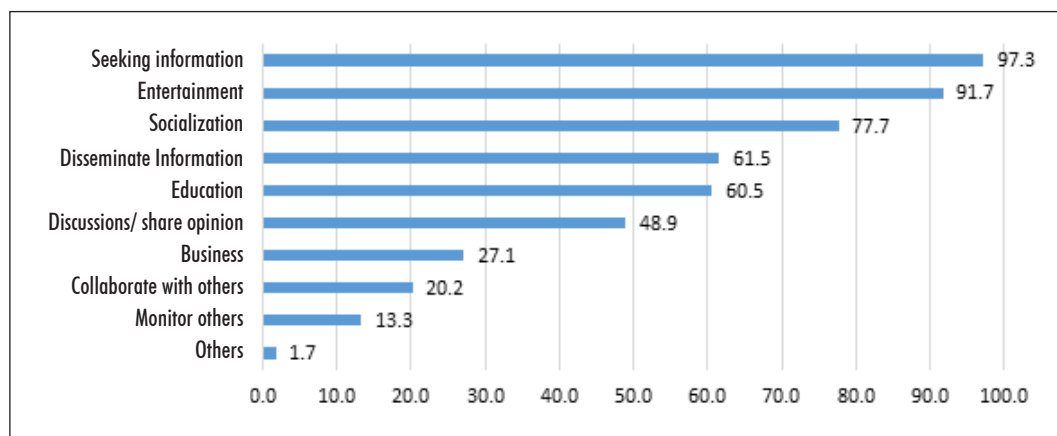
The top three purposes of social media usage among the four age groups are similar, although each younger generation uses each of them more intensively than their older counterparts. Education is among the top five priorities of social media use by generation Z (ages 13-29) and millennials (ages 30-44) (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Most preferred purposes for social media use, generation-wise
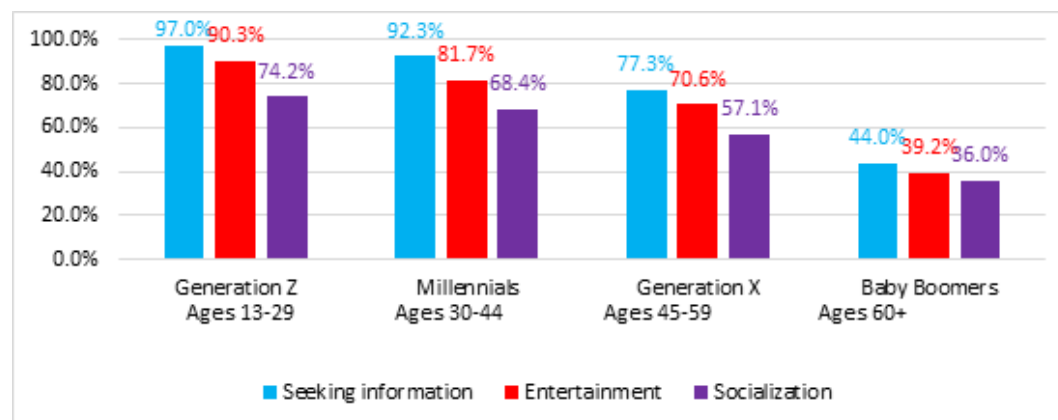
Messaging and personal information are the most consumed and generated contents

Social media is a powerful tool of social engagement as it facilitates content sharing and enabling the creation, exchange and consumption of user-generated content. On social media platforms, people can upload text, photos, videos, music, and share information. This survey captured the three most consumed and generated contents on social media in Bhutan. The contents are broadly categorized as personal, individually produced, messaging, memes/entertainment, and information.

Messaging, personal content and information are the three most consumed contents on social media. 87.7% of the social media users in Bhutan use it for reading messages, which reflects the high combined membership of WeChat, Telegram and WhatsApp. Text messages and chats are the most predominant forms of social media content. Personal content (photos and videos of friends and family) is the second most frequent content consumed and generated on social media in Bhutan. This usage pattern is reflected in the highest membership being with Facebook: the platform helps people to stay connected with their kith and kin. Information is the third most frequent type of content consumed in Bhutan.

Besides consuming content, about 97% of social media users in Bhutan generate some content. Personal content and messaging are the most intensively generated content by social media users in Bhutan. In fact, personal content and messages are more commonly generated than consumed.

Meme and entertainment contents are reported to be the least consumed and generated content types. Figure 16 provides information on the top contents consumed and generated by social media users in Bhutan.

Figure 16: Content consumed and generated by social media users (in %)
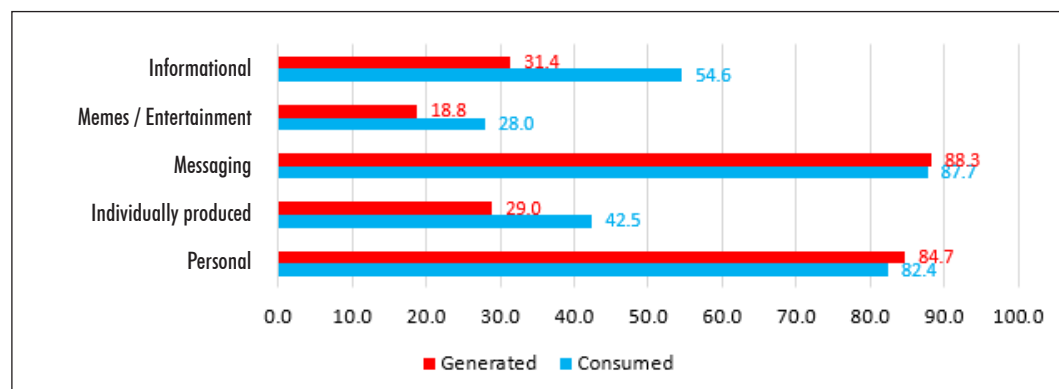
Personal content, messaging and information are the most intensively consumed and generated contents by monks. Overall, slightly fewer monks (89.7%) use social media for generating information as compared to laypersons (97%). About 11% of monks that are on social media generate individually produced contents on social media, as compared to 40% of lay users.

Most users never plan or evaluate their social media engagement

As social media is a powerful tool of social engagement, it may follow that users attempt to optimize its benefits, e.g., by "planning" social media activity. Important components of planning social media activities are setting goals, strategy and scheduling. Furthermore, users might also attempt to "evaluate" their social media efforts, e.g., by monitoring the outcomes such as responses from their social networks (likes, shares, comments, etc.).

A majority (56.8%) of social media users do not plan their usage, 26.6% rarely plan social media activity, and only 3.8% of social media users always plan their usage (Figure 17).

Figure 17: Planning social media activity
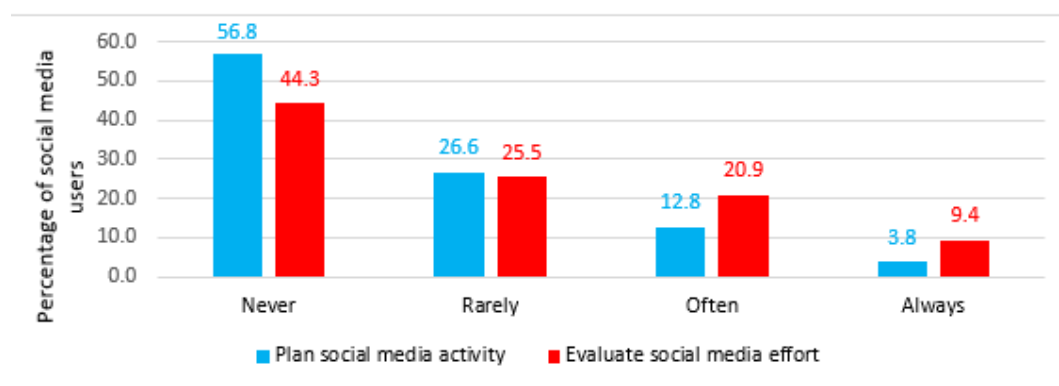
Most users also do not evaluate their social media engagement: 44% of people never evaluate their social media engagement, 25.5% rarely evaluate it, 20.9% often do so, and only 9.4% always evaluate their social media engagements.

Ethical and Security Concerns

Due to the unprecedented rise in its outreach and the variety of its uses, combined with technological possibilities to remain anonymous, people can use social media in a manner that has raised serious concerns related to anonymity, privacy and other ethical issues. The privacy issue has personal, professional and security-related implications. Social media users who neglect privacy settings and do not adhere to universal ethical norms become vulnerable to negative experiences from their social media engagements.

Anonymity is not felt to be very pervasive in Bhutan

As per the code of conduct delineated in the government's social media policy framework (RGoB, 2016), the social media policy of Bhutan aims to promote ethical and transparent online behaviour. One of the primary universal ethical requirements of social media use is to abstain from anonymity: People should use their true identity to engage on social media to promote transparency and embedded accountability. About 86% of social media users in Bhutan conveyed that they use their true identity (name and photograph), 11% use their own name but others' photos, and 3% use others' names and photos on their social media platforms. The survey also revealed that only 67% of people believe that other social media users use their own real names and photos. Probably the truth would lie between these two values.

Highly vulnerable social media ecology

The government's social media code of conduct (RGoB, 2016) also aims to promote careful use of social media, protecting the privacy of personal information. People who are not able to adhere to privacy best practices can become easy targets of cybercrime. About 59% of social media users are either not concerned, or only moderately concerned about their privacy issues. About three-fourths (74%) of social media users are either not aware, or less aware of the privacy settings of their social media accounts. About 50% of social media users in Bhutan do not customize the privacy settings on any of their social media accounts, 35% customize privacy settings only in a few accounts, and only 15% do so in all of their social media accounts. To extrapolate, about 50% of social media users may be highly vulnerable to privacy and security threats, about 35% may be moderately vulnerable, and 15% may be at low risk.

Cybersecurity best practices prescribe for changing passwords at least once every 3 months. 75% of social media users in Bhutan do not follow this safety practice, further exposing them to cybersecurity risk. The survey findings indicate that social media users in Bhutan have a low level of awareness about the careful and secured use of social media.

Negative experiences online

Spam and indecent posts constitute the most frequent negative experiences

Alongside the careful use of social media, the code of conduct also highlights the principle of considerate use. While careful use helps to protect oneself from cybercrime, considerate use focuses on the responsible use of social media. Recent incidences of indecent posting and posting/sharing fake information on social media in Bhutan as reported by the national newspaper (Kuensel, 2020; Kuensel, 2021) are early warning signals of a crisis in the making. Such postings tend to have strong negative effects on the victims and transgress the realm of mutual respect and community vitality.

Receiving spam and indecent posts are the most common negative experiences reported in the survey: about 38% of social media users reported having received spam and indecent posts one or more times, 16% of users reported getting trolled, and 12% reported hacking and having fallen prey to scams (Figure 18). Caution is advised in drawing inferences from these figures, which may represent underassessment of the problem due to ignorance, or non-realization of the negativity (such as being trolled).

Figure 18: Negative experiences on social media (in %)
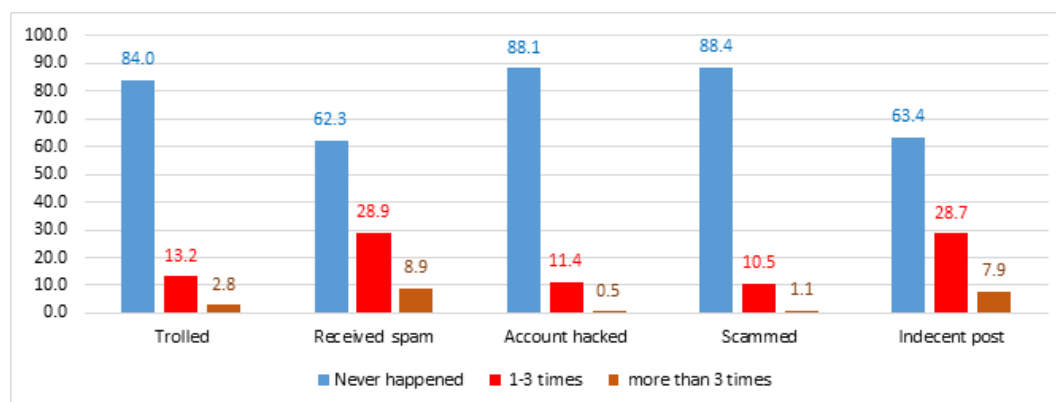
With regard to their actions taken in response to negative experiences, about half of the people ignored such experiences, 37% of users blocked the offenders, while 13% reported the matter.

Oversharing means either revealing too much private information or posting private information too often. Oversharing of personal and private information on social media can have detrimental effects on the mental health of both consumers and generators. The survey reveals that 60.5% of social media users believe that incidences of oversharing are high or very high, while 23.5% think this happens moderately, and the rest think it is limited.

Accuracy of information

A market for lemons! Works in a low trust environment yet remains popular

Posting fake news and false information is a major issue on social media. Often people post content without authenticating facts. Social media users share content received without verifying its accuracy. Sharing fake news or false information has substantial cascading effects. It leads to rumours and often creates panic in times of crises. Bhutanese social media abounded with fake information during the COVID-19 pandemic period (Kuensel, 2020).

The survey findings indicate that 28.4% of people have very little trust in social media posts. 54.3% of people only moderately trust social media posts. Even people who do not trust information on social media also post content without verification of its accuracy: 40% of people do not, or rarely verify information before posting it on social media. 33% of people often verify the information, while 27% always verify the facts before posting anything on social media. Almost 94% of people believe that a small-to-large amount of information on social media is fake.

The puzzle is why social media is very popular despite operating in a low trust environment. This conundrum could be answered using the argument made in the famous market-for-lemons model (Akerlof, 1970). Two parties in the exchange of information on social media function in an asymmetrical information scenario. Often, only the generator knows the validity of the information, and other party trusts it little for its validity. In this case, the generator would have little incentive to post valid and verified information.

Self-regulation is an important element of social media ethics. If people share what they post with their family members, they are more likely to follow ethical practices. In this survey, 21.8% of people reported that they always share their social media posts with their family members, 32.5% often share their posts, while 45.6% either rarely or never share their posts with their family members.

Since younger people are the heaviest users of social media, it is important for them to understand the nuances of its ethical use at an early age. In this case, the role of educational institutions may be significant in promoting the understanding and ethical use of social media. However, about 57% of people believe that educational institutions in Bhutan are not effective in promoting ethical practices with social media among youth.

Social media is not contributing adequately to community vitality

The government's social media policy emphasizes the use of social media to strengthen community vitality and family ties. This study captured the community vitality aspect through five questions: has it positively affected community interactions, are social media friends genuine friends, has social media made people more charitable, do people correctly portray themselves on social media, and are people more active on social media than in real life?

A majority of people (53.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that social media has positively affected community interactions, and only 21.5% agree or strongly agree with this. A majority (57.5%) of people believe that friends on social media are not genuine friends, and only 21% believe otherwise.

To concisely analyse the aspect of community vitality, a composite index of community vitality (with relation to social media) was developed. This index was calculated by taking the average score of the five questions and rescaling it out of 100. The Likert scales used in these questions were rescaled to maintain the uniformity of the scale. The composite score is categorized as low (0-49.9), medium (50-79.9), high (80-89.9), and very high (90-100). This categorisation is based on the framework used by UNDP for Human Development Index (HDI). The overall composite index score of community vitality with relation to social media is 57.8, which is medium. This implies that social media has only moderately influenced community vitality.

The dzongkhag-wise composite score on community vitality is lowest in Punakha (51), and highest in Dagana, Trashigang and Lhuentse (62). More-educated persons rate social media on promoting community vitality lower (55) than less-educated persons (62). Occupation-wise, monks rate social media lowest (52) for its contribution to community vitality, while agricultural workers rate it the highest (60), and the rest of the occupation categories rate it uniformly (57). Rural (59) - Urban (56) differences in the mean score of the community vitality are small. Likewise, people with or without disability rate social media similarly for its contribution to community vitality.

Figure 19: Mean score of composite index of community vitality with relation to social media, dzongkhag-wise
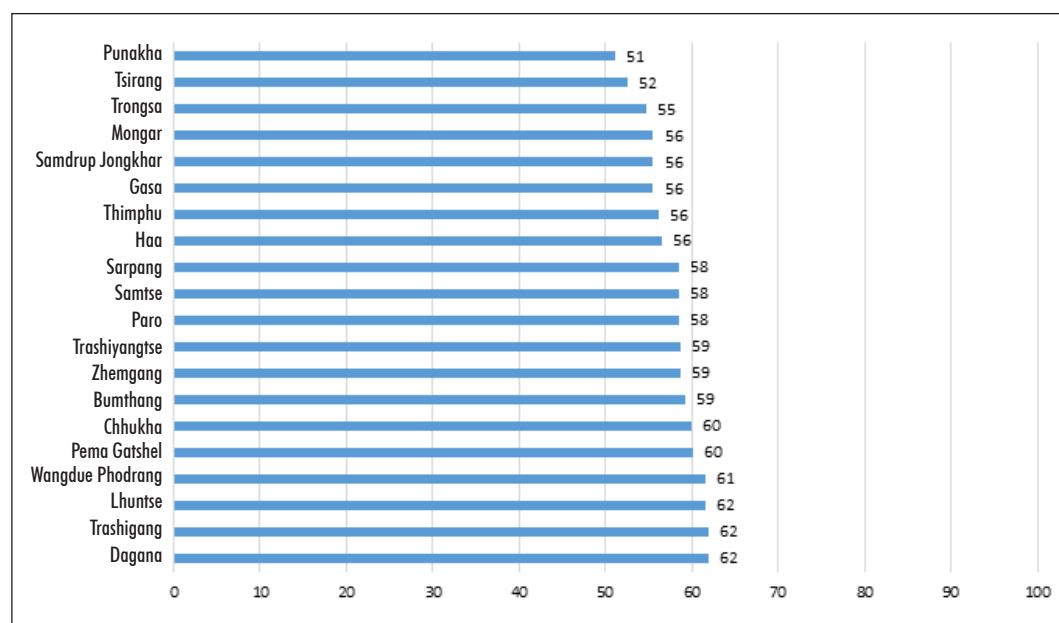
ANOVA findings suggest that differences in the dzongkhag-wise, age group-wise, area of residence-wise, and education level-wise mean scores of community vitality are statistically significant, while the differences gender-wise, and disability-wise are statistically insignificant. Figures 19-23 display mean scores on the composite index of community vitality disaggregated by various categories.

Figure 20: Mean score of composite index of community vitality with relation to social media, education level-wise
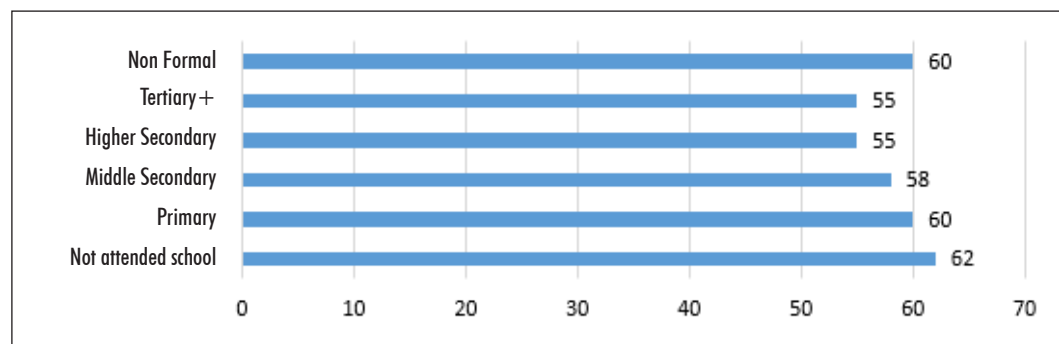
Figure 21: Mean score of composite index of community vitality with relation to social media, area of residence-wise
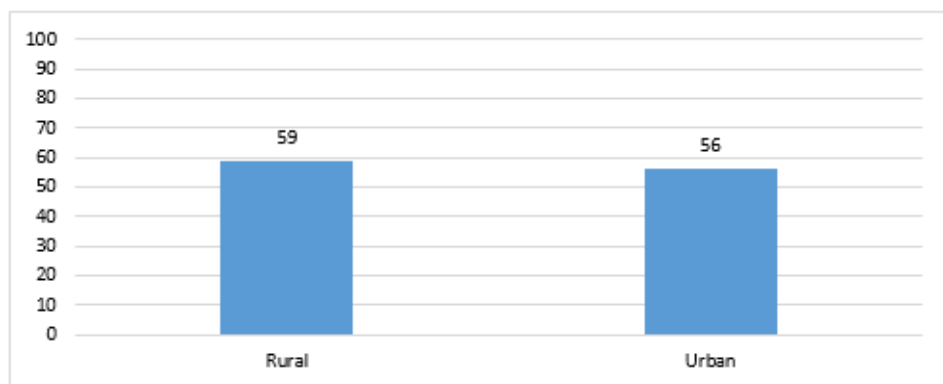
Figure 22: Mean score of composite index of community vitality with relation to social media, age group-wise
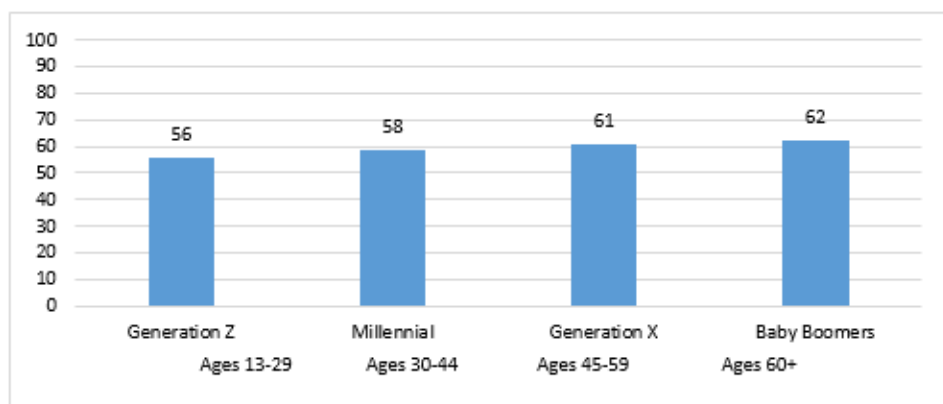
Figure 23: Mean score of composite index of community vitality with relation to social media, occupation-wise
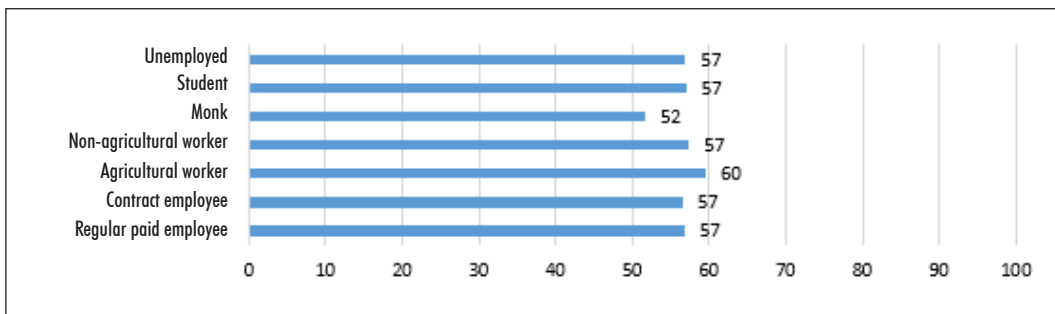
Public Discourse

Social media has allowed frank and socially useful public discourse

The Social Media Policy for the Royal Government of Bhutan (RGoB, 2016) aims to encourage public discourse on developmental and socio-economic issues. In this study, about 64% of people strongly agreed or agreed to the statement that social media has allowed discourse on the topics that were erstwhile considered taboo, while only 12.5% disagreed. Yet, only about 55% concurred that people discuss issues on social media to bring about positive changes, while 14% believe the opposite. It is quite evident from the findings that most Bhutanese people treat public discourse on social media as path-breaking and socially useful.

A composite index of public discourse is created by combining the aforementioned two statements: social media has allowed discussions on topics considered taboo, and discussions on social media bring about positive change. The methodology used for the construction of this index is the same as used for the construction of the composite index of community vitality. The overall composite mean score of public discourse is 71.8, which reflects a relatively high performance. The dzongkhag-wise mean composite score on public discourse is lowest in Pema Gatshel (62), and highest in Gasa (78). The education-wise mean composite score on public discourse reflects that less-educated people rate social media's contribution to the public discourse lower than more-educated people. Monks and agricultural workers tend to rate social media the lowest on this aspect as compared to others. Age group-wise, gender-wise and area of residence-wise differences in the mean scores are very small.

Figure 24: Mean score of composite index of public discourse with relation to social media, dzongkhag-wise
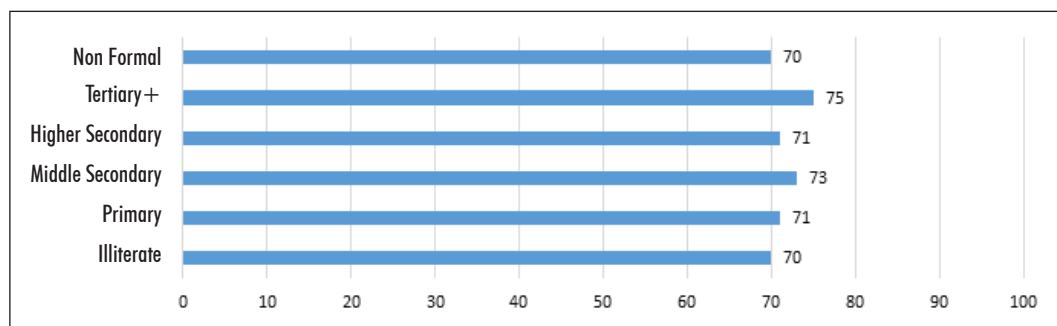
ANOVA analysis establishes that dzongkhag-wise and education-level wise differences in the mean score on public discourse are statistically significant; gender-wise, occupation-wise, age group-wise and area of residence-wise differences in the mean score on public discourse are statistically insignificant.

Social media advertisements have limited impact; Gen Z is most influenced

Marketing executives are increasingly using social media platforms to reach out to potential customers and promote sales; however, they face several challenges to impact the purchase decisions of customers (Ali, 2018). As an example, "Amazon Bhutan" is one of the most popular Facebook groups used for marketing purposes. The survey captured the marketing aspect through a question on whether users' shopping decisions are affected by advertisement and postings on social media. 47% of people disagreed or strongly disagreed with this, while 27.4% agreed. For Bhutanese consumers, the self-reported impacts of social media posts and advertisements on shopping decisions are relatively low. Age group-wise findings indicate that about a third of generation Z (ages 13-29) accepted that their buying decisions are affected by social media advertisements or postings, as compared to 28% of millennials (ages 30-44), 18% of generation X (ages 45-59) and 10% of baby boomers (ages 60+). Education level also affects the buying decisions of people influenced by social media. A larger proportion of people with at least a university degree (35.6%) accepted that their decisions are affected by advertisements on social media, as compared to people with non-formal education and no education (11% and 17%, respectively). Social media advertisements tend to have higher effects on the buying decisions of urban people as compared to their rural counterparts.

Regulating social media

A mix of restriction and advocacy is suggested

Do increased addiction to social media and its potential negative impacts warrant regulation? The perception of addiction to social media and its misuses tends to fuel debate about its regulation. With the backdrop of high and intensive usage of social media, as well as rising incidences of unethical usage of social media, the initiation of public discourse on its regulation is valid. The government's social media policy also stresses the need to reduce the risk of time waste by civil servants.

In this study, 83% of survey respondents believe that imposition of some restrictions and/or advocacy programs are necessary to reduce the excessive use of social media. Advocacy could help people to self-regulate their use of social media. At one extreme, 6% of people think that only stringent measures like complete blocking of social media will help. At the other extreme, about 11% believe that the use of social media is not excessive, hence its regulation is not warranted (Figure 26).

Figure 26: People's perception of regulating usage of social media (in %)

Children on social media
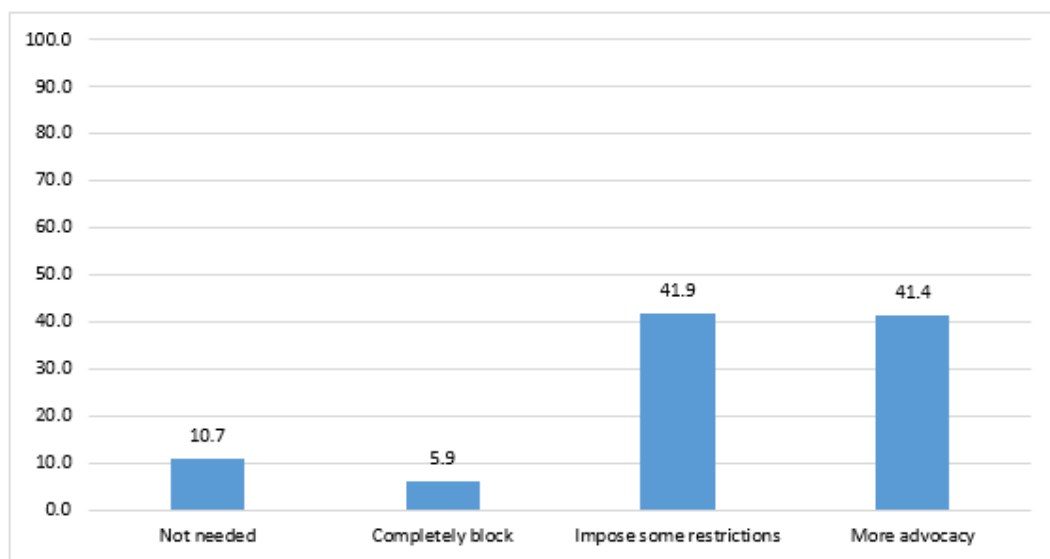
High usage among children and worry among parents defines children's engagement

The government's social media policy, largely intended for its own structures, does not have a guideline on the minimum age for subscribing to a social media platform. Most social media platforms allow children aged 13 years of age or older to become members, based on the US COPPA Act 1998. However, many psychologists agree that children develop the ability to think more abstractly only between 12-18 years, and suggest it is safer to join social media at 18 years (Howard, 2018).

The present survey reflects that children (persons below 18 years of age) hold 4.2 social media accounts, while adults have 4 accounts on average. All children captured in this study are members of at least one social media platform.

Figure 27: Children's membership in social media platforms
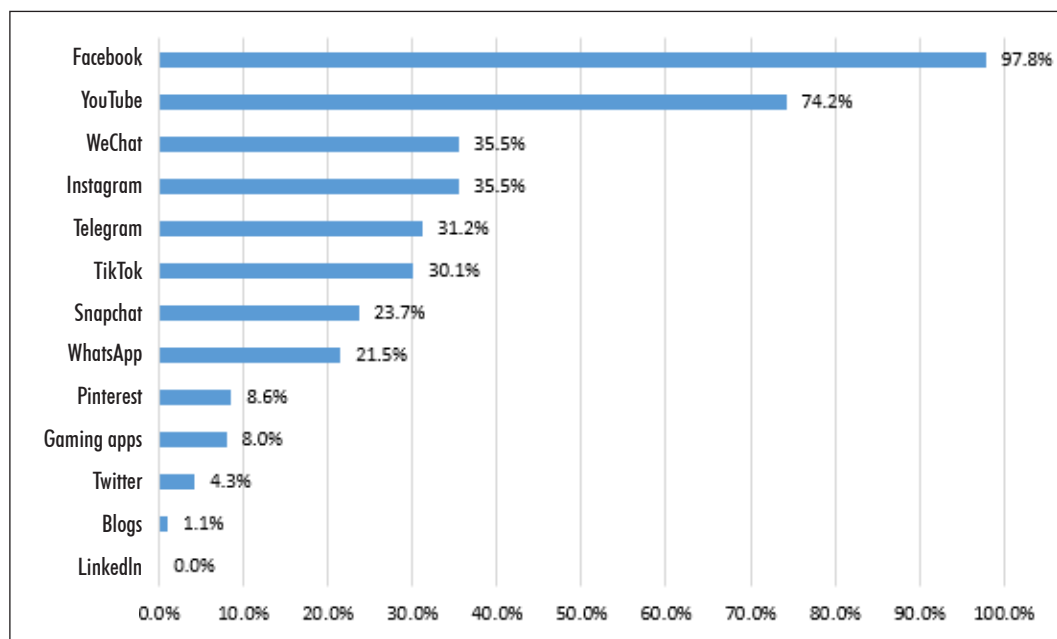
Facebook is the most popular social media platform among the children, with 98% of children being members, followed by YouTube (74.2%). WeChat and Instagram are distant third choices of Bhutanese children. Children use social media for four major purposes: education, seeking information, entertainment and socialization. On average, the time that children spend on social media (158 minutes per day) is only about 10 minutes less than adults.

The survey reveals that the average age at which Bhutanese parents would allow their children to use social media is 12 years. Parents among the Generation Z group and Millennials are more liberal and would allow their children to use social media at only 11 years of age, while

the older generation X and baby boomers would permit their children to use social media on average only when they turn 13.5 and 16.4 years old, respectively.

A majority of Bhutanese parents do monitor their children usage of social media. About 28.5% of parents regularly monitor their children's social media uses, while 36.5% do it often. 35% of parents either never monitor or rarely monitor their children's social media use. A majority of parents (30.6%) allot time for children's social media uses, while some make random checks (24.7%) to monitor their children. Only 16% of parent discuss social media ethical issues with children, and just 11.7% become social media friends of their children's accounts to monitor them. About 17% of parents do not monitor their children's engagements on social media.

66% of parents reported that their children neglect other good activities due to addictive use of social media, while 14.7% do not believe so. Over half of the parents surveyed (51%) reported that they are very worried about their children's social media usage, 42% are slightly worried, while 7% are not worried about it. The analysis indicates that Bhutanese parents are at a crossroads: Younger parents have a more liberal attitude toward allowing their children to use social media at an early age, and at the same time are also worried about its overuse and related harms.

Organisations and Social Media Engagement in Bhutan

These findings are based on the analysis of information collected through the key informant interviews with persons representing organisations.

Facebook is considered the most effective platform for marketing and communication

Like individuals, organizations in Bhutan also use multiple social media platforms. Facebook and Instagram are the most widely used social media platforms. Facebook is considered to be the most beneficial for marketing and communication purposes because of its high penetration rate both within and outside the country and also across age groups. Schools in Bhutan use WhatsApp, WeChat and Telegram more intensively to communicate with students, parents and teachers.

"I feel facebook is more suitable because everyone has a facebook account. It has better reach, easy and more convenient as it can be accessed through phone as well."

"Facebook is the currently widely used social media and Bhutan is no exception. Youths are mostly into facebook, therefore reaching to them is very easy through facebook"

"Facebook, with wider audience we have wider sharing of news and programmes. We have 8761 followers on facebook compared to only few thousands on Instagram, when we post an event more shares and reposts are done on facebook compared to instagram. And in assessing we have seen more instant messages on facebook messenger than on instagram or any other SM platforms."

Accelerated use of social media for imparting education during the pandemic

Government departments, CSOs and educational institutions mostly use social media platforms to disseminate information, spread awareness about relevant issues, connect with the public, send out notifications, and advertise vacancies. During pandemic-related national lockdowns, educational institutions started to use social media platforms more intensively for teaching-learning activities. Social media became an even more important tool for schools and colleges to deliver lessons and communicate with students and parents.

Government connects with the people on key issues

During Bhutan's second pandemic-related nationwide lockdown, the Facebook pages of the Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of Health were extensively used by the government to make regular announcements, raise awareness, and communicate with the public. For example, The Prime Minister's Office' Facebook page allowed people to ask questions regarding COVID-19 vaccination plans. Later, the Prime Minister addressed these questions using a Facebook Live session on January 28, 2021. The live session had 2,600 comments, 7,500 reactions and 1,100 shares.

Fundraising to help needy people

In recent years, Facebook has been extensively used to raise funds to support people who are in dire need of financial assistance. For example, in July 2019, a fundraising campaign was launched on social media for a Bhutanese person who was hospitalized in Japan. The fund was supposed to help her family members to go to Japan, and attend to the patient. This campaign mobilized BTN 1.9 million. This is just one example of using social media platforms to raise funds. In recent times, numerous such stories are apparent on social media (Drukpa, 2019).

Greater outreach of social media makes it attractive for business promotion

Business organizations target social media usage to promote their business interests through marketing, brand promotion, hiring, and to connect with clients and business partners. It offers a cheaper or costless marketing platform for businesses, and allows businesses to network and expand their clientele.

"Brand awareness, sell our product, customer service, relation building, point of contact and monitoring our business."

"Awareness and notifications, announcements, advocacy, competitions, events, surveys. The engagement and outcome of the post for the intended purpose. Eg. Vacancy announced through social media is considered success if the number of applicants are increased as compare to not posting on social media."

Social media platforms are also used by some organisations and individuals to raise funds.

"Garner support from donors and partners"

> *"BBS TV was generally watched by elder people but now, with content being available online, the engagement has increased."*
>
> *"Creating awareness and publishing vital notifications. People are informed timely."*
>
> *"Reach to mass audience in short period of time"*
>
> *"Increased recognition and support. It represents the organization and its highly effective in getting supporter and partners"*
>
> *"Can reach the people instantly. We have good number of followers and viewers*

Media houses in Bhutan also use social media platforms to post their news and other contents. This has significantly helped to improve its outreach, especially among young people. Government organizations and CSOs also use social media to post information, notifications and announce vacancies.

Show of human face for a better social image

While most organizations do not have any strategy on social media use, some organizations focus on the content and design aspects of social media and value its appeal to wider audiences. Often organizations take time to determine their target audience, and subsequently, the nature of their social media posts. Organizations aim to promote their "human face" rather than pro-capitalistic objectives.

> *"it should be appealing, inclusive and informative"*
>
> *"We follow a simple strategy while using social media and to maximize the reach and efficacy of each post, and this includes design approach, content of the post, and timing of the post. "*
>
> *"Keeping it consumer-friendly and non-controversial. Limit the number of monetary posts but rather try to post moments and info that make our company seem more humane than pro consumerism"*

Frequency of activity determines the frequency of social media postings of organisations

Most Business organisations, especially tour agencies and entertainment enterprises, generate social media content (news, notification, dissemination of information, and promotional activities) about once or twice a week. Educational institutions and most government organizations make need-based social media posts, and these are consequently irregular.

The frequency of social media postings made by NGOs is determined by the nature of their activity. Some NGOs are more irregular content generators, while other NGOs tend to generate content more regularly to stay visible and relevant. For some, adherence to quality social media content generated is preferable over the numbers of such postings.

"Not very often. We believe in keeping our posts to the minimum so when we do post it makes more of an impact (hence better results per post)"

"It depends upto the availability and need of the hour. During this lockdown, we are posting almost daily or for that matter 5-6 posts in a day"

"Depends on the requirements of the agency. As soon as something comes up, it is published"

Moral suasion defines social media self-regulation in non-government organisations

While the Social Media Policy for the Royal Government covers government agencies and civil servants, it also provides a prescriptive framework for others. The Election Commission of Bhutan also has a social media policy that regulates social media use during electoral processes to ensure fair and free elections. Out of the 27 organizations covered, only 5 have their own social media policy. Most non-government organizations in Bhutan do not have a social media policy, although some of them provide formal or informal guidelines, and use moral suasion to regulate their own social media use. A code of ethics developed by the Journalist Association of Bhutan provides the regulatory framework for journalists and media houses.

It is pertinent to highlight the issue of potential misuse of social media by employees. In 2011, the Government issued a circular that senior officials are concerned about the misuse of social media during office hours, resultant productivity loss, and suggested blocking social media platforms during office hours.

"We don't have any written document as such but we follow general best practices."

Most organizations evaluate their social media engagements using numbers of followers, likes, shares, comments, and responses as the yardsticks. Only two organizations conveyed that they have inbuilt analytics to evaluate their social media engagements. Only one organization drafts a quarterly report on its website and social media engagements.

> *"Yes, we monitor our performance by going through our analytics in each of the social media handles through viewership or followers."*
>
> *"We use inbuilt analytics to evaluate how some of our posts are performing and also based on the kind of response we have received from our clients and customers through the number of active responses received from clients/customers and inbuilt analytics."*

Regulatory issues and lack of expertise constrains effective social media use

While organisations use social media to promote their business, they face difficulties in making or receiving international payments due to limitations of payment gateways and the regulatory framework. Organizations also face difficulties in hiring experts to manage their social media; also, it is not generally treated as a full-time job. Education institutions, based on their recent experience, conveyed that the capacity gaps, logistical issues, and cost of internet access limited the efficacy of social media as a platform for imparting education during lockdowns.

> *"Being content creators we are looking for monetization of our contents, but payment gateways are a little hectic and troublesome."*
>
> *"Bhutan currently does not make use of online payment internationally (except for a special card). So in order to make payments for any social media advertisement is difficult."*
>
> *"Creating effective design and content and finding time for everything"*
>
> *"Upgrading and updating to the new and trending social media contents. Not having a positioned communications officer who would be solely responsible for the marketing of the organization. Insufficient capacity in the use of technology."*

Organisations are careful about their social media posts, yet face negative experience

Bhutanese organisations apply extreme caution to ensure the validity and factual authenticity of the information they post on social media. They discuss and verify content with relevant authorities before posting it on social media. Most organizations hold the view strongly that everyone is responsible for posting accurate information. Organizations, unlike individuals, more strictly adhere to the principle of accuracy due to the higher pecuniary and non-pecuniary cost of posting misinformation.

Organizations also face negative experiences from their social media usage in terms of fake reviews, negative comments, and trolling.

Organizations conveyed that fake news, anonymity, defamation, addiction to social media,

and limited social media literacy are major challenges related to social media usage in Bhutan. Educational institutions identified cyberbullying, addiction to smartphones, and online games as major concerns. Some organizations also reported that social isolation and physical inactivity are underrated concerns of social media usage in Bhutan.

> *"All contents are scrutinized and edited and then only approved by the head of the school."*
>
> *"We try to limit ourselves to purely our own content this way we can ensure what we are putting out in the public is verified at least at our level."*
>
> *"We stick to facts and ensure our representation of those facts is backed by evidence."*

A quick survey of various Facebook groups reflects that some groups have become hotbeds for rumour-mongering, defamation, bullying and anonymity. Although these forums have "News" in their name, some contents posted are far from being news. The contents posted include complaints, personal opinions, announcements, information, religious contents, crude jokes, etc. The forum administrators hardly monitor and regulate the postings. For example, the "Thimphu Confession Page" has achieved high popularity, with over 75,000 followers, for the public to enjoy gossip and anonymity.

On the positive side, there are also groups such as "Humans of Thimphu" and "Human Library Bhutan" that celebrate humanity and make attempts to bring positivity into public discourse.

> *"Internet is still quite relatively new in Bhutan and hence people tend to maliciously use it to take advantage of people who aren't IT literate. Predatory actions against young children and defamation are quite rampant as a result."*
>
> *"influence of fake news on young Bhutanese. Bhutanese getting hooked on social media and losing family value."*
>
> *"Some of the major concerns are:*
>
>   *- Severe lack of social media literacy*
>
>   *- Lack of social media etiquette to engage in decent and healthy discussion and debate*
>
>   *- Lack of understanding of privacy and defamation laws*
>
> *The kind of debate and discussion we are having on social media is reflective of the poor level of maturity of Bhutanese social media users, which bodes ill for a young democracy. While social media has empowered people to freely express, it is also increasingly undermining our core values.*
>
> *Anonymity and fake accounts continue to plague the Bhutanese social media landscape. While some of these fake accounts are genuinely engaged in pointing out the flaws in our*

system, many are rabble-rousers engaging in a wicked and mindless online assassination of characters of individuals and institutions. That's why there is so much negativity and toxicity in social media forums."

Social media literacy for all and stricter parental control required

All the consulted organizations concurred on the importance of promoting social media literacy for everyone in Bhutan. They also conveyed that media literacy for children and young adults at school and at home is important. Educators expressed the need for parental control and monitoring over their children social media engagements. Media literacy curriculum for students, advocacy videos, and establishment of media clubs at school were three major interventions identified through key informant interviews.

"Include social media literacy as part of the national media literacy program and institute such programs in schools, start from pre-primary levels.

Some form of social media literacy necessary even for ECCDs since children as young as three years old have access to smart phones and consume online media content (YouTube) often without proper monitoring by parents/guardians. Catching them young could be the trick!

Design separate programs for rural, illiterate population."

"Best would be to target schools and then parents, this way a large chunk will be captured"

"Introduce social media literacy programs. Initiate advocacy on privacy and defamation laws for the general mass. Advocacy on social media ethics and etiquette. Punitive actions for those engaging in crimes in social media, for example inciting fear, hatred, violence, cyber bullying, threats, etc."

Conclusions

1) Bhutan's social media landscape appears to be a microcosm of the global social media landscape. Despite its late arrival, social media has gained high acceptability among the Bhutanese people.

2) Generation Z, those with university qualifications, and regularly paid employees are among the heaviest users. An average Bhutanese person holds 4 social media accounts, with Facebook, WeChat, and YouTube being the three most popular platforms. An average Bhutanese person spends an estimated 163 minutes every day on social media, which is about 12% higher than the global average of 145 minutes. Heavy social media usage is closely associated with productivity loss and this makes it a worrying trend.

3) Seeking information and entertainment are the top two social media pursuits in Bhutan. Social media is serving as the hub of digital news and entertainment in the country. People use social media for socialisation and exchanging information. Despite its use for socialisation purposes, social media has not served adequately to promote community vitality.

4) Although individual social media users rarely plan and evaluate their social media engagements, organisations tend to plan their social media engagements despite limited in-house expertise to manage social media.

5) High-use and low-trust define the social media landscape in Bhutan. People use social media more intensively but do not trust most of its content. This exemplifies the "market-for-lemons" theory, which operates in an environment of information asymmetry.

6) High penetration of social media has also made it an attractive platform for marketing, brand promotion, and connecting with clients. However, business organisations find international payments regulations and restrictive payment gateways as major bottlenecks in tapping the e-commerce opportunities offered by social media platforms.

7) Anonymity is not felt to be a very pervasive feature of social media energumens in Bhutan. People's perception about anonymity in social media engagements differs: very few reported anonymity in their own personal social media engagements but think differently about others' engagements. This paradoxical perception provides warning signals of a possible problem in making.

8) Bhutan's social media ecology is characterised by high vulnerability to negative experiences due to limited awareness of ethical practices, safety and privacy issues. In the absence of this awareness, many Bhutanese social media users may be exposed to cybercrime. Higher social media addiction among children and young adults, limited parental guidance, and limited interventions in schools have also

added to vulnerability. Both the field survey and key informant interviews have indicated the need for better awareness, better media literacy, and some regulation of social media usage in order to minimise its negative impacts.

9) Although the Social Media Policy for the Royal Government of Bhutan provides a regulatory framework and code of conduct for social media use within the public sector, it also serves to illustrate model principles and guidelines for the wider society and individuals because it provides an insight into what the government thinks of as best practices for itself. Most non-government organisations do not have any formal social media policy framework; this leaves the social media usage by their employees largely unguided. Given the highly vulnerable social media ecology in Bhutan, absence of a formal policy framework, and very high usage pattern among employees, Bhutanese organisations are also exposed to social media perils.

10) The education sector has recently started to use social media more extensively for formal teaching-learning activities. It is found that the limited capacity of the stakeholders, cost of internet, and limited logistical support have restricted its effective use for education so far.

Recommendations

1) Relevant training and awareness programmes should be designed and undertaken for advocating a better understanding of social media ethics, and to promote its safe, secure and socially desirable use.

2) Social media awareness units are integrated into school and university syllabi to promote basic and professional education in this area. Social media clubs could be created in education institutions, which collaborate with Bhutan Media Foundation and others on various relevant projects.

3) Behavioural scientists recommend the use of appropriate nudging techniques for fostering changed behaviour (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). In this context, it is recommended that alongside the advocacy programmes, nudges like awards, brand ambassadors, short films and street drama should be used.

4) The government can consider a multi-pronged approach to leveraging the benefits of social media while addressing the concerning trends. Directly supporting the aforementioned advocacy strategies should be one approach. A parallel strategy may involve strengthening capacity for enforcement of existing laws and regulations targeting undesirable behaviour such as harassment, libel, and fraud, or the posting of other illegal content – these are already illegal but currently difficult to police in the online arena.

    The government may consider developing an overarching National Social Media Strategy which would seek to guide the social media use in the country as a tool to strengthen the relevant domains of Gross National Happiness (such as time use and community vitality) and mitigate adverse effects. Ultimately, the government may have to seek accountability from social media companies – being a small country, Bhutan may not have the weight necessary to instigate positive changes and demand accountability but could sign on to multilateral international efforts to do so.

5) Certificate/Diploma courses on social media could be designed to train social media professionals for organisations. To effectively tap the growing potential of e-commerce using social media platforms, the regulatory framework for international payment systems needs to be liberalised, and payment gateways should be made more effective.

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Annexure 1. Field Survey Questionnaire

Use and Understanding of Social Media in Bhutan

Survey Questionnaire

Sample code: _____ Enumerator's Name: _____

Start time and date of survey: _____ End time and date of survey: _____

[Enter sample code here at the time of the survey: browse https://arcg.is/0Wfi1y, scan QR code, or use Survey123 app]

This study aims to develop a data base on social media uses and related issues in Bhutan. We invite you to participate in this survey, kindly provide your consent. Privacy of the information collected through this survey will be strictly protected. Your identity shall not be revealed to anyone, in any form. Aggregated information will be used for the analysis.

Sample information

1. Name of the respondent _____

2. Respondent's Mobile Number _____ Email ID _____

3. Chiwog _____ Gewog _____ Dzongkhag _____

4. Area of residence: Rural (0)   Urban (1)

5. Gender: Male (0)   Female (1)

6. Age of the respondent (in completed years): _____

7. Occupation (current/ the most recent/ before retirement):

   Regular paid employee (1) Contract employee (2)   Agricultural worker (3)

   Non-agricultural worker (4)   Monk (5) Student (6)   Unemployed (7)

8. Education status (highest completed):

   Not attended school (0) Primary (1)   Middle secondary (2) Higher secondary (3)

   Tertiary+ (4) Non-formal (5)

9. Disability status- No disability (0)   Some disability (1)

10. If disabled, type of disability- Tick the option if any one of the associated problems exists:

    a) Cannot remember, keep attention, or cannot comprehend well (1)

    b) Suffers from high anxiety, stress, hyperactivity, defiant (2)

    c) Physical impairment, deformity, poor hand-eye coordination (3)

Social Media Platform Membership

11. Which of the following social media platforms are you currently an active member and use?

#	Social Media Platform	Are you a current member? No (0) and Yes (1)	Usage: Use it once in an hour or more on average (5); 3-4 times a day (4); once a day (3); Once a week (2); Less than once a week (1)
A	Facebook		
B	WhatsApp		
C	WeChat		
D	Instagram		
E	YouTube		
F	TikTok		
G	LinkedIn		
H	Pinterest		
I	Twitter		
J	Blogs		
K	Snapchat		
L	Telegram		
M	Gaming apps with social network functions		
N	Other(s) if you are a member; Please specify which ones and your usage		

12. Which of the social media platforms was the first one you joined? _____. In which year_____ (approximately)?

13. Which is the most recent social media platform that you joined? _____. In which year? _____

14. Have you discontinued/ become inactive on any of the social media platforms? No (0) Yes (1)

15. If yes, why did you do so?
    a) Did not serve my interest b) Any other reason, Please specify_____

Social Media Use

16. What devices do you use for social media activity, and how often?

#	Device	Never (1) Rarely (2) Often (3) Always (4)
A	Smartphone	
B	Personal computer	
C	Tablets	

17. How much on average do you spend in a month on the internet (in Nu)?_____

18. For which of these aspects do you use social media the most (please tick up to FIVE major categories only):

#	Use category	Tick top 5
A	Seeking information (to get information on various things)	
B	Disseminate Information (to share information with others, retweet etc.)	
C	Education (use for learning concepts, assignment help etc.)	
D	Discussions/ share opinion (discussions on political/social/religion/cultural issues)	
E	Business (use for advertisement, product information)	
F	Collaborate with others (work with others, official networking, e.g., on LinkedIn)	
G	Monitor others (as part of organizational/ regulatory duty or informally to see what/how others are doing)	
H	Entertainment (fun and time pass, consume entertainment content)	
I	Socialization (making friends, dating, etc.)	
J	Others, Please specify:	

19. What type of content do you most consume, and generate, on social media?
Rank up to 3 most commonly consumed contents, and up to 3 most commonly generated contents only ("1" is the most consumed or generated).

#	Content type	Consume	Generate
A	Personal content like updates, photos, videos by self, friends or family		
B	Individually produced content like videos on TikTok, vlogs on Youtube, live streams, music on Soundcloud, Instagram TV, singalongs		

C	Messaging (Whatsapp/Wechat groups; FB messenger, Telegram, etc.)		
D	Memes and similar entertainment (webcomics, humour, gaming)		
E	Informational content like news, articles, organizational updates in various formats (written, photos, videos, live streams)		
F	Other, please specify-		

20. To what extent would you say other people like you generally use social media?
    None or Very limited (1)   Limited (2)   Moderate (3)   High (4)   Very high (5)
21. How would you rate the intensity of your own social media use?
    None or Very limited (1)   Limited (2)   Moderate (3)   High (4)   Very high (5)
22. I feel bothered when I am unable to check social media (for example on my smartphone) for a few hours?
    Never (1) Rarely (2) Often (3) Always (4)
23. How strongly would you agree with the statement "I want to reduce my use of social media".
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)
24. Do you check social media just before going to bed?
    Never (1) Rarely (2) Often (3) Always (4)
25. Do you check social media immediately upon waking up?
    Never (1) Rarely (2) Often (3) Always (4)
26. Do you intentionally plan social media activity? (Have an objective, strategy and schedule)?
    Never (1) Rarely (2) Often (3) Always (4)
27. Do you evaluate your social media efforts, like monitoring feedback you get?
    Never (1) Rarely (2) Often (3) Always (4)
28. If yes, what criteria do you apply (select all that apply)
    Likes (1) Sharing (2) Ensued discussions and comments (3) Any other (4), please describe _____

Concerns related to social media
29. What best describes your presence on your most used social media platform?
            Use my own photo and own name/nickname (1)
            Use own name/nickname though not my own photo (2)
            Use different name/nickname and photo (3)
30. How common do you feel are the following behaviours on social media in Bhutan?

#	Behaviour	Never	Rarely	Often	Always
A	People have multiple different social media accounts on the same platforms				
B	People use profile photos that are not their own				
C	People use profile names that are not their own				

31. How much concern do you have about the privacy of your information on social media?

Very less (1)   Less (2)   Moderate (3)   High (4)   Very high (5)

32. Are you aware of the privacy setting features of your most commonly used Social Media platform?

Not Aware (1) Somewhat Aware (2) Highly Aware (3)

33. Do you customize the social media privacy setting manually for your social media platforms?

Not on any of them (1) For some of my social media (2) For all of them (3)

34. Please respond to your experience with the following incidences on social media (tick):

#	Incidence	Never happened (1)	Happened 1-3 times (2)	Happened more than 3 times (3)
A	Got Trolled			
B	Received spam			
C	Account hacked			
D	Got scammed			
E	Received inflammatory/ indecent posts			

35. What do you generally do about such incidences mentioned in Q34?

Ignore (1) Block (2) Report the incident / post / message to the platform (3)

36. More specifically, what did you do after getting trolled in the past?

Never been trolled (1) Ignored it (2) Nudged the troller with a friendly reminder of the ethics (3) Responded with facts (4) Diffused it with humour (5) Blocked /unfriended (6)

37. How often do you change your social media password?

Less frequently than every three months (0)   At least once in three months (1)

38. How much do you trust the information you see on social media?

Very less (1)   Less (2)   Moderate (3)   High (4)   Very high (5)

39. Do you agree that most people authenticate facts before posting content on social media?

Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)

40. Do you crosscheck the information you post on social media for its validity?
    Never (1)   Rarely (2)   Often (3)   Always (4)

41. How much of the social media postings that you see do you think is false or rumours?
    None (1) Small amount (2)   Moderate amount (3)   High amount (4)   Very high amount (5)

42. To what extent do you think people overshare on social media (for example, too much of sharing personal photos, the food they have eaten, clothes they have worn etc.)?
    None (1) Small amount (2)   Moderate amount (3)   High amount (4)   Very high amount (5)

43. How effective do you think schools/colleges are at promoting the effective and ethical use of social media?
    Very less (1)   Less (2)   Moderate (3)   High (4)   Very high (5)

44. Do you share your posts on social media with your family members?
    Never (1)   Rarely (2)   Often (3)   Always (4)

45. Do you write or post content on social media anonymously?
    Never (1)   Rarely (2)   Often (3)   Always (4)

Impact of social media

How strongly do you agree/disagree with the following:

46. Social media use has negatively affected active interaction among community members.
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)

47. Most of my social media friends are genuinely my friends in real life also.
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)

48. Social media has made people more charitable.
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)

49. People portray themselves accurately on social media, just like how they are in real life.
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)

50. People are more active on social media than in real life.
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)

51. Social media has allowed discussions on the topics that were previously considered to be against the norms? (like sex, disagreeing with elders/authority)
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)

52. People discuss political/ social/ cultural/ religious issues openly (not anonymously) on social media to bring about positive change.
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)

53. My shopping and spending decisions are affected by advertisements and postings on social media.
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)
54. For how many hours do you get good sleep each night? _____
55. Typically, how often do you feel lonely?
    Never (1)   Rarely (2)   Often (3)   Always (4)
56. In your opinion, what would be the best way to help people reduce social media use.
    Not needed (1)   Completely Block (2)   Impose some restrictions (3)   More advocacy (4)

Answer Q57 – Q61 if you are a parent of a child 17 years old or younger:

57. At what age will you allow your children to use social media? _____years
58. Do you monitor your children's social media uses?
    Never (1)   Rarely (2)   Often (3)   Always (4)
59. Which of the following mechanisms do you apply to monitor your children social media use?
    None (1)   Be a friend on their social media (2)   Allot times for its uses (3)
    Discuss ethical issues with them (4)   Random checks (5)   Other (6),
    specify_____
60. To what extent do you agree that your children neglect other good activities due to excessive use/ addiction to social media?
    Strongly disagree (1)   Disagree (2)   Neutral (3)   Agree (4)   Strongly agree (5)
61. To what extent would you say you are worried about your children's use of Social Media?
    Not at all worried (1)   Slightly worried (2)   Very worried (3)

Annexure 2. Questionnaire for Semi-Structured Key Informant Interviews

Questions
Which social media platforms do your organization use?
What are the objectives of your organization's social media platform?
Who is in charge of your social media platform and what are his or her roles?
Do you have a social media policy for your organization?
Do you have social media guidelines for your employees?
Do you have any strategies while making a post on your social media platform?
What are the biggest benefits of your social media platform?
How do you get your social media followers?

How type of content does your follower respond to best?
Do you evaluate the performance of your social media platform? How?
How often do you post on your social media platform?
How important is social media as a part of your marketing strategy?
Who is your target audience?
Do you think advertisements on social media are effective? Why?
What are some of the challenges you face in your use of social media?
Does your social media presence positively impact your sales and revenues?
What are the various organizational processes that are being done through social media (Like admission, information about functions, fests, recruitment, etc.)?
How can you assess the success of implementing social media for organizational processes?
What are the main changes you observed before and after promoting organization processes through social media?
How do you respond/interact with people on your social media platform?
How do you respond if a customer has a query on your social media platform?
Do you use social media as a tool for collecting news?
Do you use social media as a tool for disseminating news?
Describe in detail which social media platform you feel is best suited for news reporting purposes and why that is.
Describe in detail what-if any guidelines you are expected to follow when reporting news via social media.
What are your concerns about social media usage in Bhutan?
What do you think should be done to mitigate these issues?
In what ways do you think social media literacy can be propagated in Bhutan?
How can social media users avoid consuming or creating wrong information?
In the world of social media who is responsible for giving accurate information?
When you produce content online, do you see it as a part of your responsibility to convey accurate and clear information?
How do you make sure that the content you are producing is accurate and does not misinform?

Annexure 3. List of Organisations Consulted

S.No.	Name of Organization
1	A Way to Bhutan Tours and Travel
2	Atsara Entertainment
3	BBS
4	Bhutan Centre for Media and Democracy
5	Bhutan Olympics Committee
6	Bhutan Peaceful Tours and Treks
7	Bhutan Sungkay Tour
8	Etho Metho Tours
9	Gokab Studio
10	Institute for Excellence and Development, i- ED
11	Jigme Losel school Primary school
12	Kelki Higher Secondary school
13	Ministry of Information and Communication
14	Ministry of Works and Human Settlement
15	Mongar Higher Secondary school
16	M-Studio
17	Office of the Vice-Chancellor, RUB
18	Paysap
19	Punakha Central school
20	Royal Society for Protection of Nature
21	Tarayana Foundation
22	Tashi Delek Magazine (Drukair)
23	Thimphu Thromde
24	Tourlamour
25	Utpal Academy
26	VAST Bhutan
27	Youth Advocacy Network Bhutan