

MI-KHUNG

Media and Democracy in Bhutan

Democratic transition in Asia

BY SIOK SIAN PEK-DORJI
BCMD

There is no one path to democracy—it must be a unique cultural and political experience for every country. This was the shared understanding as 60 participants from Central and South Asia, including Bhutan, gathered in Ulan Bator to share experiences on democratic change last month.

The meeting noted advancements in democratic change in Asia, but also focused on the numerous challenges that this region faced.

“Many people still lack a full realisation of their political, civil and economic rights, and a ‘genuine’ participatory democracy is yet to be institutionalized in Asia”, said L. Turod from the Asia Democracy Network. He added that countries face the challenges of tending to limit democracy to the ‘inducement of the electorate’ during election periods and a divided and nascent civil society.

As the participants, who represented government, civil society and election agencies, shared their own country experiences, interesting lessons emerged.

“Citizens have the right to take part in state affairs”, said Gunsen Borkhuu, CEO of the EBI Think Tank. To create a space for this, Mongolia introduced Citizens’ Halls—public hearing forums designed to encourage civil participation in the planning and decision-making processes. These halls began in the capital and are now being introduced to other parts of the country, with 400 built since 2009. While citizens have no law-making powers, the consultation procedure encourages citizen engagement.

Timor Leste, with a history of violent elections and numerous political parties, each with different ideologies, has another approach. It has built into



Youth involved in a thoughtful discussion about the child care and protection act – an important step in civic education

the election rules a requirement for political parties to sign a pact to conduct a ‘respectful campaign’ to reduce flare-ups and violence during and after elections. It has also stepped up civic education that involves civil society organisations.

Acknowledging the importance of rules to suit individual experiences, the speakers shared examples of the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of elections and of including citizens and civil society as observers during elections. Civil society organisations from Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan shared their unique M&E lessons, most of them having used citizens to monitor and observe their elections. Mongolia’s Globe International, a CSO, conducts detailed content analysis of media reporting before and after elections.

Overall, the workshop acknowledged that democracy can be made more inclusive by including civil society in the processes and strengthening civ-

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ic space.

It noted and discussed the importance of voter education and civic education, in particular civic education after elections are over. Democracy education is a vital need that many participants agreed would be more successful if done in partnership with civil society organisations.

The Asia Pacific Director of Inter-

national Ideas, Leena Rikkila Tamang, explained the difference between voter education and civic education. Voter education provides voters with information on elections and is usually the purview of election bodies. Civic education focuses on why people should vote and participate and why they should care. Civil society and educational institutions usually work in this longer-term area. Mongolia's CSOs have spearhead-

ed and done much of the work on civic education.

"We have to invest in a longer-term need for civic education without which democracy will not be sustainable; it will only be about elections", said the Director of Mongolia's Centre for Citizenship Education, Narangerel Rinchen.

Participants in general acknowledged the need for more political space for civil society.

Participating in democracy

BY SIOK SIAN PEK-DORJI

BCMD

"Are schools and the media doing enough to educate people, especially children and youth, on the laws?" was a resounding question posed when 18 young Bhutanese gathered in Paro to discuss the Child Care and Protection Act on Sunday, 3 April.

The discussions were not part of a class or schoolwork. It was an opportunity for youth to provide their views to help strengthen the process of democratisation.

On the invitation of the Women, Youth and Children Committee of the National Assembly, BCMD's Youth Initiative programme members and other youth who have attended BCMD's forums are providing feedback to the committee on three legislations that the committee is reviewing: the Child Care and Protection Act (2011), The Marriage Act (2009), and the Penal Code (2011). The Committee is looking at ways to harmonise the laws as various stakeholders have pointed out the need to review the Acts. Organisations working with youth and women are also invited to review Acts to provide feedback to the committee. A consultative meeting has been scheduled in April for general discussions.

The YI chose to focus on two Acts: The Child Care and Protection Act and the Penal Code. They emailed the legislations to members in colleges and the workplace and responses are coming in. YI members—who include students, teacher trainees and out-of-school youth—are also interviewing vulnerable groups for their feedback, including

a group which has been in conflict with the law.

"A general feeling is that the laws are okay but the implementation is not up to the mark", says a YI member. "Some young people feel that the rules are not always followed and they feel they are unable to fit into society after being in custody."

Youth research shows that with the absence of professional social workers, there are no professional protection or welfare officers despite a requirement in the laws. This is another area of concern expressed by various organisations.

The youth were both animated and thoughtful as they sat together to review and discuss the Child Care and Protection Act in Paro. Half of the team returned to Thimphu and continued to research issues like how easy it is for youth who had been in conflict with the law and served their sentences to assimilate back into society.

"We want to involve more youth in the process of consultation on legislation", says the chairperson of the WYC committee, Karma Dorji. For the youth, the exercise is an invaluable way to learn about Bhutan's laws and how they apply to the citizens. The process of research and discussion itself is a democratic action that strengthens our sense of civic understanding and responsibility.

In another part of Thimphu, about 38 stakeholders gathered to discuss the state of our democracy in a workshop conducted by the Royal Research Council and International IDEAS, an inter-governmental agency that supports

sustainable democracy.

Critical questions were discussed over the three-day consultation from 6 – 8 April. What do the Bhutanese people think about democracy? And why assess the state of democracy in Bhutan? How can we carry out such an assessment?

Numerous ideas were shared and some of them include:

- How to bring trust back into the system of democracy, noting that conflict among communities was a result of party politics.
- How an idea like GNH will influence the way democracy evolves in Bhutan.
- How much civic and people participation is there?
- What about democracy beyond the state?

Representatives from academia, civil society, constitutional agencies, political parties and legal institutions discussed a framework used to evaluate the state of democracies already tried in 25 countries around the world. The challenge was to contextualize it for Bhutan.

"This is an important process and we re-arranged our classes so we can make time for this discussion", says an academic.

This preliminary exercise of using a multi-stakeholder approach to co-design a possible research project involving civil society and educational institutes and other democracy players is a democratic and welcome move. While the research on democracy is still in its early days, the process of consultation itself will help widen the democratic processes and create a bigger stake in democratic change.

Stories for change

BY SO MIN KIM
BCMD

On 14 Dec 2015 at 5 pm in Bhutan Youth Development Fund's Media Lab, Karma Kinley Wangmo looked nervous. She had worked until 10 pm the previous night to finish her first film, *Inner Peace*. She was about to meet the audience.

"Do you like it?" she kept asking. It turned out that more than 20 people at the screening loved her work. Of course, constructive and sharp criticism followed.

Karma's *Inner Peace*, which depicts the journey of a woman to overcome her trauma with the help of YDF, is one of seven documentaries and films from

the BCMD project Stories for Change. The concept of Stories for Change is to pair youth with CSOs to produce videos about the activities of CSOs. Through this project, Bhutan's youth can realize their abilities and learn about CSOs. At the same time, CSOs can learn how to communicate with youth.

Since last October, 16 youths and CSO members have participated in this project. Together, they made a five-minute documentary over a two-week span of time. Mr Kinley Penjor, an expert, volunteered to guide the project, stating, "I love to help youths who are willing to learn."

The documentaries have covered YDF, Bhutan Animal Rescue and Care, Bhutan Association of Women Entrepreneurs, Disabled Persons' Association of Bhutan, Bhutan Kidney Foundation, and more, with even more documentaries planned for future release. BCMD plans to host a documentary night to present the work of youths to an audience in the near future.

On her experience with the project, Karma Kinley Wangmo said, "It was challenging, but I definitely want to make more documentaries!"

A retreat among civil society organisations

BY SONAM DORJI
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ABTO

The first retreat of its kind, among the heads and representatives of more than 35 civil society organisations, took place in Paro in March 2016. The purposes for this retreat were manifold: to network among the current registered CSOs in the country; to jointly look into the future, its opportunities and challenges including human resources; and to assess the policy environment for the functioning of CSOs. These are topics that are pertinent to the long-term direction and development of CSOs.

Various topics were discussed. Among these, the need to streamline capacity development and plan long-term emerged as an important area. Although clear solutions did not develop, listing short-term training demands and discussing possible medium and long-term avenues was useful. Several options were offered such as some CSOs providing trainings in areas where they had experiences, and discussing with potential institutions such as the Royal Institute of Management or the Royal University of Bhutan.

Looking at where civil society as a sector is today, and where it would like to be in a decade or so, was another important exercise during the retreat. This allowed CSOs to reflect on opportunities and challenges they face at present. Issues that emerged as a part of this reflection process can be



Representatives for more than 35 CSOs gathered to discuss long-term direction and development for CSOs

categorized into three: a relatively new sector that is not yet acknowledged in society; institutional challenge such as limited human and financial resources; and need for favorable policies and support. Related to these issues, discussions on the future called for greater awareness on the roles that CSOs are playing and can play; continued building of capacities but in a more systematic manner; and reviewing and providing feedback on current policies.

The review of current policies naturally began with deliberations on the CSO Act, 2007. Members at the retreat raised pertinent limitations in the current Act starting from the definition of a CSO to the composition of the CSO Authority and clauses that were unclear. Some members felt that the definition itself was limiting and

would constrain the emergence of CSOs other than caregivers associated with humanitarian work. The composition of the Authority was also felt to be skewed in cases where decisions were made on the basis of majority voting. In short, a need to open the Act for discussions and feedback was clearly felt.

The CSO retreat did not come up with solutions to all the issues raised. That was neither the intention nor would it have been possible. However, the retreat provided an important platform for CSOs to come together, share experiences and communicate with each other. Despite the diversity of themes that CSOs engage in, such a get-together was a timely reminder there are many common opportunities to build on and barriers to overcome that can best be done jointly rather than individually.

Bringing media and democracy together in schools

BY UGYEN KELZANG
TEACHER, S.JONGKHAR

I have been a teacher and a Media Club coordinator since 2010 at Jigme Sherubling Higher Secondary School. Presently, I take care of my new Media and Democracy Club at Samdrup Jongkhar MSS, where I established it in 2015.

My club and I first came under BCMD's radar in 2011, through a media literacy workshop. When I first became affiliated with BCMD, I simply expected to learn how to make films, how to write a report and how to publish a newspaper. When I look back now and reflect upon those expectations, I see how naïve I had been in picturing a limited idea of media. I, like so many of my students, was engrossed with the means and different types of media, while missing the core of the whole process: the message, the story!

It was all about the story the whole time.

The person behind the camera or holding the pen needs to question, "Is this story true?", "Is the story necessary for the common good?" or "Is the story worth it?". Meanwhile, the person consuming the story needs to question, "Is the story fabricated?", "Is the story biased?" and "Does the story need to be shared?".

This process of confronting, verifying and sharing a story is guided through numerous strategies and ideologies like "deconstruction of media", "news literacy", "the five core concepts of media" and many more which I have come across through a number of workshops facilitated by BCMD. Even one of the six units of the "educating for GNH" module, which has been incorporated into the national education policy, addresses the need for media literacy. I truly believe our youth need these skills when they are bombarded with stories through TV, print media and social media every second.

However, I believe simply being able to verify and deconstruct a story is not a sufficient responsibility for our youths. They should be more than simple critics who judge a story and say what is right from wrong! They should be more than passive citizens; they



Media and Democracy club members of Samdrup Jongkhar MSS with the teacher coordinator during a community mapping exercise

should fulfill a bigger role of taking a stand and expressing their own take on issues! These could be issues affecting them at the school level or even bigger issues at the national level. This brings me to one of the greatest opportunities our youths have ever been awarded: the Bhutan Children's Parliament! This is an opportunity for our youths to become the stories!

Democracy cannot survive without a strong yet flexible media. The media must be strong enough to stand by its ideologies, yet flexible enough to adapt and reach out to the masses. It was hence my intended venture to opt for a combination of the Media Club (supported by BCMD) and the Democracy Club (supported by the Election Commission of Bhutan). Although I am yet to attend my first orientation workshop to fully comprehend the mandates as a Democracy Club coordinator, a yearlong experience as the coordinator of the combined Media and Democracy Club has been truly enriching.

The whole experience of dealing with the officials of ECB in carrying out the school-level elections, designing and discussing the essence of media in the process and seeing students take a stand and speaking out has been rewarding to say the least. I clearly remember the preliminary rounds of nominating the BCP representatives, where we had public speaking forums and debate sessions which were so full of life and passion. Although my candidates couldn't secure a seat for the first-ever BCP, my students and I gained

volumes of knowledge and experience.

We also had a community mapping session at our school. Two of my student members and I had participated in the Community Mapping Workshop at Media Nomads IX, Thimphu—facilitated by BCMD—and were able to take back the idea to our own schools at a very local level. It was an adventure to see how the students were reluctant to do anything about the problems in the beginning and then slowly came together to discuss and resolve those issues. Not all of the groups came up with results, but the idea was about more than being 100% successful; it was to explore the possibility that people can come together to do whatever is possible, even with their own limited capacities.

It is with a combination of a variety of ideas and activities that I feel our youth will benefit the most. The ideologies and principles of understanding the roles of the youths in our young democracy are indeed subject to individuality. However, we can always get a better picture with the combined lens of media and democracy. Consequently I, as a teacher working in the field, would like to humbly request the relevant offices of the two programmes of BCMD (Media Clubs) and the Ministry of Education (Democracy Clubs) to come together and find a common path to cater to our children with the best of whatever we have the capabilities to do... which is nothing else but education.

As Mitt Romney has said, "Education is the investment our generation makes in the future."

BCMD gave many youth and me a rich memorable winter

BY TSEHWANG NGEDUP

TEACHER, OLATHANG PRY. SCHOOL, PARO

Bhutan Centre for Media and Democracy gave many youth and me a rich memorable winter. I felt a fleeting winter pass by quicker than ever. All of the activities organized by BCMD—a community mapping workshop for five days in Paro; Youth Initiative training in debate, deliberation and development for eleven days in Thimphu; and eventually a youth summit at Ugyen Academy for four days in Punakha—kept me positively occupied in thoughts and actions. All through these events, meeting with youth of diverse interests and potential and having to know them in person made my network grow richer. BCMD, being a pioneer institution amongst the CSOs, is doing all it can for a vibrant young democracy, the youth and their voices, the communities, social issues and the nation at large.

To me at an individual level, I am now more aware of the community I live in and the assets and the issues of the community I belong to. These events gave me the much-needed place to voice my opinions and ideas and meet with a cohort of



Youth engaged in voicing their opinions and ideas at the youth summit

intellectuals for an exchange of ideas. The direct involvement in the community for carrying out community action gave us the direction and way forward to interact with people in the community. I have known that to bring a positive change in the community, we may meet with dejections, failure and resistance at first on our way up but we can still try to succeed. I thank BCMD for planting the seeds of faith in us that we all are capable of bringing positive changes.

The experiences I gained could have a multiplying effect. I am a teacher and I can spread my experiences, skills, knowledge and positive vibes gained

this winter from BCMD to students and communities I meet along the journey of my life. To whatever school I am posted to, to whichever place I am displaced to, I would like for the experiences I have gained to spread like a ripple in a pond away and beyond. Under the wing of BCMD, I have been given a place to voice my thoughts, a place to groom and grow, a place to work and collaborate, a place to hone my communication skills, a place to be the change and a place to say I can. To BCMD, we owe our heartiest gratitude for giving many youth their voices and choices to be ambassadors of change.

Selling, serving and supplying alcoholic beverages responsibly

BY UGYEN TSHERING

TOURIST GUIDE

The booming economy of the country has resulted in polluting society with alcohol. According to statements from bar owners and customers, some people work 24 hours a day in the bars, serving alcoholic beverages to customers, whether they are underage youths or already-intoxicated customers.

The culture of alcohol is widely accepted in our country. However, not being responsible as a seller or as a drinker is a problem for society.

With our sincere motive and support from Bhutan Centre for Media and Democracy (BCMD), Ministry of Health (MoH) and the World Health Organization (WHO), seven young people went to 437 bars across Thimphu city, from Kabesa to Babesa, and pleaded with the sellers to be responsible in selling, serving and supplying alcoholic beverages.

We also equipped our bar owners with the tool of alcohol policy and its benefits to minimize the alcohol-related problems in our society.

Most of the sellers were receptive to our request.

Our research results show that most of the sellers are not in compliance with the alcohol rules. Though alcohol service policies are printed on the wall of the bars, 90% of the time they are being violated, according to the survey conducted by group of youth through Youth led project. When such policies are being violated, alcohol becomes easily accessible, especially for young people, at all hours of the day.

Young people are very impressionable, so it is highly irresponsible for the sellers to market alcohol to them. We should remember that the basic structure of human society requires a sense of responsibility based on compassion and altruism.

What are the possible solutions to reduce the harmful effects of alcohol on society? Ban the alcohol? Establish a high alcohol tax? Regulate the quality of alcohol? Or regulate the existing policy strictly?

Our suggestion is to monitor the sellers on the existing laws, educate the sellers and drinkers on being responsible and redesign licensing framework.

We are the future leaders of our nation, and we do not want to be drunkard leaders. The future of youth lies in a bottle of alcohol if we do not act responsibly now. We all care for the future leaders of our nation, so let us follow the example of the good teacher, come closer to the community and solve the problem together.

To all our dear leaders, parents, teachers, friends, brothers and sisters: Let us stop polluting our society with alcohol and start developing a well balanced mind to achieve the secret wish of all human beings.

‘Gewog Stories’ cover local news in an informal format

BY STAFF REPORTER
BCMD

Stories from the *gewogs* are rarely featured in our mainstream media. As an answer to this lack of information, *Gewog* Administrative Officers (GAOs) have been posting human interest stories on a blog to share what’s happening in rural Bhutan.

BCMD has trained more than 195 *Gewog* Administrative Officers on the importance of information sharing to create greater transparency from their place of postings in rural Bhutan. The past trainings resulted in the pilot blog and the adoption of social media guidelines for GAOs since 2013.

The six media sensitisation workshops for GAOs and *gups* have shown the following results:

- The drafting and adoption of a code of ethics of online information sharing by GAOs
- The creation of a website template to include *gewog* information on the Department of Local Government’s website
- GAOs trained to write simple information stories which participants found particularly useful and which they can apply to their reporting from the *gewogs*
- GAOs learned how to handle media queries and understand the need

for information sharing

- GAOs and selected *gups* learned about the role of transparency in deepening social accountability, and the tenets of the proposed RTI Act

The support to the sensitisation of almost all 205 GAOs and selected *gups* is now over. BCMD believes that our work, some of it held in partnership with ACC and the government, has helped promote social accountability, fact checking, and the sharing of information from *gewogs* where much development is taking place. Check out *gewog* stories on <http://gewogadministrativeofficers.blogspot.com/>

Electric fencing for Samalgaon village

BY LOBZANG CHODA
GAO, RANGTHANGLING GEWOG, TSIRANG

This electric fencing of five kilometers is to benefit a total of 19 households in this village. It was incorporated for this fiscal year 2015 – 2016 from the *Gewog* Development Grant of which a total amount of Nu.300,000 had been allocated, including the other electric fencing at Rangthangling village and Lower Neymedsa village.

Since installing electric fencing, the nearby villages of Upper Nevari and Menchuna of Kikorthang *Gewog* have noted that their fields are protected from wild animals, particularly wild boars, which used to take the share of a year’s hard work from farmers.

“Not a single boar has entered the field as of now and the people are very happy”, says Sonam, a *Tshogpa* from Nevari.



At a community meeting, villagers agree to coordinate with officials to install the fencing

Talent of mute brothers

BY DAMCHO
GAO, KIKORTHANG GEWOG, TSIRANG

Lal Badhur Rai and Bal Badhur Rai are from Nyizergang Chiweg under Kikorthang *Gewog* in Tsirang Dzongkhag. Both brothers were born mute. They never married but they give moral support to each other.

The two mute brothers are very talented and hardworking. They own

four acres of land, where they have paddies and orchards and have cultivated maize and millet. Their yearly income from just the orchard is Nu.50,000. According to their neighbor, the younger brother is “the main person who does ploughing work in the village, using traditional methods”.

When I went for a farm survey with my *gewog* engineer, the younger brother

had already done a survey using his intelligence. Later, the alignment came in the same boundary.

Although they are not able to speak, the brothers are doing much better than the average person. I have visited their house and seen that they are very particular at home and maintain very clean surroundings.

My experience as a first member of Youth Initiative

BY PHUNTSHO CHODEN

YI MEMBER

Youth Initiative for Debate, Deliberation and Development is an informal youth organisation. YIDDD provides a platform for youth to discuss and debate issues and arrive at resolutions. It gives an opportunity for young people to learn how to integrate democratic problem-solving and to become compassionate and visionary leaders capable of bringing positive social change.

Youth Initiative started in 2013 with the hope to motivate young people to recognize issues, take their chances in intervening and participate in the shaping of policies. Thus, their voices are heard.

The main objective of Youth Initiative is to enable Youth Representatives to engage in issues using research, de-

bate and deliberative communications skills. Another aim is for youth to collectively arrive at a decision through a dialogue approach to discussions, which enables them take community-based actions. Youth Representatives are also trained to represent the voice of youth through mock parliamentary sittings and other panel discussions.

When I first joined YI in 2015, there were 30 of us either elected or selected from schools and colleges in Thimphu. We started our winter training from 29 January for two weeks at the Media Lab at Bhutan Youth Development Fund. We were trained in active listening, how to debate and meeting parliamentarians and stakeholders to talk to us about the current scenario of our country and the roles of youth in the vibrant democracy of Bhutan.

As a participant, I learned about taking small steps to bring significant change in the society I live in. I knew that change should not be always at a national level; small change in the community, which can change it in better ways, matters the most.

We proposed three actions such as drafting social media guidelines in school, tree planting in Thimphu and collections and distributions of books to rural schools in Bhutan to commemorate the 60th Birth Anniversary of the Fourth Druk Gyalpo.

YI has benefited me by changing my views on how I, as a citizen, can take part in decision-making and bringing change in society. The roles and responsibilities of youth in community building and taking action can benefit the community immensely.

Youth-Led Initiative projects

BY STAFF REPORTER

BCMD

Youth across Bhutan led 15 community-based projects over the past two years to help spark youth action for community betterment. These projects were part of BCMD's Democracy Day challenge activities to prompt young people take simple action to improve local situations. With grants of up to about Nu.20,000, the 15 projects were undertaken by youth, teachers, people in civil service, social workers and nuns.

Projects as simple as paving a footpath to a temple and holding a waste segregation drive in a college to more elaborate projects such as education for teenage pregnancy and alcohol consumption make up the diversity of projects completed.

An evaluation of the projects showed that each of these projects has helped the individuals involved—the project coordinators and team—to become more engaged citizens and to think about issues, problems and policies more than they used to.

The individuals also learned that they could be a part of the solutions offered and could make a difference in their communities. As the project coordinators became more aware of issues and were able to provide solutions, we



Recycled papers being dried in the sun

found that these projects brought about positive impact on the communities as well.

Building on the two Democracy Day challenges, BCMD has started a Youth-Led Initiative this year, where we received eight well-thought project proposals from youth across Bhutan.

This project aims to enable youth (ages 18 to 25 years old) to take practical community-based action as agents of change. This will encourage them to advocate for a social cause in their daily lives, to understand the challenges faced by the communities in depth

and to become a part of the solution to those problems.

The eight project leaders and their team are advocating and taking action to improve various needs. These include tackling water scarcity in a rural area, recycling waste paper, promoting reading habits among parents and children and addressing teenage pregnancy and alcohol consumption. The projects also introduce financial literacy among a rural community, lead social media conversations among youth and promote awareness on media and democracy.

The project will be completed by the end of the year and all of the youth involved in the project will gather at a youth summit to tell their stories of change and share their lessons learned. We look forward to listening to their experiences as agents of change in their communities.

We believe that creating such platforms for people, especially youth, allows each one of us to understand the issues in our communities in depth and to be a part of the solution. We see this as an opportunity for each of us to understand that democracy is an everyday exercise and that each of us has the responsibility and capability to nurture a vibrant democracy.

What does it mean to be a citizen?

Being a citizen for me is to know that this is my home and that it's my responsibility to nurture it to the best I can; to be active in the causes that are important to us, to defend, and to make our country's honor our own.



KINLEY WANGMO,
Dessup

Being a citizen means being responsible—being responsible towards our TSA-WA-SUM. We should be really thankful towards the government as they provide us with free education and free health-care.



DAMCHOE DEMA,
Sister at Luntenphu Military
Hospital

A person with the right thoughts, loyalty and respect to the king, country and people. A person with a sense of Bhutanese sharing equal love and intimacy with the other fellow citizens. A person who is proud to be a 'Drukpa'.



SONAM PENJOR, Journalist,
Bhutan Broadcasting Service
Corporation Limited

ONE DEFINITION

Social Accountability

The actions taken by the public, civil society, the media, and other factors to hold the government accountable for its political, social and economic policies. When the government does not perform as desired, there are often consequences, such as defeat in elections.