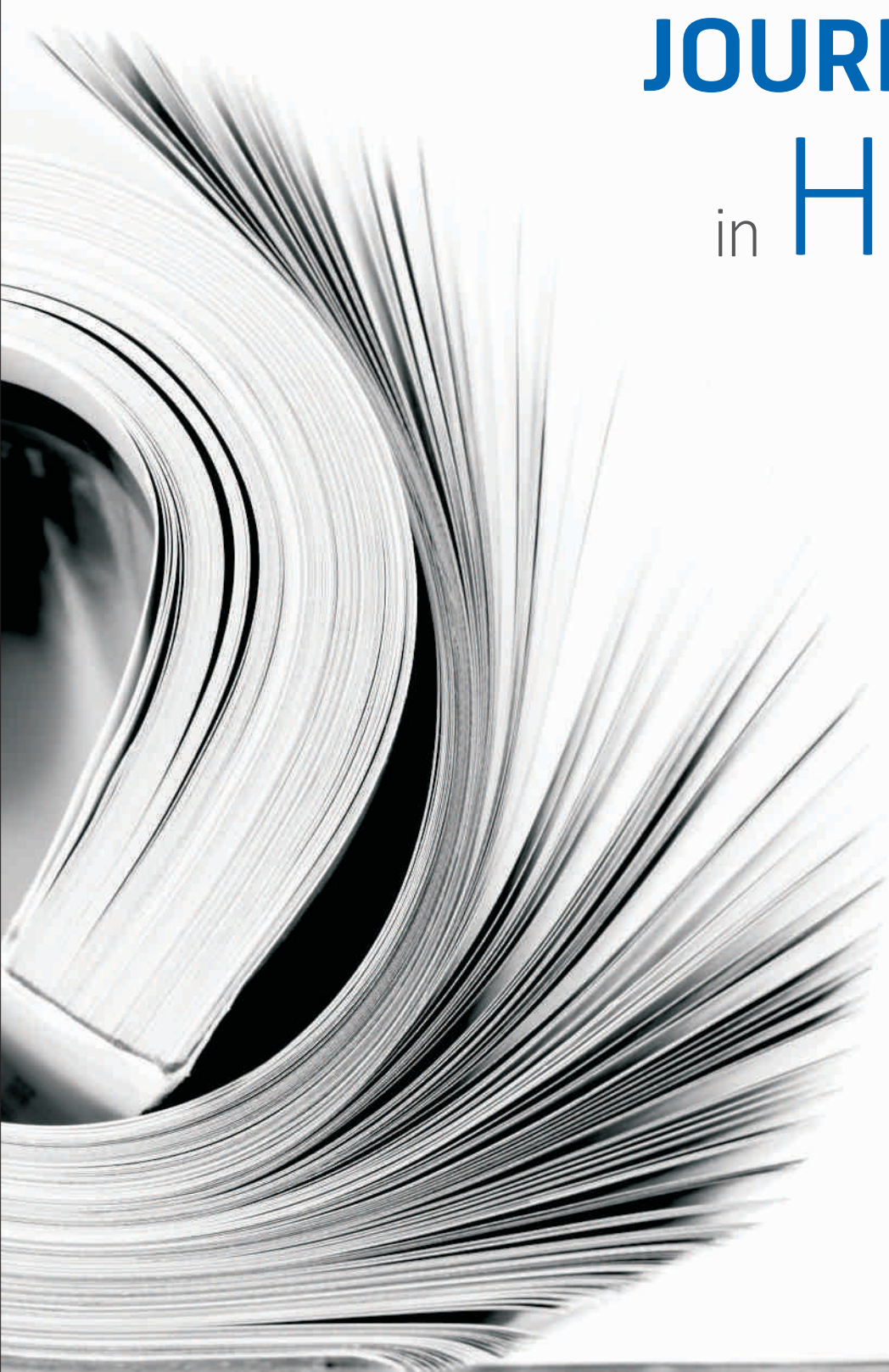Potential, Possibilities
& Prospects for

CITIZEN
JOURNALISM
in Health

Center for
Communication
Programs
Pakistan

Potential, Possibilities & Prospects for

CITIZEN JOURNALISM in Health

Literature Review

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Center for
Communication
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Pakistan

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Acronyms

EVA-BHN	Empowerment Voice & Accountability for Better Health and Nutrition
RMNCH	Reproductive, Maternal, Newborn and Child Health
UN	United Nations
CJ	Citizen Journalism
PDHS	Pakistan Demographic Health Survey
PTV	Pakistan Television Corporation
IMS	International Media Support
CCPP	Center for Communications Program Pakistan
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
SMS	Short Message Service
CIPE-Pakistan	Center for International Private Enterprise - Pakistan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
MNCH	Maternal, Newborn and Child Health
HANIF	Health and Nutrition Innovation Fund
DFID	UK Department for International Development
CNN-IBN	Cable News Network - Indian Broadcasting Network

1 Introduction & Background

Media goes hand-in-hand with the concept of empowerment, voice and accountability. The recent rise of media in Pakistan has created opportunities for its use to influence reforms for improving governance in different domains including, but not limited to social issues like health. The Empowerment, Voice and Accountability for Better Health and Nutrition (EVA-BHN) Project includes use of media as one of its key strategies to achieve its overall objective i.e. increased capacity of citizens to drive changes in RMNCH services and nutrition. Of the various forms of media to be employed in the media component of EVA-BHN one is "Citizen Journalism."

The key output of the project to be targeted through Citizen Journalism is replication and amplification of outputs 1, 2 and 3 of the project that are focusing on increasing in knowledge, improving capacity and enhancing engagement of citizens for demanding and undertaking accountability for RMNCH and Nutrition services.

Given that media rise is relatively new in Pakistan and Citizen Journalism is an upcoming form of media activism, the need was felt to inform the design and implementation of Citizen Journalism component of EVA-BHN with the knowledge generated through other Citizen Journalism related experiences in Pakistan (though limited in numbers and commercial in their scope), and in other parts of the world through a comprehensive review of existing published literature.

1.1 Purpose and Objectives

The overall purpose of the literature review is to inform the scope and designing of Citizen Journalism component in the overall media program of EVA-BHN. The specific objectives of the review are to:

- Understand the concept and various forms of Citizen Journalism and develop a working definition for EVA-BHN;

- Identify different practices in Citizen Journalism, particularly around how citizens have been engaged and interfaced with mainstream media and the effects that have resulted from such engagements

- Understand the media milieu in Pakistan and identify opportunities for Citizen Journalism; and

- Provide basis and necessary evidence for designing Citizen Journalism strategy for the project Empowerment, Voices, and Accountability for Better Health and Nutrition.

1.2 Methodology

In order to capture insights from past Citizen Journalism initiatives and glean best practices, a liberal search approach was taken to identify past and current Citizen Journalism programmes. Because there is limited published literature about Citizen Journalism used in development contexts and especially in Pakistan particularly in peer-reviewed journals, a liberal Google Scholar search was performed in order to review the rich body of grey literature. Using the search terms "Citizen Journalism", "health", "Pakistan", "development", and "citizen reporting" the results were scanned for relevance and reviewed for other sources or links that could guide the Citizen Journalism in EVA-BHN.

2 Findings

2.1. Conceptual Foundations of Citizen Journalism

The Citizen Journalism approach can be viewed through the theoretical perspectives of media framing and gatekeepers in the media. Framing is a media effects concept that explains how information is portrayed through the media and also how individual media consumers interpret it. Scheufele (1999) articulates the differences between media and individual frames and how these can be empirically measured for studying media effects. Citizen Journalism is an attempt to cross boundaries between these two frame concepts, by influencing the type of frame that is given to a news story by directly contributing to the news and also as an individual frame by how citizens interpret news that is authored by other citizens or a new frame for a health news report[1].

In addition to media framing, a theoretical underpinning to Citizen Journalism is the concept of gatekeepers in the media. Media gatekeepers are people or organisational entities that act as mediators between information and news reporting or media content[2]. In the field of journalism, reporters serve in this gate-keeping role making certain types of information available to their audiences. Citizen Journalism alters the role of the traditional media gatekeeper by allowing individual citizen to be a media gatekeeper. By allowing citizens to serve as gatekeepers; the process of news reporting changes to allow new voices into a space where they were previously inhibited.

Citizen Journalism has also been referred to a break down in the traditional relationship between the "monologue broadcaster" and the "grateful viewer."[3] The internet driven empowerment and globalization has transformed viewers and readers to a global audience that not only reads and views what professional journalists write and report but can comment, provide perspective, and offer new insight into the complexities of an increasingly global society[4].

Another meaning attached to Citizen Journalism is that it is a type of journalism that is "of the people, by the people, as well as for the people; and stems from the dissatisfaction with the quality of news coming from the media conglomerates[5].

Whereas, there may exist a broader consensus on the definition of Citizen Journalism, there exist disagreement on the definition of citizen journalist. Building on the definition of journalism as a process "that centres on fact-based, balanced, edited and verified information presented in a coherent and understandable way to as broad an audience as possible" and keeping in view the requirements mandating some training and qualifications, ethical standards and credibility for one to become a journalist it appears that any random citizen cannot qualify to be called as a journalist. However, he or she can definitely practice journalism provided that facts are checked, information is verified and broadcasted[6]. Citizen Journalism is seen as reversing the sender–receiver process of conventional journalism. Whereas for newspaper, television and web media the journalist acts as a "gatekeeper" in the process of selecting and presenting news, in the Citizen Journalism format the journalist is a "shepherd" in the process[7] who usually curates the content.

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[1] Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. Journal of communication, 49(1), 103-122.
[2] Shoemaker, P. J., &Vos, T. (2009). Gatekeeping theory. Routledge.
[3] Last.fm Team, About Last.fm – Overview, Last.fm Ltd., http://www.last.fm/about/
[4] Ashley Highfield, quoted in Henry Jenkins, Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 242
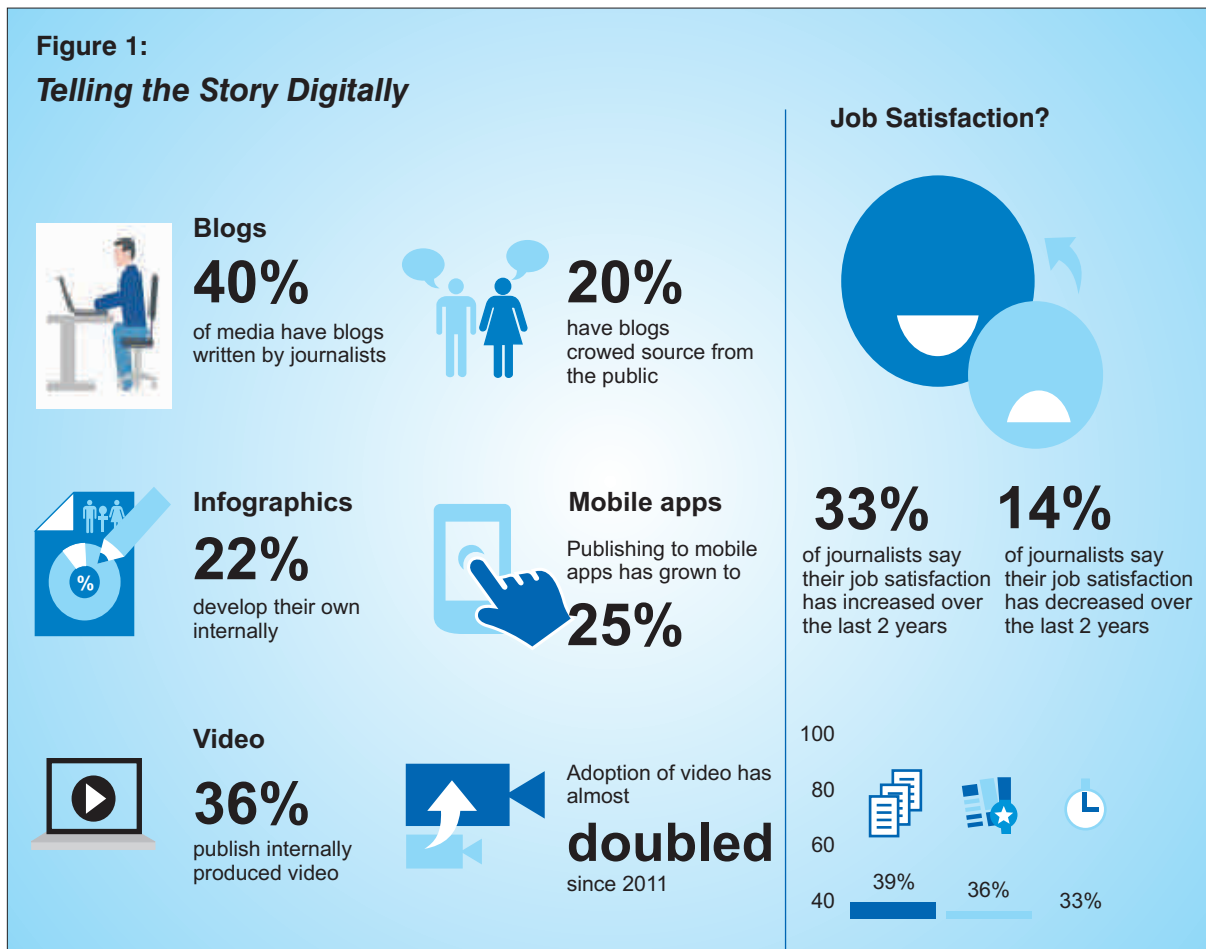[5] Pavlik, Journalism and New Media, 27
[6] Rachelle Goh, CMS Senior Thesis, Readers: Julie Dobrow, Stephen WilmarthApril 20, 2007
[7] Glaser, M. (2004). The new voices: Hyperlocal citizen media sites want you (to write)! Online Journalism Review, University of Southern California. Available from: http://www.ojr.org/ojr/glaser/1098833871.php

Whereas, Citizen Journalism is an effect of internet it has affected the concept of community on the internet and is constantly changing and evolving every day[8]. The rules for Citizen Journalism are different from professional journalism. In Citizen Journalism the emphasis is on participation and exchange of ideas and weaving opinion with facts considered acceptable. However, the basic assumption is that community members are not trained journalists who can think or express with the professional media objectivity and thus often are not required to adopt professional journalist's standards [9].

Besides, Citizen Journalism is more like a community blog in which different people get a chance to express themselves or their observations on similar subjects and while doing so they don't have to pass through barriers of eligibility of contributors [10].

Figure 1:

Telling the Story Digitally

Job Satisfaction?

Blogs

40%
of media have blogs written by journalists

20%
have blogs crowed source from the public

Infographics

22%
develop their own internally

Mobile apps
Publishing to mobile apps has grown to

25%

33%
of journalists say their job satisfaction has increased over the last 2 years

14%
of journalists say their job satisfaction has decreased over the last 2 years

Video

36%
publish internally produced video

Adoption of video has almost

doubled
since 2011

100
80
60
40
39%   36%   33%

2.2 Working Definition of Citizen Journalism

A more workable definition which nears to the role of Citizen Journalism for EVA-BHN has been provided in the seminal report "We Media: How Audiences are Shaping the Future of News and Information."[11] It describes Citizen Journalism as "a citizen or citizens playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information. The UN definition of citizen journalists

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[8] Kolodzy, Convergence Journalism, 221
[9] Bentley, C., Littau, J., Hamman, B., Meyer, H., Welsh, B. & Watson, B. (2005).The Citizen Journalism movement: Mymissourian as a case study.Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. San Antonio, TX.
[10] Glaser, M. (2004). The new voices: Hyperlocal citizen media sites want you (to write)! *Online Journalism Review*, University of Southern California. Available from: http://www.ojr.org/ojr/glaser/1098833871.php
[11] Chris Willis and Shayne Bowman, "We Media: How Audiences are Shaping the Future of News and Information," We Media, The Media Center at the American Press Institute, http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/weblog.php?id=P3

embeds Citizen Journalism in the right of freedom of expression i.e. "Citizen Journalists refer to those not formally recognized as journalists but get themselves engaged in news reporting and information dissemination through various community media, traditional and new media platforms as a means of reaching their audiences and fulfilling their right to free expression [12] ".

We can therefore consider citizen journalists as citizens who actively collect, report, analyse and disseminate different news and information on RMNCH and Nutrition related issues through various forms of media using and not limited to modern technologies of internet, mobile and in various forms such as blogs, video clippings, op-eds, press reports etc. in their individual capacities as well as in their joint ventures with traditional media outlets. For EVA-BHN, the working definition will however depend upon the most feasible way(s) that will be explored during the partnership with media and shall be function of the district statuses where EVA-BHN project will be implemented.

2.3 Forms of Citizen Journalism and Modes of Communication

Citizen Journalism can include and not limited to blogs that are commentary on the day's events or are community news postings, may have the options in which a news item or commentary can be added to or edited, can be a podcast reviewing favourite groups on a local music scene and can refer to a joint venture between a reporter and experts to write and report a story, or it can entail a niche group of people, such as office workers or homeless activists, who publish news, information, and insights about their world[13].

There are various modes of communication for Citizen Journalism. Internet was the medium reported by 96% of the citizen journalists surveyed for the report "The Status of Citizen Journalists Around the World: 2012" and the most popular method of news dissemination mentioned by citizen journalists was by email (31%) and then to blogs (27%) and social media sites[14]. Dedicated websites, community webpages, facebook pages, blogs, and twitter feeds and live streaming (mobile videos through internet) are all various forms of spaces available to today's citizen for exercising civic journalism[15] [16]. Mobiles hold a particular promise due to partly supporting voice, pictorial and video communication which overcomes the barriers of illiteracy, machine-written text/font issues, and local language issues, and it is accessible from any handset[17]. The speedy penetration of mobile phones in low-income countries has provided an

[12] UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity. Paris, France: UN/UNECSO, 2012.
[13] Kolodzy, Convergence Journalism, 220.
[14] Maurice Ali, The Status of Citizen Journalists Around the World: 2012, International Association of Independent Journal istsInc. December, 2012
[15] Rebecca Bengtsson (2013), Action! Livestreaming as means of civic engagement: A case study of Citizen Journalism in Egypt and Syria.
[16] Colin Rhinesmith, Martin Wolske, and Adam Kehoe, (2011), Measuring the Impact of Citizen Journalism: A Study of Communinty Newsrooms in North Champaign and East St. Louis, Illinois
[17] Goggin, G., & Clark, J. (2009). Mobile phones and community development: A contact zone between media and citizenship. Development in Practice, 19, 585–597.

alternative to web based Citizen Journalism and mobile users are being recognised as active participants and producers of information, analogous to web users[18].

2.4 Characteristics of Citizen Journalists

Successful designing and implementation of Citizen Journalism in EVA-BHN will be a function of understanding the potential of citizen journalist that can be targeted to make the campaign successful. The report on "The Status of Citizen Journalists Around the World: 2012" that included Pakistan provides some interesting insights in this regard. Males, youth (between the ages of 18 to 30 years) and college students were found to be more into Citizen Journalism that almost all (98%) of the survey respondents reported to having done it without any logistical and financial support from news agencies. The major worry reported by the respondents was to be arrested or injured by police at news events but majority did not exhibit any fear of photographing and videotaping events. Interestingly a minor percentage i.e. 1.5% reported arrest and 4.5% reported injury.

The report underscored Citizen Journalism as providing advantages in immediacy requirements of media in covering unpredictable news events as well as bridging the gap created by traditional media leaving small communities. Lack of support in terms of money or self-improvement and a lack of legal help if they ran into problems were some of problems of citizen journalists mentioned in the report. Formalization and institutionalization of concept of Citizen Journalism, citizen journalists be given the same rights of access as those in traditional media, availability of some measures of protection for citizen journalists at news events and collaboration between citizen journalists and traditional news reporting agencies, continued lobbying for an accessible internet free of censorship were recommendations of the report [19].

The citizen journalists if successfully garnered provides the opportunity for bringing the issues of RMNCH-Nutrition to lime light in the current media scenario in Pakistan. RMNCH is a soft beat for traditional media and its being an issue of rural and poor further adds to this exclusion of the subject of RMNCH and Nutrition from main stream media to the extent that an event such as every 30 minutes death of a woman due to preventable pregnancy related causes goes unnoticed by the media eye. For addressing prospective challenges EVA-BHN may associate the campaign with the "Freedom of information Acts" in the provinces to empower the citizens for actively participating in health reform process through "Citizen Journalism".

2.5 Citizen Journalism for Governance and Development

Citizen Journalism has interested development practitioners in the fields of health and education by fostering the participatory processes that are an interalia function of encouraging accountability, local ownership, and problem solving, and these processes situate a broader share of power, decision making, and influence with communities, rather than outsiders[20]. Following are some of the case studies of Citizen Journalism that offer interesting insights for EVA-BHN.

2.5.1 Sahara Reporters (The Face of Citizen Journalism) - Nigeria

In Nigeria[21], the reporting and investigative journalism by Sahara Reporters (the face of Citizen Journalism) have altered the media landscape and the impact has been most felt in the fight against corruption and has challenged traditional media to be more transparent. In Nigeria today, political leaders fear they will be embarrassed or exposed if their activities get published by Sahara Reporters in contrary to the past where they could intimidate media owners or even go to the extent of shutting them down completely by cancelling the licenses of media houses. The emergence of Sahara Reporters was catalysed by the interactive and investigative gaps exhibited in the traditional media in Nigeria. The Sahara journalism has been reported to invigorate, inform and empower the Nigerian citizenry through

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[18] Agarwal, S. K., Kumar, A., Nanavati, A. A., & Rajput, N. (2009, April 17–19).
[19] Maurice Ali, The Status of Citizen Journalists Around the World: 2012, International Association of Independent Journalists Inc. December, 2012
[20] PreetiMudliar Jonathan Donner William Thies (2012), Emergent Practices Around CGNetSwara: A Voice Forum for Citizen Journalism in Rural India. Volume 9, Number 2, ICTD2012 Special Issue, 65–79
[21] Sunday Dare. (2010). The Rise of Citizen Journalism in Nigeria – A Case Study of Sahara Reporters. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk

ushering a new era of citizenship awareness, greater political participation and a greater demand for accountability and transparency from those that govern them. The Citizen Journalism has challenged the hegemonic powers of the traditional media and compelled the latter to make modifications. The Sahara experience suggests that the fusion of Citizen Journalism with the traditional media can create a synergy that can help address the gaps in traditional media especially in creating demand for accountability and transparency in soft beats such as health.

Figure 2:

Room for Growth | Internet penetration in Africa, by country (2009)

Top five countries by population
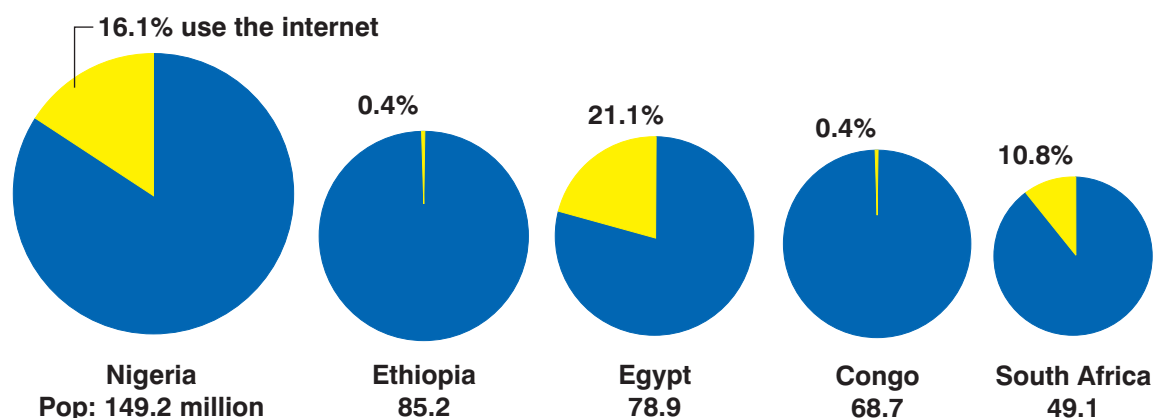
Source: Internet World Stats

2.5.2 The CGnet Sawara - India

In India[22], CGnet Sawara is an initiative of Citizen Journalism helping in overcoming corruption. The success of CGnet Sawara is attributed to a partnership between citizens and professionals as opposed to only using technologies. A participatory "Citizen Journalism" system established for a place and a people that were previously excluded from the main-stream news media is the hallmark of CGnet Sawara. It provides the system whereby system's users are acting as citizen journalists, share information with each other, as well as with the broader community of economic and political actors in their state.

CGNet Swara opened new avenues to participation by mixing the inclusivity of the phone/voice with the pre-existing interactivity of Web 2.0 in a digital public sphere. The CGnet Swara experience shows that Citizen Journalism can play an effective role in bringing citizens together which can be a facilitator in generating "One Voice" for improved RMNCH and Nutrition services being targeted in EVA-BHN.The Indian Citizen Journalism platform, CGNet Swara, does not promote anonymous citizen reporting. An evaluation[23] of the programme found that fear of repercussion was a barrier to contributing a citizen report. This evaluation noted that traditionally marginalised populations often do not feel comfortable speaking out for themselves against injustices.

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[22] PreetiMudliar Jonathan Donner William Thies (2012), Emergent Practices Around CGNetSwara: A Voice Forum for Citizen Journalism in Rural India. Volume 9, Number 2, ICTD2012 Special Issue, 65–79
[23] Mudliar, P., Donner, J., &Thies, W. (2012, March). Emergent practices around CGNetSwara,voice forum for citizen journalsm in rural India. In Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies and Development (pp. 159-168). ACM

Figure 3:

How Swara Works
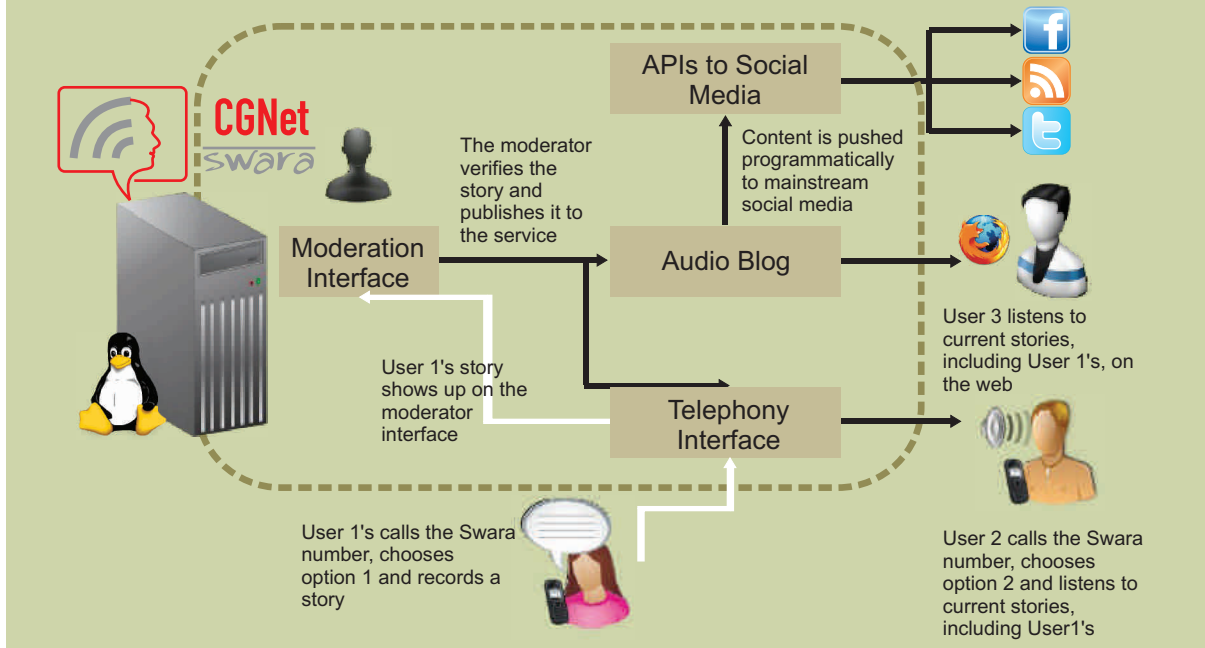
2.5.3 The Our Health - South Africa

The Our Health initiative in South Africa[24] resulted in some stories that sparked positive change in their communities such as the opening up of closed health facilities etc. The main aim of Our Health were to bring the health issues and challenges in some of the poorest, most margin areas of the country to lime light, get reports directly from the people who use public health facilities every day about their experiences and hold the district service-providers accountable for conditions and services at clinics and hospitals. The citizen journalists' stories enriched the overall content of the Health-e publication and reporting capability. These journalists were "on-the-ground" and have been able to report on what is happening in their local clinics and communities long before the news reaches more urban-based media centres.

The Our Health experience underscores the role of Citizen Journalism in bringing forth the ground realities especially from the areas and in subjects, which are left out by traditional media such as health issues of poor and marginalised populations being targeted in EVA-BHN.

2.5.4 The Live Streaming - Syria and Egypt

A study on Citizen Journalism in Syria and Egypt[25] investigated that how new media, and live streaming in particular, encouraged civic engagement and promoted social change and whether the convergence of citizen and traditional media could be seen as playing an important role in promoting an active citizenry and achieving social change. The study concluded that live streaming had an emotive appeal and appealed directly and in a more visceral fashion to the viewer than that of television news anchor persons. Citizen journalists in Egypt and Syria successfully employed live streaming applications to create

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[24] http://www.health-e.org.za
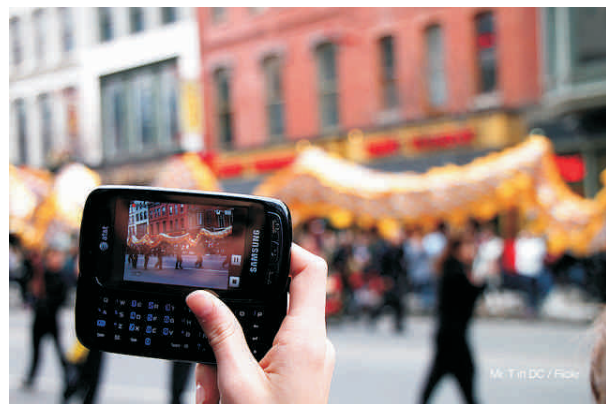
[25] Rebecca Bengtsson (2013), Action! Livestreaming as means of civic engagement: A case study of Citizen Journalism in Egypt and Syria.

support for social change in their societies and they took upon themselves the responsibility of informing their fellow citizens when information flow was being controlled by state. The key to success was the engagement and willingness of the people underscoring the fact that new technologies can be useful only when the populace use them in order to facilitate mobilisation and to spread and share information. The Syria and Egypt experience brings forth the realization that Citizen Journalism can be instrumental in bringing citizens together for social change such as being targeted in EVA-BHN.

2.5.5 CNN-IBN - India

Another case study is the Cable News Network-Indian Broadcasting Network (CNN-IBN), Cj.IBNLive[26]. The Indian television news channel CNN-IBN has been inviting photos and videos from citizens to be carried on its Citizen Journalism website Cj.IBNLive. A pen and a notebook, a camera phone and an internet connection are basic requirements for citizens to share their stories with the rest of the world. Citizen journalists have been reported to highlight the issues confronting them more than the issues that often hog the headlines in mainstream media. They particularly expose the indifference of authorities towards their plight. Citizen Journalism has been documented to give ordinary citizens a platform to draw attention to the issues concerning them. Lack of civic amenities, like roads, water and electricity, poor health services and deplorable condition of water bodies are among other concerns that compel them to participate in journalistic activities.

One of the updates depicting CJ impact was when an illegal encroachment was demolished after being reported by a citizen journalist, proving the case that Citizen Journalism can not only help highlight issues but bring change for better. The study recommends that the established news organisations, be it electronic, print or online, should take up Citizen Journalism initiatives as these can have more impact than less popular organisations, for the former are usually followed by a large number of people. But at the same time, the news organisations (like CNN-IBN) should implement gate-keeping for the Citizen Journalism content to filter offensive matter or that goes against journalistic ethics. Citizen journalists too should uphold journalistic ethics while reporting a situation. Viewing CNN-IBN experience with respect to EVA-BHN, we see that RMNCH and Nutrition issues are soft beats for traditional media in Pakistan and unfortunately fail to catch the camera lens. Citizen Journalism can help bring such issues to mainstream media headlines by providing an opportunity to those who are directly affected from poor service delivery. The partnership with established organisations in media though will be important.

2.5.6 Participatory Journalism- Brazil

An exploratory study about the public's role in participatory journalism in Brazil[27] provides some interesting observations about the caveats in Citizen Journalism. It observed that there is lack of readers' engagement with the materials and content produced through participatory journalism in Brazil and the portals were also not concerned about this aspect and used the material sent by collaborators as mere starting point for a process of investigation. This was regarded counter-productive as the practice of citizen journalism is deemed to turn "reader" into the protagonist of the news process, not only as actor in a supporting role. It is therefore imperative that in while implementing Citizen Journalism in EVA-BHN, the citizen journalists are not merely viewed as content contributors rather they need to be strategic stakeholders and the program is designed accordingly.

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[26] Rabia Noor, (2013), Citizen Journalism and cultural migration of media: A case study of Cj.IBNLive, Trends in Information Management (TRIM),ISSN: 0973-4163, 9(1), pp. 54-67.
[27] Dr. Elizabeth Saad Corrêa and Francisco Madureira, (2009)Citizen journalist or source of information: an exploratory study about the public's role in participatory journalism within leading Brazilian web portals

2.5.7 Community Newsrooms St.Louis

An evaluation study of Community Newsrooms in St. Louis[28] , provided recommendations about the factors that could facilitate the implementation of Citizen Journalism initiatives. Increasing the role of higher education, community and non-profit institutions, availability of appropriate media such as mobile phones, radio, public access cable and information sharing spaces to information providers, young people's involvement in developing the communication capacities of local communities and availability of at least one high-quality online hub were identified by study as some enabling factors for Citizen Journalism. The study concluded that the sites that have engaged their communities in multiple ways showed the most promise, Citizen Journalism was a high-churn, high-touch enterprise i.e. citizens became journalists for a short period of time.

It further recommended that youth media should be supplemental i.e. youth be secondary or tertiary, not primary, generators of content due to infrequent content generation by youth need for great supervision and that community radio as well as cable access television stations needed additional support and stable project leadership to deliver daily newscasts. The same study provided some measures of outputs of Citizen Journalism at different levels. Possible outputs suggested to include quantity and inclusion of quality of content placed online; quantity and quality of news stories by community members and journalism students; the amount of online traffic from the community; number of technical skills learned and applied from the project; level of use of mobile phones for information gathering and news alerts. The possible outcome measures include the community is able to solve problems and/or elevate community issues, the community gains digital/media literacy and community media production skills, the community acquires regular coverage that either never existed before or was, the community acquires regular coverage that either never existed before or was, at best, episodic, community gains political knowledge and empowers voters in new way. EVA-BHN can adapt these measures for measuring the Citizen Journalism effects in improving the citizen's capacity to demand for services in RMNCH and Nutrition.

2.5.8 Citizen Journalism and Traditional TV Journalism - Emirati Youth

A study titled "The Credibility of Citizen Journalism and Traditional TV Journalism among Emirati Youth: Comparative Study" investigated the issue of credibility of traditional TV journalism and Citizen Journalism[29]. The results of the study confirmed the high credibility of Citizen Journalism reporters compared to the credibility of traditional press reporters. Young Emiratis agreed attributed the credibility of traditional journalism to the experience and skills of correspondents and editors as well as to the depth of news coverage of feed through analysis, discussion and comment on the events. However, the sources of the credibility of citizen journalists were the lack of control in the news, and speed in reporting news along with objectivity.

2.5.9 Designing Social Media Strategies

An article on designing social media strategies provides some interesting concepts that can be helpful in designing the EVA-BHN Citizen Journalism[30]. The article presents a model of using social media and networks to develop 1) trusting, efficacious, and competent citizens, 2) trusted, responsive, legitimate government, and 3) supported policy, programs, and plan designs and implementation. It concludes that achieving a fore mentioned objectives would require cultivating included, informed, empowered and embedded citizens. Adversarial engagement defined as using the social media space for providing equal opportunity, without censorship, to all positions and interests on an issue should help produce the included citizen, whereby every individual should feel as though his or her voice was expressed or at least had a fair opportunity to be expressed. Informed citizens can be cultivated through information exchange, empowerment of citizens would require collaborative engagement defined as using the social media space to provide stakeholders and citizens with an equal opportunity to contribute ideas, raise questions, and have project leaders, policy makers, and others respond to those ideas and

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[28] Colin Rhinesmith, Martin Wolske, and Adam Kehoe, (2011), Measuring the Impact of Citizen Journalism: A Study of Community Newsrooms in North Champaign and East St. Louis, Illinois.
[29] Hebatalla El Semary et al, (2013), The Credibility of Citizen Journalism and Traditional TV Journalism among Emirati Youth: Comparative Study, American International Journal of Contemporary Research Vol. 3 No. 11; November 2013
[30] Thomas A. Bryer

questions. Embedded citizens are those who maintain memberships and affiliations with a range of groups and organisations, including fraternal associations, faith-based organisations, and policy/interest/pressure groups.

2.5.10 Monitor de corrupcion- Bogota (Colombia)

Crowdsourcing through maps has been a strategy used in a couple of Citizen Journalism initiatives in Bogota, Colombia. One project, *Monitor de corrupcion*, uses journalist and citizen reported incidents of corruption and maps them in order to identify trends in geography. The map also allows one to monitor patterns in the types of incidents that occur. The other, *Pilas Bogota*, maps citizen-reported crime incidents that occur in Bogota. *Pilas Bogota* is supported in partnership with El Tiempo, one of the largest mainstream Colombia news organisations. El Tiempo journalists review the crime maps to help inform more in-depth reporting of crime in the city. Both of these projects, *Monitor de corrupcion* and *Pilas Bogota*, use the open-source software, Ushahidi (Monitor de corrupcion/Pilas Bogota).

3 Citizen Journalism in Pakistan

From the history and experience of Citizen Journalism we see that it is not a stand alone concept rather is intertwined with the existing media forms in different ways and means. Citizen Journalism can include letters to editor, live streaming, facebook and twitter posts, posting different news on social media, using independent as well as conventional media organised social media websites etc. and is implicated with the availability of different infrastructure as well as non material instruments such as legal instruments, literacy etc. in a society. It is therefore imperative that existing media milieu as well as the status of health reporting in the country is briefly studied before discussing on the propects and possibilities of applying Citizen Journalism in Pakistan.
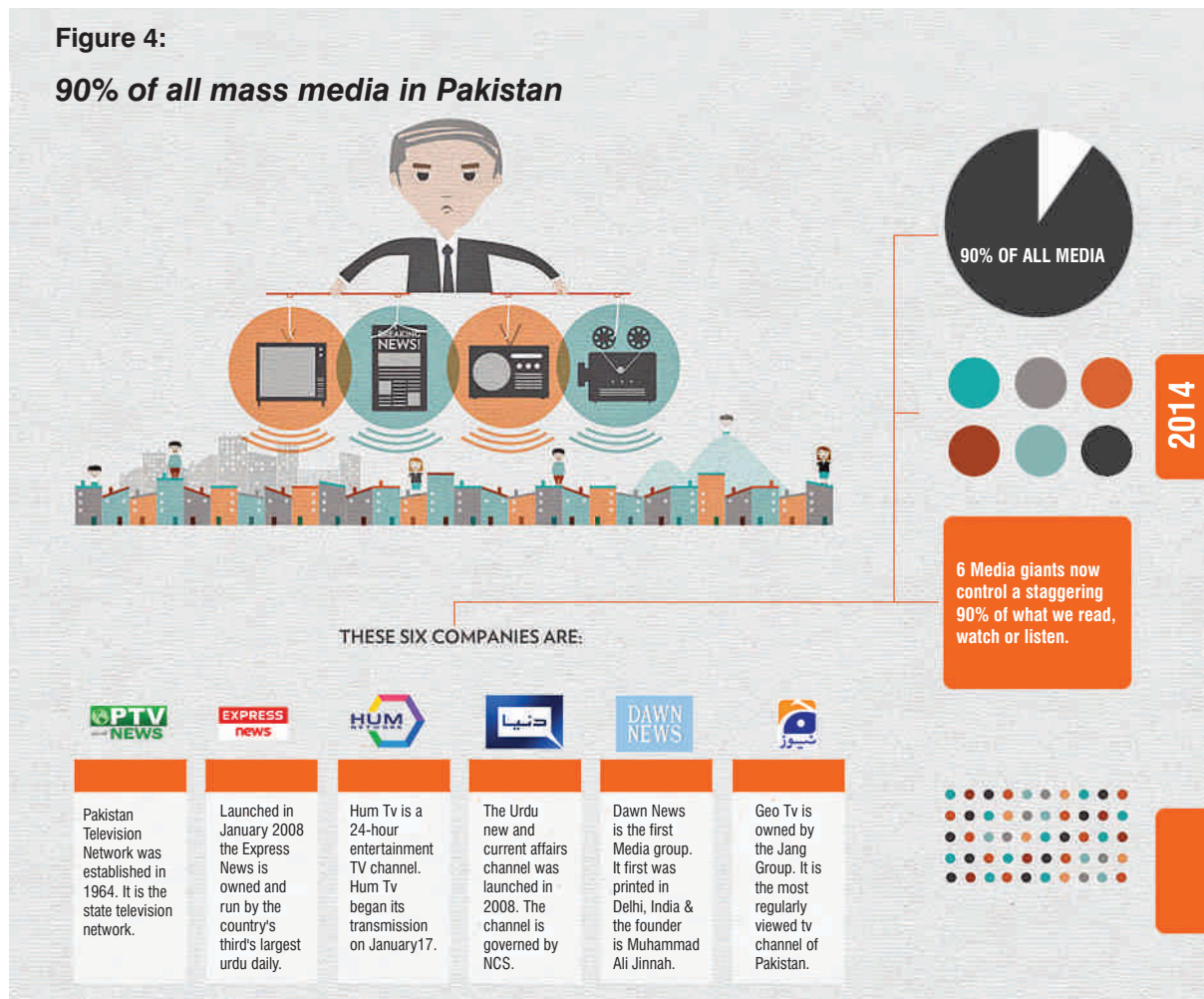
3.1 Evolution of Media

In Pakistan, broadcast and print media have followed different evolutionary trajectories. Pakistan's print media predates the creation of a separate homeland and has ever since existed as a privately owned entity, where individuals responsible for running these media houses were professionals with journalistic background. The set-up for a more advanced form of media broadcast media was established much later in 1964, under the banner of the national broadcasting corporation, Pakistan Television Network (PTV). Until 2002, the state had the complete monopoly over the electronic airwaves, including radio broadcasting. It was only during the time of General Pervez Musharraf (1999 – 2008) that the broadcast media was unlocked and opened up to the private sector. As the result, by the time the next government took over the reins of the country, there was already a burgeoning media environment.

Today, mass media in Pakistan has come to hold enormous sway in Pakistan for which it is termed by some as the fourth pillar of the state. It has undergone tremendous growth in terms of increase in number of media outlets, its quality and outreach. Print-media today consists of a variety of publications, which range from large English and Urdu dailies and weeklies, to small regional language newspapers. Similarly, the number of television channels has witnessed staggering growth. There were just two state-run television channels a decade back. Today, there are more than 50 privately owned channels added to

the broadcast media entourage. Out of the total of fifty-plus channels, twenty channels are devoted exclusively to news reporting.

The traditional media, especially television, in Pakistan has become extremely influential in terms of its ability to set national discourse. The latest Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (PDHS) released this year has also found that "Television is the most important source of media for women and men in Pakistan, with more than two in five accessing it at least once "Though radio listenership and popularity in rural areas of Pakistan has been in consistent decline since long, it has resurfaced in urban centres through various FM channels catering to the middle-class. According to PDHS, almost half of the surveyed women are exposed to messages on television as compared to only 2.6% who listens to radio at least once a week. Internet usage in general and use of social media sites in particular, on the other hand, are on the rise across the spectrum and extremely popular among youth and office workers. Cellular phone penetration among adult population is also near universal, however use of value-added services and of smartphones is still limited.[31]

Although in this new age of satellite advances the importance of print media has diminished somewhat, national and international broadcast networks not only offer news in real time, but also give instantaneous analysis of breaking stories. However, the strength of print media lies in its ability to provide readers with thoughtful, well-written, and comprehensive news analysis, commentaries and

Figure 4:

90% of all mass media in Pakistan

90% OF ALL MEDIA

2014

6 Media giants now control a staggering 90% of what we read, watch or listen.

THESE SIX COMPANIES ARE:

PTV NEWS	EXPRESS news	HUM	دنیا	DAWN NEWS	Geo نیوز
Pakistan Television Network was established in 1964. It is the state television network.	Launched in January 2008 the Express News is owned and run by the country's third's largest urdu daily.	Hum Tv is a 24-hour entertainment TV channel. Hum Tv began its transmission on January17.	The Urdu new and current affairs channel was launched in 2008. The channel is governed by NCS.	Dawn News is the first Media group. It first was printed in Delhi, India & the founder is Muhammad Ali Jinnah.	Geo Tv is owned by the Jang Group. It is the most regularly viewed tv channel of Pakistan.

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[31] On the influence and growth of electronic media, see: Ali, Z., Jan, M. and Bukhari, S. Q., "Role of Electronic Media in Changing Value System in Pakistan," *The International Asian Research Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2013): 59-65; on surge in new media; see: Culture360.org, *New Media in Pakistan* (Singapore: Asia Europe Foundation, 2011)

articles. So, while the broadcast media is seen to be taking a more sensationalised and commercial-oriented approach to news reporting in Pakistan, the print media is still regarded as providing objective and in-depth analysis. In Pakistan media has come to command unequivocal power. Until recently, policy makers and media houses have neglected the role of media as a change agent; therefore focus has solely been on delivering timely news and entertaining the masses.

Media research scholarship advances the view that the political power of television journalism and related media is mainly embedded in their intertwined functions of news framing and political-agenda setting. Framing, in particular, is crucial in influencing public opinion and political communication. Media, print and broadcast alike, is a public space and its use solely in the interest of its keepers is not justified. The media houses will vouch for public interest but there is no guarantee that their perception of public interest will stand objective scrutiny or even is in accord with the people's understanding of public interest. This makes the use of Citizen Journalism extremely crucial to the case of Pakistan, as media would require shifting from their traditional role of news framing to collating voices from rights-holder and holding duty-bearers accountable. Thus, owing to its role and influence, Pakistani media has a definite responsibility for which it should be held to account. We now briefly take stock of current media milieu in Pakistan.

3.2 Print Media in Pakistan

The official figures from the Pakistan Federal Bureau of Statistics estimate literacy rate in 2007-08 to be 56%. These figures reveal the limited scope of print media in Pakistan's context, also considering the circulation of major newspapers is little less than 10 million in a country of almost 200 million. A report by International Media Support (IMS) indicates that in 1997 the total number of daily, monthly and minor publications in Pakistan was 4,455 but by 2003 only 945 remain. During the same period, however, the circulation of print media publications increased to a daily distribution of 6.2 million. Nevertheless, the print media remains a key vehicle to effectively reach to country's intelligentsia, politicians and the civil society.

A report published by Gallup in 2004-05, looks at the readership trends among the Pakistani population. The aim of the report was to provide a quick and efficient tool to media planners for allocating their print media budgets. Based on the report's findings, the top five Urdu newspaper publications in Pakistan's readership market include *Jang*, followed by *Nawa-i-waqt*, Daily *Khabrain*, Daily Pakistan and Daily Express. In terms of Pakistan's leading English Dailies, Daily Dawn heads the readership share of the market closely followed by The News. With the advent of information technology and increase access to Internet services, print media is rapidly transforming and diversifying its outlook in Pakistan. Most of the urban population, having access to Internet, now reads newspaper through Internet and almost all major newspapers in Pakistan now have e-papers and presence on social media sites.[32] This has actually multiplied newspaper readership by increasing access to potential readers, who otherwise could not be catered through printed newspapers.
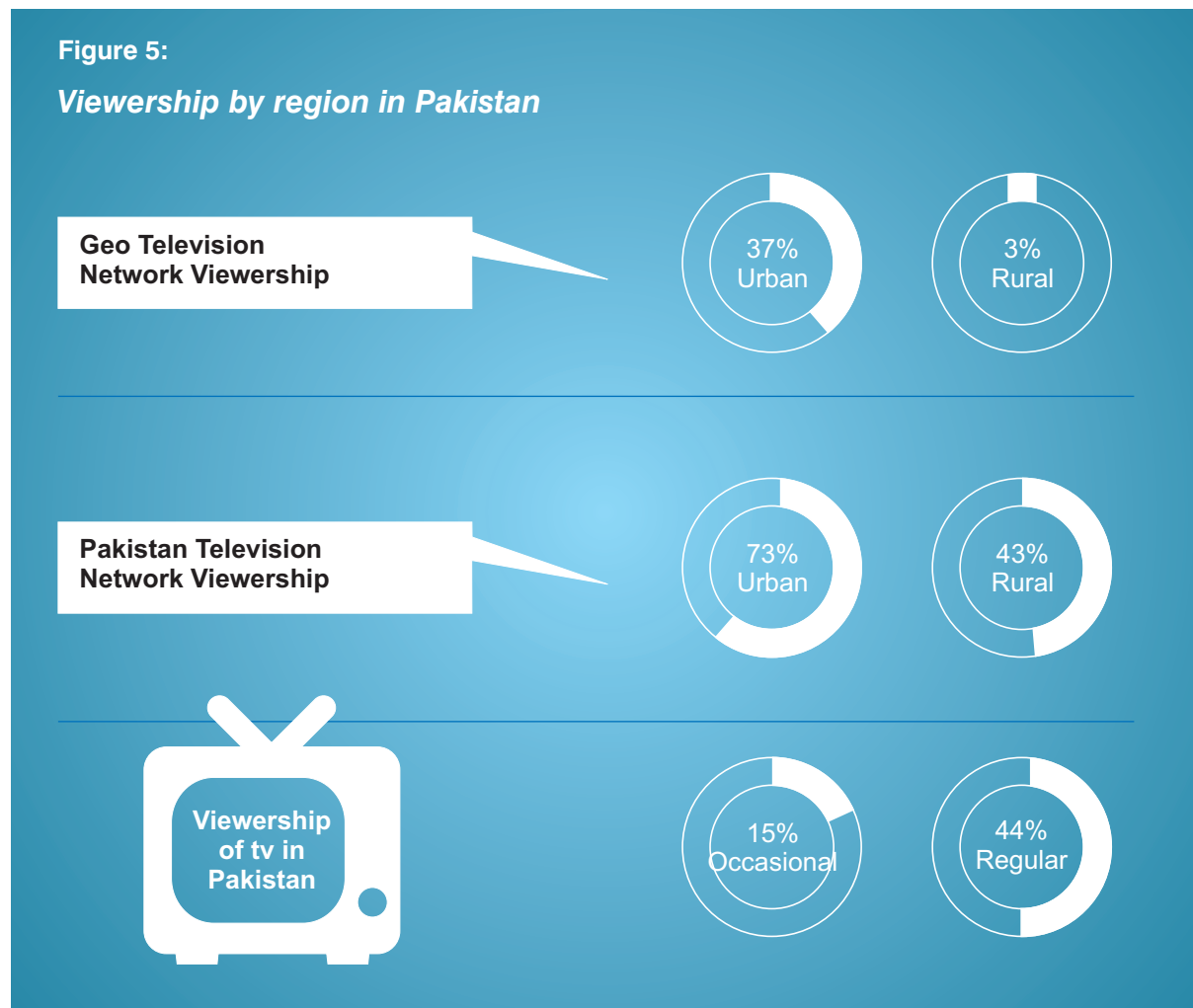
3.3 Broadcast Media

Since its privatisation, television that was already a household/family member now offers taste of global news, entertainment and cultures at a price in some places as low as Rupees 100 to 150 per month. There are hundreds of local and international channels now offered in a 'bouquet'. It is estimated that almost 60% of Pakistan's population are TV viewers; up to 62.8 million viewers. Television viewership trends also indicate that:

- Among the total viewership of 59%, 44% viewers are regular and 15% are occasional viewers.

- The penetration of television among urban viewers stands at over 28 million while it is around 35 million in rural areas.

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[32] On the emerging trends in print media, see: Nasir, M., "Changing Trends in Print Media of Pakistan," *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2012): 523-531

- It is also estimated that approximately 30% of TV viewers watch cable and satellite TV regularly or occasionally.

- Pakistan Television Network (PTV) has the largest viewership base, 73% in urban and 43% in rural.

- Among cable television channels, GEO TV, a channel that comes under Jang Group has the most viewership, (37% in urban and 3% in rural areas), followed by ARY network.

The sheer scale of media viewership and its popularity among the population gives the media unrivalled power to influence public opinion positively - and all too often, to spread negative conspiracy theories as well.

Figure 5:

Viewership by region in Pakistan

Geo Television Network Viewership

37% Urban

3% Rural

Pakistan Television Network Viewership

73% Urban

43% Rural

Viewership of tv in Pakistan

15% Occasional

44% Regular

3.4 Social Media

Social media in Pakistan is managed and populated by a mainly urban, well-educated, English-medium-schooled population. Urdu, until very recently, could only be written in roman script online. The politicisation of social media increased during the lawyers' movement, five years ago; protestors used text messages, twitter, and facebook to communicate with each other, circumvent police blockades, organise meetings, join judiciary's protests, and gather outside police stations holding fellow protestors. However, since the segment of society wielding keypads and keyboards are largely urban, young and from middle-class, the content and concerns discussed in Pakistani social media have a significant urban middle-class bias. Social media is an excellent addition to the fourth pillar of society, but at present

it still tends to be exclusive and not accessible by all. A report by Norwegian Peace Building Resource Center on social media in Pakistan identifies five ways through which this particular form of media is acting as social tool. It is breaking into or giving greater attention to stories ignored by traditional media; playing a mobilisation role by disseminating information about protests and other social campaigns; promoting humanitarian efforts by coordinating and advertising initiatives; serving as advocates for social causes; and stimulating communication between politicians and their constituents.[33]

Figure 6:

Internet users in Pakistan

Pakistan 10.9% of the population (2013
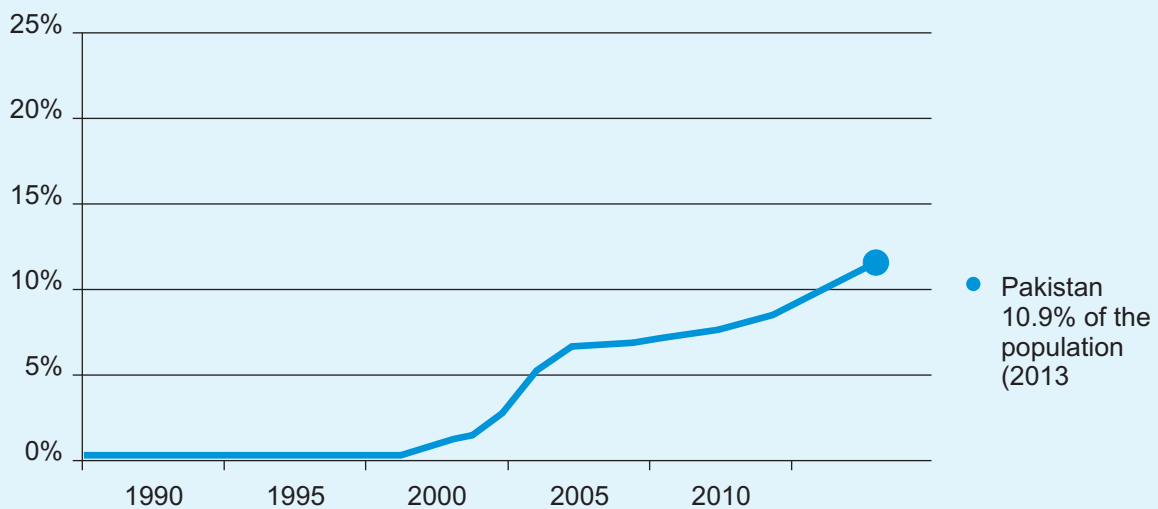
Sources include: world Bank

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[33] Kugelman, M., *Social Media in Pakistan: Catalyst for Communication, Not Change*, NOREF Report, August 2012

4 Status of Health Reporting in Pakistan

Given the tumultuous history of the country and seemingly endless string of geopolitical crisis, the national focus has for long been the present, overlooking long-term challenges, which include foregoing analysis and reporting on social issues in general and on the subject of health in particular. This has also been true in the case of media; the over all reporting trend in the media, especially broadcast media, illustrates that media in Pakistan is "event-driven" rather than "issue-driven". A content review of major national dailies shows that political commentary and analysis constitute almost 70% of the total space. Health and its related sub topics e.g. family planning and reproductive health, on the other hand is usually associated with a special day, high profile event or any comments made by a prominent personality on a health related issue thereby lacking in consistency. In addition, there is little tradition of doing features or follow up stories on such issues.

The little space family planning had acquired in the past, courtesy of social marketing campaigns, has been lost to advertisements of multinationals companies. The conventional role of the media is to inform, educate and entertain. In today's world, media is used to shape public opinion that in turn makes it an agent of building national consensus. Going by this rationale, the media has a key role and responsibility to play in a country's development. The media is also a communication channel between the common man and decision makers—a function it can best perform by highlighting problems faced by citizens and bringing them to the notice of political leaders.

4.1 The Compelling Case for Citizen Journalism in Pakistan

Based on Pakistan's media milieu and the state of health reporting, Citizen Journalism is an approach that is poised to fill gaps in health reporting and illuminate important health system failures. There are a variety of potential advantages of Citizen Journalism in Pakistan.

- *Higher priority for health journalism.* Politics and terrorism are the news stories that dominate journalistic reporting and issues like health fall low in the priority of the news media (Center for Communication Programmes Pakistan, 2012). Part of the problem is the gate keeping in media that does not allow space for public issues such as lack of health services etc. stories availability on issues such as health. Citizen Journalism can help push health stories across the media spheres.

- *Provide local data and personal stories to support health reporting.* A lack of robust local health data and personal case studies to tell the story of health issues are challenges to reporting. Citizens could help bridge both of these challenges by helping to provide information on local or regional health issues and figurative data through personal stories.

- *Overcome challenges of high illiteracy rate.* With a high proportion of rural population and challenges of illiteracy, many Pakistani viewpoints and angles may not be fairly represented in the media. Citizen Journalism provides a potential avenue, if facilitated correctly, to reach these populations and to enable their voices to be heard.

- *Pressurize for follow-up of health news stories.* In the race of eyeballs and rating, firstly health stories do not get reported, and if these do catch eye of camera these are often not given proper

follow-up (Center for Communication Programmes Pakistan, 2012). Citizen Journalism can help support follow-up of health reporting by building pressure on traditional media for following up on health stories.

- *Drive issue-driven health reporting.* Pakistan media is strongly event-driven rather than issue-driven. Citizen journalists can help drive more issue-driven reporting by providing a voice that is representative of continuous issues.

- *Raise health development issues in Pakistan to an international scale.* Citizen journalist efforts can provide content that cannot only be impactful at a national level but could be picked up by international media organisations.

4.2. Best Practices Themes

In the reviewed Citizen Journalism programs the following best practices themes emerged as insights with their potential application to future interventions.

4.2.1 Multimedia storytelling

The nature of new media is that what were once distinct platforms for written, visual, and audio media are being fused into multimedia storytelling. PakVote[34] is a Citizen Journalism platform that was created for the 2013 elections in Pakistan. The reporting platform involves multimedia components hosted on a website. Citizens can contribute relevant news, pictures and photos to the site, which are moderated and posted anonymously. Participation was encouraged through this shield of anonymity, as all posts were not attributed to the contributor's name. The platform was instrumental in highlighting several misconducts observed during the 2013 elections, such as baring women from voting in certain polling stations, which was later picked up by the mainstream media and came into the notice of the Election Commission of Pakistan. This particular example has huge relevance to the project as it not only shows the importance of citizens-generated contents but also how issues remained uncovered by the mainstream media were brought to limelight.

4.2.2 Paiwandgah

A similar platform, Paiwandgah, was created in Afghanistan for the 2014 elections demonstrating the robustness of this type of citizen reporting in the political process. Citizen journalists could submit text or photos related to the Afghan election, which are linked to an interactive map on the Paiwandgah website. An Afghanistan digital media services company supports the interactive website and photo and Twitter feeds (Paiwandgah)[35].

4.2.3 Organisational Partnerships

Citizen Journalism platforms that have sustained over a period of time and lived beyond their initial purpose for existence, in general, seem to be supported by a network of partnerships whether they are domestic or international. Without support from a professional moderator, grassroots Citizen Journalism activities can fizzle out. While playing an instrumental reporting role in the 2010 Pakistan floods, the Pakistan Citizen Journalism platform, citizen eye, is no longer currently active.

Hosh Media, was another Citizen Journalism project in Pakistan, which achieved initial success but was not ultimately sustainable. Journalist who founded Hosh Media cited lack of available financial remuneration for active citizen reporters and reluctance to accept foreign grant money with cocerns that her independent and objective reputation as a journalist would be harmed (Hosh Media)[36]

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[34] www.pakvotes.com
[35] paiwandgah.af/en/about-paiwandgah/
[36] www.hoshmedia.org

Global Voices is a reporting platform accessible to citizen journalists from a variety of countries. From Pakistan, nineteen citizen journalists are contributing to this news site (Global Voices) [37] . Similar to the leverage and international scale of Global Voices, is the organisation called "On Our Radar." This UK-based organisation accepts SMS text messages from citizens in a variety of developing countries and edits, verifies, and curates them for mainstream international media outlets (On Our Radar) [38].

To address the issue of sustainable funding support for Citizen Journalism platforms, a new business model of Citizen Journalism is being explored in Malaysia through the Citizen Journalism site, Malaysiakini. A network of 144 citizen journalists contributes stories through 30 hyper-local sites. By using online "tags" and a strategy to attract local advertisements, web traffic to these sites increased and profitability was achieved (Malaysiakini-Malaysia). In such models, rather than relying solely on citizens-generated contents individual are identified and appointed in their respective communities with some level of training to act as citizen journalists. Their submissions are evaluated and reported with maintaining certain quality standards by professional journalists and news editors. For the project, this model has obvious appeal with its potential to generate certain level of quality content from concerned communities and on relevant issues.

4.2.4 Participation Through Anonymity
For sensitive or politicised topics, submitting reports anonymously can encourage participation in citizen reporting especially in rural areas where speaking out against government policies or raising an unpopular opinion are the barrier to participation among citizens stemming from being targeted by opposing violent forces. The PakVotes Citizen Journalism reporting programme moderates all submitted content and anonymously publishes selected content.

Malala Yousafzai, a Pakistani teenager from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's Swat district contributed descriptive diary stories to a BBC blog anonymously. Her identity was discovered regardless and she was violently attacked by extremist groups. This example illustrates that protection of anonymity can be critical for Citizen Journalism efforts, especially for women and girls living in conflict areas in Pakistan. This would remain be one of the major considerations when Citizen Journalism strategy is devised.

4.2.5 Community Dialogue and Crowdsourcing
Citizen Journalism efforts can support an enabling environment to start discussing issues that carry social taboos or stigmas. In Malawi, the radio broadcast "CheniCheniNchiti" uses reality-programing to tell the stories of citizens living with HIV/AIDS. Citizen journalists are trained in basic audio recording and are instructed to record stories from people in their communities about living with HIV. These stories are edited and compiled to fit 30-minute magazine radio shows that air three times per week. Extra recordings that did not make the cut for the edited radio show are provided to other radio stations free of charge for distribution (CheniCheniNChiti-Malawi Radio Programme). Alternatively, issues that do not feature high on media reporting can be moved a few ladders up on the public discourse with the use of Citizen Journalism. Not only can Citizen Journalism support community dialogue, it can also be a way to crowd source news reporting in order to present a more complete story of the situation. An example is the Pakistan Citizen Journalism blog, Citizen's Eye, which was influential in reporting about the 2010 floods in Pakistan. Mainstream Pakistani media sources turned to the citizen journalist website to identity citizens who could serve as eyewitness accounts in hard-hit areas.

4.2.6 Building Capacity of Citizens for Citizen Journalism
Based on the potentially powerful premise that Citizen Journalism represents, several projects have engaged in activities that build the capacity of citizens to participate in Citizen Journalism:

  ■ The Center for International Private Enterprise in Pakistan hosted blogger training workshops to encourage citizens to create and publish their own blogs as well as use social media. forty three participants attended the blog training, which was documented through the Twitter hashtag, #PakBloggers. As a result, the trained bloggers published blogs on education, women's issues,

[37] globalvoicesonline.org
[38] www.onourradar.org

and private enterprise. In addition, the Center hosted blogging trainings for forty seven Karachi university students and twenty eight Islamabad university students. These activities were supported through a couple of Twitter conversations, which accumulated 2,000 messages and included 300 participants under the hashtag, #YouthChange (CIPE-Pakistan).

■ In Egypt, the International Center for Journalists, ran a programme entitled, "Margins No More: A Multimedia News Programme to Empower Egyptian Women and Youth". This programme hosted a Citizen Journalism training workshop over a period of eleven months. Through the workshop seventy four young men and women were trained in written journalistic skills, journalistic ethics and values, e-journalism skills, and blogging and social networking sites. Professional journalists led some of the trainings and mentored the citizen journalists. They also supported the placement of citizen reporting in mainstream media outlets. (On the Margins No More: A Multimedia News Programme to Empower Egyptian Women and Youth).

■ To address accessibility to the internet for common forms of Citizen Journalism that are found today, an activity of the Afghanistan Media Development and Empowerment Project was to create multimedia centers offering free internet use. Four of these centers were established in different communities in Afghanistan and received 25,000 individual visits over the course of eleven months. Each centre is staffed by a manager, IT officer and a male and female trainer, who teach courses on blogging, digital photography, videography, audio recording, and using facebook (USAID Afghanistan Media Development and Empowerment Project).

4.2.7 Citizen Journalism as a Source for Mainstream Media
Well-curated or professionally moderated citizen reporting can be distributed to other news platforms. There is receptivity among some Pakistani major news organisations for contributions from citizen journalists.

The Dawn, Pakistan's leading English daily newspaper, accepts citizen news reports in written or visual form, the paper encourages citizens to submit their work: "This is your chance to share your thoughts with the whole world. This is your public platform to highlight neglected issues and news items which you feel do not receive adequate exposure" (Dawn News Citizen Journalists).

Citizen Journalism can be a powerful platform not only to influence local change but also to illuminate issues to an international community. The social media activism which took place as part of the Arab Uprisings in many parts of the MENA region and Malala Yousafzai's fame as a girl's education activist are only two examples of prominent Citizen Journalism activities that have reached international awareness. These types of citizen reporting point to the potential influence and awareness raising possibilities of engaging citizens in journalism.

In countries that have significantly populated rural areas, any type of media reports on issues from these areas face several delays in reaching the screen owing to infrastructural issues, lack of reporters etc. If some reports however succeed in reaching the editor's table, by that time the story does not remain fresh enough to be reported. Both CGNet Swara in India and Indonesia's Ruai TV's Citizen Journalism project use open source software to receive reports from mobile phones. Indonesian citizen journalists report problems, complaints, or other news through text messages, which are vetted by professional journalists at Ruai TV then fed into a TV news ticker. This service allows not only the reports to be received by Ruai TV journalists but by government officials, NGO workers, or other media representatives (Ruai TV Citizen Journalism-Indonesia).

CGNet Swara works through a similar process except that citizen reports are in audio format that are vetted and posted to a website. CGNet Swara has the potential to be replicated in Pakistan as this Citizen Journalism strategy has overcome challenges of rural living, sensitive socio-political issues and illiteracy in accessing citizen voices. CGNet Swara demonstrates the use of several key best practices such as using open source technology, developing and maintaining organisational partnerships, and using basic mobile phone technology.

5 Conclusion and Recommendations

Citizen Journalism is an important intervention for strengthening social accountability in governance especially for the issues that do not tend to have patronage of the political elite and pertains to those that concern with excluded, marginalised and disfranchised population groups owing to sociocultural and geographical factors. This can come handy in contributing to the different outputs of EVA targeting the capacity enhancement of citizens to create demand for health services and participate in the process of their empowerment.

- Citizen Journalism can contribute to framing and agenda setting for the issues like health through direct participation of citizens in raising their voices for themselves by increasing the reporting on the subject, bringing more objectivity, cutting down the time of travel of a story from field to airwaves, reporting of on ground issues, building pressure on conventional media to change its course of action in the favour of the popular issues. It can come handy with other advocacy efforts of EVA-BHN especially under its media advocacy component whereby the Citizen Journalism can help appropriate the content and amplify the core messages

- Besides valuable additions to media content and improving media role in social accountability, Citizen Journalism is instrumental in bringing communities together and empowering them for playing an active role in their development process. Experience shows that Citizen Journalism can play an effective role in bringing citizens together which can be a facilitator in generating One Voice for improved RMNCH and Nutrition services being targeted in EVA-BHN.

- Citizen Journalism is instrumental in addressing the issue of lack of reporting on the issues of poor and marginalised such as health and nutrition situation in rural poor communities especially related to women and children. Citizen's awareness, greater political participation and a greater demand for accountability and transparency from those that govern are some of the empowering effects of Citizen Journalism. These effects can be ingredients of the citizen empowerment for their increased to drive changes in RMNCH services by helping galvanize the social capital which can facilitate the success of other interventions in the project such as community support groups, districts advocacy forums, listeners clubs etc.

- Citizen Journalism has been documented to give ordinary citizens a platform to draw attention to the issues concerning them. Lack of civic amenities, like roads, water and electricity, poor health services and deplorable condition of water bodies are among other concerns that compel them participate in journalistic activities. Citizen Journalism will provide a forum to bring to fore the health and nutrition issues of EVA-BHN targeted communities in specific and the plight of other such segments of population in general.

- Citizen journalists are citizens who actively collect, report, analyse and disseminate different news and information through various forms of media. These include internet based methods such as email, blogs, social media sites, dedicated websites, community webpages, facebook pages, blogs, and Twitter feeds and live streaming (mobile videos through internet). Mobiles hold a particular promise due to partly supporting voice, pictorial and video communication. It will be useful that multiple modes of communication are employed for Citizen Journalism in EVA-BHN to have maximum participation. Male youth tends to participate more into Citizen Journalism. Citizens tend to participate in Citizen Journalism without monetary benefits. The enabling legal environment however is helpful key pre-requisite for participation of citizens in journalism. The Freedom of Information Act can provide a legal ground for Citizen Journalism in EVA- BHN.

- The fusion of Citizen Journalism with the traditional media can create a synergy that can also help address the gaps in traditional media especially in creating demand for accountability and transparency in soft beats such as health. Fortunately, the availability of numerous media outlets in Pakistan presents several opportunities to EVA-BHN for building such relationship with the mainstream media not only for the direct effects of Citizen Journalism in the form of coverage of the related issues, citizens empowerment etc but also in triggering a demand in mainstream media for giving space to the issues such as health and nutrition of poor and marginalised women which have been previously overlooked in the race of ratings and eye balls.

- An important factor in the success of Citizen Journalism is the engagement and willingness of the people underscoring the fact that new technologies can be useful only when the populace use them in order to facilitate mobilisation and to spread and share information. It will therefore be helpful that citizens are viewed as important stakeholder rather than contributor to content and the Citizen Journalism campaign is augmented by demand creation for Citizen Journalism.

- MNCH & Nutrition issues are soft beats for traditional media in Pakistan and traditionally fail to catch the camera lens. Citizen Journalism can help bring such issues to mainstream media headlines by providing an opportunity to those who are directly affected from poor services delivery. The partnership with established organisations in media though will be important.

- Other institutions and civil society organisations can play an important role in success of Citizen Journalism. The forums in EVA such as district advocacy forums and community support groups and even involvement of civil society organisations through Health and Innovation Fund (HANIF) can play an important role in strengthening Citizen Journalism campaign by informing and motivating communities for participating in Citizen Journalism activities.

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