A Study on the integration of UGC in broadcast journalism: An evidence from Bangladesh

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Abstract

Digital convergence put a huge challenges for broadcast media in terms of integrating user generated content (UGC). Keeping this in mind, objective of the study is to explore the factors that affecting UGC’s integration in Broadcast channel from developing countries’ perspective. We explored how and why UGC are appearing in Bangladeshi Television news. In-depth interview was used and news editorial level staffs were selected from leading Bangladeshi television channels. Findings suggest that, state interventions in crisis events and lack of experiences to handle crisis reporting played a crucial role to incorporate UGC in television news bulletins. One of the significant findings is that, mere traditional guidelines and work policy of the media houses will not be enough to handle user generated content as well as citizen’s participation in news media. Thus, we recommend to formulate a comprehensive user generated content integration policy in the context of Bangladesh.

Key Words: UGC, Verification of truth, Citizen journalist, Broadcast journalism, Bangladesh

1. Introduction

The advent of internet has triggered an existential crisis in traditional journalism. Some scholars believe that the internet works as a liberating force for news production, enabling citizens to become journalists and subverting the problematic authority of existing news organizations. Others see the rise of citizen's...
participation in news reporting process as a looming threat to the long-established standards of good journalism, emphasizing opinionated commentary over rigorous information gathering and truth verification process [1]. The effect of technologies such as Twitter and UGC (User generated content) on journalism practice heralds a “historically significant transformation in the way journalists work and think” [2]. By the virtue of internet, digital convergence in the traditional news room becomes an obvious issue that has been addressed by the news manager and as an immediate consequence mainstream journalism is experiencing the participatory quality to news production and distribution, which used to be dominated by professional journalists. Citizens, far from being a passive audience, share information and emotion and demonstrate that they are now a part of unfolding events [3]. As Jenkins viewed the current trend as convergence culture in which established media organizations and users interact in the production, distribution, and consumption of news [4]. Thus, the emergence of the citizen journalist in a form of UGC and impact of social media technologies raises significant research questions for journalists, information professionals and scholars. The experience of Arab spring made it clear that the citizen’s participation in journalism practice could pose a huge challenges for the main stream news organizations, in addition it re-establishes the democratization of media practice that is associated with the proliferation of ICTs. Despite this positive move, we can see the relationship between users and the media organizations is still very complicated in many parts of the globe. Bangladesh, a country consists of 160 million population, moving forward in term of economic indicators since 2009, simultaneously the country is experiencing a new communication environment in which television is playing an increasingly important role through news [5]. It seems that more empirical evidence on how TV news organizations are negotiating with the contents that produced by the non-professional and armature citizens in the context of developing countries like Bangladesh is required to know as it will be helpful to understand the South Asian recent journalistic approach in the era of digital convergence. Considering this context, current study has attempted to examine the role of the citizen in news making process, particularly in the case of Gulshan Attack (2016) and BDR carnage (2009), how Bangladeshi broadcast media incorporated user generated content (UGC) in their news production process and what are the lessons they learnt from it.

2. Literature review

Several studies have tried to understand the role of the UGC (user generated content) in the context of crisis reporting, because of the nature of information users produce, put a real challenge of information verification for mainstream media. Vis. F (2011), pointed that in a situation where news organization have no choice but to gather information from citizen reporter due to the embargo on live coverage or breaking news which demands instant coverage, in that case the content should be handled very delicately [6]. As user generated content are showing some opportunities for traditional journalism at the same time it is bringing some potential risks. Lee’s study (2016) found that most concerned issues for news organizations while using user generated content is accuracy. “The risks of sourcing or redistributing false information from social media without sufficient fact verification were the most frequently raised topic” [7]. Zelizer describes (2004), facts, truth and reality are the “god terms” in journalism. As a profession, journalists have established their jurisdictional authority to claim them as truth teller [8]. The discipline of verification as the core power of this claim which clearly distinguishes journalism from other form of communication. Through the discipline of verification, journalists determine the truth, accuracy, or validity of news events, establishing jurisdiction over the ability to objectively parse reality.
to claim a special kind of authority and status [9]. User’s participation in news making process through instant online dissemination of video clips, photo or tweeting challenges the ideology of traditional journalism [10]. The development of social networks for real-time news and information, and the integration of user generated content in the news media, creates tensions for a profession that based on a discipline of verification [11].

Kovach and Rosenstiel outlined the traits or values that contribute to the professional self-definition, declaring the discipline of verification as “the essence of journalism” [12]. Discussing professional identity, Singer (2003) highlights how one of the most widely recognized codes of journalism ethics in the United States urges journalists to seek to report the truth fairly and honestly [13]. It is hardly surprising, then, that journalism has “a preoccupation with something called ‘truth’” [14], with a duty to collect and certify the accuracy of information. The practice of verification bestows journalistic communication with its credibility and believability. The acceleration of the news cycle and proliferation of news and information has raised concerns about the erosion of the discipline of verification, and by implication, the professional legitimacy of journalism.

Citizen participation in media are not a new phenomenon. Historically, at the eve of 21st century mainstream media had open their gate to welcome citizen’s participation in considering the democratic potential in news making process [15]. The urge of participation and interaction cemented the ground of alternative media in the second half of 20th century that challenge the authority of traditional mass media. In 1983, for the first time Denis McQuail theoretically shed light on the concept of the “alternative, grass-roots media that expressed and looked after the needs of citizens” [16]. Though, the literature on participatory online media has primarily focused on the weblog phenomenon and collaborative online news sites, including Indymedia, OhmyNews, Slashdot, Wikinews [17] but in recent years practice has been shifted, traditional media, and newspapers and Television in particular, currently experimenting the potential of participatory forms of content production which could probably open a new opportunity for them to tell their story in a new way.

Though, defining citizen journalism is very difficult but from their practice it can be said that those who are not formally trained but even though they are taking part in news gathering and publishing process can be considered as citizen journalist. Their primary tools for spreading the contents are Youtube, Twitter, Facebook and Blog. So far, the research on citizen journalism primarily focused on the emergence of citizen’s participation as an alternative to professional journalism rather than on the synergy between both but recently, however, researchers have started to pay more attention on how mainstream media are adopting user generated content in the process of news production. Hermida and Thurman (2007), observed a ‘progressive adoption’ of user generated content by mainstream news organisations, and found that the professional newsrooms appear to be rather reluctant and cautious to open up most of the news production process to the active involvement of citizens [18]. Because still the fact verification process of citizen journalist is under questions. Though in some cases in particular crisis event citizen journalists are able to get news out faster than mainstream media, and with more images and video. However, they made more mistakes than mainstream media. In traditional journalism reporters do background research, conduct interview and write report and ensure their story is filed by deadline. The reporter has to get the details right and the facts straight. They’re directly accountable for what they write. There isn’t this same sense of accountability with citizen journalists. Thurman (2008), opined that bloggers may not be as accurate as mainstream journalists because of a lack of editorial oversight that would include fact checking. According to Thurman, “this is linked to an apparent inability of
user generated content to maintain the same standards of truthfulness, verifiability, fairness and completeness that are presumed to exist in mainstream news outlets" [19]. While mainstream media outlets are relatively superior in their accuracy and size of readership, they often lack the speed that citizen journalists can capture and send out information. Citizen journalists can also capture news that is difficult or impossible for mainstream news outlets to cover. During Arab spring mainstream news outlets were seeking out photo and video from citizens, and often consulted Twitter for minute-by-minute updates from individuals at the scene of protests [20]. Citizen journalists, however, shouldn't be seen as a replacement for mainstream journalism, or vice versa.

3. Research question

Previous studies focused on journalist’s social media activities how news organizations are framing social media in their respective news guidelines [21] and how newspapers are using user’s contents as source for their news articles [22] primarily on western context but no study has been attempted so far aiming to reveal the process that address, how users are taking part in news reporting in crisis events specially in the context of developing country like Bangladesh where internet penetration rate is still relatively very low with just 13.2 percent [23]. Thus, the research has posed following questions:

Q1: How audiences are taking part in news making process in developing countries like Bangladesh?
Q2: To what extent the key tenet of journalism as discipline of verification can be maintained in while using UGC?
Q3: What lesson television channels of Bangladesh learnt from two crisis events?

4. Methods

The goal of this study is to understand how the citizens are taking part in mainstream news reporting process and to what extent the core value of journalism ‘discipline of verification’ is being maintained in crisis event. Two very unique cases has been chosen for the current research popularly known as Gulshan tragedy (case 1) and BDR mutiny (case 2) that also received global media attention. Current research employed KII (key informant interview) method for data collection which is in nature qualitative. Qualitative interview methods are primarily inductive and develop data-driven theories from concrete observations [24]. Such an open-ended approach fosters a familiar data gathering atmosphere that mimics how a journalist does his or her job [25]. In addition, Berger viewed during the time of interview researcher can put forward additional and follow-up questions and thus obtain unexpected information that other form of research might not discover [26]. For the current study ten news editors of ten different Bangladeshi television channels were interviewed with semi-structured questionnaire through Skype call. Recording of the conversation was not possible due the reluctance of the interviewee, short notes were taken and transcribed later. The semi-structured interview includes question about informant professional background, role conception, reasons of inducting user generated content and lesson learnt from using UGC. The authors’ existing professional contacts and snow ball sampling method were recruited to select the respondents. Covering both event Gulshan Attack (2016) and BDR mutiny (2009) as a news editor was the prime criterion while selecting sample. The reasons of selecting editorial level journalist are three folds, firstly they are the representatives of a particular position in the social system in question [27], secondly, they are designated as the final gatekeeper of the newsroom and finally, they play an influential role while forming policy for their news house what can be applicable for the other
A Study on the integration of UGC in broadcast journalism: An evidence from Bangladesh

media houses of Bangladesh as because journalism professionals tend to have a common set of norms and values [28]. Following questions were used as guiding principle to conduct the interview.

a) What factors influence the editorial decision in response to the integration of UGC?

b) How a news media ensue the verification principle of professional journalism when the story content comes from unauthorized sources (such as citizens, users, bloggers)?

c) To what extent integration of UGC affect the role conception of professional journalist? Here we tried to understand when the news editors encounter with UGC how they take the decision regarding the integration of the content produced by the users?

d) To what extent UGC fits for Bangladeshi media industry? To get the clear understanding about the potential of the integration of UGC in near future in Bangladeshi market further we asked about the possible way of integration.

e) Does UGC influences the routine practice of everyday journalism? Here we wanted to look at the consequences of the integration of UGC from their experience.

5. Brief description of the case as a form of UGC

5.1 Case 1: Bloodshed in capital city Dhaka (Gulshan Tragedy)

July 1, 2016 will be remembered as one of the nightmares for Bangladeshi people in the years to come. The vengeance of the event had exceeded all the limits of cruelty. The event was capable again to bring back Bangladesh in global media. Seven gunmen backed by ISIS stormed into the Holey Artisan Bakery, located in diplomatic zone of Dhaka city (capital of Bangladesh) popularly known as Gulshan. The terrorists killed 20 hostages with sharp weapons early Saturday July 2, 2016. Later a well-equipped commando team lead by Bangladesh Army started a cleansing operation called ‘Operation Thunderbolt’ killed six terrorist and rescued thirteen hostage from the crime scene. At the beginning of the event few channels on-aired the story as breaking news ticker but the moment law enforcing agencies realized the potential threat of live telecasting, ministry of information took immediate measure and put embargo on live coverage that lead to a news blackout for few hours. The reason of putting embargo was later described by police officials that the terrorists could have a chance to monitor the news and that could increase the complexity of the event. During the time of news blackout citizens located near the crime scene were initially posting information on their Facebook wall about what is going on around them. Some postings were attached with visual in image or short video clip format. Those contents were referred in some online news portal as because they did not have the compulsion of showing visual like broadcasting station, but the television news channels were totally stuck by the embargo from the ministry of information. In the meantime a South Korean citizen named DK Hwang secretly captured a video from the adjacent building of the crime scene and that went viral through YouTube and Facebook with a rapid pace. News editor and journalists of several media housed had noticed the viral clip and though that could be a filler for their news hole. As a result that video were broadcasted in the television channels of Bangladesh what open a new horizon for the citizens in the news space.

5.2 Case 2: Brutal massacre in Dhaka City (BDR Mutiny)

On 25 February 2009, will be remembered for a long as one of the tragic massacre Bangladesh has ever faced. Ongeret & Sobhan termed it as one of the bloodiest military coups since its independence in 1971 [29]. An astraying sect of the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) revolted against their commanding officers, and killed
57 high level army officers. According post confession from the rebellions the killing was an attempt to demolish the lost tasting tyranny of the elite army officers who were in deputation from their regular forces. On both cases Bangladeshi television channels have used of user generated contents (e.g. photos and video clips captured by mobile phone, shared via Facebook and tweets). Here it should be mentioned that on both occasions (1 and 2) live coverage were restricted for certain period of time.

6. Results and discussion

The result of the study primarily revealed from the interviewers’ responses were categorized as internal and external factors and discussed below. To learn about why and how the users have taken part in news reporting process in particular, BDR carnage and Gulshan tragedy events, news editors have identified some factors what compel them to co-opt user generated content (UGC) in their news bulletin to cover mentioned events.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal factors</th>
<th>External factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of experiences of covering crisis event</td>
<td>Embargo on live broadcast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth orchestration</td>
<td>Inadequacy of credible news sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional belief on the power of visual</td>
<td>Grapevine effect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Factors influenced on the integration of user generated contents

6.1 Lack of experience of covering crisis event

All the news editors agreed that lack of experience to deal with crisis reporting put them in the state where they felt that citizen's participation should include in their news bulletin. News editor KM said:

When routine journalism clash with spontaneous or crisis event, the editors have to face tremendous challenges. As UGC was not that much frequent phenomenon in Bangladeshi media during that time we had only applied our regular editorial judgment to deal with crisis news.

Though they stated about monitoring the citizens’ post but they did not put much attention as because they thought that may be the shooting training session resulted sounds. But within half an hours the number of Facebook post including pictures taken by user’s cell phone spread in the social media which signaled that something massive had happened inside the BDR headquarters. Immediately they sent reporters and called the emergency newsroom meeting to deal with the event. But in the meantime situation of got worse as because the few rebellions (lower ranked army officers) started open firing which made the situation more adverse to cover and verify the facts. Being a news editor to take decision on what to broadcast and what not to is always a big challenges. One of the respondents KM mentioned about their ethical and professional dilemma in response to the integration of UGC:

The ethical and professional dilemma of news editors is a considerable factor for the inclusion of UGC.

Editor SMA also viewed the same as editor KM, in addition he supplements in a following way.

There is no way to say that lack of experiences compel me to do so, but in reality exactly that can be figured as a prime cause of UGC’s inclusion.

Interestingly four respondents denied to comment directly on how the experiences of covering BDR carnage event (2009) influenced on covering event of Gulshan tragedy (2016). But rest of the six news editor asserted that both the cases have some similarities, but due to temporal distance between the two cases as well compulsion of following routine practice of journalistic endeavor did not allow them put a link between these two events. However, few of the respondents stated that the post event follow-up meeting inside their respective newsrooms inspired to rethink about the integration of UGC in a formal manner that would be a regular phenomenon in the yard of Journalism in near
future. The respondents believe that, convergence is obvious in the era of digital journalism and thus, upholding the professional and ethical principal of journalism and at the same making a space for user to contribute in reporting process would be the biggest challenge for Bangladeshi news media.

6.2 Traditional belief on the power of visuals

There was an age when people could rely on visuals without reasonable doubt but in the age of internet and digital techno boom era veracity of visuals are also under scrutiny. News editor KM contains firm belief on visual’s strength, in his words:

As television news heavily rely on visual and to some extent visuals is connected with the event truthfulness and objectivity so we selected UGC those having with visuals. For me, using visual UGC is far safer than textual UGC.)

News editor SMA said:

For the purpose giving scoop I even did not feel to verify the content those were clearly describing the motion of the action.

This kind of finding clearly indicates that the power of the visuals in some cases become so dominant that can even make the verification principle less important. Though no evidences from journalism scholarship were found that could waived the verification process. Inarguably, in reporting process visual evidence has high impact that usually helps to increase the credibility of the report but it should not be forgotten that the image or visual without proper attribution or verification can be potentially misleading and that can damage the credibility of the news organization’s image too.

6.3 Truth orchestration

According to Veil (2012) “crisis situations disrupt balanced and pluralistic reportage [30]. As most of news outlets have the tendency to select safer source such as new agencies for their news. However, in some case UGC also becomes substantial source what allow them to post their content in the mainstream newscast. Sometimes repetitive media exposure can be perceived as truth, more precisely, when all the news outlets broadcast the same content, verification of facts becomes secondary which can be coined as orchestration of truth even though the facts are far from what was broadcasted. News editors JR said:

Despite the complexity of the situation our reporters have put fully tried to assess the sanctity of the sources and took the straight path of integrating UGC.

The news editors have taken for granted that if every channels broadcast the same content from the same source then truth becomes obvious. The interviewees also opined that in the case of Gulshan tragedy the event was unfolding too rapidly and dramatically, which did not allow them to wait for their reporter’s footage. When they found that other channels are telecasting the UGC they also preferred to follow other’s way.

6.4 Embargo on live broadcast

On both the occasions the information ministry of Bangladesh government put embargo on live broadcast from the spot in response to the sensitivity of the event and that helped the news editor to reach the decision of using UGC. MM said:

The effect of embargo on live coverage was twofold, first it pushed us in a challenging situation how to cover the story and secondly it shattered the conventional gate of gatekeepers. Instead of gatekeeping we have minimized the pressure of gate which initiated by UGCs.

6.5 Difficulty of getting credible news sources

Credibility is one of the core tenets of journalism which heavily depends on credible and reliable source. The age of suspension where tons of thousands of sources are thriving for audience attention, personal interest, political and commercial motives are also getting widespread. The study found that on both the occasions newsrooms suffered for credible sources.

News editor KM said:

During a crisis journalists mainly rely on familiar
sources, however this kind of inclination toward certain sources can restrain us most of time to explore the potential of UGC.

News editors AK resonates the same tone of KM, he said:

The contents already spread out via social media platform cannot be possible to overlook while those are newsworthy. During the time of broadcasting we had notified our viewers that those contents were not produced by us.

The above response clearly notify us on how a Bangladeshi news editors perceive their role as well as it indicates that the tension between producers (news media) and users (audience) is increasing due to the convergence in the media ecosystem.

6.6 Grapevine effect

Grapevine is an informal channel of public communication. It stretches throughout the public sphere in all directions irrespective of the source levels. When credible sources are absent rumor tends to spread faster than anything. On both occasions grapevine effects on informal communication channels made the journalistic venture more difficult. News editor PLM said:

In any crisis event rumor becomes an obvious output that seriously hampers journalistic routine. As a news professional, I always thrive for the best obtainable version of truth but in many cases due to situational complexities as well deadline pressure makes the situation that helps the UGC to get into.

Undoubtedly, the prime job of the journalist is to inform people what is happening around them, but at the same time provided information has to objective enough with evidential support, and no leniency is permissible in this regard but current study found that the news editors were inclined to inform about the event but the additional journalistic verification enterprise regarding the sanctity of information were missed out. News editor JR said:

Objectivity, fairness etc. would face some kinds of disturbance while integrating UGC. But being a journalist we have to explore the potential of UGC apart from its risk.

7. Lesson learnt for the future

Current study have tried to understand what the news editors, more broadly the television journalism has learnt from the mentioned two events in response to the integration of UGC. The interviewees have mentioned some key aspects what should be given utmost care while using UGC during crisis reporting.

- The integration of UGC in Bangladeshi broadcast industry has significant implication to (re)think the role of traditional journalist. In the era of digital convergence where everyone has the power of leaking information without following the process of gatekeeping, journalist should be ready to allot spaces for the citizens so that they can take part in co-creating process of news making and media outlets should also prepare themselves to deal with the complexity of the integration of UGC that can simultaneously open the gate for the citizens and help to hold the core value of journalistic profession.

- The decision of the integration of UGC in the news bulletin has to be comprehend from the perspective of its implication on the audience, their staff and the user who are generating the contents.

- In both cases some users put their lives at risk to capture the footage and videos. This lesson has also serious implication on understating the integration process of UGC. The respondents of study unanimously agreed that in any circumstance the safety of content creator should be given first priority. Because in the case of Gulshan tragedy (case 2) when the news channels broadcasted the video clip of user, they did not mute the sound of the clip that could have been life threatening risk for the creator of the content as the case was involved with terror attack.
In both cases the news managers did not bother to give credit to the creators for their contents but this could have been a legal matters for the broadcast stations. The user have every legal right to pull the news editor to the court for using their content without permission or proper crediting. In this regard, the news editors have agreed that the practice of proper crediting should be given utmost priority while using UGC and that can be a safeguard for any legal consequences.

A major finding of the study suggests that due to the lack of experiences and proper training on how to deal UGC led them to incorporate unverified contents in their bulletins. But at the same time the respondents agreed that the complexities of the journalistic everyday routine cannot be anticipated with precession so that prior measure such as creating potential users pool on the basis of geographical location can be useful in this regard.

The UGC will be best suited in the case of non-available of any other types of visual.

Raw footage as eye witness can be misleading in some case as because subjective composition of the users.

Sometime the nature of UGC is chaotic and can be overwhelming, Bangladeshi news media has to be cautious in using UGC.

Citizen participation or their contents are not independent and autonomous, and sometimes the motive of the user is difficult to understand.

Using UGC will not be wise for those stories which requires interpretation.

Unverified UGC may be misleading and confusing for audience and ultimately damage news organizations credibility.

8. Conclusion

Empirical findings of the current study suggests that news editors of Bangladeshi television channels viewed both the case as unique in their whole journalism career. Internal and external factors as mentioned above elicited a synergic effect on the inclusion of UGC in Bangladeshi TV. Current study also found that UGC is creating a range of possibilities and problems for journalists who seeks to reconcile their traditional values of quality, impartiality and balance with audience participation. The interviewees also put emphasis on the importance of formulating UGC guidelines what can help the media organizations to minimize the possible risk which can be occurred in crisis moment like BDR carnage and Gulshan tragedy. Moreover, the study found that the trends of citizen’s participation in co-reporting process is accidental and crisis event centered. The primary contribution of this study is to shed light on some unanswered issues regarding the convergence of UGC in main stream media in the context of developing countries where internet literacy, and net penetration are at the infancy level. Theoretical contribution of this study can be viewed as an offer of counter discourse against gatekeeping theory (1950). Some previous studies asserted that traditional gatekeepers still hold the status quo regarding crisis reporting but our research found that sometime have to open the gate by the content pressure form the users. As we believe that the long dominated gatekeeping theory of news media is facing sheer challenges due to the emergence of UGC. The case of Bangladesh shown us that the sole dominance of gatekeeper over news selection can no more be taken for granted. Specially, due to the plethora of unstructured newsworthy information generated by the armatures users, news managers are no longer be able to hold their domination on news gate with utmost sovereignty. Thus, we propose to make a negotiation in response to the integration of UGC. From the perspective of practical contribution, as mentioned earlier, till date no comprehensive UGC integration policy have formulated that implies that the response to UGC has been viewed as an ad-hocism. Hence, the
lesson of the news editors that revealed by the authors would be immensely helpful for aligning a comprehensive UGC policy for Bangladeshi media industry. Although, the study has a limitation in terms of methodology as it has only used interview method for analysis that is sometime insufficient to understand the research phenomena as a whole. In addition, the study did not analyze the content of users, but nevertheless, current study has made an attempt to uncover the factors that has influenced the news editors to integrate UGC in their newscast. The empirical findings of the study will also help the news editors to shed light on the critical areas in the integration process of UGC that many researches were not able to explore. The researchers believe that to get the audience perspective in particular, how they view the impact of UGC in the Journalistic domain of Bangladesh could be a subject of future inquiry and, therefore, future research endeavor is needed in this area. Future researchers should further investigate on how sourcing practice is changing and what coping strategies will emerge (e.g., labeling of verified UGC). Also, it would be fruitful to analyze the use of the sourced UGC in the media and to evaluate whether it was verified. Finally, future research could extend our research in different media platforms such as newspaper, online or radio.

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A Study on the integration of UGC in broadcast journalism: An evidence from Bangladesh


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