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**UNDERSTANDING MEDIA CONSTRUCTIONS OF  
VOLUNTEERING: AN AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE**

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# **UNDERSTANDING MEDIA CONSTRUCTIONS OF VOLUNTEERING: AN AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE**

## **ABSTRACT**

*This paper explores the Australian public's understanding of volunteering from a media perspective. A content analysis of 137 news articles published in The Australian newspaper revealed that volunteering in Australia is framed in terms of eight perspectives by nine claim makers. Since media-led images of volunteering tend to influence peoples' decision to volunteer, the findings have several implications for organizers of social development projects involving volunteers.*

Keywords: Public understanding of volunteering, media constructions, content analysis, Australia

## **BACKGROUND**

After a period of intense neoliberal, economic and social transformations that resulted in the pursuit of wealth and pleasure maximisation at the expense of social welfare (Stark, 2010; Tandon, 2009), the not-for-profit sector in Australia is emerging as a dominant sector with multifaceted socio-economic ramifications (ABS, 2008). The collapse of the Soviet Empire resulting in the decline of world socialism was a turning point for non-governmental institutions, a powerful reminder of the social and political benefits of volunteer activity (Prochaska, 2007). In this context, volunteering as an important driver of the not-for-profit sector has recently been seen as a significant factor impacting the economic and social development of Australia

(Barwick & Barwick, 2001; Lyons, McGregor-Lowndes, & O'Donoghue, 2006; Warburton, 2010). For example, volunteers play an important role in the provision of welfare, social and other community development services, with their contribution to Australian economy estimated at 623 million hours, equating to 317,200 full-time equivalent jobs per year (ABS, 2008). The economic value of these hours is approximately \$14.6 billion, representing four percent of Gross Domestic Product. The value of the work contributed by volunteers to non-profit institutions in 1999-2000 was estimated to be \$8.9 billion (ABS, 2008). Non-profit institutions employed 604,000 people or 6.8 percent of the total employed people in 1999-2000. In 2006, 21 percent of the Australian population aged 18 years and over volunteered at least once a fortnight (ABS, 2008).

The effect of volunteering on the functioning and connectedness of communities is increasingly being recognised (Lyons et al., 2006; Volunteering Australia, 2004; Warburton, 2010). Volunteers help to build social networks, shared values and social cohesion through their contributions to a wide range of organisations. Volunteer work can enhance the quality of social welfare and the social development of a country. Volunteering as a social welfare function provides mutual benefit to both volunteers and the community (Wong, 2007). This can be in the form of support groups, voluntary agencies and non-profit social services. For example, in many countries, advocates of civic renewal and active citizenship are calling for voluntary agencies to play a larger and more effective role alongside government in the drive for social progress. In the spontaneous expression of personal service, volunteer work can be a training ground for good citizenship and the makings of an open society (Prochaska, 2007). Helping others is a deeply rooted tradition across all cultures. It is widespread

across and within all social classes. Helping others often springs from little more than an impulse, triggered by the needs and aspirations of people who see themselves as part of a community, framed locally as their family or neighbourhood or more broadly as the nation at large (Prochaska, 2007). Social welfare work is seen as a vehicle to articulate human rights. Working with people from diverse backgrounds, volunteers make valuable contributions to the social welfare of sometimes marginalized and vulnerable groups, helping to reduce gender, race, and religious discrimination. In situations where public financial resources are constrained, civic service is a form of social engagement that draws on local human and social capital as key assets to achieving social development. For example, a study involving five African countries demonstrated that civic service, and volunteering in particular, is emerging as a viable social development intervention in the Southern African Development Community region (Rosales, 2008).

Given the positive effects of voluntary work, it is desirable to have a high rate of participation in voluntary work (Randle & Dolnicar, 2009; Snyder, 2009). This may be achieved through social marketing campaigns aimed at potential volunteers who tend to go through a decision making process before a decision to volunteer is made (Penner, 2004). Sometimes governmental and organizational policies are needed to motivate people to engage in volunteer work (Al Gharaibeh, 2010). It has also been reported that an individual's propensity to get involved in volunteering is influenced by the images they hold of volunteering (Machin, 2005). The meanings of volunteering circulating in the public domain from media discourse could, therefore, play a significant role in influencing a person's decision to volunteer (Lockstone & Baum, 2009).

The belief systems of potential volunteers tend to play a critical role in their decision to participate (Dolnicar, 2007). As media discourse tends to influence beliefs systems (Bell & Dittmar, 2011; Fleming, Thorson, & Zengjun, 2005; Scull, Kupersmidt, Parker, Elmore, & Benson, 2010), it is important to know how the media influences the way people construct their meanings of volunteering (Lockstone & Baum, 2009). The image of volunteering that is constructed in media discourse can inform managers of social development programs that involve volunteers. Thus, the main objective of this paper is to explore the way that volunteering is presented in the media. It is expected that the findings of this exploration can assist managers of volunteering-related projects to formulate effective volunteer recruitment strategies.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Meaning of volunteering**

A volunteer is defined as “someone who willingly gives unpaid help in the form of time, service or skills, through an organisation or group at least once in a 12 month period” (ABS, 2008). The additional value volunteering generates to increasing social wellbeing is widely acknowledged (ABS, 2008; Choi & Rita Jing-Ann, 2010; Cook, 2011; Handy & Mook, 2011; Kohn & Wohl, 2010; Oppenheimer, 2010). Volunteering generates benefits to organisations, clients, volunteers themselves and society as a whole (Graf, 1998).

Research on the value of volunteering can be categorised into three main groups: studies focusing on economic value; studies on community and social value; and studies examining the value to volunteers themselves (Holmes, 2009). The first category of research relates to the numerous approaches researchers have devised to

assigning an economic value to the services rendered by volunteers. These studies tend to be at a macro level of analysis and aimed at developing economic measures and indicators (For example; Anderson & Zimmerer, 2003; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Sajardo & Serra, 2011; Salamon, Sokolowski, & Haddock, 2011; Stine, 2008). The second category of research is emblematic of the social capital perspective of volunteering. This group of studies describe the social value of volunteer work, highlighting the higher level of social cohesion and connectedness that volunteering creates (For example; Degli Antoni, 2009; Harvey, Lévesque, & Donnelly, 2007; McNamara & Gonzales, 2011; Putnam, 2000). The third category examines the value of volunteering from the volunteers' perspective (For example; Dolnicar & Randle, 2007; Sacca & Ryan, 2011). The motivations, demographic profiles and psychographic traits of volunteers and their participation levels tend to be the main research interests of these studies. The resulting knowledge of the personal characteristics of volunteers has been used extensively to develop volunteer recruitment strategies. However, there is a scarcity of research specifically examining the media's role in promoting awareness of volunteering and enhancing the recruitment and retention of volunteers (Lockstone & Baum, 2009). In an Australian context, data are needed on the role the media plays in constructing the meaning of volunteering in the minds of volunteers.

### **Volunteering Claims and Frames**

Different views on volunteering represented in the mass media can be considered as one of the important sources which shape and reshape the construction of meanings of volunteering by the general public (Gurevitch & Levy, 1985; Machin, 2005). As

such, this current study attempts to explain how public understanding of volunteering is constructed by media news.

The media's construction of volunteering meanings can be studied in two respects, relating to *claims and frames*. According to social theory, the activity of making claims by social actors is at the core of a social problem (Spector & Kitsuse, 2001). It is argued that the claim-making behaviour typically reflects the actions relating to social problems, in this case, volunteering (Spector & Kitsuse, 2001). Interestingly, Cressey (1967) stated that "social problems are created as certain data are gathered rather than data on a social problem is gathered" (cited in: Spector & Kitsuse, 2001). This means that social problems do not emerge on their own, but are socially constructed by key social actors who have a say in defining a given issue (Herd, 2011; Spector & Kitsuse, 2001; Weinberg, 2009). It can be argued that the public's understanding of volunteering is dependent on this 'gathered data' as issues are socially constructed. Thus, we analysed claims and claim-making behaviour on volunteering in the media. This framing of the research can be termed as a social constructionist approach to study the phenomenon of volunteering (see also: Dunlap & Catton, 1994).

To elaborate further, according to Spector and Kitsuse (2001), a claim is a demand that one individual or a group makes on others. Therefore, it amounts to a two-way communication between claim makers and respondents. This interaction between claim makers and respondents constitutes claim-making behaviour. Accordingly, there can be many claims and claim makers in the media discourse relating to volunteering. In our study, Trumbo's (1996) view is used to define claim makers as



‘the quoted source’, or the main individual who is referred to. For example, when a news article on volunteering is written based on an interview with a politician, the claim maker is the politician.

When a claim maker makes a claim, it is usually located, perceived, identified or labelled in a particular way (Goffman, 1981). In a media report, claims tend to be framed in themes, headings and article leads. Based on these definitions of claims, claim makers and frames, we attempt to explore how the phenomenon of volunteering is framed by various claim makers in the Australian newspapers. The rationale behind this is that these claim makers and their framing of the issue tend to influence the Australian public’s understanding of volunteering.

With regard to analysing frames, we used Entman’s (1993) framework which delineates the four purposes of frames: (1) to define problems, (2) diagnose causes, (3) make moral judgements, and (4) suggest remedies. This framework is helpful to understand the nature of influence a frame can have on an individual’s thinking. Specially, this framework facilitates easy identification and measurement of frames.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The methodological approach used in this study is a content analysis of news articles. A content analysis is a systematic tool for summarising words of a text into fewer content categories. Krippendorff (1980) defined a content analysis as “a procedure for making replicable and valid inferences from collected written or oral communication within the context from which it was obtained” (cited in: Johnson & LaMontagne, 1993).

We analysed news articles on volunteering published by *The Australian* newspaper throughout a three year period (2008-2010). According to a survey carried out in 2002, *The Australian*, a daily national newspaper, has a circulation of 136,000 (and a circulation of 315,000 for the weekend edition). The Australian Press Council's *State of the News Print Media 2008 report* reveals that circulation figures have been fairly static throughout the period from 2002 to 2008 (Flew, 2009). *The Australian's* news website has been awarded the 2008 PANPA online Newspaper of the year award (The Australian, 2008: <http://www.theaustralain.news.com.au>).

### **Sampling**

We used the online database called FACTIVA to search for news articles in *The Australian* as it effectively facilitated the selection of articles. The news article is the unit of analysis and for the purpose of this study is defined as the content containing references to volunteering (excluding editorials, opinion columns, letters to the editor and advertisements). The search term 'volunteer' appearing only in the headline and the lead paragraph resulted in 182 articles, after the search was filtered to include articles published within the period from 01-01-2008 to 30-09-2010. However, due to duplication and repetition, 26 articles were removed. This gave us 156 articles. During the analysis, a further 19 articles were removed as they did not directly relate to the phenomenon under investigation, resulting in 137 relevant articles. The methodology consisted of following three main approaches.

### **Approach 1 – Entman's four purposes of frames**

Entman's (1993) framing theory shows how frames are embedded in a text and how a frame influences an individual's thinking. In our study, this theory was instrumental

in exploring the public understanding of volunteering. We used the theory as an initial step to demarcate the boundaries of the public understanding of volunteering prior to developing a specific coding scheme for the study. Accordingly, headlines and lead paragraphs in the news articles were analysed using Entman's four purposes of frames (see also: Entman, 1993; Trumbo, 1996):

1. **Define problems** – Headings and lead paragraphs that explain the impacts and consequences of a social problem in terms of commonly shared values and beliefs. For example, the impact of volunteering on the socio-economic status of people.
2. **Diagnose causes** – Headings and lead paragraphs that reveal factors which created the social problem. For example, regulatory gaps affecting individual volunteers.
3. **Make moral judgements** – Headings and lead paragraphs that evaluate the actions taken in relation to a social problem. For example, the economic impact of student volunteers who receive Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) credit.
4. **Suggest remedies** – Headings and lead paragraphs that provide and justify the treatments for a social problem. For example, proposing legislative improvements related to volunteering.

All the newspaper articles were sorted into one of the four categories mentioned above. Most of the headings contained frames which enabled a categorisation to be made. However, when a heading did not provide sufficient details, the first paragraph was read. Only a few news articles required the content to be read in full for a categorisation to be made. Overall, in the categorisation process, we focused on the salient themes emerging from the articles.

## **Approach 2 – Inductive method**

We examined 10 percent of the articles to inductively identify major themes in the claims and frequent makers. These themes and claim makers were pre-coded and used to develop the coding scheme (see approach 3 below). Initially, the two researchers independently conducted the pre-coding exercise and then compared the two coding schemes with a view to ensuring the validity of this coding scheme (inter-rater validity).

## **Approach 3 - A coding scheme in analysing claim makers and frames**

Entman's (1993) four purposes of frames helped us to form a general understanding of trends in the newspaper coverage on volunteering and the development of the public's understanding of volunteering. The first approach revealed that volunteering was framed in the articles for the purposes of problem definition (17.5%), diagnosing causes (21%), making moral judgements (34%) and suggesting remedies (27%). We used the coding scheme that was developed in the second approach to analyse the claim makers and frames of the news coverage. This procedure is explained in the following sections.

### **Measurement: claim makers**

The most prominent sources quoted in the newspaper articles were regarded as claim-makers. Analysis of the online version of *The Australian* resulted in several categories of claim makers: Education Institutions (e.g. universities), private companies, NGOs and associations, politicians, independent volunteers (e.g. carers, foster mothers, indigenous groups), research subjects, regulatory bodies and

government organisations (e.g. Country Fire Australia (CFA), Carers Australia, Australian Volunteers International, National Museum of Australia).

**Measurement: Frame**

Seven frames were derived by analysing the claims. Table 1 illustrates the claims and the coding scheme.

**Table 1: Coding Scheme**

Pre-coding Scheme	Coding Scheme of the Study
Enhance practical (application) aspects of education by engaging in voluntary work, HECS volunteer debate, moral awareness for students, forcing students to volunteer.	Education-related
A number of large companies establishing programs to encourage employees to work with community organisations(ANZ, Westpac, PricewaterhouseCoopers, NAB), corporate donations for volunteering, CEOs volunteering to serve on boards of charities.	Corporate volunteering
Living conditions of a community upgraded by a group of engineer volunteers, international NGOs recruitment, fire, threat, child fostering.	Community support
Having to pay student union membership in order to volunteer, issuing volunteer passports, gifts and aid to volunteers, compulsory volunteering for dole receivers, single mother volunteers, censorship to public comments, financial	Hurdles and enablers for volunteers

difficulties, recruitment of volunteers through social media, volunteering beyond standard hours of work.	
Volunteering for a political party, criminal acts, natural disasters.	General reference to volunteering
Flora/fauna wildlife, nature protection	Environmental protection
Volunteering for medical research, lab tests, clinical tests.	Research subjects
Australians working as volunteers abroad, tourism related volunteering overseas.	Volunteering on foreign soil

## FINDINGS

A descriptive analysis of the nature of media representation of volunteering revealed that volunteering is framed in terms of eight perspectives: education-related; corporate volunteering; community support; hurdles and enablers for volunteers; general reference to volunteering; environmental protection; research subjects; and volunteering on foreign soil. As Table 2 shows, the phenomenon of volunteering is mainly framed as a general reference to volunteering (38%), hurdles and enablers for volunteers (19%) and community support (14.6%).

**Table 2: Frames of Volunteering**

<b>Frames</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Education-related	6.5
Corporate volunteering	5.1
Community support	14.6
Hurdles and enablers for volunteers	19.0

General reference to volunteering	38.0
Environmental protection	3.7
Research subjects	7.3
Volunteering on foreign soil	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Regarding the different groups of claim makers (outlined in Table 3), it was revealed that 25 percent of claim makers were from the government and related organisations. Of the remaining groups, a significant number of claim makers were from NGO/associations (13.8%), independent groups (13.8), regulatory authorities (11.7%), politicians (10.2), research subjects (8%), private companies (7.3%) and education institutes (6.6%). Only 3.6 percent of claim makers were individual volunteers.

**Table 3: Different Groups of Claim Makers**

<b>Claim Makers</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Education institutes	9	6.6
Private companies	10	7.3
Individual volunteers	5	3.6
NGOs/associations	19	13.8
Politicians	14	10.2
Independent groups of volunteers (carers, foster parents, indigenous groups)	19	13.8

Research subjects	11	8.0
Regulatory authorities	16	11.7
Government and related organisations (Country Fire Australia, Carers Australia, Australian Volunteers International)	34	25.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100.0</b>

With respect to the first analytical approach using Entman's (1993) framework, it was revealed that 34.3 percent of frames were related to making moral judgements about volunteering. The next highest percentage of frames pertained to suggesting remedies for volunteering issues (27%). Frames that belonged to diagnosing causes of volunteering problems were 21.2 percent. Only 17.5 per cent of frames were concerned with problem definition. See Table 4.

**Table 4: Entman's Four Purposes of Framing**

<b>Entman's Four Purposes</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Define problems	24	17.5
Diagnose causes	29	21.2
Make moral judgements	47	34.3
Suggest remedies	37	27.0
Total	137	100.0

A cross tabulation of the nine claim makers and the eight frames this study identified is shown in Table 5. The government and related organisations was the dominant



claim maker (25%), with about 73 percent of their frames being related to volunteers of political parties, crime and natural disasters (bush fires). Also, about 20 percent of this claim maker's frames were concerned with hurdles and enablers for volunteers. NGOs/associations had 42 percent of their frames on community support activities followed by 21 percent of frames on hurdles and enablers for volunteers. Independent groups of volunteers such as carers, foster parents and indigenous groups had 36 percent of their frames on community support followed by 26 percent providing a general reference to volunteering. Regulatory authorities had 62 percent of their frames on hurdles and enablers for volunteering. The majority of politicians' frames related to general references to volunteering (78%) while private company's frames were mostly related to corporate volunteering (70%). Finally, education institutes such as universities mainly referred to volunteering (67%) as an experiential learning technique as well as a mechanism to repay Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) debts of students.

In regard to the identified frames, the most frequent was a general reference to volunteering (38%), which included news about volunteers of political parties, crimes of various types and natural disasters. Of this frame, government and related organisations were the dominant claim makers (48%) followed by politicians (21%). The frame of hurdles and enablers for volunteers was mainly claimed by regulatory authorities (38%) and government and related organisations (27%). The frame of community support was mainly claimed by NGOs (40%) and independent groups of volunteers (35%).

**Table 5: Claim Makers and Frames in Media Constructions of Volunteering**

Claim Makers	Coding Scheme (Frames)								Total
	Educati on- related	Corpora te voluntee ring	Communit y support	Hurdles and enablers for volunteers	General reference to voluntee ring	Environm ental protection	Research subjects	Volunte ering on foreign soil	
Education institutes	6		2					1	9
Private companies		7	1	1	1				10
NGOs/associat ions			8	4	3	1		3	19
Independent volunteers			1	2	1				4
Politicians	1			2	11				14
Independent groups of volunteers	1		7		5	3		3	19
Research subjects					1		10		11
Regulatory authorities	1			10	4	1			16
Government and related organisations			1	7	25			1	34
<b>Total</b>	9	7	20	26	52	5	10	8	137

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper has explored perspectives of volunteering presented to the Australian public in the media. The content analysis of 137 news articles published in *The Australian* newspaper between 2008 and 2010 revealed that volunteering in Australia is framed in terms of eight perspectives: education-related, corporate volunteering, community support, hurdles and enablers for volunteers, general reference to volunteering, environmental protection, research subjects, and volunteering on foreign soil. Volunteering is mainly framed in general references to the phenomenon rather than specific and direct claims encouraging more volunteering participation and activity. More substantive claims relating to hurdles and enablers of volunteering

and the community support aspects of volunteering represented only 19 percent and 14.6 percent of claims respectively.

The key claim makers of volunteering news in Australia were government and related organisations (25%), NGOs/associations (13.8%), independent groups of volunteers (13.8%), regulatory authorities (11.7%), politicians (10.2%), private companies (7.3%), education institutes (6.6%), individual volunteers (3.6%) and research subjects (8%). Government and related organisations such as Country Fire Australia, Carers Australia, Australia and Volunteers International were the dominant claim makers (25%). The second most dominant claim markers were independent groups of volunteers such as carers, foster parents and indigenous groups (13.8%) and NGOs (13.8). Regulatory authorities were the source of 11.7% of claims in the news, with politicians contributing a further 10.2% of claims. Although private sector companies were identified as a claim maker, they provided just 7.3% of claims. It can be concluded that government and organisations from the not-for-profit sector tend to be the most active in producing media discourse on volunteering.

From the perspective of Entman's (1993) four purposes of framing, the moral judgement aspect of volunteering was the predominant frame (34.3%), followed by suggesting remedies (27%), diagnosing causes (21.2%) and defining problems (17.5%).

The aforementioned findings tend to have wider implications for social development. While the economic and social value of volunteering is significant in Australia (A\$42 billion a year), this eminence doesn't tend to be reflected in the media discourse. An

individual's decision to engage in volunteering is largely influenced by the way in which that individual relates to society. This process tends to be closely associated with how wider society perceives the act of volunteering. Media constructed notions of 'volunteering' in the minds of the people can have a significant impact on the decision to volunteer. In this context, it can be said that the way volunteering is presented in the Australian print media is less likely to engage and persuade people to participate in volunteering work. Activists who promote volunteering need to make a conscious and proactive effort to influence the claims and frames that constitute media discourse on volunteering. This is particularly crucial when attempting to recruit young people into volunteering programs as they tend to be more influenced by the media's 'constructed images' (Hughes, Spicer, & Lancaster, 2011; Zapesotskii, 2011).

Historically, volunteering was associated with religious organisations in Australia (Barwick & Barwick, 2001). That religiosity did not emerge in the data as a claim or frame is not surprising given Australia's secular status. Volunteering is predominantly framed in the print media as a general reference to volunteering. This 'general reference' category included media discourse about volunteering associated with political parties and volunteering in relation to natural disasters. In these news articles, volunteering was not given a prominent role nor was it promoted. The emergence of general references to volunteering as the dominant frame in the print media poses a potential problem for not-for-profit organisations that aim to promote volunteering for their social development projects. To create a positive image of volunteering and increase the propensity of Australians to participate in volunteer

work, managers of volunteering-related projects need to push for clear, direct and specific claims about the benefits of volunteering in their interactions with the media.

However, it is encouraging that hurdles and enablers for volunteering was framed as the second most dominant frame (19%), though it was given half the emphasis general references received (38%). The dominant news within this category related to student volunteering programs initiated by universities and subsequent job placement issues. Also, volunteering was seen as a means for acquiring job-related experience. Yet, it did not appear that volunteering was actively promoted in these news items. Instead of giving prominence to the social development aspects of volunteering, greater emphasis was placed on the economic benefits derived from volunteering. This could be interpreted as commodifying volunteering and constructing it as an instrumental activity to achieve personal or career development rather than an activity with inherent worth that is a vehicle for social development. A converse argument is emphasising the potential career benefits of volunteering could be a more relevant message to engage young people.

The third most prominent claim in the media discourse relates to community support and included volunteering news associated with the upgrading of living conditions in the community, international NGO recruitment, child fostering and bushfire-related volunteering. The prominence given to this claim was low, however, when compared with the frequency of general reference claims to volunteering. This further supports the view that the social development aspect of volunteering has been given less emphasis in the news frames. The deficit of social wellbeing and community development claims provide volunteering project managers with an opportunity to

include these positive messages in their recruitment campaigns. Active intervention in the claim making and framing process of volunteering-related news media is essential to create a positive image of volunteering directly linked with social development projects. By doing so, greater public interest can potentially be generated about volunteer recruitment campaigns.

Government and government-related organisations emerged as the major claim maker in the volunteering-related news. This illustrates the major role that the government plays in forming the public understanding of volunteering in Australia. A further analysis of the claim making role of the government reveals that this prominence is partly due to the media's preference for a political perspective in the news. It could also be argued that the public's understanding of volunteering is associated with and contains political elements. Managers of volunteering-related projects need to, therefore, be cautious and strategic in managing the politicisation of volunteering when promoting their projects.

Entaman's (1993) four purposes of framing (defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgements, suggesting remedies) was used in this study to understand how volunteering was framed in the media discourse.. The framework revealed that making moral judgements and suggesting remedies for volunteering issues were the predominant views projected by the media. This finding suggests a more advanced understanding of volunteering is being presented in the media, with discourse having passed the more elementary stages of problem definition and cause diagnosis.

## LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Several limitations have been identified when carrying out this research. First, inclusion of one newspaper in the data collection tends to limit the scope. Second, the role of the editorial boards and newspaper ownership significantly influence how reality is presented to the audience. This phenomenon was not included in the current study as it was difficult to empirically verify the effect of the editors and owners on the selected news sample.

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