

Are local journalists from each other unique or unequal?¹

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: The impact of journalists' class status, cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capital on their position in the field is ignored. Whereas the social class to which journalists belong and the type and volume of capital they own are important in terms of seeing how the distinction in the field is formed. How are journalists positioned in terms of class in the field of local journalism? How are journalists in the field of local journalism differed from each other according to the capital they have? The study seeks answers to these questions from Bourdieu's perspective. **Methodology:** Data were collected with the survey technique. Frequency, chi-square and multiple correspondence analysis were applied to the data in the SPSS program. **Results:** According to empirical data obtained from local journalists, local journalists mostly belong to the lower, lower middle and middle class. They mostly have the same socio-economic family structure. The types and volumes of capital they hold vary. This difference is even more pronounced by gender. **Conclusions:** In this study, differences in the social class of journalists and the types of capital they have are revealed as factors that create inequality in the field of local journalism. On the other

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hand, these differences in the volume and type of capital owned by journalists can affect their entry into the field and the processes of realizing their professional practices. It can also be effective in the occurrence of ethical violations. Ethical violations in professional practices also point to the lack of an oversight mechanism to ensure fairness among journalists in the field.

Keywords: Local journalism, journalist, capital, Bourdieu, sociology of journalism.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, the efforts of the political power to dominate the media have had consequences that have affected not only the capitalists but also journalism and journalists. Events or problems encountered in the political field have led to biased journalism. However, the COVID-19 pandemic further deepened the existing problems. Especially the field of local journalism and local journalists have been more affected by these processes (Türkiye Gazeteciler Sendikası, 2021; Gazete Duvar, 2021). For this reason, the study focuses on journalists in the field of local journalism. In such an unequal communication environment, the study analyses what creates inequalities among journalists. Therefore, the study aims to determine how journalists are positioned relationally and class-wise within the field of local journalism. There is no study analyzed on this issue about local journalism in Turkey. When the studies on the field of local journalism were examined, it was seen that studies focusing on structural, subject or organizational practices were carried out (Çelikbaş, 2021; Şen, 2020; Kebelek, 2020; Vurgun, 2020; Erdoğan, 2018; Pınarbaşı, 2017; Tokgöz, 2015; Çağlar, 2011; Haykır, 2021; Uçar, 2020; Öztunç, 2017; Yakışır, 2016; Özcan, 2015; Özay, 2011; Çeliker, 2009; Yunusoğlu Eroğlu, 2019; Özay, 2018; Yalçın, 2018; Dağ, 2018; Öcalan, 2017).

The theoretical background of the study is based on Bourdieu sociology. Bourdieu's sociology allows macro and micro intellectualities in the field to be considered according to the relational approach. For this reason, when we look at the literature, it is seen that Bourdieu's sociology is used by various fields (education, sociology, anthropology, gender, etc.). Likewise, it has started to be applied in studies related to the field of journalism (Anderson, 2015; Benson, 2006; Benson y Neveu, 2010; Hellmueller et al., 2013; Hovden, 2008; Peruško et al., 2020; Schultz, 2007; Willig et al., 2015). In this study, the concept that helps us to reveal the relational structure between the actors in the field of local journalism is the concept of capital in Bourdieu's sociology. Bourdieu defines the concept of capital as economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. The struggles in the field take place to own or protect these capitals. Capitals, which are the determining factor in the establishment of the network of relations in the field, thus appear as the factor that creates class inequalities. In other words, it causes actors each other to occupy different positions in the field according to their capital ownership. In this context, the study is based on empirical data to reveal how the class position of journalists differs from their colleagues in the field based on the types and volumes of capital in the field.

2. OBJECTIVES

2.1. The Field of Local Journalism

Local journalism constitutes a journalistic practice that centers on the experiences and daily lives of individuals within a specific geographical area – such as a region, city, or district – by reporting on events and developments pertinent to these communities, thereby fulfilling the role of informing and engaging the local public (Dağtaş & Dağtaş, 2007, pp. 12–13; Girgin, 2001, p. 160; Vural, 2007, p. 337; Şeker, 2007, p. 11; Wahl-Jorgensen & Boell, 2024, pp. 1605). While local journalism organizations share similarities in their operations and challenges with national journalism (Jenkins & Nielsen, 2018), their primary distinction lies in their service to local communities (Gulyas & Baines, 2020, p. 3). One of the critical roles of local journalism is its capacity to cultivate a sense of local identity among residents (Hess & Waller, 2016, pp. 59–60). However, although local journalism is a global phenomenon, its practices, roles, and development are not uniform across all communities and cultures, as these are shaped by the social structure of the respective region or city (Tokgöz, 1981, p. 271; Hess & Waller, 2016, p. 59). For example, in Turkey, local newspapers were established through state policies (Nalcioğlu Ulusoy, 2005, p. 254), initiating journalistic activity. The primary objective in this context was to utilize local newspapers as tools to guide public opinion in line with governmental agendas. In contrast, the development of journalism in Europe has been predominantly shaped by societal conditions (Aydeniz, 2007, p. 12).

When examining the current state of local journalism, it becomes evident that shared challenges, such as the digital revolution and the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, pose significant threats to its survival. However, it is also clear that the issues faced by local journalism, the approaches to these issues, and the proposed solutions vary across different cultures. Today, local newspapers worldwide are grappling with problems such as declining circulation, reduced advertising revenues, and ownership concentration (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2016, pp. 810–811; Nygren, 2023, p. 401). The collapse of traditional business models has forced some organizations to restructure, while others have been compelled to shut down entirely (Jenkins, 2020; Hess & Waller, 2016, pp. 59–60). In Turkey, the local journalism sector faces similar challenges. Based on the literature, the issues affecting local journalism in Turkey can be categorized as economic difficulties, declining circulation, lack of advertisers, inadequacy of official advertising support, inadequate technological infrastructure, the quality of newspapers, working conditions, content production, lack of skilled labor, readership, attitudes of news sources, local governance, journalism education, monopolization, job insecurity, ethical concerns, and various forms of pressure (Atabek, 2005, p. 52; Girgin, 2001, p. 164; Şeker, 2007, p. 70; Vural, 2007, p. 341; Yılmaz, 2015, pp. 195–208). In particular, the dependence on state-supported official advertisements and the lack of strong institutional structures among journalistic organizations in Turkey exacerbate their struggle for survival (Erdoğan, 2007, p. 49).

The closure of local newspapers has led to the emergence of cities and regions without any local press presence (Magasic et al., 2023, p. 404). Recent academic studies have increasingly focused on these areas, referred to as *news deserts*, which highlight the critical role of local newspapers in providing information, as well as the challenges, inequalities, and difficulties faced by communities in the absence of local journalism (Gulyas et al., 2023, p. 285). A study conducted on news deserts in Turkey revealed that very limited news is produced from districts located far from the country's coasts and borders. Furthermore, it was found that many local journalistic organizations rely heavily on news agency content, failing to produce original reporting (Journo, 2021). The structural issues within the field of local journalism also have a significant impact on content production. The downsizing of newsrooms, the reduction in the number of journalists, and the pressure to create click-driven content undermine the conditions necessary for quality journalism (Jenkins & Nielsen, 2019, p. 14). Moreover, while technological developments have contributed to economic challenges, they have also exacerbated issues related to professional ethics in journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2016, p. 810).

These transformations in journalistic culture have led to trust issues in the perception of both journalists and journalism itself. In Turkey, this situation reflects the media polarization between pro-government factions and opposition groups (Bozdağ & Koçer, 2022, p. 180). Hovden (2023, pp. 697–698), in his analysis of 57 countries, demonstrated that journalistic fields worldwide tend to be structured similarly; however, he notes that variations in journalistic cultures across countries are influenced by their respective political contexts. The restrictions and pressures faced by journalists vary according to the specific conditions within each country. In this context, when briefly evaluating the state of journalism in Turkey, the country ranks 158th in Reporters Without Borders' (RSF) 2024 World Press Freedom Index. Journalists face arrests, detentions, house arrest orders, legal investigations, and financial penalties. Additionally, regulatory bodies such as the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) and the Press Advertisement Agency (BİK) impose sanctions on media organizations (Journo, 2024). In the field of local journalism, media organizations receive official advertisement support from the state. According to 2023 data from the Press Advertisement Agency, there are 855 newspapers publishing official announcements and advertisements. Of these publications, 96.3% are local, 2.8% are national, and 0.9% are regional (TÜİK, 2024). This number has declined from 997 in 2021 and 1,051 in 2020. Registered journalists working under the Press Labor Law are entitled to benefits such as severance pay and overtime compensation and are eligible to obtain press cards. However, amendments to the Press Card Regulation have made it easier to revoke press cards (Cumhuriyet, 2021). According to the M4D project report conducted by the Journalists' Association, a total of 3,981 press cards were revoked between 2015 and 2020 (Kanlı & Şener, 2021). With the enactment of the Internet Law on October 13, 2022, internet journalists were officially recognized and granted the right to work under the journalist title. However, journalists working for news websites that do not meet the legal criteria outlined in the law still lack official recognition as journalists (Seçkin, 2010, pp. 61–62, 76). In this context, it is evident that local journalism in Turkey is significantly affected by political pressures.

The inadequacy of journalists' social rights (Kanlı & Şener, 2021, p. 6) has resulted in a shortage of qualified labor in the field of local journalism. Journalists' salaries often fall below the poverty line (TGS, 2024). An examination of the educational levels of journalists working in newspapers that publish official announcements and advertisements in 2023 reveals that 37.5% have graduated from high school or equivalent institutions, 28.4% hold a bachelor's degree, 17.4% have an associate degree, 15.0% have less than a high school education, and only 1.8% have completed postgraduate (master's or doctoral) studies (TÜİK, 2024).

Due to political polarization, solidarity among journalists has weakened (Sözeri Özdal, 2022, p. 227). Furthermore, media owners often subject journalists who exercise their union rights to workplace mobbing or dismissal (DW, 2021). These conditions have also led to the weakening of journalistic self-regulation mechanisms (Sözeri Özdal, 2022, p. 227). When examining potential solutions to these issues, some countries seek to address them through state support, while in others, media organizations pursue independent strategies to develop their own solutions. In Sweden, efforts are being made to resolve the challenges faced by local media through government funding; however, debates continue over whether such support might compromise journalistic independence (Nygren, 2023, p. 403). Media organizations, on the other hand, are developing new methods of content production and exploring alternative revenue models (Jenkins & Nielsen, 2020, p. 14). These include identifying and building relationships with loyal readers who are willing to pay (Jenkins and Jerónimo, 2021, p. 14), implementing subscription and membership models, offering access to premium content, and soliciting donations (Jenkins, 2020). They are also experimenting with collaborative approaches, such as producing high-impact stories, focusing on topic-centered or single-subject journalism, and engaging in shared content distribution, all aimed at reducing competitive friction. In Turkey, state support is provided to local newspapers in the forms mentioned above. However, due to political polarization, audiences tend to subscribe to media outlets that align with their ideological preferences (Bozdağ & Koçer, 2022, p. 180). Additionally, the Press Advertisement Agency (BİK) has encouraged financially struggling local newspapers to merge. Since 2012, mergers have taken place in certain regions; however, these consolidations have led to increased unemployment among journalists.

2.2. Understanding Journalists within Bourdieu's Sociological Theory

Bourdieu brought the concepts of field, habitus, capital, symbolic violence to the field of sociology and tried to make sense of culture with these concepts (Swartz, 2011, p.62-63) and since these concepts enable the analysis of unexplored forms of social practice (Marlière, 2000, p.199), they are also used in various academic fields such as feminist studies, cultural studies, media and communication (Mahbub, & Shoily, 2016, p.1). The "relationality" between concepts is made visible through empirical studies (Swartz, 2011, pp. 62-63).

One of the basic concepts of Bourdieu's sociology is the concept of field. Fields are places where individuals and groups with different levels of power compete to acquire or control different types of capital in the field (Handley, & Rutigliano, 2012, p. 746).

The field of journalism is one of the fields of cultural production that constitute society, such as literary, artistic, political, economic and religious production. Like every field, it has its own rules (Benson, 1999, p.464). For Bourdieu (2006, p. 59), the logic of journalism lies in the fact that, because of the impact of neoliberal policies, journalists focus on interpersonal conflicts instead of social problems for commercial concerns and convey their own views to the public. Due to neoliberal policies, the field of journalism has been transformed by commercial concerns, changing in terms of organizational culture, mode of production, roles of journalists and consumers (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 45). While the actors in this field are journalism institutions and journalists, the product in this field is news. The actors of the political and economic field have an influence on what should be news (Benson, 2006, p.196). However, Bourdieu points out that the position of the journalist in the field is also decisive in this situation (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 47). Because according to him, journalists are social actors who are positioned in relation to other actors and who form their actions through processes of socialization and adaptation (Dickinson, 2008, p.1396-1397). As a matter of fact, even though journalists are bound by the same rules, they do not produce similar news and do not share professional responsibilities in the same way (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 31). From this perspective, the field of journalism is characterized by an opposition between those who cannot resist commercial concerns and the pressures of political power and those who try to protect their professional principles (Bourdieu, 1997, pp. 78-79). Therefore, the field of journalism has no justice in itself (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 59). This is because no sanctions are imposed on journalists who do not engage in "journalism" (Swartz, 2019, p. 37).

At this point, Bourdieu points out that the type and volume of capitals owned by actors determine the struggles within the field (Arun, 2014, p. 171). According to him, struggles and relations within the social structure take place on the basis of economic, cultural, social and symbolic forms of capital (Ünal, 2014, p.172). In other words, inequalities are created and maintained depending on these types of capital (Wacquant, 2014, p. 447).

The capitals owned by actors reflects their class position (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu defines social classes as "working class, petty bourgeoisie and middle and upper classes" (Bourdieu, 2015a, p. 16). He draws attention to the fact that cultural capital, along with economic capital, is determinant in the formation of class position (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016, p.81). The class position of economic capital points to the fact that cultural capital shows the distinction within the same class (Bourdieu, 2015a, p.16). The position of the individual or class in the field is determined by "the total volume of capital, the capital structure and the evolution of this volume and structure over time". The total volume of capital represents the ownership of cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital. The structure of capital reveals which type of capital the individual has more of. The transformation of the volume and structure of capital over time also signals a change in lifestyle (Jourdain & Naulin, 2016, p.110-111). Types of capital can therefore accumulate or transform into each other (Bourdieu, 2015b, p. 232).

If we define capitals, economic capital refers to the possession of material resources such as wealth, property ownership (house, car, etc.), money, etc. (Dursun, 2018, p. 84). Cultural capital includes characteristics such as a person's general culture, personal skills, education and tastes. (Swartz, 2011, pp. 66, 111) It is divided into "embodied, objectified and institutionalized" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Embodied capital is a capital that is passed on from one's family, unconsciously acquired over time as the person and his/her family invest in themselves, and where the characteristics of the class to which one belongs are embodied in the body (Bourdieu, 1986, p.244). Another type of cultural capital, objectified capital, is the existence of cultural capital as material objects; books, devices, monuments, pictures, paintings, music, etc. (Bourdieu, 1986, p.246). Institutionalized capital is related to the education system. The education system plays an important role in providing status and reproducing social class structure (Swartz, 2011, pp. 112-113). However, cultural capital cannot directly translate into economic capital (Dursun, 2018, p. 85).

The concept of social capital reveals the material and symbolic gains that individuals can obtain because of the relationships they establish. As members of a group, individuals develop relationships of recognition and mutual acquaintance (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249). These networks are tried to strengthen by organizing events such as nightlife, dinners, openings, charity projects, meetings, trips, hunts, parties, receptions, ceremonies, etc. Thus, social capital is invested (Bourdieu, 2016, p. 69-70). Through social media channels, especially Twitter, journalists can build a positive or negative reputation and increase their social capital (Barnard, 2018, p. 75-76). Symbolic capital is a form of capital "based on knowledge and acceptance" (Bourdieu, 1995, p. 159). In this context, Bourdieu states that symbolic capital exists by articulating with other types of capital. For example, someone with scientific cultural capital is considered to have "legitimate authority" (Bourdieu, 2015b, p. 233). Here, symbolic capital is articulated with cultural capital. At the same time, an individual's "appearance, honor, prestige, posture, manner of behavior and speech habits" constitute indicators of symbolic capital (Yel, 2014, p. 570). Symbolic capital is therefore a sign of prestige and a "trust capital" (Swartz, 2011, p. 132-133). However, symbolic activities in the fields of science, art and religion, such as social responsibility activities and philanthropy, should not be considered away from economic interests (Swartz, 2011, p. 132).

In this context, this study focuses on journalists and attempts to reveal how they are positioned in the field, whether there are inequalities between them, and whether their positions affect their professional practices.

3. METHODOLOGY

In the study, how are journalists positioned in terms of class in the field of local journalism? How do journalists in the field of local journalism differ from each other according to the capital they have? Looking for answers to these questions. The population of the study consists of journalists working in local newspapers, local online news sites, local television, local radio and freelance journalists in Turkey.

Before data collection, ethical approval (21.04.2022-344333) was obtained from the Social Sciences and Humanities Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee of Akdeniz University on 20.04.2022 and a pilot test was conducted. According to the feedback, the survey was finalized and applied. While preparing the survey, questions from the literature and various studies on local journalism in Turkey were utilized (Hovden, 2008; Yılmaz, 2011; Aran, 2013; Dağ, 2018; Tokgöz, 2015; Yunusoğlu Eroğlu, 2019; Cengiz, 2021; Yılmaz, 2013; Asker, 1990; Seyhan, 2012; Yalçın, 2018; Bulut Kaderoğlu, 2017; Kaban, 2019; Arsal Gölcü, 2014; Çavuş, 2010; Balcı, 2010; Kutlu, 2014; Koçer, 2015). Data were collected through a survey. The survey was prepared through the Survey Monkey system. The names and IP addresses of the participants were not recorded. Between July 18 and October 26, 2022, data was collected via e-mail, Whatsapp and Twitter. Due to the unknown number of people working in local journalism in Turkey, network sampling was used. Attempts were made to reach journalists' associations and trade unions across Turkey by e-mail and telephone, and they were asked to share the survey link with their members. Some organizations responded positively to this request, while others did not.

In response, the researcher opened a Twitter account (@isildcarkaci) on July 18 to reach journalists. In the bio section of her Twitter account, she pinned an information note stating that this account was opened for research. Local journalists who agreed to follow up and local journalists whose Twitter account was open to the public were directly sent the information note and the link to the survey via the message section. Journalists reached via Twitter were also asked to share the survey in Whatsapp groups. Reminder messages were sent to accounts that did not respond to the messages. A total of 467 surveys were deemed valid for analysis. In this context, quantitative data were analyzed using IBM SPSS statistical program 29th Edition. Frequency, chi-square and multiple correspondence analysis were performed in the study. Chi-square analyses were interpreted based on $P=0.05$ significance level. Regarding the validity of the quantitative research data, it was checked whether there were similarities and groupings among the answers given to the survey (Neuman, 2006, p. 285), and it was seen that the answers were similar and grouped.

To conduct the multiple correspondence analysis in the operational process of the research, the data were arranged to take the values 0 and 1, and new variables and index variables were created as social class, cultural capital, economic capital, social and symbolic capital. Accordingly, "present" and "positive" responses were evaluated with 1 point, while "absent" and "negative" responses were evaluated with 0 points.

From the Bordieuan perspective, the most important capitals for class position or social position are economic and cultural capital. Therefore, income and education variables were used to create the class index variable. With these two variables, the class positions of local journalists were determined with the intersectionality strategy shown by Arun (2017) in his study. Accordingly, the class positions of journalists were divided into 10 different categories. Then, other education categories were matched with the cut-off points of income. A class variable was created from these categories. In the class variable, the 10 categories were combined and organized into five categories; lower class, middle lower class, middle class, middle upper class and upper

class (See Table 1). The five class categories used in Arun's (2017) study was taken as basis. Income status is based on the net minimum wage⁴ in April 2022 when the survey was prepared.

Table 1

Class Index Variable

Defining a Class Variable					Categories	Class Variable	
Categorization	Elementary school+ High school+ Two year degree	Undergraduate + Postgraduate			ISVL + EL	1	Lower
					LIS + EL	2	Class
	Education Low (EL)	Education High (EH)					3
					ISVL + EH		Middle
Less than minimum wage	Income Status Very Low (ISVL)	X	X				4
					LIS + EH		Lower Class
5,500-9,999 TL	Low Income Status (LIS)	X	X		ISM + EL	5	Middle Class
10,000 -14,999 TL	Income Status Medium (ISM)	X	X		ISM + EH	6	
15,000-19,999 TL	Income Status Middle Upper (ISMU)	X	X		ISMU+ EL	7	Middle Upper Class
20,000 TL/+	Income Status High (ISH)	X	X		ISMU + EH	8	
					ISH + EL	9	Upper Class
					ISH+EH	10	

Source: Own elaboration.

In the economic capital ownership index, participants with a score of 0 were coded as having no economic capital (ECnot have), those with a score of 1 as having low economic capital ownership (ECL), those with scores of 2 and 3 as having medium economic capital ownership (ECM), and those with a score of 4 as having high economic capital ownership (ECH). Another created capital index is the cultural capital index variable. Since cultural capital is divided into 3 as embodied, objectified, and institutionalized cultural capital, index variables of these capitals were created first. Each of these indices is coded as 1 if there is no capital ownership, 2 if it is low, 3

⁴ <https://www.csgb.gov.tr/media/35787/yillar-itibariyle-net-brut-asgari-ucretler.pdf>

if it is medium, and 4 if it is high. When we added the three indices together, the highest score of 12 points was obtained in cultural capital ownership. Accordingly, participants with 1-2-3 points were coded as no cultural capital ownership (CCnot have); those with 4-5-6 points were coded as low cultural capital ownership (CCL); those with 7-8-9 points were coded as medium cultural capital ownership (CCM); and those with 10-11-12 points were coded as high cultural capital ownership (CCH).

Another capital ownership index is social and symbolic capital ownership. When the points given to the answers are summed, the total score is 32. Accordingly, those who scored 0 points were coded as having no symbolic and social capital (SSnot have), those who scored 1-10 points as having low symbolic and social capital (SSL), those who scored 11-20 points as having medium symbolic and social capital (SSM), and those who scored 21-32 points as having high symbolic and social capital (SSH).

4. RESULTS

Of the respondents, 42.4% were women and 57.6% were men. When analyzed by age category, journalists between the ages of 20-29, 30-39 and 40-49 answered the questionnaire at similar rates (26.2%; 26.2%; 27.9%), while journalists aged 60 and over (4.1%) participated less than other age groups. 12% of the participants stated that they work at a local television channel, 46.5% at a local newspaper, 26.9% at a news website, 11.5% freelance, 2.0% radio, 0.9% digital platforms, and 0.2% at a printing house. Participants were able to select more than one option in the question regarding their positions. Accordingly, the most common positions were reporter (48.2%), editor (40.2%), columnist (31.7%), editor-in-chief (26.3%), photojournalist (19.4%), editor-in-chief (19.2%), news director (17.9%) and concessionaire (24.8%) (See Table 2).

Table 2

Demographic Data

		Frequency	%	N; Unanswered
Gender	Women	196	42,4	
	Male	266	57,6	462; 5
Age	20-29	121	26,2	
	30-39	121	26,2	
	40-49	130	27,9	462; 5
	50-59	72	15,6	
	60 and above	19	4,1	
Institution Type	TV channel	53	12,0	443; 24
	Local newspaper	206	46,5	
	Local news site	119	26,9	
	Freelance	51	11,5	

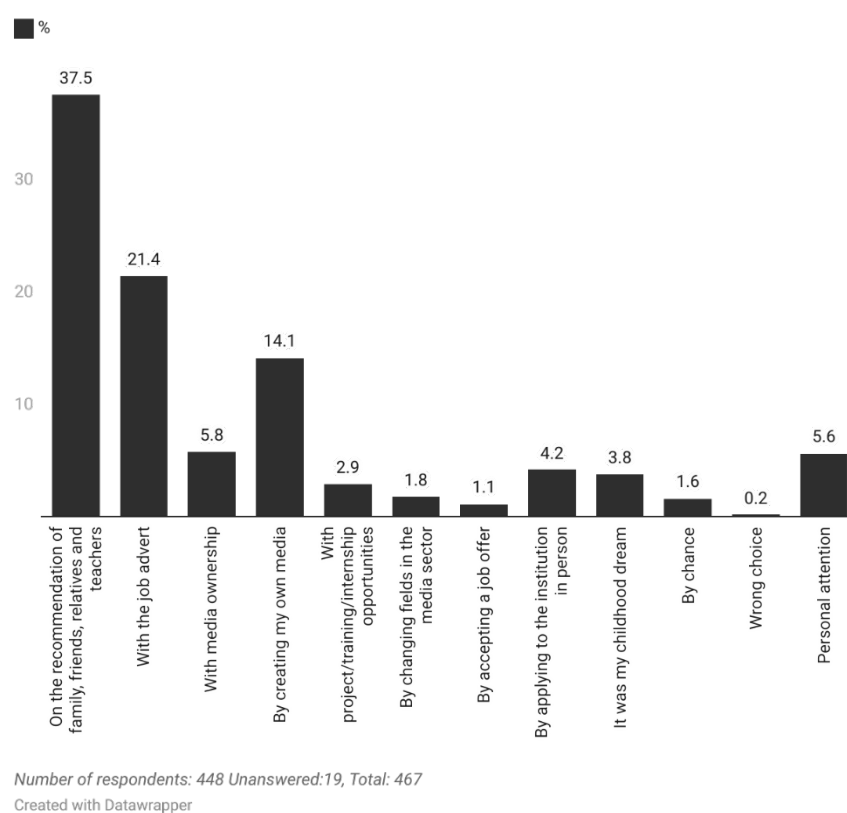
	Radia	9	2,0	
	Digital Platforms	4	.9	
	Printing press	1	.2	
Education	Elementary school	8	1,7	462,5
	High school	100	21,6	
	Two-year degree	82	17,7	
	Undergraduate	230	49,8	
	Postgraduate	42	9,1	

Source: Own elaboration.

When asked how they started their profession, the participants stated that they were mostly hired on recommendation. The analysis shows that 37.5% of the participants started their careers with the advice/reference of friends/colleagues, family or a relative, or university/high school professors (See figure 1).

Figure 1

How Did You Get Started in Journalism?



Source: Own elaboration.

As seen in Table 3, which includes statements about ethics, 78% of the participants think that income level is effective in media workers' violations of ethical principles. Again, 73% of the participants stated that journalists commit ethical violations in terms of conveying the truth and citing sources for their news. In addition, they do not associate quality journalism with having a large readership (53%). Furthermore, 57% disagree with the idea that press ethics have improved.

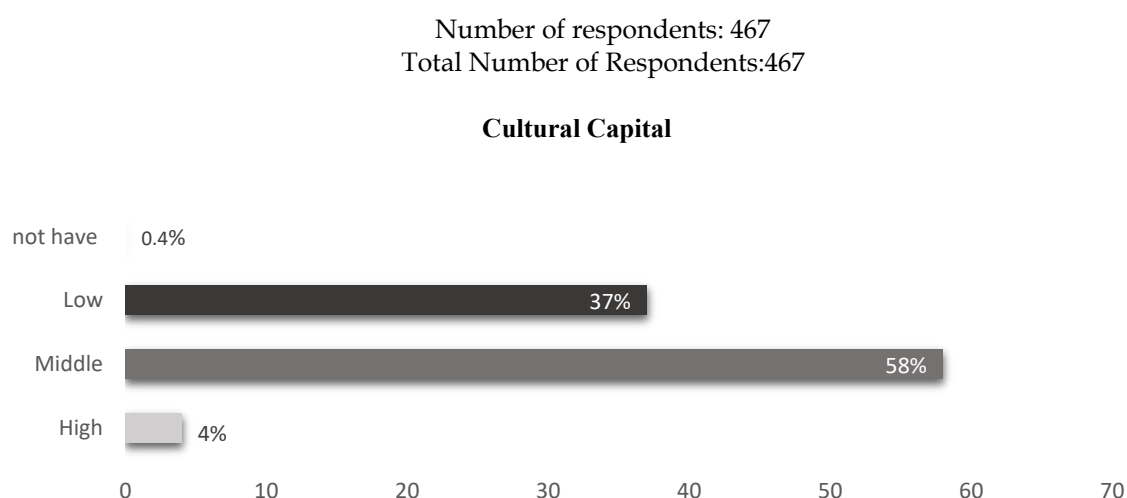
Table 3
Participation In Expressions Related to Journalists and Ethics

	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Unanswered	N
The fact that journalists have a wide readership is a sign of their quality journalism.	%32	%14	%53	17	450
The income level of media employees may lead to ethical violations.	%78	%15	%7	24	443
Most journalists are extremely inaccurate in reporting the truth and citing sources.	%73	%18	%9	24	443
Press ethics are improving.	%18	%25	%57	21	446

Source: Own elaboration.

When we analyze the class status of journalists, 33.8% of the participant journalists belong to the lower class (33.8%), 43.6% to the middle lower class, 14.7% to the middle class, 5% to the middle upper class and 2.9% to the upper class. Participant journalists are mostly from lower middle class, lower class and middle class. When we analyzed their capital, we found that 58% of the participants had medium level cultural capital, 37% had low level cultural capital and 4% had high level cultural capital (See figure 2).

Figure 2
Ownership of Cultural Capital



Source: Own elaboration.

To determine embodied cultural capital, the participants were asked questions about their families' education, occupations, number of siblings, their parents' tastes and where they grew up. Of the journalists who participated in the survey, 47.2% grew up in metropolitan cities, while 52% grew up in provinces, districts, and villages. In this context, according to the results of the analysis, when we examine the education levels of the participants' parents, it is seen that the education levels of their mothers (53.6%) and fathers (49.2%) are mostly at the primary education level. However, when the education levels of the mothers are compared according to other levels, there is no mother with postgraduate education, while the rate of illiterate mothers is 22.4%. On the other hand, fathers had higher levels of high school (24.8%), graduate and undergraduate education (14.1%) than mothers (high school 17.8%; undergraduate 4%). When we analyze the occupations of the mothers and fathers, 66.2% of the mothers are housewives, 8.1% are retired, 6.5% are small tradesmen, 4.9% are agricultural workers, 4.4% are workers, 0.5% are unregistered workers, while 9.4% have occupations in the categories of teacher, pedagogue, nurse, psychologist, media worker-journalist. While 76% of the fathers were retired, small tradesmen, workers, agricultural workers, civil servants, and informal workers; 17.9% were doctors, artists, engineers, teachers, journalists, lawyers, faculty members, police officers, colonels, etc., and 6.1% were from other occupational groups. To find out how many people they grew up in a family, participants were asked about the number of siblings they had. 38.6% of the participants had four or more siblings, 17.4% had two siblings and 17% had three siblings. The rate of participants with no siblings and two siblings is 27%.

In the questions measuring their parents' tastes, participants were asked to provide information about their parents' tastes by marking more than one option. Accordingly, the participants stated that their fathers watched television (62.1%), liked traditional foods (49%), read books (32.5%), listened to Turkish art music (28.4%) and folk songs/arabesk (23.3%), and went to coffee houses (21.9%). As for their mothers' tastes, they stated that they watched television (67%), liked traditional foods (58.4%), knitted lace (44.8%), went on house trips/day trips (38.3%), listened to Turkish art music (29.6%), and read books (24.7%). The most frequent activities of the participants themselves were reading books (68%), going to restaurants (65.4%), going to cafes/bars (58.2%), swimming (47.9%), and going to concerts (47.3%).

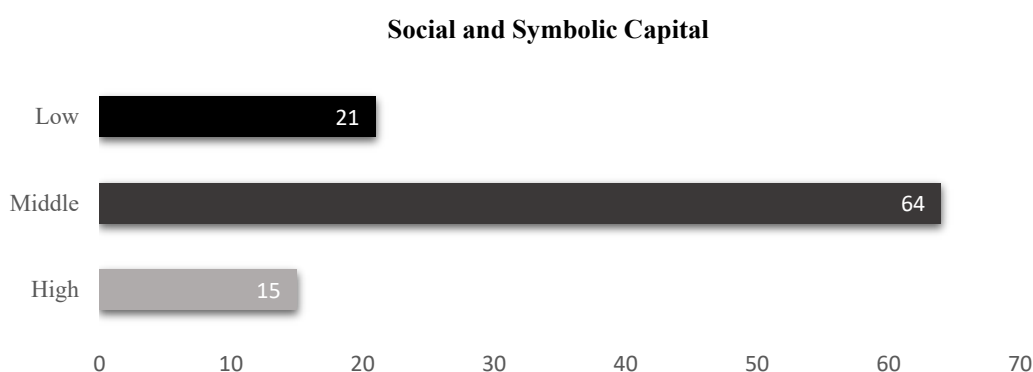
When we analyzed the index of objectified cultural capital, it was seen that 41.8% of the participants had medium objectified cultural capital, 39.9% had low objectified cultural capital and 15.7% did not have this capital. The participants were asked whether they had any publications of any kind and which items were found in the house they grew up in. In this question, participants marked more than one option. Accordingly, 68.9% of the participants selected encyclopedias, 65% selected bookshelves, 42% selected checkers/chess boards, 33.3% selected religious objects, 21.4% selected tapestries, 17.1% selected bağlama/saz, 12.7% selected health/beauty/decoration magazines, 5.5% selected foreign newspapers, 2.4% selected pianos, and 12.5% selected none of the above. Regarding whether they have published any works, 78.5% stated that they have not published any fictional, non-fictional or scientific works. The last capital that constitutes cultural capital is

institutionalized cultural capital. Participants' ownership of institutionalized capital is low at 51.5% and average at 39.6%. To measure the institutionalized cultural capital ownership of the participants, questions were asked about their educational status, foreign language skills, technical knowledge and skill levels. When we examine their educational status; 41.1% are primary school / high school / associate degree graduates, 58.9% are undergraduate and graduate graduates. On the other hand, 34.8% graduated from communication faculties and 23.6% graduated from non-communication faculties. When asked about the level of foreign language knowledge, 40% of the participants stated that they had a poor foreign language knowledge, 47% had an average foreign language knowledge and 13% had a good foreign language knowledge. When the participants were asked which knowledge and skills they had, they were told that they could tick more than one option. The participants answered this question as follows: examining/controlling what other news organizations do on social media (83.4%), finding user-generated content or other social media content (54.1%) and using social media analytics (52.3%), verifying information, and using verification tools (47.5%), using data, data visualization and analysis (41.9%), shooting/managing live broadcasts (41.2%), making/editing videos (41%).

Most of the journalists participating in the survey, 64%, have a medium level of social and symbolic capital ownership. 21% have a low level of capital ownership, while 15% have a high level of capital ownership (see figure 3). In this index, questions were asked about the organizations in which journalists are members and managers, their union memberships, awards, and scholarships, whether they participate in projects or not, and their professional practices that are seen as prestigious in the field. Accordingly, 54.5% of the participants do not have a press card and 77.6% do not have trade union membership.

Figure 3

Ownership of Symbolic and Social Capital



Source: Own elaboration.

When the participants were asked about their membership to any institution/association/party and their status of being a manager and asked to tick more than one option; 53.1% of the participants stated that they have membership to civil society organizations at local level. This rate is 36.3% at the national level and 11.5% at the international level. Membership to a journalism association/society/union/organization at the national level is 49.1% and 15.2% at the international level. Regarding party membership, 23.6% of the participants stated that they are or have been a member of a political party. 25.8% stated that they are not a member of any organization or political party. When we look at the status of being a manager/committee and jury, it is seen that their rates decrease compared to the membership. While 34.1% of the participants stated that they were a manager of an organization related to journalism, 27.3% of the participants stated that they were a manager of a local volunteer organization. In addition, 18.5% of the participants were committee members in the field of journalism, 11.2% were jury members in the field of journalism, 8.4% were current or past managers of a political party at the local level and 46.5% were not managers of any organization/party. On the other hand, 55.9% of the journalists have marked that they have not received any awards or scholarships. There is a statistically significant difference between male and women participants in this question.

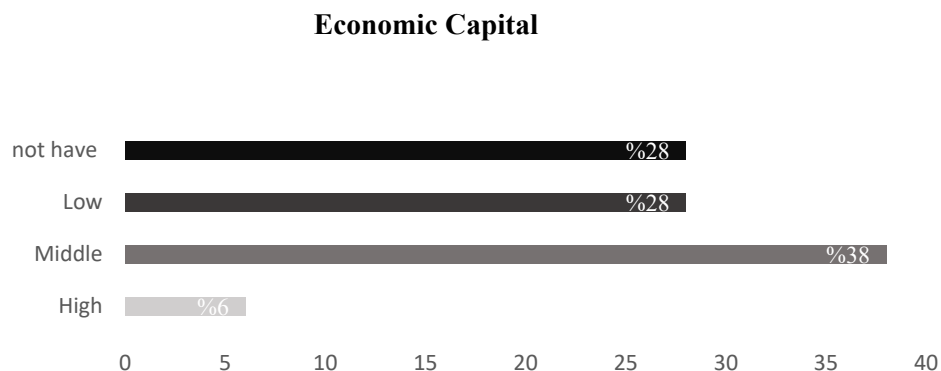
It was observed that male participants (60.2%) received more awards than women participants (50.3%) (Chi-Square=4.43; df=1, p=.035). The news of 73.9% of the participants were covered in national newspapers. In addition, 37.5% of the news was submitted to parliament as a parliamentary question. The rate of speaking on local television/radio is 71.3%. The rate of those who took part in various projects/works/meetings with well-known names in the field of local journalism is 87%. This rate is 61.8% at national level and 49.8% at international level. The rate of those who provide training in any subject related to journalism is 34.5%. The rate of those who are guest lecturers at the university is 10.8%.

To measure their social capital, the participants were asked the following questions: "Do they have relatives who are journalists, who were the people who supported them in reaching the position they have today, who supported them when they decided to become a journalist, who do they frequently meet with in their social lives?". Most of the participants (69.2%) stated that they had no relatives who were journalists. Those who stated that they had journalist relatives stated that their relatives (14.2%), spouses/partners (9.2%), siblings (9.2%), fathers (5.9%), children (2.4%) and mothers (0.9%) were journalists. When asked whether they had people who supported them in reaching their current position, 49.8% of the participants answered negatively, while 50.2% stated that they had people who supported them. When journalists were asked whether there were people in the field whose opinions they consulted or trusted about their work, 76.7% stated that there were people with whom they exchanged ideas about their work, while 23.3% stated that there were not. When the participants were asked how often they meet with people in their social circles who can also be news sources, they stated that they often meet with their colleagues (60.4%), senior executives of radio, television and press (60.5%), well-known journalists in the field

(65.9%), managers of private and public institutions (56.2%), politicians (50.3%), academicians (61.8%) and well-known sportsmen/celebrities (45.7%).

In the economic capital ownership index, the economic capital of the participants was tried to be measured with the questions of house, car ownership, additional income, and additional job. According to the results of the analysis, it is seen that the economic capital of the journalists participating in the survey is not high (6%). 38% of the participants have medium and 28% have low levels of economic capital. The striking point here is that 28% of the participant journalists do not have economic capital ownership. Income status is not included in this index since it is used in the construction of the class index. When we look at the income status, 63.2% of the journalists who participated in the survey earn between 5 thousand 500-9 thousand 999 TL. 14.3% earn less than minimum wage, 14.7% earn 10 thousand-14 thousand 999 TL, 5% earn 15 thousand-19 thousand 999 TL, 2.9% earn 20 thousand TL and above. 57.9% of the respondents do not own a car. When we look at the rate of home ownership, 59.4% do not own a house. 75.4% have no additional job. 65.3% have no additional income (See figure 4).

Figure 4
Ownership of Economic Capital



Number of respondents: 462 Unanswered:5 Total Number of Respondents:467

Source: Own elaboration.

The map showing how capitals are distributed in the field of local journalism and the class position of journalists was created through multiple correspondence analysis (See Figure 5). The map shows the distribution of experience, economic capital, social and symbolic capital on the horizontal axis and the distribution of cultural capital on the vertical axis. As can be seen, male journalists are positioned on the left and women journalists on the right. The social classes of male and women journalists can be easily distinguished on the map. Male journalists are more likely to be in the middle class, upper middle class and upper class than women journalists. Income and education levels enable men to find a place for themselves more in the middle, upper middle and upper classes.

Male journalists in the upper, upper middle and middle class have medium and high levels of economic capital ownership. These journalists have over ten years of experience. Among those with medium economic capital, the highest rate is among journalists with 16/20 years of experience. Those with the highest economic capital ownership have 20+ years of experience and 11/15 years of experience. Their class position also positively affects their symbolic and social capital ownership. As their class position and experience increases, the ownership of social and symbolic capital increases in parallel with each other. Male journalists in the middle, upper middle and upper class have higher levels of symbolic and social capital than women journalists. The ownership of symbolic and social capital at the medium level is equal for both men and women. Again, the lack of this capital is not present in both groups.

As the professional experience of journalists decreases from upper to lower classes, the volume of their capital ownership also changes. There are more women journalists in the lower middle class. A women journalist from the lower class can rise to the lower middle class only if she has a high level of education. Even if they have a high level of education, their income is low. This shows that there is income inequality according to gender in the field, and that the level of income is not determined according to the level of education. Therefore, the volume of their economic capital decreases. Compared to men, women journalists generally lack economic capital or have low economic capital. Among women, those with the lowest level of economic capital are women journalists with experience between 6/10 years and 1/5 years. The group with the lowest level of social and symbolic capital are those with 1/5 years and less than 1 year of experience. Although their social capital is generally at a medium level, the highest level is among women journalists with 6/10 years of experience.

Among the lower class, male journalists are overrepresented. Lack of education and income are the reasons why journalists belong to the lower class. Since the class position of these journalists is low, the volume of their capital ownership is expected to be low. However, male journalists belonging to the lower class have moderate levels of economic, symbolic, and social capital. Since they have a medium level of economic capital, it can be interpreted that they are owners of material values passed down from their families, owners of online newspapers or retired.

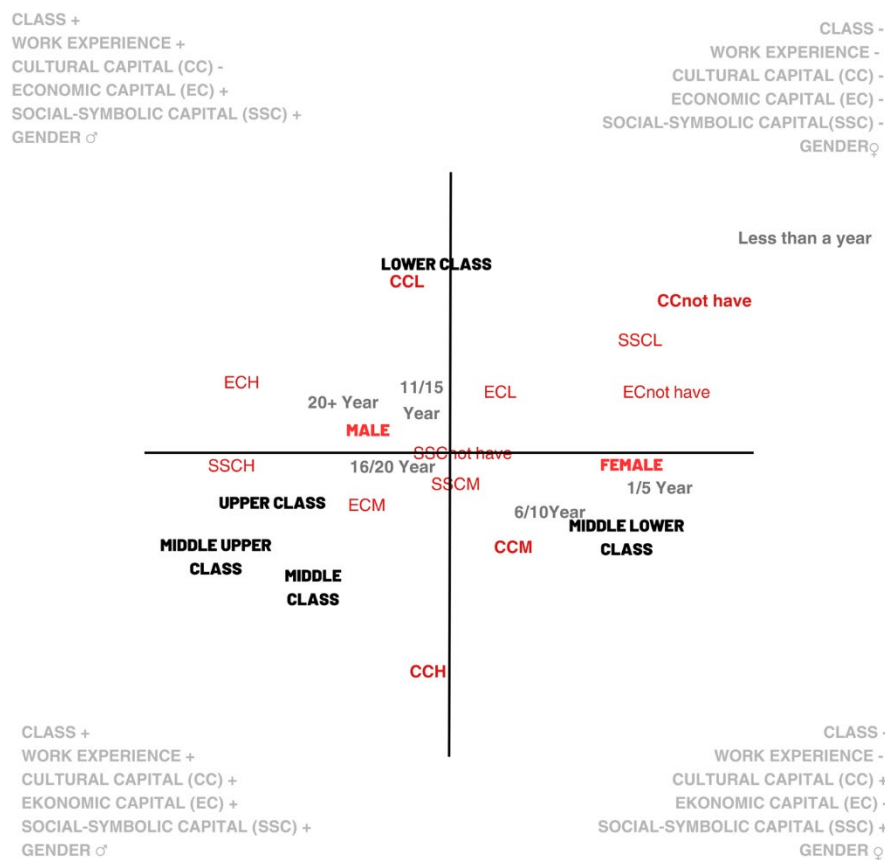
As seen in the map (See Figure 5), cultural capital ownership constitutes the breaking point. For men, journalists in the lower class have low cultural capital. Among women, those with medium level cultural capital are proportionally more than men. Among women, the highest rate of medium-level ownership is among those with experience between 1/5 years and 6/10 years. The group with high levels of cultural capital is in the minority and includes both male and women journalists. While the volume of cultural capital ownership among women journalists is at a medium level in the lower middle class, it is at a medium level in the middle, upper middle and upper class among male journalists.

The analysis reveals that class position and capital ownership are categorized in opposition to experience and gender. On the map, male journalists with more experience and higher class-position are positioned in opposition to women journalists with lower class position and experience. While the volume of capital ownership of

men other than their cultural capital increases in parallel with their class position, the situation is different for women journalists. Although women journalists are positioned in the lower middle class and have less experience than men, their symbolic and social capital and cultural capital, apart from their economic capital, are at medium levels. As expected, journalists with high experience who are positioned in the middle, upper middle and upper class have high levels of economic, symbolic, and social capital, while their cultural capital is at a medium level, similar to women journalists. This shows that although the level of education is a determining factor in the class advancement of men, their income level has more influence. The difference between the income levels of women and women makes it possible to move their class position to a higher class. On the other hand, although their class position is low, the fact that both symbolic capital and cultural capital are at a medium level show that the level of education is more effective in the capital volume of women journalists.

Figure 5

Owned Capital and Class Position of Journalists in the Field (Multiple Correspondence Analysis)



Source: Own elaboration.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In Turkey, cultural, technological, political, and economic factors have a profound impact on the field of local journalism, confronting it with a range of challenges arising from these dynamics. The strategies adopted by local journalism institutions to navigate these issues play a decisive role in shaping their position within the field. For example, journalistic institutions may choose to position themselves on the side that resists political and economic pressures, or they may prefer to align with these fields in ways that strengthen their own position, thereby becoming party. This situation not only influences the structural aspects of local journalism but also affects its content and organizational dynamics, often contributing to polarization within the field. The challenges brought about by digitalization are shared by many local newspapers, with some struggling for survival in the face of these pressures. In such an unequal environment, critical questions arise: Do these conditions create distinction among journalists? Do they differentiate themselves from their colleagues? This study focuses on the factors that generate inequalities among journalists, utilizing Bourdieu's concept of capital. It focuses on the following research questions: How are journalists positioned within the field of local journalism in terms of class? and how do journalists in local journalism differentiate from one another based on the types and volumes of capital they possess? The study examines the class positions of journalists working in this field and analyzes the types and volumes of cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capital they hold. Furthermore, it investigates whether these forms of capital influence the ways in which journalists perform their professional roles.

The study first seeks to answer the question: How are journalists positioned in terms of class within the field of local journalism? In this study, social class is defined at the intersection of income and education. The findings indicate that most local journalists do not come from socio-economically privileged family backgrounds and are predominantly from lower, lower-middle, and middle-class groups. This suggests that the economic challenges faced in the field of local journalism in Turkey have a direct impact on the living standards of journalists. The results also align with the findings of similar studies. Fígaro et al. (2014, p. 396) noted in their research that most journalists belong to the middle class. Similarly, Dağdelen (2018, p. 185), in his study on the field of local journalism in Denizli, Turkey, concluded that children from economically privileged families are less likely to pursue careers in journalism.

Another key question addressed in this study is: How do journalists within the field of local journalism differentiate from one another based on the capital they possess? The findings indicate that both the types and volumes of capital held by journalists vary within the field. It was also observed that even among journalists belonging to the same social class, differences in the volume of capital they possess can be significant. When examining capital ownership, it becomes evident that journalists possess higher levels of social and symbolic capital compared to other forms of capital. This appears to be a result of both the nature of the journalism profession, which relies on building relationships with local sources, and the fact that many journalists work in the regions where they were born and raised. Most journalists possess a moderate level of cultural capital. However, the level of economic capital—measured through

indicators such as home and car ownership, additional income, and secondary employment—is lower than other forms of capital. The absence of economic capital among some local journalists is particularly striking. The generally low levels of both economic and cultural capital among journalists further corroborate the findings of similar studies (Başaran İnce, 2019, p. 57).

The analysis results indicate that local journalists do not share uniform conditions, and this disparity becomes particularly pronounced when examined through the lens of gender. It can be stated that journalists with higher types and volumes of capital are predominantly male journalists. Male journalists with higher income and education levels are more likely to be positioned within the middle, upper-middle, or upper classes compared to their women counterparts. Consequently, it can be argued that male journalists are positioned as dominant actors within the field. However, the dominance of male journalists in the field is not a problem unique to Turkey, as evidenced by existing studies. Research has shown that journalistic fields are generally dominated by male journalists, who also outnumber their women colleagues (Sunarto, 2020, p. 11; Djerf-Pierre, 2007, p. 99).

When examining how journalists differentiate from one another in terms of the types and volumes of capital through a gender perspective, distinct patterns emerge. From the standpoint of economic capital, male journalists tend to see an increase in their economic capital as their experience grows, allowing them to position themselves within the middle and upper classes. Similarly, Hovden (2023, p. 702) illustrates that experience serves as a key differentiating factor, separating established journalists from newcomers, the most experienced from the less experienced, higher-income groups from lower-income groups, and, in many cases (excluding more collaborative countries), men from women. Experience is thus considered a critical factor in the accumulation of capital. However, Davidson and Meyers (2014, p. 14) highlight the negative impact of experience on income in their study. In contrast, the findings of this study suggest that experience plays a significant role in increasing the volume of economic capital. Nevertheless, it is evident that more data is required to fully explain these differences. Among lower-class male journalists, the ownership of economic, symbolic, and social capital remains at a moderate level. In these cases, class position alone does not determine the volume of capital. Instead, factors such as inherited material assets, retirement benefits, or financial resources obtained through owning online newspapers may influence their capital accumulation. Based on these findings, it can be argued that male journalists' positions within the field are largely shaped by their economic capital. From the perspective of women journalists, the most vulnerable groups in terms of economic capital are those who are new to the field and those with limited experience. These journalists either lack economic capital entirely or possess it at significantly lower levels.

From the perspective of cultural capital, it is evident that the volume of cultural capital inherited from family among local journalists is generally low. Consequently, the possession of cultural capital serves as a significant point of differentiation among local journalists. Gender-based differences in cultural capital ownership are particularly

noteworthy. Women journalists, while positioned within the middle class, are typically situated in the lower-middle segment of this class. These women journalists often have less than ten years of professional experience and possess moderate levels of cultural capital. However, despite their position within the middle class, their cultural capital levels are comparable to those of middle, upper-middle, and upper-class male journalists. This suggests that a woman journalist from a lower class can move up to a higher class as her cultural capital level increases. The study's findings indicate that, for women journalists, both experience and education play significant roles in upward class mobility. This outcome aligns with findings in existing literature (Djerf-Pierre, 2007, p. 98). However, even when women journalists have higher levels of education, their incomes remain low. This indicates that the cultural capital of male and women journalists differs according to their class positions, and demonstrates that even within the same class, the volume of cultural capital between male and women journalists is not equal. Among women journalists, lower levels of cultural capital are particularly observed in those with less than one year of experience.

In this context, it can be concluded that there is income inequality based on gender within the field of local journalism, and that income levels are not determined by educational attainment. In general, women journalists possess relatively higher levels of cultural, social, and symbolic capital compared to their economic capital. As their cultural capital and professional experience increase, they are able to achieve upward social mobility. This highlights the significant role of education in altering the class positions of women journalists. However, while education is a determining factor in the class advancement of male journalists, their accumulation of economic capital and its volume tend to increase with experience, which subsequently facilitates their upward class mobility. This suggests that even if male journalists achieve upward class mobility, it may not necessarily translate into an increase in their cultural capital. Among women journalists with less than ten years of experience, there is a greater need to enhance their cultural capital to maintain their presence in the field. To achieve upward mobility, they are required to improve their educational qualifications, expand their knowledge base, and continue their professional development. Therefore, the capital accumulation process among women journalists indicates the existence of fluidity between different forms of capital.

From the perspective of social and symbolic capital, it is observed that the volume of these forms of capital increases among local journalists in relation to their class positions and professional experience. Both male and women journalists possess social and symbolic capital; however, the volume of these capitals varies between the groups. Male journalists in the middle, upper-middle, and upper classes tend to have higher levels of social and symbolic capital compared to their women counterparts.

The social networks of local journalists are primarily composed of their colleagues, co-workers, and news sources. Consequently, it can be argued that local journalists are able to establish strong connections within their social networks and invest in their social capital by participating in events such as press invitations, dinners, and other professional gatherings. In the field of local journalism, receiving awards, holding

managerial positions, serving as a jury member, and possessing a press card are indicators of symbolic power. Being an award-winning journalist contributes to the enhancement of symbolic capital within the local journalism field, while roles such as jury membership or managerial positions are typically occupied by journalists with already substantial symbolic capital. It can be stated that male journalists from middle and upper classes are particularly more recognizable within the field of local journalism. These journalists can be regarded as individuals who dominate the field, possess higher income levels, and produce highly prestigious news content in areas such as politics and the economy (Hovden, 2023, p. 698).

Journalists who possess significant volumes of cultural or economic capital appear to convert their existing capital into social and symbolic capital more easily. As a result, local journalists who are new to the field and have limited experience tend to possess lower volumes of social and symbolic capital. This may be because young journalists often work for low wages, occupy less prestigious positions within the field, or are more likely to be employed in online journalism roles (Hovden, 2023, p. 698). However, the social and symbolic capital of local journalists remains largely confined to the local level. While they may develop networks at the national level, their lack of foreign language proficiency limits their ability to establish connections in the international arena. Nevertheless, platforms such as Twitter (X) enable them to enhance their social and symbolic capital.

When examining whether the class positions of local journalists and the volume of capital they possess influence the way they practice their profession, it becomes evident that having references is one of the key criteria for entering the field. In this context, the possession of social and symbolic capital plays a crucial role in determining which journalists gain access to the field. The role of capital ownership in shaping access to the profession emerges as a significant factor contributing to inequality within the local journalism sector. This also indicates that possessing cultural capital in journalism is not a critical criterion for entering the local field. While it may be a required qualification for entry into national newspapers, it is often overlooked at the local level (İnce Başaran, 2019, p. 59). This is because journalists without formal journalism education acquire professional practices from their more experienced colleagues or supervisors within the industry. This suggests that journalism is perceived as a profession that can be learned through practical experience within the field.

The findings of the study indicate that journalists acknowledge the presence of ethical violations within the field and recognize that press ethics have not shown significant development. Furthermore, local journalists reported that professional ethical principles are often disregarded by journalists themselves during the news production process. They particularly highlighted issues such as the failure to cite sources and the misrepresentation of facts as prevalent problems in the field. This suggests that journalists' low levels of cultural capital and their focus on producing news within a commercial framework contribute to these ethical breaches. One of the other underlying reasons for this may be the lack of importance given to cultural capital

ownership as a criterion for entering the profession. Another finding of the study is that journalists' income levels play a role in ethical violations, as the volume of economic capital has been observed to influence the likelihood of such breaches. It can be argued that both the type and volume of capital possessed by journalists play a significant role in the occurrence of ethical violations. The prevalence of these violations also indicates the absence of a regulatory mechanism among journalists themselves that would ensure fairness within the profession. This absence can be attributed to the polarization within the journalistic environment in Turkey, as well as the political and economic pressures exerted on the field. At the same time, the differing class positions of journalists within the field, along with the variations in the types and volumes of capital they possess, can be seen as reasons for the inability to establish solidarity networks among them. Moreover, self-regulatory mechanisms within the field lack the strength to play a significant role in fostering these solidarity networks.

For journalistic activities to be effectively carried out in Turkey, there is a need for the democratization of the relationships between the field of journalism – and its subfield, local journalism – and the political and economic spheres. The structural issues within the field of local journalism must be addressed within a legal framework, and decisions aimed at resolving the unequal distribution of capital among journalists should be implemented by strengthening self-regulatory mechanisms. Internal professional monitoring mechanisms should operate in a democratic and transparent manner for journalists, professional ethical violations should be monitored, and in-service training should be provided to address journalists' current challenges and needs. At the same time, relationships with the academic field should be developed to make the cultural capital of journalism an important factor in the conditions of entry into the field. Steps should be taken to improve the living standards of journalists. Gender-based inequalities must be monitored, and professional organizations should impose sanctions on institutions to address these disparities. Local journalism organizations need to develop their own business models and adopt strategies that will enhance their economic independence from state support. Therefore, content production should align with the principles of quality journalism, aiming both to increase revenue and to foster public engagement. The field of local journalism needs loyal users and readers who will support journalists committed to producing high-quality news and must find ways to build and strengthen relationships with its audience.

This study has identified the factors creating inequalities among journalists within the field of local journalism in Turkey. In the future, longitudinal studies could be conducted to examine how transformations in the local journalism field evolve over time in response to political and economic changes. These studies could reveal whether such transformations perpetuate inequalities among journalists. Additionally, comparative analyses with other geographical contexts could be carried out to determine whether these dynamics are unique to Turkey or consistent across different local journalism environments. Nevertheless actors in the field consist of local media professionals, students receiving journalism education, and academics providing journalism-related instruction. However, this study includes only journalists working

in local journalism. Although this represents a limitation of the research, future studies can be conducted to encompass all actors in the field.

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