IMAGES OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

IN THREE JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS

by

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Abstract

This exploratory study of crime news focuses on the manner in which information regarding crime, criminal justice agencies, the victims of crime, and criminal offenders is presented in Japanese newspapers.

The conceptual framework for the study was premised on the idea that crime news is a constructed reality. Crime news cannot be viewed separately from the dynamics of news gathering and the process by which newspaper reporters select and report crime news. A review of literature and interviews with Japanese journalists suggested that: (1) crime news reporting is similar among newspapers in various countries; and (2) the newsmaking process is similar in Japan and in the West. The study examined whether the reporting of crime news in Japanese newspapers is similar to that which occurs in Western newspapers.

The present study involved two separate content analyses: a general content analysis and a crime content analysis. The general content analysis involved an examination of the major features of three Japanese newspapers: two national "general" dailies and one metropolitan entertainment tabloid. The crime content analysis examined the nature of crime news in the same three newspapers and compared it with findings from the Western literature on crime reporting.

The findings suggest that crime reporting is similar in Western and Japanese newspapers. More specifically, a comparison between Japanese crime statistics and crime news revealed that the images of crime and criminal justice presented in news were different from those found in statistics. Moreover, the manner in which Japanese newspapers reported crime and justice issues were similar to those of their Western counterpart. Certain types of crime are overrepresented in the news. Crime news stories in Japanese newspapers described the activities of the police primarily as crime fighting, and gave less attention to other activities of the criminal justice system. Little

attention was given to crime victims and criminal offenders. Crime news reported in the same types of newspapers was more similar than that reported between different types of newspapers. These findings are explained by the way in which crime news is gathered, selected, and processed by Japanese journalists. The implications of these research findings for crime news reporting are also discussed in this study.

Dedication

To my parents and grandparents who have always supported my adventures.

Acknkowledgements

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Chapter I

Crime, Society and the Media in Japan

INTRODUCTION

Japan's low crime rate has drawn interest from Western criminologists and sociologists (Fishman & Dinitz, 1989; Chang, 1988; Becker, 1988a & b; Parker, 1984). Chang (1988) states that:

> The Japanese offer a new, fascinating look at what we ourselves have been doing as an industrialized and urbanized nation... Though many criminologists have contended that when a society becomes urbanized crime registers an upswing, Japan appears to be an exception, the most recent statistics indicating that its crime and delinquency rate is remarkably low (p. 140)

Japan's low crime rate may be due to its highly efficient criminal justice system, or it may be a consequence of various social institutions. Social institutions include abstract entities such as culture, tradition, and value systems; as well as concrete socializing systems such as the family, school, and the mass media.[1] These social institutions directly or indirectly socialize people by encouraging or discouraging certain attitudes, behaviors, or beliefs. Many criminologists believe that the combination of the criminal justice system and the social institutions is the secret of Japan's success in maintaining a low crime rate (Fishman & Dinitz, 1989; Chang, 1988; Becker, 1988a & b; Parker, 1984). The present study examines crime news in Japanese newspapers, a part of the news media social institution.

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[1] Mass media are defined as media that are easily, inexpensively and simultaneously accessible to the large segments of a population (Surette, 1991, p. 10). Definition of mass media in the present study includes: television, radio, newspaper, book, magazine, and movies; as well as the news media and the entertainment media.

NEWS MEDIA

News media is one component of mass media: television broadcast, the radio broadcast, magazines, and newspapers, whose main function is to make and distribute knowledge in the form of news. McQuail's (1987) discussion on mass media's function equally applies to news media:

> The mass media are intermediate and mediating...: they often lie between us (as receivers) and that part of potential experience which is outside our direct perception or contact...; they often provide the material for us to form perceptions of other groups, organizations and events. We can know relatively little from direct experience even of our own society and our contact with government and political leaders is largely based on media-derived knowledge (McQuail, 1987, p. 52).

News media allow the audience to learn about certain events that take place outside of their daily lives. However, this is not to say that the news media report all the events in the world. Only a fraction of events, those judged to be "newsworthy", are reported by them. This selection of news reports provides the public with a frame of reference for events, the people involved in them, as well as interpretations and value judgements about the issue (Galtung & Ruge, 1981; Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). It is important to understand the factors that influence this selection so that the news may be reinterpreted more objectively.

NEWS SELECTION AND NEWSMAKING PROCESS

Researchers have found that the selection of news stories is primarily determined by technical or organizational factors, and the professional standard of "newsworthiness" (Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980; and Chibnall, 1977). Newspaper reporters work under various technical and organizational constraints such as time, budget, story quotas, and editors' expectations. The "beat system", whereby reporters are assigned to pay daily visits to certain bureaucratic sources in order to routinize the information flow, is a result of reporters' efforts to work efficiently in such an environment. Chapter Two will discuss the process of crime newsmaking. It will look

at crime news as a "constructed reality", a reality which has been created by journalists and does not necessarily reflect the reality in society. Chapter Four will describe the work environment and the standard of newsworthiness of Japanese crime reporters, illustrating the similarities between the journalistic practices in Japan and Western countries.

It is important to note the power of news media. By selecting certain news items over others the news media show the audience what issues to consider and how to view these issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

POWER OF NEWSPAPERS IN JAPAN

The degree of influence that the news media's frame of reference can exercise in a society is determined by four factors. In other words, the power of a news medium's "constructed reality" depends on: (1) its political influence in the society; (2) its dissemination to the general public; (3) the audience's confidence in the mediated information; and (4) the lack of alternative sources of information. Crime news in Japanese newspapers seems to satisfy these four criteria.

Studies of Japanese society have indicated that the mass media in general have considerable influence over the people in that country (Nester, 1989). In interviews with Japanese leaders in various political groups, Kabashima and Broadbent (1986) found that the entire spectrum of political groups considered the mass media to be the most politically influential force in Japanese society.[2]

Van Wolferen (1989), former president of the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan, acknowledged the vast influence of the Japanese press on the public:

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[2] Those groups included business organizations, bureaucrats, the Liberal Democratic Party, farm organizations, the mass media, intellectuals, labor unions, opposition parties, citizen movement groups, feminist groups, and the Buraku Liberation League. The only exception to this finding was the mass media, which placed themselves in second place following the bureaucrats.

In addition to the bureaucrat-LDP-business triad, there are several other powerful, semi-autonomous bodies. The press is one of them; the gigantic dailies copy each other's approach, coming up with a well-neigh uniform stance on most issues of the day. Speaking mostly with one voice, they tend to have much influence on popular sentiment concerning domestic issues and on attitudes towards international relations (p. 55).

Not only are Japanese newspapers viewed as influential, but they are also omnipresent in Japanese society. Newspaper circulation is the largest among all industrial countries, with 1.85 issues are read per household.[3] Chapter Four will provide an international comparison of newspaper circulation as a means to discuss the prevalence of newspapers in Japanese society as a news medium.

Moreover, the Japanese general public has consistently relied on newspapers as an information source. According to the *National Newspapers Confidence Research* (the Research Institute at the JNPEA, 1984, pp. 146-150), newspapers have always enjoyed one of the highest confidence ratings among Japanese mass media.[4] For example, the survey found that more people turned to newspapers as a basis for their judgements and opinions, and they believed newspapers provided more detailed and complete information than any other type of mass media. Chapter Four will provide more findings regarding the public's confidence in and uses of Japanese newspapers.

Considering the power ascribed to the news media, the enormous circulation of newspapers, and the public's high confidence in newspapers, it may be inferred that newspapers may be the most influential and far-reaching social institution in Japan.

Lastly, crime and justice is one of the areas where few people have daily and direct personal experience, and therefore the mediating role of the mass media in society is significant regarding crime-related issues:

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[3] As of 1988 (Nihon Shimbun Kyokai, 1989). From now on, Nihon Shimbun Kyokai is referred to as the JNPEA (Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association), and Nihon Shimbun Kyokai Kenkyujo is referred to as the Research Institute at the JNPEA.

[4] Television broadcast, radio broadcast, newspapers, magazines, and books were examined as the mass media.

> Most citizens have mental images of crime and the criminal justice system... It is known that the information sources from which these images are built come from personal experiences and observations and from vicarious experiences. The vicarious experiences come to the attention of individuals through interpersonal communication, which is **largely based on mass media messages, and directly through mass media messages** (Graber, 1980, p. xiv, emphasis mine).

Japanese news media, therefore, directly and indirectly provide the public with a "reality" of and point of view for crime-related issues. This is where the relevance of the news media to criminology comes in. If the Japanese general public's perception of crime is based on the news media's "reality" of crime, a study of the news media's treatment of crime stories and the criminal justice system is beneficial to criminologists.

DISCUSSION ON CRIME COVERAGE

Some Western observers have been concerned that the media's description of crime and violence may encourage predisposed people to act-out, or that crime stories may heighten the fear of crime among the general public. Others argue that crime stories are mere entertainment printed to satisfy the public's curiosity and are at worst neither harmful nor educational, and that they have a catharsis effect for the public. Still other observers are inclined to consider the policy implications of crime prevention: their view is that crime news is useful for general deterrence, and that the criminal justice system can use the power of the mass media more effectively to educate the public with regard to crime prevention and apprehension, etc. (Larsen, 1968, pp. 8-24; Surette, 1991, p. 14).

These arguments, however, require empirical validation. Studies on the content of media messages and the function and effects of mass media, provide insight into the manner in which crime news is reported and presented to the public.

There are two approaches to crime news reporting in Japan. One approach is that it is substantially different from that of the Western countries. The basis of this reasoning is that Japan has marked differences as a country with a lower crime rate

than many Western industrial countries and that its tradition and culture are quite different from their Western counterparts. If the mass media are rooted in society, the content of media messages should differ from one society to another, due to these differences (Graber, 1980).

The second approach is that crime news reporting in Japan is similar to that in the West. Japan, as an industrialized democratic society, shares with the Western countries (especially, Britain, Canada, and the United States) similarities in: (1) journalistic practices; (2) democratic political systems; and (3) the status of newspapers within the society. Review of the media literature found that newspapers of many societies similarly distorted images of crime, despite the differences in legal, political, social, and economic circumstances in society (Marsh, 1991; Garofalo, 1980). Moreover, if crime news is a "constructed reality" which does not reflect society, the differences in societies including a low crime rate may not influence crime news reporting. The present study inquires into the ways in which crime news is reported with these contradicting forces.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The objectives of this study were to identify the characteristics of Japanese newspapers and Japanese crime news. Findings from Japanese crime news analyses were compared: (1) with the existing Western research findings, (2) with official crime statistics of Japan,[5] and (3) among the three Japanese newspapers. This study was carried out in two steps.

The first phase of research included a general content analysis of how news space is used for various types of news topics in three Japanese newspapers. This

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[5] *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (1990), compiled by the National Police Agency of Japan, was used as the source of official crime statistics.

phase was designed to reveal what Japanese newspapers look like, how crime news appears with respect to non-crime news, and how they compare to North American newspapers.

The second phase of the study examined the content of crime articles for the same three newspapers. This portion was the focus of the study. Its aims was to examine whether Western findings on the characteristics of crime news applied to Japanese newspapers.[6]

Chapter Three will review the findings of research on newspapers in the West. Chapter Five will describe the method of inquiry employed in this study. Chapters Six and Seven will present this study's findings, followed by a summary of the findings, the implications and limitations of this study.

The next chapter will discuss the theoretical framework of this study.

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[6] Such characteristics included the amount of news on certain types of crime; the descriptions of the crime, the offenders and victims, and the criminal justice agencies; the evaluation of the criminal justice agencies; and the uses of news sources.

Chapter II

Theoretical Framework

CRIME NEWS AS A "CONSTRUCTED REALITY"

The theoretical framework of the present study is based on the premise that crime news is a "constructed reality". This idea comes from the recognition that "crime news" does not objectively exist in the world: "The reporter does not go out gathering news, picking up stories as if they were fallen apples" (Chibnall, 1977, p. 6). Rather, crime news is seen as a product of a news making process, in which reporters go to information sources, collect and select useful information, and construct a story (Chibnall, 1977; Hartley, 1982; Gitlin, 1980; Epstein, 1974).[1]

> [H]e creates news stories by selecting fragments of information from the mass of raw data he receives and organizing them in a conventional journalistic form (Chibnall, 1977, p. 6).

Characterizing crime news as a news making process disassociates it from the actual crime problem in society. Indeed, the idea that crime news is a constructed reality and therefore often independent of society's crime problems is in accordance with the findings of crime content analyses that crime news is not reflective of crime statistics (Hartley, 1982). Crime news, not only presents a distorted image of crime, but it occurs in a similar manner in a variety of countries regardless of the differences among their societies (Marsh, 1989).

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[1] The dynamics of the news making process for the news media have been studied in the field of communication as well as in the field of sociology (Hartley, 1982; Gitlin, 1980; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1978; Epstein, 1974). The studies of television broadcasting and newspapers conducted by Epstein (1974) and Gans (1979) were especially informative.

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CRIME NEWS

Many explanations have been offered as to why the distorted image of crime takes place. Cohen and Young (1981) introduced the "market model", the "manipulative model", and the "sociological model" of the news media as possible explanations.[2] However, they (1981) rejected the first two models as too simplistic.

Cohen and Young (1981) proposed a sociological approach to the news media, involving an ethnomethodological inquiry of the newsworkers' world as a more comprehensive explanation. Utilizing field studies as the primary research method, the sociological model looks at the impact of a journalists' work environment and their professional norms upon crime news reporting. Routinization, gatekeeping, and newsworthiness have been found to be the three important factors in determining the content and presentation of crime news. This approach has been utilized by Fishman (1980), Tuchman (1978), Chibnall (1977), Gans (1979), and Epstein (1974) in their field studies of news reporters; and by Gordon and Heath (1981), Graber (1980) and Sherizen (1978) in the content analyses of crime news.[3]

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF GORDON AND HEATH (1981)

Gordon and Heath (1981) have developed a theoretical framework based on the sociological approach which is pertinent to the present study. The theoretical framework used by Gordon and Heath (1981) dealt with a wide range of

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[2] According to Cohen and Young (1981), the market model assumes a liberal and democratic society, and it maintains that the news media are supplying what the consumers demand, just like any other industry. News reporters collect and publish news stories which, they believe, will interest the public. On the contrary, the manipulative model is based on a Marxist approach to society. It suggests that the news consumers are merely given the interests of media owners: a newsworker is just an employee, who sells his labour to his employer as a means of making a living, therefore he finds and publishes whatever stories his employer wants.

[3] See Appendix D for the flow chart of the newsmaking process.

considerations. Specifically, it referred to the development of crime news and the dynamics of crime news reporting in four steps.

First, newspapers had two incentives for including crime news within their papers:

1. Crime news was found to be economically attractive, for it helped circulation; and

2. Crime news was not difficult to obtain on a daily basis, as the number of information sources were limited and these sources always had some crime stories.

Second, these incentives encouraged the newspapers to develop the "police beat" system, which, in turn, made crime news more attractive than at the initial stage. The beat system increased the efficiency of news collection: it routinized the work of news gathering and writing; it provided the reporter credible and reliable sources; it helped crime reporters fulfilling their daily quota; and it institutionalized a cooperative police-reporter relationship.[4]

Third, as crime news became constant news and crime reporters became a specialized field, writing patterns for leads were developed, enabling crime reporters to write stories in a shorter period of time. Moreover, the stable contact with the police as an information source led to the creation of a reporters' room with the necessary equipment with it located in the police station, which further contributed to the efficient writing. As the writing time shortened, more crime stories came to make the deadline.

Lastly, at the editor level, crime news was assured a place in newspapers as it was believed to interest the readers. The flow of crime news was constant thanks to the beat system, and crime news was usually viewed as more newsworthy by the editorial staff compared with news of other topics, allowing editors to fill newsholes with crime

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[4] The beat system and the notion of routinization are explained later in this chapter.

news on a "slow day" and to cut down the number of crime news stories on a "heavy day".

ROUTINIZATION, GATEKEEPING, AND NEWSWORTHINESS

The sociological model of news media identifies three key notions in the dynamics of crime news making: routinization, gatekeeping, and newsworthiness (Chibnall, 1977; Fishman, 1980; Tuchman, 1978; Surette, 1991). "Routinization" refers to a crime reporters' effort to make the news making process a set of routine activities; a police beat is the prime example of routinization. In the beat system, a crime reporter is assigned to make daily visits to certain criminal justice agencies in order to routinize the information transmission from the agencies to the reporter. The development of specific patterns of writing style is also an effort by journalists to routinize their work (Gordon & Heath, 1981). Routinization by journalists leads to an institutionalization of these activities by the organization. By institutionalizing daily activities, the news making process become more efficient in terms of time and money (McQuail, 1987, pp. 167-171).

A crime event must meet stringent requirements set forth by the news source, by crime reporters and editors before the story appears in a newspaper (Chibnall, 1977; Tuchman, 1978). This practice of news selection is referred to as "gatekeeping" (McQuail, 1987, pp. 160-167). First, a crime story must be acceptable for the news source (e.g., the police) to release the information to crime reporters. Second, the crime story must interest a crime reporter by being "newsworthy". Third, the story written by the crime reporter must be newsworthy enough in the eyes of the editor to win space in the newspaper.

Gatekeeping by journalists is primarily operated on the newsworthiness of the stories. The degree of newsworthiness of a story determines the location and the prominence of the article, as well as whether or not the story will be published

(McQuail, 1987, pp. 165- 167). As mentioned later in this chapter and Chapter Four, Western and Japanese journalists have developed and work with a similar standard of newsworthiness.[5]

The criteria for "newsworthiness" are important since only crime stories that are viewed as "newsworthy" appear in newspapers. Crime reporters internalize the professional standard of "newsworthiness" in the process of socialization (Chibnall, 1977). In studies of the news media, many elements are noted as criteria for the "newsworthiness" of stories (Chibnall, 1977; Galtung & Ruge, 1981; Hartley, 1982; and Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987). For example, in conducting content analysis of crime news in British newspapers, Roshier (1981, P. 46) found four factors of newsworthiness:

1. The seriousness of offence;

2. "Whimsical" circumstances (i.e., humorous, ironic, or unusual aspect in a story);

3. Sentimental or dramatic circumstances associated either the victim or offender, arousing feelings of either sympathy or outrage; and

4. The involvement of a famous or high status person in any capacity.

These factors are not exclusive and were found in crime reports in varying degrees.

FIELD STUDIES OF CRIME REPORTERS IN THE WEST

Chibnall (1977) and Fishman (1980) conducted two field studies of newspaper crime reporters in Britain and the United States, respectively. Tuchman (1978) studied not only crime reporters but other types of newsworkers in the same newspaper company. These three studies investigated how newsworkers collected news, how they decided what to publish, and the way they decided how to present the news story.

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[5] There is Western and Japanese research investigating journalists' standard of "newsworthiness" (Roshier, 1981; Ericson, Baranek & Chan, 1984; Ohba, 1988a & b).

Chibnall (1977) conducted interviews with crime reporters as well as a Scotland Yard press officer, and observed them at the Yard's Press Bureau. He confirmed other researchers' findings that crime stories that appeared in newspapers were the ones that had been selected from a large number of available newsworthy stories. The standard of newsworthiness included: (1) immediacy; (2) dramatization; (3) personalization; (4) simplification; (5) titillation; (6) conventionalism; (7) structured access; and (8) novelty.[6]

Moreover, Chibnall (1977) found that the relationship between news sources and reporters was an equally important factor in the news selection process. As the police beat system required that reporters and criminal justice personnel interacted very closely, a symbiotic relationship based on their common interests was eventually established: crime reporters wanted good crime stories and criminal justice agencies wanted newspaper accounts to portray them in a favorable light. Naturally, the interaction between crime reporters and criminal justice agencies became more efficient and more secure over time. However, Chibnall (1977) found that the selection process took place not only between a reporter and an editor, but between a news source and a reporter as well:

> In most reporting situations, the reality of events must be processed by others before the reporter can render his own account. It is within this context of reporter/source interaction, a context largely taken for granted by the conventional news flow model, that the significant 'gatekeeping' takes place (p. 7).

Chibnall (1977) noted that the beat system and its corresponding symbiotic relationships sometimes hindered certain journalistic activities, especially when the interests of the two parties did not coincide. Some crime stories were published or not published because the police did or did not want them to be published, regardless of the

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[6] See Chibnall (1977, pp. 22-45) for detail. See also Ericson, Baranek, & Chan (1987, pp. 139-178) for the criteria for newsworthiness of crime news, and Galtung & Ruge (1981, pp. 52-63) for the standard of newsworthiness for news in general.

interest of crime reporters in these stories. It was also found, through close interaction with police personnel, that crime reporters came to internalize the police's view of the world. This view was found to be reflected in both crime news reporting and the professional standards of newsworthiness.

According to Chibnall (1977), crime news reporting was primarily determined by the nature of (1) the interaction between journalists and their information sources, and (2) the standard of newsworthiness. In other words, these aspects are indispensable for understanding discrepancies between crime imagery in newspapers and in crime statistics.

In the United States, Fishman (1980) conducted a field study of a U.S. newspaper company which included interviews with crime reporters. Like Chibnall (1977), Fishman (1980) found that a close relationship with a useful news source was important for a crime reporter. A crime reporter underwent the "beat" routine every day to his news sources in order to see if they had anything worthwhile to write about.

Fishman (1980) found that crime reporters work under organizational and technical constraints and requirements. Deadlines had to be strictly observed; available resources were limited; the workload was large for the number of staff; a reporter was required to produce a certain number of reports acceptable to the editor; professional ethics required stories to be as objective and balanced as possible; and a major story could not be missed.

According to Fishman (1980), the "police beat" system was viewed as the solution to these overwhelming work conditions for crime reporters. The "beat" became a journalistic institution for gathering information and had been established to maintain a close relationship between the reporter and a limited number of news

sources. Bureaucracies were normally selected for the beat routine, as they were considered as good sources of information[7].

Fishman's (1980) findings emphasized the significance of the beat system, supporting the conclusions of Chibnall (1977). Crime reporters relied on bureaucratic sources, especially the police, for information. The relationship between crime reporters and the police was found to be a crucial factor for understanding the content of crime news.

Tuchman (1978) conducted a field study at a U.S. newspaper publisher, and found that newsworkers (especially, reporters and editors) made news by simply "doing their work"[8]. In this sense, the newsworkers were no different than workers in other industries. They had a fixed work schedule and work quotas. They worked within a bureaucratic organization, a newspaper company, and therefore were under organizational constraints. Reporters were one part of an assembly line which happened to produce news.[9]

Tuchman (1978) found that the work schedule of journalists and the "beat" system were a double-edged sword. Together they enabled journalists do their work under various constraints; but, at the same time, they limited the type of and approach

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[7] The reasons that a bureaucracy is viewed as a good source are: (1) there is always something new to offer a reporter -- something new to write about; (2) it has resources (human or material) to deal with reporters, in other words, it can package necessary information for reporters if necessary; (3) the offices of a bureaucracy are open at times when reporters are gathering stories; (4) a bureaucracy is much easier to access for journalists than a private person or less organized bodies; (6) the cost of access is very cheap; (7) it is considered to provide objective information as a public body, as opposed to an individual or a private group which is seen to promote certain interests; (8) it is a legitimate source to quote, therefore a reporter is protected from consequential libel suits; and, (9) its status as a public organization gives authority to its information.

[8] Tuchman's (1978) study did not limit the sample to "crime" reporters, however, the findings are insightful for understanding the process of crime newsmaking.

[9] This view of the role of journalists is supported by "Work of Crime Reporters and Other Newsworkers" in Chapter Four, especially where the quality control of news is discussed.

to crime news. For example, events which took place in the evening did not fit in a reporter's work schedule, so did not apprear in print. The intrinsic significance of events was not the sole criterion for publication: the events published had to occur during the news-gathering time.

Tuchman (1978) found that a reporter's professional norms required that the reports be "balanced"; in other words, a report could not be one-sided. This requirement of balance often discouraged reporters from quoting private groups. For, if a citizen group with certain interests was quoted, a reporter had to make sure to cite a group with competing interests in order to balance out the story. In contrast, a public body's comments were considered to provide an authoritative and balanced viewpoint. Therefore, for a time-straitened reporter, a public body was a more preferable source of information to non-public body. Overall, Tuchman (1978) found that organizational and technical factors and the professional standard of crime reporters were the dominant determining factors of content and news selection.

SUMMARY

The journalistic practices of crime reporters observed in the studies cited above seem very similar. More importantly, the findings clearly point out that: (1) crime events that are off the "beaten track" are unlikely to be reported; (2) bureaucratic information sources such as the police are able to exercise a high degree of control over which stories were selected and presented as crime news, by providing and/or withholding crime information; (3) crime reporters pick and choose from the pool of news stories based on professional criteria (that is, newsworthiness, balance, and objectivity of the story), not based on the wishes of their employers or readers; (4) the

production process of crime news involves negotiation at various stages of newsmaking, so that extreme ideas rarely appear in the news.[10]

The next chapter reviews the findings from Western and Japanese content analyses of crime news in newspapers. Chapter Four will provide information pertaining to the Japanese crime newsmaking process indicating a high degree of similarity between crime reporting practices in the West and Japan, as well as general information about the Japanese press industry.

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[10] See Appendix D for the process of crime newsmaking.

Chapter III

Literature Review

In this chapter two types of newspaper content analyses, general content analysis and crime content analysis, will be introduced. Additionally, the literature review of four North American studies directly related to the present study will be presented, followed by a summary of the findings. Then the content analyses of Japanese newspapers and a summary of those findings will be briefly outlined. Finally, a set of hypotheses derived from the findings from the four North American studies will be presented.

CONTENT ANALYSES OF WESTERN PAPERS

GENERAL CONTENT ANALYSIS

In content analyses related to crime news, two types of analysis exist: general content analysis and crime content analysis. Usually, general content analysis is conducted to provide basic information for a crime content analysis. One example of a general content analysis leading to a crime content analysis is Graber's (1980) U.S. mass media study.[1] Graber (1980) conducted a general content analysis, comparing crime news stories with news stories of other topics. Subsequently, a crime content analysis was conducted, comparing the attributes of news stories of different types of crimes with official crime statistics and the findings from a panel of residents selected for survey of public perceptions of crime.

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[1] Graber's objective of the research was to investigate: the content of crime issues in the media (newspapers, T.V. news and T.V. dramas, local and national); the similarities and differences in images of crime presented in the media, held among the panel and in the crime statistics.

In general content analyses, researchers study stories of all news topics as well as crime news stories. Crime news stories are compared with stories of different topics in terms of frequency of appearance, amount of news space used, and prominence of the news stories. For instance, Roshier (1981) compared the percentage of available news space devoted to crime stories in three national newspapers and two local newspapers in Britain.[2]

The findings in content analyses of crime news have been reviewed by several researchers (Dominick, 1978; Garofalo, 1980; Katz, 1987; Marsh, 1989; Surett, 1992). Dominick (1978) found that a typical Western metropolitan newspaper devoted five to ten percent of its available space to crime news. Other researchers found a much higher figure: for example, Graber (1980) found that newspapers devoted over 20% of total number of news to crime and justice topics.

The difference found in the percentages of crime news space may be the result of different definitions of "what constitutes a crime news story". This is one of the limitations of content analysis: findings are often not comparable among studies as the operational definitions are different. On the whole, an operational definition of a "crime news story" may be determined with two independent steps. In order to define a crime news story, one must choose a combination of what constitutes a *crime issue*, and the type of *reporting style* that should be included as a news story.

A "crime issue" may be defined in three ways. The narrowest view included a "reported legal infraction" (Fair, 1984, p. 41). A broader definition included not only stories of crime incidents, but also activities of the criminal justice system and general discussions of crime phenomena. The broadest definition included "near-crime news", stories which may potentially develop into crime news; and "non-crime news", stories

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[2] Roshier (1981) conducted a cross-sectional study looking at the months of September in 1938, 1955 and 1967. The percentages of space devoted to crime news differed across the media, but they were surprisingly stable over the years.

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related to activities of the criminal justice system unrelated to criminal incidents.[3] Most crime content analyses reviewed employed either the narrowest or the second narrowest perspective.

There are also three ways of defining appropriate reporting styles. The narrowest definition only included primary news.[4] A broader definition of crime news included secondary news (features, editorials and letters to the editor) as well as primary news. These definitions were popular among crime news studies. The broadest definition even included cartoons (Graber, 1980).[5]

Garofalo (1981) recognized the existence of variations in the definitions of crime news among the studies.

> When these variations are kept in mind, there appears to be great stability in the amount (percentage of total news space) of crime news in newspapers, whether measured by proportion of total news space or by proportion of total news items (p. 321).

With regard to the fluctuation in the amount of news by topics, Roshier (1981), Gordon and Heath (1981), and Graber (1980) found that the proportion of space devoted to crime and non-crime news was stable over time in a newspaper.

CRIME CONTENT ANALYSIS

The majority of crime news studies consisted of "crime content analysis", an analysis solely examining crime stories. Crime content analysis was widely-used as a

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[3] This definition was introduced by Dussuyer (1979, pp. 42-43), but Dussuyer (1979) used the second broad definition in the study.

[4] Fair (1984) used the term "hard crime news" in defining the crime issue and reporting style. It was the combination of the narrowest definitions of crime issue and reporting style. Marsh's (1988, p. 32) definition of crime stories was also a combination of the narrowest.

[5] This explains why the percentages found in Graber's (1980) study were so high. A definition as broad as Graber's (1980) is rarely found in other research. The present study employed a coding protocol which allowed as broad a definition of reporting styles as Graber's, however, only one cartoon appeared in the sample.

research method for a variety of purposes, and a large number of crime content analyses of newspapers were conducted in various countries.[6] In Canada, Dussuyer (1979) compared crime news within 40 Ontario newspapers and Fair (1984) studied the deterrence messages printed in a Vancouver newspaper. Voumvakis and Ericson (1984) examined crime wave phenomenon, and Ng (1981) studied "moral panic" in Toronto newspapers. However, there were few published crime content analyses of Japanese newspapers found.

Crime content analysis scrutinizes the way in which crime phenomena are reproduced in a story by looking at the content, treatment and focus of a crime story, the uses of information sources and the attitude of the newspaper toward the crime issue. Many studies compare the prominence, amount, and other characteristics of stories between various types of crime (Antunes & Hurley, 1977; Jones, 1976; Gordon & Heath, 1981; Cohen, 1975). Voumvakis and Ericson (1984) examined crime information sources and the amount of quotes related to crime, while Dussuyer (1979) studied evaluative elements regarding criminal justice activities. Roshier (1981) and Katz (1987) conducted qualitative observations regarding the standard of newsworthiness.

Where official statistics were available, researchers have examined the extent to which crime news reporting distorts the image of crime, by comparing the distribution of the types of crime reported in the papers with their occurrence in official crime

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[6] In the United States, Meyer (1975), Fishman (1978) and Humphries (1981) studied New York newspapers, Graber (1980) and Sherizen (1978) studied Chicago newspapers. Jones (1976) examined St. Louis newspapers, and Antunes & Hurley (1977) studied Houston newspapers. Cohen (1975) compared the difference of crime coverage in newspapers in Detroit and Atlanta. Katz (1987) examined the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*, Gordon & Heath (1981) analyzed newspapers in San Francisco, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Schwengels & Lemert (1986) studied one Oregon newspaper. In Europe, Cohen (1972), Roshier (1981) and Smith (1984) studied British newspapers, while Ditton & Duffy (1983) examined Scottish papers. From non-Western countries, Priyadarsini (1984), Sheley (1986) and Murty, Ugenyi & Roebuck (1989) provided crime content analyses of Indian, Columbian, and Nigerian newspapers, respectively.

statistics (Ditton & Duffy, 1983; Antunes & Hurley, 1977; Sherizen 1978). Some researchers combined a crime content analysis and a survey of the public's image of crime (Graber, 1980; Marsh, 1988). Others studied the phenomenon of crime waves reported in newspapers (Hall, et al., 1978; Cohen, 1972; Voumvakis & Ericson, 1984). Still others studied the relationship between the content of the news and the daily practice of crime reporters (Schwengels & Lemert, 1986; Fishman, 1978).

The techniques employed in these studies varied. The majority of research was longitudinal studies (Fair, 1984; Roshier, 1981; Gordon & Heath, 1981). Some researchers have conducted cross-sectional studies (Dussuyer, 1979; Otto, 1968). While much of the research involved more than two newspapers for a period of a couple of months, the number of newspapers examined has varied from one (Fair, 1984; Schwengels & Lemert, 1986) to 40 (Dussuyer, 1979). The time period examined has also varied from one day to more than one year per newspaper. Sampling techniques have varied as well, from consecutive days (Dussuyer, 1979; Fair, 1984), constructed weeks (Graber, 1980), to days selected by the researcher's original method (Katz, 1987).[7]

The definition of crime news was also found to vary from one study to another.[8] Some researchers have focused on reports of specific criminal event occurrences or "primary news" (Fair, 1984; Marsh, 1988);[9] while others have included "secondary

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[7] A "constructed week" is a seven-day period consisting of each of the days of week, and those days were selected from more than one week. Constructed weeks as a sampling method has merits over selecting consecutive days. A constructed week is more representative of the general population than seven consecutive days.

[8] See the discussion of differences in operational definitions of "crime news story" earlier in this chapter.

[9] Marsh's (1988, p. 32) definition of crime news is one of the narrowest, limited to raw, uninterpreted crime articles that addressed criminal offences as defined by criminal statutes, excluding editorials, government or individual estimates, opinions, and observation on crime.

news" or editorials, columns, specials, commentaries, letters to the editor, and features, as well as the primary news. Some made exceptions and excluded certain types of crime: for example, Sherizen (1978) excluded Watergate, which was highly political in nature; Marsh (1988) excluded international crime stories as the legal definitions of crime differ from one country to another.

Review of the literature has consistently found regardless of definition, technique, or country chosen that crime stories and crime statistics presented different pictures of crime and criminals (Dominick, 1978; Garofalo, 1981; Katz, 1987; Marsh, 1988, 1989 & 1991). For example, Marsh (1991, p. 67) reviewed the research findings on crime news reporting in newspapers in fourteen countries, and found that "crime coverage was essentially the same" in four areas, despite differences in societies, especially differences in the level of freedom of the press:

1. There was an overrepresentation of violent crimes and an underrepresentation of property crimes;

2. The percentages of violent crimes reported in newspapers did not match official crime statistics;

3. Crime coverage presented a false image of the effectiveness of police and courts in controlling crime and punishing criminals; and

4. Newspaper coverage failed to educate readers as to causes of crime or how to avoid personal victimization.

FOUR CONTENT ANALYSES IN NORTH AMERICA

1. Graber's Two-level Content Analysis

Graber's (1980) explanation for the discrepancy between the distribution of types of crime reported in police statistics and in newspapers is that a "gate" in the newsmaking process selectively filters out certain types of crime stories for publication.

This "gate-keeper" model held that journalists, especially editors, are the "gate-keepers" who determine what is to be published and what is not.[10] This model focused on how reporters and editors routinized their daily activities of news collection and selection as a part of the gate. If an event took place out of the routinized territories of the reporters, the event would not be recognized by them. If a story did not seem newsworthy, then the story would not be chosen to appear in a newspaper.

> [N]ews is a product of socially determined notions of who and what are important, and these notions lead to organizational structures that routinize news collection by establishing regular 'beats' (Graber, 1980, p. 21).

Graber (1980, p. 21) made three hypotheses based on the gate-keeper model:

1. (Because of the routinized nature of the news making process,) each of the various types of news maintain a stable amount of news in percentage;

2. (Because the news-making processes are similar among similar type of newspapers) the various media carried the same news topic in a slightly different way and the prominence of the news story varied across the media (which reflected the newspapers' need to differentiate one another in order to attract readers) ;

3. (As violent or rare crimes are deemed more newsworthy than less violent or common crimes) there were more coverage of street crimes, particularly the more violent and bizarre incidents, than more routine crime occurrences, including white-collar crime.

Accordingly, two levels of content analysis, general content analysis, and crime content analysis were conducted.

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[10] Chibnall (1977) suggested a modified gate-keeper model, assuming the role of the gate-keeper to the police as the ultimate information source.

In the general content analysis which is relevant to the present study,[11] Graber analyzed three metropolitan newspapers (the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Sun-Times*, and the *Daily News*). Two constructed weeks were chosen as the sample size. "Constructed weeks" as a sampling method has merits over selecting consecutive days. A constructed week is more representative of the general population than seven consecutive days.[12]

Graber (1980) defined news stories as ordinary news reports, editorials, letters to the editor, features, and cartoons; but excluded advertisements, obituaries, puzzles, radio and television listings, and similar types of announcements as non-stories. Graber (1980) then coded news stories by topics (crime and justice, government and politics, economics and social issues, and human interest and hobbies), comparing the amount of news in each topic.

Just as the hypotheses predicted, Graber (1980) found that the relative amount of news devoted to one topic was stable over time and that the newspapers studied allocated a similar amount of news to each topic. Newspapers reported crime and justice topics between 21.9% and 28.1% of the total number of news; government and politics between 41.4% and 44.0%; economics and social news between 21.7% and 26.2%; and human interest and hobby news between 5.5% and 10.7%.

Using crime content analysis, Graber (1980) examined two constructed weeks of two separate newspapers and one year of one additional newspaper as the sample.

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[11] Graber analyzed three other newspapers and three TV stations for one year starting January 15, 1975 as a part of the general content analysis (the *Indianapolis News*, the *Indianapolis Star*, the *Lebanon Valley News*, CBS, NBC, and ABC). However, the present study introduces only the directly related part of Graber's (1980) study.

[12] For example, if a few very newsworthy events take place in a week, newspapers are likely to shift the ratio of space allocated to various news topics to accommodate such news, and the consecutive-day samples will be biased towards such events. This is why constructed weeks are a popular method of sampling newspaper issues.

Crime stories were first coded by types of crime reported; such as murder, assault and theft. These types were then collapsed into larger categories of crime, including street crimes, drug crimes, and business crimes.

In order to test the third hypothesis, Graber (1980) compared the frequency of crime reported in news stories and in official crime statistics. While official statistics indicated that murder made up 0.2% of all crimes, the occurrence of murder stories found in the *Chicago Tribune* made up more than 25% of all crime stories. Theft accounted for over one-third of all crime known to the police, whereas only 3.4% of crime stories dealt with theft cases.

As the hypothesis predicted, violent crimes were disproportionately reported in the newspaper studied. Graber (1980) pointed out the over-representation of serious and rarer crime and the under-representation of less serious and common crime in the *Tribune*, and concluded that "there is no mirror image, not even a distorted mirror" (p. 40) with the actual occurrences of crimes.

Graber (1980) tested another hypothesis: because the potential harm of white-collar crimes to society is as serious as that of street crimes, white-collar crimes were reported as prominently as street crimes.[13] The study concluded that white-collar crime stories were less frequently reported (approximately 20% of the total number of crime stories) than street crime (approx. 50%). The displays of white-collar crime stories and street crime stories were found to be the same in each prominence indices.[14]

Graber (1980) found that male-female ratios for offenders in the news and in FBI data were closely matched; 86:14 and 84:16, respectively. Age distribution of the

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[13] Graber (1980) defined street crimes as consisting of murder, robbery, assault, kidnapping, arson, rape, theft, etc. White-collar crimes is defined to include consumer fraud, bribery and kickbacks, drug offenses, tax cheating, extortion, etc.

[14] Indices for the prominence of coverage were made with the location, headline size and story length, and other physical structures of crime stories.

offender in crime news was not representative of the official data. Offenders under 25 years old, between 25 and 35, and those over 35 years old accounted for 30%, 31%, and 39% in crime news; while the FBI data reported 57%, 20%, and 23%, respectively.

Graber (1980) found that news media of the same type reported similar type of crime news more often than the type of crime news reported between different types of news media. The news media of the same type had a similar selection of crime news, however, they employed different newsplays for the same stories thereby differentiating themselves from one another.

Graber (1980) also compared the perceptions held by the public, images inferred from the statistics, and images presented in media with regard to the motives and remedies for crime, and the effectiveness of the criminal justice system. However, the findings of this part of the study is not pertinent to the present study.

2. Dussuyer's Crime Content Analysis

Studies by Dussuyer (1979), Sherizen (1978) and Fair (1984) concentrated on crime content analysis. Dussuyer (1979) conducted an exploratory and descriptive study of 40 Ontario newspapers. While Graber (1980) used issues of constructed weeks in order to select a representative sample of the population, Dussuyer focused on "the day-to-day crime coverage by selecting a consecutive period" (p. 28). Therefore, Dussuyer (1979) sampled issues from six consecutive days in December, 1968.

Dussuyer's (1979) study was designed to: (1) describe the types of information, its contents and the reporting style of crime related news; (2) study the differences in crime news among newspapers; (3) compare crime content with official crime statistics and; (4) compare the findings to other studies.

Crime news stories were defined as "any news item in the newspaper sample which in any way pertained to a crime or related matter (e.g. investigation,

apprehension, prosecution of offender) and included, either in the headline or in the first or second paragraph, at least one key symbol" (p. 23).[15] Inclusion rules regarding the story style limited the data to articles of primary and secondary news stories. Primary and secondary news were analyzed separately when necessary, allowing the definition of "crime news story" to be more flexible.

First, Dussuyer (1979) conducted extensive observation of local, national, and international news stories. News stories of crime that occurred in Ontario, in the rest of Canada, and in other countries consisted of 60%, 11% and 29% of the total number of crime stories, respectively.[16] Over 70% of international crime news concentrated on two countries: 45% came from the United States and 26% came from the United Kingdom. Asian countries, Germany, and France followed them with 9.0%, 4.6%, and 4.2%, respectively.

Second, information about the criminal justice system was examined. It was found that 42.5% of crime news was reported at the police stage of the criminal justice process, 46.9% at the judicial stage, and only 4.3% at the correctional stage. Where there was an evaluation of the criminal justice system, more than 90% of crime stories positively evaluated "law enforcement and the administration of justice".

Third, offenders in crime stories were described as mostly male (87.8 %) and under 24 (48.8 %). Fair's (1984) findings on crime news in the *Vancouver Sun*

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[15] Dussuyer (1979) acknowledged the importance of "non-crime news" and "near-crime news". Non-crime news was defined to relate to the activities of criminal justice system but unrelated to criminal incidents, and near-crime news was defined to be stories which might potentially develop into crime news (p. 42). However, neither near-crime news or non-crime news were included in Dussuyer's (1979) data.

[16] This categorization is useful when examining the discrepancies between distribution of crimes in crime news and crime statistics. However, in examining what images of crime and justice these discrepancies may give to the public, one must consider the sections where such crime news appear (local or national section). See discussion on locality of crime and fear of crime by Heath (1984) and Liska & Baccaglini (1990).

discussed below are consistent with the male-female ratio but inconsistent with the age distribution pattern found by Dussuyer (1979).

The level of prominence was another area that Dussuyer (1979) conducted extensive observation.[17] About 21% of all crime news was found on the front page of the issue or on the first page of a section. Over 70% of crime stories were between one to five inches long, while 9.8% of all stories were ten inches long or more.[18] The majority of crime stories were short, and only contained a basic story outline with little background information.

3. Sherizen's Crime Content Analysis

Sherizen's (1978) theoretical framework was most important for the present study. Sherizen (1978, p. 213) regarded the content of crime news as "the end result of news processing". For Sherizen (1978), as for Cohen and Young (1981) and Gordon and Heath (1981), crime news was considered a constructed reality. The process of crime newsmaking was viewed as a routinized news production process, pre-determined by the bureaucratic and occupational factors which existed within the journalists' work environments (see also Fishman, 1980; Tuchman, 1978; Epstein, 1973; and Graber, 1980. Their Japanese counterparts will be mentioned in Chapter Four).[19] Accordingly, Sherizen (1978) discussed the importance of crime news in relation to the development of the newspapers, the work environment surrounding

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[17] Prominence of a story was determined by various factors, such as story length, headline length, size of accompanying photographs, and location of story in the issue.

[18] According to Dussuyer (1979), a six-inch column is only capable of containing 200 words or so.

[19] Bureaucratic and occupational factors were discussed earlier in Chapter Two.

crime reporters, and the task of those reporters. Sherizen's (1978) view of crime news reporting is very similar to that recorded by Gordon and Heath (1981).[20]

Sherizen (1978) sampled the final edition of every issue of four separate newspapers during January, April, July and October in 1975. These newspapers included three mainstream metropolitan newspapers and a black community paper. The main categories of crime news coded were: types and location of crime, victim and offender identification factors, information sources, headline size, picture size, and location and size of crime stories.

Sherizen (1978) examined the index of crime news shrinkage[21] by comparing the number of crime occurrences known to the police and those reported in the four Chicago newspapers. It was found that "the more prevalent the crime, the less it would be reported, with the exception of murder/manslaughter -- seldom committed but serious -- which captures the majority of attention" (1978, p. 215).[22] This finding confirmed other Western findings that newspapers have a tendency to distort the image of crime by disproportionate reporting. Sherizen's (1978, p. 215) finding that the type of crimes that appeared "more frequently than expected were humorous, ironic, and/or unusual or in which the situation was sentimental or dramatic", was consistent with the standard of newsworthiness listed by Roshier (1981).

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[20] See Chapter 2 for the theoretical framework developed by Gordon & Heath (1984).

[21] This index was developed to show the over- or under-representation of particular types of crime. It was derived from the discrepancy between the number of occurrence of crime in official statistics and the number of crime reports for each category of crime.

[22] On the one hand, Sherizen (1978) found that two of the most common types of crime in police statistics were larceny (50%) and burglary/breaking and entering (20%). Murder/manslaughter (less than one percent) and forcible rape (one percent) were the two least common types of crime known to the police. On the other hand, as many as 51% of murder cases known to the police were reported in the newspapers, while less than one percent of larceny cases known to the police were reported in the newspapers.

Second, Sherizen (1978) found that 66.6% of all crime stories published related to the beginning stages of the criminal justice process (arrest, capture, charge and suspect follow-up stages); the police stage. Sherizen (1978, p. 216) characterized the beginning stages as representing a "stopping crime" element and the post-arrest stages as representing a "punishing criminals" element of criminal justice activities. The content of the headlines and tone of the stories also placed much more emphasis on the "stopping crime" element than on the "punishing criminals" element of the activities of the criminal justice system. Sherizen (1978) concluded that such tendency might give the reader a particular imagery of the criminal justice system: "The police were doing all of the arresting but nothing else was happening in the criminal justice system to back the police up and make the streets safe" (p. 217).

Third, the nature of information pertaining to the identification of victims and suspects was examined by Sherizen (1978). It was found that amount and type of information regarding a victim's identification were often limited; to name, age, sex, occupation, and/or injury. Victims were found to be used as information sources as frequently as witnesses or representatives of the suspect, but much less than members of the police. Sherizen (1978) noted that the information pertaining to the offender was surprisingly little; revealing little more than name, age and address.

Fourth, Sherizen (1978) found that the police were the most frequently cited source of information, and that non-police sources were rarely used.[23] Official quotes from the police consisted of 65% of all quotes found in crime news, while information from other criminal justice agencies, including unofficial leaks, accounted for only 13.9%. Police sources mentioned not only the offender's identity, but also the victim's background information, and possible motivations for the crime. As the vast majority

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[23] Non-police sources included: public records, neighbor, attorneys, witnesses, and relatives of the participants.

of crime information came from the police, Sherizen (1978) found crime news reports supported the police's version of crime.

Finally, crime stories were found to be located in the most important sections of the newspapers:

> Over 50% of the articles were on the first three pages, usually on the top of the page. Almost 13% of the articles were on the front page and 33% were on the top of the page. A large majority of the stories, over 70% had a banner 2 to 4 column-inch headline... Approximately 35% of the articles were from 8 to 13 column inches long with 10% larger, 13 column inches or longer (Sherizen, 1978, p. 221).

Sherizen's (1978) findings regarding article length were not supported by Dussuyer (1979), who found that the majority of crime news stories were 8-column inches or less and merely included basic information of the event.

In conclusion, Sherizen (1978) noted the importance of acknowledging the limitations of crime news and the benefit of seeking an alternative source of crime information:

> As indicated in the analysis of crime news contents, crime news is limited in a number of serious ways, of which the readership is unaware. To build an understanding of crime and crime control from such information is to have the answers built into the presentation. The nature of crime is serious enough for citizens at large to question the role of the newspapers as adequate suppliers of information from which knowledgeable actions can be taken (p. 220).

Sherizen's findings regarding the limitation of crime news reporting arising from the newsmaking process and the standard of newsworthiness were consistent with the theoretical framework developed by Gordon and Heath (1981) as well as other studies of the work of crime reporters within the newsmaking process.

4. Fair's Crime Content Analysis

Fair (1984) conducted a study of crime news in the *Vancouver Sun* for the year of 1980. Graber's (1980) research design was adopted and findings of Graber (1980) and Sherizen (1978) were referred to in the analysis. Having a primary interest in the description of prison sentences and in apprehension news, Fair (1984) closely studied

the content of messages hypothesized to have a deterrent effect. For example, Fair (1984) examined the site of the crime, the area of crime; and compared the frequency of crime and the apprehension success reported in the newspaper with those shown in official statistics. The performance rating of the criminal justice system and discussions about prison sentences by the newspaper were also examined.

Using a set of categories based on Graber's (1980) study, Fair (1984) analyzed the general characteristics of crime stories. Crime news was defined as "any reported legal infraction, regardless of the stage of criminal law procedure... committed in North America" (pp. 41-42). "Non-hard crime news" and "hard crime news" were distinguished from each other; the former was defined as editorials, letters to the editor and features discussing criminal activities, and the latter was defined as the straight news reporting a particular crime. The principle samples were restricted to hard crime news stories, therefore a narrower definition of crime news than that of Graber (1980) was employed. Fair (1984) found that 77.9% of all crime news reported was hard news while 22.1% was non-hard news. Of all the hard crime news, 71.4% was new stories while 28.6% was follow-up of the existing stories.

The *Vancouver Sun* devoted 61.1% of total crime stories originating in North America to crimes within the province, 12.7% to stories from the rest of Canada, and 26.2% to stories from the United States. This finding is basically in agreement with Dussuyer's (1979) findings.

"Criminals" in hard crime stories were found to be predominantly white males: about 87% of offenders were identified as a "male". Fair (1984) found that age of the criminal offenders was identified in half of the stories, and young offenders under 25 years old were underrepresented. Offenders under 25 years old, between 25 and 35, and over 35 accounted for 38%, 30%, and 31.6% of offenders in crime news, respectively. It was suggested that the newspaper practice of not reporting the

particulars of juvenile offenders, and the fact that half of the stories did not report age had a significant influence on the image of "criminals" in crime stories.

Fair (1984) compared the content of crime stories printed with official statistics, the *1980 Canada Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics*, and confirmed the findings of other Western research; that serious crimes are over-represented in the news stories.[24] As in other Western findings, common crimes such as larceny and breaking and entering were under-represented in the *Vancouver Sun*.[25]

Another finding found to be in accordance with other Western research was that the paper had a bias towards reporting crime at the arresting stage of the criminal justice process. On the one hand, over 76% of all crime stories reported the apprehension of an offender, over-emphasizing the effectiveness of police activities. While on the other hand, the number of crime stories reported at other stages in the criminal justice process was disproportionately low, possibly lowering the media image of the effectiveness of the rest of the criminal justice system. Fair (1984, p. 79), argued that this newspaper bias leads to a false image that "the criminal justice system to be effective in arresting offenders, while at the same time ineffective in punishing them".

SUMMARY OF THE WESTERN FINDINGS

The findings from the Western general content analyses are as follows:

1. Structure of newspapers: The structure of a newspaper such as allocations of space and pages is constant over time.

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[24] For example, while murder and robbery constitute 0.03% and 1.62% of all index crimes known to the police, the frequency of murder and robbery stories in the newspapers constitute 34.4% and 13.9%, respectively.

[25] These crimes constituted 50.25% and 22.99% in official statistics, but constituted only 8.5% and 5.4% of total crime stories reported, respectively.

2. Amount of crime news: Crime news is given a stable amount of attention. It accounts for between five to ten percent of all types of news. When the broadest definition of crime news is employed, crime news accounts for over 20% of all news items.

3. Type of newspapers: News selection is more similar between the same type of newspapers than between different types of newspapers.

The findings from Western crime content analyses are summarized as follows:

1. Place of origin of crime news: Over 60% of crime stories in newspapers are local crimes, while crimes from the rest of the country and from foreign countries share less than 40% of total crime news coverage.

2. Discrepancies between crime statistics and crime news: Crime stories and crime statistics convey different images of crimes, the victims of crime, and the criminal offenders. Specifically,

    2a) News stories overrepresent serious, violent, or uncommon crimes; and underrepresent less serious, less violent, property, or common crimes compared with the statistics.

    2b) Serious or violent crimes are more prominently reported than less serious or property crimes.

    2c) Although white-collar crime stories are less frequently reported, they are as prominently treated as street crime stories.

    2d) News stories overrepresent younger or female victims, and older and male offenders.

3. Reported stages in the criminal justice process: Most stories report crimes at the early stages (the police stage) within the criminal justice process. Consequently, crime news stories describe the activities of criminal justice agencies primarily as crime fighting, leaving their other activities less visible.

4. Bias in crime news: Crime news has a source bias and an evaluation bias towards the criminal justice system, especially the police. Specifically,

   4a) The vast majority of quotes are from criminal justice agencies, with offenders and victims rarely cited.

   4b) The criminal justice system, especially the police, is positively evaluated. The police are most frequently evaluated, with other criminal justice agencies much less visible in the news.

5. Descriptive elements: Compared with criminal justice activities, less amount of information on the victims of crime and the criminal offenders is provided in the news.

6. Type of newspapers: Crime news reported in the same type of newspapers is more similar than between different types of newspapers.

CONTENT ANALYSES OF JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS

GENERAL CONTENT ANALYSIS

A large number of quantitative studies examining the content of Japanese newspapers exist. However, there are few studies which specifically examined crime news as one separate category of news topics. Crime news is generally categorized under the headings of "social affairs news", "news on accidents, disasters, and crimes", or "news on civil and criminal trials and criminal justice matters". These categories do not match the definition of crime news in the present study. Consequently, it was necessary to conduct general content analysis based on the studies of Western newspapers.

The present section, therefore, discusses findings on the proportion of international news as opposed to domestic news found in Japanese studies. The Research Institute at Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association (the JNPEA)

periodically conducts various studies on newspapers. Comparative study of international news in newspapers in Japan, the United States and ASEAN countries (the Research Institute at the JNPEA 1984) examined a national daily newspaper (the *Asahi Shimbun*), a regional daily newspaper (the *Nishi Nihon Shimbun*), and a prefectural daily newspaper (the *Kochi Shimbun*). It was found that the *Asahi Shimbun* devoted 28.7% of available news space to international news, while domestic news and other items received 60.5% and 10.8% of the news space, respectively. Asian news (37.6%) was the most frequently reported in the *Asahi*, followed by the news from the American continents (26.1%), Western Europe (16.1%), and Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. (7.3%).[26] The *Nishi Nihon Shimbun*, and the *Kochi Shimbun*, devoted 14.0% and 13.9% of the total news space to international news, respectively.

Nonaka et al. (1979) examined the two national dailies, the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. They found that these dailies carried 33.3% and 34.8% of reports on American countries, 24.1% and 22.5% on Asian countries, 23.0% and 21.6% on Europe and the U.S.S.R., respectively.[27]

For a number of reasons, it is unlikely that the above findings apply to the distribution pattern of international crime news in the present study. First, the "international news" in the above studies included not only crime topics but also other topics. Secondly, the crime topic stories accounted for a relatively small portion in international news (the Research Institute at the JNPEA, 1984).[28] Lastly, the news

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[26] Calculated by the researcher based on the figures in Table 2-9, pp. 26-27. N = 1209

[27] The bases are the *Asahi*, 1321; and the *Yomiuri*, 1118. The rest of news in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* are: reports on the Middle East (14.8%, 17.0%); Oceania (3.0%, 1.9%); and Africa (1.9%, 2.2%), respectively.

[28] The Research Institute at the JNPEA (1984) found that ten most frequently reported international news topics in Asahi are non-crime topics such as foreign policy, life style, culture, domestic policy, economics, society, sports, personnel, military, industry. Crime topics were very infrequently reported.

media might have shifted attention from one region to another following trends in recent years which have seen dramatic changes in international political, economic, and social scenes.

TAKEMURA'S STUDY OF CRIME NEWS CONTENT

Quantitative analyses of crime news coverage in Japanese newspapers are rare.[29] A notable exception is a study conducted by Takemura (1971), who analyzed the content of three major national daily newspapers (the *Asahi Shimbun*, the *Mainichi Shimbun*, and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*) for a period of one month in 1970.[30] This study found that these newspapers had similar manners of reporting crime news. Morning issues devoted 2.9% (the *Asahi*), 2.9% (the *Mainichi*) and 2.4% (the *Yomiuri*); and evening issues devoted 4.4% (the *Asahi*), 4.9% (the *Mainichi*), and 7.0% (the *Yomiuri*) of available news space to crime stories. Approximately 3.5% of the entire news space was devoted to crime news.

Specific crime cases reported in the papers accounted for between 148 (the *Mainichi*) and 122 (the *Yomiuri*) incidents. Homicide was the most frequently reported type of crime in terms of amount and frequency, followed by theft and robbery. Fraud and embezzlement, and bodily injury and other violent offences ranked third. The contents of crime news were quite similar. One difference among these three newspapers was that both the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi* reported a larger number of

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[29] There exist a large number of qualitative analyses of crime news reporting in Japan (For lists of literature, see Narusawa, 1986, pp. 358-369; 1988, pp. 545-559; 1990, pp. 344-351). Journalists, legal scholars, human rights groups, and the people who have suffered from crime reporting are actively discussing the problems in crime news reporting. These studies pertain to the relationship between: (1) the content of crime news and the newsmaking process; (2) the content of crime news and the consideration of human rights of the people involved in crime; (3) the content of crime news and the news source-reporter interaction.

[30] Unfortunately, only a summary of this research paper is available thus limiting the information pertaining to his analysis.

homicide articles with less space per story, while the *Yomiuri* reported fewer homicide stories with more news space per article.

Stories referring to police actions accounted for approximately 65 percent of the crime news, while stories referring to court proceedings accounted for about 20 percent of the crime news in each paper. Takemura (1971, p. 64) pointed out the uniformity in crime reporting and concluded that "the variation in editorial attitude to crimes is not so significant as to these three newspapers".

SUMMARY OF JAPANESE CONTENT ANALYSES

The findings from the Japanese crime content analysis are as follows:[31]

1. Crime news in the morning issues of national daily newspapers accounted for less than 3% of available news space.

2. Homicide, "theft and robbery", "fraud and embezzlement", and "bodily injury and other violent offences" were the four types of crime reported most frequently.

3. Police activities were reported in 65%, while court proceedings were reported in 20% of crime news.

4. Crime news reporting in national dailies indicated remarkable uniformity.

HYPOTHESES

Based on the Western and Japanese research literature, the following hypotheses were developed for the present study:

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[31]. To the regret of the researcher, these figures in the findings are useful only as crude indicators, as the definitions of categories are unavailable.

General Content Analyses

1. The structure of a newspaper such as allocations of space and pages is constant overtime.

2. Crime news is given a stable amount of attention. It accounts for between five to ten percent of all types of news. When the broadest definition of crime news is employed, crime news accounts for over 20% of all news items.

3. News selection is more similar between the same type of newspapers (national daily newspapers) than between different types of newspapers (a national daily newspaper and an entertainment tabloid).

Crime Content Analyses

1. Over 60% of crime stories in newspapers report local crimes, while crimes from the rest of the country and from foreign countries share less than 40% of total crime news.

2. Crime stories and crime statistics convey different images of crimes, the victims of crime, and the criminal offenders. Specifically,

   2a) News stories overrepresent serious, violent, or uncommon crimes; and underrepresent less serious, less violent, property, or common crimes compared with the statistics.

   2b) Serious or violent crimes are more prominently reported than less serious or property crimes.

   2c) Although white-collar crime stories are less frequently reported, they are as prominently treated as street crime stories.

   2d) News stories overrepresent younger or female victims, and older and male offenders.

3. Most stories report crimes at the early stages (the police stage) within the criminal justice process. Consequently, crime news stories describe the

activities of criminal justice agencies primarily as crime fighting, leaving their other activities less visible.

4. Crime news has a source bias and an evaluation bias towards the criminal justice system, especially the police. Specifically,

    4a) The vast majority of quotes are from criminal justice agencies with offenders and victims rarely cited.

    4b) The criminal justice system, especially the police, is positively evaluated. The police are most frequently evaluated, while other criminal justice agencies are much less visible in the news.

5. Compared with criminal justice activities, less information on victims of crime and criminal offenders is provided in the news.

6. Crime news reported in the same type of newspapers is more similar than between different types of newspapers.[32]

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[32] This hypothesis will be further elaborated after the discussion of Japanese newspapers in Chapter Four.

Chapter IV

The Japanese Newspaper Industry: an Overview

The first section of this chapter describes Japanese newspapers, including: the types of newspapers; the characteristics of the Japanese newspaper industry; the various newspaper sections and their relation to the organization of the press. The second section of this chapter discusses the work and environment of Japanese journalists.

THE TYPES OF NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers are traditionally categorized by their size, general orientation, and readership. As such the following categorization is extremely important for understanding the Japanese press industry and the research design of the present study. First a categorization based on the range of circulation will be described, followed by categorization of newspapers based on difference in orientation and readership.

NATIONAL, REGIONAL, PREFECTURAL AND COMMUNITY PAPERS

A national newspaper is defined as one that has printing facilities in various regions and circulation all over the country. "The Big Five"; including four "general/report"[1] papers, the *Asahi Shimbun*, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the *Mainichi Shimbun*, the *Sankei Shimbun*, and one financial paper, the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*; are generally considered to be national newspapers (Tamura, 1988; Kawai, 1987). As of February 1989, each of these national papers had a multi-million circulation.

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[1] The term "report newspaper" is a literal translation of "hodo shimbun", a term once widely used in the field of Japanese journalism. Recently, the term "general newspaper" has become more popular (Suzuki, through personal contact). Therefore, the present study uses the term "general paper", despite its use may confuse readers as there exists another term, "general-interest newspaper". The definition of general and general-interest papers will be described later in this chapter.

Prefectural (local) papers are printed and sold within one prefecture or a few neighboring prefectures. In some areas, local newspapers are often more preferred by the residents to national newspapers for their detailed local coverage (Tamura, 1988; Naminori Sha, 1987).

A categorization of "regional newspaper"[2] was given to newspapers whose circulating areas were too limited to be "national", and too wide to be "prefectural" (Tamura, 1988; Naminori Sha, 1987). In other words, a newspaper which was widely read in a particular geographic region as large as several prefectures, but was not circulated outside of that region was termed as a regional newspaper. These included: the *Hokkaido Shimbun*, the *Tokyo Shimbun*, the *Chunichi Shimbun*, and the *Nishi Nihon Shimbun*. Together they have a circulation of between eight hundred thousand and two million (Kawai, 1987).

On the one hand, as commercial newspapers, regional and prefectural papers have a similar outlook and content to national newspapers: the difference is that these smaller scale newspapers "serve their respective areas of circulation" (Lent, 1982). On the other hand, as free papers, community papers have totally different appearances from the commercial newspapers. They circulate within limited neighborhoods and often have quite different content as they target readers in smaller areas (Tamura, 1988; Kawai, 1987). In this study, the focus was on national newspapers.

GENERAL-INTEREST AND SPECIALIZED NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers may be categorized into two large groups by their orientation and respective readership: "general-interest newspapers" and "specialized newspapers". Each large classification has subcategories as follows:

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[2] This term "regional newspaper" is a translation of "brokku shi", the term used widely in the field of Japanese journalism.

1. GENERAL-INTEREST PAPERS
                    a. General Newspapers
                    b. Sports/Entertainment Papers
                    c. Financial Newspapers

2. SPECIALIZED PAPERS

                    a. Industry Newspapers
                    b. Bulletins
                    c. Public Relations Papers

The intended readership of general-interest newspapers is "the general public".

Therefore, the editorial policies of general-interest papers as to selection of issues and

approaches to the issues have been set to meet the interests of the general public

(Kawai, 1987; Kawai 1988). Within the general interest paper group, there are general

newspapers, sports/entertainment papers, and financial papers.

The most widely circulated papers in Japan are general papers. A general paper

covers various kinds of news events including society, culture, sports, etc., but places

most emphasis on political, economic and international affairs (Kawai, 1988). Most of

Japanese newspapers belong to this category. Included are: the four national

newspapers, and the *Tokyo*, the *Chunichi*, the *Hokkaido*, the *Nishi Nihon* newspapers,

etc. As a comparison the *Globe and Mail*, a national quality daily, and the *Vancouver*

Sun, a local omnibus daily, may be categorized as Canadian general papers.[3]

"Sports/entertainment" papers devote most space to stories about professional

sports, leisure, arts and entertainment, gambling, scandals and other topics which may

appear in tabloid papers in the West. A Western counterpart of such papers may be

Britain's the *Sun*. Japanese sports/entertainment newspapers have a different editorial

policy from general newspapers. For example, their targeted readership is adult male

workers who have spare time in the commuting trains (Kawai, 1988, p. 240). These

papers carry a relatively small number of news stories and devote a large amount of

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[3] Quality newspapers are discussed in this chapter. An omnibus newspaper aims to capture all the
readership (Hackett, personal communication, 1993).

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news space to each story.[4] They operate with a different set of criteria for "important" news:[5] stories on professional sports and the results of the horse races are often found on the first page.

Financial papers include the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, which is said to be "the Japanese equivalent to the *Wall Street Journal*" of the United States (Merrill, 1983, p. 121). The main interest of financial papers is in business and economic affairs.

According to Kawai (1987), specialized newspapers have a particular editorial policy covering the content of the news. They have been designed to serve a limited group of people with a particular type of interest. For example, industry newspapers were made for people working in a certain industry, bulletins were designed for people who have a particular political affiliation, and public relations papers were made for those who are interested in government news.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS

Japanese newspapers have four predominant attributes: (1) large circulation; (2) similarity in news selection and content among newspapers of the same type;[6] (3) researchers' disagreement on the classification of popular press and "quality" press among Japanese general newspapers; and (4) newspaper ownership by large-scale corporations (Kawai, 1987; Katsura, 1990). The findings from the *Newspaper Confidence Survey 1989* (the Research Institute at the JNPEA, 1989) and the *National*

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[4] General newspapers carry between 200 and 300 news stories in a morning issue, while sports/entertainment newspapers select only a small portion of them (Kawai, 1987).

[5] This is why an entertainment paper was added to the sample for more variety.

[6] Newspapers with a similar readership and similar orientation are referred to as "same type" of newspapers. For example, general newspapers as opposed to sports newspapers or financial newspapers were considered as the same type. See bellow for the detailed categorization of newspapers.

Newspaper Confidence Research (the Research Institute at the JNPEA, 1984) will also be discussed.

1. The Circulation and Delivery Systems

Japanese newspapers, as a whole, have one of the largest circulation and highest subscription rates in the world. In 1984, Japan had a total circulation of 67 million and a diffusion rate of 562.[7] Among Western countries, the United States, with twice Japan's population, had the second largest circulation of 63 million. West Germany had the second highest diffusion rate of 550, and a circulation of 9 million (Katsura, 1990, pp. 45-48).

The "Big Five" Japanese national newspapers have readerships of 14.5 million (Yomiuri Shimbun), 12.8 million (the *Asahi Shimbun*), 6.2 million (the *Mainichi Shimbun*), 4.4 million (the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*) and 3.2 million (the *Sankei Shimbun*).[8] And newspapers with smaller circulating areas (that is, regional papers) had a circulation of between several hundred thousand and 2.5 million, as of February 1989 (JNPEA, 1989, pp. 107-112). These circulation figures are very large compared with Western newspapers. In the United States, the largest newspaper (the *Wall Street Journal*) had a circulation of 1.9 million, followed by the *U.S.A. Today* (1.5 million) as of 1984.[9] In Britain, a popular daily paper, the *Sun*, had the largest circulation of

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[7] A diffusion rate is defined as the number of issues published per 1,000 persons. Japan's diffusion rate was 584 and the circulation was 71.17 million in 1988 (JNPEA, 1989).

[8] Many Japanese dailies are "set papers". Publishers make two issues a day under the same newspaper name, and sell them to a subscriber as a set. JNPEA, according to the international convention, counts morning issue and evening issue of a set paper as two copies for these statistics.

[9] The quality papers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* have smaller circulation figures (1.0 million and .75 million, respectively).

4.0 million. While the *Daily Telegraph*, a quality newspaper, had a readership of 1.2 million as of 1984 (Katsura, 1990).

Some researchers attribute the large circulation figures in Japan to a high home delivery rate and "set" sales (Naminori Sha, 1987, p. 17; Kawai, 1987). Like Western papers, Japanese newspapers are available at newsstands and through a delivery arrangement to individual houses or offices. However, 93.0% of the total number of newspapers, a much higher proportion than Western newspapers, are delivered every day, and merely 6.5% sold at the newsstands (JNPEA, 1989). "Set sales" of a newspaper is a common practice which enhances the distribution of newspapers in Japan. European newspapers commonly promote the sale of weekday editions and weekend editions, or morning editions and evening editions separately. In contrast, some Japanese newspapers sell a set of seven morning editions and six evening editions. The combination of the systems of home delivery and set sales enable Japanese newspapers to maintain a guaranteed number of readers and make otherwise occasional readers into constant subscribers (Miyajima, 1988, pp. 175-177).

2. Similarities Among Papers of the Same Type

Fletcher (1981, p. 5) pointed out that, in Canada, "direct competition among daily newspapers to deliver news to particular readership groups is becoming increasingly rare. Even in cities with multiple newspapers, each (newspaper) tends to serve a different primary audience".

Katsura (1990) suggests that this is not the case in Japan. In most areas in Japan, there are two or more newspapers serving the same type of audience. Such newspapers must strive to gain the position as the "primarily-read" paper[10] in order to acquire a stable readership. Traditionally they have done so by trying to include

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[10] A "primarily-read" newspaper (shu doku shi) is a paper which a reader would choose to read over any other papers, if he had to choose one.

everything other newspapers report, hoping that their readers feel that their newspaper would not miss any important news.

This editorial policy has led to a high degree of similarity in news selection among the newspapers of the same type (Katsura, 1990). In fact, a strategy used in circulation wars in the late 1970s illustrates how similar Japanese national general newspapers had become. The national general newspapers were so similar that sales people could expect that an average subscriber would change newspapers if he/she were given expensive promotional materials in exchange for switching to their newspaper. Many subscribers contracted with the newspaper which offered the best gift at any given time (Lent, 1982). These wars were ended by legislation which outlawed such promotional strategies, but the similarity in news selection remains (Katsura, 1990).

This similarity among Japanese newspapers, or rather among Japanese mass media in general, is named "pack journalism" and has important implications. The definition of pack journalism is that all types of mass media focus on a certain few events, devoting as much space (or time) as possible to the events, and that their approach to these issues are the same (Kawai, 1987, p. 164). Pack journalism creates a perception within the media audience that a particular type of event, unanimously selected by the media, is important solely because of the massive coverage given it. This is a reverse of the usual course of news reporting, for events become "important issues" because of the massive coverage rather than important events heavily reported for their intrinsic importance.[11]

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[11] One important implication of the pack journalism to crime and justice issues is that when one crime-related issue is picked up by the Japanese mass media, it may easily cause a "crime wave" or a "moral panic".

3. Quality Papers and Popular Papers

A prevalent classification of newspapers in the West is "popular paper" and "quality paper" (Dunnett, 1988; Merrill & Fisher, 1980; Miyajima, 1988). Two universal characteristics of "quality" newspapers are: the potential to influence society despite its small readership because its readers are elites including policy-makers, top business people, and high-ranking officials in bureaucracies; and competing quality papers have different approaches to the same issues (Miyajima, 1988). Generally speaking, a popular paper is widely circulated, often sensational, and an "ordinary reader's" newspaper. Merrill and Fisher (1980, p. 5) characterized popular paper as the "hodgepodge press", whose journalism was "splashy, superficial, thoughtless, and tenuous".

The classification of "popular" and "quality" does not comfortably apply to Japanese national general papers.[12] The combination of large circulation, which is a primary characteristic of a popular paper, and high quality journalism, which is a main characteristic of a "quality" paper, troubles scholars. Merrill and Fisher (1980) acknowledged the large circulation of the *Asahi Shimbun*, nonetheless classified it as Japan's quality newspaper:

> Viewed from an overall perspective, Asahi Shinbun (sic) is a truly remarkable publication... By its contents, it consistently raises the nation's entertainment and cultural standards. Not only has it earned its title as "the newspaper of the 'mass elite'," for Japan; it also ranks at or near the pinnacle of the world's great newspapers -- and it has managed to keep both its excellent quality and mass appeal in the process (p. 68).

Many researchers maintain that Japanese national general papers do not fit in the "quality-popular" dichotomy. There are three main reasons: the journalistic quality of newspapers is too high for them to be popular papers (Lent, 1982; Miyajima, 1988); the circulation is too large for them to be quality papers (Miyajima, 1988;

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[12] Canadian classification of "omnibus" newspaper may be useful to understand the nature of Japanese newspapers.

Katsura, 1990); and no Japanese national general paper has a distinctive approach of its own (Katsura, 1990; Lent, 1982; Kawai, 1987; Miyajima, 1988). Katsura (1990) suggests that for a popular paper and a quality paper to exist, variety in social class and political support must exist in a society. According to Katsura (1990), the quality-popular dichotomy is not suitable for the Japanese national general newspapers because of the high degree of uniformity reflected in Japanese society as well as among its newspapers.

4. Ownership by Large-Scale Corporations

Like their counterparts in some Western countries,[13] Japan's many newspaper companies are owned by large-scale corporations. Media empires such as the Fuji-Sankei Group, the Yomiuri-Nihon Television Group, the Asahi, and the Nihon Keizai have substantial and expanding holdings in the mass communication field: radio and television stations, cable television networks, movie production companies, magazine and book publishing, and electronic publishing industries. Some of them own travel agencies, real estate firms, and shares of an airline company; others actively participate in the education industry, in event promotion such as professional and amateur sports competitions, and charity activities (Lent, 1982, p. 122; Kawai, 1987, pp. 49-54; Katsura, 1990, pp. 166-191; Amano, 1988, pp. 330-341). These diverse involvements may be contribute tof the reasons mass media are considered to be influential in Japanese society.

The fact that Japanese newspapers enjoy the public's confidence in their quality was not noted by either Katsura (1990) or Kawai (1987) as a major characteristic of Japanese newspapers. However, as briefly noted in Chapter One, the two studies conducted by the JNPEA suggested that newspapers were considered as one of the most

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[13] For example, consider Canada's Thomson Corp., Britain's Robert Maxwell, Australia's News Corp., West Germany's Bertelsmann AG, and the U.S.'s Time Inc. (Vipond, 1989, pp.66-70)

reliable source of information. The *National Newspaper Confidence Research* (the Research Institute at the JNPEA, 1984) investigated the audience's perception of the five types of mass media (newspapers, television broadcast, radio broadcast, magazines, and books). Newspapers were viewed as the most reliable of the five media on seven dimensions, television on four dimensions and books on one dimension. The seven dimensions which newspapers rated highest on were: as a source of detailed information, as the most useful information source for work, as the source of the largest amount of information, as the source of information which gives various aspects on one issue, as the best reference for shopping, as the basis to make one's own decision and opinion, and as the most reliable source of information (the Research Institute at the JNPEA, 1984, pp. 12-13).

A more recent study, the *Newspaper Confidence Survey 1989* (JNPEA, 1989) found that 76% of respondents read a newspaper every day and 19% read it occasionally. The average reading time was found to be 40.1 minutes per day. These figures are high considering that the study sampled respondents from a variety of socio-economic statuses.

NEWSPAPER SECTIONS AND PRESS ORGANIZATION[14]

A Japanese national general newspaper company allots its reporters to nine departments under the editorial section; political affairs, international affairs, economic affairs, art, sports news, regional news, social affairs, copy desk, and photography departments. Similarly, a national general paper consists of nine types of sections: the

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[14] I had the opportunity to interview three Yomiuri journalists: one second-year reporter who was a police beat reporter in the previous year; the Chief of Yomiuri's MPD (the Metropolitan Police Department) Club reporters; and one member of Yomiuri Press Ombudsman and editorial writer, who had worked as a reporter for twenty years prior to the current position. These respondents were opportunity samples, and the interviews lasted from thirty minutes to one and half hours. The following descriptions of newspaper organization and crime reporters were reconstructed from these interviews and literature.

"first" page, "general" (domestic politics) section, international section, economy section, opinion and editorial section, feature section, sports section, local section, and social section. Each department is responsible for one section given to it to fill up the news space, except for the photography and the copy desk departments (Shimbun Kenkyu Dojinkai, 1983).

DEPARTMENTS UNDER THE EDITORIAL SECTION

EDITORIAL SECTION

Political Affairs Dept.

International Affairs Dept.

Art Dept. (incl. culture, science, women, etc.)

Sports Affairs Dept.

Regional Affairs Dept. (outside the Tokyo area)

Social Affairs Dept. (incl. Tokyo branch offices)

Copy Desk Dept.

Photography Dept.

Other departments

SHAKAI-BU (SOCIAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT)

Shakai-bu, the social affairs department,[15] consists of reporters who are in charge of the social affairs section. The social affairs department and the social affairs section are of primary interest to the present study, for crime news is collected primarily by journalists in the social affairs department and mostly reported within the social affairs section. The social affairs department is in charge of various news topics

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[15] The Yomiuri Newspaper has translated "Shakai-Bu" to "City News Department", however, the present study used the term "Social Affairs Department" to avoid confusion with Resional News Department.

-- crimes, accidents, environmental issues, social welfare, strikes, weather, legal issues, political issues, economic issues, and anything directly related to people's daily lives (Shimbun Kenkyu Dojinkai, 1983).[16]

The social affairs section is one of the most widely read sections of a newspaper. According to the *National Newspaper Confidence Research* (the Research Institute at the JNPEA, 1984), 63.9% of respondents always read social affairs news.[17] The social affairs section is one of the most popularly read sections out of 15 categories, with a constant readership of 91.7%. This is second only to the "television and radio listing" section and followed by the regional news section.[18] Out of 32 categories of news types, "crime, accident and social affairs" is the most carefully read news category (1984, pp. 28-29).[19]

Because of the social affairs section's vast area of coverage and the high degree of reader interest, large newspaper companies allocate between 80 to 100 reporters to the social affairs department (Shimbun Kenkyu Dojin Kai, 1990). The Tokyo headquarters of the *Yomiuri* newspaper allocates 100 social affairs department reporters

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[16] Outside the Tokyo area, local news stories are supplied by reporters in the regional offices, which belong to the Regional Affairs Department. The task and work of these local office reporters are similar to those of Tokyo branch office reporters, who are in charge of filling out the regional affairs news section for the Tokyo area. Therefore, local office reporters will not be discussed in the present study.

[17] Social affairs section was followed by regional news section (59.9 %), sports section (48.2 %), and political affairs section (36.2 %) (the Research Institute at JNPEA, 1984, pp. 169-175).

[18] Percentage of "always" response (combined percentage of "always" and "sometimes" responses) were 75.1% (92.8%) for listing section, 63.9% (91.7%) for social affairs section, 59.9% (89.3%) for regional section, respectively. 36.2%, 23.7%, and 19.2% of the response were "always" for Political news, economic affairs news, international affairs news (the Research Institute at JNPEA, 1984, pp. 28-29).

[19] Crime, accidents, social affairs news category was chosen by 61.2% of the respondents; followed by 53.8% for television and radio schedule listing and 50.6% for regional news. Political affairs news, economic affairs news, and international affairs news had 29.8%, 19.6% and 15.7%, respectively.

to public bureaucratic bodies, "yugun",[20] and the Tokyo branch offices. The social affairs reporters stationed at bureaucratic bodies are called "club reporters" (Personal interview, December 1990).

"Yugun reporters" are very experienced journalists capable of writing various types of stories. Usually stationed at the main office of a newspaper company, Yugun reporters are expected to write investigative reports, commentaries, specials, and anything which makes the newspaper unique and valuable (Shimbun Kenkyu Dojinkai, 1983; Personal interview, December 1990).

Generally speaking, Tokyo branch office reporters are in charge of collecting news stories for regional sections for the Tokyo regional edition. They cover everything from politics to feature stories as long as the stories are concerned with the locality.[21] It is within the Tokyo branch offices that the "local police beat" reporters belong. Naturally, there are times when territories of local reporters and club reporters or reserve reporters overlap. However, the division of labor between these reporters is flexible (Personal interview, December 1990).[22]

KISHA KURABU (REPORTER CLUB)

"Reporter club" journalists are those who are stationed at a certain reporter club. According to Kawai (1988) about 1,000 reporter clubs exist in Japan, which are

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[20] "Yugun" reporters are a sort of reserve corps of the editorial office composed of veteran reporters (Suzuki, personal communication, 1993).

[21] Similarly, reporters working at regional offices are in charge of collecting news stories for the local areas other than the Tokyo area. Regional reporters are to write stories of crime topics as well as other topics, just as the Tokyo branch office reporters do.

[22] Consider a series of child abduction cases starting in one neighborhood in Tokyo eventually involving victims from several prefectures, attracting nation-wide attention. In this case, news stories initially belong to reporters at the Tokyo Branch offices. However, the stories will be eventually transferred to club reporters at MPD, as they have better access to information source than "local police beat" reporters. As a rule, better equipped reporters pursue the story developments.

set up in national and local governments, Ministries and branches, and all levels of bureaucratic organizations.[23] Reporter clubs in Japan are said to be established to promote friendship among reporters from different companies, but their prime functions are as the base of the news-gathering practice and as the regulatory body of reporters (Kawai, 1987; Katsura, 1990; Haruhara, 1988). In other words, a reporter club may schedule press conferences for club members, set guidelines as to certain activities of its members, and sanction violators (Haruhara, 1988; Katsura, 1990; Kawakami, 1990).

A reporter club is usually given a press room, a space for reporters to stay and work, in the building of the particular public organization. It is largely because the JNPEA had made sure that "the public organization where reporters need to station provides the press room with necessary items such as telephones, desks and chairs, and let the reporters use them for free".[24]

WORK OF CRIME REPORTERS AND OTHER NEWS WORKERS

There are two kinds of crime reporters, "reporter club" crime reporters and "local police beat" reporters. "Reporter club" crime reporters of the *Yomiuri* newspaper company are deployed accordingly: 11 to the Metropolitan Police Department in Tokyo (MPD); five to the Ministry of Justice, the Supreme Court, other courts, and the Prosecutor's Office. The largest share of social affairs reporters are

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[23] These public bodies include: the Diet; Imperial Household Agency; Ministry of Transport; Ministry of Construction; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Labor; Ministry of International Trade and Industry & Fair Trade Commission; Ministry of Finance & National Tax Administration; Ministry of Health & Welfare; Environment Agency; Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, & Fisheries; Defence Agency, National Police Agency, etc.

[24] Kawai (1987, p. 141)

sent to the MPD as the reporter club reporters: each national general newspaper allocates some ten reporters.

The other type of crime reporters, "local police beat" reporters, belong to the Tokyo branch offices or regional offices. They are often new recruits, for police beat work is a part of the reporter training course (Naminori Sha, 1987), just as in the Western newspaper industry (Chibnall, 1977). Their tasks and work schedule are described below.

MPD CLUB REPORTERS[25]

Only a few accomplished reporters are chosen to be stationed at the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD). The MPD is considered to be one of the most substantial sources of information in the Japanese press industry. Many important news stories -- stories not only about crime but also about national security, accidents, protection of juveniles, maintenance of social order, prevention of public nuisance-- come through the MPD. Therefore, national newspapers station ten to 11 choice reporters at the MPD: half of them are very experienced, the other half are young and have proved themselves on the police beat (Shimbun Kenkyu Dojinkai, 1983).

At the MPD, a large room is provided for the club reporters. The room is divided with shelves and curtains so that the reporters of different companies may work and make phone calls separately from other company employees. There are beds for the reporters who are on the night shift.

Reporters are assigned to a couple different MPD divisions: for example, three reporters are assigned to the First and Third Criminal Investigation Divisions, which investigate felonious crimes; three reporters are assigned to Second and Fourth CIDs, which deal with corruption, fraud, etc.; and two reporters are in charge of the Public

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[25] Most of this section is reconstructed from the interview and observations at the Metropolitan Police Department.

Safety Bureau, covering terrorism, ultra-left, and security issues (Personal interview, December 1990).

A day for journalists stationed at the MPD starts at 9:30 a.m., when colleagues who have been on a night shift are asked what has happened since the previous shift. At 11:00 a.m., the public relations officer of the First Criminal Investigation Division holds a morning meeting, where he/she supplies the reporters with the news about felonious crimes which have happened since the previous meeting. Each of four Criminal Investigation Divisions and other Bureaus[26] have similar daily publicity meetings for the reporters until 11:30 a.m. The journalists routinely go to the meetings of two or three assigned divisions or bureaus.[27]

Before and after the meetings, journalists start writing articles for the evening edition, from the news they have gathered from night shift colleagues and from police sources. They also cruise the offices of the MPD, talking with police officers in order to gather extra information about the cases in progress or cases not publicized. The deadline for the evening edition is around 1:30 p.m.

Journalists have a late lunch after submitting the stories for the evening edition, and then make a second round of the MPD. Occasionally, they go out to gather information about the cases they are following. This data-gathering, inside and outside the MPD, lasts until supper time, around 6:00 p.m.

After supper, reporters go out to get information from individual officers. Japanese crime reporters strive until past midnight to acquire extra, exclusive

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[26] These bureaus include the Traffic Bureau, the Security Bureau, the Patrol Bureau, the Public Security Bureau, and the Crime Prevention Bureau.

[27] This kind of publicity activities are not uncommon at any large bureaucratic organizations (Kawai, 1987). The publicity activities are viewed as a double-edged sword: they save time and effort for both journalists and the public relations officers, but result in journalists' reliance on the source to provide pre-packaged information.

information from police officers. Just as Chibnall's (1977) descriprion of British crime reporters, Japanese crime reporter become "friends" with several lower-rank officers, who may eventually give them tips about what is going on around their work places. Journalists go to one of those officers' houses and wait outside until the officer comes home to acquire extra information.

Whether a reporter gets a scoop on other papers or fails to cover news appearing in other papers depends on their accessibility to an officer who knows and exposes the secret exclusively for him/her. One journalist said in an interview, "to establish a credible and trustful relationship with police officers, which is more than a mere journalist-officer relationship, is desired and essential" (Personal interview, December 1990).

At the MPD, reporters are not required to write an article every day. "An average is about two to three stories a week," a chief reporter at the Metropolitan Police Department said in an interview, "it's because there are usually cases that reporters are following or investigating, but the time is not right yet. They'll have to write two or three days in a row for mornings and evenings if there is big news" (Personal interview, December 1990). The space limitation of two pages for the entire social affairs department appears to lessen the pressure on MPD reporters to constantly produce articles in order to fill up news holes (Personal interview, December 1990).

LOCAL POLICE BEAT REPORTERS

A day for police beat reporters at a local office (a Tokyo branch office or a regional office) is similar to that of MPD club reporters. Police beat reporters start their day at 7:00 a.m. with phone calls to several police stations they are in charge of. The purpose of the phone calls is to find out if something newsworthy happened during the previous night. Before 8:30 a.m. a reporter arrives at the police station most likely

to have the most interesting news, so that he/she can talk to the police officers at the end of their night shift (Personal interview, December 1990).

A summary of the previous night's events is given by the deputy chief of the station, then reporters go to various divisions in the station to ask for good stories. Then they write stories until 12:30 p.m., the deadline for the evening issue. After lunch, they will go out to gather news stories. They may find local gossip, or stories on accidents or crimes. Between lunch and supper, a reporter occasionally takes a nap, preparing for the rest of the long day. After supper, the reporter goes to individual officers' houses to get details or scoop. This lasts until midnight. A local police beat reporter is expected to write stories every day, for a local office staffed with less than 20 reporters, is expected to fill the news space designated to regional news (Personal interview, December 1990).

EDITING AND ARRANGING THE CRIME STORIES

The stories written by crime reporters are submitted to the "desk" (editors), who accept, ask for changes, or decline the story. Sometimes an editor wants the story more sensationalized or made shorter, other times a reporter insists the story be printed in the newspaper as it is. Just as news gathering involves a series of negotiations between the police source and a reporter, negotiations take place at this stage.[28] On some occasions, a reporter acts to protect the interest of or to keep the promise with his/her news source at the cost of disagreeing with his/her senior editor. On rare occasions, an editor may rewrite a part of the story without the reporter's knowledge (Personal interview, December 1990).

Japanese crime reporters and editors share the same professional standard of newsworthiness. Ohba (1988a & b) interviewed 28 journalists (reporters, editors, and

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[28] Tuchman (1978) described how negotiations took place in the New York news media.

the copy desk journalists) of Japan's national and local newspapers. Four elements of newsworthiness were found to be repeatedly mentioned in the interviews: generality of crime, sensationality of crime, signification of social trend, and continuity of crime (Ohba, 1988a & b). In other words, those journalists found a crime story newsworthy when:

1. Generality of crime: It conveys "stranger-danger" image. A crime story presenting an image that (1) anyone or any number of people can be victimized; (2) crime can happen in the course of ordinary person's life; conveys the impression that no one can be free from the danger of victimization by a strange criminal offender. Stories of crime that may influence the entire society or that involve a large number of victims are viewed newsworthy in this regard.

2. Sensationality of crime: Stories that are sensational or shocking are considered newsworthy, as well as bizarre, grotesque, or out-of-ordinary types of crime. When the degree of victimization is extraordinarily high, may it be the number of victims or the extent of the damage, a crime is considered worthwhile to be reported.[29] The newsworkers mentioned it as "a journalist's duty to educate or warn the public so that the public can protect themselves accordingly".

3. Signification of social trend: Crimes that signify, conform, or arise from the social trend or a particular social background were viewed newsworthy.

4. Continuity of crime: If a certain type of crime seems to occur more frequently than usual, such crime may be seen as a series of crimes rather than separate incidents. This may create a crime theme or crime wave in news. Sometimes, reporters start a campaign against such a crime problem (Ohba, 1988a & b; Personal interview, December 1990).

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[29] This is probably one of the reasons that serious, violent and uncommon crimes appear in crime news.

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These criteria of newsworthiness are not mutually exclusive nor exhaustive, but provide important knowledge regarding why some stories are selected and others are not.

Ohba (1988a & b) found there were two social roles of crime news reporting that were recognized by newsworkers, which underlie the professional standard of newsworthiness. One is to warn the readers to protect themselves by providing information about the victimization of others. One interviewee stated that the standard of newsworthiness was based on the journalists' perception of "what may be appreciated by the readers, what may cause public outcry, and what may induce sympathy in the society", and "what the journalists should let the public know" (Personal interview, December 1990). Another measure was to condemn anti-social behaviors and its actors; and by doing so, to realize social justice.

Historically, newspapers have played the role of moral leader by providing the public didactic or moralistic readings (Matsumiya, 1988).[30] It is doubtful whether today's journalists perceive themselves as providers of moral lessons. However, newspapers are said to be a public organ, the Forth Estate, or the Watch Dog; and the literature and interviews indicated that journalists have a sense of duty believing they should educate, awaken, and be alert for the public.[31]

The stories written by crime reporters and selected by editors based on newsworthiness are then sent to the "copy desk", a department where the layout of the newspaper is arranged. According to the importance and amount of news, the newsworkers determine the location of the stories in the pages, sizes and the content of

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[30] Western crime news replaced the public hanging, defining what behavior was acceptable and what was not, and demonstrating what happened if one deviated from the social norm (Erikson, 1964; Chibnall, 1977; Cohen, 1980). Matsumiya (1988) describes the historical development and the role of Japanese crime news, which seems to be parallel to the role of Western crime news.

[31] A large number of articles in professional journals periodically carry this kind of stories especially aimed at young people with aspirations to be journalists (see an issue of *Shimbun Kenkyu*, for example). The same kind of attitude was observed in the interviews with Yomiuri journalists (Shibata, 1990)

headlines, the type and size of the headlines, size and shape of the photographs and how to place them on the page. Each newspaper publisher has a manual with specific instructions as to how to arrange the pages. Therefore, a crime story of a certain length is likely given a similar length of headline, and the headline is likely to contain a similar number of characters (Shimbun Kenkyu Dojinkai, 1983, pp. 58-99).

Many large newspaper companies including Yomiuri have ombudsman committees consisting of seasoned journalists for the quality control of news reporting.[32] Yomiuri Ombudsman Committee meets every day and goes through news articles appearing in the first edition of Yomiuri's morning issue. One of the tasks of an ombudsman committee is to find mistakes and provide advice for correction; such mistakes may be of a factual or legal nature. As large national newspapers publish more than a dozen editions for one morning issue, this practice of finding mistakes is an effective way of reducing complaints (Personal interview, December 1990).

Another important task is to compare one company's newspaper with several other major newspapers. This practice allows the newspaper to pick up other newspapers' scoops. When the committee decides that a news story found absent in its newspaper is important enough to pursue, journalists are sent to cover the story for the later editions. The reason for this operation is that newspaper companies receive complaints from readers when a newspaper misses what readers think is important news, and they want to maintain a good reputation (Personal interview, December 1990). The Yomiuri Ombudsman Committee publishes a newsletter twice a week; informing the Yomiuri journalists of the shortcomings of their work and how to improve the quality of work, legally, ethically, and journalistically. The ombudsman committees' work is one major factor which contributes to the similar news selection among some Japanese newspapers.

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[32] Western newspaper companies have a longer history of the ombudsman committee.

SUMMARY

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the Western literature suggested that:

1. Despite the differences among societies, the images of crime and criminal justice presented in newspapers are similar, and these images are similarly distorted in the sense they did not proportionately represent the image found in official statistics;

After reviewing the processes of crime news making in the West and in Japan, it may be concluded that:

2. The newsmaking processes and the standards of newsworthiness are similar in the West and in Japan.

Therefore, the present study hypothesized that the findings of Western crime news reporting in newspapers apply to Japanese crime news reporting, despite the differences in societies and situation surrounding crime problems. Hypotheses were based on Western findings and are discussed in Chapter Five.

Chapter V

Research Design

This chapter will present the research design for the general content analysis followed by that of the crime content analysis. For each analysis, research hypotheses, sampling procedures, and coding schemes will be explained.[1] The Western controversy over the use of official statistics will also be discussed as it pertains to Japanese literature.

GENERAL CONTENT ANALYSIS

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

General content analysis was used to conduct an exploratory and descriptive study of news covering a variety of topics, contrasting Western newspapers with Japanese newspapers coverage of crime news. One cannot estimate the importance of crime news in newspapers unless one knows the amount of attention given to crime topics relative to other news topics. In this phase of the study, crime news was examined within the context of all other news stories.

After reviewing the literature, it was suspected that, as the journalistic environment surrounding the news gathering and selection process seems similar in the West and in Japan, most of the Western findings could apply equally well to Japanese newspapers. Specifically, three hypotheses were proposed:

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[1] A detailed discussion of the nature and uses of content analyses is beyond the scope of the present study. (See Krippendorff, 1980; Holsti, 1968 and 1969; Kline, 1982; Wimmer and Dominick; 1987; Stempel and Westley, 1989). For the discussion of the specific application of content analyses to the studies of crime news, see Dussuyer (1979) and Fair (1984).

1. The structure of newspapers: The structure of a newspaper such as allocations of space and pages is constant over time.

2. Amount of crime news: Crime news is given a stable amount of attention. It accounts for between five to ten percent of all types of news. When the broadest definition of crime news is employed, crime news accounts for over 20% of all news items.

3. Type of newspapers: News selection is more similar between the same type of newspapers (national general newspapers) than between different types of newspapers (a national general newspaper and a metropolitan entertainment tabloid).

Three newspapers were compared looking at three specific dimensions: (1) the use of space; (2) the amount of news by topic; and, (3) the amount of common stories.

UNIVERSE AND SAMPLE

This study considered the news content of each issue of the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri* and the *Fuji* newspapers. These issues were the final edition published in the Tokyo Metropolitan area November, 1989. Seven or six days were selected as a constructed week. In order for the results of this study to be generalized to the population of Japanese papers, the following multistage sampling technique was employed. As Japanese newspapers are generally categorized by the type of readership, the area of circulation, and the amount of circulation, these same factors were used as categorization for cluster sampling.

First, "general-interest general" newspapers were chosen because they constitute the largest category group of Japanese newspapers.[2] Therefore they represent a more "general" or typical newspaper type than others. There are approximately 90 general-

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[2] See Chapter Four for the types of newspapers.

interest general newspapers in Japan. Second, national papers were selected because of their large number and the area of circulation indicates that they represent the common contents of newspapers read by the general readership. Four general-interest general newspapers are also national papers. Lastly, the newspapers were chosen so as not to have the same corporate ownership.[3]

For the present study, the *Asahi* was selected for its reputation as a high quality newspaper as well as its second largest circulation in Japan. The *Yomiuri* was selected because it has the largest circulation in Japan. The majority of these two newspapers are delivered to individual houses or offices. These may be roughly equated to the *Globe and Mail* or the *Vancouver Sun* in Canada.[4]

In addition, a metropolitan entertainment tabloid was included in the sample to provide a contrasting type of reporting. There are two major entertainment tabloids in Japan,[5] the *Yukan Fuji* and the *Nikkan Gendai*, which circulate in the metropolitan areas of Tokyo and Osaka. The *Fuji* was preferred for the present study to the *Gendai*, since the latter is distinguished from conventional sports/entertainment newspapers in the press industry.[6] The *Fuji* is published by Sankei, the company which is one of the five largest newspaper enterprises; and its inclusion allowed the present study a selection of newspapers published by three of the five major newspaper publishers in

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[3] It is suspected that newspapers of the same ownership may have similar editorial policies. Choosing three different ownerships was expected to prevent biased sampling.

[4] "Roughly" because of the characteristics of Japanese newspapers discussed in Chapter Four.

[5] Apart from tabloids, there exist four nation-wide sports/entertainment regular-size newspapers (the JNPEA, 1990)

[6] The *Gendai* is published by a book/magazine publisher rather than traditional newspaper publisher and it is one of few newspapers which does not belong to the JNPEA.

Japan. The *Fuji* has an estimated daily circulation of 1.4 million copies, and is widely distributed as a street-sale newspaper.

SAMPLE SIZE

In content analyses, ensuring a representative sample is of vital importance. However, a content analysis is time-consuming, tedious, and labour-intensive, especially when only one researcher is available to code data. The sample size was determined at the most efficient point: with a sample size that ensured a reliable level of accuracy.

Stempel (1952) conducted research to determine an adequate sample size for classification of subject matter published in a daily newspaper. Stempel's (1952) findings are directly relevant to Phase One of the present study, since the main task of Phase One was to classify subject matter in daily newspapers. He compared samples of 6, 12, 18, 24 and 48 issues of a newspaper with the issues for an entire year. Using the average proportion of subject matter as a measure, Stempel (1952) found that "all five of the sample sizes tested do an adequate job and that increasing the sample size beyond 12 did not produce marked differences in the results" (p. 333).

A small size sample is acceptable in certain cases and researchers have generally selected a week or two as a commonly used sample size.[7] Dussuyer (1979) selected a six-day period as the sample size. In a large-scale mass media study, Graber (1980) sampled two constructed weeks from two different newspapers. In Japan, the Research Institute for the JNPEA (1982, 1984) conducted content analyses examining the subject matter in newspapers using one-week samples.

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[7] In some cases, the sample sizes are even smaller. For example, Otto (1968) sampled from one day comparing three types of mass media.

A required minimum sample size depends on the purpose and the importance of the content analysis in any particular research. The general content analysis was not the ultimate goal of the study: it was designed to provide a basis for the focal point; crime content analysis. For these reasons, one constructed week was determined to be an adequate sample size.

The *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* have morning and evening issues, seven days a week. The *Fuji* is published only as an evening paper from Monday through Saturday.[8] The present study, therefore, sampled a constructed week[9] consisting of seven morning issues[10] of the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* and six evening issues of the *Fuji*. Newspaper issues from the month of November, 1989 were selected based on their availability to the researcher. The following days of the week were chosen so that each sample constituted a constructed week.

> For the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*: November 1 (Wed.), 5 (Sun.), 11 (Sat.), 17 (Fri.), 20 (Mon.), 23 (Thurs.), and 28 (Tues.).

> For the *Fuji*: the same dates except for the 20th (Mon.).

A total of 20 issues were selected for the sample.

SAMPLE UNIT

Each news story was treated as one recording unit in this study. When a story was printed on more than one page, the first page it appeared on was coded as the location. When a headline was separately located on "the first page" but the story

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[8] The *Fuji* is published every evening except for Sundays but its printed date of publication is the next day. Therefore, issues dated Monday are not published.

[9] A constructed week is a preferred method of sampling to a consecutive-day sampling when disproportionate influence of one incident on the sample is to be avoided.

[10] The *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* publish larger issues in the morning.

actually appeared on another page, the story's actual location was coded. There were some occasions in which more than one story was devoted to the same news event, with reference to one another's location in the newspaper. These stories were considered as parts of the same story and counted as one, with the location coded where the first story appeared.

While Western writings read horizontally from left to right and downward; Japanese newspapers read vertically from right to left with lines side by side, creating rows instead of columns. For this reason, the conventional Western measuring unit, column inches, was replaced with row inches in the present study.

CODING PROTOCOL ONE[11]

The general content analysis was primarily concerned with: (1) the stability of the newspaper structure; (2) the relative amount of crime news reported; and (3) the similarities and differences among three Japanese newspapers. In developing the coding protocol for the general content analysis, the following variables were carefully defined.

1) News Topic

This general content analysis was designed to be comparable to Graber's study (1980); therefore her definition of "stories" including ordinary news reports, editorials, letters to the editor, features, and cartoons was employed. As Graber (1980) excluded advertisements and similar types of announcements, obituaries, puzzles, radio and television listings, the present study categorized them as "non-news" and excluded from them the "news story" category.

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[11] For the inclusion rules and explanations of variables, see Appendix A, Coding Protocol One.

Once coded as a "story", a news item was further categorized as "crime news" or "non-crime news". A story was coded as crime news if there was any reference to crime in it, or if the criminal justice system was mentioned; police activities, prosecutor investigation, arrest, trial, or crime statistics. Non-crime stories were further categorized by topics into domestic political affairs news, international affairs news, economic affairs news, human interest news, and domestic social affairs news.[12]

2) Reporting Style: Primary and Secondary News

The operational definitions of primary news, secondary news, and "other" item was developed by referring to the Japanese press industry's convention and "hard news" and "soft news" in Western convention (the JNPEA, 1982, pp. 7-11; McQuail, 1987, pp. 165-166). First, features, opinion, columns, commentary, specials, editorials, letters to the editor, or serial articles were defined as secondary news. Second, news items were examined from another criterion: immediacy of news. If a news story would significantly lose its news value were it reported at a later date, it was coded as primary news. News items that did not take a writing format were coded as "other" items. These included the weather forecast and temperature, quiz, Japanese chess, astrology, and serial comics. Usually, these criteria were mutually exclusive, and applying this test ensured the accuracy of coding.

3) Article Size

An article size, including headlines and photographs in row inches, was used as the measurement for the length of the story.

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[12] This categorization was developed based on the conventional categorizations by Japanese newspaper industry outlined in the JNPEA (1982) and categories in Graber's (1980) study. Graber (1980) classified them into: politics/government; economics/business; human interest/hobbies; and social issues.

CRIME CONTENT ANALYSIS

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The second analysis examined crime news in the final editions of the same three Japanese newspapers for a total of five months in 1989. Most of the Western findings were hypothesized to apply to Japanese crime news as: (1) crime news reporting is similar among newspapers in as many as 14 countries on five continents (Marsh, 1991); and (2) the newsmaking process and the professional norms are similar in Japan and in the West.

The hypotheses for the crime content analyses were as follows:

1. Place of origin of crime news: Over 60% of crime stories in newspapers are local crimes, while crimes from the rest of the country and from foreign countries share less than 40% of total crime news coverage.

2. Discrepancies between crime statistics and crime news: Crime stories and crime statistics convey different images of crimes, the victims of crime, and the criminal offenders. Specifically,

   2a) News stories overrepresent serious, violent, or uncommon crimes; and underrepresent less serious, less violent, property, or common crimes compared with the statistics.

   2b) Serious or violent crimes are more prominently reported than less serious or property crimes.

   2c) Although white-collar crime stories are less frequently reported, they are as prominently treated as street crime stories.

   2d) News stories overrepresent younger or female victims, and older and male offenders.

3. Reported stages in the criminal justice process: Most stories report crimes at the early stages (the police stage) within the criminal justice process. Consequently, crime news stories describe the activities of criminal justice agencies primarily as crime fighting, leaving their other activities less visible.

4. Bias in crime news: Crime news has a source bias and an evaluation bias towards the criminal justice system, especially the police. Specifically,

    4a) The vast majority of quotes are from criminal justice agencies, with offenders and victims rarely cited.

    4b) The criminal justice system, especially the police, is positively evaluated. The police are most frequently evaluated, with other criminal justice agencies much less visible in the news.

5. Descriptive elements and the use of photographs: Compared with criminal justice activities, less information on the victims of crime and the criminal offenders is provided in the news.

6. Crime news reported in the same type of newspapers is more similar than between different types of newspapers. Specifically,

    6a) The use of space and types of crime reported as crime news are more similar between the national general newspapers (the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*), than between either newspaper and the metropolitan entertainment tabloid (the *Fuji*).

    6b) The two national general newspapers (*Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*) differentiate themselves from each other by differently presenting the same stories. Therefore, even commonly reported crime stories are given different newsplay.

SAMPLE SIZE

The crime content analysis of this study used the same newspapers (the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri*, and the *Fuji*) as the general content analysis, but samples were selected by a different method. The sample population consisted of the final edition of the three newspapers from selected months. Consecutive days of the month, instead of constructed weeks, were analyzed since the former gives a better understanding of the daily fluctuation and continuity of news than the latter. For the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, every morning issue in February and May in 1989 was selected to be analyzed. The *Fuji* was studied for a one-month period, November, for every evening issue. The number of sampled issues were: the *Asahi*, 57; the *Yomiuri*, 57; and the *Fuji*, 23.

SAMPLE UNIT

One crime story was the sample unit for the crime content analysis. This analysis defined a crime story in three ways: the narrowest, the broader and the broadest.[13] As was discussed in Chapter Three, different researchers employ different definitions of crime news, making comparative study difficult. Wimmer and Dominick (1987) noted "the findings of a particular content analysis are limited to the framework of the categories and definitions used in that analysis" (p. 170). As one of the objectives of this study was to compare its findings with the existing findings, the ability of the data set to adjust to the various definitions was essential.

There were some domestic crime issues excluded from coding. One was the Recruit Scandal, which involved Cabinet Ministers, leading figures of the Liberal

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[13] The narrowest definition includes only primary news of crime incident. The broader definition includes primary and secondary stories in an article format, regarding crime incidents, criminals and victims, and activities of criminal justice system. The broadest definition includes cartoons.

Democratic Party, high-level bureaucrats, and powerful business people.[14] The Recruit

Scandal, as a multi-faceted and far-reaching event of national-level concern, was found

"newsworthy" in the eyes of journalists, much more than as a simple "crime event".

Therefore, coding this issue as crime news would skew the data; because it would

ignore the political, economic and social significance of reporting the issue, while

overemphasizing the criminal aspect of it. Stories on suicides, fires not caused by

arson, and accidents were excluded as they dealt with non-crime issues.

Civil wars, violent demonstrations, and riots are highly political and social

events, often underlined by the historical background of the country. As news is

inevitably value-charged by its use of language, one event is capable of becoming two

different stories depending on how the news media signify the event (Hartley, 1982).[15]

Because of the ambiguity of the situation, some types of international news were

excluded from coding even though activities of the criminal justice system were

reported. News stories were excluded if: a police force was employed for a purpose

for which other countries would rather use the military and whether a particular

behavior or event was considered a criminal act or not, depending on the position from

which one looked at the situation.[16] A comparative content analysis of political

deviance and crime, or social deviance and crime is a recommended method for future

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[14] This series of scandals started with a corruption case in one local city but soon spread to the nation's political and business scenes. As Recruit bribed people in charge of Japan's telecommunication policies, labour-related regulations, educational affairs as well as real property and investment, this incident became one of the most prominent events in Japan.

[15] Hartley (1982, pp. 19-21) illustrated this point with the use of language describing the activities of the Irish Republican Army. News may refer to IRA as "terrorists" or "freedom-fighters" and "attacked" or "liberated", the pair giving totally opposite image about the nature of the group.

[16] For example, a social movement of a racial group requesting independence from a country may be seen as people's struggle for freedom from the domination by a different race. It may be seen as mass disturbance of criminal nature because it is causing turbulence in the country.

research on this issue. The present study's focus was on news of a primarily "crime and justice" nature, hence this analysis was beyond the scope of the present study.

VARIABLES IN PROTOCOL TWO

The present study provides sections explaining the reasons for the inclusion of variables and the explanation of their uses in this chapter and in Appendixes A and B. They were included in order to provide the readers as much information as possible regarding the coding protocol. This is an attempt to deal with the frustration expressed by Kline (1982) regarding the lack of adequate information about the content coding categories:

> The obvious practical problem of balancing sensitivity and discrimination of the categories with the intersubjective reliability of coding procedures and, ultimately, the absence of clear "objective" standards for making such decisions remains a daunting prospect. And, always, there remains the problem, remembering Holsti's dictum, that a content analysis can only be as good as the categories (and subsumed categorical distinctions) which inform the protocol (p. 2).

> Why not outline the important innovations in understanding implied by the categories used? If content analysis is ever to be a useful tool for the systematic interpretation of messages, then the process of interpretation (and not just the categories) must be publicized (p. 3).

For the purpose of this crime content analysis, most variables were designed to be comparable with existing Western findings where information was available.

Variables one through eight were "story identifiers". Variables nine to 15 dealt with the visual image of stories, indicating the attention given to and treatment of each crime story.

Variables 16 to 59 dealt with crime information. These variables enabled the present research to compare newspaper images of crime, offenders, victims, and the criminal justice agencies in news stories and in official statistics. Variables 16 to 26 examined types of crime, whether a crime was completed, whether the story was

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primary news or secondary news, what stage it was in the criminal justice process, whether the story was new or repeated, and where the story originated, etc.[17]

Variables 27 to 36 examined information regarding the victims and offenders (the presence and the distribution of name, age, sex, etc.). Variables 37 to 41 measured the amount of five descriptive elements in each story: descriptions of the crime event, activities of criminal justice agencies, the victim, the offender, and the circumstances of the event. These variables allowed an examination of the aspect of crime most reported.

Variables 42 to 49 were designed to conduct a source bias analysis. Quotes were coded for up to two sources together with their lengths. A source bias analysis examined the treatment, amount and frequency of quotations from various information sources and investigated the degrees of dependency and advocacy. Burger and Luckman (1967) noted the importance of source bias analysis:

> Reality is socially defined. But the definitions are always embodied, that is, concrete individuals and groups of individuals serve as difiners of reality. To understand the state of the socially constructed universe (of meaning) at any given time, or its change over time, one must understand the social organization that permits the definers to do their defining. Put a little crudely, it is essential to keep pushing questions about the historically available conceptualizations of reality from the abstract "what" to the sociologically concrete "says who?" (p. 134).

Variables 50 to 59 dealt with evaluative elements in the stories. They examined "who is evaluated by who, about what and how". The main purpose of examining evaluative elements in the present study was to complement the source bias analysis. A source bias analysis alone does not measure the attitudes of the writer of a story, for a simple amount of citation does not necessarily show whether a writer agrees with the

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[17] Definition for stage in the criminal justice process is designed based on the flow chart of the criminal justice system by Tomita (1985).

source.[18]   Therefore, these evaluative elements served as an index for measuring the newspapers' attitudes towards crime and the criminal justice agencies.

OFFICIAL CRIME STATISTICS

Variables related to crime type were designed to be comparable with Japanese official crime statistics as well as Western research.   Operational definitions for variables 17 and 18 were made according to the classification of official crime statistics, the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (the National Police Agency, 1990). This included six main categories of crimes: felony, violent crime, theft, intellectual crime, crime against public morals, and other criminal code offences.   In the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (the NPA, 1990), the previous six groups were further classified into specific crimes such as murder, arson, fraud, etc. (see Appendix B for detail).   Although the police deal with cases related to traffic negligence and violation of special laws,[19] these were excluded from the statistics.

The objective of this study was to examine the "images" of crime-related issues presented in crime news.   Often crime news does not conform to the legal classifications employed in crime statistics: types of offence or the state of the suspect in the criminal justice procedure were frequently ambiguous.   Therefore, a choice was made to focus on the "images" in reports, rather than strictly following the legal definition of a criminal event.   In other words, what would be viewed as "crime" and "criminals" by ordinary readers were coded, rather than coding legally correct interpretation of the information.

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[18] Especially, since the professional norm of journalists demands that primary news stories should be "objective" and the personal opinion of the journalists about the issue should not influence the content of story (Shimbun Kenkyu Dojinkai, 1983; Fishman, 1980; Tuchman, 1978).   However, news accounts often contain evaluative phrases that may indicate which side they are on.

[19] For the list of special laws, see Appendix C.

One example is that not all charges were listed in crime news reporting. Another is that a layperson is likely to perceive a case of violation of special laws as another "crime", equal to a Penal Code offence. The present study coded violations of special laws under the category of "Non-code offences", allowing the researcher to distinguish them from code offences that were to be compared with statistics. Another effort to estimate "crime images" was not to differentiate "suspects" from "offenders". First, crime news reporting did not clearly differentiate them. Second, regardless of whether a person reported as a "suspect" in news was actually found guilty, the average reader would view that person as an "offender".[20]

In addition to the above categories, one category of "criminal justice related news" was added by the researcher to accommodate some crime stories whose main thrust was none of the above.

The total crime figure for each type of crime for the year of 1989 was compared with the frequency of cases for each crime type in the three papers. In cases where a suspect was charged with multiple crimes, the offences with the two largest spaces were coded as the principal crimes.

Problems in Crime Statistics

In Western countries, the reliability and validity of crime statistics are often called into question (Surette, 1991; Hall, et al., 1978; Cohen & Young, 1981; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1984; Sheley, 1985). Hall, et al. (1978: 9-10) listed several reasons crime statistics should not be blindly trusted:

1. (As) crime statistics refer only to reported crime, they cannot quantify the 'dark figure'.

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[20] This assumption is not without reason, as conviction rates are relatively high in Japan.

2. Different areas collate their statistics differently.[21]

3. Police sensitization to, and mobilization to deal with, selected, 'targeted' crimes increase both the number the police turnup, and the number the public report.

4. Public anxiety about particular 'highlighted' offences leads to 'over-reporting'.

5. Crime statistics are based on legal (not sociological categories) and are, thus arbitrary.

6. Changes in the law make strict comparisons over time difficult.

Other researchers suggested more reasons statistics should be treated with caution (Marsh, 1988):

7. The individual police officer has discretion as to whether or not to record a crime, and

8. Mistakes happen in the process of compiling data.

Some countries including the United States conduct victimization surveys and self-report surveys to cope with the shortcomings of crime statistics. However, such surveys are uncommon in Japan and were beyond the scope of the present study.

Some researchers believe that the reliability of crime statistics may vary among countries. Tokuoka and Cohen (1987) maintain that the Japanese crime statistics reflect the underlying reality of crime more closely than do American crime statistics, thereby justifying the use of Japanese crime statistics:

> Japan has not experienced a major revision of laws since 1951 and has maintained uniform, nationwide standards under a single criminal justice system. Generally speaking, Japanese people respect and trust the police, a condition which encourages them to report crimes to the police... The respect for and trust in the police and the consequent cooperativeness of the citizenry result, in part, in the extraordinarily

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[21] For instance, Sheley (1985) points out that in the United States, legislations defining the offences are not fully standardized across the nation, therefore some offences are classified differently in different parts of the country.

high clearance rates, much higher for almost all offences than in the United States -- for many offences two or three times as high (p. 14).

The bases of this claim are consistent with the reasons that Hall et al. (1978) found statistics unreliable.

However small the dark figure may be in Japanese crime statistics, the problem of its existence still remains. Japanese criminologists are aware of the existence of the dark figure in crime statistics, and they attribute the origins of the dark figure to the attitude of the public towards crime, the attitude of the victim, the policies of the police, and mistakes made upon recording (Ooya, 1991, p. 28).

Yoshioka (1990), however, questioned whether police statistics are useful to capture the actual crime phenomena. Yoshioka (1990, pp. 31-40) maintained that police statistics only reflect the crime apprehension activities of the police, since the number of crime apprehensions by other crime control organizations is not counted in the statistics. Therefore, he argued, if the police crime statistics reflect the activities of the police, the figures in statistics and their change are a reflection of police activities and their change. Hence, the stability of the dark figure is not an excuse to use the police statistics. This argument is powerful but the majority of Japanese criminologists take a more practical approach to dealing with the current situation where no other method can provide a better measure than official statistics: they use the statistics with caution.

The general consensus among Japanese criminologists is to accept the use of crime statistics, because they are indispensable in obtaining an overview of crime phenomena. Another reason statistics are used is that there is no alternative method suitable for that purpose. Crime statistics remain the most practical method of estimating the number of crime incidents. Therefore, the use of crime statistics is taken as inevitable. It is a common assumption that the ratio of the dark figure does not fluctuate sharply from year to year. And the majority of Japanese criminologists accept

the use of crime statistics as long as a researcher is aware of the limitations inherent to statistics and the existence of the dark figure (Ooya, 1991, p. 29).

Especially important to note for the use of police statistics in the present study is that "police data are the major source for media crime stories and thus are the standard by which the accuracy of media reporting must be judged" (Graber, 1980, p. 38).

Chapter VI

Findings of the General Content Analysis

In this chapter, a series of questions were asked: What do Japanese newspapers look like?; Are they different from their Western counterparts?; and, Are there any differences among Japanese newspapers?, or, Are newspapers of the same type more similar than others? In order to answer these questions, the amount of space used for non-news and news items, the amount of crime news as opposed to that of non-crime news and their daily fluctuation, and the amount of common stories among newspapers were examined.

Hypothesis 1. The structure of a newspaper such as allocations of space and pages is constant over time.

According to the Research Institute at the JNPEA (1982), newspaper publishers make editorial policies regarding the structure and layout of their newspapers. Thanks to such editorial policies, each newspaper has a fixed or stable outlook. A typical issue of the *Asahi* or the *Yomiuri* was structured in the following manner:

Each page had 225 row-inches, with 15 rows (the printable area was 15 inches by 20.25 inches).[1] "The first page" reported the most important news of the day, two to four "general pages" reported primarily domestic political news and some important news which could not make the first page. International affairs were given two to four pages, followed by several pages of economic and financial news. Opinion, editorial, commentary, and letters to the editor were often clustered in one section, which was

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[1] A page in the *Globe and Mail* has 75 column-inches (six column per page), therefore, one column inch in a Western newspaper approximately translates to three row inches in a Japanese newspaper. The printable area of the *Globe and Mail*'s page is 12.5 inches by 21 inches.

also two to four pages long.[2]   There were several pages of the feature section; including arts, music, performance arts, movies, T.V. and radio, science, health, family and home, hobbies, and literature and books.[3] Sports news was about two to four pages long, followed by two or three pages of local news. The very last page listed the T.V. schedule of the day, and "social affairs pages" started two or three pages before the last page. Full-page advertisements were placed here and there, making an average of a 32 page-long morning issue.

The *Fuji*'s page consisted of 116 row-inches, with 11 rows (the printable area was 9.75 inches by 14.75 inches). The *Fuji* had a more flexible page structure than the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*. Its page length varied from 28 to 46 pages (average: 43.33). The first three pages primarily reported political affairs, social affairs, and human interest news from Japan and abroad; the next two pages were designated for the stock exchange and related stories; and the last part of the issue featured sports or horse racing news. The page allotment in the rest of the issue varied substantially in every issue.

Table 6.1 compares the use of space in the three newspapers. The *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* had the same total amount of space, and they devoted a similar proportion and amount of space to news or non-news items.[4] On the other hand, the *Fuji* had a much smaller amount of total space and a reversed news-non-news ratio.

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[2] The *Yomiuri* placed international affairs and economic affairs pages after Opinion/editorial pages.

[3] The topics of these pages took turns by day.

[4] Research Institute at the JNPEA (1984) found that the *Asahi* devoted 41.6% of the total space to news stories, and 58.4% was devoted to advertisement. Its sampling and coding schemes were slightly different from those of the present study: it sampled both morning editions and evening editions, measured the size of articles with square-cm, and used slightly narrower definition of advertisement. Nonetheless, the findings are quite similar.

Table 6.1. Space (%) Devoted to News Stories and Non-News Items

| Sum % | Newspaper | | |
	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
News Item	43.82	45.13	53.76
Non-News	56.18	54.87	46.24
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage base (Row-Inches)			
	50400	50400	30160

Note. Total of 20 issues were examined. Every item in the sampled newspapers was coded and included in this table. Non-news included advertisements, notices from the publisher (see Appendix A for details).

Table 6.2. Frequency (%) of Stories by Reporting Style

| % of | Newspaper | | |
Frequency	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Primary News	65.62	62.36	33.42
Secondary News	34.38	37.64	66.58
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage base	864	951	368

Table 6.3. Space (%) of Stories by Reporting Style

| Sum of | Newspaper | | |
Space	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Primary News	51.11	51.37	42.38
Straight News	40.23	44.76	18.32
Follow-up	10.88	6.61	24.06
Secondary News	48.90	48.02	57.62
Editorial	2.18	2.04	0.00
Readers'	7.00	4.42	0.00
Column, etc.	39.72	42.16	57.62
Total	100.01	99.99	100.00
Percentage base (Row-Inches)	17640	18390	12210

Note. "Other" category is excluded from these tables.

Table 6.2 shows that close to two-thirds of the news stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* were primary news. As Table 6.3 shows, the total space devoted to primary news in each the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* was about 50%. This indicates that primary news stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* were, on average, shorter than the secondary news stories. The *Fuji*, however, had twice as many secondary news items as primary news and the former took less space than the latter.

Hypothesis 2. Crime news is given a stable amount of attention. It accounts for between five to ten percent of all types of news. When the broadest definition of crime news is employed, crime news accounts for over 20% of all news items.

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 deal with the frequency and amount of news stories of various topics. Table 6.4 shows that the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* had an almost identical distribution pattern of frequencies, with the largest difference a mere 1.04% in the political news category. While the frequency of stories varied between the *Fuji* and the other two in many news topics, the differences in percentages were within two percentage points for crime news and economic news.

Table 6.4. Frequency (%) of Stories by News Topic

Topic	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Crime	4.81	4.35	3.82
Economy	12.97	13.56	12.63
Human Interest	30.01	29.32	75.79
International	17.84	17.66	1.05
Politics	13.14	14.18	1.58
Society	21.23	20.93	5.13
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Base	1766	1954	760

Note. Topics are double-coded, primary news and secondary news are included in the table.

In addition to counting the number of stories in the newspapers, the amount of space given to those stories was considered in order to correctly estimate the amount of information provided in each newspaper. For, some stories appear infrequently with a large amount of space, while others are regularly reported within a very small space. Table 6.5 shows that the overall distribution pattern was very similar to that of the frequency table. With regard to crime stories, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* had a slightly smaller share in story length than frequency, which indicates that crime stories tend to be shorter in length than the average story.

Table 6.5. Sum of Size (%) by News Topic

Topic	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Crime	3.35	3.20	3.81
Economy	9.89	11.19	9.26
Human Interest	35.07	32.60	79.72
International	18.14	19.27	1.08
Politics	13.69	13.43	1.88
Society	19.86	20.31	4.25
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Base (Row-inch)	36218	37706	24726

Note. News space used for non-story items was excluded. Each page of the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* was 225 row inches. The *Fuji*'s page consisted of 116 row inches. Topics were double-coded, primary news and secondary news were included.

The distribution patterns of frequency and the amount of news stories were so similar that the largest differences were 1.04% (political affairs) for the frequency and 2.47% (human interest) for the amount. Human interest was the news topic to which every newspaper gave the most attention in terms of both the frequency and the amount of space. As an entertainment newspaper, the *Fuji* devoted close to 80 percent of the stories and available news space to human interest stories. The *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*

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gave social affairs stories the second highest priority, corresponding to the JNPEA's (1984) findings that the social affairs pages were the most read pages.[5]   The international news in the Asahi was given a substantially smaller percentage of the total news space (18.14%) than the findings (28.7%) of the Research Institute at the JNPEA (1984).

Japanese newspapers were much less keen on reporting crime news than their Western counterparts.   Takemura (1971) found that national general newspapers devoted less than three percent of available news space to crime news.   The present study found a slightly larger amount of crime news (less than five percent in frequency and less than four percent in space), but this may be attributed to the double-coding method.   Even disregarding Graber's (1980) finding that crime news accounted for 20% of the total number of news stories as the result of a triple coding method, the findings in a majority of Western research (five to ten percent) remained comparatively high,   especially if most of them did not employ a double-coding method. Furthermore, the crime content analysis found that more than half of "crime news" were "criminal justice related news", news items that did not report specific crimes. This finding and its implications will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

The present research was unable to answer why Japanese newspapers report smaller amount of crime news than their Western counterparts.   It may have been because of the smaller amount of crime in Japanese society, different editorial policies, differences in Japanese and Western cultures, or other factors.

Fluctuation of News Space

Figures 1, 2 and 3 present the relative amount of space given to stories of crime topics as opposed to other news topics.   These figures show that the relative amount of

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[5] See section on the studies of public confidence in Japanese newspapers in Chapters One and Four.

space devoted to various topics varied substantially between the national general papers (the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*), and the entertainment paper (the *Fuji*). Between the national general papers, the fluctuation within a topic was larger in the *Yomiuri*. The *Fuji*'s fluctuation of the news distribution seemed unrelated to those of the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*.

———— Crime
— — — Economy
‐ ‐ ‐ Human Interest
‐‐‐‐‐ Internaitonal
‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ Politics
·············· Society
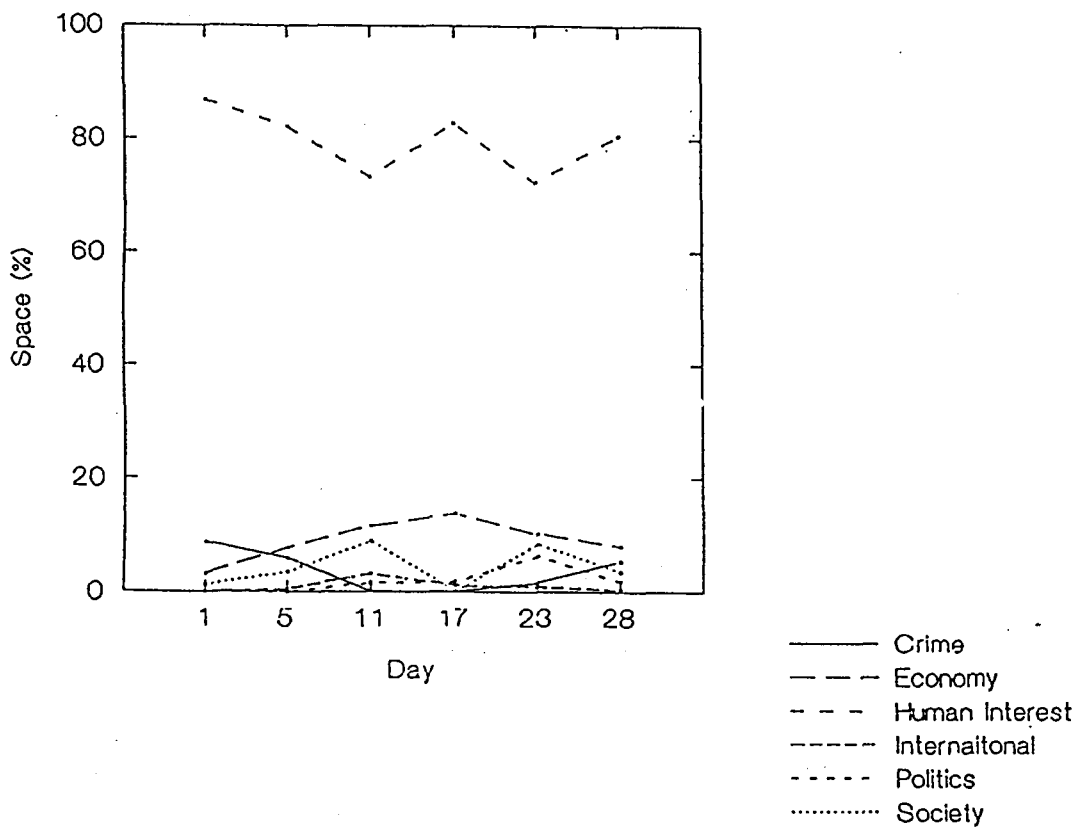
Figure 1. Daily Fluctuation of News: the *Fuji*

Note. Fluctuation of relative amount of news of various topics. A constructed week (six days) in November, 1989.
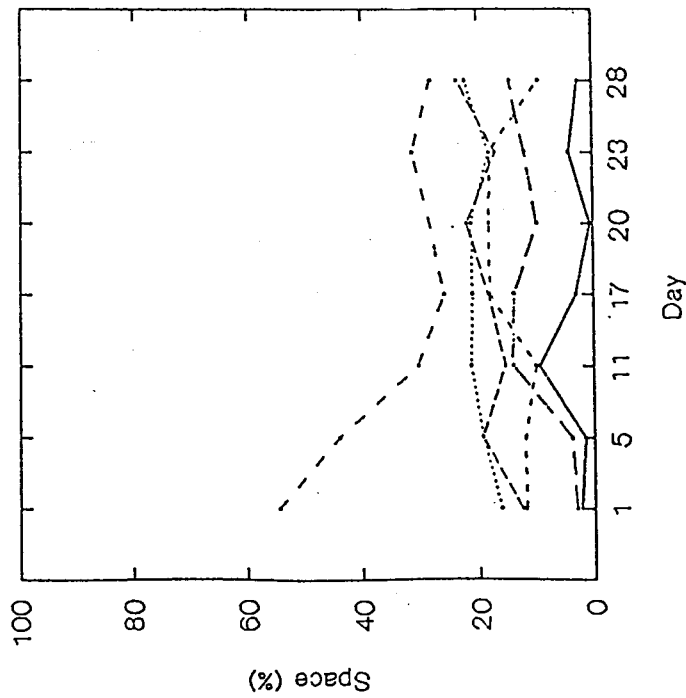
Figure 2. Daily Fluctuation of News: the *Asahi*
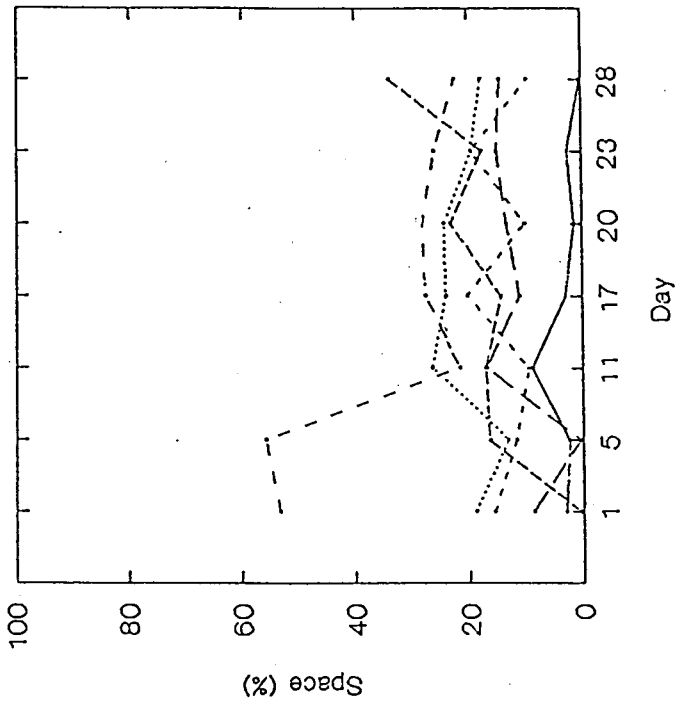
Figure 3. Daily Fluctuation of News: the *Yomiuri*

Note. Fluctuation of relative amount of news of various topics: A constructed week (seven days) in November, 1989.

Human interest topics had the highest percentage of space in each newspaper, and its percentage fluctuated the most among news topics. Interestingly, crime news in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* had almost identical patterns of fluctuation and remained most stable among all news topics. This raises the question of whether crime news is a filler in these two Japanese newspapers.

Gordon and Heath (1981, p. 232) and Tuchman (1978) stated that crime news was inserted as fillers of newsholes on a "slow news day", when "there are relatively few newsworthy events". Graber (1980, pp. 32-35) found that crime news was used as fillers for domestic political news.

A study of the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* found that the number of news stories fluctuated by the days of the week and that political and economic affairs news were reported substantially less on Sundays and Mondays, a substantially small number of social affairs news was reported on Mondays, while the number of sports news stories increased remarkably on Sundays and Mondays (Kawai, 1987, p. 181). This finding may be interpreted that sports news is used as a filler on weekends when public bureaucracies are closed.

However in the present study, without any external information, it is not possible to determine whether the fluctuation of crime news was a function of the availability of other news or if the fluctuation of other news (such as primary news or secondary news of another topic) was a function of the availability of crime news. This is especially so because of the fact that crime and justice news decreased on Sunday (November 5) and Monday (November 20), when less news stories of other topics were available (therefore more news space to fill up) than on the weekdays.

Table 6.6. Fluctuation Level of News Space for Each Topic

Topic	Asahi	Newspapers Yomiuri	Fuji	Graber's Data
Crime	.86	.88	.96	.10
Economy	.48	.48	.40	--[a]
Human interest	.31	.44	.07	.17
International	.21	.57	1.07	--[a]
Politics	.29	.34	1.19	.18
Society	.11	.23	.85	--[a]
Economy & society	.22	.29	.43	.17
Average	.35	.46	.71	.15

Note. The figures are coefficient of variance. [a]. Figures were unavailable.

The fluctuation levels found in the present study were higher than in Graber's (1980) study, but they would be lower if a period of time longer than one week was observed.

Hypothesis 3. News selection is more similar between the same type of newspapers (national general newspapers) than between different types of newspapers (a national general newspaper and a metropolitan entertainment tabloid).

A study of the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* found that the two newspapers shared an average of 27.5% (political affairs news), 21.6% (economic affairs news), and 10.6% (social affairs news) in their morning issues (Kawai, 1987, p. 150).[6]

Table 6.7 examined the number of primary news stories reported by more than two newspapers on the same day. Unlike secondary news stories that are often made irrespective of the timing factor, primary news, by definition, deals with "fresh" news from information sources. As the methods of news collection and the major

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[6] This study examined one week in November, 1984. The definitions of the categories employed were not listed. However, from the figures, it is suspected that this study included secondary news items as well.

information sources for primary news are almost identical among newspapers, newspaper reporters obtain identical pools of news stories. Therefore, this illustrates the degree of similarity in the choice of news among the three newspapers.

Table 6.7 . Frequency of Stories Appearing in More than One Newspaper on the Same Day

| | Combination of Newspapers | | | |
	3 papers	A & Y	A & F	Y & F
Number of Common Stories (A)	57	463	14	8
Number of Different Stories	702	674	668	691
Total (B)	1259	1137	682	699
% of Common Stories (A * 100 / B)	4.53	40.72	2.05	1.14

Note. Stories published on different days were coded as different stories even if they carried the same news content.

The *Asahi* and the *Fuji* shared 6.5%, and the *Fuji* and the *Yomiuri* had 5.6% of primary news in common. Only 4.5% of stories were shared by the three newspapers. However, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* shared more than 45% of primary news, which was remarkable when compared with figures for other combinations. This indicates that half of the news items the readers of the two national general newspapers received are of the same events, giving them similar issues to look at.

Although the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* selected the same stories as much as 45% of the total, this does not mean the wording or the display of the stories was the same. Graber (1980) hypothesized that the news media of the same type report the same type of stories, but that newsplay of the stories varied between newspapers. This hypothesis

was tested with crime news in the crime content analysis (See hypotheses 6a and 6b in Chapter Seven).[7]

Summary

This chapter examined the collection and selection of all types of news stories, and the similarities and differences between the three newspapers. The *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* were similar to such a degree that they appeared almost identical when compared with the *Fuji*.

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[7] The researcher was aware that the approach to the same issues (frames of reference) may differ among newspapers, however, the examination of this point is left for the future research.

Chapter VII

Findings of Crime Content Analysis

The findings in this chapter tested the hypothesis that the Western findings regarding the reporting of crime news apply equally to Japanese crime news reporting. Specific hypotheses are drawn from this hypothesis, and they will be introduced and tested below.[1] First, however, the place of origin of the crime news, where the news event took place, will be examined in relation to other aspects of crime news.[2]

Hypothesis 1. Over 60% of crime stories in newspapers are local crimes, while crimes from the rest of the country and from foreign countries share less than 40% of total crime news.

It was indicated in the literature review, that approximately 60% of crime stories in Canada's local newspapers were from the local area (within the same province), while news from the rest of Canada and foreign crime news accounted for about ten percent and 30%, respectively (Dussuyer, 1979; Fair, 1984).

One is naturally more interested in reading about events close to home than about events in a place strange to him/her.[3] Therefore, one can presume that newspapers find local murder more newsworthy than a murder on the other side of the globe. As a result, more local crime stories than international crime stories may be

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[1] The present study employed a coding protocol which allowed as broad a definition of crime news (topic and reporting style) as Graber's (1980). However, as only one cartoon appeared in the sample, the sample of crime news became almost identical to the one which would have been produced by Dussuyer's (1979) definition.

[2] For the first hypothesis, Dussuyer's (1979) definition of crime stories was employed; including primary and secondary news of stories which in any way pertained to a crime or related matter.

[3] See studies by Heath (1984) & Liska and Baccaglini (1990).

seen. However, the local area is smaller than the rest of the world, and the number of available crime stories from the local area is much smaller than that from the rest of the world. What effect does this have on the distribution of news stories?

Table 7.1 shows that the local crime news, news from the eastern region, constituted over 60% of all crime stories.[4] The distinction between local news and national news in these Japanese papers was not a clear one, as newspapers nationally reported as many as 80% of crime stories originated in the eastern region on pages other than local pages.[5]

Table 7.1. Frequency (%) of Crime News by Place of Origin

Region	Asahi	Newspaper Yomiuri	Fuji
Local	63.66	68.36	62.00
National	20.64	16.95	24.00
International	15.70	14.69	14.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	344	354	50

Note. Local region was determined based on the Japanese convention and the categorization in the official crime statistics.

Following Dussuyer's (1979) definition of "local crime news", Tables 7.1 and 7.2 did not distinguish whether news from eastern Japan appeared on the local page or on other pages. It is because a reader is more likely to determine a degree of

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[4] This may be due to the fact that the eastern region has the nation's capital, the headquarters of the nation's bureaucracies and the main offices of newspaper publishers. A large number of events which may influence the country takes place there, and both news sources and journalists are concentrated there.

[5] In fact, the social affairs pages were given the largest share of crime stories from this region (66.1%) and only 20% of crime stories that originated in the eastern region appeared on local pages.

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psychological proximity to a crime incident by the place of origin than by the particular page which the news is placed.

It is possible, however, to consider the locality of news by the location of news story in the newspapers. In other words, news items that were reported nationwide, not locally, may be regarded as national news. When only the crime stories that appeared on the "local pages" were categorized as "local" news and the rest of Japanese crime news were categorized as "national" news, the vast majority of domestic news became "national" news. National news accounted for 73% and the local news accounted for 12% of total crime news.

Whichever the definition of "national" news was used, more national news was reported in Japanese newspapers than international news. This tendency to devote less than 20% of total crime news to international crime news was consistent with the finding from the general content analysis, where the international news in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* accounted for approximately 18% to 19% of total number of news and total news space (see Table 6.4). That international "crime" news has a smaller percentage than international "non-crime" news may reflect Japanese newspapers' interest in domestic crimes or their interest in intentional news of non-crime topics.

Table 7.2. Place of Origin of Crime News and Average Sizes

Region	Asz	Hsz	Psz	N
Local	8.49	4.34	0.87	466
National	8.89	3.94	1.13	131
International	6.32	2.18	0.65	106

Note. N = 698 (the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*). Asz (article size) and Hsz (headline size) were measured in row-inches, and Psz (picture size) was measured in square-inches. Both the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* have 225 row-inches in one page.

Table 7.2 shows that international crime news not only had the smallest frequency of appearance but also the smallest amount of space allocated to these stories, headlines and pictures. While local and national news had similar levels of variation in size, international news had a much smaller (about 60% less in each standard deviation) variation. This indicates that national news and local news varied more in size than international news, which was consistently small in size.

Summary

Quite different from their Canadian counterparts, Japanese newspapers gave more attention to national crime news than to international crime news. This is an interesting finding for a number of reasons. First, the rest of the world is bigger than one country: wire services probably provide the newspaper companies with numerous international crime news. Secondly, in a country with a low crime rate, Japanese newspapers could probably find more sensational, violent, or interesting crime stories among international news than domestic crime events. Domestic crime may be emphasized in Japanese report newspapers as a result of their prioritization of the locality of crime over the type of crime, while the priorities in Canadian crime reporting are the reverse.

On the other hand, the fact that Canadian newspapers carried a smaller share of national crime news than Japanese newspapers may have resulted from the regionalism in Canadian newspapers, where relatively little attention was given to issues at the federal level or issues of other provinces.[6] Vipond (1989) pointed out that Canadian news media have cut the cost of producing news by heavily relying on the U.S. news. This may be a reason why Canadian newspapers did not report as much national news as international news. It may also have simply reflected a difference between local

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[6] See Hackett (1991) for regionalism as one of the major characteristics in Canadian news media.

(regional) and national newspapers, rather than Canadian and Japanese newspapers. This finding regarding the relative amount of international crime news requires further research.

<u>Observations on International Crime News</u>

The objectives of the present study were to capture the images of crime, the victims and offenders, and the criminal justice system that Japanese newspapers present, and to discover what discrepancies, if any, exist between this image and the image conveyed in crime statistics. Because the present study required a comparison of statistics and news, it was necessary to exclude international crime news to prevent extra complications resulting from accommodating foreign laws. As a result, international news items were excluded from the majority of the analysis. Therefore, brief though they may be, the following set of observations were designed for international crime news. In this section of analysis, data from the *Fuji* were excluded as there were only seven international crime reports.

The Research Institute at the JNPEA (1984) examined the place of origin of international news (see Chapter Four for its findings). As the Research Institute at the JNPEA (1984) included news of all topics, its findings regarding the distribution pattern of international news did not apply to the present study (See Table 7.3).

In Canada, Studies by Dussuyer (1979) and Fair (1984) found that local newspapers devoted a large amount of crime news to American crime stories. Dussuyer (1979) found that over 70% of the international crime news came from the United States and the United Kingdom, and that the rest of the world received relatively little attention: Asian countries, Germany and France followed them with 9.0%, 4.6% and 4.2%, respectively. This may have resulted from Canada's physical proximity to the United States, from the historical background of the Canadian news

media,[7] from the relative abundance of newsworthy crime stories in the United States, or from other factors.

On the contrary, as Table 7.3 shows, Japanese newspapers had relatively diverse interest in various regions in the world, with no one country accounting for more than 35%.

Table 7.3. Frequency (%) of International Crime News by Place of Origin

Region	Asahi	Yomiuri	N
North America	16.67	34.62	27
Asia	38.89	21.15	32
Europe	25.93	21.15	25
Other	18.52	23.08	22
Total	100.00	100.00	
N	54	52	106

In Tables 7.3 and 7.4, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* showed distinct patterns of regional selection. On the one hand, Asian news took up more than one-third of the *Asahi*'s international crime news; on the other, North American (mostly the United States) crime news occupied more than one-third of the *Yomiuri*'s reports. This disparity stands out when compared with the high degree of similarity between the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* found throughout the present study.

In Table 7.4, crime news was separately examined as primary or secondary news, as the information included in primary news and secondary news are different in nature or quality. A straight news item is likely to present a fragmented but vivid image of a crime, while a special or series on crime are likely to provide a crime trend

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[7] Vipond (1989, p. 117) noted that the U.S. domination of mass media contents of Canadian media is enormous: "at least 95% of the foreign coverage we read in our newspapers" were "foreign-made (mostly American).

or an experts' opinion, analysis and description as to the cause or solution of the crime problem (Dussuyer, 1979).

Table 7.4. Frequency (%) of International Crime News by Reporting Style and Place of Origin

Reporting Style Region	Asahi	Yomiuri	N
Primary News	77.77	75.00	81
North America	9.26	15.38	13
Asia	33.33	19.23	28
Europe	20.37	17.31	20
Other	14.81	23.08	20
Secondary News	22.23	25.00	25
North America	7.41	19.23	14
Asia	5.56	1.92	4
Europe	5.56	3.85	5
Other	3.70	0.00	2
Total	100.00	100.00	
N	54	52	106

Note. The *Fuji* (N = 7) was excluded. Europe included Eastern and Western Europe, as well as the Soviet Union. Others included Middle East, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America.

Table 7.4 shows that, although the proportions of primary news and secondary news were similar in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, their regional interest varied remarkably. Among primary news, North America was given relatively little attention by the *Asahi*; the *Yomiuri*'s primary news covered various areas relatively uniformly. The *Asahi*'s secondary news discussed various regions of the world, but secondary news in the *Yomiuri* was concentrated in North America. However, the overall tendencies were that: (1) primary news from Asia received substantially higher attention than secondary news; and (2) North America was given one of the lowest level of attention for primary news, however, it was the region reported most often by secondary news. These findings indicate that Asian crime news predominantly reported specific incidents of crime while specific crime news from North America was rare,

and that general discussion of crime and justice issues took place in the context of North American crime problems.

With respect to the number of appearances on the first page and the size of the news, Dussuyer (1979) found that stories from no particular country were treated with special attention. The present study found that stories from no particular country appeared on the first page. Out of 106 international crime stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, only one story appeared on the first page. This article was a part of a series discussing life style in ASEAN countries. Stories from North America, however, were given a larger amount of space than stories from any other region. On average, a North American story received 12.37 row-inches; while a story from Asia, Europe or other region received 9.34, 6.64, and 4.64 row-inches, respectively.

It is clear that a newspaper paid more attention to news from some parts of the world than others, but what type of crime was reported in such news? Were those regions attracting attention because of rampant and vicious crime events?

Table 7.5. Frequency (%) of International Crime News by Type of Crime and Place of Origin

Category of Crime	N America	Asia	Region Europe	Other	Total
Violence	10.45	22.39	14.18	21.64	68.66
Property	0.00	2.24	0.75	0.00	2.99
Other	8.21	5.97	11.19	2.99	28.36
Total	18.66	30.60	26.12	24.63	100.01
N	25	41	35	33	134

Note. Primary news from the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*. Crime types were double-coded.

Table 7.5 examined the type of crime events reported in the stories and the location of the crime. Crimes of violence included offences against persons, and

abduction; property crime included theft and offences against property; and other crime included all the other offences (See Appendix B for details).[8]

Not surprisingly, crimes of violence, such as felony and violent crimes, were the most frequently reported type of crime in every part of the world. However, there was no clear indication as to any crime trend or concentration of a particular type of crime in one region. Equivalent crimes to Japanese intellectual crimes and morality crimes were absent in Table 7.5.[9]

Place of Origin of Domestic Crime News

This section analyzed the stories reporting crimes which originated within Japan. Table 7.6 examined the distribution of crimes by the place of origin between crime news and statistics. The regions were determined based on the conventional regions and the categorization in the crime statistics. The local (Kanto) area had the largest number of crimes reported in the news and in statistics. Apart from it, there was no resemblance between the distribution patterns in statistics and crime news. All three newspapers favored local crimes (the *Asahi*, 75%; the *Yomiuri*, 80%; and the *Fuji*, 72%). However, there was no other region favored unanimously by these newspapers.

Table 7.6 shows that a very high percentage (77.5%) of crime news came from the eastern Japan region and such news was reported nationwide, except for the news reported on local pages. Depending on the definition of "local" crime news, its amount varied largely: when only the crime stories on "local pages" were coded as "local"

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[8] Because of the international differences in legal definition of crimes, all the stories of offences (offences that would be criminal and non-criminal under Japanese laws) were examined.

[9] Intellectual crimes include fraud, embezzlement, forgery, counterfeiting, corruption, and breach of trust. Morality crimes include gambling, public indecency, indecency through compulsion, and distribution of obscene literature. The absence of intellectual crimes might have resulted from the exclusion of highly social or political crimes, due to the double-coding method.

crime news, it accounted for 12% and national crime news accounted for the vast majority (73%). This discrepancy came from the fact that the "local" area in this study included the capital of Japan, where all the bureaucracies are.[10]

Table 7.6. Frequency (%) of Domestic Crime News and crimes in statistics by Place of Origin

| | News | | Statistics | |
Region	N	Percent	N	Percent
Local				
Eastern	492	77.48	645,149	38.55
Rest of Japan				
Japan	40	6.30		
NEastern	14	2.20	169,830	10.15
Central	28	4.41	151,516	9.06
Western	28	4.41	362,602	21.07
SWestern	10	1.57	156,475	9.35
Southern	23	3.62	187,696	11.12
Total	635	99.99	1,673,268	100.00

Note. Primary and secondary news from the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri* and the *Fuji*. Statistical figures are crimes known to the police cited from the *Crime Statistics: Crime in 1989*. Where multiple regions or no particular region were mentioned, a story was coded under "Japan".

Western studies on the relationship between fear of crime and locality of crime stories by Heath (1984) and Liska and Baccaglini (1990) indicated that the fear of crime of the residents positively correlated with the amount of local crime news. If these findings apply to the Japanese, crime reporting of the Japanese newspapers may contribute to the level of fear among the residents of eastern Japan. On the contrary, the residents of the rest of Japan may feel that their neighborhood is safe by

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[10] It is recommended that the future research separate the Tokyo area from the Eastern Japan region.

comparison. A comparative survey of fear of crime in the eastern Japan region and elsewhere would be able to examine this point.

Hypothesis 2. Japanese crime stories and crime statistics convey different images of crimes, the victims of crime, and the criminal offenders.

Reviews of Western research have repeatedly found that crime stories and crime statistics conveyed different images of crimes, victims of crime, and criminal offenders (Dominick, 1978; Garofalo, 1980; Katz, 1987; Marsh, 1991). In North America, Graber (1980), Dussuyer (1979) and Sherizen (1978) found that violent, serious or uncommon crimes are much more frequently and prominently reported than other crimes. Hence, the first sub-hypothesis is that:

    2a) News stories overrepresent serious, violent, or uncommon crimes; and underrepresent less serious, less violent, property, or common crimes compared with the statistics.

Serious crimes were defined as the crimes whose level of damage is high; violent crimes as crimes against person and uncommon crimes as crimes of low frequencies in statistics. In Table 7.7, under the heading of SVU, each type of crime was identified whether it belonged to serious, violent or uncommon crimes.

Table 7.7. Comparison between Frequency (%) of Crimes in Newspapers and Statistics, Index of Imageability, and Seriousness Score

Type of Crime	News	Stats[a]	Index[b]	Score[c]	SVU[d]
Felony					
Homicide	24.92	.078	319	88	SVU
Robbery	6.61	.095	70	13	SVU
Arson	6.46	.087	74	46	SU
Rape	.75	.093	8	19	SVU
Violent Crimes					
Assault	6.91	1.68	4	7	SV
Intimidation	1.35	.062	22	4	U
Extortion	5.71	.65	9	11	S
Theft	8.55	88.66	.1	--	--
Burglary	4.35	14.05	.3	5.5	SV
Larceny	3.90	33.70	.1	3	
Vehicle	.30	40.91	.007	2.5	
Intellectual Crimes					
Fraud	4.95	3.20	1.5	1	
Embezzlement	1.20	.12	10	5	
Forgery	4.95	.62	8	5	
Corruption & Breach of Trust					
	3.60	.016	225	5	U
Morality Crimes					
Gambling	3.15	.093	34	1	U
Indecent Acts	.60	.29	2	1.5	
Other Code Offences					
Abduction	5.86	.008	733	31	SVU
Terrorism	7.21	.0016	4506	--	VU
Others	13.96	4.25	3	--	
Total	99.03	100.00			
N	666	1,673,268			

Note. Double coding of crime type. Primary news from the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, excluding stories on special law offences and CJ news. a. Relative frequency of crime known to the police from the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (pp. 114-116). b. Index of imageability. c. Seriousness score d. Serious, violent or uncommon crimes.

In Table 7.7 the frequency of crime in the newspapers and statistics were compared, and the indexes of imageability and the seriousness score[11] were listed. The index of imageability was calculated as follows:

$$\text{Index of imageability} = \frac{\text{\% of occurrence in news}}{\text{\% of occurrence in statistics}}$$

An index of ten for a type of crime indicates that the type of crime is ten times overrepresented in news. Similarly, a type of crime with an index of .1 is ten times underrepresented in news.

In terms of the relative frequency of mention, serious, violent, or uncommon crimes had higher percentages in the news than in the statistics. The indexes of imageability indicated that terrorism, abduction,[12] and felonious crimes were given an extremely high level of attention; while thefts, which accounted for close to 90% of all crimes in the statistics, received only one-tenth of the fair share of news coverage. As observed in the SVU column in Table 7.7, the relative frequency, the seriousness score, and the degree of violence of offence seemed to have a strong relationship with the index of imageability.

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[11] Seriousness score rated by inhabitants (Tsurumi, 1975b). Tsurumi (1975b, pp. 26-27) defined: burglary as "breaking in theft, sneak thief, theft from offices, sneak theft while occupants are at home"; larceny as "shoplifting, pocket picking, handbaggage stealing, theft from automobiles, theft from construction works"; vehicle theft as "auto theft and bicycle theft'; and indecent acts as "indecency through compulsion and distribution of obscene literature".

[12] Due to the large number of news reports on abduction and terrorist activities, these crimes are listed separately from other code offences.

The index of imageability may be used to compare the disproportionate representation of crimes in newspapers of two different society.[13] For example, according to Graber's (1980) study, indexes of imageability for murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, larceny are: 131, 8.5, 1.9, 1.6, .17, respectively. The findings from Fair's (1984) study can be examined with the indexes of imageability. Indexes for murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, larceny are: 975, 27.3, 8.5, 1.2, .23, respectively. With the proper care necessary in comparing crime statistics and newspapers, the index of imageability enables future studies to compare the levels of disproportionate representation in crime news reporting of variety of societies.

The second sub-hypothesis looked at the difference in the prominence of crime news:

2b) Serious or violent crimes are more prominently reported than less serious or property crimes.

As stories of serious, violent or uncommon crimes were more newsworthy than others,[14] those stories should not only appear more frequently but receive a high level of prominence. Table 7.8 examined whether crimes of violence received higher prominence compared with property crimes.

Crimes of violence included felony, violent crimes, abduction, and offences against persons.[15] The prominence index was composed of the location of the story in the issue, the location on the page, the size of story, the size of headline, and the size

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[13] Of course, the definitions of categories must carefully be considered upon comparison. The purpose of this comparison is to introduce the usage of the index of imageability for the future research, not to examine the differences among the newspapers in the three studies.

[14] See discussion on newsworthiness in Chapter Four.

[15] Property (less-violent) crimes included thefts, intellectual crimes and crimes against property. See Appendix B.

of photographs accompanying it. Table 7.8 shows that crimes of violence were three times more frequently reported than property crimes. It also shows that 17 news items on crimes of violence were given higher levels of prominence than any property crimes.

Table 7.8. Frequency and Percentage of Violent Crime Stories and Property Crime Stories by Prominence Index

Prominence Index	Crime of Violence		Property Crime	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 - 10	263	81.17	86	86.87
11 - 20	44	13.58	13	13.13
21 - 30	17	5.25	0	0.00
Total	324	100.00	99	100.00

Note. Primary news of offences under the Penal Code and the Special Laws. Low prominence index indicates low level of prominence.

In the sample, there were 324 crimes of violence with an average article length of 8.28 row inches and 129 property crimes with an average article length of 7.31 row inches. Because violent crimes are capable of making a much more dramatic story than property crimes, they are given large headlines and described in detail. Article lengths varied more among crimes of violence, with a coefficient of variance of 1.29, while that of property crimes was 0.82.

Table 7.9 examined the difference in prominence between street crimes and white-collar crimes.[16] Graber (1980, p. 35) hypothesized that because white-collar

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[16] The U.S. Department of Justice (1988: 9) noted that white-collar crimes did not have uniform definitions; but it listed embezzlement, bribery, fraud, theft of services, theft of trade secrets, tax evasion, and obstruction of justice as specific examples of white-collar crimes.

crime[17] involves "threats to public health and safety" white-collar crimes are "of equal or higher social significance than" street crimes; and that the former should as prominently reported as the latter. Consequently, Graber (1980, p. 37) found that the news media report white-collar crimes as prominently as street crimes: "white-collar crime stories received basically the same display as street crime stories in prominent page and section placement, headline size, story length, and pictorial coverage".

Katz (1987) examined the content of New York newspapers, and found that white-collar crimes received a high level of media attention. The relative amount of white-collar crimes and "common crimes"[18] in newspapers and in crime statistics was reversed. That is, white-collar crimes accounted for 66% of the crime news and 22% of the statistics, while common crimes consisted of 21% of crime news and 70% of statistics. Although Graber (1980) did not find such a large number of white-collar crimes, both studies found an obvious media emphasis on white-collar crime. Therefore, the third sub-hypothesis is that:

2c) Although white-collar crime stories may be less frequently reported, they are as prominently treated as street crime stories.

In the present study, street crimes included felony, violent crimes, abduction, and thefts. White-collar crimes included intellectual crimes and white-collar crimes under the Special Laws including violations of Commercial Code, Customs Law, Income Tax Law, Copyright Law, Immigration-Control and Refugee-Recognition Act, etc.

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[17] The present study did not employ the same definition of white-collar crimes as Graber's (1980); as Graber's (1980) definition of white-collar crimes seemed too broad, including child abuse, drunken driving, weapons violations, drug offences, fencing stolen goods, perjury, illegal wiretaps, gambling offenses, and prostitution.

[18] Katz's (1987) definition of "common crimes" was unclear from the literature. However, it is suspected that the definition included a large number of crime types.

Table 7.9 shows that white-collar crime stories appeared less frequently and were reported much less prominently than street crime stories. These findings are inconsistent with the findings of Graber (1980) and Katz (1987), perhaps because different definitions of white-collar crimes were employed.[19]

Table 7.9. Frequency and Percentage of Street Crime Stories and White-Collar Crime Stories by Prominence Index

Prominence Index	Street Crime		White-Collar Crime	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 - 10	204	79.07	61	72.62
11 - 20	38	14.73	23	27.38
21 - 30	16	6.20	0	0.00
Total	258	100.00	84	100.00

Note. Primary news of offences under the Penal Code and the Special Laws from the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*.

Another possible reason for this inconsistency was that the present study excluded reports on the Recruit Scandal, a major white-collar crime, from the sample.[20] Exclusion of the Recruit Scandal reduced the number of white-collar crimes, however, it is suspected that the volume of other white-collar crimes reported in newspapers during the coverage of the Recruit Scandal might have been higher than usual. This was inferred from the studies of crime wave phenomenon by Cohen (1980) and Fishman (1978). Graber (1980) was also aware of the possible effect of the

[19] The present study did not measure the impact of the different definitions, however, Graber's (1980) white-collar crimes which were excluded from the present study's definition did not appear to be prominently displayed.

[20] Reports on the Recruit Scandal was not coded as crime news: (1) because drawing a fine line between non-crime news and crime news among the reports would be next to impossible; and (2) because of the massive coverage, inclusion of the Recruit Scandal would have inflated the amount of white-collar crime news to an unreasonable degree.

Watergate Incident when she discussed the high level of newspapers' interest in white-collar crime. Graber (1980, p. 37) was unable to find out whether the media emphasis on white-collar crimes was "a result of Watergate and Vietnam War cynicism about government and business" or if it was a usual practice during other years as well:

> However, because there seems to be some evidence that exposure of one form of corruption tends to lead to exposure of other forms, one would suspect that the emphasis on government corruption in particular would be unusually heavy in the years after Watergate (p. 37).

For this reason, the researcher doubts that the exclusion of the case; the Recruit Scandal, has caused a serious underestimation of the amount of white-collar crimes found in newspapers.

Moreover, the findings in Tables 7.8 and 7.9 were internally coherent as definitions for crimes of violence and street crimes overlap, and white-collar crimes and property crimes had similar definitions.

If the findings of Graber (1980) and the present study are still comparable, Japanese newspapers may be said to view both property crimes and white-collar crimes similarly, and value such crime news as less newsworthy than their Western counterparts do. Interestingly, this difference in Western and Japanese findings is consistent with findings of the *National Survey of Crime Severity* conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice (1988) and a similar study conducted by Tsurumi (1974, 1975a, b, & c).[21] On the one hand, the U.S. Department of Justice found that violent crimes were viewed as more serious than property crime, and that some white-collar crimes were viewed as more serious than some violent crimes. On the other hand, Tsurumi (1980) found that felony and abduction were rated as most serious, followed by violent crimes. Various types of thefts and intellectual crimes were, on average, seen more

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[21] These studies are not entirely comparative, as the research designs differ. However, the general findings are worthwhile to note here. The seriousness scores found by Tsurumi are listed in Table 7.7.

serious than morality crimes.[22] In short, Japanese respondents estimated the relative seriousness of white-collar crimes lower than the U.S. respondents did. Therefore, if the values in society (or the public perception of seriousness of crime) are reflected in the standard of newsworthiness of crime, the difference in the public's perception of seriousness of crime may be one factor which determines the difference in the emphasis on white-collar crime news in two different societies. Future research may wish to compare the relationship between the public perception of seriousness of crime and the treatment of crimes in newspapers.

Table 7.10. Frequency of Domestic News by Crime Type and Reporting Style

Type of Crime	Reporting Style					
---	S	F	E	L	C	Total
Felony	153	105	3	20	9	290
Homicide	81	85	3	14	3	186
Robbery	42	2	0	4	1	49
Arson	27	16	0	0	5	48
Rape	3	2	0	2	0	7
Violent Crime	86	7	1	0	2	96
Assault	39	7	1	0	1	48
Intimidation	9	0	0	0	1	10
Extortion	38	0	0	0	0	38
Theft	51	6	1	6	4	68
Intellectual Crime	78	20	0	0	0	98
Morality Crime	27	1	0	0	0	28
Other Code Offence	54	80	3	12	9	158
Abduction	4	30	2	11	2	49
Terrorism	20	21	0	1	6	48
Special Law Offence	91	17	1	5	3	117
Criminal Justice News	112	67	11	63	70	323
Total	652	308	20	106	98	1184

Note. S stands for straight news; F for follow-up story; E for editorial; L for letters from reader; C for column, special, commentary, opinion, and articles enclosed. Crime types were double-coded. Primary and Secondary news in the *Asahi*, the *Fuji*, and the *Yomiuri*.

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[22] See Table 7.7 for the scores for specific crimes.

Table 7.10 shows the frequency of stories by the type of crime and the reporting style, which is indicative of the perceived level of newsworthiness of crimes.[23]

"S" stands for "straight news". Straight news reports "fresh" events that have taken place within two days of the publication. The number of straight news items was a function of the actual number of crimes known to the police and the number of stories judged by newsworkers as worthwhile to report at the time of the occurrence of the event. Naturally, homicide was very frequently reported as straight news. Of the many straight news items, only crime news items that remained newsworthy after a while were reported as follow-up stories. Abduction, homicide and terrorism had the highest follow-up rates of all crimes, indicating newspapers remained interested in these crimes.

Since editorials represent the official opinion of the newspaper and their number of appearance is limited, only matters evaluated by the newsworkers as prominent are mentioned in editorials. Among the variety of crimes mentioned in editorials, homicide and abduction were referred to more than once. Columns, specials, series and other articles reflect the writer's interest in the topic. They commented on a variety of crimes, with an emphasis on homicide, arson, theft and terrorism. Letters from readers were concentrated on the issues of homicide and abduction, which indicated the readers' and newspapers' concerns about those crimes. Theft was mentioned several times in the letters from readers, however, it was probably because theft was the most common crime that the readers encountered in daily life. Apart from theft, crimes that were given attention coincided with the public's perception of the seriousness of the crime.

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[23] For the definitions of reporting styles, see Appendix B.

Table 7.10 shows that the relative amount of "criminal justice related news" was prominent. Even more frequently reported than felonious crimes (N = 290), criminal justice related news (N = 323) was the most regularly reported type of crime topic. Of all the criminal justice related news, 54.27% reported the activities and the policies of the criminal justice system.[24] The reminder of criminal justice related news reported discussions of human rights violations by the criminal justice system (6.32%), crimes or wrongdoing committed by criminal justice officers (2.63%), and a general discussion of the crime problem (36.84%). These figures indicated that the Japanese newspapers provided a large amount of information regarding the criminal justice system and crime issues in general. A comparative analysis of the content of criminal justice news in Japanese and Western newspapers may disclose the qualitative difference between their messages.

In Chapters Two and Four, the standard of newsworthiness held by journalists and its influence upon selecting stories were discussed. One can conclude that serious, violent, and uncommon crimes were reported with more attention in Japanese newspapers than others, as they were viewed to be more newsworthy. This is consistent with the idea of crime news as a "constructed reality" because the systematic selection of stories based on the standard of newsworthiness seems to have caused discrepancies between crime news and statistics.

The fourth sub-hypothesis concerns the images of victims and offenders in crime news:

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[24] The present study did not differentiate among criminal justice agencies for this category. It is recommended that future research examine the amount of information regarding the activities of each criminal justice agency for comparison. It is suspected that the vast majority of crime news mention the police, and that crime justice related news rarely mention the rest of the criminal justice system.

2d) News stories overrepresent younger or female victims and older and male offenders.

As discussed in Chapter Three, North American research found that the male-female ratio for offenders in crime news was similar to that in the official statistics (Sherizen, 1978; Dussuyer, 1979; Graber, 1980; Fair, 1984). Comparisons with the official crime statistics found that the age distributions of the victim and the offender in crime news were not representative of the crime statistics (Sherizen, 1978; Dussuyer, 1979; Graber, 1980; Fair, 1984). The findings regarding the way crime news disproportionately represent the age distribution of the people involved in crime are not consistent: some found offenders under 25 underrepresented (Graber, 1980; Fair, 1984), others found them overrepresented (Dussuyer, 1979).

As discussed in Chapter Five, the use of crime statistics in the present study requires clarification. Because one objective of the study was to examine the "images" of crime-related issues, crime statistics was used in a rather unconventional manner. "Offender" in the study referred to all individuals who were reported in crime stories as offenders or suspects. News stories did not make a clear distinction between crime events known to the police and cleared crimes. Some crimes were reported over and over in news, however, every crime event known to the police was counted only once in statistics.

Table 7.11 shows that slightly more offenders were identified by age than victims. Crime news grossly misrepresented the age distributions of offenders and victims. In crime news, offenders under 25 years old were underrepresented (indexes of imageability:[25] .27 and .68) while offenders over 40 years old were overrepresented (indexes: 1.79, 1.66, 1.90 and 3.11, from younger age group to older). This over- and

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[25] Index of imageability was calculated by dividing the percentage (the relative frequency at which the variable occurs) in the story by the percentage in the statistics. A crime with in index of 0.5 indicates that the crime is five times underrepresented in news.

underrepresentation of certain age groups seems to be a result of the type of crime committed by such groups. On the one hand, the crime statistics indicated, the vast majority (87%) of the 14-17 year-old offenders committed theft, which is not violent or uncommon. On the other hand, only 71% of the age group 40-49 commit theft, hence the rest of this age group committed more sensational type crimes.

Table 7.11. Offender-Victim Information: Age

Age	Offender			Victim		
	News	Stats	Index[a]	News	Stats	Index[a]
0-5				18.12	.003	6040
6-13				.63	3.20	.20
14-19	9.50	34.58	.27	10.63	19.40	.55
20-24	9.50	13.89	.68	4.38	13.48	.32
25-29	10.06	8.71	1.15	5.63	8.66	.65
30-39	25.70	17.47	1.47	11.25	16.69	.67
40-49	26.26	14.71	1.79	15.63	18.76	.83
50-59	12.85	7.76	1.66	14.38	11.15	1.29
60-69	4.47	2.35	1.90	11.25	5.19	2.17
70+	1.68	.54	3.11	5.00	2.20	2.27
Unknown				3.00	1.26	2.38
Total	100.00	100.01		100.03	100.02	
N	179	763,724		160	1,504,664	

Note. Only one offender and one victim were coded per story. Statistics on age of the principal suspect at the time of offence in cleared cases from the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (pp. 152-156). [a]. Index of imageability.

The number of victims over 60 years old were exaggerated in news (indexes: 2.17 and 2.27). The degree of overrepresentation of victims under 6 was extraordinarily high (index: 6040), while in the sharp contrast, the 6-13 year category was underrepresented (index: .20). In general, victims who were not too young to judge danger nor too old to protect themselves were constantly underrepresented. This was especially true for the age group of 20-24 (index: .32).

As shown in Table 7.12, more offenders were identified by gender than victims. Male-female ratio in statistics was largely influenced by the ratio in theft, which was responsible for 80% of all crimes and had a relatively high female ratio. However, as newspapers considerably underreport theft cases, the influence of theft cases on the gender ratio in news was very small. Hence, the gender ratio in crime news proved to be close to that of serious crimes, overrepresenting male offenders.

Table 7.12. Offender-Victim Information: Gender

	Offender			Victim		
Gender	News	Stats	Index[a]	News	Stats	Index[a]
Male	90.65	88.89	1.02	52.91	67.36	.79
Female	9.35	11.11	.84	47.09	32.64	1.44
Total	100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00	
N	449	763,724		412	1,504,664	

Note. Only one offender and one victim were coded per story. Statistics on gender of the principal suspect in cleared cases and victims in apprehended cases from the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (pp. 152-156 and pp. 234-237). [a]. Index of imageability.

The gender ratios in statistics and news were not too different for offenders, yet female offenders were underreported (the index of imageability: .84). As victims, female were reported more than the proportional amount (index: 1.44). The victim aspect of female was emphasized more in crime news than in the offender aspect.

Western research found that crime stories were framed to present the image that the weak and helpless were victimized by strong offenders (Weimann and Fishman, 1988). This frame of reference is simple and in accordance with commonly-held image about offenders and victims. It also enables the readers to understand the stories easily.

In spite of the variety of crime scenario existing in society, such crime cases rarely appear in the newspapers (Weimann and Fishman, 1988).[26]

The skewed distributions of age group and gender group was also the result of the type of crime that newspapers chose to report. Table 7.7 indicated that felony, violent crimes and intellectual crimes accounted for 67.4% of all crime stories. In Table 7.13, reports of male offenders of such crimes were disproportionately high in the news, compared with the statistics. The statistics indicated that the absolute number of female offenders was small and that 84% of all female offenders committed thefts, however, theft was the most underrepresented crime reported in newspapers resulting in the report of crimes committed by females as even smaller in number.

Table 7.13. Offender Information: Type of Crime and Gender

Type of Crime	News		Stats		Index[a]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Felony	33.63	.79	.55	.06	61.15	13.17
Violent	17.15	.00	4.26	.18	4.03	--[b]
Theft	5.79	1.78	70.72	9.33	.08	.19
Intellect	16.48	1.56	7.41	.93	2.22	1.68
Morality	5.35	.45	.69	.034	7.75	13.24
Code	7.58	.67	5.24	.57	1.44	1.18
Abduction	2.23	1.11	.016	.0007	139.4	1585.7
Total	90.65	9.35	88.91	11.10		
N	407	42	678,900	84,824		

Note. Statistics from the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (pp. 152-156 on offenders, pp. 234-237 on victims). [a]. Index of imageability. [b]. Unable to calculate.

With regard to the image of victims, Table 7.14 shows that there was not the slightest similarity between the distribution patterns in news and statistics. A two-to-

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[26] According to Weimann & Fishman (1988) and Weimann & Garbor (1987), few exception of it is when roles of the victim and the offender are reversed. That is, a young child victimizing adults, a small female brutally murdering a large male.

one ratio in statistics shifted to almost 50-50 in news, overrepresenting female victimization. This shift in the ratio may have been the result of the selection of the type of crimes covered; as the gender ratio of felony, the most reported crime in newspapers, was almost 50-50 in statistics.

Table 7.14. Victim Information: Type of Crime and Gender

Type of Crime	News		Stats		Index[a]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Felony	28.16	25.73	.18	.19	156.4	135.4
Violent	10.19	2.67	2.18	.45	4.67	5.93
Theft	1.46	3.88	59.89	30.15	.02	.13
Intellect	2.18	.00	1.64	.85	1.33	--b
Morality	.49	.73	.0094	.19	52.13	3.8
Code	6.56	4.37	3.46	.80	1.90	5.46
Abduction	3.88	9.71	.0017	.00075	2282	12947
Total	52.91	47.09	67.36	32.63		
N	218	194	101347	494497		

Note. Statistics from the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (pp. 152-156 on offenders, pp. 234-237 on victims). [a]. Index of imageability. [b]. Unable to calculate.

However, as mentioned in Chapter Four, crimes which were likely to cause public outcry were viewed as newsworthy, and the presence of a female victim may have been considered as one of the elements for newsworthy stories.[27]

Four crimes found in Table 7.15 accounted for over 80% of the all crime news with the offender's age identified (N = 381). The distribution of criminal incidents in statistics was not same across crimes, much less of the distribution in news. The over- and under-representation of age groups was explained by the fact that crimes against persons tended to overrepresent the middle section of the age groups, thefts represented

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[27] For qualitative analysis of Japanese crime news, see Ohba (1990).

the majority of youth crimes and intellectual crimes caused attention to be given to the middle-to-old age offenders.

Table 7.15. Offender's Age and Four Most Reported Crimes: Offenders in News and Statistics

Age of Offender	Felony	Type of Crime Violent	Theft	Intellect
Offenders in News				
14-17	9.02	24.00	10.71	.00
18-19	.82	.00	3.57	.00
20-24	11.48	4.00	17.86	4.94
25-29	15.57	5.33	10.71	7.41
30-39	23.77	26.67	25.00	20.99
40-49	18.85	28.00	25.00	24.69
50-59	8.20	12.00	7.14	24.69
60-69	6.56	.00	.00	12.35
70+	5.74	.00	.00	4.94
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	122	75	28	81
Offenders in Statistics				
14-17	9.35	24.18	29.14	1.41
18-19	7.49	6.73	8.36	2.22
20-24	16.99	14.31	14.26	10.44
25-29	13.42	9.31	8.42	11.84
30-39	21.87	18.45	17.02	24.13
40-49	18.08	19.28	13.09	28.65
50-59	8.83	6.18	7.11	15.38
60-69	2.88	1.22	2.06	5.61
70+	1.09	.24	.55	.30
Total	100.00	100.00	100.01	99.98
N	4686	33,970	611,330	63,693

Note. Statistics from the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (pp. 152-156).

Table 7.16 shows the victim-offender relationship indicated in news and in statistics. More than half (54.65%) of news stories did not carry information about the offender-victim relationship. This was partly because many news stories report crime upon event occurrence, when the police has not sufficiently investigated the criminal

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offender to identify the victim-offender relationship. Therefore, the figures of news stories describing offenders as "unknown" or "stranger" were inflated.

After excluding the stories without offender-victim information, the distribution pattern of crime stories became even more inconsistent with that in the statistics. Crime stories chose to report crimes between non-strangers more (64.1%) than between strangers, while statistics indicated that the vast majority of crimes were committed between strangers.

Table 7.16. Offender-Victim Relationship in News and Statistics

Offender-Victim Relationship	All news	News with mention	Statistics
Family	5.04	11.11	.33
Relative	.39	.85	.10
Work	4.65	7.69	3.23
Acquaintance	3.49	10.26	.95
Other association	20.93	46.15	3.78
Strangers	10.85	23.93	91.60
Unknown	9.69		
No mention	36.82		
No victim	8.14		
Total	100.00	100.00	99.99
N	258	117	640,933

Note. News stories of completed offences and attempts only. Primary news from the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri*, and the *Fuji*. Statistics from the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (pp. 244-245).

Stranger-danger is one of the selling elements in crime news: a crime story that an unrelated person is victimized by a stranger is considered more newsworthy than otherwise.[28] However, in Table 7.16, the theme of "stranger-danger" appears to be played down in newspapers. For, of all crime stories which mentioned the offender-

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[28] See Ohba (1988a & b).

victim relationship, only 24% involved strangers; while the statistics indicated that over 90% of crimes were committed against strangers. Once again, the large number of theft cases in statistics and the use of selective reporting of violent crimes in newspapers have caused the discrepancy between statistics and crime news.

Table 7.17 compared distribution patterns in statistics and the news by theft and non-theft crimes. The statistics show that thefts were concentrated on strangers (78.43%), while non-theft crimes were distributed to various relationships with relatively high percentages for its population. According to statistics, a large share of crimes of violence were committed between non-strangers, except for robbery (80% of cases took place between strangers) and rape (72%). Therefore, if crime news, whose majority reports crimes of violence, truly reflected the relationships between victims and offenders, the most reported relationship must have been non-strangers. In this sense, stranger-danger in non-theft cases was surely emphasized in the news; news stories accounted for 30%, despite 13% in statistics.

Table 7.17. Offender-Victim Relationship in News and Statistics by Type of Crime

Offender-Victim Relationship	News		Statistics	
	Non-theft	Theft	Non-theft	Theft
Family	14.55	.00	.30	.028
Relative	.00	.00	.056	.046
Acquaintance	6.34	.75	2.09	1.14
Work	7.46	1.12	.40	.56
Other	33.95	2.99	2.34	1.44
Strangers	30.59	2.24	13.17	78.43
Total	92.91	7.07	18.36	81.64
N	249	19	117,679	523,254

Note. Non-theft crimes included all Penal Code crimes but thefts. Statistics from the *Crime Statistics: Crimes in 1989* (pp. 244-245).

In conclusion, the above findings indicated that the disproportionate representation of offenders and victims in news was a consequence of the selective reporting of particular types of crime that met the requirements set by the journalists.

Hypothesis 3. Most stories report crimes at the early stages (the police stage) within the criminal justice process. Consequently, crime news stories describe the activities of criminal justice agencies primarily as crime fighting, leaving their other activities less visible.

North American researchers have found that newspapers report the majority of crime stories at the early stages of the criminal justice process (Sherizen, 1978; Dussuyer, 1979, Fair, 1984). Consequently, it was suggested that crime news stories described the activities of the criminal justice agencies primarily as crime fighting, leaving other aspects of the activities almost invisible (Sherizen, 1978; Fair, 1984).

Table 7.18. Frequency (%) of Crime Stories by Stage in Criminal Justice Process

Stage	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Event	16.36	16.19	2.63
Investigation	29.09	35.63	39.47
Arrest	39.54	30.77	34.21
Prosecution	3.18	6.07	7.89
Trial	2.73	2.83	2.63
Sentence	8.18	8.10	7.89
Release	0.91	0.40	5.26
Total	99.99	99.99	99.98
Percentage Base	220	247	38

Note. Definition of each stage: for example, "arrest" category starts upon arrest and ends before the case is sent to the prosecutor's office (See Appendix B for detail).

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Table 7.18 reveals that most Japanese crime news reported the beginning stages in the criminal justice process. Indeed, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* devoted 85% and 83% of crime news for the police stages, stages before the cases were handed over to the prosecutors' offices. These findings may be explained by the standard of newsworthiness. A crime story is most newsworthy when the event is new or when the development of the story is dramatic, and this is when the activities of the police are involved. That an arrest of a suspect is often taken as the end of the crime case may have contributed to the infrequent reporting of post-arrest stages.

The relative frequency of mention of prosecution stage varied between 3% (the *Asahi*) and 8% (the *Fuji*). This may have been the result of the definition: with a mention of the case being sent to the prosecutors' office, a story was coded as at the prosecution stage even if the majority of the story dealt with the police activities.

A relatively high amount of attention was paid to the sentencing stage. This may be a result of dramatic factors in the sentencing stage. However, the researcher suspected that this may not be representative of Japanese news reporting, as there were two false accusation cases widely reported in the newspapers in February, 1989 (Shimada and Matsuo Incidents).[29] If this was the case, the amount of attention paid to these incidents is a good indicator of how a dramatic crime story may be played-up by the news media. It appeared that the issue of the suspect's rights was continually in the news.[30]

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[29] In Shimada Incident, the accused was sentenced to death nearly 35 years before. At the appeal he was found not guilty. He was finally released as the prosecution decided not to appeal. Matsuo Incident is about a false accusation for a rape. The accused was persuaded to "confess" false statement, and consequently sentenced to three year prison term. He served the term and later he appealed the sentence. Only after 35 years (and his death) he was found not guilty.

[30] There has been serious discussions about the manner of crime reporting and the protection of human rights among journalists, legal professionals, human rights groups, and those who have been reported in crime news. The activities of these people seems to have been effective in introducing the problems in crime reporting.

The data presented in Table 7.18 were similar to Sherizen's (1978) findings and Takemura's (1971) finding that police actions were reported in 65% of the reports. The present study found that police actions (investigation and arrest stages) were described in 69% and 66% of the stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, respectively; and the police stage (from event to arrest stages) were described in 85% and 83% of the stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, respectively. In sum, Japanese crime news focused primarily on police involvement, from the event to the completion of arrest.

Next, the images of the criminal justice activities were examined by categorizing the descriptions of the activities into "crime fighting", "peace keeping", "community servicing" and "punishing criminal" images.[31]

Table 7.19 shows that the activities of the police were diversely described as "crime-fighting", "peace-keeping or order-maintenance", and "community service". Other agents of the criminal justice were far less visible than the police. Their activities were not described as often nor given as many images as the police.

Table 7.19. Stage in Process and Image of Criminal Justice Agencies

Stage	Image Fighter	Peace	Service	Punish	Total
Police	81.90	2.04	1.13	.00	85.07
Prosecution	5.20	.00	.00	.00	5.20
Courts	4.08	.00	.00	5.20	9.28
Post courts	0.45	.00	.00	.00	.45
Total	91.63	2.04	1.13	5.20	100.00
N	405	9	5	23	442

Note. From the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri* and the *Fuji*.

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[31] See Appendix B for definitions of the categories.

The concentration of the description of the police activities as crime-fighting was prominent. Community services most directly influence the daily life of the general public, and the Japanese police are well known for these activities. As news reports that the police were actively involved in community services were likely to provide a good image for the police to present to the public, it is surprising that the community service activities were so infrequently reported in newspapers.

Newsworthiness factors may have influenced the exclusion of certain types of crime news: the most newsworthy stages to report are the stages where dramatic events occur. A description of a bureaucratic procedure such as transferring a crime file is less dramatic than arrest or sentencing stages, where the "crime-fighting" activities of the police and the "punishing criminal" activities of the courts are commonly observed.

Conclusion

North American findings that newspapers report police activities, while making the activities of the rest of the criminal justice system relatively invisible apply as well to Japanese newspapers. In fact, over 80% of crime stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* reported the police stage, to a higher degree than Western findings. The Western media image that the police are busy as crime fighters while the rest of the criminal justice system is relatively inactive was partly supported by the high frequency of news reports on the police work and the very infrequent reports on the activities of the rest of the system.

However, it does not necessarily mean that an agency with a high frequency of appearance was automatically given the image of "doing good work", while an agency with a low frequency of appearance was given the image of "doing nothing". The context in which the activities were reported must be examined. The next section examined the evaluative elements of the criminal justice agencies, as well as the source bias in Japanese crime news.

Hypothesis 4.   Crime news has a source bias and evaluation bias towards the criminal justice system, especially the police.

According to studies of crime reporters' daily practices, it is unavoidable for crime stories to have a source bias towards the police and other bureaucratic agencies. It is partly because of the institutionalized "symbiotic relationship" between the sources and the reporters.   It is also because the professional standards of news reporting require the stories to be "balanced" and "objective", and the use of "authoritative or expert sources" (Fishman, 1980; Tuchman, 1979; Chibnall, 1977).   In their content analyses of crime news, Marsh (1988), Fair (1984) and Sherizen (1978) found that the vast majority of quotes were from criminal justice agencies.   Criminal offenders and crime victims were rarely cited.   The first sub-hypothesis is:

4a) The vast majority of quotes are from criminal justice agencies, and offenders and victims are rarely cited.

In his study of Chicago newspapers Sherizen (1978) found that information which officially came from the police accounted for 65% of the quotes in crime news, and information from other criminal justice agencies including unofficial leaks accounted for an additional 13.9%.   Table 7.20 shows that official quotes from the police comprised a much lower percentage than Sherizen's (1978) findings.   However, quotes from all criminal justice agencies including unofficial leaks accounted for almost 80% in number and 70% of the space.

The category "unofficial leak" requires explanation.   Crime reporters obtain information from police source and non-police sources.   Japanese crime reporters usually make sure that the information they obtain is correct by (1) asking the public relations officer at the police station for official or unofficial authorization; or (2) asking bottom-line police investigators for official or unofficial verification.   The information not officially approved may be withheld from publication, or may be

reported with a phrase, "according to the investigation". This use of the phrase is likely to happen when a reporter believes that the information obtained from a non-police source is a "scoop" and no official support is given from the police (Personal interview, December, 1990). Based on this crime reporters' writing convention, crime information with a phrase, "according to the investigation", without mentioning whose investigation it was was coded as an unofficial leak (Personal interview, 1990; Kawakami, 1990).

Table 7.20. Information Sources and Amount of Quotes

Quoted Sources	Frequency(%)	Space(%)
Criminal Justice Agencies	79.18	69.95
Police	26.76	22.86
Courts	2.50	1.68
Prosecution	1.72	1.02
Correction	.47	.44
"Confession"[a]	6.26	2.61
Unofficial leak[b]	41.47	41.34
Persons Involved	5.00	9.17
Victim	2.97	3.32
Offender	2.03	5.85
Others	15.80	20.87
Third party	4.69	7.09
Expert	2.66	5.72
Public record	.78	1.06
Attorney	.94	.62
Public official	3.29	2.30
Citizen	3.44	4.08
Total	99.98	99.99
Percentage base	639	2257

Note. Primary news from the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri*, and the *Fuji*. Sources were double coded. [a]. "Confession" according to the police source. [b]. Quotes without the name of the source.

Table 7.20 shows that a variety of sources were quoted. Of all the sources, "unofficial leak" had the largest amount of quotes. This indicated that crime news

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reports include a large amount of information which was not officially authorized by the police or other criminal justice agencies. Because of the way the information was provided ("according to the investigation"), average readers who are unfamiliar to the writing convention are likely to mistake the information as officially endorsed and established facts. It is conceivable that a large portion of such information turned out to be true as the investigation proceeded; however, the very fact that the information was not officially authorized indicates that the police or other criminal justice agencies were not prepared to publish such information. A premature disclosure of information may cause a lot of damage to the people reported as the suspect or the criminal offender. The treatment of information from an "unofficial leak" is a very important issue for Japanese crime reporting.[136]

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Sources that are not associated with the criminal justice system were less frequently quoted, but when quoted they generally received a larger amount of space than quotes from criminal justice sources. This was probably because criminal justice agencies were often cited for the simple statement of the facts; while other sources were asked to address their feelings, interpretations, and comments on the issue, or to describe the circumstances in detail. Sherizen's (1978) following finding supported this point:

> In the occasional article where one of the more immediate sources (attorneys, witnesses or relatives of the participants in the crime) was used for information, the article contained much more detail and insight into the crime and its participants (p. 220).

Tables 7.21 and 7.22 further examined the quoted sources by the content of information provided by them. Tables 7.21 and 7.22 indicate that the police were the

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[32] As mentioned earlier, there is a large literature on the description and the qualitative analyses of crime news reporting and its consequences (For example, see Narusawa, 1986, 1988, 1990).

major source for explaining crime phenomena and a major actor in the crime prevention measures.

Table 7.21. Frequency (%) of Quoted Source for Explanations of Crime

Source	N	Percent	Source	N	Percent
Police	58	20.35	Expert	37	12.98
Confession	37	12.98	Record	2	.70
Unofficial	77	27.02	Attorney	2	.70
Prosecution	2	.70	Public figure	2	.70
Courts	4	1.04	Writer	48	16.84
Correction	1	.35	3rd party	7	2.46
Victim	3	1.05			
Offender	5	1.79			

Note. Number of quotes of explanation (N = 285), stories with quotes (N = 285: 40.3%), stories without quotes (N = 379: 59.7%). On average, one in 2.2 stories had a quote.

Table 7.22. Frequency (%) of Quoted Source for Suggestions or Actions for Prevention of Crime

Source	Suggestion N	Action N	Actor	Suggestion N	Action N
Police	1	40	Record	1	0
Victim	2	4	Attorney	1	2
3rd party	1	3	Public figure	1	9
Citizen	1	7	Writer	33	1

Note. From the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri*, and the *Fuji*. Suggestions (N = 41), actions (N = 67), total (N = 108). On average, one in 5.9 stories discussed prevention.

In Table 7.21, the official police quotes alone accounted for 20.3% and all the criminal justice sources combined took up 62.8% of total sources of explanation. Participants in the crime (including the victims of crime and the criminal offenders)

were much less frequently quoted than experts, the writer of the article, or even related third parties (such as acquaintances and neighbors of the participants).

Table 7.22 shows that fewer sources were quoted for suggestions as to how to prevent crime than were sources offering explanations of crime. However, citizens, who were nonexistent in Table 7.21 were described as actively involved in crime prevention activities. Depending on the type of information, different sources were quoted. Authoritative or sources with special qualifications (i.e., experts, public record, public figures, and lawyers) were selected for explanation over average citizens.

Studies of crime reporters indicated that the police and other important sources of information may be treated favorably, because of the close relationship between the police and crime reporters and the reporters' reliance on police generated information (Fishman, 1980; Tuchman, 1979; Chibnall, 1977). Western content analyses found that criminal justice agencies were generally positively evaluated in the crime news (Sherizen, 1978; Fair, 1984). For example, Dussuyer (1979) found that more than 90% of criminal justice stories in Ontario newspapers positively evaluated "the law enforcement and the administration of justice". Therefore, the second sub-hypothesis is:

4b) The criminal justice system, especially the police, is positively evaluated. The police are most frequently evaluated, while other criminal justice agencies are much less visible in the news.

Crime stories were categorized by a crude measurement of positive, negative, and neutral/none.[33] Table 7.23 shows that quite a large number of stories included the evaluative elements. Among all the evaluated groups, the police were most frequently evaluated and given positive evaluations; over five times more than negative

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[33] See Appendix B for the coding rules.

evaluation. On the other hand, other criminal justice agencies received very little evaluation and, if any, they were negative evaluations.

Table 7.23. Frequency of Stories with Evaluative Element and Evaluated Group

| | Evaluation | | |
Evaluated Group	Positive	Negative	Total
Police	156	27	183
Other CJA	0	7	7
Society	4	14	18
Total	160	48	208

Note. Primary news from the *Asahi*, the *Yomiuri* and the *Fuji*.

Negative evaluations of criminal justice agencies may not be representative of Japanese crime news, for, during this time period, the courts admitted two sensational false accusation cases.[34] These decisions revealed injustice in the process, and 14 stories referred to these incidents negatively when describing the activities of the criminal justice agencies.

The *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* showed interesting differences when reporting the security activities of the police for the last Emperor's funeral ceremony. As VIPs from all over the world gathered for this ceremony, the Japanese police carried out the most rigorous security checks. In the *Asahi*, the effort of the police was positively reported three times and negatively reported seven times. The *Asahi* discussed the violation of privacy of community members and possible human rights violations by the police, and favorably reported the supportive communities. The *Yomiuri* had nothing negative to say about police activities but reported eight positive stories.

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[34] Shimada Incident and Matsuo Incident. See footnote above.

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A similar tendency in attitudes towards the police was observed in the findings displayed in Table 7.24 as well. The *Yomiuri* exceeded the *Asahi* for the relative frequency of a positive evaluation of criminal justice agencies. The *Asahi*, on one hand, did not blame the social environment for the crime problem, but blamed the criminal justice system. The *Yomiuri*, on the other hand, seemed to take the social environment into account when it discussed the crime phenomena, especially when it needed something to blame for the crime situation. As a result, the *Asahi* blamed the criminal justice agencies for the current situation of crime more than twice as often as the *Yomiuri*.

Table 7.24. Difference in Newspapers in Frequency (%) of Evaluation and Evaluated Group

| Evaluated Group | Newspaper | | |
Evaluation	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Criminal Justice Agencies			
Positive	72.50	69.44	65.00
Negative	23.75	10.19	20.00
Society			
Positive	1.25	2.78	0.00
Negative	2.50	8.33	15.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage Base	80	108	20

Note. Primary news (N = 208).

In all of the newspapers, the same phrases of positive evaluation were found again and again. It seemed as if it was a part of journalistic writing to praise the police as hard working, fighting against the evil, or doing justice. The *Fuji* seemed to have the strongest words for both positive and negative evaluations. The *Fuji* seemed to

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have the perception that the police was either working very hard or doing something really bad, and that society was becoming worse and was to blame for these changes.

Summary

Crime news regularly quoted the criminal justice system, especially the police. This source bias towards the criminal justice system, especially the police, resulted from the crime reporters' reliance on the system for crime information, and provided criminal justice agencies with the opportunity to present their views on crime-related issues. Because of the nature of the work, crime reporters relied heavily on police generated crime information, therefore, they were more inclined to praise than to criticize the police. In effect, newspapers play the role of a public relations agent or an advocate group for the police. Newspapers evidenced some difference in the degree of bias toward the criminal justice system; however, it was clear that their overall tendencies were to be on the criminal justice side.

Hypothesis 5. Compared with the criminal justice activities, the victims of crime and the criminal offenders are invisible in the news.

There are five elements of crime which crime reporters use to construct stories. They are: the "crime event" including what happened; the "activities of criminal justice agencies"; information regarding the "victim" of the crime; the information regarding the "offender or suspect"; and the "circumstances" of the incident including why it happened. The first part of this section examines the amount of information provided for each aspect and describes the kind of image presented.

From a study of Chicago newspapers, Sherizen (1978, pp. 217-218) reported that crime victims were "invisible" and the offenders were "surprisingly... seldom described in detail". Table 7.25 indicates that information regarding victims were much less frequently found than that of any other category in the *Asahi* and the

Yomiuri. Interestingly, the *Fuji* provided victim information as often as 52% of all stories.

Table 7.25. Frequency of Mention (%) of the Descriptive Elements

Aspects of Crime	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Event	82.68	90.76	80.00
CJA	80.95	81.53	96.00
Victim	16.45	19.68	52.00
Offender	36.36	37.75	46.00
Circumstances	24.24	23.69	12.00
N	231	249	25

Table 7.26. Average Size (Row Inches) of the Descriptive Elements

Aspects of Crime	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Event	3.98	4.15	3.60
CJA	2.61	2.59	2.79
Victim	3.47	2.41	2.38
Offender	2.48	2.94	2.17
Circumstances	1.89	2.53	2.67

Note. Primary news. "CJA" included the description of activities of any criminal justice agency. "Offender" included the information pertaining to persons described as offenders and suspects of offences.

Newspapers devoted more space to the description of the event and criminal justice agency's reaction to it than to a description of the offender, the victim, and the circumstances of the event (see Tables 7.25 and 7.26). Criminal justice agencies were the primary actors in the stories and little information about the rest of the participants was provided.

The overwhelming attention given to criminal justice agencies found in Tables 7.25 and 7.26 was not found in the content of the photographs accompanying crime stories. Table 7.27 shows that criminal justice agencies were not as popular objects of photographs as others: the police alone received relatively little attention (3.52%) and other criminal justice agencies never appeared in photographs. Even when the photos of the police appearing with other actors or things were included, the police appeared in 16.58% of photos, which is significantly less than the frequency or the amount of space that the police were mentioned in the descriptive elements (See Tables 25 and 26).

This illustrates an interesting contrast with the frequency of appearance of other actors in the crime events: offenders, who were described less than half as much as criminal justice agencies, were the most common content of the pictures (22.11%); and victims appeared relatively more in photos (15.08%) than in texts. Indeed, Japanese literature suggests that including the photographs of the victim or the offender is a part of the standard practice of crime reporting.[35]

However, the average size of the photos indicated that the victims were still less visible than others. Table 7.27 shows that the average photo size of the victims were by far the smallest (less than 1.5 square inches), followed by that of offenders alone (approximately 2.16 square inches).

Photos of the crime site, and evidence or articles related to the crime were given considerable attention in their frequency of appearance and size. The abundance of these pictures may be a result of crime reporters' effort to contextualize the event in the story, hence to provide the readers some basis for a mental image of the crime event.

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[35] Japanese crime reporters have viewed the accompanying photographs of the victims of crime and criminal offenders as very important. Obtaining the photographs was viewed so important that crime reporters acted incredibly insensitive to the people involved in crime in pursuit of the photos (Hanzai Hodo Kenkyu Kai, 1988).

Another possibility may have been that it was easy for the crime reporters to obtain such pictures.

Table 7.27. Frequency of Appearance and Average Size of Picture

Content of Picture	Appearance		Average Size
	N	%	Index
Victim	30	15.08	1.80
Offender	44	22.11	2.39
Evidence	34	17.09	4.06
Site	43	21.61	3.84
Citizen	15	7.54	3.87
Police	7	3.52	3.43
Pol & offender	2	1.01	4.00
Pol & evidence	4	2.01	3.00
Pol & site	15	7.54	4.27
Pol & citizen	5	2.51	4.20
Total	199	100.02	

Note. Up to two largest pictures were coded for each of 635 domestic crime stories. The relationship between the size indexes and the actual sizes of photographs are: index 1 = less than 1.4 square inches; 2 = 1.5-3.0; 3 = 3.1-6.0; 4 = 6.1-12.0; 5 = 12.1-18.0, etc. (See Appendix B).

The police were more often shown with something else than alone. In fact, the police were shown most often at the site of the crime. Visually, this reinforced the mental image referred to in the news content that the police was the primary and only crime fighter, working very hard to catch criminals. Even though it was a rare occasion, photos containing the police and a citizen were given large space: presenting an image of a cooperative relationship between the community and the police. However, a detailed analysis of the picture content must be conducted before concluding the relationship between the content of pictures and the images they present.

Hypothesis 6. Crime news reported in the same type of newspapers are substantially more similar than between different types of newspapers.

As the previous elements of the analyses have demonstrated, there was a great deal of similarity between the two national general newspapers, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*. In the general content analysis, the physical appearance of a newspaper issue, the amount and use of news space, the amount of news devoted for various topics, and the selection of stories were found to be very similar between the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*. In the crime content analysis, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* showed a high degree of similarity in the selection of crime stories, the content of evaluative elements, the source biases, and the content of the descriptive elements..

In the following section, attributes of crime stories (the type of crime reported, the reporting style, and the content of reports) will be examined in relation to the newspapers.

Table 7.28 shows that criminal justice related news[36] was the most commonly reported type of story in any newspaper (between 25.5% and 34.9%). However, this category would not be included if the narrowest definition of crime issue was employed.[37] When this category is excluded from "crime news", the *Asahi* devoted only 3.41% of the total news items to specific crime news; the *Yomiuri*, 3.24%; and the *Fuji*, 2.49%.

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[36] "Criminal justice related news" included reports on the activities and policies of criminal justice agencies, the human rights violation by criminal justice agencies, wrongdoings or crimes committed by employees of the criminal justice system, and crime-related issues that did not discuss specific crimes.

[37] Chapter Three discussed the various definitions of "crime issues". The narrowest definition is one of the most employed definitions of the three in the Western research.

Table 7.28. Frequency (%) of Crime News by Type of Crime

Type of crime	Newspapers Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Felony	25.49	23.34	16.28
Violent	8.79	7.45	11.63
Theft	4.14	7.28	4.65
Intellectual	7.24	9.44	6.98
Morality	2.24	2.48	1.16
Code	4.48	5.79	4.65
Abduction	3.62	5.46	15.12
Terrorism	5.17	2.98	.00
Special Law offence	9.48	10.26	4.65
CJ news	29.14	25.50	34.88
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	580	604	86

Note. Primary and secondary news.

Among the stories relating to specific types of crime in Table 7.28, felony was the most reported type (the *Asahi*, 25.5%; the *Yomiuri*, 23.3%; and the *Fuji*, 16.3%). Beyond this point, the *Fuji*'s interest concentrated on crimes of violence such as violent crime (11.6%) and abduction (15.1%). The next largest category was intellectual crimes, which accounted for less than seven percent. The distribution pattern of the *Fuji* was close to neither the *Asahi* or the *Yomiuri*.

In the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, special law offences ranked third (see Table 7.28). Intellectual crimes and violent crimes accounted for the similar amount of news ranking fourth and fifth, respectively; and morality crimes ranked last in the two newspapers. However, the ranking of the rest of the crime types varied. In general, the distribution patterns of crime types in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* were not as similar as those of news topics (see Tables 6.4 and 6.5).

Table 7.29 examined the reporting style of crime stories in three newspapers. Notice that the ratio of primary news in crime stories was higher in each newspaper than that found in the general content analysis (see Table 6.2). Close to 80% of crime

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news in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, and about two-thirds of crime news in the *Fuji* took the form of primary news. This means that news of crime topics were more frequently reported at the beginning stages than news of other topics. This in turn, made crime news provide fragmented images of crime than the overall picture of crime.

Table 7.29. Frequency (%) of Reporting Style and Newspapers

Reporting Style	Newspapers Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji	N
Primary news	79.66	82.45	58.14	505
Secondary news	20.24	17.55	41.86	130
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	635
N	290	302	43	635

Note. Two months for the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* and one month for the *Fuji*. "Other" category was excluded.

The *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* carried about an equal number (145 and 151, respectively) of crime news per month, and the proportion of primary and secondary news was akin to each other. The *Fuji* reported less than a third (43) per month, and it devoted more stories to secondary news than the other two newspapers. This difference in primary-secondary news ratios between the two general papers and the entertainment tabloid may be explained by Table 7.30.

In Table 7.30, approximately two-thirds of domestic crime news in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* and over 80% of the *Fuji*'s crime news reported completed offences, attempts, crime prevention stories, or human interest stories. The rest of the stories did not mention any of the above.

Table 7.30. Frequency (%) of Crime News of Completed Crime, Attempt, Crime

Prevention, and Human Interest

| Type of News | Newspaper | | | |
	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji	N
Completed	74.61	80.00	55.56	324
Attempt	3.11	4.50	.00	15
Prevention	12.44	9.50	2.78	44
Human Interest	9.84	6.00	41.67	46
Total	100.00	100.00	100.01	429
N	193	200	36	

Note. Primary and secondary news. Total number of crime stories: the
Asahi, 290; the *Yomiuri*, 302; and the *Fuji*, 43.

Among the stories that reported completed offences, attempts, crime prevention
stories, or human interest stories; the largest difference in percentages between the
Asahi and the *Yomiuri* was 5.4%, which is relatively large compared with the findings
in the general content analysis (see Tables 6.1 to 6.5). However, compared with the
distribution pattern of the *Fuji*, the difference between the Asahi and the *Yomiuri* was
very small. In the national general newspapers, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, the
majority of crime stories (78% and 85%, respectively) reported hard news, describing
a criminal act which was acted upon. The *Fuji*, an entertainment newspaper devoted as
much as 42% of crime news to human interest stories mostly in the form of secondary
news, "telling a story" rather than "reporting hard facts".

Summary

The above analysis found great similarities between the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*
and a sharp contrast between them and the *Fuji* in crime news reporting. It is thus
concluded that Graber's (1980) hypothesis that a newspaper has more in common with
a newspaper of the same type in news reporting than with a newspaper of a different
type was supported in the present study.

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Similarities and Differences in Newsplay of Crime News

Graber (1980) observed that news media of the same type, such as national media or local media, face the same technical and readership demands. Competition among the same type of media forces them to differentiate from each other at the same time. Consequently, Graber (1980) hypothesized that although news media of one type has more overall similarity than among news media of different types, the same type media's need to be different among themselves creates different newsplay as well.

The *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (national general newspapers) belong to one type, and the *Yukan Fuji* (a metropolitan entertainment tabloid) belongs to another. Therefore, the *Asahi* is expected to have much more in common with the *Yomiuri* than with the *Fuji*, and the *Yomiuri* is expected to be more similar to the *Asahi* than to the *Fuji*. It is hypothesized that:

6a) The use of space and types of crime in crime news are more similar between the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, than either newspaper and the *Fuji*.

6b) The *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* differentiate themselves from each other by differently presenting the same stories. Therefore even the common crime stories are given different newsplay.

The following analysis found that all the observations illustrate the striking similarities between the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, and the differences between them and the *Fuji*.

This section examines: (1) relative sizes of headlines and photographs as indicators of sensationalism; (2) the number of the common crime stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*.

In the present study, "newsplay" or prominence included: (1) the space devoted to the story, (2) the location and length of the story, (3) the size of the headlines, and (4) the size of the photographs (See Appendix B for detail). Specifically, the relative

size of the headlines and photographs, the amount of common stories, and the prominence index of common stories were examined.

1. Relative Size of Headlines and Photographs

One of the most apparent differences between quality or elite newspapers and popular or low-blow newspapers is the use of headlines and photographs. Quality papers contain smaller headlines and have fewer photographs, while popular newspapers have large (sometimes larger than the text) headlines and many photographs. The use of headlines and photographs are often associated with the degree of sensationalism of newspapers (Surette, 1991). In the present study, only the visual aspect of sensationalism was considered. The present researcher acknowledged that sensationalism may be measured in the text, nonetheless left that issue for future research.

Table 7.31 examined the amount of space devoted to headlines and/ or photographs per row inch devoted for the text part of a story (excluding headlines and photographs). A relatively large space was devoted to crime stories in the *Fuji* indicating that the stories in the *Fuji* were sensationally reported with banner headlines and large photographs.

Table 31. Relative Size of Average Headlines and Photographs

| | Newspaper | | |
Index of sizes	Asahi	Yomiuri	Fuji
Sen 1	.56	.58	1.63
Sen 2	.15	.09	.30
Sen 3	.70	.67	1.92

Note. Domestic primary news (N = 635). Asum, Hsum, and Psum are total sum of space devoted to story text (Asz in row inches), headlines (Hsz in row inches), and photographs (Psz in square inches), respectively. Sen1 = Hsum/ Asum, Sen2 = Psum/ Asum, Sen3 = (Hsum + Psum)/ Asum

Table 7.31 shows that an average headline size in the *Fuji* was 1.6 times larger than the average story text, and the average headline sizes in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* were less than 60% of the average text sizes. The use of photographs varied more than headlines between the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, but the sizes were still considerably smaller than those in the *Fuji*. As a whole (as seen in Sen 3), the *Fuji* reported crime stories close to three times more sensationally than the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*.

When secondary news was included, the relative proportion of headlines or photographs became smaller in every newspaper. For example, the values of Sen 3 were: the *Asahi*, .62; the *Yomiuri*, .59; and the *Fuji*, 1.24. This change indicates that primary news stories were given more prominence than secondary news, and that they were considered more newsworthy.

The *Asahi* is often referred to as "the high-quality" paper of Japan (Merrill & Fisher, 1980), therefore it was expected that the *Asahi* would have the smallest indexes of the three papers. In fact, the relative size of headlines (Sen 1) indicated that the *Asahi* devoted the most text space per headline space. However, the *Yomiuri* had a smaller value (in Sen 2 and Sen 3) than the *Asahi*, because the relative amount of space devoted to photographs in the *Yomiuri* was small enough to make up for the larger amount of space devoted to the headlines.

From the relative amount of space devoted to headlines and photographs, the nature and quality of the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* may be assessed as much less sensational than the *Fuji*. The manner of presentation of crime news in terms of headlines and photographs varied between these national general newspapers. The present research found a qualitative difference in the quantity of sensationalism between the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, but it was unable to determine the relative degree of sensationalism between them solely on the basis of the findings reported in this section.

2. Common Crime Stories Reported on the Same Day

Japanese newspapers of the same type are characterized as quite similar in news selection and attitude towards a variety of issues including political, economic, and social issues (Katsura, 1990). General content analysis in the present study revealed that the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, the newspapers of the same type, selected the same news as much as 45% of the total stories (see Table 6.7). Common crime stories were defined as: crime stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* that reported the same offence. The number of common crime stories between newspapers which appeared on the same day are examined below.

Table 7.32 shows that the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* reported the same crime stories more than 50% of the total crime news. The ratio of reporting the common stories was even higher for crime news than all news (see Table 6.7).

Table 7.32 Frequency (%) of the Common Crime Stories Appearing in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*

Stories	Month February Percent	May Percent	Total N	Percent
Common stories	53.40	50.00	248	51.46
Different stories	46.00	50.00	233	48.85
Total	100.00	100.00		100.01
Percentage base	206	274	480	

Note. The period from which data were collected for the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* is different from the *Fuji*, hence this section of analysis only dealt with the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*.

This indicated: (1) the selection criteria of crime news was more similar than other types of news between the *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*; (2) contents of the pool of information that reporters collected were more similar than other types of news

between the two newspapers; (3) information provided by a few routine sources consisted of a higher proportion of the information collected by reporters than other types of news between the two newspapers; or (4) the number of newsworthy stories was so low that the same stories appeared regardless of the differences in the selection criteria or the number of crime stories collected by reporters.

3. Prominence of stories of common stories

In this section of analysis, common crime stories appearing in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* were compared in terms of the amount of attention given to the stories of the same crime case. Attention was measured by the prominence indexes calculated from the page where the story appeared, location of the story on the page, story length, headline sizes, and picture sizes (see Appendix B for detail). Table 7.33 shows the distribution of the common stories of different levels of prominence.

Table 7.33. Prominence of Common News Stories

| Difference in | Frequency | |
Prominence index	N	Percent
0 to 2 index points	64	56.14
3 to 5 index points	21	18.42
6 to 8 index points	19	16.67
Over 9 index points	10	8.77
Total	114	100.00

Note. Common stories in the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*.

Differences of two points in prominence index translates, for example, to a difference in story length of up to six row inches; five points, up to 19 row inches; and eight points to over 41 row inches (see Appendix B for detail). Therefore, a difference of three points in the prominence index was considered as moderately large, six points

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was considered substantially large, while a difference of under two points was considered moderately small.

Table 7.33 shows that while more than half of the common stories were presented with a similar level of prominence, over 25% of common stories had substantially different newsplay. Given that the actors and circumstances in the crime stories were the same, the difference in newsplay stood out. The present researcher found Graber's (1980) hypothesis acceptable as the two national general newspapers (the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*) reported a large number of the same crime news with quite different prominence.

Summary

The literature review of the newsmaking process in the Western and Japanese news industry indicated that the collection and presentation of stories depend largely on the institutionalized beat system, the relationship between journalists and their information sources, the institutionalized system of handling news stories, and the professional norms of the journalists. The beat system dominated the selection of stories as it decided what was available to the journalists. If newspapers needed to differentiate themselves from one another in their appearance, manipulation of the newsplay was an easier method than others (such as using different information sources) to utilize. Different newsplay such as the content and the size of headlines, the content and the size of accompanying photos, and the placement of the story met the need of newspapers as it enabled the newspapers to accentuate and differentiate the same stories just by the appearance.

The average amount of space devoted to headlines and photographs varied among newspapers, but the two newspapers of the same type had more in common than the other type of newspaper. The two national general newspapers were found to have shared more than 50% of the total crime news. Nevertheless the level of prominence

of these common stories differed substantially between the two newspapers, supporting the hypothesis.

Gathering and writing the stories required an established connection with the sources and the routinized division of labour among the newsworkers. However, decision-making on the type of newsplay for each story took place everyday. The differences in the uses of photographs and headlines resulted in totally different impressions of crime stories, without extra resources or technology.

Chapter VIII

Summary and Conclusions

The present study involved two sets of quantitative content analyses of crime news in three Japanese newspapers. As an exploratory effort, it was designed to examine the images of crime, criminal justice agencies, the victims of crime, and the criminal offenders as they are presented in the news. The study proceeded within a conceptual framework which regarded crime news as a "constructed reality". This framework viewed the selection, content, and presentation of crime stories to be dependant primarily on the process of newsmaking and the professional norms adapted by the newspapers and its employees. Therefore, crime news is not necessarily a reflection of the reality of crime in society.

There exists a contradicting idea that the contents of news media publications are subject to social pressures as the media are imbedded in society (Graber, 1980). It may be argued, then, that as Japanese society has unique characteristics and a lower crime rate, such differences should be reflected in crime news reporting.

A review of the literature on Western and Japanese journalism and the processes of crime news reporting as well as interviews with Japanese journalists supported the idea that crime is a "constructed reality" and suggested that: (1) newspapers of many societies similarly distorted images of crime, despite the differences in legal, political, social, and economic circumstances; and (2) the newsmaking processes and the standards of newsworthiness are similar in the Western countries and Japan.

Therefore, the present study hypothesized that if crime news is a "constructed reality" which does not necessarily reflect society, the differences in societies including a low crime rate would not influence the crime news reporting. The general content analysis and the crime content analysis generally supported this hypothesis. Following is a summary of the research findings and their implications.

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THE PRINCIPAL FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

GENERAL FINDINGS

General content analysis revealed that the physical structure of national report newspapers were consistent; basically the same pages were used for the same news topic in every issue. This is largely because each division in a newspaper company is given certain pages to fill up every day.

The amount of crime news reported in Japanese newspapers comprised less than **five percent of the overall news coverage.** This figure does not appear to be substantially lower than the Western findings, as they varied from less than three percent to 28%. However, it is at the lowest level in the spectrum, especially because the samples were double-coded (which included articles whose primary topic was not crime) and "criminal justice related news" was included in the data. When criminal justice related news was excluded and only news on specific crimes was counted, the figure became lower by more than one percent. There are various factors such as crime rate, editorial policies, culture, and others, which may have caused Japanese newspapers to report a proportionately smaller amount of crime news than their Western counterparts.

Depending on the definition of "local" crime news, its amount varied considerably. When "local" crime news was defined solely by the region where the crime took place, it accounted for over 60% of total crime news, similar to Canadian findings. When only the crime stories on "local pages" were coded as "local" crime news, it accounted for 12% and national crime news accounted for the vast majority (73%) of total crime news. As discussed in Chapter Seven, this discrepancy came from the fact that the "local" area in this study included the capital of Japan, where all the bureaucracies are concentrated. Unlike Canadian findings, Japanese newspapers

reported more national than international crime news. There were more than one possible cause for the differences, such as the circulating area, regionalism, etc.

As predicted in the hypothesis, serious, violent, or uncommon crimes (that is, crimes that occurred relatively infrequently in the statistics) were overrepresented in newspapers when compared with the official crime statistics. The images of victims and of offenders presented in the news (such as the male-female ratio, the age distribution, and the victim-offender relationship) did not correspond to officially reported statistics. These discrepancies were explained by the standards of newsworthiness discussed in Chapters Two and Four, and resulted from the use of selective reporting of newsworthy stories.

Criminal justice related news was the most regularly reported type of crime news. This indicated that the relative number of news stories on specific crimes in Japanese newspapers are even lower than the figure (less than five percent) the general content analysis found.

The police stage was the most frequently reported stage of the criminal justice process. The activities of the rest of the criminal justice system were rarely included in crime news stories. A crime story is most newsworthy when the event is current or when the event is dramatic. For news reporters, the arrest of a suspect is often taken as the end of the crime case and this may contribute to the infrequent reporting of post-arrest stages of criminal justice.

Police activities were most often characterized as "crime fighting", and crime news rarely paid attention to the activities of the rest of the criminal justice system. These findings are consistent with most North American research. The most newsworthy stages reported were the stage where dramatic events occurred; and a description of a bureaucratic procedure such as transferring a crime file was not reported because such an event was far less dramatic than the arrest or sentencing stages.

The Japanese newspapers showed a strong source bias towards criminal justice agencies in crime news reporting, especially the police. This finding is also consistent with those reported in the North American research. Reliance on the criminal justice system for information was a consequence of the newsmaking process: the requirements of "balance" and "objectivity" of news reports, the necessity to find an authoritative or expert source, and the work environment of the crime reporters. Together they all lend themselves to reliance upon criminal justice sources for information.

Similar to findings in North America, a large proportion of Japanese crime news was favorable to the police. Very few of the crime news stories examined other criminal justice agencies. In those rare instances in which they did, all of the evaluations were negative. This tendency of Japanese crime news to negatively evaluate the rest of the criminal justice system was also consistent with the North American findings.

The positive assessment of the police in crime news was due, in large measure, to the reliance of crime reporters on the police as the major source of information. The rest of the criminal justice system may have been relatively ill-treated by crime news reporters because those agencies were not as good sources of information as the police. Or they did not have as much contact with the reporters so not as much was known about their activities unless something bad happened. Future research is required to investigate the reasons for the unfavorable treatment of the rest of the criminal justice system by crime reporters.

Criminal justice agencies, especially the police, were the most visible and victims were the least visible actors in newspaper reports about crime. This finding was consistent with the North American findings. This may occur because Japanese crime reporters have chosen to provide the context of the crime event by writing a crime story around the reaction of the police, rather than on the behavior or condition of the other actors in the incident.

However, victims and offenders appeared more often in news photographs than did the police. The literature suggested that the frequent use of the victim's photographs came from the Japanese crime reporters' belief in the dramatic effects of accompanying photographs.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers of the same type were found to have more in common than those of different types. More specifically, the general content analysis showed a striking similarity in overall manner of news reporting in the two national general papers and dissimilarity between a national general paper and the entertainment tabloid. The similarities and differences were observed in: the physical appearance of the newspaper, the use of space, the proportion of news of various topics, and the number of the same stories that appeared in more than one newspaper on the same day.

In the crime content analysis, the two national general papers also demonstrated a high degree of similarity in the average amount of crime news, the distribution of news reporting on various types of crime, reporting style, and the approach to crime stories. The average amount of space devoted to crime news was very similar among the three newspapers. However, the average amount of crime news, the distribution of news reporting on various types of crime, reporting style, and the approach to crime stories were very different between the metropolitan entertainment tabloid and the two national general papers.

NEWSPLAY OF CRIME NEWS

The newsplay of crime news in the two national general papers differed greatly. Crime content analysis found that the average size of headlines and photographs per one row inch of news text differed to a large degree between the two national general papers, the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*. These indexes of sensationalism indicated that the

two national general papers placed emphasis on different elements of story presentation.

The fact that crime stories appearing in both the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri* occurred as much as 50% demonstrating a high degree of similarity in their news selection. However, the physical appearance, examined in the form of the prominence indexes, of these common stories differed greatly.

IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study suggested that crime news in Japan as reported in two national general papers and one metropolitan entertainment tabloid, images of crime, the criminal justice system, the victims of crime and the criminal offenders were similar to those in North American newspapers. In other words, despite Japan's low crime rate, Japanese crime news presented similar images of crime and justice to their North American counterparts.

The theoretical framework of the present study was capable of explaining why these Japanese newspapers reported crime news as they did, why there was a great deal of discrepancy between crime news and statistics, and why the contents of crime news were similar in Japanese newspapers and North American newspapers: they were manufactured by similar newsmaking processes with similar standards of news selection.

Newspapers have the power to simultaneously communicate with a large number of people in society. Newspapers set agendas by defining an issue and giving it a frame of reference. The present study did not assess the *effects* of crime news reporting. However, the long-term impact of Japanese newspapers which: (1) circulate widely in society; (2) enjoy the highest public confidence among the five mass media; (3) convey homogeneous news stories; and (4) are most likely one of the few sources of crime and justice-related information is not difficult to imagine.

The striking similarity between the two national general papers indicates that the Japanese public who read national general papers (which accounts for 36.7 million people, approximately one-third of the Japanese population) are supplied with similar crime information. Moreover, the fact that regional and prefectural general papers compete against national general papers for circulation indicates that regional and prefectural general papers with several millions of circulation employ a similar set of standards for crime news reporting. With the high degree of public confidence in newspapers in Japan, the impact of crime news in general papers upon public perceptions of crime-related issues cannot be disregarded.

Therefore, the present study suggests that additional research be conducted especially for the underrepresented criminal justice agencies in order to: (1) evaluate the impact of crime news reporting on public perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system; and (2) seek ways for criminal justice agencies to communicate directly with the general public, thus avoiding the situation where newspapers are the primary, and often sole source, of information for the general public. This is especially important for the criminal justice agencies whose activities were not regularly reported and whose activities are currently not included in crime news reporting.

The proactive use of newspapers and the publication of newsletters are two potential vehicles which agencies could use to communicate with the general public. With the cooperation of a newspaper, for example, criminal justice officers might write a series of columns about their activities, their perception of crime-related issues, or less distorted images of crime and criminal justice which might otherwise be deemed not newsworthy by crime reporters.

Currently, a large number of community police boxes in Japan publish newsletters to inform the residents of the crime-related issues in the community. A criminal justice agency may find that publishing its own newsletter may be more preferable than reliance on newspapers. A newsletter may include the information

regarding the current crime-related problems in the neighborhood, how criminal justice officers in the area are dealing with the problems, volunteer programs for the community participation, etc. In this way, overall crime information provided the general public may be improved for a better understanding of crime problems and the activities of the criminal justice system.

Another measure of communication is not through media, but by a direct interaction with the general public. Again, the activities of the Japanese police box officers are good examples. Criminal justice agencies may set up small offices in the community where criminal justice officers have daily interaction with the people in their community. Local court and correction officers could visit schools and give talks to children on criminal justice matters (just as police officers do), or they could have a tour or an openhouse for the general public and school children.

By providing more information directly from specific criminal justice agencies, the criminal justice system would be better understood and justly appreciated by the general public.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Among the potential research studies which would build on the findings of the present study are the following:

1. STUDY OF PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME AND CRIME-RELATED ISSUES

A study of public perceptions of crime phenomena and the fear of crime is recommended. An example within the Western research is a study conducted by Graber (1980). The respondents might be categorized by the attributes such as age, gender, area of residence, education level, personal experience with the criminal justice process, exposure and use of the mass media news, etc. The study might examine to what degree the public relies on crime news, as opposed to other sources of

information, to form opinions about crime issues. The findings would suggest what types of media were the most effective means of communication between criminal justice agencies and certain segments of the public.

Another example is studies conducted by Heath (1984) and Liska and Baccaglini (1990). They found a positive correlation between the locality of crime news and fear of crime among the residents. This type of study would find a similar relationship between Japanese crime news and the public perception of crime to that in Western countries.

A study of discrepancy between the public perception of crime related issues, the content of crime news, and official crime statistics should be conducted. This study would examine whether the images held by the public are closer to the images presented in the news or in statistics with regard to the number of crimes, the type of crimes, offenders, victims, and the work of criminal justice agencies. These findings would indicate the type of information that should be provided for a better and more realistic understanding of crime-related issues.

A survey of public perceptions of the activities of criminal justice agencies would be informative. This would reveal which segments of society were supportive of the criminal justice system, and the relationship between the attributes of people and the degree of support. The findings would identify the groups that should be targeted as requiring a better understanding of the criminal justice system.

A study of public opinion about the content and manner of crime news would examine the degree to which the public perceives crime news as reflecting the reality of crime, and the public perceptions of propriety of the content of crime news, etc. The findings would indicate how much the criminal justice system should discount the effect of crime news reporting.

One should conduct a survey of the perceptions of crime news content held by personnel in the criminal justice system. This study would examine whether personnel

feel that criminal justice agencies are correctly portrayed, whether crime news reports support their work, and what aspects of the criminal justice system are, in their view, wrongly presented. The findings would suggest what type of criminal justice information would be needed to supplement any lack of information in crime news reporting.

One might conduct a survey of crime reporters' perception of messages in crime news. This study would examine how they see the discrepancies between crime news and statistics; whether changing the selection criteria and the content of crime news for the public's better understanding of crime problems would be acceptable, and if so, to what degree. A review of the literature suggested that a number of crime reporters have questioned the utility of current crime reporting convention (Narusawa, 1986, 1988, & 1990). The findings might suggest ways to alter the practice of crime news reporting.

2. COMPARATIVE STUDIES USING THE INDEX OF IMAGEABILITY

The index of imageability introduced in the present study enables researchers to compare the newspaper images of crime and justice in three ways. Comparing the degree of disproportionate representation among various categories such as types of crime, gender, age groups, etc. within one newspaper (see Example 1).

Example 1:

$$\frac{\% \text{ of crime A in newspaper X}}{\% \text{ of crime A in stats Z}} \quad \begin{matrix} > \\ = \\ < \end{matrix} \quad \frac{\% \text{ of crime B in newspaper X}}{\% \text{ of crime B in stats Z}}$$

Second, the same category in two or more newspapers in a society may be compared (see Example 2).

Example 2:

% of crime A in newspaper X	>	% of crime A in newspaper Y
---------------------------	=	---------------------------
% of crime A in stats Z	<	% of crime A in stats Z

Third, the same category in two or more newspapers in different societies may be compared (see Example 3).

Example 3:

% of crime A in newspaper W	>	% of crime A in newspaper Y
---------------------------	=	---------------------------
% of crime A in stats X	<	% of crime A in stats Z

Because the index of imageability is calculated from the percentages within a newspaper or statistics, the above comparisons are possible. Keeping one point in mind, a researcher could conduct informative comparative studies: the index has a tendency to overemphasize the disproportionality of a newspaper image for a category with an extremely low percentage in statistics.

3. CASE STUDIES OF CRIME NEWS

A study of crime wave development, similar to those studies conducted by Cohen (1980) and Fishman (1978), is recommended. An investigation of the development of a crime wave on a specific crime topic, the change in the prominence of reporting, and the change in the tone of reports would find how news is selected and created. In conjunction with a study of changes in public perceptions of seriousness of the crime problem, it would reveal the degree to which crime news coverage could affect public perceptions of crime issues.

The treatment of the victims and offenders in crime news and the legal ramification of being reported in crime news should be studied. This area has been discussed by many Japanese legal professionals as well as journalists (see for example, Narusawa, 1986, 1988, & 1990).

4. QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CRIME NEWS

A study of the explicit and implied meanings and values which are reflected through the use and selection of words and pictures in news should be conducted. Professional norms require news accounts to be "objective"; free from the subjective value judgement of the writer. However, assuming that no discourse is value-free, this study would attempt to discover the social or cultural values underlying crime news reporting. It would scrutinize the subtle differences among Japanese newspapers which may have been overlooked in the present study. It would examine differences between Western crime news and Japanese crime news, leading to the examination of the differences in social environment surrounding the criminal justice systems.

LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

It is necessary to note that the present study has at least nine limitations. These limitations are due to the nature of content analyses, the researcher's lack of resources, the use of crime statistics, the nature of comparative studies, and the scope of the present study. First, this study discussed the findings solely with regard to the content of crime reporting, not its effects. It is important to note that a content analysis cannot, by itself, be the basis for claims about media effects (Wimmer & Dominick, 1987; Krippendolff, 1980; Stempel III, 1989; Larsen, 1968).

Second, the findings of this study were not perfectly comparable with the findings of the existing research. This was because no content analyses are comparable unless the framework of and the operational definitions in the research are identical. Different operational definitions result in coding the same material in different ways (Garofalo, 1980). As the existing research utilized a variety of definitions, it was impossible to make operational definitions which would match perfectly. Definitions in the present study were made as flexible as possible, and employed as close a version of the definition as possible when the Western findings were mentioned.

Third, content analysis involves a time-consuming coding process which often requires research assistants. However, limited resources forced this researcher to code the material alone, which raises questions about the reliability and validity of the measurement and the appropriateness of the sample size. However, by measuring test-retest reliability (99.95 percent for the contents) the researcher ensured that the coding results would not have been much different if other researchers were to repeat the analysis. Following Kline's (1982) suggestion, explanations and inclusion rules for the variables are listed in Appendixes A and B to cope with the reliability and validity problems.

Fourth, due to availability, crime news data for the entertainment tabloid, the *Fuji*, were collected from a different time period. Therefore, the crime content analysis between the *Fuji* and the two national general papers were not strictly comparable. However, it does not undermine the validity of the present study as the purpose of including the *Fuji* in the sample was to explore the general characteristics of the national general papers by crude comparison with the *Fuji*, a metropolitan entertainment newspaper.

Fifth, the data of crime statistics and newspapers' reports were not strictly comparable. This was due to: (1) statistics included crime data for the period of one year, but the newspaper data included two, two-month periods and another month of the year; (2) while statistics dealt with crimes from all over Japan, the newspaper data included articles from local pages thus emphasizing crimes from one region. This latter problem was unavoidable as no newspapers report more national news than national general papers.

The sixth limitation involves the use of official crime statistics and the problem of the "dark figure" of crime which has been a concern of criminologists. However, as discussed in Chapter Five, the main concern in a study of crime news content was not to reveal the actual amount of crime but to find out what was reported in the news

(Graber, 1980). Crimes unknown to the police were most likely unknown to crime reporters as well. Therefore, the problem of the dark figures of crime was not a major issue in the present study.

Seventh, this study utilized crime statistics in an unconventional manner: as a measure to examine "images" of crime in newspapers. Crime news reporting does not necessarily report the accurate reports of legal ramification of events. It does not distinguish a person who has been found guilty of an offence and a person who is currently a suspect. Neither does it distinguish apprehended crimes from cleared crimes. These differences are, in fact, crucial points in an examination of crime statistics. In this sense, comparing crime news reporting and crime statistics is a comparison between apples and oranges. However, in an investigation of the differences in the images presented in crime news and statistics, such a comparison is useful as it indicates the degree of distortion of crime images that crime news provides the general public.

Eighth, this study compared the findings from crime news circulating in three different countries. Strictly speaking, crime news in different societies are not comparable, as the events that crime news reports are different, and the social significance of similar type of crime events is very different from one society to another. However, the comparison conducted in the present study enabled the researcher to explore the nature of crime news reporting in different societies.

Lastly, this study employed the concept that crime news is a "constructed reality". It specifically looked at the contents and presentation of crime news from some of the internal factors that affect them (such as professional norms, deadlines, limited news space, competition between crime news and non-crime news, accessibility to information sources, constant availability of information, and newspapers' need to carry similar stories). However, there are other aspects of the newsmaking process that may have influence on the contents and presentation of crime news. Kawai (1987, pp.

195-216) suggested that other factors exist. Influence from ownership, reporters' union, screening at the stage of employment, and interests of the company may be included as internal factors. Various interests of governments, advertisers, business, interest groups, banks, foreign governments, readers; regulation by laws; socially determined taboos may be considered as external factors. These forces might be considered in a larger-scale study.

CONCLUSION

As an exploratory quantitative study, only the overt content of three Japanese newspapers was examined. The potential of the Japanese newspapers to affect people's perception about crime issues is enormous. Japanese police appeared successful in public relations activities. However, other criminal justice agencies did not appear to any great degree in crime news.

Japan, where social control institutions are said to be one of the factors keeping the crime rate low, has a particular type of social environment, which seems to be supportive of crime fighting and prevention. In societies where such social environment does not exist, it may be fostered as a new subculture. The effective use of news media, if it is possible, may help criminal justice agencies foster supportive public opinion and attitudes. Therefore, criminal justice agencies should seek ways to better inform the public, in order to establish stronger public support for them and for the public's better understanding of crime and crime problems. To this end, further research of media contents and media audience is essential.

Appendix A

CODING PROTOCOL 1

VARIABLE   EXPLANATION AND INCLUSION RULES

IDENTIFICATION OF ITEMS

1: Newspaper   Asahi=1 Yomiuri=2 Fuji=3

2: Day   The day printed on the newspaper of
the month (01-31)

3: Week   The day of the week
Sun=1, Mon=2, Tues=3, Wed=4,
Thurs=5, Fri=6, and Sat=7

4: Page   Page number in the issue (01-46)

5: Article number   Every news item was given a number
Non-news=000

Non-news item is an item for whose space someone had paid. It included: the name of the paper; ads; publisher's notices.

6: Item number   News items reporting the same event or
issue were identified with the same
number. Non-news=000

NEWS TOPICS

                                Two news topics were coded per item.
7: Topic 1   Non-news=0 (See definition above.)

                                Domestic political affairs=1
Domestic political affairs items included: news items actually or potentially involved with any governmental action of Japan related to domestic affaris, foreign affairs, and other political stories (e.g., News items concerned with the cabinet, political parties, diets, national policies, national servants, ministries affairs; foreign policies; equivalent topics of regional political affairs).

                                International news=2
International news included: any news items from foreign correspondents, news items about things happenning outside Japan. When the Japanese foreign minister was involved, the item was coded as domestic politiacal news.

                                Domestic economic affairs=3

Domestic economic new included: news items concerned with money; economic activities; economic state of individuals, groups, or corporations; issues about the business world; business transactions; and other money-related stories (e.g., corporations, national budgets, stock exchange, industries, bank, etc.).

Human interest=4

Human interest news included: news items concerning people and their lifestyle (eg. family & women, fashion, beauty; health, medicine; home economics; education, child upbringing), various cultural activities (eg. creative writing, book review; science, technology; high-blow arts, dramas), sports and entertainment(eg. domestic and international sports news, radio and T.V. previews, low-blow arts, movies, popular music, etc.), hobbies and games, and other leisure activities (eg. traveling, leisure, hobbies, religion, philosophy, and life).

Domestic social affairs=5

Domestic social affairs news included: items concerning matters of social issues, problems, activities, minority groups, and other social phenomena (eg. any nationwide news item which does not fit in other categories; social movement, natural disaster, accidents, civil movement, etc.).

Crime news=6

Crime news included: stories concerning the occurrence of crime, the victims and offenders of crime, reactions to crime, and activities of criminal justice agencies.

Other news item=7

Other news item included: items which did not belong to any of the above categories.

8: Topic 2   The second coding of the news item

9: Reporting style 1

Straight news=1

News story reporting an event which took place within 48 hours of reporting, which did not appear in the newspaper previously.

Follow-up news=2

News story reporting an event which was previously reported. An update of a previously reported story.

Editorial=3

News items which were presented as editorial.

Letters from readers=4

Letters and phone calls from non-newsworkers presented to the publisher of the newspaper with the intention it to be published at no cost.

Other secondary news=5

News items written mainly by the journalists employed by the newspaper publisher, occasionally written by appointed writers. It includes: commentary, special, series, column, essay, opinion, and news items that are enclosed.

Other reporting style=6

Other reporting style includes: items which do not take a writing format (eg. cartoon, comics, astrology, games, Japanese chess, majong, T.V. and radio listings, stock exchange listings)

10: Size of article

News items including headlines and
accompanying pictures were coded in
row inches.

NEW VARIABLES MADE AFTER CODING

11: Reporting style 2

Variable 9 Reporting style 1 were
collapsed into three larger groups.

Primary news=1

Primary news included: straight news, i.e., news story of an event which took place within preceeding two days; and follow-up news, which reported the update of a previously reported event.

Secondary news=2

Secondary news included: editorials, letters to the editor, opinion, commentary, series, columns, essays, and news items that were enclosed.

12: Common story

News story reporting the same event
which appeared in more than one
newspaper on the same day.

Appeared in three newspapers=1
Appeared in Asahi and Yomiuri=2
Appeared in Asahi and Fuji=3
Appeared in Yomiuri and Fuji=4
Not a common story=0

Appendix B

CODING PROTOCOL TWO

VARIABLE	EXPLANATION AND INCLUSION RULES

IDENTIFICATION

1: Newspaper	Asahi=1 Yomiuri=2 Fuji=3
2: Month	Feb=1 May=2 Nov=3
3: Day	The day of the month (01-31)
4: Week	The day of the week Same coding as in Protocol 1
5: Page	The page where crime news appeared, based on newspaper publisher's designation

First page=1 General & Domestic political affairs page=2 International news page=3 Op/ed, commentary, & letters to the editor page=4 Economic, financial & stock exchange page=5 Other (feature, human interest) page=6 Local affairs page=8 Social affairs page=9

6: Article number	Every crime news item was numbered consecutively.
7: Crime case number	Crime news reporting the same event or issue were identified with the same number.
8: Case name	Each crime event or issue was given a case name.

VISUAL IMAGE OF CRIME NEWS

9: Location	Location of news item on a page Upper-half=1 Lower-half=2
10: Article size	Measurement of news item in row inches.

Article size was measured excluding headlines and accompanying pictures. The sizes of a page were: Asahi=225, Yomiuri=225, and Fuji=116 row-inches.

11: Headline size   Measurement in row inches of all
                                     headlines accompanying the news
                                     item

12: Picture size 1   Up to two pictures were coded for
                                     their size and content.
                                     Measurement in square inches of
                                     each picture accompanying the news
                                     item.

13: Content of picture 1

Victim/family of the victim=1 Suspect/offender/familiy of a suspect or offender=2
Evidence/articles left behind=3 Crime site=4 Citizen=5 Other=6 The police=10
Victim and the police=11 Suspect and the police=12 Evidence and the police=13
Crime site and the police=14 Citizen and the police=15 The police and other=16

14: Picture size 2   Coding of the second picutre, if
                                     any.

15: Content of picture 2   Coding of the second picutre,
                                     if any.

INFORMATION REGARDING CRIME EVENT/ ISSUE

16: Crime/ offence type 1
                                     Each crime news item was coded
                                     twice for crime topic.

Felony includes: murder=11, robbery=12, arson=13, and rape=14

Violent crime included: illegal assembly with dangerous weapons=21, assault=22, bodily injury (including bodily injury resulting in death)=23, intimidation=24, and extortion=25.

Theft included: larceny (theft without breaking and entering of a premises)=31, burglary (theft involving breaking and entering)=32, and vehicle theft (theft of and from motor vehicle and bicycle).

Intellectual crime included: fraud=41, embezzlement=42, forgery & counterfeiting=43, corruption=44, and breach of trust=45

Crimes against public morality included: gambling=51, public indecency and indecency through compulsion=52, and distribution of obscene literature=53

Other code offences included crimes defined in Penal Code of Japan which are not listed above. They were further categorized into: crimes against public order=61, act of public nuisance=62, crimes against morality=63, crimes against person=65, crimes against property=66, white collar crimes=67, terrorism=68, abductions=69, and else=60

Special Law offences included violation of a Special Law, which invokes activities of a criminal justice agency. They include: acts against public order=71, acts againinst public nuisance=72, acts against public morality=73, acts related to drugs=74, acts against person=75, acts against property=76, white-collar crimes=77, violations of gun control legislation=78, and else=70.

Other criminal justice related news is crime news items whose main focus was not crime or offence listed above. It included: item referring to activities or state of criminal justice agancies=81, violation of rights by the criminal justice system=82, crimes or offences committed by a criminal justice officer=83, and reports on crime topic in general.

17: Crime/offence type 2

Coding of the second type of crime

18: Stage in the CJP

Each crime news item was coded by the stage of the criminal justice process. Categorization was based on Tomita's (1985) flow chart of the criminal justice process.

Upon crime event=1
After event before arrest=2
From upon arrest to before prosecution=3
From upon prosecution to before trial=4
From upon trial to before sentencing=5
From upon to after sentence=6
From upon to after release=7
Other or none=9

19: Image of the CJA

Image of the activity of a criminal justice agancy.
No mention=0

Crime fighting=1
Including: depiction of investigative and preventive efforts of CJA; description of arrest, apprehension, etc.

Order maintenance=2
Including: description of peace keeping or security activities of CJA, mention of CJA's efforts to keep community safe and peaceful by controling unorderly behaviors.

Community service=3
Including: mention of CJA's efforts to meet community's needs and requests or to interact with non-criminal community members.

Punishing criminals=5
Including: CJA's activities to treat the offenders in such a way that they "deserve".

20: Solution of crime

Image that news presents regarding the solution of a crime problem.

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No mention=0, No crime=3

Solved image=1
Solved image included the cases where offenders were identified, arrested, or sentenced; or the story gave the impression that the immediate danger had been removed.

Not solved=2
Not solved image included the cases where the offenders were reported as unknown, or yet to be taken to custody; or the story gave the image that CJA needed to work on the case to remove the imminent danger.

21: Completion
Whether news presented a story of a completed crime/ offence, or attempt; a crime prevention story; or a human interest story. One main thrust of the story was coded. Not crime=0, other=9, offence completed=1, attempt=2.

Preventive action=3
Preventive action included: stories whose main thrust was to describe crime preventive activities by CJA, community members, victim, or any actors in society.

Human interest=4
Human interest included: stories whose main thrust was to descrive a crime event from a different viewpoints than regular crime reports. Stories that attract interest of readers by humor, surprise, sympathy, and other sentiments.

22: Place of origin 1
The area where the crime story originated.

Japan in general=0
Story about crime which took place in Japan. No specific region was mentioned.

Northeastern Japan=1
Hokkaido and Tohoku regions, including Hokkaido, Iwate, Aomori, Miyagi, Akita, Yamagata, and Fukushima Prefectures

Eastern Japan=2
Kanto region, including Tokyo, Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma, Saitama, Chiba, Kanagawa, Niigata, Yamanashi, Nagano, and Shizuoka Prefectures
Central Japan=3
Chubu region, including Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui, Gifu, Aichi, and Mie Prefectures
Western Japan=4
Kansai region, including Shiga, Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo, Nara, and Wakayama Prefectures
Southeastern Japan=5
Chugoku & Shikoku regions, including Tottori, Shimane, Okayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Tokushima, Kagawa, Ehime, and Kochi Prefectures
Southern Japan=6
Kyushu and Okinawa regions, including Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, Ooita, Miyazaki, Kagoshima, and Okinawa Prefectures

North America (the United States and Canada)=7
Asia (Far East, ASEAN, or East of Iran)=8

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Europe (Western and Eastern Europe and the USSR, or Northwest of Turkey) = 9
Other (Africa, Middle East, Oceania, Latin America) = 10

23: Involvement of Japanese

Whether Japanese citizens were involved in an international news.

Domestic news = 0   Japanese not involved = 1   Involved = 2

24: Freshness of story

How recently the crime event took place

Within a week of report = 1   Within one month = 2   Up to one year = 3   Older than one year = 4

25: Reporting style 1   The format of news reporting. This category was collapsed into Primary news (1 and 2) and Secondary news (3, 4, and 5) in Reporting style 2.

Straight news (reporting today or yesterday's event) = 1
Update, additional information to already reported story = 2
Editorial = 3
Letters or phone calls from readers = 4
Opinion, commentary, specials, series, campaigns, columns, esssays, features and articles enclosed = 5
Other = 6

26: Appearance of story

Whether the story appeared previously or not

First time = 1   Second or more = 2

OFFENDER-VICTIM INFORMATION

27: Offender's name
Not mentioned = 0   Name = 1   Anonimous or false name = 2
Offender was unknown = 9

28: Offender's age
Not mentioned = 0   14-17 = 3   18-19 = 4   20-24 = 5   25-29 = 6   30-39 = 7
40-49 = 8   50-59 = 9   60-69 = 10   70+ = 11   Offender was unknown = 99

29: Offender's sex
Not mentioned = 0   Male = 1   Female = 2   Offender was unknown = 9

30: Offender's membership
Not mentioned or other = 0   Underground group (Bouryokudan) = 1
Hot-rodders or motorcycle gangs (Bousouzoku) = 2
Right wing group = 3   Left wing group = 4   Foreigner = 5
Officer of CJ agency = 6

31: Number of offenders
Not mentioned=0 One person=1 Two=2 Three=3 Four=4
Five or more=5 Group=6 Offender was unknown=9

32: Victim's name   Same coding as Offender's name

33: Victim's age
Not mentioned=0 0-5=1 6-13=2 14-17=3 18-19=4 20-24=5
25-29=6 30-39=7 40-49=8 50-59=9 60-69=10 70+=11
Victim was unknown=99

34: Victim's sex   Same coding as Offender's sex

35: Number of victims   Same coding as Offender's number

36: Victim-offender relation

Whether victim and offender knew
each other prior to the crime
event.
Relationship was not mentioned=0
Not applicable=3
No victim=8
Victim or offender was unknown=9

Family members=1
Family included: grandparents, parents, spouses, siblings, children, and grandchildren,
(including step-, in-law-, and common-law relationship).

Relatives=2
Relatives included: relatives not coded as family members.

Work=4
Work included: relationships such as employer-employee, coworkers, supervisers, etc.

Friends=5
Friends included: personal relationships where the victim and the offenders were
friends or acquaintances.

Other relationships=6
Other relationships included: relationships where the victim and the offender knew each
other but the relationship was none of the above.

Strangers=7
Relationships were coded as strangers when offender or victim did not know of each
other. When the offender did not care who he/she might victimize.

DESCRIPTIVE ELEMENTS

The amount of each descriptive
element wa measured in row inches.

37: Criminal behavior or event

	Description of what happened, how crime event took place
38: Activities of CJA	Description of activities of criminal justice agencies
39: Victim	Description of victim
40: Offender/suspect	Description of offender/suspect
41: Circumstances of event	Why the event took place, the explanations or reasons of occurrence.

QUOTES

Up to two sources of quotes were coded and their amounts were measured.

42: Quoted source 1

None=0 Police account=1 Offender's confession via police=2
Expert=3 Official record=4 Attroney=7 Public official=8
Victim/ family=9 Suspect/ family=10 Related 3rd party=11 Informal source=12
Court=13 Prosecution=14 Citizen=15 Correction=16

If there was no particular source where expected or a phrase "according to the investigation..." was used, source was coded as informal source since whose investigation it is is not stated.

43: Amount of quote 1	To be measured in row inches
44: Quoted source 2	Second quoted source
45: Amount of quote 2	Measurement of the second quotes
46: Explanation	Whether explanation or interpretaion of occurrence of event, situation; or why the crime event took place were discussed Yes=1 No=0

47: Quoted source

None=0 Police account=1 Offender's confession via police=2
Expert=3 Official record=4 Attroney=7 Public official=8
Victim/ family=9 Suspect/ family=10 Related 3rd party=11 Informal source=12
Court=13 Prosecution=14 Citizen=15 Correction=16

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48: Mention of prevention   Whether preventive measures were introduced, discussed, or suggested. Whether preventive actions were mentioned.

None=0 Talk on prevention=1 Preventive action presented=2

49: Quoted source/ actor in prevention

None=0 Police account=1 Offender's confession via police=2 Expert=3 Official record=4 Attroney=7 Public official=8 Victim/ family=9 Suspect/ family=10 Related 3rd party=11 Informal source=12 Court=13 Prosecution=14 Citizen=15 Correction=16

EVALUATIVE ELEMENTS

Up to two evaluations were coded

50: Object of evaluation 1

Who or what was being evaluated

Not mentioned=0 Police=1 Prosecutor=2 Court=3 Correction=4 Society=5 Other=7
Society includes: a certain section of society, a certain group of people, society in general, Japanese society, social trend, etc.

51: Evaluator 1   Who was evaluating

Not mentioned=0 Journalist=1 Citizen=2 Victim=3 Suspect=4 Specialist=5 CJS=6 Other=7
Specialist is defined as an expert on the topic or a person with qualification.

52: Aspect of evaluation 1   What aspect was evaluated

Not evaluation=0 General activities=1 Specific event=2
Organization/ structure=3 Individual=4 Crime trend=5
Other=6

53: Content of evaluation 1   How it was evaluated

Not mentioned=0, Positive=1, Neutral=2, Negative=3
A positive story included happy, satisfied, supporive statements, or acknowledgements of efforts.
A negative story included unhappy, unsatisfied statements, criticism or asking for improvement.
If neither, then a story was coded as neutral.

54: Object of evaluation 2   Same as 1

55: Evaluator 2   Same as 1

56: Aspect 2   Same as 1

57: Content 2   Same as 1

58: Evaluation of offender/ crime
None=0 Positive=1 Negative=2 Neutral=3

NEW VARIABLES MADE AFTER CODING

59: Place of origin 2

Variable 22 Place of origin 1 was
collapsed into three groups.

Local news=1
News stories originated from or about Easern Japan.

National news=2
News stories originated from or about the rest of Japan.

International news=3
News stories originated from or about the rest of the world.

60: Picture size   Sum of picture sizes in square
                              inches. (Psz1 + psz2)

61: Vio/ prop   Grouping of crimes of violence and
                              property crimes.

Crime of violence=1
Included: stories reporting crimes against person and abduction. Specifically stories
whose crime type 1 or crime type 2 was coded as 11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25,
65, 69, 75.

Property crime=2
Included: stories reporting thefts, white-collar crimes, and crimes against property.
Specifically, stories whose crime type 1 or crime type 2 was coded as 31, 32, 33, 41,
42, 43, 44, 45, 66, 67, 76, 77.

Other crimes=3
Included: all the stories not coded as crime of violence or property crime.

62: St/ whi   Grouping of street crimes and
                              white-collar crimes.

Street crime=1
Included: stories reporting crimes which are likely to take place on the street.
Specifically, stories whose crime type 1 or crime type 2 was coded as 11, 12, 13, 14,
21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 65, 69, and 75.

White-collar crime=2
Included: stories reporting white-collar crimes. Specifically, stories whose crime type
1 or crime type 2 was coded as 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 67, and 77.

Other crimes=3
Included all the stories not coded as crime of violence or property crime.

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63: Index of imageability

A variable to compare the degree of
distortion of crime in crime news.
It indicates the proportionality or
disproportionality of the frequency
of news of a specific crime as
opposed to the statistical figure
of the specific crime.

Index = percentage of specific crime news/ percentage of specific crime in statistics

PROMINENCE INDEXES

64: PArt

Prominence of story based on story
length (Variable 10: Asz)

If Asz=1-3 row inches, then PArt=1.
Similarly, Asz=4-6, 7-10, 11-15, 16-19, 20-30, 31-40, 41+ are to be coded as PArt=
2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, respectively.

65: PHl

Prominence of headlines. Based on
the size of headlines (Variable 11:
Hsz)

If Hsz= none and less than .5 row-inches then PHl=0 Similarly, Hsz=.6-1.4, 1.5-
2.4, 2.5-3.0, 3.1-6.0, 6.1-12.0, 12.1-18.0, 18.1-24.0, 24.1+ are to be coded as
PHl=1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, respectively.

66: PPic

Prominence of the accompanying
photographs. Based on the total
photograph size (Variable 60:
picture size).

If Picture size=none and less than .01 square inches then PPic=0 Similarly, Picture
size=.01-1.4, 1.5-3.0, 3.1-6.0, 6.1-12.0, 12.1-18.0, 18.1-24.0, 24.1+ are to be
coded as PPic=1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, respectively.

67: First page

Prominence index for the page
assignment. Crime story appearing
on the first page of an issue is to
be coded as a story with a high
degree of prominence.
First page=10 Other page=1

68: Upper half

Prominence index for the location
of story on a page. Crime story
appearing in the upper half of the
page was coded as a story with a
higher prominence.
Upper half=1 Lower half=0

69: Prominence index

The sum of the above indexes of

175

prominence

Index = PArt + PHl + PPic + First page + Upper half

| 70: SVU | Variables indicating the seriousness, violence, and uncommonness of crime (see Table 7.7). |

S   If Tsurimi's Seriousness Score > 5 then code as serious crime.

V   If crime of violence (Crime type 1 or 2 < 14, or 22, 68, or 69) then code as violent crime.

U   If the statistical figure < .1 then code as uncommon crime.

| 71: Fluctuation | Weekly fluctuations of frequency and amount of space in average issue of the week devoted to crime news. |

Frequency = Weekly sum of frequency of crime news/ number of issues published in the week.

Space = Weekly sum of amount of space of crime news/ number of issues published in the week.

| 72: Common story | News story reporting the same event which appeared in more than one newspaper on the same day. Not a common story=0 Appeared in Asahi and Yomiuri=1 |

73: Sensationalism indexes

The relative significance of headlines and photographs compared with article size.

Asum = total sum of Asz
Hsum = total sum of Hsz
Psum = total sum of Psz1 and Psz2

Sen 1 = Hsum/ Asum
Sen 2 = Psum/ Asum
Sen 3 = (Hsum + Psum)/ Asum

Appendix C

DEFINITION OF CRIME CATEGORY

The White Paper on Police 1988 (the NPA, 1989) lists the definitions of Penal code offences and Special Law offences as follows:

> Penal Code offences: Unless otherwise specified, excluding deaths or injuries through neglingent conduct of business in traffic accidents, crimes defined in the Penal Code and those defined in "the Law concerning Prevention and Punishing of Burglary, Robbery, Larceny, etc." "the Law concerning Duel," "the Explosive Control Punishment Law," "the Law to Punish Aircraft Seizure and Other Related Crimes," "the Law concerning Punishment for the Use of Fire Bottles," "the Law to Punish Dangerous Acts for the Safety of Aviation," and "the Law to Punish Compulsory Acts by Hostage Taking" (Glossary).

> Special Law offenses: Crimes other than specified in the Penal Code offenses. However, unless otherwise specified, deaths or injuries through negligent conduct of business in traffic accidents and crimes defined in "the Road Traffic Law" and "the Law concerning Securing the Place to Keep an Automobile in Custody" are excluded (Glossary).

In the present study, specific offences defined in the Penal Code were categorized into six major groups of offences; felony, violent crime, theft, intellectual crime, morality crime, and other Penal Code crimes. The offenses defined in the Penal Code, which did not fit in the first five groups were treated as "Other Code offences", following the National Police Agency's practice of compiling statistics. Other Code offences were further categorized into: crimes against public order, acts of public nuisance, crimes against morality, crimes against person, crimes against property, white-collar crime, terrorism, abduction, and others.

Violations of the special laws were separately coded as "Special Law offences", for the purpose of allowing a comparison between Penal Code crime news and official statistics. Such offences included: violations of the Commercial Code, Customs Law, Income Tax Law, etc. A detailed list of the special laws are presented below. Non-Code offences were similarly categorized into nine groups: acts against public order, acts causing public nuisance, acts against public morality, acts related to drugs, acts against person, acts against property, violation of a law by white-collars, violations of gun control legislation, and others.

The White Paper on Crime 1991 (Research and Training Institute, Ministry of Justice, 1992, pp. 1-2)

Penal Code offences have included crimes: assisting suicide is included in homicide; homicide or rape in the course of robbery are included in robbery; assisting in injuring a person is included in injury, compulsion is included in intimidation, wrongfully taking possession of immovables is included in theft, destruction of seals and other acts are included in obstruction of the performance of an official duty, etc.

Clearance rate = (number of cases cleared / number of cases known to the police) x 100

LIST OF SPECIAL LAWS

In coding the types of crime, the following list of laws from the *Summary of the White Paper on Crime 1991* (Research and Training Institute, 1992, pp. 1-2) were refered to.

TYPE OF LAW   NAME OF LAW

PRESERVATION OF PUBLIC PEACE
                 Firearms and swords
                 Gunpowder Control Law
                 Minor Offences Law
                 Nuisance by drunken persons

PUBLIC MORALS
                 Anti-prostitution Law
                 Public morals
                 Employment Security Law
                 Child Welfare Law
                 Horse Race Law
                 Bicycle Race Law

DRUGS
                 Narcotics
                 Opium
                 Cannabis
                 Stimulant drugs
                 Poisonous substances

ELECTION LAW

FINANCE AND ECONOMY
                 Income Tax Law

Corporation Tax Law
Customs Law
Investment Law
Land and Building Trade Law
Unfair Competition Prevention Law

TRAFFIC

Road Transport Law
Vehicles Law
Automobile Compensation Law
Road Traffic Law
Law Concerning Places to Keep Automobiles,
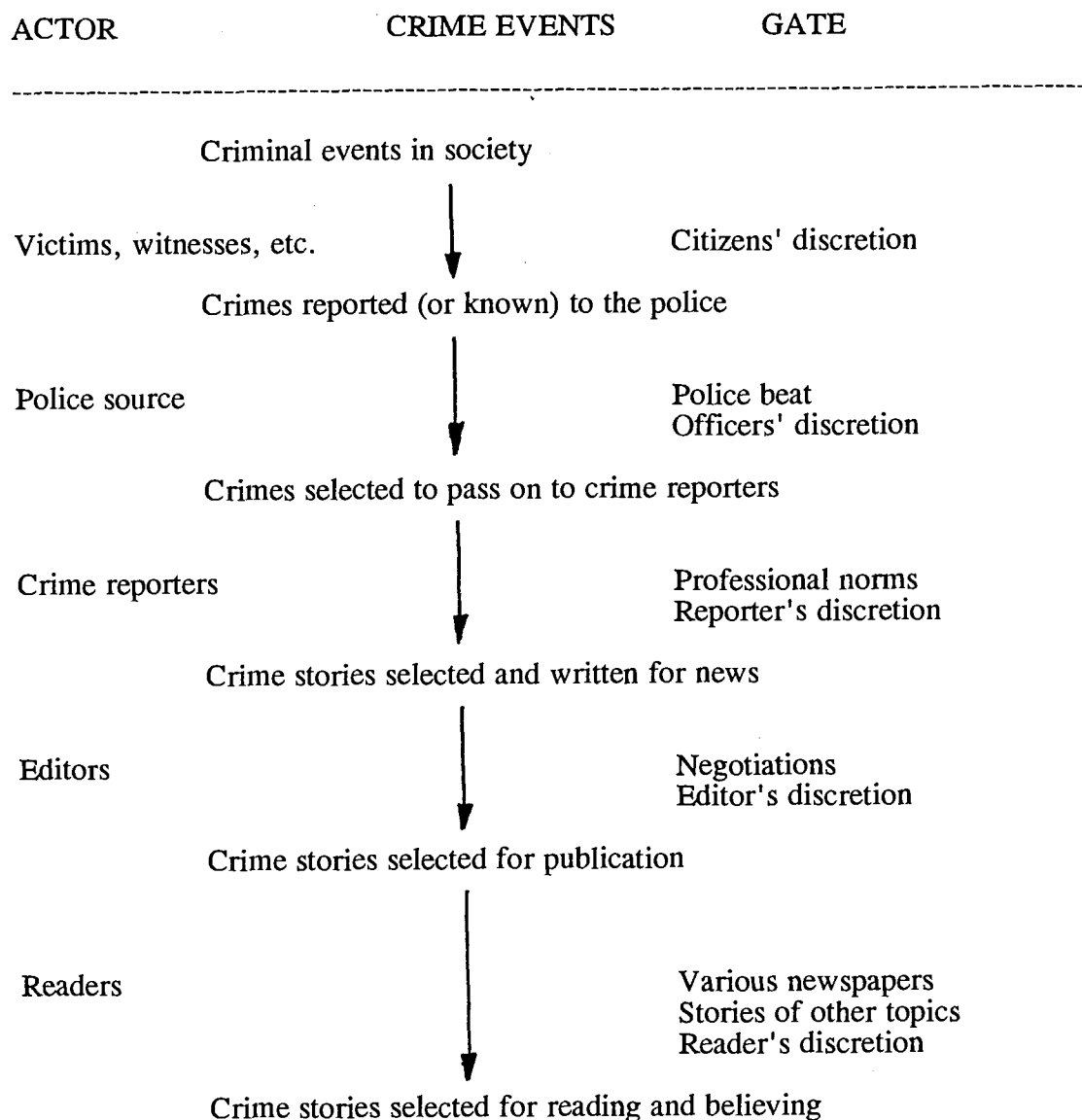 etc.

FOREIGNERS

Alien Registration Law
Immigration control

LOCAL AUTONOMY ORDINANCES
Public Security Ordinance
Ordinance for Protection of Youth
others

Appendix D

CRIME NEWS AS A "CONSTRUCTED REALITY": HOW CRIME EVENTS ARE SELECTED FOR NEWS

ACTOR   CRIME EVENTS   GATE

Criminal events in society

Victims, witnesses, etc.   Citizens' discretion

Crimes reported (or known) to the police

Police source   Police beat
                                                     Officers' discretion

Crimes selected to pass on to crime reporters

Crime reporters   Professional norms
                                                     Reporter's discretion

Crime stories selected and written for news

Editors   Negotiations
                                                     Editor's discretion

Crime stories selected for publication

Readers   Various newspapers
                                                     Stories of other topics
                                                     Reader's discretion

Crime stories selected for reading and believing

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