

Framing sexual assault in Japan

Ardent or apathetic?

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ABSTRACT

In September 2017, freelance journalist Shiori Itō filed a lawsuit against the prominent TV reporter Noriyuki Yamaguchi for sexual assault. The somewhat obscure investigative and legal handling of the case prompted notable international media coverage, however domestic coverage has been comparatively scarce and apathetic. The media's act of presenting news in a certain manner is referred to as media framing, and it is commonly theorised that such framing impacts audience perception of a given issue. Accepting this premise, the thesis sought to answer the question; how is the sexual assault case involving Shiori Itō depicted and framed in Japanese mainstream news media? Employing the methodological approach of framing analysis, underlying frames and tones were uncovered within a meaningful sample of Japanese news articles and discussed relative to their potential impact on audience perception of sexual assault cases as well as the resulting implications for social movements in Japan. The findings indicate that; mainstream media framing of Itō's case is predominately characterised by a combination of emotionally detached, factual coverage, and favourable coverage of Itō, respectively. Although the underlying framing differs, neither depiction presents tangible ways for the audience to assist in improving the circumstances surrounding victims of sexual assault.

KEYWORDS

News media, Media framing, News framing, Framing analysis, Sexual assault, Sexual violence, Social movements, #MeToo

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1. INTRODUCTION

On December 18th, 2019, a prolonged civil court lawsuit in Japan was finally settled. In the lawsuit, freelance journalist, Shiori Itō, accused former TBS reporter, Noriyuki Yamaguchi, of sexual assault. The case was settled in Itō's favour; with Yamaguchi sentenced to pay 3.3 million yen in damages, but the strenuous and lengthy process leading up to this point highlights deep-seated social and legal problems within Japanese society (The Asahi Shimbun, 2019).

The assault took place in April 2015, and Itō describes the initial attempt to have it tried in criminal court¹ thusly: "As I went through the ensuing criminal case proceedings, I came to realize how Japan's system works to undermine survivors of sexual assault [...] I've had to fight every step of the way. From the medical professionals to the police, I encountered a lack of understanding about sexual violence and inadequate support for survivors" (Ito, 2018a). Social stigma associated with going public about such issues and insufficient legal support for victims intimidates many into remaining silent, so as not to be re-victimised by society (Ibid.). Itō's case has been ground-breaking in this regard, as her persistent public attempts to take legal action against Yamaguchi have inspired others to come forward (The Asahi Shimbun, 2019).

Nevertheless, in Japan, mainstream media coverage of these issues is scarce and seemingly serves to reinforce existing stigma by presenting them as 'women's issues'. Consequently, mainstream coverage undermines the efforts of social movements against sexual violence (Ito, 2018a; Kingston, 2018, pp. 889-891). The subsequent sections will cover Itō's case in more detail, describe the nature of the present study and what motivated it, state the research questions to be addressed in the upcoming analysis and underline how this thesis aims to contribute academically.

1.1 BACKGROUND

On the 4th of April 2015, Itō reportedly fled the hotel room where she had been assaulted. She went to see a gynaecologist but received little assistance, and the only 24-hour rape crisis centre in Tokyo seemingly refused to disclose critical information unless she showed up for a personal interview.

¹ Criminal trials in Japan are conducted based on the examination of tangible evidence and prosecutors have the authority to indict suspects, who will then proceed to trial. However, in cases involving incapacitated rape (where the victim is unable to consent), tangible evidence might not be obtainable, thus making such cases difficult to prosecute. By contrast, civil lawsuits allow for the examination of circumstantial evidence; witness statements, expert opinions, etc., and judgement is made in favour of the side with the most convincing argument (Japan Federation of Bar Associations, 2020).

Later she went to file a complaint with the local police department, where she faced an absence of female officers and had to account the experience several times just to get her statement taken. Itō says she was discouraged from filing a report and had to persuade the police to investigate her case; an investigation which saw her re-enact the assault with a dummy while officers took photographs (Ito, 2018a; Ito, 2018b). Circumstantial evidence such as taxi driver testimony and video camera footage from the hotel eventually enabled the police to obtain an arrest warrant for Yamaguchi, however, the warrant was apparently cancelled ‘from above’ last minute and prosecutors subsequently dropped the case, citing insufficient tangible evidence. As a result, Itō took her story to the media, but only the weekly news magazine, *Shūkan Shinchō*, decided to cover it. Wanting to advocate for an amendment to Japan’s century old rape law, Itō went public with the case on May 29th, 2017. Although the law was subsequently amended, domestic backlash eventually forced Itō to move to London. Regardless, she chose to file a civil lawsuit against Yamaguchi in September 2017 and published ‘Black Box’; a book detailing her experience and treatment as a victim of sexual assault, shortly after (Ito, 2018a; Ito, 2018b). Itō won the lawsuit in December, last year².

1.1.1 RESEARCH MOTIVATION

As previously noted, Itō and others maintain that the Japanese mainstream media either rarely covers sexual assault cases or provides coverage that shifts some of the blame onto the victims. Itō (2018b) observes that:

If the press in Japan was free from the shackles of social convention, then the problems with Japan’s century old rape laws, the lack of rape crisis centres, the re-enacting of alleged rapes with lifesize dolls might have been raised many year ago. Had Japan had a truly free press, I would never have had to go public, leave the country I grew up in, and be subject to a sustained hate campaign online.

This raises questions about the role of the Japanese mainstream media in reinforcing existing social stigma. Indeed, according to Freeman (2000), news media influences public consciousness by occupying a key role in ‘the social construction of reality’ (Freeman, 2000, p. 7). This is achieved through the process of ‘framing’ in which specific elements of an issue are selected and then made

² For a timeline of the case, see Appendix I.

more salient within a news story so as to highlight them for the audience. Thus, media framing has the power to influence public perception of social issues (Entman, 1993; Pan and Kosicki, 1993).

The notion that sexual assault cases are presented to the Japanese public in an apathetic manner, if at all, motivates a deeper look into the domestic mainstream media framing of Itō's case. The purpose is to investigate how Itō's case, and presumably other sexual assault cases, are portrayed in Japanese mainstream news media and the potential implications of such framing for the public's perception of these cases. Furthermore, as mainstream media framing is argued to undermine the efforts of social movements that work to improve the circumstances for victims of sexual assault in Japan (Kingston, 2018), it is essential to address this point as well.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research question and accompanying sub-questions that emerged from the aforementioned purposes of this thesis, are formulated as follows:

- *How is the sexual assault case involving Shiori Itō depicted and framed in Japanese mainstream news media?*
 - *Can significant differences in framing be observed between mainstream and online news outlets?*
 - *How would the uncovered manner of framing presumably affect audience perception of Itō's case and cases of sexual assault in general?*
 - *What potential implications might this have for Japanese social movements against sexual harassment and assault?*

1.3 ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTION

Strong sexism continues to permeate Japanese society, particularly so within the field of journalism where sexual harassment appears to be endemic to the extent that it is considered common practice (Adelstein, 2018). Thus, research that serves to draw more attention to, and stimulate further debate on, this issue may in and of itself be a worthwhile contribution within the present context. Since its origin, the concept of media framing has been employed in several different circumstances (Gitlin, 2003; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Entman and Rojecki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999,

Matthes, 2009), including topics related to Japan and sexual violence (Pearce, 2012; McDougall, 2018; Kasianenko, 2019). However, a qualitative analysis into the Japanese mainstream media's framing of Shiori Itō's sexual assault case has yet to be attempted. This thesis thus undertakes such an analysis in order to explore whether mainstream media coverage of this case is indeed apathetic and social movement impeding. By uncovering and interpreting the framing of Itō's case, this research seeks to contribute to the broader literature on sexism, mainstream media and social movements in Japan.

1.3.1 DEMARCATION

The purpose of this research is to analyse framing, specifically understood as to "*select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text*" (Entman, 1993, p. 52, original emphasis). In other words, rather than an objective reflection of reality, framing constitutes a narrative that emphasises certain aspects of a given issue. Furthermore, this thesis accepts the premise that media framing can influence public perception (Pan and Kosicki, 1993) which, by extension, presumably impacts the growth and efficacy of social movements. This thesis does not, however, claim that its results can determine the exact level of audience penetration nor demonstrate with accuracy the degree of impact on individual movements.

1.4 DISPOSITION

Having established the premise for the research in this introductory chapter, the remainder of the thesis will proceed as follows: Chapter 2 reviews key existing literature in order to establish the context and provide justification for the research positioning. Chapter 3 maps out the theoretical framework guiding the present study. Chapter 4 illustrates the methodological approach adopted for the analysis, describes the data collection process and addresses ethical considerations and self-reflexivity. Chapter 5 analyses and interprets the research findings. Chapter 6 concludes the study.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, key existing literature is examined in order to provide important context for the research positioning of the present study. Relevant factors pertaining to the news media environment in Japan, the causal relationship between media and social movements, and the persistent gender inequality within Japanese society are discussed so as to illustrate the significance of the connection between these three fields relative to this thesis. The review proceeds as follows: First, Japan's news media environment is detailed, focusing on a number of factors argued to restrict media independence, in order to highlight how certain regulations and institutions act together to prompt media self-censorship. A section illustrating the circumstances pertaining to news access and trust in Japan is included to justify the presence of Yahoo! News articles in the upcoming analysis. Subsequently, the relationship between mass media and social movements over time is briefly mapped out, underlining its present-day relevance. The third section describes the widespread gender inequality within Japanese society, in order to provide societal and legal context for the endemic sexism within the media industry and to address the role of social movements within this environment. Finally, the academic contribution of this thesis as well as the gap it seeks to address are highlighted; summarising the significance of each section for the study as a whole.

2.1 NEWS MEDIA ENVIRONMENT IN JAPAN

The news media environment in Japan is inhabited by a well-established and competitive media with a large number of participants. Legal foundations for the freedom of press is stated in Article 21 of the Japanese Constitution which guarantees freedom of expression, prohibition of censorship and privacy of communication. Nevertheless, a number of ambiguous regulations and institutions cause concern among academics and freedom advocates regarding the independence of Japanese mainstream media (Freedom house, 2020; Kaye, 2017, p. 4). According to the UN's Special Rapporteur on 'the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression', three factors in particular warrant attention; regulation of broadcast media, media to government access, and media solidarity (Kaye, 2017, p. 6).

Firstly, regarding broadcast media regulation, although the Broadcast Act, in theory, only pertains to the broadcast media, the interconnectedness between broadcast and print market

actors ensures that pressure exercised on the former will, in turn, affect the latter. Article 4 of the Broadcast Act allows the government to evaluate, to a certain extent, whether information is suitable for public broadcast. Alongside the introduction of the 'Act on the Protection of Specially Designated Secrets' in 2014, which permits steep penalties against journalists who reveal state secrets, it appears rather concerning for press freedom in Japan (Kaye, 2017, p. 8; Freedom House, 2020; Kingston, 2018, p. 882)

Secondly, media access and independence is undermined by the continued existence of so-called reporters'- or 'kisha' clubs (記者クラブ). This longstanding system was originally implemented by the media in order to enable coordinated acts of pressure on public institutions disinclined to share information, thus protecting the public's 'right' to such information. Presently, however, kisha clubs are seen as "associations of print and broadcast journalists with exclusive access to press conferences and high-level anonymous sources", which "appear[s] to have produced the opposite effect, significantly narrowing access to information of public interest" (Kaye, 2017, p. 10). Kuga (2016) describes kisha clubs as sharing a set of features that essentially boil down to: (1) membership requires journalists to work for one of the mainstream newspapers or key television stations; (2) journalists obtain information by cultivating close personal ties with their sources, making it difficult to publish criticism as it might ruin these efforts; and (3) sanctions exist to dissuade journalists from publishing information that might place their company in an awkward situation with valuable sources. Given such restrictions on access to key information, kisha club membership is an advantage most journalists would be loath to relinquish, despite the likely consequence of reduced press freedom (Kuga, 2016, pp. 14-15).

Finally, Kaye argues that the field of journalism in Japan lacks cross-outlet unity and solidarity, in the sense that; journalists employed within mainstream media tend to value company loyalty above a shared journalistic purpose of protecting the public's 'right to know'. This seemingly stems from employment characteristics; many staying with one firm throughout entire careers, as well as the absence of an independent union to connect and protect the rights of freelance and mainstream journalists. Within the kisha club system, individual mainstream journalists or newspapers thus find themselves strongly discouraged from criticising government-related matters (Kaye, 2017, p. 10). One example is the lack of left-wing media solidarity in response to an orchestrated campaign by

Japan's right-wing media to discredit Asahi Shimbun in 2014, following Asahi's critical coverage of the Abe government's mishandling of the comfort women issue (Kingston, 2018, pp. 884-885).

In summary, three factors; the regulation of broadcast media, nature of media-to-government access and absence of media solidarity, have been argued to constitute the main barriers to the development of a truly independent mainstream media in Japan (Kaye, 2017, p. 6). According to Kuga (2016), recent trends indicate that a shift is slowly taking place with the steady expansion of online media and more aggressive reporting by weekly news magazines, which is pressuring dominant actors to adapt (Kuga, 2016, pp. 16-17; Freedom House, 2020). Nevertheless, the pace appears insufficient to uproot the current institutional framework within mainstream media, as the next section illustrates.

2.1.1 MAINSTREAM NEWSPAPERS VS ONLINE NEWS

Mainstream news in Japan has long been dominated by the five daily national newspapers; Yomiuri-, Asahi-, Mainichi-, Nihon Keizai (Nikkei)- and Sankei Shimbun alongside their affiliated broadcasting stations and the public service broadcaster, NHK (Sawa, 2019). However, traditional readership has been declining steadily for more than a decade, markedly so in the past three years, with total circulation seeing a record fall of 2.23m copies between 2017-18 which was nearly matched by a 2.10m decrease the following year (Nihon Shinbun Kyōkai, 2019). Indeed, in 2018, for the first time ever in Japan, a survey among 5000 persons indicated that a majority of Japanese people now read news online (The Japan Times, 2018).

Even so, with total circulation at nearly 38m copies (0.66 per household), the mainstream daily newspapers retain strong influence (Nihon Shinbun Kyōkai, 2019). Additionally, print remains the favoured option in terms of credibility (The Japan Times, 2018; Nihon Shinbun Kyōkai, 2015). Interestingly, a study by Reuters Institute shows that Japanese predominately engage with online news through aggregators such as Yahoo! News and Line News. Yahoo! News is particularly popular and has functioned as Japan's primary portal website since the early 2000s (Sawa, 2019).

In sum, the Japanese public's gradual shift towards reading news online has yet to erode popular trust in mainstream newspapers, indicating that the previously mentioned institutional barriers are likely to remain in place for the foreseeable future. The popularity and reach of Yahoo! News, however, makes it an ideal candidate for framing comparison between mainstream

newspapers and online media. Furthermore, Japan's apparent lack of a truly independent mainstream media is significant for the present study, as media self-censorship presumably has implications for the public's perception of sexual assault cases and, by extension, social movements against sexual violence. The next section maps out an academic basis for this assumption.

2.2 MEDIA AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In his 1968 work 'Protest as a Political Resource', Michael Lipsky noted the crucial role of communications media "in influencing the perceptions of the reference publics of protest targets" (Lipsky, 1968, p. 1147). He argued that communications media possesses the power and influence to; "set the limits of protest action" in the sense that "if protest tactics are not considered significant by the media, [...] protest organizations will not succeed". In other words, protests, as a kind of social movement, are implied to be critically dependent on media coverage (Ibid. p. 1151).

Similarly, Kabashima and Broadbent argued in 1986, with reference to Japan, that the media exerts power and influence over society through its main functions, emphasising the act of "shaping the popular images of and identification with social groups" or "refer[ing] people to selected images and symbols, to cause them to identify with certain groups and ideas which carry political implications" (Kabashima and Broadbent, 1986, pp. 353-354). Most importantly, they note that, by not placing equal weight on all social movements, the media more or less dictates whether or not individual groups receive sufficient coverage to grow (Ibid. p. 358).

Going a step further, Benford and Snow posited in 2000, that 'framing processes' should be considered "a central dynamic in understanding the character and course of social movements" (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 611). They observed, that academic studies conducted on the contribution of framing processes, although few in number, clearly advocate the view that "for some movements, framing processes are critical to the attainment of desired outcomes"; a strong indication of the mass media's role in shaping social movements (Ibid. p. 632).

The significance in researching this relationship is restated by Rohlinger and Vaccaro (2013). They emphasise that mass media coverage can legitimise movement issues and claims by presenting ideas and actions as credible, however, the inherent inequality of the relationship; skewed in favour of the media, appears to be shifting slightly with the proliferation of online venues. This

development seemingly allows social movements more freedom in how to disseminate their ideas to the public, although the relationship remains far from equal (Rohlinger and Vaccaro, 2013).

Regarding contemporary Japan, with the long-standing dominance of, and widespread trust in, mainstream news media, this trend indeed appears to need more time to take root. As Kingston (2018) observes, the widespread sexism within the field of journalism ensures a persistent scarcity of mainstream media attention to cases of sexual harassment, thus concealing “abuses by powerful men who sexually harass female reporters” (Kingston, 2018, pp. 891). This undermines the efforts of social movements like #MeToo and enhances the risk that they might end up short-lived like similar ‘outbursts of outrage’ in the past (Ibid. pp. 891). This inherent uncertainty concerning the future of #MeToo in Japan, due to the nature of domestic mainstream news media coverage, partly inspired the present research into media framing of Shiori Itō’s sexual assault case. Given that sexism clearly affects this equation, the next section will address the societal context of gender inequality in Japan and how it has given rise to endemic sexism within the media that seemingly acts alongside restrictive institutions in undermining social movements within the country.

2.3 GENDER INEQUALITY IN JAPAN

According to the Global Gender Gap Index, Japan ranks 121st of 153 countries; the widest gap among advanced economies. Many factors are taken into account when determining this rank; such as economic gap (115th), women in leadership positions (131st), income gap (108th) and political representation (144th), reflecting several shortcomings within Japanese society (Global gender gap report, 2020). According to West (2019), much of this inequality stems from the fact that gender discrimination is both cultural and systemic. Japan’s work culture reflects traditional beliefs about family roles, with women as caretakers and men as breadwinners, and thus frequently involves employment far from home, long working hours and after-work socialising with colleagues (West, 2019). This leaves little time for men to assist with household matters or childcare, and since affordable childcare facilities remain scarce, women often have to choose between children or full-time employment. Those who attempt to balance the two, end up facing systemic barriers like disincentivising taxation policies or cultural barriers such as maternity harassment at work, which pressures many women into more precarious part-time employment and ensures that managerial positions within most fields remain male-dominated (West, 2019).

This predominance of men in leadership positions is particularly relevant for the present study, due to the inherent power asymmetry pertaining to topics of rape and sexual harassment, in the sense that; within the current system a woman is consenting by default until she physically fights back (Burns, 2005, p. 84). To provide some context to this statement; Japan's original law on rape was introduced before the women's vote and mainly as a means to protect family honour (Sieg, 2019). The law remained unamended for 110 years before the definition of 'forced sexual intercourse' was expanded to include anal and oral intercourse in 2017 (Kitagawa, 2018). Additionally, the minimum sentence was raised from three to five years and the requirement that "rape of a person under the age of 18 by a parent or guardian must involve violence, intimidation or incapacity to resist to be considered a crime" was removed, although this curtesy was not extended to those older than 18 in fear of an increase in false charges (Sieg, 2019).

Sexual harassment is not criminalised by law in Japan and the narrow legal definition of rape expects the use of violence, which compels many women to remain silent about experiences that fall outside this definition so as to avoid further complications. Despite the 2017 revisions, Japanese rape law still requires prosecutors to present tangible proof of violence or a victim's incapacity to resist. If an otherwise able-bodied, conscious victim fails to physically fight back, their chances in court will be slim (Hasunuma and Shin, 2019, pp. 103-104; Sieg, 2019).

Parliament called for a review of the 2017 revisions after three years, causing activists to start working towards gaining popular support for further change in 2020. These efforts have given rise to social movements such as the monthly flower demonstrations, where participants wear flower-patterned clothing or carry flowers as a symbol of protest, on the 11th of each month (Sieg, 2019). The first protest took place in Tokyo on April 11th, 2019 and from there the movement rapidly expanded across the nation in response to a series of ambiguous rape trial acquittals (Kyodo News, 2019a; Takeguchi and Ueno, 2019).

This section has provided societal and legal context for the endemic sexism in Japan and introduced the role of social movements within this environment. Despite efforts to stage protests such as the aforementioned flower demonstrations, social movements against sexual violence have remained relatively weak in Japan, owing to social stigma associated with such issues and the appalling legal and social procedures pushed on victims who choose to press charges publicly (Sieg, 2019). That being said, the #MeToo movement in particular appears to be connected not only to

the field of Japanese mainstream news media in general, but also to Shiori Itō's case more specifically, given that she is frequently referred to as the 'face' of the movement (McCurry, 2019). This link between media sexism and social movements in Japan constitutes a crucial part of the premise for this thesis and thus warrants further clarification.

2.3.1 MEDIA SEXISM AND THE #METOO MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

The #MeToo movement against sexual assault and harassment was brought to Japan in 2017 when Hachu, a blogger and freelance writer, went on Facebook to describe the sexual harassment she suffered while working at Dentsu, Japan's leading advertising agency. The publicity eventually pressured the popular creative director whom she had outed as her harasser to resign, however, Hachu's story was also met with strong criticism, suspicion and even blame. Such response places a damper on the number of women choosing to come forward and ensures that most of them remain anonymous (Hasunuma and Shin, 2019, p. 102).

Nevertheless, other Japanese women were inspired by the global movement to go public, among them Shiori Itō, and despite extensive domestic backlash, involving hate mail, unsolicited dissemination of personal photos, accusations of political opportunism and similar, the publicity prompted enough change to allow #MeToo to spread in Japan. However, Itō's story was initially barely covered in the mainstream media unless, according to herself, distorted so as to discredit her statements, which left it up to the tabloid magazines to attract public attention to the peculiar handling of the case (McNeill, 2018; McNeill and Matsumoto, 2018; Kingston, 2018, p. 887).

This point is further underlined by a 2018 case, where a young female journalist at TV Asahi decided to expose the previous MOF vice-minister's tendency to sexually harass young reporters, by secretly recording his lewd comments. Upon the release of the recording, she became subject to online harassment and accusations of unethical conduct (Kingston, 2018, p. 887). As McNeill aptly notes: "Tellingly, the female reporter who outed [him] remains anonymous" (McNeill, 2018).

The cases of Hachu, Itō and the anonymous reporter highlight major shortcomings within the Japanese legal and investigative systems with regard to sexual harassment and assault while underlining the fact that mainstream media attention to such matters is either scarce or apathetic (Hasunuma and Shin, 2019, p. 104). This re-victimisation has led to an environment where outing is done anonymously, if at all. In Japan, #MeToo has turned into #WeToo or #WithYou; a pledge of

solidarity in the fight against sexual violence rather than a way for victims to share their stories (Hasunuma and Shin, 2019, pp. 105-107; McNeill and Matsumoto, 2018; Adelstein, 2018).

According to McNeill and Matsumoto, women within media occupy especially risky positions (McNeill and Matsumoto, 2018). Indeed, Adelstein (2018) argues that the Japanese media industry, where “sexual harassment is considered an occupational hazard”, plays a large role in hampering movements such as #MeToo (Adelstein, 2018) while Kingston observes how sexual harassment is presented as a “josei mondai (women’s problem) and thus not a priority” (Kingston, 2018, p. 889).

In sum, it has been illustrated that sexual harassment within Japan’s media industry is endemic to a point where the #MeToo movement in Japan was initiated by, and remains heavily associated with, the field of journalism. Additionally, previous sections have made it apparent that the mainstream news media not only remains affected by restrictive institutions; it also holds significant power to influence the characteristics and development of social movements in Japan. Indeed, it seems that high-profile cases like Itō’s would have lacked coverage in Japan, if not for the attention of the international media and global #MeToo movement (Hasunuma and Shin, 2019, pp. 104-105). Thus, having established the interconnected relationship between mainstream media, gender inequality and social movements in Japan, the next section concludes the literature review by clarifying the gap to be addressed within this thesis.

2.4 RESEARCH POSITIONING

Accepting the premise that mainstream media has an influence on the development of social movements, this research seeks to unravel the stance that Japan’s five largest daily newspapers were, and are, taking on Shiori Itō’s sexual assault case, through the analysis of a meaningful sample of articles published since 2017. Based on the extensive influence and perceived credibility of these newspapers, their manner of framing is expected to impact the Japanese public’s perception of sexual assault cases and thus, by extension, social movements against sexual violence in Japan. Case-based research of this kind is meaningful, as although a number of the aforementioned academic works reference the Japanese mainstream media’s mostly absent or apathetic coverage of sexual assault cases, most do so in general terms. That is to say, in-depth studies on the specific nuances of framing with regard to individual sexual assault cases in Japan remain scarce, thus representing a research opportunity.

This thesis positions itself in that gap by undertaking a comprehensive analysis of the framing employed by the 'big five' when presenting Itō's experience to the public eye. Furthermore, potential differences in framing over time and between mainstream and online news sources will be observed, in an effort to uncover significant nuances across news outlets. In answering the research question: *How is the sexual assault case involving Shiori Itō depicted and framed in Japanese mainstream news media?* This thesis aspires to verify whether the mainstream coverage of this case is indeed as apathetic and social movement impeding as the preceding literature review indicates or if, once the finer details of language are accounted for, the matter proves more intricate.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the previous chapter, a link between mainstream media, gender inequality and social movements in Japan was established. The complex relationship between these aspects of Japanese society has provided important context for the research positioning of this thesis and guided its purpose in investigating how a chosen social issue has been framed by the media and the potential implications of such framing. This chapter maps out the theoretical framework guiding the investigation. Specifically, in defining and applying the concept of media framing, this thesis adopts the theoretical assumptions of Entman (1993) and Pan and Kosicki (1993), as outlined below. It undertakes an exploratory analysis into the mainstream media's framing of Itō's case and the potential implications of such framing for public perception of the issue (Scheufele, 1999). However, Pan and Kosicki's approach (forthcoming) is complex, making it less suitable for short-term studies involving several articles. Therefore, this thesis will employ a more recent approach by Boydston et al. (2014). The chapter proceeds thusly: First, the basic assumptions of media framing are introduced to justify its role as the theoretical foundation for this research. Then, the theoretical assumptions of Entman and Pan and Kosicki are elaborated. Finally, the limitations of Pan and Kosicki's approach to framing analysis are addressed and the approach by Boydston et al. is presented as a suitable alternative.

3.1 SUITABILITY OF MEDIA FRAMING

Media framing, as a theory of media effects, assumes that the manner in which media presents given content will impact the audience's perception of said content (Knudsen, 2014, p. 207). Although the conceptual definition of framing has varied over time and across disciplines, Knudsen (2014) posits that at least one recurring element exists; an emphasis on *how* content is presented, rather than *what* the content is. Echoing the works of Entman (1993), Scheufele (1999), and Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), Knudsen further argues that "the theory builds on the assumption that how the media discuss, reflect upon, or choose a certain angle to tell a news story (media frames) can have an influence on how the public views important social issues (audience frames)" (Knudsen, 2014, p. 209). Given that this thesis is concerned with precisely these factors, media framing arguably represents an appropriate theoretical framework. Following this, the next two sections address the works of Entman (1993) and Pan and Kosicki (1993), since their theoretical assumptions serve as a basis for this investigation.

3.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF FRAMING

Following Gaye Tuchman's application of framing to the field of news media in the late 1970s, the theory was expanded, from a socio-cognitive understanding of how people interpret reality (Goffman, 1974), to include how news organisations communicate information and shape knowledge through language (Tuchman, 1978). Todd Gitlin, an early advocate of the theory, defined media frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (Gitlin, 2003, p. 7). However, this is but one definition among many, as the concept of framing has evolved over time, resulting in a large number of theoretical approaches to frame identification and investigation (for an overview, see; Scheufele, 1999 and Matthes and Kohring, 2008).

In his pursuit of "a general statement of framing theory that shows exactly how frames become embedded within and make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing influences thinking", Robert Entman brought together existing framing paradigms in order to derive his own concise definition of the term (Entman 1993, 51). His 1993 publication, *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*, is now widely treated as a benchmark for framing methodology and frequently cited (Matthes, 2009, p. 354).

Entman posits that framing essentially comes down to two factors; *selection* and *salience*, and describes it as to:

...select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p. 52, original emphasis)

Entman thus views the operationalisation of framing in terms of four distinct structural elements. This manner of operationalisation reveals certain commonalities in assumption between Entman’s work and a 1993 work by Pan and Kosicki (forthcoming). Importantly, Entman recognises that “[m]ost frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience” (Entman, 1993, p. 54). To illustrate, consider the Japanese mainstream news media’s supposedly conscious act of staying silent on matters of sexual assault so as to prevent issues, presumed to eventually result in a conflict of interest, from coming to light (Kingston, 2018, pp. 887-889).

Furthermore, Entman and Rojecki (1993) argue, based on an analysis into media framing of the US Nuclear Freeze Movement of the early-1980s, that ‘framing judgements’ by journalists “likely affect the movement’s ability to build consensus and mobilize participation [and are] heavily influenced by elite sources” (Entman and Rojecki, 1993, p. 155). In other words, although polls indicated that the movement was supported by a majority of the public, journalists deployed framing judgements that aligned with the government agenda, thus inhibiting the Nuclear Freeze campaign by delegitimising public participation in such movements (Ibid. p. 172). This work reflects not only the complex relationship between media and government, but also the effects of framing upon social movements. Thus, Entman’s theoretical assumptions about framing allow for the exploration of such relationships and as this aligns with the thesis purposes, it seems appropriate to use Entman’s work as part of a theoretical basis.

Following this, it is beneficial to categorise Entman’s assumptions relative to other influential framing literature. Scheufele’s (1999) work provides an invaluable resource for classifying existent approaches with regard to their “conceptual and operational contributions to framing as a concept in media effects research” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 104). That is to say, Scheufele constructs a typology

that categorises media effects research along two dimensions: (1) focus on *media frames* (the framing of news) or *individual/audience frames* (ideas that guide how individuals process information); and (2) the operationalisation of frames as *dependent variables* (the role of various factors in influencing the creation or modification of frames) or *independent variables* (the effects of framing on an audience) (Ibid. pp. 106-107). Within this typology, Entman's (1993) work, along with that of Pan and Kosicki (1993), is classified as research that "conceptually define[s] media frames as an independent variable having an impact on [...] individual frames" (Scheufele, 1999, p. 110). In other words, the link between media and audience is theoretically predicted; the supporting evidence being illustrative rather than strictly empirical, as the researcher does not measure the effect on audience perception. Since the research conducted for this thesis does not permit a direct study into cognitive effects, the approach of conceptually defining media frames as an independent variable theoretically assumed to have an impact on the audience, represents a suitable alternative.

As previously mentioned, Pan and Kosicki's work, alongside Entman's, constitutes a key part of this research's theoretical basis. Therefore, the next section will detail this work and highlight the limitations of its advocated approach to framing analysis.

3.3 AN APPROACH TO MEDIA FRAMING

The first part of this section details the aforementioned work by Pan and Kosicki, following which the second part addresses the main limitations of their approach and some overall criticism pertaining to frame identification and typology. Finally, in seeking to mitigate these limitations, the work of Boydston et al. (2014) is introduced.

3.3.1 UNIT OF ANALYSIS

In media framing, the unit of analysis, or what Entman terms the 'text', refers to the part of an article where frames are located. It "contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Within their 1993 publication, Pan and Kosicki describe framing analysis as "a constructivist approach to examine news discourse with the primary focus on conceptualizing news texts into

empirically operationalizable dimensions [...] so that evidence of the news media's framing of issues in news texts may be gathered" (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 55). Pan and Kosicki thus treat the 'text' in a linguistic manner by gathering evidence at the paragraph, sentence and phrasal level in order to uncover signifying elements within a news article (Ibid. p. 58). These signifying elements, or 'framing devices', are understood to; "indicate the advocacy of certain ideas and provide devices to encourage certain kinds of audience processing of the texts" (Ibid. p. 56). Framing devices represent the structural dimensions of news discourse and are defined as *syntactical*- (e.g. headline, lead, quotations and closure), *script*- (who, what, when, where, why and how), *thematic*- (an issue-related hypothesis supported by evidence and causal statements), and *rhetorical*- (stylistic choices such as metaphors, catchphrases and visual images) structures (Ibid. pp. 59-61). Equally important is the role of 'lexical choices' within these dimensions in signifying an underlying frame (Ibid, p. 63).

Pan and Kosicki illustrate this approach by applying it to a single article, systematically identifying the aforementioned structural elements or framing devices. Then a data matrix is generated based on the uncovered elements and employed to analyse every single proposition, weaving the individual features together to signify a frame (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, pp. 65-69). As previously mentioned, this approach theoretically assumes a link between media framing and audience perception, instead of measuring cognitive effects directly. According to Scheufele this is not a shortcoming (Scheufele, 1999, p. 55), however, it does have certain limitations that align with some of the main criticism pertaining to frame treatment in academic research. This is addressed in the next section alongside the introduction of Boydston et al.'s approach.

3.3.2 FRAME IDENTIFICATION AND TYPOLOGY – SOME CRITICISM

According to de Vreese (2005), two overall approaches to frame identification exist; *inductive* and *deductive*. The inductive approach analyses news articles without "a priori defined news frames in mind", whereas the deductive approach investigates predetermined frames (de Vreese, 2005, p. 53). Inductive approaches are criticised for being overly subjective, making them difficult to replicate or employ for cross-study comparison. Additionally, their oftentimes complex and labour-intensive methods make them inappropriate for short-term investigations (Ibid.). Pan and Kosicki's (1993) work is inductive in nature. The method is systematic and thorough which allows for nuanced results, however, constructing an elaborate data matrix for every article is not feasible within this

solitarily conducted framing analysis. Additionally, as Matthes and Kohring note, the way signifying elements “are finally woven together to signify a frame” remains somewhat ambiguous (Matthes and Kohring, 2008, p. 260). Comparatively, the deductive approach is criticised for assuming that predetermined frames will aptly reflect the studied contents, thus discouraging discovery of emerging frames within the data (Matthes and Kohring, 2008, pp. 262-263).

In terms of typology, de Vreese identifies two distinctions with regard to frame character and content; *generic* and *issue-specific* (de Vreese, 2005, p. 54). Issue-specific frames pertain to a specific topic or issue and thus allows for in-depth, detailed studies. This, however, usually prevents generalisation and cross-comparison due to overly unique frame sets (Ibid. p. 55). Comparatively, generic frames, as in Pan and Kosicki’s work, “transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts”, thus mitigating the issue-specific shortcomings (Ibid. p. 54). However, unless the frames are carefully developed, the risk of overlooking key nuances remains (Matthes and Kohring, 2008, p. 263).

In order to mitigate these limitations, this thesis will adopt the approach to framing analysis advocated by Boydston et al. within *Tracking the Development of Media Frames within and across Policy Issues*. The theoretical premise is similar to Pan and Kosicki’s; in that evidence is gathered at the paragraph, sentence and phrasal level of each article, yet the approach is significantly less complex, making it more suitable for hand-coded analysis of several articles. Additionally, it offers what Boydston et al. term ‘The Policy Frames Codebook’ which represents a framework that provides predetermined frames appropriate for cross-study comparison yet so overarching that issue-specific frames can be nested within. This permits a combination of deductive and inductive approaches to frame identification during analysis. (Boydston et al., 2014, pp. 5-7)

In summary, although there are several ways in which media framing can be defined and studied within the context of social issues, this thesis adopts the theoretical assumptions of Pan and Kosicki (1993) and Entman (1993) by conducting an exploratory framing analysis of mainstream news articles pertaining to Shiori Ito’s sexual assault case, treating media frames as an independent variable conceptually linked to audience frames (Scheufele, 1999). In other words, how Ito’s case is framed by mainstream media and potential implications of such framing for public perception of the issue. However, the complexity of Pan and Kosicki’s methodological approach makes it inappropriate for this study. Thus, the approach to framing analysis developed by Boydston et al. is

adopted, as its assumptions align with those of Entman and Pan and Kosicki, while offering higher workability for individual hand-coders along with a carefully validated and comprehensive frame codebook (Boydstun et al., 2014, p. 6). The ensuing methodology chapter details this approach.

4. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The previous chapter briefly introduced the framing analysis advocated by Boydston et al. (2014). This chapter details the approach and illustrates its coding scheme and process within the context of this thesis. The chapter proceeds thusly: First, the research design is summarised, briefly covering ontological and epistemological positioning. Section two re-introduces and justifies the methodological approach to framing analysis developed by Boydston et al. Section three discusses the data collection process. Section four details the coding scheme adopted for this thesis—The Policy Frames Codebook—as well as the coding process. Finally, section five addresses limitations, ethical considerations and self-reflexivity.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

As observed in previous chapters, this thesis conducts a qualitative framing analysis of a single case. In doing so, it embraces the ontological orientation of Constructionism and an Interpretivist epistemology, along with a social constructivist worldview (Bryman, 2012, pp. 28-36; Creswell, 2007, p. 20). The decision to pursue a qualitative research strategy was mainly informed by the nature of the study, as the limited coverage of the case makes quantitative research unfeasible.

Within the context of media framing, framing analysis constitutes “a constructivist approach to examine news discourse” (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 55). Framing analysis was chosen over traditional content analysis, for the present study, since it “does not conceive news texts as psychological stimuli with objectively identifiable meanings; rather, it views news texts as consisting of organized symbolic devices that will interact with individual agents' memory for meaning construction”. In other words, “it does not assume the presence of frames in news texts independent of readers of the texts” (Ibid. p. 58). The empirical data to be analysed within this research thus does not constitute an unbiased reflection of reality, but rather a strategically framed

narrative assumed to impact its audience. Following this, Boydston et al.'s (2014) approach to framing analysis was deemed suitable. This choice is justified in the next section.

4.2 FRAMING ANALYSIS

Pan and Kosicki's (1993) approach to framing analysis is unsuitable for short-term investigations due to the complexity of constructing an elaborate data matrix for each article. However, they observe that, through adaptation, their conception of news framing "can be moved beyond the level of individual news stories to the level of a stream of news discourse" (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 64).

Boydston et al. (2014) share Pan and Kosicki's theoretical assumptions in seeing framing as "amenable to identification and analysis through signals in language use, ranging from simple lexical clues to word clusters to choices of syntactic structure" (Boydston et al. 2014, p. 2). Instead of constructing a data matrix, hand-coders uncover evidence—at the paragraph, sentence and phrasal level—that signifies the presence of specific frame dimensions within the text (Ibid. p. 8). For the purposes of this thesis, it is thus deemed a suitable adaptation. Boydston et al. posit that their analytical approach advances framing research methodology by providing a unified coding scheme for cross-issue analysis—the 'Policy Frames Codebook'—which allows issue-specific frames to be nested within overarching frame dimensions (Ibid. p. 1). These dimensions were developed during several rounds of inductive and deductive testing where the applicability of the scheme was tried across various issues and revised accordingly. Additional feedback was sought through colleagues and international conferences (Ibid. pp. 7-8). The authors illustrate the validity of the codebook by applying it to the issues of smoking, immigration and same-sex marriage, during the period from 1990-2012. The results show that the vast majority of the analysed news stories could be coded using the developed frame dimensions (Ibid. p. 9). The Policy Frames Codebook and Boydston et al.'s approach to framing analysis are thus indicated to be sufficiently comprehensive and reliable when applied in relation to the study of a given social issue. This approach is detailed in 'Coding scheme and process', following the ensuing section on data collection.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION

Given that this thesis is concerned with the mainstream media's framing of a social issue, newspaper articles were collected as primary data. As previously mentioned, this decision was motivated by the fact that, although it is currently in decline, the newspaper circulation rate in Japan remains one of the highest in the world and newspapers retain a strong image of credibility among the general public. In terms of circulation, the five largest and most influential newspapers in Japan are the Yomiuri-, Asahi-, Mainichi-, Sankei-, and Nihon Keizai Shimbun (McDougall, 2018, p. 69). Given their widespread readership, these newspapers' framing possesses unique potential to affect the Japanese public's perception of social issues, thus constituting ideal material for this research. Furthermore, a number of articles were extracted from the Japanese version of Yahoo! News, as it is the most popular online news aggregator in Japan (Sawa, 2019), and thus presumably reaches a fair share of the online readership. The relatively more aggressive reporting by online media in recent times (Freedom House, 2020) makes Yahoo!'s content potentially illuminating when compared to the framing within mainstream articles.

The mainstream newspapers were accessed through their online archives, namely; *Yomidas Rekishikan* for Yomiuri-, *Kikuzo II Visual* for Asahi-, *Maisaku* for Mainichi-, *Sankei Shimbun Database* for Sankei- and *Nikkei Telecom21* for Nihon Keizai Shimbun. Yahoo! News content was extracted from the Japanese version of the website, and a sample of articles were gathered from five different online news sources, namely; *Abema Times* (provides media services to Japanese customers), *Bengoshi.com* (provides news on legal cases), *Kyodo News* (leading non-profit cooperative news agency in Japan; distributes news to Japanese newspapers), *BuzzFeed-* and *HuffPost Japan* (global digital media corporations founded in the US with localized editions in Japan) (Abema, 2020; Bengo4, 2020; Kyodo News, 2020; BuzzFeed Japan, 2020; HuffPost Japan, 2020). Given its news distribution, Kyodo frequently aligns with mainstream coverage, however, since it was as accessible on Yahoo! News as other online sources and thus equally likely to reach Yahoo!'s audience, it was included.

The keywords used to gather relevant articles from both platforms were 伊藤詩織 (Shiori Itō in Japanese) and ジャーナリスト (journalist), as these terms effectively revealed most, if not all, Japanese articles published on Itō's case since her full name was revealed in May 2017. The decision to limit the analysis to articles published after the reveal was informed by the apparent lack of mainstream media coverage before this date (Ito, 2018a; McNeill, 2018; Kingston, 2018, p. 887).

Letters to the editor, columns, op-eds and opinion pieces were excluded, as they often reflect the personal opinions of the author as opposed to those of the newspaper. Articles that simply made reference to Itō's name for another purpose, such as highlighting other shortcomings within Japanese society, were likewise discounted, unless Itō's case retained some focus or the article remained within the subject of sexual violence. If two or more nearly identical articles were published by a newspaper on the same date, the latest was chosen. Following these criteria, a total of 43 articles were collected and analysed; 27 mainstream and 16 online. Mainstream media framing is the focus of the analysis so the difference in sample size can be justified. Also, 16 should be sufficient to highlight significant differences across platforms. Although the length of the collected articles varied, even the shortest were deemed suitable for analysis as they helped underline the content that was left out. Articles were coded using the scheme and process detailed below.

4.4 CODING SCHEME AND PROCESS

4.4.1 THE POLICY FRAMES CODEBOOK

The Policy Frames Codebook was developed by Boydston et al. with the purpose of creating a schema that would allow researchers to observe “patterns in framing both within and across issues over time” while being “useful in both human and automated content analysis” (Boydston et al., 2014, p. 5). In terms of hand-coding, the codebook is argued to “provide a common framework for cross-project comparison and replication, while remaining general enough to allow project-specific code development based on idiosyncrasies of individual issues and research questions about these issues” (ibid.). This is important, as not only does it address much of the criticism that was highlighted in the previous chapter, it also allows the researcher a high level of freedom to adjust the coding process relative to their individual research design and the issue in question. The codebook comprises fifteen frame dimensions and is developed so as to be applicable to any policy issue (abortion, immigration, sexual violence etc.) and in any communication context (news articles, social media, manifestos etc.). For instance, a commonly referenced frame dimension within this thesis is *Morality*³; described by Boydston et al. as: “Any perspective—or policy objective or action

³ The full Codebook, including descriptions of each dimension, can be found in Appendix II.

(including proposed action)—that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility” (Boydstun et al., 2014, p. 6).

4.4.2 CODING FOR FRAMES

During the coding process, issue-specific arguments or evidence can be nested within the individual frame dimensions⁴ (Boydstun et al., 2014, p. 7). In analysing the framing within newspaper articles, Boydstun et al. advocate coding each article according to its primary frame dimension along with any additional frame dimensions of lesser, but still meaningful, weight (Ibid. p. 8). Within the context of this thesis, an example could be a news article primarily focusing on Itō’s fight to protect victims of sexual assault with additional elements concerning the shortcomings of the legal and political systems. Such an article would reflect three different frame dimensions—*Morality, Law and order, crime and justice* and *Policy prescription and evaluation*—but *Morality* would be marked as the primary frame. When hand-coding articles, researchers then uncover and select specific paragraphs, sentences, and phrases within the text that evoke certain frame dimensions (Ibid.).

Thus, in employing this approach to framing analysis within the thesis, issue-specific evidence; at the paragraph, sentence and phrasal levels, was uncovered and used to define the primary and secondary frame dimensions for each article. Special care was taken to ascertain that issue-specific content could be comfortably nested within one or more frame dimensions, as opposed to forcing a match. The articles were manually hand-coded, and relevant data was added to the table below.

Article Title	
Newspaper	
Author	
Date	
Primary Frame	
'Secondary' Frames	
Issue-Specific Evidence	
Article Tone	
Tone Indicators	
Article Length	

Table 1: Framework for Manual Coding

⁴ This approach is illustrated in Appendix III

4.4.3 CODING FOR TONE

As complementary to the framing analysis, Boydston et al. recommend that researchers track the tone of each article. The tone of an article can be defined as either positive, negative or neutral, but the exact definitions depend on the issue in question and the approach adopted by the researcher (Boydston et al., 2014, p. 9). In a pilot study, Boydston et al. define each tone according to the perceived perspective of immigrants and their advocates, relative to the portrayal of immigrant rights. In other words, whether this group would feel pleased, indifferent or upset about the way immigrant rights are framed within a given article. This definition essentially expects the researcher to place themselves in the position of a specific group related to the issue in question and decide whether a given article is pleasing or upsetting. Boydston et al. acknowledge that this involves a fair amount of researcher subjectivity but argue that, by defining it in this manner, implicit frames may be detected (Ibid.). Within this thesis, individual tones are defined thusly:

- Positive tone: Itō's experience is portrayed in a generally sympathetic manner, so that Itō herself and her supporters would be pleased to see the news article.
- Negative tone: Itō's experience is portrayed in a generally unsympathetic manner, so that Itō herself and her supporters would be disappointed or upset to see the news article.
- Neutral tone: Itō's experience is portrayed using both positive and negative aspects that balance out one another, or the news article does not discuss the issue either sympathetically or unsympathetically.

Tone observations were similarly added to the aforementioned table.

4.5 LIMITATIONS, ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND SELF-REFLEXIVITY

Within most of the previously addressed media framing literature (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Entman and Rojecki, 1993; Matthes and Kohring, 2008; Boydston et al., 2014) the coding process was carried out by at least two researchers so as to mitigate subjectivity and enhance the reliability of the findings. However, in this case, the process was undertaken by a single individual. Similarly, the adopted approach has the researcher determine article tone from the imagined perspective of Itō

and her supporters. Although this leaves much to the discretion of a single researcher, it can be defended within the context of the methodological approach where judgements must be made explicit and justified relative to the data (Boydston et al., 2014, p. 10).

In terms of ethical considerations, one aspect of concern is the risk of misinterpretation, as this thesis studies articles in Japanese and not the researcher's native language (Bryman, 2012, p. 314). Furthermore, it analyses framing, which is invariably tied to language, making faulty observations and translations further severe. In order to mitigate this risk, interpretations and translations were discussed with a native supervisor whenever possible. Also, given that interviews were not conducted as part of this investigation and all analysed documents are available online, ethical principles involving harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception become non-essential (Bryman, 2012, p. 135). Regardless, the author nevertheless occupies a position of power. I possess the freedom to guide my work in a specific direction and the chosen methodological approach leaves room for personal bias to impact the analysis if not carefully reflected upon. Furthermore, while I cannot control for the presence of unequal power relations in previously conducted research, it is my responsibility to assess the quality of any secondary data employed in order to prevent further dissemination of unethical conduct (Crawford et al., 2017).

Self-reflexivity has been an ongoing process throughout the duration of this research. In translating and interpreting the data, it was essential to critically assess my positioning as a researcher as well as any personal bias or normative assumptions I hold due to my social background, country of residence, political system, regular exposure to Western media and so forth. This is a sensitive issue and one that I am personally interested in, so it has been crucial to carefully ensure that all observations reflect the data, rather than my personal views and assumptions.

5. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter reviews and discusses the findings uncovered in a framing analysis of 43 mainstream and online news articles on Shiori Itō's sexual assault case since May 2017. Following the method and coding scheme advocated by Boydston et al. (2014), issue-specific evidence was manually collected at the paragraph, sentence and phrasal level and then employed to signify the primary

frame (theme), as well as one or more secondary frames, for each article. Additionally, the tone of each article was determined as either positive, negative or neutral.

In the subsequent sections, each uncovered frame and tone will be interpreted and discussed relative to its depiction within the data. The theoretical framework guiding this thesis assumes that the nature of media framing can impact how an audience perceives social issues (Entman, 1993; Pan and Kosicki, 1993). Thus, particular attention will be paid to the differences in framing across mainstream and online news outlets as well as potential implications of such framing for audience perception and social movements within the context of sexual violence. The following analysis and discussion will gradually address the stated sub-questions and ultimately provide a meaningful answer to the research question: *How is the sexual assault case involving Shiori Itō depicted and framed in Japanese mainstream news media?*

The chapter is divided into three sections. First section discusses the uncovered primary frames; their frequency, characteristics, representation within the data and potential impact. Section two then addresses tones in a similar manner, observing and interpreting the general stance of each outlet with regard to Itō's case⁵. Finally, a supplementary discussion of noteworthy aspects completes the analysis, following which the concluding chapter synthesises the main findings.

5.1 FRAMES

As mentioned in the previous chapter, primary frames represent the primary focus of an article. A thorough examination of issue-specific evidence within each article revealed that; of the fifteen frame dimensions included in the Policy Frames Codebook, six were present within the data, namely: Law and order, crime and justice, Morality, Public opinion, Quality of life, Fairness and equality and Political. The table below shows the frequency count for each frame⁶.

⁵ See Appendix IV and V for lists of articles by news source; presenting the date, headline, frames, tone and length.

⁶ See Appendix VI for an expanded table; including secondary frames, tone and length.

<i>Primary frame</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>By news outlet</i>	<i>Frequency as a secondary frame</i>	<i>By news outlet</i>
Law and order, crime and justice	21	Mainstream: 15 Online: 6	12	Mainstream: 8 Online: 4
Morality	14	Mainstream: 9 Online: 5	10	Mainstream: 6 Online: 4
Public opinion	3	Mainstream: 2 Online: 1	6	Mainstream: 3 Online: 3
Quality of life	3	Mainstream: 0 Online: 3	4	Mainstream: 4 Online: 0
Fairness and equality	1	Mainstream: 0 Online: 1	2	Mainstream: 1 Online: 1
Political	1	Mainstream: 1 Online: 0	1	Mainstream: 1 Online: 0

Table 2: Frequency Count – Frames

This section will address and discuss each of the above frames in turn, so as to illustrate how they have been employed within the data. For this purpose, all content pertaining to a given frame is taken into account, regardless of whether it constitutes a primary or a secondary frame, so as to ensure that valuable insights are not overlooked. Within this context, mainstream and online news sources are compared.

5.1.1 LAW AND ORDER, CRIME AND JUSTICE FRAME

Law and order, crime and justice (LOCJ) is the most common primary frame, representing 49 percent of the data sample; 15 mainstream and 6 online news articles. It is also the most common secondary frame; appearing within 8 mainstream and 4 online articles. It is present throughout the observed time period, although particularly so in December 2019, following the conclusion of Itō’s civil court lawsuit. According to the Policy Frames Codebook, the LOCJ frame dimension comprises content related to “[s]pecific policies in practice”, this includes; “stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement [...] sentencing and punishment” (Boydston et al., 2014, p. 7). In terms of secondary frames, the LOCJ primary frame appeared most frequently alone or alongside the Morality frame. Within the data, LOCJ is characterised by three main focal areas; (1) Itō’s initial attempts to have her case tried in criminal court, (2) civil court lawsuit proceedings and (3) Yamaguchi’s appeal following Itō’s victory in civil court.

Criminal lawsuit

Mainstream articles covering Itō's attempts to have Yamaguchi charged with incapacitated rape generally do so in a concise, factual manner as exemplified by this excerpt:

“Ms. Itō filed a report with the Metropolitan Police Department on suspicion of quasi-rape, but in September 2016, Tokyo District Prosecutor's Office decided not to file charges due to insufficient reasonable suspicion. In September 2017, Tokyo 6th Public Prosecution Board similarly decided that there was no reason to reverse the decision, as non-prosecution was appropriate” (Nikkei, 2019a).

Asahi and Sankei addressed these attempts comparatively soon after they took place, through the coverage of an event related to Itō in 2017, where Asahi quotes Itō's opinion on the 2017 amendment to Japan's rape law (Sankei, 2017a; Asahi, 2017a). Nevertheless, mainstream articles predominately cover factual occurrences. Yomiuri notes that, “it was decided that ‘non-prosecution is appropriate’, however, within the civil suit the crime was acknowledged” (Yomiuri, 2019a), yet this point is not followed up. While it is common for mainstream newspapers to focus on established facts, factual coverage can be framed so as to highlight certain aspects, thus making them more likely to catch the attention of the audience. However, these mainstream articles seemingly elect not to provide such emphasis.

Comparatively, while online coverage is likewise factual, it addresses ambiguous points more directly. One article asks; “in this civil trial ‘sexual intercourse without consent’ was acknowledged so why was Ms. Itō's case dismissed as a criminal case?” (Bengoshi, 2019e). The article then quotes Itō's observation; “if Japanese criminal law had stated that non-consensual sexual intercourse equals rape, then my experience, and the criminal case result, might have differed” (Ibid.). Furthermore, online coverage observes Itō's difficulty in convincing the police to investigate her case and how this relates to Japanese rape law in which the accused must be proven guilty beyond any doubt (Bengoshi, 2019e; Abema Times, 2019).

Civil court proceedings

Similarly, mainstream article coverage of civil court proceedings predominately lists factual aspects; the date, place, lawsuit contents, statements, counterclaims and that Itō was deemed

comparatively credible, thus warranting monetary compensation (Mainichi, 2019d; Sankei, 2019c). Articles by Asahi and Nikkei provide more context by detailing the speech and conduct that made Yamaguchi noncredible; such as changing their taxi's destination to his hotel instead of the nearby station (Asahi, 2019d; Nikkei, 2019a). However, while these details might underline Yamaguchi's guilt for the audience, they simply mirror court statements. Again, emphasising particular aspects of the lawsuit could draw attention to said aspects, thus potentially impacting audience perception of the case. However, in exclusively listing court proceedings, the aforementioned articles do not inspire active engagement with specific content.

Online articles cover civil court proceedings in a similar manner, but the focus differs. HuffPost notes that the monetary compensation serves as "solace for serious physical and mental distress" (HuffPost Japan, 2020a). Bengoshi emphasises Yamaguchi's and Itō's potential employment relationship, the lack of contraceptives and Itō's persistent flashbacks and panic attacks, thus going beyond merely referencing court statements (Bengoshi, 2019b).

Yamaguchi's appeal following Itō's victory

Most mainstream sources cover Yamaguchi's appeal of the civil court judgement in January 2020, however, as this constitutes the most recent development in the case and the appeal has yet to be processed, these articles are very short (Asahi, 2020; Mainichi, 2020; Sankei, 2020; Nikkei, 2020).

Online coverage diverges slightly, with HuffPost using the opportunity to review civil lawsuit developments, concluding its article with a timeline (HuffPost Japan, 2020a), but since the article does not highlight particular aspects, it is likely not an attempt to rekindle interest in the case.

In sum, both mainstream and online articles under the LOCJ frame provide factual descriptions of law related occurrences and court proceedings, however, while mainstream articles generally remain within this context, online sources go a step further. This can be observed, for instance, in the willingness to question why Itō's case was rejected for criminal court and the focus on difficulties pertaining to rape law and criminal investigations in Japan. Mainstream coverage details the case for the audience but refrains from emphasising any aspects above others, although they are capable of this, as the next frame illustrates. Thus, mainstream articles under the LOCJ frame are unlikely to make the audience pay attention to, or question, particular content, whereas online sources might.

5.1.2 MORALITY FRAME

Morality constitutes the second most prevalent primary frame, representing 33 percent of the data sample; 9 mainstream and 5 online news articles. As a secondary frame, it appears within 6 mainstream and 4 online articles. It is present throughout the observed time period with no obvious pattern. According to the Codebook, Morality covers “Any perspective—or policy objective or action (including proposed action)—that is compelled by [...] duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility” (Boydston et al., 2014, p. 6). In terms of secondary frames, the Morality primary frame appeared most frequently alongside LOCJ and Public opinion. Within the data, Morality is characterised by two focal areas; (1) Itō herself; her motivations, actions and impact, and (2) morality as seen through the eyes of Yamaguchi and other related persons.

Itō and her actions

Most mainstream coverage under the Morality frame focuses on Itō’s experiences, words, actions and impact outside the courtroom. One article describes Itō’s intention to “continue working towards the eradication of sexual violence [and] to improve the environment surrounding victims of sexual assault” (Nikkei, 2019b). More specifically, it is noted that Itō “had significant impact on the ‘#MeToo’ movement” (Sankei, 2019c), and that she “proposed the term ‘WeToo’ in order to make it easier for more people to participate” (Mainichi, 2018). Other aspects in focus include; Itō’s book release (Sankei, 2017a), her gratitude and relief following the victory (Sankei, 2019c), her vocal support for other victims (Asahi, 2017a; Mainichi, 2019a) and her appeal towards changing negativity into positivity in order to create a warmer society (Asahi, 2019f; Mainichi, 2019c). By quoting Itō frequently and favourably while covering her contributions to society, the mainstream articles; Asahi and Mainichi more so than Nikkei and Sankei, present a virtuous and humane image of Itō that might legitimise her claims and actions in the eyes of the audience.

Online articles likewise quote Itō’s vocal support for other victims and her wish to turn negativity into positivity (Bengoshi, 2019a). They cover her intention to keep fighting for a change to the legal system, and society in general, so that victims will be supported rather than blamed (Bengoshi, 2019c; HuffPost Japan, 2019b). Furthermore, online coverage presents statements that highlight Itō’s selflessness within the context of the lawsuit. For instance, one article quotes Itō’s

motivation for undertaking the civil suit as “to bring as much as possible out into the open, to allow everyone to see what facts, evidence and interactions there were, to show the difficulties of the current Japanese judiciary; what works and what does not” (Bengoshi, 2019a). Another covers Itō’s presence at one of Yamaguchi’s press conferences, emphasising how she listened to Yamaguchi’s assertions without interfering (BuzzFeed Japan, 2019c). Thus, online articles seemingly present Itō as a virtuous person.

Morality in the eyes of related parties

Mainstream articles within this context cover morality as opined by Yamaguchi himself or his representative. A Nikkei article quotes Yamaguchi stating that he “does not think it [the sexual intercourse] was appropriate”, but that he is “unwilling to apologise here for non-criminal behaviour” (Nikkei, 2019b). Other mainstream articles describe Yamaguchi’s representative criticising Itō for immoral behaviour, such as slandering and lying, on his blog. The blog posts later resulted in a disciplinary inspection of the representative and he was found guilty of misconduct, however, he clearly thought his own actions righteous and Itō’s immoral (Sankei, 2019a; Mainichi, 2019b).

Comparatively, online article coverage differs considerably. A HuffPost article quotes previous TBS Washington bureau chief, Shigenori Kanehira, who strongly condemns Yamaguchi’s actions and directly questions his morality (HuffPost Japan, 2019c). Bengoshi quotes an attorney who argues that lawyers have a moral obligation to investigate sexual assault cases, irrespective of a lack of tangible evidence (Bengoshi, 2019e). Online articles thus cover more supportive parties.

To summarise, both mainstream and online articles under the Morality frame focus predominately on Itō; her hardships, her consideration for other victims, her tenacity in fighting to change society and her impact. Itō is presented in a virtuous light which might serve to legitimise her actions in the eyes of the audience. However, although the #MeToo movement is briefly mentioned, it does not constitute a recurring theme nor is it covered in detail. Consequently, it seems unlikely that the movement would benefit significantly from the coverage. Interestingly, differences across mainstream newspapers under this frame are not clearly evident, despite their commonly assumed opposing political alignments. This is addressed further in the upcoming supplementary discussion.

5.1.3 PUBLIC OPINION FRAME

Public opinion is the third most prevalent primary frame; present in 2 mainstream and 1 online news articles. As a secondary frame, it appears within 3 mainstream and 3 online articles and is observed predominately in 2019. According to the Codebook, Public opinion covers “general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from [...] public opinion...” (Boydston et al., 2014, p. 7). It appears most frequently alongside the Morality and Quality of life secondary frames. Within the data, Public opinion is characterised by; (1) direct and indirect reference to public opinion and (2) backlash and support for Itō and/or Yamaguchi.

Reference to public opinion

Public opinion within mainstream coverage is rarely quoted directly but instead presented between the lines. To illustrate, Mainichi states that “in Japan sexual assault is rarely reported” (Mainichi, 2019c) or put differently; “the backlash against women who report sexual assault is ‘harsh’” and thus; “#MeToo has not developed into a large movement in Japan” (Mainichi, 2018). Nevertheless, these points are brief, and the articles express a ‘that is simply how things work’ attitude. One article by Asahi covers public opinion more directly by quoting the relief of an Itō supporter, following Itō’s victory (Asahi, 2019e), however, there is only the one.

Comparatively, online coverage makes both implicit and direct reference to public opinion. One article notes that, “it is rare for victims of sexual assault to reveal their face and name when making accusations” (HuffPost Japan, 2019b) while another covers Itō’s concern about her suicide attempt going public, as it “could be perceived as negative” (Bengoshi, 2019d). Bengoshi also dedicates an article to the opinions of people who came to witness court proceedings, highlighting that the amount of people lining up far exceeded the number of available seats, while quoting such statements as; “I do not believe Mr. Yamaguchi’s counterclaim, I hope Ms. Itō will win” (BuzzFeed Japan, 2019a). In quoting actual people, these articles present a more tangible body of support for Itō that the audience can identify with.

Backlash and support

Mainstream articles also cover backlash in relation to Itō herself, highlighting that; “Ms. Ito suffered severe slander and intimidation on the Internet after she filed a complaint” (Mainichi, 2018) and

that she believes this will “impact and scare other victims” (Asahi, 2019e). Again, these points are not addressed further.

Comparatively, HuffPost describes the online bashings in more detail; mentioning ‘honey traps’ and fake illustrations of Itō with the words “pillow business failure” (HuffPost Japan, 2019b). BuzzFeed emphasises the fact that Yamaguchi received backlash from overseas (BuzzFeed Japan, 2019b), thus indirectly revealing to the audience that, although Itō is heavily criticised within Japan, Yamaguchi appears to be the one condemned internationally.

In sum, mainstream articles under this frame generally present public opinion implicitly. Although backlash against victims of sexual assault is described as ‘harsh’ and it is mentioned that #MeToo has failed to grow in Japan, these points are not followed up. The audience is presented with the fact that Itō faces strong opposition, but little emphasis is placed on her support or on how to assist supportive movements. Differences across mainstream newspapers are easily discernible, as Nikkei, Sankei and Yomiuri simply appear not to employ the public opinion frame. This could be coincidental, but since these are commonly considered right-wing newspapers it could also be a deliberate attempt to avoid highlighting public support for Itō. Conversely, online articles present a tangible body of support, both domestically and internationally, that the audience may identify with.

5.1.4 QUALITY OF LIFE & FAIRNESS AND EQUALITY FRAME

Quality of life and Fairness and equality represent primary frames within 3 and 1 online articles respectively. As secondary frames, Quality of life appears in 4 mainstream articles while Fairness and equality appears in 1 mainstream and 1 online article. They are covered within the same section, as neither constitutes a primary frame for any mainstream articles. According to the Codebook, these two frame dimensions cover “[t]he effects of a policy on individuals’ [...] happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc.” and “[e]quality or inequality [...] among individuals or groups [and] the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another” respectively (Boydston et al., 2014, pp. 6-7). In terms of secondary frames, Quality of life appears alongside Morality, Public opinion and LOCI while Fairness and equality stands alone. Within the data, these primary frames are characterised by one focal area each; (1) Itō and Yamaguchi’s quality of life and (2) power imbalance and patriarchy.

Itō and Yamaguchi's quality of life

Mainstream articles under the Quality of life secondary frame note that, due to domestic backlash, Itō became unable to live the way she used to and had to move to London through the assistance of a human rights organisation (Asahi, 2017a; Mainichi, 2018; Sankei, 2019a). Itō's hardship is illustrated through a quote, which implicitly refers to her suicide attempt, by underlining that she is "happy not to have died" (Asahi, 2019f). Two articles mention Yamaguchi's damaged reputation within the context of his counterclaim (Asahi, 2019e; Mainichi, 2019d). Mainstream articles rarely cover aspects pertaining to Quality of life, so the content is unlikely to affect the audience.

Conversely, online articles under the Quality of life frame emphasise Itō's mental and physical agony (BuzzFeed Japan, 2019b). It is pointed out that Itō still suffers from PTSD (Kyodo News, 2019b) and that she attempted suicide in July 2019, after which she was hospitalised. Itō's feelings on the matter of suicide and trauma are covered in detail (Bengoshi, 2019d). By highlighting the severe impact on Itō's daily life alongside her own thoughts on the matter, online articles make it easier for the audience to sympathise with her situation.

Power imbalance

Under the Fairness and equality frame, focus is on the balance of power between sexes. Within both the mainstream and the online article, this is presented through quotation. Asahi quotes a professor from Sophia University, who notes that there is no proper relief system for victims of sexual assault "because there are overwhelmingly many men in the political and judicial world" (Asahi, 2019e). Similarly, Bengoshi quotes Itō's observation that "sexual assault happens in situations where there is a power imbalance" (Bengoshi, 2019c). As this point is observed only within two articles, however, there is little content to analyse and discuss.

In sum, mainstream articles under the Quality of life frame briefly mention negative changes in the daily lives of Itō and Yamaguchi following the assault, however, these aspects are simply noted and thus unlikely to be impactful. The online coverage, by comparison, enables the audience to sympathise with Itō's situation. As for Fairness and equality, power imbalance and patriarchy are covered within both mainstream and online sources and could have represented a push for equality

between the sexes, potentially to the benefit of related social movements. Nevertheless, such coverage is scarce, and focus was not on directing the audience towards improving the status quo.

5.1.5 POLITICAL FRAME

The Political frame is the least common; serving as a primary frame in a single mainstream article from 2017 and as a secondary frame within another mainstream article from 2019. This frame is absent from the sample of online sources, making comparison impossible. Nevertheless, its presence in mainstream articles qualifies it for analysis. According to the Codebook, the Political frame dimension covers “[a]ny political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political [...] such as mentions of political maneuvering” (Boydstun et al., 2014, p. 7). It appeared alongside the LOJ secondary frame. Within the data, Political is characterised by a reference to the friendly relations between Yamaguchi and Prime Minister Abe.

Abe and Yamaguchi’s relationship

Asahi is the only newspaper observed to cover the Political frame. The nature of coverage revolves around the fact that Yamaguchi previously wrote a biography on Abe and is assumed to have good relations with the Prime Minister in general. As such, Asahi mentions how various persons have inquired about whether Yamaguchi made use of these relations to have the arrest warrant withdrawn, which was denied by both parties (Asahi, 2017c; Asahi, 2019e).

As a left-leaning newspaper (see literature review), it is not strange for Asahi to question government behaviour, and underhanded political involvement in the case would have been thought-provoking, but with such infrequent and brief coverage it is unlikely to have had any meaningful effect on the audience. Furthermore, the online sample did not employ the Political frame, thus making it impossible to determine how online sources would frame such coverage.

5.2 TONES

As complementary to the frame analysis, this section tracks the tone, or position, of each article. As noted in the previous chapter, the tone must be categorised as either positive, neutral or negative. For the purposes of this thesis, article tone was determined based on the perceived perspective of Itō and her supporters, that is to say; would this group be pleased, indifferent or upset with a given article (Boydston et al., 2014). The results of the categorisation can be observed in the table below.

<i>Tone</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>By news outlet</i>
Neutral	22	Mainstream: 16 Online: 6
Positive	19	Mainstream: 11 Online: 8
Negative	2	Mainstream: 0 Online: 2

Table 3: Frequency Count – Tones

This section will examine each of the above tones in turn, in order to interpret the positioning of mainstream and online news outlets in relation to Itō’s case and discuss the potential implications of such positioning for audience perception of sexual assault cases and social movements against sexual violence.

5.2.1 NEUTRAL TONE

The neutral tone was most common, representing 51 percent of the dataset; 16 mainstream and 6 online articles. It is present throughout the observed time period, with no obvious pattern, and aligns most frequently with the LOCJ primary frame. Neutral articles are predominately short, but a few medium long and long ones were identified as well. To restate, a neutral tone is defined thusly; “Itō’s experience is portrayed using both positive and negative aspects that balance out one another, or the news article does not discuss the issue either sympathetically or unsympathetically”. Within the data, the neutral tone is characterised by; (1) the emotionally detached listing of court proceedings, (2) equal coverage of Itō and Yamaguchi, and (3) a focus on occurrences related to Itō’s case where Itō herself is sidelined or favourable aspects are understated.

Court proceedings

Mainstream articles categorised as neutral frequently present only detached, factual coverage of civil court proceedings. They are characterised by content such as; “according to the ruling...”, “the District Court judged that...”, “she claimed...”, “Mr. Yamaguchi objected...” and so forth (Mainichi, 2019d). Similarly, another reads; “Mr. Yamaguchi made a counterclaim [...] however, the judgement was...” or; “Ms. Itō filed a report with the police [...] but Tokyo Prosecutor’s Office decided not to indict [...] and the prosecution review committee also decided...” (Sankei, 2019c). Articles covering the earliest or most recent developments in the civil trial were also characterised as neutral, given that they simply note how ‘the man’ did not show up to the first hearing (Sankei, 2017b) or that Yamaguchi appealed the court’s judgement (Asahi, 2020). Similar to the analysis of the LOCJ frame, articles refrain from emphasising certain aspects above others and mainstream newspapers content under this tone does not differ significantly.

Online articles categorised as neutral are similar in content. Indeed, although Bengoshi’s article on civil court proceedings is significantly more detailed than that of the mainstream articles, it remains exclusively factual (Bengoshi, 2019b). Thus, neither outlet makes an effort to draw in the audience by sensationalising aspects or presenting the facts in a special light. Itō’s victory is noted, but not emphasised.

Equal coverage

Coverage under this focal area also predominately revolves around quotations. In this section, however, Itō and Yamaguchi take prevalence and the content of the quotes is more emotionally charged. Emphasising emotional quotes is arguably a manner of framing, especially if one is quoted more frequently than another or statements that favour one side are highlighted. However, while mainstream articles within this focal area quote emotionally charged statements, neither side is covered favourably relative to the other. One article by Sankei, for instance, reads; “after the ruling, Ms. Itō said ‘I am grateful that the case was properly resolved. We must think of measures to make sure that no one will become a victim, assailant or onlooker’ [whereas] Mr. Yamaguchi said that ‘my claim was disregarded. I am not satisfied and will appeal it immediately’” (Sankei, 2019c). Thus, citing both sides, but favouring or emphasising neither one above the other.

Online articles are, again, similar in coverage, although the content of the quotes could be argued to hold stronger emotion, as Itō speaks of her PTSD while Yamaguchi notes that the case has escalated, hurting his reputation (Kyodo News, 2019b; BuzzFeed Japan, 2019b)

Related occurrences

Among the articles categorised as neutral, only mainstream fall under this focal area, as online coverage of similar focus is deemed positive and thus discussed in the upcoming section. Two aspects worth returning to under this topic are: potential political involvement in the suspension of the arrest warrant and Yamaguchi's representative criticising Itō on his blog. As for political involvement in the case, it certainly provides food for thought, however, rather than emphasising this point, Asahi presents it as a side note and returns to it just once, two years later, in an equally brief manner (Asahi, 2017c; Asahi, 2019e). Such involvement would be inappropriate, to say the least, yet none of the mainstream papers appear to have investigated it further. In terms of Yamaguchi's representative, his behaviour was deemed immoral and his own association found him guilty of misconduct (Sankei, 2019a). This could be framed so as to condemn what appears to be underhanded legal tactics, but mainstream coverage instead emphasises how such conduct damages the integrity of the representative's association (Asahi, 2019c).

In summary, articles categorised as neutral, whether mainstream or online, predominately cover court proceedings in a factual and detached manner, thus detailing the case for the audience but little else. Neutral articles cover Itō and Yamaguchi equally, portraying neither favourably relative to the other. Finally, neutral articles mention aspects that could prove controversial yet refrain from addressing them further, thus not inciting any particular reaction from the audience. Generally, articles within this category do not oppose Itō, however, they provide no favourable coverage either.

5.2.2 POSITIVE TONE

The positive tone was the second most common, representing 44 percent of the dataset; 11 mainstream and 8 online articles. It is present throughout the observed time period, similarly without clear pattern. It aligns most frequently with the Morality primary frame and was uncovered predominately within medium long and long articles. A positive tone is defined thusly; "Itō's

experience is portrayed in a generally sympathetic manner, so that Itō herself and her supporters would be pleased to see the news article". Within the data, the positive tone is characterised by; (1) a focus on Itō; her intentions, actions and impact, (2) the favourable presentation of Itō relative to Yamaguchi, and (3) coverage of Itō's support.

Itō's intentions, actions and impact

Under this focal area, positive mainstream coverage emphasises Itō's appearance at various events, her tenacious fight for change and the impact of her actions. A 2017 article by Asahi, following the revision of Japan's century old rape law, covers the release of Itō's book, *Black Box*, highlighting that Itō held speeches in English and Japanese on the importance of further improving the judicial system (Asahi, 2017a). In 2019, Mainichi notes Itō's attendance during one of the flower demonstrations against sexual assault, underlining Itō's impact in this area with the statement; "Instead of the sexual harassment eradication movement '#MeToo (I am a victim too)' that started in Hollywood, she advocated a '#WeToo (We act too)' movement" (Mainichi, 2019a). Mainichi also covered the release of Itō's BBC documentary, *Japan's secret shame*, (Mainichi, 2019c) while Asahi attended a support event hosted by Itō (Asahi, 2019f). Thus, the focus shifts from a factual listing of court proceedings to coverage of Itō's actions outside the courtroom, including her participation in and support for various social movements. In authoring 9 out of the 11 mainstream articles categorised as positive, the left-leaning Asahi and Mainichi dominate this tone. By portraying Itō as an individual, instead of yet another victim, such coverage makes it easier for the audience to identify with her ideals. Additionally, audience members are presented with case-related media and informed about the existence of supportive movements.

Similarly, positive online articles account Itō's motivations in filing a civil lawsuit despite insecurities regarding the final result, quoting the statement; "To bring as much as possible out into the open, to allow everyone to observe the facts, evidence and interactions, and to show the difficulties of the current Japanese judiciary; what works and what does not" (Bengoshi, 2019a). Additionally, as previously mentioned, online articles provide more explicit coverage of Itō's trauma and the circumstances surrounding her suicide attempt (Bengoshi, 2019d). Thus, these articles present Itō's suffering alongside her selflessness, as if to illustrate her willingness to brave the opposition as long as the results might benefit others.

Portraying Itō favourably

Opposite the neutral section, positive mainstream articles under this focal area do present Itō favourably compared to Yamaguchi. Although subtle at times, the portrayal of Itō and Yamaguchi is arguably shaped in Itō's favour. A 2017 article by Asahi quotes Itō on her hopes for the civil suit; that it may be open and fair for all parties involved, while underlining that Yamaguchi's representative offered no input, since he was unable to get in contact with his client (Asahi, 2017b). Yomiuri notes that Itō was in tears following the victory and the article covers how the court dismissed several of Yamaguchi's statements as unreliable (Yomiuri, 2019b). Another example emphasises Itō's humble gratitude; "I want to express gratitude towards my close friends and family who supported me as well as the many people from overseas who raised their voices for my sake", against Yamaguchi's dismissal; "during my silence, Ms. Itō's one-sided assertions spread worldwide" and "I have no intention of apologising here for non-criminal behaviour" (Nikkei, 2019b). Finally, Asahi covers Itō's appeal for Yamaguchi to participate in improving the system held against Yamaguchi's blatant denial of having committed a crime (Asahi, 2019e). Even subtle, such coverage helps legitimise Itō's claim that the intercourse was forced.

Comparatively, online coverage rarely compares Itō and Yamaguchi, instead opting to focus positive articles entirely on Ito herself, as discussed above, or strengthening Itō's claim through coverage of related parties. As previously noted, BuzzFeed, for instance, covers Itō's presence at one of Yamaguchi's press conferences. In the article, Itō's behaviour is described as admirable and professional; staying silent as she listens to Yamaguchi's assertions (BuzzFeed Japan, 2019c). HuffPost's coverage of, former TBS bureau chief, Shigenori Kanehira's condemnation of Yamaguchi's actions in relation to his position of power serves to underline that Yamaguchi has acted immorally whether or not a crime was committed (HuffPost Japan, 2019c). Thus, online coverage also helps delegitimise Yamaguchi's actions and presents Itō as the one deserving of the audience's support.

Supporting Itō

Mainstream coverage of Itō's current support and tangible ways of providing assistance is scarce but not completely absent. Asahi quotes a woman on her heartfelt relief following Itō's victory and, in another article, directs audience attention towards the official website for Itō's support group

(Asahi, 2019e; Asahi, 2019a). Once again, Asahi is the only newspaper within the entire dataset to provide such information and considering its size, it presumably reached a fair number of people.

Online articles provide more extensive coverage of Itō's support, as exemplified by BuzzFeed's decision to interview the supporters who had turned up for one of the court hearings (BuzzFeed Japan, 2019a). Another article quotes Itō on how to provide support, namely; by conveying the message that victims are not alone (Bengoshi, 2019a). In general, however, such coverage does little to promote tangible ways for the audience to assist.

To summarise, mainstream, predominately Asahi and Mainichi, and online articles categorised as positive provide favourable coverage of Itō as an individual; legitimising her claims, underlining her wish to help other victims and improve the legal system. Itō's impact, such as the publishing of literature and media as well as participation in social movements, is noted as well. However, while the audience is presented with an indication of who to sympathise with, positive articles still do not, for instance, urge the audience to join Itō's fight or describe how to participate in or support the social movements that are mentioned. Instead, Itō is seemingly saluted for her solitary resistance.

5.2.3 NEGATIVE TONE

The negative tone is rare; appearing exclusively within two online articles from 2018 and 2019 respectively. It was harder to determine with certainty and shows no obvious pattern in terms of length and primary frame. A negative tone is defined thusly; "Itō's experience is portrayed in a generally unsympathetic manner, so that Itō herself and her supporters would be disappointed or upset to see the news article". Within the data, the negative tone is characterised by articles that appear to serve exclusively as conduits for Yamaguchi's complaints.

Outlet for Yamaguchi's complaints

The two articles categorised as negative, by HuffPost and Kyodo News respectively, likely belong under the neutral categorisation in terms of language. Nevertheless, they were deemed negative as the contents exclusively present Yamaguchi's perception of the case, covering statements such as; "Yamaguchi stated, about the judgement, that 'the contents are completely unacceptable' so 'I will appeal straight away'" (HuffPost Japan, 2019a) or "while I kept silent, Ms. Itō's one-sided assertions

spread worldwide. I pointed out contradictions using objective evidence, but only her side of the story was recognized as fact” (Kyodo News, 2019b). Itō and her supporters would likely not feel indifferent towards articles that leave out the court’s reasoning in judging Itō the more credible party, and such content makes it difficult for the audience to identify with anyone but Yamaguchi. Thus, these articles were deemed negative relative to other ones written around that time.

5.3 SUPPLEMENTARY DISCUSSION

The preceding analysis and interpretation clearly indicate that mainstream coverage of Itō’s case is characterised as much by the content or emphasis it leaves out as by the content it covers, which aligns with Entman’s observation that; “frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions [...] may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience” (Entman, 1993, p. 54). Indeed, in de-emphasising potentially controversial aspects and downplaying the need for systemic change by assigning, for instance, social movements relatively little focus, mainstream coverage appears to discourage audience participation and engagement. Additionally, since none of the mainstream articles were present on the front page, the case is presumably not considered critically important. This adds weight to Kingston’s previously mentioned argument that mainstream media tends to treat sexual violence “as a *josei mondai* (women’s problem) and thus not a priority, rather than a national disgrace” (Kingston, 2018, p. 889, original emphasis).

Evidently, Asahi, and to some extent Mainichi, diverge most in this regard, by providing more positive coverage, context and detail relative to the other mainstream newspapers. Asahi is the only paper to address political involvement, which aligns with the common perception of Asahi as a left-wing newspaper (see literature review). Interestingly, Mainichi, Nikkei and Sankei do not differ considerably in the content they present, although Sankei does confine itself to neutral and predominately short articles. As for Yomiuri, only two articles on the case were available in Yomidas Rekishikan, making it difficult to determine a pattern. A synthesis of the main findings is provided in the ensuing chapter which concludes this thesis.

6. CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this research was to identify and interpret the media frames employed by the Japanese press to depict Shiori Itō sexual assault case during the period from 2017 to the time of writing. Background information on Itō's case was provided in the introductory chapter, following which a literature review connected the fields of news media, sexism and social movements in Japan, serving as context for the research positioning. The research was carried out under the theoretical assumption that the manner in which media frames a given social issue will impact audience perception of said issue (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Entman, 1993). Employing the methodological approach to framing analysis advocated by Boydston et al. (2014), six distinct primary frames were uncovered within mainstream and online news coverage of the case and articles were categorized as either positive, negative or neutral in tone. Three sub-questions were formulated as supplement to the main research question, so as to help contextualise the interpretation of the findings. Structuring the analysis as a comparison between mainstream and online news sources ensured that the first sub-question would be addressed.

As observed within the resulting comparative interpretation and discussion of the uncovered frames and tones; both mainstream and online coverage, while different in content, is dominated by a mixture of the 'Morality' and 'Law and order, crime and justice' frames which in turn frequently align with the Positive and Neutral tone, respectively. No particular pattern was visible over the observed time period and mainstream newspaper coverage of the case was generally scarce; never presenting related articles on the front page. This suggests that, even at the time of Itō's victory in the civil lawsuit, the case was not considered to be of critical importance. Nevertheless, the available content provided ample data for a comprehensive answer to the stated research question.

The results of the framing analysis show that mainstream media framing of Itō's case is partly characterised by factual listing of court proceedings, brief reference to the ambiguous handling of the case and unbiased coverage of Itō and Yamaguchi. The audience is presented with the facts of the case, allowing it to witness how Yamaguchi's guilt was determined in civil court. However, since this coverage opts not to emphasise certain aspects above others, while avoiding further investigation into potentially controversial factors, the audience is not prompted to pay special attention to particular content, nor is it inspired to question the efficacy of the system.

Comparatively, within this context, online news coverage intentionally questions the handling of sexual assault cases while providing more context and detail, thus guiding audience perception.

Mainstream media framing is, however, also partly characterised by a favourable focus on Itō as an individual; her hardships, intentions and actions. It covers her impact on society through literature and media publications as well as her participation in social movements, such as #MeToo and the flower demonstrations. Itō is framed as a virtuous and selfless person, who acts in support of other victims and tenaciously works to address the shortcomings of the legal system. In this manner, her claims and actions are legitimised, and the audience is presented with an indication of who to sympathise with. Nevertheless, mainstream articles still do not, for instance, emphasise controversial aspects or describe how to support or participate in the referenced social movements. Instead, Itō is seemingly commended for her solitary fight. Conversely, online coverage underlines the existence of domestic and international support for Itō, thus showing the audience that it is, in fact, not a completely solitary struggle. However, it is predominately on an individual, as opposed to movement, level.

Indeed, social movements do not constitute a recurring theme nor are they presented in great detail. Their existence naturally goes beyond Itō's case, however, considering her connection to #MeToo in Japan, mainstream coverage in particular is unexpectedly scarce. The audience is simply informed about their existence and primary aims, making it unlikely that the movements will see meaningful positive impact. Furthermore, while brief reference to potential political involvement and power imbalance is made and could have represented a push for more transparency and better equality between the sexes, such coverage is equally scarce and remains largely uninvestigated.

To summarise, and directly address the remaining two sub-questions, an audience to the Japanese mainstream media's framing of Shiori Itō's sexual assault case would presumably come to perceive Itō's claims as legitimate and feel sympathy, maybe even indignance, in response to her experiences. However, as the size and influence of supportive movements is not emphasised within the coverage, Itō's fight might be perceived as futile due to the seemingly overwhelming opposition she faces, making what little aid the audience can offer appear redundant. Assuming that other sexual assault cases are similarly framed, if covered at all, audience perception of such cases in general might come to reflect an 'it cannot be helped' mentality. This, in turn, points to rather bleak

prospects for the growth of social movements against sexual violence in Japan, as such an audience is unlikely to aid a struggle perceived to be futile.

That being said, these inferences are based on the data of a single case and further research is needed to substantiate such interpretation of the results. Additionally, as was highlighted in the literature review, traditional newspaper readership in Japan has been steadily declining as more and more people read news online. This trend is likely to continue and will presumably expose a gradually larger part of the public to different manners of framing, which could have implications for audience perception and thus related social movements. However, the actual consequences of such a shift are beyond the scope of this thesis.

In addressing the stated sub-questions, this research has produced a meaningful answer to the research question of: “How is the sexual assault case involving Shiori Itō depicted and framed in Japanese mainstream news media?”. Hopefully these findings will serve to draw more attention to the persistent issue of sexual violence in Japan and inspire further research on the topic. One suggestion is the study of potential dissimilarities in the framing of sexual assault cases across Japanese and English language versions of mainstream Japanese newspapers and the implications of such decision-making. Equally interesting, although inevitably reserved for a more distant future, is further research into the aforementioned consequences of a shift towards online news for the Japanese public’s perception of sexual assault cases and participation in social movements.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I – Case Timeline

April 3rd, 2015 – Itō and Yamaguchi head to Yamaguchi’s hotel room after a meal in Ebisu. Itō is then reportedly sexually assaulted by Yamaguchi during the early hours of the 4th.

April 30th, 2015 – Itō files a complaint of incapacitated rape at the local Police Department.

June 8th, 2015 – The police makes a move to detain Yamaguchi, but the warrant is withdrawn last minute by the then chief of criminal investigations at Tokyo Metropolitan Police department.

July 22nd, 2016 – The Prosecutor’s Office decides not to indict Yamaguchi for incapacitated rape.

May 18th, 2017 – The weekly magazine, *Shūkan Shinchō*, publishes an article detailing the case.

May 29th, 2017 – Itō goes public with her story, revealing face and surname to the Japanese press.

She also files a petition with the Tokyo Committee for the Public Inquest of Prosecution.

September 22nd, 2017 – The Committee for the Public Inquest of Prosecution rejects Itō’s petition.

September 28th, 2017 – Itō files a civil lawsuit against Yamaguchi, seeking 11m yen in damages.

October 18th, 2017 – Itō’s book, *Black Box*, is published; detailing her experience.

February 1st, 2019 – Yamaguchi files a counterclaim, seeking 130m yen in damages for ‘slander’.

October 7th, 2019 – The trial concludes.

December 18th, 2019 – Itō wins lawsuit. Tokyo District Court rejects Yamaguchi’s claim and sentences him to pay 3.3m yen in damages to Itō. Yamaguchi expresses his intention to appeal.

January 6th, 2020 – Yamaguchi appeals sentence, result pending.

References: (McNeill, 2018; Kitagawa, 2018; Ikuta, 2020)

Appendix II – The Policy Frames Codebook

1. *Economic frames*: The costs, benefits, or monetary/financial implications of the issue (to an individual, family, community, or to the economy as a whole).
2. *Capacity and resources frames*: The lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out policy goals.
3. *Morality frames*: Any perspective—or policy objective or action (including proposed action)— that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honour, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility.
4. *Fairness and equality frames*: Equality or inequality with which laws, punishment, rewards, and resources are applied or distributed among individuals or groups. Also, the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another individual or group.
5. *Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames*: The constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution, Bill of Rights and other amendments, or judicial interpretation. This deals specifically with the authority of government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government.
6. *Policy prescription and evaluation*: Particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective.
7. *Law and order, crime and justice frames*: Specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications. Includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, breaking laws, loopholes, fines, sentencing and punishment. Increases or reductions in crime.
8. *Security and defense frames*: Security, threats to security, and protection of one’s person, family, in-group, nation, etc. Generally, an action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a person, group, nation sometimes from a not yet manifested threat.
9. *Health and safety frames*: Healthcare access and effectiveness, illness, disease, sanitation, obesity, mental health effects, prevention of or perpetuation of gun violence, infrastructure and building safety.
10. *Quality of life frames*: The effects of a policy on individuals’ wealth, mobility, access to resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc.
11. *Cultural identity frames*: The social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s), as they relate to a specific policy issue.
12. *Public opinion frames*: References to general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or “getting ahead of” public opinion or polls.
13. *Political frames*: Any political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one’s base, mentions of political manoeuvring. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party.
14. *External regulation and reputation frames*: The United States’ external relations with another nation; the external relations of one state with another; or relations between groups. This includes trade agreements and outcomes, comparisons of policy outcomes or desired policy outcomes.
15. *Other frames*: Any frames that do not fit into the above categories.

Appendix III - Illustrations of hierarchical coding scheme

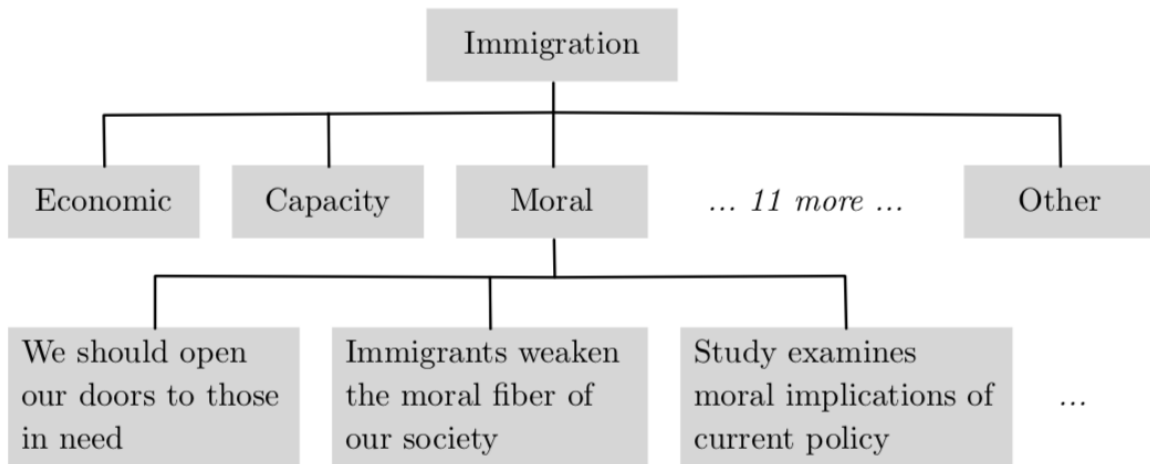


Illustration of hierarchical policy frames coding scheme: Immigration (Boydston et al., 2014, p. 8).

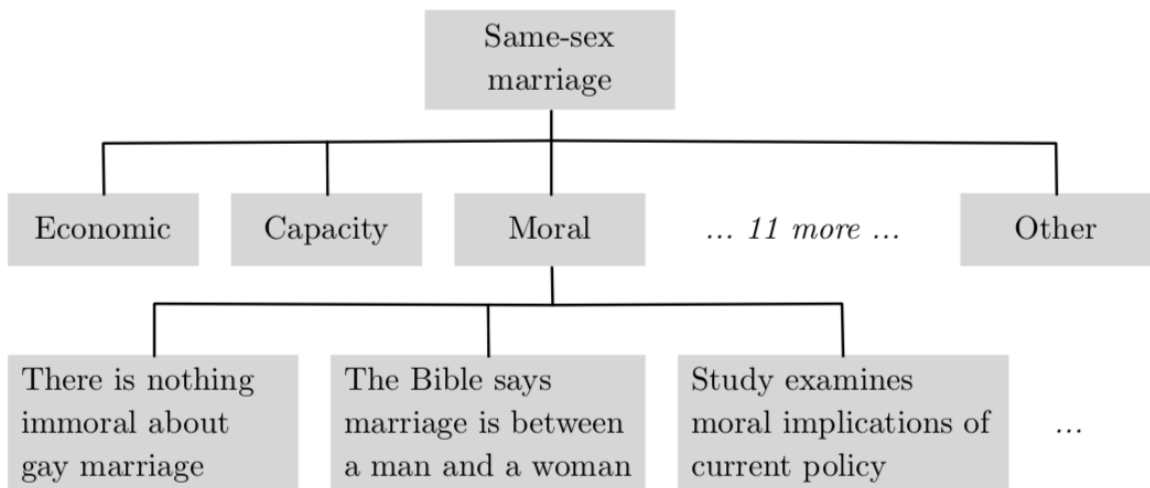


Illustration of hierarchical policy frames coding scheme: Same-sex marriage (Boydston et al., 2014, p. 8).

Appendix IV – Table of mainstream article content by news source

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Headline</i>	<i>Primary frame</i>	<i>Secondary frame(s)</i>	<i>Tone</i>	<i>Length</i>
Asahi	2017/10/25	「性被害者、救済の仕組みを」伊藤詩織さんが手記、会見	Morality	Law and order, crime and justice; Quality of life; Public opinion	Positive	Medium
Asahi	2017/12/06	元 TBS 記者側、争う姿勢 東京地裁	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Positive	Short
Asahi	2017/12/07	性被害捜査見直し、国会内で訴え	Political	Law and order, crime and justice	Neutral	Short
Asahi	2019/04/12	伊藤詩織さん支援の会発足	Morality	Law and order, crime and justice	Positive	Short
Asahi	2019/07/09	伊藤詩織さんと元記者、尋問	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Short
Asahi	2019/10/25	元記者の代理人を「懲戒審査」ブログで伊藤さん侮辱愛知県弁護士会	Law and order, crime and justice	Morality	Neutral	Medium
Asahi	2019/12/18	元 TBS 記者に賠償命令 伊藤詩織さんへ合意なき性行為、認定 東京地裁	Law and order, crime and justice	Morality	Positive	Medium
Asahi	2019/12/19	伊藤詩織氏が勝訴「傷は癒えぬ」元 TBS 記者からの「合意ない性行為」認定 東京地裁判決	Morality	Law and order, crime and justice; Political; Public opinion	Positive	Long
Asahi	2019/12/20	「生きていてよかった」伊藤詩織さん、勝訴判決を報告/東京都	Public opinion	Morality; Quality of life	Positive	Medium
Asahi	2020/01/07	元 TBS 記者山口氏が控訴	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Short

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Headline</i>	<i>Primary frame</i>	<i>Secondary frame(s)</i>	<i>Tone</i>	<i>Length</i>
Mainichi	2018/03/17	セクハラ:撲滅へ「WeToo」伊藤詩織さん 「参加しやすいように」国連本部で会見	Public opinion	Morality; Quality of life; Policy prescription and evaluation	Positive	Medium
Mainichi	2019/09/12	フラワーデモ:「どんな服を着ても…」伊藤詩織さん訴え	Morality	N/A	Positive	Short
Mainichi	2019/10/25	性暴力:元 TBS 記者側弁護士の懲戒審査	Morality	Law and order, crime and justice	Neutral	Short
Mainichi	2019/10/28	性暴力:性暴力許さない社会を伊藤詩織さん「一人一人が意識を変えて」南区でイベント/福岡	Morality	Public opinion; Law and order, crime and justice	Positive	Medium
Mainichi	2019/12/19	性暴力:性被害 伊藤詩織さん勝訴 元 TBS 記者に賠償命令 東京地裁判決	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Medium
Mainichi	2020/01/07	性暴力訴訟:性暴力訴訟 元 TBS 記者控訴	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Short
Nikkei	2019/12/18	元 TBS 記者に賠償命令、東京地裁、性暴力を認定	Law and order, crime and justice	Morality	Neutral	Medium
Nikkei	2019/12/19	伊藤さん「傷癒えない」、山口氏控訴へ、判決内容批判、性暴力訴訟。	Morality	Fairness and equality	Positive	Medium
Nikkei	2020/01/07	元 TBS 記者、賠償命令で控訴、性暴力訴訟。	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Short
Sankei	2017/10/25	女性乱暴「被害者の救済制度整備を」	Morality	Law and order, crime and justice	Neutral	Short
Sankei	2017/12/06	元 TBS 記者側、請求棄却求める	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Short

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Headline</i>	<i>Primary frame</i>	<i>Secondary frame(s)</i>	<i>Tone</i>	<i>Length</i>
Sankei	2019/10/24	訴訟相手 ブログで侮辱 弁護士に「懲戒審査相当」	Morality	Law and order, crime and justice; Quality of life	Neutral	Long
Sankei	2019/12/18	性暴力実名で訴え 伊藤さんが勝訴 東京地裁	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Short
Sankei	2019/12/19	元 TBS 記者に賠償命令合意なき性行為認める 東京地	Law and order, crime and justice	Morality	Neutral	Medium
Sankei	2020/01/07	賠償命令に不服、元 TBS 記者控訴	Law and order, crime justice	N/A	Neutral	Short
Yomiuri	2019/12/18	元 TBS 記者に 330 万円賠償命令 女性暴行 訴訟で東京地裁	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Medium
Yomiuri	2019/12/19	性的被害を認定 「傷は癒えない」 元 TBS 記者に賠償命令	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Positive	Medium

Appendix V – Table of online article content by news source

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Headline</i>	<i>Primary frame</i>	<i>Secondary frame(s)</i>	<i>Tone</i>	<i>Length</i>
Abema Times	2019/12/18	山口敬之氏、性暴力被害裁判の判決に「全く納得できない。法に触れる行為は一切しておらず控訴する」	Law and order, crime and justice	Morality	Neutral	Long
Bengoshi	2019/10/07	伊藤詩織さん、支援者を前に語る「性暴力は誰かを一瞬にして支配する」	Morality	Policy prescription and evaluation	Positive	Long
Bengoshi	2019/12/18	【判決詳報】伊藤詩織さん勝訴、「合意ないまま性行為」と判断された理由...元 TBS 記者の証言に疑念	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Long!
Bengoshi	2019/12/18	「自分の真実を信じて」勝訴した伊藤詩織さん、性暴力被害者に今伝えたいこと	Morality	Policy prescription and evaluation; Fairness and equality	Positive	Medium
Bengoshi	2019/12/19	伊藤詩織さんを今も苦しめる「PTSD」 「いくら元気に見えていても、急に襲いかかってくる」	Quality of life	Public opinion; Morality	Positive	Long
Bengoshi	2019/12/30	「よくあることだし、やめときなよ」伊藤詩織さんに警察が発言...知人からの性暴力、高い立件ハードル	Law and order, crime and justice	Morality; policy prescription and evaluation	Positive	Long
BuzzFeed Japan	2019/07/08	伊藤詩織さんと元記者の裁判で、傍聴券を求め長い列抽選に外れた人は何を思うか	Public opinion	Law and order, crime and justice	Positive	Long

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Headline</i>	<i>Primary frame</i>	<i>Secondary frame(s)</i>	<i>Tone</i>	<i>Length</i>
BuzzFeed Japan	2019/10/07	伊藤詩織さんと元 TBS 記者が法廷で意見陳述。裁判が結審し、判決へ。	Quality of life	Morality; Public opinion; Law and order, crime and justice	Neutral	Long
BuzzFeed Japan	2019/12/19	元 TBS 記者・山口敬之さんの会見に、姿を見せた伊藤詩織さん。その様子は	Morality	Law and order, crime and justice	Positive	Medium
HuffPost Japan	2019/12/18	山口敬之さん「まったく納得できない」として控訴へ。伊藤詩織さん裁判	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Negative	Medium
HuffPost Japan	2019/12/19	伊藤詩織さん、中傷やセカンドレイプに「法的措置をとる」	Morality	Public opinion	Positive	Medium
HuffPost Japan	2019/12/22	伊藤詩織さんについて「いつの日かこの問題を取り上げたい」。報道特集の金平茂紀氏、2年越しの思い	Morality	N/A	Positive	Long
HuffPost Japan	2020/01/07	元 TBS 記者の山口敬之さんが控訴。伊藤詩織さんとの裁判で	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Long
Kyodo News	2019/10/07	性暴力被害訴訟、12月判決伊藤、山口両氏が意見陳述	Quality of life	Law and order, crime and justice	Neutral	Short
Kyodo News	2019/12/19	山口氏会見「主張が無視された」性暴力認定、控訴の意向	Fairness and equality	N/A	Negative	Short
Kyodo News	2020/01/06	性暴力、元 TBS 記者が控訴 330 万円賠償命令に不服	Law and order, crime and justice	N/A	Neutral	Short

Appendix VI – Table of primary frames

<i>Primary frame</i>	<i>By outlet</i>	<i>Secondary frame(s)</i>	<i>Tone</i>	<i>Length</i>
Law and order, crime and justice (21)	Mainstream: 15/27 Online: 6/16	None (15); Morality (6); policy prescription and evaluation (1)	Neutral: 12(4) Positive: 3(1) Negative: 0(1)	Short: 8(1) Medium: 7(1) Long: 0(4)
Morality (14)	Mainstream: 9/27 Online: 5/16	None (2); Law and order, crime and justice (8); Public opinion (4); Quality of life (2); Fairness and equality (2); Policy prescription and evaluation (2); political (1)	Neutral: 3(0) Positive: 6(5) Negative: 0(0)	Short: 4(0) Medium: 3(3) Long: 2(2)
Public opinion (3)	Mainstream: 2/27 Online: 1/16	Quality of life (2); Morality (2); Law and order, crime and justice (1); Policy prescription and evaluation (1)	Neutral: 0 Positive: 2(1) Negative: 0	Short: 0(0) Medium: 1(1) Long: 1(0)
Quality of life (3)	Mainstream: 0/27 Online: 3/16	Morality (2); Public opinion (2); Law and order, crime and justice (2)	Neutral: 0(2) Positive: 0(1) Negative: 0(0)	Short: 0(1) Medium: 0(0) Long: 0(2)
Fairness and equality (1)	Mainstream: 0/27 Online: 1/16	None (1)	Negative: 0(1)	Short: 0(1)
Political (1)	Mainstream: 1/27 Online: 0/16	Law and order, crime and justice (1)	Neutral: 1(0)	Short: 1(0)