

# The picture has changed, how about the frame?

Media framing of nuclear energy in Japan before and  
after the Fukushima nuclear disaster

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## ABSTRACT

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On March 11, 2011, a magnitude 9.0 earthquake followed by a 15-meter tsunami and a nuclear accident at *Fukushima Daiichi* changed the normal course of events in Japan and far beyond it. Among other consequences, the events triggered a sudden increase in domestic and international media coverage. Approaching the theory of media framing, this thesis focused on the evolution of the nuclear energy discourse in two major Japanese newspapers: *Asahi Shinbun* and *Yomiuri Shinbun*, with particular stress on the comparison between pre- and post-disaster reporting. After creating an empirical background of the broader coverage trend, three sets of articles representing shorter periods were analysed employing the methodological approach of framing analysis. The results indicate that a general preference for a 'neutral' tone was demonstrated by both newspapers, with just a slightly 'anti-nuclear' approach for *Asahi* and 'pro-nuclear' for *Yomiuri*. Overall, the two newspapers evolved from having a moderately perceptible difference in coverage and tone before the nuclear accident to an increasingly apparent balance in the selected periods after the accident. In terms of frames, the results are more nuanced, revealing differences not only between the two outlets but also among the three selected periods.

**KEYWORDS:** Media framing, Framing analysis, Thematic analysis, Fukushima, Nuclear power, Japan

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## **NOTES ON LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATIONS**

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Japanese words and sentences are romanised following the Revised Hepburn romanisation system. If not specified otherwise in the text, all the translations from Japanese are done by the author from the original source. Only the author's final translations are kept in the thesis, excluding the original versions, to avoid confusion and ensure a smooth reading process. The original and complete text reflecting the findings was collected in a separate document that can be requested to certify the accuracy of the findings. Part of it can be seen in Appendix IV.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

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FDNPP:	Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant
LDP:	Liberal Democrat Party
DPJ:	Democratic Party of Japan
SPEEDI:	System for Prediction of Environmental Emergency Dose Information
TEPCO:	Tokyo Electric Power Company
NISA:	Nuclear & Industrial Safety Agency
INES:	International Nuclear Event Scale
IAEA:	International Atomic Energy Agency
UNSCEAR:	United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

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# 1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

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Japan is a country that revealed contrasting opinions on nuclear energy over time. It switched from strong opposition to nuclear energy after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to a relative public acceptance of the nuclear industry as a ‘peaceful’ energy source (Tollefson, 2014). However, the March 2011 triple disaster, and the subsequent handling of the nuclear accident’s repercussions, revived the debate on the topic of nuclear energy as a technology that has both advantages and risks (Ho and Kristiansen, 2019). As Japan remains one of the countries where traditional forms of media continue having considerable influence among the population, media framing constitutes a powerful tool in impacting public opinions and delivering political voices (Knudsen, 2014; Nakayama et al., 2019). Therefore, considering the ongoing controversial nature of the nuclear energy debate and the significance of the media discourse in Japan, an analysis of the nuclear power narratives advanced by the two most widely read Japanese national newspapers, *Asahi Shinbun* and *Yomiuri Shinbun*, will be elaborated in this thesis.

## 1.1. JAPANESE NEWS MEDIA ENVIRONMENT

The media landscape in Japan has long been characterised by a wide range of news platforms: newspapers, their affiliated televisions, and the public broadcaster NHK. More recently, traditional forms of media, such as print and TV, have declined, leaving space to online platforms. More exactly, newspaper readership has halved from 63% in 2013 to 27% in 2020, the Japanese public engaging mostly with the platform Yahoo! News (Reuters Institute, 2020). However, traditional news media outlets, are still enjoying great popularity with a total circulation rate in 2020 of 35,091,944 newspapers, meaning 0.61 copies per household (Nihon Shimbun Kyōkai, 2020). The leading pack in terms of influence in Japan are the five national daily newspapers. These are, in order of circulation, *Yomiuri*, *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, *Nikkei*, and *Sankei* (Shinoda, 2007; Fuwa, 2019). All of them having very high circulation rates, according to Shinoda (2007) these can be considered representative of Japan’s media, and they usually represent the focus of Japanese media studies. For example, according to a *Yomiuri Shinbun* (2021) report, *Yomiuri* has a circulation rate of 8,099,445 for the morning edition and 2,162,088 for the evening edition; *Asahi* has a circulation of 5,579,398 and 1,725,445 respectively.

Moreover, despite the fact that recently people’s trust in mass media has declined as a result of the raising awareness on the limitations of press freedom, the physical versions of the newspapers remain credible sources of information according to the Japanese public. For example, as reported by a joint

survey conducted by the *Yomiuri Shinbun* and the *Gallup Corporation* in 2003, newspaper companies resulted to be the most credible sources of information with a percentage of 60.5%, winning over hospitals (49.9%), courts (49.2%), television (47.1%) (Shinoda, 2007, 175). A more recent example is a 2017 *Japan Press Research Institute* survey, which revealed that 70% of the respondents trust the public service broadcaster NHK, and 68.7% confirmed that they trust the information provided by newspapers (Nakai, 2018).

Nevertheless, Japan ranks relatively low in the World Press Freedom Index, and printed newspapers are surrounded by criticism and debates regarding the Act on the Protection of Specially Designated Secrets (*tokutei himitsu hogo-hō*) and the so-called ‘press clubs’ (*kisha kurabu*). Simply put, the former makes it possible for journalists to be sanctioned in case they leak information labeled as national security secrets (Repeta, 2014), while the latter implies close cooperation between newspapers and state agencies, political parties, local governments, and even power companies such as TEPCO (Yamamoto, 1989). These lead to instances of media intimidation and censorship that limit reporters’ freedom of expression. It results in a slow erosion of the free press that tends to converge towards content conformity (Kingston, 2017).

## **1.2. THE GREAT EAST JAPAN EARTHQUAKE AND ITS AFTERMATH**

The Great East Japan Earthquake hit the east coast area of the Tōhoku region at 2:46 PM on 11 March 2011 (World Energy Council, 2012). It entered 130 km offshore the city of Sendai and lasted for about 3 minutes (World Nuclear Association, 2021). The earthquake was the fourth largest in modern recorded history, causing Honshū island to move 2.4 meters east, and the coastline to subside half a meter (Kushida, 2012). Besides, the earthquake caused two other critical disasters: a tsunami and a nuclear accident. According to the World Nuclear Association (2021), the resulting tsunami inundated an area of approximately 560 km<sup>2</sup>, destroying over a million buildings, causing serious damage to the coastal ports, and generating a human death toll of about 19,500 people. Additionally, it caused the nuclear accident at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant (FDNPP), which is ‘the largest civilian nuclear accident since the Chernobyl accident in 1986’ (UNSCEAR, 2020). Although all reactors successfully shut down after the earthquake, the tsunami flooded the emergency cooling system compromising the emergency backup power sources and causing the loss of all functions. This impeded the pumps to cool the reactors, eventually leading to the three core meltdowns (Kushida, 2012; World Energy Council, 2012; World Nuclear Association, 2021). The severity of the accident was initially rated by the Nuclear & Industrial Safety Agency (NISA) level 5 on INES, but later it was raised to level 7 by the Nuclear Safety Commission due to the high total radioactive

release. Reaching level 7 on INES, which is the maximum, positioned the Fukushima accident on the same level as the only other level 7 nuclear accident in the world: Chernobyl (Kushida, 2012)<sup>1</sup>.

Over 100,000 people were evacuated from Fukushima prefecture, and official statistics show that in addition to the 19,500 victims of the earthquake and tsunami, 2313 more disaster-related deaths have been registered among the evacuees<sup>2</sup>. In May 2012, UNSCEAR reported that there was no clinically observable evidence of acute radiation injury for the workers involved in the aftermath of the accident, and in April 2014 concluded that it was unlikely for people to develop cancer or hereditary diseases as the radiation doses people received were too low. Even so, the Fukushima accident undoubtedly released significant quantities of radioactive material into the environment (Koo, 2014; Reiher, 2017; Saito et al., 2019), leading to the population's constant exposure to radioactive substances. Statistics show that the situation has been gradually improving. For example, the average air dose rates in areas within an 80 km radius of FDNPP were reduced by over 60% in 2016, by 71% in 2017, and by 77% in 2018 when compared to 2011 (Reconstruction Agency, 2019; Saito et al., 2019).

The debate on whether the accident at FDNPP was a consequence of natural phenomena or a man-made disaster is a much more complex and nuanced discussion, however, it is worth mentioning that the tsunami countermeasures taken when the 40-year-old FDNPP was designed were considered to be adequate following the scientific knowledge that existed back then. FDNPP's design relied on a 10-meter-high seawall, preventing against an assumed maximum tsunami height of 5.7 meters only (Kushida, 2012; Blandford and Sagan, 2016). Later on, however, new information emerged on the probability of a much stronger earthquake that could cause a tsunami of about 15.7 meters. Even though the information came out 18 years before 2011, neither TEPCO nor NISA took any action to prevent a potential catastrophe. More than this, NISA allowed FDNPP to operate despite IAEA's tsunami countermeasures recommendations<sup>3</sup>. According to the Nuclear Accident Independent Investigation Commission, TEPCO had been aware that a station blackout at FDNPP could happen in case of a tsunami since 2006. NISA, however, did not instruct the company to prepare countermeasures. In substance, what the Fukushima disaster did was to 'unleash a major wave of industrial, institutional, political, and social challenges' (Kushida, 2012, 2).

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<sup>1</sup> Following the data provided by the World Nuclear Association (2021), a simplified timeline of the events at FDNPP is presented in Appendix I

<sup>2</sup> No direct deaths or radiation sickness instances resulted from the nuclear accident (World Nuclear Association, 2021)

<sup>3</sup> These required, for example, to move the backup generator up high, sealing the lower part of the buildings, and having a back-up for the seawater pumps (World Nuclear Association, 2021)

### **1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Considering the two points presented above, namely the Japanese media environment and the Fukushima nuclear disaster, I started to develop an interest in the evolution of the nuclear energy discourse in Japan over time. More precisely, the research motivation started to take shape from the following hypotheses:

- Due to the press club system, the framing of nuclear energy in the Japanese media tends to be relatively neutral and homogeneous regardless of the news source.
- The FDNPP accident increased the average media coverage of the issue and changed the tone of nuclear energy framing from a neutral or slightly positive tone to a negative one.
- There is a different approach in framing between liberal and conservative media outlets, the former being contrary to and the latter supportive of nuclear power development.

The subsequent research questions and methodological choices were constructed in order to test the validity of these hypotheses, but also to add supplementary information to the field of interest triggered by the present assumptions. This study will be concerned with the following major research question and its subquestions:

How did the nuclear energy discourse change in the Japanese national newspapers *Asahi Shinbun* and *Yomiuri Shinbun* after the Fukushima nuclear accident?

- Can significant changes in mainstream media coverage on nuclear power be observed in the selected media outlets?
- How is nuclear energy framed in the selected period before the FDNPP disaster?
- How is nuclear energy framed in the selected periods after the FDNPP disaster?
- Are there any differences between the two newspapers' coverage and framing of nuclear energy?

### **1.4. ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTION AND DEMARCATION**

This research intends to contribute to a clearer understanding of the role that traditional media plays in the general construction of nuclear energy debates in Japan, especially from a chronologically comparative perspective. Having as reference point the Fukushima nuclear accident, the study analyses the general coverage differences in two Japanese national newspapers over a broader time

period, and how the media framing of nuclear power changed in three shorter periods, as a sample of a more general assumed trend. However, there are aspects in terms of coverage and framing that this paper does not claim to determine through its results. Regarding media coverage, the paper does not intend to provide an overall view of all national newspapers in Japan, but only of the two selected ones. Therefore, the research will assume a general tendency of national media as it analyses the two most widely read newspapers in Japan, but will not demonstrate a proven overall trend.

With regard to media framing, there are several remarks. To begin with, even though the research accepts and builds on the premise that media and public opinion interact with each other (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989), the study does not intend to analyse the impact media framing has on the audience. The connection between media discourse and opinion formation is a much more complex phenomenon that would require further in-depth analysis, but this would go beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to just focus on observing the changes in the Japanese media discourse on nuclear power, without making any causal assumptions with regard to the changes in public opinion. Secondly, the research does not intend to provide an incontestable categorisation of the articles. With the data collection and the related coding being made by the author, there is a risk of subjectivity. Finally, unlike other studies (Stephens and Edison's, 1982; Rubin, 1987; Friedman, 2011), this research is concerned neither with how media framed the accident itself nor with making comparisons of the Fukushima accident coverage with that of other similar nuclear disasters.

## **1.5. CHAPTER OVERVIEW**

The thesis is structured into six main chapters. The current segment, Chapter 1, works as an introductory section, where the background and aim of the thesis are specified, as well as the research motivation, the hypotheses that preceded the findings, and the research questions that constructed the analysis. The academic contribution of this research and its demarcation are also indicated in this chapter. Chapter 2 is concerned with the literature review. Key studies on Japanese press homogeneity, public acceptance of nuclear power technology in Japan, and the existing media discourses on nuclear energy are provided in order to justify the research positioning and the literature gap this thesis intends to cover. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical framework that guides this study: media framing. It presents its main assumptions and approaches, different instances of criticism, and finally the theory's suitability for the present research. Chapter 4 provides information on the methodological approach embraced for this study, describes the criteria that were employed in order to select the data, and addresses possible limitations, as well as ethical and reflexivity considerations. Chapter 5 introduces the empirical findings and analyses them in line with the theoretical premises.

The chapter opens with an overview of the quantitative findings and continues with a detailed qualitative analysis of the dataset. Finally, Chapter 6 functions as a summary of the main results of this study.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

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This chapter provides an overview of some of the existing literature on the key topics of the present study. It will function as a supporting element for analysing the empirical findings, and as an additional tool to understand the research gap the present study seeks to cover. Building on the two selected newspapers' information presented in Section 1.1, discourses on the Japanese press homogeneity will be touched upon. Topics such as self-censorship, restricted independence, and 'press clubs' are relevant to the present study and need to be discussed in advance. The second topic is concerned with nuclear power technology in Japan. Figures referring to the period before the nuclear accident as well as figures illustrating the period following the accident will be detailed. The third topic brings together the previous two arguments and explores the relationship between the media discourse and nuclear energy. Previous research centered around the idea of media framing of nuclear energy will facilitate the understanding of the topic's relevance in the context of the present research.

### **2.1. DISCOURSES ON JAPANESE PRESS HOMOGENEITY**

There are three major interpretations of the media role in relation to state and society according to Pharr (1996): media as a neutral 'spectator', media as a 'watchdog' on behalf of society; and media as a 'servant of the state'. Even though there are stances where it appears that media contributed to successfully promoting democratic values (Kingston, 2018), for example, TV Asahi's contribution to the end of the 38 years of LDP rule in 1993, one cannot yet say that Japanese media plays the role of a 'political watchdog' (McCargo, 1996). Newspapers in Japan concentrate indeed on fact-based news, giving very little space to opinion-based articles. As Gibney (1975) and De Lange (1998) pointed out, whether one reads a newspaper from the right, left, or centre, the similarity of the tone and topics debated is remarkable.

Article 21 of the Japanese Constitution guarantees freedom of opinion and expression, prohibiting censorship and ensuring communication privacy (Kaye, 2017). Moreover, Japan ratified in June 1979 the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, its Article 19 providing regulations that protect everyone's right to hold opinions, and to seek, receive, and impart information without any restrictions. However, the 2021 World Press Freedom Index ranked Japan 67th out of 180 countries in the world (Reporters Without Borders, 2021). In 2010, Japan ranked 11th (Reporters Without Borders, 2010) but kept decreasing during the following years, reaching in 2016 and 2017 its lowest rank: 72nd (Nakai, 2018; Kingston, 2017).

In Japan being a journalist is not dangerous as it may be in other countries, however, the general trend of avoiding standing up to the government often leads to limiting press independence (Freedom House, 2021). Indeed, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom and expression noted that there were ‘significant worry signals’ (Kaye, 2017) with regard to self-censorship after his visit to Japan in April 2016, reinforcing what McCargo (1996) and Freeman (2000) anticipated. For example, the 2014 Act on the Protection of Specially Designated Secrets allows journalists to be prosecuted in case they reveal state secrets, and the government continues to refuse debating it, putting journalists at risk of being incarcerated if convicted of publishing ‘illegal’ information (Repeta, 2014). Article 4 of the Broadcast Act amplifies the possibility of government control over media, as it has the power to decide what kind of information is suitable for being publicly broadcasted. To these, one can add the traditional *kisha kurabu* (press club) system that involves the restriction of information that member media outlets can make public (Freedom on the Net, 2021).

The ‘press clubs’ represent specific groups of journalists from major Japanese newspaper companies and television stations that have ‘privileged access to official sources’ (Kingston, 2017, 4), excluding small and medium-sized newspapers, almost all magazine companies, and freelance, online and foreign journalists (Yamamoto, 1989; Pharr, 1996). In other words, journalists that become part of the press clubs are provided with ‘exclusive’ news material by local or government authorities, but in return, they are requested to collaborate and comply with specific sets of rules (Yamamoto, 1989; Kuga, 2016). This means that they compromise their writing autonomy by maintaining the articles as little critical as possible and by avoiding the leakage of any information that the sources would not like to make public (McCargo, 2016). In addition to the rules between sources and press clubs, there are also specific practices between journalists working for rival companies. For example, it is not uncommon for journalists to have meetings where they check the information that they have and agree on a common trajectory (Kuga, 2016). It is also not uncommon to have the so-called ‘blackboard agreements’ (*kokuban kyōtei*), where news and topics are written on a blackboard and reporters commit not to touch upon them until a specific later date in order to avoid scooping each other (Gamble and Watanabe, 2004).

The issues with the ‘press club’ system emerged also in the context of FDNPP disaster, where Japanese media’s lack of independence was emphasised by the handling of the issue and their neutral stance towards the possibility of a nuclear meltdown (Kuga, 2016). As Weiss (2019) indicates, there was little criticism of the use of nuclear power before 2011 because the *kisha kurabu* system implied connections with the nuclear industry. Even after the Fukushima accident the Japanese government

and TEPCO put pressure on media companies to conceal information, such as the System for Prediction of Environmental Emergency Dose Information, making it difficult for people to understand the spread of radiation and the uncertainty of their security (Kuga, 2016). The delays in reporting about the nuclear meltdown at FDNPP are believed to represent an official attempt ‘to play down the severity of the disaster’ (McCurry, 2017), and the numerous scandals related to the accident reporting emerged only later as no access to the accident site was granted to freelance and foreign journalists (Nakai, 2018).

One last example connecting press freedom to the nuclear accident at Fukushima is the *Asahi Shinbun* scandal in 2014, when the newspaper retracted the article claiming that 650 workers at FDNPP fled after the accident, going against the orders of manager Masao Yoshida (McCurry, 2017). As Fackler (2017) details, in an attempt to regain the public’s trust in 2012, *Asahi* conducted an investigation that exposed many official coverups and irregularities related to FDNPP and the decommissioning work. In September 2014, however, starting from a never confirmed suspicion that the Prime Minister’s Office leaked documents proving *Asahi*’s inaccuracy, the newspaper was forced to retract its investigative story on the Fukushima workers. The reporting proved to be inaccurate and overstated in a sensationalist way. After this event, a major loss of credibility and previously regained public trust became inevitable (Fackler, 2017; Kingston, 2018; Nakai, 2018). One of the most remarkable efforts to embrace a relatively independent and investigative approach to journalism ended.

## **2.2. NUCLEAR POWER TECHNOLOGY IN JAPAN**

The first time that energy was generated by a nuclear reactor was in 1951 in the USA. Globally the nuclear power technology enjoyed a period of growth and acceleration of reactors construction until the mid-1970s when a slowdown could be perceived due to the collapse of oil prices and the high construction costs. Later, the Three Mile Island accident in 1979 and the Chernobyl accident in 1986 exacerbated people’s concerns about nuclear safety. These triggered rigorous training procedures, in-depth routine inspections, better equipment examinations, and from mid-2000 to early 2011, an upward trend, called the ‘nuclear renaissance’, appeared due to the rapid nuclear development in non-OECD countries (World Energy Council, 2012). With regard to the situation before Fukushima, 30 countries had a total of 442 commercial nuclear power reactors, 65 more were under construction, and 159 were planned to be constructed. OECD countries dominated the market in terms of nuclear power production and operable reactors. However, the Fukushima accident prompted once more global awareness of nuclear safety culture and some countries decided to eliminate or slow down the expansion of nuclear power. Others, particularly developing countries, continued to push the increase of nuclear power (World Energy Council, 2012).

Japan was the third-largest producer of electricity from nuclear power, accounting for 30% of the country's total electricity production, and had ambitious development plans to reach 53% by 2030. However, the accident made it impossible. In early 2012, only 2 of Japan's nuclear reactors were in operation, the remaining 48 being shut for inspections. Based on the obvious difficulties and strong resistance from the public (Kushida, 2012), the major changes were expected to occur in two policy areas, security and energy, where the protagonists had failed (Samuels, 2013). For example, the DPJ issued in 2012 an energy policy that was concerned with phasing out nuclear power by the end of 2030. However, the LDP reversed the policy and continued maintaining nuclear power as an important energy supply (Suzuki, 2019).

### **2.2.1. PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF NUCLEAR POWER**

In a similar manner to previous nuclear accidents, the Fukushima disaster affected the course of the nuclear power strategy and the attitudes towards it, one of the biggest impacts being arguably the loss of public trust (Suzuki, 2019). In fact, according to the study conducted by Kim et al. (2013) on public acceptance of nuclear energy after Fukushima, it appears that public acceptance was affected by two contradictory factors: proximity and distance. The first one refers to the fact that the closer an area is to the site of an accident, the lower the public acceptance is. The second factor, distance, implies that as people living further away from the accident site have less information about it, their acceptance of nuclear energy is reduced because of the phenomenon of fear amplification. In accordance with their research, the Fukushima accident has negatively changed public opinion towards nuclear energy regardless of the acceptance level that was registered before the accident. Their study focuses on a total of 24,556 respondents from 42 countries. Out of the total number of participants, it seems that 52.7% were in favour of nuclear energy before the Fukushima accident, but only 45.4% kept their positive opinion afterwards. In addition, except for Morocco and Spain, the level of public acceptance declined in all the other countries after the Fukushima accident. Japan had the most considerable decrease in public acceptance: 22.8%.

The general international trend in this respect having been outlined, Suzuki (2019) provides more detailed information on the Japanese public's acceptance in particular. Before Fukushima, most of the Japanese public was in favour of nuclear power technology and considered its expansion beneficial. After the accident, the public opinion switched to an unfavourable attitude towards it, pushing for the immediate shutdown of all the reactors and a gradual phase-off. Despite the final decision of the government to maintain nuclear power as an energy supply, the general public's trust has not yet been restored. According to JAERO's (2020) poll on the public opinion on nuclear energy,

the rate of negative meanings associated with nuclear power is significantly higher than that of positive images. In 2020 'danger' (61.0%) and 'anxiety' (50.2%) were particularly high in contrast to 'necessary' (23.4%) and 'useful' (19.6%). In 2010, 'necessary' had a percentage of 35.4%, it declined to 23.5% in 2011, then to 14.8% in 2013, until reaching the previously mentioned percentage in 2020. As for 'danger', it already had 63.4% in 2010 and increased to 68.3% in 2011. Therefore, the current percentage is lower not only than the one immediately after the disaster but also than the one registered before it. The same report shows that the percentage in 2020 of the public who completely trusts the government is only 1.8%, while the share that clearly does not is 18.3%. Nuclear energy specialists, on the other hand, are trusted by 13.2% and distrusted by 5.1%.

### **2.3. MEDIA DISCOURSE STUDIES ON NUCLEAR ENERGY**

On the topic of media attention and focus, Kristiansen (2017) argues that in order for some issues to gain more attention than others, these need to be socially identified as problems, and one of the actors that promote these issues the most is mass media. Media reporting on the issue of nuclear accidents can focus on how the accident happened, how it evolved, or how it was caused. It can also look at political decisions, or it can focus on the evacuees and their personal stories. It can present the technology as a beneficial one for the climate, but it can also present it as an unreliable technique that is life-threatening. In the present section, the review will be structured as follows: media coverage before the Fukushima nuclear accident, and media coverage after the Fukushima accident in a few selected countries around the world, and particularly in the Japanese media.

In connection with the period before the Fukushima accident, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) provide an in-depth analysis of the US media coverage between 1945 to 1989. Their results show that the coverage until the Three Mile Island accident focused on the benefits of nuclear energy, after the accident in 1979 the discourse intensified, framing nuclear energy as a rather controversial topic, but not anti-nuclear. Only after the nuclear accident at Chernobyl, the discourse somehow turned against nuclear energy. In other words, the media discourse in the US under the time frame introduced by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) was rather dissipated. Similarly, Kepplinger (1988) analysed German newspaper coverage of nuclear energy from 1965 to 1986. He stresses that in Germany the discourse on nuclear power was clearly positive until the end of the 1960s. Unlike in the US, the tone gained a negative valence before the Three Mile Island accident. He also stressed in his work the highly political facet of the nuclear energy issue.

As for Japan, Abe (2013) examines three major Japanese national newspapers, *Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, and *Nikkei* in order to understand the discourse on nuclear safety after Chernobyl. The Chernobyl disaster,

amplified by the previous Mutsu accident in 1974, Three Mile Island in 1979, contributed to the rise of anti-nuclear feelings among Japanese until the early 1990s (Yoshioka, 2011; Abe, 2013). However, the study shows that all the selected media outlets continued promoting nuclear power by accentuating the imperative of ensuring nuclear safety under 'Japan's nuclear safety excellence' (Abe, 2013, 11-12). Secondly, the study revealed that *Asahi* and *Nikkei* used historical references, including Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in their risk assessment of nuclear power. *Yomiuri*, however, due to its conservative nature, avoided any references to memories of the past. The final finding of Abe's (2013) study referred to the ways in which the newspapers dealt with the public's concern. *Asahi* promoted dialogue between citizens and policymakers, while *Yomiuri* and *Nikkei* dismissed the concerns. Weiss (2020) brings an important contribution by providing information on the general number of Japanese national newspaper articles from 1973 to 2014. It appears that *Asahi* published more articles on the nuclear subject than *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi*. All newspapers seem to have dropped to very low levels in the early 1980s, rising again in the second half of the decade, and remaining at a relatively constant level afterwards. *Mainichi*'s coverage increased in the 1990s, but both before and after this period its numbers were lower than those of *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*. From mid-1990 to 2010 *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* had similar numbers.

Continuing with international media framing of nuclear power after the Fukushima accident, Kristiansen (2017) provides a good first example. She analyses Swiss newspapers between 2010 and 2015. The results show that media coverage was concerned with political decisions on the use of nuclear energy. These also show that a 'detrimental' perception of risk was emphasised also before 2011. The third finding showed that even though the Fukushima accident obscured the benefits of nuclear energy, the interest in these 'recuperated' one year after. Perko (2012) analysed, among others, the coverage in two Belgian newspapers on a period of two months after the Fukushima accident, and found that the majority of articles focused on crisis management issues (23%), affected population (15%), and risk and safety (13%). Moreover, the findings show that the majority of articles had a neutral orientation, followed by disagreement towards nuclear energy. The share of articles clearly stating positive, negative, or balanced opinions was relatively low. Kim and Bie (2013) examined three US newspapers on how they connected information related to health and radiation. The study revealed that there were significant differences between the Fukushima accident reporting and the other two major accidents. If the reporting for Three Mile Island and Chernobyl tended to lean towards a reassuring overall tone, the coverage of Fukushima resulted to be rather alarming.

Japan's media framing of nuclear energy has also been intensively studied after Fukushima. For example, Abe (2015) analyses by applying a text-mining approach to the five major newspapers,

*Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, *Mainichi*, *Nikkei*, and *Sankei*. The selected data was editorial articles containing the term ‘nuclear energy’ (*genpatsu*) from 12 March 2011 to 31 December 2012. The findings show that the main topics covered were radiation concerns, power shortage, political distrust. In general, newspapers supporting ‘democratic values’, such as *Asahi* and *Mainichi*, tended to be in favour of denuclearisation and public participation in energy policy decisions, while more conservative papers, such as *Sankei* and *Yomiuri*, inclined towards a pro-nuclear stance. *Nikkei* took an intermediate position on the issue. Tollefson (2014) critically analysed in his article the discursive representation of the Fukushima accident in *Yomiuri*. The results reveal that the two main ideas the research was focused on, namely Japanese national identity and the ideology of technoscience, were reproduced in the newspaper by diminishing the risks of radiation from Fukushima, and by stressing people’s national duty in the nuclear crisis. Weiss (2020) conducts an impressive research as well, looking at the debate on nuclear power in Japanese newspapers and political coalitions between 1973 and 2014. Regarding the newspapers’ analysis, he argues that despite the views supporting the homogeneity of mainstream media, there are significant differences in reporting. However, he does not deny the *kisha kurabu* influence on reporting. As for the period following the Fukushima accident, in terms of quantity Weiss (2020) notes that all newspapers demonstrated a rapid increase in the number of articles. In terms of media framing, his findings show that before 2011 there could be observed a certain ‘uniformity’ in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, while after 2011 a polarisation between *Yomiuri* on one side and *Asahi* and *Mainichi* on the other happened.

#### **2.4. RESEARCH POSITIONING**

From the literature review, one could grasp an understanding of the printed news media climate in Japan, of the attitudes towards nuclear energy, and of previous studies on the connection between the two. Japanese media framing on nuclear energy has been studied from a wide range of perspectives: there are studies on Japanese language newspapers, mainly on the five national ones, but also on several regional ones; there are also studies on the English version of the newspapers, and following the nuclear accident, it can be noticed that there is an increase in analysing media framing in other countries’ national newspapers as well. In terms of methodological preferences, Japanese media discourse is analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Most commonly analysed through discourse analysis, framing, content analysis.

However, what could be noticed is that some of the reviewed studies, particularly those written in English, focus on newspaper editorials (*shasetsu*). Some focus on the periods preceding and immediately following the Fukushima accident, and others present a comparison between national and local newspapers. Considering these aspects, one can argue that there are literature gaps in terms

of data used for the analysis, mostly editorials; in terms of time frames, which usually reflect a discourse that is influenced by the temporal proximity of the accident; and in terms of more recent trends in media tones and frames. This thesis aims at covering these gaps in the existing English-written literature first by analysing all the articles within the selected time periods, not only the editorials of the two newspapers; second by selecting time periods that are less likely to be affected by the disaster's aftermath but that are still assumed to bring the issue into attention due to their commemorative character; and third by showing the more recent general trend in the Japanese media discourse on nuclear energy.

### **3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

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The previous chapter has positioned this thesis at the crossroad between Japanese media and nuclear power technology, more precisely in the field of nuclear energy media studies. The previously debated characteristics did not only provide the context of the research, but also the reason for choosing ‘media framing’ as the main theory guiding this study. This chapter will be structured as follows: first different interpretations of ‘media framing’ as a theory will be outlined, later these will be followed by instances of criticism, and finally, the suitability of this theory for the present thesis will be pointed out.

#### **3.1. THE CONCEPT OF MEDIA FRAMING**

Within the discipline of sociology, frame analysis has North American origins, being first coined by Ernest Goffman (1974). Even though he does not necessarily relate it to media studies, its contribution to the field remains pivotal. His concept of ‘framing’ relies on the assumption that reality can be transformed into a ‘stratified strip of overlapped framings’ that can be unconsciously manufactured (Goffman, 1974, 561). Ever since, the concept has been widely adopted in media communication and cultural studies, being constantly reviewed and enriched. For example, a further significant work in this sense is Tuchman’s (1978), where she describes news as a frame that offers people the chance to understand their relationship with the outside world. One more example is Todd Gitlin (1980), who explored the media framing process having as main foundation the two aforementioned works. He argues that ‘every day, directly or indirectly, by statement and omission, in pictures and words, in entertainment and news and advertisement, the mass media produce fields of definition and association, symbol and rhetoric, through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete’ (Gitlin, 1980, 2). Simply put, the influence of mass media is highly present in everyday life, and one should not assume that the depicted world is the actual reality. In his own words, ‘what makes the world beyond direct experience look natural is a media frame’ (Ibid, 6). Following this reasoning, a frame could be seen as ‘a central organising or structuring device that gives definitional shape to a particular issue’ through its selections, omissions, emphases and tones (Deacon et al., 2010, 161).

The widely cited Gamson and Modigliani (1989) developed the concept of ‘frame’ even further and positioned it as the core of a larger set of interpretative units that form the media discourse and construct meaning, called ‘packages’. Looking at Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur’s (1976) ‘dependency theory’, one can say that the role of the media in the process of meaning construction varies from issue to issue. The audience can have less or more knowledge by which to judge media-generated images. In Gamson and Modigliani (1989), media discourse and public opinion are seen as ‘two

parallel systems of constructing meaning' (Ibid, 1). This does not exclude the fact that the two systems interact with each other. On the contrary, media discourse contributes to the individuals' meaning construction, and public opinion to journalists' crystallisation of meaning in public discourse. What they want to emphasise, is that no matter how dependent an audience can be on media discourse, 'they actively use it to construct meaning and are not simply a passive object on which the media work their magic' (Ibid, 10).

A further important contribution is Robert Entman's (1993) interpretation of frames. He defines them as an important way of communicating text, which successively has a certain degree of influence over human consciousness. In his opinion, 'to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text' (Entman, 1993, 51). He continues by emphasising that on top of this, frames have four main functions that can entirely or partially be found in a text, but also absent from it. Thus, frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements, and suggest remedies. He also argues that framing has a considerable impact on large portions of the audience by giving as example Kahneman and Tversky's (1989) famous example of how frames manage to call attention to particular aspects of a reality and influence the outcomes. In line with what has been presented so far, Pan and Kosicki (1993) argue that media frames can function as devices used in the 'encoding, interpreting, and retrieving' of information, having the power to construct and process news discourse (Ibid, 57). According to them, the framing devices in the news discourse can be classified into four main structural dimensions: syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structure. The first refers to the patterns that the arrangement of words and phrases into sentences produce; the second to a set of categories of information that are expected to be gathered and reported; the third to a complex scheme that is formed by a central theme connecting various sub-themes, which are linked in turn to different supporting elements; and the last structure refer to the stylistic choices made by journalists.

Another perspective on the concept of framing is Scheufele's (1999) classification of frames with respect to their focus, accentuating the differentiation between media frames and audience frames, as these are meant to help both presenting and comprehending news. The classification looks at frames also as dependent or independent variables that can have consequences at the individual as well as social level. Therefore, Scheufele's (1999) final classification, based on the two dimensions, results in a 'four-cell typology' according to which previous studies can be divided. A further view on framing as a tool to study media content is de Vreese's (2005) work. He emphasises that framing is a dynamic process that involves frame-building and frame setting. The first concept refers to the ways in which frames come to light, while the second one to the relation between media and the audience's

prior knowledge. De Vreese (2005) makes a compelling differentiation in terms of approaches: inductive approach against deductive approach, and in terms of typologies: generic frames versus issue-specific frames. Finally, Knudsen's (2014) discourse, which mainly builds on Entman (1993) and Scheufele (1999), supports the idea that the way media discusses, reflects on, or chooses a certain standpoint to tell the story from, may have an impact on the public's perception of social issues.

### **3.2. CRITICISM TO MEDIA FRAMING**

Aside from the definitions provided in this thesis, there is much more research and many more variations on the topic of media framing. The multitude of interpretations result in a relative inconsistency in the literature dealing with framing application, most of it advancing a rather unique approach to each particular study. Therefore, as De Vreese (2005) points out, the consensus on how to define and identify frames within news is rather fragile. For example, continuing the debate on the previously introduced framing approaches, one can find opposing opinions. The inductive approach excludes any predefined frames from the news analysis, leaving space for frames to logically emerge during the investigation. However, this type of approach has been criticised not only for being uniquely moulded on specific cases, and thus too difficult to replicate, but also for relying on too small samples (De Vreese, 2005). The second type of approach, which is deductive in nature, works with already existing and operationalised frames. The main criticism directed towards this type of approach is that it limits the new research because the frames are already established and suit a specific topic. It is thus, quite inflexible and may lead to omitting new frames (Matthes and Kohring, 2008).

With reference to the frames typologies, according to De Vreese (2005), issue-specific frames are pertinent only to specific topics, while general frames can be identified in relation to different topics. The first type, however, despite the advantage it has in terms of profoundness, risks becoming too difficult to generalise, compare, and theorise, making the set of frames too unique for every study (Hertog and McLeod, 2001). The second one, comparatively, imposes limits on how specific these can be for the variety of cases under research.

### **3.3. SUITABILITY OF MEDIA FRAMING**

As previously hinted, media framing as a theory lacks consensus within the existing literature. This is why there are numerous new interpretations and additional comments to already existing ideas. Even though there is a general agreement upon the fact that media framing is mainly concerned with how a message is presented instead of what is presented, there is simply no approach unanimously

accepted. For this reason, the idea of framing analysis employed in this particular research needs to be clearly delineated.

Without making any generalisation regarding the public's perception only based on the results extracted from the selected dataset, the assumption that media framing impacts to a certain extent human consciousness (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Knudsen, 2014) is embraced, being considered one of the relevant aspects why the present research is conducted. This being said, as the final purpose is to reveal the frames Japanese media uses to portray nuclear energy, the thesis is concerned with the angles media chooses to present reality from (Goffman, 1974; Gitlin, 1980). Therefore, it advances an inductive, issue-specific framing approach, which was considered to be the most suitable in order to elevate its accuracy and avoid limiting the themes and frames to those that have been studied before.

## **4. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

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In this chapter, the choice of media framing as a methodological approach will be reinforced. After presenting some reflections on the ontological and epistemological positioning, the data collection process and the reasons why these particular methods have been selected as opposed to others will be further motivated. By presenting the coding strategy that has been utilised, the suitability of a more inductive method of extracting frames, thematic analysis, will be justified. In the final part of the chapter, ethical considerations and limitations that have arisen during the process of data collection, as well as reflections on the researcher's own role and positioning, will be addressed.

### **4.1. ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITIONING**

This study is mainly qualitative and is ontologically and epistemologically grounded in constructionism and interpretivism (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2013). Constructionism is the ontological positioning that has been approached for this research as opposed to objectivism. The reason this approach has been selected is that social phenomena and their meanings are not independent of social actors, but rather constantly revised and reconstructed through social interaction (Bryman, 2012). This approach is particularly relevant for the choice of the framing analysis method, as it emphasises the importance and the effect that the language employed in the media discourse of nuclear energy has on impacting the understanding of reality. In terms of epistemological considerations, this research embraces interpretivism, as an alternative to the positivist assumptions on the nature of knowledge. Therefore, the data under analysis is not considered to be objective and value-free, leading to an ultimate truth, but it is rather seen as a tool that helps grasping the subjective meaning of social action and knowledge (Ibid, 28-32).

### **4.2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND CHOICE OF METHODS**

Since social science research is a 'collective enterprise' that encourages the combination of techniques and methods (Della Porta and Keating, 2013), the thesis was designed to make use of both quantitative and qualitative tools in order to reach the answer to the main research question. Quantitative evidence is widely present in media studies (Deacon et al., 2010), and the main reason behind integrating general descriptive statistical techniques in this research is to strengthen and support the further qualitative findings. The quantitative analysis will provide the possibility to assess the number of times that each variable occurs, making basic calculations of dispersion and central tendency possible. This leads to determining the distribution and the trends of media coverage throughout the larger selected period, and to critically discuss how the qualitatively analysed data fits

into the bigger picture. Another advantage of this approach is the possibility to estimate the tone and theme prevalence, and make comparisons based on simple statistics strategies.

These quantitative findings need, however, to be supplemented with a qualitative analysis. Framing analysis was chosen as the most appropriate method for this study as it is concerned with how media reporting can have an impact on the patterned perception of reality. Other qualitative methods, such as content analysis and discourse analysis were considered as well, however, framing analysis was selected because this type of research puts emphasis on the way content is presented, rather than on the content itself (Knudsen, 2014). Its focus on language usage as a way to construct different perceptions of reality further made framing analysis the appropriate methodological approach for the selected context. Looking back to what has been discussed in Section 3.2 with regard to the approaches and typologies, an inductive approach generating issue-specific frames has been engaged in this thesis. Approaching the text inductively means letting frames emerge logically from the investigation while excluding the application of already operationalised frames. As the research is intended to specifically focus on the framing of nuclear technologies, no predefined frames, except for those advanced by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) and Weiss (2020) were considered suitable. These were of course sources of inspiration, however, the thesis intended to avoid limiting the framing analysis to a more replicable but inflexible structure that may risk becoming superficial to the present context.

Having clarified the reasoning behind the choice of approach and typology, further explanations are needed on the way frames have been constructed, because this represents a point often criticised when applying this type of method. In some studies, it may remain unclear and difficult to understand how researchers determine their frames. In order to avoid falling into a ‘methodological black box’ where one extracts ‘researcher frames’ rather than ‘media frames’ (Matthes and Kohring, 2008, 260), naming the criteria used to identify and categorise the frames becomes essential. This is why the present research adopted an additional qualitative analytical method to inductively extract the frames, namely thematic analysis. As Braun and Clarke (2006) mention, thematic analysis is rarely acknowledged, yet widely used. Even though it can be seen by some scholars as a simple coding process within major analytic traditions, they define it as ‘a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 79). They provide a guide defining six phases of thematic analysis. These are, in order: familiarising yourself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, producing the report (Ibid, 2006, 87). An inductive or ‘bottom-up’ approach has been applied to the present study in order to identify relevant themes, but due to the considerable amount of data, the relatively short

period of time in which this research could be done, and the differences in research interests, not all the phases could be put into practice. These have been simplified to familiarisation with the data, generation of initial themes, grouping of initial themes into major final themes, which led to the creation of the frames used in this thesis.

### 4.3. DATA COLLECTION

Taking into consideration the nature of the research, Japanese newspaper articles were collected as primary data. The decision to focus on newspapers, as opposed to other media forms, was asserted in Section 1.1. Articles from the two Japanese national newspapers with the highest circulation rates have been collected. The two media outlets are *Yomiuri Shinbun*, and *Asahi Shinbun*. The reason why two newspapers have been selected instead of just one started from the hypothesis that there might be differences in framing between left- and right-leaning newspapers, and indeed *Yomiuri* is known for its conservative views, while *Asahi* for its liberal ones. The reason why the other three major national newspapers, *Nikkei*, *Mainichi* and *Sankei*, have been excluded is that the total amount of articles that would have resulted from the web search would have made this research incompatible with the resources and time limit this thesis imposes. However, the circulation gap between the two selected newspapers and the other major ones is considerable, showing an obvious preference of the Japanese public for *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*. This strengthens the premise that the two can be considered representative of the Japanese printed news outlets (Shinoda, 2007).

In terms of timeframes, the process of data collection was separated into two main blocks. The dataset supposed to serve for the quantitative analysis starts in January 2010 and ends in March 2021. As previously explained, this serves as an overview of the media coverage on nuclear energy. The findings from this rather lengthy period are meant to observe the evolution of the expected increase in coverage after the accident and its subsequent decrease in the following period. As for the qualitative framing analysis, the three representative smaller stages presented in Table 1 were extracted from the longer timeframe.

**Table 1:** Timeframes employed in the framing analysis and the resulting number of articles

Period	Timeframe	<i>Asahi</i>	<i>Yomiuri</i>
P1	01/01/2011 - 31/01/2011	64	50
P2	01/01/2016 - 31/01/2016	131	156
P3	01/01/2021 - 31/01/2021	67	54

Considering March 2011 a turning point in Japanese media framing of nuclear energy, there are two possibilities: either the accident did not have any effects on the constructed image of nuclear energy in Japanese media, or the accident contributed to Japanese media attaching a negative image to nuclear energy. Previous researches show us that the Fukushima nuclear accident contributed to negatively portraying nuclear energy immediately after the accident. However, one might wonder whether the media framing that occurred immediately after the accident has remained unchanged or has undergone modifications. In order to verify this aspect, more recent data needs to be analysed. The two periods that have been selected for the interval following the accident are distributed as follows: one in January 2016 and one in January 2021. However, as the frames applied for this analysis are inductively created, a one-month period before the nuclear accident, precisely January 2011, was selected for consistency reasons. As already stressed in Section 2.4, these specific time frames have been selected because they are less likely to be affected by the accident's aftermath, which risks illustrating a reaction to the disaster more than a positioning towards nuclear energy. At the same time, however, the selection of the years, 2016 and 2021, is motivated by the fact that these are assumed to bring the issue to the media attention because they represent major anniversaries of the disaster.

The articles were accessed through the newspapers' online archives *Yomidas Rekishikan* for *Yomiuri*, and *Kikuzo II Visual* for *Asahi*. The target keywords inserted in the search engines were 'nuclear power' (*genshiryoku*), and 'nuclear power plant' (*genshiryukuhatsudensho*). These particular terms have been selected in order to avoid the risk of inserting search words that may have an impact on the category under which the articles fall according to the coding scheme that will be further presented. After applying these search criteria, the initial results showed for the three periods in order 75, 155, and 79 articles in *Asahi*, and 58, 182, and 78 articles in *Yomiuri*. After excluding all the articles that were considered to be unnecessary to the analysis (such as articles concerned with nuclear weapons, profit forecasts, sales strategies, general reflections on disaster prevention research, international events, movie plots, book reviews, etc.) the remaining amount of articles was the one noted in Table 1: 64, 131, 67 for *Asahi*, and 50, 156 and 54 for *Yomiuri* for the three periods.

#### **4.3.1. CODING STRATEGY**

The first step of the coding process was to determine the articles' overall tone, which could fall under one of the following categories:

'Pro-nuclear': nuclear energy is presented as a beneficial factor.

'Anti-nuclear': nuclear energy is presented as a disadvantageous factor.

'Neutral': the article does not imply any pro- or anti-nuclear stances.

‘Both’: the article balances pro- and anti-nuclear arguments.

Second, in order to be able to analyse how the discourse changed, the articles have been further coded according to a list of major themes supported in the articles that can be seen in Table 2. These resulted in the following frames, that could, in turn, be ‘pro’, ‘anti’, or ‘neutral’: *economic, environment, safety, employment, reporting, development/regression, education* (only ‘pro-nuclear’ or ‘neutral’), *management* (only ‘anti-nuclear’ or ‘neutral’). Further explanations regarding what each of these implied are provided in Section 5.2.

At last, to clarify the possible contrast between conservative and liberal newspapers, as well as other aspects that will be revealed in the analysis, relevant information was extracted from the articles and included in the coding sheet presented in Appendix II. This was created using Microsoft Excel and included: *date, source, prefecture, page number, title of the article, tone, theme, illustrative example, whether it mentioned Fukushima or not, and additional remarks*<sup>4</sup>. In the following parts, the results of each period will be presented separately according to these variables. However, the section ‘title of the article’ was just used for practical reasons, in order to avoid mistakes in the coding process, but it does not represent an aspect that will be analysed in this thesis. The same applies to the section ‘prefecture’. Due to the large amount of data, remarks about the content of the articles as well as possible implications on the analysis were noted in the section ‘additional remarks’, which also worked as practical help in the coding process. However, its results do not need to be presented separately, instead, they will be merged with the larger analysis and utilised whenever required.

#### **4.4. LIMITATIONS, ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND REFLEXIVITY**

Since this thesis makes use of publicly available data, and no direct interaction between the researcher and the targeted subjects occurred, eventual ethical considerations regarding instances of invasion of privacy, harm to participants, and lack of informed consent (Glesne, 2011) are limited. The ethical dimension is instead directed towards the quality of the study and the author’s transparency in the research process (Bryman, 2012). As I had full autonomy in determining the tones and themes of the selected articles, there is a risk of subjectivity and personal bias in the analysis. Even though the researcher’s positioning and reflexivity should be taken into account, I tried as much as possible to conduct an analysis that accurately reflects the data and not my personal opinions. In terms of limitations, one aspect that needs to be mentioned is the fact that the articles under analysis are written in Japanese, which is not my native language. As framing analysis is closely linked to language

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<sup>4</sup> A similar coding sheet to that used for the actual data collection is replicated in Appendix II

interpretation, eventual misunderstandings and misinterpretations may compromise the accuracy of the final research. Moreover, language and cultural differences can also bring forth limitations in terms of understanding (Bryman, 2012). However, all the efforts to minimise uncertainties related to the language were made in advance.

## 5. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

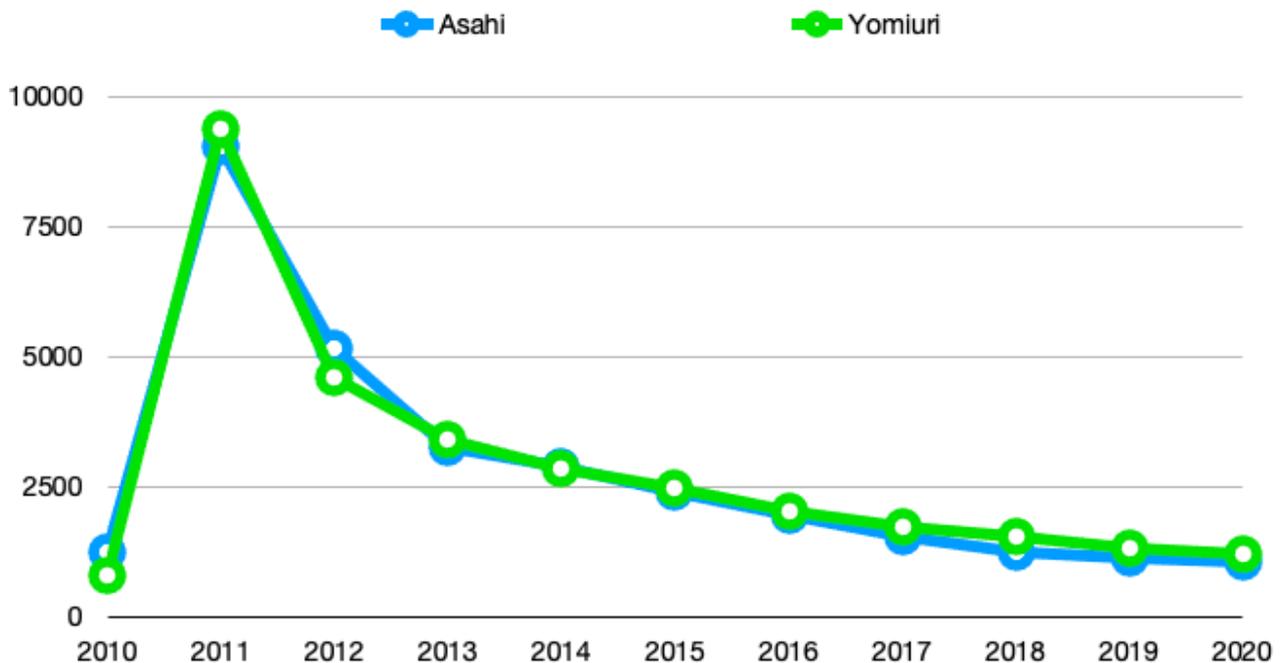
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This chapter presents and analyses the empirical findings by applying the previously introduced methods. It starts with an outline of the main findings related to media coverage, and it then introduces a descriptive presentation of the findings resulted from the coding process of the three sets of qualitatively analysed data. The next sections will further provide explanations on the tones and frames resulted from the dataset.

### 5.1. OVERVIEW AND DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

To provide an overview of the nuclear energy media coverage in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, there have been employed several searches in the online engines. For the search in both newspapers, the keywords are the same as the ones used for the specific framing analysis that will follow in the next section. However, the dates change. An examination by year was conducted in order to show the general trend in coverage before and after the Fukushima nuclear accident. As shown in Appendix III, the period 11/03/2011 - 10/03/2021 has been first examined, and then the period 11/03/2001 - 10/03/2011<sup>5</sup> in order to reveal what was the tendency before Fukushima on a similar time span.

**Figure 1:** Media coverage in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* by year from 11/03/2010 to 10/03/2021



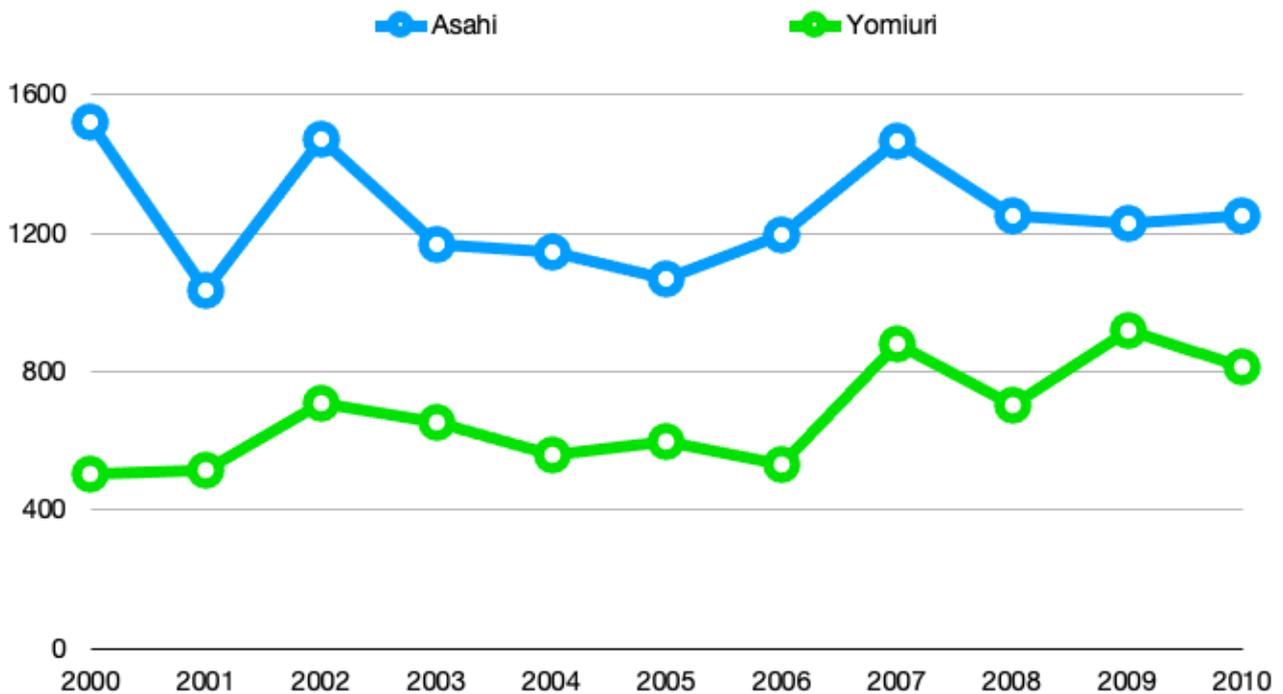
As illustrated in Figure 1, where the yearly coverage from 11/03/2010 to 10/03/2021 in the two outlets is traced, both newspapers showed a rapid and punctual increase from 11/03/2011 to 10/03/2012,

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<sup>5</sup> The exact amount of articles for each year is illustrated in Appendix III

reaching 9028 articles (*Asahi*) and 9388 (*Yomiuri*). The reason is obviously the Fukushima nuclear accident. However, the number of articles almost halved the following year, 5183 (*Asahi*) and 4620 (*Yomiuri*), by 2021 both newspapers reaching levels similar to those previous to the accident. Interestingly, after the accident an almost identical decrease for both can be noticed, the newspapers having a very similar amount of articles. This aspect becomes particularly interesting because, during the period before the accident, *Yomiuri* published almost constantly half the number of articles that *Asahi* did. Moreover, as illustrated in Figure 2, the two newspapers showed a rather divergent and arbitrary evolution in terms of coverage.

**Figure 2:** Media coverage in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* by year from 11/03/2000 to 10/03/2010



Making simple statistic calculations in order to measure the central tendency of the dataset, one would notice that for the period 11/03/2000 - 10/03/2011, previous to the nuclear accident, the mean is 1254 for *Asahi* and 672 for *Yomiuri*, and similarly, the median is 1227 for *Asahi* and 653 for *Yomiuri*. On the other hand, for the period 11/03/2011 - 10/03/2021, after the nuclear accident, the mean is 2978 for *Asahi* and 3062 for *Yomiuri*, and the median is 2192 for *Asahi* and 2273 for *Yomiuri*. It can be noticed that *Asahi* has double the coverage of *Yomiuri* before Fukushima, while for the period following the accident, *Yomiuri* takes the lead in terms of tendency measurements, but the difference is minimal in this case. Nevertheless, the general homogeneous decreasing tendency that occurred after the accident is remarkable in comparison to the mixed distribution recorded before the accident.

Having outlined the characteristics and the general amount of articles over a longer period, in the following subsections the three shorter timeframes intended to be utilised for the framing analysis

will be descriptively introduced according to the variables mentioned in Section 4.3.1. The initial total number of articles for both newspapers was 627. All the articles have been read and those that were not directly concerned with the idea of nuclear energy were excluded from the analysis. The total remaining number of articles was 523.

### **5.1.1. PERIOD 1: 01/01/2011 - 31/01/2011**

#### **Date, source, and page number**

As for the date, no major irregularities could be noticed in this period for both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*. Even though there were days when no articles related to nuclear power were published, and other days when more than one article was published, the articles are relatively evenly distributed throughout the whole month. Thematically there's no relevant change dictated by the date for this period.

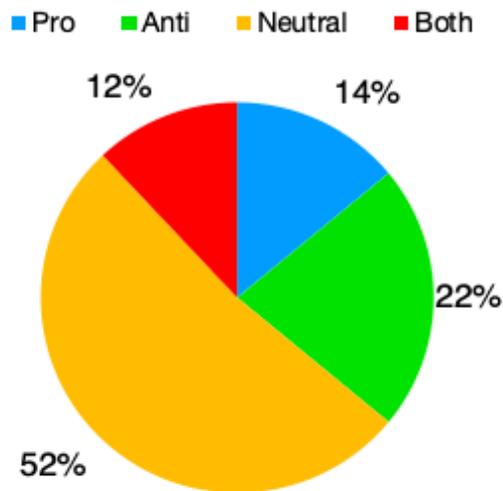
In terms of source, the number of articles published by *Asahi* for this period was 75, while *Yomiuri* had only 58 articles. After the deduction of the articles that were considered not relevant for this study, *Asahi* still counted more articles than *Yomiuri*, namely 64 against 50. Even though *Asahi* has a slightly higher coverage of this issue, the difference is not as big as to be considered a relevant aspect that influences the overall analysis.

With regard to the page number, starting from the idea that the front page of a newspaper is the most important page as it highlights the most crucial events, it could be noticed that *Asahi* has no article including nuclear power issues on the first page in this period, while *Yomiuri* has 1 article, which is related to the technological expansion of Sendai Nuclear Power Plant Unit 3.

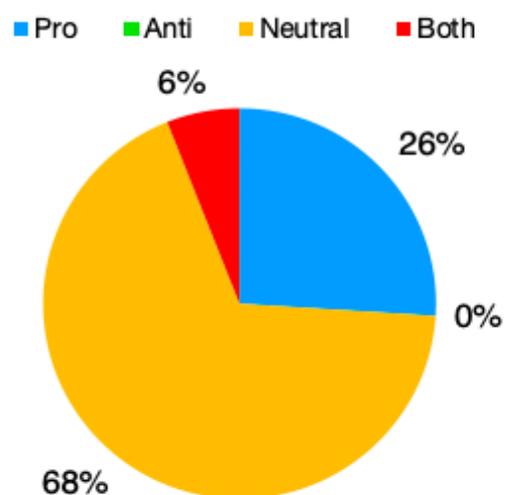
#### **Tone**

Considering the criteria used in order to categorise the articles depending on the tone, the findings show the following:

**Figure 3:** Tone prevalence in *Asahi* (Period 1)



**Figure 4:** Tone prevalence in *Yomiuri* (Period 1)



For the first period there were 9 ‘pro-nuclear’, 14 ‘anti-nuclear’, 8 ‘both’ and 33 ‘neutral’ articles for *Asahi*; and 13 ‘pro-nuclear’, 0 ‘anti-nuclear’, 3 ‘both’, and 34 ‘neutral’ articles for *Yomiuri*. The percentages of the number of articles that remained valid for the analysis can be seen in Figure 3 and Figure 4.

At this stage, one could remark that *Yomiuri* has a relatively higher percentage of ‘pro-nuclear’ articles as compared to *Asahi*. On the other hand, *Asahi* has a higher percentage of ‘anti-nuclear’ articles. As the analysis will later demonstrate, even though *Asahi* tends to have a slightly ‘anti-nuclear’ stance on the issue of nuclear energy as opposed to *Yomiuri*, it still has a number of articles that focus on the positive sides of this type of energy. *Yomiuri*, on the other hand, clearly demonstrates its ‘pro-nuclear’ position, as it has no article that shows a completely ‘anti-nuclear’ stance. Finally, *Asahi* has also a higher percentage of articles presenting both pros and cons of nuclear energy. As for the amount of ‘neutral’ articles, these represent the majority in both cases.

However, those articles that were coded as ‘neutral’ need further investigation. As for *Asahi*, the neutral articles tend to focus on reporting about malfunctions, protests against nuclear power plant constructions or expansions, or opinions about safety measures. *Yomiuri*, instead, focuses on reporting updates on nuclear power plants’ technological developments, opinions about seismic safety and verifications. *Yomiuri* also covers in its neutral articles issues regarding malfunctions, but they avoid writing about protests. In other words, while *Asahi* is mainly concerned with questioning the safety of the power plants, and the risks of nuclear power on people’s health, *Yomiuri* focuses on providing confirmations to the safety factor. Therefore, these articles have been coded as being ‘neutral’ because the tone of the article itself does not imply any position. However, the choice of

what is covered differs between the two newspapers, sometimes the same issue being presented from exactly two opposing perspectives.

## Themes

In order to exemplify what has been mentioned above, a clarification of the last layer of analysis applied in the coding process is needed. To each article were assigned one or more major themes. After finalising the data collection process, various themes have been reduced to broader concepts and grouped in frames that have been summarised in Table 2. Further information on the themes forming each frame can be found under Section 5.2.

The results show that for *Asahi* the ‘pro-nuclear’ themes (including the ‘pro-nuclear’ arguments for those articles coded as ‘both’) were mainly: securing employment, stability of the energy supply, reassurances regarding safety considerations, technological advancement, regional development, and economic growth. For *Yomiuri*, these were seismic safety reassurances, technological advancement, economic growth, and education. Regarding the ‘anti-nuclear’ themes (including the ‘anti-nuclear’ arguments for those articles coded as ‘both’), *Asahi* showed a tendency towards safety unreliability, environment, health uncertainties, economic implications, and employment. *Yomiuri*, on the other hand, had no ‘anti-nuclear’ articles under this time frame.

The articles falling under ‘neutral’ in *Asahi*, have as major topics reports related to malfunctions, security inspections, safety considerations, of which just slightly more were safety uncertainties, but there were also safety confirmations, education (referring to the necessity of providing information), environment, technological advancement. For *Yomiuri*, reports of various nuclear energy developments, malfunctions, technological expansion, seismic safety verifications, environment, health, economic implications, employment were predominant.

It is important to note that some of the themes that could be found in the ‘pro-nuclear’ and ‘anti-nuclear’ categories, were present in some of the neutral articles as well. This comes as a supportive explanation to the fact that some articles are concerned with reporting specific sides of one issue even if they do not necessarily take a stance. Therefore, following the reasoning that has been applied to this coding process, one may notice that *Asahi*’s neutral articles tend to include themes that were predominant in the ‘anti-nuclear’ sphere, but also some ‘pro-nuclear’ themes, while *Yomiuri* tends to incline towards themes that were predominant in the ‘pro-nuclear’ sphere. Nevertheless, the articles were coded as ‘neutral’ as the choice of topic and theme did not have an impact on the overall tone of the articles.

## **Fukushima reference**

This aspect is meant to help understanding whether the coverage in the two selected periods after the nuclear accident is influenced by the Fukushima nuclear accident. In case the number of times ‘Fukushima’ is mentioned drastically increases as compared to this period (even for articles that do not necessarily have the Fukushima accident as the main topic), it could mean that the reporting is not independent of what happened on 11 March 2011. For example, under this period, Fukushima was mentioned only if the remarks were directed towards developments in the prefecture or at the nuclear power plants located here. In *Asahi* it was mentioned 8 times (12.5 %) and in *Yomiuri* 2 times (4%). This result will be considered again in order to analyse the next two periods.

### **5.1.2. PERIOD 2: 01/01/2016 - 31/01/2016**

#### **Date, source, and page number**

Unlike the previous period, this time the number of articles related to nuclear power increased in the second half of the month, especially for *Asahi*, but also for *Yomiuri*. One of the reasons may be the debate concentrated around the restart of several nuclear power plants (Takahama Unit 3 in particular, which happened on the 28th of January). Except for this aspect, which is present in both newspapers, no other major irregularities could be observed in terms of date of publication. Similar to what has been pointed out for the period before the accident, there is a relatively even distribution of articles.

Contrary to the previous period, however, this time *Yomiuri* published more articles than *Asahi*. After removing the articles that were considered unnecessary for the analysis, *Asahi* had 131 articles and *Yomiuri* 156 articles. However, also in this context, the difference between the two is not considered a factor that influences the analysis. What can be said, however, is that both newspapers showed an increase in the number of articles concerned with this issue if compared to the first period. For *Asahi*, the search result for January 2011 after excluding what was not relevant was 64, while for January 2016 it was 131 articles after the deduction. Therefore, *Asahi* showed an increase of about 104%. *Yomiuri*, on the other hand, having 50 articles after the deduction for January 2011, and 156 in January 2016, showed an increase of 212%. *Yomiuri* had an increase rate in its coverage double than that of *Asahi*.

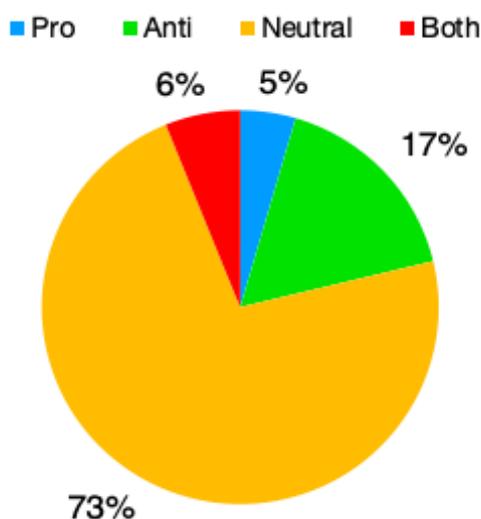
In connection with the reasoning regarding the front page importance, the results for this period show *Asahi* with 9 articles on the first page, and *Yomiuri* with 10 articles. The main topics of the *Asahi* front page are technological improvements, lack of preparation in case of evacuation, safety concerns, developments of the nuclear restarting, the nuclear waste debate, economic implications (in particular cost reductions in case of a restart). For *Yomiuri*'s front page articles, the main topics are related to

the reconstruction developments, reporting about the Fukushima accident, economic implications of the nuclear restarting process, and safety considerations.

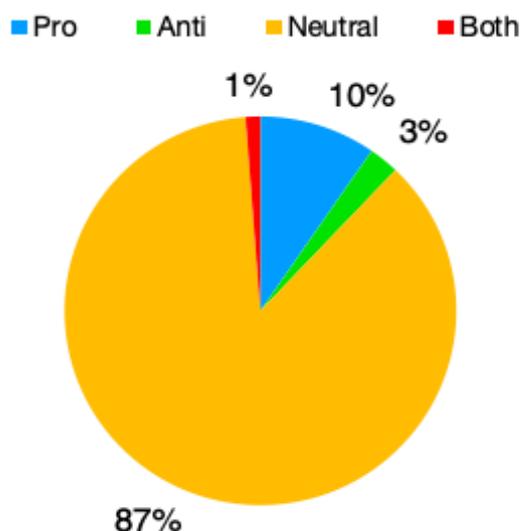
### Tone

The articles' tone share for this period can be seen in the following two figures. There were 6 'pro-nuclear', 22 'anti-nuclear', 8 'both' and 95 'neutral' articles for *Asahi*; and 15 'pro-nuclear', 4 'anti-nuclear', 2 'both', and 135 'neutral' articles for *Yomiuri*.

**Figure 5:** Tone prevalence in *Asahi* (Period 2)



**Figure 6:** Tone prevalence in *Yomiuri* (Period 2)



*Yomiuri* has again a higher percentage of 'pro-nuclear' articles than *Asahi*. However, if compared to the previous results, there is a decrease in 'pro-nuclear' tone for both newspapers. *Asahi* had a 14% share of 'pro-nuclear' articles in 2011, but only about 5% in 2016, and *Yomiuri* decreased from 26% in 2011 to 10% in 2016. In terms of 'anti-nuclear' tone, there is a considerable difference between the two newspapers, *Asahi* having a higher percentage. However, this time the amount of 'anti-nuclear' articles decreased for *Asahi*, which went from 22% to 17%, and increased for *Yomiuri*, which went from 0% to 2.5%. What is interesting is that while *Asahi*, which had a vaguely 'anti-nuclear' stance in the previous period, starts to balance the two positions in this period, *Yomiuri* goes from a clear 'pro-nuclear' stance to deliver 'anti-nuclear' attitudes too. Finally, *Asahi* has a higher number of articles coded as 'both' if compared to *Yomiuri* (1.2%). For both newspapers, the percentage of articles presenting both attitudes is lower than the one they had in January 2011. The results make it easy to notice that the number of 'neutral' articles represents again the majority in both cases. The percentages increased for both if compared to the previous period, slightly more for *Asahi* than it did for *Yomiuri*. *Asahi* switched from 52 % to almost 73%, while *Yomiuri* from 68% to about 87%. A

discussion regarding the themes that were touched in those articles coded as ‘neutral’ will follow in the next section.

## **Themes**

Most of the themes extracted from the articles in this period can be found in the articles from the previous period too, however, some new ones have emerged. As such differentiation would become very detailed and difficult to point out, it will be excluded from the presentation of the results. The new themes are however mentioned among the others that formed the major frames (see Section 5.2).

The results show that for *Asahi* the ‘pro-nuclear’ themes were mainly economic advantages given by electricity cost reductions, stability of energy supply, employment, safety reassurances, technological improvement, reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, education. For *Yomiuri*, these were economic advantages, energy supply independence, technological advancement, reporting about future restart plans, securing employment, regional development. In terms of ‘anti-nuclear’ themes, *Asahi* had safety concerns related to the power plants’ design, distrust in the safety management, health concerns related to radiation exposure and mental health consequences, reports of malfunctions or safety violations, uncertainties in securing staff, economic implications, regional development regression, decommissioning worries, energy supply alternatives (in the sense of supply sufficiency without nuclear power). *Yomiuri*, eventually, had physical and mental health concerns, reporting on violations, risk management, safety considerations, regional regression, decommissioning concerns, and economic implications.

The articles falling under ‘neutral’ in *Asahi* have the tendency to focus on reporting about malfunctions, developments and attitudes towards the restart of nuclear power plants or about the evacuation plan preparations. These also touch upon the importance of safety measures, health risks, management, the nuclear waste debate, and economic implications mainly related to damage compensation. Discussions on employment implications, technological advancements, and regional recovery are also present. *Yomiuri*, on the other hand, focuses on reporting about the reconstruction process, disaster prevention measures, decommissioning, the stability of energy supply, economic factors, as well as about the restart of nuclear power plants or technological malfunctions. This period reveals a much more mixed approach to different themes from both outlets.

## **Fukushima reference**

For this second period, in *Asahi* ‘Fukushima’ was mentioned 57 times (43.5 %), and in *Yomiuri* 51 times (32.6%). If compared to the previous period, when *Asahi* had 12.5 %, and *Yomiuri* 4%, one can

say that there is an obvious increase in the references to Fukushima. Moreover, the coverage seems to be influenced by the nuclear accident even when the articles do not report on the Fukushima nuclear accident, references or comparisons to what happened in March 2011 being frequently made.

### **5.1.3. PERIOD 3: 01/01/2021 - 31/01/2021**

#### **Date, source, and page number**

As in the previous period, the second half of the month has more articles concerned with nuclear power. However, the increase in articles seems to be related to different irregularities or restart debates. Therefore, there is no major inconsistency in terms of date of publication for this period either.

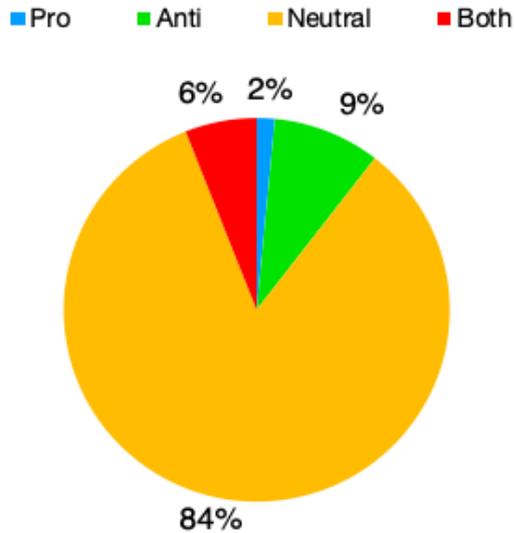
The total number of articles that resulted from the search function was almost the same for both newspapers: 79 for *Asahi* and 78 for *Yomiuri*. However, after the deduction of those articles that were considered not relevant for the study, the difference became evident, *Asahi* counting 67 articles while *Yomiuri* 54 articles. Even though *Asahi* has a higher coverage of the issue, the difference is not as big as to be considered a relevant aspect that influences the overall analysis.

For this period *Asahi* has 2 articles on the front page, both related to the idea of nuclear taxation on nuclear facilities and spent nuclear fuel, and its economic implications, while *Yomiuri* had no articles related to nuclear energy on the front page during this time frame. Having outlined the trend in all the three periods, one can notice that the second period was the only one showing a noticeable increase in appearances on the newspapers' front page.

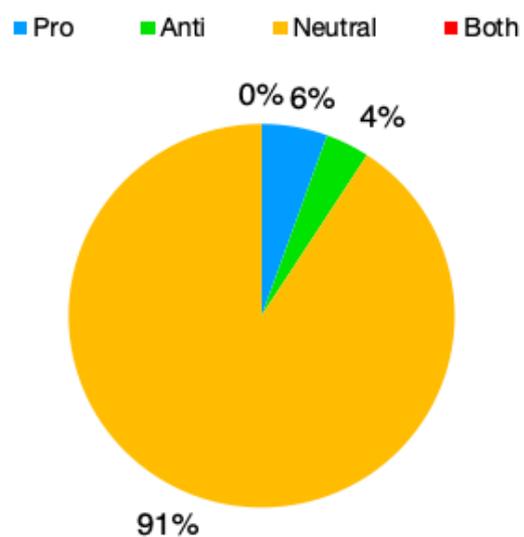
#### **Tone**

The results related to the tone of the articles for the last period show that there was 1 'pro-nuclear', 6 'anti-nuclear', 4 'both' and 56 'neutral' articles in *Asahi*; and 3 'pro-nuclear', 2 'anti-nuclear', 0 'both', and 49 'neutral' articles in *Yomiuri*. The corresponding percentages can be checked in the figures below:

**Figure 7:** Tone prevalence in *Asahi* (Period 3)



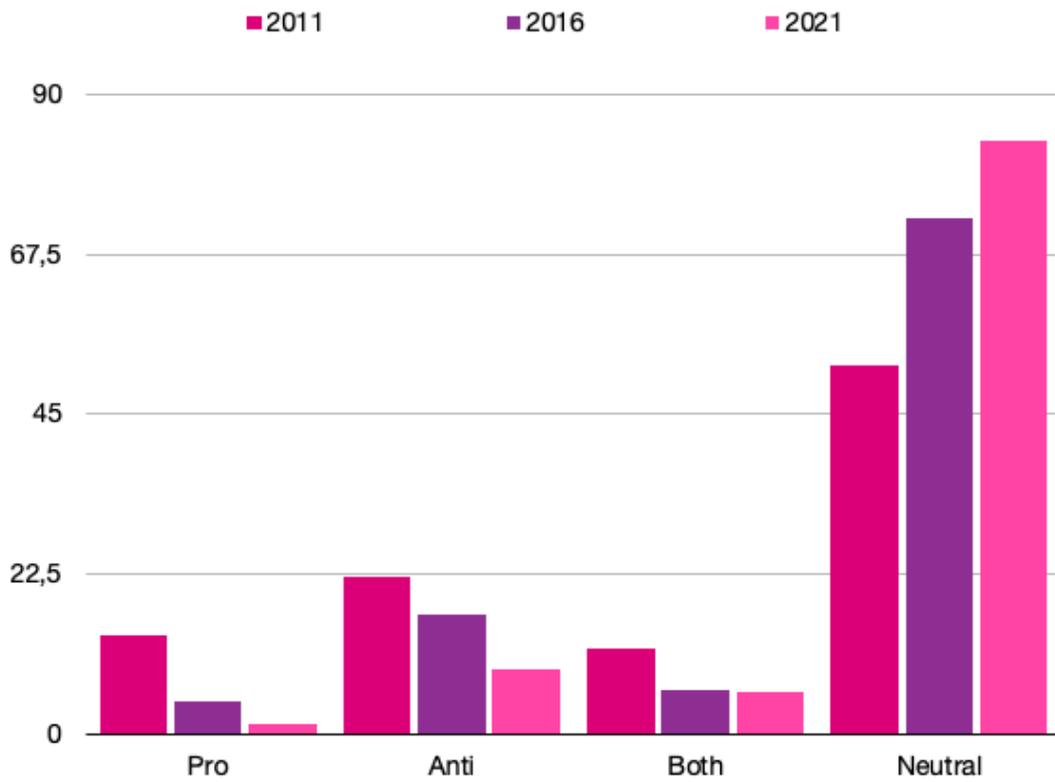
**Figure 8:** Tone prevalence in *Yomiuri* (Period 3)



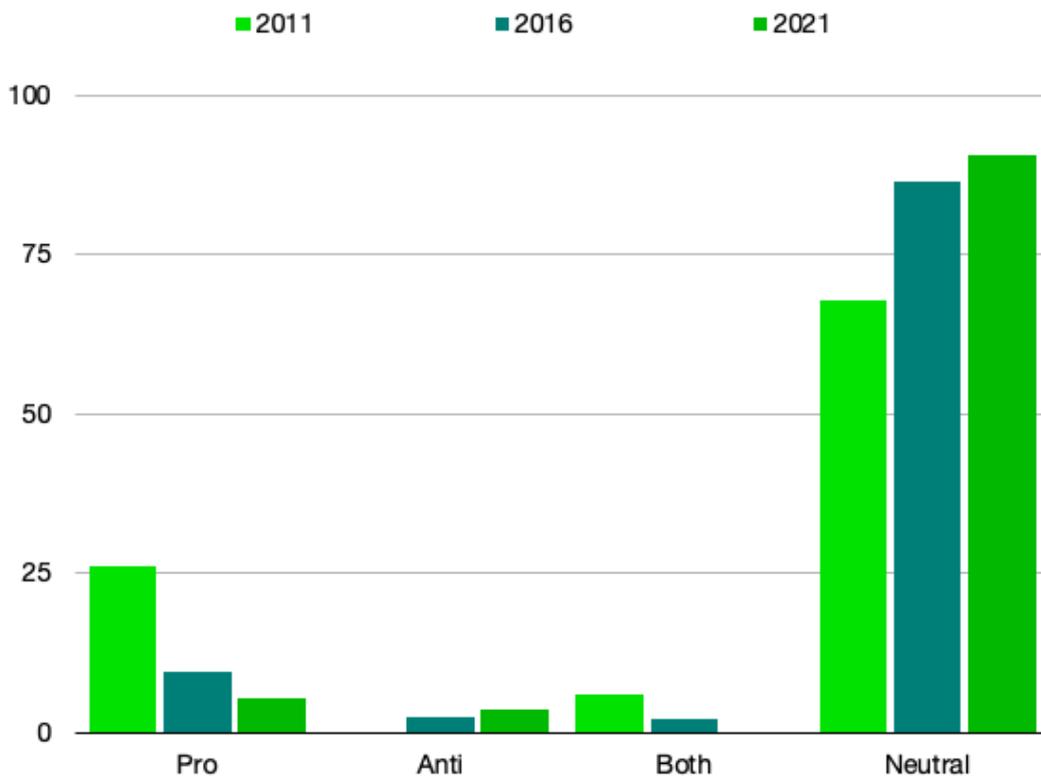
The number of ‘neutral’ articles does not only represent again the majority in both cases, but it also considerably increased to 83.5% for *Asahi* and 90.7% for *Yomiuri*. Having a look at all three periods, one can see that the number of neutral articles has always been increasing considering the selected periods.

*Yomiuri* has a higher percentage of ‘pro-nuclear’ articles as compared to *Asahi*, as in the previous periods. However, this time there is a considerable decrease in ‘pro-nuclear’ articles for both newspapers. In terms of ‘pro-nuclear’ articles, *Asahi* had 14% in 2011, 5% in 2016, and 1.5% in 2021. *Yomiuri*’s share of ‘pro-nuclear’ articles, similarly, constantly decreased from 26% in 2011 to 10% in 2016 and 5.5% in 2021. As for those articles coded as ‘anti-nuclear’, *Asahi* keeps a higher percentage of articles, with 9% against *Yomiuri*’s 4%. However, looking at all three periods, what is interesting is that even though *Asahi* keeps having a higher percentage of ‘anti-nuclear’ articles as compared to *Yomiuri* throughout the three periods, the share of *Asahi*’s ‘anti-nuclear’ articles has constantly decreased, from 22% in 2011 to 17% in 2016 and to 9% in 2021, while *Yomiuri*’s share constantly increased, from 0% in 2011 to 3% in 2016 and 4% in 2021. *Asahi* (6%) has again a higher percentage of articles coded as ‘both’ in this period if compared to *Yomiuri* that has no articles in this sense. Both newspapers show a decreasing tendency of articles coded as ‘both’ if all the three periods are considered. The two figures below show the overall tone percentage overview of all three periods for both outlets.

**Figure 9:** Tones overview in *Asahi* (Periods 1,2,3)



**Figure 10:** Tones overview in *Yomiuri* (Periods 1,2,3)



## **Themes**

The ‘pro-nuclear’ themes found in *Asahi* are mainly economic implications, and environment. For *Yomiuri*, these are stability of energy supply, and security inspections reporting. In terms of ‘anti-nuclear’ themes, *Asahi* had: increasing costs, the economic impact of the accident, safety uncertainties, health issues, faulty risk management, regional regression, and decommissioning debates. *Yomiuri* mainly had regional development retrogradation, health concerns, and decommissioning uncertainties.

Those articles coded as ‘neutral’ in *Asahi* have the tendency to focus on reporting about nuclear power plants restart developments, evacuation plans and safety measures reinforcement, economic implications, regional development (mainly about the reconstruction process), decommissioning process decisions, and social or environment-related debates on nuclear waste disposal. *Yomiuri*, on the other hand, had its ‘neutral’ articles mainly focused on reporting developments about restarting, evacuation plans, safety measures, the decommissioning process, and different economic consequences.

## **Fukushima reference**

*Asahi* mentioned Fukushima in 37 articles out of the total number of 67, meaning a percentage of 55%. *Yomiuri* mentioned it in 17 articles out of 54, which represents approximately 31%. The percentages remain close to those revealed by the data collected for the second period. Therefore, the coverage seems to remain influenced by the nuclear power plant accident at Fukushima even almost 10 years after the accident.

## **5.2. TONES AND FRAMES**

As explained in the methodology section, articles that clearly point out the beneficial or disadvantageous consequences of nuclear energy have been coded as either ‘pro-nuclear’ or ‘anti-nuclear’. Articles that presented both benefits, as well as negative aspects of nuclear power, have been coded as ‘both’. Finally, those articles that refer to neither benefits nor disadvantages, but that are still concerned with the idea of nuclear power, were coded as ‘neutral’. It is important to emphasise one more time that even though some articles have been coded as ‘neutral’, as these simply report on different events, the choice of topic, namely what the articles decide to report and what to leave out, plays an important role. However, the simple choice of topic will not be considered a decisive factor in determining a ‘pro-nuclear’ or an ‘anti-nuclear’ attitude. This is because it would

require an extensive analysis of the data that is not reported in order to be able to model a conclusive and relevant framework.

**Table 2:** Tones, frames, and themes found in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* (Periods 1,2,3)

<b>STONE</b>	<b>FRAME</b>	<b>THEMES</b>	<b>ASAHI</b>	<b>YOMIURI</b>
<b>PRO-NUCLEAR</b>	Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Low electricity prices</li> <li>- Exports</li> <li>- Economic growth</li> </ul>	2011: 2 2016: 7 2021: 2	2011: 4 2016: 12 2021: 0
	Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Green technology</li> <li>- Limit CO<sub>2</sub> emissions</li> </ul>	2011: 0 2016: 2 2021: 1	2011: 0 2016: 1 2021: 0
	Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Energy independence</li> <li>- New technologies</li> <li>- Regional growth</li> </ul>	2011: 8 2016: 7 2021: 0	2011: 5 2016: 10 2021: 3
	Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Seismic safety reassurance</li> </ul>	2011: 3 2016: 5 2021: 0	2011: 9 2016: 1 2021: 0
	Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Securing employment</li> </ul>	2011: 5 2016: 4 2021: 0	2011: 0 2016: 2 2021: 0
	Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Radiation literacy</li> <li>- Access to information</li> <li>- Spread of knowledge</li> </ul>	2011: 0 2016: 1 2021: 0	2011: 1 2016: 0 2021: 0
	Reports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Technological reports</li> <li>- Security inspections</li> <li>- Prevention trainings</li> </ul>	2011: 0 2016: 1 2021: 0	2011: 0 2016: 5 2021: 1
<b>ANTI-NUCLEAR</b>	Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Compensation costs</li> <li>- Higher energy costs</li> <li>- Maintenance costs</li> </ul>	2011: 1 2016: 3 2021: 4	2011: 0 2016: 1 2021: 0
	Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Nuclear waste</li> <li>- Decommissioning process</li> <li>- Radioactive material leakage</li> </ul>	2011: 5 2016: 4 2021: 1	2011: 0 2016: 1 2021: 2
	Regression	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reputation damage</li> <li>- Depopulation</li> <li>- Lack of tourism, agriculture</li> </ul>	2011: 0 2016: 3 2021: 2	2011: 0 2016: 2 2021: 2
	Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Health uncertainties (physical and mental)</li> <li>- Radiation exposure</li> </ul>	2011: 18 2016: 29 2021: 4	2011: 0 2016: 6 2021: 1

TONE	FRAME	THEMES	ASAHI	YOMIURI	
	Employment	- Lack of specialised staff - Working conditions	2011: 1 2016: 4 2021: 0	2011: 0 2016: 0 2021: 0	
	Management	- Distrust in management and government - Regulations violations	2011: 0 2016: 16 2021: 2	2011: 0 2016: 3 2021: 0	
	Reports	- Malfunctions - Protests - About 3/11	2011: 2 2016: 6 2021: 1	2011: 0 2016: 4 2021: 0	
	Economic	- Financial developments - Tax revenues	2011: 0 2016: 4 2021: 15	2011: 1 2016: 20 2021: 5	
	Environment	- Decommissioning - Nuclear waste debate	2011: 1 2016: 10 2021: 10	2011: 2 2016: 14 2021: 6	
	Development/ Regression	- Energy supply autonomy - Regional revitalisation - Reputation damage	2011: 3 2016: 6 2021: 9	2011: 6 2016: 16 2021: 4	
	Safety	- Safety measures uncertainties or reinforcements	2011: 11 2016: 35 2021: 7	2011: 7 2016: 21 2021: 4	
	<b>NEUTRAL</b>	Employment	- Increase or decrease of employment - Human resource quality	2011: 0 2016: 3 2021: 2	2011: 1 2016: 2 2021: 2
		Education	- Importance of conveying information - Nuclear power education	2011: 1 2016: 0 2021: 0	2011: 0 2016: 3 2021: 1
Management		- Faulty management - Disaster prevention - Evacuation plans	2011: 0 2016: 12 2021: 14	2011: 0 2016: 40 2021: 23	
Reports		- Restart developments - Safety agreements - Political debates	2011: 25 2016: 58 2021: 23	2011: 24 2016: 74 2021: 24	

In Table 2, the frames resulted from the most relevant themes are presented. These, in turn, are categorised according to the article's tone: 'pro-nuclear', 'anti-nuclear', and 'neutral'. Most of the frames outlined in the table have equivalent frames for both the 'pro-nuclear' and 'anti-nuclear' tone, the only two frames that cannot be compared are 'Education' for the former, and 'Management' for the latter. The neutral frames include both 'Education' and 'Management' among the others, and the sub-themes that contributed to their formation are a combination of the ones found in the pro- and

anti-nuclear ones. The number of times the frames appear in the dataset is outlined for all three periods, for both newspapers. One article can incorporate more than one frame. Therefore, the numbers in the table do not refer to the number of articles, but to the number of times the frames occur. Also, the articles falling under the category ‘both’ are not included in this table, because their ‘pro-nuclear’ and ‘anti-nuclear’ arguments are already mentioned in the other categories.

### **5.2.1. ECONOMIC FRAME**

The ‘Economic’ pro-nuclear frame includes aspects referring to the contribution of nuclear energy to the country’s economic growth, to the reduction of energy costs as opposed to those generated by alternative options such as thermal power generation, to its very low fuel costs, and to the possible economic gains obtained from the exports. The empirical findings show that overall, the frame is present in both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, with the exception of *Yomiuri* in January 2021. Otherwise, the frame is slightly more present in *Yomiuri* than *Asahi*. The ‘Economic’ anti-nuclear frame generally refers to negative economic implications, such as economic stagnation or negative growth, but also to the increase of energy costs due to the compensation and maintenance costs. The findings illustrate that the presence of the anti-nuclear economic frame is in the majority of cases lower than its pro-nuclear equivalent in both outlets. Moreover, its presence in *Yomiuri* is very weak, the frame having been extracted only once in January 2016. The ‘Economic’ neutral frame usually is directed towards presenting different economic and financial developments without clearly expressing an ‘anti’ or ‘pro’ position. Its presence in the analysed periods is somehow uneven, having a high presence in *Asahi* in January 2021, and in *Yomiuri* in January 2016. Overall, the economic frame is more likely to appear when the articles present nuclear power in a positive or neutral tone. Another remark would be that *Yomiuri* has almost no anti-nuclear stances under this frame, preferring to present the economic advantages from a positive or neutral position.

### **5.2.2. ENVIRONMENT FRAME**

The ‘pro-nuclear’ stances of the ‘Environment’ frame refer to nuclear power being seen as a green technology that serves to limit CO<sub>2</sub> emissions as it doesn’t produce pollution gases. It does not contribute to global warming, and it reduces mining and transportation effects on the environment. The results reveal that the frame does not appear as often in a positive light. In *Yomiuri*, it appears only one time in 2016, while in *Asahi* 2 times in 2016 and once in 2021. Seen from an ‘anti-nuclear’ perspective, this frame includes considerations on the environmental implications of using nuclear power. More precisely, it is concerned with the nuclear waste disposal debate, the decommissioning process, and the possible leakages of radioactive material. Looking at the findings, the prevalence of the anti-nuclear environment frame in *Asahi* is more evident than it is in *Yomiuri*, particularly in

January 2011 and 2016. The neutral environment frame is mostly concerned with debates surrounding the decommissioning and nuclear waste disposal issues. Indeed, the presence of the frame becomes clearly visible in both outlets in the two selected periods after the Fukushima nuclear accident. Overall, the ‘Environment’ frame is mostly present under a neutral tone in both outlets. However, the fact that the neutral environment frame is mostly concerned with themes related to nuclear waste concerns, clearly points at the impact of the nuclear accident, as the issue is covered in a more accentuated way than before the accident.

### **5.2.3. DEVELOPMENT/REGRESSION FRAME**

The ‘Development’ frame refers to both national and regional development perspectives. It is a ‘pro-nuclear’ frame that includes aspects related to industrial development, and the energy supply autonomy advantage considering Japan’s scarcity of natural resources. It also includes the development, improvement and expansion of new technologies, aspects related to population growth, regional prosperity, and the improvement of the infrastructure. The distribution of this frame among the two newspapers does not reveal major irregularities. However, a remark could be made in relation to the abrupt decrease in the frame’s presence in January 2021 in both outlets. The decrease cannot be linked to the nuclear accident, otherwise, a similar share should have been representative for the second period as well. The ‘Regression’ frame is the anti-nuclear equivalent of the pro-nuclear frame ‘Development’. It refers to aspects such as reputation damage, reconstruction efforts, depopulation, and negative implications in fields such as tourism, agriculture, forestry, and fishery. The results, in this case, are very similar for both newspapers: no regression frame was found in January 2011, but these increased almost identically in 2016 and 2021. These findings may reinforce to a certain extent the assumption that the nuclear accident impacted the reporting on nuclear energy, redirecting it towards making the disadvantages more visible. The two frames were grouped into one for their neutral counterpart. It included mostly reporting on the reconstruction process and energy supply autonomy discussions. The findings show a sparse but constant presence of the frame through the three periods in both news outlets.

### **5.2.4. SAFETY FRAME**

The pro-nuclear ‘Safety’ frame refers to confirmations related to seismic safety and radiation levels in the air, food, and water. In January 2011 *Yomiuri* had a higher presence of the frame, however, in January 2016 the findings surprisingly show that *Asahi* had more appearances than *Yomiuri*. In January 2021, the frame does not appear in either of the two. The ‘Safety’ frame from an anti-nuclear perspective is directed towards the uncertainties surrounding seismic safety and radiation levels. Moreover, it implies health consequences of using nuclear technologies. These can be both physical,

such as higher risks of cancer or other radiation-related health implications, or mental, referring to depression, anxiety, or increased suicide rates caused especially by the aftermath of the Fukushima nuclear accident. The results show this time a striking difference between *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*. In 2011 no anti-nuclear safety frame could be found in *Yomiuri*, but in *Asahi* it appeared 18 times. In 2016, despite emerging 6 times in *Yomiuri*, it counted 29 appearances in *Asahi*. Interestingly, January 2021 has a very low presence of the frame. While this result could have been expected for *Yomiuri*, which has relatively low numbers for this frame under the other two periods too, it is quite unforeseen for *Asahi* that had a high presence of the frame for the other selected periods. The ‘Safety’ frame is also present in those articles that have a neutral tone. In this case, both characteristics from the ‘pro-nuclear’ and ‘anti-nuclear’ articles are present, resulting in themes reflecting both safety uncertainties and reassurances. The results show a similar trajectory to what has been presented for the anti-nuclear safety frame. *Asahi* has a higher presence of the frame in all three periods than *Yomiuri*, and there is a noticeable decrease in the frame’s presence in January 2021 for both outlets. This time, however, there are no cases when the frame is absent. All in all, while for the pro-nuclear ‘Safety’ frame the results show mixed numbers in terms of the frame’s presence, its anti-nuclear and neutral alternatives clearly emphasise the difference between *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, with the former having a much higher presence of the frame than the latter in January 2011 and 2016. January 2021 revealed unexpected results, with a low presence of the frame in both newspapers.

### **5.2.5. EMPLOYMENT FRAME**

The ‘Employment’ frame in those articles coded as ‘pro-nuclear’ refers to advantages in securing employment, and aspects related to successful staff training and preparation. Surprisingly, *Yomiuri* has no presence of this frame in January 2011 while *Asahi* does. In January 2016, even though the frame has 2 appearances in *Yomiuri*, it still has a higher presence in *Asahi*. The frame could not be found in any of the articles from the third period. The ‘Employment’ frame from an anti-nuclear standpoint includes reflections on the working conditions, and considerations related to the lack of employment and personnel in charge of eventual evacuation procedures. The results show that the frame is not present in *Yomiuri* at all in none of the three periods. In *Asahi* it is present just once in 2011 and 4 times in 2016. It is absent in January 2021. The frame keeps its rather modest presence from a neutral position too. *Yomiuri*, however, has a relatively higher presence of the frame under the neutral tone.

### **5.2.6. EDUCATION FRAME**

This particular frame is found only in those articles considered to be ‘pro-nuclear’ and ‘neutral’. It refers to the importance of spreading knowledge, having access to information, science education,

and radiation literacy in order to overcome the fear of nuclear power. Despite the fact that the results for the pro-nuclear positioning show a very low presence of the frame, namely one time in January 2016 in *Asahi*, and one time in January 2011 in *Yomiuri*, the frame is considered to be an important and distinctive one that cannot be merged with any of the other frames presented in this study. The neutral 'Education' frame is slightly more present in *Yomiuri* than *Asahi*, and comparatively appears in *Yomiuri* more than the 'pro-nuclear' alternative did. This time it mainly emphasises the importance of correct information dissemination and nuclear power education in schools.

### **5.2.7. MANAGEMENT FRAME**

This is a specific 'anti-nuclear' frame referring to the general distrust in the management of the power plants as well as in the government. It also reports on instances of regulation violations, poor evacuation plans, lack of information disclosure, and the debates focused on local consent. The results show a concentration on this frame in January 2016, especially for *Asahi* with 16 appearances. The frame's presence in *Yomiuri* is not as high in 2016, having been counted only 3 times, however, considering that both in 2011 and 2021 the frame is absent, the result is relevant. Another remark is that the frame is absent from both outlets in the period before the accident. Like the other frames, the 'Management' frame can also appear in a neutral light. The results, in fact, show a relatively high presence of the neutral management frame in *Asahi*, and a very high presence in *Yomiuri* for January 2016 and 2021. What is remarkable is that again there is no presence of the frame in January 2011. Consequently, it appears that the media attention, including both criticism and remarks, directed towards instances of management started to appear after the nuclear accident. The higher presence afterwards implies a change most probably caused by the nuclear accident and the numerous scandals involving government and company management.

### **5.2.8. REPORTS FRAME**

The pro-nuclear 'Reports' frame mainly covers those instances of reporting on technological aspects, regular security inspections, and elaboration of evacuation plans or safety agreements. Its presence in the pro-nuclear sphere is moderate for *Yomiuri* and very low for *Asahi*. On the contrary, from an anti-nuclear perspective, the frame has a moderate presence in *Asahi* and a low one in *Yomiuri*. In this case, the reports mainly covered issues related to malfunctions, protests against the restart of nuclear power plants, and the events that happened at FDNPP. The neutral 'Reports' frame, however, is the most highly present frame in both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* under all selected periods. Besides the ones mentioned for the pro- and anti-nuclear alternatives, the topics that are mostly touched upon are developments referring to the restart of different nuclear power plants, and the political debates afferent to these decisions. To conclude, the neutral 'Reports' frame, where different developments

related to the nuclear energy discourse were included, is the most present frame. This reinforces the idea that the general trend in reporting is rather neutral.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

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Employing an inductive methodological approach, eight issue-specific frames, which have been further classified according to the general tone of the articles, have been identified and analysed in a total number of 523 articles collected from two representative Japanese newspapers: *Asahi Shinbun* and *Yomiuri Shinbun*. As the aim of the thesis was to investigate eventual changes in the constructed image of nuclear energy in Japanese media before and after the Fukushima accident, the articles emerged from three specific timeframes: January 2011, January 2016, and January 2021. Additionally, these have been supplemented by an overview of the yearly number of articles on nuclear energy from 11/03/2000 to 10/03/2021.

The findings show that an immediate increase in media coverage after the Fukushima nuclear accident occurred, but it rapidly decreased afterwards, returning to almost pre-disaster levels. Moreover, despite the general difference in coverage before the accident, both newspapers' articles increased abruptly after the accident and kept decreasing following a similar trend, the difference in coverage volume between the two becoming less visible. Therefore, the initial assumptions are only partially supported, as the Fukushima disaster increased the average media coverage only temporarily. In terms of tone, there is a general preference for a 'neutral' tone in both newspapers over all three selected periods, reinforcing the Japanese press' homogeneity assumption. Before the accident *Asahi* tended to incline towards a slightly 'anti-nuclear' tone, and *Yomiuri* towards a 'pro-nuclear' one. However, in the selected periods following the accident both newspapers' articles converged towards an increasingly neutral position. *Yomiuri*'s 'pro-nuclear' articles decreased, while its 'anti-nuclear' ones increased. *Asahi*'s 'pro-nuclear' articles decreased as well, but so did its 'anti-nuclear' articles, country to the tendency in *Yomiuri*. This research, however, shows that the homogeneity assumption is relative. There is indeed a preference for keeping the tone neutral in both newspapers and the topics follow mostly the same pattern, but a slight difference in the frames and themes that the two outlets decide to stress can be perceived.

In connection to the frames, some remarks could be made on the fact that the 'Economic' frame is generally more likely to appear when the articles present nuclear power in a positive or neutral tone. The 'Environment' frame appears to have been impacted by the nuclear accident, showing an increase in the two periods after the accident, and a particular preference towards themes related to nuclear waste concerns. The emergence of the 'Regression' frame in January 2016 and 2021 reinforces the impact the accident had in directing attention towards negative instances of nuclear energy usage. In

addition, the 'Management' frame's absence before the accident and its appearance afterward reflect a change caused by the accident's after-effects. The 'Employment' and 'Education' frames have both a relatively low presence in the articles that does not emphasise any major trend in reporting, and the neutral 'Reports' frame reinforces the general uniformity in reporting. Finally, the 'Safety' frame, particularly under an 'anti-nuclear' tone, emphasises the difference between *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, with the former having a considerably higher presence of the frame. Nevertheless, addressing the final assumption regarding the difference between the two outlets, the results related to coverage and tones show that the distinction was mostly evident before the nuclear accident. The frames, on the other hand, show a rather scattered distribution, with some frames revealing differences more than others.

The aforementioned results provided the tools to address not only the initial hypotheses but also the research question and its subquestions. With regard to the first subquestion, *Asahi* has higher coverage than *Yomiuri* previous to the nuclear accident, and the two outlets' coverage is rather sparse, not following any constant increase or decrease. Moreover, in 2011 both newspapers reached a very high number that constantly decreased later. Looking at the three selected time periods, the coverage in 2016 is much higher than both in 2011 and 2021. While for 2011 a lower coverage could have been expected, in 2021 it was rather unexpected due to the temporal proximity of the accident's 10 years commemoration. Moving on to the second subquestion, *Yomiuri* had a higher percentage of 'pro-nuclear' articles, and *Asahi* had a higher percentage of 'anti-nuclear' articles in January 2011. Interestingly, *Asahi* had also a number of articles falling under the positive tone, but *Yomiuri* had no purely 'anti-nuclear' articles. The 'neutral' tone is predominant in both outlets, however, the choice of topic for these articles indicates sometimes contrasting perspectives. Besides the neutral 'Reports' frame, which is dominant in both newspapers, the 'Safety' frame is the most accentuated one, with *Asahi* being mostly concerned with questioning the safety of nuclear energy, while *Yomiuri* with providing confirmations to it. Considering the third subquestion, the two selected periods after the Fukushima accident show an increasing tendency towards a neutral media discourse, both outlets having a considerable majority of neutral articles. *Yomiuri* keeps having a higher percentage of 'pro-nuclear' articles, and *Asahi* of 'anti-nuclear' articles. However, unlike the 'pro-nuclear' tone, which decreases in both newspapers simultaneously, the 'anti-nuclear' tone shows a decreasing trend in *Asahi* and an increasing one in *Yomiuri*. The neutral 'Reports' frame is again the most present frame in both outlets, the articles being mostly concerned with nuclear power plants restart decisions and debates. Besides this, the neutral 'Management' frame becomes strikingly visible in January 2016 and remains high in January 2021 in both outlets. The 'Safety' frame is again amongst the most present frames in both periods following the accident, but only from a negative or neutral positioning. The answer to the final subquestion has already been provided by addressing the initial hypotheses.

The difference between the two outlets, which represent liberal and conservative views, is not striking overall. It is more noticeable before the accident than after it in terms of coverage percentages and tones, and remains rather nuanced when it comes to frames and themes.

This being said, it is important to acknowledge that the findings are limited to only two Japanese newspapers and specific timeframes. Further research including more Japanese newspapers and possibly a longer timespan could develop the approach suggested in this thesis and contribute further to a more comprehensive examination of the Japanese media framing on nuclear energy.

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## APPENDIX I

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In line with the data provided by the World Nuclear Association (2021), a timeline of the major events<sup>6</sup> at FDNPP is presented in the following table:

<b>11 March 2011</b>	14:46	The Great East Japan Earthquake occurs
	15:42	First tsunami wave hits
	15:50	Second tsunami wave hits
	19:03	Nuclear emergency declared by Naoto Kan
	20:50	2 km evacuation order
	21:23	3 km evacuation order
<b>12 March 2011</b>	05:44	10 km evacuation order
	15:36	Unit 1 explosion
	18:25	20 km evacuation order
<b>14 March 2011</b>	11:01	Unit 3 explosion
<b>15 March 2011</b>	6:00	Unit 4 explosion
<b>12 April 2011</b>	-	Level 7 atomic disaster declared

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<sup>6</sup> As for Unit 2, there was a peak of radioactive release on March 15th as well, but the precise source remains uncertain, a hydrogen explosion at Unit 2 never having been confirmed (World Nuclear Association, 2021)

## APPENDIX II

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The coding sheet used in the actual data collection and coding process to keep track of the articles, tones, and themes was created using Microsoft Excel. However, due to the high amount of information that has been inserted in the original spreadsheet, it could not be transferred in this thesis. The figure below recreates the original coding sheet:

No.	Date	Source	Prefecture	Page no.	Title	Tone	Theme	Example	Fukushima	Remarks

## APPENDIX III

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The number of articles containing the keywords ‘nuclear power’ (*genshiryoku*) and ‘nuclear power plant’ (*genshiryokuhatsudensho*) in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* each year from 11/03/2000 to 10/03/2021 is summarised below:

	Asahi	Yomiuri
11/03/2000 - 10/03/2001	1522	506
11/03/2001 - 10/03/2002	1033	518
11/03/2002 - 10/03/2003	1473	711
11/03/2003 - 10/03/2004	1166	653
11/03/2004 - 10/03/2005	1144	558
11/03/2005 - 10/03/2006	1070	601
11/03/2006 - 10/03/2007	1194	533
11/03/2007 - 10/03/2008	1467	883
11/03/2008 - 10/03/2009	1253	703
11/03/2009 - 10/03/2010	1227	920
<b>11/03/2010 - 10/03/2011</b>	<b>1249</b>	<b>815</b>
<b>11/03/2011 - 10/03/2012</b>	<b>9028</b>	<b>9388</b>
11/03/2012 - 10/03/2013	5183	4620
11/03/2013 - 10/03/2014	3284	3402
11/03/2014 - 10/03/2015	2891	2847
11/03/2015 - 10/03/2016	2409	2499
11/03/2016 - 10/03/2017	1975	2047
11/03/2017 - 10/03/2018	1559	1725
11/03/2018 - 10/03/2019	1260	1536
11/03/2019 - 10/03/2020	1135	1332
11/03/2020 - 10/03/2021	1065	1228

# APPENDIX IV

## List of collected data<sup>7</sup>:

NO.	DATE	SOURCE	PAGE	TITLE	TONE	THEME
1	04/01/2011	Asahi	25	(ふくい独立考 検証「ほやほや国」：2) エネルギー政策 原子力偏重の是非／福井県	Both	Environment (A,P)+employment, stability of supply (P)
2	05/01/2011	Asahi	6	今年の主要日程	NA	NA
3	05/01/2011	Asahi	9	イラン、核施設視察へEU代表ら招待 正当性アピール狙う	NA	NA
4	05/01/2011	Asahi	26	(論！2011 ヒロシマ・ナガサキ) 土山秀夫さん・平岡敬さん対談 前編 /広島県	NA	NA
5	05/01/2011	Asahi	27	原発問題を考えて、飼料ロールでアピール 串間 /宮崎県	Anti	Safety uncertainty
6	05/01/2011	Asahi	27	新たな発想で県政を、農家の安心のために 仕事始め、トップら抱負 /宮崎県	NA	NA
7	06/01/2011	Asahi	33	再開を認めないで 中部電力・浜岡5号機で要望書 県に市民グループ /静岡県	Anti	Safety uncertainty
8	07/01/2011	Asahi	25	市議原稿ボツに 原発巡り別の市議が問題視 柏崎市「議会だより」コラム /新潟県	Both	Economic (P) + Safety uncertainty (A)
9	07/01/2011	Asahi	27	「運転開始遅れそう」 敦賀原発3・4号機、国の審査手間取る /福井県	Neutral	Technological report, Safety uncertainty
10	07/01/2011	Asahi	29	核廃棄物データに誤り 九州電力 【西部】	Neutral	Reporting error
11	07/01/2011	Asahi	30	(転機の原子力)「ルネサンス」に黄信号 新設の動き、各地で難航	Anti	Environment, Economic
12	08/01/2011	Asahi	26	車販売、回復厳しい「アジア経済に期待」...景気先行き、経営者の目 /広島県	NA	NA
13	08/01/2011	Asahi	26	不透明感強く、アジアに期待 経済見直し /鳥取県	NA	NA
14	08/01/2011	Asahi	29	申請対象の判断誤る 中電が原因報告 浜岡原発の法令違反 /静岡県	Anti	Violation of laws
15	08/01/2011	Asahi	29	県の学術会議が国の検証「妥当」 浜岡原発5号機 /静岡県	Pro	Seismic safety confirmation
16	08/01/2011	Asahi	29	串間の反原発派、対策本部設置へ 4月の市民投票向け /宮崎県	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty, protesters
17	08/01/2011	Asahi	33	使用済み制御棒、ひびは計28本に 柏崎刈羽原発7号機 /新潟県	Neutral	Malfunction
18	09/01/2011	Asahi	6	日ロ原子力協定の批准法案に署名 メドベージェフ・ロシア大統領	Pro	Advanced technology
19	12/01/2011	Asahi	23	県政、若い方々に 島田県議長、引退表明 /山口県	NA	NA
20	12/01/2011	Asahi	25	ヨウ素漏れ、究明難しく 1週間かけ検査へ 玄海原発3号機 /佐賀県	Anti	Safety uncertainty, malfunction
21	12/01/2011	Asahi	26	(福島子どもしんぶん) 県内の家族の姿は？ 人口減でも世帯数は増 /福島県	Pro	Employment
22	13/01/2011	Asahi	27	緊急冷却装置のポンプ、自動停止 敦賀原発1号機 /福井県	Anti	Malfunction, safety uncertainty
23	13/01/2011	Asahi	27	国の原発副読本、配布へ 串間市、6800世帯に 反対派「偏った情報提供」 /宮崎県	Neutral	Necessity of access to information
24	13/01/2011	Asahi	27	川内原発増設、国に許可申請 九電「地球との共存はかる」 /鹿児島県	Neutral	Environment
25	13/01/2011	Asahi	27	川内原発3号機、許可申請 九州電力 【西部】	Neutral	Technological improvement
26	13/01/2011	Asahi	29	東電、実績重ね拡大も 県「しっかり確認」 第二原発3号機の運転期間延長 /福島県	Pro	Technological improvement
27	14/01/2011	Asahi	5	外交官、インフラ輸出売り込め 在外公館の担当者、大幅拡充	NA	NA
28	14/01/2011	Asahi	9	原発再開の是非、国民投票実施を イタリア憲法裁判決	Pro	Stability of supply (P)
29	14/01/2011	Asahi	27	2年連続で1位 昨年、県内の原発発電量 /福井県	Both	Increase of supply (P) + Malfunction (A)
30	14/01/2011	Asahi	27	「安心がでかめ」 厳しい意見続々 高速増殖炉「もんじゅ」巡り安全協 /福井県	Anti	Safety uncertainty
31	14/01/2011	Asahi	27	敦賀原発1号機、ポンプが再起動 /福井県	Neutral	Malfunction
32	14/01/2011	Asahi	29	中越沖超す地震想定し、近く試験 柏崎刈羽原発、制御棒を挿入 /新潟県	Neutral/Pro	Seismic safety
33	14/01/2011	Asahi	29	空調の水1600リットル漏出 柏崎刈羽原発1号機のタービン建屋 /新潟県	Neutral/Pro	Malfunction
34	14/01/2011	Asahi	29	串間市民投票へ向け、反原発派が対策本部 /宮崎県	Anti	Opposition groups
35	15/01/2011	Asahi	30	清水・東電社長に泉田知事「信頼高める努力を」 /新潟県	Both	Malfunction (A) + Safety measures (P)
36	16/01/2011	Asahi	35	持続可能社会の実現考える 映画「ミツバチの羽音と地球の回転」きょう上映 /岐阜県	Anti	Environment
37	16/01/2011	Asahi	37	浜岡原発5号機の運転再開、地元4市が了承 御前崎で市民説明会後 /静岡県	Neutral	Safety uncertainty
38	18/01/2011	Asahi	25	特別保安検査開始 島根原発1号機の再点検状況確認 /島根県	Neutral	Security inspection
39	18/01/2011	Asahi	29	浜岡原発5号機再開の了承、4市対協が報告 県は「総合的に判断」 /静岡県	Neutral	Security inspection
40	18/01/2011	Asahi	31	第二原発3号機、運転延長了承へ 立地4町の協議会 /福島県	Neutral/Pro	Technological expansion
41	18/01/2011	Asahi	31	福島第二原発3号機、運転延長了承へ 立地4町の協議会 /福島県	Pro	Employment
42	19/01/2011	Asahi	27	「ブルサーマル」影響ない 放射性物質漏れ、九電が関係否定 /佐賀県	Neutral	Malfunction, safety uncertainty
43	19/01/2011	Asahi	27	原発増設再アセス、九電側が却下求める 訴訟初弁論 /鹿児島県	Anti	Environment
44	19/01/2011	Asahi	28	玄海原発3号機、ウラン燃料からヨウ素漏出 【西部】	Neutral	Malfunction
45	20/01/2011	Asahi	24	大企業、原発、そして施策 人口増加、6県では20市町村 /東北・共通	Pro	Growing population
46	20/01/2011	Asahi	27	島根原発、6700人訓練 住民ら170人避難、放射線測定も /島根県	Neutral	Malfunction, prevention training
47	20/01/2011	Asahi	33	浜岡原発3号機で火災、作業シートこがす /静岡県	Neutral	Malfunction
48	20/01/2011	Asahi	37	福島第一原発、40年超運転を容認 保安院方針	Neutral	Technological report
49	21/01/2011	Asahi	31	御前崎市などが中電に要望 浜岡原発5号機の運転再開で /静岡県	Neutral/Anti	Malfunction, safety uncertainty
50	21/01/2011	Asahi	31	原発点検漏れ、新たに14機器 柏崎刈羽1・5・6号機 /新潟県	Neutral/Anti	Malfunction (human error)
51	22/01/2011	Asahi	10	浜岡原発5号機、運転再開へ 静岡県、認める方針	Neutral	Technological report, malfunction report
52	22/01/2011	Asahi	29	東通原発の断層、従来評価「適切」 東北電力 /青森県	Neutral	Malfunction report
53	22/01/2011	Asahi	29	志賀原発2号機、北電が手動停止へ「凝縮水」流量低下で /富山県	Neutral	Malfunction report
54	22/01/2011	Asahi	30	原発を知ろう、考えよう 延岡で29日、トークショー /宮崎県	Anti	Opposition groups, safety uncertainty, environment
55	22/01/2011	Asahi	31	耐震評価報告、保安院に提出 原発3号機巡り中電 /島根県	Neutral	Technological report
56	22/01/2011	Asahi	31	安堵と抗議、交錯 高浜3号機、ブルサーマル発電が営業運転 /福井県	Both	Safety uncertainty (A) + Stability of supply (P)
57	22/01/2011	Asahi	31	J A串間市大東、原発反対を再確認 組合員周知へ /宮崎県	Anti	Safety uncertainty (agriculture)
58	23/01/2011	Asahi	37	いまだ残る不安 地元「時間かけ説明を」 浜岡原発5号機、再開へ /静岡県	Both	Seismic safety (P) + Safety uncertainty/Anxiety (A)
59	25/01/2011	Asahi	27	敦賀原発1号機が14カ月の定検 運転40年超で初 /福井県	Neutral	Technological report
60	25/01/2011	Asahi	29	浜岡原発5号機の運転再開了承 川勝知事、中電に伝える /静岡県	Pro	Seismic safety
61	25/01/2011	Asahi	29	試運転中の5号機、東電が国に報告書 柏崎刈羽原発 /新潟県	Neutral	Seismic safety reassurance
62	25/01/2011	Asahi	33	浜岡原発5号機の再開認める 中部電力【名古屋】	Neutral/Pro	Seismic safety reassurance
63	25/01/2011	Asahi	37	日本原電を厳重注意 敦賀原発の不具合放置	Anti	Malfunction (human error)
64	26/01/2011	Asahi	11	米中経済界、強まる絆 「雇用と投資」思惑一致	NA	NA
65	26/01/2011	Asahi	26	原発情報連絡で協定 出雲市と中国電力が調印 /島根県	Neutral	Safety agreement
66	26/01/2011	Asahi	27	1年5カ月ぶり原子炉起動 中電、浜岡5号機で調整運転 /静岡県	Neutral	Technological report
67	26/01/2011	Asahi	27	東通原発の計画、国が認可 実際の工事、今春から開始 /青森県	Pro	Economic
68	27/01/2011	Asahi	23	美浜原発2号機、建て替えるの要望も 懇談会で関電社長「検討したい」 /福井県	Both	Regional development (P), employment (P) + Safety un
69	28/01/2011	Asahi	6	映画 マリオン	NA	NA
70	28/01/2011	Asahi	29	玄海原発2号機、あすから定期検査 /佐賀県	Neutral	Technological report
71	29/01/2011	Asahi	26	雪国・原発、謎の誕生...ラトビアに共感広がる 福井の歌人・紺野さん歌集 /北陸・共通	NA	NA
72	29/01/2011	Asahi	31	冷却水が漏れる 柏崎刈羽原発3号機 /新潟県	Neutral/Pro	Malfunction
73	30/01/2011	Asahi	31	原発労働の実態知って 「貧困や差別、背景に」 報道写真家・樋口さん講演 /福岡県	Anti	Health issues, poor working conditions
74	31/01/2011	Asahi	29	(リポートふくしま) 安全や雇用、不安なお 第二原発3号機、定検開隔延長 /福島県	Both	Employment (P), Economic (P) + Safety (A), Environm
75	31/01/2011	Asahi	29	反原発派が事務所開き 串間市民投票向け /宮崎県	Neutral/Anti	Opposition groups

<sup>7</sup> The table excludes the sections ‘Prefecture’, ‘Illustrative example’, ‘Fukushima reference’, ‘Remarks’

1	03/01/2011	Yomiuri	33	[宇宙へ] (1) 2015年 月面に日の丸 (連載)	NA	NA
2	05/01/2011	Yomiuri	31	うさぎ年 仕事始め 不況バネに跳ぶ=北海道	NA	NA
3	05/01/2011	Yomiuri	7	イラン 核施設視察に招待 欧州諸国や中露の代表者	Neutral	Reporting developments
4	05/01/2011	Yomiuri	8	変革・成長求め年頭所感 九州・山口企業トップ	Pro	Stability of supply
5	06/01/2011	Yomiuri	26	エネルギー館に科学コーナー開設=福島	Pro	Education
6	06/01/2011	Yomiuri	29	蒸気乾燥器にひび=静岡	Pro	Malfunction, safety reassurance
7	07/01/2011	Yomiuri	29	放射性廃棄物の数値を下方修正 四国・九州電力	Neutral	Measurement error
8	08/01/2011	Yomiuri	34	5号機の耐震安全性「問題ない」報告追認 原子力分科会=静岡	Pro	Seismic safety
9	08/01/2011	Yomiuri	34	中部電 法令順守審査の新組織 浜岡原発内に 無断工事再発防止策=静岡	Neutral/Pro	Unauthorised constructions
10	08/01/2011	Yomiuri	31	使用済み制御棒 46本中 ひび28本 原発7号機=新潟	Neutral	Malfunction
11	08/01/2011	Yomiuri	10	[展望・経済人に聞く] (4) 原子力発電比率上げも 水野明久氏 (連載) =中部	Pro	Stability of supply, Economic, safety
12	09/01/2011	Yomiuri	2	日露原子力協定 露側は批准完了	Neutral	Reporting developments
13	10/01/2011	Yomiuri	23	泊原発3号機で作業員体内被曝 人体に影響なし=北海道	Neutral/Pro	Health issues (as part of work)
14	10/01/2011	Yomiuri	30	原発初の地震停止実験 「中越沖」1.5倍想定 東電・東芝実証へ	Neutral/Pro	Technological improvement, safety, economy, anxiety
15	10/01/2011	Yomiuri	2	新幹線 米に売り込み加速 外相、フロリダ知事に	Pro	Advanced technology
16	11/01/2011	Yomiuri	31	知事選 現職と共産一騎打ちへ 民主県連は擁立見送り=佐賀	NA	NA
17	12/01/2011	Yomiuri	33	放射性物質漏れ問題 燃料棒位置ば特定 女川原発3号機=宮城	Neutral	Malfunction
18	12/01/2011	Yomiuri	2	川内原発増設を申請	Neutral	Technological expansion
19	12/01/2011	Yomiuri	30	玄海原発燃料集合体の移送公開 濃度上昇原因特定は月末頃=佐賀	Neutral	Malfunction
20	12/01/2011	Yomiuri	1	川内原発3号機 国に増設許可申請	Neutral	Technological expansion
21	13/01/2011	Yomiuri	29	制御棒「安全性は確保」=新潟	Pro	Safety
22	13/01/2011	Yomiuri	29	柏崎刈羽原発 地震停止実験月内に 「制御棒」安全限界探る=新潟	Neutral	Technological improvement, seismic safety
23	13/01/2011	Yomiuri	9	[国をひらく] (8) 官民一丸 インフラ輸出 (連載)	Both	Economic (P) + Safety uncertainty (A)
24	13/01/2011	Yomiuri	15	春日電機元社長 インサイダー疑いも 証取委が強制調査	NA	NA
25	13/01/2011	Yomiuri	8	岡野バルブ製造が過去最高益	NA	NA
26	13/01/2011	Yomiuri	8	九電 川内原発3号機許可申請 安全性に万全強調	Pro	Stability of supply, safety
27	13/01/2011	Yomiuri	10	中電、12月の発電実績も増=中部	Neutral	Reporting developments
28	16/01/2011	Yomiuri	35	5号機再開 地元了承 浜岡原発 月内にも稼働=静岡	Neutral/Pro	Seismic safety, verifications,
29	18/01/2011	Yomiuri	31	浜岡5号機再開 地元了承 県に報告=静岡	Neutral	Reporting developments
30	18/01/2011	Yomiuri	31	第2原発3号機 運転期間延長 所在町協議会が雇用に懸念=福島	Neutral/Pro	Employment
31	18/01/2011	Yomiuri	8	東芝とIHI 合併設立を発表 原発向けタービン	Neutral	Technological expansion
32	18/01/2011	Yomiuri	28	玄海原発ヨウ素濃度上昇 MOX燃料は異常なし 九電検査	Neutral	Malfunction
33	18/01/2011	Yomiuri	8	MOX異常なし 九電が正式発表 玄海原発3号機	Neutral/Pro	Malfunction
34	19/01/2011	Yomiuri	33	玄海原発 MOX燃料異常なし	Neutral/Pro	Malfunction
35	19/01/2011	Yomiuri	2	核防護の人材育成 新興国対象に支援 政府	Pro	Advanced technology
36	19/01/2011	Yomiuri	26	環境影響訴訟 九電側争う姿勢 川内原発増設初弁論=鹿児島	Neutral/Anti	Environment
37	19/01/2011	Yomiuri	29	ヨウ素濃度上昇 プルサーマルの影響を九電否定	Neutral	Malfunction
38	20/01/2011	Yomiuri	29	浜岡3号機建屋 シートから煙=静岡	Neutral	Malfunction
39	20/01/2011	Yomiuri	33	ウクライナ大統領と会見	NA	NA
40	20/01/2011	Yomiuri	11	メガ太陽光発電 続々 工場屋根、製油所跡地を活用 全量買い取り制 追い風	Pro	Economic
41	21/01/2011	Yomiuri	31	点検漏れ新たに14機器 柏崎刈羽原発、自主検査対象で=新潟	Neutral	Inspection report
42	22/01/2011	Yomiuri	33	原発地震停止実験始まる 想定超す「中越沖」の揺れ踏まえ=新潟	Neutral	Seismic safety verifications
43	22/01/2011	Yomiuri	1	宇宙発電 実証実験へ 電力を電波に変換 京大施設で今春から	NA	NA
44	22/01/2011	Yomiuri	13	中電 浜岡5号機 25日にも再開 知事、了承表明へ=中部	Neutral/Pro	Seismic safety
45	25/01/2011	Yomiuri	35	柏崎刈羽原発 5号機試運転が終了 国に「問題なし」報告=新潟	Neutral/Pro	Technological report
46	25/01/2011	Yomiuri	35	浜岡5号機 稼働1年半ぶり きょうから 知事「安全徹底を」=静岡	Both	Seismic safety (P) + Safety uncertainty (A)
47	25/01/2011	Yomiuri	37	浜岡原発 きょう運転再開	Neutral	Reporting developments
48	25/01/2011	Yomiuri	12	東通原発の工事認可	Pro	Technological expansion, technological improvement
49	26/01/2011	Yomiuri	35	浜岡5号機が再開 営業運転、来月末にも=静岡	Neutral	Malfunction report
50	26/01/2011	Yomiuri	35	東通原発1号機 着工=青森	Pro	Safety, technological improvement
51	26/01/2011	Yomiuri	28	原発情報提供で協定 出雲市と中電 「点検漏れ」受け締結=島根	Neutral	Safety agreement
52	26/01/2011	Yomiuri	32	浜岡5号機 運転再開=中部	Neutral	Technological report
53	28/01/2011	Yomiuri	32	東通原発 1号機の安全祈願祭=青森	Pro	Safety
54	28/01/2011	Yomiuri	33	6号機発電再開=新潟	Neutral	Reporting developments
55	28/01/2011	Yomiuri	31	あすから玄海原発2号機定期検査=佐賀	Neutral	Reporting developments
56	28/01/2011	Yomiuri	33	原発計画めぐり記録映画上映会 あす彦根で=滋賀	NA	NA
57	28/01/2011	Yomiuri	9	原発近くにオオタカ=中部	Neutral/Anti	Environment
58	29/01/2011	Yomiuri	12	[断面] 浜岡5号機再開 法令順守と地元説明課題 原発戦略の余波大きく=中部	Both	Economic (P) + Safety uncertainty (A)
1	01/01/2016	Asahi	17	歴史筋、ドキュメンタリー 「いま」を伝えて46年、NNNDドキュメント 新年特集	NA	NA
2	01/01/2016	Asahi	29	参院選・熱気球世界選手権... 今年の佐賀 / 佐賀県	NA	NA
3	01/01/2016	Asahi	29	「しずおか現代世相史 One day Some day : 1」浜岡CM放映 198	Pro	Education, safety reassurance, environment, stable su
4	01/01/2016	Asahi	38	玄海再稼働「秋以降」 3・4号機、九電社長が意向 【西部】	Pro	Economic, supply stability
5	04/01/2016	Asahi	7	新年、課題解決へ全力 【西部】	Pro	Employment, economic
6	04/01/2016	Asahi	7	仕事始め、使命新た サミット「万全の体制を」・制服復活で気持ちもオン 【名古屋】	NA	NA
7	04/01/2016	Asahi	23	東通と大間、適合審査長期化か 県内の原子力施設、今年の焦点 / 青森県	Neutral	Developments report
8	04/01/2016	Asahi	29	原発安対協を米子市が設置 来月、委員を公募 / 鳥取県	Neutral	Citizens involvement, safety measures
9	05/01/2016	Asahi	28	新基準上回る安全策 知事、北電社長に要請 泊再稼働 / 北海道	Both	Safety measures, stable supply, price reduction(P) + s
10	06/01/2016	Asahi	3	(プロメテウスの嵐) 村人になる: 4 第1志望は東京電力	Neutral/Anti	Employment, emotional impact
11	06/01/2016	Asahi	4	核実験、「歯止め」あいまい インド、「自国の権利」主張 日印原子力協定	NA	NA
12	06/01/2016	Asahi	8	高浜3号機、試験使用を申請 開電、24日から 【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments
13	06/01/2016	Asahi	25	東電社長、原発の安全対策実績強調 「自浄作用働かず」知事改めて不信心 / 新潟県	Anti	Safety uncertainty, distrust in TEPCO
14	06/01/2016	Asahi	29	「再稼働・改革・増設」 原発事業者トップ決意 / 福井県	Neutral	Safety uncertainty, reports of developments
15	07/01/2016	Asahi	6	電力各社に調査指示 ケーブル不適切敷設 規制委	Neutral	Malfunction report, safety uncertainty
16	07/01/2016	Asahi	10	高浜再稼働シミュレーション公開 開電 【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments
17	07/01/2016	Asahi	31	(私論) 漱石 来熊120年: 5) 徹兵忌避説「妙な関係」で北海道へ / 熊本県	NA	NA
18	07/01/2016	Asahi	32	泊原発の安全対策に「アドバイザー」 道、学者3氏を選任 / 北海道	Neutral	Reporting developments
19	08/01/2016	Asahi	1	Photo Story) 仮想空間の先、向き合う廃炉	Pro	Technological improvement
20	08/01/2016	Asahi	7	日印の外務次官対話	NA	NA
21	08/01/2016	Asahi	7	柏崎刈羽の審査、再稼働と無関係 新潟知事	Anti	Safety uncertainty
22	08/01/2016	Asahi	25	県HP「測定マップ」新年度に改良へ 放射線データ分かりやすく / 福島県	Pro	Technological improvement, peace of mind

23	08/01/2016	Asahi	25	(あおり 探) 止まらぬ原燃トラブル 落雷で故障・ミスで火災・保安規定違反... / 青森	Anti	Safety uncertainty, human error, poor working safety
24	08/01/2016	Asahi	27	(活躍ワタシ流 : 7) 稲沢バナナ園オーナー・石田守さん 37歳 / 愛知県	NA	NA
25	08/01/2016	Asahi	38	日本ベントクラブが抗議声明 北朝鮮核実験	NA	NA
26	09/01/2016	Asahi	8	高浜3号機、試験使用へ 関西電力【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments
27	09/01/2016	Asahi	24	(玄海原発) 1号機廃炉28年間、4段階で 放射性廃棄物の行き先は? / 佐賀県	Neutral	Reporting developments, nuclear waste debate
28	09/01/2016	Asahi	25	Jパワー社長が大間 / 青森県	Neutral	Reporting developments
29	09/01/2016	Asahi	26	敦賀原発1号機で水漏れ / 福井県	Neutral	Malfunction report
30	09/01/2016	Asahi	32	ニュースでQ	NA	NA
31	09/01/2016	Asahi	32	玄海の免震棟「白紙」 九電幹部、唐津市議会で【西部】	Neutral	Seismic safety debate, reporting
32	11/01/2016	Asahi	4	(電力を問う 原発事故5年 : 1) 東電が負う「責任と競争」	Neutral	Economic, employment
33	11/01/2016	Asahi	25	(18歳が選ぶ)「関心あるテーマ」9位 原発 / 山口県	Both	Safety uncertainty, nuclear waste disposal (A) + stable
34	12/01/2016	Asahi	3	福島第一、増える視察 4年半で1.6万人、一般参加も	Neutral/Pro	Nuclear waste debate, reporting about radiation level
35	12/01/2016	Asahi	26	高浜原発で事故訓練【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
36	13/01/2016	Asahi	3	(プロメテウスの嵐) 村人になる : 11 娘が川内へ、感う心	Pro	Safety reassurance, food safety
37	13/01/2016	Asahi	24	東電が安全運営、考えられぬ 原発再稼働問題、泉田知事に聞く / 新潟県	Anti	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety unc
38	13/01/2016	Asahi	26	勧告への対応説明「もんじゅ」運営主体変更、県安管協で文科省 / 福井県	Neutral	Reporting developments
39	13/01/2016	Asahi	27	玄海原発、中間貯蔵の可能性言及 九電社長、知事訪問後 / 佐賀県	Neutral/Anti	Nuclear waste debate
40	14/01/2016	Asahi	5	福島県、初申し立てへ 原発ADR 東電に10億円規模請求	Neutral/Anti	Damage compensation
41	14/01/2016	Asahi	9	(この人に聞きたい どうする原発 : 8) 大島堅一さん 原発のコスト、どう考えるか【	Anti	Supply sufficiency, compensation and maintenance cost
42	14/01/2016	Asahi	13	北海道・青森で震度5弱	NA	NA
43	14/01/2016	Asahi	25	4選「1人で判断できぬ」 再稼働問題含め判断 定例会見で知事 / 新潟県	Neutral	Safety uncertainty
44	14/01/2016	Asahi	29	「辺野古に土砂送らせない」市民団体発足へ17日集会 / 山口県	Neutral/Anti	Environment, opposition groups
45	15/01/2016	Asahi	25	F5断層、ボーリングを追加 調査が長引く可能性も 柏崎刈羽原発 / 新潟県	Neutral	Reporting
46	15/01/2016	Asahi	25	気象台「余震注意を」 東通で震度5弱 / 青森県	NA	NA
47	15/01/2016	Asahi	28	暴時、広範囲で強い揺れ 商品散乱、交通混乱 浦河など震度5弱 / 北海道	NA	NA
48	15/01/2016	Asahi	29	(再稼働を問う 伊方原発3号機) テロ対策に予備施設 四電新設へ / 愛媛県	Neutral	Reporting developments
49	16/01/2016	Asahi	4	安全基準、日本並みが条件 原発輸出巡り首相が答弁	Neutral	Safety measures, exports
50	16/01/2016	Asahi	7	経団連会長「再稼働を」 柏崎刈羽原発を視察	Both	Economic (cost reduction) (P) + Safety uncertainty (A)
51	16/01/2016	Asahi	7	放射線モニター、高浜原発で故障 3号機「測定影響なし」【大阪】	Neutral	Malfunction report
52	16/01/2016	Asahi	21	東電社長、2首長に説明 柏崎刈羽原発、ケール問題など / 新潟県	Neutral	Safety uncertainty, distrust in TEPCO
53	16/01/2016	Asahi	25	伊方にテロ対策施設 四電、「再稼働影響なし」 / 高知県	Neutral/Pro	Seismic safety, anto-terrorist facility, technological ad
54	16/01/2016	Asahi	25	テロ対策施設、設置申請提出 伊方原発3号機 / 香川県	Neutral/Pro	Anti-terrorist facility, technological advancement
55	16/01/2016	Asahi	25	昨年10月の原子力意見交換会、御前崎市が内容を公表 情報の共有を図る / 静岡県	Anti	Safety uncertainty, nuclear waste disposal, damage o
56	17/01/2016	Asahi	2	グループ175号<被災地と復興庁の五年間>「希望」を査定する	NA	NA
57	17/01/2016	Asahi	8	グループ175号<被災地と復興庁の五年間>この道に「次」はあるか	NA	NA
58	17/01/2016	Asahi	14	思い出す本 忘れたい本『原発メルトダウンへの道』 石田純一さん	NA	NA
59	17/01/2016	Asahi	37	点検記録虚偽、住民に説明会 中電、21日に松江で / 島根県	Neutral	Reporting developments, malfunction
60	18/01/2016	Asahi	4	(電力を問う 原発事故5年 : 2) 東電賠償「免責通じぬ」	Neutral/Anti	Damage compensation
61	18/01/2016	Asahi	27	原発再稼働、争点化薄く 東海村議選あす告示、現新22人が準備 / 茨城県	Neutral	Reporting developments
62	18/01/2016	Asahi	27	「がれき撤去で粉じんが飛散」国際研究班が報告 南相馬13年産の米汚染 / 福島県	Anti	Environment
63	19/01/2016	Asahi	10	イスラエル、なお警戒心 米に援助増要望 イラン制裁解除	NA	NA
64	19/01/2016	Asahi	29	免震重要棟建設、市民団体が要請 九電の撤回に対し / 鹿児島県	Neutral/Anti	Opposition groups, protests, safety uncertainty
65	19/01/2016	Asahi	29	福島っ子の笑顔、記憶のーコマ 交流事業の写真展、下関で開幕 / 山口県	Neutral	Reconstruction, anxiety,
66	20/01/2016	Asahi	24	原発再稼働や建て替え要望 美浜町原子力懇談会 / 福井県	Neutral/ Pro	Employment
67	20/01/2016	Asahi	24	点検記録虚偽、境港で説明会 22日、質疑も受け付け / 鳥取県	Neutral	Malfunction
68	20/01/2016	Asahi	27	高浜原発で原子力安全協定、25日締結へ / 滋賀県	Neutral	Safety agreement
69	20/01/2016	Asahi	29	東海村議選に2人立候補 原発言及は少数 / 茨城県	Both	Employment (P) + Safety uncertainty (A)
70	20/01/2016	Asahi	29	浜岡2号機火災の原因、ファン軸受け破損 中部電が謝罪 / 静岡県	Neutral	Malfunction report
71	21/01/2016	Asahi	23	住宅・定住支援「バックアップを」 県内避難者、知事と意見交換 / 山形県	Neutral	Anxiety (housing)
72	22/01/2016	Asahi	27	市議の柳沢氏、立候補を表明 御前崎市市長選、市長同席 / 静岡県	Neutral/ Pro	Industrial development
73	22/01/2016	Asahi	27	原発の安全工事を点検 / 静岡県	Neutral	Inspection report
74	22/01/2016	Asahi	28	読者・ワイド / 兵庫県	NA	NA
75	23/01/2016	Asahi	21	2市、原発避難計画案 十日町と見附 / 新潟県	Neutral	Reporting developments (about evacuation plan)
76	23/01/2016	Asahi	28	業務改善、住民に説明 放射性廃棄物記録虚偽 中電 / 島根県	Neutral/Anti	Malfunction (human error)
77	23/01/2016	Asahi	28	連合鳥取・島根、福嶋氏を推薦 参院選合区 / 鳥取県	NA	NA
78	23/01/2016	Asahi	33	防火対策明記、関電が補正書 高浜原発1、2号機【大阪】	Neutral/Anti	Technological improvement, malfunction
79	24/01/2016	Asahi	1	高浜避難先、計画策定1割 原発事故時4府県56市町 朝日新聞社調査【大阪】	Anti	Anxiety, safety uncertainty, lack of preparation (for ev
80	24/01/2016	Asahi	2	(本の虫) 原発事故5年目の宿題 劉永昇 朝日プラス・シー【名古屋】	Anti	Lack of preparation, health concerns, safety uncertain
81	24/01/2016	Asahi	3	川内に免震棟建設、一転撤回 九電、原発再稼働後に方針転換 「新基準クリア」耐震施設	Anti	Safety uncertainty
82	24/01/2016	Asahi	9	中国、イランに原発建設 首脳会談で合意 高速鉄道、資金支援も	Neutral	Reporting
83	24/01/2016	Asahi	25	風水害を伴った原発事故を想定 玄海、25機関が図上訓練 / 佐賀県	Neutral	Reporting developments
84	24/01/2016	Asahi	25	何を反省したのか 中電へ不信の声 点検記録虚偽、境港で説明会 / 鳥取県	Anti	Malfunction (human error), safety violations
85	24/01/2016	Asahi	25	避難指示の解除、国「春ごろめど」 川内東部 / 福島県	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty, anxiety (return)
86	24/01/2016	Asahi	25	粉じん飛散対応、国を厳しく批判 浪江町検証委員 / 福島県	Anti	Safety uncertainty, violations, lack of information
87	24/01/2016	Asahi	25	双葉の拠点施設「しっかり支援」 町訪ね復興 / 福島県	Anti	Reconstruction
88	24/01/2016	Asahi	27	(となりの原発) 高浜原発の安全対策など報告会 高島市長「一定理解」 / 滋賀県	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty
89	24/01/2016	Asahi	32	(再稼働を問う) 避難受け入れ、準備不足「情報ほしい」 高浜原発広域計画【大阪】	Anti	Lack of information, supply uncertainty, employment (
90	25/01/2016	Asahi	1	高浜避難先、計画策定は1割 原発事故時、56市町	Neutral	Reporting developments (about evacuation plan)
91	25/01/2016	Asahi	1	再稼働、29日にも 高浜原発3号機	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
92	25/01/2016	Asahi	1	高浜3号機再稼働、29日にも 関電、規制委に報告【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
93	25/01/2016	Asahi	4	(電力を問う 原発事故5年 : 3) 矛盾抱える原発賠償	Anti	Economic loss, high costs, employment decrease, saf
94	25/01/2016	Asahi	9	滋賀県、関電と安全協定 再稼働控える高浜原発巡り【大阪】	Neutral	Safety agreement
95	25/01/2016	Asahi	10	滋賀と関電が原子力安全協定 高浜原発めぐり	Neutral	Safety agreement
96	25/01/2016	Asahi	25	東海村議選、原発推進派が過半数に 原発再稼働組出者も / 茨城県	Both	Employment (P) + Safety uncertainty, evacuation plan
97	25/01/2016	Asahi	27	防災リーダー訓練 高浜原発事故想定、福知山で / 京都府	Neutral	Reporting
98	26/01/2016	Asahi	1	広域訓練なし、周辺懸念 高浜3号機、29日にも再稼働【大阪】	Both	Economic (cost reduction) (P) + Safety uncertainty (ev
99	26/01/2016	Asahi	1	川内原発の免震棟撤回「再申請を」 規制委、九電に求める【西部】	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty
100	26/01/2016	Asahi	2	規制委、申請出し直し要求 川内原発、免震棟の建設撤回	Neutral	Reporting

101	26/01/2016	Asahi	3	高浜3号機、29日にも再稼働 ブルサーマル式、新基準初	Neutral	Reporting developments
102	26/01/2016	Asahi	4	ガラス固化処理を再開 原子力機構	Neutral	Reporting developments
103	26/01/2016	Asahi	28	原発安全対策、広報に力 東京電力新潟本社・木村公一代表に聞く /新潟県	Both	Safety measures, economic, employment (job creation)
104	26/01/2016	Asahi	29	保管場、11年後には限界 東海再処理施設で9年ぶりガラス固化を再開 /茨城県	Neutral	Nuclear waste debate
105	26/01/2016	Asahi	30	「有識者会合、法的根拠ない」 志賀原発訴訟で北電側主張 /石川県	Neutral	Reporting
106	26/01/2016	Asahi	31	(となりの原発)「さらに権限求める」 県、関電と協定締結 高浜再稼働 /滋賀県	Neutral	Safety agreement
107	26/01/2016	Asahi	33	(玄海原発) 免震棟「見直し」、規制委どう判断 /佐賀県	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty
108	26/01/2016	Asahi	35	(再稼働を問う) 高浜の津波想定、十分? 相次ぐ引き上げ、新たな痕跡も 【大阪】	Neutral	Seismic safety verifications, safety uncertainty
109	27/01/2016	Asahi	1	インデックス 1月27日	Neutral	Nuclear waste debate
110	27/01/2016	Asahi	2	(時時刻刻) 核のゴミ、見えぬ行き先 最終処分場、19道府県すでに拒否 朝日新聞調査	Neutral	Nuclear waste debate, safety uncertainty debate
111	27/01/2016	Asahi	3	九電へ規制委疑義「申請出し直しを」 川内原発に免震棟、撤回	Neutral	Reporting developments
112	27/01/2016	Asahi	7	福島第一廃炉へ、技術開発に一役 格納容器一部、実物大模型	Neutral	Development of decommissioning technology
113	27/01/2016	Asahi	9	中電労組、ベア要求へ 業績改善受け7年ぶり 【名古屋】	NA	NA
114	27/01/2016	Asahi	25	広域避難に備え協定 原発30キロ圏の那珂町、筑西・桜川両市と /茨城県	Neutral	Safety agreement, evacuation plan
115	27/01/2016	Asahi	25	原本シタケ、10人出荷解除 16市町71人に /栃木県	Anti	Food safety issues
116	27/01/2016	Asahi	27	(備える 提言編) 京都防災研究所・牧紀男教授 /高知県	NA	NA
117	27/01/2016	Asahi	31	福島のいま、一人芝居で 31日上演「あの時は私は...」ラジオ番組の設定 /福岡県	Neutral	Reporting, anxiety, dramas
118	27/01/2016	Asahi	31	不安の声相次ぎ、原発説明会紛糾 水俣市民団体に開催 /鹿児島県	Neutral/Anti	Anxiety, safety uncertainty, lack of preparation (for ev
119	27/01/2016	Asahi	31	不安の声相次ぎ紛糾 川内原発、水俣市民団体に説明会 /熊本県	Neutral/Anti	Anxiety, safety uncertainty, lack of preparation (for ev
120	27/01/2016	Asahi	32	(再稼働を問う) 原発避難路に格差 唯一の道、ふさがれたら... 【大阪】	Neutral	Evacuation plan concerns
121	27/01/2016	Asahi	34	川内免震棟、規制委に注文 市民団体、九電の姿勢追及 【西部】	Neutral/Anti	Reporting developments, safety uncertainty, opposit
122	28/01/2016	Asahi	8	川内免震棟、九電の態度注視 規制委・田中委員長 【西部】	Neutral/Anti	Reporting developments, safety uncertainty
123	28/01/2016	Asahi	10	(再稼働を問う) 市長2人、原発にモノ申す 京丹後・大津 【大阪】	Anti	Evacuation plan concerns, environment
124	28/01/2016	Asahi	14	(社説) 関電高浜原発 なし崩し再稼働に反対だ	Anti	Safety uncertainty, anxiety, lack of preparation (evacu
125	28/01/2016	Asahi	28	(備える 提言編) 京都大学防災研究所・牧紀男教授 /徳島県	NA	NA
126	28/01/2016	Asahi	29	浜岡事故想定広域避難計画、県が具体経路案 31キロ圏11市町対象 /静岡県	Neutral	Reporting developments (about evacuation plan)
127	28/01/2016	Asahi	31	防災・復興、見つめ直す 21世紀文明シンポジウム「減災〜東日本大震災から5年」	Neutral	Disaster prevention
128	28/01/2016	Asahi	35	伊方原発再稼働「年度内は困難」 3号機めぐり四電社長 【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
129	28/01/2016	Asahi	35	関電前からNO 高浜原発再稼働に市民ら抗議の声 【大阪】	Neutral/Anti	Protests
130	28/01/2016	Asahi	35	島根原発近くの断層評価見直し 地震動再計算へ 【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting malfunction
131	28/01/2016	Asahi	37	村長、敷地埋設を容認 東海原発の低レベル放射性廃棄物	Neutral	Nuclear waste debate, environment
132	29/01/2016	Asahi	1	高浜原発3号機、今夕再稼働 【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
133	29/01/2016	Asahi	13	再稼働目前、厳戒の朝 高浜原発3号機 【大阪】	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty, protesters, communication metho
134	29/01/2016	Asahi	16	「TPP影響最小限に」 「中小企業政策進めて」 甘利氏の辞任、政権に注文	NA	NA
135	29/01/2016	Asahi	23	ヨウ素剤、医師が巡回し配布 篠山市、31日から 希望者のみ /兵庫県	Neutral	Health issues prevention
136	29/01/2016	Asahi	23	告知板 /岡山県	Neutral	Announcement
137	29/01/2016	Asahi	23	中電が自治体に説明 宍道断層評価3キロ延長 /島根県	Neutral	Seismic safety, malfunction
138	29/01/2016	Asahi	30	(再稼働を問う) ヨウ素剤、配布手順未定 高浜原発30キロ圏の10市町 【大阪】	Neutral/Anti	Health issues prevention, lack of preparation
139	29/01/2016	Asahi	30	京大・今中助教が退職講演 反原発運動、住民側を支援 【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting
140	30/01/2016	Asahi	2	(時時刻刻) 高浜、急いだ再稼働 原発銀座、遅れる避難計画 【大阪】	Anti	Economic, safety uncertainty, lack of preparation (eva
141	30/01/2016	Asahi	4	石原新大臣、党内に不安も 「経済財政分野は不得意？」	NA	NA
142	30/01/2016	Asahi	7	規制委、揺れ想定了承 柏崎刈羽、福島第一と同型で初	Neutral	Seismic safety, verifications,
143	30/01/2016	Asahi	7	不適切ケーブル、7基計2500本確認 東電、規制委に報告 柏崎刈羽	Neutral	Malfunction
144	30/01/2016	Asahi	8	中国電の新社長に清水副社長昇格 【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments
145	30/01/2016	Asahi	8	九電社長「安全性向上を説明」 川内免震棟の建設撤回 【西部】	Neutral/Anti	Seismic safety, economic
146	30/01/2016	Asahi	25	RFSが貯蔵計画 /青森県	Neutral	Reporting developments
147	30/01/2016	Asahi	25	原燃「安全感度不十分」 /青森県	Neutral	Safety uncertainty
148	30/01/2016	Asahi	28	北電、年1.5万円安く 多量消費向け新料金プラン 電力自由化で対抗策 /北海道	Neutral	Economic (cost reduction)
149	30/01/2016	Asahi	29	市民ら抗議の声 高浜原発再稼働 /京都府	Anti	Protests, lack of preparation (evacuation plan), anxiet
150	30/01/2016	Asahi	29	市民ら抗議・デモ 高浜原発再稼働 /京都府	Anti	Protests, lack of preparation (evacuation plan), anxiet
151	30/01/2016	Asahi	33	「浜岡の対策、着実に実施」 中電社長 【名古屋】	Neutral	Safety reassurance
152	30/01/2016	Asahi	37	再稼働、福島の教訓どこへ 原発依存の町、渦巻く賛否 高浜3号機 【大阪】	Both	Protests, safety uncertainty (A) + Economic, employe
153	31/01/2016	Asahi	8	(社説) 川内原発 安全と信頼が揺らぐ	Anti	Safety uncertainty
154	31/01/2016	Asahi	21	土砂被災者へ福島米を 60世帯に無償配布 /広島県	Neutral	Food safety
155	31/01/2016	Asahi	21	(備える 提言編) 希望と現実、埋める策を 京都大学防災研・牧紀男教授 /和歌山県	NA	NA
1	01/01/2016	Yomiuri	3	【社説】世界の安定へ重い日本の責務 成長戦略を一層強力に進めたい	NA	NA
2	01/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	仮設住宅 20年までに解消 岩手・宮城 政府 復興方針改定へ	Neutral/Pro	Reconstruction (housing)
3	01/01/2016	Yomiuri	38	玄海2号機 再稼働検討 運転開始34年 九電社長が意欲	Pro	Economic (cost reduction), restarting advantages (con
4	01/01/2016	Yomiuri	13	投資回収の見極め焦点に 玄海原発2号機再稼働検討 30年以上の施設に影響も	Pro	Supply stability
5	01/01/2016	Yomiuri	13	トップに聞く2016 関西経済の針路 森詳介 尾崎裕	Pro	Economic (cost reduction+economic recovery)
6	03/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	【18歳白書】(2) 団塊編 根岸義明さん、道越昌敏さん(連載) =福井	NA	NA
7	04/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	【メイド イン イバラキ】(3) 風土薫る美酒に酔う(連載) =茨城	NA	NA
8	04/01/2016	Yomiuri	11	【ニュース月録】2015年12月1日(火)〜12月31日(木)	NA	NA
9	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	泊再稼働「丁寧な説明を」 知事 北電に安全対策要望=北海道	Neutral	Safety measures, stable supply, price reduction
10	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	飛躍目指し 仕事始め 知事「羽ばたく1年」=富山	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
11	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	32	「災害対策に期待」1位 県政に関する世論調査=千葉	Neutral	Disaster prevention
12	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	知事、3月訪台で調整 県産食品の禁輸解除要請=千葉	Neutral	Economic (exports)
13	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	37	使用済み核燃料税導入へ 玄海町 原発停止で財政悪化	Neutral/Pro	Reporting, economic
14	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	38	玄海町が使用済み核燃料税 近く九電に伝達 1号機廃炉、収減で	Pro	Reporting, economic
15	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	佐賀空港 16日から新愛称 知事「世界との橋渡しを」=佐賀	Neutral	Reporting developments
16	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	「ぬくもりある社会を実現」 仕事始め 知事が決意語る=鹿児島	Neutral	Disaster prevention
17	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	「伊方」情報 丁寧な説明を 仕事始め 知事が新年訓示=愛媛	Neutral	Reporting, economic, anxiety
18	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	高浜再稼働同意 「知事判断適切」敦賀市長が見解=福井	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
19	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	飛躍の年に! 仕事始め 新幹線若狹ルート 実現へ知事決意=福井	NA	NA
20	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	7	関西浮揚へ「攻勢」 新年互礼会 訪日客急増 追い風	Neutral	Economic
21	05/01/2016	Yomiuri	8	高浜安全対策など関電社長が説明 福井知事と面談	Neutral	Safety measures
22	06/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	今年の選挙 8市町長、3市議選 夏の参院選 4氏準備=静岡	NA	NA
23	06/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	福島第一廃炉 3D訓練 楢葉に疑似体験システム	Neutral	Technological improvement (decommissioning)
24	06/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	今年の言葉「進化」 福商新年祝賀会に1400人	NA	NA

25	06/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	高浜3号機 試験運転申請 閉電	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
26	06/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	閉電社長 同意に謝辞 原電・機構も年始あいさつ=福井	Pro	Safety measures, economic (cost reduction),
27	07/01/2016	Yomiuri	30	原子力アドバイザー 谷岡教授ら3氏起用=北海道	Neutral	Reporting developments
28	07/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	「高浜再稼働」決定 住民側が保全抗告	Neutral	Protests, safety reassurance
29	07/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	ケーブル敷設不備 他原発でも調査へ 規制委指示	Neutral	Malfunction report, safety uncertainty
30	07/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	廃炉作業中の建屋出火	Neutral	Malfunction report
31	07/01/2016	Yomiuri	26	使用済み核燃料移送方針 九電社長に玄海町長伝える=佐賀	Neutral	Reporting, economic
32	07/01/2016	Yomiuri	26	北核実験 県内から批判相次ぐ 被爆者「悪い夢見てるよう」=佐賀	NA	NA
33	07/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	拉致交渉 どうなる 北朝鮮核実験 特定失踪者親族ら憤り=愛媛	NA	NA
34	07/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	原発再稼働操作 閉電が手順公開 敦賀の訓練施設=福井	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
35	08/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	浜岡原発2号機出火 けがりなし=静岡	Neutral	Malfunction report
36	08/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	泉田知事 4選へ出馬か 参院選 改選1 与野党決戦=新潟	NA	NA
37	08/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	〔視座2016〕(2) エネルギー 酒見俊夫氏 瓜生道明氏(連載)	Neutral	Reporting
38	08/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	九電が廃炉工程説明 玄海1号機 町議会特別委で=佐賀	Neutral	Decommissioning process, safety measures
39	08/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	学校の原発防災訓練進む 薩摩川内市立の7割実施 昨年11月末=鹿児島	Neutral	Disaster prevention, education,
40	08/01/2016	Yomiuri	25	高浜重大事故想定 閉電が大規模訓練 1日から3日間=福井	Neutral	Reporting
41	08/01/2016	Yomiuri	25	大阪原発で火事 配電盤接触不良=福井	Neutral	Malfunction report
42	08/01/2016	Yomiuri	25	敦賀1号機で漏水 建屋配管腐食=福井	Neutral	Malfunction report
43	09/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	浜岡再稼働 方針継続 中電社長「安定供給に不可欠」=静岡	Neutral/Pro	Stability of supply, economic (cost reduction)
44	09/01/2016	Yomiuri	6	基礎からわかる「もんじゅ」=特集	Neutral	Technological report, technological improvement
45	09/01/2016	Yomiuri	4	対中国 距離感にズレ 日英2プラス2 海洋進出は懸念共有	NA	NA
46	09/01/2016	Yomiuri	21	〔18歳の1票〕 今月のテーマ「震災復興」(1) 仮設校舎で部活動	Neutral/Anti	Reconstruction, victims
47	09/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	九電 免震重要棟は「白紙」 唐津市議会原発委 一部の市議は反発=佐賀	Neutral/Anti	Safety measures, safety uncertainty
48	09/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	塩素超過トラブル=愛媛	Neutral	Malfunction report
49	09/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	伊方署名9939人確定=愛媛	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
50	09/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	高浜3号機試験運転承認 原子力規制委=福井	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
51	10/01/2016	Yomiuri	36	〔ロボ・ライフ「未来」がきた〕(6) 災害 いざ危険地帯へ(連載)	Neutral	Technological improvement (decommissioning)
52	11/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	新成人 未来見据え 地方創生、安全保障、原発再稼働...	NA	NA
53	12/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	泊村長 8年ぶり選挙戦か 出馬表明2氏 原発再稼働 容認姿勢=北海道	Pro	Regional development
54	12/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	損害額1499万提示=千葉	Neutral	Decommissioning process, nuclear waste
55	12/01/2016	Yomiuri	3	原子力規制委の評価 IAEAが調査開始	Neutral	Reporting, safety measures
56	12/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	参院選佐賀選挙区 「野党共闘」が焦点に 自民、農政協との関係懸念=佐賀	NA	NA
57	12/01/2016	Yomiuri	30	原発事故テーマ 来月5日上映会 イオンシネマ桂川=京都	NA	NA
58	12/01/2016	Yomiuri	36	高浜原発再稼働へ 重大事故想定訓練	Neutral/Pro	Reporting developments (about restarting)
59	13/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	泊村長選 現・新の争い=北海道	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
60	13/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	ヨウ素剤 観光客配布訓練 道、泊で来月 荒天で避難困難想定=北海道	Neutral	Health concerns
61	13/01/2016	Yomiuri	32	〔法律相談室〕 妊娠理由に退職迫られる=福島	NA	NA
62	13/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	岡野ハルブ増収増益	NA	NA
63	13/01/2016	Yomiuri	32	九電社長 再稼働理解求める 玄海原発3、4号機 知事と会談=佐賀	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
64	13/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	放射線物質計測装置の警報作動 高浜3号機=福井	Neutral	Malfunction
65	14/01/2016	Yomiuri	13	函館震度5弱 お昼時突然「グラッ」 札幌も「4」 女性2人搬送=北海道	NA	NA
66	14/01/2016	Yomiuri	30	オスプレイ計画「県議会を尊重」 就任1年 知事インタビュー=佐賀	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety me
67	14/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	高浜原発 大規模訓練が終了=福井	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety me
68	14/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	もんじゅ 五里霧中 担い手 電力業界は敬遠 存廃 地元反応に温度差=福井	Reporting	
69	14/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	競艇弘質に亀川・広瀬・木村さん 被災施設確認へB型ロボ開発など=兵庫	Pro	Technological improvement
70	14/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	原発避難対応を要望=京都	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), evacuatio
71	15/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	ボーリング調査 さらに2か所で 柏崎刈羽4号機地下=新潟	Neutral	Malfunction report
72	15/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	山口知事就任1年 決断求められる年に オスプレイや原発再稼働=佐賀	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
73	15/01/2016	Yomiuri	27	伊方にテロ対処施設 四電が計画 原子力規制委に申請=愛媛	Neutral	Safety measures, technological improvement
74	15/01/2016	Yomiuri	27	住民に再発防止策説明 原発点検不正 中電、21日・松江 22日・境港=鳥根	Neutral	Malfunction, safety measures
75	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	原発事故避難受け入れ 11市町村でマニュアル=北海道	Neutral	Reporting developments (about evacuation plan)
76	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	12	国会論戦の詳細 15日の参院予算委から	Neutral	Economic (exports), safety measures
77	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	19	〔18歳の1票〕 今月のテーマ「震災復興」(2) 住まい再建に遅れ	Neutral	Reconstruction, decontamination, relocation
78	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	南海トラフ地震「24時間後」 県など6000人 図上訓練=静岡	Neutral	Seismic safety
79	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	複合災害 考えるきっかけに 県弁護士会 きょう、新潟でシンポ=新潟	Neutral	Disaster prevention
80	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	柏崎刈羽原発 経団連 再稼働に期待感 視察「安全追求の姿勢ある」=新潟	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
81	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	九電新料金 顧客流出防止狙う 割安 新たな減収要因	Neutral/Pro	Economic (cost reduction)
82	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	安全協定書案を了承 伊万里市議会 九電の「事前説明」柱に=佐賀	Neutral	Safety agreement, sfety uncertainty
83	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	高浜3号機警報 ポンプ故障原因=福井	Neutral	Malfunction
84	16/01/2016	Yomiuri	11	閉電 夜間割安プラン 小売り自由化で新料金発表	NA	NA
85	17/01/2016	Yomiuri	37	高浜原発差し止め求め提訴へ	Neutral	Reporting
86	18/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	泊村長に牧野氏3選=北海道	Neutral/Pro	Disaster prevention, safety measures, regional develo
87	18/01/2016	Yomiuri	3	〔社説〕もんじゅ再建策 信頼取り戻す新組織が必要だ	Both	Safety uncertainty, violations (A) + Technological imp
88	19/01/2016	Yomiuri	16	〔お取り寄せの味〕喜多方もっちり餃子 地元愛で二度おいしく	Neutral	Food safety, regional recovery
89	19/01/2016	Yomiuri	32	「複合災害」備えるシンポ 新潟 対策の現状・課題を考察=新潟	Neutral/Anti	Disaster prevention, lack of information
90	19/01/2016	Yomiuri	37	核燃料回収設備を公開 東電と東芝 福島第一原発3号機	Neutral	Decommissioning process, nuclear waste
91	19/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	中国電力社長が上関町長を訪問 原発計画推進に意欲=山口	Neutral	Reporting developments
92	19/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	川内原発に免震重要棟の建設を 九電に市民団体申し入れ=鹿児島	Neutral/Anti	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety me
93	19/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	原発発電 2年連続ゼロ 県内昨年=福井	Pro	Supply stability
94	19/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	伊方住民投票条例へ本請求 八幡浜市長に団体=愛媛	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
95	19/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	美浜3号機審査 「期限内合格を」 閉電懇談で住民ら=福井	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
96	20/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	指定廃棄物 解除ルールに温度差 千葉「活用」 流山など消極的=千葉	Neutral	Nuclear waste disposal
97	20/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	浜岡原発火災 火元は潤滑剤=静岡	Neutral	Malfunction report
98	20/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	伊方原発 3首長が視察 臼杵など 安全対策 説明受ける=大分	Neutral	Safety measures, disaster prevention
99	21/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	〔景気風向計〕九州経済調査協会理事長 高木直人さん56	Pro	Supply stability, employment, economic
100	21/01/2016	Yomiuri	30	「免震重要棟」整備 知事「やるべきだ」 九電の「白紙」方針に対し=佐賀	Neutral	Safety uncertainty, disaster prevention
101	22/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	御前崎市長選に柳沢市議出馬へ=静岡	Neutral	Safety measures, economic
102	22/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	浜岡防波壁 仕上がり点検 県、御前崎市 本体部分 昨年未完成=静岡	Neutral	Safety measures
103	22/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	現場から情報伝わらず 東電が説明 県の原発事故検証で=新潟	Neutral/Anti	Malfunction

104	22/01/2016	Yomiuri	3	規制委検査制度 改善点など指摘 IAEA報告書概要	Neutral	Safety measures, staff training
105	22/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	原発点検不正 再発防止 取り組み説明 中国電、住民に初＝島根	Neutral/Anti	Reporting, lack of trust, employment
106	23/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	電力自由化 どこ選ぶ? 参入続々 割安プランも＝北海道	Neutral/Pro	Economic (cost reduction)
107	23/01/2016	Yomiuri	19	[18歳の一票] 今月のテーマ「震災復興」(3)被災地のこと 考えよう	Anti	Reconstruction, economic, relocation (compensation),
108	23/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	「10万人が避難生活」福島現状 知事語る ダボス会議で	Neutral/Anti	Depopulation, economic loss
109	23/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	難燃シートで防火対策 高浜1、2号機 安全審査補正書＝福井	Neutral	Safety measures
110	24/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	南相馬、片品「絆」の植樹 今秋 震災5年節目に 避難受け入れに感謝＝群馬	Neutral	Relocation,
111	25/01/2016	Yomiuri	2	海底下も処分場候補 放射性廃棄物 経産省が検討方針	Neutral	Nuclear waste debate, opposition
112	25/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	滋賀 開電と安全協定 高浜再稼働巡り	Neutral	Safety agreement
113	25/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	高浜再稼働反対集会とデモ行進＝福井	Neutral/Anti	Protests, safety uncertainty
114	25/01/2016	Yomiuri	15	伊方再稼働へ安全対策進む	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety me
115	25/01/2016	Yomiuri	12	高浜3号機 29日にも再稼働	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
116	26/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	有識者評価書案「法的裏付けない」 志賀原発訴訟で北電＝石川	Neutral/Anti	Reporting, safety measures, malfunction
117	26/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	指定廃棄物 来月4日協議へ 環境省と14市町 分散保管の是非焦点＝茨城	Neutral	Nuclear waste disposal
118	26/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	原発工事再開 今回も示さず 東電社長、東通社長を訪問＝青森	Neutral	Reporting developments (construction)
119	26/01/2016	Yomiuri	3	[社説] 電力市場自由化 新料金プランの説明を丁寧に	Pro	Stable supply, economic (cost reduction)
120	26/01/2016	Yomiuri	3	[スカパー] 高速炉開発 常陽に活路 再稼働申請へ 人材育成や技術蓄積	Pro	Technological improvement
121	26/01/2016	Yomiuri	2	高浜原発 29日にも再稼働	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
122	26/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	高浜原発同意権 協定実現へ意欲 滋賀県知事＝福井	Neutral	Safety agreement
123	26/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	安全協定「出発点に」 防災対策の充実課題＝滋賀	Neutral	Safety agreement, disaster prevention
124	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	治原発 道アドバイザー 来月1日 3氏初会合＝北海道	Neutral	Safety measures
125	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	32	[法律相談] 退職後に婚約者から別れ話＝福島	NA	NA
126	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	[震災5年 証言] (3)「万が一」の備え 遅すぎた(連載)その2	Anti	Fukushima accident, safety measures, personal traged
127	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	川内原発「免震重要棟」建設を撤回 九電方針 規制委は「根拠不明確」	Neutral	Reporting developments
128	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	[震災5年 証言] (3)「水素爆発」見通し甘く(連載)その1	Neutral	Fukushima accident
129	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	30	川内原発の安全性議論 九電と水俣病胎児性患者ら＝熊本	Neutral	Evacuation plan concerns, safety uncertainty
130	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	川内原発「免震棟」撤回を批判 規制委 九電に再検討要求	Neutral/Anti	Reporting developments, safety uncertainty
131	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	四電 バス2社と協定＝愛媛	Neutral	Safety agreement
132	27/01/2016	Yomiuri	8	中電労組 ベア要求へ 7年ぶり 要求額2000円軸に調整＝中部	Neutral	Reporting, economic
133	28/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	フィルターベント 浜岡3号機に届く＝静岡	Neutral/Pro	Disaster prevention, technological development
134	28/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	ヨウ素剤 4万7000人事前配布 浜岡5キロ圏内 県、今秋にも説明会＝静岡	Neutral	Health concerns, emergency plan
135	28/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	[震災5年 証言] (4)若者に希望 日米つなぐ(連載)その2	Neutral	Personal traumas, Environment, reconstruction, Fukus
136	28/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	[震災5年 証言] (4)即断したトモダチ作戦(連載)その1	Neutral	Fukushima accident
137	28/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	[駆ける] 廃炉への最難関に挑む 高野公秀さん4	Neutral	Decommissioning process, nuclear waste
138	28/01/2016	Yomiuri	30	西部ガス 火力発電 建設先送り 近く発表 収益性見通せず	NA	NA
139	28/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	四電 120億円黒字見通し 3月期決算 「一過性の要因大」＝香川	NA	NA
140	28/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	伊方原発再稼働 「今年度は困難」 四国電力社長	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety me
141	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	福島原発ロボット調査延期	Neutral	Reporting
142	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	11	高浜原発 きょう再稼働 3号機	Pro	Reporting developments (about restarting), economic
143	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	18	指定廃棄物分散保管 茨城県で継続の方針	Neutral	Nuclear waste disposal
144	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	18	高浜原発 今夕再稼働	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
145	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	25	伊方住民投票案例案 否決 八幡浜市議会 賛成6 反対9＝愛媛	Neutral	Reporting
146	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	25	中国電 断層25キロに見直し 規制委指摘、3キロ延長＝島根	Neutral	Safety measures, disaster prevention
147	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	2	開電 5年ぶり黒字 3月期見直し 料金値上げで	NA	NA
148	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	15	高浜3号機 今夕再稼働 規制庁立ち会い 開電が最終検査	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
149	29/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	中電、首都圏10万件狙う 家庭向け 東電より最大3%安く＝中部	NA	NA
150	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	35	指定廃棄物 環境相 分散保管容認へ 「他県と比べ濃度低く少量」＝茨城	Neutral	Nuclear waste disposal, environment
151	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	3	[社説] 高浜原発再稼働 電力の安定供給と負担軽減を	Pro	Economic, stable supply, waste reduction, safety reas
152	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	2	ブルサール発電再開 高浜再稼働 開電 安全最優先を強調	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety me
153	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	高浜原発 再稼働 新基準3基目	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
154	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	ケーブル「社員、確認不十分」 柏崎刈羽 敷設不備で東電 原因報告＝新潟	Neutral	Malfunction
155	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	3	高浜3号機臨界に	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
156	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	8	九電 配当の是非苦悩 5月期見直し 瓜生社長「健全な財務も必要」	Neutral/Pro	Economic, safety measures
157	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	8	中国電社長に清水氏 荻田氏は会長に 自由化で体制刷新	NA	NA
158	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	9	九州・沖縄求人 5県前月上回る	Neutral/Pro	Employment
159	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	九電黒字650億円 3月期予想	Neutral	Economic
160	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	高浜原発再稼働 歓迎と不安の声 県内関係者＝佐賀	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty, opposition groups, anxiety
161	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	川内原発 抗告審査最終	Neutral	Reporting
162	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	高浜再稼働 「伊方」に期待と不安＝愛媛	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
163	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	高浜再稼働 知事「監視強化安全守る」 反対派住民 集結し抗議＝福井	Both	Stable supply, employment, economic, (P) + Anxiety, f
164	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	高浜再稼働 避難先「そんな遠いんか」 広域計画 周知徹底を＝福井	Neutral	Evacuation plan concerns, education
165	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	「避難 住民目線で」 高浜再稼働 府北部、対策要望＝京都	Neutral/Anti	Evacuation plan concerns
166	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	29	事故対策 残る不安 高浜再稼働 知事「多重防護体制まだ」＝滋賀	Neutral/Anti	Anxiety, safety uncertainty, evacuation plan concerns
167	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	自由化の波 かけ取り難題 中電 新社長に清水副社長＝広島	Neutral	Reporting
168	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	断層延長 規制委了承 2号機安全審査＝島根	Neutral	Malfunction, safety measures
169	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	34	[再稼働 高浜原発] (上)「18万人避難」へ備え(連載)	Neutral	Evacuation plan, education
170	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	8	開電 経営再建に前進 高浜3号機再稼働 八木社長「財務基盤を改善」	Pro	Economic
171	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	2	開電 安全最優先を強調 高浜3号機 再稼働まで厳しい基準	Neutral	Safety reassurance
172	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	高浜3号機 再稼働 開電社長「早期に値下げ」 新基準3基目	Pro	Economic, reporting developments (aboutrestart)
173	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	10	高浜原発 テロ警戒強化	Neutral	Safety measures, disaster prevention
174	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	高浜3号機「臨界」 1日から発送電	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
175	30/01/2016	Yomiuri	8	中電が最高益 4～12月期＝中部	NA	NA
176	31/01/2016	Yomiuri	31	震災5年 福島避難者 常総を訪問 双葉から加須へ 餅つき励まし合い＝埼玉	NA	NA
177	31/01/2016	Yomiuri	25	[震災5年 証言] (6) 福島復興「国の責任」明記(連載)その2	Neutral	Reconstruction plan
178	31/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	[震災5年 証言] (6) 復興予算 膨らみすぎ反省 飯尾潤さん(連載)その1	Neutral	Reconstruction plan
179	31/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	〈解〉チェルノブイリ原子力発電所	Anti	Reporting
180	31/01/2016	Yomiuri	1	チェルノブイリ原発 事故30年 二重の「石棺」 老朽化著しく	Anti	Reporting, health, safety uncertainty
181	31/01/2016	Yomiuri	33	柏崎刈羽 規制委 基準地震動を了承 原発事故後「沸騰水型」で初＝新潟	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
182	31/01/2016	Yomiuri	32	[再稼働 高浜原発] (中)「開電離れ」挽回なるか(連載)	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), economic

1	06/01/2021	Asahi	19	避難計画、美浜も固まる 県内3カ所目、コロナ禍も想定 /福井県	Neutral	Evacuation plan
2	06/01/2021	Asahi	25	原発PR看板、伝承館で展示へ 「明るい未来のエネルギー」 福島・双葉	Neutral	Reflection, reporting
3	06/01/2021	Asahi	25	美浜原発が広域避難計画	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
4	06/01/2021	Asahi	25	美浜原発、広域避難計画策定 【大阪】	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
5	07/01/2021	Asahi	25	伊方原発2号機、きょう廃炉作業 四電、2059年度完了計画 【大阪】	Neutral	Decommissioning process
6	08/01/2021	Asahi	19	伊方2号機、廃炉開始 完了まで40年、課題多く /愛媛県	Neutral/Anti	Decommissioning process, nuclear waste
7	10/01/2021	Asahi	4	(東日本大震災10年) 混迷の電力・原発: 1 政策その場しのぎ、原発はどこへ	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty, anxiety, environment
8	12/01/2021	Asahi	1	原子力課税、10年で倍増 今年度、467億円 原発事故後、条例で 【大阪】	Neutral	Economic
9	12/01/2021	Asahi	4	(東日本大震災10年) 「原発事故、起こるべくして起きた」 東電元エース社員の告白	Anti	Fukushima accident, risk management, safety uncertainty
10	12/01/2021	Asahi	5	コロナ下の生活、どうですか 朝日新聞社世論調査	NA	NA
11	12/01/2021	Asahi	28	原子力課税、すがる自治体 新たな仕組み次々、赤字施設に投入も 【大阪】	Neutral	Economic
12	13/01/2021	Asahi	7	(けいざい+) 東電「国有化」の実像: 1 事故免責求めたが「通りませんよ」	Anti	Violations, economic
13	13/01/2021	Asahi	21	那珂川議会、今秋にも判断 東海第二原発の再稼働 /茨城県	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
14	14/01/2021	Asahi	7	(けいざい+) 東電「国有化」の実像: 2 焦る銀行「免責適用するんですよ」	Anti	Economic
15	14/01/2021	Asahi	9	(取材記) 原発は「依存度を低減しつつ最大限活用」 次期エネ政策、国民巻き込み議論	Pro	Environment
16	14/01/2021	Asahi	28	(そこに光が: 4) 火が奪った日常、描き残す 【大阪】	NA	NA
17	15/01/2021	Asahi	7	(けいざい+) 東電「国有化」の実像: 3 救済策、矢面に立たなかった国	Neutral	Economic
18	15/01/2021	Asahi	21	双葉・伊沢町長3選 2回連続無投票で /福島県	Neutral/Anti	Regional development
19	15/01/2021	Asahi	21	東通原発建設「取り組み加速」 東電、村に年始訪問 /青森県	Neutral	Reporting developments (construction), regional development
20	16/01/2021	Asahi	6	大飯4号機再開、課題山積 火力LNG、調達難航 関電あすから 【大阪】	Both	Economic (P) + Malfunction (A)
21	16/01/2021	Asahi	7	(けいざい+) 東電「国有化」の実像: 4 改革迫った「虎ノ門GHQ」	Neutral	Economic
22	16/01/2021	Asahi	22	(核のごみを問う) 文献調査交付金、相次ぐ拒否方針 道と寿都隣接3町村「受け取らず」	Both	Nuclear waste disposal, economic (regional income) (P)
23	16/01/2021	Asahi	22	(聖地ふたたび) 大倉山公園 神戸市中央区 ドラマ「心の傷を癒すということ」/中国	NA	NA
24	16/01/2021	Asahi	23	美浜3号機同意、月内判断見送り 町長、面談できず /福井県	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
25	16/01/2021	Asahi	23	断層評価方法、規制委が容認 志賀原発2号機審査 /石川県	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
26	17/01/2021	Asahi	4	(東日本大震災10年) 混迷の電力・原発: 2 再稼働強強い反対、命運握る規制委	Neutral/Anti	Safety measures, political debate, anxiety
27	17/01/2021	Asahi	31	玄海原発の稼働、県に中止を要請 市民団体、大飯判決受け /佐賀県	Neutral/Anti	Reporting, opposition group
28	18/01/2021	Asahi	31	(核のごみを問う) 核燃料再処理工場、滞る廃止 機器の故障/廃棄物漏出の恐れ/処分場も未定	Anti	Decommissioning process, economic, safety uncertainty
29	19/01/2021	Asahi	3	原発立地自治体、支援延長へ 福島事故後では初 特措法改正案	Neutral/Anti	Safety uncertainty, economic
30	19/01/2021	Asahi	5	菅首相の施政方針演説(全文)	NA	NA
31	19/01/2021	Asahi	13	(パブリックエディターから 新聞と読者のあいだで) 記者も読者も複雑さ見つめて 小	Neutral/Anti	Nuclear waste disposal, opposition group
32	19/01/2021	Asahi	23	高齢理由に不信任 原発事故検証、県技術委の2氏 県、柏崎刈羽議論の最中に/新潟県	Neutral	Reporting developments
33	19/01/2021	Asahi	23	女川原発防災訓練、国・県が来月実施へ 住民参加は延期に /宮城県	Neutral	Reporting developments
34	19/01/2021	Asahi	23	震災遺産、次の10年へ 県立博物館、174件展示 /福島県	Neutral/Anti	Regional development (cultural deterioration)
35	20/01/2021	Asahi	1	原子力課税、10年で倍増 停止中でも確保、事故後に新制度 2010年度水準、超え	Neutral/Anti	Economic, regional development
36	20/01/2021	Asahi	7	(けいざい+) 東電「国有化」の実像: 6 「解体」の改革案、希望の書	Neutral	Economic
37	20/01/2021	Asahi	21	県、計4人を不信任に 後任推薦3人に要請 原発技術委 /新潟県	NA	NA
38	20/01/2021	Asahi	27	隣町の原発、どう向き合う 唐津市長選・市議選 24日告示 /佐賀県	Neutral	Economic, regional development, safety agreement
39	20/01/2021	Asahi	27	浜岡、原子炉出力に課税 年間12億円確保 15年度以降、静岡県 【名古屋】	Neutral	Economic, safety measures
40	21/01/2021	Asahi	7	(けいざい+) 東電「国有化」の実像: 7 社内に「地殻変動」、改革進む	Neutral	Economic, reporting
41	21/01/2021	Asahi	19	(東日本大震災10年 科学と社会のはざま) 原発事故を経て「神話」なお 寿楽浩	Neutral	Safety measures, disaster prevention, nuclear waste (P)
42	21/01/2021	Asahi	21	原発技術委不信任「常に知見新しく」 知事、世代交代強調 /新潟県	NA	NA
43	21/01/2021	Asahi	23	那珂川議会委員長、個人的意見と確認 原発再稼働判断「秋にも」 /茨城県	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
44	22/01/2021	Asahi	23	洋上風力発電、追い風に乗れるか 国などの協議会、積極導入目標 北九州市議選/福岡県	NA	NA
45	23/01/2021	Asahi	7	(けいざい+) 東電「国有化」の実像: 9 自立・事故処理、強まる原発頼み	Neutral/Pro	Economic, safety measures, reporting (about restarting)
46	23/01/2021	Asahi	9	東電社員、他人IDで原発建屋に 柏崎刈羽、規定違反	Neutral	Violations, safety measures
47	23/01/2021	Asahi	22	(山村武彦の実証的防災講座: 35) 震災10年、真の復興まだ 長野地震新聞/長野県	Anti	Depopulation, anxiety
48	23/01/2021	Asahi	23	原発の安全対策、県専門委で議論 関電の対応など /福井県	Neutral	Safety measures
49	23/01/2021	Asahi	23	女川原発防災訓練、一転延期 国と県、新型コロナ拡大受け /宮城県	Neutral	Regional development
50	23/01/2021	Asahi	23	再稼働の是非「参考意見」で 原発検証総括委員が意向 /新潟県	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety measures
51	23/01/2021	Asahi	23	イチエフ、原爆ドームのような道も 更地が道構か、研究会の松岡・早大教授に聞く/福	Neutral/Anti	Decommissioning process, reconstruction efforts, economic
52	23/01/2021	Asahi	25	原子力防災訓練を中止 /鹿児島県	Neutral	Reporting
53	24/01/2021	Asahi	4	(東日本大震災10年) 混迷の電力・原発: 3 核燃料再利用、抜け出せぬ虚構	Neutral	Decommissioning process
54	24/01/2021	Asahi	19	他人IDで原発制御室に 柏崎刈羽、東電社員が規定違反 安全管理に波紋 /新潟県	Neutral/Anti	Violations, employment (poor employee management)
55	24/01/2021	Asahi	19	再稼働の協定案「事前了解」を盛り 原発30キロ圏内議員研 柏崎刈羽 /新潟県	Neutral	Safety agreement
56	25/01/2021	Asahi	17	市民守る情報、震災直後から配布 塩釜市、連日ニュース紙作成 /宮城県	NA	NA
57	25/01/2021	Asahi	22	(核のごみを問う) 知る、考える 最終処分場選定手続きの問題点は 寿楽浩太さん/北	Neutral/Anti	Nuclear waste debate, opposition
58	26/01/2021	Asahi	19	告知板 /福井県	NA	NA
59	26/01/2021	Asahi	21	東電へ強まる逆風 他人IDで原発制御室に社員入室 柏崎市長「連絡なかった」問題視	Neutral/Anti	Violations, safety uncertainty
60	27/01/2021	Asahi	17	経産相、苦言呈す「言い訳きかない」 原発不正入室問題、知事も懸念表明 /新潟県	Neutral	Violations
61	27/01/2021	Asahi	17	積雪2メートル超、雪上車で避難 冬場は初、原子力防災訓練 /新潟県	Neutral	Evacuation plan
62	27/01/2021	Asahi	29	福島第一3号機、爆発後も燃焼か 規制委、事故報告書案	Neutral	Reporting developments (investigations)
63	28/01/2021	Asahi	11	(あすを探る 科学技術) 「正しく恐れる」が生む排除 内田麻理香	Neutral/Pro	Health (risk perception)
64	28/01/2021	Asahi	19	東北電新会長に増子副社長就任 4月1日付 /宮城県	Neutral	Reporting
65	28/01/2021	Asahi	19	村議、厳しい意見も 東電、他人IDで原発不正入室 刈羽村議会でも説明会 /新潟県	Both	Violations, safety uncertainty (A) + stable supply (P)
66	28/01/2021	Asahi	21	関電に4項目要請 美浜町議長ら、立地地域振興など /福井県	Both	Malfunction (A) + Stable supply (P)
67	28/01/2021	Asahi	21	新たに5人感染 新型コロナ /島根県	NA	NA
68	28/01/2021	Asahi	23	高浜に停止命令、国側は争う姿勢 バックフィット訴訟 【名古屋】	Neutral	Opposition groups, protests
69	29/01/2021	Asahi	21	中間貯蔵の計画、規制委に届け出 RFS /青森県	Neutral	Nuclear waste debate
70	29/01/2021	Asahi	21	地域説明会、前提崩れる 原発不正入室・安全対策工事「未完了」 東電 /新潟県	Neutral/Anti	Violations, safety measures, information disclosure
71	29/01/2021	Asahi	23	再稼働審査に対応、地質専門家育成へ 北電、規制委の批判受け /北海道	Neutral	Safety measures, employment (securing human resources)
72	29/01/2021	Asahi	29	原発支援差し止め、請求棄却	Neutral	Reporting, economic
73	30/01/2021	Asahi	4	原発特措法延長を閣議決定	Neutral/Pro	Economic, regional development (disaster prevention)
74	30/01/2021	Asahi	16	(書評) 『大切な人は今もそこにいる ひびきあう賢治と東日本大震災』[...]	NA	NA
75	30/01/2021	Asahi	25	高浜町長、1日に表明 1・2号機の再稼働判断 /福井県	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
76	31/01/2021	Asahi	4	(東日本大震災10年) 混迷の電力・原発: 4 大量廃炉時代、行き先見えぬ廃棄物	Neutral	Nuclear waste disposal
77	31/01/2021	Asahi	17	災害復興、あすへの備え 21世紀文明シンポジウム「東日本大震災から10年」	Neutral	Regional development (reconstruction),
78	31/01/2021	Asahi	19	古民家発、宇宙に耐える繊維 原料は廃棄物、我孫子のベンチャー開発 /千葉県	NA	NA
79	31/01/2021	Asahi	19	(追る探る@福島) 水素製造施設1年、脱CO2探る 浪江に県復興の柱、新エネ先遣地	Anti	Regional development (reconstruction), economic

1	04/01/2021	Yomiuri	2 原発避難円滑化へ交付金 内閣府 道路拡幅や誘導標識増設	Neutral	Economic, evacuation plan
2	05/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 木造船一部か？ 木片漂着相次ぐ 志賀の海岸＝石川	NA	NA
3	05/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 知事など12首長選 今年の選挙 東海村は再稼働争点に＝茨城	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
4	05/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 [その先へ 新型コロナ] (4) 開幕へ待望の再集結 (連載)＝静岡	NA	NA
5	06/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 美浜原発の広域避難計画策定	Neutral	Evacuation plan
6	06/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 美浜町長 避難計画評価 3号機可否判断へ 「要件一つ充足された」＝福井	Neutral	Evacuation plan, safety measures
7	07/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 伊方2号機廃炉 きょうから作業 四電＝愛媛	Neutral	Decommissioning process
8	07/01/2021	Yomiuri	14 [リスク社会に挑む] 2050年CO2ゼロ(1) (連載)＝中部	NA	NA
9	08/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 衆院や知事 今年17選挙 仙台など5市2町首長選＝宮城	NA	NA
10	09/01/2021	Yomiuri	8 電力需給 寒波で逼迫 暖房利用増 関電、他地域から調達	Pro	Stable supply
11	10/01/2021	Yomiuri	17 [展望2021] 原発事故 伝え続ける 科学部長 佐藤俊彰	Anti	Health, prejudice, environment, decommissioning con
12	10/01/2021	Yomiuri	3 [社説] 大震災10年 自立への歩み着実に進めたい	Anti	Reconstruction plan, population decrease, elderly pop
13	13/01/2021	Yomiuri	4 処理水「適切な時期に」	Neutral	Nuclear waste disposal
14	13/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 原発の安全対策工事 住民説明会開く意向 東電・新潟本社代表＝新潟	Neutral	Safety measures
15	14/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 新型コロナ 女川原発で2人が感染＝宮城	NA	NA
16	14/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 東通原発 建設計画見直し 年度内に 東電HD役員が村に意向＝青森	Neutral/Pro	Reporting developments (construction), regional deve
17	14/01/2021	Yomiuri	33 柏崎刈羽7号機 工事完了	Neutral/Pro	Reporting developments (about restarting), safety me
18	14/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 福島原発事故 検証委 生活分科会が報告書＝新潟	Neutral	Health
19	14/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 柏崎刈羽7号機 東電 安全対策工事完了 稼働前検査 4月終了見直し＝新潟	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), local cons
20	15/01/2021	Yomiuri	24 原発説明会 25日から 柏崎刈羽 東電、4市1村で5回＝新潟	Neutral/Pro	Education
21	15/01/2021	Yomiuri	29 大飯4号機原子炉 再起動へ	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
22	15/01/2021	Yomiuri	3 [スキヤナー] 大雪 電力供給網渡り 太陽光が急減 原発 再稼働進まず	Pro	Stable supply, safety measures
23	15/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 新型コロナ 新たに28人感染＝佐賀	NA	NA
24	15/01/2021	Yomiuri	29 大飯4号機きょう再起動 住民ら 執行停止申し立て	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), oppositio
25	15/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 コロナ9人感染 坂井の介護施設など＝福井	NA	NA
26	16/01/2021	Yomiuri	22 新型コロナ 新たに35人感染 1日の最多更新＝佐賀	NA	NA
27	16/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 3基安全性 県民に説明 来月9日 規制庁、審査結果など＝福井	Neutral	Reporting, safety measures
28	17/01/2021	Yomiuri	32 大飯1、2号機 定期検査始まる＝福井	Neutral	Inspection report
29	18/01/2021	Yomiuri	31 新型コロナ 女川原発で新たに2人 協力企業従業員＝宮城	NA	NA
30	18/01/2021	Yomiuri	7 吹上浜 洋上風力発電計画 ウミガメ産卵 影響懸念 「磁気乱れ進路迷うかも」	NA	NA
31	19/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 原発防災訓練 縮小実施へ コロナ感染対策 住民避難延期＝宮城	Neutral	Reporting developments
32	19/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 [歩み] 1月 丸森・耕野 ザンビアと農業交流＝宮城	NA	NA
33	20/01/2021	Yomiuri	24 女川原発事故に備え 美里で県職員ら訓練＝宮城	Neutral	Evacuation plan
34	20/01/2021	Yomiuri	3 [社説] 電力不足 幅広い連携で安定供給を図れ	Pro	Stable supply
35	20/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 ケーブルの火災 九電が原因説明 玄海町で原子力連絡協＝佐賀	Neutral	Malfunction, safety measures
36	20/01/2021	Yomiuri	26 もんじゅ ナトリウム搬出法 説明へ 文科省方針 県などへ3月にも＝福井	Neutral	Technological improvement
37	21/01/2021	Yomiuri	30 原発耐震性評価 新手法3月導入 規制委	Neutral	Seismic safety, reporting
38	21/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 廃炉作業中の1号機 第3回定期検査終了 島根原発＝島根	Neutral	Decommissioning process, malfunction
39	22/01/2021	Yomiuri	21 県技術委2氏 再任を要望＝新潟	NA	NA
40	22/01/2021	Yomiuri	21 柏崎刈羽原発 発電機改良 追加工事 稼働可能 6月にずれ込む＝新潟	Neutral	Safety measures
41	22/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 「到底容認できない」 原発避難者訴訟 弁護団 判決を批判＝群馬	Neutral	Reporting, victims (compensation)
42	22/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 新型コロナ 新たに28人感染 佐賀でクラスター＝佐賀	NA	NA
43	23/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 原発防災訓練の実施延期を表明 小泉環境相＝宮城	Neutral	Reporting developments
44	23/01/2021	Yomiuri	29 原発中核 他人1Dで入る 柏崎刈羽所員 規定違反の恐れ	Neutral/Anti	Violations
45	23/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 原発検証 「再稼働是非に意見」 総括委 県と見解相違浮き彫り＝新潟	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), local cons
46	23/01/2021	Yomiuri	22 唐津市長選 一騎打ちか 市議選は定数2減 激戦予想 あす告示＝佐賀	NA	NA
47	24/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 原発不正進入 「正確な事実関係を」 柏崎市長 東電に説明求める＝新潟	Neutral	Violations
48	25/01/2021	Yomiuri	30 新型コロナ 東京感染1000人下回る 12日ぶり	NA	NA
49	25/01/2021	Yomiuri	27 コロナ13人感染＝佐賀	NA	NA
50	26/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 新型コロナ 新たに11人感染＝宮城	NA	NA
51	26/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 原発不正進入 東電陳謝 危機管理不備 非難の声＝新潟	Neutral/Anti	Violations, employment (poor employee managemen
52	26/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 新型コロナ 感染防止策の徹底 九電に要請求める 県などに共産県委員会＝佐賀	NA	NA
53	26/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 コロナ12人感染＝佐賀	NA	NA
54	26/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 上関原発訴訟で原告側敗訴確定 最高裁が上告退ける＝山口	Neutral	Reporting
55	26/01/2021	Yomiuri	26 高浜4号機 運転再開 3月下旬以降 関電 傷の再発防止策に半月＝福井	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), malfunctio
56	27/01/2021	Yomiuri	3 [社説] 農水産物輸出 重点品目を効果的に売り込め	Neutral	Economic (exports), agriculture
57	27/01/2021	Yomiuri	2 (解) 東京電力福島第一原子力発電所事故	Neutral/Anti	Reporting
58	27/01/2021	Yomiuri	2 福島第一 2・3号機設備 高い線量 事故10年 規制委 中間報告書案	Neutral/Anti	Decommissioning process, radiation risks
59	27/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 原発不正進入 知事も苦言＝新潟	Neutral/Anti	Violations, safety measures
60	27/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 雪想定 原発避難訓練 柏崎 陸自雪上車で救助も＝新潟	Neutral	Safety measures, evacuation plan
61	27/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 新型コロナ 新たに12人感染＝佐賀	NA	NA
62	27/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 1号機廃炉作業進む 島根原発＝島根	Neutral	Decommissioning process
63	28/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 東北電 減収増益 4～12月期 コロナで販売電力3%減＝宮城	Neutral	Local consent
64	28/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 原発不正進入 規制委委員長 厳正に対処へ 「聞いたことない事案」＝新潟	Neutral/Anti	Violations, employment (poor employee managemen
65	28/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 原発不正進入 知事「不安感出る事案」 再稼働判断 影響との見解＝新潟	Neutral	Violations, safety measures
66	28/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 柏崎刈羽原発7号機 工事一部未完了＝新潟	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
67	28/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 新型コロナ 新たに8人感染＝佐賀	NA	NA
68	28/01/2021	Yomiuri	20 関電に地域振興要請書 美浜町議会 企業育成など4項目＝福井	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting)
69	28/01/2021	Yomiuri	20 コロナ5人感染＝島根	NA	NA
70	29/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 高浜原発再稼働 町同意へ	Neutral/Pro	Reporting developments (about restarting), local cons
71	29/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 福島第一 昨年汚染水 目標値まで減 処理水保管 限界「22年秋以降」	Neutral	Decommissioning process
72	29/01/2021	Yomiuri	21 原発不正進入 経緯説明を 規制委などに 柏崎市長が要望書＝新潟	Neutral	Violations, safety measures
73	29/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 新型コロナ 新たに7人感染＝佐賀	NA	NA
74	29/01/2021	Yomiuri	26 高浜原発再稼働 町同意へ 1、2号機 「40年超運転」全国初	Neutral/Pro	Local consent, reporting developments (about restarti
75	30/01/2021	Yomiuri	25 日本産食品 輸入を解禁 イスラエル	Neutral	Economic (exports), agriculture
76	30/01/2021	Yomiuri	21 事前同意拡大で柏崎市長と面会 研究会、原発再稼働で＝新潟	Neutral	Anxiety, safety agreement
77	31/01/2021	Yomiuri	19 新型コロナ 新たに6人感染＝佐賀	NA	NA
78	31/01/2021	Yomiuri	23 地域振興 前向き回答 高浜町長評価 経産相とオンライン会談＝福井	Neutral	Reporting developments (about restarting), local cons