# Changing Representations of Homelessness in Japanese Newspapers

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## 日本新聞のホームレスについてのニュース報道における構造の変化

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### Abstract

This paper examines how representations of homelessness in coverage by the Japanese media changed from 1991 to 2006 through changes in framing in Japanese news media coverage of homelessness. Coverage of homelessness in the Japanese and English-language newspapers, published by the Yomiuri and the Asahi media groups, provides a picture of the perception of homeless Japanese. This paper presents results from an examination of four newspapers: sampled articles from the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the *Asahi Shimbun* from 1991, 1996, 2001, and 2006, and a census of articles from the *Daily Yomiuri* and English edition of *Asahi Shimbun*. Results indicate that coverage increased as the economy stagnated. As article frequency increased, the issue was framed with more descriptive language, leading to a perceived increase in the intensity of the articles' discussions. Though this was observed in all the publications, article descriptiveness and intensity varied between groups and languages.

**Key words :** homelessness, Japanese media, framing, content analysis

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### 抄　　　録

　日本のマスメディアによって報道されたホームレスの人々の描写が 1991 年から 2006 年にかけてどのように変化したのかを、ニュース報道における枠組み / 構造の変化を通して、検証する。本稿では 1991 年〜 2006 年の 4 種類の新聞（読売新聞と朝日新聞の日本語版および Daily Yomiuri と Asahi Shimbun 英語版）による記事に着目した。調査の結果、経済の悪化に伴い、ホームレスに関する一連の報道が増加していることが明らかになった。報道が増加するに連れてホームレス問題は詳細に記述され、記事内の議論はその激しさを増していった。さらに調査結果は、その詳細の程度や議論の激しさが、各新聞、そして言語により異なることを示した。

**キーワード :** ホームレス、日本のメディア、フレーム付け、内容分析

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# Introduction

## *From Furousha to* **Hômuresu**

The Japanese word for the homeless is *furousha*, literally "flotsam people;" people discarded to float on the waves like refuse thrown from a passing ship. Long ignored in Japanese society, the homeless floated virtually unnoticed while the Japanese economy expanded during the 1960s to 1990s. For the most part, the homeless were hidden within the wider population of day laborers, construction workers, and casual laborers that comprises Japan's underclass (Fowler, 1996; Gill, 2000). Ignored, however, does not equate with non-existent. Because of its discriminatory connotations, the term *furousha* has been largely replaced with the word *hômuresu*, the Japanese pronunciation for "homeless." Changing the word, however, has not really changed the reality of the problem, or hidden it from view.

When the number of homeless people first began increasing in the 1990s, they were ignored. However, the numbers grew. The homeless were no longer hidden in unfrequented areas; they began living in underground malls, under train tracks, and in cardboard shelters near train stations. By the mid-1990s, after complaints by commuters and local businesses, the governments in Tokyo and Osaka, where most homeless congregated, forced evictions from the more public sites. Many of those evicted from their cardboard homes eventually found themselves in the parks, including Osaka Castle Park. Though the numbers vary, there have always been a few shelters made of blue tarps scattered around the Osaka Castle Park precincts since we moved to the neighborhood in the mid-1980s. These shelters, tucked behind the trees off the main paths are, for the most part, hidden from the tour buses that visit the park's museums and gardens. Gradually, this problem seeped into the Japanese consciousness, but not before the problems reached what the Japanese considered to be unbelievably high levels.

Media coverage of homelessness provides useful data for understanding this social issue. In the immediate post-war period, homeless people were found throughout Japan's war ravaged cities, though the numbers gradually reduced as the growing post-war economy fed demand for both skilled and unskilled laborers. Homelessness did not re-emerge as a pressing issue in Japanese society until the end of the "bubble economy" in the 1990s when reports of the growing number of Japanese homeless began to appear in Japanese and Western media. Following the 1995 Kobe earthquake, numerous reports focused on the difficulties faced by "homeless" earthquake survivors. However, as Gill (2005) points out, the Japanese government "ignored the issue" of homelessness until long after evidence of the problem was apparent. The government argued that homeless people were either those who had not applied for assistance or those who had been turned down by local authorities; this was the government's stance in spite of the provisions of Article 25 of the Japanese constitutions, and subsequent

laws, that "guaranteed every citizen of Japan a 'minimum standard of living'" (p. 192). In short, homelessness was ignored until it became obvious, even to the slow moving Japanese bureaucracy.

### *Japan's Path to Homelessness*

There are no shortages in the number of bankers, economists, and sociologists who point to Japan as a successful model for development in Asia, as well as other developing countries. Its rise from its position as the world's largest receiver of development aid in the six years immediately following WWII is often considered a crucial feature in its own status as a major donor of development aid today (King & McGrath, 2004). As Sen (1999) points out, it has frequently been provided as an "example of successful capitalism" (p. 265). Sen also refers to numerous accounts of what has often been considered a special characteristic of Japan's capitalism, its particular ethos that "departs, in some significant spheres, from the simple pursuit of self-interest" (p. 266). However, from an unemployment rate of 2.8% in 1987, at the height of the bubble (Consulate General of Japan, 2003), official unemployment rose to over 5% in October 2004 (Statistics Bureau, 2004), fell slightly to 4.5% in 2005 (*Kōseirōdōshō*, 2006), and averaged 4.1% in 2006 (Statistics Bureau, 2008). While these figures seem low when compared to unemployment in other developed nations, the lack of a social safety net means that unemployment can have severe consequences for individuals. Additionally, the government unemployment figures must be called into question because only those who want to work and are actively looking for employment are considered unemployed in Japan (Katz, 2003). Those who have worked even one day in the past month are not unemployed; nor are those who have given up on looking for a job. Katz places true unemployment at closer to 5.5 million versus the government's 3.6 million estimate (p. 90). As Aoki (2003) points out, globalization has had serious negative effects in Japan, shifting the manufacturing industry overseas and leading to elimination of jobs for the most at risk members of the Japanese population, day-laborers. Seventy percent of the homeless, generally day-laborers, live in Tokyo and Osaka (Gill, 2005; *Kōseirōdōshō*, 2006), with the homeless population placed at 25,296 in February 2003 after the nation's first, and so far only, national survey of homelessness (e.g. Dvorak, 2003; Gill, 2005; Iwata, 2003; Kambayashi, 2004), which was completed following the passage in 2002 of the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-Reliance of Homeless People (*Hōmuresu no Jiritsu jino Shien nado ni kan suru Tokubetsu Sochi-hō*).

The day-labor market, often called the *yoseba* for the "cheap inns" that cater to these workers, began to receive attention in the late 1980s (e.g. Aoki, 1987; Fowler, 1996; Guzewicz, 1996; Shimodaira, 1998). While scholarly coverage of the issue of day laborers began in 1980s (Aoki, 1987; Fowler, 1996), little attention was paid by mainstream Japanese society.

Homelessness in Japan did not become an issue until the 1990s when, as Kennett and Iwata (2003) make clear, the "problem could no long be ignored as the shanty towns … proliferated in the parks and public spaces of Japanese cities" (p. 63). Beginning in 1993, reports of the plight of homeless began to seep into the Western media (e.g. "Down and out – in Japan?," 1993; "Poverty and plenty," 1996, December) and research journals (e.g. Fowler, 1996; Gill, 2000, 2005; Guzewicz, 1996). Simultaneously, attention began to be given by Japanese academics (e.g. Hanawa, 2006; Iwata, 1995, 2003; Onishi, 2003; Shimodaira, 1998). Many reports in the Western media discussed the lack of any social safety net for the homeless (Dvorak, 2003; Iwata, 2003; Katz, 2003; Wieser, 2000) or the those living on the edge as marginally employed in the day-laborer market or part-time jobs (Broadbent, 2001; Fowler, 1996).

Under pressure to address the issue, the government conducted the first survey of homelessness in Japan. Facts about the face of the homeless in Japan began to emerge. The average age of the homeless is 55.9 years old, with two-thirds over 50 years old; 55 percent used to work in construction, one of the major employers of day-laborers; 97 percent are men; most say they want to work (Kambayashi, 2004; *Kōseirōdōshō*, 2006). Women are part of the Japanese homeless picture, but social pressure and higher access to part-time employment seem to have limited the number of homeless women (Novac, 2004). Or, as Kennett and Iwata (2003) indicate, women's homelessness is more concealed than men's, with "women more likely to enter into exploitive relationships with men, or be absorbed into the sex industry in order to survive" (p. 69). Because of traditional attitudes, the social stigmatization of women is much more damaging (Kennett & Iwata, 2003). It disturbs society to a greater degree than male homelessness (Guzewicz, 2000).

Medicins sans frontieres, which usually works in the most economically deprived and strife ridden regions of the world, has sent doctors and nurses to Japan to assist this aging population, one that is left out of Japan's health system because they lack a permanent address (Kambayashi, 2004). Elderly men find it difficult to move out of homelessness because of their age and "the legalized ageism" in Japanese society; laws to prevent discrimination in hiring because of age are seldom enforced, and those over 35 often have difficulty finding a job regardless of experience (Kambayashi, 2004). In 2001, the government made its first provision of funds to address homelessness, allocating ￥100 million (Prusher, 2001), equivalent to US $850,000 at 2001 exchange rates (￥115=$1).

There are steps being taken, primarily in Tokyo and Osaka, to address the problems the homeless face. However, though measures are ostensibly being taken, there still appears to be an avoidance of responsibility for homeless people, leading to a public response of ignoring them and a government effort to move them away from view. The dire nature of the lives of the homeless was made glaringly clear when the desiccated remains of an elderly homeless

man were found hidden behind bushes near the Hankyu Department Store, one of the largest in Osaka, and just a short walk from several train and subway stations in December, 2003 (McCurry, 2003). As he points out, while there is an expectation for the situation of the homeless in Japan to improve, the reality is continued deprivation and injustice.

A survey of the homeless in Osaka points to the reality of the situation of the homeless. In 1996, 374 "blue tents" (tarps converted into shelters) were set up in Osaka's parks; in 2000 the number had grown to 2,593 (Mizuuchi, 2003). These do not represent all the homeless, as his research found that 52% of homeless sleep on the streets covered only by cardboard boxes and 15% have no covers at all, sleeping in doorways and along sidewalks in the central city area (p. 2). In the Kamagasaki area of Osaka, the southern port area where day-laborers and the homeless congregate, the numbers sleeping without any type of shelter was 81% in 2001 (p. 3). While the numbers of homeless in Osaka are far less than in the urban centers of other post-industrial societies, Japan's traditional social ethos of "sharing the pain," which resulted in lower levels of unemployment than elsewhere, has broken down (Katz, 2003). Companies can no longer shift unneeded workers to subsidiaries in order to preserve employment levels, and because of the prolonged recession the Japanese government cannot provide the jobs it once did in public construction projects that served as the employment safety net (Aoki, 2003). Aoki links homelessness in Osaka to the chronic economic recession of the 1990s, when "[m]any labourers lost their jobs and could not get any other job" and old age or physical handicap, often from a job-related injury (p. 365). As Kambayashi (2004) points out, Japan's homeless problem is rooted in attitudes of discrimination against age and status. Laws prohibit discrimination in employment based on age, however, only recently has the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare indicated that "they will take action by the end of the year against those employers who discriminate against older job applicants without 'legitimate reason'" (p. 1).

Though Japan's passage of legislation in 2002 to address homelessness points toward the changing attitude of Japanese society, the provisions are set to expire after 10 years (Gill, 2005; *Kōseirōdōshō*, 2006). Reaction to the law is varied, with provisions within the legislation both welcomed by those seeking greater support for the homeless and condemned by critics of spending on homelessness (e.g. Gill, 2005; *Nippon Jutaku Kaigi*, 2004; Yamazaki, Okuda, Inatsuki, Fujimura, & Morimatsu, 2006).

### Japanese Homeless Views of Media Coverage

Japan does not have a good record regarding its treatment of the homeless (McCurry, 2003). Mizuuchi (2003) surveyed ordinary citizens regarding their reactions to the increased numbers of homeless in Osaka and discovered their attitudes vary according to their physical distance from the homeless. Those living near areas with high concentrations of homeless,

about 20% of the survey sample, saw the situation in terms of a social issue for the entire society to address and not one of annoyance toward the homeless. In contrast, those in more affluent areas, about 70% of the sample, saw the issue in terms of "civic beauty and annoyance at the abuse of public spaces" (p. 4). Mizuuchi says the issue can be viewed in terms of either "peaceful co-existence" in the southern areas of the city, where the long-time proximity, stretching back into the early 1990s, allowed ordinary residents to see how their own lives could lead them in to similar difficulties, as opposed to those who had had little previous contact with the homeless who saw it as a "new" problem (p. 4). Attitudes in Tokyo are similar. The homeless have "come to be regarded as an eyesore by pedestrians and neighboring residents and often are violently harassed by them" (Aoki, 2003, p. 365). Clashes between police and homeless people occasionally take place. In 1996, a confrontation between 1000 police officers and 200 homeless took place in the Shinjuku area of Tokyo, and in 1998, confrontations between police and 70 homeless people occurred in the Kamagasaki area of Osaka (p. 365). Both events got plenty of media attention, but mostly in terms of protecting public order.

### *Media Coverage of Japan's Homeless*

One aspect of the issue of homelessness is how the homeless themselves view media's coverage. Fowler (1996) indicates that Japan's media and the journalists are viewed with considerable suspicion by day laborers and those living near the bottom of Japanese society. He links this to the sparseness of coverage given to the day-labor districts, or *yoseba*, except when there is turmoil in the area. Japanese researchers have also noted the distrust of journalists and researchers by day laborers and homeless people (e.g. Aoki, 1987, 2003; Hanawa, 2006; *Nippon Jutaku Kaigi*, 2004; Shimodaira, 1998). The mistrust of the Japanese media by day laborers and the homeless seems to echo the view of the media as "tricksters" and supporter of the state found among the general public, though the populace simultaneously considers the media to offer a resource for increasing awareness and pointing out the problems that need to be addressed (Pharr, 1996).

The distrust of media found among day laborers and homeless people is not limited to the Japanese media. Fowler (1996) indicates that day laborers also distrust foreign journalists, primarily because their coverage is an "obligatory visit" to one of Japan's slums as part of their on-going search "for the unusual" (p. 235), echoing the tendency to portray Japan in terms of how it differs from the West in non-Japanese media (Hammond, 1997, 1999). Fowler's (1996) comments on the coverage of the day laborers apply also to the coverage of the homeless, those at the very bottom of Japan's ostensibly classless society. Gill (2005) points to a "modest media boom" in the television and print coverage of the issue, but indicates that these reports are more likely to focus on the "new homeless – laid-off white-collar workers, young people,

women, and so on," not the working-class middle-aged and elderly men that comprise the bulk of Japan's homeless population (p. 192).

### Japan's Media Environment

It is important to consider the current conditions of Japan's media before addressing the coverage of homelessness within the newspapers examined for this study. Though print media is suffering a decline in readership in other countries, Japan maintains a vibrant print media. Newspaper circulation remains healthy, with "about 664 newspapers … sold per 1000 heads of the population," a figure that compares favorably with the 274 newspapers per 1000 people for U.S. circulation (Datamonitor, 2004, p. 11). Newspaper subscription rates have remained steady for the past several years. The combined circulation of local, regional, and national dailies at more than 70.4 million copies gives Japan the third largest newspaper market in the world (Japan External Trade Organization, 2005). A few newspapers make up a large portion of this circulation. Six Japanese newspapers rank in the world's top eight in circulation, with the *Yomiuri Shimbun* leading world newspapers with a daily circulation of more than 14 million copies, 10 million for the morning edition and 4.5 million for the evening edition (Cho & Lacy, 2002; Japan External Trade Organization, 2005; Lichtenberg, 2005).

The two most widely circulated papers in Japan are the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the *Asahi Shimbun*. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* is considered by many to be Japan's newspaper of record, particularly as it is the newspaper that most closely reflects the position of the Japanese government (Luther, 2001, 2002). The *Asahi Shimbun*, the Yomiuri's largest rival in Japan, has a combined circulation of 12 million copies for its daily morning and evening editions (Datamonitor, 2004) but is considered more influential as it is more likely to be the newspaper read by the political elite (Cho & Lacy, 2002; Feldman, 1995). Cho and Lacy's (2002) survey of the penetration of Japan's four largest circulation national dailies indicated that penetration of the *Asahi Shimbun* increased along with any increase in circulation for other national or local newspapers. They concluded this finding supported Feldman's (1986) claims of the Asahi's importance, writing that the "*Asahi Shimbun* appears to be more of a complement for other local dailies than a substitute because of its strong political content" (Cho & Lacy, 2002, p. 87). In terms of influence, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* appears to be the general newspaper of record and the *Asahi Shimbun* the preferred source for political and governmental news.

Both newspaper groups also publish an English edition. The Yomiuri Group publishes *The Daily Yomiuri*, which has a circulation of more than 40,000 copies (Lichtenberg, 2005). The Asahi Group discontinued stand-alone publication of the *Asahi Evening News* in 2001 when it began a joint distribution agreement with the *International Herald Tribune*. It currently circulates more than 40,000 copies daily of the bundled *International Herald Tribune/Asahi Shimbun* (Lichtenberg, 2005) in independently edited sections. The close ties between

the *Asahi Shimbun* and *The New York Times*, which owns the *International Herald Tribune*, are considered to reflect the Asahi Group's position as more progressive than the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Cho & Lacy, 2002).

The English and Japanese-language editions of these two newspaper groups provide the data population for this preliminary examination of the differences in coverage between the four editions. The research questions are:

RQ1: How did these newspapers cover the issue of Japanese homelessness from 1991 to 2006?

RQ2: Are there differences in coverage between the groups over the study period and, if so, what are these?

RQ3: Are there differences in coverage for the language of publication over the study period and, if so, what are these?

RQ4: Are there differences in coverage within the groups for language over the study period and, if so, what are these?

## The Study

### *Methods*

*Quantitative methods: Development of the codebook*. Following procedures outlined by Krippendorff (2004), the codebook[1] was developed based on the framing of articles in English from outside the data set, including those published in 2007 and by other media organizations in Japan. (See Appendix for the English-language version of the codebook.) In addition to basic information about the articles, the codebook sought to determine how the issue was framed in the four newspapers under examination. Coders were asked to determine the overall focal frame of the article, whether the article discussed any causes of homelessness, assigned blame to any group, gave responsibility for relieving the situation of homelessness to any group, and suggested specific actions be taken. In addition, coders were asked to identify who was directly quoted in the article, the level of descriptive language, and the emotional intensity of the articles.

*Data sample*. The data population for this study was set as articles published in the two Japanese-language newspapers, the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and each group's English-language newspapers from 1991 through 2006 which contained substantial coverage of homelessness in Japan.

Several steps were followed in obtaining the data samples. Articles were obtained from Japanese and English media archives for both media groups using key word searches. For the English databases, the search terms were "homeless" and "day laborers." For the Japanese databases, the terms were "*hōmuresu*" and "*furousha*." All articles that met these initial

search criteria for the Yomiuri and Asahi group's English and Japanese newspapers comprise the data population. These articles were transferred into a FileMaker data file for further examination.

For the Japanese newspapers, the key word searches identified 3379 articles that met the search term for the *Asahi Shimbun* and 2714 for the *Yomiuri Shimbun* during the 16-year period. Regarding the English publications, 405 articles in the *Asahi Shimbun*, excluding articles published in the *International Herald Tribune* section, and 492 articles in the *Daily Yomiuri* met the key word search criteria.

It was decided that the limited number of articles in the English publications warranted a census of all articles in the search period. The English articles were then examined to eliminate duplicates, book reviews, letters to the editor, and articles that did not have at least 50% coverage of the issue of homelessness is Japan. This resulted in a total of 178 articles from the *Daily Yomiuri* and 133 articles from the English *Asahi Shimbun*. To ensure intercoder reliability, 10 percent of the resulting sample was randomly selected for coding by both coders. The remaining articles were then assigned to one of the two coders, the researchers, for evaluation according the articles record number, even numbered and odd numbered articles.

Because of the large number of articles that met the initial search terms in the Japanese databases, 3379 for the *Asahi Shimbun* and 2714 for the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, sampling procedures were employed to further limit the number of articles coded. It was decided, for purposes of this study, to focus on four years in the Japanese newspapers: 1991, 1996, 2001, and 2006. All articles in these four years were then compiled. For 1991, the *Asahi Shimbun* contained 73 articles that met the key word search and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* had 44. In 1996, the *Asahi Shimbun* included 178 and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* 130. In 2001, the the *Asahi Shimbun* included 326 and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* 226. In 2006, the *Asahi Shimbun* included 297 and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* 251. The number of articles in 1996, 2001, and 2006 were further reduced through a process of random sampling. Random numbers were generated for each of the articles by year and 130 articles for each year were selected. For 1991, all 117 articles were included. This created a data sample of 507 articles in Japanese derived from coverage over all four years. Then, 10 percent of the articles were randomly selected for assignment to both coders in order to assess intercoder reliability. The remaining articles were then divided into even-odd groups by record number and provided to one of the coders. Because the researchers are not native speakers of Japanese, it was decided that our Japanese-language skills were not sufficient for eliminating articles prior to coding. The Japanese coders applied the same criteria used with the English articles, coding articles that devoted at least 50% coverage to Japanese homelessness excluding book reviews and letters to the editor, to the Japanese articles.

*Qualitative analysis of content: Textual analysis.* Again following the procedures outlined by Krippendorff (2004), in addition to the content analysis, the coders were also requested to keep track of language and terms beyond those covered by the codebook in order to obtain a more complete picture of the coverage of homelessness.

## Results

First, intercoder reliability was assessed. Overall reliability for the two English-language article coders was .97, with agreement reaching the level of .80 or above on all individual items. For the Japanese coders, overall reliability was .94. Again, agreement between the two coders was deemed acceptable for all items. This indicates that the coders for both the English and Japanese-language articles were applying the same criteria to the articles coded and that the results can be considered reliable.

During the study period, 178 articles in the English *Daily Yomiuri* and 133 articles in the English *Asahi Shimbun* were determined to contain substantial coverage of homelessness in Japan. For the four years covered in the Japanese newspapers, the total number of articles coded was 141 for the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and 136 in the *Asahi Shimbun*. Less than 15% of *Asahi Shimbun* and only 5% of *Yomiuri Shimbun* articles that included the terms "*hōmuresu*" or "*furousha*" actually discussed the issue in substantive terms during the period. For the sampled years, a different pattern was found. The percent of articles with substantial coverage of homelessness in the sampled set increased in both publications (1996: AS – 59%, YS – 51%; 2001: AS – 60%, YS 66%; 2006: AS – 83%, YS – 89%). (See Figures 1 and 2 for a visual representation of the distribution of articles with substantial coverage of homelessness by publication and year for the Japanese-language and English-language editions from both publication groups.)
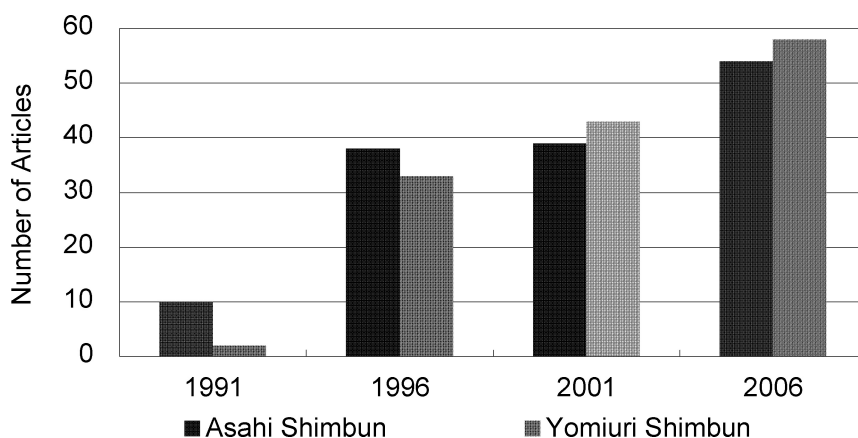


**Figure 1. Japanese-language articles with substantial coverage of homelessness by year of publication**
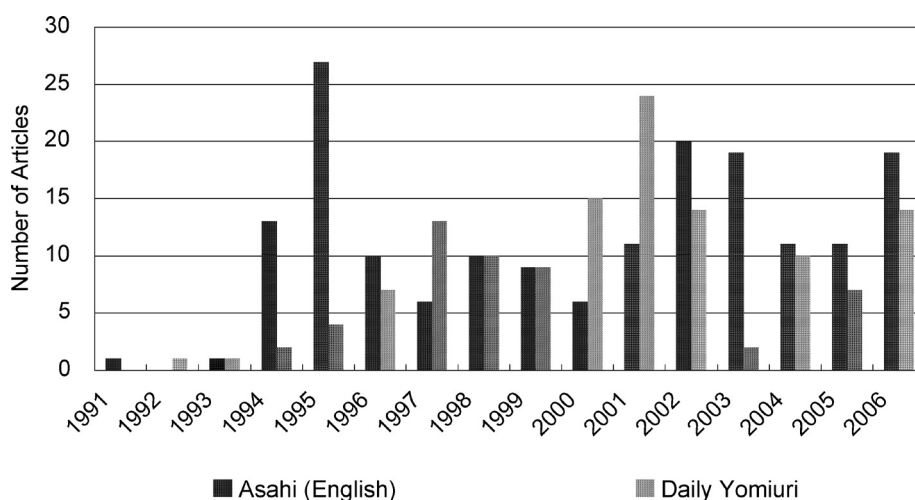
**Figure 2. English-language articles with substantial coverage of homelessness by year of publication**

For the English-language publications, coverage was seen to peak in 1995 in the *Asahi Shimbun* but in 2001 in the *Daily Yomiuri* (see Figure 2). Further examination indicated that the 1995 coverage in the *Asahi Shimbun* English edition was primarily related to those made homeless by the earthquake that devastated the Kobe area. However, these articles also widened the issue of housing the quake-related homeless to that of long-term homelessness in Japanese society and brought in the issue of government policies for addressing homelessness into a wider focus in Japanese society.

*Content analysis of articles following the codebook*. Taken together, the coverage of homelessness in the English and Japanese newspapers indicates that the issue went largely uncovered in the early 1990s. By the mid-1990s, coverage increased in the Japanese editions from both newspaper groups though the coverage in the English editions indicates that there was considerable difference in the amount of coverage given to the issue of Japanese homelessness between the two publications.

All data were analyzed to determine statistical significance. The alpha level for significance was set at .05. In addition to the descriptive statistics, correlations were checked between variables and five pairs were found to reach statistical significance (see below). These pairs of variables were then investigated through a series of one-way ANOVAs. In order to control for type I error, the significance level was adjusted using a Bonferroni-type procedure, resulting in a modified *p* value of .01.

The general level of descriptiveness for the articles in the Japanese and English editions of the two publications showed little difference overall during the study period (see Table

1), though there appears to be a trend toward more descriptive articles in the Japanese-language editions from the Yomiuri Group, no significant correlation was observed for the descriptiveness of articles and the newspaper, year of publication, language of publication, or the publication group.

Intensity of the articles was also assessed by the coders (see Tables 2 and 3). Analyses indicated a significant correlation between the level of intensity of the articles and the newspaper, the language of publication, and the year of publication ($p < .005$, two-tailed). However, no significant correlation was observed for the intensity of articles and the publication group. ANOVA revealed a significant difference in article intensity for the year of publication (Japanese articles) or combined years of publication (English articles) [$F$(3,584) = 4.504, $p$ = .004].

**Table 1. Descriptiveness of Articles by Language and Publication Group, Totals and Percents**

| Language | | Publication Group | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Asahi | | Yomiuri | | Total | |
| Japanese | Not descriptive | 68 | 48% | 51 | 38% | 119 | 43% |
| | Minimally descriptive | 44 | 31% | 65 | 48% | 109 | 39% |
| | Somewhat descriptive | 19 | 13% | 15 | 11% | 34 | 12% |
| | Highly descriptive | 10 | 7% | 5 | 4% | 15 | 5% |
| | Total | 141 | | 136 | | 277 | |
| English | Not descriptive | 59 | 44% | 99 | 56% | 158 | 51% |
| | Minimally descriptive | 43 | 32% | 45 | 25% | 88 | 28% |
| | Somewhat descriptive | 18 | 14% | 17 | 10% | 35 | 11% |
| | Highly descriptive | 13 | 10% | 17 | 10% | 30 | 10% |
| | Total | 133 | | 178 | | 311 | |

**Table 2. Intensity of Articles by Language and Publication Group, Totals and Percents**

| Language | Intensity | Publication Group | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Asahi | | Yomiuri | | Total | |
| Japanese | Low | 69 | 49% | 60 | 44% | 129 | 47% |
| | Medium | 66 | 47% | 70 | 51% | 136 | 49% |
| | High | 5 | 4% | 6 | 4% | 11 | 4% |
| | Total | 141 | | 136 | | 277 | |
| English | Low | 93 | 70% | 134 | 75% | 227 | 73% |
| | Medium | 31 | 23% | 34 | 19% | 65 | 21% |
| | High | 9 | 7% | 10 | 6% | 19 | 6% |
| | Total | 133 | | 178 | | 311 | |

**Table 3. Intensity of Articles by Year (Japanese editions) or Combined Years (English editions)**

| | | Japanese Editions | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1991 | | 1996 | | 2001 | | 2006 | | Total | |
| Low | | 10 | 83% | 35 | 49% | 36 | 44% | 48 | 43% | 129 | 47% |
| Medium | | 2 | 17% | 32 | 45% | 44 | 54% | 58 | 52% | 136 | 49% |
| High | | | 0% | 3 | 4% | 2 | 2% | 6 | 5% | 11 | 4% |
| | Total | 12 | | 71 | | 82 | | 112 | | 277 | |
| | | English Editions (Combined Years) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 1991-1994 | | 1995-1998 | | 1999-2002 | | 2003-2006 | | Total | |
| Low | | 18 | 95% | 59 | 71% | 86 | 74% | 64 | 69% | 129 | 47% |
| Medium | | 1 | 5% | 21 | 25% | 19 | 16% | 24 | 26% | 136 | 49% |
| High | | 0 | 0% | 3 | 4% | 11 | 9% | 5 | 5% | 11 | 4% |
| | Total | 19 | | 83 | | 116 | | 93 | | 277 | |

Regarding the assignment of a cause, the most frequently assigned cause was the economic conditions of Japan ($n = 139$) followed by the problems related to the homeless individuals health or age ($n = 42$) and general problems in Japanese society ($n = 34$). Overall assignment of causes correlated significantly with language, publication group, and newspaper ($p < .005$). A cause was more frequently assigned in articles in English and articles from the Asahi group, and articles in the English edition *Asahi Shimbun* (see Table 4). ANOVA revealed a significant difference for combined causes and the newspaper [$F(3,584) = 13.255$, $p = .000$], lanaguage of publication newspaper [$F(1,586) = 23.178$, $p = .000$], and publication group [$F(1,586) = 12.106$, $p = .001$].

Blame for the problems associated with homelessness was most frequently assigned to the government ($n = 67$) and businesses ($n = 35$). The homeless were assigned blame for the problem by 19 articles. The groups blamed for causing homelessness (blame frame) were combined in order to determine if there was any correlation between this frame and the language, group, newspaper, or year of publication. Correlation was only identified with year of publication ($p < .005$), combined to include both the Japanese and the English articles, with early articles more likely to include this frame than those published later in the study period (see Table 5). ANOVA revealed significance between year and the blame frame at the $p < .005$ level [$F(3,584) = 5.893$, $p = .001$].

**Table 4. Assignment of Cause of Homelessness in Japan by Language, Group, and Newspaper**

| | | No Cause Assigned | | Cause Assigned | | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Language | Japanese | 226 | 82% | 51 | 18% | 277 |
| | English | 176 | 57% | 135 | 43% | 311 |
| Publication Group | Asahi | 171 | 62% | 103 | 38% | 274 |
| | Yomiuri | 231 | 74% | 83 | 26% | 314 |
| Newspaper | Asahi Shimbun (J) | 107 | 76% | 34 | 24% | 141 |
| | Yomiuri Shimbun (J) | 119 | 88% | 17 | 13% | 136 |
| | Asahi Shimbun (E) | 64 | 48% | 69 | 52% | 133 |
| | Daily Yomiuri (E) | 112 | 63% | 66 | 37% | 178 |
| Total Number of Articles | | 402 | | 186 | | 588 |

**Table 5. Percent of Japanese and English Articles Containing Blame by Combined Year of**

| | | 1991-1994 | | 1995-1998 | | 1999-2002 | | 2003-2006 | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No blame assigned | | 19 | 61% | 116 | 75% | 161 | 81% | 167 | 81% | 463 |
| Blame assigned | | 12 | 39% | 38 | 25% | 37 | 19% | 38 | 19% | 125 |
| | Total | 31 | | 154 | | 198 | | 205 | | 588 |

When responsibility for ending homelessness in Japan appeared in the articles, it was most frequently framed in terms of being the government's responsibility ($n = 124$) at either the national or regional level or that of the homeless individuals themselves ($n = 30$), NGOs ($n = 29$), or businesses ($n = 26$). Analysis of the assignment of ending responsibility was found to correlate significantly with the language of publication and the newspaper ($p < .005$) (see Table 6). ANOVA revealed significant difference in the assignment of responsibility for ending homeless for the language of publication [$F(1,586) = 11.850$, $p = .001$] and by newspaper [$F(3,584) = 7.35$, $p = .005$]. In other words, the English publications from both publication groups were significantly more likely to assign responsibility for ending homelessness in Japan, with the government most frequently named, than the Japanese-language publications from either group.

**Table 6. Assignment of Responsibility for Ending Homeless by Language and Newspaper**

| | | Language | | Newspaper | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Japanese | English | Asahi (J) | Yomiuri (J) | Asahi (E) | Daily Yomiuri (E) | |
| No Responsibility Given | | 220 | 206 | 107 | 113 | 76 | 130 | 426 |
| Ending Responsibility Assigned | | 57 | 105 | 34 | 23 | 57 | 48 | |
| | Total | 277 | 311 | 141 | 136 | 133 | 178 | 588 |

The most frequently cited action in the articles was to provide housing to the homeless ($n = 115$), followed by improved social services ($n = 98$) and job creating and job training programs ($n = 86$), though a number of articles also indicated that homelessness could not be avoided through any action ($n = 87$). There was no significant correlation between the action frame and the year, publication group, newspaper, or language.

Direct quotes were used in more than half of the articles ($n = 336$), with the most frequently quoted sources being homeless people, followed by representatives from national, regional and local governments (see Table 7). Significant correlation was found between use of direct quotes and the newspaper and the publication group ($p < .005$). ANOVA (2-way) revealed significant difference in the assignment of responsibility for ending homeless for the publication group [$F(1,586) = 11.266$, $p = .001$] and for the newspaper [$F(3,584) = 7.697$, $p = .000$]. In short, the Asahi group newspapers were significantly more likely to assign responsibility for ending homelessness – most frequently the Japanese government – and more likely to include direct quotes in their articles than the articles published by the Yomiuri group in either language.

**Table 7. Articles with Direct Quotes by Newspaper and Quoted Source**

| Quoted Source | Asahi Shimbun(J) | Yomiuri Shimbun (J) | Asahi Shimbun (E) | Daily Yomiuri | Total Quotes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government | 18 | 27 | 29 | 21 | 95 |
| Japanese NPO/NGO | 11 | 5 | 28 | 17 | 61 |
| Social Worker | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| Police | 3 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 22 |
| Advocate for the Homeless | 18 | 6 | 14 | 13 | 51 |
| Homeless Represenative | 4 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 16 |
| Homeless Person | 39 | 29 | 53 | 35 | 156 |
| Neighborhood Representative | 3 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 20 |
| Business | 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| Member of the Public | 14 | 26 | 8 | 4 | 52 |
| Other Media | 2 | | | 2 | 4 |
| Researcher | 3 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 19 |
| Foreign NPO/NGO | | 3 | 1 | 5 | 9 |
| Other | 2 | 1 | | 3 | 6 |
| Total Articles | | | | | 588 |

*Textual analysis of articles*. In addition to the content analysis generated during the coding of articles, coders were asked to maintain a record of the trends in and their impressions of the articles.

The Japanese coders noted that though the term "*furousha*" had been replaced by "*hōmuresu*" by the mid-1990s, more recent articles used the terms "*mushoku*" (unemployed)

or "*jyushofushou*" (without address) to identify homeless people. Both coders also noted that though most work with the homeless is being done by NPOs and NGOs, along with individual volunteers, there were relatively few articles covering the activities of groups they were familiar with from their own studies of Japanese NPOs.

Though many of the stories about the homeless were feature stories, most of the coverage was actually about efforts to evict the homeless from public spaces, such as stations and parks, or crimes committed against them, including murders. Stories of violence against the homeless were frequently framed in terms of social problems, particularly increasing crimes by teenagers and young adults. The reports of evictions emerged from either Tokyo or Osaka, with the eviction coming about because of public pressure by local businesses and those who live in districts near places where the homeless make temporary shelters.

The coders indicated that the Japanese articles revealed a lack of understanding of the situation faced by the homeless in Japan, as well as a general feeling that the problem was, in actuality, too complex to be solved. Why people become homeless was not frequently reported in the Japanese articles. The coders noted a tendency for the homeless to be viewed as lacking in self-responsibility and unwilling to work, with many in the general public unaware that most homeless report that they are either able to secure jobs only on a day-to-day basis as temporary laborers or want to work but are unable to do because of their age or health problems. Overall, the Japanese coders noticed that the articles had a lower intensity and included less descriptive language about the situation of homelessness than they had anticipated.

The English coders noted similar trends in the articles in the *Asahi Shimbun* and *Daily Yomiuri*. The trend was toward increased coverage, though predominately of evictions and crimes against or by the homeless. Coders noted that the English articles also included coverage of non-Japanese helping the homeless population in Japan, with many of the feature articles focusing on the efforts of groups such as Medicins sans frontieres and various foreign-based groups, many with ties to Christian churches, to aid the homeless – particularly the efforts of foreign volunteers with the organizations.

After the 2002 law to provide assistance to the homeless was passed, one common theme was the realization that something – housing, training, services – needed to be provided but that either funding was non-existent or there was fear that should one area, such as one ward in Tokyo, provide the services it would act as a magnet to attract homeless from throughout the wider area and soon be overwhelmed

## Discussion

The media examined for this study covered homelessness in Japan primarily in terms

of immediate events, though all four publications included feature stories about the issue during the study period, which addresses RQ1, (*How did these newspapers cover the issue of Japanese homelessness from 1991 to 2006?*). The coverage is notable in the early period of this study for its absence, though from the mid-1990s coverage was provided in all four newspapers.

Media coverage of homelessness in Japan indicates that there are significant differences between the media groups and the language of publication regarding the coverage, which addresses RQ2 (*Are there differences in coverage between the groups over the study period and, if so, what are these?*) and RQ3 (*Are there differences in coverage for the language of publication over the study period and, if so, what are these?*). This can be attributed to the background of the publications and the differences in the focus for the Japanese and English editions from these two major Japanese news organizations. Confirming what previous research has indicated, the Yomiuri group is more likely to support government policies (e.g. Luther, 2001, 2002) while the Asahi group, with its ties to the *International Herald Tribune* and *The New York Times*, takes a more active stance in trying to influence government policy (e.g. Cho & Lacy, 2002; Feldman, 1986, 1995). Multiple measures illustrate this, especially with regards to the frequency of coverage of the issue, the changes in the perceived emotional intensity of the articles, the use of descriptive language, and the assignment of responsibility for ending the problem. In terms of RQ4 (*Are there differences in coverage within the groups for language over the study period and, if so, what are these?*), the English-language editions within the two media groups provide a different frame of Japanese homelessness than the Japanese-language editions, just as the framing differs between the two groups.

In conjunction with the statistical results, the changes in coverage, particularly those noted by the Japanese coders regarding in wording used to discuss the issue of homeless, indicate that using a particular frame for analyzing an issue over a span of years, though providing a way to statistically compare the articles, cannot be assumed to capture the variety of language and framing used. Deeper understanding of the phenomena may require more qualitative techniques to fully understand the ways in which coverage of a complex issue varies over time.

## Conclusions

Clearly, further examination of the Japanese coverage of this and other social issues is warranted in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of the changing portrayal of issues by Japanese media groups. Consideration must also be given to how public perceptions of social issues have changed and whether these mirror or lead changes in news media framing of social issues.

For non-Japanese speakers, the study also suggests some caution be exercised when examining coverage of social issues in the English-language publications from the major Japanese newspaper groups. Though there may be a general assumption that articles in the English-language editions of Japanese publications are translations of the Japanese coverage, the results here indicate that the English-language editions of Japanese newspapers do not provide a straight translation of the Japanese articles. This suggests that research in Japanese about the Japanese' media portrayals of domestic and international issues must also be made available in English, as well as other languages, in order to provide a clearer picture of Japanese society to non-Japanese speakers.

## Acknowledgements

## Notes

1. Codebooks are developed prior to the study in content analysis research, then applied to media under study. Krippendorff (2004) considers codebooks the appropriate method for quantitative analysis research involving a number of coders in order to maintain reliability in the coding of the data. In frame analysis projects such as this one, Krippendorff, among others, considers codebooks to provide a way to analyze media in multiple languages on the same topic.

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# Appendix

### *Homeless Coverage in Japanese News Media: Codebook*

*Dates of coverage under study:* January 1, 1991 to December 31, 2006

*Data population:* Articles with "substantial coverage of homelessness in Japan."

Only code articles that have at least 50% coverage devoted to the issue of homelessness in Japan

*Steps in obtaining data sample:*

1. Articles were obtained from the media archives using the key word search.

 English search: "homeless" or "day laborer"

 Japanese search: (ho-muresu) meaning homeless or (furousha) meaning vagrant or tramp

2. Headlines were checked to make sure the article was about homelessness in Japan. Unrelated articles were marked and eliminated. Unrelated articles included book reviews & letters to the editor.

3. Articles judged as related were then selected using the following procedures:

 1991 – Asahi S. & Yomiuri: Census (all articles); 1996, 2001, 2006 – Asahi S. & Yomiuri random sample of 50 articles per year; 1991 to 2006 – DY & AE – Census

4. Sampled articles were examined for the nature of the coverage of homelessness.

Only code articles that have at least 50% coverage devoted to the issue of homelessness in Japan

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*Rows 1 to 7 already entered into "Homeless Data Entry" worksheet*

Row 1:   *Coder ID*

Row 2:    Record #: the Record # in the data file.

Rows 3-5: Date:                                          1 = Year, 2 = Month, 3 = Day

Row 6:    Newspaper

     1. Asahi Shimbun (Japanese)

     2. Yomiuri Shimbun (Japanese)

     3. Daily Yomiuri (English) (DY)

     4. Asahi Shimbun (English) (AE)

Row 7:    Size: Total Number of words or characters in the article.

Row 8:    Author:

    Does the article have an author (e.g. a reporter, columnist or writer)? 1=Yes, 2=No           Ignore whether the article ends with news agency credits or not.

Row 9:   Agency: Indicate which news agencies are credited with supplying material for

this article: Whether an author is named or not is irrelevant.

1. None indicated

2. Yomiuri Press Service

3. Asahi Press Service

4. Kyodo News Service

5. Jiji Press

6. AP / Associated Press

7. NYT / New York Times Press Service

8. Other ＿ (enter) Please make a note of the category

Row 10: Placement: Write the code.

1. Front page  = the article appeared on the front page for that day in the paper or on the web site.

2. Other pages = the article appeared on one of the other pages for that day.

3. Unknown  = the position of the story cannot be determined from the file retrieved from the site's archives

Row 11: Type: Determine the type of news the entire article represents. Write the code. Each article must be placed in only one of the following categories:

1. Hard news = This is news that needs to be reported as rapidly as possible or it will lose its value. This includes new facts, recent developments, unexpected events or prescheduled announcements, speeches, meetings that are reported within two days (the day of and the day following) of an event and in which announcements of policy changes or other substantive measures are made. Reports of violence against/by homeless would fall into this category.

2. Brief news = This is a news article that is very short (4 paragraphs or less, generally under 100 words / 50 characters) that gives a new fact or recent development. A news brief usually (though not always) does not contain any quotes or if it does, the quote is from a news release prepared by a government or organization. It may be an announcement of an up-coming meeting.

3. Press Event = This is an article about a pre-arranged event that includes a scripted component for the press. This event, unlike Hard News, will not include any substantially new policies or announcements and will generally provide a forum to "raise concern" about the issue of homelessness without announcing any changes that would help alleviate the situation. Summits and meetings that reach no conclusions or do not announce any new actions fall into this category.

4. <u>Feature</u> = This is an article focusing on a person or group of people, work by an aid organization, or other article that considers homelessness as an issue, rather than about a specific event. It is sometimes called soft news because it is usually based on unscheduled or ongoing events and does not need to be published in a "timely" manner (i.e. it is not immediate). Feature stories are usually prepared by the reporter over several days and include information from many sources. While all news sources have pressure to disseminate information rapidly, news features are generally issue oriented, rather than event oriented, and do not require immediate release. A news feature about the homelessness would generally not include any "breaking" news and would focus on the people who are homeless (what is life like), or how a group is helping homeless people in a general and on-going manner. It will <u>not</u> present any analysis or commentary from the writer, editor or publisher.

5. <u>Background</u> = This is an article that gives background information or facts. The article summarizes the events in Japan that led the the current issue of homelessness and does <u>not</u> present any new or recent developments. It does <u>not</u> feature conditions faced by any specific homeless person.

6. <u>Analysis</u> = This is an article that expresses the opinion of the medium (writer, editor, or publisher), or an article that is heavily weighted to analyzing and commenting on the situation. These are usually labeled "editorial" or "opinion" (though not always). An article can still be analysis if it expresses the writer's opinions about homeless people, the causes of homelessness, or evaluates current responses toward the homeless. It is <u>not</u> analysis if the opinions are quoted or attributed to one of the players.

7. <u>Other</u> = This is an article that does not fit into one of the above categories. This category should be avoided and only used when no other category is nearly appropriate (i.e. when none of the other categories are a good fit).

Row 12: Focus frame: Do any of the following foci (causes, nature, remedies, or combinations of them) describe the article? Write the code that matches the dominant focus of the majority of the content in this article

1. Causes = Historical and present-day causes of homelessness in Japan

2. Conduct = Behavior of the participants and immediate events (the actions by the homeless, human rights advocates, police, public officials, neighbors, store keepers, teenagers, delinquents, criminals, organizations, etc.)

3. Solution = Proposed solutions to homelessness in Japan

4. Causes <u>and</u> conduct (Codes 1 and 2)

5. Causes <u>and</u> solutions (Codes 1 and 3)

6. Conduct of <u>and</u> solutions (Codes 2 and 3)

7. Causes, conduct <u>and</u> solutions (Codes 1, 2 and 3)

8. Other – None of the above

Row 13-18: Causes of Homelessness Does the article give a cause for homelessness? Indicate if any of these causes are identified in the article.　　1=Yes, 2=No

13. *Personal* (Self) = Indicates that homelessness is a personal choice

14. *Social* = Cause identified as "social" problem caused by general problems of Japanese society (lack of social support network, laws, etc.)

15. *Economic* = Indicates that the economy is the primary cause of homelessness (high unemployment, lack of jobs)

16. *Family* = Problems with their family led to their homelessness

17. *Medical* = Indicates that health problems led to homelessness; Age related health problems

18. *Other* = Another reason is given for homelessness: What? Make a note, please.

Rows 19-24: Blame Frame: Does the article blame any of these groups for the problem of homelessness? Indicate if any of these causes are identified in the article.

1=Yes, 2=No

19. *Homeless people* = Homeless people are responsible for their own situation

20. *Government* = Japanese government policies are responsible

21. *Businesses* = Businesses are responsible for homelessness because of low wages, etc.

22. *Family* = The families of the homeless are to blame for the person becoming homeless

23. *Society* = Social conditions are to blame for their situation

24. *Other* = Other people / groups are blamed

Rows 25-31: End Frame: Does this article *identify* who is responsible for ending homelessness? Indicate if any of these groups are identified as responsible.

1=Yes, 2=No

25. *Homeless people* = Homeless people have to want to stop being homeless

26. *Government* = Japanese government needs to end homelessness; the government needs to create policies to do this

27. *Businesses* = Businesses need to provide jobs that offer fair wages to end homelessness

28. *Family* = Families of the homeless must take them in again and be responsible

for them

*29. NGOs* = Non-Profit Organizations or other non-governmental groups (local or national) should provide help to end homelessness

*30. Police* = The police should arrest homeless people to get them off the streets

*31. Other* = Some other group is responsible for ending homelessness

Rows 32-36: Action: Does this article suggest an action that can end homelessness? Indicate if any of these actions are suggested in the article.     1=Yes, 2=No

*32. Create Jobs* = job creation is necessary (by government or businesses)

*33. Low Cost Housing* = public housing

*34. Social Services* = Improved social services (health care, mental health care, job training, etc.)

*35. Avoid Increases* = The solution is avoiding any increase in the number of homeless.

*36. Action not possible* = Homelessness cannot be ended / it can't be helped that some people are poor and unprotected

Quotes:      Was a person/group directly "quoted" in the article? Yes = 1, No = 0 Indirect quotes or paraphrases are not direct quotes.

| Row # | The primary affiliation of people quoted |
|-------|------------------------------------------|
| 37. | Q-J Govt: Japanese government official (speaking for local or national government) |
| 38. | Q-J NGO: Japanese NGO Official / representative |
| 39. | Q-Social: Social worker: Public employee speaking on behalf of an agency that is supposed to help the homeless |
| 40. | Q-Police: Police officers or representative for police |
| 41. | Q-Advocate: Advocate for the homeless (but not homeless themselves) |
| 42. | Q-Represent: Homeless person who is an advocate for the homeless (such as a spokesperson for a semi-official association of homeless people in one area) |
| 43. | Q-Homeless: Homeless person (who is not a spokesperson for the homeless) |
| 44. | Q-Neighbor: Neighborhood representatives (non-homeless neighborhood spokesperson for local groups in areas homeless live) |
| 45. | Q-Business: Business representatives (spokesperson for businesses in areas of homelessness) |
| 46. | Q-Public: Member of the public or a "person on the street" (Non-homeless citizen who comments on the situation – not the representative of any group) |
| 47. | Q-Media: Media (other media sources cited in the article) |
| 48. | Q-Researcher: Researcher: a researcher (university professor, psychologists, sociologist, doctor, or other academic) commenting on homelessness |
| 49. | Q-Foreign Govt: Official from another country's government |
| 50 | Q-Foreign NGO: official or representative of a non-Japanese or international NGO/NPO (Including Japanese nationals working for Non-Japanese organizations) |
| 51. | Q-Other: Other (indicate who) |

Row 52: Descriptive: Article contains descriptive language. Examples would be descriptions of shelters, descriptions of the sounds and smells of the

street or park area, descriptions of a homeless person's actions and activities, descriptions of the reactions of passers-by, etc. (ordinal scale). Write the code

1 = Not descriptive (does not use descriptive language)

2 = Minimally descriptive (uses a little descriptive language – a few sentences use descriptive language)

3 = Somewhat descriptive (some descriptive language)

4 = Highly descriptive (considerable use of descriptive language – several paragraphs include descriptive language)

Row 53: Intensity:  Write the code

Your perception of emotional intensity of article (ordinal scale)

1 = Low    2 = Medium    3 = High

Information provided coders regarding article "Intensity"

"Intensity" indicates your perception of the articles emotional impact. An article with "low" intensity would include primarily facts. Articles with "medium" intensity should have a balance between factual language and words or phrases that invoke an emotional response. Articles with a "high" intensity" should spend less than one-third of the article on factual information or spend more than half the space on language meant to invoke an emotional response, or both.