

Journalism Education and Training in Japan: How Homogeneous and Bland Journalism Has Arisen®

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1 Introduction

Japanese journalism embraces the principles of societal service, press freedom, editorial independence, and, like its Western counterparts, is undergoing substantial change. Throughout the past two decades, newspapers and broadcasters have had diminished sales and advertising profits. However, each of Japan's five national daily *Shimbun* [newspapers], all based in Tokyo, have millions in circulation. Among them, the circulation of the *Yomiuri*, the biggest newspaper, is less than 10 million. On average, each Japanese household consumes nearly one newspaper (0.78) each day as of October 2016. Most newspapers have been published for more than 100 years and exert a strong influence over their readers. Although recently tough economic times have led to decreases in both sales and advertisements, newspapers continue to be the most trusted social institution in Japan, according to a survey (IICP 2014).

Five commercial TV networks, all based in Tokyo, dominate the TV landscape and each network has close relationships with one of the big five newspaper companies through stock holdings and interlocking directorships. Nippon Hoso Kyokai [NHK: Japan Broadcasting Corporation] is similar to the UK's BBC in approach, size and operation. However, NHK's activities are mainly limited to Japan, despite operating international broadcasting. Overall, Japan's TV as a source of entertainment and information is overwhelming (Oi 2012).

2 Journalism Landscape

Although Japan has one of the world's most advanced media systems, the structure of its news media differs from those in other democracies in three important ways. First, while newspaper readership and revenues in Japan have declined in recent years, the newspapers still have greater reach than in most other industrialized nations – due largely to the concentrated ownership of five daily publications that each serve more than one million readers. Second, five commercial television networks, closely affiliated with the five major newspaper companies, dominate local affiliate TV stations' programming. As a consequence, most of Japan's news and entertainment media are controlled by only a few large newspapers and television stations that cooperate closely.

Third, news coverage in Japan depends heavily on the *Kisha* [journalist] club system,

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which tightly controls access to news sources and information subsidies. The *Kisha* clubs operate as a kind of cartel for news based on close relationships between journalists and their sources. This brings about traditionally bland and homogeneous journalism (Oi 2012; Feldman 1993; Freeman 2000; Kim 1981), which, combined with the limitations of the *Kisha* system, leads to both an absence of investigative reporting and the public's distrust of the media (Oi et al. 2012).

Freedom of the press is guaranteed by Japan's constitution. There are rules against cross-ownership of media, as well as regulations that limit newspaper holdings in broadcasting. However, in reality, the government controls the free flow of news and information and suppresses free expression of news media through the *Kisha* clubs (Oi et al. 2012). While a few national newspaper companies have close relationships with several national broadcasters through stock holding and interlocking directorships (Cooper-Chen 1997), the broadcasters have built national TV networks and dominated local affiliates, as well as their programming. Both large cross-media ownership and concentrated ownership are characteristics of Japan's media structure.

Today, Japan has 117 daily newspapers with a total circulation of about 43.2 million copies per day, according to a 2016 survey by *Nihon Shimbun Kyokai* [NSK: the Japanese Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association]. Japanese newspapers are divided into national, block, local, and sports publications. The five largest newspapers are *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun*, *Sankei Shimbun*, and *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, all based in Tokyo, which reach millions of readers daily. These newspapers are nationally circulated and their combined circulation (22.4 million) accounted for slightly more than half of the total daily newspaper circulation as of October 2016.

The Japanese TV broadcasting system, which is composed of both public and commercial channels, was born in the 1950s. The public service broadcaster is NHK, which is comparable to the UK's BBC in terms of quality and the size of its operations. For example, in addition to terrestrial TV (54 local stations), NHK operates satellite TVs and radio networks across the country. Like other public broadcasters, NHK depends on a subscription fee for its revenue, which was about 712 billion yen in 2016.

Along with NHK, the five largest commercial television networks are Nippon TV, TBS TV, Fuji TV, TV Asahi, and TV Tokyo. They respectively provide various television programs for their local affiliates. The penetration rate for television is 99% in Japan, which makes it a truly national medium. Four of the five commercial broadcasters have formed large, cross-media ownership groups with newspapers – Nippon TV with *Yomiuri*, TV Asahi with *Asahi*, TV Tokyo with *Nihon Keizai*, and Fuji TV with *Sankei*. These relationships allow newspapers to have close links with TV stations, both in stock and human relations, reflecting a historical situation in which newspaper companies led the establishment of the nationwide broadcasting system after World War II (Yada 2007).

While the Internet in Japan plays a complementary role to newspapers and TV for audiences, it is also gradually superseding the role of mainstream media. Younger generations in Japan increasingly obtain news through the Internet. According to the White Paper on Information and Communication in Japan [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication of Japan 2016], the Internet users reached about 100 million people by the end of 2015, with a penetration rate of 83.0%. The 2016 figures are more than twice those of 2000. Among younger age groups, the penetration rate is high, reaching 99.2% for those in their 20s and 97.5% of those in their 30s.

As in other nations, Japanese mass media have been shaken by the digitalization of information and communication technology that began in the mid-1990s. Traditional news media have lost audiences to online media and quickly lost sales and advertising revenue. Yet the dominance of the Japan's big five newspaper and TV networks has kept audience erosion and competition from newer media (such as citizen-based news media) from being as severe as in the United States and other industrialized nations.

3 Professional Characteristics

3 – 1 Basic Characteristics

This section discusses characteristics of Japanese journalists based on findings of the 2007⁽¹⁾ and 2013⁽²⁾ surveys by the Institute of Journalism & Media Study (IJMS) at Nihon University. The vast majority of respondents to the IJMS survey are male (79.6%) with an average age of 41.3 years. Most graduated from college (87.9%), while only 6% finished graduate school and less than 1% did not go to college at all. Only a handful of respondents (14.7%) have any university training in their profession.

Half of journalists in the survey worked for newspapers (49.5%), while 44.4% worked for TV stations, and 2.1% worked for wire services. This distribution reflects the actual situation in Japan quite well.

3 – 2 Roles of Journalism

The goals and responsibilities of Japanese journalists have been affected by dramatic changes in the media environment. These include technological, political, economic, and cultural forces, as well as the cultural and historical context of the profession itself. To analyze perceptions of journalistic roles, respondents were asked which three roles Japanese journalists should adopt. As Table 1 indicates, two roles were considered most important: “provision of accurate information” (42.0%) and “watchdog on government” (40.3%). The role of “quest for social justice” (11.7%) was a distant third.

Table 1 Role Perceptions of Japanese Journalists (in %, N = 1,011)*

What are the three most important roles of journalism?	First	Second	Third
Provision of accurate information	42.0	18.5	18.6
Watchdog on government	40.3	26.5	15.6
Quest for social justice	11.7	21.7	17.0
Arousing public opinion	1.5	11.3	9.4
Agenda setting on social issues	1.4	7.5	8.7
Speaking for and relieving of the distressed	0.6	6.6	13.8
Proposal of policy	0.5	1.8	1.8
Education and enlightenment	0.3	1.9	4.3
Creation of social consensus	0.3	0.7	2.2
Providing entertainment	0.2	0.5	2.0
Providing forum for discussion	0.2	2.3	5.5
Other	0.7	0.3	0.4
NA	0.4	0.5	0.7
Total	100	100	100

*IJMS Survey (2007)

However, such findings suggest that the journalistic practices and duties considered important by most journalists are not necessarily put into practice (see Table 2). Responses indicate, for example, that while most journalists believe that “getting information to the public quickly” is something Japanese media are good at (92.0% strongly or somewhat agree), they also believe they are not very successful at “investigating the activities of the government” (35.5% strongly or somewhat agree). Although the watchdog role is considered an important media function, only about one-third of Japanese journalists believe they actually fulfill this role.

Table 2 Perceived Actual Role Performance of Japanese Journalists (in %, N = 747)*

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Concentration on interesting news	40.6	49.9	8.0	0.8	0.7
Getting information to the public quickly	44.7	47.3	6.4	1.2	0.4
Avoiding unconfirmed information	30.5	47.1	18.3	3.5	0.5
Advocacy on social issues	12.6	51.5	32.4	3.2	0.3
Proposal of national policy	17.4	59.6	20.1	2.5	0.4
Provision of stories arousing intellectual and cultural interest	16.1	56.9	24.1	2.3	0.7
Watchdog activities of public officials & business entrepreneurs	15.7	67.5	14.9	1.6	0.4
Provision of entertainment and relaxation	17.7	52.2	26.5	2.9	0.7
Analysis of complicated issues	9.2	52.9	34.3	3.2	0.4
Relief for the socially distressed	5.0	46.2	41.4	7.0	0.5
Investigation of claims and announcements by government	4.0	31.5	53.3	10.3	0.9

*IJMS Survey (2013)

3 – 3 The Changing Media Environment

Table 3 provides an overview of factors Japanese journalists consider to be most important in influencing their profession. Diffusion of the Internet in daily life (57.7% considered this item extremely influential), protection of the personal information law (56.6%), and news production by digital technologies (32.0%) were cited as the three most influential factors. While the Internet’s impact on traditional journalism and declining media audiences have been observed in other industrialized nations, nearly half the respondents (40.7%) think the Internet and news media in Japan coexist and fulfill a separate function. About one in five (23.8%) perceive a complementary role for the Internet.

Above all, the focus on privacy laws is uniquely Japanese because few other countries have laws with similar provisions. For example, the Act on Protection of Personal Information of 2003 originally stipulated media organizations as private businesses that must protect private information. This aspect of the law met with strong opposition from the news media until finally the law was approved with some exceptions. As might be expected, the revised act – once in effect – not only has been stretched, but has been applied more arbitrarily and excessively than in Western nations.

Table 3 Perceived Factors Affecting Journalism (in %, N = 747) *

	Extremely Influential	Somewhat influential	Not very influential	Not influential at all	Don't know
Protection of personal information law	56.6	34.5	7.1	1.1	0.7
Diffusion of the Internet in daily life	57.7	34.4	5.8	1.2	0.9
Decreasing readership & audience	32.0	42.7	21.4	2.8	1.1
News production by digital technologies	40.3	43.0	14.7	1.2	0.8
Increasing damage by media coverage	37.5	51.5	9.1	0.7	1.2
Development of Web journalism	31.5	43.8	21.0	2.7	1.1
Other industries' entry into media	17.3	39.4	35.2	7.0	1.2
Conservative swing of media	12.9	43.2	35.7	6.8	1.3
Move towards entertainment in media	10.3	37.3	44.8	6.2	1.3
Self-regulation of media	11.1	49.0	35.2	3.6	1.1
Tighter controls of jobs & costs	21.2	42.2	29.9	5.8	1.1
Social pressure against “ <i>kisha</i> ” clubs	3.6	28.0	56.2	10.8	1.3

*IJMS Survey (2013)

4 Introduction: Journalism Education, Professional Training and Research

Journalism education in Japan is divided into three types as follows: education at university level, training at vocational schools, and in-house journalist training for employees. This section largely focuses on more academic and theoretical approach of journalism education at the university level.

The origins of journalism education and research in Japan go back to 1929 when a study

room was set up at the University of Tokyo. Still, in the pre-World War II period, journalism education and research did not develop very much in Japan, because the militaristic regime enforced strict censorship over the press and impeded the development of democratic society in Japan (Takeichi 1996).

4 - 1 Teaching Future Newsmakers

Educational Orientation/Training

After the end of World War II, the U.S.-led occupying force, the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers (SCAP), helped NSK rebuild its formerly democratic media system. For example, it helped circulate Japan's *Canons of Journalism*, its main goal clearly stated in its preface: "To rebuild a democratic and peaceful Japan, the mission assigned newspapers is of great importance" (NSK 1947).

Recognizing the importance of journalism education, SCAP also encouraged some universities to establish journalism programs through NSK. In addition to Sophia University's program, which originated in the prewar period, Keio University (within the Institute of Journalism), Waseda University (within the College of Politics and Economics), and Nihon University (within the College of Law) set up journalism-education programs based on the U.S. model. In 1951, the Nihon Shimbun Gakkai [the Japan Society for Studies in Journalism — JSSJ] was founded with academics and practitioners as the leading members in order to promote both journalism studies and education in Japan. But, in 1952, NSK criticized these programs, stating that, when compared to American schools, they were still in their infancy (Haruhara 1994). In short, Japanese universities appeared to have little interest in producing skilled journalists since Japan's on-the-job training system served the profession's needs.

The fact that JSSJ added "mass communication" to its title in 1993 and became JSSJMC illustrates the post-war development of mass communication studies, including interpersonal communication research. In the mid-1960s, when TV became an important mass medium, a few established universities introduced broadcast classes and newer ones established more practical, professional-related courses. This move has influenced current journalism programs.

Professional In-house Training

Journalism training in Japan still remains largely based upon an on-the-job training system. Accordingly, the overwhelming majority of journalists receive on-the-job training in the news organizations that employ them. News organizations prefer to train their recruits themselves, since those recruits are very likely to stay with the same company until they retire. In other words, they have usually been provided with on-the-job training as fresh recruits in each news organization, supported by the Japanese lifetime employment system. As a result, the news media do not want universities to give professional training to students. They think that it will be difficult to train and mold the recruits who have already studied about "What journalism should be" and "What is news." However, in recent decades an increasing number of newly

hired cub reporters at major newspaper companies have quit within one or two years of entering the company. Moreover, journalists' lack of ethics, morals and skills are often criticized. Thus, in addition to journalism educators, not a few journalists insist on the necessity of journalism education.

Journalism recruits are now more diversified when it comes to their universities and the degrees they earn. However, while many recruits hold degrees in political science, economics or the humanities, most have never taken a journalism class. Universities with journalism programs have asked newspaper organizations to give special consideration to applicants with journalism skills, a sense of journalism ethics and the commitment to journalism that a degree represents (Takeich 1996). But newspapers have not yet agreed to do so.

In general, more than 3,000 applicants apply for the 60 — 70 entry positions offered each year at the each of the big five national newspapers. For example, in order to enter one of these newspapers, applicants have to pass through a multistage process of exams. First, the employment application form, which is virtually a “first exam,” is submitted by candidates to their first-choice newspaper company via e-mail. The form's questions include those dealing with the applicants' personal history, reasons for applying, extracurricular activities in student life and special abilities such as foreign languages. Second, if they pass this stage, they must take highly competitive written exams dealing with general knowledge, they must write a composition, and they must pass a foreign language test (usually English). The written exam tests the applicants' intellectual abilities, which include wide-ranging general knowledge and high-level analytical skills. Recently, most newspaper organizations have added news gathering and news writing components to their written exams. The written exams reduce the applicant pool to a manageable size for subsequent oral exams. Usually, about 90 percent of applicants are screened out through the written exams.

Third, successful written exam candidates proceed to oral exams – usually three to five of them. Oral exams include group discussions in which applicants are divided into small groups and assigned a topic. The topics range from current issues to international relations. Final oral exams are an individual interview, and 60 – 70 candidates successfully join the newspaper company (cf. Shinoda 2013).

The Training Process

Usually, one tenth of candidates pass all their exams, and are then admitted into a news organization's in-house training program. In 2006 the Asahi Shimbun established its institution of in-house training, the Asahi Journalist Gakko [Asahi Institute of Journalism]. NHK has a similar organization (Communications Training Institute) to the Asahi, and these organizations train fairly experienced reporters and editorial staff, as well as cub reporters. Other organizations for training journalists are virtually nonexistent.

Usually, new recruits undergo orientation programs for a month. For example Mr. Ichiro Suzuki (a graduate of department of journalism at a university), a recruit at a newspaper

company, recently underwent the following one-month intensive orientation program:

First week: attending the entrance ceremony, going on a two-day, three-night training camp trip.

Second week: attending lectures focused on the news organization's creed and system, the job of journalists, and the meaning and mission of journalism, and learning journalism ethics, especially the news organization's own code of conduct.

Third week: learning how to write news accurately, and to take notes; studying how to operate a camera, photo journalism and related laws; watching sports and learning how to record game scores.

Fourth week: learning the basics of news gathering and reporting, how police and fire-fighting agencies operate, how to report incidents, practicing news reporting, and learning about the legal system and how to report on court proceedings.

After attending orientation programs, Suzuki was assigned to one of the newspaper's local bureaus as a cub reporter. In most newspaper company, orientation programs for cub reporters last about three years. After Suzuki works for a local branch for about three years, he may be transferred to the newspaper's Tokyo's headquarters or sent to another local bureau for an additional two or three years. Cub reporters may spend three to six years at local bureaus before getting an opportunity to work in Tokyo office. While working at local bureaus, cub reporters develop a wide range of practical skills through on-the-job training and become full-fledged reporters dealing with all kinds of news and feature stories.

In recent decades, the on-the-job training system has begun to collapse for a wide variety of reasons. Japanese journalism is undergoing current drastic changes and challenges, and in particular changes in which journalists are recruited and trained are being urged. For example, not a few recently hired cub reporters at prestigious newspapers have quit within only one or two years of finishing training. Although they passed highly competitive entrance exams, they often become disgusted with by the routine work of journalists. As the traditional system of lifetime employment rapidly erodes, cub reporters are anxious about the future of their job, and, in addition, job mobility among newspapers is substantially increasing.

4 - 2 Journalism Research

Journalism and mass communication research as a discipline are still relatively young in Japan and intersect with many other disciplines, like sociology, political science, psychology, social psychology, linguistics, and history. In order to promote mutual exchange and cooperation among individuals interested in journalism and mass communication, the JSSJMC was formed in 1951. AS of 2016, the society's members number approximately 1300, including university journalism educators and scholars as well as media practitioners. This association is the equivalent of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) in the U.S. Despite its size, JSSJMC is not very active compared with AEJMC. For example,

although many people come to the JSSJMC convention to listen to other people's presentations, these people, especially established senior professors and researchers, very seldom present their own research. They tend to contribute their own research to the journals published by their own research institutes, schools, departments or faculties, rather than to the *Journal of Mass Communication Studies* (JSSJMC's academic journal). This is quite different from the general situation in the U.S. or Western Europe (Ito and Tanaka 1992).

Most Japanese journalism research is difficult to compare cross-nationally because of the objectives and methods of the studies. Because most Japanese media generally have national audiences, most research has focused on specific aspects and practices within the country. Research that uses surveys similar to other countries or work that places Japanese journalism in an international context is less common (Oi et al. 2012).

The first study of Japanese journalists was conducted in the early 1980s by Kim (1981). In *The Japanese Journalist*, Kim studied a limited number of reporters and government officials, largely through interviews and field research. Kim made it clear how reporters depend on official news sources in news production. He discussed not only the highly competitive entrance exam and the on-the-job training, but also role conceptions and other orientations of Japanese reporters.

Feldman (1993) used surveys and interviews to analyze interrelationships between members of the Diet and political journalists. He found that the nature of political reporting was affected by these interrelationships, and concluded that *Kisha* clubs were the ultimate factor to be considered in any attempt to understand how Japanese journalists covered political events.

Cooper-Chen (1997) explored various characteristics of Japanese mass media, with particular importance placed on the insularity, homogeneity, and harmony that characterize Japanese media. She also found that homogeneous journalism as an institution in Japan exerted a great influence on journalistic practices and pointed out how the *Kisha* system limited independent activities.

Yada (2007) analyzed Japanese media between the mid-1980s and 2005, and found that the most conspicuous change was the simplification and trivialization of hard news. He concluded that journalists did not sufficiently provide people with a range of news that enabled them to effectively think about and understand their society and history.

More recently, Takeshita and Ida (2009) researched the Japanese system of political communication. They pointed out that understanding the relationship between politics and the media hinges on three unique characteristics: the *Kisha* clubs, the editorial policy of neutrality, and differences between public and commercial news broadcasts.

While these studies have contributed greatly to a better understanding of Japanese journalism, none was based on representative survey data. However, two large surveys of newspaper and broadcasting journalists were conducted in the mid-1990s. The first true survey of Japanese journalists was carried out in 1994 by NSK and was based on a national sample of

1,735 newspaper journalists. The second was conducted in 1996 by *Nippon Minkan Hoso Remmei* [NAB, or National Association of Commercial Broadcasters in Japan] and focused on a national sample of 865 commercial broadcast journalists.

Although the object of the NSK survey was newspaper journalists and NAB surveys addressed commercial broadcast practitioners, the 2007 and 2013 surveys of Japanese journalists conducted by the Institute of Journalism & Media Studies (IJMS) at Nihon University are the first national survey of Japanese journalists (IJMS 2008, 2014). These studies share not only a number of interests and topics with the NSK and NAB surveys, but also the recent survey of U.S. journalists by Weaver and colleagues (2007). In particular, as the 2013 IJMS survey took part in the *Worlds of Journalism* study project, it may overcome a lack of cross-national journalism research in Japan.

4 – 3 Journalism Education Professional Links

Journalism education in Japan has been characterized by the lack of cooperation between the universities and the media industries. After the end of World War II, journalism educators and scholars at universities and journalists working in the field maintained a friendly relationship. Many news media companies contributed to the establishment of JSSJMC in 1951. One example of this amity was the annual meetings sponsored by NSK which brought together the representatives from each group. However, those annual meetings were discontinued about ten years ago due to the deadlock over the problem of the entrance exams given by newspaper companies. Every year, the universities asked the newspapers to change their employee-selection process to make some special provision for the students who had studied journalism at university (Takeichi 1996). However, the newspapers have refused to give this education special consideration.

In recent decades, newly hired recruits at first-rate news media companies have increasingly quit within one or two years. These recruits must have secured good results on the entrance exam but could not adapt themselves to the routine work of journalists. Since the 1990s, newspaper companies have offered donated journalistic courses or classes at the universities and have introduced an internship system for aspiring students.

Universities for their part should do more to bridge the gaps that separates news media from the academy. For example, if they could make their graduate courses a viable option for midcareer journalists who seek further education, they could improve the quality of journalism education and training.

4 – 4 Journalism Education Impact Statement

In 2002, JSSJMC surveyed its members about journalism education in commemoration of its 50th anniversary. JSSJMC's members were asked questions about problems in journalism education and training in Japan. In addition to the survey, JSSJMC carried out inquiries and

interviews of recruiters for media organizations (JSSJMC 2003).

Over 90% of respondents said journalism should be taught in institutions of tertiary education. However, educators' and practitioners' responses were divided on what should be taught in journalism classrooms. Practitioners tended to argue that media literacy needed to be taught in higher education, while educators tended to emphasize that journalism education should be carried out in universities. According to interviews of recruiters for media organizations (12 newspapers, 10 broadcasters, and NHK), one-half of the organizations said they hoped aspiring journalists would have "a well-balanced ability to think," and one-quarter said "competence to communicate" should be cultivated in universities. And while most educators and practitioners attached a great deal of importance to "common sense" for aspiring journalists, almost none stressed a need for teaching journalistic skills or theoretical knowledge in the classroom. Most agreed that journalism education should be located in, and managed by, corporate media rather than by universities (Watanabe & Tsuchiya 2008). These opinions of media organizations do not change quite much.

4 – 5 Future Directions

Problems cited by Japanese journalists as urgent matters of concern are listed in Table 4. The biggest concern was the growing conformity and uniformity in news reporting (75.4%), which references a common criticism that Japanese journalists work in step with their colleagues and decline distinction by trying not to break news first. The next biggest concern was an over-reliance on government and organizational press releases (64%), followed by a preference for "temporary" news reporting (63.9%). The fourth-most-selected problem was a lack of in-depth reporting and superficial event coverage (53.5%).

Table 4 Perceptions of Main Problems in Japanese Journalism (% citing each problem, multiple answers permitted, N = 747)*

Too much uniform, conformist news reporting	64
Too many press releases	52.7
Tendency to make passing news reporting	60.4
Less in-depth and superficial media coverage	44.3
Sensationalism	30.4
Lack of critical spirit	29
Important facts may not be covered	18.7
Accommodation to public needs	33.7
Mixture of fact and opinion	21.2
There is no constructive proposal	24.5
Collusive relationship with the news sources	13.5
Too much news that disregards human rights	7.0
Too many anonymous sources	8.6
Other	2.4

*IJMS Survey (2013)

Respondents also were asked how to improve Japanese journalism, and what was necessary to enrich and refine journalistic practices (see Table 5). Most journalists (75.8%) noted that there is a clear need to enrich journalism education and training in Japan. A majority (about 70%) also thought it is necessary to increase personnel, and the number of full time workers. The ongoing change in media environment, especially the diversification of media forms, and the convergence of current media signal the necessity for reorganization of traditional journalism, but point out how important it is to improve the abilities of journalists.

Nevertheless, journalism training remains largely based upon the on-the-job training system. Although new media companies in Japan think that it is most important to improve journalism education, they adhere to old-fashioned ways of training journalists. Accordingly, almost all journalists receive on-the-job training in the organizations that employ them. Thus, the virtual absence of schools of journalism in Japan might be recognized as a serious problem (Oi 2009a, 2009b).

Table 5 Perceived Solutions of Problems in Japanese Journalism (% mentioning each, multiple answers permitted, N=747)*

To enrich education and training for journalists	75.8
To encourage free expression	57.2
To give broader power to editors	48.7
To increase personnel	67.5
To ensure autonomy for journalists	31.8
To alter lack of understanding of business managers	42.0
To reduce outside pressure on journalism practice	15.0
To strengthen cooperation with branch offices	30.1
To upgrade hardware of news reporting	35.5
To reduce pressure from business managers	15.1
To improve the system of foreign news reporting	17.0
To expand effective outsourcing	16.1
To increase the number of full-time workers	67.5
Other	2.0

*IJMS Survey (2007)

4 – 6 Journalism Education Issues, Challenges and Innovations

Since 1990s, newspaper companies have offered donated journalistic courses or classes at universities, and introduced an internship system for aspiring students. These efforts may promote exchange between the universities and the newspaper industries and improve the traditional relationships between them.

In addition, the news media companies need to make fundamental reforms to the entrance-exam system. If competent applicants who truly have the motivation to become journalists are not chosen in the exam and not a few hired recruits quit within one or two years, news media

companies may not survive the rapidly changing environment of media. On the other hand, universities need to create undergraduate programs compatible with demands for education by the universities and also make their graduate programs a viable option for midcareer journalists who seek to learn online-journalism skills.

Secondly, whereas in many countries journalism is viewed as a lifelong career or profession, in Japan it is more often thought of as early career work, to be done on the way to getting promoted in the company hierarchy. If in the West most journalists think of themselves in terms of their profession, in Japan they tend to think of themselves as employees of their companies (Gamble & Watanabe 2004). However, in recent decades, the Japanese lifetime-employment system has collapsed, the on-the-job training system has been falling into dysfunction and the mobility and diversification of employment have been accelerated by the various forms of media.

Third, due to the commercialization, digitalization and globalization in the 2000's, all the established mass media stood at a turning point. With the advancement of communication technologies, the demand for information and media-literacy education is ever increasing. Departments and programs related to information, communication and the media are continuously being established in universities. Newly established universities and colleges offer training in creating media works such as video pictures and TV programs. In addition, from 2002 in elementary and junior high schools and from 2003 in high schools, information has become one of the required subjects in official curriculum guidelines.

The traditional mass-communication model has been undermined. Since the 2000's, many individuals have begun writing diaries on blog sites that enabled users to post their writings and photographs and communicate with other blogs. Social media, especially Social Networking Service as Twitter or facebook, are another remarkable development in Japan. Many business industries in addition to individuals have generated information in the online communities.

At present, a new journalistic environment is being generated, while the old order is dissolving in the face of competition from various social sectors. In order to create quality journalism for the future of citizens and children, what kind of journalism education and research is required and how to achieve the purpose still remain obscure. Therefore, it is necessary to radically re-analyze and re-evaluate the present conditions and, above all, the problems of journalism from the perspectives of digitalization, commercialization, and globalization. In addition, the questions of "what is journalism for," and "what are journalism education and research for," have to be fundamentally reconsidered.

5 Training Tomorrow's Journalists

Since Sophia University established Japan's first graduate program in journalism in 1971, many universities have set up their own graduate-level programs in journalism, mass communication and related fields.

Today, according to *Nihon Shimbun Nenkan 2013* [Japan Newspaper Annual 2013], there

are 122 faculties or departments and research institutes related to journalism, mass communication, media, and socio-informatics, in Japanese universities. Recently, graduate schools of journalism have diversified and many universities have established graduate school for communication, media, information, and the like. There are 24 graduate schools related to these subjects.

As previously mentioned, Japanese journalists consider education the most important way to improve the quality of journalism in its country. So far, training has been based mainly upon “on-the-job” experience, while institutions for tertiary education play only limited roles. However, the system of life-long employment in the media industry is gradually breaking down and workforce mobility is rising. In addition, credibility and trust in journalism have been deeply eroded by scandals that include false or fabricated stories and inaccurate quotations. These factors may contribute to rethinking the training and education of Japanese journalists.

Going into the 2000s, new types of graduate school of journalism appeared at three universities. Waseda University set up its School of Journalism affiliated with the Graduate School of Political Science in 2008, Keio University, created Special Course of Journalism within its Graduate School of Law in 2009, and Nihon University established its Graduate School of Journalism and Media Studies in 2010. These school-of-journalism programs are designed to train aspirants to a career in journalism as well as to retrain working journalists. If these programs successfully carry out their missions, they might make a breakthrough in problems of journalism education and training in Japan. This goal may be obtained by providing a more complete and well-rounded educational program and improving the quality of journalism educators.

Notes

- (1) The 2007 IJMS survey was conducted by mail from February to March, 2007. A total of 1,011 valid questionnaires were returned, for an overall response rate of 18.4%. Respondents were asked questions that focused on: the demographic backgrounds of journalists; perceived roles of journalists; journalistic practice; the perceived self-image of journalists; the perception of journalistic professionalism; the recognition of environmental changes in journalism; the perceived impact of online journalism; problems in journalistic practice; objectivity; journalists’ opinions of their audiences; journalists’ political inclinations; and journalists’ relationships with news sources.
- (2) The 2013 IJMS survey was conducted by mail from February to March, 2013. A total of 747 valid questionnaires were returned, for an overall response rate of 33.9%. This survey was based on the same research design as the 2007 survey, and also participated in the *Worlds of Journalism* study (<http://www.worldsofjournalism.org>).

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Appendix A: Major journalism associations and journalism-related organizations in Japan

Organization	Description	Contact
Broadcasting Ethics and Program Improvement Organization (BPO)	Aims to deal, on a voluntary basis, with complaints and ethical issues from an independent, third-party standpoint	http://www.bpo.gr.jp
Broadcasting Programming Center of Japan	Nonprofit organization jointly established by Japan's broadcasters to ensure the healthy development of Japanese broadcasting	http://www.bpcj.or.jp
Film classification and Rating Committee	Independent, non-governmental organization, which has been responsible for the classification of motion pictures	http://eirin.jp
Japan Broadcasting Labor Union (NHK's Workers' Union)	Public Broadcasting (NHK)'s labor union created in 1948	http://www.niporo.com
Japan Congress of Journalists	Voluntary organization established by media people at the request of the International Organization of Journalists	http://www.jcj.gr.jp
The Japan Commercial Broadcasters Association	An incorporated organization whose membership consists of 201 commercial broadcasters in Japan	http://www.j-ba.or.jp
Japan Federation of Commercial Broadcast Workers' Union	National industrial union for workers in commercial broadcasting companies	http://www.minpororen.com
Japan Federation of Newspaper Workers' Union	National industrial union for workers in newspaper and news agencies	http://www.shinbunroren.or.jp
The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association	Organization funded and operated by the mass media of Japan to elevate ethical standards in reporting and to protect and promote the media's common interests	http://www.pressnet.or.jp
The Japan Society for Studies in Journalism and Mass Communication	Professional association for Japanese researchers and media practitioners in journalism and mass communication	http://www.soc.nii.ac.jp/mscom

Appendix B: Major Graduate-Level journalism programs in Japan

University	Grad. school	Major/course	Contact
Doshisha	Social Studies	Media Studies	http://ss.doshisha.ac.jp/graduate
Hokkaido	International Media, Communication, and Tourism Studies	Public Relations/ Journalism	http://www.hokudai.ac.jp/imcts
Hosei	Sociology	Media Studies	http://www.hosei.ac.jp/gs/kenkyu/shakaigaku
Kansai	Sociology	Mass Communication	http://www.kansai-u.ac.jp/global/academics
Keio	Law	Political Science/ Journalism	http://www.law.keio.ac.jp/graduate
Nagoya	Language and Culture	Media Professional	http://www.lang.nagoya-u.ac.jp
Nihon	Journalism and Media	Journalism and Media	http://www.law.nihon-u.ac.jp/gs/journalism_research
Ritsumeikan	Sociology	Applied Sociology	http://www.ritsumei.jp/gsss
Ryukoku	Sociology	Journalism	http://www.soc.ryukoku.ac.jp/daigakuin
Sophia	Humanities	Journalism	http://dept.sophia.ac.jp/human/journalism/
Tokai	Letters	Communication	http://www.tokai.ac.jp/international/graduate/letters
Tokyo	Interdisciplinary Information Studies	Socio-Information and Com. Studies	http://www.iii.u-tokyo.ac.jp/
Toyo	Sociology	Media and Communication	http://www.toyo.ac.jp/site/english-gs
Tokyo Keizai	Communication Studies	Communication	http://www.tku.ac.jp/graduate_school/communication
Waseda	Political science	Journalism	http://www.waseda-j.jp

Appendix C: Major non-academic training programs in Japan

Company	program	Contact
Asahi Shimbun	Asahi Institute of Journalism	http://www.asahi.com/shimbun/jschool
Japan Broadcasting corporation (NHK)	NHK Communications Training Institute	http://www.nhk-cti.jp