

THE
EMERGING INVESTIGATIVE
JOURNALISM MOVEMENT
IN
JAPAN AND ASIA

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Investigative Journalism Paving the Way

HANADA Tatsuro

1. Current trends in investigative journalism in Asia:

The aim and structure of this book

What sort of journalism is meant by the term “investigative journalism”? It is a movement of self-innovation attempting to escape the stagnation of journalism that has occurred over the 20th century to create new watchdog journalism for the 21st. Its key characteristic is that it is a movement by journalists as the main constituents and participants within journalism—as individuals—as opposed to a campaign carried out by media organizations, companies, or industries. Furthermore, it is a decentralized movement unfolding on a global scale. The various *locales* where journalists have begun to innovate are each a center of the movement.

Of course, the U.S. is a significant presence in terms of the scale of its movement. The investigative journalism movement began in the U.S. toward the end of the 20th century, but it only gathered momentum after the 2008 financial crisis. The media industry declined as advertisers withdrew their sponsorship from newspapers and broadcasters due to the severe economic recession, resulting in many journalists losing their jobs. Furthermore, investigative journalism, which takes time and money, was no longer a priority for financially struggling newsrooms. Some journalists left the mass media in pursuit of their passion and started online, nonprofit news organizations. Fortunately, in the U.S., many major foundations support nonprofit news organizations, as well as numerous wealthy individuals who are happy to offer funds. For example, ProPublica, founded in 2007, was able to succeed thanks to these conditions. Of course, one must give credit to the accomplishments of Mr. Charles Lewis as an individual for leading this movement

under the principles of a nonprofit. After all, it was he who founded The Center for Public Integrity in 1989 and then, in 1997, went on to found the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), which would later achieve fame for its publication of the Panama Papers. Mr. Lewis was previously a producer for the CBS documentary program *60 Minutes* but, feeling limited by that role, he left it to pursue innovative investigative journalism.

However, the U.S. is not the center of this movement. In Asia, the frontrunner within this field is the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ), founded in 1989. Because it published in English, it received recognition and high praise from investigative journalists in the U.S.

Then, in the 2010s, new, smaller activities began springing up unnoticed throughout other countries in East Asia. Now they have taken clear and visible shapes to be recognized by us as an interconnected phenomenon. In 2012, Newstapa borrowed one meeting room from a trade union to take its first, quiet step in South Korea. The Reporter emerged in Taiwan in 2015. In 2017, Waseda Chronicle was founded in Japan. All are online nonprofit news organizations whose central mission is investigative journalism. And they share a further commonality.

Newstapa and The Reporter publish in the language of their respective countries; if they have an English site, it is a complementary addition. Moreover, in general, they do not depend on foreign foundations or donations for their funding but instead collect it from sources within their nation. This inward positioning demonstrates the fact that circumstances within their respective countries sharply define their formation. These news organizations have come about as a result of forces entirely unrelated to trends within the U.S. They were not merely stimulated by the success of ProPublica. Waseda Chronicle wanted to catch up with these forerunners in neighboring countries.

Why have these investigative news organizations, which at first glance seem to share a core commonality, come to emerge from various countries across East Asia? What is happening there? Where are they headed? This book tackles these questions.

We aim with this book to intervene in the situation. “Situation” here refers to the broader social situation, including journalism and the media. “Intervention” refers not merely to observing the situation, nor criticizing it, but instead to participating in the situation, entering into it to understand it, attempting to change it together from within, and finally taking responsibility for its outcome.

In this book, “intervention” is undertaken in two ways. Part I “Defining the rise of investigative journalism in Asia—Its history, present conditions, and prospects” is a collection of six essays. They will achieve “intervention” through employing the analytical method to observe, understand, explain, and interpret the situation to indicate its prospects. The articles by Ms. JUNG Soo-young, Ms. LIN I-hsuan, Mr. WATANABE Makoto, and Mr. TANAKA Hiroshi were written exclusively for this book. Mr. Martin Fackler’s article has been previously published, while HANADA’s article is also a reprinting of a previously published work.

JUNG’s essay covers Newstapa, while LIN’s covers The Reporter and WATANABE’s covers Waseda Chronicle. Each explores the circumstances behind the foundation of their respective news organizations and analyzes their current conditions and objectives. These essays highlight vast differences hidden beneath the similarities mentioned above, revealing the distinct conditions and details that led to the creation of each organization, as well as their varied strategies to be sustainable. They reflect the differences in the historical, political, social, and media environments unique to each country, with particular regard to the different characteristics and dynamics of civil society within those nations. From this emerges the question of *locales* within movements.

Universal ideas or principles are by themselves merely abstract concepts that hold no bearing upon reality. It is only by finding such specific *locales*, wherein these ideas might thaw, activate, and power into motion, that they gain any meaning. However, it is probably more realistic to describe the matter from the other end. That is to say; when those affected by a situation create some specific *locale*, their hands can reach out to grab hold of those universal ideas or principles. From there, they add their interpretations to such ideas, making them their own.

Mr. Fackler’s essay is especially critical as a work that focuses on exploring the context that lies behind the formation of Waseda Chronicle in Japan. Almost no other English document offers such a detailed account—and analysis—of the 2014 controversy surrounding the *Asahi Shimbun*’s retraction of its article on the Fukushima nuclear disaster and the “Yoshida testimony”; thus, it more than deserves to be published within this collection. Mr. Fackler has mastered Japanese, Chinese, and Hangul on top of his native English, making him incredibly valuable as both an outside body and a participatory observer to the situation in East Asia.

TANAKA’s essay uses the philosopher Henri Lefebvre’s concept of the “production of space” to analyze the relationship between journalism and social movements, discussing the meaning of investigative journalism therein. HANADA’s essay—moved to the Introduction in this English publication—will surely provide a broader perspective on the situation with its general take on the current conditions and prospects of investigative journalism by focusing on the relocation of journalism’s “home.” HANADA’s additional essay, located at the end of Part I, interprets investigative journalism from the viewpoint of journalistic antagonism, analyzing the structure of KUROSAWA Akira’s film “Seven Samurai.”

Our second method of achieving “intervention in the situation” was through the hosting of an international symposium that we hoped would act as a fulcrum for change. Part II of the book, “International Symposium on Investigative Journalism,” is a record of said event. Its contents not only serve as a record of the past but possess the power to restructure the present situation. Let us now look at how that symposium came about.

2. Why hold an international symposium:

Freedom of the press within Japan under international scrutiny

On June 4, 2017, the international symposium “New Models to Sustain Investigative Journalism in Asia” was held in the Ibuka Masaru Memorial Hall, International Conference Centre, Waseda University, Tokyo. It was jointly hosted by the Waseda University Institute for Journalism and the

Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), with support from the Waseda University Comprehensive Research Organization and the Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN).

Under what circumstances and for what reasons was this symposium held? Looking back, 2016, the year leading up to the event, was a critical one for Japanese journalism. It was made remarkable by a specific unusual event. The Japanese media, which had built up its closed world akin to a state of national isolation or the Galapagos Islands, was pried open, peered into, and observed from the outside, bringing its bizarreness under scrutiny. That year, it became apparent that the situation within Japan was not beyond the interest of the world at large and could no longer be permitted to exist as some self-contained domestic issue. International society would not disinterestedly neglect the situation in Japan.

On April 4, 2016, media around the world had simultaneously started to report on the Panama Papers, published by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ). Amid all this, the United Nations Human Rights Council's Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression, Professor David Kaye, arrived at Narita Airport on the 11th of that month. Initially, his visit to Japan had been scheduled for December of the previous year, but a last-minute cancellation by the Japanese government had pushed it back. While this delayed visit to Japan was finally being realized, the world was in an uproar over reportage on the Panama Papers.

Mr. Kaye was industrious in carrying out his research interviews. He shared the provisional results of this research a day before he departed from Japan, at a press conference on the 19th. He cited various issues within the Japanese media, including problems within the press club system, the government exerting pressure on the media through the Act on the Protection of Specially Designated Secrets, and statements made by Minister of Internal Affairs and Communications TAKA'ICHI Sanae, such as her statement in February 2016 suggesting the possibility that the ministry could legally order a station to cease broadcasting by citing a violation of the Broadcast Act Article 4 if they judged the station to

lack political objectivity. Ultimately, Mr. Kaye warned that the independence of the press was under severe threat. The following day, the 20th, the international NGO Reporters Without Borders (RSF) published their 2016 global press freedom index. Japan ranked 72nd, further regressing from its previous year's position as 61st, becoming the lowest-ranked among Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development countries.

Japan's established media, called *Masukomi* in Japanese, reported these two events with an attitude that seemed to see it as somebody else's problem as opposed to one's own affair. Their reporting showed a stance suggesting that this was a problem exclusive to the government. The press freedom index indicates the level of the government's transparency, such as disclosure of administrative information, which is itself a representation of the relationship between the government and the media. However, this issue does not belong to the government alone, since, if the media were functioning as a watchdog to power, government transparency would also increase as a result. Japan coming in 72nd place is not merely indicative of the facts that the Japanese government does not have much respect for press freedom and that there is little transparency within the government. The ranking undoubtedly indicates that the coverage provided by the Japanese media has little ability to monitor power. The Japanese *Masukomi* showed almost no awareness or repentance for the latter. Indeed, they did not realize that they were being addressed. As such, though there was a certain amount of reporting around both Mr. Kaye's report and the press freedom index, the media and the people who work therein did not confront the reality of their situation as their own affair. So nothing changed despite the coverage. It just sped by like an express train past a local-line station.

However, it is an undeniable fact that there are significant questions around the independence of the Japanese media, that it is in a bizarre situation regarding freedom of the press. The world now knows how Japanese journalists are failing to fight under a system of self-censorship and *sontaku* (speculative consideration for the will of social superiors). It is safe to say that, today, the opinion that Japan seems slightly odd or

different regarding matters such as human rights or freedoms is spreading around the world. These circumstances must be our starting point.

Moreover, the world did not neglect our situation. It was not indifferent. In June of that year, I met Mr. Joel Simon, Executive Director of the CPJ, in Tokyo. Mr. Kaye introduced him to me. I had met Mr. Kaye twice during his visit, and we discussed various matters concerning journalism in Japan. Mr. Simon had heard of this from Mr. Kaye. After talking things through with Mr. Simon, we decided to hold an international symposium for investigative journalism here in Tokyo. Both he and I had concluded that we had to do something. Why an international symposium? What sort of event was it? Part II of this book documents the answer.

3. The concept behind the symposium:

Starting from Japan's positive potential

What concepts should the international symposium be based upon? During the planning stages, I ascertained the following points. Journalists from the U.S., facing high pressure under the Trump administration, should be in attendance to interact with Japanese journalists. Instead of the conventional angle focused on criticizing the Japanese media, it should identify the positive achievements and possibilities of Japanese journalism, while making connections towards a perspective that might pave the way forward. Investigative news organizations should be invited from countries around Asia to exchange opinions, share their experiences, and create a cooperative relationship. These were the three key points.

I first met the CPJ's Asia Program Coordinator, Steven Butler, in Tokyo, in July 2016; we met again in September. We discussed the symposium, its content, composition, and selection of speakers. He was always on the move throughout Asia and seemed incredibly busy: in New York last week, India and Pakistan this week. Even so, we exchanged frequent emails, continuing the planning process.

Ultimately, the symposium developed a two-part structure. Part one, titled "Experiences of investigative journalism in Japan," would identify

the positive achievements made in Japan while also revealing the issues and challenges therein. We decided to introduce the working methods and their achievements, as seen in the *Asahi Shimbun*, NHK, and Asia Press International, to discuss the challenges facing them. At that point, we also wanted to ask Mr. Martin Fackler to participate as an objective observer of the Japanese press. In part two, "New models to sustain investigative journalism in Asia," news organizations from four different countries would be presented together to exchange opinions about each of their models and methods while exploring the possibility of future cooperation. It felt important that both parts should cover topics that might energize Japanese journalism to bounce back from negative trends.

So, what are those positive achievements and potentials within Japan? One lies within the established media, like newspapers or television, and its potential as a watchdog (monitor of power). Whether high or low, it has some potential that might be measured by the quantity, quality, and social impact of the work (the extent to which the coverage can change society). The established media has abundant resources: workforce, money, and time. It is an undeniable fact that this has produced some great work. Surely, one can find hope in that. The question is whether those great works are permanent elements or exceptions within the established media.

There are also "independent journalists" (a more exclusive, more robust concept than "freelance journalists") who operate autonomously outside that established media, and one can find positive achievements and possibilities therein. Within the Japanese infosphere, dominated by the established media, being an "independent" presents difficulties both in terms of finance and public reach; however, one must not forget those journalists who have shown something different from the established media through their firm determination and ingenuity. The investigative journalism movement may have a lot to learn from the efforts of these minority figures.

The symposium at Waseda University was paired with the "Freedom of the press and protection of journalists" symposium held at Sophia

University two days earlier, on June 2, with both involving the CPJ. On top of this, Mr. Kaye, who had just submitted his final report on the freedom of opinion and expression within Japan to The United Nations Human Rights Council, held a press conference before that symposium, which I attended. The Japanese *Masukomi* attempted to and indeed did frame that press conference as “the Japanese government versus David Kaye,” yet it seemed to me that the crux of the issue lay elsewhere. What Mr. Kaye and the CPJ were concerned about was the present state of journalists in Japan: the fact that they were not doing much to fight for freedom of the press or media independence, and that this problem remained invisible and unseen. By placing excessive emphasis on “the Japanese government versus David Kaye,” the Japanese *Masukomi* obscured the fact that Mr. Kaye was questioning their independence, that they, the media organizations and the journalists, were themselves recipients for his recommendations. In that case, where are we to find the bearers of journalism as an “ism,” where are we to find any genuinely concerned parties? Is Japan unique in this respect? In other words, Japan exhibits a media environment that has developed through a Galapagos-like case of isolated evolution.

The CPJ has worked to protect journalists in countries or regions that suppress free speech and murder or imprison journalists. Previously, Japan would not have seemed the sort of country that the CPJ might focus on. However, Mr. Kaye’s investigations must have caused the CPJ to realize that Japan, too, though in a different form, is a country wherein the freedom of the press is under threat, and journalists are forced to face bizarre difficulties. Therefore, it is a place that requires the CPJ’s attention. Additionally, the malfunction of the watchdog function within Japan is an important issue that impacts Asia as a whole.

4. Creating an alternative arena to the *Masukomi*:

Collaboration with the Masukomi is an illusion

That’s how the international symposium documented here came about, and the results of which can be seen in this book. Circumstances have continued to shift after the event, and we have made difficult decisions

at every turn, progressing through each choice. The results of the symposium have served us well during these occasions. Now, I will describe our current standings, over a year after the event took place.

The sentiment that I felt after the symposium, which involved journalists from the U.S., South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Japan, is that although we were working towards a common goal as journalists—acting as a watchdog to power—our methods, philosophies, and strategies were as varied as they were contrasting. It showed how the conditions within our respective fields of battle, our countries were different. First of all, even though we all generally monitor our respective governments, the Japanese government and the American government are different in various ways. Even though we are both in competition against the established media, the Japanese *Masukomi* and the American mainstream media are different. This is the same between Japan and South Korea or between Japan and Taiwan. I learned that if the opponents are different, then the strategies must be changed too.

According to a journalist from the Associated Press who took part in the symposium, in the U.S. the established mainstream media and this new wave of investigative journalism are in a relatively good relationship, creating conditions that allow for complementary relationships and collaborations. I, too, once studied those conditions in the U.S., as well as the methodology of the German nonprofit news organization CORRECTIV, and thought their collaboration with the established media was, similarly, an essential step for investigative news organizations within Japan. Indeed, there was a time when I began preparations with that as my goal. In Japan, our partner would be *Masukomi*. Specifically, our national and regional newspapers, alongside NHK and commercial TV broadcasters. As presented in part one of the symposium, *Masukomi* in Japan does also hold a record of excellent investigative reporting. However, upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that, unfortunately, such investigative reporting is by no means the norm, but rather the excellent work of a marginalized minority. Trailblazers are, by definition, the minority, and, in Japan, they can never come to control the core of an organization or move the masses. Trailblazers within the

Masukomi are eventually defanged. As such, they will never come to change the *Masukomi*'s values or culture.

What I came to understand as I groped for a solution was that, for the time being, there is no possibility of a collaboration with the Japanese *Masukomi*. I did not reach this conclusion through inaction. It is knowledge I have gained through numerous bitter experiences of betting upon the slimmest chances, placing my hopes in them, only to see every constructive effort ultimately turn to dust. Japan is not the U.S. or Germany; hence the conditions are entirely different and, therefore, attempting to transpose a model that had succeeded in other countries onto Japan is fundamentally futile (contrary to my previous mistaken beliefs). I had no choice but to take this simple fact as my starting point. I realized that I needed to stop believing in a naive illusion and start from the stark reality. One must leave such illusions behind in order to take the next step. What I mean by an illusion is, in other words, an "assumption." This is often accompanied by "attachment." Both the terms "assumption" and "attachment" are frequently preceded by the descriptor "arbitrary." As such, they are one's responsibility; one alone can rouse one's self from their depths. That is to say, one can only move forward by determining the situation, in reaching a judgment about every element, to settle matters. If one intends to move forward, not to retreat, then this is the only way.

One year on from its foundation, Waseda Chronicle graduated from its status as a Waseda University Institute for Journalism project and, in February 2018, became an independent nonprofit organization. During this process, Waseda Chronicle chose not to identify itself as a media outlet but as a journalism nonprofit. That is to say, it decided to form and occupy an arena removed from the established media. However, frankly, one could call it a category separate from not only the established media but even from the American ProPublica or the German CORRECTIV. As such, Waseda Chronicle will no longer compete with the Japanese established media, *Masukomi*, nor will it ever enter a complementary relationship with them. The fact that we have reached this point, where we can take such a unique stance, is a testament to the

course we've charted after that international symposium, and it is the result of us learning from our situation.

5. The nonprofit news organizations of Asia gathering together: Taking the fight to a global arena

What should we do to move forward? A hint about this question lies within the international symposium's discussion on "new models to sustain investigative journalism in Asia." It was a rare opportunity to have investigative news organizations from four Asian countries gathered together. Indeed, one could say that this was the most significant aspect of that event. These news organizations, each of which had emerged under different conditions and for different reasons, are linked by their shared pursuit of the values of investigative journalism. Their activities are both one cornerstone of a global movement and a variety of individual *local* operations within the Asian region. Though there were differences within the *local* contexts of each activity, it was recognized that no national boundaries could exist for an investigative journalist. One could feel a sense of natural solidarity among these journalists—a rare experience in Japan, I might add.

During our preparations, we talked over which news organizations to invite. Mr. Butler brought up South Korea's Newstapa and the Philippines' Rappler, while I brought up Taiwan's The Reporter. We ultimately settled on inviting all three using funding from the CPJ and the Institute for Journalism. Waseda Chronicle rounded out the group. Having begun publications earlier that year, Waseda Chronicle was the youngest of the four. The other organizations were not much older, with each having been founded sometime in the 2010s. Each organization sought a new form of journalism to change society and the world, aimed to realize this through investigative journalism, and was putting this into practice by utilizing new technologies, the internet, social media, and design. In each of our respective countries, the established media had reached an advanced level of development, cementing them as a significant industry. As a result, they had necessarily come to encroach upon the power structures and market economy which had, at the same time, come to

absorb them. As a result, they could no longer fulfill their journalistic function as a watchdog. Under such circumstances, the foundation of any new news organization is invariably driven by a need or desire to do something different from the established media.

Due to this backdrop, the funding for these operations must also be different from the established media. The solution is direct support from citizens: in other words, donations. It is different from advertisements (dependence upon the advertisers) or subscription fees (payments for the product). This discovery, seeking funding via donations, represents the ability to support journalism by principles that are fundamentally different from those of the 20th century's mass media era. The 20th century has come to an end, and the 21st century has begun. We must make our way through this harsh yet hopeful transitional period in pursuit of independence, free from intervention by any entity. However, what should we do if this donation model becomes but an illusion when applied to Japan? We have bet on the hope that it will not prove an illusion. It, in effect, means betting on the potential of Japanese civil society.

When we held the symposium, Waseda Chronicle had just submitted a membership application to the Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN) and was still waiting for the result. During the symposium, I also recommended to Ms. Sherry Lee from Taiwan's The Reporter that her organization do the same, and I introduced her to the GIJN's Executive Director, Mr. David Kaplan, via email. Things progressed smoothly, and we were both accepted as members of the GIJN at the end of that month.

While maintaining communications after the symposium, we met again in November 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa. Waseda Chronicle and The Reporter were both participating in the 10th Global Investigative Journalism Conference (GIJC) to speak at various sessions. At the Asia Session, in particular, both organizations received a warm welcome as new member organizations. Furthermore, at another session, editor-in-chief Mr. WATANABE Makoto's presentation on Waseda Chronicle's series "Journalism for Sale" received thunderous applause and praise. Thus, Waseda Chronicle made its debut and was welcomed

on the global stage.

This way is our best option. This is the site where we should raise our banner. That was doubtless what every member of Waseda Chronicle thought in Johannesburg, including me. This was not some arbitrary conviction held by us alone. The Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan (FCCJ) acknowledged and affirmed that conviction and our methods by awarding the "2017 FCCJ Freedom of the Press Awards, Supporter of the Free Press" to Waseda Chronicle's editor-in-chief Mr. WATANABE Makoto and myself. To be honest, I was surprised at the speed with which they had reached this decision to acknowledge our entry into the Japanese media environment by granting us an award. Even though those in and connected with the Japanese *Masukomi* might ignore us, might not recognize our work, we have found direct supporters within civil society and loyal colleagues among the journalists of the world.

I am indebted to many people for the success of our international symposium and the publication of this book.

I would like to extend my thanks to the authors, who contributed their best works to the essay segment in Part I, and their translators. Furthermore, for the international symposium segment in Part II, I would like to express special thanks to the following people (honorifics redacted):

Joel Simon (CPJ), Steven Butler (CPJ), David Kaye (University of California, Irvine), Martin Fackler (journalist), David Kaplan (GIJN), Alessia Cerantola (GIJN), NAGAI Mariko (interpreter), IKEUCHI Hisaro (interpreter), IWASAKI Mamiko (stenographer), those people who helped set up and manage the venue.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Waseda University Comprehensive Research Organization, which granted us subsidies to host the symposium.

We have also burdened the editor of this book, Ms. DEGUCHI Ayako, with a great deal of trouble, and I would like to say that having her fight by our side has been a great help to all of us here at the editorial board.

I would like to give my heartfelt gratitude to a truly inspirational ally.
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Initially, this essay appeared in Japanese in the book *Tansa-journalism/Chousa-houdou* 探査ジャーナリズム/調査報道 (Investigative Journalism: Nonprofit News Organizations Emerging in Asia), Tokyo: Sairyusha, 2018, 4–18.

TEZUKA Mafuyu translated this essay into English, and the author and Annelise Giseburt edited the translation.

Introduction

Reconnecting Journalism and Civil Society

The “ism” in search of a home

HANADA Tatsuro

Journalism is an “ism.” It is a recognition of specific values, an idea, and a moral practice. This “ism” requires a vehicle, a vessel, a stage—in other words, a medium. During the 20th century, that medium was the mass media: newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. Thus, journalism and the mass media have been roped together like two parts of one set. However, that 20th-century model has come to an end. That partnership has now dissolved, and journalism has separated from the established media to embark upon a journey in search of a new home. It has broken free from conventional relationships turned shackles to begin a movement of innovation. Where will it go?

1. Kaye’s report and the isolated evolution of Japan’s *Masukomi*

Although David Kaye submitted his report¹ on the Japanese media to the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in June 2017, our scrutiny of the field cannot end there. Kaye visited Japan as a special rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, an independent expert appointed by UNHRC. Much like a clinician, he examined press freedom in Japan through observation and inquiry to deliver a diagnosis. His criteria were based on the International Bill of Human Rights, which Japan has, of course, ratified. Indeed, Japan is currently a member of the Human Rights Council’s board.

The Japanese government under Prime Minister ABE Shinzo first responded to Kaye’s diagnosis by dismissing its importance at a press conference, where Chief Cabinet Secretary SUGA Yoshihide stated that it was just “a report made within the capacity of the rapporteur as an

individual” (failing to comprehend the meaning of independence free from external influence). Suga then tried to disqualify Kaye’s abilities as a legal expert by claiming that “large parts [of the report] are based on verbal evidence or assumptions,” and thus, “the report contains an inaccurate and insufficient reflection of the situation within Japan.” This attitude is akin to a patient hurling abuse at their doctor because they received a diagnosis of poor health. It can only be described as an immature attitude lacking both the spirit of the international community and decent manners. Threats to freedom of expression are present in every country, and a democratic government should listen to the observations offered by a professor of law appointed by the UN.

The central recommendation in Kaye’s report urges the “independence of the media.” Concerning the government, the report recommended that Article 4 of the Broadcasting Act (Editing standards for broadcast programs) should be reviewed and abolished and that an independent institution to regulate broadcasting should be introduced, thus strengthening the independence of broadcasting as a whole. In other words, Kaye recommended that Japan cut off any potential for political intervention into the freedom of expression, remove any elements that might threaten it, and establish a transparent system that better guarantees that right.

This is something that scholars and experts in Japan have been saying for decades. Had the government listened to those suggestions earlier, it would not have felt the need to fall back on an overly aggressive attitude against some perceived “foreign pressure.” Still, “independence” is neither appreciated nor understood within this country, especially not by the government.

Incidentally, that recommendation is not reserved for the government alone. The mainstream media’s independence is similarly shaky. Indeed, the report recommends that media organizations “should publicly express their rejection of any form of threat or intimidation against journalists or other professionals carrying out investigative reporting work.” They should also remain vigilant against any form of direct or indirect pressure on their editorial activities, in particular by guaranteeing full

support and protection to journalists investigating and commenting on controversial topics. Issues are such as protests against military activity in Okinawa, the impact of nuclear activities and disasters, and Japan's role in World War II (precisely issues surrounding comfort women). In other words, investigative journalists doing work related to these issues do not receive adequate protection. Did the president of the NHK, the presidents of newspaper companies, or any of their ilk realize that this call for action was addressed to themselves? There was no sign of it.

Finally, Kaye's report also included a recommendation for journalists. In short, he recommended that journalists across the field meet to review the impact of the press club system, with a focus on promoting transparency, and consider creating an association of professionals to promote independent reporting. In other words, create a professional organization by and for journalists that takes a stand to protect independent reporting. Of the three recommendations, this seems the least realistic because, unlike the previous two, the main body being called upon here is almost non-existent.

Kaye himself is well aware of this. At a press conference in Tokyo, he pointed out that Japanese journalists appear to prioritize loyalty to their company and lack a sense of solidarity with their journalistic colleagues or loyalty to the principles of journalism. The distinctive feature of the Japanese "*masukomi*" (the established mass media) may be found therein. Threats to freedom of speech from the government and even from major media organizations themselves is a familiar story around the world. However, within Japan's "*masukomi*"—formed like a Galapagos, isolated from the world—the principles of the company reign supreme. The company automatically acts as a system to inhibit freedom of expression before any apparent intervention from the government. In this environment, journalists who value craft above company will never emerge en masse. *Sontaku* (guessing one's superiors' wishes and acting on them) within media organizations and self-censorship in the name of self-control is erasure and renouncement of the identity and autonomy of their journalists.

In truth, this distinctly Japanese threat to freedom of expression is

the absence of any journalistic movement fighting for that freedom. This point is not only an issue of the absence of professional unity. It is an issue of where to find the bearers, practitioners, and participants of journalism as an "ism." Keeping this notion in mind, let us now look at what is currently happening to journalism in Japan and the world at large.

2. The "ism" and its home

In preparation for the discussion ahead, we must first clearly differentiate journalism and the media. I use the word *masukomi* to indicate the conflation of the two, as they exist in reality, and the word finds extensive usage in the media industry as well as the general public. Furthermore, terms such as "corporate journalism," "organizational journalism," and "press club media" also refer to this conflation.

As stated earlier, the word "journalism" asserts itself as an "ism." It is a recognition of specific values, an idea, and a moral practice. It is one of the "isms" born from the modern age. Its values are rooted in the continuous publishing of the products of observations on the contemporary world for the public, acting in the interest of civil society (as opposed to the state) to monitor the actions of authorities that might oppress civilian freedoms (fundamental human rights). Journalism is referred to as a watchdog in the West and has been called *zaiya* (outside government) in Japan.

In order for this "ism" to perform its social function, it requires a vehicle, a vessel, a stage—in other words, a medium. This medium was once the small-scale press, but with developments in media technology at the turn of the 20th century, that role fell to the mass media (newspapers and magazines with a large circulation, radio, and television). The mass media expanded as an industry, a business, and a system throughout the 20th century to become a significant presence in society. Since it was always a medium for channeling information, it could distribute any sorts of information: news, weather reports, stock evaluations, opinion pieces, literature, education, entertainment, advertisements, promotions, or propaganda.

For journalism, the mass media was a vital tool to reach the public. For the mass media, journalism was a convenient banner that offered legitimacy. So, the 20th-century model, where the two were merged into a single set, was born. By absorbing journalism's function as a watchdog, the mass media attained legitimacy. Thus, began the notion that the media monitors power. However, tools and vehicles are not merely used—they also influence their users. The tool becomes a constraint. Journalism's function as a watchdog could no longer be free from the logic of mass media.

The established media-technology enabled communicators to take a monopolistic position over recipients, providing one-way communication from the sender to "a large number of unspecified individuals," in other words, a mass media audience. However, a new emerging technology for the transfer of information would come to destroy this conventional structure, breaking that monopoly. The era of mass media is approaching its end.

The advent of the internet made us realize that the 20th-century model of mass media and journalism had become mythologized. The mass media is often referred to as merely "The Media" (with capital letters) or "the mainstream media" concerning journalism. Although we are often told that the essence of the mainstream media lies in its role as a watchdog, this is, in fact, far from the truth. Instead, this reputation is merely makeup to beautify reality. The cosmetic front that has attained mythic status. While we can indeed cite examples of some significant achievements in monitoring power, like the Watergate scandal or the Pentagon Papers, they are a small minority of exceptional cases, canonized as legends indeed because they are the exceptions. Although this might seem somewhat harsh, or maybe oversimplified, it's possible to see the supposed monitoring of power professed by the mainstream, established media as the extraordinary achievements of a small minority of journalists, whose successes provide the remaining majority with fuel for smug self-satisfaction. Putting on proud airs under the banner of a watchdog to power, without ever actually performing those duties, is nothing if not smug self-satisfaction. In truth, the established media

certainly does not, and perhaps never did, offer favorable conditions for the "ism" to function in full force.

Once freed from the myth of the 20th-century model deemed status quo, the "ism" can dissolve its relationship with the 20th-century media and embark upon a journey in search of a new home. The mass media will likely remain as an efficient system for the collection, processing, and transmission of information. However, journalism will no longer look to the mass media for its home, or at least not to mass media alone. The "ism" is being reborn as it searches for a new home.

3. Innovation through investigative journalism

Outside Japan, journalists themselves, not the media, instigate innovation when journalism stagnates. With the advent of the 21st century, especially in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, investigative journalism and data journalism movements began to take shape around the world, adopting strategies that utilized a nonprofit financial model and an online platform. These were journalists attempting to perform investigative journalism, no longer possible within the mainstream media, in another place through a different form of funding. The most notable instance of this phenomenon within the U.S. is ProPublica, founded in 2007. In Asia, we have the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ), founded in 1989, South Korea's Korea Center for Investigative Journalism (KCIJ) Newstapa, founded in 2012, and Taiwan's The Reporter, founded in 2015. These are all nonprofit organizations. However, their funding models do vary, differing in response to the specific political, economic, and cultural conditions in their respective countries. There is also an international organization made up of such nonprofit, investigative newsrooms, the Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN), established in 2004.²

Why did this phenomenon occur for investigative journalism? What are its core qualities? First and foremost, investigative journalism is different from breaking news coverage. A large part of breaking news coverage is based on processing and transmitting the daily deluge of information that comes from various authorities via press conferences

and press releases. There is an owner, a producer, or a provider of the original information (communicators), and reporters receive their information from these sources. Although reporters collect and process that information, their actual function is little more than that of a mediator relaying received information to the public. Thus, the relationship is centered around an initial *communicator*, followed by their *mediator* (reporters). Much of the news is produced through this relationship, wherein media outlets compete to become the fastest transmitter. This is only one form of reporting, though likely considered the mainstream in Japan. The alternative is in-depth reporting. In Taiwan, this term has been translated into the Chinese characters 深度報導 (deep-level reporting), an apt word for investigative journalism. Within in-depth reporting, the journalists themselves are the communicators.

It is difficult to translate the term “investigative journalism” into Japanese. For now, the most widely used term is 調査報道 (*chousa houndou*) as customized within the Japanese media industry. However, 調査 (*chousa*) usually means “research” rather than “investigation.” If it means “research,” it should be called research journalism. Within the process of reporting, research involves necessary fact-finding, dealing with documents, data, or statistics. By contrast, an investigation is about delving into the unknown, the mysterious, which is hidden and steeped in secrecy. Thus, it will approach the truth through exploration and pursuit to expose the facts found therein. It is not “to look up” but “to investigate.”

So, what subject merits such an investigation? Power. Investigations aim to find and expose wrongdoing concealed by various political, economic, and social powers; in other words, instances of abuse, corruption, disorder, or omission.

Why is that necessary? The misuse of power invariably produces victims and casualties. It is necessary to save those people, to improve and reform the world. It is by staying true to this method that investigative journalism attempts to reclaim the noble path of monitoring power. In inspecting a range of recent journalistic works, I have noticed that “bringing justice to victims and casualties of power” seems to be a

passion shared by these journalists. Their coverage begins with returning to this central call, which provides the foundation for the fruits of their labor, stories. This attitude is not quite the same as merely “standing by the socially vulnerable.” It is more argumentative and confrontational in the face of power. In a sense, it aims to fight against power, to settle each case with the truth as its weapon, to end injustice, to save victims, and in so doing, win that fight.

The many efforts to enact this ethos around the world stand atop a redefinition of the mission to monitoring power, simultaneously developing the content of their investigative journalism, media applications to enhance expression, financial models, and more. As alternatives to the established media, the road ahead depends on their potential for sustainable development. The “ism” has found its new home here.

4. Waseda Chronicle as a trigger for innovation

Here, I would like to expand upon a project in which I myself have committed. On March 11, 2016, just on the day five years after the Great East-Japan Earthquake and the nuclear disaster in Fukushima, a project team was formed within the Waseda University Institute for Journalism. This initiative became the Waseda Investigative Journalism Project. Some journalists involved in the institute planned on starting a media outlet specializing in investigative journalism, and they wanted to use university facilities. After the initial preparatory period, they began online publication on February 1, 2017, with their first series, “Journalism for Sale,” published under the name Waseda Chronicle.

What could this signify? Having followed international trends, I felt that, at long last, Japan was seeing its own set of journalists who would, with the aid of experts such as designers and video producers, escape our Galapagos to join the global movement. Practitioners of the “ism” were emerging here in Japan, and the innovation of investigative journalism had begun. It may succeed, it may fail, but we will never know until we try; this is the nature of every project.

Why should this occur at a university? I believe that universities are places of innovation. Innovation is not limited to technology. It is

taken for granted in the natural sciences that new theories contribute to technological innovation. At the same time, we in the humanities should attempt the innovation of knowledge and social systems as well. Universities are an appropriate place for this.

Today, journalism in Japan must confront some crucial questions: Does Japanese society need journalism? If it does, then what content, mission, and format would fulfill that need? How would its work be funded? Is civil society prepared to shoulder those expenses? To answer such queries, one cannot stop at mere contemplation but must experiment in the real world. To this end, a model for the production of investigative journalism by an online, namely nonprofit news organization, was designed, developed, and launched. The organization contained the further practical benefit of providing a perfect place for journalism students to put their training into practice.

It is an experiment to test the viability of this model within the various conditions of Japanese society, examining how said society reacts to the model. In that sense, Waseda Chronicle is like a probe being launched into a vast space of power, or like a research vessel setting sail out into an ocean, below whose surface swim a menagerie of monsters, the Leviathan and its ilk, which live by enslaving then eating their human prey.

Waseda Chronicle's first piece of investigative journalism was a series entitled "Journalism for Sale," which exposed compensated articles (not declared as such) about prescription medication, for which advertising is strictly regulated. The series revealed how money had changed hands between pharmaceutical companies, advertising giant Dentsu, and Kyodo News, a news wire whose coverage was then published in regional newspapers. These practices are unacceptable, especially regarding medicine, an actual matter of life and death. Waseda Chronicle reported on this topic so that people could be alerted to the fact that patients in need of proper medication might have suffered as a result of this scheme. Our aim was not to cause a scandal in the press but to bring justice to potential victims.

So, what is Waseda Chronicle's financial model like? We started a

crowdfunding campaign simultaneously with the release of the first "Journalism for Sale" article to see whether journalism could be supported through crowdfunding. Set to run for four months, from the beginning of February until the end of May 2017, with a target figure of 3.5 million yen (about \$32,000), this target was reached in just 19 days. By its conclusion, 346 donors had contributed 5.52 million yen (about \$50,000). Many of these donors left messages on the crowdfunding site: words of hope and support from ordinary people, which seemed to embody the heartfelt encouragement of civil society.

Our other source of funding is a membership system for supporters to make regular donations, starting at 1,000 yen (about \$9) per month. This way is based on the model used by South Korea's Newstapa. Although their membership fluctuates, as of the time of writing, their site lists the organization as having 38,858 contributing members. However, Newstapa is the only journalism nonprofit in the world to succeed through this format, which leaves little room for optimism regarding Japan's potential to provide such success. However, this, too, is something we cannot confirm without experimentation.

5. Nonprofit journalism

Let us start by discussing the immediate phenomena. We have noticed an increase in the amount of mainstream news citing non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and nonprofit organizations (NPOs) as their information source. For example, *The Asahi Shimbun* recently ran the headline, "NGO reports four Japanese companies were investing in cluster munition producers, the highest among regulated countries" (May 24, 2017 morning issue). Cluster munitions are an indiscriminate wide-area lethal weapon, while unexploded shells function similarly to land mines. With many casualties being civilians and children, cluster munitions are widely considered to be inhumane. Through efforts made by the Norwegian government and the Cluster Munition Coalition, an international network of nonprofits working in around 100 countries, an international convention banning the use, production, and trade of cluster munitions was created and ratified in 2008. Japan was among

the nations that signed the convention that year. However, this news article stated that 166 financial institutions around the world, four of which were Japanese, have lent or invested \$31 billion to six cluster munitions producers in the past four years. The four institutions were named—and shamed—with details on the amount financed by each institution. Who unearthed these facts? It was not *The Asahi Shimbun* or foreign media, but the article credited its information to an international NGO called PAX, headquartered in the Netherlands. A PAX representative held a press conference at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan to announce these findings.

What is the structural relationship within this case? The mainstream media receives information from NGOs, which are the ones performing investigative “journalism.” Shouldn't the mainstream media have carried out this investigation? Today, NGOs and NPOs are improving their ability to present, investigate, and communicate issues—mostly, they are doing what the mainstream media has stopped doing. In other words, the monitoring of power is no longer a duty exclusive to professional journalists and the mainstream media; NGOs and NPOs have also become leading players within that field.

This is ironic, given that the media, in its original alliance with civil society, held an ideological affinity to NGOs and NPOs. However, these terms themselves were yet to come about. However, over the 20th century, media organizations increasingly sided with governments and with profit. Now, the monitoring of power, what might be called the journalistic function, is borne by NGOs and NPOs. Of course, not all NGOs and NPOs adequately fulfill this function. More than a few have become mere subcontractors for the government, and their situation is not that different from the media.

In his keynote speech for a symposium held at Waseda University in May 2017, journalist and scholar Mark Lee Hunter discussed the increasing influence of NGOs and NPOs using the term “stakeholder-driven media.”³ He focused on social relationships in which a community with some specific shared interest owns their media, which transmits information to their community, forming and maintaining the community

through that process; media have significant power in this relationship. The influence of this “stakeholder-driven media,” as opposed to the mainstream media, can explain phenomena like the rise of France's extreme right-wing party Front National (now National Rally) and the election of U.S. President Donald Trump. Or the achievements of international environmental NGO Greenpeace and the French medical site *Prescrire.org*. In other words, stakeholder-driven media occurs irrespective of political allegiance, left or right.

By this definition, the Waseda Chronicle might also be considered an example of stakeholder-driven media. Although Waseda Chronicle's journalism is aimed at the general public, the organization is not backed by the public at large. Indeed, it might qualify as a media outlet attached to a “community with some specific shared interest” in that its stakeholders recognize the value of investigative journalism as a watchdog and provide the organization with money and moral support. So, just as there are environmental NGOs, human rights NGOs, and medical NGOs, Waseda Chronicle is a journalism NGO.

In Japan, the Abe administration has effectively developed a system for monitoring journalists and civil society with the Act on the Protection of Specially Designated Secrets, security-related bills, and an “anti-conspiracy” amendment to the Organized Crime Punishment Act. This set of three laws, of course, also applies to civil society actors like NGOs and NPOs. Those who attempt to monitor power are a danger in the eyes of the state. Combined with former CIA employee Edward Snowden's revelation that the U.S.'s National Security Agency has shared with Japan a program called XKeyscore, these three laws are none other than a fast track to a mass-surveillance society. The XKeyscore can create vast databases detailing the daily life of any individual through wire-tapping and surveillance.⁴

What does it mean to monitor power under these circumstances? It is a struggle between the monitoring of power by civil society and the monitoring of citizens by a nation-state: We monitor them as they monitor us. Though we might use the same word, “monitor,” the two instances differ in implication. From the standpoint of civil society, where

a watchdog monitors the misdeeds of power, surveillance monitors the good deeds of citizens. This relationship is both qualitatively and quantitatively asymmetric and unbalanced. It is under these circumstances that we must redefine the social and cultural practice of journalism to liberate the watchdog function from established media alone. This function must be redistributed equally across the many actors of civil society, thus expanding journalism as an “ism.”

Power does not only refer to the prime minister, the administration, or the government. Power is omnipresent in political, economic, and social fields. It is everywhere. Indeed, power encompasses more than just the visible powers manifested in persons or positions, but also the invisible powers that function within political, economic, and social systems. Examples include institutionalized discrimination and patriarchal society. Even today, all around the world, including in Japan, some people are enslaved through these visible and invisible powers. Slavery is neither a thing of the past nor foreign. In Japan, we often hear of company employees who commit suicide due to overwork; what is that if not slavery? Society will never see real reform or improvement until we are aware of the reality of power. The first step is to acknowledge its actual operation.

6. Journalism education and the task going forward

Education cannot remain detached from the process of journalism as an “ism” finding a home and redefining itself to expand the scope of its duties and practice. The movement will inevitably tie into the field of education. For some time now, inadequacies within journalism schools have been a talking point in the world, prompting discussion on what journalism education should look like in five or ten years. For instance, in 2014, an international conference held at Ryerson University in Toronto, Canada, entitled “Toward 2020: New Directions in Journalism Education”⁵ saw over 100 journalism educators assembled from Canada, the U.S., Europe, Australia, and elsewhere. What started this debate? Journalism schools are yet another institution striving to stay afloat amid the waves of innovation sweeping the industry. These discussions

will likely demand not only a redefining of journalism but also a redefining of the journalist.

Until now, journalism schools have operated based on the 20th-century model conflating journalism and the mass media to provide preparatory education for students seeking employment in the mass media. However, these days, the reality is that many of those who receive this preparatory education do not or simply cannot get a job in the mass media. Indeed, statistics show that fewer and fewer journalism school graduates are working in media, with some graduating only to be left unemployed. There is an ever-expanding gap between education programs and general societal demand for the kind of practitioners they produce.

What could have caused this discrepancy? The accepted assumption is that journalism school faculty are only familiar with the legacy media of a previous century and are unable to offer ideas, curriculums, or didactic methods attuned to the still-evolving environment of the 21st century. Their young students (prospective employees) graduate without the skills or knowledge needed to drive innovation in the current media environment, thus losing their competitive edge within the employment market. The continuation of such pedagogy would be tantamount to reproducing the negative legacy of the last century. This phenomenon can happen in any field when innovation is in demand.

What is the solution? Journalism schools must respond to the environment’s new needs and innovations to raise a new generation of journalists who can collect the necessary resources to produce their craft even outside of an organization. Schools must advocate a vision of self-sufficiency: the journalist as a proactive individual who delivers independent reporting by simultaneously securing the necessary assistance, technology, and funding while building a stable relationship with their supporter base alongside a collaborative alliance with fellow journalists and other organizations. This mode could be called “entrepreneur journalism.”

The critical issue then becomes: For whom is this journalism being produced? Who are the partners of this new model of journalism?

It must not be a mass of unspecified individuals—in other words, the general public—as seen in the 20th-century model, nor the kind of passive group generally referred to as readers, listeners, or audience. The “audience” of this new journalism is comprised of not mere recipients or targets of education and enlightenment. Instead, “audience” takes the form of a partnership with a collective of various deliberately participating individuals, a community that places value in journalism.

Educating journalists equipped with such a mindset and skills is the task going forward.

7. The role of the university as a public good

We have examined how journalism, whose mission lies in monitoring power as a representative of civil society, has been dissolved from its relationship with the mass media. Journalism has moved away from the established mass media, thereby beginning a process of regeneration. We looked at nonprofit news organizations specializing in investigative journalism and other NGOs and NPOs as journalism’s new homes. In these organizations, the word “journalist” indicates a practitioner of the “ism.” The word does not mean merely an employee of a media organization more. Many such practitioners now exist outside the mass media. To take this a step further, we could suggest the university as a third home.

Journalism and modern academia were both born of modernity. Both are based on the critical observation of phenomena and events, a process they have protected through insistence on freedom and independence, qualities under threat from power. For power sees critical observation as a danger to itself. Once the current movement in journalism is recognized as reassembly of the frameworks that define the practice of monitoring power, expanding toward universalization, the university could become a substantial base, a place to practice the “ism.” This notion is undoubtedly an opportunity to spread and develop skepticism toward power and the practices of observing, recording, and monitoring power within education and research as an accepted academic discipline acknowledged by civil society. It might indeed be what

we require from the university as a public good: the university becoming a home for journalism as an “ism.”

In that sense, Waseda Chronicle has a twofold significance, being a journalistic organization incubated at a university and therefore holding those possibilities mentioned above. Although Waseda Chronicle later became independent from the university, in the beginning, practicing the “ism” of monitoring power, we published expressions of the “ism” from within its asylum against interference from the state and authorities.

Universities are a space guaranteeing free discourse and debate and which take pride in the independent and anti-authoritarian nature of scholarship. This modality can lead the journalism to greater heights. There has been much lamentation over the increasing theatricality of politics. Shall we respond by making the university into another type of theatre, a theatre for civil society? The university should become the core of cultural innovation, as a media for cultural practices and as a central intersection of cultural traffic, in partnership with civil society.

Notes

1. David Kaye, 2017, UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, Human Rights Now website. http://hrn.or.jp/wpHN/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/A_HRC_35_22_Add.1_AUV.pdf
2. As to the expansion of such global trends, the author wrote, before publishing this essay, the following articles in Japanese:
HANADA Tatsuro, 2016, “Why investigative reporting today in Japan?: The connection between journalism and global civil society” (なぜいま日本で調査報道か——ジャーナリズムとグローバル市民社会の接続). In Tatsuro Hanada, Minako Beppu, Kazumi Ootsuka, David Kaplan (eds.), *Challenge of Investigative Journalism: Civil Society and International Strategies for Support* (調査報道ジャーナリズムの挑戦——市民社会と国際支援戦略), Tokyo: Junpousha, pp. 12–46.
HANADA Tatsuro, 2017, “The worldwide tide of investigative journalism: Struggle for the legitimacy of journalism” (ワセダクロニクと調査報道ジャーナリズムの世界的潮流——ジャーナリズムの正当性を求める闘い). In Makoto Watanabe,

Tatsuro Hanada, Waseda Chronicle (eds.), *Start-up! Investigative Journalism: Good By, Company-Madia!* (始動! 調査報道ジャーナリズム——「会社」メディアよ、さようなら). Tokyo: Sairyusha, pp. 23–54.

3. Cf. Mark Lee Hunter, Luk N. Van Wassenhove, and Maria Besiou, *Power is Everywhere: How stakeholder-driven media build the future of watchdog news*, 2017.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321316410_Power_is_Everywhere_How_stakeholder-driven_media_build_the_future_of_watchdog_news
4. Glenn Greenwald, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the U.S. Surveillance State*, Metropolitan Books, 2014.
5. Gene Allen, Stephanie Craft, Christopher Waddell & Mary Lynn Young (eds.), *Toward 2020: New Directions in Journalism Education*, Ryerson Journalism Research Centre, 2015.

Initially, this essay appeared in Japanese as the following publication:
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ジャーナリズムと市民社会の再接続. *Sekai* 世界 No. 899 (September 2017): 45–55.

And then reprinted in the Japanese book:

Tansa-journalism/Chousa-houdou 探査ジャーナリズム／調査報道 (Investigative Journalism: Nonprofit News organizations Emerging in Asia), Tokyo: Sairyusha, 2018, 155–173.

TEZUKA Mafuyu translated this essay into English, and the author and Annelise Giseburt edited the translation.

Part I

Investigative Journalism Movement in Theory and Praxis

The Korea Center for Investigative Journalism Newstapa

The Removal of Accumulated Evils in the Press and the construction of a democratic media system, walking that long road together

JUNG Sooyoung

In the winter of 2016, South Korean citizens gathered in Gwanghwamun Square¹ to demand the impeachment of the president.² In the spring of 2017, the so-called *Candlelight Will* achieved this impeachment of the president,³ and thus, an early presidential election,⁴ in which they chose the candidate Moon Jae-in as their nineteenth president. This is known as *the Candlelight Democracy*, or *the Candlelight Revolution*, which managed to topple a regime. A single vital objective that had surfaced in the midst of this *Candlelight Democracy* was the so-called *Removal of Accumulated Evils*. Indeed, it is also this *Removal of Accumulated Evils* which is viewed as the most important among the Moon Jae-in administration's 100 Policy Tasks.

Accumulated evils refer to harmful influences like negative practices or bad habits, scandals, and corruption, that have built up over the years. In order to deal with these deep-rooted evils, the entire nation, from individuals and organizations to society as a whole, must undergo reform and make an active effort to move forward, with proper punishment and repentance for those personally involved or responsible. *The Candlelight Will* and their demands for the removal of those evils are directed at the Lee Myung-bak administration (February 2008–February 2013) and the Park Geun-hye administration (February 2013–March 2017). They demand a thorough investigation into the various policies and practices put in place by these administrations, to root out those mistakes and bad habits which have been building up within various sectors of society, so that they might be removed for good. It should be noted that removing accumulated evils in the press is counted

amongst both *the Candlelight Will* and the Moon Jae-in administration's Policy Tasks.

It was one piece of news reported in 2016 that triggered the start of *the Candlelight Democracy*.⁵ In July of that year, the generalist programming channel (henceforth, generalist channel)⁶ TV Chosun, and in September of the same year, *The Hankyoreh*, reported suspicions that Choi Soon-sil, the supposed shadowy mastermind behind president Park Geun-hye, was monopolizing state power. In October of the same year, another generalist channel, JTBC, managed to acquire Mrs. Choi's tablet PC, and broadcast that piece of evidence as a scoop. Thus, the true extent of the so-called "Park Geun-hye–Choi Soon-sil Gate" became ever more apparent. Most of South Korea's media outlets, newspapers and broadcasters, as well as the Internet, rushed to report related news. In particular, the president of JTBC's news department and the main anchor to its flagship newscast *JTBC Newsroom*, Sohn Suk-hee, is credited as the key player⁷ who established *the Candlelight Democracy* through his scoops and incisive reporting around Park Geun-hye–Choi Soon-sil Gate. It was an event that demonstrated the immense power of journalism, as well as its ideal role as a watchdog contributing to the maintenance and development of democracy.

Nevertheless, the press also faced fierce criticism, for its accumulated evils, within Gwanghwamun Square. Why? What and who exactly are those marked out as evils in need of removal? Of the many media outlets engaged in research and reportage within Gwanghwamun Square, the Korean Broadcasting System (henceforth, KBS) and the Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (henceforth, MBC), both public broadcasters, weren't welcomed. Many KBS and MBC journalists told of how they'd had their requests for reports or interviews denied. Then, on the 4th of September, 2017, the KBS and MBC trade unions declared a strike, demanding *the Removal of Accumulated Evils in the Press*. The strikes called for the resignation of those managers appointed by the Park Geun-hye administration,⁸ such as the directors and presidents in both public broadcasters. A rapid succession of declarations in support of these trade union strikes rose from civil society. This came from a

recognition of the fact that, over the past nine years, the regulations and self-censorship, enacted under managers sent by the government, had greatly damaged political independence and autonomy on the field. In other words, the reformation of public broadcaster lies at the heart of these discussions calling for *the Removal of Accumulated Evils in the Press*.

So, would replacing the management at the KBS and MBC mean the successful reform of public broadcaster? Would that remove those Accumulated Evils? To answer this question, it is necessary to begin by developing a deeper understanding of South Korean journalism. One must then analyze the root cause and core essence of the people's rage, their rebuke of the media, and where the fault for that lies. This paper will discuss these issues in three broad sections:

First, to consider the problems hidden in South Korean journalism, with a central focus on the media coverage around the MV Sewol, which sunk in 2014. The accident, also known as the Sewol Ferry Disaster, was an unprecedented incident that drove South Korean society into a state of shock. The media coverage at the time is still criticized as the so-called *the Sewol Ferry Press Coverage Disaster*, and it effectively caused the slur, "*Giraegi*",⁹ to spread as a common label for journalists. So, what was the problem? The various seminars and debates regarding the reporting around MV Sewol deemed the problems surrounding the whole coverage to be an issue with their disaster reporting, presenting proposals such as the assembly of a disaster reporting system or the training of journalists specialized in disaster reporting. However, strictly speaking, one could consider the phenomenon to be a result of the irresponsible, unethical/immoral journalistic methods and organization culture that had been building up over the years, finally reaching their limit and exploding (Jung 2015). Hence, *the Sewol Ferry Press Coverage Disaster* might be described as a symbolic case that demonstrated the reality of those negative practices embedded within South Korean journalism, that is to say, *Accumulated Evils in the Press*.

Second, to consider the history of civilian involvement and solidarity within South Korean journalism. In 2014, when the MV Sewol sunk,

the ordinary people, who felt disillusioned and enraged by the mainstream media coverage, proactively turned to JTBC, alternative Internet media, blogs or foreign media in search of the truth about the Sewol Ferry Disaster. One such media outlet they frequented was The Korea Center for Investigative Journalism Newstapa (henceforth, Newstapa). Newstapa began publications on the 27th of January 2012, with a staff list centered around broadcast journalists fired during the Lee Myung-bak administration and others who resigned of their own accord. They are an alternative online media outlet, championing non-profit investigative journalism. In order to be free of any external pressures or interference, they reject all advertisements and funding from government/interest groups, running exclusively on donations from supporter members.¹⁰ In other words, civil society and ordinary people are behind the rise of non-profit investigative journalism within South Korean society and the success of those economic models like Newstapa. Furthermore, therein lies a history of their involvement and solidarity, built upon their experience of small but steady breakthroughs alongside continual trial-and-error.

Third, to consider investigative journalism within the context of South Korean journalism, and the implications that Newstapa holds. As the popular opinion in support of the KBS and MBC strikes grew, a documentary film planned and produced by Newstapa, *Criminal Conspiracy* (공범자들 – *Gongbomjadul*), was garnering attention. *Criminal Conspiracy* opened in cinemas around the country in August 2017 as the second film aimed at the general public to be planned and produced by Newstapa, following their documentary film released in October 2016, *Spy Nation* (자백 – *Jaback*).¹¹ Both these films were directed by Program Director (henceforth, PD) Choi Seung-ho, who was dismissed from the MBC for his involvement with a network strike in 2012.¹² Its production costs were covered by regular donations and the story funding provided by ordinary citizens.¹³ The film, *Criminal Conspiracy* delves into the truth behind how the government has been controlling public broadcasters, the KBS and MBC, as well as the identity of those accomplices who aided them. This will be expanded upon later, but Newstapa

and their film, *Criminal Conspiracy* stood at the forefront of those battle lines drawn around: The Resignation of the Management in both Public Broadcasters – The Reform of Public Service Broadcasting – The Removal of Accumulated Evils in the Press.

Incidentally, why would *the Candlelight Will*, which expresses anger at the public broadcasters for their accumulated evils in need of removal, trust Newstapa and offer it donations? What are the hopes and desires lying at the heart of their support? This paper intends to answer that question in its conclusion, based on the various achievements and limitations made apparent through the three discussions above and seeks to consider the task going forward.

1. South Korean journalism, what are its problems?

1) *The Sewol Ferry Press Coverage Disaster*

On the 16th of April 2014, the lives of 304 people sunk along with the MV Sewol. Various media outlets around South Korea formed special report teams and entered a cycle of constant updates. However, the issues that really required reporting went almost unreported. The families of the missing victims strongly sought reports of the truth, complaining that the news coverage did not accurately represent the reality at the accident site. However, the major media outlets turned a blind eye to their demands. Numerous false reports emerged one after the other to spread a slew of “Maybe Journalism” that overissued unconfirmed information from unknown sources. There were endless accusations of skewered facts and faked situations. Most major media outlets suffered severe backlash; South Korea’s Key National Broadcaster as well as Chief Disaster Reporting Network, the KBS, was no exception. Many citizens rejected the news coverage by major media outlets, searching for specific Internet news sites and reports from foreign media. It was as if they were *News Refugees*.

As anger against the media coverage grew, some media outlets and journalists issued public apologies. Four days from the start of the incident, on the 20th of April, the Journalists Association of Korea announced *The MV Sewol Disaster Reporting Guidelines*. On the 16th of September of

the same year, five organizations, the Korean Newspapers Association, the Korean Broadcasters Association, the Korean Newspaper and Broadcasting Editors Association, the Journalists Association of Korea, and the Korean Press Ethics Commission announced their collectively established *The Disaster Reporting Rules*. Despite this, the numerous problems that became apparent through the coverage around the MV Sewol continue to occur as always, and *the Candlelight Will* is still seeking *the Removal of Accumulated Evils in the Press*.

2) *The roots and nature of those Accumulated Evils in the Press*

As stated above, *the Sewol Ferry Press Coverage Disaster* is a symbolic event that allows for the investigation of negative practices rooted in South Korean journalism. It’s important to note that *the Sewol Ferry Press Coverage Disaster* is not an issue caused by *the peculiarity* of a large-scale disaster. It is the result of the media lacking all awareness or consideration for the roles and responsibilities of journalism, compounded by an irresponsible system of research and reporting attaining *generality* as a mundane part of journalism culture (Jung 2015). To highlight and analyze three negative practices that have been built up within South Korean journalism, let us examine: 1) Dictated Journalism, 2) The endless competition in pursuit of commercialism, 3) A lack of autonomy in the field.

Dictated journalism – The closed, exclusive and monopolistic nature of the press corps/press room

During the Sewol ferry disaster, much of the media just reported what was announced by the government and the maritime police headquarters. They did not question the content of these announcements nor did they perform the most minimal of fact checks. They did not relay the perspectives or voices of victims or their bereaved families, but only the stance and opinion of the government or administrative authorities. And, misinformation was mass manufactured. This was so-called “Dictated Journalism”. Dictated Journalism is the South Korean equivalent to the Japanese phrase, “Announcement Journalism”. It is a term

criticizing the passive/inactive news media system whereby journalists do not proactively take the initiative in digging up issues to report, but are, instead, invited into a government or administration run a press release or an event organized by some company, to just write down whatever they're told.

The main news/information sources within Dictated Journalism are public figures, organizations, institutions and the like. Given its convenience as a report, the reliability of its data, information networks, and the reporter deployment system, news media's dependence upon public figures, organizations, and institutions could be considered a global practice (Shoemaker & Reese 1996), not a problem exclusive to South Korean media. Indeed, utilizing the authorities' official announcements, with regard to the scene of the sinking MV Sewol, could be considered an appropriate rule for coverage that might've stemmed the spread of a groundless rumor. However, this becomes an issue when one neglects the process of questioning or even confirming the information provided by public figures, organizations, and institutions, thereby prioritizing their reasoning and opinions. It raises the likelihood of falling into a *Herd-Like* unified/collective mentality, prone to the regulation of information and the manipulation of public opinion (Fujita 2010). Furthermore, this also enables journalists and the media to simply pass the blame onto the government or those public information sources if misinformation occurs due to their dependence upon public figures, organizations, and institutions as news/information sources.

Dictated Journalism within South Korea is mainly caused by the passive/inactive news media system centered around press corps and press rooms. The South Korean press corps/press rooms are importation of the Japanese Press Club System (記者クラブ – *Kisya Kurabu*). It began in the 1920s, during colonial rule, when Korean journalists at The Chosun Ilbo, The Dong-a Ilbo, and The Sidae Ilbo founded organizations for journalistic movements, such as The Anonymous Meeting (무명회 – *Moomyoenghoe*) or The Iron Pen club (철필구락부 – *Cheolpilgulackbu*), as well as press groups modeled after the Japanese Press Clubs that involved government agencies (Kim 2001). While this did have positive

aspects, such as preventing needless competition or allowing for the efficient acquisition and transfer of public information, it is also thought to have caused the collusive relationship between journalists and their news/information sources as well as the creation of insular and exclusive cartel structures that monopolize information (Kim 2004). The Roh Moo-hyun administration (February 2003–February 2008) did attempt to amend the harmful influence of those press corps/press rooms with a policy called The Advance a Support System for News Coverage but was unable to achieve these goals due to strong objections from major media outlets, which insisted that the policy was an attack on press freedom.¹⁵

The endless competition in pursuit of commercialism –

Sensationalism and a policy of prioritizing the newsflash

Roughly two hours after the MV Sewol started sinking, almost all media outlets, except the JTBC, were racing to report the news flash “All rescued”: a false report, the result of parroting unconfirmed information from unknown sources. Even after the other media outlets had issued correctional reports, the KBS continued to spread the false report of “All Rescued”, actively undermining its own position as a public broadcaster and the chief disaster reporting network. While at the MBC, a journalist stationed in the Mokpo area, the region closest to the accident site, had alerted the Seoul desk to the possibility of a false report but was simply ignored. The false report of “All Rescued” threw that rescue work at the accident site into a state of chaotic confusion, leading to the worst result without a single survivor rescued. Still, a variety of false reports kept coming. This was the consequence of a media system wherein journalists are hounded by relentless competition and deadlines, forced to work with *the speed* at the expense of pursuing *the accuracy* through proper fact checks and the consideration of context. This endless competition in pursuit of commercialism had driven them to a “State of Collective Journalism”¹⁴ with all those journalists addressing the same issues or perspectives as one collective herd, resulting in a “Torrential-Downpour of Heated Coverage”¹⁵ that greatly infringed upon

the human rights of victims and bereaved families.

According to *The Korea Press 2016 Yearbook* of the Korea Press Foundation, in 2015 there were a total of 4,616 media outlets active within South Korea. 1,447 papers printed by 1,342 companies, 57 news channels ran by 52 broadcasting organizations (including 20 public broadcasters like the KBS or MBC), 3,094 online papers issued by 2,767 companies, and 18 news agencies and the like, each locked into a relentless competition against the others.¹⁶ The problem here lies in the fact that most of these media outlets are focused on the intense competition for advertising revenue and commercial profit, regardless of the unique characteristics, founding objectives or institutional differences inherent to each medium and outlet. Those various media outlets burdened with such severe competition are not competing to produce superior or more accurate news but are, instead, racing headlong towards a competition that can only spread sensationalism and a policy of prioritizing the newsflash coverage. Public broadcasters like the KBS or MBC are no exception.

The lack of autonomy in the field – “Editorial Rights” and the internal freedom of the press

However important the issue or individual, if they are excluded or minimized during the gatekeeping process, this removes even the slightest opportunity for any public debate about them. Thus, the symbolic erasure of issues or individuals occurs. Hence, the news can be described as a source of knowledge and power (Tuchman 1978, 1981). In the coverage around the MV Sewol, the voices of bereaved families demanding a search for the truth, as well as those issues needed to mount such an investigation into the legal/moral culpability of the Blue House or the government and their administrative authorities, were either excluded or minimized. In their place, there was a selection of sensational issues diluting the essence of the Sewol ferry disaster to mask everything in ambiguity, with an emphasis on issues that seemed likely to cause political/ideological agitation (Kim, Yu, Jung, & Lee 2014; Korea Broadcasting Journalist Association 2014b; Jung 2015). Amidst this symbolic erasure

of those essential aspects to the MV Sewol disaster along with its victims and bereaved families, one could also observe tendentiousness¹⁷ in favor of the authorities. Unjust external interference and internal regulation within media organizations have been cited as major causes for the suspected faked situations and tendentiousness in favor of the authorities, as seen in the coverage around the MV Sewol. Those two elements, intertwining to operate in secret, caused untold harm to journalistic autonomy out on the field.

Various mechanisms of self-regulation, such as numerous guidelines and codes of ethical practice,¹⁸ exist in order to prevent external interference or control. Amidst the growing criticism against the coverage around MV Sewol, the media formed and publicized their new *MV Sewol Disaster Reporting Guidelines* and *Disaster Reporting Rules*. However, as Tatsuro Hanada (1999: 164–170) points out, mechanisms of self-regulation are a “representation of the power dynamic” between the national government, civil society, and media operators. Within the framework of this power dynamic, there is a tendency for media operators to advocate for freedom of speech and expression, as well as independence and autonomy, while rebuking complaints and criticisms from civil society or criticism from within, prompted by a failure of self-regulation or self-control, as unjust interference. Furthermore, although there may be various guidelines and codes of ethical practice, in the current state of affairs, where one’s position as a salaryman working within a media company is valued over one’s role as a journalist, the ethical/autonomous judgments of individual journalists are often made subordinate to the policies of that media company or the ethics of an organization. Moreover, when enacted on the field, where various interests inevitably come into hectic conflict, that self-regulation can become a way for media companies and individual journalists to justify *Pre-Emptive Censorship* or *Self-Censorship*.

Hidden within the mechanisms of this power structure is the concept known as “Editorial Rights” (편집권 – 編集権). “Editorial Rights” is a distinct term, as well as concept, used only in South Korea and Japan. It dates back to *The Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association’s*

Declaration of Editorial Competence (新聞編集権の確保に関する声明) (16th of March 1948).¹⁹ This declaration defines “Editorial Rights” as an “exclusive power to be utilized by owners and managers”. This term and concept were then introduced to South Korea in the 1960s (Lim 1964). Indeed, *The Broadcasting Act* (enacted in 2000) guarantees the freedom and independence of broadcast programming (Article 4), while *the Act on the Freedom of Newspapers, etc. and Guarantee of their Functions* (enacted in 2005) guarantees the freedom and independence of editing (Article 3) respectively.²⁰ However, the interpretation and implementation of “Editorial Rights” is still rather confused in South Korea. There is a tangled mass of claims such as those that the ownership and implementation of “Editorial Rights” is exclusive to the management, claims that it is within the autonomous/independent domain of the editorial office, as well as claims that it is to be shared between the management and the editorial office. Opinions regarding its purpose are just as mixed, where one perspective considers it a device to prevent unjust external interference or intervention, another understands it to mean the internal freedom of the press²¹ and so on (Lee 2009). Although there are numerous claims and opinions surrounding the substance or purpose of “Editorial Rights”, the common factor amongst them is that they each recognize “Editorial Rights” as some exclusive power to be used by themselves. The existence of civil society and the ordinary people are not referenced therein: they are not recognized as active bodies collaborating to compose a media environment, but merely as outsiders or objects.

2. The history of civilian involvement and solidarity in seeking the reformation and democratization of speech

Despite the exclusion of civil society and the ordinary people from the main debate surrounding “Editorial Rights” and the internal freedom of the press, the history around the democratization and reform of the press within South Korean society is also a history of actions aspiring towards civilian involvement and solidarity. Following the harsh era of the reconstruction dictatorship under Park Chung-hee (1961–1979) and

military dictatorship under Chun Doo-hwan (1980–1988), there was a growing resistance fighting for democratization and freedom of the press. Although that resistance was initially led by the so-called opposition forces during the 1970s, such as students, academics and religious believers, by the 1980s, this had expanded to include ordinary people like laborers, farmers, and the urban poor. It was such struggles that ultimately culminated in the democratic uprising of June 1987 (Citizens’ Coalition for Democratic Media 2017). These movements founded on the involvement and solidarity of civil society and ordinary people continued, even after 1987, across a range of different formats and contents. To focus on three events from the history of South Korean journalism that exhibit the core characteristics and meaning of civilian involvement and solidarity: 1) The Dong-a Ilbo Blank Advertisements Incident, 2) The foundation of *The Hankyoreh*, 3) The Foundation of OhmyNews.

1) The Dong-a Ilbo Blank Advertisements Incident and the adverts of encouragement

After its liberation (with Japan’s defeat) in 1945, newspapers with a left-wing (progressive) tone disappeared as Korea passed through a period of US military governance, with many mainstream newspapers speaking for the right-wing (conservative) forces and their anti-communist ideology. However, they maintained a critical attitude towards the government, and The Dong-a Ilbo, in particular, was seen as the representative for opposition papers dating back to The First Republic (Chae 2015). This was the situation when the Park Chung-hee administration (The Third Republic), which had risen through the May 16 coup of 1961, introduced its direct regulation and suppression of the press. On the 8th of January 1974, it issued its first and second emergency presidential decree, banning all acts that might oppose/reject/insult the restoration constitution.

On the 24th of October 1974, approximately 180 journalists from The Dong-a Ilbo and The Dong-A Broadcasting System announced *The Declaration to Practice Press Freedom* and declared that they “will not yield to any force pushing back against press freedom and will expend

every effort to practice press freedom, a basic requirement for the existence of any free and democratic society”. The military dictatorship responded by putting pressure on the managers at The Dong-a Ilbo through the suppression of advertisements. Their advertising contracts were canceled. On December 30th of that same year, The Dong-a Ilbo advertisement manager called for adverts of encouragement in the paper. It was a message to the effect of “With all large adverts from our major advertisers canceled, I cannot fulfill my duties as an adman except by calling for opinion ads from individuals/parties/movements and also adverts of encouragement for this paper as well as any new year’s greetings ads. We hope for enthusiastic support.” The ordinary people who saw this notice started sending adverts of encouragement or donations for The Dong-a Ilbo, and by May of the following year, approximately 10,352 adverts of encouragement had been published (Korea News Editors’ Association 2007).

However, the management at The Dong-a Ilbo saw this Movement in Defence of Press Freedom by the journalists as a disorder within the ranks caused by collective complaints and disobedience against the company’s editors and their policies, whilst registering the government’s suppression of advertisements as an administrative threat posed by the external suppression of advertisements. Thus, they dismissed roughly 150 reporters/PDs/announcers for the reason that they had infringed upon “the rights of editors, appointed by the publisher, regarding the production/editing/composition of newspapers/publications/broadcasts”. After this, that critical attitude towards government power vanished, to be replaced by an eager promotion of the reconstruction regime’s righteous legitimacy. Starting with The Dong-a Ilbo, which had criticized the government as an opposition paper during The First Republic, most media outlets became a mere attendant to power, there to handle the political manipulation of symbols for the government. They’d chosen to grow as a corporate industry amidst those criticisms deriding them as the “Propaganda Complex” or “Institutional Press” (Chae 2015; Korea News Editors’ Association 2007).

Ultimately, the Movement in Defence of Press Freedom, and the

involvement of those ordinary people who supported it, did not succeed. One of the factors that led to this result was the concept of “Editorial Rights” interpreted as an exclusive power to be utilized by owners and managers. In this way, the notion of “Editorial Rights” has since crippled various actions aspiring to democratize and increase the independence or autonomy of the press. However, the values evidenced within *The Declaration to Practice Press Freedom* and the experience of civilian involvement would become a foundation for the many acts of involvement and solidarity to follow, each seeking the reformation and democratization of the media.

2) The foundation of *The Hankyoreh* through citizen’s shares

The proceeding 1980s was a dark time, an era that erased much of the press. In July 1980, the Chun Doo-hwan military authorities (The Fifth Republic) laid the foundations for autocratic rule through a forced mass dismissal of journalists and policies annexing the entire media. So began a great purge of so-called anti-national journalists. The regulation and manipulation of the press through acts like *The Framework Act on Press* (언론기본법 – *Eonlongibonbeob*) and *Press Guidelines* (보도지침 – *Bodojichim*) became the norm. This produced a generation of politically adaptive journalists, who were comfortable with self-censorship, creating a climate that favored acceptance of the status quo over any rigorous criticism. It was also an age of absurdity where media companies that colluded with power would grow into major corporations (Yoon 2000).

However, by the turn of the 1980s, new media outlets began to emerge, reporting and explaining truths that the so-called “Institutional Press” would warp or ignore. On the 19th of December 1984, those dismissed journalists and publishers created The Democratic Press Movement Council (Henceforth, the DPMC). This would later become The Citizens’ Coalition for Democratic Media (henceforth, the CCDM)²² which is still active as a civilian media watchdog within South Korea today. In 1985, the DPMC formed an alternative media outlet, the monthly magazine *Mal* (말 – Speech),²³ with an inaugural issue (published on

the 15th of June 1985) in which they proposed the establishment of an innovative media organization. They envisioned a media organization for the people, which would work through co-ownership and collaboration with their financiers: those same ordinary people who desired a democratic press system (Chae 2015). The following year, 1986, civilian movements like The Movement Refusing to Pay KBS License Fees and The Movement Against Watching KBS Programs spread throughout the nation.²⁶ Such trends towards involvement and solidarity became the bedrock for the democratic uprising of June 1987 and would provide the momentum necessary to guide the newspaper *The Hankyoreh* into existence.

In May 1988, *The Hankyoreh* was founded through The Citizen's Shares System to stand as the advocate of "Journalism for Democracy, Journalism for the People, Journalism for a People". The Citizen's Shares System is where ordinary people provide funds by buying small sums of stocks to directly support the newspaper company as shareholders. Shares were officially offered to the public immediately after a convention to promote the paper's foundation, held on the 30th of October 1987. When sales started, these shares were mostly bought by academics. But, after the candidate backed by the democracy movement lost the presidential elections in December of that same year, the number of shares purchased by ordinary people rapidly increased, with approximately 27 thousand people taking part in the trade. Thus, the initial goal of raising 5 billion won (around 5 million dollars) following the foundation was achieved just 108 days after sales commenced.

The Hankyoreh was founded around journalists dismissed during the 1970s and 80s. However, it was only made possible by the ordinary people who supported The Movement in Defence of Press Freedom through encouragement advertisement during The Dong-a Ilbo Blank Advertisements Incident in the 1970s, and the many people who responded to the alternative media outlet the monthly magazine *Mal*, whilst supporting actions like The Movement Refusing to Pay KBS License Fees or The Movement Against Watching KBS Programmes throughout the 1980s. It should be seen as an accomplishment born of

that struggle against government dictatorship, and the grassroots civilian movements which remained relentless in their desire for the democratization of journalism.

3) The foundation of *OhmyNews* in which every citizen is a journalist

On the 22nd of February 2000, the online newspaper *OhmyNews* (<http://ohmynews.com>) began publications. It made the most of features distinct to Internet technology, like two-way communication and easy accessibility, while its criticism of old media and communication structures worked in tandem with its goal of forming a new public sphere, to achieve rapid growth.²⁴ A major factor contributing to that growth was its Citizen Journalist System which advocates for journalism through civilian involvement. The founder and representative reporter of *OhmyNews*, Oh Yeon-ho, had previously worked within the monthly magazine *Mal*. Though he was a successful scoop journalist and investigative reporter at the *Mal*, he'd faced various limitations as a journalist in a non-mainstream media outlet, and had always taken issue with a news production culture controlled by major media companies.²⁵ Considering these issues and limitations led him to the conclusion that "Every Citizen is a Journalist".

When examined as a type of civilian involvement journalism, *OhmyNews* holds two main points of interest (Hong 2003). Firstly, it employs many techniques to invigorate the involvement of civilian journalists. For instance, it has run a journalist making program to help civilian journalists create articles since its initial foundation. It also places no restrictions on the content or format of articles created by civilian journalists. It remains flexible regarding copyright, so articles written and researched by civilian journalists can be posted on other news sites simultaneously. Secondly, it makes full use of features distinct to the Internet in order to invigorate reader Board involvement. For example, *OhmyNews* provides a message board on each article, allowing readers to post their own opinions straight after reading an article. Though this format of attaching message boards to articles is no longer uncommon, *OhmyNews* was the first in the country to introduce such a system.

Of course, *OhmyNews* was only able to achieve its rapid growth due to: the introduction of progressive politics by president Kim Dae-jung as well as president Roh Moo-hyun, the people's mistrust of the old mainstream media, and their profound desire for political involvement. So, it is within the context of this history that *OhmyNews* continues its innovative efforts to change the major media companies' dominance over the "structure of production, distribution, consumption in news as well as the exclusive journalism culture created by monopolistic press groups", replacing them with a model-based around civilian involvement.²⁶ The realization of the so-called "Guerrilla News for Solidarity through News"²⁷ was the result of this history and these efforts.

3. The rise of investigative journalism and Newstapa

1) The broadcasting station strikes and the documentary film,

Criminal Conspiracy

In August 2017, *Criminal Conspiracy*, a documentary film planned/produced by Newstapa, was screened in cinemas around the country. Its director, PD Choi Seung-ho, was best known for delivering influential work through the MBC's current affairs documentary series, *PD Notebook*. He was dismissed in July 2012 and joined Newstapa from 2013.

So, what happened in 2012 (Jung 2012: 381–382)? At the time, the broadcasting station strikes had developed into a big issue within the broadcasting world and South Korean society as a whole. The strike that began with the MBC trade union, in January 2012, had expanded to include many broadcasting stations within South Korea such as the KBS, YTN, and the Yonhap News Agency. They called for the resignation of those company presidents controlled by the government, alongside a pledge to protect the independence, autonomy, and impartiality of broadcasting. However, current affairs programs were canceled one after the other during these strikes. Many journalists and PDs were faced with dismissal or disciplinary action. News programs would report about the weather or some weekend trends rather than criticize the government. There were even allegations that public information guidelines had been sent by the Blue House, demanding an expanded

broadcast on some serial killings to obscure issues that might inconvenience the government. Reporters Without Borders and Freedom House lowered their ratings and rankings on the level of press freedom in South Korea, ruling it a Country with Partial Freedom of the Press. While the UN requested the revision of several laws that would infringe upon basic human rights.

In June of that same year, the KBS trade union returned to work, ending the strike that'd lasted for a whole 94 days. Though they weren't able to oust the company president, they'd been told the management and labor force had agreed upon: the minimization of any disciplinary action against those trade union members involved, the formation of a committee for impartial broadcasting, the revival of investigative reporting teams and current affairs programs, as well as the cancellation of a radio program dedicated to presidential speeches. MBC's trade union ceased their strike spanning 170 days, in June of that same year, but a total of 98 trade union members received heavy disciplinary action, including 6 dismissals and 38 suspensions inside MBC headquarters. While in their 18 affiliated companies, 56 people were put before the personnel commission and disciplinary actions proceeded as due process. The Yonhap News Agency, which had entered its first strike in 23 years, returned to work after 100 days, in June of that same year. There was apparently an agreement between the management and labor force on impartial reporting, reasonable personnel administration, better working conditions, more democracy within the company, strengthening the competitiveness of the news agency, the improvement of regional reporting structures as well as the removal of such discriminations, the institution of an editorial commissioner subject to interim appraisals, and the implementation of an impartial reporting responsibility assessment system.

In 2017, 5 years after the conclusion to that extended strike, trade unions at the KBS and MBC once again began a strike calling for the resignation of the management. The situation seems similar to that of 2012, except worse. Most of those agreements made in 2012 hadn't been upheld. The stations had not repaired the damage done to the

independence and autonomy of their broadcasts, both by their own bureaucratic dispositions and those company presidents under government control, spewing out the news with a strong pro-government bent. While the management utilized their authority over personnel administration to continue their punishment of trade union members. Still, some things are different, such as the fact that the government has changed, or the fact that *the Candlelight Will* are supporting these strikes driven by a desire to deal with the corruption of the press and the fact that there are now numerous alternative media outlets in action. As a documentary film directed by one of the key players amidst those 2012 strikes, PD Choi Seung-ho, *Criminal Conspiracy* is introduced with the following description on the Newstapa homepage:²⁸

Unprecedented national disasters, such as the MV Sewol Disaster of 2014 and the Choi Soon-sil state power monopolization incident of 2016, have broken out in broad daylight within the Republic of Korea, a mature democratic nation. How has that happened? In fact, there were multiple warning signs before either incident rose to those peaks of calamity. Had we but looked, and had our public broadcasters, who retain the largest journalistic manpower in this country, spewing out the news at over 10 million people per day, had they only kept proper watch, these incidents would not have reached their calamitous scale.

The film, *Criminal Conspiracy*, uses the documents and testimonies of those who were there, to reveal how the Republic of Korea was left stranded by a public broadcasting system made mute through the anesthetics of power. Thus, it approaches the accomplices and pursues their responsibility as loyal helpers in the government conspiracy to seize the press. In particular, for the first time ever, former President Lee Myung-bak, who should bear the greatest guilt amongst those numerous accomplices, is questioned on camera regarding his culpability in this seizure of the press.

Through the film, *Criminal Conspiracy*, ordinary people could examine the events that'd transpired within public broadcasters.²⁹ *The Candlelight Will*, driven by a desire to deal with the corruption of the press, supported the strikes in both public broadcasting networks and demanded the resignation of their managers. So, at last, the management for both the KBS and MBC were replaced. In January 2017, the president of the MBC was dismissed, and a new president installed by December of that same year. This role fell to the Newstapa PD, Choi Seung-ho. As the new president, Choi Seung-ho declared that he would return to Newstapa once he'd finished reforming the MBC. Meanwhile, The KBS Board Governors convened in January 2018, where they'd passed a proposal to dismiss the president, and in April of that year, former KBS PD, Yang Sung-dong was made the 23rd president of KBS. Thus, the 2017 strikes were able to replace the management, a goal they'd fought for in 2012. Now, these new presidents of the KBS and MBC carry the hopes and desires driving *the Candlelight Will*, to reform public broadcaster and *Remove Accumulated Evils in the Press*.

2) The meaning of Newstapa within the history and context of South Korean journalism

In South Korea, the name *PD journalism* had swiftly spread as a term similar to investigative journalism. *PD journalism* describes the ongoing activity of PDs, who've traditionally managed the planning, production, and direction of programs, entering the field of reporting, previously seen as the territory of journalists, to produce and broadcast documentaries that cover and comment upon current affairs. Examples of such programs include the KBS' *60 Minutes of Tracking* (5th of March, 1983–30th of August, 2019) and the MBC' *PD Notebook* (1st of May, 1990–present). *PD journalism* has been praised for circumventing the restraints of a reporting system bound by the press rooms and raising the standards of South Korean journalism by taking a more creative approach to finding and following issues.

When compared to the so-called *Reporter journalism*,³⁰ which is the reporting done by journalists within the broadcasting station,

PD journalism holds five broad benefits (Choi 2004). First, PDs are free from the press rooms of the department or institution, hence they're less likely to collude with power and will not hesitate to expose a scandal. Second, in-depth reporting holds a distinct advantage over the shorter runtime of news broadcasts. Third, they have not received any report writing training, so they're free from the restrictions of a news frame. Fourth, they can spend longer on an in-depth report to deliver richer depictions and interpretations. Fifth, the PD structure has more autonomy regarding the production of programs.

Based on these qualities, *PD journalism*, in other words, investigative journalism, has the potential to overcome those negative practices concealed within South Korean journalism. Indeed, this potential and power are embodied by Newstapa.

Firstly, the coverage surrounding the MV Sewol was created by the passive reporting of "Dictated Journalism" combined with the exclusive and monopolistic nature of the press corps. This resulted in a mass-production of news reports that leaned towards the reasoning or opinions of the government and administrative authorities. There were endless accusations of faked situations. Newstapa employs data journalism to both overcome their difficulties in accessing information sources as a non-profit alternative media outlet and avoid the harmful influence of "Dictated Journalism". According to journalist Kwon Hye-jin, the chief data journalism researcher at Newstapa, by utilizing open sources and *The Freedom of Information Act*, data journalism can gather/interpret ample amounts of data with which to unearth hidden truths (Choi 2015). Their main information sources are not the public figures, groups, and institutions accessed through press rooms, but the data that they dig up themselves.

Secondly, the coverage surrounding the MV Sewol fell into a *state of collective journalism* with a *torrential-downpour of heated coverage*. Their endless competition in pursuit of commercialism had established a policy of prioritizing the news flash and produced a mass of sensationalistic news. Fact checks were omitted and there was a lack of in-depth reporting. By contrast, Newstapa, which might seem like a weekly news

magazine with videos, manages to dig up those issues, which the major media outlets have excluded or minimized due to that fixation with the commercialist competition, then, by delving deeper into their history and context, asks *Why?*, to present an analysis/explanation in answer to the question, *What should be done?*

Thirdly, in 2017, trade unions for the public broadcasters KBS and MBC entered a strike calling for the resignation of the management, but the management at both stations rejected resignation. The concept of "Editorial Rights" was brought up as the main basis for this decision. Indeed, some fear that Article 4 of *the Broadcasting Act*, the Freedom and Independence of Broadcast Programming could be interpreted as yet another exclusive right of the manager.³¹ Being a non-profit alternative media outlet operated entirely on the financial backing from its supporter members, Newstapa may have a good chance of manifesting internal freedom of the press that is so difficult to realize within the more insular and bureaucratic major media organizations.

Meanwhile, the format and content of journalism based around civilian involvement has continued to evolve via trial-and-error. However, each also has its limits. For example, *The Hankyoreh*, founded through The Citizen's Shares System, has contributed much to the democratization of journalism and South Korean society by representing a progressive position within the marketplace of mainstream media. However, the paper's main source of funding is advertising revenue. It is impossible to entirely escape the negative practices rooted within South Korean journalism while incorporated in the mainstream media market. *OhmyNews* shows the benefits of civilian involvement and public journalism through its Citizen Journalist System, greatly altering the structure of production – distribution – consumption of news in a journalism culture dominated by major media companies. But, it may be a little lacking in the expertise required for the journalistic process or in-depth analysis.

Newstapa could be considered an institutional format that has evolved by revising or compensating for such limits. As a non-profit alternative media outlet employing a civilian-involvement-based

financial model, it performs investigative journalism while showing independence and expertise to be its key strengths. Obviously, the physical environment in which Newstapa works is likely no match against the production spaces available to the KBS or MBC. The hurdles that an anti-mainstream alternative media outlet must overcome, within a journalism environment controlled by major mainstream media outlets, are as high as ever. Yet the voluntary aid and support from ordinary people provide Newstapa with both its most important foundations and vital source of sustenance.

Behind the support which *the Candlelight Will* shows for Newstapa lies a history of solidarity between journalists and civil society, fighting for the democratization of journalism with the same spirit seen in that *Declaration to Practice Press Freedom*, a history of voluntary involvement and support by the people, experiencing those successes and failures together, an accumulation of trial-and-error dating back to the 1970s. Then, there is the hope that Newstapa might be one of those equipped to remove the negative practices rooted in South Korean journalism, *the Accumulated Evils in the Press*. Perhaps, in some senses, the build-up of *negative practices* within South Korean journalism, *the Accumulated Evils in the Press*, became the birthplace of some *positive dynamics*, manifesting as the build-up of latent potential and a determination to deal with those accumulated evils.

4. The Removal of Accumulated Evils in the Press and the Construction of a Democratic Media System, a Destination

As stated above, Newstapa and its documentary film, *Criminal Conspiracy* carried the hopes of those ordinary people driven by a desire to remove *Accumulated Evils in the Press* and achieve *Candlelight Democracy*, standing at the frontline of the 2017 KBS and MBC strike. Now, to revisit questions raised in the introduction: Does replacing the management at these public broadcasters means the successful reform of public broadcasting? Will that better the negative practices hidden within South Korean journalism and remove *the Accumulated Evils in the Press*?

According to “the Model of Democratic Media System” presented by

J. Curran,³² the public broadcaster is a Core Media that all citizens can access and share, making it the institutional format with the highest possibility of becoming the Core Public Sphere (Curran 2002: 240–247). Thus, even in our current media environment consisting of multiple media/channels, wherein numerous alternative media outlets have achieved much through the support and solidarity of ordinary citizens, we cannot give up on public broadcasting. To quote that introduction for the film *Criminal Conspiracy*, had “our public broadcasters, who retain the largest journalistic manpower in this country, spewing out the news at over 10 million people per day”, properly performed their roles as a Core Media and the Core Public Sphere, the MV Sewol Disaster and Park Geun-hye–Choi Soon-sil Gate would not have become so calamitous in scale. Hence, Newstapa is wholly justified in its concerns about “a public broadcasting system made mute through the anesthetics of power” leaving South Korean society “stranded”, and it seems simply impossible to refute the notion that reform of public broadcasting is the logical first step on this road towards *the Removal of Accumulated Evils in the Press*.

Incidentally, what or who does public broadcasting entail? Public broadcasting isn’t synonymous with the management. In which case, what were the other members of those public broadcasters, “who retain the largest journalistic manpower”, doing while the very system of public broadcasting and South Korean society collapsed around them? Why couldn’t they do more to expose the internal censorship and unjust pressures exerted by the management? Why didn’t the major mainstream media outlets make an effort to report on those issues? The harmful influence of press rooms and press corps, the harmful influence spread through endless competition in pursuit of commercialism, the harmful influence stemming from a concept of “Editorial Rights” that violate the freedom of the press and autonomy on the field, these and more remain ingrained within the institutional culture and news media system inside public broadcasters. Though they’ve grown noticeably worse during the past nine years, such harmful influences are deep-rooted practices that have attained *generality* and *normalcy* in *journalism culture* over the

decades. As such, the responsibility for these *Accumulated Evils in the Press* should not be attributed to those media company presidents and managers alone.

New presidents and managements were appointed to the public broadcasters, the KBS and MBC. They carry the hopes and desires of *the Candlelight Will* which seeks to remove *Accumulated Evils in the Press*. Now, in April 2018, four whole years after the MV Sewol sunk, they've finally managed to commence a reform operation aiming to repair the damage done by the Sewol Ferry Disaster and *the Sewol Ferry Press Coverage Disaster*. However, this is merely the opening of one door, and *the Accumulated Evils in the Press* cannot be removed so easily. The path to removing *the Accumulated Evils in the Press* may not be found from just replacing the management unless each and every internal member begins by repenting for the role they played as a party involved with *Accumulated Evils in the Press*. They must be aware of the negative practices built up around them, make constant efforts to remove these, endeavor to construct a democratic and transparent institutional culture, as well as adopt a consistent attitude that accepts civil society and the ordinary people as active bodies, collaborators in the construction of a democratic media system.

As described in this paper, Newstapa's investigative journalism, as well as its documentary film, *Criminal Conspiracy*, demonstrated the powers required to map out that long road ahead and lead the journey towards reforming public broadcasting and *Removing Accumulated Evils in the Press*. As an alternative media outlet and a part of the democratic media system, Newstapa's next task is to manifest the unique strengths of non-profit/investigative journalism through further innovations and achievements in a quest to remove the negative practices rooted deep within the mainstream culture of South Korean journalism, *the Accumulated Evils in the Press*.

Notes

1. Gwanghwamun Square in downtown Seoul where candlelight vigils were held referred to Candlelight Square. It is widely used as a term to symbolize the meaning of an open public sphere accessible to everyone, a candlelight vigil, and the public sentiments.
2. On the 29th of October 2016, after the first candlelight vigil was held throughout Korea, large-scale candlelight vigils were held at Gwanghwamun Square every Saturday. Since the first candlelight vigil was far more than expected, it was necessary to organize and run the vigils. Therefore, the Emergency Action Calling for the Retirement of President Park Geun-hye (henceforth, the Retirement Action) in which 1,533 civic groups participated was officially launched. Since then, about 2,300 civic groups and grassroots organizations in 17 metropolitan cities nationwide have expanded to participate. A total of 23 times candlelight vigils were held until the 29th of April 2017, and approximately 17.99 million people (estimated by the Retirement Action) participated in the vigils. The expenses of preparing and holding candlelight vigils were appropriated by donations and support from citizens. According to the financial settlement report on the Retirement Action (the 12th of May 2017), the total amount of collection was 398,157,374 won (around 400,000 dollars). With the Declaration of Dissolution on the 31st May 2017, the Retirement Action carried out in the planning and implementation of the citizen participation and solidarity to inherit the performance of the candlelight vigils. See the Internet official website (<http://bisang2016.net/>) for more information on the Retirement Action and their activities.
3. The impeachment of the president is confirmed by the Constitutional Court's ruling after being proposed by the National Assembly. On the 9th of December 2016, the Korean National Assembly passed a bill to impeach the president Park Geun-hye on grounds of suspicion of crimes against the Constitution and laws. 299 members of the 300 members in the National Assembly participated in the vote, and 234 votes in favor, 56 against, 7 invalids and 2 abstentions. On the 10th of March 2017, the Constitutional Court unanimously decided to impeach the president Park.
4. The 19th presidential election was scheduled to be in December 2017 under *the Public Offices Election Law*. However, the presidential election was held on the 9th of May 2017, in accordance with the Korean Constitution, which stipulates that elections must be held within 60 days of the president's

dismissal. The term of the President Moon Jae-in and his government began the day after the election.

5. However, it was not the first time that demand for the president Park's resignation: Suspicion of the National Intelligence Service's manipulation of public opinion in the 18th presidential elections (2013), suspicions of the cover-up of the MV Sewol disaster (2014), forcing the nationalization of Korean history textbooks (2015), the death of a farmer activist Baek Nam-gi caused by a water cannon (2016), and so on. There have been claims and demonstrations demanding the president Park's resignation.
6. The generalist programming channel opened on the 1st of December 2015. They are TV channels that can organize programs in all genres, such as news, drama, culture, entertainment, and sports on a paid platform such as cable television or satellite broadcasting. There are four channels such as TV Chosun (affiliated to the Chosun Ilbo), JTBC (affiliated to the Joong-Ang Ilbo), Channel A (affiliated to the Dong-a Ilbo), and MBN (affiliated to the Maeil Business Newspaper).
7. Confidence in and support for the JTBC has been boosted by news reports of the MV Sewol Disaster. At that time, JTBC was engaged in news reporting which was completely different from public broadcasters such as KBS and MBC, and major newspapers. The essential characteristics are the choice and interpretation of issues from the viewpoint of victims and bereaved families and relatively substantial fact-checking and in-depth reporting. Even after other news media outlets shifted their coverage from the issue of the MV Sewol Disaster to another issue, JTBC continued to keep and report on the truth of the sinking and the current situation of the MV Sewol.
8. The president of KBS is recommended by the KBS Board of Governors, the top decision-making body, and appointed by the President. The KBS Board of Governors consists of 11 members, including seven recommended by the government and the ruling party, and four recommended by the opposition party. MBC's president is appointed at the Board of Governors of Foundation for Broadcast Culture. The Board of Governors of Foundation for Broadcast Culture consists of 9 members, including six recommended by the government and the ruling party, and three recommended by the opposition party. As of September 2017 when the strike began, current presidents and the Board of Governors of the KBS and MBC were appointed under the Park Geun-hye government. Meanwhile, as of 2018, civil society is strongly

demanding reforms such as the formation of the Board of Governors which has been intervened by the government and the political party.

9. "*Giraegi*" (기레기) is a word that is made by combining *Gija* (기자 – journalist) with *Thuraegi* (쓰레기 – trash) in Korean.
10. As of the end of 2017, more than 40,000 members are paying regular donations. According to Newstapa's accounts (the 3rd of March 2018), the total amount of donations received from citizens over the first year of 2017 was 5,958,180,467 won (around 5,000,000 dollars). Refer to Newstapa's Internet official website (<https://kcij.org/board/notice/628>).
11. In the documentary film *Spy Nation* was tracking so-called the false espionage case of Seoul city officials by Lee Myung-bak's government in 2012. At that time, the Korean National Intelligence Service (KNIS) arrested Yoo Woo-sung, a North Korean defector who was a civil servant in Seoul, as a North Korean spy. Most of the evidence presented by the KNIS, including Yoo's sister's confession, was fabricated. PD Choi Seung-ho searched Korea, China, Japan, and Thailand for 40 months to find out the truth about the spy scandal. In January 2005, the Supreme Court of Korea acquitted Yoo's spying charges.
12. The press strike in 2012 will be discussed in a later chapter.
13. Story funding refers to the introduction of cloud funding in the planning and production of movies. Unspecific people who are in favor of intentions and stories of the movie participate in collecting production costs via the Internet. The names of all the participants were listed on the movie's end role.
14. "The State of Collective Journalism" refers to a situation in which all media enter reporting the same issues and covering the same news, whether newspaper, radio, television, a weekly or monthly magazine and so on (Arai 1979).
15. "The Torrential-Downpour of Heated Coverage" refers to the repeated flooding and stubborn coverage of ordinary peoples and victims in case of an accident, hurting the emotions of crime victims and their families (Waseda University Journalism Education Institute 2012: 183).
16. As of 2015, the total income of paper newspapers was 56.7 percent for advertising, 15.9 percent for newspaper sales and 4.4 percent for the Internet content. The sources of broadcasting revenue are 42.6 percent of advertising,

11.1 percent of sponsorship, 13.5 percent of program sales and 12.0 percent of license fees. The Internet newspaper has 44.7 percent of advertising revenue, 41.1 percent of sub-business and other business revenues, and 14.2 percent of sales of the Internet content. For details, refer to The Korean Press Foundation (2016: 107).

17. According to Lee (2010), “Tendentiousness” means that the article drives users’ understanding or interpretation in a certain direction. It is created by selecting and emphasizing a part of the article’s content as well as the tone and specific frame, and by selectively presenting news sources or quoted sentences.
18. In Korea, there are *The Code of Ethics for Newspapers* (enact 1957, revision 1996), *Outline of the Ethics of Newspapers* (enact 1961). In addition, newspapers, broadcasters, and associations or organizations on the press have enacted and operated ethics codes, broadcasting code, news coverage rules, and guidelines in their fields.
19. The term and concept of “Editorial Rights” has been inherent in the discourse of politics and ideology invading freedom of the press. And so, this article argues that a need to be abolished the term and concept of itself. That’s why in this article uses double quotation marks as if “Editorial Rights”. Additionally, in Europe and America, there are used terms such as editorial independence, edition freedom, journalistic freedom, editorial autonomy, and internal freedom of the press, and so on.
20. Article 4 of *The Broadcasting Act* on the freedom and independence of broadcast programming is that: (1) The freedom and independence of broadcast programming shall be guaranteed. (2) No one shall regulate or interfere with the broadcast programming unless as prescribed by this Act or other Acts. (3) A broadcasting business operator shall appoint a person in charge of broadcast programming, and make an official announcement of his name during broadcasting hours at least once in a day, and guarantee the autonomous broadcast programming for the person in charge of broadcast programming. (4) A broadcasting business operator engaged in general programming or specialized programming of news reporting shall, in order to ensure autonomy in the production of broadcast programs, institute a covenant on broadcast programming, reflecting the opinions of the persons engaged in data collection and production, and shall publicly announce it. Although Article 4 of *The Broadcasting Act* defines the freedom and

independence of broadcast programming, the propriety of its implementation depends on the authority of the president & manager, who can be said to be the broadcasting service operator. In the end, it can be seen that Article 4 of *The Broadcasting Act* and the internal freedom of the press are locked in the exclusive authority of management included in the concept of “Editorial Rights”. For that interpretation and assertion, refer to Jung (2012).

21. The internal freedom of the press may require the freedom of individual journalists to criticize editorial or management policies, freedom of conscience to refuse activities against social responsibility, freedom of choice of professions and demand for professional training (Ishimura 1979; Hanada 2013).
22. In the 1990s, the association became a media civic group called CCDM, and ordinary citizens began to participate as members. As of 2018, there are approximately 6,000 members of CCDM, and about 80 percent of the total members are ordinary citizens. Journalists who were dismissed in the 1970s are participating in the advisors of ordinary members. CCDM has been conducting various activities such as monitoring news and media policies, media literacy education, and so on.
23. *Mal* (말) means a Speech in Korean. Monthly magazine *Mal* which focuses on the democracy, the people, and the public, had been the only media that reported the pro-democracy movement and exposed a News Guideline by Chun Doo-hwan government at the time. Even though it was illegal media, the first issue sold out in just one day. Based on the dismissed journalist’s expertise and sense of balance, it posted news and commentary on the situation of the Korean Peninsula and the unification, trade unions’ strikes, and democratic movements abroad, and so on (CCDM 2017).
24. *OhmyNews* was founded with 200 million won (around 200,000 dollars), four full-time reporters, and 724 citizen reporters. As of September 2017, 86,024 citizens had written 919,194 articles on a cumulative basis. According to *OhmyNews* (the 17th of December 2014), The Guardian reported on the 16th of December 2004, *OhmyNews* had been selected as one of the top five online news sites in the world, with BBC (<http://news.bbc.co.uk>), the *New York Times* (<http://nytimes.com>), *Google News* (<http://news.google.co.uk>), and the *Scotsman* (<http://scotsman.com>).
25. For example, there was a report on *The Nogeun-ri Incident*. When he was a journalist for *Mal*, in October 1994, Oh Yeon-ho reported that about 400

people were killed by U.S. soldiers in the Nogeun-ri area during the Korean War, but nobody paid attention to the report in Korean media. In September 1999, five years later, as the AP reported the incident as a scoop and causing a stir all over the world, the Korean mainstream media outlets also covered it as news.

26. For example, in December 2002, *Ohmynews* introduced The Voluntary Payment System in which readers pay for the subscription, and in July 2009, they began recruiting The 100,000 Members Club. The 100,000 Members Club is a group of volunteers who regularly donate 10,000 won (around 10 dollars) a month to establish *OhmyNews*' independent economic system. According to the Declaration of the Launched of the 100,000 Members Club (8th of July, 2009), in order to citizen participation journalism is free from the influence of the capital, the rate of income paid directly by the reader must be raised to a minimum of 50 percent. As of September 2017, there are 10,427 members joined The 100,000 Members Club. For more information, refer to the Internet official website (www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/payment/pay_hunthousand_main.aspx).
27. It is a slogan that *OhmyNews* had been advocating since its foundation. News guerrillas refer to citizen journalists.
28. See Newstapa's Internet official website (<https://film.newstapa.org/2#about>).
29. It was shown in 48 cinemas, accounting for 10 percent of cinemas nationwide.
30. Unlike *PD journalism*, the term of *reporter journalism* is not commonly used. Among the discussions on *PD journalism*, the relative and latent term used to distinguish the two. Generally, Korean reporters have been critical of the term of *PD journalism* that's why they think journalism is a unique field of reporters.
31. For Article 4 of *The Broadcasting Act*, refer to Footnote 20 in this article.
32. "The Democratic Media System Model" by J. Curran is based on European media and their practices. In this model, Core Media is the central part of the media environment. Private Enterprise Sector, Civic Media Sector, Professional Media Sector, and Social Market Sector are arranged around it.

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The Reporter of Taiwan

**The development of civil society,
 the social movement of media reform,
 and the birth of nonprofit investigative journalism**

LIN I-hsuan

Introduction

In December 2015, The Reporter (報導者) made its debut, becoming the first nonprofit online media outlet committed solely to investigative journalism within Taiwan. It has since gradually gathered support, stabilized its business model, and received recognition for the high quality of its contents both inside and outside the country. Though it was not all plain sailing, The Reporter hit the ground running and judging by its trajectory over the past two and a half years. It seems to promise a much-desired clear stream within the Taiwanese media environment, too often manipulated by the desires of business people or politicians and so easily swayed by the nationalistic dialogue surrounding the issue of independence or unification.

So, how did a media outlet like The Reporter emerge within Taiwan in the first place?

Within the west, media organizations dedicated to investigative journalism, alongside the NGOs and NPOs that support such outlets, arrived on the scene well over three decades ago. In recent years, these outlets have developed into a sort of global phenomenon, garnering attention in both economically developed and developing nations. Their recent achievements include *the Panama Papers*, published in 2016, and *the Paradise Papers*, published in 2017, which will be a timeless testament to the success of international collaboration within investigative journalism. The achievements overcame the barriers of borders and language to challenge the interests of the political and economic establishment. However, a worldwide decline in traditional audiences and readerships, as well as the global economic downturn reducing ad revenue,

has resulted in much of the mainstream media and online outlets in Taiwan to cut costs in investigative journalism. Instead, they put their efforts at the production of news with a focus on speed and sensationalism. Indeed, the collective consensus shared throughout the industry is that the slow and costly process of investigative journalism will soon disappear altogether. However, The Reporter has emerged amidst these formidable conditions. What are the social forces behind the rise of investigative journalism outlets like The Reporter? How has Taiwanese society reacted? Moreover, what possibilities does this indicate for the media landscape as a whole?

This paper does not treat the appearance of The Reporter as an isolated event, but, instead, seeks to analyze the society that ultimately birthed a media outlet like it from a historical, social, and economic perspective. First, having reflected upon the history of investigative journalism, this paper will analyze the threats to this form of journalism imposed by harsh competition in the media environment, as well as the emergence of civil society after the 90s, with a focus on the shifting relationship between the media and the Taiwanese people. Finally, this paper analyses The Reporter, which holds investigative journalism as its sole journalistic output, to study its internal workings from the management structure to its theme selection and editorial process, to consider how the media can contribute towards civil society's right to knowledge.

1 The history of investigative journalism within Taiwan

1-1 The spirit of criticism in the reportage literature

Investigative journalism within Taiwan did not start in the newspaper. Instead, it is distinct for its origins within a more literary format called reportage literature (報導文學). Taiwan's reportage literature refers to a story woven together from the investigative research performed by authors, with literary descriptions or elements added to a foundation of facts and first-hand accounts. While these works based on real-life events, the detailed descriptions and dialogue between characters include strongly literary elements, which deliberately retain the subjective interpretations of its author. In 1935, the writer, Yang KUI (楊逵), visited

areas afflicted by the earthquake in Taichung and Hsinchu to research then release his reportage *A Note of Consolation and Research journey to Earthquake areas in Taiwan* (台灣地震災區勘查慰問記). This reportage became the first piece of Taiwanese literature to include elements of investigative journalism (LIN, Chi-ying 林淇濱 2013).

After a turbulent post-war period, wherein media facing strict regulations, Taiwanese reportage literature came back into fashion during the 70s, after the *China Times* began publishing works of reportage through their literary supplement. A generation of young writers turned their attention to the lower strata of Taiwanese society occupied by workers, women, the indigenous and impoverished, traveling deep into the hinterlands to communicate the voices of those disenfranchised people. This reportage led to a greater awareness of the need for reform and prompted much social upheaval. Furthermore, in 1985, author, CHEN Yingzhen, founded the *Renjian Magazine* (人間雜誌), a magazine which came to represent reportage literature in Taiwan. The *Renjian Magazine*, true to its name, ran its publication under a policy of reporting with a focus on the humans themselves. It displayed a stance committed to reporting about those social realities and minorities that have been ignored or rendered faceless by the mainstream media. The *Renjian Magazine* explored the value of human existence through the daily lives, thoughts, feelings, dreams, disappointments, dignity, oppression, and emancipation of such people. It exposed many of the problems plaguing Taiwanese society, born of authoritarian politics and a capitalist economic environment. For example, issues around environmental pollution, workers, farmers, veterans, the homeless, AIDS patients, underage prostitution and child abuse, it released countless works of reportage on various themes before it finally suspended publications in 1989. Though Mr. CHEN, the founder, had supported its operation out of his pocket, it was still unable to overcome financial difficulties and suspended publications after a little over four years. However, even today, the reportage journalism of *Renjian Magazine* is acknowledged as a forerunner to investigative journalism, which made its mark in Taiwanese society. The greatest amongst these achievements was in connecting literature to

social movements and media coverage, thus allowing journalists, literary writers, and social activists to create a single expressive medium together. Also, the photographs accompanying the reportage within *Renjian Magazine* had an evocative quality to match that of the words on the page, establishing the style of reportage literature through their strong impact.¹

1-2 The emergence of investigative journalism after the 90s and the lack of a heritage

With the advent of the 90s, a softening of regulations around broadcasting and written media then followed by an influx of new media outlets. It was the period in which the democratization and liberation of the press truly began to develop. Faced with a new era, caused by radical shifts in the political and social landscape at the time, the public's demand for information continued to increase, even more so than before. Meanwhile, within the media industry itself, a competition was starting to intensify amongst journalists. Of these, those who had no knowledge or experience of investigative journalism were the majority, yet, a few journalists were aspiring towards the practice of investigative journalism.

In October 1996, a journalist for the *Asia Weekly*, SHIEH Chung-liang, released an article exposing the connection between political corruption and secret diplomacy. It set out the accusation that Mr. LIU Tai-ying, the chairman of the business management committee which supervised all assets and budgets within the KMT (Kuomintang, Chinese Nationalist Party). Mr. LIU had secretly offered a political donation of 15 million dollars to the then president of America, Bill Clinton, for his re-election campaign. This article was an investigation that boldly and thoroughly exposed the corrupt relations between money and politics, to become an exemplary case within the history of Taiwanese journalism. Mr. SHIEH was subjected to a criminal libel suit by Mr. LIU following the publication of this article, but after a lawsuit lasting some three years, the Taipei District Court found Mr. SHIEH not guilty. The court had determined that the constitutional right to freedom of expression

should apply to an article based on thorough research and investigation. In 1997 the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) gave the International Freedom Press Award to Mr. SHIEH and his fellow researcher Ms. Ying CHAN, lauding the case as a victory for press freedom in Asia.²

Furthermore, while working for the Taiwanese weekly magazine *Next Magazine* in 2002, Mr. SHIEH continued to pursue the issue of funds being misappropriated by those within the KMT for covert political purposes. He went on to publish a unique feature exposing the process by which so-called secret national security funds laundered outside the country for the sake of political gain, all under the approval of the then-president Teng-hui LEE. This particular feature recorded sales of 300,000 copies, receiving a great deal of public attention (LIN, C. C. 林照真 2006: 51). As a result, President Teng-hui LEE ultimately made to take to the witness stand in April 2004, and many of those involved in the scandal, including Mr. LIU, were temporarily incarcerated; thus, the existence and illegality of these secret government funds further proven through the trial. However, Mr. SHIEH himself was wiretapped by the National Security Bureau for around two years, then accused of treason, to receive intensive interrogations, investigations, and a foreign travel ban (LIN, C. C. 林照真 2006: 63–65). All this demonstrates the significant personal risks and costs borne by investigative reporters as they perform such vital investigations.

Other than the advent of large-scale investigative reporting within magazines in the 90s, even some parts of the mainstream media, the *United Daily News*, *China Times*, and the *Apple Daily*, for example, created their divisions specializing in investigative journalism following this incident. Although the *Apple Daily* is now famous for its sensationalist reporting with tabloid-style journalism and paparazzi photography, it also put some effort into its investigative journalism. *Apple Daily* included investigations that received much public acclaim, such as those that exposed the manufacture and distribution of defective television products by a famous company. In terms of broadcast media, TV programs focusing on in-depth reporting and investigative journalism, like

IN-NEWS or *VIEWPOINT* within Taiwan Public Television Service (PTS) and *VIEW* within Formosa TV (FTV), emerged to tackle a broad range of social phenomena and issues. On top of this, there are numerous works, amongst the recent investigative reports produced by freelance journalists, which boast an impressive quality and influence exceeding that of the mainstream media (LO, Shieh-hung 羅世宏 2012: 68).

However, though it might initially appear as if investigative journalism has come to take root in Taiwan since the early 90s, many scholars have argued that, on the whole, Taiwanese media companies seem reluctant to establish a real culture of investigative journalism. Journalism embodies the concept of watchdog against power, focusing instead on the pursuit of profit and marketability. As such, much of investigative reporting is more dependent on the ardent aspirations of a few individual journalists rather than any broader organizational teamwork within the companies themselves. It means investigative journalists are to fight alone. This phenomenon is especially prevalent within print media, and, when cost-cutting or department reductions occur in the fourth estate, these lone wolves can often become an easy target to single out for liquidation.

Nevertheless, there is also a movement aiming to counter these fragile foundations and lack of a strong heritage by presenting the necessity and importance of investigative journalism to society. For example, the Vivianwu Journalism Award Foundation, established in 1986, began to provide an In-depth Reporting Award (alongside the old Breaking News Award and Topical Criticism Award) from 2005 onwards. Besides, the Excellent Journalism Award provided by the Foundation for Excellent Journalism Award is the highest honor in the field of press media, introducing the Investigative Journalism category in 2011. Though there were no award winners from print media that year, the investigative Journalism Award within the broadcast category went to the independent journalist Kevin H. J. LEE. His self-produced work, *Unveil the Truth* (不能戳的秘密) exposed the lies of the cabinet department which had covered up the bird influenza H5N2 epidemic. Following this first year onwards, recommendations for nominations were taken from monthly

publications, weekly publications, nonprofit online media, and newspaper companies, gradually reinstating a recognition for the vital role of investigative journalism within broadcasting and print media.

1-3 The introduction of crowdfunding and civilian involvement

After the year 2000, the popularization of the internet meant that owning or working for a newspaper or TV Station ceased to be a precondition for journalistic activity, and this led to new developments within the press discourse. A movement exploring new possibilities for investigative journalism emerged online, in response to that stagnation mentioned above of interest within the existing media environment, utilizing the interactivity of the internet, without introducing the market fundamentalism for which the mainstream media had long faced the criticism. In April 2011, media researchers Shih-hung LO and Yuan-huei HU rose as pioneers to found the Better Press Development Committee (優質新聞發展協會). In December of the same year, they started up a platform called *weReport*, which would seek to connect those with suggestions for particular investigations with a donation collection service to fund those projects.

WeReport is a platform that introduces the concept of crowdsourcing to the idea of public commissioning, encouraging the public to suggest themes for an investigative report, for which it would raise financial resources through crowd-funding, leading to the research and publication of that commissioned work. Its ideas and format were based mostly on America's first crowd-funded journalism site called *Spot. Us*.³

WeReport holds a slogan of "you support, we report" and has a system whereby any civilian who is interested in investigative journalism and has the desire to act on this can make suggestions, exchange opinions and give support. Incidentally, there is a provision in their terms and conditions that any journalist belonging to an existing media outlet cannot be a recipient for donations. The *weReport* management committee does not carry out screenings on whether the contents of a suggested theme should be adopted. They are only providing an essential formal screening and their position on said theme, always entrusting

the final decision and selection of topics to its users, as a basic rule. Also, other than managing the platform, *weReport* holds lectures on investigative reporting and workshops on research, intending to provide experience and knowledge to the general public to establish a circulation of journalistic education.

When *weReport* founded, the central role was fulfilled by what might be called a group of specialists, such as academics, students, and journalists, who were highly aware of the media's problems and strongly desired its reform.⁴ However, as one of those core members, Lih-yun LIN, pointed out, gaining the sympathy of ordinary citizens and people from different walks of life, and getting them to participate, was a significant objective. Although they had 21 theme suggestions, 19 completed works, and gathered 2.6 million NTD (New Taiwan Dollars, around \$86,500) in contributions in their first-year (CHEN, Yi-shing 陳宜欣 2015), approximately 90 percent of these themes are from freelance journalists, and students belonging to media studies departments, with the project still showing not much progress in spreading engagement to those civilians outside these professions (LIN, Lih-yun 林麗雲 2012). Looking at the situation regarding the contributions collected, contributions from media affiliates (such as journalists, media researchers, students in media-related departments) made up over 65% during this early phase. However, the situation started to change as the aforementioned independent journalist, Kevin H. J. LEE became the focus of public attention. Because he had also gathered production funds through *weReport*, the percentage of contributions from ordinary civilians and groups reached over 50% by 2012. Two years after its foundation, there were a total of 30 theme suggestions, and by the 3rd year, this had increased to 57. Now, in May of 2018, there are a total of 83 suggestions spanning topics such as politics, the environment, agriculture, workers, law, the media, human rights, and education.

Moreover, they have received contributions from a total of over 1518 people. *WeReport* could still do more regarding its scope and current level of recognition in society, with many points that require improvement regarding its method of publicizing and publishing completed

works. So far, *weReport* showed the society its existential value as follows: it has built up a cyclical model of positive reinforcement, connecting those who submit problems (themes) with people who share the same interest, and to produce works aimed at civil society while cementing a relationship of trust in the form of support.

2 The history of Taiwanese media and the changes within Taiwanese society

The previous sections have briefly examined the history of investigative reporting and those recent developments within the profession. The following will focus on the media environment in Taiwan and the elements of Taiwanese society from which this type of investigative journalism has emerged. Here, we will examine the results of the democratization and liberation of media that occurred after the 80s, the media reform, and its enactment through social movements.

2-1 The light and darkness of democratization and liberation

Following colonial rule by Japan and the post-war single-party government, the first signs of democratization finally appeared in Taiwanese society in 1987. The event which most symbolized this was the lifting of martial law. This change to the political structure also had a significant impact on broadcast media. Specifically, there was a move to legalize pirate radio and underground cable television stations, in addition to making legal preparations for the introduction of several new radios, cable television, and satellite broadcasts. Thus, the voices of anti-government factions and minority peoples openly broadcasted their voices on-air for the first time. Concerning terrestrial broadcasts, Formosa Television (FTV) was founded by supporters of the Democratic Progressive Party to join the three other established broadcasters, setting up a competition, and providing an alternative to the media discourse previously dominated by the KMT.

Moreover, with the establishment of PTS in 1998, it is also the era of democratization of media discourse and liberation of the media industry in the 80s and 90s. Furthermore, upon entering the 2000s, reforms

were made to remove the influence of parties, the government, and the military from the management of terrestrial television. The National Communications Commission (NCC) was established as an independent government body to supervise the broadcast communication services. Television channels for ethnic minorities such as the Taiwan Indigenous Television and Hakka TV emerged, and, following the 90s, the Taiwanese media environment partly realized the public-oriented reform of the media. The media environment made efforts to escape authoritarian control while laying out a media space in which various channels, various languages, and political objections could freely express (LIN, I-hsuan 林怡燮 2014).

However, although it might have appeared as if the broadcast media of Taiwan was being freed from its adhesion to the political authorities of yesteryear through such institutional and structural reforms, in reality, the political authorities started to manipulate the liberation of the media market place. They used their massive economic capital to infiltrate the management of media in more devious ways, ultimately coming to influence the very being of the media.

With the move towards neo-liberalism, print and broadcast media in Taiwan became intricately intertwined with political and economic powers as it pursued its endless expansion. Some phenomena exemplify this, including the polarization of political discourse, in addition to the entertainment-focused, trivial and sensationalist contents of news reports, and in recent years, the fabrication of news stories, and severe breaches of privacy. All this, combined with facile reporting methods like articles consisting entirely of footage from SNS or vehicle-mounted cameras, are becoming more mainstream. Many of these incidents are not only a major problem concerning journalistic ethics and standards, but also undermine the actual value in the very idea of journalism itself.

Furthermore, the media discourse in Taiwan has another distinguishing characteristic. That is the friction between ideas surrounding national identity and ethnic identity that originated from Taiwan's unique historical circumstances. The former is the conflict between Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism over the issue of independence

or unification regarding political and diplomatic relations with China, specifically, the KMT's support for unification and the Democratic Progressive Party's support for independence. The latter is the reaffirmation of ethnic identity around a central question of "What am I? Chinese or Taiwanese?"

Furthermore, the democratization reconstructed an ethnic order within Taiwanese society that acknowledges the existence of the Hakka people and other indigenous peoples as a minority. Most political arguments or statements, including media broadcasts, are structured around these points of conflict concerning national and ethnic identity, resulting in the polarization of Taiwanese society. Although, on the one hand, democratization and liberation did grant an opportunity to open up society and the media, on the other hand, it caused contradictions and oppositions rooted in the very depths of Taiwanese society to surface, creating a society divided by those different forms of nationalism. Cases often occur wherein various media outlets, which ought to be acting as bridges between these camps, instead deepen the divide by sticking to specific standpoints.

2-2 The media recession and the public's distrust

If the 90s were a period of reorganization for the media order of Taiwan, then the 2000s onwards could be said to be a period of expansion and intensifying competition in the media marketplace. From the 2000s onwards, investment funds and foreign capital, as well as capital from different industries, gained ground in the ownership of print and broadcast media one after the other and moves to acquire, merge, and group media corporations appeared to accelerate. The founding family of *China Times*, one of the four essential papers of Taiwan, acquired China Television, China Radio, and the Central Picture Corporation formerly owned by CTi TV and KMT. In 2007, they formed the China Times Group controlling printed and broadcast media. However, in 2008, due to unprofitable operations, they were acquired by the WantWant Holdings Limited, a major food-stuffs corporation, based in China, changing their name to the WantWant China Times Group (旺旺中時集團). It was the

first acquisition of a media organization by a firm from a different sector in the history of Taiwanese media.

Furthermore, in 2010, the WantWant China Times Group planned to expand its media territory further by venturing to acquire a major cable TV company, China Network Systems. However, the WantWant China Times Group owner's pro-China bias and strongly interventionist stance on media management had aroused some concerns. Many citizens showed their fears that this acquisition would mean a monopolization of the media by the WantWant China Times Group. In 2012, anti-acquisition movements associated with media researchers, as well as nongovernment organizations, like the Taiwan Journalists Association, alongside student groups from various universities held an anti-media-monopolization demonstration, and many citizens took to the streets. These protests from the public were successful, at least in part, and in 2013, the NCC passed a verdict stating that this acquisition would not get permission under anti-trust regulations.

Meanwhile, mergers and acquisitions are occurring in cable TV as well. In 2013, an established firm controlling over 30 percent of the market shares announced its acquisition by Next TV, a Hong Kong-based firm that had gained ground in Taiwan. Furthermore, there was an incident in 2015, where over 60 percent of the stocks to the major cable TV company, the Eastern Broadcasting Company, was acquired by the affiliate of a Chinese company. Many citizens have raised their voices in concern about the influence that Chinese institutions can exert over Taiwanese media and public discourse. Through the process of mergers and acquisitions, the Taiwanese Media is in the hands of fewer and fewer entities, in contrast to the superficial variety of its ever-expanding channel listings.

Within the backdrop of the mergers and acquisitions described above, lies the media's current financial state brought about by the continual shrinking of advertising revenue. According to the data for the first half of 2016, the advertising revenue for media organizations as a whole stands at 18 billion NTD (around \$595.3 million), a 12.5% reduction from the previous year. Both print (newspapers, magazines) and broadcast

(radio, terrestrial TV, cable TV) media were showing a downward trend.⁵ In particular, printed media have shown the most significant decrease, dropping 20 percent overall. By contrast, the advertising revenue for internet media has been increasing exponentially, and by the second half of 2016, it had already surpassed that of broadcast media as a whole.⁶ To survive from limited advertising revenue, many media outlets have seen reporters made redundant and departments reduced in scope. In contrast, the actual content of news reports has changed, with sensationalist journalism, which often produces the most sales, becoming the mainstream. This phenomenon, coupled with the widespread use of a technique known as stealth marketing, promotes anything from specific politicians and government bodies to public events, making fairly frequent appearances, often on the front page.

Thus, through their daily exposure to these phenomena, the polarization of politics, the concentration of media ownership, and increased sensationalism within journalism, the people of Taiwan have developed a deep distrust for traditional media. In 2016, according to a survey⁷ by *CommonWealth Magazine*, the ordinary citizen's trust in journalists was the second-lowest compared to all other professions (the first being judges), with 58.3%. They were answering "no trust, extreme lack of trust". Back in 2009, with a survey⁸ by researchers targeting citizens aged 20 years or older, the answers showed that 60.2% of the respondents "do not trust" the media as a whole. Furthermore, in response to the question, "Political information reported by the media is worthy of interest", the percentage stating "disagree" was 47.3%. In response to the question, "Political information reported by the media can be trusted", 81.8% indicated a response of "disagree."

On the other hand, in response to the question, "political bureaucrats and lawyers care about the political information reported by the media", 64.8% answered, "agree." In response to the question, "Political information reported by the media is often under the influence of political parties and financial groups," the results revealed that 79.9% would "agree." From these results, one can observe how the media is closely tied to political/economic power, the furthest thing from civil society.

2-3 The flourishing of social movements and the emergence of new internet news media

There is a movement within civil society, which voices this mistrust and criticism of that deterioration in the media landscape, proactively calling for reform. Social movements and NGOs with the aim of reforming the media began to appear in large numbers within Taiwan from the 90s onwards. To divide them broadly, they can be those calling for an improvement in the contents of press reports and those calling for structural reform of the media environment as a whole. Examples of the former are the Taiwan Media Watch (台灣媒體觀察教育基金會) (established in 1999, the 'founded' will omit henceforth), and the Audience Media Watch Union (閱聽人媒體監督聯盟, 2003). The latter are media NGOs in which reporters and others involved in the industry are its main constituents. In 1994, following an issue around the transfer of managerial control over the *Independent Evening Post* (自立晚報), journalists began street demonstrations demanding the editorial department's right to freedom within the research and editing process. They then went on to found the Taiwan Journalists Association the following year, advocating for the protection of freedom of the press and the rights of journalists as workers. Others such as the Solidarity of Communication Students (傳播學生門陣, 1994), Terrestrial TV Democratisation Union (無線電視民主化聯盟, 2000), The Campaign for Media Reform (媒體改造學社, 2003) demonstrate on the streets, open workshops, release studies, and publish electronic journals and books to publicize their opinions. While continuing talks with the media industry, working to rouse and gather awareness for media reform within society, they have also made some vital contributions in amending legislative policies relating to the media (LIN, I-hsuan 林怡夔 2014).

Driving these voices for media reform are media researchers, students, and journalists. The universities and graduate schools of Taiwan, which are enthusiastic about delivering specialist education in media, not only research and analyze media activities but also function as bases for social movements, actively working towards social reform from their position in the academic world. Furthermore, there has been a tradition

of university students serving the lead role in political counter-movements and social reform movements from the 90s onwards, with examples including, the Anti-media-monopolisation Demonstration (反媒體壟斷運動 2012), the Sunflower Student Movement (太陽花運動 2014) and the Highschool History Textbooks Revision Opposition Movement (反高中課綱微調運動 2014). In accompaniment to the flourishing of such social movements, alternative media has asserted a significant presence.

The history of alternative media within post-war Taiwan can be dated back to the non-party-political magazines of the 50s and the pirate radio and underground TV stations of the 80s. Now, online media is becoming mainstream. According to the result of research done in 2017, the number of people connected to the internet via broadband has reached 18 million and 790 thousand, accounting for more than 80% of the total population.⁹ From the websites, electronic reports, and blogs from the 90s to the SNS of recent times, individuals and organizations are posting, swapping opinions, and exchanging information about social issues through these various forms of online media. For example, *Coolloud* (苦勞網) is a news media site operated by political activists that highlight issues surrounding ethnic minorities and the exploitation of their labor. *News & Market* (上下游新聞市集), a self-sustaining media outlet focusing on agricultural issues, supports its news department with the sales of its agricultural produce. There are many others, like *88news* (莫拉克獨立新聞網) dedicated to following victims of typhoons as well as the restoration and rebuilding of their local areas, or the university-based *Vita.tw* (生命力新聞), and the *Environment Report* (環境報導) which is run by freelance journalists. These are all representative cases. Some combine filmed and written contributions on their platform, like the PTS's *Peopo Citizen Journalism* (Peopo 公民新聞), providing on the ground reports from the perspective of those directly involved.

Regarding SNS, too, with the recent rapid popularization of Facebook,¹⁰ there have been many cases where individuals and groups have exerted a surprisingly significant influence on society because of the ease with which social media allows them to communicate. During the Sunflower Student Movement of 2014, several graduate students,

dissatisfied with the mainstream media's one-sided and negative portrayal of the movement, started posting report articles on the *NTU E Forum* (台大新聞E論壇) page on Facebook. They started to communicate real situation on the ground, producing articles with their computers on the streets at the scene of the protests and performed the editing and fact-checking process as a group. They provided a constant stream of articles and film footage daily. This reporting on the *NTU E Forum* was a spontaneous act of journalism by a total of 90 civilians with university students as its main constituent. Over 22 days, it managed to produce a total of 1234 articles, acquiring around 125 thousand followers. The social and technological foundations that make up this sort of spontaneous journalistic activity by members of the public, and its acceptance by the public at large, are coming to characterize journalism in the modern era.

Meanwhile, other than those volunteer-based nonprofit operations mentioned above, there has been a glut of professional news sites, called internet-specialist media outlets, appearing one after the other in the last few years (YAMADA 山田 2017). To trace this back, it was the appearance of *Tomorrow Times* (明日報) in 2000 that kickstarted the age of news websites that distributed solely through the medium of the internet. However, it suspended publication due to financial difficulties after only a year. *New Talk* appeared in 2009, with hard-hitting news as its selling point. However, now, it has transformed into a general internet media outlet that also delivers soft news with sections on entertainment, food, and travel. On top of this, in recent years, sites like *The Storm Media* (風傳媒), *Up Media* (上報) and *CMMEDIA* (信傳媒) have emerged one after the other, indicating the arrival of a new competitive era amongst these internet-only media outlets. Many of these have hired experienced staff from existing media-outlets in an attempt to bring professionalism to media reporting on the internet. Most of these sites are dependent on financing from their founders as well as advertising revenue, and each still has many hurdles to clear to build a stable business.

3 The Reporter amid trial and error and the meaning that imparts

Regarding the changes to the state of social activism and the media in Taiwan mentioned above, it is clear that the existing media alone has been unable to fulfill civil society's need for knowledge. Alternative online news outlets and journalism focused NGOs arose to fill that void. Although these media activities are all small in scope, they are growing into something whose social influence is increasing. In this same fashion, The Reporter emerged as a novel type of media outlet, specializing in investigative journalism and, founded on the belief that they could not see a future for such investigative journalism in a business model swayed by the demands of the market, chose the nonprofit path.

3-1 Fiscal resources, Taiwan's culture of donation

The Reporter took its first steps on the 1st of September 2015 (Journalist Day in Taiwan), and it officially came online in December of the same year. Serving as its founder and first editor-in-chief is the veteran newspaper reporter Jungshin HO. He is someone who has held posts at the *Liberty Times*, *China Times*, and *CommonWealth Magazine*, having also served as the first chairperson of the Taiwan Journalists Association in 1995, and as a lecturer at the Graduate Institute of Journalism in National Taiwan University. He boasts a career of over 28 years and counting and has released a large body of work during his life as a reporter. When he was an associate editor at *China Times*, he led the Investigative Journalism Section, which received multiple awards for its works of investigative journalism. During his tenure at *CommonWealth Magazine*, he founded and ran an internet press platform called *CommonWealth@Independent Review* (天下@獨立評論) which was supported by the company to operate without being dependent on advertising revenue. Seeing the phenomenon of the modern youth moving away from newspapers, he had the acute realization that talking to a new generation required new media. As he had always questioned the media's current business model of advertising revenue as the primary fiscal resource, feeling that this model was reaching its limit, he chose the path of founding The Reporter. His ideal model was that of the American nonprofit media outlet dedicated

to investigative journalism, ProPublica.

Using the organizational model of a nonprofit, The Reporter made donations its only source of funding. As maintaining the most minimal structure would require an estimated annual working fund of around 30 million NTD (around \$998,240), Mr. HO first consulted Mr. Tzu-hsien TUNG, a Taiwanese businessman, during the preparatory phase of foundation. Though Mr. TUNG is the president of a company that produces computer and mobile phone hardware, he is a figure who is very enthusiastic about the promotion of Taiwanese literature and artistic activities. He has involved in the funding of and investment in literary arts associated groups over many years. With experience serving as a trustee to PTS, he is a supporter of media and culture. Mr. TUNG sympathized with the founding principles of The Reporter and agreed to donate 20 million NTD (around \$665,500) for its running costs, every year for the first three years. He has given more than this, and looking at the published documents for 2017; there are records of a further 10-million-NTD (around \$332,250) donation. Having given out such a colossal amount in donations, Mr. TUNG implemented a 'Three Nos Principle' of "no ownership, no intervention, no collection" regarding the administration and internal management of The Reporter. In other words, it is the general principle of not seeing The Reporter as something he owns, not intervening in its management or research and editing process, and not wanting any return in the form of profits. The principle later became the basic rule for whenever The Reporter accepts any donations. Furthermore, procedures to accept donations over 1 million NTD (around \$33,225) is to gain the agreement from the donation screening team of The Reporter Cultural Foundation, the parent company to The Reporter.

To follow those as mentioned earlier, 'Three Nos Principle', Mr. TUNG completely retreated to the background, not serving as a trustee or auditor in The Reporter Cultural Foundation, not recommending any staff he liked to the editorial office of The Reporter, and so on. It is because there were significant, high-profile donors like Mr. TUNG that The Reporter was able to take its very first steps as a nonprofit media outlet.

However, thinking about it in the long term, the major problem to be tackled, upon constructing a stable administrative base, is how to increase the donations from the general public rather than depending on specific large-scale fiscal resources.

As a foothold in contemplating that possibility, here we will touch upon Taiwan's donation culture to refer to it in the context of considering the social-economic resources that can utilize in supporting nonprofit media outlets.

The most well-known fact about donations by the ordinary citizens of Taiwan, from recent times, is that over 6.85 billion NTD (around \$22,793,065) in contributions made by them for the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011. The image of the Taiwanese people enthusiastically donating in response to an extraordinary disaster that had occurred in a neighboring country leaves a profound impression, but how much has that donation culture permeated into their everyday lives? First, to focus on the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF)'s World Giving Index 2017,¹¹ which surveyed in 140 countries around the world. Looking at the results gained from the question, "Have you done any the following in the past month: 1) Helped a stranger or someone you did not know who needed help? 2) Donated money to a charity? 3) Volunteered your time to an organization?", Taiwan ranked 52nd out of the 140 (as an aside, Korea ranked 62nd and Japan 111th).¹² Looking specifically at donations to charity, Taiwan ranked 39th, Korea 31st, and Japan 46th. On a global scale, it is not a bad result belonging within the top one-third, the same as Korea. However, it can also be interpreted as a country where donations are not of exceptional frequency. Now let us look at surveys within Taiwan itself. According to the results of a 2003 national survey¹³ published by the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (Taiwan's bureau of statistics, 主計處), around 6 million people had the recollection of making donations of money within the past year, meaning that about 1 in 4 of the population had donated. In fact, according to survey results published by United Way Taiwan¹⁴ in 2011, it could be understood that more than 80% of the subjects of their survey had made donations in the past year, with an average amount

donated sitting at around one hundred USD. Looking at the latest survey results¹⁵ done by an academic institution in 2015, 67% of the subjects surveyed had a recollection of donating, of which 56% had donated to a charity. Furthermore, according to the calculations¹⁶ of a nongovernment organization that monitors the management of charity groups, the total annual amount of donations within Taiwan was over 50 billion NTD (around \$166,372,750), making up about 0.37% of the GDP. We can say that a culture of individuals donating to improve society or help the vulnerable, instead of leaving such matters to the government, has permeated into Taiwanese society to some degree. People's willingness to donate acts as the driving force that instantly gathers supplies and aid when a major disaster or social disturbance occurs.

Also, during the Sunflower Student Movement of 2014, a large amount of equipment, food, drink, and daily commodities was donated by citizens and gathered on the scene in a short period. The support from citizens was becoming the resources through which the movement prolonged its resistance; it is the power of donations from citizens cannot be ignored concerning protesting against political authority or enacting social reform.

Concerning whether this power of donation can extend to the media sector, below will examine a new example *CivilMedia@TW* (公民行動影音紀錄資料庫). The *CivilMedia@TW* is an alternative media outlet that records footage of social movements to encourage civilian involvement. Although it initially set up as a government research project, in 2014, it became an independent corporation and began operating with donations from citizens for funding. It currently requires around 160–200 thousand NTD (around \$5,325–\$6,655) per month to fund the labor costs of reporters and particular contract writers, travel expenses, office rent, petty expenses, and the like. Despite facing several occasions of funding shortages, it has just about managed through large and small-scale donations from supporters as well as through volunteer assistance. Today, they are still putting every effort into reporting and recording from the scene of social movements, maintaining their reputation as a media outlet, which represents the perspective of those involved. These efforts

were acknowledged, and it was given Best Social & Public Institution Award in 2017 by the Excellent Journalism Award Foundation. This example can be an outstanding example for showing that a small-scale nonprofit media outlet dependent on financial support from the public alone can go just about work. However, when compared to America or Europe, it is evident that there is still more room for improvement.

As previously stated, The Reporter funded by large donations from a specific businessman, as well as donations from minor businesses amounting to around 5 million NTD (around \$166,375) and much smaller individual contributions from members of the public, providing an annual budget of 30 million NTD (around \$998,240). Small-scale donations from readers are into two types, a periodic contribution where a fixed sum of money is drawn from a specified account every month and one-time-only non-periodic contributions. Currently, the periodic contributions are at 300 thousand NTD (around \$9,982) a month and combined with non-periodic contributions of around 1 million 400 thousand NTD (around \$46,585). Small-scale donations from readers have reached 5 million NTD (around \$166,375) a year, growing to the point where it is one-sixth of the total budget. When facing the 4th year onwards, increasing the proportion of donations by the public is still the primary goal. Both the editor-in-chief, Mr. HO, and the editorial managing director, Ms. Sherry Lee, have stated that to do this: "the only way is to increase the quality of reporting to gain support from an even greater number of citizens." Can the general public in Taiwan provide long-term support for nonprofit investigative journalism through individual small-scale donations? Perhaps that possibility lies hidden somewhere within Taiwan, where 1 in 4 people make donations every year. On this matter, Mr. HO has stated that while he is not overly optimistic, nor is he despairing.

3-2 The management structure of nonprofit media organizations

The administrative parent company to The Reporter is The Reporter Cultural Foundation (henceforth shortened to Cultural Foundation), and there is an unusual combination of trustees within the Cultural

Foundation. It including university professors, social entrepreneurs, business people, internet media specialists, documentary directors, and freelance journalists. The Cultural Foundation is tasked with managing the operation of The Reporter yet holds a policy of not interfering in its research and editing process. The Reporter has a total of 27 staff members, with an office on the 6th floor of a building in Taipei City. It is a small office with computer desks and mountains of documents filling every available spot. However, one whole wall is glass-sided, so the bright sunlight illuminates the room interior, and the general atmosphere is cheerful.

When it first founded, it consisted of just a few veteran reporters from mainstream media outlets, freelance journalists, and some younger graduates gathered in a single room. Its beginning started with an unexpected incident: they had sent out a recruitment notice for reporters and received a rush of applications from over 400 people. Though they could only hire ten people for budgetary reasons, they secured some writers from among the applicants, to write articles on individual contracts, so that they could secure a plurality of perspectives. The Reporter technically has a structure akin to the traditional framework of a news organization with a management body (editor-in-chief, deputy editor-in-chief, editorial managing director), the heads of each department, and their staff. However, in practice, the management and heads of departments are not absolute authorities, and most decisions about its research and operations are reached in the form of debates and votes at a weekly general meeting, making it closer to a communal organizational structure. Particularly during the early stages following its foundation, there were many instances where general meeting rejected something decided by the management meeting, and such clashes and concessions between the staff were commonplace.

Given that it was The Reporter with high ideals and a strong sense of self-expression that gathered in this nonprofit media outlet, debates around differing opinions were frequent. There were even some disagreements that almost destroyed the unity of the organization. However, it can say that a certain level of shared understanding has

established because they underwent this process. This sort of communal organizational structure and system of building up opinions could be considered characteristic of such early stages within the foundation of an alternative media outlet or any new organization. However, positive effects for the development and maintenance of the organization can last from an environment wherein members can exchange their opinions and divide work more freely without being restricted by hierarchy and pecking order.

Besides, the average young age is another distinguishing feature of The Reporter. Mr. HO, the editor-in-chief, is the oldest, being in his 50s, others are recent alumni from graduate school in their 20s, and a mainstay of the journalists are those in their 30s and 40s. Each provides their generational perspective, all acutely attuned to the various phenomena affecting Taiwanese society, such as labor issues, racial discrimination, and cultural changes. For the younger generations, this involves carrying out their research, with a certain sense of self-reflection on the sort of society that they will see emerge in the future.

3-3 The investigative journalism of The Reporter

In Taiwan, investigative journalism is often used synonymously with the term “in-depth reporting.” However, as the editorial managing director, Ms. Sherry Lee, has stated, there is a significant difference between the two based on whether “certain people are intentionally attempting to hide certain facts.”¹⁷ Many journalists of her ilk possess journalistic sensibility that “something is being hidden,” carrying out the responsibilities without satisfied in merely pursuing the roots of a fact or problem. Instead, they firmly face up to the fact that the fabrications and lies concocted by the authorities and hidden therein can torment the most vulnerable. Indeed, almost all feature journalism and independent reporting ever produced has carried this perspective that places the people at its starting point upon considering the issues surrounding institutions, the environment, or the society they produce. This style of reporting puts it closer to the citizens and those who experience these issues, and it distinguishes itself from the work of the mainstream media.

At its outset, The Reporter's homepage composed of a straightforward design that intended to deliver visual impact, with a photograph on the whole screen and the headlines above it. It has now installed space for columns and reader comments alongside the articles, linking the contents of these columns and articles, as a way to present the reader with a diverse set of perspectives on reports and opinions.

With the number and format of articles becoming more substantial from the second year onwards, a multi-media corner, a corner for photographic and video reporting, were newly established alongside that basic style of a headline and photograph. From the third year onwards, the sorting and listing of editors' picks and article categories became more optimized with lists of related articles. Besides, active effort to introduce multi-media techniques, with footage, CG graphs, data, photographs, and the like achieved to explain the complexities within the contents of specific policies, or the state of specific institutions, in a way that is easy to understand. It aims to gain the readership of readers who avoid long texts and readers who want to save time.

Besides, something that left a significant impact on the media industry from the first year was the introduction of news games. For example; "If I Were the Doctor at An Emergency Centre," a game in which the reader can experience how busy doctors at emergency centers are, was incorporated into the medical feature, "Emergency Life – The Collapse of the Emergency Centre, the Medical Dilemma of Taiwan that You Should Know About." It designed to allow a simulated experience of issues that the doctors at emergency centers face every day, such as staff shortages, violence from patients and their families, and the wastage of medical resources, from the standpoint of those involved. It aimed to form an awareness within the reader that the crisis in the medical field was "not somebody else's business," guiding the reader further into the main text of the report.

Regarding the aspect of interactive communication with the readers, there is a mechanism that collects the reader's assessment of government policies. The Big Platform to Track Tsai Ing-wen's Labor Policy, which inspected the labor policies of president TSAI Ing-wen, was

announced on the 1st of May 2017, in the lead up to the anniversary of the president's inauguration. It carried out a thorough examination of the 18 items of labor policy championed by president TSAI, setting out several criteria ranging from "fully realized," "partially realized," "policy collapsed," to "no movement yet." Journalists would perform the examination, having publicized how they tracked the labor policy and the details of their measurement criteria. At the same time, the readers could respond to that with opinions and criticisms as well as carry out a Satisfaction Rating (five stars being the best rating) for each policy. As a result of the examination, it became apparent that, of the 18 items, only 1 item had been fully realized, demonstrating a significant disparity between this fact and the government's announcement claiming to have completed five items.

The article categories of The Reporter, currently approaching their third year, are mainly based around these six sections: Human rights and society, Environment and education, Culture and art, Politics and economics, International and cross-strait (i.e., relations with China), Life-style and medical.

The Reporter periodically arranges events in which to interact with the readership and other citizens outside of its journalistic profession. During that initial year, it held a "Who is The Reporter?" lecture tour around various regions of Taiwan, communicating the idea and endeavor behind The Reporter to build up a certain level of base support through proximity conversations with readers. Furthermore, The Reporter opened journalist training workshops, radio talks by the editor-in-chief, to talk about the hidden side of social issues and the perspectives on those issues that they have come to see through their research and the points that audiences should know.

It also works on secondary uses for its content by compiling a database of photographic images, as well as by printing paper editions of its articles. An article which tackled the issue of a stateless child born to a female migrant worker from Southeast Asia in August 2016, was awarded the Excellence of Human Rights Reporting Award by SOPA and a picture book based on that story, called *Transparent Kids* published

in February 2017. Besides, the results of the international collaborative investigation discussed in the next section published in May 2017, under the title, *Fraud, Exploitation, Bloods, and Tears of Fishing* (造假 剝削 血淚漁場) with an even more significant expansion to its contents. At this point, of May 2018, The Reporter has published a total of 46 individual feature articles.

3-4 The annual feature and international collaborative investigation

On the 19th of December 2016, The Reporter published its first annual feature, *Fraud, Exploitation, Bloods, and Tears of Fishing*. This feature was a project that took half a year to complete from when the topic first appeared. It is a large-scale report, composed of five long articles (with one additional publication on January 2017) combining CG graphs, audio-visual elements, and photographs.

It began with the accidental death of an Indonesian worker aboard a fishing vessel. The journalists had doubts about the narrative that he had died from an apparent illness just a little over three months after being hired to set sail on a Taiwanese open sea fishing vessel. In their search for the truth, the research team frequented fishing ports around various parts of Taiwan and traveled to Indonesia, diligently questioning anyone involved. Upon minutely analyzing all relevant information, like footage filmed on a mobile phone several days before the man's death, records of the autopsy, the testimony of those other workers, and the prosecutor's report, death by abuse emerged as a distinct possibility. Moreover, this, in turn, uncovered an inconvenient truth about the open sea fishing industry of Taiwan, worth nearly 1.23 billion USD per year, containing over 1650 open sea fishing vessels, which employed countless workers of Indonesian nationality hired on low wages under unjust contracts. Though there were no records of the precise numbers, there were around 40 thousand workers of Indonesian nationality hold false sailor identifications and proofs of skill acquired by bribing government offices. They had been processed through 2 or 3 levels of mediation by middle-men between their home country and Taiwan. These Indonesian workers work according to an unjust contract, aboard

vessels where physical punishment and abuse were a daily routine. The research team reported this embodiment of "modern slavery," detailing its conditions based on solid proof and testimonies, backed up by the meticulous collection of supporting evidence.

Furthermore, they did not stop at merely reporting on the victims who would quickly draw out the readers' sympathy but also studied the course that the Taiwanese open sea fishing industry had charted before reaching its current state. For example, the global issue of IUU fishing operations, the neglect by administrative government bodies that lie behind it, the severe shortage of fishing talent and labor in the field, as well as the structural problems facing the industry as a whole. With the research team interviewing a wide range of those involved such as the Taiwan Fisheries Agency, former captains, chief engineers, scientific observers, fishers, and workers, searching far and wide for a vast amount of data. Through such sequences of reporting, they delivered a story about the people made victim to the lies of the administrative bureaucracies and callous middle-men, thereby ringing an alarm bell for society.

The fact that the seafood we eat in our daily meals as consumers were from fishing vessels aboard on which Indonesian workers were treated as slaves left a profound impression on many readers. The efforts of The Reporter had resonated with them. In the three days after the publication of the report, The Reporter received 200 thousand NTD (around \$6655) in donations and acquired around 60 new periodical contributors. "It was unexpected since we did not think we would gather more donations just because the report was published" reflects the editorial managing director, Ms. Sherry Lee. She says the experience surprised her, that support would come flying from somewhere in society when they put out a good report. At the same time, it also inspired a sense of responsibility that they needed to live up to these expectations.

In 2017, the product of this first large-scale investigation, *Fraud, Exploitation, Bloods, and Tears of Fishing* won the Award for Excellence from the Hong Kong-based Society of Publishers in Asia, SOPA, in both the human rights reporting category and the investigative reporting category. Also, in the same year, *Before Departure: The Taiwanese*

Dream of Indonesian Fishermen, which used CG images and text, won a Human Rights Award in Hong Kong for the Chinese Multi-Media Award. In November 2017, it won the Investigative Report Award at Taiwan's Excellent Journalism Award. Its resplendent record of awards within Chinese-speaking countries testifies to the favorable estimation of its efforts by experts in the field.

One of the critical factors that allowed this Fraud, Exploitation, Bloods and Tears of Fishing feature to succeed was the collaborative research done with Indonesia's local media. The starting point for this international collaborative investigation, which could be considered a first in the history of investigative journalism within Taiwan, was a meeting that the editorial managing director Ms. Sherry Lee had at the GIJN (Global Investigative Journalism Network). This international network supports investigative journalism-related activities. Ms. Lee first met Philipus Parera, the editor-in-chief of Indonesia's *Tempo Magazine*, at GIJN's Asia investigative reporting conference in Nepal in September 2016, where the two exchanged information and opinions, and she managed to gain agreement on a later international collaborative investigation. Journalists from *Tempo Magazine* went to Taiwan and reported the situation in the workplace by interviewing the workers at fishing ports in Indonesian. Furthermore, through the efforts of the *Tempo* side, it was made possible for journalists from The Reporter to interview public administrators in Central Java and Indonesia. Thus, by both sides building a system for international collaborative investigations, they were each able to report in ways that made full use of their particular perspectives.

In January 2017, *Tempo Magazine* published the result of their research as the feature Slavery at Sea: Human Bondage aboard Fishing Boats,¹⁸ inciting a tremendous response. One of its achievements was the Indonesian government punishing 40, 50 illegal middle-men and launching a review to reform the authority responsible for the issuing of visas. Meanwhile, the feature article by The Reporter was able to reach the eyes of more readers by being published on the *Apple Daily*,¹⁹ a major newspaper within Taiwan. It achieved more influence and

results than expected due to events like a supervisory auditor of the Control Yuan (監察院)²⁰ distributing pamphlets of the Fraud, Exploitation, Bloods and Tears of Fishing articles during deliberations in a national assembly before going on to question the head of the associated administrative body.

3-5 The internet firestorm and the response of the public

As stated above, in the two years up to 2017, The Reporter had experimented with various angles and formats, starting with annual features and features, providing a critical and introspective perspective, extending to think pieces, data journalism, news games, footage, and photograph features. It had built up a stable level of acclaim amongst its readers, and looking at the Facebook page of The Reporter, by that point in June 2017, it had received more than 200 thousand followers, with a rating that was very close to 5 stars. It looked as if it was steadily gaining more and more support from its readership. However, in June, an event occurred that shook the very existence of The Reporter.

It started with the suicide of Miss A, a particular young female author with a mental illness. Miss A was a talented young woman born to a family of doctors and having entered into medical school with a university entrance exam score that was top of the country, therefore, at a glance, her life might have seemed like that of an elite for whom everything is plain sailing. However, in reality, she had had mental illness for many years, which forced her to discontinue her studies, and her days became characterized by a repeated struggle against this illness. In January 2017, The Reporter picked this up, describing the stigma given to people with mental illness by society, and the anguish of those suffering such illnesses, within the interview article. After that, Miss A made her debut as a novelist, and her first work was the story of an intelligent and beautiful female student being sexually violated by a teacher at her cram school and then suffering from mental illness. Due to its high similarity to the author's circumstances, it received much attention from the public as the topic of discussion turned to whether elements of the story might be autobiographical. Then, in April of the same year, and

without any warning, Miss A committed suicide and died in the middle of the build-up period for her new book. This incident enlivened the mass media and the internet media for days on end, developing into a social incident, receiving an exceptionally high level of attention, with the “teacher from her cram school,” deemed to be an existing person, and raised as the target for their ire. It even went as far as the Judiciary launching an investigation into the matter. In June, under a social atmosphere of “rooting out the culprit who hounded Miss A into suicide,” The Reporter published interviews with Miss A’s friends and her editor in the form of a reflection on the publication of the novel. Interviews focused on the issues of Miss A’s contemplations while writing her novel, her experience of rejection upon searching for a publisher, society’s skepticism towards people with mental illness, and the relationship of trust between her and her publisher. The account of a particular publisher’s chief editor B, who refused to publish Miss A’s novel, was treated with anonymity within the article. However, Ms. B’s real name was exposed on the internet, and following an internet firestorm centered around attacking her, Ms. B attempted suicide. In the face of such an unanticipated incident, discourses on the internet and mainstream media turned to criticize The Reporter for publishing the original article. With a rush of one-star negative reviews on FB, The Reporter began to face the sort of storm of criticism that wholly denied any value to its work. As an emergency measure, the editorial staff of The Reporter responded by releasing an apology statement and deleting parts of the article.

Discussions and reflections about the propriety of treating something as anonymous, and guidelines on journalists publicizing their personal opinions on the internet, were repeated within The Reporter. Many emotional and insulting voices appeared within this internet firestorm, and there were only a few comments that calmly distinguished the contents of the article, from the witch hunt that was spreading across the internet, to appraise the actual article. It is a case that highlights the trials and tribulations faced by The Reporter, as well as its need to explore the issue of emotional responses taking precedence over reasoned discussion within various parts of the media. The extent to which it is

possible to hold logical debates or constructive opinions in that context, how one might be able to fulfill the role of a rational leader therein, and how to avoid internet firestorms in the future.

4 The possibility and conditions for the maintenance of a watchdog media within a democratic society

The echo chamber is a term that describes the condition whereby people with particular political tendencies and social positions only access media discussions that reflect their own beliefs. People using SNS only to interact with those who share their values to gain a sense of security by clicking Like! on each other’s posts. Despite the great variety of information circulated by the advent of online media, this kind of echo chamber phenomenon has become more prominent in recent years. Indeed, there are many instances where positions and opinions have been solidified within an echo chamber, with differing perspectives being ignored or removed, resulting in various opinions existing in parallel. At the same time, prejudices and stereotyping take the lead, consequently deepening enmity and misunderstandings over critical social issues. Given the existing tendency of polarized political attitudes within the Taiwanese media environment, this echo chamber phenomenon centered around SNS and internet media will likely come to function as an obstructive element upon considering the formation of a shared understanding and consensus within society.

Upon considering the role of a watchdog media within Taiwanese society, the modern watchdog media must somehow overcome such social divisions to create either a place where opinions intersect or a system for exchanging opinions based on rational discourse.

Many of the journalists gathered at The Reporter have always held a keen interest in social movements and minorities. They react acutely to social absurdities and the abuse of power, and they have always worked with the central aim of delivering a blow against social injustice through their articles. Many of their supporters are also sympathetic to this stance. However, the primary task going forward is to dig up more potential readership, without stopping at those core supporters, broadening

their base as an investigative journalism outlet that provides rational debate and collective awareness of social issues. In other words, it must return to the purest and important origin of journalism as the watchdog of those in power, to become something that can once again bridge the social divisions created by nationalism and varying political positions. An ideal media outlet should overcome various ideologies and interests to investigate and report on buried social issues, highlighting those who are silenced by the mainstream ideology, those people tormented by the omissions and failures of the government institution, and those whose very existence goes unnoticed. In that sense, The Reporter might be a potential successor and fresh addition to reportage literature from the 80s, now within the sphere of the internet.

Besides, many of the issues within our global society do not end at a single nation. Indeed, there are instances where removing the border of national boundaries can allow for a more precise grasp of the problem at hand, which captures it in its entirety, contributing to the presentation of a more comprehensive perspective for the reader.

The Reporter emerged as an attempt to create a stir in the old reporting principles based on nationalism and ethnopolitics and the status quo of a media wherein breaking news is the mainstream. It is difficult to find solutions to all those systematic and journalistic issues within the Taiwanese media, based on the example set by an online media outlet with a history of just over two and a half years. However, looking at these attempts to continue pursuing the possibilities of investigative journalism through nonprofit formats, it seems like this new form of media and journalism might provide a hint or two to the reconstruction of ideal composition, in which civil society and the media are firm allies.

Addendum

In August 2018, The Reporter Cultural Foundation, the parent company to The Reporter, held an election to decide its newest board member, as the result of which, one journalist, Yu-chuan YEH received a recommendation from every member of staff within The Reporter and was elected “journalism director.” “Journalism director” is an attempt at something

new: introducing a journalist into the parent company’s board of directors as a representative for the workers. On the 1st of September 2018, Mr. Jungshin HO, who had simultaneously served two significant roles as both the chief executive officer of the Cultural Foundation and editor-in-chief of The Reporter, left his position as the editor-in-chief to focus on his work as the chief executive officer. Ms. Sherry Lee, previously the editorial managing director, took up the mantle of editor-in-chief to serve as his successor. The lead operators of the Cultural Foundation and the editorial office have separated so each can dedicate themselves to the stable management of the organization and the independence of the editing process, respectively. These personnel changes occurring precisely on the third anniversary of The Reporter’s foundation can only mean that its initial phases of laying the groundwork as a media organization are complete. It will be exciting to see what sort of investigative journalism the new editorial office might produce following this changing of the guard.

Notes

1. List of Taiwanese Reportage Literature (<http://tns.ndhu.edu.tw/~xiangyang/report/about.htm>) (access date: 01/05/2018) and C.C. Lin (2006: 237) compiled for reference
2. <https://cpj.org/awards/1997/chan.php> (access date: 01/05/2018)
3. ‘Spot.Us’ is a crowdfunding journalism site that David Cohn founded in 2008 off of 340 thousand dollars in subsidies from the Knight Foundation News Challenge. It aimed to realize local journalism supported by the citizens of regional communities, and San Francisco was its first base. Though American Public Media acquired it in 2011, the site later closed in November 2015 due to unprofitable operations.
4. The funds for the foundation were covered by 1.7 million NTD (around \$56,566) from Ms. C.C. LIN (林照真), a media researcher who had started as a journalist, and 100 thousand NTD (around \$3330) from Mr. Yuan-huei HU (胡元輝), totaling 1.8 million NTD (around \$59,895). Also, a characteristic shared by weReport and its parent company the Better Press Development

- Committee was the fact that most of those involved in its foundation and operation were predominantly media scholars and journalists. Specifically, of the five members within its executive committee, four were university faculty members specializing in media research, and one was a veteran journalist.
5. The report of advert expenses in the first half of 2016 published by 凱絡媒体週報
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The Asahi Shimbun's Foiled Foray into Watchdog Journalism

Martin Fackler

In Japan's public disillusionment following the triple meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, the *Asahi Shimbun*, the nation's second-largest daily and the “quality paper” favored by intellectuals, launched a bold experiment to regain readers' trust.

On the sixth floor of its hulking headquarters overlooking Tokyo's celebrated fish market, the newspaper gathered 30 hand-picked journalists to create a desk dedicated to investigative reporting, something relatively rare in a country whose big national media favor cozy ties with officials via the so-called press clubs. The choice to head the new section was also unusual: YORIMITSU Takaaki was a gruff, gravel-voiced outsider who was not a career employee of the elitist *Asahi* but had been head-hunted from a smaller regional newspaper for his investigative prowess.

Yorimitsu set an iconoclastic tone by taping a sign to the newsroom door declaring *Datsu Pochi Sengen*, or “No More Pooches Proclamation”—a vow that his reporters would no longer be kept pets of the press clubs, but true journalistic watchdogs.

The prosaically named Investigative Reporting Section proved an instant success, winning Japan's top journalism award two years in a row for its exposure of official coverups and shoddy decontamination work around the Fukushima nuclear plant, which was crippled on March 11, 2011 when a huge earthquake and tsunami knocked out vital cooling systems. The new section's feistier journalism also offered hope of attracting younger readers at a time when the then 7 million-reader *Asahi* and Japan's other national dailies, the world's largest newspapers by circulation, were starting to feel the pinch from declining sales.

“The *Asahi Shimbun* believes such investigative reporting is indispensable,” the newspaper’s president at the time, KIMURA Tadakazu, declared in an annual report in 2012. The new investigative section “does not rely on information obtained from press clubs, but rather conducts its own steadfast investigations that require real determination.”¹



YORIMITSU Takaaki

This made it seem all the more jarring when, just two years later, the *Asahi* abruptly retreated from this foray into watchdog reporting. In September 2014, the newspaper retracted a major investigative story that it had published in May about workers fleeing the Fukushima plant against orders. A newspaper-appointed committee of outside experts later declared that the article, which the *Asahi* had initially trumpeted as a historic scoop, was flawed because journalists had demonstrated what it critically described as “an excessive sense of mission that they ‘must monitor authority.’”² The newspaper punished reporters and editors responsible for the story, while slashing the size of the new section’s staff and forcing the resignation of President Kimura himself, who had supported the investigative push.



Reporters touring the Fukushima plant, February 2016

While the section was not closed down altogether, its output of articles dropped sharply as remaining journalists were barred from writing

about Fukushima, arguably the most important news event that the nation has faced since World War II. Thus marked the demise of one of the most serious efforts in recent memory by a major Japanese news organization to embrace a more independent approach to journalism. The *Asahi* failure points to the difficulty of investigative reporting, an inherently risky enterprise in any nation because it seeks to expose malfeasance and challenge the narratives of the powerful. However, the hastiness of the *Asahi*’s retreat also raises fresh doubts about whether such contentious journalism is even possible at one of Japan’s big national newspapers, which are so deeply embedded in the nation’s political establishment.

It was a humiliating reversal by the *Asahi*, a more than 140-year-old newspaper with 2,400 journalists that has been postwar Japan’s liberal media flagship. The abrupt about-face was also an important victory for the administration of Prime Minister ABE Shinzo, which has shown little tolerance for critical voices as it moves to roll back Japan’s postwar pacifism, and restart its nuclear industry. Abe and his supporters on the nationalistic right seized on missteps by the *Asahi* in its coverage of Fukushima and also sensitive issues of wartime history to launch a withering barrage of criticism that the newspaper appeared unable to withstand. The taming of the *Asahi* set off a domino-like series of preemptive capitulations by other major newspapers and television networks, which toned down coverage and removed outspoken commentators and newscasters.

Political interference in the media was one reason cited by Reporters Without Borders in lowering Japan from 11th in 2010 to 72nd out of 180 nations in its 2016 ranking of global press freedoms. Within Japan, critics of the Abe administration took a similar view, saying the administration had heavy-handedly silenced critical journalists. However, while these criticisms carry weight, brute intimidation alone fails to fully explain the *Asahi*’s retreat. The Abe administration has not arrested *Asahi* journalists, or even pursued them in court to reveal sources, as happened in the United States when the Bush and Obama administrations subpoenaed investigative reporter James Risen of *The New York Times*.

What public pressure the Abe administration has applied seems downright tame compared to the much more violent attacks that the *Asahi* itself has faced in the recent past, including the shooting death of a reporter by an ultra-nationalist in 1987.

Rather, interviews with *Asahi* reporters and other journalists suggest the government compelled the newspaper and other media to silence themselves by exploiting weaknesses within Japanese journalism itself. Two of the biggest pressure points, they say, were a lack of professional solidarity and an extreme emphasis on access-driven reporting. Indeed, they say the most forceful pressure came not from politicians or officials, but fellow journalists. At the *Asahi*'s most vulnerable moment, other big national newspapers lined up to bash the *Asahi*, essentially policing each other on the administration's behalf, while also making blatant efforts to poach readers to shore up their own declining circulations.

But the knock out blow came from within the *Asahi*, as reporters in other, more established sections turned against the upstart investigative journalists. The new section's more adversarial approach to journalism had won it wide resentment for threatening the exclusive access enjoyed by the *Asahi*, as one of Japan's national dailies, to politicians and the central ministries. At a deeper level, the investigative reporters' refusal to act as propagandists for the powerful also seemed to jeopardize the *Asahi* journalists' cherished position as establishment insiders, sharing the same educational background and elite worldview as the central ministry bureaucrats who run the country. Under pressure, enough *Asahi* journalists proved willing to defend this insider status by discarding the investigative project and the reporters in it.

"They were making proclamations about the high ideals of journalism, but when push came to shove they tossed those ideals away," said Yorimitsu, who after the Fukushima article's retraction was reassigned to a Saturday supplement where he now writes entertainment features. "When the chips were down, they saw themselves as elite company employees, not journalists."

The result was a bitter reversal for a new investigative section that had been launched with high expectations just three years before, in

October 2011. Former reporters from the section described a heady atmosphere in its early days, as Yorimitsu and his successor, a highly regarded senior editor named ICHIKAWA Seiichi, invited ace reporters from around the newspaper to join. Reporters recalled that the section drew what they described as loners and *henjin*, or "oddballs," who had trouble fitting into the team-based reporting of the *Asahi*'s mainline Political, Economic and Social sections. They said the new investigative section gave them the freedom to range across the *Asahi*'s rigid internal silos in search of topics while also holding them to higher journalistic standards, such as requiring use of the actual names of people quoted in stories instead of the pseudonyms common in Japanese journalism.

"In Japanese journalism, scoops usually just mean learning from the ministry officials today what they intend to do tomorrow," said WATANABE Makoto, a former reporter in the section who quit the *Asahi* in March 2016 to found the Waseda Chronicle, Japan's first NGO dedicated to investigative journalism. "We came up with different scoops that were unwelcome in the Prime Minister's Office." (A half dozen other journalists at the paper, including current and former members of the investigative section, spoke on condition that they not be named, for fear of losing their jobs at the *Asahi*.)

Yorimitsu said the new section was the newspaper's first venture into what he called true investigative journalism. He said that while the *Asahi* had assembled teams in the past that it called "investigative," this had usually just meant being freed from the demands of daily reporting to dig more deeply for details about scandals and social issues. He said the new section was different because he had his journalists not only gather facts, but also use them to build counter narratives that challenged the versions of events put forward by authorities.

"Until 2014, the newspaper was very enthusiastic about giving us the time and freedom to expose the misdeeds in Fukushima, and tell our own stories about what had happened," recalled Yorimitsu, whom the *Asahi* had hired away from the smaller *Kochi Shimbun* in 2008 at age 51. "We were telling the stories that the authorities didn't want us to tell."

Yorimitsu was brought in to take charge of a smaller investigative

team that the *Asahi* had created two years before, in 2006, when it was first starting to feel the pinch from the Internet. From a peak of 8.4 million copies sold daily in 1997, the *Asahi*'s circulation had slipped below 8.0 million by 2006, according to the Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations. (By late 2015, it had dropped to 6.6 million.) The team of ten reporters was an experimental effort to win readers by differentiating the *Asahi*'s coverage.

Until 2006, investigative journalism had been an irregular function of the Social Section, or Shakaibu, which was mainly responsible for crime and local coverage, much like the Metro Desk at a large U.S. newspaper. The Social Section's last truly significant investigative accomplishment had been in 1988, when its reporters exposed insider stock trading by politicians in what became known as the Recruit Scandal.

To lead the new push into investigative reporting, the newspaper tapped SOTO'OKA Hidetoshi, a mild-mannered, charismatic former New York and London correspondent who had risen to become the *Asahi*'s managing editor. In April 2006, Soto'oka created an independent Investigative Team comprised of about ten journalists who reported directly to him. The Team's first big story was an uncovering of accounting fraud by major electronics companies.

When those companies threatened to pull advertising if the story ran, Soto'oka said the *Asahi*'s top management stood behind him and his team.

"We realized that in the Net era, independent, investigative journalism was the only way for a newspaper to survive," Soto'oka said.

However, it was not until Fukushima, Japan's biggest national trauma since defeat in 1945, that the newspaper wholeheartedly embraced the effort, increasing the number of journalists and elevating it to a full-fledged section, putting it on a par organizationally with other, more established parts of the paper.



SOTO'OKA Hidetoshi

Under Yorimitsu, the section's crowning achievement was an investigative series called *Purometeusu no Wana*, or "The Promethean Trap," a play on the atomic industry's early promise of becoming a second fire from heaven like the one stolen by Prometheus in Greek mythology. The series, which appeared daily starting in October 2011, won The Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association Prize, Japan's equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize, in 2012 for its reporting on provocative topics like a gag-order placed on scientists after the nuclear accident, and the government's failure to release information about radiation to evacuating residents. The series also spawned some larger investigative spin-offs, including an exposé of corner-cutting in Japan's multi-billion dollar radiation cleanup that won the prize for a second time in 2013.



"Promethean Trap" column, September 6, 2012

These were promising accomplishments for a new section that had been created to regain readers' trust after the Fukushima disaster, when the *Asahi* and other media were criticized for initially repeating the official line that the government had everything safely under control. As later revelations showed the government had been understating the size of the accident, and covering up potentially damning information like the fact that the reactors had actually melted down, the Japanese public turned on the press for failing to challenge these claims. The result was widespread distrust in media similar to that

in the United States following the 2003 Iraq War, when the press was criticized for blindly accepting the Bush administration's misinformation about the existence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. (Distrust in Japanese media was heightened by the fact that foreign journalists were often ahead in challenging officials and exposing their coverups. At *The New York Times*, my colleague ONISHI Norimitsu and I were the first to give a full account of the government's failure to release SPEEDI radiation forecasts to evacuating residents, a scoop that helped our team win recognition as finalists for the 2012 Pulitzer Prize in international reporting.³⁾

In the hand wringing that followed Fukushima, many Japanese journalists and journalism scholars blamed the domestic media's failure on a couple of factors. One is the press clubs. These are exclusive groups of journalists, usually restricted to those from major newspapers and broadcasters, who are stationed within government ministries and agencies, ostensibly to keep a close eye on authority. In reality, the clubs end up doing the opposite, turning the journalists into uncritical conduits for information and narratives put forth by government officials, whose mindset the journalists end up sharing. This leads to a brand of access journalism that can seem extreme even by the standards of the Washington press corps.

Japan has had flashes of effective investigative reporting, such as TACHIBANA Takashi's exposure in the 1970s of construction industry profiteering that led to the resignation of Prime Minister TANAKA Kakuei. However, these efforts, including Tachibana's, tend to be found in less prestigious regional papers and magazines. In fact, when the big national dailies do offer impactful investigative journalism, they often seem to do so in spite of themselves. The *Asahi* articles that led to the 1988 Recruit Scandal over political payoffs, for instance, were the work of junior reporters in two regional bureaus, Kawasaki and Yokohama, not the mainline Political Section journalists based at the Diet and Prime Minister's Office.⁴

This points to another weak point in the journalism of Japan's elite national newspapers: a lack of shared professional identity. Most

reporters join the newspapers straight out of university, and spend their entire careers within the same company. Few are graduates of journalism departments, much less of a graduate journalism school, learning their trade entirely inside their newspaper. As a result, the reporters' first loyalty lies with their company and its interests, not their profession or some set of shared journalistic standards.

This creates a salaryman mindset that leaves many Japanese journalists unable to resist the pressures that officials can put on them via the press clubs. Journalists deemed overly critical, or who write about unapproved topics, can find themselves barred from briefings or leaks given to other club members. This is a potent sanction when careers can be broken for missing a scoop that appeared in rival newspapers. On the other hand, refraining from independent or critical reporting is the safest way to ensure inclusion when officials start handing out information.

Yorimitsu's journalists said they faced intensifying criticism from within the *Asahi*, and particularly reporters stationed at one of the press clubs, who blamed them for angering officials and endangering access to information. They said the press club-based reporters grew irate with them not just for printing critical articles, but even just for asking a tough question at a press conference. They said some fellow *Asahi* reporters were reluctant to even be seen with them in public, for fear of reprisal by officials or other press club reporters. "Don't tell anyone that we met," Watanabe recalled one press club reporter telling him after lunch.

The section was also the target of growing resentment within the paper. Yorimitsu's "no more pooches" proclamation galled other reporters, who viewed it as an arrogant dismissal of their work. As they roamed freely in search of stories, the investigative journalists frequently nettled other sections' reporters by trespassing on their "beats," or established areas of coverage. The new section came to be regarded as a bunch of self-important prima donnas pampered by top management like President Kimura.

At the same time, the Investigative Section was also making powerful

enemies outside the newspaper by exposing problems at Fukushima. This became particularly true after the pro-nuclear Abe administration took office in December 2012. While other media began to obediently cut back on articles about the accident, the *Asahi* stuck to its guns, making the newspaper increasingly stick out.

“We were being told that the Prime Minister’s Office disliked our stories and wanted them stopped,” Watanabe recalled, “but we thought we could weather the storm.”

They may have been able to do so if the *Asahi* had not given its opponents not just one but two openings to strike.



Top Page of *Asahi Shimbun* on May 20, 2014

The first came on May 20, 2014, when the *Asahi* published what was supposed to be the new section’s biggest scoop yet. Running on the front page under the banner headline “Violating Plant Manager Orders, 90 Percent of Workers Evacuated Fukushima Daiichi,” the article made the explosive claim that at the peak of the crisis, workers had evacuated the Fukushima Daiichi plant in violation of orders to remain by the plant’s manager, YOSHIDA Masao. By portraying Yoshida as having lost control, and workers as fleeing out of fear for their lives, the article challenged the dominant narrative of the manager leading a heroic battle to contain the meltdowns and save Japan.

Much of the article’s impact came from its source: Yoshida himself. More precisely, the reporters behind the story, KIMURA Hideaki and MIYAZAKI Tomomi, had obtained a transcript of testimony that Yoshida gave to government investigators before his death from cancer in 2013. The 400-plus-page document, drawn from 28 hours of spoken testimony by Yoshida about the disaster, had been kept secret in the Prime Minister’s Office. Unearthing the testimony was an investigative coup, a fact that the *Asahi* unabashedly played up in subsequent ad campaigns. Some purveyors of heroic-Yoshida narrative objected that plant workers were being misrepresented as cowards. But these complaints may have remained the grumblings of a few if the *Asahi* had not, just a few months later, set off a completely unrelated controversy about its past coverage of one of East Asia’s most emotional history issues, the so-called comfort women.

That uproar began on Aug. 5, when the *Asahi* suddenly announced in a front-page article that it was retracting more than a dozen stories published in the 1980s and early 1990s about Korean women forced to work in wartime Japanese military brothels. The newspaper was belatedly admitting what historians already knew: that a Japanese war veteran quoted in those articles, YOSHIDA Seiji, had apparently fabricated his claims of having forcibly rounded up more than a thousand women in Korea, then a Japanese colony. (Confusingly, the men at the center of both of these controversies were surnamed Yoshida, even though they were not related.)

Journalists in the *Asahi* say the comfort women retractions were an attempt to preempt critics in the rightwing Abe administration by coming clean about a decades-old problem. (Abe’s supporters include many revisionists who claim the women were not coerced, but simply camp-following prostitutes.) The paper hoped the admission would put to rest a long-festered problem, allowing it to clear the decks for more critical coverage of the administration. If so, the move proved a huge miscalculation. Rather than strengthen the *Asahi*’s hand, the revisionist right seized on the admission to challenge the newspaper’s credibility, and its liberal editorial stance of calling for greater remorse for the war. The

public pillorying, led by the prime minister himself, grew so intense that the internal magazine of the Foreign Correspondents Club of Japan ran a cover story entitled: "Sink the *Asahi*!"

"It is a fact that its misreporting has caused numerous people to feel hurt, sorrow, suffering and outrage," Abe told a Lower House budget committee on Oct. 3, 2014. "It has caused great damage to Japan's image."

It was at the peak of this maelstrom, when the *Asahi* was on the ropes, that the criticism of its Fukushima-Yoshida scoop suddenly became national news. In late August 2014, the *Sankei Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, both pro-Abe newspapers on the political right, obtained copies of Yoshida's secret testimony, which they used to make reports challenging the version of events put forth by the *Asahi*. "*Asahi* Report of 'Evacuating Against Orders' At Odds With Yoshida Testimony," the *Yomiuri*, the world's largest newspaper with 9 million readers, declared in a front-page headline on Aug. 30. The wire service Kyodo News also got a copy. In addition, the normally liberal *Mainichi Shimbun* also used the testimony to try to discredit the *Asahi*.

According to these stories, the *Asahi*'s epic scoop had gotten it wrong. While the *Asahi* seemed to imply that the plant workers had knowingly ignored Yoshida's orders, the newly obtained copies of his testimony showed that in fact he had said that his orders had simply failed to reach the workers in the confusion. The other newspapers used this revelation to link the *Asahi*'s Fukushima coverage to its comfort women coverage, accusing the paper of once again sully Japan's reputation, this time by inaccurately portraying the brave Fukushima workers as cowards. (Whether the *Asahi* actually got the story wrong is debatable, since its original article never actually stated that the withdrawing workers knowingly violated Yoshida's orders; however, it did fail to include the manager's statement that his orders had not been properly relayed, an omission that could lead readers to draw the wrong conclusion.)

The fact that two pro-Abe newspapers and Kyodo News had suddenly and in quick succession obtained copies of Yoshida transcript has led to widespread suspicions—never proven—that the Prime Minister's Office leaked the documents for them to use against the *Asahi*. True or not, the

news outlets seemed eager to serve the purposes of the administration, perhaps to improve their own access to information, or to avoid suffering a similar fate as the *Asahi*.

At least one newspaper also saw the *Asahi*'s woes as a chance to steal its readers. The *Yomiuri* stuffed glossy brochures in the mailboxes of *Asahi* subscribers blasting it for tarnishing Japan's honor, while puffing up the *Yomiuri*'s own coverage of the comfort women, glossing over the fact that it had also published stories about comfort women based on the same discredited testimony. This attempt to poach readers, dubbed "Project A" within the *Yomiuri*, ultimately backfired as both newspapers lost circulation.

Despite the growing pressure, *Asahi* journalists say the newspaper initially intended to defend its Fukushima-Yoshida scoop, going so far as to draw up a lengthy rebuttal to its critics that was to have run on page one in early September. As late as Sept. 1, Ichikawa, who headed the Investigative Section at that time, was still telling his reporters that the newspaper was ready to fight back.

"The government is coming after the Special Investigative Section," he said in a pep talk, according to Watanabe and others who were present.

"The *Asahi* will not give in." However, that rebuttal was never published. Instead, President Kimura surprised many of his own reporters with a sudden about face, announcing at a snap press conference on Sept. 11 that he was retracting the Fukushima-Yoshida article. Reporters say the newspaper's resolve to defend the scoop had crumbled when resentful journalists within the newspaper began an internal revolt against the article and the section that produced it.

The newspaper was also starting to exude the whiff of panic, as sales staff warned of steep declines in readership and advertising after the scandals. This was happening as media peers were ganging up on the *Asahi*, making the newspaper feel isolated and vulnerable. One *Asahi* reporter, KITANO Ryuichi, said this had a bigger psychological effect on the newspaper's decision making than any pressure from the prime minister.

"We found ourselves standing all alone," said Kitano, one of the

reporters who had investigated YOSHIDA Seiji's claims for the 2014 retraction. "The administration didn't even have to criticize us because the media did it for them."



Retraction of Fukushima-Yoshida article
by *Asahi* September 12, 2014

The *Asahi*'s official line is that the Fukushima-Yoshida story was just too flawed to defend. The new president, WATANABE Masataka, has talked about the importance of investigative journalism. The *Asahi* made a comeback of sorts in 2017, when it set off a damaging political scandal by exposing a deal in which an Osaka school with ties to Prime Minister Abe and his wife was allowed to buy public land at a steep discount.

However, scholars and former section reporters say the newspaper will not be able to resume the deeply reported, narrative-challenging reporting that set the Investigative Section apart. Reporters like Yorimitsu say they were punished to mollify detractors, a decision that will discourage others in the future from taking the same risks inherent in investigative reporting. While the paper did expose the questionable land deal, they said that the *Asahi* as a whole has lapsed back into the old, access-driven ways of Japan's mainstream journalism at a time when steepening falls in subscription rates at all national newspapers show that the public actually desires something different.

"The *Asahi* retreated from its experiment in risky, high-quality journalism, back into the safety of the press clubs," said HANADA Tatsuro, a professor of journalism at Waseda University in Tokyo. Hanada was so dismayed by the *Asahi*'s retreat that he helped found the Waseda Chronicle in 2016. "It makes me think that the days of Japan's huge national newspapers may be numbered."

Related articles in *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*

- Sven Saaler, Nationalism and History in Contemporary Japan
<https://apjif.org/2016/20/Saaler.html>
- Akiko Takenaka, Japanese Memories of the Asia-Pacific War: Analyzing the Revisionist Turn Post-1995
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Waseda Chronicle in Japan

A short history from its founding journalist

WATANABE Makoto

1 Breaking free from Japan's established media

1-1 Fudging the circulation numbers

With over 53 million copies printed, Japanese newspapers reached their highest circulation in 1997. Roughly half the population subscribed to one paper or another. By 2019, that figure fell to about 37 million copies, 70% of the peak.

But the real number of papers delivered to readers is lower. In 2016, I examined *Asahi Shimbun* internal documents showing the paper's sales figures: "Remaining copies" not delivered to subscribers made up over 20% of distribution agencies' stock, with the figure expected to increase to 30% in the near future. In 2020, I spoke with a newspaper sales agent who told me that business is tough because newspaper companies pressure them into accepting more copies than demand requires.

Ad revenue is the reason why a greater number of copies are printed than delivered—more copies, more revenue. The excess copies help newspapers maintain their profits by making it seem as though the ads are reaching a larger audience. Corporations taking out ads are not informed of this discrepancy. Japan's traditional media may decry fake news, but when it comes to readership, they are far from honest.

As business worsens, fudging the circulation numbers isn't the only way newspaper companies flirt with fraud. After filing a freedom of information request with Japan's National Consumer Affairs Center, Waseda Chronicle learned that the center receives roughly 5,000 complaints regarding newspaper sales per year. A significant number of these complaints related to seniors, living alone and with impaired cognitive functions, who had been convinced to subscribe to multiple newspapers.

I interviewed an elderly woman living by herself on a meager pension; she wasn't as sharp as she used to be. And she had subscribed to three of Japan's national daily papers: the *Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, and *Mainichi*. One day, her daughter came to visit and happened to notice that her mother was being inundated with print news. She quickly contacted the sales agencies to cancel the subscriptions.

In 2019, the Japan Post Group was found to be selling life insurance to elderly with compromised cognitive functions. The mass media panned the scheme without exception. Pot, meet kettle.

1-2 Pseudo success in sales

Although the decay of Japan's newspapers in the last quarter-century may seem extreme, to my eyes it is not a material change. Circulation numbers have never been an indicator of the news makers' tenacity or the news readers' engagement.

The prolific circulation of Japan's national dailies has not been earned through achievements in journalism. Instead, the figures are a result of extensive and effective sales activities, centered on the door-to-door distribution system. A former president of the Yomiuri Shimbun, which is said to have the highest circulation in the world, once boasted that he could sell newspapers without a single word printed on them.

Before entering university, I worked for a time at a newspaper distribution agency. In pursuit of new subscribers, the other sales staff and I gave away complimentary laundry detergent and kept a sharp eye out for moving trucks. But what my colleagues didn't have an eye for was the content of the papers they were trying so desperately to sell. They hardly ever cracked one open. Their pitches never included an explanation of what news and opinions it conveyed. What kind of salesperson can't explain their own product? Still, I think what I saw was the norm rather than the exception. The impressive circulation numbers of Japan's national dailies were achieved by effective sales networks, a world apart from journalism itself.

1-3 Toasting too soon

However, the reporters themselves are often unaware that success in sales does not equate success in journalism. I know: As much as it pains me to say it, I have been among their number.

For example, during my time at the *Asahi*, if a big scoop by my colleagues and I made the morning edition front page, we would crack open drinks in the editorial department as soon as production finished. Usually, that was around 1:40 a.m. Readers hadn't even read the story yet; who knew what their reaction would be. We were simply celebrating our story making the front page of a national paper. As if it were a game. If we journalists had remembered who we were supposed to serve, we would have celebrated a story sparking a reaction, no matter what page or edition it was carried on. What meaning does a front-page story have if it generates no response? It was as if we were playing baseball to an empty stadium but eagerly congratulating ourselves on our sporting prowess.

Press club membership is also sometimes mistaken for journalistic achievement. These press clubs are housed within government offices, and the reporters who belong to them are, by design, the first to hear of any news the government agencies want to release. With a reporter's badge, a certain number of which are allocated to media companies, reporters can freely enter the National Diet building, the Diet members' office building, ministries, and various companies. But government agencies and offices are there for the benefit of all taxpayers. Is it fair that only members of specific media companies enjoy such access?

Reporters sometimes even have chauffeurs. It may be normal practice for a company president or executives to be driven around in swanky black cars, but I think most would agree that for an average reporter it's odd. The *New York Times* Tokyo bureau is housed in the same building as the *Asahi* head office. A *Times* bureau member once told me that, when he first came to the office, he "was shocked by how young the *Asahi*'s executives were" after seeing a string of youthful reporters get into company cars.

Japan's reporters are a privileged group. Many members of the public

are critical of the special treatment that the reporters themselves take for granted. But, enjoying the perks of their profession, Japan's reporters remain obviously out of step with those they are meant to serve.

It reminds me of the tale of *Urashima Taro*. The titular protagonist rescues a turtle, who, as thanks, takes him to the undersea palace Ryugu-jo. The palace is full of wonders, and each of its four sides manifests a different season. But time moves slower under the sea, and by the time Urashima Taro returns home, everything he knew is long gone.

If Japan's reporters are luxuriating in their own undersea palace, disconnected from the world above, then who led them there in the first place?

1-4 Deceiving the people

Following the Manchurian Incident in 1931, Japan's newspapers used their coverage of the war to expand their readership. During this period, many grew into the major outlets we know today. But their reportage merely consisted of repeating "imperial headquarters announcements" crafted by the government and military as quickly as possible, passing propaganda on to the public. They learned that acting as messengers for the powerful was the surest way to increase their profits. And so, Japan's reporters settled into their palace under the sea.

In 1945, a young kamikaze pilot named UEHARA Ryoji understood how the government and military used the media to deceive and control the people. A university student before being drafted into the military, on February 7—about three months before his death—Uehara wrote about the "authoritarians" who had spurred Japan into the desperate Pacific War.

"They deceived the ignorant public and used the war to secure their own positions. Naturally, that meant sacrificing the people of the country.

"Although they conspired to use journalism to fool the public and serve their own ends, they must still bow before the natural consequences." (Note 1)

On May 11, 1945, Uehara died at 22 in the coastal waters of Okinawa.

1-5 Establishing a foothold

Although millions lost their lives in the Pacific War, the Japanese media's relationship to power lived on. I entered *The Asahi Shimbun* in 2000. As the years passed, I increasingly felt that reporters, including those in my own workplace, were living in a "Ryugu-jo" prepared for them by the powerful.

Housed inside government agencies, the press clubs, in particular, reminded me of the palace under the sea. Press club reporters have open access to press conferences with ministers and governors, and they're always being given new materials. Although it might seem as though the press club reporters are being waited on hand and foot, in reality there is little substance to the information they are given. Freedom of information requests, which government agencies are required by law to answer, often unearth documents not provided to the press clubs. These instances make it all the more obvious that the clubs are only given scraps.

I realized I would rather pursue investigative journalism than be a press club reporter. Investigative journalists don't just relay information given to them by the authorities, they conduct independent reporting to uncover hidden facts. And investigative journalism's purpose isn't to be first to publish information that will duly appear in all the papers, it is to reveal information kept secret by the powerful. But each time I told my superiors or colleagues at the *Asahi* that I was interested in investigative journalism, this is what I heard in reply.

"You can't do investigative journalism without first establishing a solid foothold in the government and police press clubs."

"Establishing a foothold" meant building personal connections with members of the government and police through the press clubs and developing a deep knowledge of their fields.

That didn't sound like investigative journalism to me. There's a difference between becoming familiar with a given field and becoming familiar with the government agency that handles it. It's the difference, for example, between a "crime reporter" and a "police reporter." A crime reporter interviews not only members of the police but other relevant

individuals, including those directly affected by the crime. They examine what led to the incident and how to prevent similar cases from occurring. They even consider whether the perpetrator will be able to reintegrate with society after serving time. A police reporter, on the other hand, focuses on the police's investigations; the climax of their reporting is a suspect's arrest.

It is entirely possible to conduct deep investigations without "establishing a foothold" in the press clubs. You can still build an information network within the relevant agencies. But what's important is to compare the information you receive from said agencies with other sources; that's what's missing in the press club system. With both feet planted firmly in the press clubs, reporters have no freedom to grow into investigative journalists.

1-6 Time to go

I decided to leave Ryugu-jo—the comfortable, confined world of Japan's mass media—in 2015.

The *Asahi's* special investigative section, to which I belonged, had been trying its hand at investigative journalism without relying on the press club system. But in 2014, the experiment failed, with the retraction of an article on the Fukushima nuclear disaster. The paper shrank into its shell and stopped publishing bold stories. I had been planning to write a series of articles on collusion between pharmaceutical companies and doctors; although the first story was released in April 2015, the series was soon called off.

The Fukushima article and series on pharmaceuticals were killed not because of any specific managers but because of problems inherent in the industry. For example, in the case of the Fukushima article, citizens and lawyers claimed that its retraction was unfair and incomprehensible; they even submitted a written complaint to the paper. But the majority of reporters at other outlets kept their mouths shut. *Asahi* executives held an internal meeting to explain the situation to employees. I tried to demand answers of them then, but was later cautioned by my supervisor not to press the issue. Although the meeting had been

attended by hundreds of employees anxious to understand what was happening at their own organization, only a handful actually asked questions.

Executives trying to save their own skin is not a particularly unique phenomenon. But in this instance, the objections from the *Asahi's* reporters were beyond feeble. Journalists have to face down politicians and corporations, but they couldn't even speak their mind in their own organization. This was the kind of journalist the Japanese media environment had created. What would happen to me if I stayed?

I knew I had to leave the *Asahi*.

2 Founding an investigative newsroom

2-1 Beginning with the Waseda Investigative Journalism Project

Around the time the *Asahi* was rolling back its investigative reporting following the Fukushima article's retraction, I began visiting the Waseda University Institute for Journalism. Sociology Professor HANADA Tatsuro led the institute, and skilled journalists from various news organizations were involved as visiting researchers. It became a sort of gathering place for those envisioning a different future for journalism in Japan.

"Just stewing in our frustration with the mass media won't change anything," we said to each other. "We've got to do something about it."

In August 2015, I visited South Korea to check out some of the emerging independent newsrooms in the country.

Among them, the Korean Investigative Journalism Center (KIJC) Newstapa had the greatest impact on me. Newstapa was founded in 2012 by journalists from the public broadcasters KBS and MBC who had been demoted or fired from their positions due to pressure from the administration of President LEE Myungbak. In its early years, every time Newstapa broke a story, more and more citizens signed up to be monthly donors. Currently, the organization has roughly 30,000 donating members. Supported by ordinary people, Newstapa's investigative journalism is free from pressure from advertisers.

After visiting the Newstapa office, in the evening I went out for drinks

with editor-in-chief KIM Yongjin. Over a bottle of soju, Kim encouraged me to quit the *Asahi* and found a new newsroom.

Although Newstapa's success inspired me, I could see one major impediment to replicating it: money. I had no start-up capital and little faith that Japan's underdeveloped donation culture could support an investigative journalism nonprofit.

Still, I wanted to try. Japan's mass media avoids investigative journalism because it takes time and money and carries the risk of lawsuits, but I wanted to prove that it could be done. In the internet age, the mass media no longer has a monopoly on the purveying of information. But investigative journalism is still a field in which professionals can render an indispensable public service.

Upon returning to Japan, I shared my thoughts with Professor Hanada. "I've been waiting for journalists to take action and start their own initiative here in Japan," he said happily. And so, the Waseda Investigative Journalism Project (WIJP) was born, housed in the university institute. I resigned from the *Asahi* in March 2016, and WIJP began the same month.

However, that didn't mean Waseda University had agreed to foot the bill; we would have to fundraise for ourselves. Our chicken-or-the-egg debates over whether funding or results should come first went round and round. In the end, I decided to prioritize producing investigative journalism over fundraising. Japan had neither a strong donation culture nor any preceding examples of nonprofit investigative newsrooms. I felt it was important to show people what they would be supporting before asking for contributions.

2-2 Our first series, "Journalism for Sale"

A little less than a year after WIJP began its activities, on Feb. 1, 2017, we released our first article under the name Waseda Chronicle. The series, "Journalism for Sale," revealed how advertising giant Dentsu, pharmaceutical companies, and Japan's newswire Kyodo News colluded to publish compensated articles—not marked as such—promoting

pharmaceuticals. The series was the result of an almost year-long investigation.

Why did we launch with "Journalism for Sale"? The answer lies in Waseda Chronicle's values and mission.

First of all, Waseda Chronicle aims to assist those victimized by the powerful and prevent others from being victimized in turn. With "Journalism for Sale," we wanted to ensure readers knew that these compensated articles were designed to sell something, so that they could make more informed choices about their health. Often, the articles did not include sufficient information about side effects or other facts inconvenient to the pharmaceutical companies trying to make a sale. Leaving out information about side effects could have dangerous consequences. The articles were presented as objective news, with no mention that they were paid promotions. Patients, desperately searching for information to improve their condition, were being misled.

The second reason for beginning with "Journalism for Sale" was to show that, if it is in the public interest, Waseda Chronicle is not afraid to tackle taboo subjects that Japan's established media wouldn't touch. As an advertising giant, Dentsu has the power to withhold ad money from media outlets like newspapers and broadcast networks. As such, the mass media wouldn't dream of running a negative story about Dentsu. I knew we had to publish "Journalism for Sale" precisely because the for-profit media couldn't do it.

"Journalism for Sale" generated a huge response from readers. To cover operating costs, we ran a crowdfunding campaign concurrently with the series. We aimed to raise 3.5 million yen. We received 5.5 million (about \$52,000).

2-3 Leaving the university to become a nonprofit

Although Waseda Chronicle began as a project of the Waseda University Institute for Journalism, exactly one year after releasing our first article, Waseda Chronicle left the university to become a nonprofit in February 2018. I became both editor-in-chief of the newsroom and executive director of the nonprofit.

We left Waseda University in order to clarify who determined and took responsibility for our work. While part of the university's journalism institute, I could call myself editor-in-chief, but I was really no more than a project leader. If Waseda Chronicle were sued over our reporting, who would take responsibility? Even though we clarified on our website that it would be me, as editor-in-chief, there was still a possibility that the plaintiff would come after the university. In order to become a truly independent newsroom, we had to ensure that the editor-in-chief had sole responsibility for what was published.

In terms of who had authority over our work, at the university we had to receive approval for a range of matters and were unable to sign contracts with anyone outside the university. But Waseda Chronicle was not just aiming to produce investigative journalism, we were aiming to develop a business model that would sustain it. The freedom to quickly and flexibly implement fundraising activities was only possible by leaving the university and becoming a nonprofit.

2-4 Waseda Chronicle's investigative journalism

As of July 2020, Waseda Chronicle has 15 members. Our team includes professional journalists, of course, but we also have aspiring journalists still in university and members with experience starting their own business. The addition of our English editor means we now publish bilingually. All our members joined Waseda Chronicle because they want to help build an independent, investigative newsroom that works to end abuses of power.

Our pamphlet lists Waseda Chronicle's five promises to our readers.

(1) We will continue reporting until the situation changes.

Waseda Chronicle aims for our work to have a positive impact by ending abuses of power. We choose the subjects of our investigations with an eye to finding solutions to problems affecting society. Once we begin reporting on a topic, we will continue to do so until we create change.

(2) We always put time and effort into our work.

Investigative journalism requires significant time and effort. Through extensive research, interviews, and discussion with sources, we obtain and report on information that would otherwise not have come to light.

(3) We are continuously honing our skills.

Investigative journalism requires specific skills. Without becoming complacent, we will continue to hone our abilities in order to produce world-class journalism.

(4) We don't self-censor.

We will always act based on journalistic ethics, and our investigations and reporting won't hold back, no matter who or what their subject may be.

(5) Our supporters are our compatriots.

We hope our supporters will see themselves as compatriots helping us make positive change. On behalf of our supporters, we will dedicate ourselves to our investigations and reporting based on our shared understanding of what social issues need to be addressed.

Under these five promises, Waseda Chronicle has released 15 series in the three and a half years since we began. Through the creation of a publicly available database, the first of its kind in Japan, we revealed payments from pharmaceutical companies to doctors. We exposed the police's unregulated collection of DNA for virtually any offense as they create a "suspect DNA database" 1.2 million profiles strong. And we reported on the disappearance of a Japanese nuclear scientist potentially abducted by North Korea.

Waseda Chronicle is the only Japanese newsroom to become a member of the Global Investigative Journalism Network. International collaborations are an indispensable part of our work. Corporations and governments act across national borders; journalists cannot hope to

hold them to account if we only conduct investigations and share findings within our respective countries. At Waseda Chronicle, we see ourselves as an international investigative newsroom based in Tokyo.

With Newstapa and the Indonesian magazine *Tempo*, we reported on the construction of pollution-belching coal-fired power plants in Indonesia by Japanese and South Korean corporations. In partnership with *The Guardian*, we examined the phenomenon of solitary deaths in public housing complexes, as members of the generation that supported Japan's economic growth face poverty in their old age. Together with the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, we reported on how international tobacco giant Philip Morris promotes its heated tobacco product IQOS as a better alternative to continued smoking, despite there being no conclusive evidence to back up that assertion.

Our work has made an impact. For example, we revealed that, following World War II, the Japanese government implemented a program of forced sterilization of individuals with disabilities, with prefectures competing to perform the most sterilizations. As a result of other media picking up the story following our reportage, the ABE Shinzo administration offered an official apology to victims, and a law was passed granting them financial compensation. As a result of our first series, "Journalism for Sale," Dentsu promised at its shareholders meeting to review its business practices, and Kyodo News said it would no longer publish compensated articles. The South Korean corporation involved in power plant construction in Indonesia announced in the National Assembly that it would be withdrawing from the project. Japan's National Diet even used our database showing payments from pharmaceutical companies to doctors.

Despite these successes, Waseda Chronicle is still strapped for cash. Our main revenue streams are monthly donating members, one-time donations, crowdfunding, and grants from domestic and overseas foundations. But even taken as a whole, these funding sources are not enough to support Waseda Chronicle's sustainable growth. Although we had hoped that monthly donors would be able to cover operating

costs, even three years on, we only have around 200 of them. That's less than one percent of Newstapa's donor base, which had so inspired me.

As a result, Waseda Chronicle's members must work other jobs to make ends meet. Currently, I am the only full-time staff. Investigative journalism requires an enormous amount of work even at the best of times, but our team members are unable to give it their undivided attention. Although passion and ideals have sustained them up to now, I worry that our members are in danger of burning out unless Waseda Chronicle's financial situation improves.

3 Current challenges and future direction

3-1 Civil society engagement

When I visited Newstapa in 2016 and committed to founding Waseda Chronicle, my calculations were as follows: "Newstapa has 40,000 donors [it now has fewer]. And 80,000 South Koreans donate to some news organization or another. Although it's true that Japan doesn't have a robust donation culture like South Korea, at 120 million its population is twice as big. And Japan has no other donation-funded, nonprofit, investigative newsrooms, so Waseda Chronicle would have no competitors."

I have to admit, I was overly optimistic. As I mentioned earlier, Waseda Chronicle has only managed to acquire less than one percent of Newstapa's donor number. What causes such a disparity?

In my opinion, one reason is that South Korea's civil society is much more engaged than in Japan. The 2016-2017 Candlelight Revolution calling for President PARK Geunhye's resignation is a prime example of South Koreans' civic engagement. I could feel their untiring determination as I watched news footage of demonstrators packed tightly in front of Seoul's City Hall.

In Taiwan as well, the Sunflower Student Movement occupied Taiwan's legislature to protest a trade agreement with China approved by President MA Yingjeou's administration. Taiwan also has a donation-supported investigative newsroom, The Reporter. Evidence would suggest that when a populace is committed to supporting democracy, it will also support journalism.

Well, what about Japan? The Abe administration, the longest a Japanese prime minister has ever been in power, has received its fair share of criticism. Similar to how South Korea's President Park was forced to resign for giving preferential treatment to her "friends," Prime Minister Abe is also ridiculed for his "buddy politics." He sometimes appears to have little regard for the National Diet and the law.

But Japan has seen no Candlelight Revolution or Sunflower Student Movement. Dissatisfaction never seems to translate into action for Japan's jaded body politic.

Perhaps this is because the Japanese public has never fought for the right to self-govern. Although the Tokugawa shogunate was overthrown in the 1868 Meiji Restoration, it was no more than a transition of power between two factions of the warrior class. The general public played no part and simply traded one set of rulers for another.

Another reason why Japan's civil society doesn't actively support independent, investigative journalism is that the government doesn't exert overt pressure on the media. Instead, it controls them by inviting them into the power structures. In return, more often than not, the mass media shares only information convenient to the powerful, keeping the public in the dark. How much has the Japanese media really changed since World War II? When citizens thought they were winning the war, they weren't likely to speak against it; rather, they abetted it.

A recent example of the media being invited into the power structures is that newspapers were exempt from a 2019 consumption tax hike. Only food products are similarly exempt. When I asked a senior official in the Ministry of Finance why newspapers had been singled out for special treatment, he told me that the decision had come from Prime Minister Abe. With every scratch of their back, the media becomes less likely to report news that would displease those in power. Left uninformed of wrongdoing, the public will never find the anger necessary to demand accountability.

Most members of the media appear to feel no guilt over benefiting from proximity to power. Rather than journalists with a duty to hold power to account, they see themselves as company employees who

happen to produce news for a living. That's why they don't show professional solidarity or collaborate between organizations, for the good of both their profession and the public. Instead, Japan's reporters shut themselves away within their companies, and the media shuts itself away within the structures of power.

3-2 Reborn as Tansa in 2021

A tepid civil society and a press aligned with the powerful are all the more reasons why Waseda Chronicle is necessary for Japan. Blaming civil society for our trouble fundraising is in danger of sounding like an excuse. After all, society is always changing. Despite the odds, we must lead by example and continue to serve the public with fearless investigative journalism. With luck, those who see our work will be inspired to support it, as compatriots aiming to improve society. In order to trigger this movement, we should position ourselves not as antithetical to Japan's dysfunctional mass media but as a new, positive vision of what journalism can be.

Every time Japan faces a national crisis—from World War II to the Fukushima nuclear disaster to Covid-19—the media fails to fulfill its watchdog function. And the public knows it. I sense their dissatisfaction with the established media is coming to a head. To my eyes, this has caused the people to give up on the established media. But I also see cause for hope. In July 2020, Waseda Chronicle received the inaugural Journalism X Award, which recognizes citizen-supported journalism in Japan.

At this turning point in the Japanese media landscape, we decided to change Waseda Chronicle's name to Tokyo Investigative Newsroom Tansa. This change will be effective in early 2021. It's the beginning of the next chapter of our organization's history. Though the coming years will bring new politics, new crises, and new technology, the need for investigative journalism will remain unchanged. To serve the public, Tansa is here to stay.

Tansa means "investigation" in Japanese. We chose the name because it represents our journalistic mission and our commitment to our craft.

From now on, everyone will know what we do as soon as they hear who we are.

Training young journalists is essential to our newsroom's future. When I eventually leave the organization, it will fall to the next generation of members to continue building on Tansa's culture and body of work. In fact, the ones who determined our new name were three women in their 20s: two of our reporters and our English editor. They chose Tansa after brainstorming nearly a hundred options, and I feel their final choice shows their understanding of and commitment to investigative journalism.

Ironically, because we do not have the funds to hire them, none currently work for Tansa full time. The reporters work for other print media, the English editor as a translator; they are unable to commit their full energy to our newsroom. I want our new chapter as Tansa to begin with these young journalists joining the team as full-time members.

Going forward, we will also work to create more opportunities for citizens to be involved in journalism. Specifically, we will launch an online course that teaches journalism skills—how to acquire, analyze, and share information—to practicing and aspiring journalists, as well as average citizens. The internet age has democratized information; now we must empower citizens to use that information for the sake of their democracy.

Although the course takes place online, we plan to hold gatherings for the participants to meet in person, bringing together journalists from various organizations and providing opportunities for them to further engage with citizens. In this way, we hope to create a community of practitioners who are eager to collaborate to improve journalism in Japan.

We're still just at the foot of the mountain, and we're sure to meet many challenges as we forge a path ahead. But that's what it means to be a pioneer. With our mission always in mind, Tansa will continue to serve the public with fearless, independent investigative journalism.

4 Closing

I'd like to finish with a few messages from individuals who donated to our crowdfunding campaign following the release of "Journalism for Sale" in February 2017.

"Independent media is a lifeline for us citizens. Thank you so much for creating this organization."

"I was 10 years old when the war ended in 1945. It pains me to see the state of journalism in the postwar years up to now. I will soon be gone, so I'm passing the torch to the next generation. Give it your all!"

"I'm supporting Waseda Chronicle as a way to become better informed. As much as you can, please conduct investigative journalism from the average person's perspective—for all citizens, not just the chosen few. For a future in which we can stand tall, breathe deep, and live free."

Note

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Translated from Japanese by Annelise Giseburt.

The Creation of Space Surrounding the Public

The mode of struggle adopted by social activism and investigative journalism

TANAKA Hiroshi

1 The appearance of the public

1.1 The public as a focal point

The public, as a political subject within civil society or as a concept to indicate openness within the process of communication, is necessary for the formation of autonomy in daily life. Furthermore, the public is one of the principles of democratic society upon which the activism of social movements and the performance of journalism are founded.

However, the public, as a word, is like a prism. We envision various images which prompt hope and idealism, doubt and despair. These cannot possess a clear shape but do partially overlap. Hence, conflicting emotions are evoked. Thus, it is hard to justify just a certain set of definitions. Similarly, it isn't easy to interpret the public through seemingly synonymous terms. For example, even if we were to read the adjectival use of public as official, and the nounal use of the public as people, this would still fail to truly capture or explain the meaning of the term public. Yet, it is also difficult to tackle this matter from the opposite angle by providing the public with its distinct meaning or direct existence. Nonetheless, these challenges must not drive us to interpret the division between the private and the public as some self-evident structure, as such a perspective might mistakenly eliminate any subjects or objects which do not fit within that assumption. Even in an instance where some land or building belongs to someone, with definite borders marking out this material object, the boundary of private and public can shift according to historic conditions. Jurgen Habermas, for example, discusses how the cafes and salons of western Europe, which once gathered private individuals, became a place for the public at around

the 18th century. So, when discussing the public, we must maintain an attitude of sustained inquiry as to how the public within its actual social context or the public as a concept has been conceptualised and put into effect.

1.2 The public as a realm

Around a century ago, the American philosopher John Dewey witnessed the advent of mass society along with the consequent dismantlement of traditional regional society and attempted to save the public as it wavered between the two. According to his book, *The Public and its Problems*, that public refers to an aggregation of all people who have a common interest in responding to an instance wherein the consequence of some actions exerts a continual social influence. In other words, it is a collective consisting of individuals who hold a common social interest. Dewey theorized that it would be possible to overcome the political disinterest caused through the dismantlement of regional society, by forming this democratic subject known as the public. However, a key factor here is that this public is not something which has always existed within regional society but, rather, it is the retention or alteration of behaviours and interactions by people, either directly or indirectly, manifesting itself upon those areas of interest. It does not mean that specific subjects automatically become the public by sharing an interest. The public can only appear in a realm centred around modes of behaviour and interaction. Within Dewey's argument, which discusses the public as a subject, this characterisation of a subject as the public is a reciprocal relationship between the subject and the realm. In short, a specific subject can only become the public because that realm appeared; the public is created within that social realm.

Then, how does the public function as an adjective? For example, we use the public as an adjective in terms like public facilities or public works, public transport, public opinion and public relations. The word is characterised by the fact that its subjects are all open to access by large numbers of people. In a situation where the provision of facilities and services, or the spread of opinions and information, operates on a

vast scale, we have a habit of applying the adjective public to describe that object. That is to say, the public as an adjective indicates that a certain object is available to anyone. Hence, such objects, deemed to be public and described as public, cannot exist independent of us. They are objects which form, or have the capacity to form, a tangible relationship with our everyday lives, existing on a premise of open use and participation. In this sense, the public is a word which describes the non-exclusivity of its object. Indeed, those various objects can only be public through, not just a mode of interaction, but also the open nature of that action tying the tangible object to the everyday lives of people. In other words, any object being public indicates a systematic implementation of open use and participation with regard to that object. So, the public, as a quality constituting these public objects, is not embedded within the facility or information itself. Similar to the public as a subject, this public also emerges within those areas that act as a focal point for interaction. However, where the public as a group of people placed emphasis on the formation of a democratic subject with interest in interaction, the public as an expression focuses on an object's mode of action with regard to use and participation. Yet, despite these differences, neither public contradicts the other. Indeed, they share a key commonality in the fact that the public as a realm is formed through specific social relationships and practices based on those relationships. Thus, this paper defines the public as the following. With regard to actions or practices, the public is a non-exclusive democratic realm created through the interactions between physical elements and everyday activities.

1.3 The public as a question

The public as a realm fulfils the purpose of a platform, during the formation of a democratic subject in regional society, and systematically implements openness within the ties between various objects, actions and daily life. As such, the realm of the public is operational within those conditions where the daily lives of people are democratic and non-exclusive. Up until this point, we have analysed the public based around topics such as the formation of a collective subject, the use of facilities

and participation within press activities. Social movements and journalism also belong on this list. Social movements are the manifestation of collective actions by active political subjects, protesting against labour structures, economic policies or political systems in order to achieve their respective goals.

Meanwhile, journalism is the philosophy of press activity as a service loyal to the people and civil society, in accordance with which, journalists have exposed the injustices of power through newspapers and television. So, both social movements and journalism are social agents involved in the public as a realm. However, in recent years, that public has itself become the subject or object within such struggles. Recent social movements, like the Occupy movement, have used streets and squares as platforms for their activism. Streets and squares should, by right, be a place for the creation of the public. Why do these people occupy such places to raise their voices in protest there? Journalism has begun to seek its centre of activity within the internet. Why did it move away from media like the newspapers or television, those long-standing channels for its transmission of the public? Could these established subjects and objects have become separated from the public to adopt repressive and exclusive qualities? If this is the case, we must first discern how the public as a realm is structured, in order to analyse that transformation then.

Thus, below, we will begin by analysing the spatial formation of the public as a realm within the context of the spatial theory. The analysis will position social movements and journalism as key points within that spatial formation in order to examine their relationship with the public. Then, after noting the key characteristics of the internet, we will explore the possibility of restructuring the public, through various statements or studies on recent social movements and journalism. This is not an inquiry into the ideal form of the public as an idea or abstract concept. It is an attempt to investigate the creation and transformation of real spaces, via the activity of social movements and journalism, by positioning the public as a social space.

2 The spatial formation of the public

2.1 The public as space

We have discussed the public as a realm connected to interaction and the structure of its social relationships. Nonetheless, the criteria by which a realm is determined to be the public remains ambiguous. For instance, if we were to employ an arbitrary scale of quantity as the criteria, its validity would remain questionable. That classification runs the risk of reducing the public to a conceptual image cut off from the people. Thus, this paper seeks to pursue the public as a realm from another angle, without reducing it to a matter of numbers. Furthermore, examining the public as a realm that connects objects and actions requires an understanding of this interplay as a mutual relationship between both sides, instead of a structural relationship wherein one side determines the other. Such a study is possible through the framework of the spatial theory. Of course, a spatial theory might not be the only way to analyse the public as a realm. However, Henri Lefebvre, whose specific strain of spatial theory considers the lived experiences of people to be an important impetus for the formation of space, provides a particularly effective perspective through which to determine the process that creates the public as a realm.

Lefebvre considered space to be closely linked with our way of life, stating that “(Social) space is a (social) product” (Lefebvre 1991: 26). He believed that social space not only forms in response to the attachments, imagination and interests of people but also exerts a significant influence on our way of life. He believed that just as cities and regional societies have historically been formed and modified whilst under various influences, space is born from an interaction between the material conditions and the abstract yet tangible relationships that people have harboured there. In other words, space is a subject that exerts influence on our actions, whilst also being an object created through those actions. Lefebvre discusses this interaction from a material dimension, a conceptual dimension, and a dimension wherein the two are merged as one. These are the three moments of *spatial practice*, *representation of space* and *space of representation*, corresponding to the ways in

which actions are *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived*, respectively. Each, in turn, indicates the tangible actions that create space, the conceptual framework of its abstraction, and, the self-evident everyday life being led through that conceptual framework.¹ Space is one form of social relationship, which is formed in a tangible yet abstract manner through these three moments. It should be noted that the real space is realised on a material level as a spatial practice. Christian Schmid describes this as below:

“Social space appears in the dimension of spatial practice as an interlinking chain or network of activities or interactions which on their part rest upon a determinate material basis (morphology, built environment)” (Schmid 2008: 37).

Space appears differently in response to our actions and thoughts. Lefebvre’s interest lies in the relationship between capitalism and our daily lives, investigating how the influence of production, consumption and exchange means that “activities and locations when taken together as social space can constitute the fourth realm of social relations, namely, the production of wealth or surplus value” (Gottdiener 1994: 123). In other words, actors within the government or market place reduce people and their daily lives to controllable symbols, or parameters within a plan, in order to protect or expand their profits. This one-sided abstraction and immobilization support the creation of an unequal social space, which not only suppresses any true prosperity of life or creative connection within society but also becomes a system to serve the interests of a select group of people. The city, for example, has altered its nature along with the development of capitalism, gradually rebuilt into a mere means for the oppression of people. It was these historical transformations that Lefebvre intended to unravel. However, it is also such spaces that make our *lived* daily lives possible; space is not necessarily bound to become a self-serving tool of oppression.

So, where can the public be positioned within Lefebvre’s spatial theory? Just as direct interaction was not automatically the public

according to Dewey, everyday life by itself cannot be deemed a realm of the public. Thus, though a little roundabout, it can be understood that the conditions for the appearance of the public are met through instances within everyday life where some tangible social relationship is considered to be essential, or, alternatively, through instances where the value etched into that relationship is recognized. Furthermore, if we are to position the public as one form of social space, it is necessary to found that space upon the everyday sensations and lived experience of real actions, and not the sort of broad behaviours that might be charted on an abstractive graph. As such, we must perceive those tangible bodies and the sensations embodied therein, as well as their physical actions, to be the practice that results in the creation of space. This allows us to position the public as a social space formed through interaction. In other words, the space of the public is formed in response to the memories or stories, etched into a place and the human relationships therein, as well as the thoughts or ideas that are put into practice through these mediums.

Of course, if we were to isolate one part of everyday life and envision a real space, that space can still be realised as a realm of the public. Yet, using that public as some absolute definition would mean continually creating an unjust order that demands forceful exclusion and compulsory subsumption. Such a public would thereby lose its responsive relationship with tangible actions and social relationships, to impose an invisible hierarchy on the lived experience and relationships of people. Hence, the public should be thought of as a space that maintains the possibility of reformation. It might aid understanding to think of public works, wherein hypothetical plans often come into conflict with those real senses of daily life.² As a result, there are cases where the construction of a real space greatly impacts upon daily communication: dams bury valleys, highways cut through towns. So, we must maintain the perspective that “public space is thus socially produced through its use as public space” (Mitchell 2003: 129). If space has lost any opportunity for dismantlement and reformation, that space is but a tool. The issue lies in the criteria used upon creating a space.

2.2 Social movements and the space of the public

In the context of spatial theory, social movements can be seen as a collective resistance against “time-space colonization” (Gregory 1994: 401). This time-space colonization is caused by those urban planners, technocrats, investors or realtors, who generalise spaces as an exchangeable commodity to produce spaces based on these blueprints and their own benefits/interests therein. The spaces where people live are thus divided and rendered an object of trade, which might then become a colony of the capitalist system. There, space is made a tool to prioritise the profit of a select group, in accordance with the logic of politics and the economy, reduced to a sequence of collective symbols to be manipulated/managed atop a game board. In some circumstances, even the bodies and emotions of people might become mere commodities for trade. For example, the construction of a giant shopping mall, planned by committee, will divide the shopping districts woven throughout a town by creating one central location of consumption. This colonisation can occur in many forms, such as the price or rent of some land or residence being raised via restrictions on the use of adjoining parks and green spaces, or the centralization of economic activity through a concentration of high (or low) price housing in specific locations. These plans are created from a perspective peering down onto the daily lives of people from on high. Furthermore, this idea of space, and its realisation, aims to manipulate the concentration or dispersion of people and things. It is fundamentally different from those spaces whose residents can live as users with a true fondness for their surroundings. Indeed, this callous homogenization of human bodies and lives into calculable objects, divides them according to some criteria based on one-sided designs of comfort and utility, creating a boundary between the central and the marginal, or the internal and external, the excluded and subsumed. It is a spatial form made to reflect the profit of the established political system and economic structures. Thus, our everyday lives are one-sidedly divided, and our lived daily lives fall into dysfunction. This means estrangement from the space of representation and an effective seizure of the public.

Whose thoughts do such a perspective represent? Who was space therein created for? For those who plotted out space, the people living in those real spaces are reduced to a Them as objects to be manipulated, or else, they are merely a collection of consumers. Social movements express opposition to such one-sided formations of space and pursue a democratic realisation of that opposition. Lefebvre argued that a resistance tied to places should be formed in response to that sort of division and domination of space.

“The proliferation of links and networks, by directly connecting up very diverse places, and by ending their isolation—though without destroying the peculiarities and differences to which that very isolation has given rise—tends to render the state redundant...” (Lefebvre 1991: 378).

Lefebvre saw the government as the driving force behind spatial oppression, but, today, this structure of oppression exists on a global scale. However, that possibility of creating a mutual connection between places remains. Indeed, it is possible to create space through a relationship of the We with the people as users of such spaces. If people can recover the substantivity of places, to create ties between places, we could rescue the real spaces from becoming inhuman colonies, from once again reclaiming them as a space of the public. We must create spaces with places as their starting point. In other words, within the context of space, social movements can be considered an act which aims to produce public autonomy by creating a connection between people and places. Social movements protest against spatial formations that impose estrangement upon the people as a status quo. This demands the realisation and autonomy of the space of the public. It defines the space of the We as a way of life, or social relationship, that incorporates both body and mind, calling for the realisation of that space.

2.3 The Mass Media and the Space of the Public

What sort of space does the mass media form? The mass media

maintains a skewered relationship with a small number of transmitters to a large number of recipients. Furthermore, the mass media, as the industry aims for the attainment and maximisation of profits. As such, even if they were tasked with diversifying their contents, ultimately, they would envision the masses or majority as the recipient for their papers or channels. Of course, inferences about the people's experiences of daily life made from those few interactions with such recipients, and the questionnaire surveys conducted through various networks or samples extracted by analysing vast amounts of data, might be useful for planning their operations and business strategies. Nevertheless, if those efforts are directed at the protection or expansion of their vested interests as an industry, and the maintenance of relationships with their own powerful supporters, the established authorities, they will simplify and homogenize the various social relationships of people as a series of conflicts or entanglements between multiple masses. This may have been valid in particular historical circumstances when people felt a special sense of significance in being a homogenized mass. However, the limitations of representing people as a faceless Them, by categorizing them as the mass, are becoming ever more apparent. That mass as a symbol, which no longer reflects reality, not only stagnates their mode of communication but also increases their distance from the reality of everyday life.

This communication protects vested interests while assuming a faceless mass, and in so doing, creates an estrangement of daily life from space. Furthermore, that estrangement is deepened if the mass media positions its recipients as a homogenous mass of nationals and shares that image with the established authorities. This is an act of violence by a system formed through distancing itself from the realities of social life, and its collusion with authority both secures the media's power over its recipients and evidences a mindset that rationalizes the action of continuing to profit from that process. Even if some information, edited on the basis of such a format, were to result in the formation of a space of the public, it would soon descend into a repressive space. It is an anti-social space that the people will one day fix.

However, there are actors of communication in the mass media who do not act according to the drives of a self-perpetuating organisation. These are the journalists who consider the world of everyday life (the space of representation) their field. From a spatial perspective, journalists are actors who investigate changes within the social space, monitoring the modes of space production, as individuals equipped with a lived sensation of daily life. This is the role of journalism as a *watchdog*, and it is a longstanding idea which has always altered its method of practice in response to the historical conditions. If this idea was to seek its place of origin or loyalty in the world of everyday life, in other words, if it were to seek a foothold in a symbolic order cultivated through the We, it could become a defender of lived experience or an attacker against establishment authority. Especially in circumstances where journalism has placed its activities in a space beyond the framework of one community or region, its practice will simultaneously broaden the potential of social spaces. That activity would become an opportunity to form the space of the public from a variety of angles.

However, in a situation founded on the premise that journalism belongs to the mass media as an industry, its field of activity will be restricted according to the interests of its medium. Furthermore, the work of journalists who envision a faceless popular majority for the sake of political or economic success, driven by a desire for popularity, would likely result in activities far removed from the space of the public. Though there are circumstances where the mass creates the public, the public does not necessarily need the mass. As such, in order to overcome that fundamental rift between the imagined majority and the real space, we should examine the form in which journalism is practised. We must inquire anew as to what medium journalism can use to establish a responsive relationship with the world of everyday life.

3 The Movement of the public

We have positioned the public as a type of social space and analysed its spatial formation to gain the following insights: the space of the public can appear differently depending on whether it is founded on the logic

of the We or the Them; the nature of the public changes depending on whether the basis for spatial practices are placed on lived experiences or an abstract concept separate from reality. In other words, there is a risk of the public being forged by the authority. However, these are only theoretical considerations. What sort of practices do social movements perform to attain reality for the space of the public? And, through what sort of practices can journalism realise the space of the public? Though these questions come from two different points, together, they become a pursuit of alternativity within the reformation of the space of the public. Today, the internet, and digital devices which employ it, have permeated into all sorts of scenes within everyday life, and we cannot ignore its influence upon proceeding with this discussion. The below will first analyse the space of the internet in the context of spatial theory, before delving deeper into the study of social movements and the mass media.

3.1 The internet as space

We use electronic devices, and the software operating within them, on a daily basis; and the internet connects these to various places and people around the world. In fact, we have constructed an ecosystem corresponding to the many services provided by the virtual space. It has become possible to form new communities that were previously unimaginable. In that sense, it is not wrong to think of the internet as both a tool and a place for communication. For example, the means of interaction known as social media, is one such place. Of course, the internet and its digital devices did not appear out of the blue. It already has a history. Over ten years ago, these situations, wherein the virtual space and the material space can interact through mobile devices, were already considered “Hybrid Spaces” (de Souza e Silva 2006). Now, social media is said to function as “social platforms ‘mediating’ between private and public space” (van Dijck and Poell 2015: 4). Taking these arguments into account, one can see some truth to the suggestion that this rapid permeation of the internet is making the boundary between the private and the public ambiguous. Indeed, just as we cannot continue our daily lives without material space, it is becoming almost unimaginable to act

without the information born of digital technology. Therefore, it seems entirely reasonable to discuss the formation and alteration of space by the internet.

Yet, might not these discussions be based upon a premise that either segregates space or approves a tacit hierarchy between virtual and material space? People equipped with mobile devices are repeating cross-border communications in all sorts of situations within daily life. However, a mindset that rejoices in the expansion of the virtual world as the arrival of a new age, which sees the material world as an accessory to it, is merely an abstraction of reality. Alternatively, a perspective centred around the material space, from a rejection or fear of the internet, is but a reduction of reality. In fact, such communications, much like the historical phenomena of human migration or expansions in the scope of interaction, are actions that cannot be separated from real material space. To be precise, it is the creation of space. It is difficult to deem online space to be a realm entirely independent from material space unless it escapes its status as a virtual manifestation of reality. Hence, we must distance ourselves from any approach that places its argumentative focus on the independence of the online space or the material space to make the superiority of one side its premise or conclusion.

When seen from a spatial perspective, the various activities that employ the internet are an impetus for triggering change within social space, in the form of a specific spatial practice. Alternatively, it is a practice which rewrites the system of various symbols carved into the existing space. Of course, with regard to its innovation of industrial structures and technologies, the internet and its further use abstraction of reality. For example, when studied as a tool, with a focus on the mode of traffic and correspondence embedded therein, one can observe a phenomenon known as “time–space compression” (Harvey 1989) occurring through the internet, caused by expansion and acceleration in the circulation of capital and financial products. Alternatively, it is possible to see the technologies of virtual reality such as AR or MR as an over-writing or simplification of the system of symbols within space. Nonetheless, if one understands the online space to be an impetus

within social life, that space can provide the space of daily life with powers of imagination and a reformation of the symbolic system, unlike anything that has come before. In other words, by positioning the internet as a field of interaction within space, the sensibilities born through that network, and its practice, show a potential to revise the format of symbols embedded in the material space. However, its tendency to cause the concentration and dispersion of people, via the imitation of specific social relationships based on particular values, cannot be denied.

When considered in this light, the use of the internet, as one spatial practice, possesses a nature that, on the one hand, homogenises our social relationships, while on the other, provides the possibility of creating an alternative social relationship. Either way, at this point, the internet gives us, in the modern world, an opportunity to create some sort of relationship. It seems indisputable that it will inevitably alter the existing space. Especially in an instance where the space of the public, created under the initiative of the established authorities, is functioning as an excuse for oppression, the space of the internet offers an opportunity for opposition. Thus, the conditions needed to invigorate a movement around the public are already in place. We must inquire as to how that space can be reformed. We must analyse the types of interpersonal relationships that are practised in social movements, and what sort of space of the We that this relates to. This is not an analysis of what has become possible in social movements through the internet and mobile devices, but an analysis of what those people gathered on the streets intended to create: to ask what sort of spatial practice it was. And, what mediums do journalists use to approach the space of the We, where the real people live? As the internet continues to modify the material and symbolic order, we must consider the sort of space of the public that might be attached to this phenomenon.

3.2 Social movements and the creation of the public

By what sort of mode could the space of the public be reformed? While it is necessary to examine this further, unfortunately, it would be difficult to discover any direct tangible values within the space of everyday

life. Because this space is lived directly as second nature, cloaked in various symbols and sensory impressions as a realm of self-evidence, its values cannot be stated in a direct or definite description. This indicates the vulnerability of that space. Due to these properties, space also acts as a platform for discriminatory ways of life or poor labour conditions. However, one can see this vulnerability, not only as a demerit but also as one of its strong points. The space of everyday life as a collection of systems is not completely homogenised through the centralisation of some specific values. While there is the possibility that it is unknowingly accepting oppression, the space of everyday life is lived in various ways through the people's imaginations and, simultaneously, does not deny their coexistence. Because there are so few scenes wherein the various symbols are clearly brought to attention, the space of everyday life does not exclude the various possibilities for coexistence. In other words, because there remains a realm that cannot be fully expressed in words that anyone might understand, the space of everyday life is easily attacked, and thus vulnerable, yet simultaneously very flexible in accepting various ways of life.³

This vulnerability and mixtuality form the space of daily life as two sides of the same coin. As such, it is difficult to think of social movements as an existing idea with specific clear-cut values resisting some attack against it. If that were the case, that movement would be a battle of concepts or ideologies based on abstraction, and the actualisation of space creation would be a secondary objective. Instead, it is more accurate to think of social movements as shareable social relationships emerging in response to the building of boundaries by authority and its one-sided attempts to tear spaces apart. It can be described as a resistance against the seizure of the public through separation. The important factor is what sort of space of the We appears on the streets, as a space of the public.

Judith Butler examined the recent social movements that occurred in Egypt and America to cite a protest against *spaces of appearance* as their distinguishing characteristic (Butler 2015). This spaces of appearance is a concept originating from Hannah Arendt, as a space that indicates

equality in politics through the cooperation between people. However, according to Butler, there are powers at play within that space, drawing a line on who appears inside the space. And Butler argues that the people taking part in the social movements have stepped into the existing spacing appearance. In short, she considers the recent movements to have been collective actions attempting to create a new spacing appearance. To borrow the words of Athena Athanasiou, they were movements attempting to “shift spaces of appearance to spacing appearance” (Butler and Athanasiou 2013: 194).

These social movements were actions attempting to change the relationship between the established authorities and the material spaces that are seen as existing public spaces, like squares. Those people who took to the streets not only raised their voices while braving the risk of violence, they debated face to face, eating or sleeping on the streets together, treating wounds and bathing there. Butler explains that all of these actions, including the internet broadcasting and the communication of information done from squares or streets through mobile devices, were political and a protest action “to establish new relations of equality” (Butler 2015: 90). They were movements aiming to rewrite the material space by raising these actions for equality and their assembly as a symbolic social relationship. Also, recent social movements have seen people gathering on the streets seeking basic rights such as employment, education, equal food distribution, comfortable shelters, freedom of expression and activism. Butler states that they were movements focused on “how bodies will be supported in the world” (Butler 2015: 72). These social movements were a struggle by bodies gathered on the streets, aiming to restructure space through their actions, in response to a space that separated bodies and their daily lives. In other words, it was a rejection of or resistance against a space of division created by the established authorities, and the people called for that space to be rewritten through an in-divisional relationship. Furthermore, those movements were in resonance with both the vulnerability and mixtuality within the space of representation as they attempted to redraw the lines of what was official according to the established authorities.⁴

This used the streets as a stage to display the lived relations of people and their mode of communication, attacking the dissonance concealed within that existing social space. So, the occupation of public spaces seen in recent social movements shows its distinguishing characteristic in the dismantlement and reformation of the space of the public through a politics of boundaries within social space.

3.3 Journalism and the formation of the public

The politics of boundaries can also be seen in the world of journalism. It is an issue surrounding the dismantlement and reformation of space and is particularly relevant to the practice of investigative journalism. This can be seen on two levels: firstly, in the oppressive boundary drawn between the mass media and the citizens. This is the boundary of the mass media industry, attempting to protect its vested interests by sharing the image of the faceless masses with the established authorities. In recent years, investigative journalism has started to challenge that boundary. This is linked to investigative reporting organizations choosing to report as non-profit groups using the internet. Employing a different industrial model to the mainstream media makes it less likely for their activities to be restricted by a business strategy that targets the mass. The internet can be considered, not only a tool enabling freedom in those activities but also a most appropriate means, in the sense that it is open to a broad audience. By releasing journalism from the boundaries created by the mass media, expanding its freedom in what it reports for whom, the relatively autonomous activity becomes possible. Furthermore, because the boundary of the mass media had been forced onto daily life as an abstract concept, rendering it relative expands the possibility of people accessing more varied information. Thus, the popularization of the internet has prepared the conditions needed to form a space of the public. And, so long as the freedom of communication and the freedom of its use are protected, it will keep contributing to the recovery of autonomy within journalism.

However, the second is more closely linked to space. It is the politics of boundaries that creates the Victim. It is thought that working for the

victims, rather than the masses or the industry, is one of the tangible ways in which investigative journalism is practised. This way of thinking is referenced in the classic text discussing investigative journalism, *the journalism of outrage* (Protess, David L. et al. 1991), and recent manuals also cite this attitude through the question “Are those people victims?” (Hunter 2011: 12), listed as one of the key questions that journalists should ask themselves. Indeed, this perspective on the victim has also been inherited by the Japanese investigative journalism organization launched in 2017, “Waseda Chronicle”. Thus, it seems reasonable to consider this perspective regarding the victim to be a basic stance for investigative journalism or a shared focus within its coverage.

If a journalist adopts this perspective about the victims as their code of ethics, putting it into practice will touch upon the politics of boundaries. In other words, journalism is embodied by those people who consider it their mission to carry out actions that touch upon this politics. As previously stated, our daily life possesses both the characteristics of vulnerability and mixtuality. There is a risk that the influence of authority might invite closure, and that this might be accepted without criticism, due to those characteristics. Where do the victims feature in that situation? The victims are forced into silence outside of that closure. When any given topic is discussed, it often takes many premises for granted. If those premises are deemed common sense, it might become impossible to struggle against the exclusion and discrimination created by that common sense. For example, when somebody talks about something with nationals as its main subject, this not only necessitates a contrast against non-nationals, but the specific political system of a nation-state is seen as self-evident within that discussion. Of course, it is difficult to talk about nationals without the premise of a nation-state. It would require some effort to rearrange that common sense. However, would it be possible to write a story featuring some being that is neither national nor a non-national through that small struggle? Uncritical understanding of a topic and its premises or chatter that anticipates the repetition of supposedly self-evident beliefs create a closure which deems only some specific Being as beings. Here lies the boundary, which

creates silence. The boundary does not create an inside and outside to belonging, but an inside and outside to being. As such, victims outside the boundary are silenced as beings cast into darkness. However, this boundary is by no means unchanging or universal, let alone neutral. We can bring up victims who were formerly outside the boundary: the most famous might be leprosy and its sufferers. In recent years, the term LGBTQ has been picked up and those people, who were previously silenced by debates around gender discrimination or equality, have begun showing themselves, fighting through pain and suffering.

So, this boundary of silence that creates such suffering and darkness must be confronted. It is that practice which drives and manifests journalism. Yet, it should be noted that such boundaries are woven throughout the minutiae of daily life and etched into space as something self-evident. As previously stated, we who live the space of daily life cannot have a clear and direct awareness of all those boundaries, unless we are put in positions where we can recognize the oppression or alienation imposed by authority. Hence, it is difficult to accurately understand and expose each and every one of these as problems. Of course, it could be said that those people who have acquired information through proactive use of the internet are in a position to notice the various boundaries that they were not even aware of and to recognize the suffering hidden within their own daily lives. For example, a young person dying from overwork might highlight the terrible work conditions that were, until then, considered normal. This gives reality to a space of the public and could become an impetus for that space to appear. Nevertheless, we rarely notice the faces of those victims in the darkness turning towards us to tell us something. On top of this, information is shared excessively in the modern world, and its concentration or dispersion can change the forms of those boundaries, all the while attempting to restrict our choices and decisions. The many people who try to address these issues with sincerity must also confront similar difficulties.

When a quick choice or decision based on given information is required, we tend to be led towards the simple response and action of

agreement or opposition. It is difficult to move away from the stimulus of that information. However, a different possibility remains if we aspire to confront the suffering. At the very least, if we are aware of the faces of the people standing in that darkness, those faces demand a response from us as an issue of ethics or duty. It requires us to seek out thoughts and practices that reject boundaries as something self-evident. Indeed, it is possible to position investigative journalism as one such effort. Journalists who confront the suffering, making it their duty to expose the boundary at work, can give reality to the space of the public as an expert at exploring that darkness of space. When the vulnerability of space is abused to drive people into a corner without awareness or resistance, the journalist can notice this before anybody else and raise the alarm. In their effort to confront those faces, they will come to intentionally distance themselves from any authority as well as the sensibility of daily life. When journalists practice that sort of activity, journalism appears therein. However, if that activity descends into a simple act of repetition, they might assist the colonization of everyday life without noticing their universalization of particular values. Whether they can overcome this hurdle depends on whether they notice the faces of those many victims floating in the darkness and how aware they are of the boundaries that create such suffering. The only available solution is a repetition of trial and error. If they succeed in this strict self-questioning and difficult exposition, social relations can regain their aspirations for an indivisible state. Then, the space of the public can finally find a way to resonate and move with the people.

4 Towards the occupation of the public

4.1 The struggle of space

This paper has positioned the public as space focused on the relations between people, then, studied the production of that space through analysis into the modes of practising social movements and journalism. As a result, it has become apparent that the lived experience and its powers of imagination within the activities of social movements and journalism, if founded upon the bonds of mixtuality tied to individual

people, can make the struggle for an indivisible relationship possible. The realisation of this relationship is a commonality within social movements, which occupy the streets to demand the rewriting of a public grounded in estrangement of spaces, and journalism, which seeks to expose the boundaries that cause invisible suffering. Furthermore, both are struggles over the autonomy of spatial practices. The public not only creates reality in that struggle for space by social movements and investigative journalism but, is also a space created by that struggle.

4.2 In search of a response

Is it dangerous to assist in this struggle? It most likely is. It certainly is not a safe and easy method. However, a certain writer in Kyushu, who would commute to the gates of a military manoeuvring ground far from his home in order to maintain a protest movement, explained the reason he continued to raise his voice in opposition as follows:

“Something called the struggle of Kazanashi happened here in the Oita Prefecture. These were words said during that struggle, ‘Voice your opposition clearly. Because those who do not voice their opposition, who do not express their objections, are naturally counted as one of those in agreement.’ This is always the case. Only those who clearly express some words of opposition are the opposition, and no matter how much others might contemplate opposition in their hearts, those who remain silent, those who do not express their intentions, and those who claim neutrality, such people are automatically included amongst those in agreement.”⁵

Currently, various movements are occurring all around the world. These represent opposition against the increasingly inflexible establishment of political or economic systems and a rejection of a mainstream media that shares their vested interests. The aim of these is not to protect individual profits through new divisions. They are a declaration that the voices and faces of people, and those interpersonal relationships etched therein, are indivisible. It is essential that people who express

their clear opposition receive a sincere response to their activism. This response demands tangible action, and if it is treated as a mere matter of semantics or expression, the sense of alienation between those individuals, the public and the government system would only deepen. Then, there, the public flares in full force. Activism attempting to construct a new public begins therein, and a space of the struggle is created to rise out of the darkness, demanding a response.

Notes

1. Hideharu Saito interprets *spatial practice* as “practices that etch the various social relations, characteristic of the age, onto space”, *representation of space* as a “statement of space or a realm of code” created by urban planners and technocrats, and *space of representation* as “a realm that can be directly lived through the medium of images and symbols” (Saito 2011: 290–291)
2. The abstract concepts that try to put relations between people into a mould and the sensations of daily life born of lived experiences are incompatible with each other. However, in instances where there is a naïve belief in capitalism and its reasoning, specific ways of life and an evolutionary image are unquestioningly accepted as a legitimate and rational ideal, thereby fusing the abstract concepts and sensations of daily life into one.
3. To borrow the words of Doreen Massey, it is a space described as “space as coeval becomings” or “a radically open time-space” (Massey 2005: 189) that makes mutual relationships with others possible.
4. In order to distinguish these actions from spatial practices, Derek Gregory refers to them as the “performance of space” (Gregory 2013: 241). It interprets the social movement itself as an act of space formation.
5. Speech by Matsushita Ryuuichi.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zIs2cHresjk> (Accessed 31/08/2017)

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TEZUKA Mafuyu translated this essay into English, and the author edited the translation.

The Public Sphere, Antagonism, and Journalism

HANADA Tatsuro

1. Who is this guy? Whom is he addressing?

Now, what to say at this, the “farewell lecture.”¹ When I first began work on this speech, I did have a title in mind, but, more importantly, any expression requires the speaker to take a stance. That stance necessarily depends on who they’re addressing. Then, who is my audience for this farewell lecture? It is, doubtless, not a homogenous mass but a diverse group of people, making it all the more difficult for me to narrow my focus. And, thinking about all this made me rather lose track of what I wanted to say. This speech is not a classroom lecture, nor is it an academic speech or presentation. The only thing I can say for sure is that the people here are all those with whom I share some past association in some way, shape, or form.

So, I finally reached one conclusion three days ago. All of the right people gathered here today must’ve thought at some point, “The guy’s retiring from the university, I guess I’ll go listen to what he has to say before he goes.” Having supposed so, I decided to speak to you all today based on a stance of discussing my work. Ordinarily, that wouldn’t be a topic to broach in a lecture, but I suppose today is an exception.

In German universities, the word for lecture is *Vorlesung*. It means reading a manuscript in front of students. Professors write their present thoughts down on a paper and just stick to reading it out in front of their students. Furthermore, once they’ve done so, they hurry off home without taking questions. Sometimes, they turn manuscript into a book, or the notes transcribed by their pupils eventually used to make it into book form. I generally do not prepare such papers for my usual lectures, preferring to proceed with PowerPoint presentations. I have, however,

drafted a manuscript today; because I really wouldn’t want to say anything untoward in my final lecture.

The first point to clarify upon discussing my work is the question: what are the characteristics of the individual performing said work? In other words, “Who is this guy talking about his work?” By my estimations, I am a *Wissenschaftler* or a *Sozialwissenschaftler*, for these German words are most fitting in my mind. One could translate these words into *kagakusha* and *shakaikagakusha* in Japanese, “scientist” and “social scientist” in English, respectively. But that loses some of their finer nuances. The reason why I feel such a strong need to say these terms in German is that I emigrated to West Germany in 1975, as a youth in my late twenties. Then, I spent eleven years and some months there, struggling to attain a definite sense of my identity and to overcome such difficulties to discover who I was. These all happened through the German language while I grappled with the German language. Indeed, this was the natural result of the fact that I’d bought a one-way ticket to escape Japan, with the subjective mindset of one “seeking asylum” in West Germany. There was, therefore, no real place for me to return to within Japan. I’d no choice but to develop my sense of self within West Germany. Even now, certain portions of my mind are still entirely occupied and operated by those foundations built in the German language. Thus, when all’s said and done, I am a *Wissenschaftler*, and my work is that of *Sozialwissenschaftler*.

On the campus signboard, you saw the title of this speech as a list of three keywords. However, that is, in fact, only an abbreviation, and the actual full title is: “Journalism as an Antagonistic Cultural Practice within the Public Sphere.”

2. Eight-years-long writing on the public sphere

The backbone of my theoretical framework comes from the Frankfurt School of Germany—also known as “critical theory.” Hardly a surprise since its appeal was what drew me to West Germany. After my return to Japan in 1986, I eventually began to write papers related to the concept of the public sphere. The starting article was “*Öffentlichkeit*

as a Spatial Concept: Jürgen Habermas on the Public Sphere and the Communicative Rationality,” which I wrote in autumn 1990. After publishing it in the following year, I suddenly got inundated with requests like *The Restaurant of Many Orders* (title of MIYAZAWA Kenji’s fairy tale). So, interpreting those orders as I pleased—to fit my interests and perspective—I went on to produce numerous papers related to the public sphere at a rapid pace. Those papers were then collected and published as books in 1996 and ’99. However, this work was effectively over after those first eight years in the 90s; because I had run out of things that I’d have liked to write.

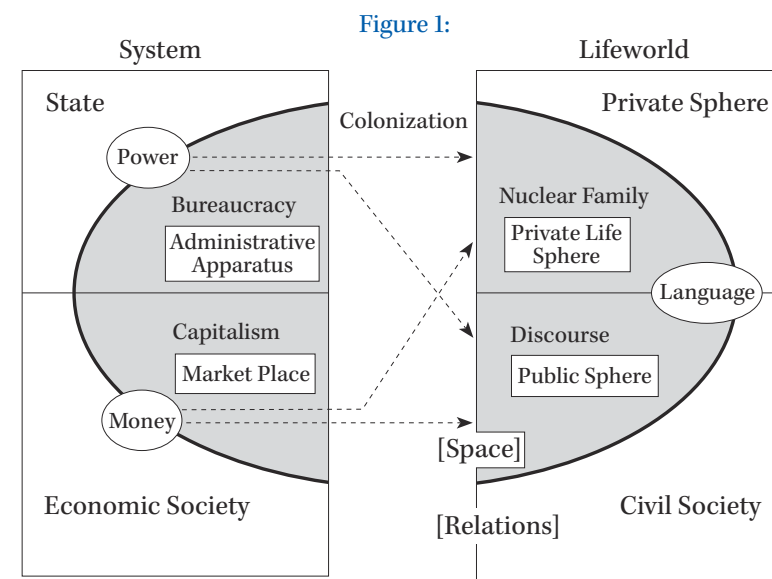
In Germany, the term *Öffentlichkeit* (public sphere) is a regular fixture in common parlance, media coverage, and academic discourse. Indeed, it is the sort of word which one cannot do without when constructing any related narrative. The question was whether or not there was an equivalent term in Japanese—the suspicion that Japan had no such counterpart. And it was this question that made me start writing about the public sphere. How does Japanese function without that equivalent term? What are the consequences for society and politics, caused by the lack of such a concept? Of course, this goes both ways: there are plenty of Japanese words, which would be impossible to capture in German or English accurately. For example, 世間 (*seken* – often translated to “society,” the “world” or “the public”) or 無常 (*mujou* – commonly understood as “transience” or “mutability”).

As a *Sozialwissenschaftler*, I took that *Öffentlichkeit* (public sphere) to be a spatial concept, translating it as 公共圏 (*koukyouken*) in Japanese. Then I utilized that concept as an apparatus within my work, where I observe, understand, explain, interpret, and describe various social phenomena in and around media, communication, information, and journalism. My main point of interest throughout this process was in the manifestations and existence of “what public is” (the public). I took “the public” to be something that forms and emerges when our interests within the private domain or “lifeworld” enter into a negotiating relationship with authority. Furthermore, I took the public sphere to be the field—that is to say, one *social space*—within which the actions

and relationships of “the public” unfold. That means the public sphere is a spatial representation of civil society. As such, in this composition, the public sphere finds itself standing to confront the state. So, in those negotiating relationships between the public sphere and the state, we should outwardly stand for our right to the *freedom of speech/expression* from the state. In contrast, inwardly, we should stand to represent the norms by which one can demonstrate *tolerance* for, and *solidarity* with, those who hold opinions that differ from one’s own.

3. “The colonization of lifeworld by the system” and the struggle for decolonization

One of Habermas’ many arguments, left an impression upon me, is his thesis about “the colonization of lifeworld by the system.” This thesis was a concept proposed within *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (*The Theory of Communicative Action*), published in 1981, when I still lived in West Germany. The idea sought to explain how the arrangement of our modern world gives rise to a fundamental contradiction. Please take a look at the diagram on your handout (figure 1). Why is



there this paradox within modern society? Habermas first presents the current social formation as a binary arrangement split between the “system” on one side—consisting of the capitalist market place alongside the machineries of national state administration—and, the lifeworld on the other hand—consisting of the public sphere alongside the domain of private life (or intimate sphere). He then explains the differing principles of rationality that drive each side, respectively.

Furthermore, these two domains do not exist apart from one another. Instead, the values of *purposive rationality* (efficiency and competition)—belonging to the *system* side—carry over into the lifeworld, through working of the *system*’s mediums (power and money). Thus, it invades, erodes, and destroys the other principle of rationality that exists within the lifeworld: the values of communicative rationality (mutual understanding through language). Thus, Habermas explains, various pathological symptoms come to plague the lifeworld. A condition which he terms the colonization of the lifeworld by the *system*.

So, what can we do about this colonized condition? The solution he proposed was to strengthen the power of the public sphere and the intimate sphere so that they might push back against the pressures of colonization. And, the principal actors who take the task with that role in the public sphere is the *association*. That is to say, organized alliances built upon the voluntary involvement of individuals, NGOs, or NPOs dedicated to *new social movements*. There seems no hope of immediate radical reform within the mass media, which has joined the ranks of the power structure to become a business and another cornerstone of the advertising industry. We can no longer count upon such an institution to function as the infrastructure for the public sphere. For it is now on the side of the *system*.

As previously stated, this thesis of colonization was published in 1981, while its Japanese translation first came into print in 1985. It was the very midst of the Cold War, an era when Europe saw Pershing II and SS 20 nuclear missiles lined up on launchers, each trained on the other. The Clock’s needles ticked away at five minutes from an all-out nuclear war. Then came the unexpected fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. “The West”

took this to mean victory and further strengthened their established endorsement of neoliberalism, redoubling their efforts towards the globalization of finance capitalism.

In such a situation, if we want to face up to the thesis of colonization, I would say that what we needed was that kind of fight led by *associations*. It should be a struggle for decolonization, or, a struggle for emancipation from colonial conditions. Merely “pushing back” would be much too passive, defensive, and weak; for, the *system* itself would remain where it was, undamaged. For the liberation of the lifeworld colonized by the *system*, we needed to develop a strategy to change the *system* through counter forces. However, ultimately, I never did manage to compose a piece of public sphere theory with so definitive a strategic program during my eight years of public sphere theories in the 90s. When I look back, those days were all spent on a long line of trials: interpreting spatial concepts, then testing the strength of those interpretations.

4. From cultural studies to the expresser’s cultural practice and the practice of education

Meanwhile, I’d begun to develop connections in the British academic world, having returned to Japan from West Germany, just before the Chernobyl disaster of 1986. I became acquainted with Professor Nicholas Garnham from the University of Westminster while working for a think tank in Tokyo. He introduced me to various scholars from the field of media studies in the United Kingdom. Garnham had paved the way for Public Sphere theories based on the *Öffentlichkeit* concept in the UK, with a focus on threats faced by the public in the UK under the Thatcher administration. I initially met Garnham at a European symposium on telecommunications policy in Germany, which he was chairing, and we got on well from the first. He’d read Habermas and Heidegger in German and read Bourdieu in French. It is thanks to Garnham that I got to know people working in the field of Cultural Studies. The British intellectuals of that period—right before the fall of the Berlin Wall—were very interesting indeed. After this start, I could cultivate my relationships therein

throughout my time at the University of Tokyo, with financial support from the British Council.

Thus, to cut a long story short, in February 1995, I met Stuart Hall in London, where I convinced him to come to Tokyo. Although he was unwilling and skeptical at first, he eventually agreed to hold a symposium, titled “A Dialogue with Cultural Studies,” to be hosted in Tokyo one year later. And, after a frantic year of desperate preparations, that symposium eventually became a hard-earned reality. I welcomed a total of six scholars, including Hall, at Narita Airport. Yet, the experience and outcome of that four-day-long symposium weren’t remotely like what I had envisioned. As the chair of this event, I would go on to face criticisms from many of its attendees—criticisms that I found frankly incomprehensible. For our simultaneous interpretations, Simul International blessed us with what was doubtless the best team of interpreters in Japan, led by none other than Ms. NAGAI Mariko. I listened in on both languages through my earphones, and their efforts were truly magnificent—the most masterful work. Indeed, if there was something lost in translation, it wasn’t between English and Japanese, but within the Japanese alone. Many of our attendees were spouting their talking points without really listening to the opinions of others. So, there they were, attempting to discuss cultural studies in a manner most unbefitting of that subject. Inevitably, neither the translation nor the dialogue proved very fruitful.

I made up my mind never again to raise the subject of cultural studies, at least, not in Japan. I’d had enough of it. However, that is not to say that I left the cultural studies scene. I merely dove deeper, went underground. To tell you the whole truth here, I decided to practice the field of cultural studies, quietly, without advertising it as such. In other words, I switched from “writing cultural studies” to “doing cultural studies.” Specifically, I took journalists to be cultural practitioners and social expressers, then began to put their training and education into practice from a cultural studies standpoint. In my work on public sphere theory, I’d already positioned journalists as cultivators and constructors within those public spheres, wherein various enormous forces conflict and

confront each other. Taking this set up one step further, I would scrutinize those practices of cultivation and construction as subjects in and of themselves, while also interrogating my practice. The issue, then, was how we might navigate the way across invisible and established boundaries that have come to appear as being just the way it is.

The text on your handouts is something I published on the Institute for Journalism website in February 2014—mourning the passing of Professor Stuart Hall in my way.²

5. From the theory of institution to the development of professionalism and the education/training of journalists

One other factor which led me towards this education/training of journalists (journalism education) is that it was the logical consequence of my stance as an institutional theorist. Although he is relatively unknown in Japan due to a lack of translated works, Helmut Schelsky is a well-known sociologist within Germany. His book *Zur Theorie der Institution* (For the Theory of Institution) was a crucial influence in my thought. His theory prompted me to start placing a value system within institutions to examine institutions through the approach of functionality then. As such, I’ve spent a long while analyzing Japan’s journalism and its mass media from an angle aligned with this theory of institutions. Yet, what will you do when it becomes increasingly apparent that a lack of professionalism lies at the root of their malfunction? What will you do when you’ve found that a necklace cannot be strung together due to one missing link? I should’ve pointed this out then left it at that, but, unfortunately, it occurred to me to try and create that which was missing.

Why did such a thought have to come to me? It is because I couldn’t help hearing the call of cultural studies (of course, not that of Japan, but rather, the cultural studies within my mind). It was an invitation to take part in the cultural practice of rearing cultural practitioners. At the same time, it would also be a part of the public sphere project—a production of the public sphere.

In this way—in my case—the education/training of journalists

(journalism education) came to take form within that cross-section between the theory of institutions and cultural studies.

6. Operation “Trojan Horse”

Thus, from around the year 2000 onwards, working at Tokyo University, I began to take part in what one might term journalism education. To be candid, we could also call it a “program for social/cultural expressers practice.” Of course, this involved a lot of trial and error with countless twists and turns. Then, eventually, after the death of a close colleague, I was asked to take up his torch by carrying out a system for the graduate school of journalism at Waseda University. This unexpected happening occurred in the autumn of 2005, and April 2006 would mark the beginning of my twelve years at Waseda University. I did submit a written proposal to the university’s executive body, detailing plans for the creation of an independent, comprehensive, cross-faculty graduate school for journalism. But, in the end, these plans were derailed, defeated by university politics, and I stopped pursuing that particular objective. Although there is now a journalism course within the Graduate School of Political Science which calls itself a school of journalism, this has nothing whatsoever to do with me. However, moving away from the graduate school side to the undergraduate side, the establishment of a “liberal arts minor in journalism” went smoothly—thanks, in part, to cooperation from management officers. Indeed, we’ve continued to build upon the curriculum therein, implementing further experimentation/improvements within its teaching methods, while also publishing a textbook and an encyclopedia for journalism.

I’ve always told our students that “this class lies under the Trojan Horse operation.” That is to say, this education and training of talent will neither provide human resources to that distinctly Japanese established media—the so-called *Masukomi*—nor prolong the life of that *Masukomi*, which has been enjoying its Galapagos-like isolated environment in the world. The first idea I would impart to our students was that “Journalism is not the *Masukomi* and the *Masukomi* is not journalism.” The operation aimed to pack a wooden horse with educated people who both

practically and theoretically understood “what journalism entails” and “what it means to be a journalist as a profession” and were willing to take up that mission. Then, we’d offer that wooden horse as a gift for the *Masukomi* to be taken through its castle gates. Once inside the stronghold, our people would creep out of their wooden horse under cover of darkness to begin rebuilding that castle from the inside out, working in solidarity to establish a true manifestation of journalism therein eventually. A plan wherein young people would reform the *Masukomi* system, from an institutional form that alienates real journalists into a world where those journalists are its central players. A plan, entrusting journalists, as the cultivators and constructors of the public sphere, with the task of bringing Japan’s public sphere to life. That was the plan. Looking around my audience, now, I can spot quite a few such warriors from our Trojan Horse—many have come, here, today, from far and wide. I hope they’re doing well.

7. The flaws and limitations of our operation

However, today, this operation faces far more significant difficulties than it once did. We’re approaching a critical turning point. Or, you could argue that this turning point might already be behind us. In other words, we find ourselves in a situation where the viability of this operation itself feels doubtful. Firstly, the general circumstances within those media corporations and organizations, namely the destination of our students, have gone from bad to worse, with no signs of stopping. It has reached the point where I cannot help but think that it’s merely not worth sending any more promising young people their way. The students whom we have sent forth are all struggling within the absurd reality presented by media corporations and organizations. The very fact that they hold moral principles puts them through more strife. And one can only suffer so much. Indeed, talking to such graduates often makes me wonder whether the workplaces, within those media corporations/organizations, are all factories built for the express purpose of breaking people. I want to express anger on behalf of these people, my warriors. Give these people their castle.

Secondly, there's been a remarkable reduction of interest in journalism amongst today's student body. In other words, we're talking and calling out to a much smaller total population. This phenomenon is not merely my impression, but a numerical fact reflected in hard data. The chart on your handouts shows this shift in the number of students that have completed the core subject "introduction to journalism". Among the audience here, I see many graduates who completed this subject. Where, before, we would have about 500 such students, last year saw only about 100 such students—basically a fifth of what we used to get.³

So, what might be causing this sharp decline? Although there is no sure knowledge about the reason, the answer is probably that the current state of journalism in Japan—or, instead, the current state of the *Masukomi* presented before the students of today—holds no appeal whatsoever. It evokes no real excitement and seems far from thrilling. After all, there are generally very few instances that might prompt anyone to develop such feelings for the realities behind any media product. Furthermore, as things stand, one hears nothing except criticisms surrounding problems with the press club system or assessments about an industry in decline. Thus, this fall in popularity appears to be natural.

Nonetheless, I cannot help but feel that there's something more here: that the core interests of students have changed on some fundamental level. Though, of course, this only applies to the majority of students. I won't deny that there remains, as ever, a small minority that stands against this trend.

Operation "Trojan Horse"⁴ had reached a significant limit. Consequently, I had to ask myself whether there was much point in just continuing this project. The answer was: maybe no. That was also when I reached retirement age as decreed by the university, which would automatically mean my withdrawal from this operation. Hence, I decided that the "introduction to journalism" taught last spring semester would be the final one, letting the curtains descend upon the story of that subject, discontinuing it. And yet, this January, that subject won the Teaching Award. The university had seen fit to praise it. There's an irony to something receiving such praise after its discontinuation is a

certainty. If they were going to offer their praise at any point, I'd rather have seen it a lot sooner.

Either way, the new situation demands something different.

8. In this era of the backlash

The situation is dangerous. In these past three years or so, the social realities that journalism must confront have taken a decided turn for the worse worldwide. Indeed, things appear to have reached an entirely new level. Authoritarian governments and dictatorships have emerged all around the world, and democracy has taken a big step back. Political powers have grown crude, insensitive and brutal, lying without hesitation, destroying the dependability of words themselves, becoming increasingly brazen and arrogant. We seem to be slipping back through history.

Japan is no exception. One can argue that the Abe administration (post second Abe government)—reelected through the House of Representatives election in December 2014—differs from the more traditional conservative governments in the past, due to its authoritarian character. This character is most apparent in how it views the Constitution and how it views the media. When we look at Abe's statements and the Liberal Democratic Party's proposed constitutional amendment, it is evident that they think of the Constitution as "something with which to shape a nation." The Constitution should give guiding principles to the nation's people and families, imposing specific duties, something that binds those people, those families. In their eyes, the Constitution is not a "contract of governance between civil society and the state." In other words, it is not a contract that binds the state by first establishing what the state as a government organization must not do during its governance. Instead, it should be a "text given to a nation's people" by the state, a text through which the state conveys its own will to those people. We must say that this understanding is a practically pre-enlightenment mode of thinking.

Furthermore, in the minds of the Abe coalition government (LDP and Komeito coalition), the media must act as a public relations machinery

for the government and ought to cooperate with any governmental activity. They do not seem to recognize any need for “transparency in the government.” That is to say; they do not see any need for the government to provide accountability by showing the taxpayer the exact contents of any activities funded by those taxes. As such, there is no recognition for any duty that the government might have to disclose information produced through governmental activities, nor any respect for the necessity of monitoring power and the watchdog functions of journalism that the media ought to maintain.

The problem is that this authoritarian government was formed via a wholly legal coalition between the LDP and Komeito, establishing a parliamentary majority, while also accruing a steady stream of support from a majority of the electorate. Indeed, it is a specific embodiment of the titular *Escape from Freedom* described by Erich Fromm in his book of the same name. From the viewpoint of psychoanalysis, one can say that such an electorate—who will knowingly support this government seeking to establish a Constitution that will not bind the state, but, instead, restrain its citizens—must be a collective of masochists. Those masochists are willing to abandon freedom, obey authority, and become one with the state.

These past few years, I have always set a particular series of texts to be read and discussed by the freshmen in our “introduction to the social sciences” course. It starts with the novel by YOSHINO Genzaburo, *How Do You Live?* (which has seen a recent resurgence thanks to the publication of a *manga* adaptation last year), followed by works of TAKASHIMA Zenya towards the midpoint of our course, and ends with the book by Fromm. This lineup is to stop those students from slipping into slavery because I do not want my dear students to become slaves. “Do you wish to live in obedience as a slave, forced and obliged by these times?” (MIYAZAWA Kenji, “To You, My Students”)

Our economic powers, too, are engaged in the systematic implementation of barbarous dealings behind their cosmetic façade of IT and public relations. They are working arm in arm with the Abe administration, which continues to spread the past myth of “economic growth.”

They’ve negotiated—under the backup of Abe’s top sales—with foreign authoritarian governments to export nuclear reactor plant, which was already proven defunct within our national borders. They’ve attempted to have the government scrap the basic Japanese Arms Export Ban to start trading weaponry. And, they’ve also been far from transparent within their pursuit of profits, as exemplified by that recent scandal of bid-rigging on the maglev train line construction. However, who suffers for their pursuit of such unjust advantages and unfair profits? Who are the ones reaping the rewards of this so-called “economic growth” built upon the sacrifice of others? Indeed, not the ordinary people of Japan.

9. Investigative journalism and the salvation of victims/ emancipation of slaves

So, what is happening amidst this current worldwide barbarization of political, economic, and social powers? I believe that the keyword here is *slavery*. Slavery is not some story from the distant past, nor is it news from a far-off country. Modern slavery is everywhere; because those systems of power are actively operating everywhere.

The term 過労死 (*karoushi* – overwork death) gave name to an issue which had long gone unnoticed or ignored, thus granting proper form to this problem within Japan. Overseas, the term *karoshi* came to serve as a global linguistic signifier for a situation that appears unthinkable by international standards. However, at this point, we may do better to reconsider the use of this word. Though this word adopts a mild tone that puts its emphasis upon the ultimate limit of a working body’s capacity for endurance, this phenomenon at its core is the death of a corporate slave. A slave is one who has had their freedom stripped from them, one whose basic human dignity has become violated. Regardless of whether this forcible deprivation of their liberty is something evident in its hard brutality, or something shrewder and seemingly softer, a slave is a slave. Indeed, this slavery manifests itself in a great many ways. Some are slaves all dolled up in fashionable wears, while others are slaves soaked in sweat, suffering from malnutrition.

Being unaware of the fact that you are a slave means that you are not aware of the possibility of using the word “slavery” to describe your situation. It means too that you are not able to recognize the dominant power structures within the *system* and lifeworld, which are usually invisible and hidden. If you cannot see that the phrase “work-style changing reform” introduced by the government is an ambiguous term designed to disguise an insidious “workforce rearrangement policy,” then, you are already a step closer to enslavement. Only that awareness can open the door to escape from your circumstances, in which you are helpless against the powerful.

At this stage, it seems to be too late for a fight to rid the lifeworld of its colonizers—too late to organize a battle of anti-colonial liberation. I believe that we must not focus on such a large-scale stage and—instead—start thinking about a far more immediate and concrete struggle for the emancipation of slaves.

I believe that, in this era of the backlash, the most direct, clear-cut, and understandable approach is to observe the world from a victim-centered viewpoint. Victims are to create through the wrongdoing, corruption, evil, and omission caused as an inevitable consequence of those political/economic/social powers operating on both a global and national scale. That is to say; we must focus on the victims of injustice. Enter: investigative journalism of the twenty-first century with its worldwide countermovement. The key points here are the following two. Firstly, it is a movement carried out by journalists across national boundaries. Secondly, it takes a clear stance resisting the various absurdities of our modern world and the powers responsible for their creation.

By my interpretation, this movement of investigative journalism is driven by a mission to monitor the powers at the root of those various absurdities, maintaining an attitude and practice that stands in a confrontational, controversial and uncompromising manner against power. This manner, called antagonism, burns at the core of this movement. Additionally, another element central to this investigative journalism is the autonomy of individual journalists. It is the individual who must

make the active, independent decision to stand for the salvation of victims and the emancipation of slaves. Only an individual can combat the official story—manufactured, distributed, and brazenly normalized by those that side with power. Only the individual can break down that official story by offering an alternative narrative to be produced and transmitted for the public.

Therefore, we will define investigative journalism as a movement—an “ism”—established upon three elements: a central focus on the victim, a sense of antagonism, and the autonomy of journalists. Though this may not change the fundamentals of the *system* (as defined by Habermas), it might end specific instances of injustice. One must admit that this is a strategic retreat, cornered as we are in an era of the backlash. But, inevitably, there are people to be saved through such struggles fought amid the details and individual cases. That is the effect and the value of eliminating each injustice, one at a time. As I see it, this is not an abstract or macroscopic path—not some strategy given by leaders from on high. Instead, the conception of justice held by investigative journalists today—the standpoint adopted by these warriors who are battling amidst a strategic retreat—is something more microscopic and specific. It starts with the salvation of those directly affected—the victims—and thus, seeks to end *that* particular injustice.

10. Antagonism and investigative journalism

At this point, let us take a moment to dwell a little on the idea of *antagonism*. Generally, antagonism denotes an oppositional or hostile relationship between two or more entities within the same category. For instance, the antagonism between the ruling party and the opposition is a conflict between political parties. The antagonistic controtation between the working class and upper class is a conflict between social classes. Therefore, the term is usually in use to indicate a situation wherein the sides involved each hold mutually exclusive interests that clash as a consequence. If the opposition party beats the ruling party through their contest, the former will replace the latter and take office. Similarly, in the case of a class struggle, if the proletariats defeat the

bourgeoisie, they will then hold power.

Should they concede or compromise in their conflict—should they moderate or abandon their interests—their very identities will crumble. To maintain their integrity, they must stake out their antagonism. There are some conflicts and differences within our world which will not and cannot ever disappear.

Compared to this common conception of antagonism, the antagonism which I'm calling for—the antagonism of investigative journalism—may be a little irregular. Then, what sort of relationship does “an attitude and practice based on a confrontational, controversial, and uncompromising manner against power” actually entail? The key here is that this “power” and journalism do not exist within the same category. They do indeed maintain a confrontational relationship, but journalism is neither hostile to power nor a rival to power. Journalism does not intend to take the place of that power. For journalism, power is not the enemy. The real enemy of journalism dwells only within itself.

Similarly, while there are some amongst those various powers which are hostile to critical journalism, the “civilized power” (i.e., the power which hasn't become barbarous) does not direct hostility against the essential presence of journalism, although they may find it annoying. The “civilized power” would have understood that journalism is not there to supplant it. The relationship of antagonism between journalism and power is not one wherein these two forces compete upon some shared arena. Of course, there are some self-declared “journalists” who try to enter that same arena of power and take part in the competition. This sect actively aims to become another political player capable of directing politics. This kind of behavior is—however—a grave transgression. If you want to control politics, you shouldn't position yourself within the field of journalism. Instead, you should make a proper, legitimate entrance into that political arena to officially join that fight for power alongside the parties and politicians. An attempt to direct politics from within the field of journalism is tantamount to smuggling. Still, there are all too many active reporters—and students aspiring to become such reporters—who cannot see this smuggling for what it is.

II. The antagonism of the *Seven Samurai*

Why does investigative journalism monitor power? Why does it consciously choose to take on this task? It is not out of some hostile aim to supplant said power. But, instead, investigative journalism throws itself into this activity of monitoring power because it aims to save those victims that are invariably created by the actions of authority. On reflection, one could say that the general relationship between power and its victims can be broadly defined as a link between the ruler and ruled, between the governing power and governed people—in other words, a relationship between two things within the same category. Therefore—in principle—that more common conception of antagonism can be applied to their relationship.

However, this relationship between power and its victims—the relationship between those that use power and those that suffer power—is very clearly extremely skewed and asymmetric. The victims are utterly powerless and devoid of hope. So, the investigative journalist backs their side. Within this context, the investigative journalist is aligning themselves with the latent antagonism of those victims by adopting the attitude of a confrontational, controversial and uncompromising manner against the power to settle the score for those victims—an act comparable to blood donation and transfusion. Thus, investigative journalism's antagonism and its confronting to the power is then exercised by way of their victims and directed against those powers. This route comes from the fact that the work of a watchdog—the act of journalism—is not a task performed for the sake of one's benefit. Instead, it is an activity carried out on behalf of the civil society of private persons, for the benefit of civil society. To put it another way, it is the job of a professional representative—moreover, a representative that comes in of their own volition.

In this sense, one might say that investigative journalism follows the model of the *Seven Samurai*—that 1954 film directed by KUROSAWA Akira. It wouldn't do to recite a full film synopsis, but the film sets the story in the Japanese medieval era without a ruling order. It tells the story of how some villagers who had been besieged by rogue-samurai-turned-bandits,

hired seven samurai, and fought to protect their village. And then they culminated in their eventual “victory.” One should note that the battle fought by those seven samurai is not one of vengeance. Vengeance—or, a vendetta—denotes an act of retribution, executed to settle the score on behalf of one’s family or master or some such entity that is integral to one’s own identity. Indeed, it was a principle of 有縁 (*uen* – boundedness) accepted and applied by feudal systems.

The eponymous seven *samurai* happen to hear of the villagers’ plight during their wanderings, and angry at the harm done to these villagers by those bandits. The seven *samurai* think, “we cannot let them get away with it.” Therefore, by their sense of justice, the seven *samurai* take up the contract to help the villagers. Thus, a kind of association of mavericks for justice happens to emerge spontaneously. Nevertheless, they’ve no kinship with these villagers. The two groups have nothing to do with each other. After all, these seven are master-less *samurai* wandering down the highway; they have, of course, nothing to do with these peasants. In other words, they are working with a principle of 無縁 (*muen* – unboundedness). If they feel the need to do right, they enter the fray against any tyrannical opponent who wields the power to oppress, and they will do it in exchange for just “three meals a day.” That is their style. Perhaps, at the end of the day, when the battle is over, they may only be left to murmur “again we are defeated,” but even then, even so ... It is the antagonism of the *Seven Samurai*, and, in my opinion, the antagonism of investigative journalism is the same.

What did KUROSAWA Akira want to tell us through that ending? Wherein—despite these two parties fighting side by side—the peasant farmers, in living with the collective community, stand victorious, while those free-lance *samurai*, in living outside of community principles, experience defeat.

12. How the Clinical Professor of Sociology met Waseda Chronicle

The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of opinion and expression, David Kaye, is a volunteer at that post. At the same

time, his primary paid profession lies in the field of academia, as a professor at the University of California, Irvine. It is his latter title that interests me here; for, he is not only a professor of law but a “Clinical Professor of Law.” What would it be in Japanese? Now, he is also the director of an educational research program called the International Justice Clinic. On their website, the organization’s introduction page opens with the following first sentence: “The students in the International Justice Clinic work with activists, lawyers, diplomats, scholars and NGOs at home and around the world to develop and implement advocacy strategies concerning accountability for violations of human rights.” When David Kaye visited Japan to assess the country’s condition, in April 2016, I met with him twice—once at the beginning of his investigation and again at the end. As I recall, he had brought along two students as his assistants, one of whom could speak Japanese. Indeed, Kaye was educating his students, with a practical learning experience, through his volunteer work for the UN. In his report to the Human Rights Council, he warned of severe threats to the independence of the press in Japan.

Kaye’s job title gave me a flash of inspiration. I realized that I was, in fact, a “Clinical Professor of Sociology.”

Is it even possible to teach and train journalists within Japanese universities? In some senses, this entire education project has also been a social experiment performed in association with our students. Although, as a part of the broader effort to improve journalism, it was intended as an indirect route to reform via the cultivation of human resources. However, the rapid decline of our situation made it quite clear that we were out of time. The advancement of human resources is a long-term process. But, just as I was grappling with this issue, I was presented with the opportunity to perform a social experiment through more direct means. That was a route through which we might improve journalism by actually directly participating in the activity of journalism itself. Thus, I began my second term in “Clinical Sociology.”

On the 11th of March 2016, the Waseda Investigative Journalism Project was founded by journalists in the Institute for Journalism at Waseda University. On the 1st of February 2017, Waseda Chronicle began

the online publication of its very first feature series, “Journalism for Sale.” This startup was an attempt to catch Japan up with the movement of investigative journalism sweeping across Asia and the world. From my perspective, Waseda Chronicle was the start of a social experiment structured around two key questions. Firstly, how exactly does one go about creating, expressing, and presenting products of investigative journalism that fulfill all of our criteria mentioned above? Secondly, what are the financial resources and business model best suited for the sustainable growth of such a news organization? Hence, the field of this experiment would be Japan’s civil society. How might civil society react or respond to this developmental experiment? After all, such a news organization could hold little reason to exist without the interest and support from civil society.

As a companion to this project called Waseda Chronicle, I have spent the last two years or so in a constant hectic cycle of entering discussions with those directly involved in the project—the people of Waseda Chronicle—then deliberating and writing my articles. And also, I have been meeting with the participants/citizens at various events to talk, think, and write yet more articles.⁵ Indeed, I have been allowed to practice “clinical sociology” to my heart’s content. Something which I would have been unable to achieve alone, if not for those journalists who answered the call of this current innovation in journalism. Thanks to them, I have been able to broaden my ideas and perspective by accompanying them to observe their endeavor as people directly involved in this movement. Last year, I did my part to help Waseda Chronicle become an official member of the Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN). I also provided support for its members’ presentations during our participation in the Global Investigative Journalism Conference (GIJC) held in South Africa. So, quite a lot has happened in just under two years—right before my retirement from this university. And, I’m most grateful to those people at Waseda Chronicle for this time spent striving, through thick or thin, towards new goals.

However, the trial is only now entering its most critical stage. This February, Waseda Chronicle separated itself from the Institute for

Journalism, thereby breaking away from Waseda University as a whole. It has instead become an independent non-profit organization to proceed with its activities as a newsroom specializing in the field of investigative journalism while operating under the concept of a “Journalism NGO.” Its name will remain the same.⁶ I would say that—at this point—the university has fulfilled its role as an incubator for innovation. Henceforth, civil society will have to look after Waseda Chronicle. That is, only if the members of civil society think they need someone to perform the social functions of a watchdog to the power. If they don’t feel this need, then, that’s that.

13. “To You, My Students” to myself

MIYAZAWA Kenji (1896–1933), who was a poet, fairy tale writer, and a teacher at an agricultural high school, left in his notebook an incomplete piece of poetry “To You, My Students.” The poetry sounds like a speech given before his students on graduation day or, perhaps, like words of farewell uttered on the day he leaves the school. Today—on the day I graduate from this stage of my career and bid farewell to the university—I would like to address that poem to myself, with particular emphasis on the following passage:

With the black bloom called *Sakinohaka*
The revolution will be here before long
It appears as a dispatched single ray
And a sealed south wind as well

These four lines are a mystery. Of course, there is no actual flower named *Sakinohaka*. Ever since I first read this poem, I’ve always wondered what that black bloom entails and what sort of revolution might come with it. To this day, I do not know. After I leave our university, I intend to keep pondering these questions.

Thank you, everyone.

Notes

1. This article is a revised version of the manuscript for my “farewell lecture” held in Waseda University, Block 15, Classroom 02, on the 3rd of February, 2018.
2. The full text in Japanese can be read online at <http://www.hanadataz.jp/o1/oidengon/2010/07/dengon20107.htm>
3. The number of students taking the class “introduction to journalism” had fluctuated around the higher end of the 400s between 2009 and 2015 (with a peak of 561 students in 2012). But, this suddenly dropped down into the 100s in 2016 (when just 152 students completed the class), with only 101 students completing it in 2017.
4. In truth, for me, this operation wasn’t just meant for those students who would go on to find employment in the media industry/organizations. It rested with all those that I taught who would then go onto life within the field of society as workers and citizens, too. I think of every single seminar student that passed through my hands as a warrior.
5. These articles were all included in the book, Tasturo Hanada 花田達朗, ジャーナリズムコレクション 第2巻 ジャーナリズムの実践：主体・活動と倫理・教育2 (2011–2017), 彩流社, 2018年 [Collected Works of HANADA Taturō, Volume Two, *The Practice of Journalism – Agent/Activity and Ethics/Education 2 (2011–2017)*, Tokyo: Sairyusha, 2018.]
6. After declaring its independence from the university, Waseda Chronicle began publishing its second feature series “Forced Sterilization” on the 13th of February 2018. This release also marked the start of its crowdfunding effort.

Initially, this essay appeared in Japanese in the next edition: “Koukyouken, Antagonism, soshite Janarizumu” 公共圏、アンタゴニズム、そしてジャーナリズム. *Sekai* 世界 No. 909 (June 2018): 100–113.

TEZUKA Mafuyu translated this essay into English, and the author edited the translation.

Part II International Symposium on Investigative Journalism in Tokyo and After

Responding to the recommendations of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of opinion and expression, David Kaye, addressed to Japanese journalists

Symposium opening address

HANADA Tatsuro

Welcome to the symposium on “Investigative Journalism in the Regions of Asia: Perspectives and Prospects”! Above all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the co-host organization, Committee to Protect Journalists, CPJ, which is a global NGO, for a significant corroboration. Without CPJ’s initiative and collaboration, I couldn’t prepare the way for and hold this international journalism conference in Tokyo. Today I am filled with appreciation to all members of the CPJ delegation attending here and the invited panelists from abroad.

This symposium aims to consider the state of journalism, journalists, and civil society, not from a national perspective, let alone the narrow view of the Japanese media company or the *Masukomi* – our established media – but from a global and universal perspective.

Journalism is a thought and activity borne from the conditions that created our modern era. The modern state was formed around a design in which civil society entrusts governance to a governmental structure composed of the three powers: parliament, the courts, and the administration. At the same time, civil society determined a contract of governance; in other words, a constitution, containing stipulations that parliament, the courts, and the administration cannot breach fundamental human rights. This thought, in essence, means civil society desired and demanded that the state keep that promise. Also, civil society concluded to create the function to monitor the government whether it holds accountability throughout its activities without falling into injustice, corruption, negligence or anything of the wrongdoing. That role

was entrusted to journalism. Thus, to protect this journalism and the activities that constitute it, it was determined that the freedom of expression, the freedom of the press, should head the list of stipulations about fundamental human rights within the constitution.

Based on the lessons of history, authority indeed holds immense power, inevitably falling to corruption within any country. Once such abuses of power become rampant, it becomes an unstoppable force. It is precisely to prevent this that journalism is embedded in the democracy, to begin with, serving as a force to manage authority. It is in this sense that journalism’s function of monitoring power as a watchdog has, mostly, been termed an aid to civil society: a public service. The principle of politics through modern democracy, one that we have all learned in school and already hold to be common sense, that of a “government of the people, by the people, for the people” as stated by Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address of 1863, was supposed to be manifested and realized within the system I have described. Those “people” are the constituent members of civil society – meaning every one of us.

At times, journalism has fulfilled its mission to monitor governmental authority with resolution, and glory, while, at others, it has been badly defeated. Or else, in many instances, it has willfully abandoned that mission and, actively or passively, become but a subordinate to those governmental authorities and the major corporations or organized crime groups that they collude with, consequently betraying the trust of civil society, casting it into the very depths of calamity.

Then, dear journalists, members of civil society, what is the state of journalism today? As you are all aware, journalism within every country, including here in Japan, is in a difficult situation. Amid changes to the political, economic, social, and technological landscape, faced, especially, with political and economic threats, journalism stands before a new, genuine crisis; that of journalism being unable, unwilling, and, indeed, not acting to fulfill its fundamental mission properly. For journalists trying to achieve that mission, it is an existential crisis as well as a functional crisis. It is a crisis that will come to question the very reason for being a journalist.

When a crisis like this emerges, those affected begin attempts to overcome it, joining with their allies to form movements tackling this threat. The same applies to journalists. Journalists the world over have always started efforts to recover whenever they've seen their power weaken: in other words, attempts at self-reform and innovation. Today, that movement rallies under the banner of "Investigative Journalism." The movement aims to serve as a watchdog, producing journalistic works, getting results, living up to the expectations of readers and audiences, fulfilling that duty given by civil society through the practice of investigative journalism. That is how journalism can show its accountability to civil society. This movement is driven and carried by various journalists and various organizations. The CPJ is one of these, as is the Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN), who are also collaborators to this symposium.

Now, at this point, I would like to take a little time to introduce the host of this conference, the Waseda University Institute for Journalism. The institute was founded in 2015 to contribute to the improvement and development of journalism. To take part in that global movement towards self-innovation, the institute set up the Waseda Investigative Journalism Project (WIJP) in the autumn of that same year and, after a period of preparation, began publishing online under the name of Waseda Chronicle in February, this year, with our first feature entitled "Journalism for Sale," a still ongoing series.

Waseda Chronicle is a social experiment to determine the possibilities for investigative journalism within Japan. It holds two key objectives. The first is to determine what new narrative of investigative journalism, one can carve out, separate from the established existing media of Japan. The other is to learn how one might create an organizational and financial model that can continue to sustain such activities. Waseda Chronicle is a news organization based in a university like those within the University of California, Berkeley, and the American University in Washington DC. But I am currently feeling the full force of the fact that the circumstances under which we must operate here are fundamentally different from the states in the USA. In particular, the conditions

surrounding fundraising are radically different from those in the USA.

Now, for today's symposium, in the first half, we will discuss the past, present, and future of investigative reporting within Japan. In the second half, the representatives of 4 investigative news organizations from around Asia will join us in the hall to discuss their current and future goals, objectives, and obstacles. Speaking of which, as you journalists and members of civil society here today may know, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of opinion and expression, Professor David Kaye, held a press conference at Sophia University, the day before yesterday. His final report on Japan was released at the end of last month and will soon be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights. At that conference, Professor Kaye placed the most weight upon "the independence of the media." And, what left an even more profound impression on my mind was how, in discussing this, Professor Kaye stressed both the need for solidarity among journalists and the need to develop investigative journalism. Unlike the rest of his recommendations, which were directed at the government or media corporations, this one was a recommendation, and at the same time, a message aimed at the journalists of Japan. However, unfortunately, none of the newspaper reports from the following day truly touched upon this.

The issue of what sort of journalism we adopt, and what results we expect of it, is ours to wrestle with. Every one of us here today is directly involved in this issue. Indeed, this is a common objective, that transcends national boundaries, shared by journalists active on a global level and by a global civil society. How should we tackle that objective? And what actions should we take? More what support and contribution can we provide? So, I would like to end my address with the hope that we might consider these issues through our conference today, and that I might contribute to the deepening of this discussion. Thank you very much.

GIJN invite you to join us

Alessia Cerantola

Thank you for having me. I'm here to speak about collaborative journalism, and how being alone is not, well, that good. Still, I'll try anyway to spread the message from the Global Investigative Journalism Network. I'm kind of an ambassador, but I'm not worthy of representing all the extraordinary journalists who are part of the network. My name is Alessia Cerantola. I'm a journalist originally from Italy.

So let me give you my perspective of what the Global Investigative Network is for my group and me. In 2011, when Japan was facing the aftermath of the earthquake and tsunami, and then the Fukushima nuclear crisis, in another part of the world in Kyiv, Ukraine, a meeting of the Global Investigative Journalism Conference was taking place. During that meeting, a group of Italian journalists met for the first time. I was one of them. We were journalists coming from completely different backgrounds, having different interests. My main focus is Japan; other journalists were covering other parts of the world or covering other issues.

But after this conference, where we met for the first time, we realized that we shared the same values, the same way of doing journalism, the same mission, and also a wish. We shared a wish of creating in our own country, in Italy, a center for investigative journalism based on the U.K. or U.S. models. And so we did. A couple of months after this meeting, we co-founded the first center for investigative journalism in my country. It's called IRPI and stands for Investigative Reporting Project Italy. We mainly focus on Italy, but we cover transnational issues, and some of us, including me, sometimes cover cases or crimes not related to our country.

Basically what we focus on is corruption and organized crime. You

know we have famous mafias in our country. Not one mafia, but four kinds of mafias. So we are very international with that. Well, we have a lot of jobs and topics we have to cover. So what I want to say is thanks to this conference, and thanks to the Global Investigative Journalism Conference. This is one of the effects, one of the results of these kinds of meetings: Bringing together people with different backgrounds, with different interests, but with the same values, to create new groups, new associations for promoting investigative journalism around the world.

The Global Investigative Journalism Network is an international association of 145 nonprofit organizations from around the world, from 62 countries, to encourage journalists in doing investigative journalism, and to support colleagues from around the world in doing their job properly, through giving them training, conferences, and other support, also legal support in case they need it. So, the Global Investigative Journalism Network publishes a website, you can see it at www.gijn.org. They publish in five languages. Hopefully, in the future, it will be in Japanese, who knows?

They publish articles related to investigative journalism, how to do our jobs. We share information and best practices on how to do our job. And even if it's an association of NPOs, other journalists who are not part of these, who are just staff writers that report for their newspapers or TV outlets, can join and follow the Global Investigative Journalism Network through its social media: Facebook, Twitter, it's very well-coordinated. Every two years, the network organizes an international conference called the Global Investigative Journalism Conference. This year it will be in Johannesburg, in November, so save the date.

November 16 is the next meeting. It's a huge and important chance for investigative journalists to meet and to share what they have done over the year and to ask colleagues from other countries to collaborate to pursue their investigation. This meeting is a critical moment for us as journalists because we have the chance to meet people that, over the year, we meet online using email. It's a chance to meet our colleagues in person. Also, it's a chance to create new groups and new teams. It was also thanks to one of these meetings that some of our reporters created

the team that published the Panama Papers last year in April.

So, it is also an opportunity for Japanese reporters to join this network if they feel isolated in their own country in doing investigative journalism. Joining this group, they have the chance to share their ideas on doing investigative journalism, and they can do cross-border, transnational investigations, going beyond the censorship in their own country, if it exists. So this is, for example, what we did as Italian journalists. We have many extraordinary journalists in Italy who have been covering the mafia in our own country, for years. But they were isolated. They wrote just in Italian for our own country.

But having the chance to collaborate with international journalists, doing transnational coverage, we were able to empower the impact that our investigation had. This is a valuable tool that I hope that more journalists, especially from Japan, can use to have more significant impact in your job and to feel less isolated. So save the date for the South African meeting. I hope we can meet again, there, and good luck, *ganbare*, in Japanese, to all of you. So I hope that we can collaborate for the next investigation. Who knows? Thank you. *Arigatou gozaimashita*.

Japan's experience with investigative journalism

Panel discussion 1

Panelists:

YORIMITSU Taka'aki, former investigative division chief, *The Asahi Shimbun*

KUMADA Yasunobu, current affairs division deputy-head, NHK

ISHIMARU Jiro, journalist, *Asia Press Network*

Martin Fackler, former Tokyo bureau chief, *The New York Times*

Moderator:

Steven Butler, Asia program coordinator, Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)

Steven Butler

Good afternoon, everyone. Thank you, Professor Hanada, for inviting everyone here and for setting the stage for this kind of conversation, which I think is vital for Japan and all of us. I'm really honored to be sitting on stage with these accomplished journalists who have extensive experience reporting in Japan.

I hope we'll have a useful discussion about what has worked, what hasn't worked, and what might work in the future of investigative journalism in Japan. I think it's safe to say we're all here because we believe investigative journalism is a good idea, and we'd like to find ways to encourage it. Just let me briefly introduce the journalists who are going to help us try to understand what's going on.

First of all there's Taka'aki Yorimitsu, who ran the investigative desk of *The Asahi Shimbun* during the Fukushima nuclear crisis; Yasunobu Kumada, an award-winner and deputy-head of the current affairs division at NHK; Jiro Ishimaru of the *Asia Press Network*, who has made extraordinary efforts to lift the veil on what is happening in North Korea—he has a lot of stories to tell us; and finally Martin Fackler, who's the former *New York Times* Tokyo bureau chief. He was

something of a savant on the issues of the Japanese press, the successes, and the failures. He knows a lot more about this than I do, and I think he'll be able to add quite a lot of wisdom.

By investigative journalism, we can mean many different things, but at heart, it's reporters trying to unearth source material for stories. That takes a lot of hard digging because no one is just giving it up to everybody. And usually people in power, in the public or private sectors, don't want to see this information in the public realm. So, you can't just show up at a press conference and have it handed to you.

It's hard work. It's also expensive. Because it's time-consuming and labor-intensive, many news organizations facing financial pressure have trimmed or eliminated investigative operations. The volume of input to output can be extremely high. Sometimes it's dangerous to the reporters because making information public can harm the people whose secrets are exposed, and sometimes those people have the power to retaliate. Attacks on investigative journalists around the world keep my organization, the Committee to Protect Journalists, very busy. We document those attacks, call on authorities to provide protection, and put pressure to get journalists out of jail. Or, when the ultimate tragedy results, we put pressure on governments to find, prosecute, and punish those who kill journalists, which is the ultimate form of censorship. Fortunately, that sort of thing is not happening in Japan.

Of course, sometimes the opposite happens, as when corrupt government officials, businessmen, or even leaders of charitable organizations land in jail or are thrown out of office. Or when important public policies change for the better when the truth comes out. Investigative journalism can be very difficult to fit into larger news organizations that principally produce other kinds of news products. Hard-hitting investigative stories can attract readers and viewers, but they also potentially can harm the business interests of a large news organization by affecting advertising or other business relationships. And keeping investigative operations separate from other news

organizations can be a challenge for management.

The practice of investigative journalism has waxed and waned in the United States. We think of the early heyday as the beginning of the 20th century, when journalists uncovered municipal corruption or horrible working conditions in the meatpacking industry. That's when Teddy Roosevelt coined the term "muckraking" as an insult, but of course, it stuck. And most journalists now wear the title of "muckraker" with pride. The 1960s witnessed another outpouring of investigator effort, when journalists like David Halberstam uncovered lies that were being told about the Vietnam War. Investigative journalism flourishes when governments or businesses lie, cheat, and deceive the public.

And unfortunately, that happens a lot. We are arguably seeing another renaissance of investigative reporting that has now gone global in spite of the business challenges facing the news industry. Investigative efforts have been hived off into separate organizations like ProPublica in the United States, launched with the support of one wealthy family but now funded by a wide range of foundations and individuals.

In addition to the sort of digging journalist dramatized in the movie *Spotlight*, reporters are learning how to assemble and analyze data. The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists helped lead the global effort to analyze the *Panama Papers*, and we are fortunate today to have Alessia Cerantola to tell us about the Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN), which helped provide training and access to other resources.

This afternoon, we are inevitably going to discuss why investigative journalism is difficult in Japan. But it is important to keep in mind that it is difficult everywhere. It is not uniquely difficult in Japan, or, if there are unique aspects to working in Japan, Japanese investigative journalists are certainly not alone in facing big obstacles to practicing their craft. With that in mind, I'd like to invite our Japanese colleagues to take a few minutes to describe their own experience of muckraking in Japan, and for Martin perhaps to give us

a bit of reflection and overview on the kind of experience that they describe to us. Yorimitsu-san, would you like to go first?

YORIMITSU Taka'aki

Hello, everyone, I'm Yorimitsu. I formerly served as *The Asahi Shimbun's* investigative division chief. I was with the *Asahi* for eight and a half years, and I also worked at a local paper in Kochi Prefecture. I'm going to talk about my experiences working for the local newspaper. I have 35 years of experience in journalism. In the past 35 years, how and what Japanese journalists write is supposed to be of high quality. When I first became a journalist, good journalists were defined as those knowing how to challenge power and influential leaders. That's what we considered a good journalist.

My first job as a journalist was at *Kochi Shimbun*. I think this paper had one of the largest population-to-readership ratios. The strength of a newspaper depends on its readership, and this paper had a very high market share. Its senior writers were also quite strong in challenging influential leaders. For example, they had access to the governor and the head of the police department as well. So, they were very successful at access journalism, and I really admired them.

They were accessing the influential leaders, gaining information, and writing articles. In a sense, they were gaining access to information that would be revealed anyway. To get such information half a day earlier, for example, is not special. *Kochi Shimbun* would start to write about it a half-day earlier than the other newspapers. Now, those writers were proud of revealing information a half-day earlier, but this kind of information would be revealed anyway, and so my immediate seniors started to talk about how they could be doing better work.

What did they do? It was the start of investigative reporting. In 1993, there were some business and trips made by the prefectural government officials that hadn't actually taken place. There were travel expenses that were budgeted, and sometimes they had some unused funds, and they accumulated such unused funds. When a central government official came over to Kochi Prefecture, they used those

funds for entertainment.

Kochi Shimbun reported that the amount was about 200 million yen (about \$1.9 million) a year. The prefectural government has the largest market share of *Kochi Shimbun*, and there was fighting between the two. Some people were concerned, but in the end, nothing happened. Then in 2000, *Kochi Shimbun* reported that the prefectural government and some influential leaders loaned 1 billion yen (about \$9.3 million) without permission. After I left the paper, it was reported that the Kochi Prefectural Police also had a slush fund.

Gaining information from influential leaders had been *Kochi Shimbun's* previous style of journalism, but we switched our approach to revealing what those political leaders were doing. That was the starting point for me in investigative reporting. During the process, I think we didn't always know how to proceed, and we tried to rely on different kinds of information sources, for example, making use of the freedom of information legislation.

By now, what *Kochi Shimbun* does is not unique. Gaining access to the government and from that stage writing articles against the government or the prefectural government—that kind of shift is natural. Looking at other local newspapers, they also started to embark on investigative reporting.

So, what is supposed to be investigated and reported? Opportunities will not simply fall into our hands. Instead, we need to see that there are clues everywhere. In whatever reporting and newsgathering, you are engaged in, you can identify clues to the problems. What matters is how to capture that clue and write an article. Individual journalists' mindsets are extremely important; this is the first point. The second point, and this sounds somewhat contradictory to the first point, is that the organization plays an important role.

At least half of young journalists express the desire to engage in investigative journalism. But it isn't easy for them to do so because they are very busy with other assignments. There was only one journalist working for the bureau that I headed, so you can imagine how busy I was. Japanese newspapers try to cover everything. For example,

traffic accidents, some other accidents, events, elections, politics, and sports. They are all covered in the same newspaper. Trying to cover so many different topics and events makes you quite busy.

The advantage and the weakness of the Japanese press are that it does not abandon anything. But journalists are limited in time, so a decision has to be made: What is to be prioritized? That is the role the organization is supposed to play. I do believe that Japanese newspapers have quality that we can be proud of; the quality of journalists is extremely high. For example, *The Asahi Shimbun* has over 2,000 journalists. But because all these journalists are very busy, Japanese journalism overall is not that active in investigative journalism. It is a matter of organizational priorities.

Investigative journalism is possible if the organization decides to set up a special framework for journalists to do so. I do not know much about foreign journalism, but what characterizes the Japanese press is what I call the “ground war.” Journalists are sent into the field. That kind of practice is meant to teach young journalists the ropes; they are sent to visit households to gather information and news. Young journalists are trained this way, and I think it’s an effective method.

Therefore, generally speaking, I do think that Japanese journalists are capable. But the issue is how to make the best use of journalists’ talents. I belonged to journalism organizations for many years, and so I can give this insight from an organizational perspective. If Japanese journalists are going to be made use of, there is still a lot of opportunities available in the Japanese press.

Steven Butler

Thank you very much. We can now hear from Kumada-san about his exploits at NHK.

KUMADA Yasunobu

My name is Kumada, and I work for NHK. I’m pleased to be here; NHK is a public broadcasting organization, so we are not usually invited to events like this. That is perhaps because NHK is generally perceived as being close to the national government. My staff told me to say

this: “We are not for the state government; we are for the public.”

The central government may want certain things not to be known to the public. But NHK’s role is still to convey this information. In a place like NHK, there are many reporters who have close access to top government and bureaucracy leaders. Of course, that’s necessary, and there is specific information you can only get from that close access. But there are many reporters working on investigative reporting. Those reporters work every day to dig up stories that the powerful, the rich, and criminals would like to hide.

I will not talk about my own experience because it will take too much time; I will instead talk about NHK’s role as a public organization. NHK is good at certain kinds of journalism, in particular, dealing with massive amounts of data and materials. We analyze and report on them. NHK’s investigative reporting began in 2001 with a story about Minamata disease. In 2001, freedom of information legislation was introduced. Since that system was instituted, we brought in massive amounts of data and materials, analyzed them, and then produced a program.

The 2004 Japanese national highways case is another excellent example. At that time, there were parliamentarians in the Japanese Diet with connection to the highways, and they were very powerful. Their interests were connected with railway operations, the roads that would be built across Japan, and the promise that it would be made free of charge. But tolls were raised year after year. Something was wrong with this system. Why was this happening? We wanted to expose what was going on behind the scenes. So, we brought in and analyzed 10,000 pages of information, and we interviewed people to get witnesses’ testimonies as well. And then, we found out about unsubstantiated accounting. That was the reason for the bloated accounting among the highway corporations. After this program, NHK specials were regarded as synonymous with investigative reporting. This is still going on today. People, money, and time will usually have to be put into this kind of journalism.

We also make an effort to notice local reporters. During the

earthquake and tsunami on March 11, 2011, 74 school children died at Okawa Elementary School. Why weren't they able to evacuate? Journalists obtained the evacuation manual through a freedom of information request. We reported on the manual because it hadn't included an evacuation place. It said to go to a nearby park, but there was no nearby park for that particular elementary school. All news organizations reported on that.

But why was such an evacuation manual created in the first place? That was the question. So we collected manuals from various municipalities. More than 50 percent of the elementary schools in areas at risk from tsunami had no tsunami evacuation plan. The tsunami didn't hit some elementary schools, but many schools could have faced tragedy. The reason was that the evacuation manuals had been created from a template made by Ishinomaki City 10 years prior. It was distributed to various schools as "reference materials." Schoolteachers are not experts on disasters. Based on these reference materials, school-specific manuals were supposed to be written. But the reference manual's authors lived far from the ocean, so there was no mention of tsunami.

In some cases, the reference manual had simply been copied and pasted. This was not only a problem for Okawa Elementary School. All schools across Japan and all municipalities' disaster manuals have this kind of problem. In Niigata Prefecture, there was snow disaster material written by the same consultant. But the consultant worked in western Japan, where there is no snow. So a universal problem was exposed. This is what we do. Young local reporters are given opportunities to dig up a story, and we help them.

We get a lot of information through freedom of information requests. Money leaves traces. There was a big case in 2010: Public documents called "administrative project review sheets" were introduced to help properly allocate the Japanese budget. I always used to ask, "What is the purpose?" and "How much money was used?" for various parts of the national budget. The review sheets made it easier to discuss the national budget. At the time, open data was becoming

common around the world. Publicly available information could be analyzed through investigative reporting.

Eighteen months after March 11, 2011, we ran a program about the colossal disaster reconstruction budget. We analyzed the administrative project review sheets and looked into debris disposal, public works, procurement, etc. And we realized that the bureaucracies were racing against one another to ensure their own reconstruction budget, and to do this sometimes money would be used in places far from the disaster area. Some projects that had been discontinued before March 11, 2011, were reopened because of the reconstruction budget. NHK's investigative reporting techniques were fully mobilized to produce this program.

But still, our program couldn't only rely on the analysis of this massive amount of data. The budget was being questioned even before our reporting, but at the time, the government and bureaucracies didn't pay any attention to them. They didn't change their behavior. We wanted to create an impact. The people creating the budgets were not visiting the areas affected by the disaster. There were many people dying because of the disaster, and money was not being given to those places. That needed to be shown to the public. Even 18 months after the disaster, only the local reporters in Sendai and Morioka could find those facts. We wanted to show the reality on camera in order to really make an impact on viewers.

The reconstruction budget actually came from the reconstruction tax increase. Because everything was in confusion, there were many people who did not understand that the tax was just for use in disaster-affected areas. We wanted viewers to think about whether it was right to use the tax increase in this way. Then the viewers would make their own judgment. Because of our program, the central government and public opinion moved in a major way.

On the other hand, there are certain areas where data is not available at all. One NHK special addressed the phenomenon of "solitary deaths" taking place in subsidized apartment complexes. I think this was the first report on the subject. We looked at the Tokiwadaira

Apartment Complex in Matsudo City, Chiba Prefecture; it's a mammoth affordable housing complex.

We first realized there was a story there because a young reporter was making house calls as he gathered information about a murder case. He discovered something strange: There was only one person, usually an elderly person, living in each apartment he visited. Sometimes these people die alone, and sometimes their death will only be discovered several months later. We wanted to report on these "solitary deaths." At the time, municipalities and governments didn't have any data about solitary deaths. We formed a reporting unit, and then we placed a camera in this housing complex. Then, we got pictures of the people dying alone. This reporting introduced the phrases "solitary death" or "death in loneliness" into broad society. We exposed various problems, such as lost family connections, the income gap, unemployment, and so forth.

We thought that social problems were developing, issues that the government was not aware of, or that it was deliberately ignoring. Data and materials didn't exist yet, but we could still dig up information and make reports. We made a special titled "Working Poor." No matter how hard you work, you can only earn so much below the poverty line, and there are so many people who cannot get rich. We depicted this situation in detail. Until this program, it was not aware that there was severe and pervasive poverty in Japan. But because of this program, the growing income gap has been recognized as a societal problem. "Working poor" has become a new word we introduced into the Japanese lexicon.

But it's a challenge when you want to report on a subject without existent data. First, you want to have a story, a narrative, or a hypothesis. Then you investigate that story, beefing it up with data and materials. But we have to be careful that we are not making convenient use of any facts or images to support our stories.

If it is said that data does not exist, something it is merely hidden. I think this trend toward concealing information is becoming stronger in Japan. I'm concerned that our laws are tending more towards

secrecy. Going forward, we have to address these issues.

I don't want to criticize NHK, but we are public broadcasting, and the hurdles for getting our stories aired are very high. We ask ourselves: Is it really reportable? There are various pressures, and there are stable and high hurdles. We are sometimes forced to use ambiguous expressions to get around them. We must continuously ask ourselves how we can deliver investigative reporting. Thank you very much.

Steven Butler

Thank you. Now we'll turn to Ishimaru-san, who is involved in maybe the most challenging kind of investigative work of anybody.

ISHIMARU Jiro

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. My name is Ishimaru, and I'm from the Osaka office of *Asia Press International (AIP)*. *AIP* is an independent organization created in 1987. It is a network organization of freelance journalists.

API covers specific areas or issues in-depth, and in particular, supports journalists in Asia. Currently, over 20 Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, and other Asian journalists are members. We have some friends working in North Korea as well. Instead of working in the same organization, *API* is a network of independent journalists who are doing their own work.

I have been involved in North Korea for many years. Today, I would like to share what I experienced in investigative reporting outside the scope of the mainstream media. The picture you see on the screen was taken in 2008 on the outskirts of Pyongyang. A North Korean, my journalist partner, took this picture. It looks like nothing special, just shopping in an open-air market. But probably the journalist would be severely punished if this photo were revealed to the authorities. That demonstrates the fact that North Korea is one of the most reclusive countries in the world.

Entering North Korea is extremely difficult. And even if you can go into the country, there are a lot of limitations. I have been to North Korea three times. Outside of your bedroom, you are always closely

watched, and you can only see what the North Korean authorities would like to show to you, like special showcases and gimmicks. The North Korean authorities have a staged system that can be shown to foreigners.

And another point is that they have their own media strategy. The national broadcasting organization has the policy to communicate what they want to talk to the outside. There is growing interest in North Korea among international media, so there are a lot of different ways to gain access to information. The first is primary information, for example, from the *Kyodo*, *AP*, and *AFP* Pyongyang bureaus. But, that said, those journalists are not stationed in Pyongyang. On a day-to-day basis, it is North Korean correspondents who do the coverage. Sometimes you are allowed to enter North Korea. There was a significant event in April 2017 on the occasion of the 105th anniversary of the birth of Kim Il-Sung.

There is also some news coverage conducted in the border area and even in Russia. These are the sources of our primary information. Secondary information includes, for example, trade statistics and testimony by defectors. Close to 30,000 defectors reside in South Korea. There are also leaks by the South Korean authorities. And sometimes, we use the North Korean state media websites and reports.

Missile launches are often shown on international TV. They all use footage taken from the state media. The photos and videos of missile launches are striking images, and the international media tends to use them. As a matter of fact, that is North Korea's intention. There is an image they want to project, that North Korea is not lagging behind the rest of the world. It has modern devices and modern cityscapes and life. That's the image they would like to project, as well as that North Korea is a socialist state but that it runs an autonomous and self-reliant economy.

Another reason for frequently showing missile launches is to project an image of power. Making the world see North Korea as a militarily strong country helps protect them. But my interpretation is that the military image of the country is much stronger than in reality.

Another image is that the people are united under the leader. These kinds of information and images are being communicated across the world. But I don't agree with this kind of image.

I visited North Korea in 1995, '97, and '98, and what I strongly felt through these experiences was that you are always watched when you are out of bed. There was an insurmountable barrier, and only by crossing barrier would you be able to see the reality. I interviewed defectors who were living, for example, in China. Through my interviews with those defectors, I came to believe that it was only North Koreans themselves who would be able to uncover the reality of their country. I decided then to form a team with them. My objective is to train North Korean journalists. They should play the central role in gathering data and reporting it outside the country.

Information about North Korea is difficult to prove, so having strong evidence is extremely important, such as photos, videos, audio recordings, and documents. We received 80 copies of a recently revised physics textbook last year from North Korea. And North Korean soldiers are suffering from malnutrition, and some of them are dying from hunger.

I mentioned gimmicks. Foreign visitors only see the beautiful aspects of Pyongyang; there is a gimmick behind this. This photo is of a station in the suburban area. A soldier guards the gate. That means that if there is going to be an event in which foreigners may participate, then North Koreans who look suspicious or with knapsacks are barred from entering, because foreign visitors may see something they're not supposed to. So this older man was turned away at the entrance to the station.

This is Ku Gong-Ho, who is a North Korean journalist. My partner took this video in Pyongyang. Foreign visitors don't know anything about Pyongyang; they only know about beautiful places. He wanted to let the truth be known to the international community. Thank you.

Steven Butler

Thank you very much. Martin, you want to weigh in on some of the things we've talked about?

Martin Fackler

Yes, thank you, Steve. My job, as I understand it, is to fill in the gaps, rather than to talk about my own experiences. So, I'll start by trying to give some context to what we've been hearing.

During the last few days, when the folks from the Committee to Protect Journalists have been in town, we've talked about Japan's potential as a beacon in Asia for journalistic freedom and freedom of speech. And I think that's entirely possible and true. I think Japan has enormous potential and, in fact, already is a beacon for the region. And I also believe there is some outstanding investigative journalism in Japan and some excellent journalists. So, I wanted to start with that.

However, I do think there have also been some real problems, particularly in the last five years or so. Some of the problems that I've seen in investigative journalism in Japan are unique to Japan and are a reflection of structural problems or issues in the country. Other problems are universal problems that all journalists—all of us—share, and that certainly are not unique to Japan.

Beginning in 2012, Japan had a kind of renaissance of investigative journalism after Fukushima, starting about four to six months after the accident. But when the Abe government took power in December 2012, I think we started to see that ending, with Japanese investigative journalism going into a bit of an "ice age," so to speak. But recently we're starting to see some moves back in the right direction. I'll talk a little bit more about that later.

But first, I'll talk about the strengths of Japanese investigative journalism, at least that I've seen in the big newspapers, which are mainly what I look at. When I was working here as a journalist, I read five newspapers every day: the *Sankei*, *Tokyo Shimbun*, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, and *Mainichi Shimbun*. I've cut that down a bit now because I have to pay for them myself, but this was back when the company would cover the tab. I looked at the various pages they put out every day, what they were writing, and what they were reporting on.

I think one of the very admirable qualities in Japanese journalism is tenacity. Once they seize on something, they don't let it go. My favorite example of this is the series that my friend Yorimitsu-san oversaw: *The Prometheus Trap*. It was published every day in the newspaper. Every day! It was a series like you couldn't do in American journalism. *The New York Times* could not have an investigative series that appeared every day in the paper for like five years. And that's what this *Prometheus Trap* series was. It has been compiled into eight or nine book volumes at this point. Just the various columns and the kind of depth and texture that it allows reporters to do is quite extraordinary.

Another strength, I think, is the thoroughness. You know, I've had the pleasure and the privilege of being able to help with Waseda Chronicle here at Waseda University. And when I've watched how they report things, there's a thoroughness; they get all the documents, they cover all the bases, and they don't make leaps of judgment. There's a real sort of nose to the ground, "let's figure out what's going on" kind of thing. Which I think is a real asset to Japanese investigative journalism.

There's a history here that has taught Japanese journalists over and over again the importance of investigative journalism. The biggest lesson from history, of course, was the failure of journalists to oppose World War II and the decision to go to war against a far stronger enemy with no plan for winning. After the war, there was a lot of reflection, a lot of people coming back and saying: "How could we have done that better?" I think for generations of *Asahi* journalists and *Mainichi* journalists, for example, you saw that: "How can we avoid that mistake again?" You saw it during the 1970s, with the coverage of Minamata disease, which Kumada-san mentioned. You saw it with the rise of TANAKA Kakuei, a new style of "machine politics" and investigative journalism to expose those problems. And belatedly, you saw it after Fukushima. It took a little while, but it came, and one of the results was, as I mentioned before, some really good investigative journalism about the aftermath of that disaster.

What are some of the problems? I think there are structural

weaknesses that are unique to Japan. One, I believe, is the excessive emphasis on access journalism. Yorimitsu-san touched upon this: When he was younger, people saw the ability to get close to authority figures and government leaders as being a measure of success for a journalist. I think that's still probably the norm; to be honest, I don't think that's been replaced by investigative journalism. You talk to people at all ranks of the papers, and they'll still brag about how they got so close to such-and-such a politician, or say, "My job was to know this politician," and "I was the only one he would invite to breakfast," and this kind of thing. You see that same pattern with the coverage of Abe Shinzo, the current prime minister, and the way that the papers try to get close to the administration. One of the consequences of that emphasis on access journalism is that it makes it very difficult for a place like the *Asahi* to do investigative journalism, especially if it's challenging the narratives being put forward by the administration. And I think that's one of the problems that the *Asahi's* special investigative section ran into that eventually led to their being largely gutted in 2014.

You end up getting a massive pushback within media organizations against investigative journalism for fear that it's going to piss off officials and that the reporters in the press clubs will lose their access. One of the biggest problems I've seen as I've talked to investigative journalists in large Japanese newspapers is the fact that they get so much internal resistance. The other reporters don't like what they're doing and say, "You're pissing off my sources," "You're making the government angry," "You're making my job harder," this sort of thing.

Another structural weakness that I would cite is the lack of solidarity between media organizations. This was apparent in the 2014 pressure on the *Asahi Shimbun* and its decision to retract several stories and, as I said, to gut its special investigative section. I think the biggest issue for the *Asahi* was internal pressure, that the journalists turned against the special investigative section. But it also faced enormous external pressure from other media companies.

The *Yomiuri*, the *Sankei*, the *Mainichi*, Kyodo News—a lot of places went after the *Asahi* and tried to steal readers. That kind of "divide and conquer" plays right into the hands of the government. It allows them to single out and to humble or to stop news organizations that are trying to do more investigative work.

The third structural weakness I'd point to is a lack of a professional identity. Because of the way that the employment system is structured and the way that Japanese journalists are hired—they're hired into companies, and they make their entire careers within these companies—you don't have a shared professional identity across the profession, across journalism. Instead, you have very stove-piped identities that are focused on the company. Again, I'll cite the *Asahi* in 2014 as an example. When the newspaper felt under enormous pressure, the journalists inside the paper decided to turn against the investigative reporting section because they felt that their top priority was not to journalism as an ideal but rather to the company, to the organization, to preserve their jobs.

One side effect of that has been that a lot of the top investigative journalists have left the *Asahi*; they have given up. A couple of them have come here to Waseda Chronicle, some have gone to *Facta*, and *Buzzfeed* got at least one *Asahi* journalist I know. A lot of the good journalists left and went to different places because they felt they couldn't do what they wanted at the *Asahi*. I'm just using the *Asahi* as an example. It's not just the *Asahi*. I think that *Asahi* is one of the better cases, actually.

Then, the universal problems—these will be familiar to people in the United States. One is the decline of the industry. The digital environment has hit Japanese readership and subscription numbers hard, just as it has in the United States and other countries. This is a common problem that we all face. What's the business model? How do we make money? This sort of pressure makes it harder to do investigative journalism, especially if you're worried about losing readers or worried about having enough money.

Two, I think there are new forms of pressure via social media.

Governments can reach out via social media to attack journalists and to discredit them, such as the “fake news” phenomenon in the U.S. shows. This phenomenon has happened here in Japan, too, via the so-called “net rightwing,” and the current administration’s ability to use the “net rightwing” to go after critical journalists and opponents.

The third problem is the increase of state powers such as Japan’s state secrets law, the surveillance law, and the conspiracy law. The power of the state to monitor journalists and to put pressure on them is only increasing.

Now, I still think the situation in Japan is a lot better than in the U.S. I believe that during the Obama administration, the amount of surveillance on journalists and the pressure on journalists was far higher than anything I’ve seen in Japan. And under Trump administration, we’re just off the chart in terms of media bashing. And so, Japan is relatively benign, compared to what’s happened in the U.S. so far. But nonetheless, as I mentioned, we’ve seen a real problem in Japan with pressure on newspapers, pressure on journalists, and frankly internal weaknesses.

I think that the big problem in Japan isn’t so much pressure on media as it is the independence of media. We saw that, for example, in the *Asahi*’s pullback from investigative journalism. We saw some of those weaknesses come out there. The paper didn’t have the stomach for a fight when it came under what in the U.S. would seem like relatively low levels of pressure. The paper basically capitulated; it chose to main its access over its investigative journalism, and it was also very worried about its declining subscription numbers. It had a number of reasons to panic, but the end result was that it pulled out of investigative journalism.

At the same time, as I mentioned, there seems to be a recent turn the other way in the last year or so. There have been some big scoops about problems in the Abe administration. *The Moritomo Gakuen Scandal*, which was broken by the *Asahi Shimbun* city news section in Osaka; then, this *Kake Gakuen* issue, which was broken by part of the *Asahi Shimbun* here in Tokyo. You’re seeing some scoops and some

better examples coming out of investigative work, and I also get the sense that there’s a lot of unhappiness among Japanese journalists with the current situation. You know: “Can’t we do better? We need to change things.”

Finally, I think what’s happened in the U.S. with *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* both seeing significant increases in readership as a result of not capitulating to pressure from the Trump administration has been a bit of a positive example. Maybe places like the *Asahi* can say, “Hey, wait for a second, if we stand up and stick to our guns, maybe we can gain readers. Right? Maybe we can do the same kind of thing.” So, I think there has been some spillover from what’s happening in the U.S. into the attitudes of Japanese journalists. Thank you.

Steven Butler

Thank you, Martin.

Martin Fackler

I have a quick question I’d like to put to first Kumada-san and then Yorimitsu-san. You both described interesting and vigorous investigative efforts. I’m wondering if there are also red lines in the sense of a limit on issues where you would like to go, but for either internal organizational reasons or external pressure, you feel it is difficult to go there.

YORIMITSU Taka’aki

I think we can cross the red line. I’ll share an example of something that happened at *Kochi Shimbun* for two and a half years. I was investigating unlawful loans extended by the prefectural government. I was the only one working on the story at the time, and I remember when the editor brought the draft to the head of the department. The newspaper worried about the article’s impact and whether it might mean the end of the paper because we were going after a powerful organization.

They were thinking, “If this news comes out, things are going to get ugly.” Now, investigative reporting has a lot of risks in general. As I mentioned earlier, Kochi Shimbun had the largest market share, so

the paper wasn't particularly hoping that the article would increase the readership. Rather, the risk was higher than the potential benefit because advertisers might pull out. What was the advantage of the newspaper? From a purely managerial point of view, there was no advantage. It took half a year for the article to be published. There were a lot of obstacles, and I tried to overcome them one by one, but still, there were more obstacles to deal with.

In a way, I could understand what the editorial managers were thinking. They didn't want to publish this article. If I had succumbed to the managers' views, as Mr. Fackler was talking about, I think the article wouldn't have been published. But I held my own. There were senior staff writers who were adamant about releasing the article. As a result, the article was carried in our paper. I think this is representative of the situation in Japan.

In Japan, you will not get killed for doing investigative journalism. When this article was published, many readers showed great support. Advertising and readership didn't decline either. There was no negative impact. The readers supported us, and so, in the end, the management appreciated the outcome. We need to consider: Who is going to be targeted by our reporting? How can journalists place our confidence and trust in the readership?

Of course, in the past, journalists were in danger of being killed for their work. But that isn't the case in Japan now. So I think the publication of articles that hold power to account depends on negotiation with management.

KUMADA Yasunobu

You spoke about getting your article approved by your superiors. The system is different at NHK. TV journalism involves various processes and so many layers of checking. After writing the story, you are checked. The supervisor will review it, and the television control production division will also check it. And there is an editor-in-chief who also checks the story. Programs can't be made by the writers alone. There is a committee for NHK specials, and the program has to pass through the committee. There are so many layers of checking.

The hurdles we have to clear are so numerous and high, which means you often miss the best time to get the news out.

The most extended wait I ever experienced was six months. And as I mentioned earlier, I wanted to use a particular expression, but I wasn't allowed to, so I had to resort to an ambiguous lead for introducing the program. So maybe what I produced became a little different from my original intention. Sometimes tabloids write about pressure coming from the NHK chairman or how he crushed our program ideas. It's not like that. Of course, if the chairman said this-and-that, the tabloids would have a field day. But it's not like that. There are so many layers of checking, and so many layers of people expressing their concerns. If you decide to go through with it, you can do it. I think that's a good part of NHK. But sometimes it's not the kind of program you originally intended.

I put one more example of my personal experience. We aired the program addressing severe problems with the reconstruction budget on a Sunday, and on the following Monday morning, there was a cabinet meeting. Immediately after the cabinet meeting, a bureaucrat called me, saying, "*Kuma-chan*, this is serious!" I asked, "What is it?" Every Monday evening, the vice-ministers held a press conference, and all agencies and ministries represented in the vice-ministerial press conference criticized that NHK program, across the board. The program was scheduled to be on air once again, but if things went badly, it wouldn't have the second broadcast. I was worried the story was going to be a severe problem for us, but in the end, it wasn't that bad. However, for the next two weeks, we had to deal with the various criticisms of our program. We had to publish ten articles refuting the criticism. So, the actual movement stopped. We wanted to develop further reports on the subject, but because of the criticism, we had to stop. That was the toughest part.

Martin Fackler

That's very interesting, thank you. I have another question for Yorimitsu-san. You have a rather unusual career path in the sense that you came from Kochi to *The Asahi Shimbun*. I wonder if you

could talk a little bit about how that impacted your work. The reason that I ask is that it's quite common, particularly in the United States, for journalists to move from one newspaper or publication to the next. And when they leave they, of course, are celebrated by their colleagues, this sort of thing.

But it's quite unusual in Japan, and I wonder if you think this practice could or should be increased here to develop high-quality journalism and investigative journalism.

YORIMITSU Taka'aki

Journalists who change jobs will usually be working as reporters rather than editors if they transfer into national newspapers from local newspapers. My gut feeling is that the number is increasing, although I don't have any statistics to support it.

I think it is good to change employers. If you move to another organization, you can objectively compare and assess each one. My case is rather unique. At the *Kochi Shimbun*, I served as the local news desk editor for three years. Three years is usually the length you'll be in a given position, and at the time, I was invited to work for *The Asahi Shimbun*. So, instead of returning to reporting from desk work, I decided to join the *Asahi Shimbun*, and spend the rest of my career there.

It was an excellent experience because there was a stark difference between the local newspaper and the national newspaper. By joining a national newspaper, I was able to look at the role of local newspapers objectively. And during my many years at a local newspaper, I could objectively examine the role of national newspapers. I think journalists spending their whole career at one organization is one of the weaknesses but, at the same time, one of the strengths of the Japanese press.

When young journalists joined the company, I was always asking them whether they wanted to be a company employee or journalist. Such is Japanese company life. I consider being a company employee and being a journalist two separate things. If you are going to live as a journalist, you probably have to develop your career by spending

time in different organizations and different newspapers. I hope this kind of trend is going to grow in the future.

Steven Butler

Thank you very much. Is there anyone who'd like to make any sort of concluding remarks? Martin?

Martin Fackler

I think the message that I've heard from Kumada-san and Yorimitsu-san—Ishimaru-san is in a kind of a unique situation since it's North Korea—is that it is up to the journalists.

I think the issue in Japan is media independence, rather than pressure on the media. And so what we're hearing is that if the journalists resolve to do good journalism, they can. And, if you compare it to my own country, or if you compare it to many countries, it is a relatively benign environment. Getting scolded by the prime minister is about the worst that happens, right? You can do good journalism here; it just depends on whether the journalist can find the spine to do it. Kumada-san used the word *sontaku*, which is a sort of preemptive self-censorship; it means trying to guess, in this case, where the prime minister's displeasure may fall. I think this is the problem, this self-censorship.

There are essential stories in Japan that frankly are not being covered, not by investigative reporting anyway. The biggest of which is that this is one of the most significant transition periods in postwar Japanese history. We're now talking about the constitution being revised; the Japanese military is doing things it never did before, the state is being empowered and strengthened in ways we haven't seen before. I've seen a lot of access journalism and spot news about it, I've seen a lot of opinion about it, but I haven't seen a lot of good investigative journalism telling me who or what forces are behind it. I've seen very little investigative journalism looking at these massive, massive changes in postwar Japan. It's the same with nationalism, the *Nippon-kaigi* (Japan Conference), and the rise of the right. Again, I see a lot of opinions, access journalism, and spot news, but I don't see much investigative report. For example, where does the money come from?

Who funds these guys? With 2,000 journalists in *The Asahi Shimbun*, they should be giving us some more answers.

I see some significant areas that just aren't being touched at all. But I do think that they could do it if they wanted to. I believe that it comes down to what the journalists are willing to do. Are they ready to show that kind of backbone and that kind of resolve? So, I'd like to say *ganbare* [give it your all]. We can all do better.

Steven Butler

You know, it's certainly true. When I lived here, and around the world, there's no question about the capability of the Japanese journalists who I meet. And I think it's maybe a question of how you harness that and encourage it. Thank you very much.

ISHIMARU Jiro

I'll be brief in my final comments. I have been a journalist for over 25 years. I have been a freelance journalist for NHK and other for-profit broadcasters, newspapers, and magazines. And now we have the report from David Kaye, the U.N. special rapporteur on freedom of expression. He mentioned that there should be solidarity and professional identity among Japanese journalists. The lack of it was pointed out as an issue. Looking back on the past 25 years, I have to admit that the situation of the mainstream media is deteriorating.

We have here today two leading journalists from NHK and the *Asahi*. The motivation of my friends from newspapers and TV broadcasters is declining year after year. As Mr. Fackler mentioned, journalists' professional identity is also a problem. There's a big discussion about it, and in recent years the necessity to strengthen solidarity has been recognized, but it hasn't yet been achieved. On a global scale, the Japanese media, except NHK, is struggling to adapt to international conditions. Therefore, the resulting investigative reporting capacity is declining.

We have to hold on because otherwise, we will continue to be forced back. I am just one individual freelance journalist that belongs to a small news organization, *Asia Press International*. So, in session two, I genuinely hope we will address how we will be able to recover

and revive the mission of journalism, as well as how the freedom of the press is going to be resuscitated. I think this is a topic we have to discuss. I hope to learn a lot from the session's talk. Thank you very much.

Steven Butler

Thank you very much, everybody.

New models to sustain investigative journalism in Asia

Panel discussion 2

Panelists:

KIM Yongjin, Editor-in-chief of Newstapa (South Korea)

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza, Journalist and head of research and strategy at Rappler (Philippines)

Sherry Lee, Editorial managing director of The Reporter (Taiwan)

WATANABE Makoto, Editor-in-chief of Waseda Chronicle (Japan)

Moderator:

Kathleen Carroll, Vice-chair of Committee to Protect Journalists, *Associated Press*

Kathleen Carroll

Good afternoon. My name is Kathleen Carroll, and I am privileged to be associated with the Committee to Protect Journalists and the global mission of looking after the people who try to bring truth to their readers and their audiences. I'm delighted to be here to moderate this panel of real rock stars in the world of investigative reporting in Asia. Our format for this session will be slightly different than the panel one. I'm going to ask questions. They all have lots of good stories to tell, and so we'll have a little more give-and-take throughout this discussion.

To my immediate left is Yongjin Kim, editor-in-chief of Newstapa from South Korea; and then Gemma Mendoza from Rappler in the Philippines; Sherry Lee, editorial director of The Reporter in Taiwan; and of course, Makoto Watanabe, editor-in-chief of Waseda Chronicle. We've already seen so many good things from them.

So, let me ask the first question. We've heard a lot about cooperation here, and we just saw it in the film happening in the United States. There is a lot of opportunity in leveraging our staff when we

partner with other news organizations. It expands the footprint and possibly the impact of the work, but it's hard to find partners for cooperation. We don't all automatically get along. So how do you find the right partners? And how do you make sure that your news values and their news values are the same, and establish the trust that will allow you to work well together? If I may, Sherry, could I ask you to go first on this?

Sherry Lee

Ok. Hi, everyone. I'm Sherry from Taiwan. Thanks for your time; it's my pleasure to be here. And thanks to Kathleen for her question. It's an exciting topic. Last year, at the end of December, we did a significant investigative report with a partner. The partner is from Indonesia: *Tempo Magazine*. Maybe I have to explain a little about the topic. Last year I started an investigation in August, and I found out about a fisherman's death. His name was Supriyanto, and he was from Middle Java in Indonesia.

This man died in 2015. The prosecutor said that his death was the result of an illness, and the case was closed. But actually, we found three key clips, and we discovered that he was harshly beaten on far-sea fishing boats, of course, Taiwanese fishing boats. I started to look into this, and I found that it was just the tip of the iceberg. In Taiwan, we have 20,000 migrant fishing industry workers. But most of them go through a human trafficking channel and enslavement on far-sea fishing boats. It's not only Supriyanto's case, it's a massive case.

Of course, in the past, I would send a team to Jakarta and Middle Java. And I did that. But when I participated in the GIJN conference that Alessia just mentioned, I met a fantastic team. They are from Indonesia. On the last day, I just walked over to them, and we talked. I said, "I have some clues, and I am working on this case. Are you interested?" And he said he wasn't familiar with this story. We exchanged our emails, and when I got back to Taiwan, I emailed him the crew clips, which triggered their interest. But the collaboration was not done yet. So, I sent my team to Jakarta to their headquarters.

And I realized they are ten times bigger than our newsroom,

because we only have 27 employees, and they have 130 reporters. My team wrote trustworthy information, data, and statistics. After they saw this information, they started to build the team. They assigned three senior reporters, and in my team, we have four reporters. We worked together, and that's how we found the story, and we got the whole picture.

Kathleen Carroll

Great, thank you very much. Yongjin, you have strong feelings about the value of cooperation; would you like to take the topic next?

Kim Yongjin

We at Newstapa have some international collaboration experience but nearly none with Asian groups. I believe one of the reasons we are here today is to discuss building a cooperation system for investigative journalism among us in Asia.

A few years ago, the editor of *Taiwan's CommonWealth* proposed a joint project to me. The proposed project was on problems surrounding the washing and dumping of industrial waste, littering, and migrant labor issues. It was a great idea, but unfortunately, we could not put this idea into action. Newstapa also received help from our colleagues at Indonesia's *Tempo*, to cover a story in Indonesia. The story was related to oil companies' shell companies using Indonesia as a tax haven, and a very suspicious death related to these issues. The editor of *Tempo* gave us help on this, but it was not a full-fledged collaboration project. But we have more experience joining joint projects in Europe or on a global scale, rather than in Asia.

Most recently, we covered the flow of black money involving Russian money-laundering groups. It was a project initiated by the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, and *The Guardian* and others joined it. The Samsung Group was involved in this scheme, as well. Although some significant overseas media cited Newstapa's report, the South Korean media stayed silent. It's usually like this. These collaboration experiences provide us with some right direction for seeking a cooperation model.

Kathleen Carroll

Great. Is there anybody else who wants to talk about finding partners because, just speaking from my own experience, it's difficult always to make sure you're all lined up. Great. Go ahead, Makoto.

WATANABE Makoto

I'm Makoto Watanabe from Waseda Chronicle. I think there are various occasions for finding partners, for example, meetings of this kind or holding seminars. But the problem is being able to find partners capable of building a strong sense of trust because working on investigative reporting together means sharing your organization's secret information. I used to work for *The Asahi Shimbun*, but I didn't partner with any journalists during my time there. I couldn't place my confidence or trust in them. It's tough to know how to work with others outside your organization, country, or culture. The essence here is to build trust between partners.

One way to do that is by going out for drinks. I've gone out drinking with Kim Yongjin twice. The first time was at an investigative journalism conference in San Francisco. The second time was two years ago when I was still working for the *Asahi*. I visited Newstapa, Kim Yongjin's organization, to get some ideas for how investigative journalism in Japan could be improved. Our meeting ended early, so we decided to go out for drinks, where we talked about various things. I told Kim I was thinking about quitting the *Asahi* to do investigative journalism, but that lack of funding was a problem. He encouraged me just to do it and said that the money would come later. What he said had a significant impact on me, and I respect him a lot. That's just one example of relationship-building.

Recently, Mark Lee Hunter, one of the founders of GIJN, came to Japan to give Waseda Chronicle and other members of the Japanese media training on investigative journalism. What he said that I found critical was that nothing moves forward unless you identify a particular topic. But it is difficult to share such confidential information with others. And so, we all signed a confidentiality agreement before Mark's session started. And then we broke into small groups

to discuss specific story items, including issues we had at the time. What was meaningful in this kind of session was the position and methods the journalists took in approaching the subjects of their investigations. That's an excellent way to decide whether or not you feel you can trust someone as an investigative partner.

It's difficult to develop trust without creating an opportunity to share these kinds of concrete plans and ideas. If you can do this, you don't even need to go out for drinks; you might be able to find partners then and there. I'm in contact with some journalists I spoke with at that session about story ideas we liked. It's essential to create opportunities to understand how potential investigative partners approach their work.

Kathleen Carroll

Let's move on to a different part of the cooperation. However, you have found your partners, over drinks, or at a conference, investigative reporting can be dangerous, and there are safety issues. How do you deal with the safety issues, both in the reporting and after publication? In some cases, your story is not a popular topic for some of the people that you've covered. So, you have safety issues in the reporting, and then safety issues related to an unhappy response to your work. How do you work through that? Gemma, do you want to take that first?

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza

First, we tell our reporters, "No story is worth your life." That's something we try to impart. We ask them to be careful. At the same time, there are issues of online safety and surveillance. We tell them to be very careful about their gadgets and the way they communicate online. We try as much as possible to prepare them for contingencies. Of course, we don't know what to expect, but those things are still every day.

Kathleen Carroll

And those of you who have worked with other partners, how do you make sure they are protecting the shared work through the same kind of technology and training and guidance that you might share

with your staff? How do you work through those issues?

Sherry Lee

Ok, I will answer the safety issues first. The collaboration with *Tempo Magazine* was about a far-sea fishery and slavery at sea. It is quite a complicated topic.

At first, I thought safety wasn't a problem. But when I contacted the scientific observer on the boat, they told me, "You are putting yourself in jeopardy. It's very complicated. You will touch on a lot of stakeholders' interests." I don't know why, but we just went for it. I think gender may be an issue. The female reporters don't think about what kind of interests we will touch.

But after the story comes out, we got some phone calls from local people. They said, "You have damaged our interests." As a broker, they take a lot of money from the fishermen. The broker said that the human agents say that I can't be allowed to live because I published a story and damaged their industry. We got this kind of threats and phone calls from them. My colleagues started to buy some stuff for us. She bought pepper spray for each of us. We carry that every day, even now. But actually, I haven't used it. But we haven't visited certain cities since then, because our faces would be recognized. So, it's a little dangerous. And about the issue, I think it's essential to inform your team. Like what was said before, tell your team where you're going and whom you are meeting. And know who the stakeholders are. That's very important. And also, report everyone's schedule in a record database. Of course, I would give extra insurance to people going to dangerous areas.

Oh, and I just mentioned gender is an issue. Even though I'm a feminist, I still feel sometimes that if you touch on a very controversial issue—like the fishing industry because boat owners don't allow women to come on the boats—I need a male journalist in my team, so it's my photographer. That's why women will have some limitations if we report on this kind of issue.

Kathleen Carroll

Who else has during your work encountered issues they'd like to talk

about? There were some great ideas, but pepper spray can't do anything. Ok, you want to keep going?

Sherry Lee

Ah, ok. I'll talk about safety issues in Taiwan. We have less of this kind of problem because Taiwan is a society with law and order. But in Indonesia, it's very corrupt. I think my partners there already know how to protect themselves. That's why we believe it's a good chance to collaborate with the local team because if we go there, we can dig in very deep. Because they know society, and they have their contact web. They know how to protect themselves. They can go deep and steel themselves; they can defend themselves.

In my own experience, I was in Beijing in 2010 and 2012. And at that time, I felt scared every day because my phone and house were under monitoring. And even when I came back to Taiwan, when I covered something related to China, my interviews were watched. I think that it depends on the government, the situation, and the topics with which you are dealing. Just to add to that, in the past, we felt safety considerations had to do more with stories that involved local politicians, not necessarily national politicians. When we go to certain areas, we make sure we are in touch with our contacts, some even in the security forces, and we also double-check with our local contacts.

But there are different safety concerns and security concerns lately that are not necessarily immediate threats or physical threats. We've been experiencing more personal attacks. They happen mostly online, and they affect how we work. They affect our staff more from a psychological perspective, I would say. We have a full-time social media team, and a number of them already have PTSD. They had to go through some sort of psychological counseling so that they can better handle the kind of language that we are getting from people online.

Kathleen Carroll

So, after publication, there was such a strong response that everybody in your news organization was affected by that. The whole

institution is under attack, so the impact of the work is affected more.

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza

Psychologically you feel it; there's a lot of pressure. There are attacks on the reputations of our leaders, and particularly of the reporters who are covering particular personalities. Our reporter covering the president, for instance, is a favorite target. And there are quite a lot of YouTube videos produced about her to attack her. So, our team may not necessarily be unsafe in the physical sense. At some point, we fear that they may justify undertaking physical threats rather than physical insecurity.

Kathleen Carroll

If I may, I have one more question about that. You have useful data about your usage, and you have good data about social media, you have some pretty exciting charts that show when the attacks started and the frequency of similar language. To many people, it looks like it might be an organized set of attacks. Do you have any thoughts about that and what you might do about it? And then when you're done, I'd appreciate hearing from someone else who might have some similar experience.

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza

To begin with, Rappler lives purely online, so one of the primary methods of circulation is social media. We have no choice but to be on social media. And then what we have been doing in the past is to take what we have seen. In the past, people really would engage with us: They would comment, they would give us suggestions. Sometimes people would correct us, and they would edit our stories, which is fine. What's been happening started around the time of the elections, when things heated up. The comments became nastier, and at first, we thought that it would die down after the elections. That was in May 2016.

But what happened was that it scaled up. The volume of abuse increased. Sometime in August that year there was this famous blogger in the Philippines, she has five million followers, and she posted this meme with the logos of all key news agencies in the Philippines,

and that included us. What it said was “presstitutes.” And we noticed that since posting our logo, the volume of usage of that coined word increased significantly over time, and it was incessant. There was another abuse; there were other abusive words we noticed, so we have been monitoring this.

We did notice that at times the abuse would wane, but when we come out again with stories that people feel are critical of the administration or at least that don’t do what the administration says, we see the volume rising again. So, those are some of the things that we’ve observed.

Kathleen Carroll

Anybody else have any experience with this? Great.

WATANABE Makoto

Waseda Chronicle hasn’t come under any severe attacks yet. But in my time at *The Asahi Shimbun*, I experienced getting exposed to such attacks. One important thing to remember is that if we become too sensitive to online discussion, including personal attacks, we lose sight of the real world. Although it’s necessary to check online comments and social media to see how our articles are received, online abuse can harm our reporting. If, for example, we see five or so messages in the comments section saying “go die,” of course, those messages will hurt our feelings. But we should remember that Japan has a population of 120 million; of course, there will be some people who write comments like that. So, we have to make sure to separate the real world from the virtual world.

If you see a gap between the evaluation of your work in the real world and the reaction on the same in the online world, there’s a possibility that organized attacks could exist. That’s something we investigative journalists face. During elections, in particular, the same phrases will be used frequently online. The pattern is the same. Our staff includes a data engineer, so we are analyzing such trends. We have to make decisions by examining both the real and virtual worlds; if we don’t, we’ll be drawn further into the virtual world, and that would put us on the wrong course.

Kim Yongjin

A few years ago, when we investigated some opposition party politicians and published critical stories about them, some photos of the politicians kept coming up online. We merely pointed out some steps by the problematic politicians, but their supporters didn’t take it very well. And there wasn’t anything wrong with our reporting, and we were justified in having published it. Some of our donating members who supported those politicians stopped donating to us in protest. It was a tough moment for us to lose membership. But we also received a lot of support for our stories.

From this experience, we learned that, especially when we know we are right, we have to stay focused and go forth no matter what kind of opposition we face. And we had a very similar situation recently: During the presidential election, we also lost more than 2,000 in membership, but I don’t care.

And one more thing I would like to say is that there is no physical threat against Korean journalists nowadays in South Korea. However, there are many threats to journalists through lawsuits. Therefore, Newstapa tries to be careful and detail-oriented with our stories, to prevent giving any reason for a trial. A story based on data obtained through investigation might never get sued, and even if there is a lawsuit, it is unlikely to lose the case. After Newstapa reported on the National Intelligence Service’s spy fabrication case, the primary producer and I got sued by the NIS agent in both a civil and criminal lawsuit. We won the first trial in the civil litigation, and the prosecutors cleared us of suspicion in the criminal case, too. The NIS gave up on appealing to the higher court.

And another thing: The threat of wire-tapping or hacking also exists for our newsroom. There were some suspicious attempts to access our reporters’ email accounts when we were covering the NIS’s intervention in the presidential election. Sometimes we held important meetings involving sensitive information outside our newsroom. And when we were working on the offshore leaks story 2013, we rented a safe place out of the office for about two months. So, elevating the

security level is one of the challenges we face now.

Kathleen Carroll

That's great. You said something that sparks a question that we haven't discussed. I apologize in advance for that. Accuracy is so crucial for good investigative work. For all the reasons we understand, if you're going to do a big piece that challenges an institution, you better be sure everything is right. Each of you has your internal standards. Could any of you talk about how you ensure when you're working with a partner that their work is not going to be short of your standards that you're not going to be vulnerable because of something one of your partners has done?

KIM Yongjin

I believe in a well-defined purpose and explicit agreement among the partners. The goal is the essential thing in cross-border cooperation. When we worked on the offshore tax haven story, everyone promised not to break the scoop. We aimed to warn the public around the world of how tax evasion, stashing tax money, and the expansion of the underground economy was endangering the world economy, as well as to warn political leaders and policy-makers around the world of seeking a solution together. We agreed on the purpose of the project, so we believed in the credibility of our partners. I think journalists can work together to report on issues that share a sense of common concern.

Sherry Lee

I think it's a very challenging issue. When we worked with *Tempo*, although they have an English version, a lot of the time they write in Indonesian. And my website is in Chinese, Mandarin-based. We have to translate all of our languages into English. There are staff members for this. And second, because the issues in the fishery industry are so complicated, we have to visualize them and turn them into infographics to make sure we understand them because they involve a lot of departments like the fishery departments, the foreign affairs departments, and the judicial departments.

We have to make sure we understand the differences in the system

between the two countries. We have to communicate in a way that's easy to understand. You know, an easy way to explain how the system works in my country and to figure out how the system works in their country. After this project, because we'd become excellent friends, I said to the leaders in *Tempo*'s investigative team, Wahyu [Dhyatmika] and Phillips, "How can you just trust me?" I just talked to them for 20 minutes, and then they were interested in collaboration. They said, "You looked trustworthy." I thought, "Ok, thank you, but how do you make sure that I'm trustworthy in the end?"

We set up a chat room. The name was "code reporter," and the *Tempo* team and our team used it to talk every day. We shared all the information, and we translated it into English, so it took a lot of time, and we made a lot of effort. You show your sincerity, you indicate your enthusiasm, you confirm that you're hardworking. And also, we set up other tools on Facebook and email. These tools are only for the top managers, like me, Wahyu, and Phillips. We share all our decision-making processes, like what time I'm going to publish, what kind of response I got from the government, and what kind of activities I am going to launch, even the marketing strategy. This way will give your partner extra elements to promote on their Facebook or social media.

This is the kind of trust we keep working on, so we can make sure that we have the same standards of verification and ethics. But it's not easy because we are a tiny group, we just launched in 2015, and we are very young, but they have more than 30 years of history. How can they only trust me? But because we stood with GIJN, which is a very influential network, and also with professional reporters' advice and suggestions, we know each other. Also, you have to maintain the relationship almost every day to make sure that you are on the same page.

Kathleen Carroll

That's quite a bit of work. I have questions for the group, and I'll start with you, Sherry, since they are based on things you said. Did the very detailed sharing and the different ways that you had to break down

your reporting for your partners change how you presented the end story to your audience?

Sherry Lee

My partners are more experienced; they are ten years older than me. When we talked about the far-sea fisheries, I asked what kind of storyline we were going to make for the issue. And Phillip told me: “Sherry, you have to trust me; it’s human trafficking.” We have to go back to the International Labor Organization’s definition. What is the meaning of human trafficking? So, we went back to the root, and we said yes, it’s a human trafficking case.

Your partners stimulate your ideas, and we set a tone together. On the other hand, because I have some experience making many news documentaries, in the beginning, I started to think that I will present this story in different mediums. Like, we have a one-minute trailer, and I made infographics, and I also made a seven-minute mini-documentary. Also, I have about 35,000 words worth of articles. We put it in different kinds of media, and I would like my partner to use them. So, even in the mini-documentary, I use Indonesia’s language, so they don’t have to do anything, just use it. I’m a right partner, I know.

It has an exciting impact because when you have so many different mediums, you can collaborate with the TV headlines. We occupied TV headlines in Taiwan; we filled the largest daily newspaper’s front and second pages. I authorized all our content to them, but I write for that, so I can make sure there’s nothing wrong with that. And I also go to TV and radio to talk about the story. So, you prepare for everything. We just talked about the print and virtual world, right? But actually, you can [do well in] the virtual world, mainly because we are online media. But it’s vital to get more supporters and more readers. You have to impact the real world. But, especially for politicians, they never read online news, right? They think you are not influential. It is essential for us how TV could make a program about us and also how daily newspapers could write about the story produced by us.

Kathleen Carroll

Who else has excellent ideas about expanding the impact of when

you break stories like that? Sherry has just described an awful lot of work. What else have the others of you done?

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza

First, about the virtual and real worlds: One of the things that we do is just because we recognize that there are differences between the virtual world and the real world. We work with a lot of citizen journalists underground, and we do train them. And what happens there is that we also teach them the values to which that we adhere. And in cases when they do share coverage with us, they sign the same ethics guidelines to which we also adhere.

In this way, they got ideas on what is coming, what kind of stories we will tell, and what the stories are rooted in their communities. We didn’t have the energy or the resources to cover their communities. So, a big chunk of what we produce is coming from the communities themselves, although we do make an effort to provide training to them on verification, etc.

The other thing is you talked about impact. How do you make sure that people read your stories? Well, our audience is online. Fifty million of our readers are online, mostly on Facebook. We make it a point not just to recite stories on our side; we have a derivative type of content that’s specific to the media where our audience is. There’s content that’s for Twitter, for example. We try to tailor it to the medium. There’s content on Facebook, so sometimes a story or an investigative report might have a derivative, small infographics, an album of infographics on Facebook so that people will eventually be attracted to the story. Because at the end of the day, what we want is for stories to become read. We want to have an impact.

WATANABE Makoto

We discussed in detail how to share information as widely as possible when we began Waseda Chronicle. We’re a rookie online media organization. More than in Taiwan, Japan’s politicians and individuals in power don’t pay attention to online media. They only think about how to control the mass media that are part of the press clubs, such as large-scale newspapers and TV broadcasters. When we thought

about how Waseda Chronicle can have an impact in this kind of environment, we felt it was essential to collaborate with major media organizations. So, even before we launched the Waseda Chronicle, we explored potential partnerships with established media and newspapers. In addition to publishing on our website, we hope that newspapers and TV broadcasters will carry our stories.

At first, we weren't sure how to start. "For our first story, should we choose a theme that's easy for other media organizations to pick up? Should we not push the envelope too much at first?" But on the other hand, I thought that if we didn't tackle a taboo subject, our story would have less impact. Although we faced the dilemma of not having partners if we dealt with a taboo subject, we wanted to declare that no topic was taboo for our newsroom.

That's the stance we eventually decided on. And, as expected, the major media organizations did not follow up on it at all. [Public broadcaster] NHK shared the story a little, but that was it.

In other words, and although I'm sure it varies by country, collaboration with other media organizations also involves compromise. But we still have to challenge taboos. We have to find a balance between these two sides. That's why I think it's especially essential to collaborate with investigative journalism organizations in other countries, such as through events like this one.

Our "Journalism for Sale" series examines pharmaceutical companies' marketing strategies to sell their products, which is a perspective that I think will resonate with audiences abroad too. We believe this is an excellent chance to make an impact through our reporting.

We don't want to collaborate with major media organizations; we want to remain true to our position of challenging taboos, and we hope that other independent media organizations will respect that and want to partner with us too. Our reporting will only weaken if we lose sight of our stance and mission. If that were the case, it would have been better for me to stay with *The Asahi Shimbun*, so I always remember to be careful of that.

Kim Yongjin

We use Google Narrative to monitor real-time views of our site closely. We share our published items. A Google Narrative screen occupies the center of our newsroom. It also shows the current number of visitors on the donation page and the number of new members of the day. We also track which story people viewed before they went to the donation page, so we can analyze what kind of news items are likely to make viewers want to make donations to our newsroom. We pay attention not only to the visitors to our website, but also visitors to our YouTube channel, and even to our Facebook, Tumblr, and Twitter. Sometimes we incorporate audience feedback for our reporting if we see good ideas online.

And we also distribute news releases and sometimes hold press conferences for significant projects. The more citations we get from other publications, the more people are impacted. During the off-shore tax haven project, we held more than five press conferences and released more than 20 news statements. Sometimes more than 100 reporters would attend our press conferences. When we exposed at our press conference that former dictator Chun Doo-hwan's son Chun Jae-kook had a third of a share company and a secret account abroad, all the major press reported the story on their front pages and all the leading news program in headlines. Hundreds of media outlets cited us on it. And how many times our stories are cited in other publications is a good indicator of our impact and our stories' viewership.

Kathleen Carroll

Some great ideas are coming from all of you. It's also true that you're all young news organizations, part of a kind of journalistic insurgence at a time when big media companies may be wrestling with all of this. Does that mean you think it would be harder to partner with a more traditional, more established, older news organization? Do you feel like you are better partnered with people who are similar to you, even if they're in a different part of the world?

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza

Well, we are on the lookout for partnerships. We don't have as many collaborative projects yet with other news organizations outside of the Philippines, but what we have been trying to do with the other local media organizations is to cover some of the issues, not necessarily sharing all of the information that we know. Still, we shared with them the data analysis that we have been doing on social media. But the discussions were more along the lines of "We should be doing more stories about this," like the patriotic trolling, the propaganda on social media, and joint efforts toward fact-checking. We have discussed those things.

It's not quite there yet. There are a lot of things that need to be fleshed out, and people tend to be quite busy, but at least what has been happening is that there is some level of understanding among local news organizations. In the past, it's been different because it's a very competitive industry. But there's some level of understanding that there's a need for collaboration, which did not exist before. So that's something we're noticing.

Sherry Lee

I think foreign media want to find a partner if they come to Taiwan. They wouldn't have found The Reporter 18 months ago. Like Yongjin just mentioned, I was there before, I was there for 17 years, and I cut my pay by half to come here to set up this non-profit organization. But now we won a lot of news awards. After a prize, people start to recognize you.

Like last May 1, we did a tracker platform of examining the labor policy of our president, President Tsai. And we teamed up with one artist, two engineers, and three reporters to do a policy examination for three months. It's a very complicated issue, but we tracked the platform. So, we put the whole labor policy into eight categories, like "promise kept," and "promise broken," or "stuck." And the president just shared our link and our website in the afternoon; we had published in the morning. And she shared it. She was the one to be examined, but she shared it. She said thanks to The Reporter for exploring

her policies, and she hoped that all the citizens could follow up on these examinations.

So, I think the most important thing is not only money. If you do the right thing, not do things right, if you do the right thing, if you do serious journalism, if you do good journalism, money and brand awareness will follow. Like the story about forced labor on far-sea fishing vessels, after that, we got around 400,000 new Taiwan dollars (about \$13,000) within a week. It's not a lot, but it's faster, the donations come faster.

And after that, we were nominated for the SOPA, Society of Publishers Award based in Hong Kong. It's going to be announced on June 15, 2017. We are nominated for this award for six items, and last week we got 600,000 new Taiwan dollars (about \$19,500) in donations. So, we think that serious journalism happens in Taiwan, and we are promoting this movement.

WATANABE Makoto

I think we should willingly partner with traditional media. In Japan, there is growing dissatisfaction with the established, traditional media. When new media organizations like Waseda Chronicle emerge, they're often pitted against the established media. I think that's a total waste. We should be partnering with them more. I would even partner with Kyodo News, which Waseda Chronicle criticized in our "Journalism for Sale" series... though they might be mad at us right now (laughs). I don't want to be involved in battles between media organizations.

Although we wrote about Kyodo News in our "Journalism for Sale" series, it wasn't our aim to attack them. We wanted to go after Dentsu and pharmaceutical companies instead. Although we hoped that our publication would prompt Kyodo News and the local papers that had carried the compensated article, we reported on, to promise to stop those wrong praxis. Instead, Kyodo News pushed back against our reporting. So, there's nothing for us to do but respond in turn. But the ones who are happiest when media organizations fight are politicians and large corporations. They probably think to themselves that

things are going well. That's why we have to be self-aware and cooperate with, rather than confront, other media organizations.

Even if collaboration between Waseda Chronicle and *The Asahi Shimbun* isn't possible, we will welcome like-minded *Asahi* journalists who want to work with us. I don't know how well that would go over for them at the *Asahi*, though. We should be doing more of that kind of collaboration, and, in fact, in the six months, since we launched Waseda Chronicle, many of my old friends and friends in established media organizations are secretly in contact with us.

Many of those friends think that the Japanese media is in trouble, and they want to do something different. But they seem to be just hesitating to join Waseda Chronicle because of no salary there and worry about livelihood. So, as editor-in-chief, I want first to create a solid financial base so that the reporters who want to work with us could choose easily to join us.

We are currently running a crowdfunding campaign, and we raised five million yen (about \$45,100) to support our reporting. We also have a membership system for readers to donate 1,000 yen per month. We aim to raise membership to 10,000 in a few years. If we succeed, we'll be able to run our news organization with those funds. We are online-only, so we don't have high costs. We have donation forms ready here today, and we hope to receive your support.

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza

I'd just like to add something more regarding collaboration. I think you might say that it's kind of a collaboration that evolved as a matter of necessity in covering the war on drugs in the Philippines. Because it's so difficult to get facts and details about the people getting killed, there have been a lot of FOI requests in the past. I'm asking for a list of those getting killed, but the police have not released that. What they have been releasing are numbers, and then they have been attacking me for interpreting arbitrary numbers that they released as the full number.

They are saying that not all of those were related to drugs, but they were not giving any breakdown. So, what the media organizations,

at least the reporters covering this situation, have started doing is collaborating. We usually don't compare notes; it's a competitive industry, after all. But we have had this practice already among individual reporters comparing notes and seeing where the gaps in their data are. Because organizations have been keeping lists, everybody has their list. We've been talking about how to collate the lists. How do we make sense of the records so that we know for a fact how many were affected? That conversation has started, and it looks like it's something that is welcomed by everybody so far. It's kind of a response to expediency.

Kathleen Carroll

Well, force multipliers are always right. Each of you has said something particular about relationships with your audiences and your engagement with them. It's much more intimate than it is for journalists and news leaders who work in more traditional news organizations. I wonder if you could talk for a little bit about how that affects your story choices, your planning for the next year, and what you're thinking about covering? Yongjin, you talked about losing some people who were unhappy with you, and politics will do that. Could you talk about some that you may have gained because of the stories?

Those of us who spent most of our careers in traditional organizations listened to the discussion of real engagement with your audiences with a fair amount of jealousy. And I wondered if you could talk a little bit more about how you feed that back into your decision-making.

KIM Yongjin

The number one thing our audience cares most about is our stance toward power. We've conducted online surveys twice a year to see what our donating members expect from us. We've been doing these surveys for four years now. And every time, "holding those in power accountable" has come out as the number one expectation from our members.

We often ask them why they donate to us, and they have told us the same thing: that we can hold those in power accountable. At the

end of the year, we survey our donating members to pick out the best stories that have popped up over the year, and we then make a list of the top 10 best stories. It's a list that shows us what kind of work our donating members want from us. And you can also see the spikes in our membership that occur right after we expose something through excellent and exclusive investigative reporting. I think that good investigative journalism is the best engine for us to continue our work.

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza

In our case, though it may be stressful now, the comments are also inspirations for new stories; that's something we have found. When people start asking specific follow-up questions, they give birth to new stories that we pursue. As a result of this conversation with our audience, they give us a lot of tips on investigative reports to continue. One example is when we released a series of stories on the Iglesia ni Cristo, which is a major Christian denomination in the Philippines.

There were some scandals within it that we covered. While there were attacks on us at the same time, the fact that we stayed with the story meant that there were a lot of follow-ups, so there's trust. I guess we gained some trust from that quarter. They kept sending leads. One thing that we found from a recent focus group discussion with some of our very dedicated followers was that they look for those investigative pieces for the high-impact pieces that we do, and they encourage us to do more.

Some people approached us since we don't have a donation facility yet; we have a business model where we have advertising, we do events, etc. But one thing that we have been thinking about in that past was whether to get into donations. And we're worried about the advertising budget because the trolls have been attacking our advertisers as well, and they've been getting jittery. But what we have seen is that the community, the ones who are most loyal, have been stepping up. And then they have been asking us how to help. So, I guess it's something.

Sherry Lee

In today's panels, the keyword is collaboration. I want to bring out

a new keyword. Seventy percent of my readers are millennials. You know millennials are so upset and angry about the current status of the media. They think that we are feeding them with trash, with insignificant things. I think readers are tired of this nonsense. And what do they care about? They care about justice issues; they care about human conditions; they care about environmental issues. We do a lot of diversification, renewal, and we do a lot about LGBT rights. In Taiwan, we have 600,000 migrant workers, so we deal with a lot of migrant workers' issues.

Millennials want to make a change, and they want this unjust world to become better. So, it's odd that actually, The Reporter is against the wind. Because when we started, people said, "You are not going to survive for three years." Of course, we have only been around for almost two years, but I think we can survive. Our articles are so long. Our pieces are 3,000 words, and sometimes even 7,000 or 10,000 words. I think: "How can our readers absorb all these articles?" But they do, and they share them a lot. Come on; they are not peeping toms; they do not want to read these sensational stories. They want to learn something with context, meaning, and significance. It's another exciting thing that 60 percent of our readers are female. You know, women are so passionate about justice issues; they are very compassionate. I think it's essential to be sincere, to be a reporter, and to do something good, and to do something right. The readers are astute: They know if you are working hard or not.

Second, I think even when we talk about serious journalism, good journalism, our stories should be attractive. For example, we put out an interactive news game. What's a news game? The news game is called ER Life: Emergency Room Life. We make these interactive news games to let our audience play the doctor as if they are in an ER. Do you know how ridiculous the ERs are in Taiwan? A mother can call the ambulance to take care of her child's pimple. They handle very trivial things. And we let you play this news game, so even the millennials, some of them do not care about public issues. But after playing this news game, it will push them to think about something

like the healthcare system, things that are happening in the world.

I think it is essential to be sincere and attractive, and also you have to know your audience. Like every two months, we have a public forum; we will talk to them face-to-face. We hold it in a coffee shop and talk about some severe topics. But they will come, and it's free. So, we come face-to-face with them, we interact with them, and they like this interaction.

WATANABE Makoto

My view is also similar to others'. Investigative journalism isn't just for the journalists themselves; it's for everyone. Waseda Chronicle also holds events with our donors. We don't just hold lectures but also the kind of editorial meetings that our staff members hold. We call these brainstorming sessions, and in them, we share ideas and write out on a whiteboard what topics we are considering, how to investigate them, and how to report on and disseminate them. They are interactive sessions. By holding these with donors, we can understand what topics interest them. We not only get statistics about our donors but can deeply understand their thoughts on these topics. That's one way we involve readers.

I think many people think that investigative journalism is part of the broader field of journalism and that it's something done by professionals. Of course, we have our pride as professionals, but it's no good to keep how we work a secret; we should be open to others. Our newsroom is diverse: Naturally, it mainly consists of journalists, but it also includes a doctor, someone who worked for a foreign government, a data engineer, and a designer. And the MC of today's event is the owner of a gay bar in Tokyo's Ginza neighborhood. There's no reason these people can't do investigative journalism. They have a knack for it. If we share the same values and know-how, everyone can have a journalistic spirit. These diverse members help move our investigative journalism forward because they all bring their specialized knowledge. And our donors aren't just readers but participants in the organization. It's essential to think of how we can involve them.

In addition to holding interactive events, crowdfunding is also

essential. We run crowdfunding campaigns for specific topics that we are investigating. Our first crowdfunding campaign wasn't for money to get the organization off the ground; it was to support further articles in the "Journalism for Sale" series. Although I wanted to start the crowdfunding campaign when we began investigating this topic, that would give away what we were doing, so we launched a crowdfunding campaign at the same time as we released the series' first article. We plan to run a crowdfunding campaign for other investigations we do. We plan to use membership fees to cover operating and personnel costs.

The great thing about crowdfunding is the messages that people send along with their donations. Many send profound messages about the topic we're investigating; these messages both help our investigation and encourage us. We raised five million yen (about \$46,000) through the "Journalism for Sale" crowdfunding campaign. By running similar campaigns for our other series, I think we can gauge readers' responses and understand what they are looking for.

Kathleen Carroll

We have only a few minutes left, and I just want to say that this is so inspiring and that you all are so inventive. Anybody listening to this or who will have access to the substance of this panel can't help but be enthusiastic and inspired by what you're doing. So, I'm going to ask each of you if you could one or two short comments to tell us what advice you have. What would be the most important single piece of advice you would have for somebody who's listening to you and thinking of starting an investigative news organization like the ones that you run. What would be the most important thing for them to do? (Besides find somebody rich to help them get started.)

WATANABE Makoto

In a word, you have to be determined. I think that's it. Although there might be plenty of things to complain about—such as "this and that is wrong with my workplace" or "I'm not getting paid right now"—if you are determined, you can win against even big organizations because their employees don't have the same resolve. Anyone who

wishes to be in this job has to be determined.

Sherry Lee

I think my advice is to be resilient. When you do investigative journalism, sometimes it can be upsetting. So, it's up and down. You have to be resilient, and you have to work as a team. As reporters, we are very egocentric. But in investigative journalism, especially in this complicated world, you have to work as a team. And third, work with young talent. Millennials have a lot of potentials. They know how to attract attention, and they know how to use different mediums to tell a story. So, try to empower them, and try to work with them. Resilience, work as a team, and try to empower millennials. Thank you.

Kim Yongjin

Instead of advice, if you would give me two or three minutes, I would like to talk a little more about cooperation. I think we can think of several different types of cooperation models. First, there is a model where relationships with several countries are involved. I choose and invite investigative reporting groups from each country as partners to cover issues linked to their own countries and then share the result of the investigation to see the whole picture. It requires sharing and collaborating rather than competing. Most of all, you need to have the courage to give up the scoop and show that it is inclusive information.

Secondly, and like the former model, you get the data first, and then you start to do the project. And you agree on common issues that need to get reported. You can collaborate by individually investigating the current situation in your own country on the subject, then share the result among yourselves. I mentioned earlier, and Sherry told us as well about topics such as maritime migrant workers, air pollution, and international prostitution. These issues involve international laws and rules, so important questions that go beyond national borders could be tactics for a collaborative project. If we want to go further than this level, we need to talk more. So, we need to build this kind of model for cooperation. Thank you.

Kathleen Carroll

Great. To sum up, it is quite inspiring to spend time with these four journalists and hear about their news organizations. What we can leave with is that if you are creative and determined, and you value young talent, and you value play, and you invest in your community. Still, you also think globally, and most importantly, if you're willing to share, if you take the competitive juices and put them aside on behalf of the audience, and hold tight to the values that we all cherish of investigative reporting, and work hard on your accuracy. Then, you can have a great news organization. And as Makoto says, it might all start with just a couple of drinks at a bar. Thank you very much. Let's give them a big hand.

Isn't it a journalist's duty to unite to protect press freedom and provide support to threatened colleagues?

Symposium closing remarks

Joel Simon

Thank you so much. That was a fascinating discussion. It's been an exciting day; it's been a long day. So I know that all of you who are here are passionate about journalism and the future of journalism, and that's truly wonderful to see. There are some thank-yous in order, certainly Professor Hanada and all of our friends here at Waseda University. It's been a pleasure to work with you putting today's events together. I also want to congratulate the Waseda Chronicle, what an inspiration this new and innovative media organization is for Japan, for the region, and maybe for the world. So I wish you the best of luck in this new venture. It's really exciting to see this at the outset. We did an event on Friday at Sophia University in partnership with them. I want to thank a friend who's not here with us today, but was instrumental in making it happen, and that's Professor Yasuhiro Ueki, who was wonderful in partnering with us on that event. Some people who I've been spending the week with, who've helped pull a couple of days of really great discussion together. I also want to thank Martin Fackler, who was on the panel today. My colleague, Steve Butler, who is the Asia program coordinator, who has been doing an incredible job, it's been a complex effort, and we're off to Myanmar later in the week, so we have more work to do.

But it's been exciting to work with Steve; our board members; Kathleen, who just moderated this last panel; Sandy Rowe, the outgoing chair of CPJ who I've been working with over the last six years, it's been such a pleasure; and David Schlesinger, who's also a member of our board and is here with us today. So, you know, today's discussion

has been wonderful. You know, and it's also been wonderful to see the impact that David Kaye's report has had in Japan and the debate that it has generated. Something else I'm really pleased about is to be back in Japan. I first came here with the Committee to Protect Journalism nearly a decade ago, and it's been a bit of a story, so let me tell you about it.

We have a board member named Norman Pearlstine, and Norm was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University – this was a mid-career fellowship. This was a while ago; I think it was back in the late '60s. One of his classmates was a Japanese journalist named Atsuko Chiba, and in the 1980s, Chiba was diagnosed with breast cancer, and she did something courageous. At the time, frank discussions about the disease were taboo. And what she did is she wrote a weekly column, chronicling her battle with cancer. It was published every week in the *Weekly Asahi Journal*, and it became really popular. In fact, it was really a sensation. And sadly, she died in 1987. She was only 46 years old. And after Chiba's death, there was a small foundation established to honor her memory. Norm, who had been close to Chiba, was made the president to this foundation. And this foundation provided funding for Asian journalists to study in the United States.

Norm had a passion and still does, for Asia because he was the bureau chief for the *Wall Street Journal* here in Tokyo, and he was the managing editor of the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. So this foundation for two decades had made grants to support Asian journalists to study in the United States, but after two decades, it was sort of winding down. So Norm used the last of the proceeds from this grant, from the Chiba Foundation, to fund a CPJ mission to Japan. His idea was that he wanted to promote a discussion about press freedom. And so I think it was 2010 we came to Tokyo, we did an event at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan. We released our annual report called *Attacks on the Press*. We tried to have a similar discussion to the one you've seen over the last few days over the state of press freedom.

And then following that visit, we did a whole series of articles, alerts, and blogs, describing the challenges to press freedom and the safety

of Japanese journalists, and the problems, which are well-known to the journalists in this room, are not insignificant. And here are some headlines from around the world – a Japanese cameraman working for Reuters was killed during protests in Thailand; Japanese journalists have been killed and arrested covering Burma; Japanese journalists killed in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria; a Japanese journalist was kidnapped and beheaded in Syria; even today, a Japanese journalist is being held hostage in that country. Now, the challenges domestically are far less traumatic, but they're also considerable, and here are some headlines: *Journalist threatened; journalist buried under a pile of lawsuits; journalist denied access to newsworthy events; journalist threatened by punitive new laws.*

We've covered all of this and more on the CPJ website. Now, you've heard Professor Hanada and Martin Fackler talk today about the challenges that the Japanese media have faced in finding ways to defend their rights; it's been a challenge here. And the challenges are real, and they're also structural. But let me make one point. In most democratic countries, and many that are not democratic, there is an organization of journalists that works together to defend press freedom at home, and provides support for their colleagues working overseas in dangerous environments. Now, this is not the case in Japan, and in my view, that's been unfortunate. But I think today the stakes are even higher and let me explain why.

Across the world, press freedom is under attack. This is certainly true in my country, the United States, where our president has launched an unprecedented verbal assault on the media. Journalists have stood their ground, not perfectly or uniformly. But as Kathleen, our new chair, made clear in the panel that she participated in at Sophia University on Friday, there is a growing sense in the U.S. media that we are all in this together. And let me make another point: this is not about journalists protecting their own interests in a narrow sense. This is about the media as an institution, standing up for democratic principles, and the right of the people to access the information they need to make informed decisions and to hold the powerful to account. Now, as David Kaye noted, Japan

is a democratic leader, and a leader of freedom of expression, not just in Asia, but in the world.

Japan needs to maintain that position, and it can't do it if press freedom, which is, after all, a fundamental pillar of democracy, is eroded. And based on the reaction of the Japanese government to David Kaye's criticism, I don't think journalists here can rely on the government to preserve Japan's leading position. We've come to a point, therefore, where it's up to journalists themselves to defend Japan's global leadership. Now how journalists organize themselves, what you do to defend your rights, that's really up to you. But I do hope that Japanese journalists can find a way forward. Because let me make this point, again: this is not about defending your own professional interests as journalists. It's about protecting the rights of the Japanese people to be informed, and more broadly, it's about defending Japan's position in the global democratic order by reaffirming the values that are at the heart of that threatened system.

Today, on the first panel that started this afternoon, and secondly on this panel, we just heard so many inspiring stories about how journalism can make a difference in people's lives by delivering justice and accountability. So what's at stake is our universal values. And that is why we must all stand together to defend them. So, I hope you will join me in thanking our hosts here at Waseda University, in particular Professor Hanada, for this lively and engaging discussion. And I don't know if there's somebody who follows me to wish you all the best. But speaking on my own behalf and the behalf of the Committee to Protect Journalists, this has been a wonderful experience, and I hope we can continue the conversation. Thank you.

Overseas compatriots over the native *Masukomi*

Reflections after the symposium

WATANABE Makoto

In the second session of the international symposium, Mr. KIM Yongjin from South Korea's Newstapa, Ms. Sherry Lee from Taiwan's The Reporter, Ms. Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza from the Philippines' Rappler, and I from Waseda Chronicle participated in a panel discussion. The moderator, Ms. Kathleen Carroll from the *Associated Press*, asked us the following question: "Lateral collaboration and cooperation are incredibly important for the future of investigative journalism. However, it is incredibly difficult to actually find such partners. How do you find good partners? How do you establish trust and work together?"

My answer was that "The important thing is to share the actual story while proceeding with the investigation. Trust can be built by learning about the other party's research methods and stance."

At the time, I was still unsure of who those partners might be. But now I know. They are overseas investigative journalists, starting with those in Asia—not the established media in Japan.

The work brings us closer

In the waiting room before the start of the symposium, I showed the speakers a digest video of Waseda Chronicle's series "Journalism for Sale" with English subtitles. It described how funds originally from pharmaceutical companies had been used to pay a newswire called Kyodo News to disseminate articles about the pharmaceutical companies' drugs. The articles were then picked up and published in regional newspapers around the country. Advertising giant Dentsu Inc had been acting as the intermediary between the pharmaceutical companies and Kyodo News.

Everyone was transfixed. They said the piece was "wonderful." I realized that the best way for people to understand Waseda Chronicle was not through introducing our history or members, but through our work.

I played the same video at the Global Investigative Journalism Conference (GIJC) held in South Africa in November 2017. I had received the opportunity to speak at a session titled "Great Stories You've Never Heard Of," where I introduced "Journalism for Sale."

Applause rang out as soon as the video ended. After the session, several journalists came over to talk to me. I discussed Dentsu Inc, which operates around the world, with a journalist from India. It confirmed my belief that journalists' work has no borders.

Yet in Japan, no newspaper or television station would pick up "Journalism for Sale." NHK and the *Mainichi Shimbun* did cover the issue immediately after the release of the first article in the "Journalism for Sale" series. However, both outlets only interviewed Kyodo News, the newswire which had disseminated compensated articles. They did not ask to interview Waseda Chronicle.

Kyodo News even commented to NHK and the *Mainichi Shimbun* that "there are severe factual misunderstandings; 'Journalism for Sale' skews the facts."

Waseda Chronicle disproved Kyodo News' comment through subsequent "Journalism for Sale" articles. But to this day, neither NHK nor the *Mainichi Shimbun* have interviewed Waseda Chronicle or produced a follow-up report.

Attempts to collaborate with the established media

In the beginning, Waseda Chronicle attempted to collaborate with newspapers and television stations. Given our low name recognition at the time, we would've been grateful for our work to be shared through the established media. We even considered carrying out joint investigations. A partnership with Waseda Chronicle would also have held merits for the established media, which rarely has the time to thoroughly investigate a single issue.

However, this did not go well. The newspapers with which we were

attempting to establish partnerships distanced themselves after the publication of “Journalism for Sale.” “Why bash a fellow media outlet?” That was the message we received.

We did not intend for our series to be seen as such. Our goal had been to ensure that patients could receive the best possible medication. After all, it is patients who suffer if articles about the effects and side-effects of drugs are influenced by pharmaceutical companies.

The response from our readers contrasted with that of the established media. They sent messages saying that “Kyodo News should be thoroughly investigated.” There was a deep-rooted distrust of the established media.

I asked the students who helped with Waseda Chronicle’s investigations, “Who do you think is most at fault: the pharmaceutical companies, Dentsu Inc, or Kyodo News and the regional papers?”

Surprisingly, most of them answered, “Kyodo News and the regional papers.” I’d expected the majority of students to answer that it was the pharmaceutical companies or Dentsu Inc. The pharmaceutical companies use their massive financial resources to expand their business throughout the world. Dentsu Inc keeps an iron grip on all advertisements from its sponsors, thus maintaining an enormous influence over the media. By comparison, Kyodo News and the regional newspapers are minor players. I had thought of the pharmaceutical companies and Dentsu Inc as “the instigators,” and Kyodo News and the local papers are “the instigated.”

However, the students said, “The media are the ones closest to readers. If they had refused to publish these compensated articles, then they would never have reached readers.”

The media organizations we had endeavored to partner with had no intention of improving their industry; they merely distanced themselves. Readers were saying that such media outlets should be thoroughly investigated.

Are established media organizations subjects for investigation rather than collaborators? Could I, having worked for a national newspaper for many years, have unwittingly lost touch with the popular sentiment?

Masukomi, not journalism

Following our first series, “Journalism for Sale,” Waseda Chronicle started publishing “Forced Sterilization.” Under Japan’s “eugenics law,” which existed from 1948 to 1996, over 16,000 individuals with disabilities were made victims of forced sterilization. The law aimed to “prevent the birth of defective descendants.” It was created by politicians who intended to “revive the Japanese race” following Japan’s defeat in World War II.

Shocking facts came to light one after another as we proceeded with this investigation. The central government had put pressure on municipalities to increase the number of sterilization surgeries, resulting in a competition between prefectures. Hokkaido, which, with a total of 2,593 victims, had performed the greatest number of surgeries, had created a commemorative publication to mark its thousandth operation. They had taken pride in those numbers.

In Miyagi Prefecture, which came second with a total of 1,406 operations performed, the political and financial worlds had worked together to advocate for forced sterilization surgery through “The Miyagi Prefectural association for the welfare of mentally challenged children.”

Surprisingly, the media had been among the organizations advocating for forced sterilization surgeries. A member of NHK’s management committee had served as the vice president of “The Miyagi prefectural association for the welfare of mentally challenged children,” and the director of its Sendai broadcasting station had served as an advisor. The chairman of the *Kahoku Shimpō*, a major local paper, had also served as an advisor to the association.

Furthermore, looking through the pages of other papers at the time, the vast majority had backed the policies of the association. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* went so far as to declare that forced sterilization surgeries would “utterly eliminate mentally handicapped children.”

How is this any different from how the media joined the government and military in advocating aggression during the Second World War? Had the press learned nothing from its past failures? In the end, they were just another part of Japan’s systems of authority.

Even more serious is the fact that the media has no intention of examining its complicit involvement in forced sterilization. NHK will not even recognize the fact that a member of its management committee and the director of its Sendai broadcasting station had been involved in a group advocating this policy. The *Kahoku Shimpō* continues to evade questions from Waseda Chronicle, stating, “We maintain a stance of declining to respond.”

Dogpiling on targets of criticism when they show weakness, without ever intending to cleanse themselves—is this not the character of Japan’s established media? They can hardly be called “journalistic organizations.” At Waseda Chronicle, we decided to use the term *Masukomi* when referring to Japan’s established newspapers and television stations. It signifies their function as nothing more than an amplifier.

The greatest benefit following the symposium

After the international symposium, KIM Yongjin, from the South Korean Newstapa, stopped by Waseda Chronicle’s office. Despite the name, the office was only a cramped room with a rent of 60,000 yen. Waseda Chronicle still had limited funding, and at the time all of its members were unpaid. We couldn’t afford to rent a large room.

Upon entering the office, KIM Yongjin smiled and said, “We also started in a cramped room.” Newstapa was founded by journalists who had been demoted or dismissed from television stations for probing into the LEE Myung-bak administration. In the beginning, they had borrowed a conference room from a labor union and had had to leave whenever the union held a meeting.

However, KIM Yongjin had not visited Waseda Chronicle’s office just to encourage us. He wanted to discuss a joint investigation.

Two months later, Waseda Chronicle and Newstapa signed a note of partnership in Seoul. Of course, the main purpose of the trip was to discuss our collaboration. As the subject of our investigation related to Indonesia, *Tempo*, an Indonesian news organization with ample experience in investigative journalism, joined the project.

International collaboration has significant advantages. Although

Japanese newspaper companies and television stations do have overseas branches and special correspondents, local journalists have much wider personal networks. The joint investigation with Newstapa and *Tempo* made full use of this. We were able to delegate research and share findings, as well as introduce each other to research and interview subjects which might be inaccessible for first-timers.

The most significant benefit of our international symposium was not simply sharing ideas about journalism. It was an opportunity for journalists to collaborate across borders.

The Germany conference

Following the international symposium at Waseda University in June 2017 and the GIJN’s global conference held in South Africa in November of that same year, we received a vital opportunity to deepen international collaboration in March 2018 in Germany. Investigative journalism organizations from 10 Asian countries gathered to form a group called “Watchdog Asia.” Waseda Chronicle was a Japanese participant. The conference was held in Germany because a German foundation had provided funding for our activities.

Representatives from each organization stayed in the same hotel during the one-week conference. KIM Yongjin of Newstapa and Sherry Lee of The Reporter, with whom I’d shared the stage for the panel discussion during the symposium at Waseda University, participated too.

We voted to select three investigation topics, which had been collected before the event, and then formed groups for each of the issues we were interested in. In the following days, we debated how we might proceed with the investigations. We were together for every meal, and after dinner, we would drink beer together. It may have been the richest, most productive time I ever spent with a group.

I realized that the crux of our investigations and publications was unexpectedly similar, including how to gather information and guarantee its credibility and how to defend against attacks from the targets of our investigations. Our opinions mostly matched, in my eyes because we each were involved in investigative journalism. We were all working

in opposition to power and fully understood the difficulty of effecting change and the risk of being attacked for the slightest errors.

Waseda Chronicle will continue to collaborate with overseas investigative journalism organizations. This isn't merely because we have concluded that our country's *Masukomi* is not the right partner. In an age where governments and large corporations operate across national borders, almost no topics are entirely contained within one country. To confront power, journalists need to collaborate regardless of nationality.

We are working every day so that, by the time you hold this book in your hands, we are sharing the fruits of our international collaboration.

Now, over a year after the symposium, our collaborative investigation with Newstapa and *Tempo* has produced Waseda Chronicle's fourth series, "Unabated Quest for Coal-fired Plants." The story covers how the governments and corporations of Japan and South Korea have constructed coal-fired power plants with insufficient anti-pollution measures in Indonesia. The people of Indonesia are angry. Is there a possibility that the Japanese and South Korean organizations promoting the business have a corrupt relationship with the Indonesian politicians who permit it?

Our joint investigations will continue.

Looking back on the symposium with six points

Steven Butler

Good journalism is a nasty business. Good journalism uncovers truths that may be good for most people but bad for a few, sometimes the powerful few. As I write this, investigative journalists in the United States have exposed the alleged sexual misbehavior of movie mogul Harvey Weinstein with a likely result that his career will be over. Police in London and New York are looking into his affairs. He's been expelled from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. It's hard to know whether to applaud or criticize the journalism involved. While exposing wrongdoing of this magnitude is an achievement, the incidents that led to this exposé had been accumulating for decades, with the knowledge of many people. Why did it take so long? So, yes, good journalism can be frustrating.

If there's any message coming out of the one-day conference at Waseda University that focused on investigative journalism, it's this: obstacles to the practice vigorous investigative journalism in Japan and elsewhere in Asia are immense, but not insurmountable. And every person who attended the meetings, on and off stage, would like to find ways to promote more of it. So let's peel back the list of topics discussed at the Waseda forum that prevent and promote quality investigative journalism.

Attitudes and social norms

In too many places around the world, journalists who expose wrongdoing are killed, imprisoned or otherwise attacked. That's what keeps my organization, the Committee to Protect Journalism, busy. Very fortunately, Japan is not one of those places. Still, social and political

attitudes don't necessarily support vigorous investigative reporting. "Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost," is how Thomas Jefferson put it at the start of the American republic, and that attitude, while often challenged, has long underpinned the public and legal support for the American press, even when journalism seems obnoxious or offensive. "I hate the press," U.S. Senator John McCain said recently, half in jest. "But the fact is that we need you." Those remarks, of course, came in response to President Donald Trump's labeling of the press as the "enemy of the people." So it's a struggle now in the U.S. in a way it wasn't in the past. My point is that in spite of obstacles, social and ideological support for the positive role of a free press and vigorous reporting in society runs deep in the United States, deep enough to inspire confidence that the press will withstand severe pressure from the Trump administration. That may be less true in Japan, as it faces off against the Abe administration, despite strong and explicit guarantees in the Japanese constitution. Investigative journalists need to find a way to protect themselves legally, but they also need to find strong constituents in society who appreciate and support their work. They must demonstrate their value.

Financial support

Investigative journalism is expensive, mainly because it's time-consuming for the volume of output. While it may attract readers, it's hard to pay the bills with it. Many newsrooms in the United States have halted or trimmed investigate teams because of the cost. Fortunately, a robust nonprofit sector has stepped in to significantly compensate for the loss among regular publications. Shrinking circulation among major Japanese news outlets certainly affects their ability to support these operations, but they are relatively healthy compared to many overseas operations. Unfortunately, Japan lacks the nonprofit support for news operations that might turn out politically or socially controversial products, and support from international donors may be almost impossible to obtain, given the fact that Japan is a wealthy nation fully able to support investigative programs if there's a will. We've heard from strong

operations in Taiwan, Korea, and the Philippines that show it's possible to embed investigative operations inside innovative online news operations that have a broader mandate. Of course, these are all relatively new operations, and their staying power will surely be tested. Still, The Reporter (Taiwan), Rappler (Philippines), and Newstapa (Korea) provide inspiration, hope, and possible models for Japan. The Waseda Chronicle has started up a high-quality investigative program with few resources available – on the hope that a revenue model will evolve on the strength of its product. Surely, Japanese society and rich and diverse enough to support this effort.

Independence

Many nations, including Japan, have robust legal protections for free speech. But freedom of the press is not the same as independence, meaning that editors and reporters of news operations can pursue topics without letting fear of the potential reaction of funders, advertisers, business partners, politicians, or others in society affect coverage. Nowhere is independence absolute; it's a constant struggle no matter what the nation. Still, the nature of Japanese society and business creates challenges, with political and business influence often wielded quietly, behind the scenes. It created an uproar in February 2016, when Japan's Internal Affairs and Communications Minister TAKA'ICHI Sanae noted that the government could order broadcasters to suspend operations should they air politically biased TV programming. Of course, that did not happen, but just the mention may be enough to inspire fear in license holders who manage huge, profitable businesses, and put a damper on critical news coverage. This is especially problematic for Japan, where the broadcast regulator is not independent of the government. Privately, journalists tell of pressures from management to avoid controversial topics. The *Asahi Shimbun's* investigative reporting unit was trimmed back after a huge public pressure campaign that emanated from the government. It needs to be added that independence is a serious issue in many nations that otherwise enjoy robust freedom of speech, including, for example, India. Japan is hardly unique.

Institutional support

Investigative teams do not always sit well inside of other news organizations. They work differently. Deadlines are longer. Superficially, productivity appears to be low. They work off the news cycle. They can be places that beat journalists aspire to work in, or they can be centers of jealous competition. Regular beat Japanese journalists depend heavily on access to sources by joining press clubs associated with government ministries or industries. The investigative journalists can impede their work should they delve into topics found to be too sensitive by their normal sources, leading to the threat of loss of access. This issue is especially acute in Japan because of the heavy reliance on access journalism, which is the lifeblood of daily news production. Therefore, it's difficult – though plainly not impossible – to locate vigorous investigative reporting units inside of large traditional media players, either broadcast or print. Those large organizations ought to be the home for investigating units because they have the resources and the reach to the public. Strong investigative reports ought to be a boon to circulation during a time of declining readership. And it still could be, if news organizations provided the leadership and devoted the resources needed.

Talent pool

This is an area where Japan plainly excels. Look no further than the three journalists who joined the panel at Waseda to talk about their experience of investigative journalism in Japan: YORIMITSU Takaaki who previously headed the investigative desk at the *Asahi Shimbun*; KUMADA Yasunobu of NHK; and ISHIMARU Jiro at the *Asia Press International*, which has provided unique coverage of North Korea. The early launch of the Waseda Chronicle, whose articles on “Journalism for Sale” turned an uncomfortable eye over the pharmaceutical industry, advertising, and the news industry as well. Yorimitsu's description of how he exposed local corruption in Kochi before joining the *Asahi* in Tokyo shows inventiveness and skill in navigating the local political and business scene. The challenge for Japan isn't finding skilled journalists; it's providing the business structures capable of unleashing their talents.

Collaboration

The vast trove of documents that make up the *Panama Papers*, and the global character of the material, made it inevitable that journalists from different publications would have to work together to report on their findings. Collaboration is not the first instinct of most journalists. But even in Japan, rival journalists from different news operations who normally compete fiercely managed to collaborate. This has set a new model. These days, many stories of interest span borders. Our conference participants described some of the efforts to work with colleagues from other countries. The high cost of reporting some stories along with the need for local contacts and knowledge make this an imperative for these kinds of stories. Indeed one of the positive direct impacts of the Waseda conference has been to boost efforts among the participants to work together, including the signing of new memorandums of understanding. These kinds of collaborations provide an underpinning of strength for investigative journalism.

The news media is under pressure on many fronts these days. Changing technology has undermined traditional business models. While some web-based operations appear to be thriving, it's too soon to say what kind of business models can endure. No one has it completely figured out. Many producers of journalism products have lost control of their distribution channels to Facebook or, in Japan, *Yahoo! Japan*. The demand for reliable information has never been greater. Still, at the same time, media of all types are coming under new political and social pressures that make independent operations more difficult everywhere, and impossible in many locations.

I would like to thank Professor HANADA Tatsuro for the amazing effort he has put in to make the Waseda conference a success. As director of the Institute for Journalism at Waseda, under whose auspices the Waseda Chronicle operates, he is playing a major role in keeping alive and promoting investigative journalism in Japan. I'm proud that the Committee to Protect Journalists was able to play a supporting role

in helping to make this conference possible. But the conference, and this volume, stand as a tribute to Professor Hanada's vision and energy. It's only with the leadership that he has provided that it's possible to advance the kind of watchdog journalism that we value so highly. Our meeting showed that it's not easy, but certainly possible. My best hope for the outcome of this meeting is that it provides further energy to our colleagues in Japan, and elsewhere in the Asia region to continue the excellent work they have started.

Acknowledgments

Editors and Contributors

Acknowledgments

This web-based publication was a long process. The idea for this project originated from the international symposium on investigative journalism held in Tokyo, Japan, in June 2017 under the auspices of the Institute for Journalism at Waseda University and the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). We published a book about the symposium in Japanese in October 2018. Now, we are happy to bring its products into English for the international public.

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them Sandi Aritza. We used the transcription of recorded original and English interpretation as the base of the manuscript for the two panel discussions in chapter 11 and 12.

KIMURA Hide'aki, Waseda Chronicle's managing editor until April 2020, contributed through coordinating with the translator. We must mention his contribution.

Annelise Giseburt, who is Waseda Chronicle's English editor, translated one essay in this publication, as well as proofread the whole volume and edited as necessary. We appreciate her commitment.

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HANADA Tatsuro

Editors and Contributors

Editors

HANADA Tatsuro is Professor Emeritus of the University of Tokyo as well as Waseda University, a freelance social scientist and advisor of Waseda Chronicle.

He graduated from the Waseda University School of Political Science and Economics. He studied at the University of Munich graduate school in West-Germany. After serving as a professor at the University of Tokyo's Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies and then as dean of the graduate school, he took the professor at the Waseda University Faculty of Education and Integrated Arts and Sciences in 2006. Since 2007, he also served as director of the Institute for Education in Journalism, and since 2015 as the director of the Institute for Journalism, at Waseda University. Based on the institute, he established a journalism course for BA Minor. He retired as professor emeritus in 2018. His areas of specialty are sociology, media studies, and journalism studies. He published two books on the theory of the public sphere, depending on the works of Jürgen Habermas, Henri Lefebvre, and AMINO Yoshihiko.

Hanada is the author of books in Japanese, *The social space known as the public sphere: public sphere, media and civil society* (Bokutakusha, 1996) and *Politics of the media and the public sphere* (University of Tokyo Press, 1999), and co-editor of *Investigative journalism challenge: civil society and international support strategy* (Junposha, 2016). Tatsuro Hanada Collections in seven volumes commended publication in 2018.

WATANABE Makoto has served as editor-in-chief of Waseda Chronicle since its launch in 2017, following 16 years working as a reporter for the *Asahi Shimbun*.

He started working at Nippon Television Network Corporation after graduating from Waseda University's School of Political Science and Economics in 1998. In 2000, he began working at the *Asahi Shimbun*, engaging in investigative journalism in the investigative reporting section. He published two stories as part of "The Prometheus Trap," a series that came out after the meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. These were "Aim for the depths of the earth," which sounded an alarm bell regarding the problems involved

in dealing with high-level radioactive waste by burying it underground; and "Nuclear power plant town," a report on the struggles of a town hosting a nuclear power plant, torn between past economic benefits bequeathed by Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) and damage incurred by the nuclear accident.

Watanabe's investigative journalism has also uncovered collusion between pharmaceutical corporations and doctors by analyzing data concerning funds provided by the former to the latter. He has also pursued corruption issues within Koyasan Shingon, one of Japanese Buddhism's most prominent sects. In addition to his work in investigative journalism, Watanabe has also published such works as "Between a man and a woman," a series on the lives of people with gender dysphoria.

As editor-in-chief, he has won the FCCJ Freedom of Press Award 2017 by the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan, and the grand prize in Japan's inaugural Journalism X Award 2020 by the Journalism Citizen Support Fund.

Contributors (in alphabetical order of surnames)

Gemma Bagayaua-Mendoza serves as a bridge between the editorial, technical and civic engagement units of Rappler, a pioneering social news network based in the Philippines.

She leads Rappler's data journalism efforts and played a key role in Rappler's real-time tallies and analysis of the May 2013 and 2016 election results. She is also one of the key movers behind the development of the Agos Alert Map. This pioneering tool that crowdsources reports of critical needs on the ground before, during, and after disasters. She currently supervises the development of #NotOnMyWatch. This anti-corruption platform that crowdsources positive and negative feedback about government agencies, including reports of bribery.

Before joining Rappler, Gemma served as editor-in-chief of ABS-CBNNews.com, the news website of ABS-CBN, one of the leading broadcast networks in the Philippines.

She co-authored *The Enemy Within*, a book on military corruption and civilian neglect published by Newsbreak just before the team joined Maria Ressa to form Rappler in 2011. Gemma's stories on governance & corruption, the security sector, disasters, and other social issues have won recognition in the Jaime V. Ongpin Awards for Investigative Journalism, the UNICEF-Philippine Press Institute Awards for Child-friendly Journalists, and the Asian Development Bank Institute's Developing Asia Journalism Awards.

Steven Butler is Asia Program Coordinator at the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ).

He has worked as a journalist throughout Asia, writing for the *Financial Times* and *The Christian Science Monitor* from South Korea in the mid-1980s, before joining the *Financial Times* staff and reporting in Southeast Asia, London, and Tokyo regular reporting visits to China. For a decade, Butler lived in Tokyo, later joining US News & World Report, and returning to Washington, where he served as a foreign editor at Knight Ridder's Washington bureau during the US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Before joining CPJ in 2016, Butler served as executive director at the Institute of Current World Affairs. He worked with institute fellows throughout the world, including in South and East Asia, and as senior editor and writer at the online magazine OZY.com.

Butler holds a Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University and has lived and worked in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China.

Kathleen Carroll is board chair of the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) since 2017. This global organization helps endangered journalists and advocates for press freedom.

From 2002 through 2016, she was executive editor and senior vice president of The Associated Press. She was responsible for coverage from journalists in more than 100 countries, including groundbreaking news bureaus in North Korea and Myanmar. Under her leadership, AP journalists won numerous awards, including five Pulitzer Prizes—including the 2016 Pulitzer for Public Service—six George Polk Awards, and 15 Overseas Press Club Awards.

Carroll is a fierce advocate for a robust independent press and a frequent speaker on the threats to journalistic access. She is a regular contest judge and consultant on ethical and standards issues. From 2003 to 2012, she was a member of the Pulitzer Prize Board, the final year as co-chair.

Before taking the top job at the AP, Carroll led the Knight-Ridder Washington bureau and worked for the AP in Washington, Los Angeles, and Dallas. She was an editor at the *International Herald Tribune* and the *San Jose Mercury News* and a reporter at *The Dallas Morning News* in her hometown.

Alessia Cerantola is an investigative journalist at the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP).

She is the co-founder of the Investigative Reporting Project Italy (IRPI) and a member of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ). She has been reporting from Japan since 2007, with a special focus on the aftermath

of the March 2011 earthquake, the ensuing tsunami, and the Fukushima nuclear disaster. She covered environmental and social issues, sex crimes, and corruption for the main Italian TVs and printed publications and for a cross-section of media including *The Atlantic*, the *Guardian*, *The Intercept*, *The Japan Times*, and Al Jazeera. In 2016, Cerantola was part of the Pulitzer-Prize winning Panama Papers investigation, working in particular as part of a historic collaboration among Japanese media outlets. Since 2013 she has been a radio reporter contributing to the BBC World Service.

Her work has been honored with several journalism awards and nominations, including the Press Freedom Award 2012 by Reporters Without Borders and UNESCO, Austria. In 2019 she was a fellow with Ground truth Project – Democracy Undone fellow, producing a podcast about Italy's Identitarian movement. In 2013, she traveled the United States as a Transatlantic Media Fellow with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) of Washington DC. She has a master's degree in Oriental studies, journalism, and corporate finance.

Martin Fackler is a journalist and the former Tokyo bureau chief for *The New York Times*.

He is currently Journalist-in-Residence and Research Fellow at the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation, a Tokyo-based think tank. From 2009 to 2015, he covered Japan and the Korean peninsula as Tokyo bureau chief for *The New York Times*.

In 2012, Fackler was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize in international reporting for his and his colleagues' investigative stories on the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear meltdown. The prize committee said offered a "powerful exploration of serious mistakes concealed by authorities in Japan." Fackler is also the author (in Japanese) of the bestseller *Credibility Lost: The Crisis in Japanese Newspaper Journalism after Fukushima*, a critical look at Japanese media coverage of the 2011 earthquake and nuclear disaster. He spent a decade in the Tokyo bureau of *The New York Times*, where he also served as an economics correspondent.

Before joining *The New York Times* in 2005, Fackler worked in Tokyo for *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, The Associated Press and Bloomberg News, and in Beijing and Shanghai for AP. He has Master's degrees in journalism from the University of Illinois at Urbana and in East Asian history from the University of California, Berkeley.

ISHIMARU Jiro is a journalist and a representative of the Asia Press International Osaka office.

His life work involves pursuing on-the-ground coverage of life in North Korea. He has traveled to North Korea three times as a journalist and to the border between North Korea and China roughly 100 times since 1993. He has interviewed nearly 1,000 North Koreans. Since 2002, he began activities to nurture journalists within North Korea.

Ishimaru is editor and publisher of the magazine *Kitachōsen naibu kara no tsūshin rimujingan* (Imjin River: communication from within North Korea). His leading publications are *Refugees from North Korea* (Kodansha Publications) and *Juena who came back to North Korea* (NHK High Vision Special).

JUNG Sooyoung is a research specialist of Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), Korea's Public Service Broadcaster.

She graduated from Sungkyunkwan University (SKKU) in the Department of Journalism & Mass Communication. Jung then studied abroad in Japan for about eight years and received 2007 a Ph.D. in Journalism from Sophia University in Tokyo. Since then, she had researched as a Research Professor at the SKKU and a Research Fellow of the Asia Center at Seoul National University. Since 2019, she works for MBC's Policy Cooperation Department. Her main research areas are media policy, public service broadcasting, Journalism, and intercultural communication between Korea and Japan.

Jung is the author of *The Social Responsibility and Accountability of Media* (Seoul: Paradigm Book, 2018). She published many research papers in high-quality Korean journals: 'Can the disastrous results of media coverage on Sewol Ferry disaster be restored?: A theoretical exploration for a paradigm shift of journalism norms' (*Communication Theory*, 2015), 'Empathy, compassion, and affect: A public sentiment for the external extension of journalism analysis and criticism' (*Communication Theory*, 2015), 'Making a civil war surrounding history in cyberspace: Focused on 5·18 discourses in Ilbe' (*Journal of Communication and Information Studies*, 2015), and so on.

KIM Yongjin is the editor-in-chief of the Korea Center for Investigative Journalism (KCIJ), the first and only nonprofit investigative reporting organization in South Korea. The center runs Newstapa, an online news website that presents watchdog journalism.

He started his career as a journalist in 1987 at Korean Broadcasting System (KBS), a public broadcasting corporation. He mostly covered criminal justice,

human right, media, and international relations. He exposed that the national spy agency had helped big corporations block people who had experience in labor unions from getting work by doing illegal surveillance and establishing a vast blacklist. In 1992, he received the Journalist Association of Korea (JAK)'s "Korea Journalist Award," the most prestigious journalism award in Korea for the exposure. He also has won three "This Year's Broadcasting Journalist" awards. In 2005, he founded and led an investigative reporting unit in KBS. The unit had received about 30 prestigious national and international journalism awards, including an IRE award during his tenure. In 2005 and 2006, he worked as a visiting professional at IRE.

Kim quit KBS in 2013 because he felt the freedom of the press in Korea was severely oppressed. He then established KCIJ. He is the author of *They know, but we don't*, a best seller based on the cables of the US Embassy in Seoul that were first exposed by Wikileaks.

KUMADA Yasunobu is NHK Newsroom, deputy head of Current Affairs Division.

He started his career in 1990 as a reporter for NHK (Nippon Hoso Kyokai, Japan Broadcasting Corporation) in Okinawa. In 1995, he joined the Current Affairs Division and started an investigation into public funds use. This journalistic campaign revealed the misuse of public funds by government officials entering into private industry and conducted a series of investigative reports on the abuse of political funds by members of the National Diet.

After the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011, he transferred to Sendai to direct the coverage of the earthquake. By reporting on the budget for reconstruction after the quake, he highlighted the fact that the funds for restoration were raised by increasing taxes on citizens. Still, government officials were using them for purposes unrelated to the earthquake. This led the government to drastically reconsider the use of these funds, leaving no choice but to return them to the treasury. Currently, he works at the national news desk, bringing local news to national attention using investigative journalism.

Kumada was awarded The Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA) National Arts Festival Award "Investigative report: Japan Highway Public Corporation (Nihon Dorokoudan) Trajectory of expansion of Debt 30 trillion yen."

Sherry Hsueh-li Lee is the editor-in-chief of The Reporter and the adjunct assistant professor of the Graduate Institute of Journalism at National Taiwan University.

She has taken the current position after serving as an editorial managing

director since its launch. She was the deputy managing editor and chief producer of the media center of the CommonWealth media group. Lee had worked there for more than 15 years before she joined the newly launched The Reporter.

Lee was a Sauvé Scholar of McGill University and a visiting scholar of the Universities Service Centre for China Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. She has won many prestigious awards in her career.

LIN I-hsuan is a Professor of the College of Sociology at Rikkyo University, Tokyo.

She completed her M.A. at the Graduate School of Journalism at National Taiwan University, and then M.A. and Ph.D. at the Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, The University of Tokyo. Her main areas of research are ethnic media, alternative media, and journalism studies.

Lin is the author of *Ethnicity and Media in Taiwan: Politics of Integration, Acceptance, and Rejection* (Rikkyo University Press, 2014), co-author of *Investigative Journalism: the Rising Non-profit Investigative News Associations in Asia* (Sairyusha, 2018), *Encyclopedia of the Journalism* (Sanseido, 2014), co-author of *Work and Life Imbalance of TV Journalists* (Publisher: Otsukishoten, 2013), co-author of *Did the Newspaper Report the Earthquake Correctly?* (Waseda University Press, 2012).

Joel Simon is the executive director of the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) since 2006.

He has led the organization through a period of expansion, helping to launch the Global Campaign Against Impunity, establish a Journalist Assistance program, and spearhead CPJ's defense of press freedom in the digital space through the creation of a dedicated Technology Program. Simon has participated in CPJ missions around the world, from Argentina to Zimbabwe. Under his leadership, CPJ has been honored with the Thomas J. Dodd Prize in International Justice and Human Rights and a News & Documentary Emmy for its work in defense of press freedom, and numerous other awards.

He has written widely on press freedom issues for publications including Slate, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New York Times*, *World Policy Journal*, *Asahi Shimbun*, and *The Times of India*. He is a regular columnist for *Columbia Journalism Review*.

Prior to joining CPJ in 1997 as Americas program coordinator, Simon worked for a decade as a freelance journalist in Latin America. He covered the Guatemalan civil war, the Zapatista uprising in Southern Mexico, the debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the economic turmoil in

Cuba following the collapse of the Soviet Union. A graduate of Amherst College and Stanford University, he is the author of *Endangered Mexico: An Environment on the Edge* (Sierra Club Books, 1997) and *The New Censorship: Inside the Global Battle for Media Freedom* (Columbia University Press, 2015).

TANAKA Hiroshi is a doctoral candidate at Waseda University.

He worked as a reporter for the local newspaper in Ishikawa Prefecture, *Hokkoku Shimbun*. After quitting the job, he went to graduate school at Waseda University in 2013. He focuses on the history and political economy of journalism, social activism, and sociological theory. His Master's thesis in 2015 is "Shimbun gensetsu no seisan to kouzou: Bunmeikaika to keikan-zai o butai to shi te (The production and its structures of news discourses in Meiji-era in focusing on enlightenment and sodomy law)." Tanaka is the author of the paper of "Kukan no ryouyuu ni muketa shintaiteki jissen: Taisyō no jitsuzai ka to teikou no keiki toshitenō honyaku (Bodily acts toward the appropriation of space: Translation as a realization of objects and a moment of resistance)" in *Shakaigaku hyoron* (Japanese Sociological Review), 69(1), 2018.

YORIMITSU Taka'aki is a journalist and Suwa bureau chief at the *Asahi Shimbun*.

Prior to his current position, he served as chief of the societal news division at the *Kochi Shimbun*, a local newspaper in Kochi Prefecture. After moving to the *Asahi Shimbun*, a national newspaper in 2008, he took the head of the investigative reporting section. During the time in this special division, he directed the team for publishing the investigative series "The Prometheus Trap" after the severe accident of the Fukushima-Daiichi nuclear power plant in the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011. Then he served as a senior staff writer at the *Asahi Shimbun*.

For his work pursuing fraudulent financing by the Kochi prefectural office, Yorimitsu was awarded the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association Award 2001. For his team's work on the investigative series "The Prometheus Trap," he was awarded Waseda University's Ishibashi Tanzan Memorial Journalism Award and the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association Award in 2012. His publications include the co-authored work *Kuroi yōen: ken yami yūshi kyūmei no kiroku* (Black heat haze: record of investigating the prefecture's dark financing) (Kochi Shimbun Press, 2001).



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