

In the Name of the Moon, I'll Cheer For You!

Pop-Culture and the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Legacies



Sinja de Block

1007904

Master Thesis Tourism and Culture, Radboud University

Supervisor: Martijn Stevens

15-06-2018

Word count: 23.495

Abstract

This thesis explores several tourism trends in Japan, namely contents tourism and the pop-culture diplomacy employed by the Japanese government, and connects these to the upcoming 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games. This is due to the increasing importance of legacies in sporting events like the Olympics. This is also adamant in the International Olympic Committee's host city contract, in which the host city promises to leave a positive legacy. Furthermore, the Tokyo 2020 Games are the first games to have an action and legacy plan and will have researchers study the effects of the Games when they have been concluded. A qualitative approach was used to link tourism trends with the Olympics. Several databases and sources were utilised to gather data about the tourism trends in Japan as well as Olympic Games and sports tourism in general, which were then analysed and studied to apply the theories to the case study of the Tokyo 2020 Games. This research has clarified that one of the main driving forces behind bidding on hosting the Games is the increased tourism that goes with it, so it was expected that the Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games would exploit the current tourism diplomacy. Especially since the Japan Olympic Committee and Japan Paralympic Committee have invested in getting the rights for several prominent anime characters and Prime Minister Abe appeared on stage as Mario at the end of the 2016 Rio Olympic Games. By studying the 2017 Action & Legacy plan provided by the Tokyo Organising Committee it became apparent that pop-culture does not play a big part in the organising and legacies of the Games. However, their intended legacies do leave room for pop-culture to get involved, so several suggestions have been made to illustrate how pop-culture can be utilised within the Action & Legacy plan so that more positive legacies can be created.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
1. Theoretical Framework	5
1.1. Contents Tourism and Similar Types.....	5
1.2. The History of Pop-culture Diplomacy and Cool Japan.....	7
1.3. The Problems of Pop-culture Diplomacy and Cool Japan	9
1.4. Why Pop-culture Diplomacy Works for Japan	13
1.5. The Influence of Olympic Games on a City and Tourism	14
1.6. Places and Their Importance	17
1.7. Conclusion.....	18
2. Method	20
3. The 2020 Tokyo Olympics and Pop-culture	23
3.1. Expectations.....	23
3.2. Legacies.....	25
3.3. Contents Tourism and Pop-Culture	30
3.4. Kawaii Culture	34
3.5. Locations	35
3.6. Suggestions	37
3.7. Conclusion.....	38
Conclusion and Discussion	40
Glossary.....	42
Primary Sources	44
Secondary Sources	45

Introduction

Temples, Buddhist monks, people weaving, towns, nature, robots, other technology, state-of-the-art buildings, busy streets and a first-year maiko¹ which will undoubtedly be mistaken for a geisha* by foreigners. These are the things that can be found in the promotional video for Japan – the country ‘where tradition meets the future’ – made by the Japan National Tourism Organisation (JNTO) and encompasses a rather stereotypical image of the country. That is because it is an advertisement for Japan and aims to highlight the interesting places but also creates a brand for the country. Japan is not alone in using this strategy. In fact, it is quite common for countries nowadays to have video commercials to attract visitors (Bruner 2005). However, comparing this to other countries, like Egypt and Turkey, it seems Japan does not rely on this video too much. The other countries have had several versions of their promotion video and can be found on YouTube, but the JNTO’s channel only has this specific video from 2016 as this kind of promotional material. This begs the question of how Japan promotes and brands itself if not through the common video commercials on television.

Scholars have asked similar questions throughout the years and have come up with an answer: Popular culture. Almost fifteen years ago, the JNTO wanted to try to get more tourists to come to Japan (Berger 2010) and in order to do so they needed a new strategy. In 2004 the Japan Brand Strategy organisation was founded as a part of the Intellectual Property Strategic Programme (IPSP) which, in turn, was initiated two years earlier (Valaskivi 2013). As Valaskivi explains, the fact that an intellectual property organisation was involved suggests that creative industries were to be at the heart of ‘future’ Japan. However, it wasn’t until May 2011 that the Creating a New Japan proposal (*atarashī Nihon no sōzō*)² by the Cool Japan Advisory Council (*kūru japan kanmin yūshikisha kaigi*) came forth, which was aimed at the promotion of creative industries and the spreading of Japanese popular culture. Rather than using video commercials, Japan chose to focus on their pop-culture to create a brand for their country.

But what exactly is the popular culture of Japan? The answer to this needs some more explaining as the definition of pop-culture in itself is unclear (Seaton and Yamamura 2015) and this will be done more elaborately in the next chapter. For the moment it can be assumed that pop-culture is something that speaks to the general public and stems from different media forms. Japanese pop-culture can be found mostly in anime (Japanese animation shows and films), manga (Japanese comics), and games. Sometimes a person is moved so much by a story and its characters – be it a book or show or game – that they actually visit the physical location of where it takes place. This is called media-induced tours. Examples of these are for instance when fans of Harry Potter go to King’s Cross Station to take a picture at Platform 9 ¾ and Lord of the Rings fans going to New Zealand where the movies were shot. For anime and manga enthusiasts, this desire to go to the place where their favourite characters are in the story is no different. In fact, according to the country’s Lonely Planet, ‘Japan is one huge pop-culture playground’ (p. 31).

Even though media-induced tourism is a large part of pop-culture tourism, Japanese government officials as well as scholars have come up with a different term and form of this kind of tourism. It deals with pop-culture and entails people travelling to certain places, yet is different enough from normal film and literature induced tourism to warrant a new name. This form of tourism is more about narrative and theme rather than characters and the places they go to or

¹ More information about terms and districts can be found in the glossary in alphabetical order and will be marked with a small asterisk (*). The abbreviations for (governmental) institutions can also be found here.

² All translations are by the author unless stated otherwise.

where the story was filmed. The name the scholars and officials have chosen for this new phenomenon is *kontentsu tsūrizumu* or content(s) tourism³ (Seaton & Yamamura 2015). Even though it has clear similarities with the other media-induced tourism types, the nuance of contents tourism is different. More about this will be explained in the next chapter.

Even though the Lonely Planet Japan states the entirety of the country is a playground associated with pop-culture, the main area for pop-culture consumption is Tokyo. Akihabara* – or Akiba as the Japanese have been calling it – is Tokyo's digital district, and while this is the place to be for technological gadgets, it also serves a different purpose. The district is also known for its many anime and manga stores, ranging from videos and books to figurines and bags. Any kind of merchandise can be bought there and this is why Akihabara is visited by many fans⁴ who are eager to buy something with their favourite character on it. This is also where so-called maid cafes* can be found, popular locations in many anime and manga and thus also for their fans. Other than Akihabara, Shibuya*, Tokyo's main shopping district, is also a popular destination for tourists looking for pop-culture content since all the latest trends can be found there. Furthermore, Tokyo also houses the Ghibli Museum, a Mecca to Miyazaki Hayao fans. Ghibli is arguably the largest anime film studio also known outside of Japan. It is so well-known that even the Lonely Planet mentions the museum specifically. With all these attractions for pop-culture fans in Tokyo, it is not surprising that many game or show producer stores can also be found there, like Artnia for Square-Enix – a popular game producer – and the Pokémon Centre for GAMEFREAK, the producers of Pokémon.

Yet popular culture is of course not the sole reason people visit the country. Although pop-culture is very prominent in Japan, there are many other forms of tourism that find a home there (Berger 2010). One of these types of tourism is sports tourism. The northern part of Japan is known for its skiing and snowboarding opportunities. When the snow melts and swells the rivers, canoeing and rafting come into style. Since Japan has quite a few mountains like the well-known Fujisan, or Mount Fuji, it is a popular country for hikers and climbers. Martial arts like karate and aikido are also associated with Japan and practitioners of these sports sometimes also find themselves drawn to the country. People also go to Japan for golf and the Golf in Japan website states there are 2,349 golf clubs and 500 ranges in Japan for people to enjoy. Another activity tourists can do in Japan is diving. Though there is not a main or central area or region for sports tourists to go to unlike those interested in popular culture, they still have plenty of options when visiting the country.

Sports tourism in general does not have a lot to do with popular culture per se – even though there are more and more anime about sports like swimming (*Free!*) and ice skating (*Yuri on Ice!!!*). Nevertheless, there is a direct link between the two when it concerns the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games as the Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (hereafter Tokyo Organising Committee) has chosen to use pop-culture to promote the global event. They are not being subtle about it either. It started with Prime Minister Abe showing up at the 2016 Olympics in a Mario suit from Nintendo's popular Super Mario Bros game franchise. They also selected nine characters for the so-called *kyarakutā dezain shirīzu* or Character Design Series which will be used on

³ As Seaton and Yamamura state in their article, whenever a Japanese person uses the English version of the term, they use content tourism. However, Seaton and Yamamura argue that contents tourism is more similar to the pronunciation of the Japanese *kontentsu tsūrizumu* as well as that the English contents captures plurality while content is singular. Since *kontentsu tsūrizumu* is about all content and thus plural, contents tourism will be used in this thesis.

⁴ In English texts – as is the case for the Lonely Planet – the phrase *otaku* is often used to describe anime and manga fans. This term will be explained more in detail in the next chapter.

official merchandise. The characters come from eight different shows, four of which are title characters: Astro Boy, Sailor Moon, Shin-chan, and Naruto (title characters in the Western versions), Luffy from One Piece, Goku from the Dragon Ball series, Jibanyan from *Yōkai Watch*, and Cure Miracle and Cure Magical from a show called *Mahō Tsukai Pretty Cure*.

Surprisingly, Mario is not on this list even though Prime Minister Abe cosplayed as the famous plumber during the final show in Rio. Doraemon – who was used back in 2013 to try and get the rights for Tokyo for the Olympic Games (The Japan Times 2013) – is also not on this list. Yet perhaps these characters will still be used as ‘special ambassadors’ since Doraemon was called that on the official English website for the 2020 Games. As stated on the Japanese website, the Character Design Series are licensed by the Japan Olympic Committee (JOC) and the Japan Paralympic Committee (JPC) in order to support the national team (The Tokyo Organising Committee 2016b). They go on to say that the characters have been chosen because they have prominence both in Japan and overseas and are a part of a broader popular culture that originated in Japan. Clearly popular culture plays a large part in the promotion of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics within Japan.

The Olympic Games is, in turn, an important factor in tourism. Especially since the JNTO announced they had almost reached their goal of 20 million inbound tourists in 2015 and thus decided to double that goal for 2020 (The Japan Times 2016). Their aim is to reach 60 million inbound tourists a year by 2030, which shows the Olympic Games play a prominent part in the branding of Japan as a tourist destination. The Japan Times also states that the government has ten objectives created to revamp the tourism industry and they focus their efforts into completing these before the Tokyo Olympics so positive legacies can be created during the Games. Therefore the question for this thesis is how popular culture is used to create positive Olympic legacies. Furthermore, suggestions will be made as to how to implement pop-culture to create these legacies.

The reason for choosing a focus on pop-culture diplomacy and the Olympic Games rather than other important subjects concerning the Olympic Games like sustainability is that the Olympic Games are a way of generating tourism. Currently – as will be shown later in this thesis – Japan is using a pop-culture diplomacy for tourism, so it would be interesting to see whether they will stick with this strategy or alter it now they will gain the attention of the world.

Before this can be analysed, however, contents tourism and pop-culture diplomacy needs to be looked at. This also means looking at film, media, and literature tourism as these are the closest forms of tourism in English terms to contents tourism. Questions that will need to be answered are: What moves people to go to certain places connected to their fandom? How did this form of tourism develop? What are the similarities between contents tourism and other forms of media-induced tourism? Furthermore, how did pop-culture diplomacy develop and what are discussions surrounding this diplomacy? Once a clear image has been sketched, more information about Olympic Games – not just Tokyo 2020 – needs to be gathered. The questions for this section are how Olympic Games are branded and what legacies of Olympic Games are. After that, the main focus of this thesis can be addressed.

The aim is to illustrate how pop-culture has been used to promote Japan so far and how it is being used in the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games specifically and to suggest how pop-culture can be more involved in creating positive legacies. In order to do so, information about contents tourism and sports tourism with an emphasis on the Games will be gathered and analysed so a general overview of the development of contents tourism and Olympic Games tourism can be created. Using that, a link will be made between the Olympic Games and how pop-culture is used currently will be studied. After that, whether certain legacies are stimulated by the use of pop-culture are discussed

and how certain legacies can be brought forth through popular culture will be illustrated. The problems that arise with using pop-culture as a stimulant for tourism will be addressed as well.

First is a theoretical framework in which previously published works will be discussed to create the background about for the rest of the thesis. The themes addressed are contents tourism, pop-culture diplomacy, sports tourism, the Olympic Games and the importance of locations. After that, the method used will be explained. Then three forms of tourism – cultural, contents and sports – will be linked as well as branding and pop-culture diplomacy in Japan. Finally the case study, the 2020 Olympic Games in Tokyo, will be studied. In the conclusion the findings will be summarised and which further research should be done is discussed.

1. Theoretical Framework

This chapter will provide the background information needed in order to understand the analysis of the case study of the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games. To begin contents tourism and other media-induced tourism forms are compared and discussed. After that the pop-culture diplomacy the Japanese government has chosen to use to promote the country is analysed and this section touches upon the evolution of the policy and its problems, as well as why it might work in Japan. Following that is information about sports tourism with a focus on the Olympic Games. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of the importance of locations and what needs to be taken into account when deciding on Olympic sites.

1.1. Contents Tourism and Similar Types

As stated before, contents tourism is a term primarily used in Japan since it is a term that was invented in Japan. However, this form of tourism entails many other forms which are also used in Europe and the United States of America like film-induced tourism and literary tourism (Masubuchi 2008; Tsutsui 2013; Yamamura 2015). Nevertheless contents tourism differs from other media-induced tourism, as will be shown in this section.

Throughout the years, there have been many different forms of tourism. Literature tourism has been around for quite some time, but film-induced tourism is a relatively new form compared to others like cultural tourism and gastronomy tourism (Seaton and Yamamura 2015). It has gained recognition in the field in the last decades, becoming a well-established type of tourism. Yet, contrary to film- and literature-induced tourism which have been recognised in the field of tourism studies for some time now (Yamamura 2015), contents tourism is branded as a new form of cultural tourism and the Japan Tourism Association lumps it together with other new types like industrial tourism and ecotourism (Masubuchi 2008). Nevertheless, Masubuchi links contents tourism to something similar that happened in the Edo period*. In this era, people travelled to places which were featured in popular poems and songs and spurred on shrine visits. The reason Masubuchi connects these two forms of tourism is because nowadays people travel to the 'sacred place' of their favourite anime.

However, looking at the definition of contents tourism, this old form of tourism in Japan is not exactly the same as contents tourism and more like music tourism and literary tourism. In order to determine what the definition of contents tourism is exactly, three governmental organisations conducted a survey called the Investigative Report on Regional Development by the Production and Utilisation of Film in 2005 (Masubuchi 2008; Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism et al. 2005). Their conclusion was that the basis for contents tourism is adding a narrative (*monogatrisei*) and theme (*tēmasei*) to a region to create an atmosphere or image specifically generated by content. By utilising this narrative as tourism resources, contents tourism can happen. The central message of this report was that content or stories were at the heart of tourism promotion while it was assumed that objects were before this report.

This means that a region can become popular if it is referred to in pop-culture media. A popular example, thoroughly described by Yamamura (2015), is the case of Lucky Star* and Washimiya. To clarify contents tourism, this example will be used here as well. Lucky Star is a 4-panel manga which was adapted into an anime and follows the everyday lives of four high schoolers. The anime's opening showed images of Washimiya, clearly illustrating where the story of the four main characters takes place. The district became popular amongst fans and Yamamura gives two

concrete reasons for this: The first is that the opening shows Washimiya clearly and since that is what the fans kept seeing every time they watched an episode it stuck with the fans. The second is that the story is simple and lacks drama. This makes it easier for all parties involved to connect locations in various ways without being tied up in the actual story and thus promoting the entire district rather than just specific parts of it.

This illustrates that films, animations, and similar products providing content are a good way to spread information about a place and attract people. The Japan Tourism Association is partly using the Cool Japan project to do so and will also let anime and manga speak for their country (Valaskivi 2013). However, this particular diplomacy will be discussed in the next section.

As stated before, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT), the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), and the Agency for Cultural Affairs researched contents tourism with their investigative report, but it was also the first public use of the term (Yamamura 2015). There were three prominent reasons as to why they published it (Yamamura 2015). The first was that it came to the attention of local governments and economic associations that tourist numbers increased whenever media was set in a particular location. The report discussed a specific popular Korean drama that aired in Japan and the economic effects this had in Korea due to Japanese fans travelling there.

The second reason was that the government's Tourism Destination-related Ministerial Meeting in 2003 created a plan to become a tourism destination (*kankō rikkoku kōdō keikaku*), which led to support for the production of Japanese media and promotion of contents industries in order to make Japan as a whole seem more attractive and to further promote the Japanese brand overseas.

The third was the 2004 intellectual property promotion plan (*chiteki zaisan senryaku honbu 2004*) created by the government's Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters. This plan makes clear that the focus shifted to contents business, stating that attractive contents of for instance localities should be preserved more in order to enlarge said business.

The report uses the information gathered to conclude and stress that localities should utilise forms of contents as tourism resources. It has been shown that a form of travel scholars have dubbed 'pilgrimages' by anime fans have increased the regional anime and other content-based promotion within localities (Yamamura 2015). Though Yamamura discusses the case of Lucky Star in particular to illustrate this, he also mentions that there have been more cases of anime and manga promoting places and even shopping districts, which shows how deep this concept runs in Japan. Nevertheless, little research has been done so far to assess the power of content to attract people to certain areas.

As stated before, research concerning contents tourism is not limited to Japan. It has gained global attention (Tung, Lee, and Hudson 2017). The aim of government organisations involved with contents tourism is to promote Japan through popular culture content (Iwabuchi 2015) and the fact that there is international recognition for contents tourism illustrates that the institutions are at least partly successful in doing so. As Tung, Lee, and Hudson (2017) state in their article, people who are not from Japan who are involved in anime appear to have a favourable image of Japan and wish to visit the country. According to them, the higher the involvement, the more these feelings grow. The desire to cater to the anime fans shows in a Japan Anime Map on the website of the JNTO which has all the events, goods, and locations that are related to anime.

All in all, contents tourism is different from other media-induced tourism. A reason for this might be due to the way tourism is looked at in different regions. As Masubuchi (2008) states,

Europe and the United States of America were more focused on the business side of tourism studies, whereas Japan put the focus on cultural anthropology and geography, allowing for different terms to form in the areas. However it might also be because Japanese tourism scholars found film-induced tourism, literature-induced tourism and other forms of media-induced tourism fell short for them and decided to combine these different forms.

Nevertheless, there are similarities between contents tourism and media-induced tourism. Media-induced tourism also stems from narrative (Huang 2013). This, like contents tourism, adds a meaning to the landscape. The difference between the two is in the theme. Media-induced tourism is not about theme, meaning that tourists visiting do not go to places that are not seen or mentioned in their favourite show, film, or book. For contents tourism everything surrounding the place can be tied into the theme of their show, thus making everything special to the tourist rather than just a specific location (Yamamura 2015).

1.2. The History of Pop-culture Diplomacy and Cool Japan

Before the MLIT, METI, and the Agency for Cultural affairs decided to write an investigation report on content tourism, several changes happened in Japan and the start can be traced back to the 1920s (Iwabuchi 2015). It was around this time that Japan's international image first saw serious discussion (Sato 2012). The country aspired to have power similar to its Euro-American counterparts – colonising other Asian countries under the pretence of creating one united and liberated Asia (Gordon 2008) – but this discussion was interrupted when the American occupation started after the Second World War. Through the economic developments in Japan in the 1970s, the discussion of image returned and with it anti-Japanese sentiments arose. Thus the Japan Foundation was founded in 1972 as a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). This organisation focused on the improvement of the international image and they aimed to do so by using Japanese culture across borders (Iwabuchi 2015).

Traditional cultural forms were presented as staples of Japanese culture. This was not limited to kabuki, tea ceremonies and other traditional cultural activities, but also language education and exchange programmes like the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme. It was not until the 1980s that the use of media culture was thought of as a means of cultural diplomacy (Iwabuchi 2015).

It has been mentioned before that the idea of using media came from a Korean TV show that became popular in Japan, but did not really gain footing until *Oshin*, a Japanese soap opera, became popular overseas (Iwabuchi 2015). Its popularity was a way to show other Asian countries what Japanese life was like and to rid the country of its image as a source of 'culturally odourless' products such as cars and other appliances (Jin 2013; NHK International 1991). The TV series provided the means to cultivate a sense of commonality between Asian countries and Japan and it was believed that the soap opera could negate some of the negative feelings towards Japan and its prior colonialism (Iwabuchi 2015; Jin 2013). Though television shows and popular music did improve the image of Japan amongst other Asian countries – especially younger generations who had not experienced the Japanese imperialism – many of those who consume the Japanese media still look at historical issues critically. As Iwabuchi (2015, p. 426) states in his article, 'A sympathetic reception of Japanese media cultures might positively change images of contemporary Japan, but it neither erases the past nor people's memories of it.'

Once the promoting of Japan through media became a well-established notion, the government's attention switched to cool. The start of this interest in all things 'cool' comes from the concept of 'Japan's gross nation cool' — a term coined by the American, Douglas McGray, in his 2002 article with the same name (Iwabuchi 2015; Seaton and Yamamura 2015; Valaskivi 2013). It is common to start the story about Cool Japan by mentioning McGray and many scholars start with this (e.g. Brienza 2014; Valaskivi 2013) as it is seen as the turning point for the Japanese government to switch to a new diplomacy. McGray gave a portrayal of what made all things Japanese successful: pop-culture, anime and manga, design, fashion, and so on. He argued that this created a new image for Japan — a more positive one — as the MOFA had been attempting through media. Around the 1990s, Japan entered an economic slump and more and more NEETs*, *hikikomori**, and *pāto** emerged. Seeing McGray's report as an opportunity to make up for the so-called 'lost decade', the MOFA took note of what was being said abroad and adopted the pop-culture diplomacy (Iwabuchi 2015; Seaton and Yamamura 2015; Valaskivi 2013). To add to this, the Prime Minister at that time Junichiro Koizumi then declared that Japan was a nation based on intellectual property. Under his rule (2001-2006) policies concerning the usage of media culture as a tool to improve the nation's image flourished. The government would continue using media as a means to increase Japan's soft power.

Before this section can be continued, it is important to explain what soft power is exactly. Two types of power can be distinguished: hard and soft power. Hard power can be seen as military power which comes in the form of guns and tanks and other aspects concerning the military while soft power is a country's ability to persuade others without the threat of military invasions or attacks and sanctions in the form of payments or the boycotting of goods (Brienza 2014; Iwabuchi 2015). The more attractive a country is the more soft power it has. Japan was forced to renounce military power after World War II when the American occupation started, allowing them only the opportunity to have a Self-Defence Force, and the government never changed that act in the constitution, realising that aggressive hard power had not worked to gain respect abroad (Stockwin and Ampiah 2017). Nevertheless, the government has passed legislation in 2015 to loosen the restraints on their military power, much to the people's dismay, but the emphasis still lies on defence and attacking is still not allowed. They have been using *heiwa gaikō* (peaceful diplomacy) and thus soft power instead. In order to gain global leverage, the Japanese government aims to create as much soft power for their country as they can (Iwabuchi 2015).

Media culture is one of the ways a country can increase their soft power. According to Nye (2004), there are two other resources: a respectful foreign policy and attractive democratic values. The more soft power a country has the more influence it can exert abroad. All this has to do with nation branding, which can be defined as a process that alters and creates national images and manages these for an international audience in order to improve the country's reputation (Iwabuchi 2015). Prime Minister Koizumi was set on doing this by making sure the government would strengthen the Japanese brand's images through the usage of film, animation, and fashion. This could be established by advancing the content industries and because of this many committees focusing on this specific field came into being. All was done under the umbrella term 'Cool Japan' (Iwabuchi 2015; Seaton and Yamamura 2015).

This is where the report on contents tourism by the MLIT, METI, and the Agency for Cultural Affairs comes in. However, the efforts do not stop there. In 2006 — under Koizumi — MOFA officially adopted pop-culture diplomacy into their policies (Iwabuchi 2015). The then foreign affairs minister Taro Aso gave a speech to would-be creators to stress the importance of pop-culture in diplomacy.

He stated that Japan's brand image should be promoted further through the export of attractive media forms like anime and manga.

When the Japan Tourism Agency was established in 2008 there was a reorganisation of the institutional architecture and in 2010 the newly established Creative Industries Promotion Office created plans aimed at enhancing the global share of the culture industry. The Cool Japan Strategy – a report done by METI in 2012 – gives five product categories which might be used in order to 'acquire foreign demand ... for life and culture related industries': content, fashion, food, lifestyle and tourism (Seaton and Yamamura 2015). In 2013 the Council for the Promotion of Cool Japan was set up by the Cabinet Secretariat and 50 billion yen from the national budget was allocated to the promotion of Japanese content overseas (Iwabuchi 2015).

All this illustrates the relevance of contents tourism in Japan. The government hopes that this type of tourism will generate massive revenues and it is an obvious cornerstone for the economic plans for the coming decade (Seaton and Yamamura 2015). Content is now seen as the first stage in national tourism strategies and a landmark report from METI in 2012 shows that they see Japan as the *seichi* (sacred site) of said content.

1.3. The Problems of Pop-culture Diplomacy and Cool Japan

Even though there is the hope of an improved tourism business in Japan this does not mean that there are no problems in using pop-culture diplomacy; the first of these problems being the definition of pop-culture. As mentioned in the introduction, there is no clear definition of *poppu karuchā* as used by the Japanese government (Seaton and Yamamura 2015). Seaton and Yamamura illustrate this problem by referring to a report commissioned by the MOFA of Japan in 2006. In that report the definition of pop-culture (*poppu karuchā*) was 'culture produced in the everyday lives of ordinary people' (*ippan shimin ni yoru nichijō no katsudō de seiritsu shite iru bunka*) (Seaton and Yamamura 2015, p. 5). However, even the Ministry admitted that this definition was lacklustre since it included aspects that were seen as traditional culture like ukiyo-e* and tea ceremonies. *Poppu* according to this report means 'of the people' whereas pop culture in English tends to mean something light that is liked by many people. Though there are definitional problems, many scholars (e.g. Huat 2011; Jin 2013; Tung, Lee and Hudson 2017) refer to Japanese pop-culture as being anime, television shows, manga, music and videogames. Some also include fashion (e.g. Iwabuchi 2015). In this thesis when pop-culture is referred to it means anime, television shows, manga, music and videogames.

An additional problem is that soft power strategies have yet to be proven truly successful since it is difficult to do so. Due to the many committees and institutions involved in nation branding there are many varying perspectives which can lead to incoherent and even contradictory policies (Iwabuchi 2015). Japan's pop-culture diplomacy is no different and critics state that it has no specific goals. Iwabuchi says that Japan's policies are focused on enhancing the understanding of Japanese culture and society, but it is only a one-way conversation. In order to make it transcend borders and have a cultural exchange, extra effort needs to be put in.

This can also be seen in Brienza's (2014) article. She explains in depth how manga came to America and asks the question of whether it has conquered America – as some websites had claimed. Her article shows the rise of manga publishers in the United States and their fall. She quotes different scholars and newspaper articles and their takes on the problems of using popular

culture to promote a country. The issues she found were that some felt pop-culture was an ill-suited means in the time of a crisis, like after the Fukushima earthquake in 2011.

However, it truly ties in with Iwabuchi's stance about transcending borders when Brienza states that pop-culture is not going to be a successful means of capturing the hearts and minds of people abroad. To emphasise this, she quotes an interview with Takashi Murakami, the creator of the 'superflat' art style and a well-known Japanese artist, from 2012. He says that no one abroad has even heard of Cool Japan and that he feels anime and manga is only for a niche market. Brienza then continues to explain that the coolness of manga is not because of its 'Japaneseness', but because of its 'not-United-States-ness'. It is then rightfully suggested that – if this is truly the case – pop-culture will not succeed in its endeavours to win over the hearts of non-Japanese.

To understand why the manga in the United States are not necessarily seen as Japanese, a small detour to translation studies has to be made. There are several constraints when it concerns translating. One of these is the concept of domestication versus foreignisation (Munday 2012; Yang 2010). The former is reducing the foreignness of the original product by for instance changing the characters' names while the latter is keeping the foreign elements intact and in some cases these are even emphasised. Which approach is used for translation is dependent on the target culture and audience (Venuti 1993). Asian cultures, for instance, appear to prefer a domesticating approach (Yang 2010; Huat 2011). Since Brienza finds the manga in the United States to represent 'non-United Statesness' rather than 'Japaneseness', this means domestication has been used in the comic books and thus Japanese elements have been reduced, making it hard for Japan to really present itself and win over hearts.

However, this is not the sole reason manga is not seen as specifically Japanese. Brienza also links the problem to autonomy. She states that the 'Japanese business interests and creative autonomy are being wrested away by economic imperatives abroad' (p. 395) and this is also cause of the disappearance of Japanese content. The production of manga is made more American in the context of social and economic conditions, thus making it less suitable as a 'vehicle to deliver Japanese soft power' (p. 395). She assumes that using pop-culture to increase the soft power of a nation will not be successful and even states that governments who use it in the hopes of gaining more power might end up being disappointed.

There is truth in her words. Outside of scholarly articles, Cool Japan is hardly ever used abroad. When Murakami spoke out against Cool Japan in 2012, he did not know that initiatives abroad would start using the Cool Japan slogan. For instance, in 2017 the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands, had an exhibition called Cool Japan. It ran from April 14 until October 29 that year and had over 123,000 visitors, thus making it the most successful exhibition at the museum to date (Museum Volkenkunde 2017). Due to its success it will be transferred to the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and will run again later in 2018. Perhaps the slogan was unknown before, but it is gaining popularity.

Something else that needs to be taken into account when reading Brienza's article is that Japanese pop-culture is not limited to manga alone and can take on different formats as well. There are series, music and videogames as well. Her article does not account for those forms and it cannot be assumed that these will come across the exact same problems as manga, especially because these forms consist of completely different mediums. One of Brienza's explanations for the decreasing popularity of manga is that books—including comic books—are simply losing the interest of the general public as a whole.

Even though none of the other types of popular culture are associated with books, all of them with the exception of music can be and have been the subject of domestication. An example of an anime that has been domesticated is Pokémon, which has the characters speaking of donuts in the West while they are eating onigiri, triangular rice 'balls'. Some scenes have even been altered to show an American element rather than Japanese (Image 1). This takes away from the Japaneseness, as Brienza states, and thus these specific things cannot be seen as a means to increase the soft power of Japan.



Image 1: Pokémon screenshots. Left: the original Japanese onigiri. Right: the American sandwich.

The problems of using pop-culture diplomacy do not end there. Policy statements concerning the cultural diplomacy in Japan speak of the creation of a peaceful world through the advancement of international cultural exchange rather than hard military power. Nevertheless, the pop-culture diplomacy does not show a sincere commitment to this statement (Iwabuchi 2015). By relying on pop-culture to miraculously improve Japan's reputation abroad – especially in countries like South Korea and China with which Japan has a very negative history – rather than actively trying to transcend the problematic relations between for instance Japan and other Asian countries, international dialogue is near impossible. As such, the Japanese policy statement of creating a peaceful world through cultural exchange is not possible unless there is something other than pop-culture diplomacy.

Furthermore, by promoting pop-culture as a nation-based exchange, it neglects to include marginalised voices (Iwabuchi 2015). Masubuchi (2008) also states that doing this leads to the homogenisation and equalisation of the nationwide culture, thus the creation of a unique Japanese culture also causes the local identity to be lost. There is no emphasis on the cultural diversity within Japan in the policy the government has created and this is cause for concern (Iwachuchi 2015). Only if the indigenous groups' traditional culture and commodities can be used for the international image will those aspects make the cut for branding the nation. Even though the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications established a committee that deals with multicultural co-loving in 2005, Iwabuchi states that the policies concerning multicultural affairs are still seriously lacking, contrary to policies concerning pop-culture diplomacy.

The generalisation of an entire nation leads to some friction between groups of the society that do not feel included in the national brand that is promoted. This can be seen in Japan as well. Though Japan is known for its polite people, there is still discrimination going on and this can be seen in the Cool Japan project as well (Iwabuchi 2015; Miller 2011). For instance, when in 2006 foreign nationals residing in Japan asked Koizumi, who was Prime Minister at the time, to include

varying ethnicities in Japanese broadcasts, the following Cabinet meeting shifted this request to the development of English-language services to enhance the national image abroad (Iwabuchi 2015). Furthermore, girls and women who do not fit the 'cute' standard feel left out (Miller 2011). Due to this type of discrimination, there are growing concerns that cultural diversity policies in Japan are suppressed by the current cultural diplomacy and nation branding practices (Iwabuchi 2015).

Even though there are these problems and concerns, for now pop-culture has been a tool to create interest in Japan and to entice foreigners to travel to the country. The Cool Japan slogan has played a big role in this plan even if it is still not as known abroad amongst the general public. Nevertheless, using the idea of a 'cool' nation is not new or limited to Japan (Valaskivi 2013). The idea of cool is that it is youthful, trendy, creative and yet traditional and branding something as cool makes it desirable and other countries have explored this option in the past as well (like Cool Britannia).

While nation building for Japan used to be based on traditional and high culture, keeping the interests of a Western audience in mind, Cool Japan focuses on new and trendy aspects of Japanese culture (Valaskivi 2013). When foreign affairs minister Aso became the Prime Minister, he turned to anime to promote Japan. He appointed Hello Kitty! and Doraemon as Anime Ambassadors of Japan and – as stated before – pop-culture became key in foreign policy. The Prime Minister even went as far as calling himself an otaku (Valaskivi 2013).

It is important to note that this term – otaku – is ambiguous. For Western countries, the term otaku is used as an endearing way of saying anime and manga fan, kind of like how nerd is used nowadays (Nobuoka 2010). For Japan, however, this is not necessarily the case. In earlier days when the phrase first popped up, otaku was used for someone who was so infatuated with anime and manga that their entire living space was made up of things relating to their favourite shows and comics. They were seen as anti-social and best to stay away from. Nevertheless, as of late Japanese people are starting to embrace the term and some – like Aso – proudly call themselves otaku, using it the same way Western fans use the phrase (Nobuoka 2010).

Using Cool Japan for promotion certainly makes the country accessible for anime and manga fans throughout the world and it may seem like a good strategy. Yet, just as there are issues with pop-culture diplomacy, there are problems with Cool Japan. The first has already been discussed: the slogan is practically limited to scholarly use outside of Japan. The second is that a rebellious attitude is connected to cool and this causes 'cool' to sometimes take on disturbing forms (Valaskivi 2013). This is especially the case in Japan due to anime and manga having many different genres which are all accepted and this includes the darker sides of otaku culture like *hentai**. This also means that outdated gender implications sneak into the promotional material through sexist *kawaii** imagery (Miller 2011). Yet even though seemingly weird things and *hentai* aspects of otaku culture are allowed in Cool Japan, features that are not in line with the circulating image of the country are ignored (Miller 2011). This illustrates that the government is very much aware of what they are doing and which images they show.

Along with the Cool Japan slogan, the Cool Japan Advisory Council drafted the *Creating a New Japan* proposal which has been revised over the years. This proposal illustrates that Japan wished to create a new and revitalised image, so they turned to conservative and self-exoticising discourse as well as discourses about national and cultural identity (Valaskivi 2013). Traditional and essential values were connected to new, creative and innovative aspects and the proposal identifies essential / fundamental Japanese values (*honjitsuteki na / komponenteki na konkan*) to solidify the social imaginary of the 'new Japan'. These values according to the *Creating a New Japan* proposal are,

amongst others, spirituality, empathy, receptivity and vitality (*seishinsei, kyōkanryoku, juyōryoku, jizokuriyoku*) (Cool Japan Advisory Council 2012, p. 2). Though popular culture initially gained a reputation for its peculiarities, through branding efforts these traditional values can find their way there by mixing traditional with new values (Valaskivi 2013).

Quite some attention is given to tourism in the proposal. It is not just about attracting foreign visitors, but also giving domestic tourism a boost. Not only pop-culture (including fashion, food, design, architecture and modern art in this case) is addressed, but also traditional culture (kabuki and noh) and the selling of traditional crafts and textiles as luxury products are discussed. Branding regional lifestyles to revitalise areas also falls under the Cool Japan slogan and the Cool Japan Advisory Council proposes to use these as bases for tourism (p. 3).

This illustrates that Cool Japan is not solely reliant on pop-culture, but also other aspects of Japanese culture. Nevertheless, popular culture is used to spread specific images and awareness about the country's cultural values and the diplomacy has been augmented in order to get the Summer 2020 Olympics to Japan (Ito and Crutcher 2013).

1.4. Why Pop-culture Diplomacy Works for Japan

Contrary to what the title for this subsection suggests, many scholars feel like using pop-culture diplomacy brings too many problems and will end up in a failure which became apparent in the previous section. The usage of the cool concept and popular culture is not an entirely new concept and other regions like Great Britain have used a similar slogan to Cool Japan and those ended up not yielding the desired results. Yet the Japanese government has decided to use it anyway and has completely embraced popular culture in order to advertise Japan. Before the possibility of success in Japan can be explained, it is important to briefly discuss branding first since an understanding of this concept is required.

The branding of a country is an elaborate process that entails more than one institution deciding on a brand. It is important to use several perspectives due to branding being a necessity with the ever-growing competition in the tourism business. It is not solely about gaining visitors, but investors as well. Furthermore, the government can try to come up with a brand, but it is ultimately something that has to be lived and breathed by the people of the country (Konechnik, Ruzzier and de Chernatony 2013; Mogan and Pritchard 1998; Moilanen and Rainisto 2009). Otherwise tourists visiting will have an unsatisfactory experience and that means bad publicity. It has already been shown that the Cool Japan brand came into existence by outsiders and this is what generally happens when it concerns branding. It is not only government institutions and local stakeholders that decide, but consumers themselves also influence the brand. Their expectations are what help shape it.

Though there are many issues like products losing their Japanese elements when exported and people feeling excluded, it seems that for now the efforts made towards the pop-culture diplomacy stimulating a positive image for Japan are worth it for the country. Tourism numbers have increased as can be seen in the statistics on the JNTO website and though it is too soon to say how well the pop-culture diplomacy projects are working, this illustrates it has had at least some positive effects. Yet it has been established that a populace needs to live and breathe the brand and in Japan's case that is pop-culture. Anime and manga – animation shows and comics – is not something an adult Westerner would generally identify themselves with, so why does it seem to work in Japan?

A reason for this might be the kawaii culture that lives in Japan. Kawaii culture – loving all things cute and adorable – is not limited to age or gender. In Japan, almost everyone loves kawaii and it is not solely objects that fall under this category, but behaviour as well (Tan 2014). Since it is normal for the Japanese people to enjoy things that Westerners might find childish, it is easier for them to express the pop-culture brand the government is promoting. In fact, most cities have their own government-created *yurukyara*^{*}, mascots to represent the region. Most of these *yurukyara* are attempting to be cute. Tan (2014) explains that most of them lack the cuteness factor due to lack of resources for the institutions to pay for a professional designer, but through contests and events the public gains a deeper understanding of the character, thus elevating its cuteness. These also become a part of contents tourism in a way because all mascots have a narrative and theme, causing people to go to districts with their favourite *yurukyara*.

Kawaii culture can be linked to pop-culture since it refers back to cute things and many series and games – especially those for children and teenagers – have a mascot. Persona 5, a popular Japanese video game by Atlus, even has the mascot character, Morgana, explain that the perfect ratio for a mascot is Japan's standard silver ratio, contrary to the golden ratio the West has, which shows how much thought is put into kawaii creations. Furthermore, many characters in pop-culture are cute in one way or another and this aspect can also be seen in the Character Design Series the Tokyo Organising Committee has decided on and one of these characters is in fact a mascot character. However, this will be discussed in a later section. Cute can also be found in music like the famous idol group AKB48 and artists like Kyary Pamyu Pamyu.

Thanks to the love of cute things in Japan it is easier to find the pop-culture brand in the entire country. People expect to see popular culture when visiting Japan and they are not disappointed. This is perhaps why – even though it has not worked in other countries – the policy seems to work for Japan.

1.5. The Influence of Olympic Games on a City and Tourism

Marketing sports can be traced back to ancient times, yet really gained popularity when the American government prohibited tobacco advertising on the television and radio (Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis 2010). Since the industry sponsored tennis and racing they started advertising at events concerning those sports. To make sure there were enough spectators, they promoted the sports instead. These were the beginnings of advertising sporting events which have led to sports tourism.

Yet the definition of sports tourism is elusive. Weed (2006) concludes that shared theories and methodological approaches concerning the diverse area of sports tourism is lacking and in 2004 Deery, Jago, and Fredline had already illustrated that sports tourism has no shared definition. Huang (2010) also reminds his readers that the tourism aspect of sports tourism has been criticised for not being researched enough and for being fragmented. Taking these comments into account, Dansero and Puttilli (2010) attempted to come up with one all-encompassing definition by looking at several others given throughout the years. Sports tourism, according to them, has to be seen as a concept covering a wide range of pursuits – active and passive – that requires an approach that draws on qualitative and quantitative methods with insights from tourism, sport, management and policy studies. Simply put, it cannot just be seen as going to an event to participate or spectate, but rather a culmination of many things involving sports.

According to Gammon, Ramshaw and Waterton (2013) sports can be seen as a central part of culture. They say sport can provide a greater understanding about identity if looked at through a lens of heritage and cultural practices. Yet sport is not accepted in the heritage-scape. According to them this is 'in large part due to the tensions that continue to swirl around and between popular culture and the "high culture" of traditional heritage sites like museums' (p. 119). Nevertheless, it is gaining more attention and many scholars have shown that tourism plays a large part in sport heritage (e.g. Dansero and Putilli 2010; Boukas, Ziakas and Boustras 2013; Gammon, Ramshaw and Waterton 2013; Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis 2010; Weed 2014).

In order to research sports tourism many of these researchers use large sport events like the Olympic Games and this has resulted in one key concept: Legacy. In this thesis the focus will also lie on this concept of legacies. Not only do they play a large part when it comes to bidding and organising large sporting events (Leopkey and Parent 2012), it is linked directly with hosting the Olympic Games. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) has added a section in their host city contract that states a positive legacy has to be promoted (Leopkey and Parent 2012; Sant, Mason and Hinch 2013). But what is a legacy for a sporting event like the Olympic Games?

Leopkey and Parent (2012) state that a definition for legacy is elusive even though the concept has gained so much interest in the academic world and Sant, Mason and Hinch (2013) agree with this. Nevertheless, both sets of researchers as well as others provide clear explanations of what a legacy in the sporting world is according to them (e.g. Boukas, Ziakas and Boustas 2013; Dansero and Putilli 2010; Leopkey and Parent 2015; Weed 2014). Adding the different explanations together, the following definition can be formulated and will be used for this thesis: A legacy is every tangible and intangible, positive and negative, planned and unplanned effect before, during and after the event.

It is important to note that the definition contains 'positive and negative' effects. The reason it needs additional mention is that committees and other stakeholders in host cities often forget that there is a possibility of the event having negative effects (Leopkey and Parent 2012), but it should not be ignored—something organising committees tend to do nonetheless. Negative effects include but are not limited to debts, overcrowding and pollution (Leopkey and Parent 2012; Sant, Mason and Hinch 2013).

Nevertheless, the stakeholders have ample reason to only focus on positive legacies. Leopkey and Parent (2012) summarise three in particular: 'a positive legacy provides evidence of a successful event, it justifies the use of public funds, and it motivates others to bid for and host the events in the future' (p. 927). It is especially important for the organisers to justify the use of public funds since the committees rely less on private funding—contrary to earlier editions of the Olympic Games where, for instance, a citizen funded the entire renovation of a stadium (Leopkey and Parent 2012). Scholars identify positive legacies as an improved infrastructure and urban regeneration, increased tourism during the event as well as an enhanced destination image through media coverage, business opportunities, a renewed identity, and volunteer training (e.g. Leopkey and Parent 2012; Gammon, Ramshaw and Waterton 2013; Strohmayer 2013).

Yet some of the positive aspects of legacies can be linked to negative aspects as well (Leopkey and Parent 2012). Improved (sport) infrastructure can lead to debts connected to the construction as well as unused buildings after the event. The creation of the infrastructure might also force inhabitants to relocate or create housing issues. Increased tourism might cause overcrowding and a strenuous use of (local) resources. Due to the large crowding that comes with hosting the Games, certain tourist can be displaced or discouraged to go there, something Dansero and Putilli (2010)

call the 'displacement' and 'intermezzo' syndrome. Therefore organising committees need to take precautions to prevent these negative legacies from forming rather than ignore that these risks exist.

Tying in with this is that the organising committees are temporary and disband within a few years after the event, usually long before the effects of the event are visible (Leopkey and Parent 2012). Leopkey and Parent state that it is therefore important to look at the governance concerning legacies – especially post-event – and they continue to do so in their 2012 article, but also in 2015 and 2017, illustrating it is an ongoing project. It seems that the IOC has also picked up on the importance since the Tokyo 2020 Olympics will be the first Games that will have an official legacy report and it will also have scholars actively studying the effects after the event (IOC 2018).

However, as stated before, legacies can be unplanned. Recent events illustrate that the Olympic Games might also be able to unite countries. Only a month after the Winter Olympics in South Korea's PyeongChang, North and South Korea started peace talks in the inter-Korean summit declaration (Yonhap News 2018; BBC News 2018). Though it is not possible to state as a fact, it is feasible that this summit came to be partly because North Korea was too late with entering its contestants and so Korea went into these Olympics as one whole rather than a separate North and South.

This shows that Olympic Games can have a huge impact for a nation. It is therefore important that the International Olympic Committee constructed the Host City Contract in such a way that it reflects the importance of having a positive legacy in the host city and that legacies tie in with every step taken towards the preparations of the Olympic Games, including the bidding phase.

Competition is fierce when it concerns the hosting of the Olympic Games and it is reflected in the bidding phase (Persson 2002; Sant, Mason, and Hinch 2013). The ultimate prize seems to be the increased tourism and a boost in economy, so cities which are already well-established as a tourist destination before the bidding have a better shot at hosting the Games (Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis 2010; Sant, Mason, and Hinch 2013; Weed 2014), even though hosting regular smaller events might be more profitable (Dansero and Puttilli 2010).

Once a city gets to be the host for the Games a lot needs to be taken into consideration. The branding elements of the city need to be thought of (Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis 2010) and this is arguably the most important part for a host city as this is what will attract tourists. If cultural elements are communicated through the media, the attractiveness of the host city improves (Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis 2010). This also means that the more elements are shown, the more appeal the host city will get.

This is one way the Olympic Games benefit tourism. The event itself attracts people and afterwards – through advertising during the Games – people should have an improved image of the host. However, Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis (2010) say there are indirect benefits for tourism as well. They define three different tourism dimensions that are related to the Olympic Games: eco, mainstream, and linked tourism. They explain these dimensions as tourism related to nature, developments within the city to meet the majority of the tourists' needs, and tourism that links tourist activities with other markets and people respectively. Supporters of these forms of tourism will develop new ways to bring those types of tourism to the host city (Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis 2010), thus promoting tourism during the games and after as these forms remain even when the Games are over.

However they forget about cultural tourism, which is arguably the most important form of tourism concerning the Olympic Games. It is critical to link the Olympic Games to culture (Boukas, Ziakas and Boustas 2013). Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis (2010) even say that the host

city's image gets improved the more elements of the country and city are communicated abroad, thus implying culture plays a key role in gaining more tourists. If the Olympic legacy synergises with the cultural heritage of the host its tourism product enhances (Boukas, Ziakas and Boustas 2013).

Moreover, the Olympics can alter culture and identity. Through its spectacles and rituals it transcends boundaries and creates interconnectedness (Boukas, Ziakas and Boustas 2013). Just like any form of branding, specific aspects of culture are shown during the Games, creating a new identity and heritage. Hosting the Olympic Games is an opportunity to show the best of the city and country to the entire world, so the branding of the location needs to be considered carefully as well.

All in all, a lot needs to be considered when it concerns the Olympic Games. Not only is it important to present a city and country well during the bidding phase and continuing this critical task throughout the Games, the host city also has to think of legacies as they are planning. The unique selling points need to be decided on and pushed forward to promote a positive image during the Games. The infrastructure has to be up-to-date and buildings that allow the attendees to reside need to be built and ways to use those after the Games end should be thought of so they do not become so-called white elephants—buildings that are neglected after the event is over. And those are only the most obvious things. However, all these things lead to more tourism, which is the goal of hosting large sporting events like these.

1.6. Places and Their Importance

One thing the Olympic Games and popular culture have in common is the importance of location. Having a specific place to go to for pop-culture is essential for people with similar interests to meet up, but also to get the products from their favourite media. The Olympic Games need a location where every participant and visitor can come together for the event. The host city is a business card for the country and the city itself, so it is imperative that it is the right spot. In this section the central hub for pop-culture in Japan will be discussed as well aspects of locations concerning Olympic Games.

The place to be for popular culture in Japan is Akihabara (Ito and Crutcher 2013; Nobuoka 2010). Historically Akihabara has been the district for electrical appliances. This started in the 1930s (Nobuoka 2010). However, the district has a long history, dating back to the nineteenth century.

The district's name comes from a fire deity, Akiba. After a fire in 1890, a shrine called Chinkasha (fire extinguisher) was erected there. People started calling the area Akibahara (Akiba Square). Later that decennium the place became a cargo transit point and vegetable and fruit market with the coming of a railway station. Once the station became an important transfer point in the 1920s, it took approximately a decade to turn it into a market for electrical appliances. Ever since then Akihabara – which locals have now been calling Akiba once more – has been known as the place to be for electronics (Nobuoka 2010).

Since the 2000s, Akihabara has started to cater to the otaku culture more and more (Ito and Crutcher 2013). However, Nobuoka (2010) states that others link this development to high-tech games before 2000, stating that the game industry created its content based on popular culture. Nowadays, the area is a mix between technology and pop-culture. It is a place where innovation is the name of the game and a lot is added to the mix (Ito and Crutcher 2013; Nobuoka 2010). Pop-culture comes into contact with consumption, consumerism, translation, and tourism and Ito and Crutcher state that Akihabara is 'teaching non-Japanese and Japanese about the state of Japanese

culture and how it is being envisioned and interpreted' (p. 44) more than any other location in Japan. Because of this, it is an excellent spot to promote for tourism.

Yokoso! Japan (welcome [to] Japan) as well as the Cool Japan project are both part of the pop-culture diplomacy Japan is using. The former actually promotes Akihabara (and Harajuku) in order to create a cycle of cultural reinforcement (Ito and Crutcher 2013). Since the government is using pop-culture diplomacy, Akihabara can be used to direct tourists to sites of cultural creation and consumption.

Olympic locations are equally important as they are the places where teams spend most of their time and where the city can really promote itself. This also means the location has to be of a substantial size. In fact, when a city applies to host the Games an important aspect in the application is whether the city is large enough to have an Olympic Village (Persson 2002). How much space is needed becomes clear when looking at the International Olympic Committee (IOC) report on the Olympic Village of the 2016 Games. It shows exactly how many residences are needed and which rules and regulations have to be taken into account.

Nevertheless, promoting within the Olympic Village is not as clear-cut as it may seem. There are rules and regulations as to what is allowed when it comes to flags and messages shown in the Village (IOC 2016). This makes advertising for the city a little more difficult, but not impossible. Transport within the village is available and it brings the athletes to the key spots that have to do with the Olympic Games, but there is generally also transport available to a few other specific locations (IOC 2016). This allows for some advertising at those specific locations, but the venues themselves will also be surrounded by buildings and sights that will show the brand of the host city.

1.7. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the relation between contents tourism and media-induced tourism, explaining that contents tourism is about narrative and theme while media-induced tourism focuses on narrative alone (Huang 2013; Seaton and Yamamura 2015). The term contents tourism was created by the government and started in Japan (Iwabuchi 2015; Masubuchi 2008; Tsutsui 2013; Yamamura 2015; Seaton and Yamamura 2015), but has gained interest in the Western scholarly world. Contents tourism plays a part in the pop-culture diplomacy the government has chosen to use to promote Japan (Valaskivi 2013) and therefore it is an important concept to grasp to answer the main question. The tactics used in contents tourism can also be used to attract people to the events.

Due to the pop-culture diplomacy used for tourism, Japan has become a *seichi* – sacred site – for anime and manga fans (Iwabuchi 2015). Furthermore, the use of pop-culture diplomacy is a means to create soft power – the ability to influence other countries without the threat of sanctions (Brienza 2014; Iwabuchi 2015). Soft power can be gained through media culture, a respectful foreign policy and attractive democratic values (Nye 2004). These concepts tie in with the main question because it illustrates how the government has thought in the past and this makes it easier to compare their actions to what the Tokyo Organising Committee and other stakeholders – like the government – are doing now concerning the Olympics.

Nevertheless there are issues with using soft power and pop-culture diplomacy because both methods have not been proven to work yet (Iwabuchi 2015). Furthermore, pop-culture diplomacy is thought of as ill-suited in times of crisis (Brienza 2014). Additionally the Cool Japan slogan the government has settled on has yet to gain popularity outside of the academic world (Brienza 2014).

Another challenge is conveying the Japaneseness as translations sometimes omit foreign (Japanese) elements (Munday 2012; Yang 2010). Knowing the problems with their policy, it can be determined whether or not the committees are trying to intercept these problems and fix them in their legacy plans.

Other critiques entail that the government does not stick to what they set out to do (Iwabuchi 2015) like saying they want to communicate with other countries while focusing on a solely one-way communication. Moreover due to the generalisation of the nation, certain groups feel left out (Iwabuchi 2015; Miller 2011). The government wants to create a new Japan to boost tourism and this has to do with branding.

The branding of a nation is promoting certain imagery to entice people to visit the country (Iwabuchi 2015). This sets a certain expectation for tourists and requires the public to live and breathe the brand in order to meet these expectations (Konechnik, Ruzzier and de Chernatony 2013; Mogan and Pritchard 1998; Moilanen and Rainisto 2009). In Japan people enjoy consuming cute, creating a kawaii culture (Tan 2014) which ties in with pop-culture. A form in which this kawaii culture takes shape is *yurukyara*, mascots for districts and companies. Branding is an important aspect of hosting the Olympic Games and so are mascots.

Other than pop-culture and branding, sports tourism has also been discussed. The definition of sports tourism is versatile, but it entails participating in sports in any shape, way or form. This includes going to events to watch sports (Dansero and Putilli 2010). Sports are also a central part of culture (Gammon, Ramshaw and Waterton 2013) which can also be seen in the analysis part of this thesis. Additionally legacies have been explained. They can come in many forms – both negative and positive – and allow for the host city's and country's appeal to increase (Boukas, Ziakas and Boustas 2013; Dansero and Putilli 2010; Leopkey and Parent 2015; Weed 2014). During the Games identities and cultures can be altered (Boukas, Ziakas and Boustas 2013).

Finally the importance of locations has been mentioned. For pop-culture this is Akihabara. The Olympic Games require a large space (Persson 2002) and are preferably situated near iconic buildings or sights due to advertisement restrictions at venues (IOC 2016). Comparing the 2020 Tokyo Olympic venue sites with where pop-culture can be found can show whether an emphasis is laid on pop-culture or not.

2. Method

A qualitative approach was used in order to explore how pop-culture is used in the promotion of the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games as well as exploring possible options to use popular culture to create positive legacies. Furthermore, a comparative analysis will be made. The focus will lie on how the assessed aspects can be used to improve the actions and legacies the Tokyo Organising Committee has decided on pursuing. Additionally, tourism will be looked at since the increase in visitors is one of the main goals when hosting the Olympic Games (Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis 2010; Sant, Mason, and Hinch 2013; Weed 2014). This approach works for this thesis because the aim is to not only provide an overview of what the current state of the preparations for the Olympic Games is, but also to give several suggestions as to what more can be done to create positive legacies and thus stimulate tourism.

Data has been collected from multiple sources to gain a deeper understanding of the subjects as well as increasing the validity of the content. To create a firm frame, several academic articles were gathered. These were found by searching with keywords like tourism, Olympic Games, Olympic legacies, contents tourism, soft power, and pop-culture diplomacy. Different databases were used, amongst others the libraries of Radboud University and Leiden University.

Using these articles, a literature review on all relevant aspects was undertaken to create a theoretical framework that provides ample background information. By taking several definitions, a concrete definition could be made for pop-culture so it is clear what to look for in the policies for the Olympic Games. The same goes for sports tourism and legacies. In this thesis the definition for Japanese pop-culture is anime, manga, series, films, video games and music. Sports tourism is participating in sports or sports events, whether it is by participating as athlete or any other way. Legacies are every tangible and intangible, positive and negative, planned and unplanned effect before, during and after the event.

The cumulated data illustrated the issues with the policy the Japanese government has chosen to promote and increase tourism and this can be compared with the Action & Legacy Plan. The framework sketched above will be used as base for the analysis and the four concepts mentioned in the theory chapter will be the focal point in the analysis. The four chosen notions are legacies, content tourism and pop-culture diplomacy, kawaii culture and location. They will be analysed in this order. For the analysis official documents found on the 2020 Tokyo Olympics website run by the Tokyo Organising Committee and videos found on their official YouTube channel⁵ will be used. Additionally the previously found literature and a few other videos and websites will be examined for further information.

In order to compare the four chosen theoretical concepts, the Action & Legacy Plan created by the Tokyo Organising Committee and its fellow stakeholders will be looked at. There is a summarised English version for this created in 2016 from which the official English names for the so-called pillars can be taken. For the full version of the Action & Legacy Plan and thus the plans for the pillars, the 2017 Japanese version will be used (The Tokyo Organisation Committee 2017). Before pop-culture can be connected to any of the pillars other than the obvious one (Culture and Education), all five pillars and their legacies will be discussed briefly.

Prior to this the expectations as found online and in articles for the Olympic Games will be discussed. Specifically a video created by a YouTuber, Yuta, in which Japanese people on the streets are asked for their opinion about the Olympic Games and the expectations the government might

⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCuAu4dQjR2vyR5baXOtMvVA>

have as described by Stockwin and Ampiah (2017) will be looked at. Additionally, the hype Prime Minister Abe created with his display at the end of Rio will be considered by going through Twitter messages tagged with Shinzo Abe, Rio, Olympics and Super Mario in different combinations. This is done so the legacies can be compared to what people expect to gain of the Games and to see whether these expectations could become true.

After the expectations have been looked at, the legacies as seen in the 2017 Action & Legacy Plan will be summarised and explained in order to create an overview of the important ideas for legacies and the actions concerning those. This allows a comparison between the legacies and the other three notions picked from the theoretical framework. Furthermore, the legacies will be linked to the theory provided about this concept.

When legacies have been thoroughly discussed, the next concept is content tourism and pop-culture diplomacy. In this part the Character Design Series and the Olympic and Paralympic Mascot will be analysed and what they tell about and how they tie in with the Olympic policies. Furthermore, what the Action & Legacy Plan states about culture as well as what the official YouTube channel for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics has to offer will be discussed. The analysis will contain an overview of the Character Design Series' characters and the values they stand for, which will be compared to the information in the Plan. The information for this comes from the official Olympic Merchandise store and the author's knowledge about the series. The mascots and their background story will be looked at in the same way and compared to the Character Design Series. This will give a clear overview of the available pop-culture and contents tourism concerning the Olympics and will also illustrate where the opportunities are for improvement.

After this kawaii culture comes into play. This will have similar subjects as the contents tourism and pop-culture diplomacy section. For this part, however, no YouTube channels will be used and the focus will be on evaluating the designs. This will be done by comparing designs of mascot characters and looking at comments made by Shigenori Soejima, a character designer for a popular game franchise called Persona (*Shin Megami Tensei*). The reason for choosing this particular designer is because one of his mascot characters comments on the perfect ratio for mascots in one of the games as stated in the framework. By examining this, the influence of kawaii culture on the Games can be seen.

As final concept, locations are analysed. This will be done by looking at the venue plan the Tokyo Organising Committee has provided on their website as well as the video on their official channel. Their plans will be linked to the theory previously mentioned and legacy plans. Additionally, how Akihabara ties in with their chosen locations will be looked at. This allows a deduction of what is important for promotion to be made.

When all this is done, possible opportunities for the creation of positive legacies will be revealed. These will come in the form of a few suggestions as to how to implement popular culture in the action plans and relate to the concepts and subjects considered during this research.

However, before any of these aspects are looked at, a general overview of the Olympic Games will be given. By first looking at official documents provided on the 2020 Tokyo Olympic website, important themes can be extracted which provides a base for the expectations people have for the Games.

This particular approach is suitable for this thesis since the preparations for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics are underway and not yet completed. This means that not all data is available – like whether the committees' strategies worked or not – but does allow the analysis of the very beginnings of the preparations. By studying the data now and providing possible outcomes and

options to prevent negative legacies, it may provide a framework for the future Games in order to limit the negative effects and boost positive legacies.

3. The 2020 Tokyo Olympics and Pop-culture

The 2020 Tokyo Olympics are from the twenty-fourth of July to the ninth of August. The Paralympics are from the twenty-fifth of August to the sixth of September. They have thirty-three and twenty-two sports respectively. There are five new sports being added to the Summer Olympics: skateboarding, karate, surfing, sports climbing and baseball / softball. It can be assumed that these new sports bring a different, broader viewership with them.

The Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government created a guidebook for the entirety of the Games and this is updated whenever new information is available. This guidebook gives a clear overview of several aspects of the Games. One of these is the three key concepts they have chosen for the upcoming Olympics: 'Striving for your personal best', 'accepting one another', and 'passing on legacy for the future'. These are concepts that will return in the following sections as well since these were seemingly kept in mind when designing everything around the Games.

The second concept, accepting one another, is also called 'Unity in Diversity', which can be seen in the entirety of the Games. For instance, the emblem designs have unity in diversity. In a One Team Project video on the official YouTube channel called 'Tokyo 2020 emblems connect Tradition and Innovation', the creator states that three different rectangular shapes are used to create the images, thus being a unity even with the diverse rectangular shapes. It is a recurrent phrase in the videos found at the official Tokyo 2020 YouTube channel; especially when it comes to the One Team Project videos. The One Team Project shows famous Japanese people discussing aspects of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics and – as stated – embody the idea of unity in diversity. For instance, one video has a musician (YOSHIKI) and a Nobel Prize winner (Shinya Yamanaka) come together to talk about their expectations for 2020. This video will be discussed in more detail later.

Coming together and doing things for the Olympics also fits in this theme. The Tokyo Organising Committee has organised several events to get everyone in Japan involved in the celebration of the Olympic Games. Other than these events a song and dance have been created so everyone can learn it before the Games start. Additionally the committee involves children by letting them choose the mascots and having poster competitions for schools and the likes.

A final theme that is discussed is 'Infinite Excitement' which is used for the venue plan and the venue PR video and it is clear that the committee hopes to get the people excited for the upcoming games through all the events they host and the videos they make.

Now a general overview of the upcoming Olympics has been created, the expectations will be discussed. After that the aspects explained in the theoretical framework will be linked to concepts and promotional material for the Tokyo 2020 Olympics and, as stated in the method chapter, these will be analysed.

3.1. Expectations

The themes the Tokyo Organising Committee has chosen are not what set the bar for the expectations for the 2020 Olympic Games when it concerns the public, but it does show what the committee is aiming for and expecting from the Games. They expect the event will bring mutual respect or visitors and Japanese alike, that everyone will do their best, that it will be exciting and that it will live on for generations.

The public expectations rely on what is shown as promotional material. One of the biggest advertisements for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics was Prime Minister Abe's display at the previous

Olympic Games in Rio. He made two clear statements: that he is involved and that he does not shy away from using Japanese pop-culture to promote the event. His appearance on stage as Mario from the Super Mario Bros games during the 2016 Rio Olympics' closing ceremony caught the world by surprise. Countless media covered it. Several YouTube clips were placed online and got millions of views, Twitter went wild, and newspapers like the New York Times, the Telegraph and the Guardian all wrote articles about it. Even sports websites like the CNBC also jumped at the occasion to write about it. Stockwin and Ampiah (2017) also covered it in their book about the Prime Minister.

The Japanese Prime Minister showing up as a videogame character generated a lot of 'free' publicity for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics and created excitement throughout the whole world (Stockwin and Ampiah 2017). This already makes the Infinite Excitement slogan a success. Judging by the comments on Twitter revolving around the cosplaying Prime Minister, the expectations for the international audience is that the actual 2020 Tokyo Olympics will follow a similar exciting trend. Some users, for instance rococo_s, state how excited they are now for the Tokyo Olympics while others say his act was amazing or epic like users Siobhan_Wagner and Rippche.

Additionally, the new sports joining the Olympic Games also provide tonnes of excitement. This is not just the case for fans of the sports, but also the practitioners. This can be clearly seen on the World Karate Federation's website (2016):

The Karate family is celebrating the designation of the Nippon Budokan as Karate venue for the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games, as the debut of the ancient modality in the Olympic Games could not have found a better home to see its Olympic dreams come true.

This short segment conveys a lot of the feelings of the World Karate Federation going into the Olympic Games. For them it is a dream and they are definitely excited to show the world their art.

Even though excitement is a clear theme in the expectations, it was not Prime Minister Abe's sole reason for appearing on stage as the famous plumber. He has a personal reason for being so involved in the Olympics and from this his expectations for the upcoming Games can be deduced. In 1964 the Olympic Games came to Asia for the first time. These were the first Tokyo Olympics and the bid was won when Japan was under the rule of Kishi in 1959. Fifty years later, the bid is won by Abe—Kishi's grandson. Kishi had made the 1964 Olympics a success. They used the Games as a catalyst to improve Japan's post-war economy and the Japan National Tourism Organisation was founded to cover the tourism aspect and to make sure the inbound tourists had a deeper understanding of Japan. It resulted in transforming Japan's identity and changed the world's view on Japan to what we know now (Stockwin and Ampiah 2017)—'where tradition meets the future.'

This means that the 1964 Olympic legacy clearly has a personal legacy for Abe. Like his grandfather, he aims to reenergise the Japanese economy through the hosting of the Olympic Games and make Japan popular as his grandfather before him (Stockwin and Ampiah 2017). Stockwin and Ampiah remark that it will be interesting to see 'in what forms Japan's national identity will be articulated and presented to the global audience through the medium of the Olympics,' something this thesis also aims to include for as far as it is possible to tell currently.

The previous games in Tokyo were a showcase of the country, not just Tokyo, so it can be expected that similar strategies will be used. However, the government's tactics have changed to cool and popular culture more than (traditional) high culture as was the case in 1964 (Stockwin and Ampiah 2017) and this will most likely reflect in the next Games. Abe's display was testimony to that,

but also the fact that Tokyo's Olympic organisation committee opted for anime characters as ambassadors for the 2020 Games illustrate this change.

Videos on the official Tokyo 2020 YouTube channel also offer insight in the expectations for the Games. The video discussed earlier with YOSHIKI and Shinya Yamanaka is one of those. There both Yamanaka and YOSHIKI express their hopes that the Tokyo Olympics will highlight Japan's attractions and increase the country's appeal. They also express their happiness in being able to witness the Olympic Games in their own country.

Yet that does not mean everyone in Japan is eager to be the host for the Games. In a video by YouTuber 'That Japanese man Yuta', some opinions about hosting the Olympic Games can be heard. He interviews a couple of people on the street and asks whether they approve of Tokyo 2020. Most agree, stating that they expect it to be a way for them to improve their English because of the many foreigners in the country. Some also say they think it will be good for the economy and that it generates work. One of them even states his trust in the decision-making process, assuming they have thought of ways to negate negative effects, thus making the Olympics something positive for the country.

Those who oppose the idea have equally varying reasons. Yuta himself thinks it will lead to a loss of money and that is why he is against it. Another thinks that with the many foreigners, Japan will become unsafe. Yet another person worries for a terrorist attack. One also says it would have been better if Madrid had won because they can reuse buildings and Spain would have less costs that way.

Whether they are good or bad, expectations are high for the upcoming Olympic Games. It seems everyone has a desire to make the Tokyo 2020 Olympics a success. Those who are against hosting the event express their worries, but it is clear from their answers that they would no longer oppose it if the negative effects they believe will happen do not come to pass. This is why the legacy plan for the Games is so important; that way these worries can be taken into account and solutions can be thought of before the event even happens.

3.2. Legacies

The Tokyo Organising Committee has drafted an Action & Legacy Plan together with their stakeholders and the initial stages have resulted in five pillars – as they call them – in which they aim to leave positive legacies (The Tokyo Organising Committee 2016a). These are as follows: Sport and Health, Urban Planning and Sustainability, Culture and Education, Economy and Technology, and Recovery, Nationwide Benefits and Global Communication. In order to do promote positive legacies an 'All-Japan' team was created, consisting of the national government, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, regional and local authorities, the Japanese Olympic Committee (not to be confused with the Tokyo Organising Committee), the Japanese Paralympic Committee, Japanese sporting and business communities and several other stakeholders (The Tokyo Organising Committee 2016a). In this particular section of the thesis, whenever the Tokyo Organising Committee is mentioned it also includes the stakeholders unless stated otherwise. The same goes for the Tokyo Organising Committee whenever the stakeholders are mentioned. These organisations and committees will work together to make the positive legacies happen. Following is a short excerpt from the Tokyo 2020 Action & Legacy Plan 2016 summary (the Tokyo Organising Committee 2016c) – the only available English text containing part of the full plan – to illustrate how the committees look at the legacies:

There are several important factors that must be taken into account to create legacies for each of the five pillars featured in the following chapters. However, they all share one common principle and aim: namely, to promote the active engagement of as many people as possible and encourage active engagement in wide variety of activities. The results of these activities will be a key indicator in determining the success or otherwise of the plan.

This shows that all pillars are connected and there will be some crossovers between them. The committee states that the overarching aim is 'to encourage widespread participation in the Actions, raise awareness of and interest in the Paralympic Games, and forge a connection between five major international sporting events being held prior to, during and after the 2020.' This focus on gaining attention for the Paralympics is very clear in the promotional material on the official YouTube channel. When the venue PR video was shown to sports fans, they were positively surprised and remarked on how it was nice to see the Paralympic events got included because they felt those Games were generally left out during other years⁶. The same went for the image video 'sport connects us'.

However, before the interaction between the pillars can be looked at, the pillars themselves need to be analysed. Both the Sport and Health and Culture and Education pillar will be explained in more detail as these have to do the most with the subject of this thesis.

First is Sport and Health. There are two specific legacies the stakeholders aim for and they have thought of three different action types to attempt to make these a reality. The first legacy mentioned is a society where everyone shines through the power of sports (*supōtsu no chikara de minna ga kagayaku shakai*). Making the society shine is built upon the idea that sports have the power to change the world and future. In an aging society, the committee wishes to see everyone active and healthy no matter what age or whether someone has a disability.

The second legacy in the Sport and Health pillar consists of three themes (*mitsu no tēma*). These themes were decided on by looking at the current state of affairs from (three) different perspectives. The themes are Citizens and Sports / Health, Athletes and Sports / Health, and Paralympic Games and Sports / Health. For the Citizen theme the organising committee aims to realise a society where everyone watches and supports sports, but also participate in sports. For the other two themes they also hope to realise a society where athletes are active within the community they live in and that the Paralympics trigger a symbiotic society and the actions the committee has thought of have to do with these three themes.

To work towards the realisation of a society where everyone is involved in sports, the Tokyo Organising Committee cooperates with varying stakeholders to widely cultivate the vision of the event and to create engaging activities. By doing so, they aim to let people see the synergistic effect sports has on society. Additionally they want to raise Japan's presence internationally in order to stimulate international cooperation on sports and health. The committee will pioneer unique initiatives in the sports and health sector of Japan and spread these to the rest of the world. They will work on various actions from three perspectives in order to achieve their shining society. These perspectives are: Expansion of sports participation population and development of sports industry,

⁶ Personal experience.

implementation of Health promotion through the power of sports (and exercise), and international exchange and cooperation through sports.

By getting athletes involved in their communities, the Tokyo Organising Committee hopes that they can create a suitable environment for next generations. The athletes would increase, what they call, 'comprehensive strength' (*sōgōryoku*) and this means that not only competitive skills are developed, but also others such as management skills and communication skills. The committee states that several groups would have to work together in order to utilise this and these are, amongst others, the sports industry, the business community, the region, and the government. Again they look at this with three perspectives: Improvement of competitiveness and improvement of the competition environment, promotion of role model athlete training and participation, and the protections of sports integrity.

The final theme, creating a symbiotic society through the Paralympics, has a similar setup. The aim is to make the Paralympics a huge success and created the most excitement for these Games there has ever been. To do so they need to dramatically improve the recognition of sports for disabled people – including the Paralympic Games. It is also important to maintain an environment in which sports can be carried out on a daily basis in areas where people with disabilities are familiar, including sports clubs and the likes to maintain and promote the health of the people with a disability. In the symbiotic society, people can exert their own strength and respect each other. The three perspectives used for this theme are: Expansion of fans of disabled sports, improvement of environment for sports for people with disabilities, and approach for symbiotic society.

The next pillar is Urban Planning and Sustainability. Four items are discussed concerning urban space. The first is the realisation of a universal society: Creating a city with consideration for universal design. The second is an urban space that nurtures creativity through charm. The third is smart city management. And the final item is realising a safe and secure city. The actions section for urban space concerns these four items and use these as perspectives similarly to what they did for the Sport and Health pillar.

For sustainability they use five themes or aims: The realisation of a sustainable low carbon / decarbonised city, sustainable resource utilisation, comfortable urban environment taking water, nature and biodiversity into consideration, and a society that takes human rights, labour practices and the likes into consideration. The final theme is to participate and collaborate towards a sustainable society. The actions reflect these aims.

The third pillar is Culture and Education. This section starts with culture and explains that the Games are not only sports, but also cultural festivals which the committee sees as a great opportunity to spread the Japanese culture and the embodiment of the spirit of '*wa*' (和) domestically and overseas. It is important to take note of the kanji (Chinese character) for *wa* as this is the kanji used to refer to Japan or Japanese-styled things like food (*washoku*; 和食) and will be used in the rest of the explanation for culture. To make this particular section more accessible for people who do not speak Japanese, this specific kanji will be in bold.

According to the legacy report, *wa* represents Japan itself and the kanji as well as pronunciation have ambiguous meanings such as peace (*heiwa*; 平和), harmony (*chōwa*; 調和), ring (*wa*; 輪) in terms of a regional connections, and ring (*wa*; 環) as a connection to the world. It is a symbol of Japanese culture and the diversity of it. In order to promote exchange with people all over the world, the aim is to let the rest of the world see the charm of Japanese culture. Four aspects were chosen to do this. The development and inheritance of Japanese culture and seeing this in a new light is the first. Nurturing the next generation and creating new cultural art comes next. The

third is dispatching Japanese culture to the world and international exchange. The final aspect is participation and exchanges by everyone through nationwide deployment of the culture and revitalisation of the region.

In order to understand the concepts included in traditional culture and traditional arts and to create a new culture in the next era, the Tokyo Organising Committee aims to correctly communicate the value of Japanese culture and arts to children and young people who will be responsible for relaying it to the next generation so they can inherit it. Some examples they give are giving classes about traditional culture in elementary and junior high schools and enhancing the experience to increase the appreciation for traditional performing arts, and hosting events that would get children involved with both with traditional culture and the Games. During the games they also want to host Japanese festivals so foreigners can experience Japanese culture Festivals throughout the country and they want to hold trade fairs for regional food culture and similar things.

Concerning the nurturing of the next generation, the plan is to promote diverse cultural and artistic activities with the support of private companies and people and to cultivate human resources who will be responsible for the next generation. Examples of this are developing a program incorporating new ideas by public offering for students and young creators and cultivating human resources supporting cultural arts such as curators and art directors.

When it comes to the creation of new cultural arts, the committee will combine state-of-the-art technology, design and cultural art, making use of the high technological strength Japan has to create new works and artistic expression. One of the ideas they have to do so is enhancing the place of presenting new art expressions and utilising state-of-the-art technology, such as implementing a competition that combines technology and art. An example of combining technology and art – not in the Actions & Legacy Plan – is the Borderless exhibition by teamLab. This is a digital art museum in the MORI building in Odaiba, Tokyo and opens on June 21 this year.

Sharing Japanese culture with the world will lead to disseminating the diverse cultural arts of the country and actively developing international cultural and artistic exchanges. Ways they will attempt to do so are for instance by demonstrating the power of Tokyo and Japanese culture by implementing an unprecedented large-scale performing arts (e.g. kabuki, musicals) event, or by innovatively fusing Japanese top artists that are active around the world with traditional culture and entertainment. The Tokyo Organising Committee also aims to increase international exchange by promoting the creation of a creative foundation as a city where artists from various countries gather and cultivate exchange and cooperation across borders. Furthermore, they will strengthen their cooperation with social educational facilities such as overseas cultural arts groups, cultural institutions, museums, and so on to enhance international dissemination skills and actively develop cultural and artistic exchanges by, for instance, promoting businesses that have a resident artist to support their creative abilities for a period of time.

To get everyone to participate in the sharing of the culture, actions will be deployed all over the country to include people of all ages, different ethnicities and people with disabilities and they attempt to overcome discrimination and support cultural initiatives this way. This is the reason an official song was created for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics as well as the dance. By doing this, dance events can be hosted to get everyone involved.

In order to activate regions the government, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, municipalities, cultural and arts organizations throughout the country collaborate and cooperate to boost cultural festivals and revitalise the whole country with the power of culture. Examples of this action are street performances and getting local municipalities, cultural and arts organizations and

others to collaborate and utilise the power of cultural arts to develop problem-solving projects concerning city planning, welfare, and education.

A final action the Action & Legacy Plan explains in relation to culture is the Tokyo 2020 Cultural Olympiad Development. The aim of the Tokyo Organising Committee is to build a collaborative system in which stakeholders (e.g. governmental institutions, cultural and arts organisations nationwide, private enterprises) are united. This consists out of several goals which should be realised by 2020 depending on the projects conducted in cooperation with the stakeholders.

Education is the other half of this pillar and the legacy goal for this is making younger generations aware of their role in creating the future international society. In order to do so they will promote the understanding of the Olympic-Paralympics and the value of sports. Furthermore they aim to create a better understanding of diversity, for people with a disability, and a greater international understanding. Additionally they actively participate in collaborations with universities. As per usual the action plan is formed through these perspectives. There is a specific plan for the development of an educational programme. Like the Cultural Olympiad Development plan, this also has certain goals set for 2020 like systematically promoting Olympic and Paralympic education.

The fourth pillar is Economy and Technology, and Recovery. As is the case with the other pillars, the legacies have been separated into the different terms. There are three concepts in the economic field and four in the technology field with the theme of restoring the brand of Japan. For economy these are creating a high performance economy, like the use of AI, displaying latent energy, which means drawing out potential attractiveness of amongst other things agriculture, fishery products and tourism resources, and the challenge of advanced, aging countries, using Japan as an example to show the world efforts made towards a prosperous aging society.

The legacies for technology are sharing impressions through technological developments like 4K / 8K transmissions and multilingual correspondence, making it an event 'For All' by using cutting-edge technology to, for instance, automatically translate so that Japan becomes a barrier free nation, creating a highly reliable and extremely safe nation in the form of disaster prevention but also cyber security, and constructing a 'hydrogen society' or an eco-friendly nation through the use of vehicles that utilise hydrogen technology.

The final pillar is Nationwide Benefits and Global Communication. The first thing to note is that the chapter in the Japanese plan is called differently from the English, namely Reconstruction, 'All Japan' and Global Communication. The reconstruction section is mostly about areas afflicted by disasters and disaster prevention, not only in Japan but all over the world. One of the ideas is to implement and improve sports in disaster areas so children gain more physical strength. The aim here is to make sports one of the foundations for future development.

All Japan's legacy will be to make sure the Games will be memorable and that the people carry them in their hearts so the legacy of the Olympics and Paralympics can be handed down to future generations. Additionally the committee aims to spread positive influences from the event to every corner of Japan and create various opportunities to participate in local areas to encourage a sense of unity and to boost regional economic and community revitalisation.

A thing not mentioned in the title of the chapter is tourism, but it has been added here in between All Japan and Global Communication in the official plan. The legacy for tourism is that 'inbound consumption' has a positive impact on industries within Japan and supports the Japanese economy. By using the Tokyo 2020 Games as opportunity to promote the development of an environment where foreign tourists can stay comfortably through technology amongst other things,

the stakeholders attempt to bring about an increase in the number of people visiting the country. As a result of foreign visitors coming and going throughout Japan, the tourism industry in various places is activated and promotion of foreign tourists' acceptance by local people including volunteer activities will result in exchanges between natives and foreigners. They will promote travel throughout Japan, not just to Tokyo, and improve the acceptance of foreign travellers all over the country.

As final point concerning the pillars for Olympic legacies, Global Communication is discussed. This section reaffirms that all that has been discussed about the previous pillars will be communicated to the world and that efforts will be made to increase the understanding of Japan. It is stressed that it will be a two-way communication. The ultimate legacy would be creating a more peaceful world by promoting the Olympic and Paralympic spirit.

Certain aspects of the expectations can be seen within the legacy report, like creating a secure and safe city which some people worried about. Another is the cultural exchange as well as tourism aspect of the legacies. It also seems that the excitement is being promoted through the many events that are hosted to improve the 2020 Tokyo Olympics' legacies. This illustrates that – even though the Action & Legacy Plan is not generally read by people who are not involved – the Olympic Games might live up to the expectations.

Additionally, parts of the theoretical framework return in the plan. The focus completely lies on positive legacies. There does not appear to be a concrete plan to prevent negative legacies from happening. However it does show that they are aware that these legacies would increase tourism, even stating that they want to make sure Japan has a welcoming community for foreigners in the plan itself. Furthermore, it has been stated that hosting the Olympic Games can alter a country's identity and culture (Boukas, Ziakas and Boustas 2013) and this can be seen in the plan as well. The committee is looking at new ways to not only let others experience the culture, but to simply create a new culture for the next generation—one that the whole of Japan shares.

This in turn ties in with discrimination issues discussed earlier. By trying to include everyone in the new culture and focusing their attention on preventing discrimination in the legacy plan this should improve. However, Masubuchi (2008) already stated that by creating one specific culture for an entire country the local identity and culture gets lost, thus illustrating that the Action & Legacy Plan could still do with some additions to make sure something like that does not happen.

3.3. Contents Tourism and Pop-Culture

The Tokyo Organising Committee and other stakeholders realise culture and sports are related, especially in an event like the Olympic Games. In their guide they mention this specifically and the legacies also show this clearly. Additionally the events they organise to get everyone hyped for the Games do not only concern sports, but also have cultural activities. Not only that, they refer to the relation between sports and culture in their videos. This already becomes clear in their 'Sports connects us' video, where they show different activities and cultural aspects and then a similar situation in the sporting world. However, it is the Nippon Festival video on the channel that truly shines a light on how culture is connect to the Games. The video states everyone in Japan is a representative of their culture and ends with the phrase 'Let's surprise the world with our culture.' This particular video hints at popular culture as well.

In earlier sections it has already been made clear that pop-culture has played a part in the promotion of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics through Super Mario Abe's arrival in Rio and the mention of

the Character Design Series. The latter is what will be analysed and discussed now. As mentioned in the introduction, the Character Design Series are special ambassadors for the Olympic Games and can be found on merchandise. They are nine characters from eight different popular anime (Image 2) and are introduced separately on the website of the official merchandise store. It is not just the characters that are introduced, but also the series, explaining the genre and when the show aired.



Image 2: The Character Design Series (taken from: https://tokyo202shop.jp/user_data/special_character.php)

As stated on the 2020 Tokyo Olympics website (2016b), ‘the “Character Design Series” is a series of official licensed products by the JOC / JPC with eight characters who are popular and have prominence in Japan and abroad to support the Japanese Olympic and Paralympic team.’ The products include shirts, bags, face towels, lunch boxes, chopsticks and many more. Currently these are only available in Japan, but due to the fact that they opted for characters that are also known abroad they might still have these products available as souvenirs for visitors as well.

What is striking is that none of the characters for the series are from popular sports anime like *Free!* or *Haikyuu!!* which are about swimming and volleyball respectively and are sports that have their place in the Olympics. Instead they decided on characters that are known to fight for justice or peace – with the exception of Shin Chan and Luffy who are a toddler and a pirate. This seems to tie in with the Olympic mascots and illustrates the committee aims to project Japan as a country where justice prevails. This can be traced back to the *heiwa gaikō* (peaceful diplomacy) the government implemented after the loss of their military power. The Character Design Series are supposed to represent Japanese values, so the characters will be analysed one by one to establish which values they add to the narrative of Japan, starting with Astro Boy on the left of Image 3.

Astro Boy from the show *Astro Boy* (originally *Tetsuwan Atomu* or *Mighty Atom*) is an android created by a scientist to replace his deceased son. Throughout the many series and films, the story of Astro Boy changes (in some he was sold by the scientist in others kidnapped and yet another version has a completely different scientist). Nevertheless, one thing stays the same: he tries to live life as a normal boy and goes on adventures while doing so. This also means he fights crime. Astro Boy shows Japanese daily life – though it is in a futuristic setting – and the kindness of the Japanese. He helps people by fighting crime.

The second character is Usagi, or Bunny in the Western release. She is the protagonist of *Sailor Moon* (*Bishōjo Senshi Sērā Mūn*, *Pretty Soldier Sailor Moon*). Usagi is a teenager who can transform into the magical Sailor Moon. Together with the other Sailor Soldiers (or Sailor Guardians in later versions) she fights threats that come from outer space who wish to see the Solar System destroyed. Just like Astro Boy, Sailor Moon is a symbol of justice and peace while also showing the daily life of a ‘normal’ Japanese girl.

Shinnosuke ‘Shin’ Nohara from *Kureyon Shin-chan*, or Shin Chan, is an outlier in the Character Design Series. This five-year-old has nothing magical about him. However, this is perhaps the one

that tells the most about Japanese culture. Shin-chan is a young boy learning how to behave properly. Does he behave the way he should? No. But his mother and teacher often correct him, showing how it is supposed to be in Japan. This means that this show gets Japanese values and manners across more clearly than any of the other series. However, due to jokes often having to do with language, these things do not translate well to other languages so some of these values and mannerisms are lost in translation.

Next is Luffy from One Piece. He is a pirate aspiring to become the Pirate King. He is the captain of the Straw Hat Pirates and plunders freely. This is perhaps not a reputation a country should want, but it is not because of his skills in troublemaking that this character represents Japan. Luffy stands for determination. No matter what comes his way, he continues. This is partly possible because he consumed a special fruit to make him gain the properties of rubber, making him extra flexible – another good trait. The determination and flexibility to go on no matter what hardships come your way is what the committee wants to convey with this character.

Naruto from the manga and anime with the same name can also be put in this same dimension. Like the others, he is a character that shows determination, but that is not all. Naruto is a ninja—a blast from Japan's past. Due to the size of the manga as well as anime, coming of age has become a theme in the series as well, but it is not feasible that this is a theme the Tokyo Organising Committee wants to highlight for the Games. It is more likely that they chose Naruto for him being a ninja and the series having a lot of Japanese mythological references thus showing Japan's rich culture as well as being very popular outside of Japan as well.

Jibanyan is the mascot character from *Yōkai Watch*. This little spirit cat protects the anime protagonist Nathan from danger. In the videogames he befriends the player. Jibanyan represents the cute culture in Japan.

Second to last is Goku from the Dragonball Series. Goku is a skilled fighter and Saiyan – an alien race. He is a little dense, but he gives his life to save his friends and family and even the entire planet several times. Again the themes of justice and peace as well as the determination to go on when facing hardships come forth.

The final characters are from a show called *Mahō Tsukai Pretty Cure* and their names are Cure Miracle and Cure Magical. These are the latest additions to the Pretty Cure universe but have the same mission as all the Cures before them: Save the world from imminent doom by transforming into Cures. Pretty Cure stories always involve friendships that have to withstand the difficulties thrown at them by the villains and once again the theme is justice, peace and determination.

These characters represent Japanese values. By having the recurrent themes of justice and peace the Tokyo Organising Committee highlights the government's desire for world peace—something that is easy to tell as well by looking at for instance any official site concerning Hiroshima. It also demonstrates the determination Japan has to get out of their economic slump of the past few decades. And finally the characters all have elements of Japanese culture even though some have more aspects than others. All the characters fit within the three main concepts chosen by the Tokyo Organising Committee and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Achieving a personal best can be linked to the determination of all the characters to do their best, the characters are united by diversity, and they pass on a legacy for the future as they have been doing ever since the shows aired first.

However, by looking at all these characters and their abilities another theme seems to arise. This theme is mysticism. All these characters with the exception of Shin-chan seem to have a form of magic or special ability that is not quite human and now the Olympic and Paralympic mascots have

been revealed it is plausible to think that the Tokyo Organising Committee wants to add a magical allure to the host city and perhaps this is part of their new culture ideas. Even though both of the mascots do not have names yet, they do have profiles (The Tokyo Organising Committee 2018) and they tie in seamlessly with the many magical warriors lined up for the Character Design Series. What follows are the profiles as found on the Tokyo Organising Committee website.

The Olympic Mascot is a character that embodies both old tradition and new innovation. The Mascot has an old-fashioned charm that reflects tradition and also has a high-tech, cutting edge vibe. It has a strong sense of justice, and is very athletic. The Mascot has a special power allowing it to move anywhere instantaneously.

The Paralympic Mascot is a cool character with cherry tactile sense and supernatural power. The Mascot is usually calm, however, it gets very powerful when needed. It has a dignified inner strength and a kind heart that loves nature. It can talk with stones and the wind. It can also move things by just looking at them.

Both the characters have a special skill – just like most characters of the Character Design Series – adding to the sense of mystery and magic. Yet that is not all these profiles show; they also highlight multiple aspects of Japan and its culture and how they are linked to the preparations of the Olympic Games.

The first of these facets is that narrative is important. The two do not have names, but they have personalities and special skills. They even have a theme of traditional meets popular culture. Furthermore these mascots share the supernatural aspects of many of the Character Design Series characters. No other Olympic mascot has had such explicit personality traits and narrative as can be seen in the timeline presented on the mascot's website with a clear overview of all the mascots throughout the years. The emphasis on these aspects of the mascots illustrates the importance of narrative and theme.

Narrative and theme are also key factors in contents tourism, which is something governmental institutions have invested in throughout the years. Previously it was stated that four dimensions of tourism were related to the Olympic Games: culture, eco, mainstream, and linked tourism (Boukas, Ziakas and Boustas 2013; Kapareliotis, Panopoulos and Panigyrakis 2010). For the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, contents tourism is added to this list. Both the mascots and the Character Design Series add to this type of tourism. Mascots can get people to visit a place and the existing anime characters already have an appeal to them which they can now use to add narrative to Tokyo. Contents tourism can be used to attract people to shopping malls (Yamamura 2015), so it can definitely be used to attract people to the Olympic Games.

The second aspect these mascots show about how culture influences the preparations of the Olympic games, is which values the committee wants to convey to the world. These characters are special – they are magical – and stand for justice. The Paralympic Mascot is calm unless angered, which is perhaps why the sakura or cherry blossom motif was chosen. The cherry blossom is not only Japan's national flower, but is also multifaceted and has gone through many changes in its symbolism throughout the years. Though the pink leaves may evoke feelings of cute, it in fact stood for Japan's military power once upon a time (Ohnuki-Tierny 2002). Perhaps this is where the character's calm but powerful when needed trait comes from. The Olympic Mascot also has an aspect of its design linked to how Japan would like to present itself: futuristic. According to the

design notes found on the Tokyo Organising Committee website, the Olympic Mascot has a mix of tradition through its chequered pattern and cutting edge technology which fits in with the 'where tradition meets the future' slogan the JNTO used to run in advertisements.

The fact that the committee is reflecting values on the mascots they want to project as the Japanese identity becomes especially apparent in the section about the relationship between the two mascots. They give them traits befitting of a host for a multicultural event like the Olympic Games:

The Olympic Mascot and Paralympic Mascot have opposite personalities. However, they respect each other and they are very good friends. They both have a great spirit of hospitality. They always try their best to cheer and encourage everyone.

Hospitality and mutual respect are important when it comes to events like these and also reflect on tourism. A tourist would want to feel welcome and respected and by giving the two mascots these dynamics it gives the connotation that Japan is hospitable and respectful. The two mascots will be fully introduced later this summer and the Japanese values will most likely become even more apparent when they are. These traits can be linked directly to the Action & Legacy Plan in which mutual respect plays a large part.

The final aspect that these profiles illustrate is that the narratives were made with the Olympics in mind. The three key concepts can be found – though they do not have a personal best, they are doing their best to cheer everyone on. They were made with infinite excitement in mind as well, letting school children decide on which pair of mascots would become the representatives. In the video explaining the workings of the selection, mutual respect is emphasised by stating that the children had to listen to each other's opinions on the characters and using that information to choose one out of three options. In the same video the children seem to enthusiastically choose their favourites and excitement is all around.

Yet the additions of pop-culture to the Games do not end with the Character Design Series and the mascots. The videos on the official YouTube channel offer more access to pop-culture. The One Team Project has several pop-culture figures (musicians, mangaka) showing their support for the Olympic Games.

Furthermore, as stated in the legacy plan, a special song has been made for the Games and a special choreography goes along with it. The dance is rather simple and is explained thoroughly in videos released on the official YouTube channel. Using this allows for the organisation to get crowds involved and highlights the musical aspect of culture during the 2020 Tokyo Olympics. This is an easy way to get people to experience Japanese culture and pop-culture diplomacy prevails in this sense.

However, the legacy plan clearly does not put its entire focus on this. Pop-culture plays an undeniable part of the promotion of the Olympic Games, just not as prominent as the government's tourism diplomacy would suggest.

3.4. Kawaii Culture

Even though the Tokyo Organising Committee has conveyed their desire to create a new culture in the legacy plan, they have yet to move away from the kawaii culture in Japan. This aspect cannot be seen in the Action & Legacy Plan, but it is obvious when looking at the mascots. They resemble *yurukyara* in the way they are introduced to people; through events and competitions (Tan 2014). A

story is created so the people can get familiar with them and gain affection towards them. The greatest difference between the Olympic Mascots and the district mascots, though, is probably that the Games' mascots are undeniably cute. They fit the usual ratio for cute mascot characters. Image 3 has three mascot characters, the Olympic Mascots and Jibanyan from the Character Design Series, and the similarities are easy to spot.



Image 3: Mascot Characters. Olympic and Paralympic Mascot © IOC; Jibanyan © Level 5 and Hasbro

The lead character designer of a popular game franchise (*Persona / Shin Megami Tensei*), Shigenori Soejima, said, 'A mascot character is beloved by everyone' (Atlus 2017). This generally means well-designed mascots are lovable and cute. In order to make the characters cute, they often have large heads, big eyes and tiny bodies. Another important feature is round forms to make them soft-looking. Additionally it is important the designs are simple and colourful (Wood 2013; Atlus 2017). To name a few popular characters which fit the mascot category and have these aspects: Pikachu from Pokémon, Totoro from *Tonari no Totoro* (My Neighbour Totoro), and Kitty from Hello Kitty! Though Jibanyan does not necessarily have big eyes, his design shares the same proportions as the Olympic Mascots and the same roundness. This does not mean that all mascots have these characteristics, but the fact that the Olympic Mascots do adds some of the *kawaii* culture living in Japan to the Olympic Games.

This illustrates that the children of Japan – who chose the mascot designs out of three sets (The Tokyo Organising Committee YouTube channel and website) – are inclined to like cute designs rather than other designs. Though the Tokyo Organising Committee states in the Action & Legacy Plan that they want to create a new culture for the next generation, this illustrates that they aim for an altered version rather than an entirely new one. They also say that they aim to shed a new light on the Japanese culture, thus implying that they indeed do not aim to create a completely new Japanese culture but more another way of looking at it.

3.5. Locations

As stated in the framework, advertising within the Olympic Village is limited, so it is important for the host city to build it somewhere where the athletes can still get a sense of Tokyo. The plans for

the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games show that the venues consist of two themes or districts: the Heritage Zone and Tokyo Bay Zone (The Tokyo Organising Committee). The Heritage Zone will be a reminder of the legacy of Tokyo 1964 and the Tokyo Bay Zone will be to show the future of Tokyo. The Olympic Village will be put right where the two zones intersect – the heart of the Games – since the areas form an infinity symbol on the map (Image 4) and this leads to the Venue Plan Concept called Infinite Excitement. According to the Tokyo Organising Committee, the symbol ‘embodies the boundless passion, commitment and inspiration of the world’s elite athletes, the limitless potential of future generations, and the lasting legacy that will be passed on to the people of Tokyo, Japan and the world.’



Image 4: Infinite Excitement plan map taken from <https://tokyo2020.org/en/games/venue/>

This clearly illustrates how much thought is put into the location of the venues and how important the location is. Most venues can be found near iconic buildings (The Tokyo Organising Committee) so the media covering the Games will inevitably also show those in their broadcasts, thus promoting the city and all its sights, increasing the interest in Japan.

For both popular culture and sports events it is important to think of the right location. This allows easier promotion. The area chosen for the Olympic Games in Tokyo also includes the central hub for popular culture, Akihabara. Since the government is using pop-culture diplomacy to promote Japan, it is important to have such a central spot for their main advertising content even though pop-culture does not appear to have a prominent role in the Action & Legacy Plan. Nevertheless, the district is on the edge of the venue area. The closest venue to Akihabara – approximately thirty minutes away on foot – is the Nippon Budokan where the martial arts matches will be taking place. Akihabara is clearly not the centre of attention, but it enjoys some merits by being included in the venue area.

The other locations, however, do tie in with the legacies. Existing buildings are used so the Urban Planning and Sustainability pillar comes into play. This can also be used for the new buildings which will have to be built. Additionally the venues are near interesting sights, thus allowing the display of Japanese culture as well. Furthermore, the other cities hosting some of the events all have iconic sights and icons and fit in with legacies. For instance the Fukushima Azuma Baseball Stadium in Fukushima is the embodiment of the restoration and revitalisation legacy. It allows people to see

that Fukushima has overcome the 2011 earthquake off the Pacific coast of Tōhoku of which the associated tsunami caused the meltdown of the nuclear reactors in Fukushima (BBC News 2011; United States Geological Survey 2011).

3.6. Suggestions

In the previous sections it has already been mentioned that some aspects could do with some fine-tuning. The actions that do need this have to do with the new culture creation the Tokyo Organising Committee and the stakeholders have decided on. One of the problems is that this action might erase local culture and identity (Masubuchi 2008). Yet another action is about the revitalisation of regions. It can be assumed that this revitalisation includes promoting the local culture and thus it is the direct opposite of a national culture. The suggestion for this problem is to keep local culture intact, but to create an overarching, undeniably Japanese national culture that allows for a person to have a local culture as well.

Additionally it seems like pop-culture is mostly ignored in the Action & Legacy Plan even though the Tokyo Organising Committee went through the trouble of getting the rights for the characters of the Character Design Series. Though it is a global event and some might not appreciate the use of pop-culture, there is still room for it—especially the Character Design Series. It is striking that the Character Design Series is meant to cheer on the national teams, yet currently it does not look like the Tokyo Organising Committee is actually using them to promote the Games and the legacies. There is room to implement these characters especially when it concerns a national audience. Even an international audience would know some of the characters and the anime ambassadors, actors from popular series, and popular musicians could and should be used to create an Olympic Games hype throughout Tokyo, Japan and the world.

Due to the variety – yet unity – of the characters, they can fit in flawlessly with most pillars. The only real exception is the Urban Planning and Sustainability pillar, though the characters and other pop-culture figures could promote sustainable ways of living and help achieve those legacies that way. The following suggestions will have an overlap of pillars, as the Action & Legacy Plan also suggested would happen, but the ideas are categorised under their main legacy pillar.

To start with the first pillar, Sport and Health, characters from popular culture can be applied to promote healthy lifestyles. Advertisements leading up to the Games can have the pop-culture figures giving information about the Games, thus also tying in with the educational part of the actions, and reminding people to stay health and exercise. Furthermore, the characters from the Character Design Series can be shown at events and they can give the audience a workout or even teach them the Olympic Dance, tying this idea in with the third pillar, Culture and Education.

Stating that pop-culture can be used to support the positive legacies for culture is hardly necessary, but still it is important to look at the opportunities here. Figures from pop-culture can promote the spirit of *wa* as the committee sees it so everyone in Japan has the same idea. They can also be used to nurture the next generation and help them realise their roles when inheriting the culture. The idea of the Tokyo Organising Committee is to dispatch Japanese culture all over the world, which the government is already attempting to do with pop-culture, so they could continue this trend and possibly improve the policies thanks to their many different legacy aims.

Additionally pop-culture can be used for education as well as stated before. Since one of the ideas is to create courses concerning the Olympics and Paralympics, characters from popular culture

can be used to help convey the Olympic and Paralympic spirit, relating to the final pillar of Nationwide Benefits and Global Communication as well.

Before that, the Economy and Technology, and Recovery pillar is looked at. Though popular characters and people might not be able to promote the high-tech values per se unless they are an android like Astro Boy, they can help with the recovery aspect. This includes eco-friendly propaganda as mentioned before.

Finally, in order to create an environment that is more accepting of foreigners, special 'Olympic Games' clips can be made using popular characters that show that they accept foreigners and perhaps even what to expect once the Games commence. Perhaps they could even address the worries certain people have explicitly to try and get everyone on the same level of excitement for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the legacies the Tokyo Organising Committee will be attempting to create for the 2020 Olympic Games. These are divided into five pillars: Sport and Health, Urban Planning and Sustainability, Culture and Education, Economy and Technology, and Recovery, and Nationwide Benefits and Global Communication (The Tokyo Organising Committee 2017). The legacies concerning the first pillar are about a shining, healthy society and getting everyone in the society involved. The second pillar is about city planning, making sure it is safe and secure and nurtures creativity, but also making sure everything uses a sustainable form of technology. The third pillar talks about the plans for the promotion of *wa* – Japanese spirit – and making sure the next generation inherits a new culture as well as spreading this culture to the world. The fourth pillar is about using state-of-the-art technology and sharing this with the world to make life and communication easier. The final pillar is about using sports to improve regions hit by disasters, create a national Olympic Games legacy, promote tourism and make foreigners more welcome, and increasing the global understanding of Japan.

After this, three more concepts taken from the theoretical framework were linked to the legacies. These were contents tourism and pop-culture, kawaii culture and locations. Contents tourism and pop-culture can be linked primarily to the Culture pillar. However it could be used to promote the other pillars as well as shown in the suggestions section. Kawaii culture is not as easily linked to the legacy plan, but the mascots fall under the kawaii category and thus bring this culture into the Games. By looking at the locations it becomes clear that Japanese culture can be conveyed through the buildings near the venues, but pop-culture is tucked away thirty minutes away from the closest event building. This illustrates pop-culture is a less prominent factor in the promotion for Tokyo and Japan even though it played such a big start in the beginning with Abe's cosplay and the preceding video as well as the assigning of the Character Design Series.

All of this ties in with the theoretical framework. In the sections about contents tourism it was stated that characters can attract visitors to certain locations (Iwabuchi 2015) and it becomes clear that this is also attempted with the Olympic and Paralympic Mascot. They have a background story even though they have no name, allowing people to like them purely based on their story. They have narrative and theme, the two main concepts of contents tourism, showing they will rely on this type of tourism to attract visitors.

Pop-culture is a clear part of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics and the theoretical framework has provided insight as to how and why the Japanese government chose to use pop-culture diplomacy. It

works by letting pop-culture speak for the country and this is what they have done with the Rio closing ceremony. They let their pop-culture speak just as they do in their diplomacy. The part about why the policy seems to work for Japan showed the influence of *yurukyara* and kawaii culture in branding and the mascots have been linked to those. This means kawaii culture will still play a part of the new culture for the next generation.

Finally the framework illustrated how important locations are to pop-culture and Olympic Games and the venue plan provided by the Tokyo Organising Committee shows this as well. It covers a large area of Tokyo and has Akihabara right on the edge. However, seeing this makes it clear that the committee does not plan on relying on pop-culture solely to promote their legacies and Japanese culture contrary to what the beginnings of the promotions might have suggested. Yet all locations were chosen with the promotion of the legacies in mind.

Conclusion and Discussion

This thesis has aimed to illustrate whether pop-culture diplomacy is used in the legacy plans for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics since it is the Japanese government's core policy for tourism and how pop-culture can help promote positive legacies. First the theoretical framework provided background information about all aspects discussed in the analysis of the current state of the Olympic Games. These aspects were contents tourism, pop-culture diplomacy, kawaii culture, legacies, and the importance of locations.

The question of what moves people to go to certain places if they are connected to their fandom was answered for contents tourism. It is the narrative and theme that are most important to them. If a place adopts this narrative and embraces it – as is the case with the *Lucky Star* anime – the area can become a popular spot and it might be seen as a holy place for fans. Media-induced tourism and contents tourism are different in that respect. Film- and literature-induced tourism are not about theme, but rather only about narrative thus putting the focus on the specific place where scenarios play out.

To explain further, a simple history of contents tourism has been provided as well as an in-depth explanation of how pop-culture diplomacy came to be. Furthermore, this has been connected to the notion of cute, or kawaii, and Japanese culture. It has been clarified that there are issues with pop-culture diplomacy and scholars are sceptical about its success. However it seems that the Japan Organising Committee tries to resolve the issues like discrimination through its actions towards positive legacies.

Another question was how the Olympic Games are branded and what legacies are. The legacies have been explained and by looking at those a brand can be determined. For the 2020 Tokyo Olympics this is United in Diversity, the slogan they are using for most promotional material.

The analysis consisted of the examining of official promotional material like videos, merchandise, and the Action & Legacy Plan. This plan has been summarised to provide an overview of what it says concerning the plans for legacies and the actions that will be undertaken in order to get these legacies to pull through.

Using these official Tokyo 2020 materials, it has been shown that contents tourism can be found in the preparations for the Olympic Games. Since key factors for contents tourism are narrative and theme, it can be connected the mascots for the Games. Though they are nameless, they have personalities and special skills; the beginnings of narrative and theme.

Another aspect that was explained in the theoretical framework that kawaii culture is at the heart of Japanese culture – almost everyone loves cute things – and this, too, can be connected to the chosen mascots. Their large round heads and big eyes with tiny bodies give them a definite cute vibe, illustrating kawaii culture played a part at this stage.

Additionally, the importance of locations has been discussed and how much thought has been put into the location of the Olympic Games in Tokyo has been highlighted briefly. The Tokyo Organising Committee has created an infinity symbol with the venues, placing the Olympic Village at the heart of the sign and making sure it is still surrounded by iconic buildings so media will cover these, thus adding to Tokyo's appeal overseas.

Furthermore, pop-culture is being used to promote the Games through the Character Design Series as well as in official videos. However, the main question of whether pop-culture diplomacy is used in the organising of the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games is a difficult one. Some aspects of pop-culture diplomacy are used – signals to the world have definitely been sent through Abe's display at

the previous closing ceremony – but it is clear that it does not play a prominent part when it comes to the development of legacies. Nevertheless, several ideas have been coined to implement pop-culture and the Character Design Series specifically to promote positive legacies.

Looking back at the critiques given on the use of pop-culture diplomacy like how it discriminates as well as how it promotes a one-way communication, it seems that the Tokyo Organising Committee aims to redeem these flaws. They stress that they want to create a country for all and that the communication will be two-way rather than one-way. Furthermore, one of the critiques of using pop-culture diplomacy is that the Japaneseness gets lost in translation and during export. This is not the case when the original characters are used during the Games, thus offering an opportunity to get around all that was lost through export and bring out the Japaneseness again. These are definite improvements, but that does not mean that pop-culture disappears from the diplomacy as has been shown.

Other than that, relations between the framework given and the findings in the legacy can be found in all chosen concepts, pop-culture and contents tourism, kawaii culture and locations. Nevertheless some had more correlation with the legacies than others. For instance, popular culture and contents tourism could be tied to several aspects of the Culture and Education pillar, whereas kawaii culture could only be connected to one. The locations fell under the Urban Planning and Sustainability pillar.

However, they are all intricately woven into the fabric of the Olympic Games. Contents tourism and pop-culture are linked to the promotion of the Games as well as kawaii culture and the importance of picking the right location cannot be denied as is in accordance with what was said in the theoretical framework.

All in all, the framework provided a lot of background information to create an understanding about Japanese cultural diplomacies and tourism concerning sport events and especially the Olympic Games. Then this information was taken and applied to the Action & Legacy Plan made by the Tokyo Organising Committee. What can be concluded through this research is that the plan attempts to intercept the critiques on pop-culture diplomacy. One way of doing this is by not only relying on popular culture. The other ways are by emphasising two-way communication and mutual respect and acceptance, even going as far as to educate children about these things to make sure an accepting society is made. Nevertheless, they are still attempting to create one culture and do not seem to take local cultures into account just yet, so this is something that still needs to be looked at so local and national culture can coexist. Furthermore, kawaii culture is also lacking links with the Action & Legacy Plan and this implies that there is room for improvement there as well.

Though this thesis has yielded some results, there are some weaknesses concerning the work process. Contact should have been made with the IOC and the Tokyo Organising Committee to ask for more information and whether they were planning to expand their use of pop-culture during the Olympic Games. This was however not possible due to lack of contact information. Furthermore, since the Games are in two years, a lot of information is still missing and some things can only be concluded after they have taken place.

Still, the study is worth undertaking now as it is important to think of possibilities during the planning phase, rather than stating what could have been done better afterwards. This does not mean that this should not be done afterwards as well, but rather that multiple studies at multiple stages is better. In fact, further research needs to be done in order to create a complete picture about the legacies and whether pop-culture can be implemented in more ways.

Glossary

Akihabara: Tokyo's digital district where popular culture fans can find all kinds of content.

Edo period: The period between 1603 and 1868. Also known as the Tokugawa period.

Geisha: Geisha translates to 'arts person'. They are highly trained in traditional Japanese arts. In Kyoto – where most tourists spot 'geisha' – they are known as geiko. Geisha was previously only for Tokyo and surroundings, but is now the general term. They can be recognised by their white painted faces and red lips. They wear kimonos and simple hair ornaments reflecting the season.

Hentai: Literally 'strange attitude' or 'strange condition' (変態); this is not a genre of anime and manga in Japan, but it is in English. *Hentai* in Japan is any form of perverse sexual desires or acts. In English, however, it is seen as a subgenre of Japanese anime and manga which can be characterised by overtly sexualised characters, images, and plots.

Hikikomori: Someone (usually youth) withdrawing from social life who generally do not go outside.

JNTO: The Japan National Tourism Organisation.

JOC / JPC: Japan Olympic Committee / Japan Paralympic Committee.

Kawaii: A term meaning cute and a phrase often used by fans to refer to something cute.

Lucky Star: A popular anime about the daily lives of four high school students. It plays in a village based on Washimiya and images of the real town are used in the opening sequence of the show, which has led fans to flock to Washimiya.

Maid café: These cafés are a kind of cosplay restaurant. The waitresses are dressed in French maid costumes and act as servants would do, calling the customers *gosujinsama* (Master) and *ojousama* (My Lady). Cure Maid Café was the first of its kind to establish permanently and can be found in Akihabara. Their popularity is increasing and this has been cause for other countries to establish some (pop-up) maid cafés as well. They are especially popular amongst anime and manga fans.

Maiko: A maiko is a geiko (also known as geisha) in training. They wear more elaborate hair ornaments than geishas and since they do not use a wig, their skin colour can often be seen along their hairline. First year trainees only have their lower lip painted red while second and third years have both lips coloured red.

METI: Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry.

MLIT: Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism.

- MOFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- NEET: Someone who is 'not in education, employment or training'.
- Pāto*: A part-time worker.
- Shibuya: This refers to a special ward in Tokyo. It is a commercial and business centre, but people also use Shibuya to refer to the shopping district surrounding Shibuya Station – one of the busiest railway stations in the world. It has a booming nightlife as well.
- Ukiyo-e: A genre of Japanese art in which artists produce woodblock prints and paintings of female beauties, landscapes, kabuki, sumo wrestlers, and scenes from folklore.
- Yurukyara*: Literally, loose characters. These are cute mascots representing regions, cities, and sometimes even institutions like the police force.

Primary Sources

- Atlus, 2017. *The art of Persona 5*. Prisma Games.
- International Olympic Committee, 2016. "Olympic Village: Discover all you need to know about the Olympic Village." Available from: https://www.olympic.org/athlete365/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/CIO1444-1_Olympic_Village_vfinale_EN.pdf [Accessed on 28 April 2018].
- International Olympic Committee, 2018. "Tokyo 2020 to Pioneer New Legacy Report." Available from: <https://www.olympic.org/news/tokyo-2020-to-pioneer-new-legacy-report> [Accessed on 28 April 2018].
- Japan National Tourism Organisation. "Tourism statistics." Available from: <https://www.jnto.go.jp/eng/ttp/sta/> [Accessed on 4 May 2018].
- Kūru Japan kanmin yūshikisha kaigi, 2012. "*Atarashii Nippon no sōzō: 'bunka to sangyō', 'Nippon to kaigai' wo tsunagu tame ni*." Available from: http://www.meti.go.jp/meti_lib/report/2012fy/E002334.pdf [Accessed on 10 April 2018].
- Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry 2012a. "Cool Japan strategy: modified version of the Interim Report submitted to the Cool Japan Advisory Council, September 2012." Available from: http://www.meti.go.jp/english/policy/mono_info_service/creative_industries/pdf/121016_01a.pdf [Accessed on 10 April 2018].
- Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 2012b. "*Kontentsu sangyō no genjō to kongo no hatten no hōkōsei*."
- Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 2016. "*Kontentsu sangyō seisaku ni tsuite keizaisangōshō shōmu jōhōseisakukyoku kontentsu sangyō-ka*." Available from: http://www.meti.go.jp/policy/mono_info_service/contents/downloadfiles/shokanjikou.pdf [Accessed on 10 April 2018].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006. "*Poppu karuchā no bunka gaikō ni okeru katsuyō*." Available from: http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/annai/shingikai/koryu/h18_sokai/05hokoku.html [Accessed on 10 April 2018].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006. "Speech by Minister for Foreign Affairs Taro Aso at Digital Hollywood University 'A New Look at Cultural Diplomacy: A Call to Japan's Cultural Practitioners.'" Available from: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/fm/aso/speech0604-2.html> [Accessed on 14 April 2018].
- Museum Volkenkunde, 2018. "*Cool Japan – meest succesvolle tentoonstelling Museum Volkenkunde ooit*." Available from <http://cooljapan.volkenkunde.nl/nl/pers/cool-japan-meest-succesvolle-tentoonstelling-museum-volkenkunde-ooit> [Accessed on 26 May 2018].
- That Japanese Man Yuta 2017. "Do Japanese Approve of 2020 Tokyo Olympics (Interview)." Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3AM44Qd7xdE> [Accessed on 30 May 2018].
- The Tokyo Organising Committee 2016a. "Action & Legacy." Available from: <https://tokyo2020.org/en/games/legacy/> [Accessed on 30 May 2018].
- The Tokyo Organising Committee 2016b. "*JOC/ JPC kōshiki raisensu shōhin kyarakutādezainshirīzu ni tsuite*." Available from: <https://tokyo2020.org/jp/news/notice/20160719-01.html> [Accessed on 30 November 2017].
- The Tokyo Organising Committee 2016c. "Tokyo 2020 Action & Legacy Plan 2016." Available from: https://tokyo2020.org/en/games/legacy/items/legacy-summary_EN.pdf [Accessed on 30 May 2018].

The Tokyo Organising Committee 2017. "Akushon & regashī puran 2017." Available from: <https://tokyo2020.org/jp/games/legacy/items/legacy-report2017.pdf> [Accessed on 30 May 2018].

The Tokyo Organising Committee 2018. "And the winners are... Tokyo 2020 Games Mascots." Available from: <https://tokyo2020.org/en/special/mascot/> [Accessed on 30 May 2018].

The Tokyo Organising Committee. "A Wealth of Sports and Emotions in the Heart of the City." Available from <https://tokyo2020.org/en/games/venue/> [Accessed on 28 April 2018].

United States Geological Survey. "M 9.1 – near the east coast of Honshu, Japan." Available from: https://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eventpage/official20110311054624120_30#executive [Accessed on 14 June 2018].

Secondary Sources

BBC News, 2011. "Japan Earthquake: Tsunami hits north-east." Available from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-12709598> [Accessed on 14 June 2018].

BBC News, 2018. "Koreas make nuclear pledge after historic summit." Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-43921385> [Accessed on 28 April 2018].

Berger, Arthur Asa, 2010. *Tourism in Japan: An Ethno-semiotic Analysis*. Channel View Publications Ltd.

Boukas, Nikolaos, Vassilios Ziakas and Georgios Boustras, 2013. "Olympic legacy and cultural tourism: exploring the facets of Athens' Olympic heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19 (2), 203-228.

Brienza, Casey, 2014. "Did manga conquer America? Implications of the cultural policy of 'Cool Japan'." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 20 (4), 383-398.

Bruner, Edward, 2005. *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago & London: Chicago UP.

CNBC, 2016. "Olympics: Japan's Abe dresses up as Super Mario." Available from: <https://www.cnn.com/video/2016/08/22/olympics-japans-abe-dresses-up-as-super-mario.html> [Accessed on 30 May 2018].

Dansero, Egidio and Matteo Puttilli, 2010. "Mega-events tourism legacies: the case of the Torino 2006 Winter Olympic Games – a territorialisation approach." *Leisure Studies*, 29 (3), 321-341.

Gammon, Sean, Gregory Ramshaw and Emma Waterton, 2013. "Examining the Olympics: heritage, identity and performance." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19 (2), 119-124.

Gordon, Andrew, 2008. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, Second Edition.

Huang, Guanxiong, 2013. "Mediating Tourist Landscape: A Case Study of Media-Induced Tourism in China." *International Journal of Communication* 7, 2678-2696.

Huang, Sonshan (Sam), 2010. "Post-Olympic Tourist Experience: An Autoethnographic Perspective." *Journal of China Tourism Research*, 6 (2), 104-122.

Huat, Chua Beng, 2011. "East Asian Pop Culture". In: Chan, Felicia, Karpovich, Angelina and Zhang, Xin eds. *Genre in Asian Film and Television*, Palgrave Macmillan UK, 222-245.

Ito, Kinko and Paul A. Crutcher, 2013. "Popular Mass Entertainment in Japan: Manga, Pachinko, and Cosplay." *Soc* 51, 44-48.

Iwabuchi, Koichi, 2015. "Pop-culture diplomacy in Japan: soft power, nation branding and the question of 'international cultural exchange'." *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21:4, 419-432.

- Jin, Dal Yong, 2013. "A Critical Analysis of Cultural Imperialism." In: Valdivia, Angharad N. eds. *The International Encyclopedia of Media Studies* Volume II, 1-12.
- Kapareliotis, Ilias, Anastasios Panopoulos and George G. Panigyrakis, 2010. "The influence of the Olympic Games on Beijing consumers' perceptions of their city tourism development." *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistics*, 22 (1), 90-100.
- Leopkey, Becca and Milena M. Parent, 2012. "Olympic Games Legacy: From General Benefits to Sustainable Long-Term Legacy." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29 (6), 924-943.
- Leopkey, Becca and Milena M. Parent, 2015. "Stakeholder perspectives regarding the governance of legacy at the Olympic Games." *Annals of Leisure Research* 18 (4), 528-548.
- Leopkey, Becca and Milena M. Parent, 2017. "The governance of Olympic legacy: process, actors and mechanisms." *Leisure Studies* 36 (3), 438-451.
- Masubuchi, Toshiyuki, 2008. "Kontenstu tsūrizumu to sono genjō." *Journal for Regional Policy Studies* 1, 33-40.
- Miller, Laura, 2011. "Cute masquerade and the pimping of Japan." *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 20, 18-29.
- Munday, Jeremy, 2012. *Introducing Translation Studies*. Third edition. New York: Routledge.
- Nobuoka, Jakob, 2010. "User innovation and creative consumption in Japanese culture industries: the case of Akihabara, Tokyo." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 92 (3), 205-218.
- Nye, Joseph S, 2004. "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (2), 255-270.
- Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko, 2002. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Persson, Christer, 2002. "The Olympic site decision." *Tourism Management* 23, 27-36.
- Rowthorn, Chris, Ray Bartlett, Andrew Bender, Laura Crawford, Craig McLachlan et al., 2015. *Lonely Planet Japan*. Fourteenth edition. Dublin: Lonely Planet Global Ltd.
- Sant, Stacy-Lynn, Daniel S. Mason and Tom D. Hinch, 2013. "Conceptualising Olympic tourism legacy: destination marketing organisations and Vancouver 2010." *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 18 (4), 287-312.
- Sato, Takumi, 2012. "Bunka teikoku 'Nihon' ni okeru mediator no hinkon." In: Sato, Takumi, Yasushi Watanabe, Yasufumi Shibauchi eds. *Sofuta pawā no media bunka seisaku*, Tokyo: Shin'yousha, 143-176.
- Seaton, Philip and Takayoshi Yamamura, 2015. "Japanese Popular Culture and Contents Tourism – Introduction." *Japan Forum*, 27 (1), 1-11
- shinzo-abe-emerges-from-a-green-pipe-disguised-as-super-mario-du/ [Accessed on 30 May 2018].
- Stockwin, Arthur and Kweku Ampiah, 2017. *Rethinking Japan*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Strohmayr, Ulf, 2013. "Non-events and their legacies: Parisian heritage and the Olympics that never were." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19 (2), 186-202.
- Tan, Caroline Sue Lin, 2014. "The Fusion of Pop Culture in Place Branding in Japan." *UTCC International Journal of Business and Economics* 6 (1), 73-89.
- The Guardian, 2016. "Why Japanese PM Shinzo Abe was dressed as Super Mario in Rio." Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/shortcuts/2016/aug/22/japanese-pm-shinzo-abe-super-mario-rio-olympic-closing-ceremony> [Accessed on 30 May 2018].

- The Japan Times, 2013. "Doraemon trumps Hello Kitty for Olympic Games ambassador." Available from: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2013/04/20/our-lives/doraemon-trumps-hello-kitty-for-olympic-games-ambassador/> [Accessed on 12 June 2018].
- The Japan Times, 2016. "Japan doubles overseas tourist target for 2020." Available from: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/03/30/national/japan-doubles-overseas-tourist-target-2020/> [Accessed on 30 November 2017].
- The New York Times, 2016. "A Morning Surprise for Japan: Shinzo Abe as Super Mario." Available from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/23/world/asia/shinzo-abe-super-mario-tokyo-rio-olympics.html> [Accessed on 30 May 2018].
- The Telegraph, 2016. "Japanese PM Shinzo Abe appears in disguise as Super Mario at Rio Olympics Closing Ceremony." Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/olympics/2016/08/22/>
- Valaskivi, Katja, 2013. "A brand new future? Cool Japan and the social imaginary of the branded nation." *Japan Forum*, 25 (4), 485-504.
- Venuti, Lawrence, 1993. "Translation as cultural politics: Regimes of domestication in English." *Textual Practice* 7 (2), 208-223.
- Weed, Mike, 2006. "Sports tourism research 2000-2004: A systematic review of knowledge and meta-evaluation of methods." *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, 11 (1), 5-30.
- Weed, Mike, 2011. "Sport, tourism and identities." *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, 16 (3), 179-179.
- Weed, Mike, 2014. "Is tourism a legitimate legacy from the Olympic and Paralympic Games? An analysis of London 2012 legacy strategy using programme theory." *Journal of Sport & Tourism* 19 (2), 101-126.
- Wood, Zack, 2013. "Characters and Worldbuilding: Analyzing the Strength of Japanese Games." Available from: https://www.gamasutra.com/view/feature/193315/characters_and_worldbuilding_.php?print=1 [Accessed on 14 June 2018].
- World Karate Federation, 2016. "Nippon Budokan: Ideal stage for Karate's Olympic Dream." Available from: <https://wkf.net/news-center-new/nippon-budokan-ideal-stage-for-karates-olympic-dreams/390/> [Accessed on 16 June 2018].
- Yamamura, Takayoshi, 2015. "Contents tourism and local community response: Lucky star and collaborative anime-induced tourism in Washimiya." *Japan Forum*, 27 (1), 59-81.
- Yang, Wenfen, 2010. "Brief study on domestication and foreignization in translation." *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 1 (1), 77-80.
- Yonhap News, 2018. "Summary of joint inter-Korean summit declaration." Available from: <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/national/2018/04/27/0301000000AEN20180427013000315.html> [Accessed on 28 April 2018].