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**(Re)branding Tokyo: coexisting views of Tokyo in the Tokyo
2020 audiovisual advertising campaign**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Film and Television
Studies (MRes)**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the image of Tokyo, Japan's capital, within a Japanese and international context in the run-up to the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The aim of this work is to determine how and why Tokyo is simultaneously branded and *rebranded* in the audiovisual campaigns surrounding the event. After a historical contextualisation of Tokyo within Western and Japanese narratives, Tokyo's past images are analysed. As Chapter One shows, Japan's past depictions of Tokyo are negative, seen as Tokyo was associated with Westernisation and occupation. Chapter Two explores Tokyo's reputation in Western cinema, which has resorted to Occidental patterns of Orientalising in order to turn Tokyo into a colonised, exploitable space. Finally, Chapter Three compares the findings of Chapter One and Two with the images of Tokyo found in Tokyo 2020 advertising campaigns. It shows how Tokyo is indeed unchanged for the West but rebranded for Japanese audiences. Through a discussion of the Tokyo 2020 advertisements as autoethnographic texts, it becomes apparent that there is more to the rebranding of Tokyo as it may seem.

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LEXICON

This short list contains Japanese terms used in the dissertation that might be unknown to non-Japanese readers. The definitions are based on my knowledge as a Japanese speaker. Words like ‘samurai’, ‘geisha’ or ‘anime’ have not been included as they are quite commonly used in English nowadays.

Enka: type of traditional Japanese folk dance

Hinomaru: lit. ‘the circle of the sun,’ i.e. the name of the current Japanese flag

Ichimatsu: chequered pattern found in Japanese aesthetics

Kabuki: type of traditional Japanese theatre, characterised by highly stylised dances, songs and costumes

Kabuto: samurai helmet

Manga: Japanese comic book

Nihonjinron: lit. ‘Japaneseness’, i.e. the essence of Japan’s uniqueness

Odori: type of Japanese folk dance

Omotenashi: Japanese hosting custom requiring the subjugation of the self to the guest without being servile

Uchiwa: type of Japanese fan

Yakuza: Japanese gangster

Yukata: lighter version of the kimono, usually worn in the summer

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Context and aims of the dissertation

This dissertation focuses on the image of Tokyo, Japan’s capital, within a Japanese and international context. Through an analysis of audiovisual representations of Tokyo as a space and idea, I look at how pre-existing images of the city are simultaneously challenged and left unchanged to cater to different target audiences of the Tokyo 2020 advertisement campaigns.

The advertisement campaigns for the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games [hereafter referred to as ‘Tokyo 2020’] are at the heart of this research project, as it is there that concurring images of Tokyo are clearly presented.

(Figure 0-1 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

In the official music video of Tokyo 2020, *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* (dir. Kodama, JP, 2017), *enka* singer Sayuri Ishikawa, among others, performs the official song and dance conceptualised for the upcoming Olympics. Several expectations are met by the creators; on one hand, the video appeals to the ‘passion points’ of Westerners, as defined by a survey of the Japanese National Tourism Organisation (JNTO), like “(...) relaxation, tradition, city, entertainment, art and the outdoor.”¹ On the other hand, however, there is a departure from previous representations of Tokyo for Japanese audiences; these past representations pictured Tokyo as a non-Japanese and therefore dangerous place. This can be seen in Fig. 0-1, where the traditional costumes and the background incite Japanese traditionalism and, at the same time, encourage Western tourism in Tokyo. Thus, as this music video suggests,

¹Laura Powell, “Japan Is Upping Its Tourism Game Before the 2020 Olympics,” *Skift*, February 2018, < <https://skift.com/2018/02/20/japan-is-upping-its-tourism-game-before-the-2020-olympics/> > [accessed 29.09.2018]

there are different, coexisting images of Tokyo circulating in a complex balance in the audiovisual campaigns surrounding Tokyo 2020. The aim of this dissertation is to understand how and why these images are created and sustained, and what ideological implications they have on a national and international front.

Before defining the different images woven into an intricate pattern of concurring ideas, it is necessary to outline the aims that Tokyo and Japan's officials have set for the Games: in the run-up to Tokyo 2020, Japan and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government have increasingly invested funding in the promotion of the capital city and nation's brands.² From building forty-five new skyscrapers within the Tokyo area to accommodate the expected number of visitors during the Games,³ to creating instant-translation devices to counter Japan's language barriers,⁴ the changes brought on by the event are important. The optimisation of Tokyo as a host city originates from the Japanese government's wish to generate more inbound tourism, with the target set at 40 million visitors per annum by 2020.⁵

This goal is part of the greater effort of the current Japanese government led by Prime Minister (PM) Shinzō Abe. 'Abenomics',⁶ as the strategy is called, hopes to boost Japan's GDP after two decades of deflation. It works in conjunction with Japan's apparent wish to attract more Western markets. According to the 2016 McKinsey report on Japan's tourism

²"OCOG and Other Entities Budget," *Tokyo 2020 Official Website*, publication date not indicated, <<https://tokyo2020.org/en/games/budgets/>> [accessed 29.09.2018]

³Danielle Demetriou, Tokyo's architectural facelift: How the 2020 Olympics are shaping the skyline," *CNN Style*, June 2017, <<https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/tokyo-architecture-change-2020/index.html>> [accessed 29.09.2018]

⁴Tasnime Akbaraly, "Soon the Olympic Games 2020 in Tokyo, but how are the Japanese handling the English language learning?" *LinkedIn*, January 2018, <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/olympic-games-2020-coming-soon-japan-how-japanese-english-akbaraly> [accessed 14.06.2018]

Magdalena Petrova, "Olympics attendees in Tokyo can chat with a talking bubble device straight out of a comic book," *CNBC*, March 2018, <<https://www.cnbc.com/2018/03/15/fukidashi-translation-device-may-be-at-2020-olympics-in-tokyo.html>> [accessed 14.06.2018]

⁵Kyodo, "Abe vows further efforts to reach 40 million tourism goal by 2020," *The Japan Times*, August 2018, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/08/31/national/politics-diplomacy/abe-vows-efforts-reach-40-million-tourism-goal-2020/#.W6_YoS-ZPLa> [accessed 18.09.2018]

⁶James McBride and Beina Xu, "Abenomics and the Japanese Economy," *Council on Foreign Relations*, March 2018, <<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/abenomics-and-japanese-economy>> [accessed 18.09.2018]

strategies and challenges, East Asian countries will make up 78% of Japan's inbound tourism by 2020. This lack of diversity creates imbalance as tourism-related income relies too heavily on one major source that could easily be influenced by trends and political climates.⁷ To rectify this issue, the Japanese government and tourism board have catered more to the interests of Western audiences in their recent campaigns.

However, advertising Tokyo for the 2020 Games proves to be a complex task due to Tokyo's dual role in national and international history.⁸ On one hand, Tokyo is the capital of a former imperial and oppressive nation. As such, it has had to embody power, supremacy and nationalism in the past.⁹ Japanese nationalism, described in Japanese academia as *nihonjinron*, was central to propaganda before and during World War Two. It presented Japanese people as ethnically and culturally unique and superior to both their neighbours and the West. Before the end of the war in 1945, this sentiment took shape in the violent colonisation and oppression of Japan's neighbouring nations.¹⁰ After Japan's defeat in the war and its occupation by the Allied Forces, discourses of nationalism were frowned upon, as they had brought on the downfall of the island and its imperial pride. In spite of this, nationalism survived in another form, namely 'cultural nationalism'. The essence of being Japanese was administered in more subtle ways in post-war Japan, as Mito Takeuchi discusses: through the celebration of the nation's various prefectures, the upholding of traditional ceremonies of all kinds,¹¹ the discrimination against non-Japanese people, and the denial of Japan's imperial past,¹² the idea of a unique Japanese identity was preserved.¹³ In the 1960s, Japanese university students even appropriated the term *nihonjinron* to protest

⁷André Andonian, Tasuku Kuwabara, Naomi Yamakawa and Ryo Ishida, "The future of Japan's tourism: Path for sustainable growth towards 2020," p.13, *McKinsey & Company*, October 2016, <<https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/mckinsey/industries/travel%20transport%20and%20logistics/our%20insights/can%20inbound%20tourism%20fuel%20japans%20economic%20growth/the%20future%20of%20japans%20tourism%20full%20report.ashx>> [accessed 06.04.2018]

⁸Koichi Iwabuchi, "Introduction," *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 2014, Vol. 35.6., pp. 621-626, p. 622.

⁹Kimihiko Baba, "Japan and East Asia: Shifting Images on an Imagined Map," *Japanese Studies*, 2001, Vol.21.3, pp. 237-260, p. 238.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Mito Takeuchi, Diss.: "The Reinforcement of Cultural Nationalism in Japan: An investigation of Japaneseness and 'the Notebook for the Heart'," pp. 1-24, p.5, Ohio University, 2006, <<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/129158101.pdf>> [accessed 18.06.2018]

¹²Iwabuchi, "Introduction," p. 622.

¹³Yew Meng Lai, *Nationalism and Power Politics in Japan's Relations with China* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2014) p. 77.

the US' occupation of the nation.¹⁴ In consequence, Tokyo, which has been Westernised since the nation's first contacts with Western countries, now has to express this new, subtle sentiment of cultural Japanese pride and uniqueness without displaying ideas of nationalism too directly.

On the other hand, Tokyo has also been the host of foreign cultures, especially Western ones. In 1853, the American Commodore Matthew Perry forcefully abolished the Sakoku Edicts,¹⁵ which banned the majority of foreigners from Japan.¹⁶ As a result, Tokyo – among other cities – became accessible to Western trade. Then, after Japan's defeat in 1945, Tokyo once again became a hub for Western culture and import. The capital symbolised Japan's oppression by the Allies, especially by the United States. Because of its past, Tokyo occupies, on the global stage, the position of the familiar stranger: it is modernised and has Western elements like architecture, transportation systems and Western clothing, but it is still the symbolic lighthouse of an unfamiliar East Asia. Furthermore, as Western interest in Japan and Tokyo has exponentially grown throughout the last decade¹⁷ – a consequence of soft power strategies and the successful export of Japanese merchandise like *manga* and anime –¹⁸ Tokyo has to respond to even more Western expectations of Japan. In short, on the international stage, Tokyo occupies a limbo between Western culture and Asian culture due to its occupation by the Allied forces after the Second World War. Advertisements for Tokyo 2020 therefore have to create an image of Tokyo that simultaneously offers a sense of Japanese essence to its national audiences, and feeds into Western interests and preconceptions about Tokyo and Japanese culture.

In this dissertation, I will argue that, for the Tokyo 2020 Games, Tokyo is branded for Western audiences, as it responds to their passion points, while also being *rebranded* to

¹⁴Patricia G. Steinhoff, "Student Protests in the 1960s" in *Social Science Japan*, March 1999, pp. 3-6, p.3.

¹⁵"Commodore Perry sails into Tokyo Bay," *History.com*, August 2018, <<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/commodore-perry-sails-into-tokyo-bay> > [accessed 29.09.2018]

¹⁶Michael S. Laver, *The Sakoku edicts and the politics of Tokugawa hegemony* (New York: Cambria Press, 2011) p.14.

¹⁷Alastair Gale and River Davis, "Japan Wants Tourists, Except Those in Mario Costumes Driving Go-Karts," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 2017, <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/japan-wants-tourists-except-those-in-mario-costumes-driving-go-karts-1498057258>> [accessed 29.09.2018]

¹⁸Joshua M. Draper, Diss.: "The cool Japan project and the globalisation of anime and manga in the United States," pp. 1-40, p. 4, Appalachian State University, 2015.

offer a new, less Western and “negative” image of Tokyo to Japanese audiences. Through the analysis of filmic content and historical contextualisation, I will demonstrate how it is possible for Tokyo 2020 to procure Japanese pride to the Japanese and a sense of Japanese subordination and exoticness to Westerners.

0.2 Chapter breakdown

To understand current depictions of Tokyo in the run-up to Tokyo 2020, I first need to delineate past images of the city. In Chapter One, I look at Tokyo’s image from a Japanese point of view. This is needed to comprehend why and how Tokyo has been rebranded for its Japanese audiences in the Tokyo 2020 campaigns. Through a dissection of Tokyo’s image in the Japanese film *Tokyo Sonata* (dir. Kurosawa, JP, 2008), I describe Tokyo’s standing as a foreign and dangerous space that threatens the essence of Japaneseness. I show how Tokyo is depicted as an invisible presence, a presence that drains anyone living in it through the imposition of Western-imported systems like capitalistic consumerism. I also explain how Tokyo is at odds with Japanese traditions.

Following this, Chapter Two discusses Tokyo as it has been presented to Western audiences by locally shot and co-produced Western films. As I argue, Tokyo is on one side turned into a silent stage for Western action – a procedure typical of Western ideological oppression – while also being presented as a lawless and exotic adventure that eagerly awaits Western explorers. These ideas of Tokyo are clearly portrayed in *Wasabi* (dir. Krawczyk, FR, 2006) and *The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift* (dir. Lin, US, 2006). Accordingly, this chapter looks at existing Western pre-conceptions of Tokyo that have to be perpetuated by the Tokyo 2020 campaigns if they want to attract more Western tourism.

The third and final chapter presents the new image of Tokyo, which has been crafted for the Tokyo 2020 Games. Here, I dissect the current image to understand how it responds to the challenges set by Western and Japanese audiences and the government’s tourism

mission. I look at various advertisements and content around the Tokyo 2020 campaign, with a dedicated focus on *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*, as it encapsulates the essence of Tokyo's new image well. Chapter Three therefore contains an analysis of current depictions of Tokyo and compares them to the images explored in Chapters One and Two. Through this, I will be able to present how Tokyo 2020 campaigns manage to keep Tokyo's international image as a pacific, submissive and exotic capital, while changing its pejorative Japanese reputation into one that appeals to Japanese pride. To support my argument that Tokyo 2020 advertisements cater to Westerners and the Japanese through one single initiative, I also discuss the physical changes brought to the city and the technological advancements made for the upcoming Games of 2020.

0.3 Literature review

The academic context of this dissertation is a mixture of three different scholarly concepts: contents tourism, place branding and autoethnography. These three subjects have been explored vastly in film and television studies, as they contextualise and explain images found in audiovisual media as well as explain the effect – desired and/or resulting – these images have on viewers. This research focuses on understanding how various images of a same place are crafted to be sold to specific audiences with the goal of attracting said targets to the promoted place. Different concepts are at play here: ideological image formation, marketing space, and audiovisual media's role in international power dynamics. In this segment, I summarise the three academic fields mentioned above and provide the general consensus and texts for them. Then, I explain how they are all necessary to contextualise my study, but not independently sufficient to explore the phenomenon of the Tokyo 2020 campaigns. Finally, I also point out the niche in academia that my dissertation aims to cover through the use of these pre-existing fields of discussion.

To begin with, contents tourism is key to understanding the inner workings of Tokyo's image management for the 2020 Games. The concept of contents tourism – originally called *kontentsu tsūrizumu* – is especially relevant in this case as it originates from Japanese scholarship. It is a relatively new area of study. While the original Japanese field

of study has existed since the 1990s, most of the key texts by Toshiyuki Masubuchi, Takayoshi Yamamura, Takeshi Okamoto or Junichi Horiuchi have remained untranslated and are therefore not readily accessible to non-Japanese readers. This problem has been solved by Philip Seaton and Takayoshi Yamamura, who brought the concept of contents tourism to English-speaking academia through co-authored texts on the topic in 2013.¹⁹

While their case studies vary from text to text, Seaton and Yamamura's 2015 introduction to *Japanese Popular Culture and Contents Tourism* clearly outlines the concept of contents tourism and its academic history. They explain that contents tourism has existed since the 1990s where multi-use and media mix started gaining importance, thereby permitting for a focus on content rather than form, as consumption platforms became secondary.²⁰ They identify three important periods, summarised by Wadim Strielkowski:

i) the 1990s, when multi-use between manga, anime and games flourished; ii) the early 2000s, when the Internet made the digital production and sharing of contents accessible to a vast number of people; and iii) from the 2000s onwards, when local communities can [sic] be viewed as "media" themselves because they have become involved in the production and marketing of contents, and their spaces are [sic] becoming mediatized.²¹

The third stage, where locations and programmes are linked together through a commercial partnership, is, according to Yamamura and Seaton, the moment where contents tourism might flourish the most. Yamamura and Seaton then go on to argue that contents tourism is not just generated by media but also by popular culture, fashion, food, lifestyle and scenic tourism.²² They explain how these different elements trigger tourism and conclude by saying that it is important to see how popular culture generates other movements like tourism, rather than how pop culture is produced. Unfortunately, the authors do not

¹⁹Philip Seaton and Takayoshi Yamamura, "Japanese Popular Culture and Contents Tourism - Introduction," *Japan Forum*, 2015, Vol. 27. 1., pp. 1-11, p. 1.

²⁰Seaton and Yamamura, "Japanese Popular Culture and Contents Tourism - Introduction," p. 2.

²¹Wadim Strielkowski, "Promoting Tourism Destination Through Film-Induced Tourism: the case of Japan," *Market Trziste*, 2017, Vol. 29. 2., pp. 193 - 203, p. 199.

²²Seaton and Yamamura, "Introduction," p. 7.

define the different ideological images that do exist. Instead, they discuss what contents tourism brings to the Japanese economy.

The absence of a consideration of the ideological aspect of contents tourism in Yamamura and Seaton's work is briefly covered in the 2018 book *Film Tourism in Asia*. Here, Elizabeth Scherer and Timo Thelen discuss the ideology behind contents tourism in Japan. In a study of Japanese morning dramas, the authors look at contents tourism targeting local audiences. They explain that contents tourism has existed well beyond the 1990s and has been used not just to attract customers to various locations, but also to promote national ideas of Japaneseness through a "dominant and stable representation of an idealized rural lifestyle in Japan, which frequently appears in consumer culture and tourism."²³ Scherer and Thelen's argument is relevant to my research as it discusses the images created by the Japanese television channel NHK in order to generate local tourism and a national sentiment of togetherness amongst native viewers.

Contents tourism as a concept is therefore key to my research as I do not focus on the media through which the audiovisual content of Tokyo 2020 is disseminated, but instead look at what is said about the city of Tokyo in order to gain more popularity. The issue with the key texts I have summarised is that, in the case of Seaton and Yamamura, they do not look at the ideological aspect of contents tourism. While Scherer and Thelen cover that aspect slightly, they focus on rural Japan, rather than discussing Tokyo's existing on-screen reputation and the attempts to change that reputation.

In addition to contents tourism, I ground my research in place branding, especially city branding. Place branding is an area of research that finds root in several disciplines like marketing, business or economic studies. Since the 2010s, it has also been increasingly

²³Elizabeth Scherer and Timo Thelen, "Drama Off-Screen: a multi-stakeholder perspective on film tourism in relation to the Japanese morning drama (*asadora*)," *Film Tourism in Asia* ed. by Sangkyun Kim and Stijn Reijnders (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2018), pp. 69-86.

studied in the fields of sociology and cultural studies.²⁴ The scholar Keith Dinnie, who has edited several works about nation and city branding, serves as a base for my work on Tokyo and Japan's branding, as does Stephanie H. Donald and John G. Gammack's 2007 book *Tourism and the Branded City: Film and Identity on the Pacific Rim*.

Place branding, as the name indicates, is a practice where cultural markers and history are used to create a favourable image of a location. This usually happens for economic reasons, like attracting local and/or foreign tourism and income.²⁵ Dinnie defines place branding as "the unique, multidimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all of its target audiences."²⁶ As he explains – here, in the case of nation branding – location branding needs a mutual connection between the image and the consumer. If the brand does not have elements, both necessary and superfluous, to attract and interact with the consumer, it is unlikely to be sustainable. Gammack and Donald, talking about Asian city branding in particular, explain that

Since destinations have different attributes, and, indeed, different types of attributes and since markets have different functional and psychological needs, a model of destination image is required that admits of concepts susceptible to multiple interpretations, and which is at once relativistic and dynamic. In practice this means, amongst other things, that far-away destinations can be subject to a distorted and shallow perception, while residents' perceptions are naturally deeper and more meaningful, (...).²⁷

As this extract shows, contents tourism is not enough to explore the current image formation occurring around Tokyo. Gammack, Donald and Dinnie's works look at the ideological aspect of city and place branding. This is quintessential to the study of Tokyo in a national and international context given the capital's dual ideological status in history.

²⁴Keith Dinnie, "Introduction," *Nation Branding: concepts, issues, practice* 2nd edn (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 3.

²⁵Keith Dinnie, "Introduction," *Nation Branding*, pp. 3-4.

²⁶Dinnie, "Introduction," p. 5.

²⁷Stephanie Hemelryk Donald and John G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City: Film and Identity on the Pacific Rim* (Hampshire, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited & Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007) p.53.

Donald and Gammack explain that the destination image needs to evolve constantly while remaining familiar to expectations of far-away spectators and local inhabitants. This also supports my hypothesis that Tokyo creates one image that satisfies the different needs of various audiences.

On top of this, in the context of Olympic place branding, there already are works that discuss the effect of the Olympic Games on certain cities. Li Zhang and Simon Xiaobin Zhao notably study the mostly negative impact of the 2008 Olympics on Beijing. They attribute the failure on an unsustainability born from the large discrepancy between the imagined and real city.²⁸ Maria Fola, in the context of Athens 2004, describes the various efforts to rebrand Athens for the Games, efforts that were also only temporary.²⁹ Finally, Erica Liu talks about the branding Tokyo should use for its 2020 Games, based on previous hosting occasions. Liu's work is informative, but it does not look at existing advertisements put in place to brand and rebrand the city.³⁰ To summarise, contents tourism and place branding are not exactly similar, as contents tourism focuses on what is sold to audiences, and place branding concentrates on how and why one or several images of a place exist. The two concepts are therefore complementary, and both useful to understand not just the images that are created around Tokyo 2020, but also where these images come from and what ideological goals they carry out.

The ultimate component of my dissertation's academic context is autoethnography, as defined by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes* in 1992. In the introduction of her book, Pratt argues that, in any situation of colonisation, there exists a contact zone where oppressors and oppressed interact. According to Pratt, this co-presence and interlocking of cultures is often ignored by stories of domination and monopoly.³¹ In that contact zone Pratt mentions, autoethnography is a phenomenon that allows the oppressed to interact with and benefit from images created by the oppressor by re-appropriating them. An autoethnographic image of a culture is thereafter sold as authentic, despite being a manipulation of a previously existing stereotype imposed by the dominant party of the power dynamic. In the case of

²⁸Li Zhang and Simon Xiaobin Zhao, "City branding and the Olympic effect: A case study of Beijing," *Cities*, 2009, Vol. 26, pp. 245 - 254.

²⁹Maria Fola, "Athens City Branding and the 2004 Olympic Games," *City Branding - Theory and Cases* ed. by Keith Dinnie (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 112 - 117, pp. 115 - 116.

³⁰Erica Liu, "Branding Ideas for the Tokyo Olympics 2020," *Advertising and Branding: Concepts, Methodologies, Tools, and Applications* (Hershey: IGI Global, 2017), pp. 326 - 345.

³¹Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 8.

Tokyo and Japan, the study of autoethnography is complex and interesting considering the nation's dual past as the oppressed and oppressor.³² On one side, Tokyo needs to inspire national pride through traditionalism and Japanese uniqueness. On the other side, however, Tokyo benefits from selling an outdated, stereotyped and Western image of itself to Westerners, as this familiar and non-threatening portrayal of Tokyo and Japan guarantees more inbound tourism from the West.

Autoethnography in film has already been discussed in film studies, in areas going from Chinese art cinema to spaghetti western to Scottish cinema.³³ As David Martin-Jones summarises in the introduction of *Scotland: Global Cinema*,

Autoethnography in cinema is considered a cunning strategy through which filmmakers can self-consciously 'auto-exoticize', thereby giving international audiences what they expect (reassuring them with stereotypical images of the nation) whilst simultaneously addressing issues of interest to local audiences.³⁴

As Martin-Jones explains here, autoethnography is a strategy through which a culture can brand itself by using former clichés from abroad in order to attract foreigners and change their own culture. Autoethnography is tightly linked to place branding and contents tourism, as it revolves around crafting and selling an idea about a place and/or culture to specific people. In the study of Tokyo 2020, this idea is relevant, seen as I explore previous presentations of Tokyo to explain how Tokyo's new image manages to sustainably contain contrasting meanings.

In conclusion, three fields of study – contents tourism, place branding and autoethnography – inform my various analyses throughout this dissertation. While all three have been explored separately, I believe that it is necessary to combine all three areas to study Tokyo's image branding and rebranding for the Tokyo 2020 Games. Contents tourism

³²John Welfield, *An Empire in Eclipse - Japan in the postwar American alliance system* (London, New York: Bloomsbury, 2012), pp. 6 - 23.

³³David Martin-Jones, *Scotland: Global Cinema; Genres, Modes and Identities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009) p.16. DMJ, p. 16.

³⁴Ibid, pp. 16-17

gives an insight into location image creation across all audiovisual media. In this work, this will be relevant when discussing previous images of Tokyo presented on the screen. Then, place branding supports contents tourism as it enriches the analysis through its interdisciplinary nature as a field of economic, business and social studies. The multifaceted aspect of place branding will be useful in *(Re)Branding Tokyo*, where business and economy are part of the incentives for the nation's effort to attract more inbound tourism by 2020. Lastly, autoethnography is of interest to the study of Tokyo's image as it revolves around appropriating an othered, orientalist idea of itself and selling it back to the original creator of said image. In the case of Tokyo, this is a complex procedure as Tokyo 2020 challenges existing images of the capital as a Westernised, occupied city when addressing its Japanese viewers, while still selling an idea of Tokyo to Western audiences that relies on historically perpetuated Western stereotypes. *(Re)branding Tokyo* hopes to contribute to film academia by connecting the three aforementioned concepts and covering the overlap where all three concepts meet in the study of Tokyo's recent ideological branding strategies.

0.4 Methodology

The main component of my work is close textual analysis, supported by historical contextualisation. This method, also known as hermeneutics, is habitually used to define and understand the ideological implications of images seen in audiovisual media. As there is a need to understand previous depictions of Tokyo in a global and local context in order to compare it with the current image promoted by the government, close reading texts and finding similarities and discrepancies between the variety of works is the logical procedure to choose. Jason Mittell describes this method as historical poetics too,³⁵ saying that it is a study of the complex dynamics at play behind existing projections of a space or idea. Certainly, in the context of Tokyo's image creation and marketing, historical poetics are useful because of Tokyo's nuanced and intricate identity as a foreign, Westernised, global and Asian city. As previously mentioned, the main focus of these close textual analyses will

³⁵Jason Mittell, "Narrative Complexity in Contemporary American Television," *The Velvet Light Trap*, 2006, Vol. 58. 3, pp. 29-40, p. 30.

be films about Tokyo and the official advertisements surrounding Tokyo and the 2020 Games.

Of course, there are many other ways in which Tokyo's image could be analysed. There is an innumerable amount of *manga* and anime set in Tokyo that support my readings of existing depictions of Tokyo. *Tokyo Ghoul*, a *manga* created by Sui Ishida, and some of world-famous novelist Haruki Murakami's melancholic books, contain complex and interesting representations of Tokyo. Ryu Murakami, an equally famous writer known for his dark, disturbing tales of human nature, also writes about Tokyo: *In the Miso Soup* is another example of Tokyo's alienation in Japanese media. Even in Western literature, Tokyo remains a popular destination, like in Mo Hayder's 2004 *The Devil of Nanking*. Needless to say, Tokyo has been portrayed and explored many times in Japanese and Western literature, animation and *manga*.

However, I have picked live action audiovisual media – mainly films – to analyse Tokyo's existing image on the national and international stage. The main reason for choosing this kind of media is that the comparisons between past and present depictions are more straightforward. While the focus of my readings is on the content rather than the format of the media I analyse, films are a better option for my case study. Where written renditions of Tokyo leave space for the imagination, and animated versions of the city offer a stylised image of Tokyo, filmic representations of Tokyo, although controlled by the narrative and camera, use the real city to tell a story and send out a message. Accordingly, I have chosen films to create comparisons between pre-existing images of Tokyo and Tokyo 2020 advertisement campaigns.

At last, due to the word count, I base my research on a small, carefully selected variety of films. In Chapter One, I look at the Japanese film *Tokyo Sonata*, which exemplifies the general idea surrounding Tokyo in Japanese media. Then, in Chapter Two, I use *The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift* and *Wasabi*. The former is the third instalment of a Hollywood franchise and the latter is a French co-production. While both of them received

poor criticism upon their respective releases, the two films have survived in popular culture to this day.³⁶ These films represent the general consensus that I have observed in a variety of Western films occurring in Tokyo and Japan. Lastly, the third chapter looks at how Tokyo's image has changed for the 2020 Games. There is a focus on the official music video of Tokyo 2020 and the handover performance at the end of the Rio de Janeiro Games' closing ceremony of 2016. They were selected because they address international and local audiences and, like all other examples found in this dissertation, represent a trend in depictions of the city. To summarise, I have chosen key audiovisual pieces that encapsulate the various representations and dynamics that I analyse in this dissertation. In my opinion, the contextualised close reading of the selection presented above is sufficient to define and discuss existing trends and discourses about Tokyo on the Japanese and global stage.

0.5 Conclusion

In this introductory chapter, I have clearly outlined the context, aims and content of this dissertation. *(Re)Branding Tokyo* looks at past and present representations of Tokyo in Western and Japanese audiovisual media to understand how and why recent advertisements about Tokyo balance contrasting images of the capital in the run-up to the Tokyo 2020 Games. I situate my research at the intersection of the complementary concepts of contents tourism, place branding and autoethnography. The complicated relationship between Tokyo and the West, and the subsequently complex perception of Tokyo in Japan, will be analysed throughout this dissertation.

As I will illustrate, my argument is that Tokyo's current image branding responds simultaneously to the demands of two main audiences. First, it addresses Japanese preconceptions about Tokyo by turning the scary, foreign and lawless city into a fun, unique and Japanese space. Then, it caters to the stereotypical and familiar Western depictions of

³⁶“Wasabi,” *IMDb*, publication date not indicated,
 <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0281364/?ref=fn_al_tt_1> [accessed 17.05.2018]
 “The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift,” *IMDb*, publication date not indicated,
 <<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0463985/>> [accessed 17.05.2018]

Tokyo as a submissive, exotic and futuristic venue for touristic adventures. Lastly, I use autoethnographic studies to present how Tokyo's new image, while offering a stereotypical image of Tokyo to the West, actually questions its inferior position in the Japan-West hierarchy. However, before exploring Tokyo's new image in the run-up to Tokyo 2020, it seems necessary to outline past representations of Tokyo in Japanese media first. This will be the role of Chapter One.

CHAPTER ONE: TOKYO, A STRANGER IN JAPAN

In the advertisements for the Tokyo 2020 Games, Tokyo is presented to the viewer as a lively, fun and futuristic Japanese city. *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*'s Tokyo displays neon-lit skyscrapers and street crossings turned into catwalks. It also features traditional cultural shrines, *yukatas* and *uchiwa*. This unmistakably Japanese Tokyo is drastically different from the Tokyo that has been shown in Japanese media over the decades since 1945. Tokyo has frequently been represented as an obstacle for the protagonist – often hailing from the more conventional countryside – to overcome. Contrarily to Kyoto, Japan's former capital and the physical embodiment of old Japanese traditions,³⁷ Tokyo has been associated with crime, inhuman technology and loneliness. In addition, due to post-war occupation and cultural imports from the West, Tokyo has been equated with Western debauchery. To summarise, before its selection as an Olympic host city, the capital's reputation was that of a foreign, heartless and threatening space.

It could be argued that Tokyo has traditionally been presented as a dangerous metropolis as a part of a broader cinematic tradition where city spaces are synonymous with crime, isolation and anonymity.³⁸ Yet, it is clear that Tokyo occupies a peculiar place in Japanese cinema.³⁹ One proof of this is the large amount of Japanese films relating to loneliness, crime and lawlessness that occur specifically in Tokyo: *Tokyo Story* (dir. Ozu, JP, 1953), *Tokyo Drifter* (dir. Suzuki, JP, 1966), *Adrift in Tokyo* (dir. Miki, JP, 2007) and *Tokyo Godfathers* (dir. Kon, JP, 2003) are but a few examples. In addition, many *yakuza* films occur in Tokyo. *Tokyo Mafia: Yakuza Wars* (dir. Shirai, JP, 1995), *Dead or Alive* (dir. Miike, JP, 1999) or *Violent Streets* (dir. Gosha, JP, 1974) depict Tokyo as a Westernised

³⁷Kyoto's architecture is defined by narrow alleys, wooden houses with sliding paper doors, and a generally 'old look.'

Nicolas Fiévé and Paul Waley, "Introduction," *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective - Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo* ed. Nicolas Fiévé and Paul Waley, (Oxon, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 1-40, pp. 2-3.

³⁸Edward Dimendberg, *Film Noir and the Spaces of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), p.25.

Barbara Mennel, *Cities and Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2008).

³⁹Vera Mackie, "Tales of the City," *Japanese Studies*, 2011, Vol. 31.3, pp. 299-304, p. 300.

breeding ground for crime and violence. Tokyo occupies the centre stage not as a geographical space, but as an ideological space that constantly endangers the Japanese essence through the dissolution of Japanese justice and values.

This dark impression of Tokyo already existed in Yasujiro Ozu's 1953 film *Tokyo Story*, where the elderly couple Shūichi (Chishū Ryū) and Tomi (Chieko Higashiyama) leave their rural town to visit their children in Tokyo. Throughout the film, the city is shown as a loud, crowded and toxic presence that transforms people into uncaring, non-Japanese beings. For Tomi, the trip to Tokyo even proves to be detrimental; she dies shortly after her return to her hometown. Scholar Keiko MacDonald explains that the city is periodically shown through its 'ugly industrial chimneys,' and is associated with the visiting parents' solitude and loneliness in the urban sphere.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Ozu's Tokyo is a threat not only to the Japanese identity, but also to the traditional family system; the city's demands offer no choice but to dissolve the structure, as the children do not have time to look after their elderly parents anymore. Clearly, Tokyo's image as a cruel, isolating and threatening city goes far back in time. Through this audiovisual representation, the capital of Japan has thus been alienated from Japanese culture.

The aim of this chapter is to thoroughly explore the existing image of Tokyo before the Tokyo 2020 campaigns. With this, I will be able to show, in Chapter Three, the extent to which government officials have rebranded the city for the upcoming international event. As a quick glance at films from the post-2000s reveals, Tokyo's existing image was still in place when Tokyo was selected as the host city for the Olympic Games in 2011.⁴¹ For my analysis of Tokyo's image at the moment of the city's election, I have chosen *Tokyo Sonata*, a 2008 film by Japanese director Kiyoshi Kurosawa. Like *Tokyo Story* fifty-five years prior, *Tokyo Sonata* expresses the anxieties around Tokyo's imagined dangerous impact on Japanese values. The image found in *Tokyo Sonata* was diffused throughout the nation and the world, as the film was well-received both by Japanese and Western critics and audiences.

⁴⁰Keiko MacDonald, "Ozu's Tokyo Story: Simple Means for Complex Ends," *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, 1982, Vol. 17.1., pp. 19-39, p.26.

⁴¹Alastair Himmer, "Tokyo's 2020 bid turns to 'flower power'," *Reuters*, November 2011, <<https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-olympics-tokyo-logo/tokyos-2020-bid-turns-to-flower-power-idUSLNE7AT01220111130>> [accessed 19.05.2018]

It won awards like the Best Film award at the 3rd Asian Film Awards, as well as a 2008 Asia Pacific Screen Awards nomination for Achievement in Directing and Best Screenplay. Internationally, the film won the 2008 jury prize in the Un Certain Regard category at the Cannes Film Festival.⁴² As such, Kurosawa's film is a relevant example for my study.

Throughout this chapter, I look at how Tokyo is constructed as a physical and ideological threat through aesthetic and narrative techniques. First, I discuss how the plot of *Tokyo Sonata* positions the capital not only as a character, but also as an invisible, dangerous other to Japan. Then, I talk about how space is presented in the film through filmic devices in order to reinforce the ideological position of Tokyo in Japan. Finally, I focus on the soundscape of the film and its participation in the construction of Tokyo's identity as a silenced but threatening entity.

1.1 Tokyo, ostracised by the narrative

Tokyo Sonata tells the story of a typical middle-class family living in Tokyo in the early 00s. At that time, Japan is still heavily impacted by the Japanese economy bubble burst of the nineties.⁴³ All four members of the Sasaki family – father Ryūhei (Teruyuki Kagawa), mother Megumi (Kyōko Koizumi), adult son Takashi (Yū Koyanagi) and teenage son Kenji (Kai Inowaki) – encounter a variety of problems. Some of these are personal issues: Ryūhei, an administrative director, gets fired from his company due to budget cuts, and struggles to find another occupation. He hides this from his family. Megumi, a housewife, is stuck between social expectations, her frustrated husband and her rebellious sons, all of which refuse to open up to her. Likewise, Takashi is unhappy with his situation and enrolls in the US Army. Finally, Kenji, who is a victim of bullying, finds comfort in learning to play the piano, an activity he performs in secret seen as his father forbids it. *Tokyo Sonata* shows the

⁴²“*Tokyo Sonata* Awards,” *IMDb*, publication date not indicated, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0938341/awards?ref_=tt_awd> [accessed 19.05.2018]

⁴³Yumiko Iida, “Between the Technique of Living an Endless Routine and the Madness of Absolute Degree Zero: Japanese Identity and the Crisis of Modernity in the 1990s,” *East Asia Cultures Critique*, 2000, Vol. 8. 2., pp. 423-464.

impact that life in the capital has on its inhabitants: suicide, unemployment, frustration and humiliation are a part of the daily life of the average Tokyoite citizen.

Throughout *Tokyo Sonata*, Tokyo is put into the position of the dangerous, unknown other opposed to Japanese culture and people. This is achieved partly through the narrative, which omits all information about the city. First, as explained by Romit Dasgupta in a discussion of *Tokyo Sonata*, space and post-bubble Japanese masculinity, “compared to the centrality of spaces of home and work to the narrative, the images of public space and urban streetscapes seem fleeting and almost inconsequential.”⁴⁴ Indeed, most of the film occurs in the family home or in closed buildings, like Ryūhei’s office. Although present, depictions of outdoor public spaces are rare and nondescript. For instance, in the scenes where Ryūhei refuses to stay at home, he is seen hanging around concrete parks or streets with other unemployed salarymen and homeless people. These public spaces are not indicated by signs or named by any of the characters. Moreover, the spatial vagueness born from the lack of location indications is enhanced by the fact that none of the characters’ travels across the city are shown. Instead, we see snippets of the beginning and end of their commutes, without any information about the spaces they have crossed. Lastly, despite the fact that Tokyo has in reality a distinctive mix of modern and traditional architecture as well as different districts, outdoors scenes featuring Ryūhei reflect a sense of geographical uniformity and anonymity. There are no traces of Tokyo’s real traditional or vibrant modern architecture. Instead of being a Japanese city full of opportunities, Tokyo is shown as a grey reminder of Japan’s economic failure.⁴⁵ By erasing Tokyo’s key landmarks and any mention of geographic locations within the city, the film presents the capital as a formless concrete limbo.

Yet, despite being depicted as vague and uniformly grey, Tokyo has an active position as an ideological space in the narrative. As mentioned before, in Japanese literature, Tokyo has had a recurrent part as a character rather than a physical city.⁴⁶ First off, the capital represents a loss of Japanese values, as well as economic failure, crime and foreignness. As the narrative unfolds, Tokyo becomes the host of many tragedies: there is the hit-and-run that knocks Ryūhei out, the murder-suicide of the unemployed salaryman Kurosu (Kanji Tsuda) and his wife, or the burglary of the Sasaki home which evolves into Megumi’s

⁴⁴Romit Dasgupta, “Emotional Spaces and Places of Salaryman Anxiety in *Tokyo Sonata*,” *Japanese Studies*, 2011, Vol. 31.3, pp. 373-386, p. 384.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, p. 379.

⁴⁶Vera Mackie, “Tales of the City,” p. 300.

kidnapping by a desperate unemployed man (Kōji Yakusho). In addition, Tokyo is the stage for Ryūhei's contract termination and his subsequent loss of identity. Like Kurosui and the burglar, Ryūhei starts questioning his value and identity when he loses his position as an employed man. As the salaryman is, at that time, a symbol of traditional Japanese masculinity and post-war national economic growth,⁴⁷ Tokyo, which represents Japanese post-bubble precarity, is the catalyst for the disruption of the natural societal system in which Ryūhei exists. Considering that the reason for Japan's economic demise is its adherence to capitalism, a Western economic system, Tokyo also stands as the embodiment of Western culture's detrimental effects on Japanese life. Lastly, the robbery of the Sasaki home also represents foreign invasion into the Japanese space, as the domestic space is penetrated by a man who embodies the dangers engendered by the failure of capitalism in Japan. Megumi, who symbolises part of the traditional Japanese ideal as a housewife,⁴⁸ is also threatened and corrupted by this danger, thus endorsing the idea that Tokyo breeds violence and corrupts Japanese life. Ergo, Tokyo is a space that enables the destruction of the traditional national system and that allows crime to exist and spread.

1.2 Mise-en-scène and Tokyo's corrupt space

The mise-en-scène in *Tokyo Sonata* plays an important role in backing the idea of Tokyo as a corrupt and dangerous space. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Tokyo has been occupied by Western countries and systems in the past, effectively ostracising it from the rest of Japan. Throughout the film, elements of mise-en-scène collaborate to paint Tokyo as an 'impure' agent of the Western powers that stifle Japanese freedom. This section explores how the mise-en-scène creates the sense of captivity and suffocation that engulfs Tokyo.

(Figure 1-1 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

⁴⁷Romit Dasgupta, "Emotional Spaces (...)", p. 376.

⁴⁸Ibid.

To begin with, the framing of the action within the film depicts the constriction of all life forms in the city. This is firstly done through the layout and motion of the frames: within the camera frame, there are many other frames which cage humans and nature. As can be seen in Fig. 1-1, Ryūhei – who has just lost his job – and a few other ex-salarymen are sitting at a distance from each other on concrete blocks in a concrete park. Ryūhei, on the far right, appears small and almost melts into the background due to his immobility. There is no free motion in this shot, particularly in the background. Nature is confined; the trees are hindered by walls, and there are no moving clouds, as the sky is hidden by large buildings and industrial structures. This inertia is replicated by the camera and the humans in the frame: like nature, their movements are blocked by the city's structured space. The outlines of the buildings, train tracks and floors create a grid that limits the characters' freedom of movement. While discussing characters and poetry in the city, Michael Heller says that

America's oldest cities, New York or Boston, (...), tend to be thinned out or functional urbanescapes. (...) While Paris seems a city made for humans, in New York, the urbanite looks as shockingly out of place as a fly on a wedding cake.⁴⁹

Tokyo Sonata shows Tokyo as a non-decorated, linear space too. This space constricts Japanese people, not only through frequent shots that are crowded with people, but also by highlighting Tokyo's Western architecture. Considering Tokyo's bombing by the US Army in 1945,⁵⁰ the city was reconstructed under the American occupation and therefore vastly influenced by their vision of modernity.⁵¹ In *Tokyo Sonata*, the emphasis is put on the cold, straight-lined Western infrastructures, while Japanese architecture, like Shinto temples, is hidden from sight. The frames within the frame impede the motions of life in the city, thereby turning humans into inert, inhuman puppets. The camera's rare

⁴⁹Michael Heller, "The Cosmopolis of Poetics: Urban World, Uncertain Poetry," *City Images: Perspectives from Literature, Philosophy, and Film 2nd edn.* ed. Mary Ann Caws (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1993) pp. 87-98, p. 90.

⁵⁰R.G. Grant, "Bombing of Tokyo," *Britannica*, publication date not indicated, <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Bombing-of-Tokyo>> [accessed 19.09.2018]

⁵¹Raffaele Pernice, "The Transformation of Tokyo During the 1950s and Early 1960s Projects Between City Planning and Urban Utopia," *JAABE*, 2006, Vol. 5.2., pp. 253-260, p. 253.

movements when recording a sequence, clearly indicate that movement, and therefore life, is halted in Tokyo.

(Figure 1-2 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Likewise, costumes and lighting work together to show that the inhabitants of Tokyo are slowly absorbed into the city in the background. Fig. 1-2 demonstrates this plainly: this scene occurs right after Fig. 1-1. As the image shows, there are two men sitting on the concrete blocks. From the back they look identical, as they have the same haircut and wear the same standard black suit that salarymen wear.⁵² Although it is rightly assumed that Ryūhei is the man in the middle of the frame and closest to the camera, the previous frame on Fig. 1-1 creates confusion about the identity of the men sitting there. In the background of Fig. 1-2, there are also over six men wearing the same suit as Ryūhei, which only increases the viewer's doubt. Interestingly, all the men that are moving walk towards the background and disappear in it, as if they had no other choice but to further enter the city's framed structures.

Next, the lighting helps the costumes in merging the characters of the film with the background. In Fig. 1-2, this is visible as the low contrast lighting in the frame diffuses the intensity of the shadows projected by Ryūhei and the other actors. The natural lighting and the spotlights do not have a particular source and direction. Subsequently, the shadows of the characters are barely visible and not as dark as they should be in natural daylight. Also, Ryūhei is not strongly lit, which is part of a longer tradition in the cinematic representation of urban space: lighting that covers the whole scene creates an effect of weariness and claustrophobia and absorbs the character into the background scene.⁵³ The lighting therefore gives the impression that the main character does not stand out in this urban environment. He is like everybody else: off-centre, average, and blending with the background. Ryūhei is not the centre of his own life, but a cog in Tokyo's Western mechanism.

⁵²Chris Michael, "The salaryman's guide to Tokyo," *The Guardian*, February 2012, <<https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2012/feb/01/salarymans-guide-to-tokyo-city>> [accessed 19.09.2018]

⁵³Larry Ford, "Sunshine and Shadow: Lighting and Colour in the Depiction of Cities on Film," *Place Power Situation and Spectacle: A Geography of Film* ed. Stuart C. Aitken and Leo Zonn, (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1994) pp. 119-136, p.130.

(Figure 1-3 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Lastly, the colours used in the film give the impression that the protagonists blend in with the urban background during the day. At night, colour schemes also show how the urban space threatens to enter the domestic space. In the film, the distinction between urban – Westernised – space and domestic – Japanese – space is clear: the domestic sphere is tinted in dark, warm tones throughout the film, whereas urban territories are dominated by pale, cold hues. The former is linked to the traditional housewife and the safe comfort she offers, as it is where Megumi remains most of the film. The urban space represents Westernisation, capitalistic industrialisation and the city’s anthropophobia. It is invasive and oppressive, as is visible in Fig.1-3. Here, Takashi begs his father for his approval of Takashi’s enrolment in the US Army. The image has two main frames. At the front, there are Takashi and Ryūhei, stuck in the coldly lit urban ideological space. They are there due to their involvement with Western culture: Ryūhei through his identity as a salaryman and Takashi as a prospective US soldier. This frame oppresses the other frame in sight and pushes it to the background. Indeed, the warm, comfortable and safe domestic space, where Japanese values are upheld by the traditional housewife, stands in the background. While it takes up more of the overall visual frame, it is still dominated by the figures and actions in the front. Ultimately, the cold front space shows how the city threatens Japanese values too, as Takashi not only rebels against his father, but he also leaves the family home after the argument. The nuclear Japanese family system slowly disintegrates in the presence of the urban manifestation that has infiltrated the home.

Thus, the presence of the cold, foreign space of the city in the home, as well as its oppression of the domestic sphere, add to the costumes and lighting’s effect. Not only are the characters absorbed into the cityscape through the diffused lighting and uniform clothing, but the cold, inhuman and foreign city also invades the privacy of the Japanese home and attacks the values of Japanese society. In addition, the static and heavily structured framing of the characters within Tokyo supports the idea that Tokyo – a Westernised city – cages, suffocates and threatens Japanese citizens and society.

1.3 Urban silence, a threat to Japanese life

Another way in which the city invades and harms Japanese identities is through sound and silence. The city and the Sasaki home are often void of emotional human communication, but never quiet, as the background sounds fill the space. The city imposes a crowded, busy silence on the household: ambient noises are constant and enhance the existing silence between the characters.⁵⁴ Jasper Aalbers explains that silence is just as expressive as sound thanks to ‘Urban Sound Events’, i.e. the typical sounds of the city, like traffic, cars honking and the sound of construction sites. Aalbers continues, saying that silence in the city is eerie, whereas silence in the countryside is natural.⁵⁵

Aalbers’ idea is applicable to *Tokyo Sonata*: the Sasaki home, which should represent comfort and safety as discussed in segment 1.2, is filled with the eerie silence created by the city. For example, during the scenes where the family sits at the table eating dinner, the effect is audible: not only do the characters barely utter a word during dinner, but the ambient sounds of the house and the city are exacerbated. We can hear, for example, the sound of a person chewing their food, despite the camera (and thus the viewer) being far away from the sound source. Likewise, the sound of chopsticks hitting against the dishes and the clock ticking somewhere in the house, contrast vastly with the lack of non-diegetic music and the verbal silence. The silence in those scenes is thus not the absence of noise, but the absence of human interaction. This lack can be attributed to the negative influence of the city, which absorbs all humanity out of its inhabitants.

Furthermore, the urban environment of Tokyo endangers humanity and Japanese traditionalism by invading the aural space of the Sasaki family, as do the colours of the film (cf. section 1.2). Indeed, during any quiet moment in the house, like dinner scenes, the silence is polluted by the sound of cars driving or a train passing the house. These outdoor

⁵⁴James Wierzbicki, “Narrative cinema’s ‘sounds of silence’: variations on the POA,” *Sound Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2016, Vol.2, pp. 137-150, p. 138.

⁵⁵Jasper Aalbers, Diss.: “Echoes of the city: staging the urban soundscape in in fiction film,” pp. 1-194, p. 13, Maastricht University, 2013.

noises penetrate through the walls that separate the city from the private sphere. They are loud to the point where they drown out the sounds of the home. When the train drives by the house, for instance, we can almost see the house shake, as the rattling noise caused by the train overwhelms the soundscape. Yet, the characters ignore the sound, as they are used to it. This can be read as an intrusion of the Japanese home by the urban space through the use of the urban sound events identified by Aalbers. It also signifies the complete internalisation of this noisy urban cacophony in the Sasaki's awareness. The dangerous city is simultaneously present as an oppressing soundwave that intrudes the private sphere and as a threat that has been normalised by its prey.

Lastly, the noises of the city are accompanied by the silence of humans, suggesting that Tokyo not only invades and dissolves the private sphere, but it drains it of humanity as well. In general, emotional exchanges of words are rare in the film. However, it is Kenji, the younger Sasaki brother, that consolidates this idea the most: the young boy is rarely heard. He is barely shown speaking, expressing emotions or playing the piano in the run-up to the climax and ending of the film. While some of this may be ascribed to cultural customs,⁵⁶ it is striking to see how little and rarely the protagonists share their feelings and thoughts with each other when they are in Tokyo. Kenji, who is still relatively untouched by Tokyo's atmosphere, is often confronted to it, as he is frequently silenced when expressing sentiments of frustration and anger. When the boy asks his father for permission to play the piano, he is quickly silenced by the latter's curt response. Likewise, when he is bullied by his teacher and classmates in school, Kenji remains quiet, powerless against the system in which he lives. Finally, despite the piano being one of the main foci of the film – 'sonata' is a type of musical partition –, we never hear Kenji play his instrument while in Tokyo. Instead, we see moments just before or after his practices, and we hear his teacher complimenting his skill. It is only when Kenji leaves Tokyo to take the music school exam in Shiroyama that we hear his emotional rendition of Debussy's *Clair de Lune*. Kenji's talent for playing the piano is confirmed by the presence of a gradually growing crowd during his audition. The crowd is captivated and moved to tears by his performance, suggesting that Kenji has not only successfully managed to express his feelings, but also managed to bring out the public's

⁵⁶Masaki Yuki, William W. Maddux and Takahiko Masuda, Diss.: "Are the windows to the soul the same in the East and West? Cultural differences in using the eyes and mouth as cues to recognize emotions in Japan and the United States," pp. 1-29, p. 2., Hokkaido University, 2004.

emotions. As the boy's struggles in Tokyo show, Kenji and his piano have no place in the unfeeling, industrial capital.

1.4 Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to understand the audiovisual context in which Tokyo 2020's campaigns came to be and to define the image of Tokyo these advertisements have to rework. Through a textual analysis of Kiyoshi Kurosawa's 2008 *Tokyo Sonata*, I determined some ideological depictions of Tokyo, and the ways in which they were manufactured through audiovisual techniques in the recent past.

Generally speaking, Japanese media have depicted Tokyo as a hostile environment for Japanese culture. The origin of this image is linked to Japan and Tokyo's historical past and relationships to the West. After the Second World War – during which Tokyo was heavily bombed – Tokyo became a space where Western occupiers could live and control the nation. The damage that had affected the city was fixed but replaced by Western architecture. Thus, historically, Tokyo is deeply linked to Western culture. As such, the city has become – in national post-war media like Ozu's *Tokyo Story* – impure and foreign. Tokyo has slowly turned into a city that is toxic for Japanese virtues and traditions, but that is a perfect breeding ground for *yakuzas*, crime and danger. Until the election of Tokyo as a host city for the 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2011, this image remained unchanged in Japanese media.

There are several filmic ways in which Tokyo has been made into a symbolic other to Japan in *Tokyo Sonata*. First and foremost, the capital is presented as dangerous through the narrative. As many other films occurring in Tokyo, Tokyo is mentioned in the title, yet concealed in the story. By withholding information on the city's attractive qualities – such as its key landmarks and distinct districts – the city is shown as a large concrete block rather than a city that can be explored. It is nameless – no geographical locations are ever named –

yet definitely has a role to play: it embodies the deterioration of Japanese culture and values at the hands of the implemented Western system of capitalism and the urban threat to Japanese people. Next, the idea of Tokyo as a foreign menace is supported by the mise-en-scène of the film. Crowded yet static camera frames, with the addition of many linear structures within the frame, give the impression that the protagonist Ryūhei, like nature and any inhabitant of Tokyo, is caged by the city. His motions are hindered by the urban lines and structures, which only allow him to go in one direction – from the foreground to the urban background. Then, the uniformity of the costumes works in concert with the low-intensity lighting that turns the picture into one large mass of drained colours. All these elements present the main character as an extra in his own story as he by no means is different from the other people around him. This would then imply that, as an average middle-class father and salaryman, he will meet the same fate as all the other salarymen who are either swallowed up by the city, or who commit suicide to avoid such destiny.

Lastly, the film's colours and soundscape also supply evidence for the perpetuation of Tokyo's pejorative image. The colours, for instance, suggest that the city is cold, pale, and void of humanity, unlike the warm, dark and comfortable Sasaki household. The latter is the final stronghold of Japanese traditions as it is the sphere of the traditional housewife and the nuclear family. Throughout the film, the use of colours hints to the idea that the urban space successfully penetrates the domestic space, as the city's colours settle in the house and push the warm colours of the family home to the back. Similarly, sounds of the city – i.e. traffic, construction site noises, or trains – dominate the public and private spheres, showing not only the capital's ubiquitous presence, but also its dominance over human interactions and comfortable silence. As Kenji's case demonstrates, it is only by escaping Tokyo that one can access and express emotions, as Kenji does by playing the piano in front of a tearful audience in Shiroyama. Silence, in *Tokyo Sonata*, shows how the city's constant turbulences stifle emotional human expression and replace it with the sound of industrialism. The lack of human interaction caused by the city affects Japanese family dynamics, as nobody shares and everybody grows apart.

Overall, Tokyo's image has been negative since World War II. Tokyo has been presented as a poison to Japanese values and people, as it has eroded their integrity and

identity over time, until none of it remained. As I will explore in Chapter Three, Tokyo 2020 campaigns combat these mediatic preconceptions about Tokyo, effectively rebranding the city for Japanese viewers. Tokyo is no longer an inhospitable, dangerous and Westernised city. It is Japanese. However, before going into a deeper analysis of this new Tokyo crafted for the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, one more aspect of Tokyo needs to be analysed: Tokyo, as it has been depicted by and for Western audiences.

CHAPTER TWO: TOKYO, A PLAYGROUND FOR THE WEST

Like Japanese cinema, Western cinema, especially Hollywood, has positioned Tokyo as an other to itself. The difference between the two representations lies in their historical power dynamic: where Japanese cinema shows Tokyo as the foreign threat to the pure Japanese self, Western cinema presents Tokyo as a large foreign space to be explored and used by Westerners. The aim of this chapter is to explore the Western image of Tokyo advertised to international audiences.

As mentioned before, Japan's relationship to the West has always been riddled with ideological struggle. After the initial contact between the West and Japan – through the arrival of Portuguese merchants in Japan in 1543 – Western culture and Christianity entered the country.⁵⁷ In 1635, the Tokugawa shogunate brought out the Sakoku Edicts which signified a complete shut-down of Japan's borders to the West. The prohibition of the interaction between Japan and the West meant that the latter were banned from Japan, and that Japanese natives were not allowed to leave the country, under the threat of being executed. Christian priests in Japan were crucified and converted members of the religion were persecuted too.⁵⁸ Only Asian countries and the Netherlands were allowed to trade with Japan under strict supervision.⁵⁹ However, in 1853, Japan's gates were forcefully opened by the American Commodore Matthew Perry. The latter arrived with a fleet of “black, iron-covered, steam-engine driven gun boats” at a shore close to Edo, now known as Tokyo.⁶⁰ It took two attempts, but with a larger, more threatening fleet, Perry eventually entered Japan. From then on began the power struggle between the insular empire and the West.

⁵⁷John Nelson, “Myths, missions, and mistrust: the fate of Christianity in 16th and 17th century Japan,” *History and Anthropology*, 2002, Vol. 13.2., pp. 93-111, p. 94.

⁵⁸Laver, *The Sakoku edicts and the politics of Tokugawa hegemony*, p. 63.

⁵⁹Alex Conde, “Why the Japanese Couldn't Leave Their Country for Two Centuries,” *Insh*, April 2017, <<https://insh.world/history/the-sakoku-edict/>> [accessed 04.04.2018]

⁶⁰Kazuhiko Togo, *Japan's Foreign Policy, 1945-2009* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010) p.2.

World War II saw a surge in nationalistic discourses. This had many consequences. For instance, Japan stopped exempting foreigners from Japanese law and started expulsing them.⁶¹ Yet, the end of World War II signified another definite shift in power dynamics as Japan was the victim of two nuclear attacks and Tokyo was heavily bombarded.⁶² After its defeat, Japan was occupied by the Allied Forces, especially the United States. The United States imposed extreme censorship on the nation.⁶³ Tokyo, as the capital, became a large hub for Western culture and imports of all sorts. It also enhanced illegal activities, such as black markets and gang fights, that had existed since the beginning of the war.⁶⁴ Tokyo's Westernisation progressed from the end of the occupation era until the present day. Nowadays, Tokyo increasingly attracts Western tourism through the export and exploitation of Japanese culture and entertainment.⁶⁵ Thus, Tokyo, in relation to the West, has not just been the capital of East Asia, but also a resource.

The evolution of Tokyo's image and the capital's relationship to the West is easily traceable in Western films. Numerous are the fictional stories of white men and women visiting Tokyo in times of personal crisis. These plots usually involve saving Tokyo in passing or being endangered by the city. Examples of this type of Western narratives are *Kill Bill* (dir. Tarantino, US, 2003), *Lost in Translation* (dir. Coppola, US, 2003), *Fear and Trembling* (dir. Corneau, FR, 2003) or the more recent *The Wolverine* (dir. Mangold, US, 2013). In films like these, Tokyo often appears as a hyper-modern, neon-coloured, dark city. There, *yakuzas*, murderers, or even corporate life, push the white protagonists to their physical, mental and emotional limits. In mainstream Occidental cinema, Tokyo becomes a test of personal strength.

The Western rendition of Tokyo outlined above is present in the two films that will be explored in this chapter. These are *Wasabi* and *The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift*

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁶²"Deadly WWII U.S. firebombing raids on Japanese cities largely ignored," *The Japan Times*, March 2015, <<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/03/10/national/deadly-wwii-u-s-firebombing-raids-on-japanese-cities-largely-ignored/#.W7C38C-ZPLY>> [accessed 04.04.2018]

⁶³Mark Selden, "Preface," *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan* by Monica Braw (London, New York: Routledge, 2015) p. ix.

⁶⁴Owen Griffiths, "Need, Greed, and Protest in Japan's Black Market, 1938-1949," *Journal of Social History*, 2002, Vol. 35.4., pp. 825-858, p. 825.

⁶⁵Draper, p.4.

[hereafter *Tokyo Drift*]. *Wasabi* and *Tokyo Drift* were both shot by Western productions in Tokyo, with the assistance of the Tokyo-based company Location Box. As the films' credits indicate, other Japanese organisations were involved in the making of these films, like 'Visit Japan' and Destiny Inc., meaning that the depictions of Tokyo found here were approved by Japanese officials.

Through *Wasabi* and *Tokyo Drift*, I define the general Western image of Tokyo shown on the big screen. This will help me illustrate the ideological expectations and familiarities Tokyo 2020 campaigns have to recreate to appeal to Western audiences. First, I discuss how Tokyo is presented as a silenced background for Western action. I then analyse the use of language in the construction of Tokyo as a meaningless but useful space. Next, I show how the city is also turned into a touristic venue waiting to be explored by the foreign gaze. Finally, I observe the idea of Tokyo as a touristic adventure through a discussion of the male, Western gaze and the female, Japanese object of the gaze.

2.1 Tokyo, the background for Western stories

To enable Western exploitation, Tokyo is made void of meaning. The Western-centred stories that usually unfold in Tokyo could be transposed onto any other foreign country that Western culture has historically dominated. Indeed, the trope of the white character travelling abroad to find himself is frequent both in Western literature and cinema. The *Indiana Jones* saga, for example, contains narratives where the white professor braces danger, immorality and lawlessness in foreign countries to overcome personal hurdles. Ella Shohat, talking about said saga, explains: "The interweaving of archaeology and psychoanalysis touches on a nineteenth-century motif in which the voyage into the origins of the Orient becomes a voyage into the interior colonies of the 'self'."⁶⁶ While Shohat talks about Egypt, this statement is true for the majority of mainstream Western films occurring in non-white countries; *Platoon* (dir. Stone, US-UK, 1986) happens in Vietnam, *The Beach*

⁶⁶Ella Shohat, "Gender and Culture of Empire: Towards a Feminist Ethnography of the Cinema," *Visions of The East: Orientalism in Film* ed. Matthew Bernstein and Gaylyn Studlar (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997) pp. 19-58, p. 34.

(dir. Danny Boyle, US-UK, 2000) in Thailand, and *Eat, Pray, Love* (dir. Murphy, US, 2010) in India. In all these instances, the foreign country becomes a picturesque, quiet and thrilling background for the white traveller's quest of self-exploration.

Shohat's statement can also be applied to *Wasabi* and *Tokyo Drift*'s narratives, as Tokyo is meaningless as a city, but is used as a storytelling device to aid the white characters' development. *Wasabi* tells the story of a French cop, Hubert Fiorentini (Jean Reno) with anger management issues. After being suspended, the Frenchman is sent to Tokyo to solve the murder of his estranged ex-girlfriend while protecting their child Yumi (Ryōko Hirose) from the *yakuzas*. Throughout the film, Fiorentini is confronted to his past and reflects on his anti-social behaviour. At the same time, he has to survive in Tokyo, where criminals try to kill him and abduct Yumi. Similar tropes are found in *Tokyo Drift*, where Sean Boswell (Lucas Black), an American teenager with behavioural problems, has to move to Japan as a corrective punishment. There, he lives with his father, the US Navy Major Boswell (Brian Goodman), who forbids him from participating in car races, as racing is the cause for his exile. Despite this, Sean not only gets involved with Tokyo's illegal car racing world, but also with the local *yakuzas*. Tokyo, however, forces Sean to change. He repents, overcomes his struggles, and dethrones the *yakuza* Drift King (Brian Tee) after a series of struggles. There is an identifiable pattern in these films: Tokyo is a space where Western visitors go after failing to fit in their native environment. The foreign city forces the white characters to face their inner demons, often through an altercation with Tokyo's lawless world. Thus, these films silence Tokyo, but the nature of the silence is interpreted differently by Western audiences. Tokyo's silence is synonymous with a loss of the Japanese self in Japanese media, but here, Tokyo's silence signifies the city's submission to the West. Consequently, the city becomes the perfect stage for an exploration of the white self.

In addition, Tokyo has another role in Western narratives: it is the actively hostile opponent that threatens but ultimately reaffirms Western supremacy. Although neither Tokyo nor Japan were truly colonised – they were allowed to keep their own language and culture –, patterns of colonial behaviour are visible in their depictions. Gaylyn Studlar, in *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film*, summarises Edward Said's *Orientalism* by saying that, "Orientalism 'depends for its strategy on this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing

him the relative upper hand.”⁶⁷ In both films, the Westerner is put in various positions without compromising his superiority. Fiorentini, for example, is overwhelmed by Tokyo’s culture and nightlife, but he singlehandedly defeats an affluent *yakuza* gang that the local police have struggled to capture for years. In a similar fashion, Sean Boswell arrives in Tokyo, confused by the language and customs of his new life. Despite this, Sean undoes the oppressive reign of a *yakuza* through racing. Accordingly, in addition to being the physically meaningless background, Tokyo is the ideologically imbued pawn used by Western storytelling to strengthen Western beliefs of dominance. The Orientalist trope where “the Westerner both knows the Orient (...) and at the same time brings it knowledge, rescuing it from its own obscurantism,”⁶⁸ is clearly present in the films: Fiorentini and Boswell are not just delivered from their personal issues, but at the same time solve the problems of the city.

2.2 Meaningless local language

In addition to the narrative, the language of the films plays an important role in the positioning of Tokyo as a silent, hostile but survivable environment. This can first be achieved by turning the local language of the city into a background noise. In *Wasabi*, the acceptance of French as a ubiquitous code suggests that Japan – like former African colonies – has successfully been colonised by French culture. The imposition of the coloniser’s language is a common trait of colonisation and cultural domination after all.⁶⁹ *Wasabi* changes perceptions of Tokyo to suit the underlying ideology of Western supremacy: suddenly, Tokyo’s inhabitants, who, in reality, have never been colonised by the West and are ‘monolingual and monocultural’,⁷⁰ naturally speak the language of the foreigner. Through this manoeuvre, Tokyo turns into a colonised space, whose original voice has been replaced. In addition, Fiorentini often corrects his daughter Yumi’s strong Japanese accent, which has a comedic effect. This positions Yumi as an other: despite speaking French

⁶⁷Gaylyn Studlar, “Out-Salomeing Salome: Dance, the New Woman and Fan Magazine Orientalism,” *Visions of The East: Orientalism in Film* ed. Matthew Bernstein and Gaylyn Studlar (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997) pp. 99-129, p. 124.

⁶⁸Shohat, “Gender and Culture of Empire,” p. 35.

⁶⁹Rebai Maarmi, “The Syndrome of the French Language in Algeria,” *International Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 2009, Vol. 3.3., pp. 77-89, p. 81.

⁷⁰Kensaku Yoshida, “Language Education Policy in Japan,” *The Modern Language Journal*, 2003, Vol. 87, pp. 290-292, p. 290.

fluently, she is not like Fiorentini, a native Frenchman. The latter's attempts at erasing her distinctive accent suggest that Japanese is voluntarily erased from the foreground.

In *Tokyo Drift*, Tokyo is silenced differently on a linguistic level. Throughout the film, Japanese language still appears in the foreground. At first, when Sean goes to school, he is confronted with the foreign language: his teacher only speaks Japanese, leaving Sean confused. Japanese is used here for a humorous effect too, and while Sean is the butt of the joke, the lack of translation means that the Western viewer understands Japanese only as a nonsensical noise. Consequently, Sean avoids Japanese by staying around English speakers. English becomes the main language of the film, which is unsurprising considering that most of the main characters are not Japanese. Ignoring Japanese and using English supports the idea that Tokyo is just a decorative stage for Western action, as the local language is not acknowledged. Finally, while he does learn a few Japanese words, Sean pronounces them in a strong American accent. This makes them sound foreign, as if they were re-appropriated by Sean. Like the imposition of one's own language, the adoption and transformation of the local language is a common trope in colonisation and cultural domination.⁷¹ Japanese is thus consumed by the Western foreigner and given a new – Westernised – form. Therefore, just as in *Wasabi*, the Japanese language is oppressed in *Tokyo Drift*. The method is different though: where *Wasabi* simply presents French as an accepted norm in Japan, *Tokyo Drift*'s main character avoids interaction with the local language by keeping the majority of his interlocutors anglophone.

On top of sending Japanese speakers to the background, both films render the local language meaningless through the lack of subtitles. Tessa Dwyer, using the example of *Lost in Translation*, explains that the lack of translation of Japanese, in this context, comes from an unwillingness to accept any language or viewer that is not English-speaking.⁷² This is applicable to *Tokyo Drift* and *Wasabi* too. Japanese is heard on occasion in both, however, it is rarely translated. In *Wasabi*, subtitles are completely absent: when, for instance, Fiorentini initially meets Yumi, she questions him and the lawyer in Japanese. Yumi and the

⁷¹Johannes Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in The Former Belgian Congo* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 138.

⁷²Tessa Dwyer, "Universally speaking, *Lost in Translation* and polyglot cinema," *Themes in Translation Studies*, 2000, Vol. 4., pp. 298-310, p. 300

lawyer's Japanese lines are not subtitled. Through this, the viewer is put in Fiorentini's position: Japanese seems like gibberish, which is accentuated by Yumi's quick and excited diction. The fact that Yumi's first words in the film are not translated for the target audience suggests that anything she says in Japanese is not important. Japanese is thus rendered meaningless, as it becomes just noise for any non-Japanese viewer. A similar treatment of subtitles occurs in *Tokyo Drift*. When Sean arrives at school on the first day, his teacher speaks in a rapid, unending monologue. There are no subtitles for her lines, which has three effects: first, like in *Wasabi*, it diminishes her words' value. Secondly, it paints the teacher as ignorant, as she does not speak English. Thirdly, the event embarrasses Sean. The teacher almost seems cruel when her words of reassurance are not translated. Thus, the absence of subtitles in the films turns Japanese into a meaningless noise that is moved to the background, as the Western protagonists and non-Japanese audiences cannot make sense of it. Consequently, Japanese – the main language of Tokyo – is suppressed: it leaves the main stage to the Western foreigner.

2.3 Tokyo, a touristic adventure

In keeping with traditional patterns of colonial behaviour, Tokyo is not just turned into a background, but it is simultaneously presented as an exotic adventure for Westerners to explore. Tokyo becomes a commodity that incites foreign tourism and a superficial appreciation of the capital and its culture. In *Wasabi* and *Tokyo Drift*, Tokyo is advertised as a space for Western entertainment through the presentation of the city as an unfamiliar and exotic spectacle. The presence of indirect tour guides⁷³ leading the protagonists through Tokyo confirms that idea. In reality, location branding is definitely present in both works. In terms of production, both films were made with the help of the Tokyo Metropolitan government, whose company, Location Box, provides help to foreign film productions. This organisation works together with local communities and private businesses to accommodate Western filmmakers. The ensuing cooperation helps Tokyo being presented to an international audience with the expected outcome of an increase in inbound tourism in Tokyo. While film-induced tourism often benefits the location's economy, it comes at a

⁷³Yumi in *Wasabi* and Sean's classmate Twinkie in *Tokyo Drift*.

price: the location is turned into a commodity for the white tourist to consume.⁷⁴ This applies to *Wasabi* and *Tokyo Drift*, where the city is depicted in an enticing way that serves Western agendas and attracts tourism.

(Figure 2-1 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

(Figure 2-1 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

To return to Donald and Gammack's argument about location branding and shallow representations of far-away places, *Wasabi* and *Tokyo Drift* both present Tokyo in an artificial way.⁷⁵ *Wasabi*, which does not provide many shots of Tokyo's cityscape, not only presents Tokyo as the capital of eccentric fashion through Yumi's colourful and unconventional wardrobe, but also as the capital of consumerism. Throughout the film, the spaces that are visited by Fiorentini and his daughter are linked to the matter: they frequently travel through gigantic shopping malls, underground markets and high streets. In addition, Fiorentini discovers the city through a night at a game centre and by visiting a restaurant with his friend Momo (Michel Muller). In those scenes, Tokyo is seen in the background, as in Fig. 2-1. Through the loud, hectic, neon-coloured arcades and the view from the restaurant, Tokyo is depicted as a space. Having fun and spending money is all that counts, as Fig. 2-1 and 2-2 show. Next, all these spaces are perpetually invaded by the *yakuza*: when Fiorentini and Yumi go shopping, gangsters follow them. At the arcade, the same event occurs and ends with a gunfight. As a consequence, Tokyo is turned into a giant game platform, where Westerners can fight criminals and become heroes. Lastly, there are no representations of Tokyo's everyday life from the point of view of a Japanese inhabitant, which leaves the impression that Tokyo only exists as an extraordinary adventure. Tokyo is thus, in *Wasabi*, an intriguing and dangerous space. That makes it ideal for the curious and brave Western adventurer.

(Figure 2-3 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

⁷⁴Kavaratzis Mihalis, "Branding the City through Culture and Entertainment," *Aesop Journal*, 2005, no volume indicated, pp. 1-7, p. 2.
<<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.583.4167&rep=rep1&type=pdf>>
[accessed 09. 09.2018]

⁷⁵Donald and Gammack, p.53.

In a similar fashion, *Tokyo Drift* orientalises Tokyo for Western audiences: the city is beautiful, different and dangerous as per colonial custom. To start off, there are many shots of Tokyo's cityscape at night. These shots present Tokyo as a futuristic, neon-lit and foreign place, as in Fig. 2-3. As if the film was an advertisement, famous landmarks, like the Shibuya crossing pictured in Fig. 2-3, are visited by Sean and the viewer. In addition, as in *Wasabi*, the locations presented to the viewer are associated with entertainment (e.g.: secret discos, illegal car races) and crime. Indeed, the car races that allow Sean and the audience to visit Tokyo have a criminal foundation as the Tokyo racing scene is heavily involved with the *yakuzas*. Finally, like *Wasabi*, *Tokyo Drift* does not show mundane aspects of the Tokyoite lifestyle. Instead, the film replicates imagined aspects of the city – like the underground racing world – and spreads them over the Tokyo stage. Tokyo's real identity is swapped for a more compelling image that presents an exciting, perilous city waiting to be explored by the Western tourist.

2.4 Tokyo and the male Western gaze

The representation of the female form in *Wasabi* and *Tokyo Drift* also suggests that Tokyo is an exploitable and explorable space. The masculine point of view is usually imposed in Western and Hollywood cinema: it scrutinises the silenced female object on the screen.⁷⁶ Considering that women are often used as a representation of their nation – the gendered *motherland* – in orientalist renditions of non-Western countries,⁷⁷ it is unsurprising that the women of Tokyo are direct embodiments of Tokyo as a space. Western representations of foreign women, as a part of orientalist practices, are patriarchal in nature: Tokyo women are made inferior and desirable through their gender as well as their race. According to Laura Mulvey, who has written abundantly on the female object of the male gaze in cinema,

Woman then stands in patriarchal culture as a signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his fantasies and obsessions

⁷⁶“Laura Mulvey,” *The Norton anthology of Theory and Criticism* 2nd edn, ed. Vincent B. Leitch (New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), pp. 2081-2083, p. 2083.

⁷⁷Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather* (New York, London: Routledge, 1995), p. 5.

through linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of the woman still tied to her place as bearer, not maker, of meaning.⁷⁸

To disarm the threat of temptation foreign femininity symbolises, Western cinema depicts it in two ways.⁷⁹ On one hand, voyeurism allows the viewer and male protagonist to “investigate the female, demystify her, and either denounce, punish, or save her.”⁸⁰ The other means is ‘male disavowal’, which is achieved through the replacement of a desired object that becomes reassuring rather than dangerous.⁸¹

(Figure 2-4 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Sean, in *Tokyo Drift*, looks differently at Neela (Nathalie Kelley), his Australasian, English-speaking crush, than he looks at Japanese natives of Tokyo. While Neela is untouchable and precious in his eyes, Sean positions Tokyo women as the commodified other. To begin with, Japanese women are not heard at all. They do talk, but, as explained earlier, their lines are not translated into English, and as such, their voices become secondary to their visual appearance. This is most clear in the scene where Sean is first led into the illegal underground parking space by Twinkie (Bow Wow). As they drive through the car park, Sean not only discovers many exotic cars, but also observes a vast number of Japanese girls. These young women wear skin-tight, cropped clothing and a lot of make-up, as well as abundant jewellery and accessories, a contrast to Neela’s pure and natural beauty. As is visible in Fig. 2-4, they are turned into a spectacle for the male protagonist and audience through a succession of shots of their dancing bodies and beckoning gazes. These shots are followed by close-ups of Sean’s face as he bites his lip and nods in approval of the spectacle. The point of view is thus established as Sean’s. He is gazing at the sexualised female other.

⁷⁸Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *The Norton anthology of Theory and Criticism* 2nd edn, ed. Vincent B. Leitch (New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), pp. 2084-2095, pp. 2084-2085.

⁷⁹“Laura Mulvey,” *The Norton anthology of Theory and Criticism* 2nd edn, p. 2082.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

In the end, this scene seems like a sexual drive-through safari, as Sean drives his car past these women, accompanied by Twinkie's sexual innuendos.

(Figure 2-5 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

In *Wasabi*, however, the female Other is not a sexual being, but the romanticised object of Fiorentini's longing. After the love of his life, Miko (Yuki Sakai), suddenly disappears, Fiorentini finds himself pining for her for nineteen years. Miko never gets to speak, as her only appearance in the film is as a corpse and photograph. Fiorentini's descriptions of Miko are always innocent; he even chastises Momo for bringing up their love affair. Fiorentini's fantasy of purity is strengthened by the sole scene in which Miko appears, namely her funeral. As Fig. 2-5 shows, Miko is dressed in white in her lily-filled casket. While in Japanese culture, white is traditionally linked to death,⁸² from a Western perspective, white is the colour of innocence and virginity. Miko is lit by soft, white lighting too, giving her a peaceful, ethereal appearance. Overall, Miko seems angelic. The shots featuring Miko are followed by close-ups of Fiorentini's face. As in *Tokyo Drift*, this indicates that Miko is the object of Fiorentini's gaze. As she is dead, Miko does not speak, and therefore is not just an object of the gaze, but a silent one too. Next, Western voyeurism is established through the first interaction between Yumi and Fiorentini, as he looks into the keyhole of a door to spy on Yumi. Unlike the women in *Tokyo Drift*, Yumi is also unattainable, as she is Fiorentini's child. While Momo attempts to sexualise her through compliments and innuendos about her body, Fiorentini acts as the protector of her virtue. Through the Frenchman's protective and chaste behaviour, Yumi, like her mother Miko, maintains her position as an untainted and reassuring fantasy of innocence. In the end, Yumi and Miko represent the other depiction of the female other found in patriarchal Western depictions: they are the pure, angelic ideal that remains out of reach but can still be admired from afar.

⁸²Ju Brown and John Brown, *Japan - Korea: Culture and Customs* (North Charleston: Book Surge LLC, 2006) p. 59.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter sought to understand existing depictions of Tokyo in Western cinema. Through an analysis of the Hollywood film *Tokyo Drift* and the French film *Wasabi*, I was able to determine that Tokyo has received a similar treatment as Western colonies in terms of depiction. Through different manoeuvres, the films not only present Tokyo as an intriguing, adventurous destination for the white viewer. They also turn the city into a silent backdrop that Western people can use to explore themselves. Tokyo, despite never having been more than occupied, is positioned as an inferior other to the West.

Several elements work together to turn Tokyo into an inferior, silenced and exploitable stage for Western entertainment. In order to turn Tokyo into a background, it has to be rendered meaningless and quiet. Firstly, using Tokyo as a simple backdrop for the main characters' personal struggles demotes the city from its status as a cultural hub to a colourful but empty stage. In addition, by denying the viewer translations of the Japanese language in the two films, the language of said space is also rendered meaningless. Subtitles are not provided, and French and English are respectively imposed as the main languages of the stories. Consequently, Japanese is pushed to the background, becoming an ambient noise that only serves to fill the decorative space with more life.

Tokyo is also turned into an exploitable tourist destination for white Westerners through *Wasabi* and *Tokyo Drift*. In both cases, Tokyo is shown in the background as a pretty, neon-lit and futuristic night-time city. Additionally, in *Wasabi*, Tokyo is a city where shopping, game centres and fighting crime guarantee a thrilling experience for any adventurous visitor. The other work uses impressive race scenes to showcase Tokyo's key landmarks and turns it into a world of lawless fun and excitement. Moreover, Tokyo's exploitability is advertised through the female citizens of the capital. With the help of traditional Western patterns of colonial renditions, the female form found in Tokyo is made into a spectacle. However, as there are two different kinds of female objects of the gaze in cinema, as Mulvey outlines, there are different depictions of Tokyo women in the films. In *Wasabi*, the woman – embodied by Miko and Yumi – is untouchable, pure and virtuous. She

is the embodiment of the patriarchal fantasy of female chastity. As such, she can only be looked at from afar, where she conveniently cannot be heard. *Tokyo Drift*'s treatment of the female other is on the opposite end of the spectrum, as Sean looks at Tokyo girls with sexual desire. The women Sean observes in the underground parking are displayed like mannequins in a shop window, dancing around in revealing, eye-catching outfits. Sean looks at them from inside his car, and thus, does not give the Tokyo girls the opportunity to speak or even interact with him as equals. To summarise, just like the city, Tokyo's women are silent recipients of Western male obsessions and fantasies.

It is from this ideological audiovisual context that Tokyo 2020 campaigns draw inspiration to appeal to international audiences. The representation of Tokyo as the West's object is contradictory to the Japanese Tokyo the advertisements project. It thus has to be adapted in order to fulfil Western expectations while attracting Japanese audiences too. One of the aims of this dissertation is to point out the audiovisual elements that have been kept or abandoned in order to create a Tokyo that is familiar enough for Western audiences, but sufficiently new for national audiences. The goal of Chapter Three will be to analyse new depictions of Tokyo in the run-up to the 2020 Games and to understand how they have evolved in order to appeal to national and international audiences.

CHAPTER THREE: (RE)BRANDING TOKYO FOR JAPAN AND THE WEST

Creating advertisements for the 2020 Tokyo-based Olympic and Paralympic Games is a complex task, as Western and Japanese target audiences have contrasting ideas about the capital. Tokyo 2020 campaigns have to aim to create an ambiguous image of Tokyo that, like Rubin's Vase,⁸³ can simultaneously be read in different ways depending on one's perspective. This is all the more challenging considering the ideological power dynamics existing between Japanese and Western consumers. This chapter compares current and past depictions of the city in Japanese and Western contexts to understand how the campaigns succeed in catering to both audiences' ideological expectations.

As mentioned before, since Tokyo's election as a host city for the Olympics in 2013, the Japanese government and the JNTO have collaborated to increase inbound tourism numbers in Japan. Government officials have set other objectives for Tokyo 2020 too: Tokyo 2020 aims to be the most high-tech Olympics ever. The development of translation devices, robot villages for tourists, a cooling pavement coating to prevent overheat outdoors, high-tech condoms, maglev trains, or even hydrogen and algae fuel, shows that Tokyo is set on amazing visitors through innovation.⁸⁴ Secondly, to join the global movement of ecological consciousness, Tokyo 2020 has implemented eco-friendly sustainability projects.⁸⁵ Next, in a similar effort to join the international stage, the event promotes the acceptance of diversity – be it in terms of ethnicity or ability.⁸⁶ Ultimately, Tokyo 2020's slogan 'HAPPY & PEACE', as well as its core concepts – future legacy, unity in diversity, personal amelioration – depict Tokyo 2020 as the beginning of a new, utopic era for the capital.

⁸³"Rubin's Vase," *New World Encyclopedia*, July 2015, <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Rubin_vase> [accessed 23.08.2018]

⁸⁴Bryan Lufkin, "8 Reasons Why the Tokyo Olympics Will Be the Most Futuristic We've Ever Seen," *Gizmodo*, September 2015, < <https://gizmodo.com/8-reasons-why-the-tokyo-olympics-will-be-the-most-futur-1728007440>> [accessed 23.08.2018]

⁸⁵"Tokyo 2020 Announces Sustainability Plan and Guiding Principle 'Be better, together - for the planet and the people'," *Tokyo 2020 Official Website*, June 2018, <<https://tokyo2020.org/en/news/notice/20180612-02.html>> [accessed 23.08.2018]

⁸⁶Ibid.

In order to understand how the Tokyo 2020 campaigns manage to sell these values and appeal to Western and native crowds, one needs to look into the past. Chapter One and Chapter Two revolved around defining Tokyo's former reputation in different contexts. The characteristics of Tokyo's past images are necessary to observe current images promoted by the capital. In Chapter One, I established that, in a Japanese context, Tokyo was ostracised from its national culture in the past. The strong influence of the West on the capital after the Second World War meant that Tokyo became less and less Japanese to the local medias' eyes. As a consequence, Tokyo was presented as a Westernised agent whose mission it was to corrupt and destroy Japanese traditions and values. To summarise, from a Japanese perspective, the city has been represented as a silent, invisible threat to its imprisoned inhabitants. Likewise, as discussed in Chapter Two, Western films have presented Tokyo as a silent city. However, the silence has a different significance. Western media have othered Tokyo by turning the city into a silent background for Western adventure and self-development. The upcoming Olympic and Paralympic Games thus have to reassure Japanese audiences by presenting Tokyo differently, while catering to the Western fantasy of exploration.

Erica Liu, in "Branding Ideas for the Tokyo Olympics 2020," discusses strategies Tokyo 2020 could adopt to strike that balance. Liu, who does not actually analyse Tokyo 2020 campaigns, suggests that the best path to a sustainable success is to look at past Japan-based Olympic Games.⁸⁷ As will be shown in this chapter, that is indeed the option Japanese officials have chosen. The Olympic Games that have most influenced the current campaigns are the emblematic Tokyo Summer Olympics of 1964, whose legacy lives on today. The 1964 Games are of particular significance: after World War II, this event was the first opportunity for Japan to change its pejorative image on the global stage. Considering Japan's position and behaviour during the war, it was not just a golden opportunity but a major challenge too. Showcasing their then innovative technology was one way of proving the country's value: bullet speed trains, touch panels with built-in timers for races, fully computerised systems for news and results' sharing, and many modern sports facilities were prepared for the Games. The cityscape was changed forever, through infrastructures like the monorail, the subway network, new buildings and a new system of expressways.⁸⁸

⁸⁷Erica Liu, "Branding Ideas for the Tokyo Olympics 2020," *Advertising and Branding: Concepts, Methodologies, Tools, and Applications* (Hershey: IGI Global, 2017), pp. 326 - 345.

⁸⁸"1964: Memories of the Tokyo Olympics," *The Japan News*, publication date not indicated, <<http://tokyo-olympics.the-japan-news.com/#section1/1>> [accessed 23.08.2018]

Additionally, to create a welcoming environment, volunteers, policemen and citizens were encouraged to join newly created English language courses.⁸⁹ Lastly, through a display of *omotenashi*,⁹⁰ the 1964 Olympics seemed to cater strongly to Western expectations.

At the same time, the 1964 Olympics served to create a new, reborn national identity. This new identity comprised elements of cultural nationalism, strength and unity. Yoshinori Sakai, born in Hiroshima on the sixth of August 1945, during the Hiroshima nuclear bombing, embodied the Japan reborn from its ashes when he carried the Olympic Torch during the final step of the official relay.⁹¹ National pride was thus shown more subtly, through symbolic characters. On top of this, *hinomaru* were exhibited everywhere alongside Olympic merchandise like branded traditional Japanese items such as *uchiwa* fans and *yukatas*.⁹² Finally, the official song of the 1964 Olympics, *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*, was performed by the male *enka* singer Haruo Minami. The song was about welcoming other cultures and offering peace and happiness to the world.⁹³ Through this song, Japan promoted a message amongst Japanese speakers: Japan no longer lived with its past of violence and occupation, but was now a peaceful, harmless and unified nation.⁹⁴

The 1964 Games were a perfect inspiration for the 2020 event, as they opened Japan to the West, and also changed its national identity. Unfortunately, despite the success of the 1964 Games, Tokyo was not able to keep its image as a safe, Japanese city, as representations of the capital as a dangerous foreign space survived across the decades. This chapter thus looks at the remediation of Tokyo's problematic image. The new image – studied in this

Alexander Martin, "The 1964 Tokyo Olympics: A Turning Point for Japan," *The Wall Street Journal*, September 2013, <<https://blogs.wsj.com/japanrealtime/2013/09/05/the-1964-tokyo-olympics-a-turning-point-for-japan/>> > [accessed 23.08.2018]

⁸⁹Kjersti A. Lofsgaard, Diss.: "The History of English Education in Japan," pp. 1-44, p. 18, University of Oslo, 2015.

⁹⁰"The business of 'omotenashi'," *Japan Today*, May 2014, <<https://japantoday.com/category/features/opinions/the-business-of-omotenashi>> [accessed 23.08.2018]

⁹¹Martin, "The 1964 Tokyo Olympics."

⁹²"1964: Memories of the Tokyo Olympics, Section Four."

⁹³Magdalena Osumi, "Three-year countdown to Tokyo 2020 Olympics begins with new song-and-dance routine," *The Japan Times*, July 2017, <<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/07/24/national/tokyo-2020-olympics-now-has-a-theme-song-plus-a-dance-routine/#.W7EYqy-ZPLY>> [accessed 24.08.2018]

⁹⁴Christian Tagsgold, "Modernity, space and national representation at the Tokyo Olympics 1964," *Urban History*, 2010, Vol. 37.2., pp. 289-300, p. 290.

chapter – combines the 1964 Games’ strategies with existing Japanese and Western depictions of Tokyo to satisfy all targeted audiences.

3.1 Rebranding Tokyo for Japan

In order to create enthusiasm and interest amongst the Japanese for Tokyo 2020, Tokyo’s previous national reputation as a dangerous, non-Japanese city needed to change. Tokyo had to become associated with *nihonjinron* again. One quick glance at the audiovisual advertisements for the Olympic and Paralympic Games confirms that Tokyo has indeed been rebranded for Japanese audiences. For my analysis, I focus mainly on one official campaign of the Tokyo 2020 Games: the official music video of the event, *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*, performed by Sayuri Ishikawa, Pistol Takehara and Yuzo Kayama. While there are many different ads for this campaign, *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* encapsulates the movement perfectly. There will also be elements of other audiovisual promotional videos, like the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympic handover ceremony where Japan presented its new image to the world for the first time.

(Figure 3-1 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Tokyo Gorin Ondo came out in 2017 on the official Tokyo 2020 YouTube channel.⁹⁵ It features several known Japanese performers like the singers mentioned above and the news anchor Ichirō Furutachi. In this video, a group of people perform a choreography to the Tokyo 2020 official song. The dancers are wearing *yukatas*, and the overall atmosphere feels like that of a summer festival.⁹⁶ Immediately, it is visible that Tokyo’s image aims to appeal to Japanese audiences: the video, which is set in Tokyo’s Shibuya district, as indicated by Furutachi at the beginning, is filled with traditional Japanese elements. This is visible in Fig. 3-1, where Ishikawa, the biggest contemporary *enka* singer in Japan,⁹⁷ initially appears on the stage. First, on a visual level, the costumes stand out: everybody, Japanese

⁹⁵ *Tokyo Gorin Ondo 2020 (Music Video)*, Youtube, August 2017, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQo-ZZBKGIE>> [accessed 24.09.2018]

⁹⁶ M1Gradel, “Japan reveals music video for Olympic promotion song,” *In My Japan*, August 2017, <<https://inmyjapan.wordpress.com/2017/08/13/japan-reveals-music-video-for-olympic-promotion-song/>> [accessed 26.08.2018]

⁹⁷Ibid.

and foreigners alike, wears a *yukata*. These *yukatas* are white and indigo blue, with a print pattern made of the Olympic and Paralympic logos. The distinctively Japanese colours and *ichimatsu* pattern leave no doubt as to the costumes' Japanese origin.⁹⁸ In addition, within this space, traditional Japanese *odori* folk dance and *enka* music are put on a pedestal. Ishikawa literally stands on an elevated stage lit by a spotlight. These elements of *mise-en-scène* put her forward as the main attraction of the scene. Ishikawa, who embodies traditional arts, thus caters to Japanese audiences.

Moreover, the background of the clip, Tokyo, is clearly identified. As can be seen on Fig. 3-1, the word 'Tokyo' covers all the skyscrapers in the back. The presence of Tokyo's name as a city is striking, considering past representations of Tokyo in Japan. As discussed in Chapter One and *Tokyo Sonata*, the capital was often presented as nameless and void of Japanese culture in the past. However, in this clip, we see that image is changing. Not only are there people performing Japanese folk music and dance, but this show is also strongly associated with Tokyo as a location. The identification of the characters in the named space (Shibuya), and the presence of some of Tokyo's city landmarks, like the *109* building⁹⁹ and the Shibuya crossing, confirm that. To conclude, it can be said that positive traditional imagery of Japanese culture is showcased in Tokyo. These contents tourism strategies thus have two effects: first, Japanese viewers are attracted by Japanese customs like *odori* and *enka*. Secondly, as the spectacle's stage is clearly indicated as Tokyo, Tokyo 2020's campaigns depict Tokyo as a non-hostile environment where traditions can thrive.

Additionally, the interaction between the urban space and the characters departs from previous depictions of Tokyo as a silent threat. Instead, Tokyo becomes a platform where people of all kinds can safely interact. First, this is shown through the lighting of the scene. Indeed, the background in Fig. 3-1 suggests that it is night-time in Tokyo at the moment of

⁹⁸Andrew McKirdy, "Checkered pattern by artist Tokolo chosen as logo for 2020 Tokyo Olympics," *The Japan Times*, April 2016, < <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/04/25/national/checkered-pattern-chosen-as-official-logo-for-2020-tokyo-olympic-games/#.W62p6y-ZM1l> > [accessed 26.08.2018]

⁹⁹Kazuaki Nagata, "Iconic Shibuya 109 building launches ¥1.09 million design contest for new logo," *The Japan Times*, April 2018, < <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/04/19/business/iconic-shibuya-109-building-launches-¥109-million-design-contest-new-logo/#.W7EivC-ZPLY> > [accessed 27.08.2018]

the dance. The fact that the dancers still move freely with a genuine smile on their face implies that there is no danger lurking in the background. Then, the structure of the frame presents Tokyo as a well-coordinated but free city: while people are dancing in a coordinated manner in the front, they are not bound by the framing of the camera. Additionally, the frames within the frame discussed in Chapter 1.2 are absent. The dancers can be seen moving in and outside of the frame, as in the foreground of Fig. 3-1. Next, the background is dark but empty of dangers, as buildings – indicated only by their light-up billboards – cover the darkness. The infrastructures themselves are invisible. Consequently, the urban cage discussed in Chapter 1.2 is nowhere to be seen.

Moreover, the background does not threaten to absorb the characters into the cityscape. Seen as the characters' outfits are indigo blue and white, they stand out from the black and neon-coloured background. The transition between the background and the foreground is also gradual, as the white foreground gently fades into the black background. Instead of clearly delineated sections, the whole image works as one unified space, suggesting that the cityscape can coexist and interact with its citizens. Lastly, in this scene, the urban background is completely silent. This is not a loaded silence, but a silence that leaves space for the foreground action – the singing – to be heard. Indeed, the soundtrack only contains singing, clapping and cheering; a contrastingly positive soundtrack compared to that found in *Tokyo Sonata*. To summarise, Tokyo completely departs from prior Japanese representations of the city. While the background is noticeable due to its different colour and lighting, it does not impose itself on the screen. There are no linear structures that hinder the dancers' movements. As a consequence, Tokyo appears as a free-moving ground. The city, clearly indicated as Tokyo, is silent but not dangerous. Instead, it exists in the background, as a safe environment in which people can come together in the celebration of Japanese culture.

(Figure 3-2 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Finally, Tokyo 2020 uses footage of Tokyo 1964 to show Tokyo's positive involvement in Japanese successes and history. After Furutachi's initial commentary in the video, there is a sequence showcasing Tokyo throughout the years since 1964. The selection of archive footage starts at the Olympic opening ceremony of 1964 and goes through the

years until the present. We see the first bullet train, active streets, high rise buildings, many bridges and cars, as well as overviews of the cityscape, indicated by a digital date in the foreground, as in Fig. 3-2. This section ends with a projected image of Tokyo in 2020, dominated by the emblematic Tokyo Sky Tree, the world's tallest tower at 634 meters high.¹⁰⁰ On Fig. 3-2, the daylight and lack of shadows, as well as the bird's view, give the impression that the audience has a complete view of the city. The city is not an unknown urban limbo anymore, but a city with future goals: hosting the Olympics and Paralympics in 2020. The older photos, showing technological innovations born from the 1964 Games, also have a sun-bleached, vintage quality. This affects the reading of the image: Tokyo is presented differently from the bleak, dangerous city found in *Tokyo Sonata*. The faded look of older images and the black-and-white footage of the 1964 Olympics create a sense of nostalgia. Tokyo's crowded and Westernised infrastructure in the photos are not anti-Japanese here; instead, the evolving bullet speed trains, buildings and cityscape shown on the screen are markers of Japan's continual evolution after the Second World War.

There is a definite departure from the usual Japanese depictions of Tokyo in Tokyo 2020 audiovisual content. Where Tokyo was a silent threat and concrete jungle before, as seen in Chapter One, it has now become not only a space for festive togetherness, but also a physical reminder of Japan's evolution and international successes. On the screen, Tokyo is now recognised as a city, rather than a manifestation of an idea. Instead of being the epitome of Westernisation that threatens Japanese values, Tokyo is a platform for the celebration of national ideas. The interaction between Tokyo as a silent background and the Japanese people in the foreground is drastically different from past depictions too. In the new Tokyo, people can move around freely and be comfortable with their Japanese identity – as the *enka* and *odori* performances prove. While Tokyo is still distinctively a background, it now has a label and a function: it serves to give depth to the performance, while staying silent and subtle as a presence. It does not threaten to absorb the foreground actors anymore, nor does it constrict them with dense linear structures. In a sense, the Tokyo in the *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* video shows how Japanese media have adopted Western ideas of representation by turning Tokyo into a background for the main performance of Japaneseness. Yet, it differs from Western representations on one level: through a presentation of Tokyo's evolution and involvement in Japanese innovation over the decades, Tokyo receives an identity. It is not

¹⁰⁰“About,” *Official Tokyo Sky Tree*, publication date not indicated, <<http://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/en/>> [accessed 27.08.2018]

just a blank canvas for Japanese traditions, but the testimony of Japan's successful conservation of its identity in times of global progress.

3.2 Tokyo, meeting Western expectations

The same audiovisual content that celebrates Tokyo as a global platform for Japanese traditions, achievements and pride, has different readings from a Western point of view. Indeed, the images found in *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*, as well as the handover show in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 2016 Olympic Games, present Tokyo in a familiar way to Western audiences. Instead of changing the idea surrounding Tokyo and its nation, these audiovisual campaigns reaffirm Tokyo's global position as defined in Chapter Two. This is unsurprising, considering that, according to the McKinsey report, Westerners are the prime target of the Japanese tourism industry. Accordingly, to attract Western tourism, Japanese government officials need to appeal to this audience through comforting, familiar tropes.

(Figure 3-3 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

(Figure 3-4 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

To begin with, Tokyo 2020 caters to Western expectations through the presentation of Tokyo as a Western-friendly space to explore. First, this is done through the use of language in the video. Even though the song is in Japanese, English is ubiquitous in the clip. There are, for example, officially issued English subtitles on the *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* music video. This signifies that there is no need for Westerners to learn Japanese, so long as they master English. Added to this, the segment of the clip that breaks down the official dance moves, features English explanations. As seen in Fig. 3-3 above, these instructions are not just visual but also indicated with words that can be understood by anyone. Similarly, at the Rio de Janeiro Olympic handover ceremony, English took the mainstage, as even the Japanese word 'arigato' was written in Latin letters in a larger font than the same word written in the Japanese alphabet. This impression of English superiority is enforced by the

fact that none of the Japanese officials present – the prime minister Abe and the Tokyo mayor Yuriko Koike – spoke throughout the ceremony or accompanying video. In the latter, English subtitles appear on the screen, but Abe never actually speaks. Finally, in the background of the *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* dance scenes, the writings on the screens are exclusively in English. They display words like ‘Tokyo’, ‘Shibuya’ or ‘Tokyo Gorin Ondo’ in bold capital letters, as if to give directions to Western tourists. To summarise, languages play a key role in the Tokyo 2020 campaigns. Like in Chapter Two, languages are used to silence the other – here, Japan – and assert dominance. Through the omnipresence of the English language, the videos suggest that Japanese is partly silenced to create a Western-friendly space.

(Figure 3-5 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

In addition to this, the Western occupation and infiltration of Japanese culture is shown through the variety of Western elements found in the frames. First, the presence of white foreigners wearing *yukatas* and participating in the *odori* confirms the idea that Tokyo is a space designed for Western pleasure. Indeed, several people of Western origin can be seen dancing in the music video: closest to Ishikawa’s podium and spotlight, there is a young white woman, as pictured on Fig. 3-5. She frequently appears on-screen, giving her priority to Japanese and other ethnicities present in the video. Then, Tokyo’s modernised architecture in the background of the scene and the archive footage of 1964 present the space as successfully dominated. Despite never having been colonised, Japan has adopted Western architecture and systems after the Second World War. Visual reminders of this not only attract the Western eye through their familiarity, but also reinforce the inferior position of Tokyo in the Japan-West power dynamic. Lastly, Pistol Takehara’s scene suggests that Western culture has inspired Japanese culture so much that Japanese arts and entertainment use Western tools of artistic expression. Indeed, Takehara, a blues and jazz singer, performs the Japanese song with the help of Western instruments like a blues guitar.¹⁰¹ The melodic harmonies of his instruments do not match traditional Japanese scales,¹⁰² and his singing

¹⁰¹“Pistol Takehara: Biography,” *IMDb*, publication date not indicated, <<https://www.imdb.com/name/nm2437459/>> [accessed 27.08.2018]

¹⁰² Maki Okada and Gerald Groemer, “Musical Characteristics of Enka,” *Popular Music - Japanese issue*, 1991, Vol. 10.3., pp. 283-303, p. 284.

voice differs from the typically nasal intonations of traditional *enka* singers.¹⁰³ This shows that Japan is Westernised to the point of incorporating the foreign style into their culture. In conclusion, Western influences are present throughout the video: white dancers are appropriating Japanese folk dance and traditional clothing, Western architecture is showcased several times, and parts of the official song are Westernised.

(Figure 3-6 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Furthermore, the many cultural markers that encourage Japanese crowds – *yukatas*, *enka*, *kabuki* dancers or paper lanterns – also feed Western expectations. Although the music video creates a festival mood through summer *yukatas*, paper lanterns and Japanese dancing for Japanese viewers, the same images have a different meaning for the West. Indeed, they become markers of exotic otherness, as they comply to the Western stereotypes of Japanese people. As Ian Littlewood explains,

What emerges as we move through a mythical world of subhumans and superhumans, of temples and cherry blossoms, of exotic women and strange fanatical men is a striking picture of how closely our current images of the Japanese are tied to the clichés of the past.¹⁰⁴

This is the case for the Tokyo 2020 advertisement campaigns, where traditional architecture or the iconic cherry blossom trees often emerge.

Then, as in Chapter Two, Tokyo's women are presented to the Western audience as entertainment. Firstly, the main singer of the music video, Ishikawa, is put on a literal pedestal and lit by a spotlight. On top of that, the only dancer who gets a short interval of individual attention is a young Japanese woman, seen in Fig. 3-6. This screengrab summarises the Western-oriented vision of Tokyo 2020 well: the characters are wearing traditional Japanese clothing while performing a traditional folk dance under traditional

¹⁰³Ibid, p. 288.

¹⁰⁴Ian Littlewood, *The Idea of Japan: Western Images, Western Myths* (Sussex: Ivan R Dee, 1996).

Japanese decorations. In the foreground, there is a young Japanese woman who looks into the camera. The camera pans slowly as it captures her highlighted appearance. The woman looks angelic and unattainable. Her sweet expression and soft make-up, as well as her predominantly white clothes make her look like Miko and Yumi in *Wasabi*. She is pure and untouchable. At the same time, she is also the only dancer to directly look at the camera. This mirrors the sexualised attitude of the girls we saw on Fig. 2-4, as she incites the viewer to come closer. This dancer is a hybrid of former representations of Japanese women outlined in Chapter Two as she caters simultaneously to various Western and masculine gazes.

Penultimately, Tokyo 2020 caters to Western representations of the capital by showing that Tokyo has not evolved in the global ideological hierarchy since the 1964 Games. This is directly expressed in *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* by the announcer Furutachi, who states that “Today’s Tokyo is almost unrecognisable. But the skies above Tokyo remain the same.” This quote submits that although Tokyo has changed on a structural level, it remains the same in terms of global dynamics. The parallels drawn between Tokyo 1964 and Tokyo 2020 support this claim: like Tokyo 1964, Tokyo 2020 is ruled by the hosting concept of *omotenashi*, meaning that the visitor comes first. At the Rio de Janeiro ceremony, the robot-like dancers who initiate Japan’s show, turn around to face the international crowd in the stadium and behind TV screens, and bow down. While in Japanese culture, this is a mere greeting,¹⁰⁵ it can be read as a gesture of submission from a Western perspective. The dancers’ silence during this interaction with the world only strengthens this impression of self-erasure for the benefit of the ‘superior’ guest.

(Figure 3-7 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Finally, the slogan of the 2020 Games, ‘HAPPY & PEACE’, is put on display throughout *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* and cements the image Japan offers to its Western targets. During the song, which is a cover of the original 1964 hymn, the dancers brandish their hands in the air, fingers in the shape of a peace sign, as demonstrated in Fig. 3-7. In addition, as the official instructions dictate, the dancers smile at all times. This mirrors the image

¹⁰⁵“Japanese Greeting,” *Japan Guide*, publication date not indicated, < <https://www.japan-guide.com/e/e2000.html> > [accessed 27.08.2018]

Japan has been selling to the world after its defeat in 1945. After its occupation and national emasculation at the hands of the Allies,¹⁰⁶ Japan painted a picture of itself as a repenting, docile and pacific nation. This image has persisted until the present, where it is found in the official campaigns for Tokyo 2020. Due to its historic relationship with the West, this self-portrait as a gentle, non-aggressive country puts Japan on the other end of the Western-dominated hierarchal pyramid.

3.3 The new Tokyo, a product of autoethnography

So far, the Japanese and Western readings of Tokyo 2020 advertisements reported in sections 3.1 and 3.2 seem contradictory: how can Tokyo simultaneously be rebranded as proud and Japanese and remain submissive and Westernised? How does the same image create two drastically different readings? The answer lies in autoethnography, which has been discussed in the literature review. Autoethnography allows for a culture to appropriate the image imposed by an ideologically dominant other and use it for its own benefits. It gives local audiences the chance to be critical of the other, ideologically oppressive audience. This image, akin to the Rubin's vase, is interpreted differently based on the viewer's context. In this case, Japan is on the oppressed side of the ideological power dynamic between Japan and the West. Autoethnographic depictions are frequently found in previously occupied nations like Japan, according to Amy Spry, who says that "autoethnography can be defined as a self-narrative that critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts."¹⁰⁷ Japan, through the image it promotes to the West, does not actually cater to Western expectations, but instead judges the position it occupies on the modern Western stage. Thus, the Olympic and Paralympic Games of 2020 not only offer a chance for Tokyo to change Japan's national image, but also present an opportunity to openly question internalised Western ideologies of supremacy. In passing, the capital and its economy benefit from the counter-exploitation of the Western audiences it hopes to attract.

¹⁰⁶Chris Deacon, Diss.: "Herbivore Boys and the Performance of Masculinity in Contemporary Japan,"p. 129-176, p. 144, University of Gent, 2012.

¹⁰⁷Tami Spry, "Performing Autoethnography: An Embodied Methodological Praxis," *Qualitative Inquiry*, 2001, Vol. 7.6., pp. 706-732, p.710.

As has been established, to attract Western audiences, Tokyo has to cater to Western expectations. These have been outlined in the previous section: Western audiences' image of Japan is made of traditional Japanese aesthetics, wild neon-lit cityscapes, and Japan's imagined inferiority to the West. As segment 3.2 shows, these criteria have been met: in the official music video and handover ceremony, Tokyo is made out to be an exotic but modern space where Westerners can live out adventures and watch spectacles of Japanese culture. The thrill factor comes from the Olympic event, meaning that *yakuzas* are not needed. Essentially, the city is made out to look like it has been built for Western use. Lastly, the official slogan, which mirrors Japan's philosophy of pacifism since World War II, quells Western anxieties over the change of ideological dynamics. At a first glance, Tokyo 2020 seems to shape the city to fit Western tastes and fantasies. However, a further analysis of *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* and the Rio de Janeiro handover ceremony reveals critical self-awareness of Tokyo and Japan's position in the Western world. By exploiting Western clichés and positioning Japan as superior, the campaign can thus examine naturalised Western ideologies in the Japanese context.

(Figure 3-8 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Firstly, Japan reverses its position in the Japan-West dichotomy through the display of Japanese cultural appropriation of the West. This is visible in *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*, where Pistol Takehara and the male *enka* singer Yuzo Kayama master Western instruments. Although this can be read as the Westernisation of Japan, the overwhelming presence of Japanese instruments and singing in the video makes the guitars appear less dominant. Yuzo Kayama does not even play the guitar he carries, using it instead as an accessory. The guitar therefore loses its meaning as a proof of Westernisation. Additionally, during Pistol Takehara's segment, the lyrics he sings are boldly painted on the foreground in *kanji*, as shown on Fig. 3-8. Through this, they become inaccessible to the Western viewer who does not speak the language. In the same linguistic argument, the English subtitles of the video are optional and require activation on the YouTube platform, whereas the Japanese subtitles are incorporated in the video itself. This again suggests that the Japanese language takes the foreground in terms of importance in the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games.

(Figure 3-9 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Lastly, Japanese superiority to the West is also expressed by the appropriation of Western history. When Kayama arrives in the video, he is on a white ship. This is a stark contrast to the black ships Commodore Perry used to forcefully penetrate the archipelago in the nineteenth century. The colour of the white ship, however, suggests that, contrarily to the Western invaders, the Japanese arrive in peace. Yet, the framing of the shot of Kayama's arrival positions him as superior to the viewer too. While, in a Japanese context, his superiority could be personal due to his fame,¹⁰⁸ in a Western context – where Kayama is unknown –, the singer represents Japanese culture as he looks down on the audience and stands proudly on the white ship.

(Figure 3-10 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Then, another way in which Tokyo represents Japan's reversal of dynamics is through the display of its nation's international successes. This is done straightforwardly through the presentation of Tokyo 1964's innovations and successful legacy, and through a presentation of the nation's powerful athletes in the Rio de Janeiro video. Indeed, at one moment, Japanese Olympians collaborate to bring a red sphere to the prime minister Abe. As pictured in Fig. 3-10, Japaneseness is strongly promoted here: the Japanese athletes showcase their strength, with Tokyo's night-time skyline in the background. On the left side, there is the red sphere of the *hinomaru* flag. As the athletes come into the frame from the left side too, it seems like they emerge from the *hinomaru*, and that therefore, they draw their strength from it. Although the Rio de Janeiro video was screened to international audiences first, there is a strong sense of national identity.

¹⁰⁸“Yuzo Kayama,” *IMDB*, publication date not indicated, <<https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0443232/>> [accessed 29.09.2018]

Aside from displaying Japan's strength, the Rio de Janeiro ceremony serves to remind the world of Japan's international reach and successes. In the clip for the ceremony, PM Abe is seen wearing a Mario costume. Mario, the main character of *Super Mario Bros*, is the invention of the Japanese gaming company Nintendo. The *Super Mario Bros* franchise has been a worldwide success since the 1980s, showing Japan's skill not only in game-programming but also in marketing.¹⁰⁹ In addition to Mario, other famous characters are present in the clip: Pacman, Hello Kitty, Captain Tsubasa and Doraemon make an appearance too.¹¹⁰ These characters are all internationally known, thanks to their success in countries all over the world like France or the United States. Considering that all these characters are implemented in global pop culture and are still in demand after decades,¹¹¹ their presence in this video serves to remind the world of Japan's excellent and popular exports. It also serves to link exploitable content to Tokyo, in the tradition of contents tourism. After all, the characters and athletes portrayed here are constantly surrounded or followed by shots of Tokyo's cityscape: this serves as a reminder that the origin of these everlasting commodities is Tokyo.

From a Japanese perspective, the music video and the handover video also present Tokyo as a superior country thanks to its technological advances that are intricately bound to Japanese culture. Firstly, the dancers that opened the handover ceremony all arrive on hoverboards. They are in perfect sync as they converge towards the centre of the stage to create the red circle of the Japanese flag, seemingly like robots. As the official commentator of the ceremony mentions, their futuristic costumes are made from carefully folded origami. At a later stage, the holograms that descend down onto the arena also look like white fluorescent origami. These elements thus present Japan as a culture whose highly advanced technology originates in Japanese traditions and arts. In *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*, this is visible when Ishikawa descends onto the stage wearing an astronaut suit and jet pack. While this is staged, the video sells Tokyo as a high-tech city where people can fly. Ishikawa's astronaut

¹⁰⁹Luke Kelly, "Making the Switch: How Nintendo Won Back The West," *Forbes*, February 2018, <<https://www.forbes.com/sites/ljkelly/2018/02/12/making-the-switch-how-nintendo-won-back-the-west/#7f3d215675ff>> [accessed 29.09.2018]

¹¹⁰Alicia Joy, "The Most Recognisable Characters From Japanese Pop Culture," *Culture Trip*, November 2017, <<https://theculturetrip.com/asia/japan/articles/the-most-recognizable-characters-from-japanese-pop-culture/>> [accessed 29.08.2018]

¹¹¹Danielle Leigh Rich, Diss.: "Global Fandom: The Circulation of Japanese Popular Culture in the U.S.," pp. 1-280, p. 1., University of Iowa, 2011.

costume is reminiscent of the popular Japanese cartoon character *Astro Boy* too,¹¹² therefore grounding the innovative invention in Japanese culture. Thus, Tokyo 2020 media content advertises Tokyo's successes in international cultural export and superior technology, not by openly bragging, but by simply letting the different Japanese creations demonstrate their quality and fame on the screen.

(Figure 3-11 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Finally, the Tokyo 2020 campaigns analysed here seem to mock Western stereotypes about Japan by reproducing and exaggerating them. In *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*, for instance, during the tutorial explaining the official dance step by step, many stereotypes about Japan are portrayed. The instructions of "How to dance Tokyo Gorin Ondo 2020" are carried out by two men, one fully-abled and one in a wheelchair, who are wearing identical glasses and slick, combed hair. Their stoic expression and style remind of the cliché salaryman found in depictions of the Tokyo life. As they look identical in terms of costumes and expressions, they embody yet another Western stereotype about Japanese uniformity. They also represent cultural prejudices surrounding Japanese collectiveness, emotionality and character types.¹¹³ The two men show the motions to the dance, accompanied by mathematical schemes and diagrams explaining precisely the degree to which to turn a hand, or move a foot (Fig. 3-11). This image mocks the stereotype of the Japanese's exaggerated preciseness that was anchored during the 1964 Games. Here then, while feeding Western ideas on their culture, the Japanese interpret them with humour and exploit them to attract Western audiences instead of passively taking the stereotypes on.

In conclusion, Tokyo 2020 does not simply offer stereotypes to Western audiences because of their past as an occupied space. Instead, the pre-existing images of Tokyo and

¹¹²Frank Fuller, "The deep influence of the A-bomb on anime and manga," *The Conversation*, August 2015, <<http://theconversation.com/the-deep-influence-of-the-a-bomb-on-anime-and-manga-45275>> [accessed 29.08.2018]

¹¹³Josephine van Alphen, Diss.: "'Typically Japanese': an analysis of stereotypes and disaster myths: The manifestation of Western Orientalist preconceptions of the Japanese within photographs of the 2011 Tohoku disasters," pp. 1-57, p. 14., Leiden University, 2014.

Japanese culture are utilised to attract Westerners. From the Japanese standpoint, they serve to criticise the position of Japan on the international stage and support the new depiction of Tokyo as a Japanese capital. Indeed, the depictions of successful exports and powerful Japanese athletes are superposed with images of Tokyo. As such, Tokyo becomes the seat of Japan's proven successes on the international stage.

3.4 Autoethnography and contents tourism outside of audiovisual campaigns

(Figure 3-12 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Strategies of contents tourism and autoethnography have not remained within the boundaries of audiovisual content in the run-up to Tokyo 2020. They also appear in actions taken by the Japanese and Tokyoite government, whose aim it is to attract Western foreigners and Japanese locals alike. On official websites of the international event, for instance, the English and Japanese versions are not similar. The English versions of the websites tend to feature Tokyo as a night-time city that is exciting, exotic and traditional. Japanese aesthetics – one of the ‘passion points’ identified by the JNTO – are also built into the page's layout. As the Tokyo Metropolitan Government website on Fig. 3-12 shows, all Western expectations are fulfilled: there are exciting and colourful fireworks, a neon-lit night-time cityscape, as well as Japanese carp streamers (usually displayed for Children's Day in March).¹¹⁴ More subtle references to Japanese culture are found in the blue rectangles: their traditional patterns – linked to the Japanese celebration of Buddhism – remind of Japan's exotic aesthetics.¹¹⁵ Other websites, like *TokyoTokyo*, also feature Western stereotypes of Tokyo and Japanese culture in order to attract Westerners to Japan.

(Figure 3-13 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

¹¹⁴“Koinobori,” *Koinobori-Japan*, publication date not indicated, <<http://www.koinobori-japan.jp/koinobori.html>> [accessed 29.08.2018]

¹¹⁵Catherine French, “Patterns Around the World: Japanese, Maori, Islamic, Aztec/Mayan, African,” *Curricula*, 2017, Vol. 25, pp. 1-32, p. 14.

Alternatively, Japanese versions of the same websites have different aesthetics and messages. Where English versions promise diversity and excitement, Japanese pages describe Tokyo as a safe, unified and Japanese city. For instance, the Japanese version of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government website presents Tokyo through different means as the Tokyo advertised to the West. As seen in Fig. 3-13, the Japanese page is less image-centred and more informative. There are many articles on the front page, all of which serve to inform Tokyoite citizens of any changes and perturbations they could encounter every day. The cute hedgehog and sheep cartoons give the impression that Tokyo is a safe, child-friendly space. Lastly, this version of the website – unlike its counterpart – does not promise diversity and does not present Westerners on any photos of its webpage. The same website thus offers different images of the capital to its various audiences: on one hand it hopes to attract Westerners through a replication of their passion points, and on the other hand it presents Tokyo as a quintessentially Japanese and safe environment.

(Figure 3-14 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.)

Autoethnography is visible in the creation of the Tokyo 2020 Games' official mascots. The pair of mascots, chosen from several pairs by Japanese primary school children, are Miraitowa (for the Olympics) and Someity (for the Paralympics).¹¹⁶ They are portrayed in Fig. 3-14. Miraitowa's name combines the words 'mirai' (future) and 'towa' (eternity). According to the Tokyo 2020's official website, it symbolises "eternal hope in the hearts of people all over the world."¹¹⁷ Miraitowa is described as highly athletic, with a strong sense of justice and with the power to teleport anywhere at any time. Its teleportation skill is linked to its name, which is inspired by an old Japanese proverb that says to learn from the past to acquire new knowledge. As such, Miraitowa's powers refer to Japan's ability to rise from its ashes after the Second World War and the nation's occupation by the Allied Forces. The character is also sporting a modernised *kabuto* helmet and the *ichimatsu* pattern of the official logo. This has two effects: first, it caters to Western interests, as the character's superpowers and samurai helmet make it an exotic creature. On the other hand, however, it encourages Japaneseness, through the representation of traditional aesthetics. Additionally,

¹¹⁶"Tokyo 2020 Mascots, MIRAITOWA and SOMEITY have finally Debut!" *Tokyo 2020 Official Website*, July 2018, <<https://tokyo2020.org/en/news/notice/20180722-01.html>> [accessed 29.08.2018]

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

from a Japanese point of view, the character's powers bring up feelings of Japanese pride and resilience in the face of Western oppression.

Someity, the pink mascot of the Paralympics, also has autoethnographic connotations. Like Miraitowa, it offers exoticism to Westerners through its aesthetics: the mascot is decorated with pink cherry blossoms, an image frequently found in popular Western representations of Japan.¹¹⁸ Its cloak, which enables it to fly, also makes Someity into an exciting figure through which the Western foreigner can explore Tokyo. Moreover, according to the official website, its name is a phonetical spelling of the phrase 'So mighty'. The use of the English language to label this mute mascot thus appeals to Western ideas of colonialism, where the colonised use the language of their oppressor. However, Someity also represents the essence of Japanese identity. While its name can be read as 'so mighty' in English, from a Japanese perspective, 'Someity' comes from a popular type of Japanese cherry blossoms called 'someiyoshino.' Japanese culture celebrates cherry blossoms too, but the meaning is different in their culture: instead of being simply pretty, the cherry blossom represents 'the fragility and beauty of life' in Japanese culture.¹¹⁹ Lastly, like Sean Boswell in Chapter Two appropriates Japanese by phonetically distorting it, Someity's name is a distortion and an appropriation of English by the Japanese. Therefore, the name may be read as the successful internalisation of the English language by the ideologically 'inferior' Japan. At the same time, though, the name's more philosophical meaning is reserved to Japanese audiences. In a sense, Someity's name creates a sense of exclusivity. To summarise, the mascots represent modernity, excitement and exoticism from a Western point of view. However, from a Japanese perspective, they not only celebrate Japanese traditionalism, but also encourage national pride. This is done by using the past as well as exclusively Japanese knowledge to portray Japan as a strong and beautiful nation.

¹¹⁸Danielle Demetriou, "Everything you need to know about seeing cherry blossoms in Japan," *The Telegraph*, March 2018, <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/asia/japan/articles/japan-cherry-blossom-sakura-guide/>> [accessed 29.09.2018]

¹¹⁹Erina Takeda, "Significance of Sakura: Cherry Blossom Traditions in Japan," *Festival*, April 2014, <<https://festival.si.edu/blog/2014/significance-of-sakura-cherry-blossom-traditions-in-japan/>> [accessed 29.09.2018]

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I looked at currently promoted content surrounding the Tokyo 2020 Olympics. The goal was to understand how, in *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* and the Rio de Janeiro handover ceremony video, different ideas about Tokyo and Japanese culture are able to coexist. First, Tokyo 2020 undeniably has an autoethnographic approach to its advertisement content. While this is not apparent at first, there is a concise message of nationalism and Japanese uniqueness promoted in the campaigns. Indeed, there only seem to be two agendas in the audiovisual advertisements at first: the first is to rebrand Tokyo as Japanese and the second is to present Tokyo as a Western-friendly destination.

For Japanese audiences, Tokyo's image has undergone drastic changes. The dangerous, anti-Japanese Tokyo previously found in Japanese media is nowhere to be found, replaced instead by a colourful city where people can come together by choice. The inhabitants are able to move freely in the city without getting absorbed by the foreign, Westernised and inhuman infrastructures. Japanese citizens can also practice their traditions, such as *odori* or *enka*. In addition, Tokyo 2020 is presented as a continuation of Tokyo 1964, which brought Japan much fortitude. Overall, Tokyo has – from a Japanese perspective – a new, positive image as a vast cultural summer festival for Japanese people to enjoy. Official websites of the capital enforce the idea of safety and Japaneseness, as they focus on making Tokyo a safe city, and also do not feature foreigners. Tokyo is thus rebranded as a purely Japanese utopia.

Contrarily to this, from a Western perspective, Tokyo is sold as a submissive commodity. The same elements that inspire traditionalism to Japanese audiences, like *yukatas*, *kabutos* or paper lanterns, satisfy Western expectations of Japan's aesthetics. In addition, reminders that Tokyo has not changed since 1964 imply that Tokyo's ideological standing in the world – as a former anti-Western empire – has not changed either. The presence of Western dancers and instruments in the official music video suggests that Westerners are welcome to consume Japanese culture in Tokyo as a consequence of Japan's global position. As the English language is everywhere, Tokyo appears as an ideal tourism

destination for Westerners. The official mascots of the Olympic and Paralympic Games also cater to Western preconceptions of the culture, as they aesthetically mirror stereotypical aesthetics and pictures like samurai warriors, pretty cherry blossoms and futuristic robots.

These two images – contradictory in ideological nature – can only coexist through Japan's autoethnographic approach to selling its image to the West. Indeed, the advertisements do not just remind Japan of Tokyo's implication in traditionalism, but also spread a clear message of nationalism and Japanese uniqueness. Catering to Western audiences only serves as a tool to situate and critically analyse Japan's current standing as an ideological inferior to the West. By reminding the world and Japan of Japan's global successes and achievements, which symbolically originate from Tokyo, the campaigns redefine the balance between Japan and the West. In addition, the exclusivity created by the language and cultural knowledge of the nation increases the image of Tokyo and Japan as being willingly different from the West. From a native point of view, the new Tokyo and Japan are suddenly not the submissive other to the West anymore, but its culturally unique, innovative and successful rival.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation focused on the image of Tokyo presented to Japanese and Western audiences in the run-up to the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The aim was to understand how the official advertisement campaigns surrounding the international event could cater to the contrasting expectations of different audiences. Considering Tokyo and Japan's complex historical past as both the oppressor of Asian countries and the prisoner of the West after World War II, it was essential to outline past depictions of the city first. It was only through a comparison with these that I could determine whether it could be said that Tokyo was branded or *rebranded* for the Tokyo 2020 Games.

Chapter One delineated Tokyo's past position and reputation in Japan. Historically, Tokyo's past situates it as an other to the nation: throughout the years since its first contact with the West in the 16th century, Tokyo has been oppressed and occupied by Western countries several times. The most recent and violent occupation happened after the Second World War: Tokyo was not only bombed and partly destroyed by the Allies, but after its defeat, was forced to live under the supervision and censorship of Western powers. The presence of foreigners and their imported culture affected Tokyo, not just on an ideological level, but also on an architectural level. In addition to representing the supremacy of Westerners, Tokyo was a breeding ground for crime: black markets and *yakuza* gangs – which had proliferated during the war – could thrive in Tokyo. Depictions of the city in Japanese literature and cinema have reflected the fears and frustrations the Western presence has caused over the decades. Essentially, Tokyo has been dissociated from Japan, as it represents defeat, Westernisation, crime, and consequently, the loss of Japanese values.

This is reflected in Kiyoshi Kurosawa's *Tokyo Sonata*, which came out in 2008 and was the main text for this chapter's analysis. In this film, the city is portrayed as a silent threat that endangers the city's citizens and Japanese values. Tokyo is depicted as a vaguely outlined concrete jungle, where the failure of the Western-implemented capitalistic system

breeds suffering. Through the narrative of four members of a middle-class family living in Tokyo, the effects of the city on Japanese people are displayed. The urban threat that is Tokyo also endangers the traditional Japanese family, which is at the core of the Japanese system. When the patriarch loses his position as a respectable salaryman and is unable to reacquire it, the Japanese family model disintegrates. Human interactions are replaced by the sounds of the city. The city's ambience penetrates the Sasaki household too. This worsens the condition of all individuals of the family. In addition, the city threatens to absorb the characters into itself: the costumes, narratives and mise-en-scène show how the urban space cages and oppresses individuality. Next, elements of traditional Japanese culture are completely absent from the film: it is as if they were erased from the space by the urban, Western presence. Lastly, it is only through a departure from Tokyo that the characters are able to breathe and express emotions. Thus, in *Tokyo Sonata*, Tokyo is a Westernised danger that threatens to dissolve not only the traditional Japanese family structure, but also seeks to devour every Japanese individual in its territory. Chapter One thus showed that, in a Japanese context, the Tokyo 2020 campaigns had to challenge the negative image of Tokyo as a non-Japanese entity hostile to traditions.

Next, Chapter Two discussed the representations of Tokyo in Western cinema, in order to understand how the Tokyo 2020 campaigns could appeal to Western audiences. As determined in a report by the McKinsey Company, Tokyo purposely aims to attract more Westerners than Pan-Asian visitors nowadays. To outline the expectations of Western audiences, I analysed the Hollywood film *The Fast and The Furious: Tokyo Drift* and well as the French film *Wasabi*. Both came out in 2006, so only two years before *Tokyo Sonata*. In both films, similar preconceptions about Tokyo and Japanese culture came forth: Tokyo was a colonised space made for Western exploitation. The narratives of the films, like many before, bring a white Westerner to Tokyo to sort personal problems. While the protagonists overcome their issues, they are also often confronted to dangerous adventures involving crime. They always survive and come out as heroes. Then, the visual representations of Tokyo as a neon-coloured, night-time city only serve as a background for the hero's exploration of the self. Next, the city also loses its meaning as its language is taken away either through the denial of Japanese, or through the imposition of French or English onto the space and its inhabitants. Subtitles – or the lack thereof – are also used to deny the Japanese of a means of expression. Finally, Tokyo's image as an adventure park is consolidated by the representation of Japanese women in Tokyo. Japanese women are

presented as a visual pleasure for the male, Western gaze to consume. They are either sinful temptations or the embodiment of the Western fantasy of female innocence. As Chapter Two demonstrated, Western depictions of Tokyo make the city out to be an exotic, othered, meaningless and consumable space. The patterns identified in the image construction are typical of Western colonisation. This is interesting considering that Tokyo and Japan were never fully colonised by the West. Therefore, it can be said that, through film, Western cinema positions Tokyo and its nation as ideologically weaker and inferior.

Finally, Chapter Three compared the ideas found in Chapter One and Two to audiovisual content of the Tokyo 2020 campaigns. Focusing on the official music video of the upcoming Olympics, *Tokyo Gorin Ondo*, observations of the video confirmed that Tokyo is simultaneously branded and rebranded as a city at this point in time. In the videos, elements such as traditional clothing or arts are displayed in Tokyo. In addition, footage of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics is incorporated. From the standpoint of the Japanese audience, this reminds them of the city's sustained success and evolution throughout the years. The associations of Japanese traditions and pride with the capital thus returns the status of Japaneseness to the city. Lastly, Tokyo is – like in Western depictions – turned into a harmless background for Japanese life; people can come together and have fun safely. However, Tokyo is not erased. When catering to Japanese audiences, it is celebrated as the host of past and future successful Olympic Games.

Contrastingly, the city is presented to Western audiences as it always has been; the city is an exciting adventure to explore on the side while getting to know oneself better. The music video and other content like the Olympic handover ceremony in Rio de Janeiro in 2016, appeal to Westerners through familiarity: as in depictions from previous decades, Japanese culture is exploited and simplified to suit Western interests. The culture is represented as inferior to the West, an idea reinforced by the music video's claim that Tokyo has not changed since the 1964 Olympics. This creates a contradiction, as the same audiovisual content claims at the same time that Tokyo *has* evolved and *has not* evolved.

Then, through autoethnographic depictions, Japanese officials are able to cater to the Western tourists they target while also promoting Japanese pride. Indeed, the cliché Japanese aesthetics and proofs of Westernisation in the videos give the impression that Tokyo 2020 campaigns prioritise Western target audiences. Like in former depictions, Tokyo remains a background to the Western action. Japanese women are still offered to Western male gazes as silent objects. The natives have also incorporated Western words and tools in their culture. Lastly, the appropriation of Japanese culture by Westerners seems to be fully supported by official governments, as the white, *yukata*-clad dancers in *Tokyo Gorin Ondo* suggest. However, from a Japanese point of view, all these interpretations can be reversed: Japanese people have appropriated Western culture by freely using their tools. The omnipresence of Japanese arts signifies that there is no space for Western forms of entertainment. The few white Westerners in the dance video disappear in the mass of Japanese dancers. Lastly, Japan openly displays its vast amount of successfully exported products, like games and anime. Through the reversal of Western interpretations, the campaign reaffirms Tokyo's strength and places itself not as an inferior, but as an equal rival of the dominant Western powers.

In conclusion, I would argue that old representations of Tokyo belong to the West, but the new Tokyo crafted by Tokyo 2020's advertising campaigns belongs to Japan. This new Tokyo is not a stranger in its country and is not bound by Western influences anymore. Then, the Tokyo 2020 Games are not just an opportunity to uncover existing ideological power dynamics and question them. Tokyo 2020 also represents a chance for the city to change its limboid position. The city could finally affirm its position in the Western economy, while also retrieving its Japanese identity. If the campaigns manage to attract the set aim of forty million Westerners by 2020 through its advertisements, Tokyo will have successfully counter-exploited Western culture. Subsequently, Tokyo could help the mission of Abenomics, and could earn its rightful place in the empowerment of Japan's national economy. All of this will depend on the outcome of the Games in 2020. However, from the point of view of film and television studies, it will be interesting to study the impact of the Tokyo 2020 audiovisual campaigns on subsequent audiovisual content. Will Tokyo's depictions remain unchanged as Tokyo 2020 goes down the same path as Tokyo 1964? Or, will new ideological images of Tokyo emerge in future Japanese and Western media?

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