

**REPRESENTATIONS OF FOREIGNERS AND
JAPANESE NATIONAL IDENTITY AT THE 1964 OLYMPICS IN *IDATEN***

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ABSTRACT

The 2020 Olympics are not Tokyo's first experience of hosting the Games. Previously, the city hosted the 1964 Olympics. This historical background generated nostalgia for the 1964 Olympics ahead of the 2020 Olympics. The 1964 Olympics are remembered for exposing Japanese society to various interactions with foreigners, which eventually provided the setting for expressions of Japanese national identity through comparisons between "us" (Japanese) and "them" (foreigners). In this sense, representations of foreigners, and their roles as essential elements of Japanese national identity discourse, have been the integral parts of 1964 Olympics nostalgia. Ahead of the 2020 Olympics, numerous popular culture forms depicting the 1964 Olympics were produced in Japan. One notable work was the television drama *IDATEN Orimupikku Banashi* (hereafter: *IDATEN*), broadcast by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) from January-December 2019. The drama depicted Japan's Olympic movement from the 1912 to 1964 Olympics and featured a wide variety of foreign characters. *IDATEN*'s portrayal of the 1964 Olympics features not only foreign countries widely represented in Japanese popular culture, such as the US, but also less featured countries such as Indonesia and the Republic of the Congo. This article analyzes depictions of these three nations to examine critically the role of representations of foreigners in Japanese national identity discourse within the drama. It argues that as a drama produced ahead of the 2020 Olympics *IDATEN* signifies the aspirations of 21st century Japan rather than reflecting the actual situation during the 1964 Olympics, especially in how it portrays Japan through the country's relations with other countries.

KEYWORDS: Japanese national identity, representations of foreigners, television drama, Tokyo Olympics

INTRODUCTION

At the 125th International Olympic Committee (IOC) Session on 8 September 2013 in Buenos Aires, Tokyo was selected as the host for the 2020 Olympics. Japanese mainstream media have attributed this success to recognition of Tokyo's, and thus Japan's, superior economy,

infrastructure, and ability to manage the Games compared to the other bidders (Istanbul and Madrid). Consequently, the result generated a celebratory and confident mood in Japan. This confidence is apparent, for example, in how the Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games claims the 2020 Tokyo Olympics will be "the most innovative in history," and "will bring positive reform to the world" (The Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games n.d.).

The 2020 Olympics (which, at the time of writing, had been postponed to 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic) are not the first games to be held in Tokyo. The city hosted the Olympics in 1964. The confident mood coexists with nostalgia for the 1964 Games. Ahead of the 2020 Olympics, the 1964 Olympics was being remembered as the Games that "transformed Japan completely" (ibid.). This narrative is in line with the popular positioning of the 1964 Olympics as Japan's takeoff point en route to becoming one of the world's major economies in the post-World War II era.

The 1964 Olympics are also remembered as an event involving encounters with foreigners from around the world, as they attracted approximately fifty thousand foreign tourists to Japan (Japan Tourism Agency 2013). Memories of these foreign visitors not only concern the perceived economic benefits. Around the time of the 1964 Games, Japan was struggling to find a stage on which to express its national identity, which was a sensitive issue after Japan's defeat in World War II. Encounters with foreigners, combined with the popular belief of the "political neutrality" of sport, made the 1964 Olympics a secure stage for expressions of Japanese national identity, something perceived almost as taboo in postwar Japan (see Tagsold 2009). Thus, around the period of the 2020 Olympics, portrayals of the 1964 Olympics feature open expressions of Japanese national identity, such as raising the *Hi no Maru* (Rising Sun) flag or singing the national anthem, *Kimigayo*.

Numerous 1964 Olympics-themed popular culture forms were released before the 2020 Olympics. All, to a greater or lesser extent, engage expressions of Japanese national identity. These expressions depend heavily on direct comparisons and differentiations between "us" (Japanese) and those perceived as foreigners during interactions made possible by the Olympics. In other words, representations of foreigners play an important role in the construction of Japanese national identity.

One of the most notable popular culture forms containing portrayals of the 1964 Olympics was the television drama *IDATEN Tōkyō Orimupikku Banashi*¹ (hereafter, *IDATEN*). *IDATEN* was the 2019 annual one-year-long historical drama (*taiga dorama*) produced by the Japan

¹ Literally translated as *IDATEN: The Story of Tokyo Olympics*, however its English-subtitled version (broadcasted initially by NHK World in May 2020) uses *IDATEN The Epic Marathon to Tokyo* as the title.

Broadcasting Corporation (NHK). It dramatizes the history of Japan's Olympic movement from the country's first participation in the Olympics in 1912 to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. The drama is notable for covering a significant span of modern Japanese history and for its wide variety of non-Japanese characters.

IDATEN situates the 1964 Olympics as the culmination of postwar Japan's Olympic movement. The last seven episodes (episodes 41-47) focus on the 1964 Olympics, from Tokyo's victorious bid to become host city in 1959 to the Games' closing ceremony. These last seven episodes feature extensive representations of foreigners. However, it is noteworthy that alongside representations of countries like the US, there are representations of countries that feature much less in Japanese popular culture, such as Indonesia and the Republic of the Congo (hereafter, Congo).

Such portrayals of interactions between Japanese characters and various foreign characters (or various kinds of “otherness”) contribute to the construction of a complex Japanese national identity. As a cultural artifact produced around the time of the 2020 Olympics, *IDATEN*'s contribution to the construction of Japanese national identity reflects trends in 21st century Japan. This article analyzes representations of foreigners in *IDATEN* from the US, Indonesia, and Congo and what this tells us about Japanese national identity.

ABOUT *IDATEN*

IDATEN was the 58th NHK *taiga dorama* (annual year-long historical drama) and aired originally from 6 January to 15 December 2019. The drama tells the history of Japan's Olympic movement from Japan's first participation in the Olympics at the 1912 Stockholm Games to the country's success in bringing the Olympics to Japanese soil in 1964. *IDATEN* follows the story of two important figures in Japan's Olympic history, Kanakuri Shisō (1891-1983) and Tabata Masaji (1898-1984).

The first half of the drama (episodes 1 to 24) focuses on Kanakuri Shisō (played by Nakamura Kankurō), one of Japan's first two athletes to compete in the Olympic Games in Stockholm in 1912. Kanakuri, a marathon runner, also competed in the 1920 (Antwerp) and 1924 (Paris) Olympics. The drama follows Kanakuri's sporting career in his early life and his contribution as an educator in popularizing modern sports in Japan. In its second half (episodes 25 to 47), *IDATEN* portrays Tabata Masaji (played by Abe Sadao), dubbed as the man behind Japan's success in bringing the 1964 Olympic Games to Japan. The second half tells Tabata's story, from his early career as an *Asahi Shimbun* journalist while playing a leading role in the Japan Swimming Federation, to his central role in the Organizing Committee of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. *IDATEN* portrays Kanakuri and Tabata as the central figures in Japan's Olympic movement and emphasizes that "there would be no (Tokyo) Olympics without the two" (NHK 2019).

Both main characters are portrayed as people who dedicated their entire lives to the advancement of sport in Japan. They embody “pure sport” within the drama, which is in line with what seemed to be the main message of the drama: that politics should never interfere with sport. Conflicts throughout the drama revolve around occasions when politics interferes too much in sport, from the cancellation of the 1916 Berlin Olympics due to World War I, the politicization of 1936 Berlin Olympics by Adolf Hitler, and the forfeiture of the 1940 Tokyo Olympics after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, to the domestic conflicts between politicians and “pure” sportsmen within the Olympics Organizing Committee during the preparations for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Political interventions, both domestic and international, are positioned as the natural enemy of sport. Hence, however problematic it may seem, *IDATEN* can be seen as championing the idea that politics must be separated from the Olympics.

Within the drama, the “pure sport” Olympics are depicted as the ideal means of realizing harmonious relationships between nations, where athletes, as representatives of nations, compete and at the same time build friendships. However, these portrayals of harmonious relationships between nations necessitate highlighting the distinct characteristics of each nation, either via portrayals of physical appearances or inner characteristics. This is to show that the Olympics have the power to unite people around the world, despite their differences. *IDATEN* features representations of numerous nations. Representatives from each nation are portrayed as having differences with the drama’s Japanese characters, enabling the positioning of Japan as “unique”. Furthermore, how Japanese characters are portrayed as taking pride in their “distinct qualities,” which make them “*Nipponjin*” (Japanese), might be associated with nationalism. *IDATEN*, therefore, features a complicated mixture of the idealism of sport as an apolitical means of creating harmony, and pride towards national identity, something which is unlikely to be perceived as apolitical.

JAPANESE NATIONAL IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATIONS OF FOREIGNERS

National identity is the mode of self and group identification based on the collective sense of belonging to one or more nations, which results from the differentiation between “us” and “them” (or “foreigners”) within the framework of (imagined) political and cultural borders between nations (see Anderson: 1983; Billig: 1995; Abe: 2001; İnaç and Ünal 2013). Representations of “them” (“the others,” “foreigners”) play a crucial role in defining the identity of “us” (“our” national identity). In this sense, defining who “we” are necessitates representations of “them” as the significant other. In other words, our construction of identity cannot stand alone without clarifying our differences (and similarities) with those perceived as “others.”

In Japan's case, numerous studies have revealed the characteristics of popular national identity discourse constructed through comparison to various types of otherness, for example “the

East" and "the West." Iwabuchi (2015, pp. 77-78) argues that through binary opposition between "Japan" and "the West," the self-representation of Japan as "culturally and racially homogeneous, and uniquely particularistic" is constructed. Ochiai (2017) adds that this "unique self-positioning" is not only formed by comparing Japan with "the West," but also "the East" ("Asia"). In other words, there have been a popular discourses locating Japan as the "in-between" (*hazama*) culture within the opposition of "the West" and "the East" (ibid.).

Awareness of the perceived presence of multiple others is also apparent in official versions of national identity discourse during the two Tokyo Olympics periods, 1964 and 2020. For example, in line with the hype of "internationalization" (*kokusaika*) in post-occupation Japan, the 1964 Olympics showcased Japan's willingness to re-enter and to actively contribute to the international community (Traganou: 2008; Dunscomb: 2014). Droubie (2009) shows three major tropes of Japanese national identity during the 1964 Olympics: 1) Japan's postwar recovery and its resurrection as a "global scientific and technological leader," 2) Japan's position as an interlocutor between West and non-West, and 3) Japan as a "uniquely peaceful and internationalist country." These tropes imply that the official version of Japanese national identity discourse was built by positioning Japan within the West-East axis. Similarly, Tamaki (2019) notes that within the discourse of elites during the period of the 1940² and 1964 Olympics, Japanese national identity was constituted through "dual Otherness," i.e., "the West" and "Asia."

As mentioned in the introduction, winning the bid to host the 2020 Olympics host generated confidence in Japan. Ahead of the 2020 Olympics, officials depicted their country as a "mature" (*seijuku*) nation, in other words an advanced nation with the ability "to promote future changes throughout the world, and leave a positive legacy for future generations" (The Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games n.d.). This is exemplified by Tokyo's self-image as a "smart city" (Kassens-Noor and Fukushige: 2016). In addition, Japan has built a self-image as a country that embraces international exchanges between nations (see Aoyama: 2015; Guajardo: 2017). In short, official discourse during the period of the 2020 Olympics portrays the nation as a role model for global society.

Japanese official discourse relating to Japanese national identity during the two Tokyo Olympics periods exemplifies two important things. The first is the crucial role of awareness of the perceived presence of "others" in national identity discourse. The second is that this awareness of "others" has resulted in different moods in each period. During the 1964 Olympics, when Japan tried to depict itself as a "peaceful internationalist" (see Droubie 2011) nineteen years after its defeat in World War II, Japan was cautious about expressing its national identity. Meanwhile,

² In 1936 Tokyo was selected as the host of the 1940 Olympics. However, in 1937 Japan decided to forfeit the Games following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Helsinki was chosen to replace Tokyo, only to see the Games cancelled due to World War II.

ahead of the 2020 Olympics, Japan was full of confidence in presenting itself as a "mature economy" capable of providing solutions to various global issues. As a television drama portraying the 1964 Olympics broadcast one year before Japan was scheduled to host the 2020 Olympics, *IDATEN* contains a blend of Japanese national identity discourses from the two Tokyo Olympics.

The remainder of this paper focuses on representations of foreigners and their interactions with Japanese characters in *IDATEN* episodes 41 to 47, which depict the Tokyo Olympics from 1959, when Tokyo won the right to host the Games, to the closing ceremony in 1964. These episodes depict two interconnecting examples of domestic political intervention during the Olympic Games preparations. The first is negotiations with the US military stationed in Japan. The second is the intense domestic debates between politicians and "pure sportsmen" regarding whether Japan should participate or not in the 1962 Jakarta Asian Games, which were perceived as political.³ These events are linked with a clear message: the Olympic Games are a festival of peace (*heiwa no saiten*). Thus, no political intervention is allowed. This message of the Olympics as a festival of peace is apparent in the portrayal of relationships between Japanese characters and Indonesian or Congolese characters, which will be discussed after analysis of representations of the US military.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE US MILITARY

Following its defeat in World War II, Japan came under Allied, effectively US, occupation in 1945. The US military continued to have a strong presence in Japanese people's lives even after the Treaty of San Francisco, which formally ended the occupation, came into force in 1952. To this day, military bases are spread throughout the country, and the laws and regulations relating to them continue to affect the lives of Japanese people. In issues of defense, national territory and international politics, Japan's dependence on the US has continued throughout the postwar.

Japan's dependency on the US was apparent during the preparation period for the 1964 Olympics. There were long negotiations for the return of one of the pieces of land occupied by the US military so that it could be used as the Olympic Village. As recorded in the Official Reports of the 1964 Olympics, the Organizing Committee of the Olympics considered Washington Heights, a housing complex for US military personnel in Yoyogi, Tokyo, as the most suitable site for the Olympic Village. However, the US military was not expected to make the area available, so the Organizing Committee decided to negotiate instead for the use of Camp Drake, another housing

³ The 1962 Asian Games generated much international debate due to the Indonesian government's decision to not invite Israel and Taiwan for political reasons. Participating in this event was argued by some to be harmful to Japan's plans for the 1964 Olympics.

area for US military personnel located in Asaka, Saitama Prefecture (Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVIII Olympiad 1966, p. 281). The Committee confirmed this plan on 7 December 1960 and launched the basic plan for the Asaka Olympic Village on 8 February 1961. From then on, negotiations continued with the US military alongside construction of the proposed Olympic Village's infrastructure, such as roads, in Asaka.

However, on 11 May 1961, the US military stated that they would return Washington Heights to Japan instead of the land in Asaka on condition that the Government of Japan provided "alternative suitable" housing for US military personnel. The Committee was initially unsatisfied with the offer. Nevertheless, they eventually agreed. On 23 October 1961, it was resolved that the Olympic Village plan would be moved to Yoyogi. On 10 December 1963, the US military formally handed over the area of Washington Heights to the Japanese Government (Organizing Committee for the Games of the XVIII Olympiad, 1966, p. 43). It is an understatement, therefore, to say that the US military played an active role during the negotiations. As Yoshimi (2015) puts it, rather than indicating Japan's aspirations, the eventual decision to build the main Olympic Village in Yoyogi reflects the strong position the US military had in postwar Japan.

IDATEN depicts the negotiations in episodes 41 and 42. Within the story, Tabata (who was at the time the Secretary General of the Committee) insisted that the main Olympic Village must be located in Yoyogi. He argued that the Olympic Village should be placed in a location where the atmosphere from the stadium could be felt in the Village. Tabata thought that Yoyogi's proximity to several planned main Olympic venues made it the ideal location. Thus, he begged Hirasawa Kazushige, a member of the General Affairs Committee (played by Hoshino Gen), to negotiate with the US military. Hirasawa then submitted an argument to the US Embassy that returning the land in Yoyogi would ease the anti-US sentiment that had spread following the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (Anpo Treaty) in 1960.

The discussion was immediately followed by Hirasawa's meeting with Edwin O. Reischauer (played by Steve Wiley), the US Ambassador to Japan. The meeting is depicted in episode 42. Below is the dialogue between Hirasawa and Reischauer (the dialogue in this scene was in English and Japanese as indicated).

(At the US Embassy)

Reischauer : Mr. Hirasawa.

Hirasawa : Oh, Doctor Reischauer. Nice to see you.

Reischauer : Nice to see you too.

(A meeting room)

Hirasawa : Returning Yoyogi Washington Heights in the middle of Tokyo will surely show the people that the US fully supports the Olympics. I'm pretty sure that will release the anti-US sentiment that currently surrounds the Security Treaty.

Reischauer : Hmmh.. *Tashika ni sore wa ichiri arune.* [Hmmh.. Yes, I can see your point.]
Hirasawa : *Deshō* [chuckles!] [I thought you'd say that!]

Rather than depicting the complicated negotiations with the US military, the drama focuses on portraying the internal conflict within the Committee that followed Tabata's individual decision to negotiate with Reischauer.

While it is not the aim of this paper to clarify the historical accuracy of *IDATEN*, the gap between the narrative of the negotiations with the US military within the Committee's official report (published in 1966) and the drama warrants closer attention as it hints at a shift in attitudes towards the US in Japan. Although, as reported by the Committee, negotiations took almost three years, *IDATEN* summarizes them briefly in a simplistic manner in two episodes. However, the focus is on the attitude of the Organizing Committee towards the US forces. These episodes show the Japanese and Americans on an equal standing within negotiations. They symbolize Japan's confidence in facing their vanquisher. Thus, rather than being a faithful retelling of history, *IDATEN* represents more the aspirations of 21st century Japan.

The second issue in the negotiations concerns the Olympic torch relay in Okinawa, which had been under US administration since 1950 and had been selected as the first landing place of the torch in Japan (episode 46). In the story, a problem arose when Tabata was told that the US administration in Okinawa would not allow the *Hi no Maru* (the flag of Japan) to be raised during the Olympic torch relay. The problem was solved, again, with the help of Hirasawa Kazushige, who proposed massive media coverage for the torch relay in Okinawa to prevent the US administration from taking a confrontational stance. The Japanese were victorious and could freely display their flag in full media glare, and several US military officers are portrayed in the drama as displeased but unable to do anything about it.

This episode depicts not only equal standing between Japan and the US but also how the Japanese outsmarted the Americans in a neat diplomatic way. Based on the representations of the negotiations between the two sides presented above, the US plays an essential role in creating an image of Japan as a reemerging advanced nation. Putting Japan and the US in a situation of negotiation among equals, which ultimately resulted in Japan getting what it wanted, generates the impression that there was no gap in power between the two countries.

Postwar Japan – from its defeat in World War II, through the US occupation period, and to the Anpo Treaty – is filled with narratives of the nation's humiliation by and inferiority complex vis-à-vis the US (see Dower 1999, Igarashi 2000). *IDATEN*'s portrayal of Japan's victories in negotiations with the US during the preparations for the Olympics thus creates an image of the 1964 Olympics as the moment of Japan's liberation from inferior status within its relations with the US. However, rather than depicting the actual atmosphere of Japan-US relations in the postwar era, this confident narrative represents more the aspirations of 21st century Japan. As exemplified by the vision for the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games, in 2020 as a “mature economy” Japan is

confident in its ability of setting a good example and providing solutions to world problems (see The Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games, n.d.). As a *taiga drama* released one year ahead of the initial schedule of the 2020 Olympics, *IDATEN* reflects the confidence that Japan has in the 21st century.

IDATEN can be seen as contributing to the construction of Japanese national identity as a confident “mature nation” through its portrayals of confident direct and indirect diplomatic encounters with the US. Representations of the US, a nation conventionally perceived in Japan as “superior”, are essential as they provide the significant “other” in relation to which the Japanese “self” may be contrasted, thereby allowing Japan’s status as a “mature” nation to be observed. Indeed, as Abe (2001) puts it, within Japanese national identity discourse the US has been situated as “the other who should be equalized” (“*dōitsuka subeki tasha*”), and “approval” from the US is something considered as “desired.” In this context, the portrayal of Japan as a confident “mature” nation, as well as the possessor of the Olympic spirit, leads to depictions of approval from the US.

REPRESENTATIONS OF INDONESIA

In the years leading up to the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games, Indonesia attracted much attention in Asia for its confrontational foreign policy and the *mercusuar* ("lighthouse") development projects under Soekarno's presidency⁴. Soekarno's leadership was characterized by bold initiatives in creating ties between nations that he called "new emerging forces," namely nations newly liberated from colonization (as distinguished from "old established forces," the former colonizing nations). His presidency was also characterized by high-profile symbolic infrastructure construction, such as Hotel Indonesia (the first five-star hotel in Indonesia, funded by reparation payments from Japan) and Gelora Senayan Stadium (now Gelora Bung Karno Stadium). Both were finished in 1962, just before the Asian Games, which were held in Jakarta from 24 August to 4 September 1962.

Soekarno's confrontational outlook was renowned, including in the world of sport. The 1962 Asian Games embodied his confrontational and high-profile policy. In contrast to the "political neutrality" of sport philosophy of the IOC⁵, Soekarno made it clear that sport should be backed by strong politics. Indicative of this view was Indonesia's decision not to issue visas to athletes from Taiwan and Israel to participate in the 1962 Asian Games. Soekarno's close ties with China and Arab nations were seen as the rationale for this decision (Adams 2002). The IOC reacted

⁴ In office from 1945 to 1967.

⁵ One of the five “Fundamental Principles of Olympism” set by IOC is “Recognising that sport occurs within the framework of society, sports organisations within the Olympic Movement shall apply political neutrality.” (International Olympic Committee 2019)

by suspending Komite Olimpiade Indonesia (the National Olympic Committee of Indonesia) "for an unlimited period" immediately after the conclusion of the Games (see Minutes of the Conference of the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee, 8 February 1963). On 13 February 1963 Soekarno responded by withdrawing from the IOC. Further, he initiated the Games of the New Emerging Force (GANEFO) to rival the Olympic Games. The Games were held in Jakarta on 10-22 November 1963 and athletes from 51 countries, mostly from formerly colonized countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, took part. The Games were the embodiment of Soekarno's "anti-imperialism" politics (Field 2011). Despite the tension between the IOC and Indonesia, on 26-27 June 1964 the IOC Executive Board eventually decided to allow Indonesia's participation in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. However, the International Amateur Athletic Union and International Swimming Federation disqualified athletes who participated in GANEFO from participating in the Olympics. In response, the Indonesian delegates, who had already arrived in Tokyo on 28 September 1964, along with delegates from North Korea, chose to withdraw their entire team from Tokyo instead of excluding their disqualified athletes. Both sets of delegates departed from Tokyo on 9 October 1964, only one day before the Opening Ceremony of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. Controversies involving Indonesia ahead of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games generated debates regarding the relationship between sport and politics. From the perspective of Japan the controversies were seen as having the potential to inflict an unwanted impact on the 1964 Tokyo Olympics (Asahi Shimbun editorial 26 August 1962).

IDATEN portrays the controversies surrounding Indonesia in 1962-1964 from the perspective of Japanese sports officials as part of the journey towards the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. The last five episodes of *IDATEN* (episodes 43 to 47) consistently feature representations of or mentions about Indonesia. As discussed earlier, conflicts presented in *IDATEN* center around the oppositional relations between sport and politics. Therefore, disputes regarding Indonesia's policy towards the 1962 Asian Games, the 1963 GANEFO, and its withdrawal from the 1964 Olympics provide a strong justification for the message that *IDATEN* tries to transmit.

Within the story, ahead of the Japanese delegates' departure to Jakarta in 1962, rumors that the Indonesian government would not be issuing visas for athletes from Israel and Taiwan for political reasons spread among Japanese officials. The Japanese delegates hesitated before eventually, as the "leader of Asia," deciding to risk heading to Jakarta upon receiving news that Indonesia had allowed in Taiwanese and Israeli athletes. Another reason for Japanese participation in the games was confidence that "the Games could never be done without the presence of Japan, 'the sports superpower' (*supōtsu taikoku*)". Furthermore, it was said that there were good relations between Japan and Indonesia because Soekarno's third wife was Japanese. Not long after the delegates' arrival, they received a report saying that the International Amateur Athletic Union and International Swimming Federation would ban athletes who participated in the 1962 Asian Games from the Olympic Games. The news created a dilemma for Japanese officials. On the one hand,

participating in the Asian Games would risk their position as the host of the Olympic Games. On the other hand, the officials did not want to let down their athletes who had worked hard to prepare for the Asian Games and were enthusiastically anticipating them. At the same time, political pressure came from within Japan to withdraw its delegates due to the possibility that the IOC might punish Japan by canceling the Tokyo Olympics for participating in an event unrecognized by the IOC. Another reason was due to concerns over the host's close ties with communism. Japanese officials, therefore, were faced with the dilemma of prioritizing "pure sport" or surrendering to the political circumstances circling the Games.

Just several hours before the Opening Ceremony of the Asian Games, the officials had a tense discussion to decide whether to send Japanese athletes to the Games or not. In this discussion, Tabata stressed that "Japan's withdrawal would mean the cancelation of the whole Asian Games." This discussion was joined by an Indonesian interpreter, Aren (played by Edward Manar), who told Tabata that a riot could break out if the Games were canceled. It was during this discussion that several local people attacked the hotel based on a misunderstanding. They claimed that the Japanese delegates would waste Indonesian people's hard work if they boycotted the "festival of Asian nations", and would damage Indonesian athletes' chances of participating in the Tokyo Olympics as the Asian Games were also the qualifying round for the Olympics. In the middle of the chaos, Aren stepped in to explain that "these Japanese people are our friends," after throwing one of the rioters with judo's *se'oinage* move which reminded Tabata of Kanō Jigorō. The attack convinced Tabata to decide on Japan's participation in the Asian Games "for the sake of the athletes, and the people of Indonesia who have been looking forward to the Asian festival of peace." This decision was welcomed enthusiastically by Japanese athletes who immediately rushed with great joy to the opening ceremony. Japanese athletes performed brilliantly in the Games and eventually put Japan on top of the medal table. Moreover, a good relationship with the Indonesian people was secured. However, the decision was then followed by pressure for Tabata to resign from his position as the Secretary-General of the Organising Committee of the Tokyo Olympic Games. Tabata was eventually replaced by Yosano Shigeru (played by Nakamaru Shinshō) as Secretary-General, but maintained his position as a member of the Committee.

Representations of Indonesia within the drama appear alongside those of the country's political intervention in sport, which disconcerted the Organising Committee of the Tokyo Olympic Games. These included Indonesia's withdrawal from the IOC, the controversy over GANEFO, and its withdrawal from the Tokyo Olympics in response to the suspension of its athletes by the International Amateur Athletic Union and International Swimming Federation. This series of events disappointed the Organising Committee, which wanted to promote the Tokyo Olympics as a festival of peace by bringing together as many nations as possible regardless of their political stances or other differences. Resembling the Organising Committee's stance in the official report of the Olympic Games that "this matter was purely a problem of the International Sport

Federations, and the Organizing Committee was well aware that it was unable to intervene" (Organizing Committee of the XVIII Olympiad, 1966), *IDATEN* portrays how the Organizing Committee was not the one responsible for the sanctions imposed on Indonesia. Instead, the Committee is portrayed reacting emotionally to the loss Indonesian participation in the games. On the day of the Indonesian delegates' departure, Azuma Ryōtarō, the Governor of Tokyo (played by Matsushige Yutaka), personally gave them a warm send-off at Haneda Airport. To the warmth shown by Azuma, Aren (who was with the Indonesian delegates) said that he "wanted to repay" his country's debt to Tabata and Azuma who had "defended their own Games" in 1962. Another scene shows Fukiura Tadamasa (played by Sudō Ren), a flag officer of the Organizing Committee, crying upon seeing the Indonesian flag being taken down from outside the stadium just moments before the opening ceremony. During the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games, when the flags of participating countries are being raised, the same official emotionally unfurls and waves the Indonesian flag in the official's box.

The 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games were the first Olympics held in Asia. Japan was not simply the host nation, but also a representative of the whole Asian continent on a global stage. Therefore, creating an image of harmonious relationships between Japan and other fellow Asian countries has been deemed necessary by the Organising Committee and various cultural producers in Japan. The extensive representations of Indonesia, as an example of the messy intervention of politics in sports, are significant for the creation of an image of Japan as a welcoming host (even for Indonesia). The warm attitude shown towards Indonesia is an important element in constructing an image of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games as a "festival of peace".

IDATEN, therefore, constructs an image of Japan as the "leader of Asia". Not only is Japan the first Asian country to host the Olympic Games, but it also keeps politics out of sport. At the same time, however, the portrayals of the emotional ties between the sportsmen of Japan and Indonesia exemplify the patron-client relationship, which is a recurrent theme in Japan-Indonesia relations (see Pratama and Purnomo, 2019). Tabata is the embodiment of the Japanese "pure sportsman", who "sacrificed" himself in order to make the "Asian festival of peace" in Indonesia come true. This "Japan as savior" structure of relations reflects broader Indonesian dependency on Japan, which has been a key theme in economic relations between the two countries since 1958. Despite such power relations in the patron-client relationship, a majority of Indonesian people in the 21st century Indonesian people view Japan's influence in the world as positive.⁶ However, it is doubtful that in the 1960s, less than two decades after World War II, the same warm attitude as shown by the character Aren was present within mainstream Indonesian opinion. The image of Japan as colonizer of Indonesia took deep root in Indonesian society. Examples of this image can

⁶ BBC Global Poll 2014 shows that 70% of Indonesian people hold the belief that Japan is "giving positive influence" to the world.

be seen in Indonesian literature from the 1950s (Hun 2006) up until the early 1990s (Wasono 2017). This deep-rooted tendency to associate Japan with colonialism even triggered anti-Japan demonstrations during Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei's visit to Jakarta on 15 January 1974 (Suwirta 2018). Therefore, it can be said that the Japan-Indonesia relationship as depicted in *IDATEN* is the current situation in Japan-Indonesia relations projected back onto the 1960s, rather than the actual situation that existed in the 1960s.

To sum up, *IDATEN* presents Japan as the confident "leader of Asia" through portrayals of its relations with another Asian country, Indonesia. This image of the confident leader is built not only upon depictions of Japan as a good example (in separating sport from politics), but also depictions of the Indonesian other as a bad example. Moreover, despite positioning Indonesia as a bad example of a country mixing politics and sport, Japan is portrayed as treating Indonesia warmly. On the one hand, this portrayal of the harmonious relationships between the sportsmen of the two countries highlights the message that the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games were truly a "festival of peace". On the other hand, it also echoes the popular narrative of the patron-client relationship between Japan and Indonesia (or Asia) which continues to exist in the 21st century.

REPRESENTATIONS OF CONGO

Compared to previous Olympics, the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games were the biggest in terms of the number of participating countries. Ninety-three countries sent a total of 5,151 athletes (4,473 men and 678 women), to compete in Tokyo (Japanese Olympic Committee n.d.). Of these countries, fifteen (Algeria, Cameroon, Chad, Republic of the Congo, Ivory Coast, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Senegal, and Tanganyika) were competing in the Olympics for the first time (Tomita 2017). Most were African countries that gained their independence in the early 1960s. Their participation in the Games was anticipated with curiosity by the Japanese media (see for example, *Asahi Shimbun* 16 August 1964). As shown in the official documentary film of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games, *Tokyo Olympiad* (Ichikawa 1965), some of the African athletes grabbed attention from the beginning of the Games, not only because of the national costumes they wore during the opening ceremony, but also because several of the nations were only represented by a small number of athletes. *Tokyo Olympiad* features depictions of the teams from Cameroon and Congo. Four nations (Algeria, Cameroon, Libya, Niger) were represented by only one athlete each, while Chad, Congo, and Mali were represented by two athletes each (Organizing Committee of the XVIII Olympiad 1966). The presence of these African athletes helped construct the image of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games as an international "festival of peace".

From the perspective of the Organizing Committee, Congo attracted particular attention. Congo was the last country to submit its Olympic Games participation entry forms. The entry

forms reached the Committee on 10 September 1964, even though the deadline was on 16 August. Nevertheless, the Congolese athletes were among the first to enter the Olympic Village. Together with Australia, South Korea, and Rumania, the Congolese team entered the Olympic Village on 26 September 1964, two weeks before the opening ceremony on 10 October 1964. Despite the rushed preparations, as depicted in *Tokyo Olympiad*, the two athletes from Congo represented their country with pride in the 1964 Olympics.

These two Congolese athletes play an important part in the story. Léon Yombe (100m, played by Arion) and Henri Elendé (high jump, played by Max) appear in the last two episodes of the drama (episode 46 and 47). In the story, as in reality, they were the first athletes to arrive at the Olympic Village. In episode 46, the first encounter between the two athletes and Japanese officials is portrayed in a comical way (although to some viewers' eyes, it might be considered racist). On the day of the opening ceremony of the Olympic Village, a volunteer interpreter, Ōgawara Yasuko (played by Kawashima Umika) screams and calls Tabata for help because she was being followed by two "black African men" (*makkuro na Afurika-jin dansei*). The two men then sprint toward Ōgawara, creating panic while Tabata tries to protect her. The two men stop and point towards the small flag that Ōgawara is carrying, which happens to be the flag of the Republic of the Congo. They take the flag and indicate that it is their country's flag. Then they introduce themselves in French while Ōgawara interprets for Tabata.

Soon after, Yombe announces that he is hungry. The scene then moves to the Fuji-Dining Hall Information Center which is located inside the Olympic Village. Tabata takes the two Congolese athletes to have lunch. Tabata asks which event they are going to compete in. With the help of Ōgawara, Tabata learns that both are track and field athletes. Upon hearing this, Iwata Yukiaki (played by Matsuzaka Tōri), a member of the Organizing Committee, associates the two Congolese athletes with Japan's two athletes at the 1912 Olympics, Kanakuri and Mishima. The short conversation is stopped when the chef brings out "African cuisine" for them. Yombe and Elendé surprise Tabata by choosing to eat with chopsticks. Although their choice is surprising to everyone, they seem to enjoy the lunch.

The lunch scene is followed by the national anthem rehearsal for the Republic of the Congo. Yombe and Elendé were invited to confirm whether the officials were playing the anthem correctly or not. As depicted earlier in the drama, Congolese officials were late submitting the national anthem sheet music. As a result the musicians performing at the opening ceremony had to work with the little information they had about the anthem. The athletes looked pleased and immediately sang to the melody of the anthem, so the officials were relieved to see that they were playing the right anthem. During this scene, there was a flashback to the scenes of Mishima and Kanakuri singing *Kimigayo* at the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games. The warm treatment of the Japanese official towards the two Congolese athletes in episode 46 concluded in a scene where Tabata was coaching for Yombe and Elendé in their sprint training, even if Tabata mistakenly

called Elendé “Yombe”.

In episode 47, Yombe and Elendé are present in various scenes including the opening ceremony, the final match of the women's volleyball, and the closing ceremony. In the opening ceremony scene, just before the athletes march Ōgawara tells Tabata that Yombe is missing. Tabata rushes to find him but (in another moment that hovers uncomfortably between humor and racism) he has difficulty identifying Yombe in a crowd of African athletes. Not long after, Ōgawara leads a black man who seems confused to Tabata, saying that she has found Yombe. Tabata hugs him in relief, immediately hands the man the flag of the Republic of the Congo and tells him to go prepare for the march. The man still looks confused but is rushed to follow the briefing. The man had just joined the march standby line when Yombe suddenly appeared in front of Tabata. His appearance creates another moment of panic as Tabata realizes that he has given the flag of the Republic of the Congo to the wrong man. At the same time, one official reports that Northern Rhodesia is missing one of its athletes. The problem is then sorted before the march begins, and Tabata laughs while saying "what a hectic day" ("*batabata jannee*").

The two Congolese athletes are able to represent their country proudly in the athletes march. Seeing Yombe and Elendé, Kanakuri in the stand reminisces how in 1912 he and Mishima represented Japan in their country's first participation in the Olympic Games. It also triggers memories of the parade at Meiji Jingu Gaien Stadium of university students drafted into military service in 1943. The students were saluted with a "*banzai*" (three cheers for the emperor) from their families. The memory inspired Kanakuri to start a "*banzai*" cheer for the athletes. The cheer was then given by everyone in the stadium. Then, during the scene of the women's volleyball final, Tabata seems to have become closer to the two Congolese athletes. Elendé and Yombe watch the final match at Tabata's house. The last scene involving the two athletes is during the closing ceremony. In this scene, Elendé and Yombe's friendship with Ōgawara is highlighted when the two athletes carry their Japanese friend on their shoulders at the closing ceremony.

IDATEN's portrayals of the interaction between athletes and Japanese officials during the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games are examples of how the drama evokes the idealism of the Games as a ‘festival of peace’. Interactions between individuals from different nations are presented as being free of conflict; hence, as the individuals are representatives of their nation, they create an image of a harmonious relationship between nations during the Olympic Games. It is within these interactions that clear physical and cultural differences are emphasized. Representations of Indonesia, as explained earlier, exemplify this idealism. However, images of Africa as represented by the two Congolese athletes present another dimension of representations of foreigners in *IDATEN*.

The explanation of scenes featuring the two Congolese athletes suggests that representations of Africa in *IDATEN* attempt to be apolitical and comical but they can border on uncomfortable in a racial sense. Unlike representations of the US military or the Indonesian

sportsmen, which are depicted through difficult political settings, portrayals of Africa are presented through cheerful situations. African athletes are depicted as cheerful guests while Japanese officials are depicted as warm hosts. The representations of Elendé and Yombe create a comparison with the cheerfulness, purity and naivety of Japan's two athletes at the nation's first ever Games: Kanakuri and Mishima in Stockholm in 1912.

However, portrayals of African athletes in *IDATEN* also contain potentially racist overtones. African athletes are present in scenes showing the bright and fun side of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games as a "festival of peace". Their physical and cultural differences are highlighted as a marker of togetherness between nations (or races). At the same time, they are positioned as amusing side characters to generate laughs, and thus may help maintain the image of the Olympics as a place where different nations enjoy friendship. But viewed in a more critical light, such depictions may be seen as belittling or mocking Africans.

Many have commented critically on the popular representations of Africa or black people in Japanese society. Russel, for example, highlights how both in Japanese popular culture and in elite discourse in the 1980s and the 1990s, black people (*kokujin*) have consistently been portrayed as being animal-like (*dōbutsu-teki*), ugly (*minikui*), infantile (*yōjiteki*), and different (*ishitsu-teki*) (Russel 1991, p. 4). Images of Africa and black people are not unfamiliar in Japan. However, as noted by Adem (2010), from a diplomatic perspective, Japan waited until the 21st century before building close ties with African countries. The first Prime Minister of Japan to visit African countries was Mori Yoshiro, who visited South Africa, Kenya, and Nigeria on a five-day tour from 7 January 2001. Although initiatives such as the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), which started in 1993, have been created to strengthen Japan-Africa relations (see Ministry of Foreign Affairs's Nihon to Afurika pamphlet published in March 2019), it seems that Africa is far from being prioritized within Japan's foreign policy. However, recognizing China's recent aggressive approach towards African engagement, under Prime Minister Abe's leadership Japan made its intention clear to provide "responsible support" for Africa (Jiji Press 30 August 2019). It can be said that Japan's (political and economic) interest in Africa stems from the conditions of the 21st century. Thus, *IDATEN*'s portrayal of African athletes might be seen as resembling Japan's heightened interest in approaching Africa in the new century.

CONCLUSION

Portrayals of the 1964 Olympics in Japan, such as *IDATEN*, offer insights into how the Games affected the expression of national identity in postwar Japan. After its defeat in World War II, such expressions were a sensitive issue. Nevertheless, the 1964 Olympics became an important focal point for such expressions for two main reasons. The first is the popular belief of the

Olympics as a “politically neutral” event. Secondly, interactions with foreigners during the Olympics facilitated a rise in Japanese self-identification through comparisons between "us" (Japanese) and "them" (foreigners). Representations of foreigners, and their role as essential elements of Japanese national identity discourse, have become integral parts of 1964 Olympics nostalgia.

The analysis of representations of the US, Indonesia, and Congo in *IDATEN* has exemplified the relationship between representations of foreigners and the discourse of national identity within the context of the remembering of the 1964 Olympics. Depictions of conflicts and friendships between Japanese characters and foreign characters mean that *IDATEN* contributes to the construct of Japanese national identity as a confident "mature nation," the leader of Asia, and the defender of Olympic idealism as host of a festival of peace.

Portrayals of the US, Indonesia, and Congo in *IDATEN* might trigger further debate regarding their historical accuracy and some problematic (possibly even discriminatory) stereotyping. The drama is labeled "fictional" by NHK, and it is not the intention of this paper to focus on the factual accuracy of the drama. Instead, this paper has argued that as a drama produced ahead of the 2020 Olympic, in its depictions of relations between the Japanese and others, *IDATEN* reflects values from the 21st century more than the actual situation during the 1964 Olympics period. Thus, *IDATEN* is a revealing work for the insights it provides into the mixture of values from both the past and present day that contribute to discourses of Japanese national identity ahead of the 2020 Olympics.

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