

# 2020 年東京奧運會的「奧林匹克遺產」

——基於在日本發表相關文獻的再思考

荒牧亞衣\*

呂潔如\*\*

## 摘 要

早在因新冠肺炎大流行而延後奧運會的討論開始之前，甚至在當年東京爭取舉辦 2016 年奧運會之際，東京 2020 年奧運會的意義就已經受到質疑。國際奧委會 (IOC) 從 2003 年版本規章開始增加遺產章節，將其定義為「將奧林匹克運動會的積極遺產推廣到主辦城市、地區和主辦國」為國際奧委會的使命和角色之一。基於對這個問題的認識，作者透過東京的申辦計劃與討論構思以及得標過程等，再度關注東京 2020 年奧運會的遺產，透過研究日本的研究和相關材料，重新思考日本東京 2020 年奧運會「奧林匹克遺產」的含義，並闡明這一概念的現實層面。本文以研究相關文獻和材料作為研究方法並設置下列研究主題：首先，為了闡明對東京入選 2020 年奧運會後的「奧林匹克遺產」之看法，作者審查了東京成為 2020 年奧運會的正式候選城市時，國際奧委會所倡導構思的「奧林匹克遺產」理念。其次，為了搜索和組織有關 2020 年東京奧運會的「奧林匹克遺產」的辯論和看法，作者(一)審查日本出版的學術著作中關於「奧林匹克遺產」的描述，以及(二)分析先前於 2013 年及之後在日本出版的相關重要研究，該年東京被選為 2020 年奧運會的東道主。研究結論如下：首先，東京 2020

\*荒牧亞衣，日本武藏大學助理教授。

\*\*呂潔如，國立政治大學副教授。Email：jeylu@nccu.edu.tw (通訊作者)

年奧運會的「奧林匹克遺產」的特徵是基於東京從企圖申辦 2016 年奧運會開始的不斷努力，而 2020 年東京奧運會的「奧林匹克遺產」計劃正是延續此不斷努力的精神。其次，2020 年東京奧運會的「奧林匹克遺產」缺乏奧林匹克理念和願景一事，從還在招標階段就已眾所周知。國際奧委會所倡導的遺產是根據奧運會的願景來規劃，必須強調的是，東京 2020 年奧運會的「奧林匹克遺產」存在某些問題，包括尚未充分討論主辦奧運會的重要性，而且當東京向國際奧委會提交申請資格文件時，尚未充分規劃願景。第三，國際奧委會提出的遺產概念在日本得到了積極和認可的接受，與此同時，「奧林匹克遺產」被認為是基於這些議題利益能在各領域來解決問題的起點。

**關鍵詞：**國際奧委會（IOC）、2020 年東京奧運會、舉辦城市

## **The “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games: A Reconsideration Based on Relevant Literature Published in Japan**

*Ai Aramaki\**

*Chieh-Ju Lu\*\**

### Abstract

The significance of the Tokyo 2020 Games had already been questioned before the discussions on its postponement started due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Such doubts had even existed when Tokyo was campaigning to host the previous 2016 Games. The IOC added a section on legacy to the Olympic Charter starting with the 2003 version. It defines “to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities, regions and host countries” as one of the IOC’s missions and roles. Based on the author’s awareness of the subject after reviewing Tokyo’s bidding to host the Games, the paper aims to reconsider the meaning of the legacy conceived and planned by the Tokyo 2020 Games and clarify the actual practice on its concept. The paper set the following research topics and examined relevant literature and materials in Japan as the research method. First, to clarify what “Olympic Legacy” stood for after Tokyo was selected to host the 2020 Games, the author examined the meaning of the “Olympic Legacy” advocated by the IOC when Tokyo became an official candidate city for the 2020 Games. Second, to search and organize

---

\*Ai Aramaki, Assistant Professor , Musashi University.

\*\*Chieh Ju Lu, Associate Professor, National Chengchi University, Email: jeylu@nccu. edu. tw (Corresponding Author)

debates and opinions about the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games, the author 1) reviewed the descriptions of the “Olympic Legacy” in major academic books published in Japan, and 2) analyzed important studies published in Japan in and after 2013, when Tokyo was selected to host the 2020 Games. The findings suggest that first, the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games was characterized by Tokyo’s continuous efforts and ambition to host the Olympics starting from its bidding for the 2016 Games, and the “Olympic Legacy” Plan for the Tokyo 2020 Games was based on this spirit; second, the lack of Olympism and vision in the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games had already been noted from the bidding stage. Given that the legacy promoted by the IOC is to be formulated based on a vision of the Games, the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games did appear debatable as the significance of hosting the Games had not been sufficiently discussed, and the vision had neither been adequately drawn up before Tokyo submitted the Candidature File to the IOC. Third, the concept of legacy proposed by the IOC was accepted positively and approvingly in Japan, and at the same time, the “Olympic Legacy” has been regarded as a starting point for resolving and diminishing debates and problems caused in different fields based on relevant interest.

**Keywords:** International Olympic Committee(IOC); Tokyo 2020 Games; host city

## 1.Introduction

On March 30, 2020, it was decided that the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games (the “Tokyo 2020 Games”) would be postponed.<sup>1</sup> The decision was made based on an agreement for a new schedule to hold the Games in 2021 reached among the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (the “TOCOG”), the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, and the Japanese Government.

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic that caused the postponement is ongoing. All of Japan is under a state of emergency declared by the central government. The Japanese people are advised to live a “new normal” or a “new way of living.” As a natural consequence, people are recommended to participate in and be involved in sports events in a manner on the premise that measures for preventing COVID-19 infection are taken.<sup>2</sup> Many sports events have been cancelled, causing situations where a number of students in elementary, junior, senior high school, and college, especially those in their final school year, could lose sight of their goals.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The Tokyo 2020 Games will consist of the 32nd Olympic Games and the Tokyo 2020 Paralympic Games. As of November 2020, they are planned to be held from July 23 to August 8, 2021, and from August 24 to September 5, 2021 respectively.

<sup>2</sup>For example, the Japan Sports Agency publishes pointers on engaging in sports and exercise as well as examples of recommended exercises as countermeasures against COVID-19 infections on its official website. Japan Sports Agency, “新型コロナウイルス感染対策 スポーツ・運動の留意点と、運動事例について,” <[https://www.mext.go.jp/sports/b\\_menu/sports/mcatetop05/jsa\\_00010.html](https://www.mext.go.jp/sports/b_menu/sports/mcatetop05/jsa_00010.html)>, 15 Nov. 2020.

<sup>3</sup>For example, on April 26, 2020, the All Japan High School Athletic Federation announced the cancellation of the Inter-High School Championships scheduled for August, determining that it would be difficult to ensure the safety of athletes and involved

As the state of emergency still affects people's daily lives and sports, a serious question has been raised: What must be done by Tokyo and Japan as the host city and host nation of the 2020 Games? Is it to present "Olympics" and "Paralympics" that the world has never seen before by paying the additional costs<sup>4</sup> incurred by the postponement and taking all possible measures to prevent infections?

The significance of the Tokyo 2020 Games had already been questioned before the discussions started on postponement of the Games due to the COVID-19 pandemic and even when Tokyo was campaigning to host the previous 2016 Games. By referring to various opinions doubtful about the Tokyo 2020 Games, Yoshimi, for example, argues that the bidding activities were launched without wide support from the Japanese people or broad expectations by Tokyo residents, but rather driven by the personal initiative of then Tokyo Governor Shintaro Ishihara, who wished to host the 2016 Games. His initiative gradually involved many other people, having them go too far to withdraw. Around that time, the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake occurred, resulting in bringing to the fore the 2020 Games as a "symbol of reconstruction from the earthquake and tsunami."<sup>5</sup> Yoshimi's statement highlights the inadequate planning of the Games' legacy, which Tokyo and Japan should have conceived from a longer-term perspective starting in the bidding stage as the host city and host nation.

---

personnel due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This was the first cancellation since the first Championships were held in 1963. Nihon Keizai Shimbun newspaper. "全国高校総体、初の中止 移動・宿泊時も感染リスク," <<https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO58517270W0A420C2UU8000/>>, 15 Nov. 2020.

<sup>4</sup>Nihon Keizai Shimbun newspaper. "東京五輪、追加経費は2000億円 組織委が試算," <<https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO66782370Z21C20A1CC1000/>>, 29 Nov. 2020.

<sup>5</sup>Shunya Yoshimi, *五輪と戦後: 上演としての東京オリンピック* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2020), 10-11.

Based on this awareness of the problem, the author once again focused on the legacy of the Tokyo 2020 Games that was conceived, planned, and discussed through Tokyo's bidding process to host the Games, winning the bid, and beyond. By examining previous studies and related materials published in Japan, the author reconsidered what is meant by the "Olympic Legacy"<sup>6</sup> of the Tokyo 2020 Games and clarifies the reality of this concept. A discussion of the process by which legacy plans were developed for each Games will provide useful insights into the significance of hosting the Olympic Games and the potential of the Olympic Movement.

In writing this paper, the author set the following research topics and examined relevant literature and materials as the research method. First, in order to clarify viewpoints on the "Olympic Legacy" after Tokyo was selected to host the 2020 Games, the author examined the legacy concept advocated by the IOC and the "Olympic Legacy" conceived when Tokyo became an official candidate city for the 2020 Games. Second, in order to search and organize debates and opinions about the "Olympic Legacy" of the Tokyo 2020 Games, the author 1) reviewed descriptions of the "Olympic Legacy" in major academic books published in Japan, and 2) analyzed significant previous studies published in Japan in and after 2013, when Tokyo was selected to host the 2020 Games. This paper focuses on articles that specifically refer to the "Olympic Legacy" of the Tokyo 2020 Games among those published on the electronic journal platform Japan Science Technology Information Aggregator, Electronic ("J-STAGE"). Based on the above procedure, this paper reconsiders the "Olympic Legacy" of the Tokyo 2020 Games in the following two

---

<sup>6</sup>In this paper, the term "Olympic Legacy" refers to what is brought about through bidding for and hosting the Olympic Games, being separate from the definition of the legacy proposed by the IOC.

chapters. This paper aims to discuss the challenges of legacy planning at the time of Tokyo's bid for the 2020 Games, and to provide suggestions on how the concept of legacy was understood and interpreted in the host cities of the Olympic Games.

## **2.The IOC's Legacy Concept and the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games conceived when Tokyo became a candidate for the Games**

The IOC added a section on legacy to the Olympic Charter starting with the 2003 version. It defines “promoting a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities, regions and host countries”<sup>7</sup> as one of the IOC's missions and roles. The IOC's official website states that “Olympic legacy includes the long-term benefits that the Olympic Games create for the host city, its people, and the Olympic Movement before, during and long after the Olympic Games.”<sup>8</sup>

It can be understood that the legacy the IOC advocates as its mission and role is the long-term benefit provided to the cities, surrounding regions, countries that host the Games, and to the Olympic Movement as well. Moreover, the IOC states that the term “legacy” has different meanings for different people, languages, and cultures, and that several different definitions coexist within the Olympic Movement.<sup>9</sup> For this reason, the term legacy as a

---

<sup>7</sup>Japanese Olympic Committee. “Olympic Charter,” in English with a Japanese translation <<https://www.joc.or.jp/olympism/charter/pdf/olympiccharter2020.pdf>>, 29 Nov. 2020: 14.

<sup>8</sup>IOC, “Olympic Legacy,” <<https://www.olympic.org/olympic-legacy>>, 15 Nov. 2020.

<sup>9</sup>IOC, “Legacy Strategic Approach: Moving Forward,” <[https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Olympic-Legacy/IOC\\_Legacy\\_Strategy\\_Executive\\_Summary.pdf](https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Olympic-Legacy/IOC_Legacy_Strategy_Executive_Summary.pdf)>, 3 Nov. 2020: 2.

tool for alignment within the Olympic Movement is defined as follows:

“Olympic legacy is the result of a vision. It encompasses all the tangible and intangible long-term benefits initiated or accelerated by the hosting of the Olympic Games/sport events for people, cities/territories and the Olympic Movement.”<sup>10</sup>

Here, it is reaffirmed that the legacy advocated by the IOC results from the vision conceived by hosting the Games and that it is not only for people of the host city and surrounding regions but also for the Olympic Movement. It is also mentioned that it has tangible and intangible aspects based on the premise of long-term benefits and that the legacy is assumed to be beneficial, as defined in the Olympic Charter. It is thus be understood that the concept of legacy advocated by the IOC does not encompass negative or inactive tangible/intangible features in the Olympic Games or the Olympic Movement.

Leopkey said, The IOC attempted to systematize the concept of legacy as something planned by strategically attaching a positive connotation to the term<sup>11</sup>. Although the IOC has given a number of definitions of legacies, most of them are more of extensive concept of legacy than intensional concept of legacy. Also, Preuss said “Legacy is planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created through a sport event that remain after the event.”<sup>12</sup> This definition, in a study of sports management and tourism, is one that is often used when referring to legacy. As previously

---

<sup>10</sup> IOC, “Legacy Strategic Approach: Moving Forward,” <[https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Olympic-Legacy/IOC\\_Legacy\\_Strategy\\_Executive\\_Summary.pdf](https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Olympic-Legacy/IOC_Legacy_Strategy_Executive_Summary.pdf)>, 3 Nov. 2020: 2.

<sup>11</sup>Becca Leopkey, and Milena M. Parent, “The (Neo) institutionalization of legacy and its sustainable governance within the Olympic Movement,” *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 12.5 (Cologne:Jun 2012): 437-455.

<sup>12</sup>Holger Preuss, “The Conceptualisation and Measurement of Mega Sport Event Legacies,” *Journal of Sports & Tourism*, 12.3-4 (London, Aug.-Nov. 2007): 207-227.

stated, that in most cases, we focus on only one; planned, positive, tangible. To redefine definition of legacies, a structured, systematic frame is required, and this frame needs to capture legacies in a multifaceted, complex way.

Based on the legacy concept advocated by the IOC and advance study, the author reexamined the “Olympic Legacy” conceived when Tokyo became an official candidate for the 2020 Games. Table 1 summarizes the legacy-related items in Tokyo’s Candidature File<sup>13</sup> submitted to the IOC for its process to select the host city.

First, in answering the IOC’s question related to the vision of each candidate city that the IOC asserts as a precondition for legacy, Tokyo’s candidature file lists a range of slogan-like abstract expressions, such as “safe Games,” “dynamic festival,” and “promoting friendship and mutual understanding.” This type of statement may be inevitable to some extent, considering the format of the Candidature File, but their ambiguity is hard to overlook.

Next, regarding the long-term benefits provided to the host cities/territories, on the one hand, Tokyo stresses the continuity from its bidding efforts in hosting the 2016 Games and its planning of the “Olympic Legacy” of the 2020 Games based on the continuity. On the other hand, Table 1 shows that the items that are emphasized in the candidature file include facilities that are not available for use and organizations that have already ceased operations as of 2020, the year the Games were scheduled for.

---

<sup>13</sup>Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Bid Committee, “Candidature File,” (Japanese version) <<https://gting.tokyo2020.org/image/upload/production/deqemt5fvtm8tfjx0di8.pdf>>, 10 Oct. 2020.

**Table 1. “Olympic Legacy” conceived when Tokyo became a candidate for 2020 Games<sup>14</sup>**

Questions by the IOC (Excerpts from 01: Vision, legacy, and communication)	Answers by Tokyo (Excerpts from/summaries by the author of the related parts in the Candidature File)
1.1 Why do you want to host the Olympic Games and what is your vision for your Games?	<p>Our vision is based on the following five fundamental objectives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Renew and reinforce the Olympic Values in Japan and beyond</li> <li>2. Stage well-organized and safe Games</li> <li>3. Welcome the world to a dynamic celebration in the heart of the city</li> <li>4. Promote friendship and understanding</li> <li>5. Help keep Olympism in our rapidly- changing world</li> </ol>
1.2 What will be the benefits of bidding for the Olympic Games for your city/ territory, irrespective of the outcome of the bid (infrastructure projects, sport practice, youth programs, etc.)?	<p>Benefits of bidding activities/being elected to host the Games</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Tokyo community is already benefiting from the Tokyo 2020 bidding, just as it benefited from the 2016 bidding.</li> </ol> <p>These benefits include the tree planting on 20 hectares (as of the end of October 2012) of the Sea Forest and other greening projects, constructing new road infrastructure, and building the Jigoro Kano Memorial International Sport Institute.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Legacies regarding important sport venues, infrastructure, and organizations stemming from winning the bid for the 2020 Games include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Construction of the Kasumigaoka National Stadium by 2019 as the most advanced stadium of its size in the world</li> <li>- Large sports complexes that will serve as venues of the Tokyo 2020 Games</li> </ul> </li> </ol>

<sup>14</sup> This list was prepared by the author with reference to Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Bid Committee, “Candidature File,” (Japanese version) <<https://gtimg.tokyo2020.org/image/upload/production/deqemt5fvtm8tfjx0di8.pdf>>, 10 Oct. 2020: 5-10.

	<p>- Athletes in the Tokyo 2020 Games will share their experiences with community sports activities.</p> <p>- New programs to facilitate participation of people with disabilities in sports</p>
1.3 Provide details of your key Olympic legacy initiatives and how these are linked with your city's /region's long-term planning and objectives.	<p>From an Olympic Legacy Commission</p> <p>Physical legacies: Revitalization of a new center of Tokyo (Effective and appropriate use of various athletic facilities, use of the Olympic Village after the Games)</p> <p>Social and environmental sustainability legacies (The Tokyo 2020 Games will adhere to new standards of social, environmental, and economic sustainability standards.)</p>
1.4 What will be the legacy for sport in your city/ territory? Describe the measures you intend to take to promote and develop Olympic sports, especially those that are less popular in your country in the lead-up to the Olympic Games.	<p>Legacy for sports and its promotion</p> <p>Promoting and developing Olympic sports</p>
1.5 How can hosting the Olympic Games in your city contribute to the Olympic Movement?	<p>Contribution to the Olympic Movement</p> <p>The Tokyo 2020 Games will be designed to contribute in various ways to the Olympic Movement through its concept and ethos, superbly organizing the Games, and programs of sports and education in Tokyo and other places in Japan and beyond.</p> <p>(The Jigoro Kano Memorial International Sport Institute will educate young people through sports and encouraging their international sport exchanges.)</p> <p>(An anti-doping education program will be enhanced with the Japan Anti-Doping Agency as a key player.)</p> <p>(The Olympic Museum will be established.)</p>

<p>1.6 Please also describe how organizing the Paralympic Games can contribute to your overall vision and legacy.</p>	<p>Paralympic Games vision and legacy</p> <p>The TOCOG will organize sports events and workshops for young children with disabilities and their families, providing them with opportunities to select and experience sports when they are still very young. (School educational programs on the Tokyo 2020 Games were started in 2013 and continue through the Games and thereafter.) (The Tokyo 2020 Games will help promote urban planning based on universal accessible design principles.)</p>
---	--

The Sea Forest (Umi-no-Mori) [created on landfill ground] is usually not accessible due to ongoing maintenance, even though the scheduled tree-planting project was completed in March 2016.<sup>15</sup> The new Kasumigaoka National Stadium (National Stadium), whose construction plan has been reviewed many times since Tokyo was selected to host the 2020 Games, is still unavailable for use, including for tours except for test events, on the grounds that preparatory work for the Games is being conducted by the TOCOG.<sup>16</sup> The Jigoro Kano Memorial International Sport Institute that was established in May 2009 ceased activities in December 2020.<sup>17</sup>

In contrast, some movements and projects have been implemented and expanded by gaining momentum from the fact that Tokyo became the host city of the 2020 Games. They include the establishment of the Japan Olympic

<sup>15</sup>Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Port and Harbor, “海の森公園,” <<https://www.kouwan.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/kanko/uminomori/>>, 15 Nov. 2020; Marine Parks Section of the bureau’s Waterfront Development Division, “海の森,” <<https://www.kouwan.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/kanko/uminomorileaflet2018.pdf>>, 15 Nov. 2020.

<sup>16</sup>Japan Sport Council, “国立競技場,” <<https://www.jpnsport.go.jp/kokuritu/>>, 15 Nov. 2020.

<sup>17</sup>Jigoro Kano Memorial International Sport Institute, <<http://100yearlegacy.org/>>, 28 Feb. 2021.

Museum, promotion of policies related to sports for people with disabilities, and implementation of Olympic and Paralympic education by the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education and through the Japan Sports Agency's nationwide project to promote Olympic and Paralympic movements. These movements and projects are thought to correspond to “tangible and intangible long-term benefits initiated or accelerated by the hosting of the Olympic Games for people, cities/territories and the Olympic Movement,” as asserted by the IOC. Nevertheless, it is necessary to specifically discuss and examine, based on the current situation, what these developments will be able to bring to Tokyo and Japan in the future over a longer-term period regarding the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games.

### **3.Examining Previous Studies Published in Japan on the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games**

#### *1) “Olympic Legacy” described in major academic books published in Japan*

Since 2013, when Tokyo was selected to host the 2020 Games, the legacy concept promoted by the IOC has been actively introduced in Japan. Explaining the background to the reason why the IOC started to emphasize the legacy concept, Abe stated that it became necessary to convince the citizens and nationals of each host city and country of the “significance of hosting the Olympic Games.” Thus, the IOC has been advocating a concept of Olympic legacy that aims to leave some sort of beneficial heritage to the host city and country and have it passed down to future generations.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>Kiyoshi Abe, *東京オリンピックの社会学: 危機と祝祭の 2020JAPAN* (Tokyo: Commons, 2020), 56.

Ishizaka indicates the growing importance of the term “legacy” and notes that based on discussions in previous studies, “the term ‘legacy’ results in being filled only with positive evaluations” in accordance with a package of benefits from hosting the Games, which the IOC desires to achieve through the concept of legacy (policy).<sup>19</sup>

This paper previously pointed out that the concept of legacy advocated by the IOC does not encompass negative or inactive tangible/intangible features in the Olympic Games or the Olympic Movement. Previous studies in Japan also focused on the problems and limitations of the IOC’s legacy concept as a research subject on the grounds that the legacy concept has been introduced in Japan since 2013, when Tokyo was selected to host the 2020 Games.

Next, the author examined debate on the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games, particularly those expressing negative or passive views about the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games based on the above-mentioned limitations of the IOC’s legacy concept.

Abe discusses the details of the Action and Legacy Plan (an interim report), which is the “Olympic Legacy” plan for the Tokyo 2020 Games. He states that the initiative for “Post-Quake Recovery, All-Japan Engagement, and Communications with the Global Community,” which was presented as actions to create the “Olympic Legacy,” is nothing but a political scheme to divert the public attention from the radioactive contamination caused by the nuclear power plant accident resulting from the 2011 earthquake and tsunami and a cunning strategy to pursue economic benefits by promoting Japan as a tourism destination that appears as if it had recovered from the damage caused

---

<sup>19</sup>Yuji Ishizaka, *現代オリンピックの発展と危機 1940-2020* (Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin publishing company, 2018), 208-209.

by the natural disaster.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, Abe argues that a “promising future” guaranteed by the legacy will rather devastate the possibilities and freedom in society.<sup>21</sup>

The legacy advocated by the IOC emerged from the basic idea of pursuing a sustainable society.<sup>22</sup> Since the legacy is premised on the consideration on cities and societies in the future, it is correct to say that pursuing the legacy can result in denying their possibilities and freedom. But it is also true that no city or country wishes to host the Olympic Games with no prospect of a “promising future.” For the 1984 Games, for example, Los Angeles was the only candidate city. It is a well-known fact that the commercial success of the 1984 Games greatly changed the circumstances of the Olympic Games. However, it must also be considered that the prospect of a “promising future” is beginning to be seriously undermined, for example, as seen in the recent decrease in the number of candidate cities for the Olympic Winter Games and the postponement of the Tokyo 2020 Games. The legacy filled with positive evaluations by the IOC seems to have reached its limits in this respect, too.

Further, there are opinions that the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games lacks a philosophy or vision from the beginning, that is, the beginning stage of Tokyo’s bidding campaign. Ishizaka says: “The support rate among the Japanese [for hosting the Olympic Games] is low. Moreover, there has

---

<sup>20</sup>Kiyoshi Abe, *東京オリンピックの社会学: 危機と祝祭の2020JAPAN*, 70-71.

<sup>21</sup>Kiyoshi Abe, *東京オリンピックの社会学: 危機と祝祭の2020JAPAN*, 78.

<sup>22</sup>Aramaki, the author of this paper, reports IOC’s statement that making the environment the only priority in the concept of sustainable development had obvious limitations. Ai Aramaki, “The Olympic legacy: Focusing on The Games of the XXX Olympiad in 2012,” *Japan Journal of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences*, 58:1 (Tokyo, June 2013): 3.

been no powerful body that took a leadership role in bidding for the Olympics. I think this explains the true nature of the Tokyo 2020 Games and why it has been called the Olympics without a philosophy.” He also said “The London 2012 Games upheld a clear goal to redevelop East London in terms of creation of a legacy to win as a candidate city to win the race. In contrast, even expectations for development are not sufficiently felt regarding the Tokyo 2020 Games. After all, the Tokyo Games had no clear direction from the beginning.”<sup>23</sup>

The discourse on “Olympics without a philosophy” has often appeared in the context of the Tokyo 2020 Games. If an Olympic legacy would result from a vision for the Games, it must be said that the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games has serious flaws within its framework.

Ishizaka also argues that the creation and evaluation of the Tokyo 2020’s legacy are based on the same context as the London 2012 Games. He says that it is necessary to keep questioning “what is legacy” in order to critically examine the process of positioning all plans in the name of the legacy of the Tokyo 2020 Games.<sup>24</sup> It is also important to continue questioning the “Olympic Legacy” from a perspective that is not limited to the legacy concept proposed by the IOC in order to discuss the Olympic Games in the future.

*2) Examination of the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games in Articles Published on J-STAGE*

The author of this paper conducted a full-text search on J-STAGE using

---

<sup>23</sup>Yuji Ishizaka and Yoichi Inoue, ed, *未完のオリンピック 変わるスポーツと変わらない日本社会* (Kyoto: Kamogawa Co., Ltd., 2020), 8.

<sup>24</sup>Yuji Ishizaka and Yoichi Inoue, ed, *未完のオリンピック 変わるスポーツと変わらない日本社会*, 217.

the keywords “Olympic” and “legacy” to search for articles published between 2013 and 2020 and obtained 260 hits.<sup>25</sup> The author checked their titles, and if necessary, the text as well, extracted those that referred to the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games, and then organized and listed their main points in Table 2.<sup>26</sup>

First, in terms of the number of articles by year, 2015 has the largest number with 17, followed by 2019 with 12. This seems to suggest that interest in the “Olympic Legacy” increased in Japan immediately after Tokyo was selected to host and organize the Tokyo 2020 Games as awareness of the concept in each area of society increased. In fact, the author discovered that the research journals that published relevant research papers are from a very wide range of fields, including education, real estate, urban planning, tourism, welfare, engineering, volunteerism, broadcasting, and environment, in addition to physical education and sports studies. It can be recognized that interdisciplinary studies and discussions are possible for the concept of “Olympic Legacy.”

Next, in terms of the content referring to the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games, the previous studies examined by the author mainly include either 1) proposals and suggestions on the “Olympic Legacy” of the

---

<sup>25</sup>This number is as a result of search conducted on December 3, 2020.

<sup>26</sup>To prepare Table 2, the database J-STAGE was selected on the grounds that it provides full texts of previous studies in Japan, which are the target documents of this study, in the form of PDF files on the internet. After deciding the search keywords, the criteria for document selection were determined as “major articles that specifically state the contents related to the ‘Olympic Legacy’ of the Tokyo 2020 Games.” For the exclusion and organization processes regarding the documents, the author created a list, checked the titles and, if necessary, also their text, but did not create a summary table. In the process of selecting the documents, those with no text were excluded from Table 2. This matter will be addressed in the future.

Tokyo 2020 Games based on the understanding of the Past Olympic Games held in Japan and overseas , or 2) proposals and suggestions regarding the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games based on the examination of the current situations and problems of the current initiatives.

**Table 2. Major contents in documents referring to the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games**

2013: no document
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not available</li> </ul>
2014: 7 documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Education of the Japanese Language,” “The Japanese Language for Tourism.” (Shimizu, 2014, Journal of the Japanese Language Education Methods)</li> <li>• “Economic Impact on Real Estate Market” (Nakayama, 2014, Journal of the Japan Association for Real Estate Sciences)</li> <li>• “Community Development” (Aoyama, 2014, Journal of the Japan Association for Real Estate Sciences/ Fujii, 2014, Journal of the Japan Association for Real Estate Sciences)</li> <li>• “Urban Planning” (Hirose, 2014, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Ideal of ‘the Olympic Legacy Committee’” (Sugai, 2014, Collection of Preprints for Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Initiative for Barrier-Free Society” (Matsushima, 2014, Journal of the Japanese Association for an Inclusive Society)</li> <li>• “Urban Planning with Paralympics as the Core,” “Foundation of Tourism-Oriented Nation,” “Tokyo Will Change Olympics” (Tamesue, 2014, Association of Urban Housing Sciences)</li> </ul>
2015: 17 documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Policies on Tourism” (Hompou and Hara, 2015, Serviceology)</li> <li>• “Presentation of Examples of Energy Saving and Use of Clean Energies to the World,” “Making the Paralympics an Opportunity to Realize a Richer Society in Japan,” “Rare Turning Points in Media History” (Nishiyama, 2015, Japanese Journal of Mass Communication Studies)</li> <li>• “Anti-Doping Activities” (Yamamoto, 2015, Japanese Journal of Sport Education Studies)</li> <li>• “Olympic Education” (Sanada, 2015, Japanese Journal of Sport Education Studies)</li> <li>• “Distributed Arrangement of Athletic Facilities” (Shirai, 2015, Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)“Global City Tokyo: Redevelopment and Its Profits” (Arimoto, 2015, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Use of the Intangible Value of Sports: Healthy, Positive Ways of Living and Bonds in Local Community” (Yuki, 2015, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Conveying TAIKU to the World” (Ae, 2015, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Barrier Free of Sentiment” (Narita, 2015, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Opportunities to Achieve the Principles of the Basic Act on Sport through the Olympic and Paralympic Movements” (Nunomura, 2015, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Opportunities to Create a Legacy of Health and Physical Activities” (Adrian and Kamata, 2015, Research in Exercise Epidemiology)</li> <li>• “Construction of the New National Stadium, Spirit or O-Mo-Te-Na-Shi (Hospitality), Sports Legacy Plan, and Sustainability” (Saeki, 2015, Japan Journal of Sport Sociology)</li> <li>• “Promotion of Cultural Projects and Environmental Art and Design” (Ikemura, Takasuka, Sakai and Hashimoto, 2015, Bulletin of Environmental Art and Design)</li> <li>• “Legacy as a Physical Therapist” (Matsuda, 2015, The Journal of Japanese Physical Therapy Association)</li> <li>• “Study on Sports Performance” (Fukunaga, 2015, Japanese Journal of Lifelong Sports)</li> <li>• “Promotion of Sports” (Yamaguchi, 2015, Japanese Journal of Lifelong Sports)</li> <li>• “Legacy for Manpower Development through SFT Projects” (Kawanishi, 2015, Japanese Journal of Lifelong Sports)</li> </ul>
2016: 4 documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Legacy for Trainers in Japan” (Okada, 2016, Japanese Journal of Athletic Training)</li> <li>• “Cross-Cultural Understanding, Diversity and Harmony and Nurturing Global Mind Contributing to Building a Peaceful World” (Masumoto, 2016, Journal of Japanese Language Teaching)</li> <li>• “Multilingual Support and Barrier-Free in Language” (Bureau of Olympic and Paralympic Games Tokyo 2020 Preparation, 2016, Journal of Japanese Language Teaching)</li> <li>• “Sustainable ‘Resource Management’” (Shimada, 2016, Journal of Life Cycle Assessment, Japan)</li> </ul>
2017: 3 documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Quantitative Expansion, Institutionalization, and Customer System of Community Sports Activities” (Goto, 2017, Japanese Journal of Management for Physical Education and Sport)</li> <li>• “Olympic Moves by Coca-Cola (Japan) Co., Ltd.” (Yasumitsu, Kudo and Nogawa, 2017, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Dramatically Increasing the Value of Sports” (Suzuki, 2017, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport</li> </ul>

Sciences)
2018: 5 documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Olympic and Paralympic Legacy Projects Using Sports Engineering: Golf Club Shaft” (Shimono, 2018, Journal of The Japan Society of Mechanical Engineers)</li> <li>• “Legacy for Supporting Sports: System of Matching Sports Sponsors” (Eto, 2018, Journal of Japan Society of Sports Industry)</li> <li>• “Nationwide Promotion of the Olympic and Paralympic Movements: Olympic and Paralympic Educational Programs at Schools” (Miyazaki, 2018, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Coalition of Universities and Colleges” (Masumoto, 2018, Japan Journal for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance in Universities)</li> <li>• “Volunteer Spirit Established in Society” (Nunomura, 2018, Journal of Volunteer Studies)</li> </ul>
2019: 12 documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Barrier-Free Transportation” (Sawada, 2020, Journal of the Japan Society for Precision Engineering)</li> <li>• “Sustainable Timber Sourcing” (Sakamoto, 2019, Review of Environmental Economics and Policy Studies)</li> <li>• “Supplier Code and Environment Authentication” (Yoshida, 2019, Review of Environmental Economics and Policy Studies)</li> <li>• “Presentation of Model Cases for Accessibility Improvement” (Taguchi, 2019, Journal of Japanese Association for an Inclusive Society)</li> <li>• “Developing Manpower for Creating Inclusive Society” (Nakamae, 2019, Journal of Japanese Association for an Inclusive Society)</li> <li>• “Olympic and Paralympic Education” (Miyazaki, 2019, Japan Journal of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Manpower Development: Activities of University Students in Disaster-Hit Areas” (Hasunuma, 2019, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Olympic and Paralympic Education” (Sato, 2019, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Inclusion of Olympism in Education” (Nakatsuka, 2019, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Olympic and Paralympic Education” (Miyazaki, 2019, Collection of Preprints of the Conference of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences)</li> <li>• “Paralympic Education” (Matheson, Nakamura and Watanabe, 2019, The NHK Monthly Report on Broadcast Research)</li> <li>• “Community Building with Universal Design” (Takahashi, 2019, Journal of Society of Biomechanisms Japan)</li> </ul>
2020: 4 documents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Enhancing Participation Rates of the Japanese People in Physical Activities, Exercise, and Sports: Legacy of Physical Activities” (Kamata, 2020, Journal of Japanese</li> </ul>

Society of Health Education and Health Promotion)

- “Project of Building Sports Digital Archive Network” (Endo and Hamada, 2020, Journal of the Japan Society for Digital Archive)
- “Medals Made with Urban Mine Metals” (Harada, 2020, Journal of Life Cycle Assessment, Japan)
- “Olympic and Paralympic Education” (Sato, Ozawa, Nakatsuka, Watari, Ishizaka, Yoshida and Kudo, 2020, Annual Review for The Sociology of Physical Education and Sport)

While some previous studies in Japan have questioned the “Olympic Legacy” Plan for Tokyo 2020 Games and its progress, the greater part of studies tend to positively and approvingly understand the legacy concept advocated by the IOC. These positive studies demonstrate that expectations for tangible and intangible long-term benefits to people, cities and territories are generated and accelerated by becoming a host city and country of the Olympic Games, and promote awareness of various issues related the Olympic Games in many fields, and thus interpret the impetus for solving these problems as the “Olympic Legacy.”

#### **4. Conclusion and Challenges for the Future**

This paper aimed to reconsider the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games and clarify the reality of its concept. The following are the approaches used for and the findings obtained by the reconsideration.

First, the author compared and examined the legacy concept proposed by the IOC and the “Olympic Legacy” conceived when Tokyo became an official candidate for hosting the 2020 Games. As a result, it was discovered that the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games is characterized as being based on the continuity of Tokyo’s efforts starting at its bid to host the 2016 Games

and the “Olympic Legacy” Plan for the Tokyo 2020 Games based on the continuity.

Second, the author reviewed the “Olympic Legacy” discussed in major academic publications to confirm that the lack of an Olympic philosophy and vision in the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games had already been noted from the bidding stage. Considering that the legacy promoted by the IOC is to be formulated based on a vision of the Games, it should be emphasized that the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games has problems in that the significance of hosting the Games had not been sufficiently discussed and the vision had not been adequately drawn up before Tokyo submitted the Candidature File to the IOC.

Third, the author analyzed major previous studies published in and after 2013, the year when Tokyo was selected to host and organize the 2020 Games. As a result, it was found that the concept of legacy proposed by the IOC was positively and approvingly accepted in Japan and that at the same time, the “Olympic Legacy” has been conceived as a starting point for resolving problems in each field based on interest in these problems.

It was also confirmed that the term "Olympic legacy" itself was interpreted with a positive connotation in the Tokyo 2020 Games, as pointed out by previous studies. As the term "Olympic legacy" is extremely ambiguous and multifaceted, this suggests the possibility that preparations for the bidding and hosting of the Games were carried out while the significance of hosting the Games itself remained ambiguous in Tokyo 2020 Games.

In order to demonstrate the significance of hosting the Olympic Games and the potential of the Olympic Movement through legacy planning, it is necessary to discuss the positive and negative effects of the Games from a

longer-term perspective, starting from the bidding stage. For this purpose, the understanding and interpretation of Olympism and the Olympic Movement in the host city of the Olympic Games will also be important.

In order to further develop the study of this subject, the author contemplates better understanding of the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games by expanding the target for examination and analyzing and examining previous studies and related materials more in detail. The author also aims to examine discussions on the “Olympic Legacy” of the Tokyo 2020 Games by key actors engaged in the legacy proposed by the IOC by reviewing various related materials. The author will continue to explore the ideals and realities of what is brought about by the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement by using the conceptual framework of the “Olympic Legacy.”

Note: This paper was prepared by revising and editing a presentation made at the second regular study meeting of the Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sports Sciences’ philosophy subdiscipline held on December 5, 2020.

This work as supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 20K19484.

## **Main references**

- Ai Aramaki, “The Olympic legacy: Focusing on The Games of the XXX Olympiad in 2012,” *Japan Journal of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences*, 58:1 (Tokyo, June 2013): 3
- IOC, “Legacy Strategic Approach: Moving Forward,” <<https://stillmedab>.

- olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Olympic-Legacy/IOC\_Legacy\_Strategy\_Executive\_Summary.pdf>, 3 Nov. 2020.
- IOC, “Olympic Legacy,” <<https://www.olympic.org/olympic-legacy>>, 15 Nov. 2020.
- Japan Sport Council, “国立競技場,” <<https://www.jpnsport.go.jp/kokuritu/>>, 15 Nov. 2020.
- Japan Sports Agency, “新型コロナウイルス感染対策 スポーツ・運動の留意点と、運動事例について,” <[https://www.mext.go.jp/sports/b\\_menu/sports/mcatetop05/jsa\\_00010.html](https://www.mext.go.jp/sports/b_menu/sports/mcatetop05/jsa_00010.html)>, 15 Nov. 2020.
- Japanese Olympic Committee. “Olympic Charter,” in English with a Japanese translation <<https://www.joc.or.jp/olympism/charter/pdf/olympiccharter2020.pdf>>, 29 Nov. 2020.
- Jigoro Kano Memorial International Sport Institute, <<http://100yearlegacy.org/>>, 28 Feb. 2021.
- Kiyoshi Abe, *東京オリンピックの社会学: 危機と祝祭の2020JAPAN*, Tokyo: Commons, 2020.
- Leopkey, Becca, and Parent M. M., “The (Neo) institutionalization of legacy and its sustainable governance within the Olympic Movement,” *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 12.5 (Cologne, Jun 2012): 437-455.
- Marine Parks Section of the bureau’s Waterfront Development Division, “海の森,” <<https://www.kouwan.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/kanko/uminomorileaflet2018.pdf>>, 15 Nov. 2020.
- Nihon Keizai Shimbun newspaper. “全国高校総体、初の中止 移動・宿泊時も感染リスク,” <<https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO58517270W0A420C2UU8000/>>, 15 Nov. 2020.

- Nihon Keizai Shimbun newspaper. “東京五輪、追加経費は 2000 億円 組織委が試算,” <<https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO66782370Z21C20A1CC1000/>>, 29 Nov. 2020.
- Preuss, Holger, “The Conceptualisation and Measurement of Mega Sport Event Legacies,” *Journal of Sports & Tourism*, 12.3-4 (London, Aug.-Nov. 2007): 207-227.
- Shunya Yoshimi, *五輪と戦後: 上演としての東京オリンピック*, Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2020.
- Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Bid Committee, “Candidature File,” (Japanese version) <<https://gting.tokyo2020.org/image/upload/production/deqemt5fvtm8tfjx0di8.pdf>>, 10 Oct. 2020.
- Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Port and Harbor, “海の森公園,” <<https://www.kouwan.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/kanko/uminomori/>>, 15 Nov. 2020.
- Yuji Ishizaka and Yoichi Inoue, ed, *未完のオリンピック 変わるスポーツと変わらない日本社会*, Kyoto: Kamogawa Co., Ltd., 2020.
- Yuji Ishizaka, *現代オリンピックの発展と危機 1940-2020*, Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin publishing company, 2018.