

*Framing the Pre-Olympic News Coverage of Tokyo 2020:
A Comparative Analysis of Tokyo's Successful Bid and the Olympic Stadium Design*

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Abstract

As a global spectacle, the Olympics is a powerful symbolic event, generating images that dominate international news coverage for the host country, while at the same time attracting millions of viewers and readership.

The power of the media to shape public opinion can be interpreted as a connection between the macro (mass media) and the micro (individual person) level of communication (Ellul, 1973). The mass media's influential role unceasingly continues to receive researchers' attention. By incorporating this premise, within the context of Tokyo's upcoming 2020 Summer Olympics, we can presume that Olympic media messages could have an influential effect on global public opinion.

This study focuses on the Tokyo 2020 pre-Olympic news coverage to explore this conjecture. While news discourse analysis is a well respected research tradition, the concept of news framing suggested itself as the most effective method of deconstructing media texts (Entman, 1993). The framing of two prominent news stories, the Zaha Hadid Olympic stadium design and winning the 2020 Olympic bid are examined by identifying issue specific frames on a micro level, such as Zaha design criticism/defense, tri-city contest and cost effectiveness of economic resources. A corpus of English language news stories for international readers was collected from Japanese, British and U.S. newspapers and news agencies.

This analysis will highlight dominant news frames in Tokyo 2020 news stories and suggest answers to the question: Could these dominant news frames have significant political, economic or cultural implications for Tokyo as it prepares itself to be the next Olympic city?

Keywords: Tokyo 2020, news framing, Tokyo, Olympics, print media, stadium, news, mega-event

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1. Introduction: “Let the (Olympic) Games Begin”

Winning the coveted bid in September 2013 to host the 2020 Summer Olympics was a significant achievement for Japan. Although the financial risks of hosting an Olympic event are relatively high, the rewards can be worth the gamble, as was the case with London 2012. At the same time, the Olympics are undoubtedly powerful symbolic moments, an “image conglomerate” (Farrell, 1989: 160) or a kaleidoscope of pictures covering the global media landscape. And that also translates into millions of spectators, television viewers, newspaper readers and social media fans focusing on Tokyo, even after the Olympic games have ended.

For a number of years media scholars have alluded to the mass media’s highly influential role in shaping public views and opinions” by “reproducing preformulated ideologies” (Van Dijk 1988 :11). Hence we have seen how host nations use this opportunity, as in the case of Beijing 2008, to carve out their national identity and influence audiences “through a nation-tinged lens” (Hargreaves,1992: 127) or “selectively edited information” (Ellul, 1973). These two systems working in tandem, mass media and host country national identity, suggest that within the context of Tokyo’s upcoming 2020 Summer Olympics, Olympic media messages could have an influential effect on global public opinion.

Furthermore the economic stakes are extremely high if we consider budgets for live broadcast coverage, logistical planning and preparation costs. Broadcast networks compete to buy the television rights for Olympic games, large entourages of news personnel descend on the host city and corporations vie for primetime television advertising slots. And these are just some of the costs. Taking a look at television rights fees for the Olympics reveals just how big these costs are. NBC Universal paid \$USD 4.38 billion after successfully acquiring the television rights in the U.S. for three recent Olympics (Soichi 2014, Rio De Janeiro 2016, Tokyo 2020) (Real, 1996). In a similar deal, NBC Universal has recently won the broadcast rights for all of the upcoming Olympics between 2021 and 2032 for \$USD 7.65 billion, investment costs that need to be protected (Hughes, 2014).

As a starting point to examine the question of how the Tokyo pre-Olympics coverage might influence international audiences, the concept of news framing suggested itself as the most appropriate methodology. Framing methodology charts a different direction from traditional news discourse analysis by examining the “power of a communicating text”. Consequently, how journalists frame stories could affect how society reacts and responds to them (Entman, 1993: 51). A correlation between framing and audience attitudes, for instance, is evident in a study by Billings, Brown K. and Brown N. on the 2012 London Olympics media coverage. The study reveals that “heavy (television) viewers” showed higher levels of “nationalism, patriotism and internationalism” (Billings et al., 2013: 587).

Developing the methodology also required a perusal of news stories during this pre-Olympic phase. This list was reduced to two major news stories; Tokyo winning the 2020 Olympic bid and the Zaha Hadid Olympic stadium design scandal. The following two research questions became a focal point for the study:

What are the dominant news frames in the Japanese, British and American news media?

Could these news frames have any political, economic or cultural implications for Tokyo as it prepares itself to be the next Olympic city?

2. News case studies: Tokyo 2020 Zaha Hadid Stadium scandal and the Tokyo 2020 Olympic bid

If we examine news framing in previous Olympic Stadium stories, the Beijing Bird's Nest stadium (2008) is an example of the rise and fall of a stadium story. At the time of its debut, the Bird's Nest stadium was heralded as an architectural wonder in modern Olympic stadium design. Nearly eight years after the Olympic mega-event, the news frames have changed substantially, focusing instead on the declining number of tourists, the stadium's deteriorating condition and critical attacks by one of the stadium's designers, artist/activist Ai Wei Wei.

A cursory examination of news stories on the Tokyo 2020 Zaha Hadid Stadium scandal, suggests that news frames shifted dramatically after more than three years of ongoing controversy, ranging from laudatory support for the project in 2012 to cancellation of the design in July, 2015. The acrimony between the late Iraqi born British designer, Zaha Hadid, and the Japan Sports Council continued for months after Prime Minister Abe scrapped the Hadid project.



The Hadid stadium story is also an illustration of the cultural concept of news, characterized as “an arena of dramatic forces and action” (Carey, 1989: 21). In the case of the Hadid story, the dramatic forces divided into two separate camps. In one camp: the Japanese and Tokyo Government, Japan Sports Council, Japan Olympic Committee (JOC), a group of prominent Japanese architects and a group of local citizens. In the opposing camp: British architect Zaha Hadid.

The selection of the final stadium design, submitted by Japanese architect Kengo Kuma in December 2015, brought the “action” in the Hadid stadium story to a tentative conclusion. Hadid's accusations continued into 2016, so the design story was missing a final conclusion for a long time after Hadid's design was cancelled. Hadid claimed, for

example, that (1) her original design was copied by Kuma and (2) her architectural firm had not been fully paid for her design.



The issues in the competitive bidding process for the tri-city contest between Tokyo, Istanbul and Madrid revolved around budget, economy, infrastructure, public support, and politics. Like the stadium story, news frames were constantly changing over the two-year period, after the application was submitted to the International Olympic Committee (the IOC) in 2011, and even now, completely new frames are still emerging.

Istanbul and Tokyo, with stronger economies and Olympic budget proposals, naturally dominated the tri-city contest news stories, but at the same time, Madrid's successful hosting of the 1992 summer Olympics also assured their position in the bidding process up until the IOC final vote count (Tokyo 60, Istanbul 36) in September 2013. However, Tokyo was plagued with worries over radiation leaks in Fukushima and weaker public support, while Istanbul's anti-government civil riots earlier that summer (2013) and its close proximity to the Syrian crisis became a series of other disconcerting factors.

In the next section, an examination of the literature on news framing concepts and Olympic news framing studies, served as the basis for formulating the theoretical components and methodology for this news framing study.

3. Framing: Definitions, "Framing devices"

The concept of news framing also raises the uncomfortable issues of news balance and objectivity. Or as media scholar Michael Schudson frames it: Are we more likely to read or watch "advocacy under the guise of objectivity" in news reporting today (Schudson, 2003)?

The prevailing literature on news framing explores the question of how journalists "frame" important public events and issues. Beyond traditional news discourse analysis, news framing has been regarded by media researchers as an effective method to deconstruct media texts. Even though there is no consensus on the definition of framing, Entman defines framing as selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality" and then making it "more salient" in the communication (Entman, 1993: 52). Gamson and Modigliani take a different slant, characterizing frames within the context of "media discourse", or so-called "interpretative packages that give meaning to an issue or a "central organizing idea" (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989: 3). Incorporating a slightly

broader view, Goffman's (1974) earlier work on framing asserts that frames are "principles of organization which govern events" (Goffman, 1974: 10).

Although framing as a discipline can attribute its foundation to psychology and sociology, this study will only focus on the sociological concepts (Pan & Kosicki 1993, Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007). Part of the sociological perspective in framing includes the newsgathering process itself. Scheufele cites three influential factors which occur concurrently, (1) the journalist's personal "ideologies and attitudes", (2) the "political orientation" of the news organization and (3) the newsmakers or "interest groups" (Scheufele 1999: 116, Van Dijk 1988). Media researchers also differentiate between (1) the standard reporting of facts ("frame sending" approach) and (2) the case where journalists help readers understand the issue by putting it into a larger, more opinionated context ("frame setting" approach) (Bruggemann, 2014; Scheufele, 1999).

On a micro level, "framing devices" allow us to identify frames in a news text, namely "the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases and stereotyped images" (Entman, 1993: 52). Adding to these framing devices, we can also include "headlines, subheads, photos and captions, leads, quote selection, pull quotes, logos, charts and concluding paragraphs" (Tankard 2001:101).

It is also instructive to note that from a narrative or storytelling perspective, framing devices also "define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies" (Entman, 1993: 52). The Tokyo 2020 Olympic bid story is a clear illustration of Entman's paradigm. The "problem" can be identified as Japan's desire to host the Olympic games, aiming for 2016, but eventually winning the 2020 bid. The "cause" was the fierce competition from the competing finalists. "Moral judgments" centered on such issues as the unresolved problem of Fukushima in Japan, civil riots in Istanbul and the declining economy in Madrid. One of the strongest reasons the IOC finally agreed to award the 2020 bid to Japan was because of its "safe" environment and stable economy.

4. Classifying news frames

Beyond the framing devices themselves, classifying news frames as either generic or issue specific is an important consideration. Generic frames appear frequently in framing studies, following a deductive approach wherein "frames are defined. . . prior to the investigation" (de Vreese, 2005: 53).

Some news framing scholars agree that generic news frames should be a part of any framing methodology (Borah, 2011), such as conflict (Valkenburg, Semetko, and de Vreese, 1999), "human interest", economic, moral values (Neuman, Just and Crigler, 1992, de Vreese, 2005), and "attribution of responsibility (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, de Vreese, 2005). One of the shortcomings with this approach is that relevant details can be overlooked in specific issues.

Using the reverse process, issue specific news frames are generated at the same time as the coding in the data analysis, following an inductive approach (de Vreese, 2005: 55).

“Issue specific” frames created the framework for Zhou, Shen, Zhang and Zhong’s (2013) study of the opening ceremony of the London Olympics, citing 11 frames in total, including “countryside, heritage, creativity, sports, music, innovation, technology, knowledge, green and shopping” (Zhou et al., 2013: 880). The authors found little variance in the media coverage among news outlets in three countries (Zhou et al., 2013: 884).

Similarly, Carey, Mason and Misener (2011) identify three primary issue specific frames in their study of competitive bidding for the 2016 Olympic games: (1) “development discourse” (2) “potential benefits” for the host city and (3) “competition between host cities” (Carey et al: 252,253). This particular study is also important for comparing the framing of Tokyo 2016 with the Tokyo 2020 frames, identified later in the study results section. Tokyo’s dominant frames were “environmental benefits” and “green games”, while “financial strength”, “financial stability” and “commitment of the government” assumed a lesser role (Carey et al., 2011: 256).

Another secondary research area, becoming more prevalent in news framing research is comparative studies of news practices among different news organizations. These studies generate a range of findings: (1) variances in news practices based on the origin of the news outlet or (2) news outlets sharing the same frame regardless of the country of origin. For example, in a comparative framing analysis of U.S. and Chinese telecasts during the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Billings et al. (2011) conclude that in the framing of the same athletic performances, there were vast differences between the U.S. and Chinese telecasts.

These final studies in the literature review also follow the comparative studies approach, restricting their focus though, to Japanese news agencies covering the same Olympic event. Lee Thompson, for example, concludes that each Japanese newspaper interpreted the Olympics differently, based on the “political and ideological orientations” of the newspaper, in her study of the London 2012 Olympics media coverage, suggesting that each news organization had a significant influence over the “framing” of the Olympic story (Thompson, 2013: 1781).

Naka and Kobayashi (2010) point out that reporting of the 2008 Beijing Olympics Opening ceremony was initially positive in Japanese television news coverage, however, subsequent Japanese television stories dwelled on “three negative aspects” (Naka et al., 2010: 1792). In the end, the authors found there was no significant improvement in China’s general image. Similarly, Lin (2010) observes that Japanese newspaper coverage of the Nagano Torch replay focused on “this event as a political issue, embedding a China vs. Japan emotion, hence reminding the Japanese people of a possible political conflict” (Lin, 2010:1567).

5. Methodology

The research questions developed for this study were created after studying a number of news articles from the Japanese and British press on the Tokyo 2020 Olympic bid and Zaha Hadid stadium, which led this inquiry in the following direction:

What are the dominant news frames in the Japanese news media and in the Western news media (Britain and the U.S.)?

Could these news frames have any political, economic or cultural implications for Tokyo as it prepares itself to be the next Olympic city?

This study restricted the dataset to news articles about specific news events, newsmaker announcements or new policy directives pertaining to the Zaha Hadid stadium design or the 2020 Olympic bid. A corpus of English language news stories for international readers was collected from Japanese, British and U.S. newspapers and news agencies. Selecting English language publications ensured that the dataset would be aimed at international readers rather than local communities.

A mixed quantitative and qualitative content analysis approach was implemented in order to understand (1) the frequency of recurring frames and (2) the stylistic conventions in the text. This mixed methodological approach was utilized successfully in two previous media studies by this author, “A Stylistics Analysis of News Agency Articles on the Japan-China Senkaku-Diaoyu Issue” and “Japan’s “Abenomics” Media Coverage: A Comparison between Print and Social Media” (Natusch and Hawkins, 2014).

A total of 73 stories was collected for the dataset with about half covering the story of the tri-city bid for the Olympics and half covering the Hadid stadium design story. This study attempted to conduct a tri-country comparative analysis, however, the few U.S. articles produced in the LexisNexis search made the US analysis a significantly lesser part of the framing analysis.

The dataset was analyzed primarily using an inductive approach, therefore frames were being generated during the data coding. The qualitative methodological approaches of Lin (2010), Carey, Mason and Misener (2011), Zhou, Shen, Zhang and Zhong (2013) and Naka and Kobayashi (2010) were adopted in this study. A few generic frames were selected as a starting point in order to become familiar with the framing possibilities in these Olympic stories.

The approach to the qualitative data analysis consisted of open coding to determine the recurring frames and trends, using a chronological approach, starting first with the stadium stories and then the Olympic bid stories. Following Tankard’s (2001) comprehensive listing of “framing mechanisms”, these sections within each news story were selected for the qualitative analysis: headlines, subheads, leads, pull quotes, and concluding paragraphs. After the open coding, a quantitative analysis of each news frame was conducted to determine the dominant news frames and identify any disparities between the Japanese and British news framing.

6. Pre-Olympic Coverage Framing Results and Discussion

Although the Tokyo 2020 Olympic bid was submitted in September 2011, the starting date for the data search was set for two months earlier (July 11) in order to observe emerging news frames. This data search on LexisNexis using the search term “Tokyo 2020 Olympics” was terminated three years later in July 2016 to coincide with the abandonment of the Hadid design. Only news articles relating specifically to the Olympic Bid or Tokyo Olympic Stadium were selected.

The dataset included editorials and opinion columns, in addition to hard news stories, to understand not only the facts, but also how journalists create this “advocacy under the guise of objectivity” or “frame” important public events and issues.

The search yielded 43 articles from the UK press, 24 from Japan but only a small number from the US press (Table 1). This paucity of reportage by the US press was perhaps due to the US not being connected with a contender for the Olympic bid.

	Japan	England	U.S.	Total
Olympic Bid Announcement Stories	11	21	3	35
Olympic Stadium Stories	13	22	2	37
Total number of articles collected	24	43	5	73

Table 1. Number of articles collected for the study.

Source: LexisNexis

Table 2 lists the publications from which the articles were taken.

Publication	Number of Stadium articles	Number of Olympic articles	Number of Bid	Total number of articles per publication
Japan Times	8	3		11
Nikkei Asian Review	1	1		2
Nikkei	1	0		1
Japan News	4	3		7
Asia News Network	2	0		2
Daily Yomiuri	0	4		4
Guardian	5	3		8

Guardian Weekly	1	0	1
The Times	4	2	6
Irish Times	3	1	4
Observer	1	3	4
Western Mail	1	0	1
Irish Independent	1	0	1
Belfast Telegraph	1	0	1
I-Independent	1	0	1
The Herald	1	0	1
Daily Telegraph	1	1	2
London Evening Standard	1	1	2
Evening Standard	1	0	1
Independent	0	2	2
Daily Mirror	0	2	2
Financial Mirror	0	1	1
Scottish Express	0	1	1
Bristol Evening Post	0	1	1
Sunday Express	0	1	1
New York Times	2	1	3
Washington Post	0	1	1
Hollywood Reporter	0	1	1

Publication country of origin: Japan UK U.S.

Table 2: Number of articles per publication

Source: LexisNexis

Table 3 lists the frames that were identified in newspaper articles taken from Japanese, UK and US newspapers.

News Frames Olympic Acceptance Bid Story	News Frames Olympic Stadium Story
Tokyo Politics	Zaha Design Criticism inside and outside Japan
IOC Politics	Zaha Defense of her stadium design
JOC Politics	Cost effectiveness of Economic Resources
Japan Earthquake/Fukushima Issue	Japanese business communication practices (what the agencies are saying to each other)
Attacks on Japan as Host country	JOC Politics Japan Sports Council (oversees stadium project) Sports Ministry

Tri City Contest (Tokyo, Madrid and Istanbul)	IOC Politics
Application Strategy and Protocol	Design Modification
Zaha Hadid Design Praise	Technology
Cost effectiveness of Economic Resources	
Japanese business communication practices (what the agencies are saying to each other)	

Table 3. Frames identified in Olympic bid stories and in the 2020 Stadium design stories.

Frames in the Bid Story

The quantitative part of the study is presented in Tables 4 and 5. Table 4 summarizes numerical data taken from the tri-city Olympic bid contest frame. The UK newspapers accounted for the highest proportion of mentions (57.2%), Japanese second (34.3%) and the US with a small representation of 8.5%.

Madrid and Istanbul, being European countries, attracted more attention in the UK, despite Japan's enthusiasm for bidding. In Japan, on the other hand, and quite naturally, there was more framing of the contest bid frame than in UK newspaper articles.

The Fukushima earthquake frame received prominence because of rising concern over whether Japan had cleaned up the earthquake and radiation debris. The frame "Attacks on Japan as a host nation" frame was used far more in the UK press than in Japan. Together these frames were used 13.3% of the time in the Japanese press compared with 36.2% of the time in the UK press.

At the time of the bid, the Japanese business communication frame accounted for some interest in the Japanese stories, but was close to zero in the UK press. But post-bid, this frame incidence rate rose markedly both in Japan and UK. After the success of the bid, the number of IOC frames dropped markedly, while the number of JOC frames rose significantly.

Subheads, Leads, Pull Quotes, Concluding Paragraph

Frame	Japan	UK	US	Total no. of Mentions for Each Frame
Tri-city Contest (Tokyo, Madrid, Istanbul)	174	265	15	454
Japan Earthquake/ Fukushima Issue	80	244	34	358
Attacks on Japan as Host Country	29	251	19	299
IOC Politics	146	205	19	370
Application Strategy and Protocol	153	112	24	289
Cost Effectiveness of Economic Resources	96	177	55	328
Stadium Design Praise	34	74	36	144
JOC Politics	35	36	0	71
Tokyo Politics	37	4	0	41
Japanese business communication (interagency communication)	35	0	0	35
	Total mentions for Japan = 819	Total mentions for UK = 1368	Total mentions for US = 202	Grand Total of Frames in 3 countries = 2389

Table 4. Olympic Acceptance Bid Story: Frames revealed by Headlines, Subheads, Leads, Pull Quotes, Concluding Paragraph.

Frames in the Stadium Design Story

The Stadium design revealed some slightly different trends in the data on framing. Table 5 summarizes numerical data on framing taken from stadium design stories. Again, the UK newspapers accounted for the highest proportion of mentions (58.2%), Japanese second (36.1%) and the US with a small representation of 5.7%. In this case the reason for the higher proportion of stories reported in the UK and the Japanese press was likely due to the designer Zaha Hadid being a UK-Iraqi architect and the controversy which occurred between the designer and the Olympic committee.

Overall, Zaha Hadid's design criticism and defense frames account for 1027 frames (34.6% of all framings). The "cost effectiveness of economic resources" frame (one of the main reasons the Hadid-designed stadium was scrapped) is next at 701 (23.6%), with the Japanese proportion of framing being half that of the UK. Perhaps understandably, stories framed around the idea of Zaha Hadid defending her design was only noted in 25% of Japanese stories when compared to the UK stories.

So although England criticized Hadid's design more than Japan, they also reported her defense four times more than the Japanese press. At the time of the bid, there was only praise reported for Zaha Hadid's design, although less so in Japan than the UK. However, after the Hadid-designed stadium was scrapped, more unfavorable framing ("Zaha criticism") began to surface about her previous "unbuildable buildings" e.g., "the Cardiff Bay Opera House" in Wales and the "Dubai Performing Arts Centre".

The rising costs for constructing the Hadid stadium started to appear as a frame at the end of 2013. Accompanying this was also criticism of the Hadid overall design and whether it was an appropriate design for the surrounding environment - a rising concern among Japanese architects, in particular. Evidently the press did not see much hope of a design change (design modification frame) rescuing the project since this had a relatively low level of framing instances overall (7.4%).

Reporting interagency announcements accounted for a considerable proportion of Japanese business communication frames (31.8%) compared with 25.7% in the UK press framings.

Frame	Japan	England	U.S.	Total Number of Mentions for each frame
Zaha Design Criticism inside and outside Japan	228	490	39	757
Zaha Defense of her stadium design	58	212	0	270
Cost effectiveness of Economic resources	256	406	39	701

Japanese business communication practices (what the agencies are saying to each other)	193	223	39	455
JOC Politics Japan Sports Council (oversees stadium project) Sports Ministry	147	221	39	407
IOC Politics	75	57	0	132
Design Modification	106	101	13	220
Technology	5	17	0	22
	Total mentions for Japan = 1068	Total Mentions for UK = 1727	Total Mentions for US = 169	Grand Total of Mentions in 3 countries = 2964

Table 5. *Olympic Stadium Story: Headlines, Subheads, Leads, Quote Selection, Pull Quotes, Concluding Paragraph.*

7. Conclusion: Implications of the Study and Tokyo’s Historical Legacy

Historically we have seen how international Olympic media exposure grows exponentially for the Olympic host nation as the time draws closer to the actual event. This increasing media exposure can also translate into a form of political power, enabling Olympic host nations to wield more influence within their own borders and in their relationships with other nations (MacAloon, 1984: 263, Hargreaves, 1992). In the case of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, Japan gained wider recognition as a viable Western economy emerging from the shadow of World War II. Similarly, the grand spectacle of the 2008 Beijing Olympics marked China’s ascendance among world economies.

How will Japan’s position in the Asia-Pacific region or among Western countries be enhanced or diminished as a result of Tokyo 2020? What kind of influence will Japan wield within its own borders? While these are far reaching, complex questions, the results from this study’s examination of news framing in the pre-Olympic media coverage of Tokyo 2020 can offer some suggestions in the form of future implications.

The preponderance of economic frames found in the Tokyo 2020 Hadid stadium story (23.6% of all framing) suggests that economic news stories will continue to be a dominant news frame. The controversy over the Hadid stadium design lasted almost three years, generating a substantial number of news articles. In the case of the 2016 Rio Olympics, economics news stories continued even two months before the actual Olympic

event. BBC news, for example, published this headline, “Rio state declares 'public calamity' over finances”, to highlight Rio’s financial difficulties (BBC News).

“Security and public safety” could become more important news frames in the next few years, which are peripherally related to economic costs, given the number of police and security officials that will be needed for the Olympic games. Japan will feel more pressure in this area based on the rise in terrorism in Europe and elsewhere. The recent G7 Ise-Shima summit (May 26-27, 2016) in eastern Mie prefecture shows that Japan takes security very seriously. Also new security technology is being positioned in key locations, which is costing additional economic resources. New facial recognition software for identifying suspicious characters is one example, and has become operational at some train stations and conference entry points.

“Technology” in general will become an increasingly visible frame, with the showcasing of new robots and the creation of Hydrogen Town proposed for the Olympic Village (located in the Harumi district of Chuo Ward, Tokyo).

Zaha design criticism/defense frames accounted for almost 35% of all framings in the stadium story, providing further evidence of the popularity of conflict frames. Conflict also helped to extend this newsworthy story for three years, through a maze of events from Japanese architect petitions, local citizen opposition, Prime Minister Abe’s cancellation of the Hadid stadium design to intense negotiations among the relevant local and governmental agencies.

Will these scandals continue to be played out in the near future? We already see evidence of this possibility in the “Black Tidings” bribery news story, which first appeared in early 2016. This news frame is already gathering momentum as investigators, primarily in France, are probing a possible link between the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Bid process and “Black Tidings” company. Black Tidings first came to light over suspicious deposits made into a Singapore account belonging to the Hong Kong company, Black Tidings (Osaki: 2016).

To add to the increasingly lengthy list of conflict frames, Tokyo Governor Masuzoe’s sudden resignation in mid-June 2016, also reaffirms this observation about emerging scandals, as illustrated in the headline, “Masuzoe resigns over expenses scandal” (Yoshida, 2016). Masuzoe was accused of buying artwork to impress foreigners who might be coming to Tokyo before the Olympics, along with other questionable business expenses. As a result, Tokyo was unable to send an incumbent Mayor to the Rio Olympics on August 4, 2016. Masuzoe saw the Tokyo 2020 Olympics as his crowning achievement as mayor, but his resignation has compromised Tokyo’s Olympic position.

“Greater transparency” in the Olympic planning and decision-making process has been an important frame in this study (Japanese Communication frame), therefore, if unforeseen conflict frames should occur, “greater transparency” could help to manage these kinds of news stories.

Press censorship is turning out to be a more visible frame under Abe's administration. It could hamstring Japanese journalists covering the Olympics, but at the same time it may not affect foreign journalists to the same extent. Evidence of this could be found in the 2016 press freedom index conducted by Reporters without Borders. In this study, Japan was ranked 72nd of the 180 countries in the survey. Japan has dropped 11 places since last year (Reporters without Borders). Another recent example is further evidence of this growing problem. Hiroko Kuniya, the presenter of "Close-up Gendai", a current affairs program on NHK, departed after irritating Yoshihide Suga, the chief cabinet secretary and a close Abe ally, with an unscripted follow-up question" (Guardian 2/17/2016).

Tourism in Japan is a recurring frame due to the number of tourists rising appreciably since the drop in the value of the yen and will probably increase as Tokyo continues to prepare for the Olympics. Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshihide Suga, for example, has urged government agencies to boost the number of foreign tourists to 40 million by 2020 (Kyodo). Making Tokyo more foreign friendly will become an increasing priority and at the same time will become a more frequently-occurring news frame. Other features to boost tourism include new translation services offering direction translation for foreigners at train stations, a possible conflicting frame between Hotels and Airbnb and a similar conflict is likely to rise between Uber and the licensed taxi companies.

"History is a gallery of pictures in which there are few originals and many copies" (de Tocqueville, 1856). In the same way, the Olympic images we have seen replayed over the years will create historic impressions of Tokyo for millions of people throughout the world. For the 2016 Olympic bid, Tokyo's dominant news framing emphasized "environmental benefits" and "green games" (Carey et al., 2011). As Tokyo prepares for 2020, however, the leading frames, identified in this study, have shifted to "cost effectiveness of economic resources", "tri-city contest", "Zaha design criticism" and "attacks on Japan as host country". More conflict frames are emerging (Black Tidings). "Security", "technology" and "tourism" will become more prominent frames. As Tokyo seeks to burnish its cultural legacy based on the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, selection of positive news frames, and controlling damage from negative conflict stories, will become increasingly important.

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