Visual Framing in Ichikawa's 1964 Tokyo Olympiad

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Abstract
Depicting a mega-event such as an Olympic Games is generally centered around heroic victories played out in spectacular stadiums. Such films usually combine elements of Nichols' (2010) poetic and expository modes. But beyond the use of Nichols' taxonomy, the issue of framing is also paramount in deconstructing an Olympic documentary. At the heart of the deconstruction process is selection and salience (Entman, 1993). Filmmakers face dilemmas: for example, choosing between depicting events within a national frame or an international frame. There are also stakeholder issues such as national and international politics, nation branding, commercial sponsorship, and issues of discrimination which jostle to be highlighted. This study primarily describes the classic Olympic documentary, *Tokyo Olympiad* (1964) by Kon Ichikawa to explore the filmed events through the lens of generic frames such as competition and persistence and issue specific framing of Olympic ritual. Roles of both production and direction are discussed. The film employed cutting edge filmmaking techniques of the time, resulting in a spotlighting of the competitive identity of Japan. This highlights such controversies as states commissioning filmmakers who are sympathetic to their agendas, and the funding of productions which promote national agendas over those of various competing nationalities and minorities. Such analysis has relevance to the 2020 Tokyo Olympics: how might the Japanese Olympic Committee influence a documentary film on the 2020 Olympics being framed, scripted and directed?

Keywords: documentary film, framing, Kon Ichikawa, Olympic Games, Tokyo 2020, Tokyo Olympiad 1964

1. Ichikawa Kon and *Tokyo Olympiad*

Telling Olympic stories through film as a genre of sports spectacle can be done through biopics, such as the feature film *Chariots of Fire*, or by attempting to capture the reality of an event via a documentary film. In either case the film makes much of the spectacle of rituals, events, and human stories. There have not been a great number of Olympic documentaries made. There are even fewer of specific games but two stand out: Ichikawa's *Tokyo Olympiad* and Riefenstahl's *Olympia*.

Critics have lavished praise on *Tokyo Olympiad* (Criterion, 2002 edition) focusing on multiple elements:

- for the spectacle of merging Olympic ritual with Japanese culture "…the torch-bearer running across the screen, as Mount Fuji fills the background, stands as one of the most profoundly moving shots in cinematic history" (Null, 2002);
- for its personal intimacy capturing "… a far more intimate portion of Olympic spirit than recorded anywhere else" (Nesbitt, 2002);
- for art in documentary "… the craft of artistic documentary filmmaking" (Weinberg, 2002);
- technically as a "… visual marvel of cinematic techniques…" (Kendrick, 2002); and
- culturally as a "… document not just of an event but also of a time and place and a culture" (Bailey, 2004).

Ichikawa began his career as a film animator and developed into a multi-genre director of more than 50 films. He was asked to direct the official film of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 to replace Akira Kurosawa, who had fallen out with with the Japan Olympic Committee over issues of filming. "Kurosawa quit when he was not given as much control as he wanted…" (Yoshimoto, 2002). Ichikawa, impressed by Leni Riefenstahl's 1936 documentary of the Berlin Olympics, had been inspired by her film and used it as a departure point for his Olympic film.

Riefenstahl, a German dancer, actress, photographer and film director, was noted for her innovative technical direction of films such as *Triumph of Will* (1934) and *Olympia* (1936). Working closely with key figures in Germany's Third Reich, Hitler, Himmler, and Goebbels, helped Riefenstahl further her career but caused controversy for her after World War II. Unsurprisingly, she distanced herself from the Nazis after the war.

These two films are definitive statements in the genre of making of Olympic films. *Olympia* begins with an artistic tribute to Olympic rituals and the poetry of athletic prowess. But where Riefenstahl celebrated the athlete's bodies, Ichikawa focused on their struggles and challenges. In this study, the focus will be on Ichikawa's film and its innovative approach. The discussion will consider contemporary characteristics of documentary filmmaking and how these could result in a different approach to a film on Tokyo 2020.

Several factors influenced the production of the Tokyo Olympiad Documentary. Tokyo in 1964 was emerging from World War II and reshaping its identity. In *Tokyo Olympiad*, Ichikawa blends Olympic history and ritual with Japanese culture. But he also focuses on capturing the struggle of athletes in filmic asides, highlighting their pain and triumph. Ichikawa had resources for the project: 164 cameramen, over 100 cameras, 250 different lenses, 57 sound recordists, 70 hours of footage. But to create the unique atmosphere of the film, he relied heavily on telephoto lenses allowing asides of vivid psychological insights and artistic effects.

Quandt (2002) notes that Ichikawa was trained in manga filmmaking which shows in the graphic design of the films, rapid dialogue and precise positioning of characters within the frame while Russell (2002) highlights Ichikawa's use of telephoto lenses, perfect lighting, abrupt montage and use of freeze frames.

Although it was well-received outside Japan, domestically it was controversial. As Ichikawa summarised the problem, critics asked whether it was documentary or art? Many saw the approaches as being mutually exclusive. The Japanese government and the Japanese Olympic Committee were expecting a film that would celebrate Japanese athletes and Japanese Olympic buildings. He didn't particularly highlight these and so the film was criticized. These criticisms of the Tokyo Olympiad came from people who were insisting on a "record" of the Olympics which emphasized Japanese involvement in the staging of the event, and who were not film critics. Quite likely, had Ichikawa given in to their demands for a more conventional record and repressed his instincts as a filmmaker, the film would not have retained its lustre as a great piece of filmmaking over the years.

The research questions driving this study could be framed in this way: An Olympic Games is a ready-made mega-event for a spectacular sports genre documentary as Riefenstahl and Ichikawa did so successfully. What might a great documentary of Tokyo 2020 Olympics be like? Looking back on the Ichikawa Olympic documentary of 1964, we explore what would be the production considerations such as budget,

equipment, rights, publicity, and choice of director. So how might a chosen director frame and film the event?

2. Framing

To contextualize the study, literature relating to Olympism, Japan, film as legacy in nation branding, the notion of framing in documentary films covering narrative, visual elements and the film's release, was collected.

Olympism is a concept embracing the games and nationality. It may have begun idealistically as a stage where athletes can compete but it has become an arena for nationalistic goals to be triumphantly showcased. Thus as Hargreaves (1992) notes, "nationalism pervades the Olympic movement" so that "great powers who are in conflict use the Games as an extension of pursuing conflict" and "newer, poorer, weaker states, with problems of development and of building national identity, take the opportunity the Games provide to compensate for their deficiencies."

Japan saw its Olympic Games of 1964 as an opportunity to demonstrate the rebirth of a modern country, with organizational competence and technological flair. As with other countries, Japan used the traditions, symbols and rituals of the Olympics as an instrument of public relations. Hogan (2003) shows in a study of three Olympics (Nagano 1998, Sydney 2000 and Salt Lake City 2002) how the local Olympic committees incorporate elements of their countries' history, culture and achievements into their opening ceremonies so that these opening ceremonies become a national cultural festival based on the skeleton of Olympic tradition.

Olympic Games are therefore a rich opportunity for nation branding. As Widler (2007) and Jansen (2008) observe, national stereotypes are the first step in developing the nation brand and that every culture is to be defined through the opposition of "Us" vs "Them" in order to differentiate themselves on the competitive market. It's an opportunity to leave a political, cultural and technological legacy. In terms of this study, it is also an opportunity to leave a memory of the event through a cinematic artifact.

Olympic Games thus offer a unique opportunity for documentary films to be made so that a nation's moment in the international spotlight remains long after everyone has gone home. There have been only a handful of Olympic documentary films which are judged by critics to have been well executed in their telling. To film something arrestingly so that it seems real requires what Aufderheide (2007: 56) describes as "a wide variety of artifice" to frame their interpretations of a story. For that it is how a film tells its story: through framing.

Framing has been approached in numerous ways through a variety of disciplines beginning with Goffman (1974) who explained that individuals organize their experience through a set of structures, or frames, in order to understand society. Framing as applied to media and film refers more to how a story is told. At a basic level framing determines what gets put in and what gets left out, the spin which is put on a story, or which specific elements are foregrounded. Gamson and Modigliani (1987: 143) defined media frames as representing "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events. Entman (1993: 52 regarded

framing as the process of selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation." Entman emphasizes the concept of "salience" or the way that events of a story are highlighted. He also described the field of framing theory as being a "fractured paradigm" although later commentators such as D'Angelo (2002) have defended the advantages of a multiparadigmatic approach.

Another key framing concept lies in the distinction between general and specific themes. De Vreese (2005) identifies universal frames which are found across many different narratives occurring in different cultures or eras such as "conflict" or "economics". He contrasts these with issue-specific frames which typify only specific topics or events. In the present study issue-specific frames were "Olympic ritual" or "rebuilding Japan". De Vreese (2005) also noted that the theme of a narrative can be associated with the concept a frame.

How a researcher goes about identifying frames in a text or film has been described by Semetko and Valkenberg (2000) who propose a deductive method, predefining certain frames in press and television such as conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and attribution of responsibility. A limitation of using a deductive approach is the fact that frames are known beforehand so the researcher could miss newly emerging frames. By contrast, Matthes and Kohring (2008: 264) describe an inductive approach in which "frames are neither identified beforehand nor directly coded with a single variable."

These are notions of and approaches to framing which can be applied to all media stories: print, TV and documentaries. But in this study the focus is on documentary film which communicates its message through both narrative and visuals. Nichols (1991) explains that the impact of a documentary film owes as much to its visual characteristics as its text. Gitlin (1980: 7) notes that frames are verbal and visual. Messaris and Abraham, 2001) pointing out how selecting some images and not others redefines a story, noted that journalists choose "one view instead of another when making the photograph, cropping or editing the resulting image one way instead of another" or choosing "one image out of many" taken at the same place and time (Messaris and Abraham, 2001: 216). They also identify three distinct properties of image: their analogical quality, their indexicality, and their lack of an explicit propositional syntax. They stress that images appear more closely linked to reality than words.

Visual framing in film can be described in terms of extreme close-up shots creating a sense of intimacy, personal distance to put a character in a setting, or to give prominence to an environment. Tuchman (1978: 116-121) has identified six ways journalists frame subjects on film. The camera may be held at intimate, close personal, far personal, close social, far social or public distance. Intimate and close personal framing may breach journalistic neutrality.

Visual framing can also be used to completely alter the truth of what happened in a story. Schiller (2009: 479) reports on a reexamination of footage shot during demonstrations against Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez. The footage on TV showed pro-Chavez gunmen shooting at demonstrators whereas the full frame footage

shows the same pro-Chavez gunmen were defending themselves against anti-Chavez snipers. Schiller also (2009:498) gives an example of a television editor who realized that narratives are created by juxtaposing different images not necessarily shot at the same time or place. So to understand how ideological messages are embedded in the media, Schiller emphasizes the need to decode image by image.

Cheregi (2015: 111) reports on a BBC documentary about Romanian migrants arriving in the UK. The framing of the story and the visual framing creates the sense of threat, distinguishing between "Us" (the British) and "Them" (the migrants). She concludes that the dispositif analysis revealed the stereotypical representations of Romanians in British media in terms of economy, politics, social benefits, employment, national security and EU policy creating a hysteria around the subject.

To conclude this section on framing, mention should also be made of the effects of framing of the documentary when it is shown in theaters or released on other media or the environment and the climate of opinion which surrounds its release. Budgets, behind the scenes stories, even controversies can result in creating a favorable audience climate. Schiller (2009) describes how in "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" the role of distributors and activists brought that film to a wider global audience. Nornes (2002) describes how *Tokyo Olympiad* was previewed by the Japanese Emperor along with the Japan Olympic Committee members and it was their reactions which spiked controversy.

3. Methodology

Since the directing of a documentary film owes as much to visual characteristics as text (Nichols, 1991), visual framing of the scenes employed by Ichikawa was the major focus of the study. The 142-minute Japanese version was used primarily but the 170-minute English language version by Criterion (2002) was also used for references.

So in characterizing the approach of this study, the following could be said. It is a mixed method seeking to reveal how the director framed it through Gamson and Modigliani's (2005) notion of organization of the narrative elements, and of Entman's (1993) concept of salience. The visual aspects of the film were explored using an inductive approach by looking at the footage for the occurrence of frames. The visual component of the methodology follows that of Schiller in adopting an image by image analysis. It is also incorporates a dispositif standpoint (Charaudeau, 2005) in which the director attempts to interpret the characters' identities, psychology and relationships with each other.

In analyzing a film, framing is not just a macro-level consideration. The director also makes decisions at the micro-level on how to frame a shot by positioning the camera or by cropping the shot. Specifically, this means that each scene is framed by the camera and edited for salience and length in post-production, the stage where raw footage is cut into scenes, transitions are inserted, voices and music are added. The methodologies employed by Schiller (2009) and Cheregi (2015) are particularly useful in this regard. It seemed that to better understand what sparked critics evaluations, it could be instructive to find out what Ichikawa was doing at the micro-level.

So overall, an inductive approach to scene tagging was employed, that is, frames were identified from an investigation of the footage rather than categorizing according to a preselected taxonomy, after which types and numbers of frames in each scene were tabulated. As will be shown in the next section on overview of data, each scene will be divided into an analysis of visual images which are divided into main sets of scene framing and subsets of microframes.

Four scenes were chosen for close analysis: Opening Scenes (Ritual and Identity), Men's100 Meters Event (Sports Spectacle), Marathon (Sports Spectacle), Closing Ceremony (Unscripted Narrative).

4. Overview of data

The concept of "scene" as used in this study refers to an action taking place with a specific subject focus, such as the opening ceremony. Within scenes are "microframes" which refers to a reframing of the scene (including features such as the scene being shot from different angles, or cropped differently).

Table 1 summarizes the numbers of scenes and their durations together with the number of microframes within each scene collected from the four sections of the film. The opening of the film ran for 25 minutes with 84 scenes lasting on average 17 seconds.
This was followed by the Men's 100 Meters, a short event, which ran for 5 minutes with 10 scenes lasting on average 30 seconds. The final event, the Marathon, ran for 25 minutes with 99 scenes with longer takes including a lyrical 92 second extreme closeup of Abebe running. By contrast, the Closing Ceremony ran for only 5 minutes with 43 scenes lasting on average 7 seconds creating a somewhat choppy effect.

	No. of Scenes	**Average Length of Scene**	**No. of Microframes (Views and Crops)**	**Average No. of Microframes per Scene**
Opening Ceremony 25 minutes 10 seconds	84	17.7 seconds (ranging from 5s to 2 minutes)	237	2.1
Men's 100 Meters 5 minutes 3 seconds	10	30.3 seconds (ranging from 6s-1:23s)	21	2.1
Marathon 24 minutes 58 seconds	99	16.4 seconds (ranging from 2s – 1 min 32s)	166	1.7
Closing Ceremony 5 minutes 1 second	43	7 seconds (ranging from 1s-45s)	65	1.5

Table 1. Comparison of Opening Ceremony, Men's 100 Meters, Marathon and Closing Ceremony Microanalysis.

Identifying frames was carried out by an inductive approach and frames and frequencies of occurrence are summarized in Table 2. A mix of generic (such as frames of ritual) and specific frames (such as the use of sports apparatus like starting blocks) were identified. Although Olympic ritual and sport spectacle feature highly in the scene framings, analysis shows Ichikawa often included scenes of human interest and asides. It is these human interest scenes that make the film come to life.

Frame	No. of Frames				
	Opening Ceremony	Men's 100 Meters	Marathon	Closing Ceremony	Total
Olympic Ritual	41		1	16	58
Sport Spectacle		2	50		52
Human Interest	15			22	37
Details or Asides	7	2	8	12	29
Technology, apparatus	7	2	8	5	22
National Identity, Symbol, History	14	2	3	2	21
Athlete's Feelings (Stoicism, Pain)		3	17		20
Spectator Reaction		1	11		12
Sport Ritual, Procedure, Technique	2	3	1		6
Cultural Exchange Impact	4				4
Artistic Spectacle	2				2

Table 2. Comparison of Opening Ceremony, Men's 100 Meters, Marathon and Closing Ceremony Frame Analysis.

The data supports the impressions of critics that this was a film which includes scenes thought to be of lesser importance than scenes of ritual, culture and sports spectacle. Figure 1 highlights the dominance of ritual and spectacle frames but also reveals that it is closely followed by human interest frames and aside details. It is therefore perhaps understandable that the JOC suggested that, in their view, Ichikawa should re-edit the film to increase the time spent on ritual and spectacle and reduce the number of human interest asides.

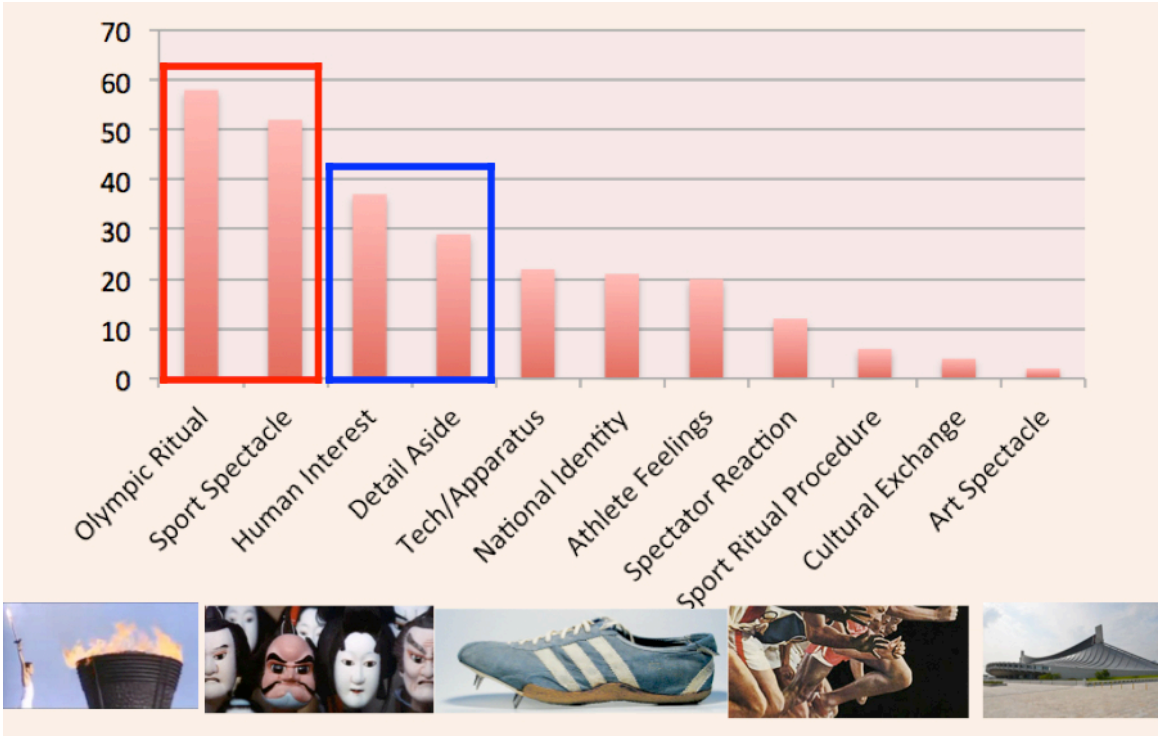

Figure 1. Main Scene Framings in Opening Ceremony, 100 meters, Marathon and Closing Ceremony.

5.1 Details of the framing analysis

Four parts of the film were subjected to a close frame by frame analysis: the Opening Ceremony (including the lead-up scenes), the Men's 100 meter event, the Marathon and the Closing Ceremony. These were chosen because of the contrasts between them. The opening ceremony is a lengthy 24 minute spectacle of tightly organized ritual and celebration, the Men's 100 Meters and the Marathon are representative of the way events were filmed, and the closing ceremony shows how the tightly ordered ritual of closing dissolved into a spontaneous party of athletes celebrating and how a well planned shoot had to be reorganized on the editing bench.

5.2 Opening Ceremony

In the opening scenes of the film, covering 25 minutes, Ichikawa mixed images of Olympic ritual with scenes of Japan as a newly-made nation arising from the ashes of World War II. Even so, he faced criticism from the Japanese government and the Japanese Olympic Committee for not having included more imagery which celebrated Japanese identity and achievements. Critics criticized his film for being too "artistic" and not sufficiently a "documentary record" of events. If he hadn't pursued his artistic vision, and given in to the "documentary record" approach, quite likely the film would not be as critically well-regarded now.

Olympic ritual mixed with national identity (history and scenes) dominated the opening scenes. As can be seen in Figure 2, occasionally these were as long as 40 to 60 seconds but the majority were less than 10 seconds. Short interjections of human interest scenes darted in and out.

The opening scenes leading up to the Opening Ceremony is a complex interweaving of Olympic ritual (such as the journey of carrying the Olympic torch, the marching parade of athletes, the flags' ropes clanking on steel masts, the speeches opening the Games) with the insertion of symbols of national identity and references to national history (such as the rising sun and the focus on Hiroshima Dome, the rebuilding of the country). There are also quick glimpses of Japanese technology. But it is in the introduction to the Games that we see Ichikawa's approach as a feature filmmaker emerge with the numerous human interest frames (the Japanese faces watching the processions, the boy with binoculars, the foreigner with a camera). These are human interest scenes with a direct connection to the ceremony but there are other flashes of human interest, which might be called asides, randomly caught, such as the couple outside the ticket gate more interested in each other than the ceremony inside, the boy who blocks his ears at the sound of the gun salute, the feet of the person jumping to catch a better view).

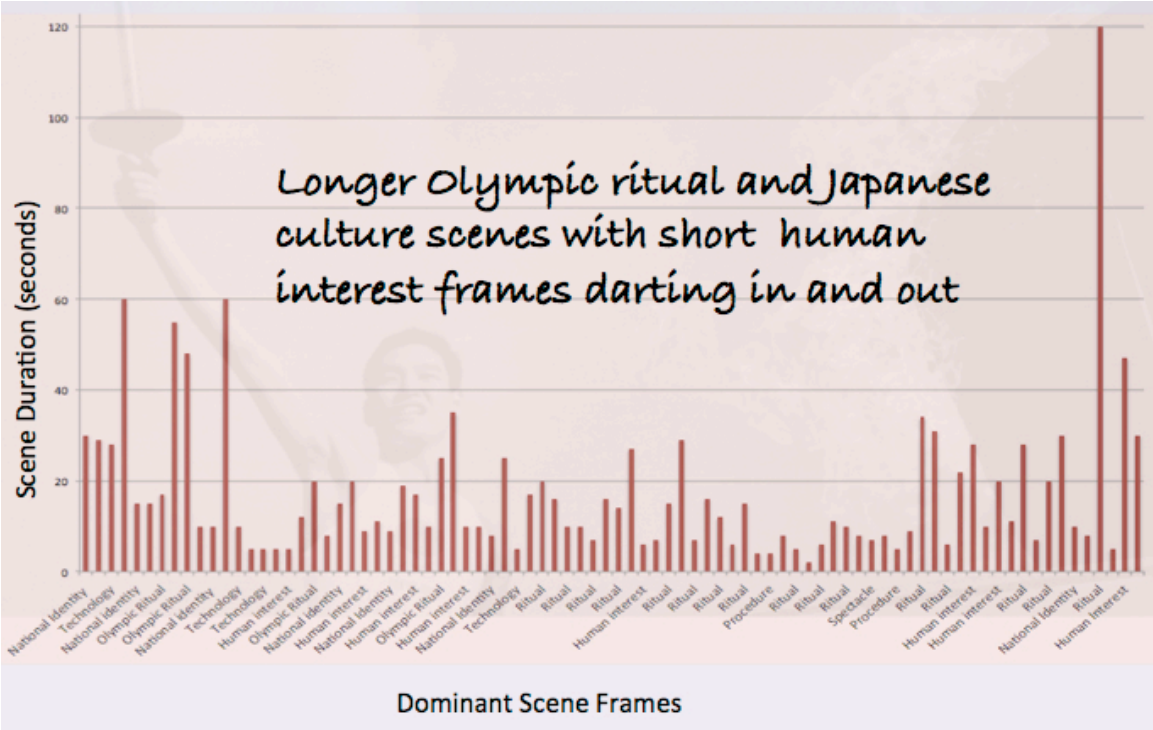

Figure 2. Opening Scenes Framing Profile.

Within the Opening Ceremony (and in the Closing Ceremony too) predictable frames such as ritual acts, artistic performances, and artistic spectacle appeared. Rituals reflecting host nation culture, national identity, heritage, creativity, sport, music, countryside, innovation, technology were identified. These were also observed by Zhou et al (2013) in their description of the London Olympics but they also noted frames they inductively identified such as entrepreneurship, green, knowledge, and shopping which Ichikawa did not include.

5.3 Men's 100 Meters

Two events were chosen as representative of Ichikawa's approach to filming sports: the Men's 100 Meters and the Marathon. The 100 meters was presented as two

spectacle frames, one normal speed of the event (20 seconds) and one in slow motion (80 seconds), intercut with shorter close-ups on the athletes' feelings. The frame analysis is summarized in Figure 3.

The Men's 100 Meters is a story told through flashbacks. The race is shown from infield, at normal speed, so it only takes 10 seconds. The winner, Bob Hayes (US) runs far as he warms down, then he is caught up by and congratulated by second place sprinter Enrique Figuero (Cuba), and third place-getter Harry Jerome (Canada). An interesting aside is that three of these four athletes only lived until they were just past 40 years old.

Following this spectacle, Ichikawa then slows the pace right down. He returns to the pre-race build-up of suspense focusing on the tension leading up to the explosion of energy of the race. He draws on frames of apparatus (starting blocks), sport ritual (Ready, Set, then the starting gun), human interest to show the athletes' reactions to stress, asides (the running shoes, Hayes had borrowed shoes for the event he won), audience reactions snapping pictures, shaking heads in disbelief), and displays of national identity (flag-raising and anthem). This is the application of feature film techniques to documentary.

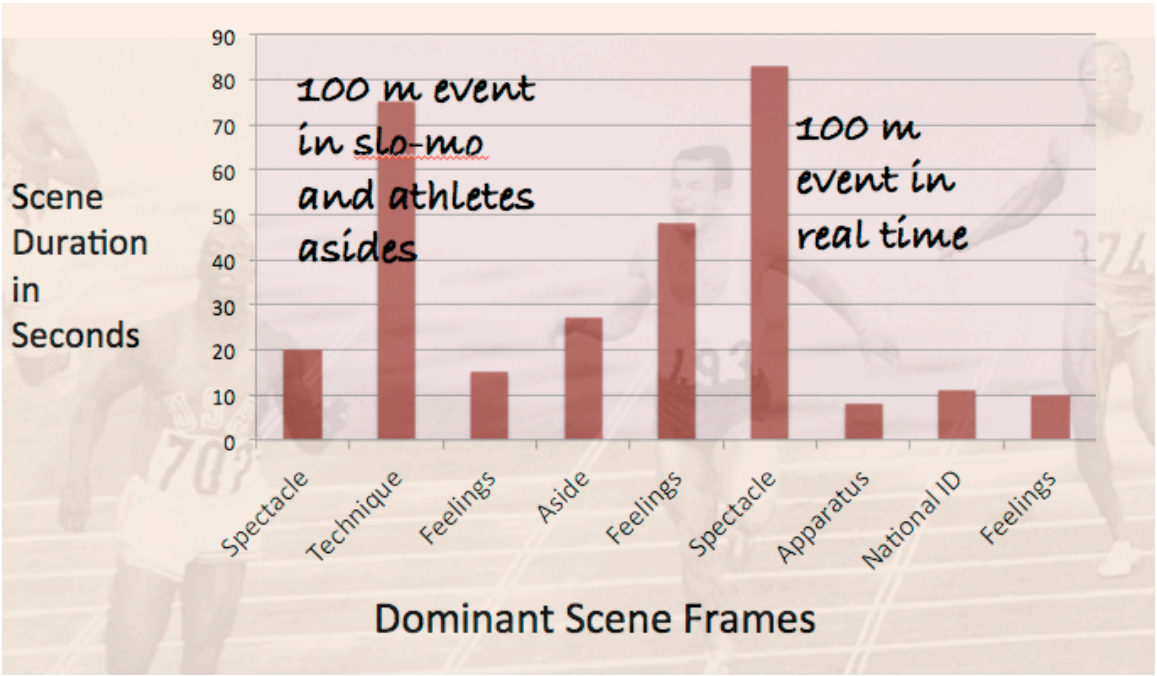

Figure 3. Men's 100 Meters Scene Framing Profile.

5.4 Marathon

The marathon scene applies feature film narrative structure to tell its story. It begins with a mix of long and short frames of the start intercut with shorter shots of the spectators. Its climax is a long 92-second scene of Abebe leading the race in the later stages as other runners drop behind. Then it draws to a close with short frames capturing athletes' feelings of triumph also intercut with shots of exhaustion and pain as they near the end of the race. Abebe seems almost unaffected by his feat, not needing assistance and electing to do warm-down exercises. Overall, there is a

balance of frame durations between 5 and 30 seconds. The use of extreme close-ups of runners in the marathon capturing athletic triumph and tragedy is brilliant cinematography. Athletic events frames often focus on concentration, strength, skill, composure, commitment, courage, experience, intelligence, as Billings, et al, (2011) point out and all these are particularly featured in Ichikawa's framing of the marathon event.

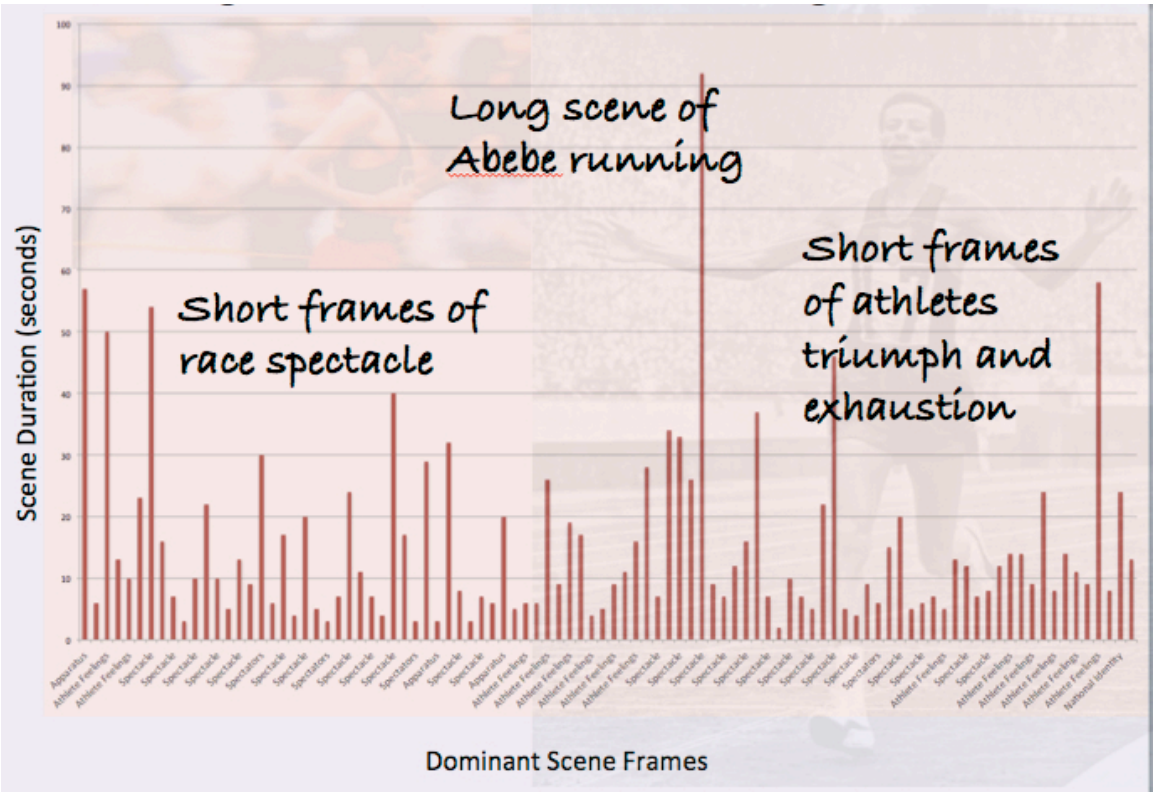

Figure 4. Marathon Scene Framing Profile.

5.5 Closing Ceremony

The closing ceremony posed problems for filming. Ichikawa commented that his cameramen were stationed at various points ready for a choregraphed parade as orderly as the opening ceremony. It wasn't. The participants all poured into the stadium and turned the event into a spontaneous party with scenes such as a runner jogging around the track in his running gear, another athlete conducting the band with his umbrella. It was display of fun and goodwill but the cameramen had no script so the footage collected was random, totally different compared with the opening ceremony. Ichikawa had to salvage clips in post-production resulting in mostly exuberant short frames best described as asides. The profile of the closing ceremony as shown in Figure 5 is typified by very short (mostly less than 5 seconds) framings of human interest ending with a 45-second frame of the closing ceremony.

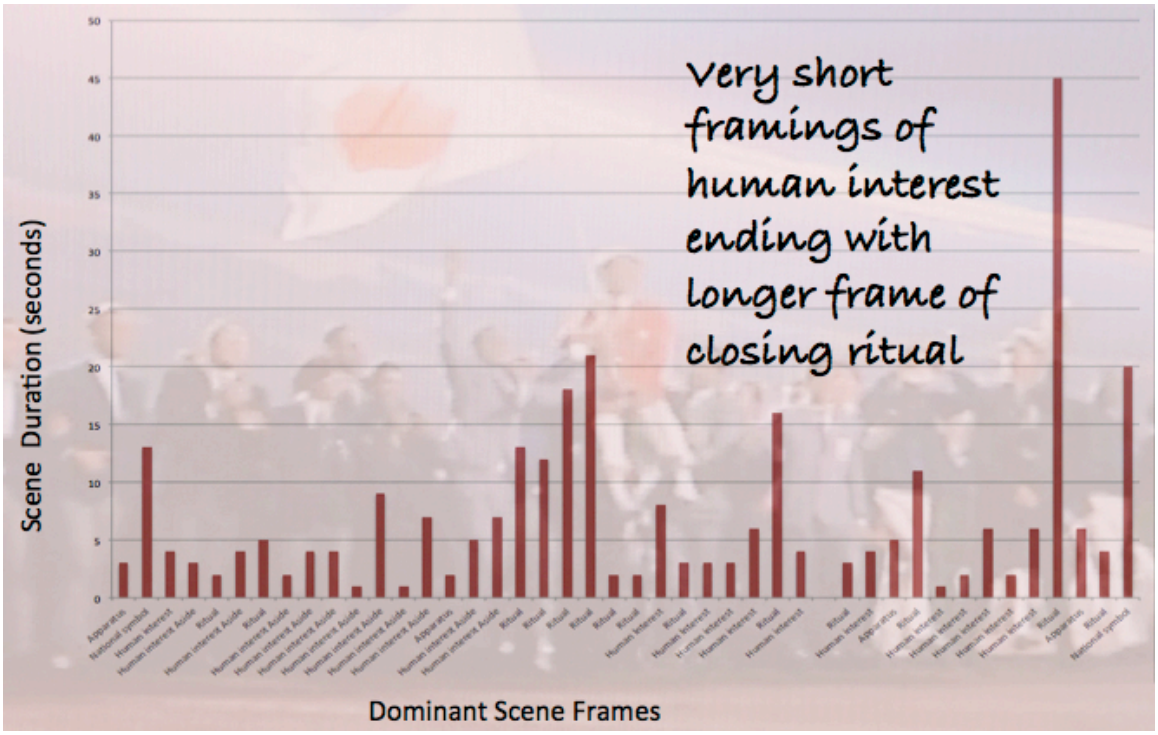

Figure 5. Closing Ceremony Scene Framing Profile.

6. Discussion: Implications for a Tokyo 2020 Documentary

Tokyo has an opportunity to leave a legacy through the 2020 Olympic Games. As Mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes, put it, "Hosting the Olympic Games guarantees the world's attention, but there is more to it than simply bathing in the global spotlight. Host cities can use the opportunity to create a positive and lasting legacy" (Paes, 2013). Such a mega-event is a great opportunity for nation-branding as Florek et al (2008) have pointed out.

Japanese culture, Japanese behavior, Japanese technology will be showcased before, during and hopefully after the 2020 Games. But a documentary film of a mega-event is also a legacy. The Tokyo Olympics of 1964 left a cinematically renowned legacy in Ichikawa's documentary film, celebrating the Games, celebrating athletes, and celebrating Japan. This study is not only about looking back on a film made many years ago. Also driving this study are some questions concerning how a Tokyo 2020 documentary film might adopt contemporary innovations, particularly social media, crowd-sourcing, technical innovations, even animation.

So a documentary film will help, just as a well-made film no doubt helped Japan win the 2020 Olympic bid. The following are a few considerations for commissioners of an Olympic film to weigh carefully:

- Documentaries are now more popular (e.g. Inconvenient Truth, Man on Wire)
- Fund sourcing: JOC, Japanese companies (e.g. Toyota, Sony)
- Political spin (e.g. the Tokyo Olympic bid film)
- Technical innovations (e.g. use of drones, computer graphics)
- Social media and crowd sourcing content (possibly contest-based)

- Framing of the narrative may be post-modern rather than chronological
- Framing of visual footage could follow Ichikawa (rapid changes of scene pacing)
- Framing the release of the film: (e.g. highlighting funding or controversy)

The science and art of making documentary films has changed since 1964 leading naturally to speculation on what a documentary about Tokyo 2020 Olympics might look like. And since a documentary is driven by the vision of a director, who among Japanese directors might be invited to be the director of the Tokyo 2020 Games? Such directors as the following spring to mind:

- Takeshi Kitano
- Hayao Miyazaki
- Tetsuya Nakashima
- Kiyoshi Kurosawa
- Takashi Miike
- Yojiro Takita
- Seijun Suzuki
- Yoji Yamada
- Hirokazu Koreeda

But there are also possibilities among documentary filmmakers from abroad. There are clear cultural and cinematic advantages to inviting a director from outside Japan to direct the film. However, Olympic Games are an event where issues of national pride are not to be counted lightly; already the design of the Tokyo 2020 video, the logo and the stadium have seen heated discussion on this.

We have looked at the technicalities of making an Olympic documentary film. We have considered framing the story. We have microanalyzed scenes in terms of visual framing. But there is yet another aspect to framing. The meaning of a film is shaped not only by its composition but also by who is responsible for its circulation, when and where the film is screened, and the contextual information provided to the audience. As Nichols (1991: 24) argued, the distinguishing mark of documentary may be less intrinsic to the text than a function of the assumptions and expectations that characterize the viewing of a documentary." Himpele (1996), Lee and LiPuma (2002) and Schiller (2009) have also emphasized the important roles of distributors, exhibitors, and activists in creating media worlds around documentary films to accompany their release. This includes public relations, reviews, screening locations, organizing attendance of pro and anti groups to frame the venue in order to give publicity and authenticity to the event. So the way in which a documentary film about the Tokyo 2020 Olympics is proposed, commissioned, filmed and ultimately released will also be crucial to ensure that it measures up to the legacy that Ichikawa left.

7. Conclusion

At a general level this study touched on Olympism, Japan, film as legacy in nation branding, the notion of framing in documentary films; narrative, visual and release. At the specific level, the study closely analyzed Ichikawa Kon's *Tokyo Olympiad* and how his approach to framing influenced the finished film.

The study presented data to show that Ichikawa's film received critical acclaim and continues to do so. For the very reasons that it was criticized (not being sufficiently nationalistic, that it highlighted human behavior asides), it is now recognized as a great film driven by Ichikawa's unique artistic and directorial vision.

The methodology revealed that the director used visual framing skillfully to tell a number of vignettes. The methodology also showed clearly through a numerical-based, frame by frame analysis how the film was constructed; this in turn reflected what Ichikawa was trying to do. The inductive approach revealed more frames than a deductive approach would have. Also, what the director was trying to do with numerous asides of human interest is well understood in terms of a Charaudean dispositif analysis in which the director attempts to interpret the characters' identities, psychology and relationships with each other.

A film produced for the Tokyo 2020 Olympics is likely to be very different from Ichikawa's *Tokyo Olympiad* due to changes in political, technical, funding, and social approaches to contemporary filmmaking.

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