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How do Olympic cities strategically leverage New Urban Tourism? Evidence from Tokyo.

Olympic cities increasingly draw on New Urban Tourism (NUT) principles as part of a host's strategic tourism development objectives. By doing so, governments and event organisers seek to entangle visitors with local urban, cultural and everyday life. Yet, empirical evidence generated across previous Olympic cities illustrates how hosts often fail to encourage such host–guest interactivity. This is a critical tourism geography and consumption issue repeatedly identified across host city contexts. To address the disconnect between inbound urban tourists and host communities, Tokyo 2020 explicitly placed NUT objectives at the heart of official bid and policy promises. On the basis of a 33-day walking ethnography in Tokyo as well as 26 interviews and documentary analysis, our work details a set of strategically planned and creative NUT initiatives deployed by the public, private sector, and host community in the lead up to the Tokyo 2020 Games. Some of these include state-funded walking tours and city volunteer guide networks; tourist boards promoting local-grassroots festivals; through to joint collaborations between local tourist boards and 'Timeout' to produce local guides - constituting a productive step forward for showcasing the local culture outside tourist bubbles. Furthermore, we illustrate how Tokyo's urban landscape closely intertwines tourist bubbles with local neighbourhoods affording a potential balance between staged and spontaneous host–guest interaction. Our conclusions emphasise the conceptual, social, and economic implications for strategic planning and implementation of NUT in Olympic cities and its potential contribution to inclusive and sustainable development.

Keywords: new urban tourism; strategic leveraging; Olympic cities; tourism development; critical consumption; host community; mega-events; Tokyo 2020.

1.Introduction

Over the past two decades, Olympic cities have increasingly placed tourism development objectives at the heart of bid and policy objectives, positioning the visitor economy as a primary tool for national and city development (Knott, Fyall, & Jones, 2015). Winning the rights to host provides what O'Brien (2006) describes as the seed capital enabling cities to catalyse existing – or spearhead new, ambitious campaigns. To leverage the opportunity, hosts deploy a set of place-based initiatives across the event's lifecycle. These traditionally include infrastructural improvements, pre-Games itineraries, and promotional spin offs (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1999). However, hosts continue to innovate and develop highly sophisticated plans, typically focused on place (re)imaging and (re)branding, by deploying targeted marketing campaigns to help (re)position or (re)affirm a destinations standing on the global stage (Duignan, 2021).

Olympic cities increasingly emphasise unique elements of place identity by presenting or reconfiguring cultural heritage to motivate travel before, during and after hosting (Boukas, Ziakas, & Boustras, 2013). Selective imagery is used to project national icons, such as primary tourist attractions, into the purview of selected tourist markets, reflecting the way hosts strategically leverage the Olympics as a way to foment new; catalyse existing; or, reinvigorate mature organisational fields like national and local tourist industries (Glynn, 2008). Marketing campaigns typically commence years before live staging, thanks to the protracted global spotlight placed on the host-city and the media hype that goes around it (Pappalepore & Duignan, 2016). Yet, whilst this may be the case, a limited body of work examines strategic tourism planning initiatives deployed before the live staging of the Games. Solberg and Preuss (2007) argue how 'pre-event' impacts of hosting the Olympics tend to be overlooked in favour of highly visible effects identified across live staging periods.

Whereas hosts have typically embarked on major campaigns showcasing national tourist attractors, we argue that Tokyo 2020 represents a shift toward a different set of tourism development objectives focused not only on the national but on the city and local neighbourhood level too. Tokyo 2020 sought to encourage tourists' experiences of Tokyo's urban, cultural and everyday life, explicitly acknowledging the role host–guest interactions play in enhancing tourist experiences and increasing satisfaction (Duarte Alonso & Nyanjam, 2017). The welcoming approach of the Japanese people toward tourists, referred to by Tokyo's bid documents and the media as 'Omotenashi', positioned it as a front-line tool to generate a highly distinctive and authentic visitor welcome. The British Chamber of Commerce in Japan (2014) goes so far as to say "…perhaps in these days of 'soft power', 'Omotenashi' might be

Japan's most charming and effective weapon" (2014: [online]), a theme evidenced across Tokyo's bid and policy rhetoric:

> [Tokyo 2020 will use] the power of the Games with the unique culture and qualities of the Japanese people (…) to host a dynamic and welcoming party (…) by demonstrating "the best Japanese Omotenashi, or hospitality (…) all Japanese citizens, including the Olympic and Paralympic volunteers will employ their utmost resourcefulness as hosts to welcome visitors from around the world" (Tokyo 2020, 2020a: [online])

Tokyo 2020's ambition to showcase "unique culture and qualities of the Japanese people", to "touch Japanese culture" and to celebrate a "diverse" view of local (urban) culture points to a connection with the bourgeoning field of analysis called 'New Urban Tourism' (NUT). NUT principles highlight some growing tourism trends, particularly evident in larger metropolises such as Tokyo, whereby particular tourist segments increasingly crave deeper understanding, exposure and connectivity with urban life, citizenry, and culture (Novy, 2018), leading to off-the-beaten track urban explorations in search for local pockets of everyday life (Maitland & Newman, 2014).

Yet, although the London 2012 Games, for example, sought to achieve similar host-guest connectivity, research from these contexts highlights the failure to do so (Duignan, Pappalepore & Everett, 2019). Therefore, bringing into question whether Tokyo 2020 would be able to achieve this objective. This concern is warranted as organisers often impose intense spatial and security demands imposed by organisers, including the creation of temporary Host Event Zones (HEZs), that hinders the flow, circulations and consumption of tourists into local residential and small business districts beyond honeypot event venues and live sites (McGillivray & Frew, 2015). As a result, local host communities outside of these spaces often fail to fully leverage associated Olympic visitor economy opportunity (Kirby et al, 2018).

Our paper provides a novel and needed response to the issues presented above. Conceptually, it brings together for the first time, research on Olympic Games planning; on leveraging strategies; and on off-the-beaten track, everyday urban tourism, thus bridging critical event studies with the growing body of literature on NUT. Methodologically, it adopts a creative approach to the study of both Olympic strategy and new urban tourism, by implementing a 33-day walking ethnography, combined with 26 interviews with senior Olympic and Japan's tourism industry managers and documentary

analysis. Empirically, it provides a novel perspective by focusing specifically on the pre-games planning period, rather than on tourist experiences of the live delivery or the post-Games legacy period. This allows for more focused recommendations, tailored specifically to Olympic cities aiming to incorporate NUT principles in their event planning and strategy, thus encouraging deeper connections with local cultures and more effective Olympic leveraging for a positive socio-cultural legacy. Three key research questions guided this study:

(1) How are principles of NUT strategically planned for in the lead up to hosting large scale events, namely Olympic Games?

(2) Specifically, how is Tokyo 2020 seeking to drive NUT principles across the host-city of Tokyo?

(3) What are the social, economic, policy and conceptual implications of strategically planning for - and advancing - NUT across Olympic cities?

In terms of the article's structure, the introduction above establishes the research article's research issue, conceptual focus, and the contribution of this article. Then, the literature review develops the article's theoretical framework by examining the conceptual and practical dimensions of NUT, and introducing event leveraging in the context of large-scale events. The next section details and justifies the methodology chosen, followed by an analysis that pulls together the study's key findings and discussion points in relation to the theoretical framework. Finally, the conclusion details key lines of argument made, the significance of this piece of work for theory, policy and practice, and closes with a detailed research agenda for examining NUT in Olympic cities.

2.Literature review

2.1 New urban tourism: conceptual and practical dimensions

While the relationship between Olympic Games and urban tourism has traditionally been framed mostly in terms of media exposure and publicity on a global level (Roche, 1992), in this paper we focus on whether such events may be also leveraged – particularly during the pre-event stage - to encourage tourist explorations of local neighbourhoods and immersion with

the city's everyday life. This perspective reflects a key recent development in urban tourism literature, namely the growing focus on tourist experiences of local neighbourhoods outside of mainstream tourist circuits and the consequences, both positive and negative, this has had on the liveability of cities.

Building on Lefebvre's (1991) concept of all-infusing everyday life, Poon's idea of new tourism (1989), and, Lash (1990) and Urry's (1995) idea that contemporary tourism practices and other spheres of cultural experience are increasingly blurring, new urban tourism (NUT) theorists stress the importance and appeal of the everyday in the touristic consumption of cities. The success of ethnic quarters and cultural festivals as hubs of leisure consumption for tourists and locals alike shows, for example, the attraction of bringing the exotic into the quotidian (Edensor, 2007). Research by Maitland in London (2008) shows that the quotidian itself can be the attraction, as many international tourists want to take part in the city's everyday life as part of their tourist experience.

While the quest for authenticity (MacCannell, 1976) and the host-guest relationship have been a key focus of tourism studies debates for decades, NUT goes beyond the broad (and controversial) concepts of authenticity or host-guest relationship, by focussing specifically on the way new urban tourists become active participants immersed with mundane urban life and culture, and the new micro-geographies of tourism that develop as a result (Novy, 2018). New urban tourists typically enjoy urban explorations off the beaten track, thus shifting tourist flows and consumption patterns beyond the familiarity of tourist bubbles (Judd, 1999), toward less spectacular everyday urban areas and side streets that celebrate particularities and peculiarities of place (Maitland & Newman, 2014). This shift has been accelerated in recent times by developments in Information and Communication Technologies (Bock, 2015) that have enabled exchanges of information and services amongst individual tourists and residents at unprecedented levels: from sharing economy platforms such as Airbnb or Home Exchange, to communication channels like Twitter and 'Like a local', or visual content sharing platforms like Instagram or Pinterest. In practical terms, this shift is illustrated by tourists visiting areas outside of the classic tourist routes and engaging in mundane activities such as shopping at a local fruit and vegetable market, but also by residents experiencing their own city 'as if' tourists (Lloyd & Clark, 2001). NUT spaces typically include post-industrial creative areas (Pappalepore et al, 2014), gentrified residential quarters (Füller & Michel, 2014), university areas (Van Den Berg & Russo, 2017), and ethnic quarters (Shaw et al, 2004) – places where

cosmopolitan residents and tourists both have opportunities to mingle and to engage in cultural and leisure consumption.

The study of NUT is important on two related levels:

Firstly, given Ashworth and Page's (2011) argument that urban tourists typically consume destinations quickly and selectively, urban destinations may attempt to encourage longer and deeper cultural stays through the promotion of off-the-beaten track, ordinary locations and interaction with residents. NUT directly contrasts the narrow and somewhat objective cultural view place branding and marketing professionals are often forced to take who seek to (re)image and (re)brand places in particular ways that ignore the city's multidimensional character (Heslop et al, 2010). Attempting to reflect the entire city's cross-section of people, places and identities is unfeasible – and – often undesirable as city branding techniques intentionally seek to carve out a particular identity and niche to be recognised for (Braun et al, 2013).

Secondly, many popular city destinations may see NUT as an opportunity to address problems associated with overtourism, redistribute tourist flows away from the traditional hotspots, and allow more marginal urban areas to benefit from the international and domestic visitor economy. Local neighbourhoods aiming to encourage NUT experiences typically seek to *maximise the synergy and opportunity* brought about by NUT, by encouraging local spending and 'critical consumption' whereby consumers "use their power of choice to modify market relations, in order to make them fairer and more conducive to a good life for all" (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010: 205). However, as illustrated by Füller & Michel (2015) in the case of Berlin-Kreuzberg, the touristification of ordinary, traditionally non-touristy areas, is not without controversy and can raise unintended challenges.

From disruption to displacement, a number of problems may emerge. First, excessive tourists in local neighbourhoods may discourage local residents from visiting (Milano et al, 2019). Secondly, the area may start to be perceived as more touristy, thus less edgy and 'cool, which may drive certain visitors - both tourists and locals - away (Pappalepore et al, 2014). Consequently, spaces once ideal for NUT become new tourist bubbles as local residents and businesses find real estate values and rents increase (Duignan, 2019). Although in this paper we claim that NUT can positively contribute to local development, if tourist flows are not appropriately managed, this may have reverse outcomes. Excessive tourist flows can disrupt, directly and/or indirectly displace urban life (Milano et al, 2019). Poor tourist behaviour may

lead to disrespectful encroachments into private life, for example tourists peering through windows of local residences – a problem that is proliferating as Japan witnesses rapidly increasing inbound tourist numbers (Japanese National Tourism Organisation, 2020). This is a particular and emerging issue for Japan revealing awkward clashing as tourists attempt to blur the lines between public and private life that Japanese people strive so hard to maintain (Barnlund, 1989). In this paper we therefore explore how Tokyo specifically has attempted to leverage the 2020 (now 2021) summer Olympic Games to encourage forms of NUT, yet we reflect on what opportunities (for leveraging economic benefits) and challenges (for local disruption) this may bring.

2.2 Strategic leveraging and large scale events

Events provide leverageable opportunities for stakeholders in different spaces and at different times (Chalip, 2017) – whether that be at a national, regional, city, or local urban neighbourhood level. Large scale events in particular, due to their temporally protracted nature, are uniquely positioned to drive strategic change over a long period of time (O'Brien, 2006). Although the 'live staging' period represents the climax of the event's physical existence (and where most of the immediate leveraging opportunities are to benefit from the Olympic visitor economy), before and after this period, hosts create a portfolio of activity to strategically leverage tourism development benefits (Duignan, 2021a; Duignan, 2021b). A useful example of this is the way the Olympics, over the last two decades, has positioned the 'Cultural Olympiad' as a central feature of hosting – a set of strategically planned and funded cultural activities in the four years leading up to live staging with the primary objective of bringing together urban communities – and visitors –to celebrate local culture (Garcia, 2020). We frame our NUT analysis in Tokyo as a part and extension of this activity, illustrating how NUT objectives have and continue to be included as an explicit outcome of hosting (Pappalepore and Duignan, 2016; Getz, 2017).

Recognising and then leveraging the opportunity does not come without concerted and sustained effort by stakeholders who wish to induce change: It is a business activity that requires significant and proactive planning to appropriately lever (Chalip and Leyns, 2002). Indeed, different sized events require different approaches. Typically, smaller-scale events are more inclusive and can afford grassroots bottom-up leveraging by local communities as they are usually positioned as the heart of the event's strategic and operational objectives (Taks et

al, 2013). However, due to the complex interests associate with hosting, in the case of larger events like the Olympics, micro and less visible stakeholders can be easily ignored in favour of macro and global interests (Clark et al, 2017). This poses a major dilemma for event organisers and host governments: promoting non-local experiences often produces economic leakage effects as tourist consumption remains in well-developed tourist bubbles as opposed to local urban neighbourhoods (Ziakas & Boukas, 2016). This is why thinking about NUT in strategic terms, utilising the concepts associated with Chalip's (2004) leveraging framework discussed below, plays a potentially significant role for challenging traditional views of tourism consumption. Specifically, disrupting aforementioned economic leakage effects, to provide a boost for local economies.

Previous empirical work in host city contexts shows that if events are proactively leveraged through strategic planning, local communities (e.g. residents, and businesses) can cultivate and maximise social and economic opportunity associated with the planning and delivery of large-scale events (e.g. Duignan, Down and O'Brien, 2020). Embedding principles of NUT in strategic tourism planning and development in host cities therefore represents one specific area of strategic activity that can be considered to help drive greater short and longer-term benefits for host communities, particularly local urban neighbourhoods that can be overshadowed by well-trodden tourist bubbles. This is particularly important as both the IOC and chosen host cities play to ideals of fairness explicitly in the bidding and planning stages (Horne and Whannel, 2016). Therefore NUT may be seen as a way to achieve positive legacies for the local community related to event tourism. This is particularly important as locals are often directly excluded from visitor economy benefits associated with the planning and delivery of mega-events like the Olympics (Heere, Van Der Manden & Van Hemert, 2015). Therefore, Tokyo's explicit inclusion of local communities and off-the-beaten track exploration as part of the visitor experience represents a positive step forward for the inclusivity and sustainability of the event for local communities, whilst at the same time, signalling a link to NUT principles that is rarely found in the strategic planning of other large scale events. This is why studying the linkage between NUT and the hosting large scale events like the Olympic Games is a significant space of research requiring further investigation.

Conceptually, Chalip's (2004) well-cited 'Event Leverage Model' helps illustrate the strategic use of events for achieving related short- and longer-term developmental aims. The model is particularly useful for positioning New Urban Tourism as an example of one of the planned portfolio of activities that can help leverage the opportunities linked to 'event visitors

and trade' through various *'Means'* like *'Entice visitor spending'* and *'Retain event expenditures'* (Chalip, 2004). As illustrated by Duignan et al (2020) it is through creating urban spaces for local communities and visitors to connect that local opportunities to benefit from event induced visitor economy can come to fruition. This is something we empirically illustrate through the practical NUT initiatives delivered across Tokyo city, later on. Empirically examining strategic tourism planning in the years leading up to the live staging period as part of a host's leveraging strategy is a key value of this paper, which is potentially significant as a large proportion of scholars typically focus on the live staging effects and offer limited analysis as to the 'pre-event' benefits of hosting the Olympics and the opportunities afforded (Solberg and Preuss, 2007, p. 214).

3.Methodology

This article takes a qualitative approach using Tokyo 2020 as the event case study (Yin, 2013) and triangulates data across three methods: 1) 26 semi-structured interviews with tourism industry stakeholders; 2) a 33-day walking ethnography; and 3) a documentary analysis – comprising primarily of bid, policy and media documents. Interviews and observational data took place between June – July 2019, and documentary analysis between November 2018 – June 2020. Documentary evidence helped specifically examine the strategic plans and practical initiatives deployed to achieve NUT, and, help identify relevant respondents to interview (e.g. Japanese Cabinet Office, 2019; Tokyo 2020, 2016). All interviews were conducted in English by one of the authors of this paper. As detailed in Table 1, interviewees are given a pseudonym to protect identity and a #[number] to help identify whose perspective we refer to across the analysis. We purposively invited senior Olympic and Japan's tourism industry managers to interview, including the Tokyo Olympic Games Organising Committee, city-based destination management organisations, consultants to these organisations and well-recognised Tokyo-based tour operators, as these stakeholders were ideally placed to comment on NUT planning and initiatives deployed as empirically illustrated in the results. Therefore, the line of questioning focused on two key areas related to the article's research questions: 1) how did Japan and Tokyo 2020 seek to bring together hosts and guests together to provide a welcoming and unique cultural visitor experience, followed by 2) specifically, drawing on the ideas associated with NUT outlined in the literature review, how did Japan and Tokyo 2020 seek to plan and deliver these experiences?

Complimenting interview and documentary evidence, empirical work is further supported by a 33-day walking ethnography conducted by one of the authors of this paper by traversing the city of Tokyo. This method generated over 1000 photos, 300 videos and daily audio diary entries recorded by the authors to describe and interpret (where possible) in real-time the kinds of NUT activity deployed on the ground used to inform the results. Embodied methods are ideal for studying NUT as this type of tourist activity inherently requires the tourist – in this case, a dual tourist-researcher identity – to be embedded in the local context as part of one's experience (Adams & Guy, 2007; Duignan & McGillivray, 2019). However, one must always be aware of the limitations of embedding oneself for a relatively short time into a local context. Specifically, we refer to the application of a Western perspective in a non-Western context and the limited ability to recognise cultural codes and subtleties as the researcher conducting the observation was neither fluent in the local language nor the culture. However, to help partly overcome these inherent limitations, we invited local perspectives through interviewee data collection detailed above to help contrast and corroborate the observations generated through secondary readings and walking ethnography. For clarity, in terms of how the observational work was operationalised, one of the authors walked and explored virtually every inner urban neighbourhood and tourist bubbles explicitly discussed in the results, as well as specific buildings like Tourist Information Centres that may have yielded observational insights related to the study's research questions. Furthermore, observational evidence served to corroborate and/or generate new themes unattainable or not identified by the other two data sets, explaining why the first analysis section primarily uses secondary and interview data, and the second section primarily uses observational insights to empirically illustrate NUT planning in action. Interview and observational data were coded at the end of every day to build data codes and research themes, helping to identify points of data saturation. We utilised qualitative data analysis software NVIVO10 to manage and analyse data sets, then organised the key themes using Attride-Stirling's (2001) 'Thematic Networks Analysis' framework – reflected by the article's two Analysis headings below.

[Table 1 here]

Table 1. List of interviewees (Source: Authors).

4. Analysis

4.1 Interviews with industry stakeholders: integrating national tourism objectives and new urban tourism principles in the context of Tokyo 2020

Tokyo 2020 was intentionally positioned to further 'open up' Japan's culture and people to the world, particularly global tourist markets (British Chamber of Commerce in Japan, 2014). Local urban life, culture and Tokyoites themselves were put at the heart of the visitor experience, as part of a broader national campaign entitled 'Beyond 2020,' directly pledging to "eliminate language barriers between locals and tourists" to help expose to Japan's "rich and diverse" cultures (Japan Times, 2014: [online]), by "encouraging the public to become an integral part of the Tokyo 2020 Games (…) to inspire people throughout Japan to create the Games together" (Tokyo 2020, 2019).

To catalyse this agenda, the Japanese government sought to deregulate the tourism industry by removing tour operator licenses with the aim of stimulating entrepreneurship to create new services to cater for increasing tourist demand (Nikkei Asian Review, 2017). Therefore Japan, but particularly Tokyo, has witnessed a proliferation of services provided by local entrepreneurs, including bike, walking and Ramen taxi tours, all identified in this research as playing a vital role for developing the city's oral history and help mobilise tourists on and off the beaten track.

> When I look around there are a lot of new businesses popping up right now because [of] a big change in our tourism industry in 2018 (…) A big change within the industry and right now a lot of tour experience companies are popping up.(#23).

By deregulating, Japan enabled local guides to promote the local urban culture and to drive distinctive visitor experiences. Repeatedly, interviewees stated the importance of inspiring local guides to reveal Japan's culture and heritage, for example the director of a tour company explained: "[experiencing] authentic [culture] is difficult. Travelling with the Japanese is an easy way to know Japanese culture. We need a good guide" (#11). Encouraging local involvement appears to be vital for developing Japan's tourist industry as the country is frequently critiqued for having little governance structures and poor communication between regions and cities, therefore, making it difficult to manage the visitor economy (McKinsey, 2016).

Interviewees repeatedly stressed that Japan's tourist industry is still in early development stages and therefore lacks key skills, knowledge, organisational networks and capacity to respond to rising inbound tourist numbers. Deficiencies noted include: 1) little leadership, 2) limited number and little connectivity between Destination Management Organisations (DMO), 3) limited skills to deliver tour experiences, 4) a focus on delivering facts as opposed to curating experiences which is a barrier to fully realising Japan's cultural offer. Interviewees explicitly noted how stakeholders operating across Japan's tourism industry do not fully understand how to effectively curate cultural and place narratives. Specifically, they claimed that Japan's cultural offer often "lacks stories" (#22) and generally the know-how as to "how to tell a story" (#8) because "suddenly we open up [the tourism] market" (#23). In other words, these sentiments partly help explain why an eclectic mix of public, private sector and host-community ventures appear vital to Tokyo's NUT ambition, as detailed shortly.

As highlighted in the Introduction, generating a distinctive visitor welcome and host-guest connectivity to local people and culture is a primary objective of hosting Tokyo 2020. Fostering strong host-guest relations plays a key role in enriching tourist experiences, echoed repeatedly in our interviews: "generally, Japanese people are kind, so involvement of local communities will greatly help satisfaction of international visitors to Japan during Olympic and Paralympic games" according to a Senior Manager at the JTB (#4). Sentiments shared by a Senior Manager of Economy at Tokyo's Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (TOCOG) interviewed for this research:

> The Tokyo 2020 Games Organising Committee will promote Japan's proud culture (…) to create participation and exchanges of diverse people with the aim of realising a symbiotic society and to raise expectations for the Games (…) through a wide range of exchanges we will create opportunities to pass on the traditions and wisdom (…) we hope that you will be able to experience the gentle hospitality of the Japanese people. To touch Japanese culture, in addition to traditions such as tea ceremony and Kabuki (#3).

The qualitative data reflect how valuable host–guest interactions are not necessarily tied to a particular space, for example they could be found 'on' as well as 'off' the beaten track, yet still challenge traditional views of tourist consumption of place.

4.2 Walking Ethnography: experiencing NUT in the lead up to the Tokyo 2020 Games

Following qualitative analysis of the walking ethnography data and of document analysis, we now illustrate some of the specific and eclectic ways the public, private sector and host-community neighbourhood groups sought to plan and deploy a portfolio of activity helping to achieve NUT ambitions. The study's observational work reveals that Tokyo's urban environment harbours a mix of tightly interwoven tourist bubbles and close-by ordinary, everyday residential and small business districts. Local neighbourhoods one would expect to find gentrified and sanitized with the sprawl of tourist activity and staged experiences have not faced a similar fate to those found across other cities like New York and London (The Guardian, 2019).

As frequently illustrated by travel guides about Tokyo's cultural tourism (e.g. CNN, 2019), Tokyo's heterogeneous urban fabric (Edensor, 2000), made of many intricate alleyways and an array of unique neighbourhoods with a deep relationship with local culture and protected heritage, may help support NUT. Our observational analysis paints a picture of two coexisting Tokyos. One that gives rise to hyper-fast and stimulated tourist experiences: the ubiquitous sound of Pachinko gaming stations, competitive sales staff looking to sell you a gadget or two, through to 'Yiuiko vision' screens blaring out dance music playing the newest J- and K-pop. The tourists gaze is firmly fixated on the commercial side of Tokyo.

Although these cultures somewhat reflect the chaos of commercial Tokyo life, they do not necessarily reflect the everyday living of residents outside of these tourist bubbles. Then, around the corner, quiet and serene Shinto temples and residential neighbourhoods await where one can seek out the mundanity of Tokyo living (Image 2 below). In this sense, Japan can be understood as a place of opposites: complex busy landscapes juxtaposed with spaces of calm, quiet reflection "where you can find a little hidden gem" (#21) as one interviewee explained.

[Combined Figure 1 and 2 here]

Figure 1 (left). A busy Asakusa shrine. (Source: Authors).
Figure 2 (right). A quiet local residential and business neighbourhood adjacent to Asakusa shrine. (Source: Authors).

In stark contrast with previous Olympic cities which prevented tourist wandering and exploration in the name of safety (Pappalepore & Duignan, 2016), in Tokyo, off-the-beaten-

track discovery and experiences are actively encouraged through destination management initiatives. A large-scale communication campaign entitled 'Tokyo Systematized Goodwill Guide', for example, was installed across Tokyo and Tourist Information Centres (TICs)– see Image 3. This is a state-funded project supported by the Japanese National Tourist Organisation (JNTO) free at the point of service promoting walking tours led by locals, covering typical tourist bubbles and non-tourist areas and adjacent neighbourhoods. Describing how "a knowledgeable guide will take you to Sensoji temple and its neighbourhood", Tokyo's Metropolitan Government in the lead up to Tokyo 2020 pledges to develop a Games and City Volunteer programme where over 110,000 'Games' and 'City' Volunteers will provide guidance (e.g. wayfinding) and advice about local events. City Volunteers are deployed to support tourists with tours and transportation across Tokyo, providing spectators with "a big, warm heart of hospitality" – aligning to Tokyo 2020's vision (Tokyo 2020, 2019: [online]). Image 4 below shows some volunteers in action.

Given the close connectivity between tourist bubbles and less spoilt urban residential and small business neighbourhoods, these walking tours offer a perspective into everyday urban living, unlike many other global cities. As noted by Chairman of Shinjuku City Federation of Stores Association's 'Shinjuku Guidebook' [which one of the authors picked in a tourist information centre] (Image 9):

> There are a lot of sides to Shinjuku. It's famous for Kabukicho, and the high-rise buildings near the station, but if you venture a little further afield, you'll find there are a lot of places where you can experience unique aspects of Japanese culture. There's Yotsuya, an area famous for history and culture, Kagurazaka, which retains the atmosphere of old Japan, Takadanobaba and Waseda, multicultural student areas and Ochiai, a quiet neighborhood peppered with small, local shops. I hope that, in addition to shopping and sightseeing, visitors try interacting with the local people and culture (…) please take the opportunity to experience the real Shinjuku [extracted from the Shinjuku Guidebook].

[Figure 3 here] [Figure 4 here]

Figure 3. Tokyo Systematized Goodwill Guide (left) (Source: Authors).

Figure 4. City Volunteers (middle) (Source: Authors).

In most global cities, neighbourhoods adjacent to tourist areas are seen as being part of the 'staged' tourist bubble, but we suggest this is not always the case for Tokyo. These areas afford easier connections between tourist areas and off-the-beaten-track locations, a key feature of NUT. The walking ethnography revealed how - whilst the city harbours highly spectacular tourist zones like Shibuya and Shinjuku - for the most part Tokyo is primarily comprised of residential and small-scale business areas with local restaurants and retail offering insight into everyday urban living. A character noted repeatedly:

> [Tokyo is] a city where new and old are held in a fine balance and growth accommodates vital variety (…) you'll find a characteristically open-minded attitude inviting all kinds of people (…) into back alleys for enchantingly varied discoveries and surprises like spiritual shrines, entertaining theatres and charming boulevards (Let's walk guide, 2020).

Thanks to Japan's deregulation of the industry, numerous private sector-led tours offering to showcase Tokyo's hidden gems and everyday neighbourhood have grown in the years leading up to Tokyo 2020. For example, 'Tokyo Localised' (Image 5) and 'Let's Walk' (Image 6) – private ventures explicitly focused on promoting less popular urban areas to help tourists "feel, sense and touch Japan" explicitly emphasizing "old and new cultures".

[Combined Figure 5 and 6 here]

Figure 5. Tokyo Localised (right) (Source: Authors).

Figure 6. 'Let's Walk' Ueno district tour (left) (Source: Authors).

Several tourist information centres, located in every Tokyo district, also played centre stage by hosting exhibitions providing a unique insight into local urban cultures and living. Many tourist information centres also provide experiential, creative tourism (Richards & Wilson, 2006) activities featuring highly specialized and localized cultural experiences like free Japanese origami; Kimono; Kabuki; and Kawaii cultures for example. A vast number of these cultural activities are funded by the 'Cultural Olympiad', 'Arts Council' and 'Tokyo, Tokyo Festival' through programmes like 'Approaching Tokyo Tradition'. The images below exemplifies a montage of niche cultural events occurring in the year leading up to the Games in the city, across a wide range of urban areas – mostly located in dense residential areas, including Ueno Summer Festival (see combined Image 7 - 8). These local festivals are not the product of high

budget and highly orchestrated staged tourist boards and companies, but a portfolio of activity created by local communities, including local schools and colleges.

[Combined Figure 7 and 8 here] [Figure 9 here]

Figure 7. Ueno Summer Festival poster (left) (Source: Authors).

Figure 8. Local seasonal events in Tokyo (middle) (Source: Authors).
Figure 9. Shinjuku Welcome Guidebook (right) (Source: Authors).

Furthermore, empirical work reveals how private sector organisations like 'Timeout', in collaboration with local tourist offices, chamber of commerce and neighbourhood organisations appear to play a key role for promoting NUT (Combined images 10 – 12). For example, Image 12 illustrates how the publication '60 things to do in Ginza' is co-developed in association with the 'Ginza Association' (see top right of the image). Guides appear to reflect primarily local and non-global attractions and businesses with a specific focus on Japanese style or owned operators. As highlighted earlier, although most of these attractions either exist in or close by tourist bubbles, they reflect many of the authentic urban cultures central to NUT. This illustrates the complementary role private-public partnerships can foster, particularly for cities emerging on the global tourist map.

[Combined Figure 10, 11 and 12 here]

Figure 10. Timeout guide 'Explore like a Tokyoite' (left) (Source: Authors).
Figure 11. Timeout special edition for Rugby World Cup 2019 (centre left) (Source: Authors).
Figure 12. Timeout 60 things to do in Ginza (centre right) (Source: Authors).

5.Conclusions

This article examines how principles of NUT, particularly off-the-beaten-track tourist exploration, the appeal of everyday life as a tourist attraction, and the development of tourism

in mundane urban locations, are embedded and encouraged across Olympic host-city planning in the context of Tokyo 2020. More specifically, this research explores: 1) if and how principles of NUT are strategically planned for in the lead up to hosting the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games; 2) how Tokyo 2020 is seeking to drive NUT principles across the host-city; and 3) what the social, economic, policy and conceptual implications of this approach are. These are important objectives for two key reasons: firstly, previous research (e.g. Pappalepore & Duignan, 2016) shows that Olympic host cities often fail to encourage tourist exploration away from Olympic bubbles, thus hindering opportunities for small local businesses to benefit from the mega-event. Secondly, as stressed in the literature review, it is important that Olympic legacies are clearly planned in the pre-event period, through specific leveraging initiatives, rather than just expected to happen as a natural result of the event (Smith, 2013).

At the point of writing this article, Tokyo 2020 has been postponed to the Summer of 2021 due to COVID-19 and is potentially at risk of being cancelled altogether. Yet, while this may be the case, it is important to note that due to the protracted time periods of strategic planning for tourism leveraging, our results illustrate the potential mega-events have as a tool for tourism development – even if the Games do not go ahead. As this research demonstrates, significant changes to the marketing and management of the urban destination have already been made, which may provide a useful legacy even if the Games are postponed or cancelled.

This work illustrates how mega-events such as the Olympic Games, if leveraged effectively, may provide host cities with a unique chance to mobilise a nascent body of entrepreneurial actors to supply and meet NUT demands. Furthermore, by doing so, this strategic activity can help enhance the tourist experience by encouraging a deeper cultural experience, while at the same time providing opportunities for local micro and small businesses to benefit from the event. Indeed, Tokyo 2020's call for all Japanese citizens to "employ their utmost resourcefulness as hosts to welcome visitors from around the world" (Tokyo 2020, 2020a: [online]) (…) to create a "welcoming place where various people and cultures from Japan and across the world interact in celebration of the Games" (Tokyo 2020, 2020b: [online]) illustrates how the host-community is recognised as a key part of enhancing tourist experiences and increasing satisfaction (Duarte Alonso & Nyanjam, 2017).

The significance of NUT goes beyond enhancing cultural tourism experiences but toward supporting the greater distribution of social and economic opportunity associated with the (event) visitor economy. By shifting visitor flows, circulation, and spending beyond tourist

bubbles into less visible urban neighbourhoods, cities may facilitate a new type of 'critical consumption' aimed at supporting the local economy as opposed to corporate and globalised cultural spaces. This is a significant point for Olympic cities who are often derided for inflating incoming visitor economy benefits for the host-community, yet, due to the organisational, spatial, security and external demands intimated earlier, often fail to encourage host–guest interactivity (McGillivray & Frew, 2015). Therefore, conditions produced frequently lead to a narrow view of urban life, citizenry, and culture that can often lead to exclusionary outcomes for the host-community.

Tokyo, compared to other major metropolises that have hosted the Games in recent times, had perhaps some advantages in terms of facilitating NUT experiences. In contrast with Rio de Janeiro, for example, it is a city with a reputation for safety and low crime. Also, Tokyo is recognised as not having been impacted by globalisation to the extent other cities such as London have. Highly localised residential and small business communities have remained relatively intact compared to other gentrified cities (The Guardian, 2019). This partly explains why Tokyo's network of spaces, streets, and local neighbourhoods often sit adjacent to - and intertwined with - tourist bubbles. It is this idiosyncratic and heterogeneous character of Tokyo's urban landscape that provides unique affordances that potentially support NUT ambitions.

As illustrated by our analysis, Tokyo achieved its NUT objectives through a number of specific activities, all delivered in collaboration with local micro/small entrepreneurs: the delivery of guided tours away from tourist bubbles; marketing of - and information on – local neighbourhoods; events and exhibitions showcasing local cultures; and creative tourism experiences. Drawing on Chalip's (2004) Event Leverage Model, we claim that such initiatives, inspired by NUT principles, provide an example of portfolio activity produced and catalysed alongside the mega-event to help local communities and businesses to leverage the Games. Therefore, promoting NUT as a strategic objective provides an opportunity for event stakeholders to leverage long before and after the physical event takes place.

Promoting inclusive, equitable and sustainable development priorities aligns closely with global policymaking and managerial agendas across Olympic planning. Specifically, we refer to 1) UNSDGs, particularly Goal 11 'Sustainable Cities and Communities'; and 2) UN (2011) 'Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights' accord and positioning access to related development opportunity as a fundamental part of a host's 'right' to benefit. Both

agendas increasingly feature as part of host-city bids and planning. Furthermore, this is directly part of the IOC's (2018) new Olympic 2020 Agenda described by the IOC themselves as "a fundamental rethink for [the organisation of] future Olympic Games" (2018: 3).

Embedding principles of NUT in strategic tourism planning and development as an intended outcome for national level large scale events, right through to regional and local small-scale events, emerges as one way we can promote inclusive and sustainable outcomes at the intersect of events and tourism. Olympic Games have the power to amalgamate disparate stakeholders' interests across a host's tourism industry and create new avenues for public and private funding (Smith, 2012). Therefore, they are ideal mechanisms for thinking about planning for New Urban Tourism in the lead up, live staging, and legacy periods after the event.

Now is the time to promote a key step-change in the way the Olympic visitor economy is organised – toward inclusive, equitable and sustainable development outcomes – particularly in relation to the social and economic implications noted above. Bridging a bewildering set of convergent and divergent stakeholder interests is vital for leading the way to promote positive change, as UNWTO (2020) notes "close cooperation among tourism and non-tourism administrations at different levels, private sector, local communities and tourists themselves. Likewise, the sustainable development and management of tourism in cities need to be integrated into the wider urban agenda". We position the strategic planning of NUT in Olympic, mega- and major-event host cities as a central way owners and organisers can enable local host communities to better leverage Games-related visitor economies.

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Table 1: (Source: Authors).

#	Organisation, role
#1	Japanese Olympic Committee, Manager (Legacy)
#2	City of Yokohama (Tourist Bureau), Manager
#3	Japanese Olympic Committee, Manager (Economy)
#4	Japanese Tourist Board, Director
#5	Sasakawa Sports Foundation, Director
#6	World Travel and Tourism Council, Manager
#7	Consultant to Japanese Tourist Board (JTB)

#8	JNTO Consultant
#9	Tour Operator, Director
#10	Tour Operator, Director
#11	Tour Operator, Director
#12	Tour Operator, Director
#13	Tour Operator, Director
#14	Tour Operator, Director
#15	Tour Operator, Director
#16	Tour Operator, Director
#17	Tour Operator, Director
#18	Tour Operator, Director
#19	Tour Operator, Co-Director
#20	Tour Operator, Director
#21	Tour Operator, Director
#22	Tour Operator, Director
#23	Tour Operator, Director
#24	Tour Operator, Director
#25	Tour Operator, Director
#26	Tour Operator, Director