“It’s Not Just the Built Environment”

The Performative Nature of the Cultural Landscape in Johnson Town, Japan

A thesis presented to

the faculty of

the College of Arts and Sciences of Ohio University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts

Kei Kato

August 2019

This thesis titled

"It's Not Just the Built Environment"

The Performative Nature of the Cultural Landscape of Johnson Town, Japan

By

KEI KATO

has been approved for

the Department of Geography

and the College of Arts and Sciences by

Timothy G. Anderson

Associate Professor of Geography

Joseph Shields

Interim Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

ABSTRACT

KATO, KEI, M.A., August 2019, Geography

"It's Not Just the Built Environment": The Performative Nature of the Cultural Landscape in Johnson Town, Japan

Director of Thesis: Timothy G. Anderson

Johnson Town is a residential district in Iruma City, Saitama, in Japan. Known for having American-styled houses called *bei-gun* houses, the town is sometimes perceived as an American village. This thesis examines how this "American" landscape is constructed. As Moore (2000, 685) argues that "a landscape is open to alternative readings of the same text," a cultural landscape becomes meaningful when people signify its material form and attach meanings to it through acts of *reading* it and doing things in it. Situating within such a post-structuralist understanding of the cultural landscape, this thesis explores how people in Johnson Town construct its cultural landscape by interpreting, engaging in, and/or challenging it in multiple ways. This analysis is realized by means of a combination of research methodologies, including qualitative methods (interviews), participant observation, and textual analysis of the town's official website. In particular, I will focus on two main research questions. First, I am interested in examining how people in the town adopt or challenge the perception that the town is an American village because of its distinctive built environment. Second, I will ask how people commemorate (or how

they do not commemorate) the past relating to the era of American residency in constructing the cultural landscape of Johnson Town.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Johnson Town is a residential district in Iruma City, Saitama, in Japan. Known for having American-styled houses called *bei-gun* houses, the town is sometimes perceived as an American village (JAPAN PROPERTY CENTRAL 2013; Kaya 2013; Nakagawa 2018; Yabe 2017). One American photographer described it as ". . . [a] meticulously restored suburban neighborhood [that] looks like any old U.S.A. town" (Vogt 2017). In fact, a casual observer might associate the town's built environment with the United States, recognizing things such as American flags and English signage in the town.

These American style houses were established at the site of the town in the 1950s. Occupying Japan after the second world war ended in 1945, the United States opened military bases all over Japan, including Johnson Air Force base in Iruma City in 1946 (Yabe 2015).[1] When the Korean War began in 1950, the base increased the number of its stationing officers, and this created a demand for housing for American military officers and their families (Yabe 2015). Responding to this, Isono Inc. (hereafter Isono) built twenty-four American style houses for them in 1954 on its land where Johnson Town is located today (JOHNSON TOWN). That is why these houses

[1] Japan was occupied ostensibly by the Allied powers composed of the US, the Soviet Union, China, and the UK, but the US enjoyed a virtual monopoly on its influence toward Japan as other nations needed to receive the US' approval when they attempted to do something in Japan (Kumano 2007).

are called *bei-gun* (米軍) houses, which means houses for the American (*bei*) military (*g*un).

Photo 1. A *Bei-gun* House in Johnson Town

The site of Johnson Town is a place where a number of other histories took place. Until the end of World War II, the site where the town is located today was a residential district designed for Japanese soldiers (Yabe 2015). After Americans left as the air base was closed, those houses were mainly leased to Japanese artists and musicians (Yabe 2015). Eventually, the site came to be referred to as a "slum" (JOHNSON TOWN). Developed around the existence of the *bei-gun* houses, however, Isono commemorated the history of the American residency by materializing it in the "American" landscape.

In this thesis, I am interested in examining how this "American" landscape is constructed. The concept of cultural landscape has occupied a central place in the field of cultural geography. Conceptualized as *text,* where ideologies are transformed into a concrete form (Duncan and Duncan 1988), cultural landscape has been understood as an expression of social, often contested, relations. In addition to the representational role of cultural landscape, cultural geographers also pay attention to its normative nature in which it reproduces materialized discourse, regulating social relations (Schein 1997).

Yet, as Moore (2000, 685) argues, "a landscape is open to alternative readings of the same text." A given cultural landscape is not solely defined by its material form. Rather, a cultural landscape becomes meaningful when people signify its material form and attach meanings to it through acts of *reading* it and doing things in it. In other words, as Schein (1997, 662) claims,

> Landscapes are always in the process of "becoming," no longer reified or concretized—inert and there—but continually under scrutiny, at once maniputable and manipulated, always subject to change, and everywhere implicated in the ongoing formulation of social life.

In short, the cultural landscape is performative. Situating within such a post-structuralist understanding of the cultural landscape, I aim to examine how people in Johnson Town construct its cultural landscape by interpreting, engaging in, and/or challenging it in multiple ways. This is accomplished through a combination of research methodologies, including qualitative interviews, landscape observation, and textual analysis of the town's official website.

In particular, I will focus on two main research questions. First, I am interested in examining how people in the town adopt or challenge the perception that the town is an American village because of its distinctive built environment. Some people perceive Johnson Town as an American village. Isono also self-portrays the town as an American suburban town and adds American objects such as American flags. Yet, the interviewees rejected or questioned the idea that Johnson Town is "American." The interviewees exhibited hesitancy in calling the town an American village 1) because they think that the town is not American enough to be an American village, and 2) because an American village does not represent how they appreciate the town. In addition, in rejecting this perception that the town is an American village, some interviewees emphasized the town's non-material attributes. That is, in Johnson Town the cultural landscape is constructed not only by means of its distinctive material landscape, but by non-material qualities as well.

A second research question asks how people commemorate (or how they do not commemorate) the town's past relating to the era of the American residency, and what role this commemoration plays in the construction of Johnson Town's cultural landscape. As mentioned above, Johnson Town is a place that has experienced a number of different histories. Yet, the emphasis on the American residency is materialized in the cultural landscape in Johnson Town. While this emphasis was recognized during the interviews, however, I will demonstrate that the history of the

American residency was not always a significant theme with regard to how residents perceive the town's cultural landscape.

Methodology

The research was designed following the constructionist methodology. Unlike positivists who strongly believe in absolute truth as ontologically given, constructionists "believe that what people know and believe to be true about the world is constructed – or made up – as people interact with one another over time in specific social settings" (LeCompte and Schensul 1999, 48). In short, realities are constantly becoming or being constructed through our bodily or mental psychological activities.

Hence, researchers situating in this paradigm recognize their research data or knowledge is also "'constructed' within a particular research context, rather than as an objective reflection of 'reality'" (Burck 2005, 242). Similarly, Emerson et al. (2011, 245) state that,

> "The ethnographer cannot help but realize that he is not simply recording witnessed events; rather, through his writing, he is actively creating recording realities and meanings. In writing fieldnotes, he is not simply preserving those moments in textual forms, but, rather, he is shaping observed moments as scenes, characters, dialogue, and recounted actions in the first place. Subsequently, in reworking fieldnotes and transposing them into a final ethnographic story, he does not simply recount the take of something that happened; instead, he reconstructs 'what happened' so as to illustrate a pattern or a make a point. Inevitably, interpreting his fieldnotes for readers unfamiliar with that world, he constructs a version of events."

In other words, the "outcomes" or "results" of the research do not mirror *the* reality but are recognized as the product of the research process and the relationship between the researcher and the participants.

The recognition that knowledge produced in any research is constructed though interactions between the researcher and the researched leads to a consideration of how the relationships between them influence the production of knowledge (Burck 2005, 242). Therefore, the researcher's personal identity also should be considered because meanings and realities are "situated," which mean that they are influenced by social belongings such as gender, race, ethnicity, and age (LeCompte and Schensul 1999) and because it often shapes the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

During the research, my focus was on understanding how the landscape of Johnson Town is perceived as I met new people, talked to them, and walked around the town. In particular, my positionality as a researcher was "the observer-as-participant" at all times (Gold 1958). With a strongly research-oriented identity, I interacted with the interviewees only when I interviewed them; I never had any other opportunities to have casual conversations, and things that we talked about were always what I wanted to know for my research. While Gold (1958) claims that this role is employed when the researcher conducts formal one-time interviews, I still understand myself as an observer-as-participant because I was always someone who "enter[ed] settings for the purposes of data gathering, yet interact[ed] only casually and nondeceptively with subjects while engaged in their observational purists" (Alder and Alder 1994, 380).

I also identify myself as Japanese; I grew up and was educated in Japan, speak Japanese as a native language, and have a Japanese citizenship. In this way, I was not an "outsider" from the viewpoint of the participants during the research. However, I had never been to Johnson Town. Nor did I know anybody interviewed before the research. In this way, I was an "outsider" of the community. Further, my experience living in the United States may have shaped how I saw the "American" landscape of the town or how I analyzed the interviews.

Data Collection and Analysis

My discussions in this thesis are based heavily on the qualitative analysis of the semi-structured interviews that I conducted from May to August in 2018 in Johnson Town with the authorization of Isono Inc. In structured interviewing, an interviewer plays "a neutral role" and asks preestablished questions with very limited interruptions or responses (Fontana and Frey 2000, 364). On the other hand, in semi-structured interviewing, while an interviewer prepares fully worded questions as in structured interviewing, s/he is not restricted to those questions in actual interviewing; rather, s/he is encouraged to be flexible in questioning although s/he needs to redirect the interview when it strays too far from the research objectives and questions (Dunn 2010).

In total, I conducted eight semi-structured interviews in Japanese with nine interviewees, including a married couple at the same time in one interview. I ended up with eight interviews because I ran short of time. The length of each interview varied

from fifteen minutes to ninety minutes. The transcripts (Japanese; single spaced) consist of 116 pages in total.

Although I initially asked Isono to assist me in finding potential interviewees, all interviewees were eventually identified through a snowballing process. I met the first interviewee, Nagai, who runs a store in the town, when I randomly visited her store and introduced myself to her. After the interview with her, she introduced other potential interviewees. I met additional interviewees though their social networks. As a result, although I initially intended to interview only people who are currently living in the town, I also interviewed one who operates an office there but does not live in the town, and one who lived in the town but had since moved out. Therefore, the certain thing that the nine interviewees have in common was that every interviewee rents or rented a house in the town. They came from different backgrounds and profiles. Out of the nine, six interviewees were female; five are currently running business in the town; seven live in Johnson Town with their families. I did not ask their age, but most are in their 40s and 50s.

Unfortunately, I was not able to have a chance to interview anybody from Isono, and therefore I cannot make any claims about intentions of the company, which has an overarching control over the material landscape of Johnson Town. However, in her analysis of visual methodology, Rose (2012, 27) points out that it has been argued that

> the most important site at which the meaning of an image is made is not its author, or indeed its production of itself, but its audiences, who bring

> their own ways of seeing and other knowledges to bear on an image and in the process make their own meanings from it.

That is, audiences of an image author its meanings by seeing it. Understanding the cultural landscape as a visual matter that is spatial, therefore, I adopt that the intentionality of an author does not really matter in examining an image. Hence, in this thesis, I will focus on the "audiences" of the cultural landscape of Johnson Town.

All interviews occurred in Johnson Town, but the interviewees chose where our conversations took place. For example, one interview was conducted in a park because she did not want to invite me to her house, while I interviewed a married coupled at their home. Additionally, while I conducted semi-structured interviews with all interviewers while sitting, I also employed the walking interview method in only four interviews because the other interviewees did not prefer this kind of setting. In this method, an interviewer becomes able to understand people's views and knowledge about the surrounding environment, as Anderson (2004, 258) points out, that when places and landscapes are walked through,

> the relaxing, relatively aimless purpose of the exercise [can] open up the senses to allow the re-calling of incidents, feelings and experiences that [are] constitutive of that individual's understanding of the life world.

Although Elwood and Martin (2000) argue that any interviews can be participant observation when a researcher pays attention to the physical elements of the interview site and how the interviewee interacts with other people who are present, walking interviewing is a prime example of this since interviewees and researchers have conversations about something that is happing at the moment.

In the walking interviews, I generally asked them to guide me to Johnson Town as if I am not familiar with the place while I asked questions; I also asked them to introduce where they usually visit rather than give me a guided tour. As Gillon and Gibson (2018, 25-26) claim, "this show-and-tell style of interviewing [sparks] conversations organically, drawing attention to material engagements with things/home". Although Evans and Jones (2011) state that if an interviewer wants to examine people's reactions and interactions about specific buildings or paths, s/he might want to choose a predetermined route in order to divert the interviewee from their normal routine, the routes of the interviews were chosen by the interviewees because there were not any specific buildings or paths on which I wanted to exclusively focus.

After each walking interview, I also conducted a follow-up interview to ask further questions about things that I became interested in during the walking interview and that were not covered during the walking interview. These interviews were conducted while sitting in their houses, on a bench at a park, or at a coffeeshop. Like these follow-up interviews, I interviewed the other five while sitting.

Once I finished all recorded interviews and transcribed them in Japanese, I moved to the coding process where a researcher defines the data by "naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categories, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data" (Charmaz 2006, 46). Claiming that one of the purposes of coding is to reduce or abstract the research data since qualitative data are

difficult to interpret all at once, Cope (2010) points out that coding allows a researcher to identify and scrutinize patterns, commonalities, relationships, and disconnections in the data. In short, as Charmaz (2006, 46) claims, through coding, researchers "begin to make sense of [their] data."

Employing grounded theory, I completed two phases of coding: 1) initial (or open) coding, and 2) focused coding. In open coding, I coded the transcribed interviews word by word or line by line. By doing so, as Emerson et al. (2011, 172) claim, a researcher can "identify and formulate any and all ideas, themes, or issues they suggest, no matter how varied and disparate." After completing initial coding of all the transcripts, I needed to select ideas and themes that I would develop because a researcher cannot usually pursue all themes in one paper (Emerson et al. 2011). Having decided which topics to develop, I moved to focus coding in order to synthesize minute segments into lager categories, as it allows "the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through lager amounts of data" (Charmaz 2006, 57).

I must admit that my analysis process was not as linear as I have just described here. Charmaz (2006) notes that a researcher sometimes needs to go back to earlier respondents and discover themes or ideas that s/he did not initially pay attention to because some respondents or events make sense or implicit later. Indeed, as I had very many of what she called "Aha! Now I understand" experiences (58), I

often returned to the initial coding phase during the focus coding phase, and to the focus coding phase while actually writing up this thesis.

In addition to the interviews, I also conducted landscape analysis based on observation in the town as well as textual analysis of the town's website managed by Isono. In order to have a better understanding of how the interviewees interact with the cultural landscape of the town, I will examine how Isono works on it by analyzing itself and the website. As I did not interview anybody from the company, my analysis might be different form the company's intentions. As I have mentioned above, nonetheless, the intentionality of the author the cultural landscape does not always matter in visual analysis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Cultural Landscape

In "The Morphology of Landscape," Carl Sauer famously states that "Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result" (Sauer 1996/1925, 310). Here, Sauer defined the cultural landscape as the impress, the sum total of human activities, upon the physical landscape. Following Sauer's lead, a number of American geographers, including Meinig (1965), Kniffen (1965), Zelinsky (1967), Jordan (1967), Nostrand (1970), and Hudson (1988) adopted Sauer's ideas about the nature of cultural landscapes in research that aimed to examine diffusion patterns, employing material culture objects as cultural "spoor." In the 1980s and 1990s, however, cultural geographers began to recognize cultural landscape in a more nuanced way, as *texts* that might be "read" and interpreted (Mitchell 2000). In this understanding, the cultural landscape is recognized "as a symbolic system that is written and rewritten, read and erased by 'authors' and 'readers' within their own specific socio-spatial contexts" (Dwyer and Alderman 2008, 169).

Others, however, have argued that even though Sauer and many of his students might not have adopted the "text" metaphor, they nevertheless celebrated the idea of *reading* the cultural landscape for its underlying symbolic meanings. Indeed, Robert Mitchell (2000, 61) posits, "after all, what was the study of typical house types of a region if not a study of the symbolic forms by which people lived?". Recognizing

cultural landscape as an embodiment of "how the works of man express themselves in the cultural landscapes," Sauer (1996/1925, 307) indeed argued that the aim of geography is no less "the establishment of a critical system which embraces the phenomenology of landscape, in order to grasp in all of its meaning and color the varied terrestrial scene" (299; 307). The *text* metaphor was made explicit by Peirce Lewis (Mitchell 2000); in his noted chapter "Axioms for Reading the Landscape," Lewis (1979, 12) aimed to provide a guide on how to read cultural landscape as if a book, proclaiming cultural landscape as "our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form".

What was newly brought to cultural landscape studies in human geography in the late 20th century was the awareness and sensitivity regarding social contestations of landscape production (Mitchell 2000). Duncan (1980, 181) argued "traditional" cultural geographers adopted the idea of culture as "an entity above man, not reducible to the actions of individuals, mysteriously responding to laws of its own" and therefore generalized cultures too much with an assumption of social homogeneity, ignoring diversities in a culture as well as individual agency. Indeed, Lewis (1979, 18) defined culture as "a whole – a unity–".

These so-called "new" cultural geographers began to recognize contesting power relations in "culture" as Cosgrove and Jackson (1987, 99) claimed "cultures are politically contested." They maintained that culture is "the very medium through which social change is experience, contested and constituted" (95). Yes, Sauer was

correct that the cultural landscape is a material product of human labor, but it also expresses power dynamics in human labor. In this regard, cultural geography today is consciously interested in the ideas of hegemony and resistance (Kong 1997). As Kong and Law (2002) point out, hegemonic groups often create cultural landscapes where they demonstrate themselves as "normal" or "ordinary" while they represent non-hegemonic groups as "other" or "extraordinary."

Moreover, texts embedded in cultural landscapes shape our ideas about societies. Contextualizing cultural landscapes as texts in which social and political ideologies are transformed into tangible, material forms, Duncan and Duncan (1988, 125) argue that cultural landscapes tell us how society should be, as we all, consciously or not, read the materialized texts:

> If landscapes are texts which are read, interpreted according to an ingrained cultural framework of interpretation, if they are often read 'inattentively' at a practical or nondiscursive level, then they may be inculcating their readers with a set of notions about how the society is organized: and their readers may be largely unaware of this. If, by being so tangible, so natural, so familiar, the landscape is unquestioned, then such concrete evidence about how society *is* organized can easily become seen as evidence of how it *should*, or *must* be organized.

Concerned with issues of racism and sexism, Kobayashi and Peak (1994) assert that through material landscapes, social categories about race and gender are made normative.

In this way, as Mitchell (2003, 241) notes, "the cultural landscape shapes and regulates social contests […] at the same as it is shaped through and regulated by social contest". Employing the Foucauldian idea of discourse, Schein (1997, 676)

conceptualizes this normative nature of the cultural landscape as a "discourse materialized" and argues,

> Understood as a material moment in a recurring flow of information/ideals/actions/power, the cultural landscape exists as a crucial point in and of power, as a place where action can contribute to, as well as be constricted by, the ideals that cohere the discursive network. Through the landscape, the human agent is both object and subject.

However, a discourse is not a one-way controlling process, as Michel Foucault (1980, 101) clearly outlines,

> Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting off point for an opposing strategy.

Therefore, cultural landscapes sometimes play roles in negotiating naturalized, hegemonic ideas, as Kong and Law (2002, 1504) claim that the marginalized also attempt "to construct their own landscapes or invest their own meanings in landscapes of the dominant." For example, Law (2002) demonstrates how Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong reinterpret Central Hong Kong, which has historically been a space for the elite, as "Little Manila" where they shop, gossip, eat Filipino food, and enjoy their days off.

At the same time, such reinterpretation of cultural landscapes is not always undertaken by a group with political agendas. Rejecting the assumption that political change is always achieved by charismatic leaders or advanced political organizations, Thomas (2002) argues that the power of the Vietnamese government is challenged by local people who practice seemingly mundane, non-political activities such as

religious festivals and celebrations after football matches in places where authorized, formal state-managed events take place. A simple analogy might be that we do not always read books as the authors wish their books to be read; in the same way, the meanings of cultural landscapes or places are generally transformed in ways unintended by the "authors."

> That is, as Johnston and Ripmeester (2010, 132) note,
>
> > Although all features of a landscape are loaded with significance and meaning, the extent to which any one feature figure in a "staging" or "event" depends on the context of its use. The landscape offers a stock of elements that reflect and guide the actions of everyday life, but the significance and meaning of these elements can shift into or out of discursive consciousness.

Therefore, although examining the cultural landscape as a text is based on the dichotomy between the author and the audience, the audience actually "authors" the cultural landscape by continually constructing meanings of it.

As these counter-landscapes indicate, "a landscape is open to alternative readings of the same text" (Moore 2000, 685). For instance, Hurt (2010) reveals how dominant interpretations about the Washita conflict in 1868 in the Washita Valley, Oklahoma, and about the site itself have changed over time; although the battlefield was initially commemorated as the site of the victory of the American military while local residents ignored the site and Cheyenne survivors avoided the area, the site is today reserved as the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site by the National Park Service, which emphasizes the narratives of the survivors. In this way, interpretations of cultural landscape change depending on times, contexts, and agencies.

Moreover, as we do things in, as well as through, cultural landscapes, it is surely important to examine relationships between human activities and cultural landscapes. For example, della Dora (2018, 51) points out that geographers of religion have been demonstrating that ordinary spaces such as homes become sacred places through religious practices. Referring to the literature of religious anthropology, she also claims that:

> sacred space was no longer envisaged as a tangible product of a theophanic event, but rather as a contingent social construction. Here the 'making' of sacred space assumed an even more central meaning. Sacred space came into being through its users' performances and the (often conflicting) meanings they ascribed to it. Sacred space was not eternal and immutable, but *in the constant making*.

As demonstrated by Thomas (2002), cultural landscapes are contracted through ordinary, and sometimes unconscious, activities. As such, landscapes are lived and maintained while meanings attached to them are constituted, enforced or challenged through activities that people practice there, even if those practices may not change material landscapes.

As I have demonstrated in this section, the cultural landscape is the work of human labor, something that does work to regulate human labor, something that people negotiate and where people do things. In this regard, therefore, although Lewis's (1979) recognition of cultural landscape "leaves cultural landscape itself out of social and cultural processes" as if it "exists as the detritus or spoor of cultural activity" (Schein 2003, 202), cultural landscape is human activity itself, rather than

the material product of it as power is exercised and maintained through the control of landscape.

MEMORY AND THE MEMORIAL LANDSCAPE

Memory and its representation have become an increasingly popular subject of study in many academic disciplines, including geography, over the past few decades. What is socially commemorated - so-called collective memory - is not always equal to what happened in the past, but rather is socially signified (Hurt 2010). For instance, comparing official statements by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the Mormons) with diaries written by Mormon pioneers and other documents, Jackson (1992) demonstrates that the story of the Mormon journey from the East to the West was transformed by later generations of Mormons in order to legitimize the religious doctrine, the belief that they are the chosen people, and strategies of Mormon leaders.

This is to say that commemoration is selective in nature, requiring political negotiations in order to decide what/whom to remember and forget, as Muzaini (2013, 392) notes, "remembering is often done in the service of objectives that ensure what of the past gets to remain in posterity or relegated to oblivion." In other words, collective memory is just one of many narratives or perspectives about the past. In a number of cases, therefore, "commemorable" figures are chosen and managed by politically, economically and socially dominant groups of people (Johnson 2005), while narratives of minority groups are often neglected or "used" to represent

hegemonic values (Dwyer and Alderman 2008a; Heffernan and Medlicot 2002). Regarding the construction of collective memory, Wagner-Pacifici and Schwarts (1991, 382) point out that:

> before any event can be regarded as worth remembering, and before any class of people can be recognized for having participated in that event, some individual, and eventually some group, must deem both event and participants commemorable and must have the influence to get others to agree.

Hence, memory is normative, and "control of a society's memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power" (Connerton 1989, 1).

While past events or historical figures are commemorated in several forms of media such as newspapers, film, and fine arts, commemorative practices also spatially/geographically occur at sites such as museums (Baptist 2015; Bilous 2011; Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010), historical monuments and statues (Leib 2002; Larsen 2012) and even domestic spaces (Meah and Jackson 2010; Tolia-Kelly 2004). In those sites, as Foote and Azaryahu (2007) note, the past is placed in the present, gaining materiality and visuality. Contextualizing spatial/geographic commemorative practice as memorial landscape, geographers have been critically examining mutual relationships between the construction of memory and space/place.

Although some people might believe that memorial landscapes objectively represent histories, this is not always true as, like collective memory itself, "memorials narrate history in selective and controlled ways—hiding as much as they reveal" (Dwyer and Alderman 2008b, 168). Wagner-Pacifici and Schwarts (1991,

382) contend that memorials are "conceived and built by those who wish to bring to consciousness the events and people that others are more inclined to forget." In other words, memorials do not aim to represent *all* narratives but do represent narratives and interests of their *authors*. Thus, it may be more proper to see memorial landscapes as "'marking' past events, people, and achievements" rather than as archiving them (Carlson and John 2015, 272).

Yet, given tangibility and visibility, *a* memorial story becomes *the* story at a memorial landscape. Azaryahu (1999, 482) writes that, "places of memory make history visible and tangible. Memorial sites solidify historical heritage in terms of location, architecture, and ritual activities." That is, like any other kind of cultural landscapes, memorial landscapes are normative, shaping our ideas about the past. Moreover, because the opportunities for materializing the past are not equally accorded to everyone, dominant social groups can stabilize their views on past events and their hegemonic status while usually excluding histories of marginalized groups or using them for elite purposes (Bilous 2011; Larsen 2012). Put another way, Moore (2000, 685) asserts, "By controlling the physical symbols by which communities memorialize the past, dominant classes are able to reproduce their control over the ideology under which people are socialized into society."

Noting that "Given different actors, different contexts, or different times, a single landscape may be conceived in multiple ways," however, Johnston and Ripmeester (2010, 135) point out that those who seek to have their versions of the

past materially commemorated in memorial landscapes cannot force people to their narratives. Therefore, landscape for counter-memory or alternative memory can be also constructed (Carlson and John 2015; Hannum and Rhodes 2018; Larsen 2012; Legg 2005a; Switzer and Graham 2009). Meusburger et al. (2011, 7) write that memorial landscapes have "a political potential to support both official memory of those in power and the subversive countermemories of the oppressed." Legg (2005a, 181) also addresses this idea:

> sites of counter-memory mark times and places in which people have refused to forget. They can rebut the memory schema of a dominant class, caste, race, or nation, providing an alternative form of remembering and identity.

However, even when people attempt to materially or symbolically construct a commemorative landscape dedicated to historically silenced past events it is still selective, as some people, including local activists, women, and the poor, are excluded (Dwyer and Alderman 2008a).

As I have demonstrated so far, memorial landscapes, like other kinds of cultural landscapes, can be understood as *texts* within which its *author*'s interests and ideas are materially transformed, and as the spaces and places where people negotiate with each other as to what to remember. To conceptualize the latter, Dwyer and Alderman (2008b, 166) suggest the metaphor of memorial landscape as *arena*, as they claim,

> The 'arena' metaphor focuses on the capacity of memorials to serve as sites for social groups to actively debate the meaning of history and compete for control over the commemorative process as part of larger struggles over identity.

Importantly, in debating the placement of memorials, people sometimes challenge an understanding of the site itself, as well as which history or narrative should be commemorated and materialized there (Carlson and John 2015). For example, in an analysis of the debates regarding the placement of the statue of Arthur Ashe, the African American tennis player, in the historically white space of Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia, Leib (2002) demonstrated that it was opposed by both white residents, who wanted to preserve the avenue as a proud white landscape to commemorate Southern heritage, and black residents who did not want to celebrate an African American hero in a white space, although some African Americans agreed with the placing of the statue on the avenue because it would signal a major step in making the city more integrated.

Furthermore, Dwyer and Alderman (2008b) also introduce the metaphor of memorial landscape as *performance* in order to illustrate how memorial landscapes are negotiated though the social activities that we perform in such places. Geographers have provided critical discussions on relationships between commemoration and bodily performances in memorial landscapes such as marches (John and Carlson 2015), historic pageantry in memorial sites (Hoelscher 2003), and public rituals (Bosco 2004). Of course, the metaphor of *performance* does not necessarily refer to non-ordinary events such as pageantry. For instance, Hanna et al. (2004) demonstrate that the meaning of the past commemorated in Fredericksburg, Virginia, is constructed through the seemingly non-commemorative, mundane

practices of tourism workers, such as driving tourist trolleys and chatting with each other and visitors.

Importantly, the conceptualization of memorial landscape as *performance* does not simply aim to recognize only the fact that human activities take place in the memorial landscape, but rather that memorial landscapes, like any other kinds of cultural landscapes, are "constituted, shaped, and made important through the bodily performance and display of collective memories" (Dwyer and Alderman 2008b, 173-174). In other words, human activities in memorial landscapes may not shape or change material forms of memorial landscapes (even though constructing buildings can also be seen as a form of performance), and yet material forms become memorial landscapes through human activities that attach commemorative meanings to the memorial landscape.

The memorial landscape does not commemorate anything solely through its material form, but they do so once people construct and recognize its commemorative meanings, as Dwyer and Alderman (2008b, 174) note, "No memorial speaks for itself; each one is dependent upon its audience to voice—or betray—its vision of the past into the future". This is why we can also establish landscapes of counter-memory, since "a landscape is open to alternative readings of the same text" (Moore 2000, 685).

CHAPTER 3: JOHNSON TOWN

A Brief History of Johnson Town[2]

Johnson Town is a residential district. A family run company, Isono Inc., solely owns the town's entire area, including public spaces such as the streets and all houses and buildings within it. As one of the interviewees emphasized, therefore, Isono can manage the town's landscape as it wishes. Several interviewees also told me that since all houses in the town are rented accommodations, residents and business owners need to receive permission from the company if they wish to modify their houses in any way. In this way, Isono has an overarching control over the material landscape of Johnson Town.

Today, the town is often described as an "American" village (JAPAN PROPERTY CENTRAL 2013; Kaya 2013; Nakagawa 2018; Yabe 2017) and Isono also advertises the town as "reminiscent of an American suburban landscape" at its website. Yet, the town was not always developed as an "American village." Yoshio Isono, whose son is the current president of Isono Inc., purchased the land in 1936 (JOHNSON TOWN).[3] While the farmland was initially owned by a filature company in the early 20th century, the filature company sold its 300,000-square-meter farmland

---

[2] As my research does not aim to examine how the site has historically developed, I did not conduct any historical research. Additionally, as very little academic research on Johnson Town has be conducted, there is scant literature on the history of the site. Therefore, I mainly, but not exclusively, rely on data and information from the website of Johnson Town.

[3] I do not know whether or not Yoshio Isono purchased the land as an individual or as a company. Today, the land is owned by Isono Inc. whose president is his son, Tatsuo Isono.

to Yoshio Isono due to financial difficulty and it became Isono Farm (JOHNSON TOWN).[4] Around the same time, the Japanese military opened an air force academy in the area, and this engendered a demand for housing complexes for military officers and their families; as a result, in 1938, Isono established 50 houses to rent for Japanese military officers on Isono Farm (JOHNSON TOWN). The district subsequently came to be called the "Isono Residence" (Kaya 2013).

After World War II ended and the United States occupied Japan in 1945, the Americans used the former Japanese air force academy grounds to construct Johnson Air Force Base in 1946 (Yabe 2017). The base increased its number of stationing officers in the 1950s because of the Korean War, and this engendered a demand for housing for American military officers and their families. Responding to this, Isono built twenty-four American style houses[5] in the Isono Residence in 1954 (JOHNSON TOWN). Importantly, when these *bei-gun* houses were established, the older Japanese houses originally built for Japanese soldiers were not demolished, and Japanese civilians continued to live there (JOHNSON TOWN). That is, at the time, the site was a residential district shared by both American military personnel and Japanese civilians.

After Americans left as the US reduced the scale of the base and eventually closed it in 1978, Isono leased the *bei-gun* houses at the site to Japanese civilians; due

---

[4] Due to the land reform during the US occupation in Japan, the Isono family lost much of the land (Kaya 2013).

[5] One was subsequently destroyed in a fire, and twenty-three remain today.

to their large rooms and affordability, they were leased mainly to Japanese painters and musicians (Yabe 2015). In the 1980s and early 1990s, Isono also constructed houses and apartment buildings to rent while continuing to lease the Japanese houses originally built for Japanese soldiers, as well as the *bei-gun* houses (JOHNSON TOWN).

The Rehabilitation Project

Over time, however, the site gradually became a "slum" according to the website. Finding historic value in the *bei-gun* houses, the newly appointed president of Isono, Tatsuo Isono, initiated a rehabilitation project of the site in 1996 (Kaya 2013). Although this study does not focus on the history of Johnson Town, it is worth noting that one interviewee who is originally from the city observed that when he was a child in the 1980s, parents and school teachers told children not to visit the place claiming that criminals lived there. Disappointed that the houses and the neighborhood had become dilapidated, Tatsuo Isono initiated a rehabilitation project in 1996 when he assumed leadership of Isono (Kaya 2013). Since then, the site has been developed with a focus on conserving the *bei-gun* houses. Indeed, in a presentation about the rehabilitation project given by Tatsuo Isono and the directing architect of the rehabilitation project, they stress that one of their aims was to construct an attractive landscape by rehabilitating and conserving the site's *bei-gun* houses (Isono and Watanabe 2017).

This emphasis on the *bei-gun* houses was also found during the interview with Nagai, who runs a home improvement shop in the town. While Johnson Town has apartments and houses that were built after the Americans left and before the rehabilitation project was initiated, she conveyed that she decorated one of these apartment buildings. When she told Isono that she wanted to open her shop in her house, the company told her to use one of the apartment buildings because of the company's aim to separate the residential area and commercial area within the town.[6] At the same time, the company asked her to renovate it to make it "the *bei-gun*-house style." Then, she said, while she had carpenters put steps from a balcony upstairs, she decorated and re-painted the building. Although it is not entirely clear what she meant by "*bei-gun* house style," this still indicates that the company emphasizes the development around the existence of the *bei-gun* houses.

[6] While she initially opened a shop in this apartment building, she runs her shop in her house, subleasing this building to two other shop owners.

Photo 2. Apartment Building Decorated by Nagai

Materializing "Americanness" and the American Residency

Focusing on conserving the *bei-gun* houses in the rehabilitation project, Isono creates an "American" landscape and commemorates the history of the American residency. While the town is often described as an American village, the website of the town bills itself as conjuring the image of American suburbia. I am uninterested in clarifying who started portraying the town as an American village, and maybe Isono just adopted the portrait in order to promote its business. Still, this self-portraying as an American village indicates the company's interest in constructing an "American" landscape, no matter what the American refers to. In fact, the signifiers in the town such as American flags and English signage that one may identify with the

United States have been recently added. Although I was unable to locate any photographs of the site just before the rehabilitation began, one of the interviewees witnessed that materials such as American flags and English signs have been recently added while there were few such objects when she moved into the town in 2008.

Isono's interest in creating an "American" landscape was revealed also during the interview with Miyazaki who stated that his American car made it possible for him to rent his office. Running a grave business, while he lives outside of the town, he located his office in the town. Explaining how he opened the office in the town, he said that although Isono initially declined to lease a house to him because the company wanted to lease houses as residential property, the president quickly changed his mind and agreed to lease a house to Miyazaki after Miyazaki suggested that it would be nice and photogenic if he parks one of his American cars in the town. This episode also suggests that Isono is interested in establishing an American village in the town.

Photo 3. American Flag in Johnson Town

Photo 4. English Speed Sign in Johnson Town

Photo 5. One of Miyazaki's American Cars

The creation of an "American" landscape is also the aim of some of the interviewees. As a huge fan of American cars who purchases imported American cars and someone who goes to an American car trade show in the United States every year, Miyazaki described himself as very Americanized and indicated his wish to make Johnson Town look like a town in the United States; since he loves Los Angeles in particular, he seemed to wish to replicate the city's landscapes in Johnson Town. Having complaints about how Johnson Town is not very American, he creates his desired American landscape inside of his office. He renovated his office by himself in order to have a pawnshop that looks like ones he has seen in American films and has personally visited in the United States; in order to make it more authentic, he initially

wanted to hire a non-Japanese woman as a secretary, but because he could not find one he now employs a Japanese middle-aged woman. He also decorates his office with fake guns.

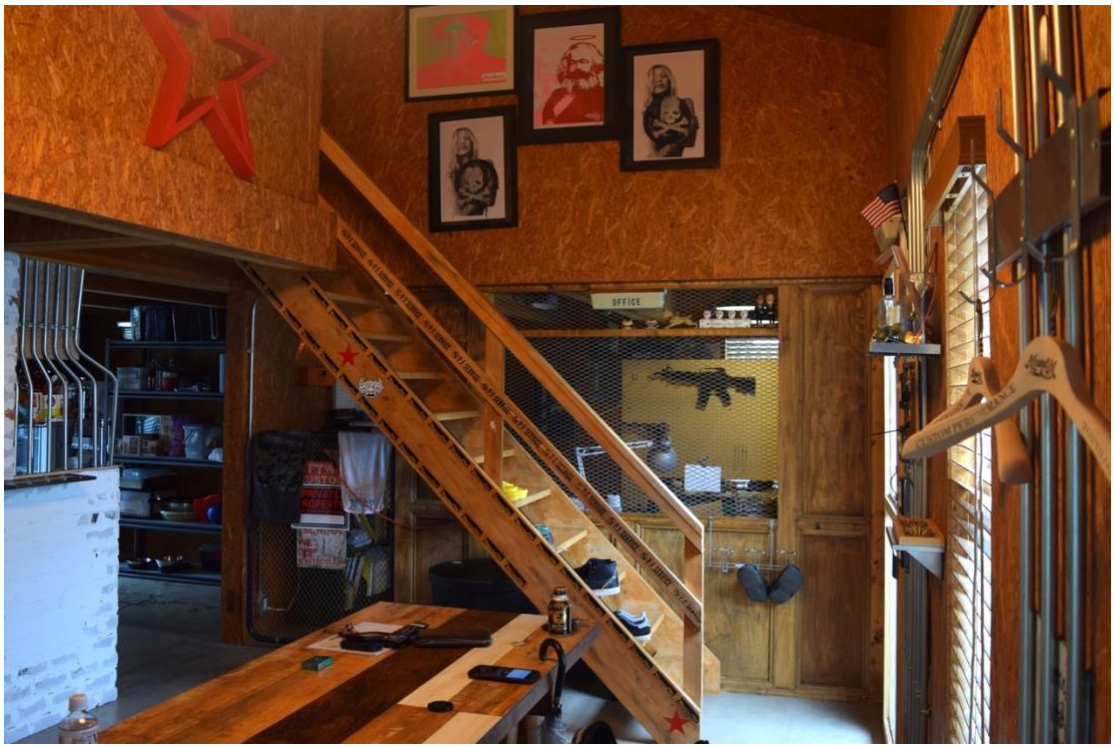

Photo 6. Miyazaki's Office

The married Yoshida couple also showed their interest in making Johnson Town American. Yet, unlike Miyazaki, their interest stems not from their enthusiasm about American cultures, but rather from their desire to have non-ordinary experiences in the town while they were also looking for a house that Mr. Yoshida could use as a studio at the same time because Mr. Yoshida is a music producer. Yuko Yoshida said:

> We were always wishing to live in a tourist area. We wanted to live not in a residential neighborhood but somewhere abounding in visitors so that we can feel fresh all the time.

She also noted that when they visited the town for the first time for an interview with Isono Inc., they came with excitement, expecting a non-ordinary tourist-like space similar to Disney Land.

Furthermore, while creating an "American" landscape, Isono highly commemorates the history of the American residency by developing the town around the existence of the *bei-gun* houses. For example, the renaming of the site as Johnson Town[7] is indicative of this. While Tatsuo Isono initially named the site "Parkside House Azuma-cho Iruma (PHAI)" in 2008, he changed its name to Johnson Town one year later, accepting a resident's suggestion that the site should be named after Johnson Air Base since it is the *bei-gun* houses that make the site different.

As "to bestow a name on a place is to oblige a community to make the name a common patrimony of everyday life" (Augustins 2004, 290), toponyms often play key roles in commemorating pasts in order for a dominant group to normalize "an official version of history into everyday life" (Foote and Azaryahu 2007, 128) and for the socially marginalized to symbolically resist against it (Alderman 2008; Dwyer and Alderman 2008b; Kearns and Berg 2002). That is, a place name can become a political means to legitimate which history whoever names it might want to tell. Especially, as Alderman (2008, 195) argues, "renaming represents a way of creating

---

[7] The name of Johnson Town is a trademarked name (JOHNSON TOWN).

new connections between the past and the present." That is, Isono's decision to rename its property after Johnson Air Base demonstrates the company's interest in enhancing the connection of the site with the history of the American residency when the *bei-gun* houses were created.

As Dwyer and Alderman (2008, 168) point out that "the social process of remembering is accompanied, simultaneously, by a process of forgetting," a site of remembrance is, in turn, one of forgetting. Carlson and John (2005, 274) address that "By inscribing a history onto place, other histories are written out or discarded". In fact, in Johnson Town, the American residency is emphasized by materially displacing the past of the Japanese soldiers' residency. Although the site of Johnson Town as a residential district was initially developed during World War II when Japanese-styled houses were built for Japanese soldiers, only four of them remain today as, according to the company's website, the company demolished the rest because they were decrepit.

Instead, thirty-five *Heisei*[8] houses," newly constructed houses modeled after *bei-gun* houses, are built on the lots on which the demolished Japanese styled houses used to stand (Yabe 2015). As the town's website describes the style of them as "inheriting DNA from *bei-gun* houses," this replacement of Japanese styled houses for Japanese soldiers with *Heisei* houses seems to be an effort to make a *bei-gun*

---

[8] *Heisei* is the current era of Japan, beginning in 1989 when the current emperor ascended the throne. It will end in April 2019 when he abdicates the throne.

house landscape. In addition, even the remaining Japanese soldier houses are redecorated and made to look like the *bei-gun* houses. One of the interviewees who lives in one such house said that she did not even realize that she lives in a Japanese house built during World War II until she was told so.

Actually, however, the company's website also employs other histories of the site, including the time when it was farmland before the Japanese styled houses for Japanese soldiers were built, as well as when Japanese soldiers lived there. In its use of a narration that the town is today a place where creative activities are spiritedly practiced, the website highlights the fact that Japanese artists and musicians moved into the site after Americans left. Since the rehabilitation was initiated because the newly appointed president of Isono was disappointed by the abandoned landscape, the website, of course, argues that the district had become a "slum." Nonetheless, considering that the *bei-gun* houses are a material legacy of the past of the American residency, the company commemorates the history of the American residency by prioritizing its material traces.

Photo 7. Heisei House in Johnson Town

CHAPTER 4: MULTIPLE READINGS OF THE TOWN'S LANDSCAPE

Contested Perceptions of the Landscape

Many interviewees agreed that Johnson Town has a distinctive built environment. For example, Kito described how she appreciated the similarity of the neighborhood's structures, noting that "I like that there are the same buildings (in Johnson Town)." Claiming that what is most fascinating about the town is its distinctiveness, Hashimoto similarly pointed out that the town becomes a non-ordinary place because of the density of similar-looking houses. During the interview with the married couple of Yuko and Taro Yoshida, the point was addressed by Yuko, who said that while she often sees advertisements for a town with three *bei-gun* houses, a place with only three of them cannot create the atmosphere that the town provides.

She further claimed that this idiosyncratic atmosphere can be created because the entire land of Johnson Town is solely owned and managed by Isono, saying:

> The streets in the town are privately owned [by Isono]. This means signage on the streets can be American, like ones without Japanese language. There are no annoying displays and sings. These things cannot be made to happen in typical residential districts.

Then, she pointed that,

> We can renovate your house as much as you want if you invest money, but we can't spend money on your neighbors' houses. We can hardly have an environment in which next-door houses are already made pretty. In a typical residential district, you can't avoid seeing annoying things.

As such, these interviewees emphasized the difference between Johnson Town and other typical Japanese residential districts. Stating that the town is not a typical Japanese residential district, Shimizu in particular pointed to even spaces between houses in the town.

Nonetheless, there are always multiple ways to interpret a cultural landscape. Rather, as Moore (2000, 685) claims "a landscape is open to alternative readings of the same text." In fact, how the interviewees interpreted this "distinctive" built environment varied substantially. For example, while Nagai also pointed to the uniqueness of the town's built environment, she emphasized how the town's landscape and that of the old town in which she spent her childhood in the 1970s are similar. Before moving into the town, she used to earn a living advising people and business owners on decorating their homes and shops, and she learned that people want to replicate their old good memories in their homes. When she was retiring and feeling aged, some of the customers told her that they hoped to see her lifestyle.

She subsequently searched places all over Japan and chose Johnson Town because she finds, in the town, similarities with her hometown where she spent her childhood in the 1970s. She explained,

> I grew up in an old town where one might have seen a man lying in his underwear in the living room from the outside, and where houses were not fenced. If you lived in a house within a factory, it would be one-storied and built of wood or wood and concrete. Johnson Town looks like one of these old towns. The houses here do not have gates, so it's difficult to identify borderlines of the houses. […] The entrances are simple; if you open the front door from the inside, a street is right there. The home where I grew up was just like that. […] It was also a one-storied house built of wood.

> Modern houses today are designed to conceal the inside from the outside, and yet you can easily see the inside of the houses in the town. Also, houses in Japanese old towns had *engawas*, the houses in Johnson Town has pouches. They are different, but alike.

Therefore, she does not necessarily associate the town with the United States or the *bei-gun* houses. In other words, she might not mind living in a place without the *bei-gun* houses as long as the place reminds her of her old memories. In fact, she articulated that she was not interested in living in another place, such as Fussa and Yokosuka, in which American military bases operate still today and where there are *bei-gun* houses, because,

> There are indeed *bei-gun* houses in places like Fussa and Yokosuka and some of them are really nice. But they have, at the same time, some reality of the modern society that you don't want to see on the street, like modern factories.

Then she said, "Johnson Town is a place that is isolated (from the modern society)."

Kito, who runs a home improvement shop in the apartment that was renovated by Nagai (see Photo 2), also explained that she does not identify the town with the United States. Appreciating the town's nice and pretty appearance, she recognizes the town as just "foreign" or non-Japanese. In other words, she would not care whether it is advertised as American, British or French as long as it looks nice and non-Japanese. Hence, she questioned the supposition that the town is an American village.

Yokoi, who works as a nurse outside of the town, also explained that she does not associate the town with the United States, saying that she does not identify the *bei-gun* houses with the United States. Even though she does not mind Johnson

Town being called an American village, as she is just used to it, she considers the town as a place comprised of the *bei-gun* houses, not as an American village.

As such, these interviewees rejected the idea of the American village because they associate the material landscape of the town not with the United States but with something else. As a fan of old architecture like the *bei-gun* houses in the town, on the other hand, Hashimoto addressed her concern with non-material aspects in explaining what she most cares about: "what makes the *bei-gun* houses unique is not its architecture itself, but how residents have resided and lived in the houses." She runs a cafe restraint in the town, and yet she wanted to do it not in any other houses in the town, but in a *bei-gun* house. In fact, as all *bei-gun* houses were occupied when she initially contacted Isono, she waited for half a year. She explained that she insisted on opening her cafe restraint in a *bei-gun* house because of the history which happened in the *bei-gun* house:

> Today, you can eat nice food anywhere, can't you? At a convenience store, you can have a well-balanced meal for 500 yen and at a chained family restaurant, they have a variety of menu. Then, people go to a cafe because of the non-ordinariness [that it provides]. They go to a cafe not just to get stuffed but seeking for something extra. I believe it is the non-ordinariness that is needed [as the something extra]. Then, it needed to be a bei-gun house, because while the Heisei houses are new, the *bei-gun* houses are old and have the history that a number people lived in them. That history is the story that my cafe tells.

As demonstrated here, she believes that the history of the building makes her cafe special so that it can provide "something extra."

In particular, she expressed a strong interest in the time when Japanese musicians and artists lived at the site after Americans left. She explained that when she characterizes this town, she really emphasizes "the mixed cultures" that Japanese people have developed based upon things that Americans left.

> What makes the *bei-gun* houses interesting is its "mixed cultures" developed in the houses. As I said earlier, you can build nice houses. In fact, one-story houses looking like *bei-gun* houses are popular today in Japan. […] You can build nice houses anywhere. But what makes *bei-gun* houses different from them is the people who have lived in those houses beforehand. There is such a "*bei-gun* house culture," and the culture and musicians and artists in the culture used to lead Japan once. I am part of the history. […] One of benefits living in a *bei-gun* house is that I can be part of such history.

Thus, she rejected the idea that the town is an American village:

> First of all, [Johnson Town] started to be called an American village not because we disseminated a message that it is an American village, but largely because of the media. While we had not claimed it as an American village, people started to see the town as an American village because, like on TV, the media said that here was very American and that there were American houses here. […] We should have claimed that it's not an American village. But it's easier for them to identify the town with the *bei-gun* houses and the United States. Although I have been addressing the histories of the *bei-gun* houses and [that Japanese] artists [lived in these houses], the media and people who learn from them do not think that much deeply about the town and unreflectingly conclude like "the building here are American, and then this is an American village.

In this way, she believes that Johnson Town is mispresented as an American village and that how Japanese musicians and artists practiced creative activities in the town should be spotlighted.

As such, it was demonstrated that depending on personal interests and reasons for living in the town, the interviewees have their own ways of interpreting

the built environment of the town. This diversity of interests of people in the town was also mentioned in the interview with Takino who said:

> The town is full of different people. Like me, some people are not interested in American cultures and moved here because they like old folk houses on the one hand. Some other people who love American cultures on the other hand also live here worshiping the United States. And they even have different interests. Like, some people like the 90s while some others like the 80s. […] Everyone here might look the same, but they actually have different tastes.

Therefore, these interviewees rejected or questioned the popular image of the town as an American village as it does not actually capture how they see the town. As Kong and Law (2002, 1504) state, "The unfixed, dynamic and divergent nature of landscape identity and meaning is what opens landscapes to conflicts, contestations and negotiations." While I failed to examine any ways, collectively or individually, in which they negotiate or contest the portrait as American village to re-portrait the town, it is demonstrated here that the meanings of landscapes are never fixed.

"It's not an American village, is it?"

Furthermore, some interviewees, including even those who wish to make the town more American such as Miyazaki and the Yoshidas, rejected or questioned the idea that the town is an American village, emphasizing how the town is not American. First, some of them pointed to the material aspects of the town that they claimed make the town less American.

For example, the Yoshidas, who moved into the town expecting to have non-ordinary experiences that they may not have elsewhere, complained about Japanese materials in the town, as the husband said:

> They put Japanese signs saying, "this is our feature!" or "*dashi* is on sale." There were never such things before. Also, they put Japanese magazines at their storefronts. We have got a lot of things that we see in Japanese shopping streets. While the town was a place where we could feel as if we were somewhere abroad, it has changed to somewhere you see menus in Japanese. […] Johnson Town has become known, but I'm bothered that it has been more Japanese than it used to be. I understand that it is inevitable since we are Japanese.

In this way, they are disappointed by Japanese things that they usually see outside of the town. Takino and Miyazaki both noted that there are Japanese trees planted in the town. Although Takino is not necessarily interested in creating an American village since he is not a fan of American culture, he claimed that Japanese trees should not be planted in the town if the landlord really wants to establish an American village.

As such, these three interviewees demonstrated that they believe that it is disappointing that Johnson Town has Japanese-looking materials. In addition, the Yoshidas also gave voice to their desire to have more American things added into the town. The wife said that,

> I've been always saying that it would be nice that there is a tattoo shop here. Well, I feel awkward to call [Johnson Town] an American village. I feel it is strange to see a TV show introducing the town as an American village, covering a hamburger shop and English-style general store.

She also said that,

> So, you know those old classic American diners? With the bright flashy neon lights and all- I really love those, and I kind of wish people would make more of those here. I wouldn't mind the neon lights being on all night, since it's supposed to be a non-ordinary space anyways.

Her husband agreed with her, also saying, "it would be amusing to have something like an [American] diner even if it was cosplaying." In this way, they found the town's landscape not "American" enough to advertise it as an American village.

As such, these interviewees' narratives indicate that the town is sometimes perceived as non-American because of its material presences and absences. However, the cultural landscape is constructed not only its material forms, but in part through bodily actions within them, as Crouch and Malm (2003, 255) claim that "landscape, place and space, are never ontologically given but developed through practices, discursively grasped in an embodied way." Actually, in rejecting the idea that the town is an American village, issues of the body in the construction of the cultural landscape in Johnson Town were also brought up during some interviews.

Shimizu, who runs a hair salon in the town, noted the absence of American people in the town as she said,

> In ethnic towns like a Chinatown or a Little Tokyo in the United States, people from outside the country live there. In a Chinatown, Chinese people live. […] Yet, the Japanese from Japan [live in Johnson Town]. It's not an American village, is it?

She also conveyed her feeling that the town has become "mock-American" because of this absence. Similarly, Miyazaki claimed that the town becomes less genuine because of the absence of American people, even if the town's distinctive built environment is "artificially" created. Comparing Johnson Town with other places in the greater Tokyo area such as Fussa and Yokosuka that still have American military bases, he said,

> For example, in Fussa, California is right there. I have been there several times. It is still Japanese people who live there, and yet, American soldiers walk around, fitting into the area. However, that is not true here.

As such, both Shimizu and Miyazaki associated the town's "identity" not only with its material, built environment but also with who (or who does not) live in the town.

Yet, Miyazaki did not simply refer the absence of American people to the absence of their material bodies, as he also told that he feels that the town has become "fake" because there are no opportunities to interact with American people:

> In Fussa and Yokosuka there are businesses, such as bars, targeted at American soldiers. And Japanese people like that the locals frequent there as well. That's how the businesses there work. […] But what we have here instead of an American base is just these houses.

He also highlighted the absence of local people in Johnson Town who have encountered Americans, claiming that,

> In either Fussa or Yokosuka, an American base is there and there are people who have been living there for decades. And they daily interact with American people and have been familiar with other cultures since they were children. On the other hand, although around the town, there are such people who interacted with American soldiers when they were young, nobody is like them in the town. I guess that's why Johnson Town becomes a fake.

That is, he understands a place by considering both the people who live there and what they do there. In this way, during the interview, he defined the town and other places such as Fussa and Yokosuka by its material absences that create non-material absences.

Yokoi also alluded to non-material properties of the town when she recounted how she hesitates to call the town an American village:

> I have been aware that Johnson Town is called an American village, so I just let it pass. I am not Americanized. I don't know how to say, but I don't

> do anything to make our house distinctive from others. I don't know. I do nothing American.

That is, for her, living in an American village does not simply mean to have a life surrounded by American-style material objects, such as houses. Yokoi seemed uninterested in challenging the identification of the town with the United States since she indicated that she does not mind the town being called an American town. Yet, intentionally or unintentionally, her practice to do nothing American eventually challenges the identification. In other words, this case indicates that not-doing as doing constructes the cultural landscape since the cultural landscape is given meanings by it.

As such, these interviewees rejected or questioned the identification of Johnson Town with the United States, repeatedly pointing out how the town is not "American." Importantly, in rejecting or hesitating to accept the idea of the village as American, non-material aspects of the town as well as material ones were alluded to during the interviews. This emphasis on the non-materiality of the cultural landscape in the town was revealed very well during the interview with Miyazaki who said, "visitors may feel non-ordinary here, but you can't, once you live here. So, while they say it's a fashionable place, they are just looking at its built environment." That is, according to him, nobody can understand the town by only considering its material landscape.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that wile Johnson Town is often branded as an American village in the media and by Isono, which also employs the label, it is not always accepted by people in the town. During the interviews, there were mainly two reasons given for rejecting the label: 1) because the label does not represent their interests and their own perceptions of the town; and 2) because they believe that the landscape of the town is not American enough (or too Japanese). These results support the idea that "a landscape is open to alternative readings of the same text (Moore 2000, 685).

In addition to the fact that the town's landscape is not always identified with the United States, it was also revealed during the interviews that the cultural landscape in the town is constructed though its non-materiality as well as its materiality. While some interviewees claimed that the town is not American because of Japanese objects and not enough American objects, the interviews with Miyazaki, Yokoi, Shimizu and Hashimoto suggest that the landscape of Johnson Town is sometimes defined based on who (or who does not) live there and what they do there. Therefore, the cultural landscape of Johnson Town is sometimes perceived as not American because of both its material and non-material presences and absences. Perceptions of the town are not always tied to its material landscape or the presence.

CHAPTER 5: THE MEMORIAL LANDSCAPE IN JOHNSON TOWN

Not Actively Engaging in the American Residency

Isono commemorates the history of the American residency by materializing it. However, as Johnston and Ripmeester (2010) argue that those who seek to inscribe their narratives on the past on memorial landscapes cannot always force the public to have the same narratives, none of the interviewees actually expressed concern with commemorating it. For instance, Shimizu expressed indifference to that history, as she answered no when I asked if there is any moment when she thinks of that history. Similarly, Yokoi said that she does not have any thoughts on the history of American residency even though she is aware that she lives in a place where Americans lived and finds it fascinating that their homes remain today.

Kito said that she did not even know that Americans lived at the site until she moved into the town, and even after she learned of this history she did not become very interested in that aspect of the town's past. For her, what matters most is what the built environment looks like, as she said, "I have no idea what I think about the history. I just really like the town's streetscape with a unity among the buildings." In short, the history of the American residency is rather unimportant, and is overshadowed by her opinion that the place has a pleasant built environment.

Hashimoto was the only interviewee who demonstrated a strong interest in the town's history. As I have demonstrated in the last chapter, however, her

enthusiasm is associated with the time after Americans left rather than when they were living there. Believing that the time makes her restaurant special, she runs it in one of the *bei-gun* houses. In other words, although I did not examine specific ways in which she challenges the dominant emphasis on the American history, her restaurant might be understood as a site of counter-memory that "fight[s] against forgetting and reread events by using a separate narrative" (Legg 2005b, 496).

Nagai also expressed her indifference to the past of the American residency because of her own interest in and interpretation of Johnson Town. She moved to the town in order to retain her old memories in the town whose built environment reminds her of the old town where she grew up, as was demonstrated in the last chapter. Therefore, she did not demonstrate a strong interest in the American residency. Indeed, as I have also demonstrated in the last chapter, she clearly said that she does not link the town with the US or the *bei-gun* houses. Since she did not want to live in other places where the American military still remains, she might love Johnson Town without its history of the American residency as long as it could remind her childhood.

Additionally, she disclosed that she intentionally avoids considering negative aspects of the history of the American residency, saying that,

> When I research things related to *bei-gun* houses, that sometimes leads me to some heavy subjects like history and wars. Yet, I aim not to engage in them because I moved here into Johnson Town in order to have a happy joyful life.

As she revealed her intention to reject “heavy subjects” and I did not ask additional questions on this point, she is possibly interested in “not-heavy subjects” about the American residency although I do not know what “not-heavy subjects” might include. Still, it was clearly demonstrated that the past of the American residency was not her primary interest since she emphasized that she enjoys living in the town because of its nostalgic landscape.

Miyazaki, who has a strong interest in making Johnson Town American, also demonstrated his disinterest in the town’s history, saying,

> I do not have any [thoughts on the histories]. Others do not either, don’t they? Tourists as well as residents in Johnson Town don’t pay attention to any histories of the site. They come here just because they like its streetscape.

That is, for him, creating an American landscape is not related to commemorating the American residency. Indeed, when complaining about how Isono manages the public spaces in the town, he distinguished creating an authentic American town from developing the town as a legacy of the time when Johnson Air Base was in the city, saying that,

> I don’t understand if Isono aims to emphasize traces of Johnson Air Base which is now the Iruma Air Base of the Japan Air Self-Defense Force, or to make the town look as much like an American town in the US as possible.

As demonstrated here, he believes that development of Johnson Town based on the legacy of the American residency contradicts the creation of an American town, which is what he wishes for.

As such, in spite of Isono's effort to materially commemorate the American residency, none of the interviewees demonstrated their active engagement in that history. Like the rejection of the image as an American village, these interviewees' indifference to the history demonstrates that landscape meaning is never fixed.

Recognizing the American Residency

Although none of the interviewees demonstrated their passion for engaging in the history of the American residency, it does not, however, mean that that history is forgotten among them. Rather, it was decidedly recognized by the interviewees in their narrations about Johnson Town. Yokoi recognized the significance of the American residency in the town when she recounted that she does not mind the town being branded as an American village: "it is [an American village in fact], isn't it? Because it is true that American soldiers used to live here." Likewise, Kito indicated some understanding of the label of an American village due to the history of the American residency although she also demonstrated her uninterest in that history emphasizing that she is qualified by the town's nice appearance.

When I asked the Yoshidas what they think about the history of the American residency, they narrated it as a history of wars. Mrs. Yoshida said:

> Although I was never conscious about the history of the American residency until moving into Johnson Town, there were about three times when I was made conscious of the history. For instance, when I saw American flags planted on the day of the anniversary of Japan's surrender in World War II, it reminded me that American soldiers lived here. On important dates like it, I feel just slightly guilty living in a place where American flags are planted.

Her husband then agreed with her and suggested that flags of both the US and Japan should be planted on that day. Although they may not frequently and actively remember the history of the American residency at the site, she, consciously or unconsciously, recognizes a relationship between the site of Johnson Town and the American military since she was reminded of the fact that American soldiers lived where she is currently living on the day that commemorates the end of World War II.

Of course, however, other parts of the place's history were in fact mentioned during the interviews. Some interviewees mentioned that the site used to be a "sketchy" neighborhood, although this was not overly emphasized. When Takino was explaining how he was initially impressed by Tatsuo Isono's mission and efforts, his opinion was that Isono succeeded in transforming the district from a rough area into Johnson Town. Nagai also remembered that the neighborhood was rough and dangerous until the current president of the company was appointed about twenty years ago. Like Isono itself in narrating this period, these interviewees also underscored this period in explaining that Isono initiated the rehabilitation project.

Furthermore, in describing the site as a rough area, two of the interviewees used the word "slum." Shimizu said, "they say this place was called a slum and I think that Isono really didn't like it." Miyazaki also described the site at the time as a slum. Born and raised in Iruma City, he sometimes visited the site when he was a child, and therefore actually saw the "slum"; he remembers that some houses in the "slum" had holes in their walls. He also told me that as *yakuza*, Japanese mafia

members, lived there, school teachers and parents therefore told children not to go there.

On the other hand, as "in every act of remembering is one of forgetting" (Carlson and John 2015), the past during which Japanese soldiers lived at the site was emphasized less or even ignored in the interviews. Shimizu demonstrated her understanding that the history of the site is what makes the town unique. When I asked her whether or not she would be willing to live in a residential district designed by the Japanese in the image of the US, she said:

> Perhaps yes [I might live in such a district]. Yet, such place is artificially created. Although Johnson Town is also one of them, it has such an atmosphere that its history has created. When I often see houses advertised as having no walls, I do not become interested. […] I think that [what makes me interested] is whether or not it has a history [that Americans indeed lived].

However, she did not know that Japanese soldiers lived at the site until I mentioned it during the interview. That is, her understanding of what makes the town distinctive is the American residency. Yokoi also did not know about the Japanese soldiers' residency until the interview. In the interview with Takino, who lived in the town for two years and moved out in 2016, even though I mentioned both the American residency and the Japanese soldiers' residency when I asked him about his perception of histories of the site, he ignored the latter and only offered that he used to find the project fascinating because it successfully rejuvenated the site that was inhabited by the Americans.

This ignorance of other histories was observed in a walking interview with Nagai, during which I asked her to give me a tour of Johnson Town as if I had had no knowledge of the town at all. She began the tour by introducing the *bei-gun* and *Heisei* houses to me and ended it with a brief mention of one of the Japanese-styled houses built for Japanese soldiers. Although she showed me a Japanese soldier's house, she failed to mention the fact that the house was established for Japanese soldiers, even though she related and emphasized that the *bei-gun* houses were originally built for American soldiers. As I did not raise any topics related to the pre-American residency histories in the interview, I am unable to confirm whether or not she knew that Japanese soldiers used to live at the site. Nevertheless, her dissimilar ways of explaining the *bei-gun* and *Heisei* houses and the Japanese soldier houses suggest that she prioritizes the history of the American residency over the Japanese soldier residency in the site.

This gap between how these interviewees narrated the American residency and the Japanese soldier residency might have been due to my limited focus on the latter during the interviews. Yet, when they were shared what they think about Johnson Town being branded as an American village, many of the interviewees demonstrated unfavorable attitudes to it, but none argued that this portrait is a misrepresentation emphasizing the history of the Japanese soldier residency. Hence, it can be argued that the Japanese soldier residency is highlighted less in the town.

Remembering or Forgetting?

In this way, the interviewees remembered the history of the American residency over that of the Japanese soldiers' residency. That is, while having little passion for or interest in engaging in commemoration of the American residency, it is never forgotten. As I did not ask where they learned that they live where American soldiers lived, I cannot ascertain where their strong recognition came from. Nor can this case exemplify that "memorials have a normative power, at once reflecting and reproducing social ideas about the past, and thereby shaping the future" (Dwyer and Alderman 2008, 167).

Yet, this strong recognition of the American residency may be indicative of "a silent reminder." Examining the commemorative role of abandoned, empty churches in South West Wales, UK, Chambers (2006) argues that while they have lost their role as signifying markers, these buildings remind people of the religious past of the place because they are the mundane backdrop of their daily life. He addresses,

> the mundane, the unnoticed, the unvalued all have their place in the scheme of collective memory. It is true that these symbolic makers operate largely beyond the level of conscious awareness, but […] it is the familiar and unobtrusive nature of these makers that makes them an integral part of the process of remembering. (31)

In Johnson Town, while it is not true that people hardly register the presence of the *bei-gun* houses, most of them barely pay attention to the history that is embodied in them. Having already known that the site was occupied by American soldiers and their families, however, they might be reminded of that history by living in and

passing through the cultural landscape within which the history of the American residency is materially commemorated.

As such, the history of the American residency is never forgotten. With the exception of Hashimoto, nobody else expressed a need to commemorate other histories of the site. In other words, it can be argued that they just let the American residency continue to be remembered. This passive remembering of the American residency reminds me of Hurt's (2010) analysis of the commemoration of the Washita battle between the US military and the Cheyenne camp of Black Kettle in 1868 in the Washita Valley, Oklahoma. He claims that as the non-native, pro-military view of the battle dominated until the 1990s, it was partly because local residents were indifferent to the event while at the same time being aware of it.

Like these indifferent local residents in the Washita Valley, the interviewees were aware that they live at a site where American military people lived decades ago while at the same time not caring that much about it; even though some of them said that they are not satisfied with the Isono's management, it was not about the history that the company commemorates. So, as the indifference among local residents in the Washita valley allowed the non-native narrative about the battle to dominate, it can be argued that this indifference in the town is allowing the focus on the American residency in the town's landscape, as nobody but Hashimoto seeks sites of counter-memory that "fight against forgetting and reread events by using a separate narrative"

(Legg 2005b, 496). Although their indifference contradicts Isono's effort, this does not necessarily mean that it *challenges* it.

Conclusion

Johnson Town is geographically situated in a place where several different histories have occurred and overlapped. Today, however, the history of the American residency is highly commemorated in the town by Isono, which constructs material memorial landscapes embodied in such elements as the name Johnson Town and *Heisei* houses. But whether or not they were interested in establishing an American landscape in Johnson Town, none of the interviewees demonstrated an interest in actively engaging with the time during which American military people and their families lived where they themselves are currently living.

Despite their indifference, nonetheless, none of the interviewees, except Hashimoto who strongly emphasized the history during which Japanese artists lived at site of the town, demonstrated their interest in rewriting the memorial landscape on which the American residency is materially commemorated. That is, their indifference does not mean a practice of counter-memory. Rather, it can be argued that it is allowing the focus on the American residency in the town's landscape to remain.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Based on the interviews, landscape observation, and textual analysis of the website of Johnson Town, this thesis research aimed to examine ways in which the cultural landscape is constructed though ways in which people in Johnson Town interpret it, focusing on their ideas of the "American" landscape and the time of the American residency. Privately owning the entire area of the town including the streets, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 3, Isono aims to develop the town around the existence of the *bei-gun* houses. In doing so, moreover, Isono does two things on the landscape: the creation of an "American" landscape, and the material commemoration of the time during which American military personnel and their families lived at the site. However, a constructed cultural landscape is not solely defined by its material form or elements. Rather, it becomes meaningful when people signify its material form and attach meanings to it through *reading* it and doing things in it. In short, "a landscape is open to alternative readings of the same text" (Moore 2000, 685).

I have mainly argued three things in this thesis. First, the town's landscapes are perceived in a number of different ways. For instance, Kito, who enjoys living in a pretty neighborhood, does not necessarily associate Johnson Town with the United States, but rather considers that it is just "foreign." Having moved into the town because it reminds her of her hometown, Nagai also did not associate the town with the United States and might not mind living in the town without the *bei-gun* houses as

long as she could re-gain her old memory. Hashimoto also rejected the notion that the town is American because she believes that what makes the town valuable is how Japanese musicians and artists cultivated their artistry after Americans left. As such, despite Isono's effort to create an "American" landscape, the town's portrait as an American village is not always accepted.

In terms of construction of the memorial landscape in the town, it was similarly revealed that Isono's effort to materially place the town's history into the present is not always supported, as none of the interviewees said that they think about on a daily basis the idea that they live in a place where Americans once lived. This indicates, as Johnston and Ripmeester (2010, 135) point out, that while some people seek to have their versions of the past materially commemorated in memorial landscapes, they cannot force people to accept such narratives. As such, although I failed to examine any actual ways in which they collectively or individually negotiate Isono's efforts to create an "American" landscape and materialize the American residency, these interviews teach us that landscape identity and meaning is actually unfixed, and that this leads to conflicts, contestations and negotiations over the landscape (Kong and Law 2002).

Secondly, as demonstrated when the portrait was rejected, the town's landscape is defined through both its material and non-material landscape characteristics. Some interviewees, whether or not wishing the town to be more American, questioned this portrait, noting how the town fails to be American. In their

rejection, some interviewees pointed to the presence of material signifiers which they associate with Japan, such as Japanese trees and Japanese language magazines. The absence of material signifiers of the United States was also addressed by the Yoshida married couple who expressed their wish to have an American diner and a tattoo shop in the town. Additionally, while these explanations focus on the town's materiality, issues of the body in the construction of the cultural landscape in Johnson Town were also brought up during some interviews. Miyazaki and Shimizu pointed to the absence of American people. Further, Miyazaki emphasized that the town is in a way a "fake" due to the lack of interactions between the locals and the Americans. Moreover, Yokoi conveyed that she does not see the town as an American village because she does nothing "American." These interviews suggest that "landscape, place and space, are never ontologically given but developed through practices, discursively grasped in an embodied way" (Crouch and Malm 2003, 255).

Thirdly, I have demonstrated that while the interviewees' indifference to the American residency conflicts with the commemorative effort of Isono, it does not necessarily mean that this history is forgotten; the American residency was relatively strongly recognized during the interviews, while the interviewees placed less emphasis on the time when Japanese soldiers lived there during the World War II. This suggests that having no interest in a past or not actively engaging in it does not necessarily mean forgetting it. Rather, it is remembering. As the indifference among local residents in the Washita valley allowed the non-native narrative about the

Washita battle to dominate (Hurt 2010), I have argued that this indifference in the town might be recognized as passive remembering, allowing for the focus on the American residency in the town's landscape. In fact, it was only Hashimoto who sought to establish a site of counter-memory.

Although I have developed my discussions in this thesis around contrasting Isono's management of Johnson Town with how the interviewees alternatively recognize, define and interpret the town's landscape, it is obvious that some of those alternative interpretations are also contradictory. For example, while Hashimoto emphasized her refusal to identify the town with the United States, the Yoshidas and Miyazaki clearly articulated their desire to have an "American" landscape in the town. In the end as revealed in this study, cultural landscapes are open to a variety of sometimes conflicting or contradictory perceptions through varying interpretations of their material and non-material presences and absences, as well as bodily actions within them.

REFERENCES

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1994). Observational Techniques. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), Handbook of Interview Research: Content and Method (pp. 377–391). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Alderman, D. H. (2008). Place, Naming, and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes. In The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity (pp. 195–213). Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Anderson, J. (2004). Talking Whilst Walking: A Geographical Archaeology of Knowledge. Area, (3), 254.

Augustins, G. (2004). Naming, Dedicating: Street Names and Tradition. History and Anthropology, 15(3), 289–299.

Baptist, K. W. (2015). Incompatible identities: Memory and experience at the National September 9/11 Memorial and Museum. Emotion, Space and Society, 16, 3–8.

Bilous, R. H. (2011). Macassan/Indigenous Australian 'sites of memory' in the National Museum of Australia and Australian National Maritime Museum. Australian Geographer, 42(4), 371–386.

Bosco, F. J. (2004). Human rights politics and scaled performances of memory: conflicts among the Madres de Plaza de Mayo in Argentina. Social & Cultural Geography, 5(3), 381–402.

Carlson, K., & John, G. E. (2015). Landscapes of triumphalism, reconciliation, and reclamation: memorializing the aftermath of the Dakota-U.S. War of 1862. Journal of Cultural Geography, 32(3), 270–303.

Chambers, P. (2006). Sacred Landscapes, Redundant Chapels and Carpet Warehouses: the religious heritage of South West Wales. In E. Arweck & W. Keenan (Eds.), Materialising Religion: Expression, Performance and Ritual (pp. 21–31). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis (1st ed.). London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Connerton, P. (1989). How Societies Remember. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cope, M. (2010). Coding Qualitative Data. In I. Hay (Ed.), Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography (3rd ed., pp. 101–138). Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.

Cosgrove, D., & Jackson, P. (1987). New Directions in Cultural Geography. Area, 19(2), 95–101.

Crang, M., & Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2010). Nation, Race, and Affect: Senses and Sensibilities at National Heritage Sites. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 42(10), 2315–2331.

Crouch, D., & Malm, C. (2003). Landscape Practice, Landscape Research: an Essay in Gentle Politics. In M. Dorrian & G. Rose (Eds.), Deterritorialisations ...: Revisioning Landscapes and Politics (pp. 253–263). London: Black Dog Publishing.

della Dora, V. (2018). Infrasecular geographies: Making, unmaking and remaking sacred space. PROGRESS IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, 42(1), 44–71.

Dunn, K. (2010). Interviewing. In I. Hay (Ed.), Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography (3rd ed., pp. 101–138). Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.

Dwyer, O. J., & Alderman, D. H. (2008a). Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory. Chicago: Center for American Places at Columbia C.

Dwyer, O. J., & Alderman, D. H. (2008b). Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors. GeoJournal, 73(3,), 165–178.

Elwood, S. A., & Martin, D. G. (2000). "Placing" Interviews: Location and Scales of Power in Qualitative Research. Professional Geographer, 52(4), 649.

Emerson, R. M., Frezt, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes (2nd ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Evans, J., & Jones, P. (2011). The walking interview: Methodology, mobility and place. Applied Geography, 31(2), 849–858.

Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (2000). Interviewing: The Art of Science. In N. K. Denzin & Yv. S. LIncoln (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research (pp. 361–375). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Foote, K. E., & Azaryahu, M. (2007). Toward a Geography of Memory: Geographical Dimensions of Public Memory and Commemoration. Journal of Political & Military Sociology, 35(1), 125–144.

Foucault, M. (1980). The History of Sexuality (Vol. 1; R. Hurley, Trans.). New York: Random House.

Gillon, C., & Gibson, C. (2018). Calculated homes, stretched emotions: Unmasking 'rational' investor-occupier subjects in large family homes in a coastal Sydney development. Emotion, Space and Society, 26, 23–30.

Gold, R. L. (1958). Roles in Sociological Field Observations. Social Forces, 36(3), 217–

Hanna, S. P., Del Casino Jr, V. J., Selden, C., & Hite, B. (2004). Representation as work in "America's Most Historic City." Social & Cultural Geography, 5(3), 459–481.

Hannum, K. L., & Rhodes, M. A. (2018). Public art as public pedagogy: memorial landscapes of the Cambodian genocide. Journal of Cultural Geography, 35(3), 334–361.

Heffernan, M., & Medlicot, C. (2002). A Feminine Atlas? Sacagewea, the Suffragettes and the Commemorative Landscape in the American West, 1904-1910. Gender, Place & Culture, 9(2), 109–131.

Hoelscher, S. (2003). Making Place, Making Race: Performances of Whiteness in the Jim Crow South. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 93(3), 657–686.

Hudson, J. C. (1988). North American Origins of Middlewestern Frontier Populations. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 78(3), 395–413.

Hurt, D. A. (2010). Reinterpreting the Washita Battle National Historic Site. Geographical Review, 100(3), 375–393.

Isono, T., & Watanabe, O. (2017). Revitalization of Johnson Town: Town Planning Developing Harmonious Interactions among U.S. Army Housing, Creative Community, and Evolutionary New Lifestyle. Retrieved from https://www.aij.or.jp/jpn/design/2017/data/2_4award_001.pdf

Jackson, R. H. (1992). The Mormon experience: the plains as Sinai, the Great Salt Lake as the Dead Sea, and the Great Basin as desert-cum-promised land. Journal of Historical Geography, 18(1), 41–58.

JAPAN PROPERTY CENTRAL (2013, May 7). Saitama's "Johnson Town" resembles US suburb. Retrieved February 21, 2019, from JAPAN PROPERTY CENTRAL website: http://japanpropertycentral.com/2013/05/saitamas-johnson-town-resembles-us-suburb/

Johnson, N. C. (2005). Locating Memory: Tracing the Trajectories of Remembrance. Historical Geography, 33(0), 165–179.

JOHNSON TOWN (n.d.). Retrieved February 21, 2019, from JOHNSON TOWN website: http://johnson-town.com/

Johnston, R., & Ripmeester, M. (2007). A Monument's Work is Never Done: The Watson Monument, Memory, and Forgetting in a Small Canadian City. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 13(2), 117–135.

Jordan, T. G. (1967). The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid-Nineteenth-Century Texas. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 57(4), 667–690.

Kaya, K. (2013, May 1). なぜ埼玉にアメリカが？ 入間市のジョンソンタウンを歩いてみた. Retrieved May 5, 2018, from スーモジャーナル website: http://suumo.jp/journal/2013/05/01/43047/

Kearns, R. A., & Berg, L. D. (2002). Proclaiming place: towards a geography of place name pronunciation. Social & Cultural Geography, 3(3), 283–302.

Kniffen, F. (1965). Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55(4), 549–577.

Kobayashi, A., & Peake, L. (1994). Unnatural discourse. 'Race' and gender in geography. Gender, Place & Culture, 1(2), 225–243.

Kong, L. L. L. (1997). A 'new' cultural geography? Debates about invention and reinvention. Scottish Geographical Magazine, 113(3), 177–185.

Kong, L., & Law, L. (2002). Introduction: Contested Landscapes, Asian Cities. Urban Studies, 39(9), 1503–1512.

Kumano, R. (2007). The US Occupation and Japan's New Democracy. Educational Perspectives, 40, 36–43.

Larsen, L. (2012). Re-placing imperial landscapes: colonial monuments and the transition to independence in Kenya. Journal of Historical Geography, 38(1), 45–56.

Law, L. (2002). Defying Disappearance: Cosmopolitan Public Spaces in Hong Kong. Urban Studies, 39(9), 1625.

LeCompte, M. D., & Schensul, J. J. (1999). Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research (1 edition). Walnut Creek, Calif: AltaMira Press.

Legg, S. (2005a). Sites of Counter-Memory: The Refusal to Forget and the Nationalist Struggle in Colonial Delhi. Historical Geography, 33(0), 180–201.

Legg, S. (2005b). Contesting and Surviving Memory: Space, Nation, and Nostalgia in Les Lieux de Mémoire. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 23(4), 481–504.

Leib, J. I. (2002). Separate times, shared spaces: Arthur Ashe, Monument Avenue and the politics of Richmond, Virginia's symbolic landscape. Cultural Geographies, 9(3), 286–312.

Lewis, P. F. (1979). Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene. In D. W. Meining (Ed.), The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays (pp. 11–32). Oxford University Press.

Meah, A., & Jackson, P. (2016). Re-imagining the kitchen as a site of memory. Social & Cultural Geography, 17(4), 511–532.

Meinig, D. W. (1965). The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847–1964. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55(2), 191–219.

Meusburger, P., Heffernan, M., & Wunder, E. (2011). Cultural Memories: An Introduction. In P. Meusburger, M. Heffernan, & E. Wunder (Eds.), Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View (pp. 3–14).

Mitchell, D. (2000). Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction (1 edition). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Limited.

Mitchell, D. (2003). Dead Labor and the Political Economy of Landscape - California Living, California Dying. In K. J. Anderson, M. Domosh, S. Pile, & N. Thrift (Eds.), Handbook of Cultural Geography (pp. 233–248). London: SAGE Publications.

Moore, T. (2000). Emerging Memorial Landscapes of Labor Conflict in the Cotton Textile South. PROFESSIONAL GEOGRAPHER, (4), 684.

Muzaini, H. (2013). Scale politics, vernacular memory and the preservation of the Green Ridge battlefield in Kampar, Malaysia. Social & Cultural Geography, 14(4), 389–409.

Nakagawa H. (2018, June 3). 他にない風景が魅力。入間市・ジョンソンタウン復興までの 20 余年. Retrieved February 21, 2019, from LIFULL HOME'S PRESS website: https://www.homes.co.jp/cont/press/rent/rent_00559/

Nostrand, R. L. (1970). The Hispanic-American Borderland: Delimitation of an American Culture Region. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 60(4), 638–661.

Rose, G. (2012). Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials (3rd ed.). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Sauer, C. O. (1996). The Morphology of Landscape. In J. Agnew, D. N. Livingstone, & A. Rogers (Eds.), Human Geography: An Essential Anthology (pp. 296–315). Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.

Schein, R. H. (1997). The place of landscape: a conceptual framework for interpreting an American scene. Association of American Geographers. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 87(4), 660–680.

Schein, R. H. (2003). Normative Dimensions of Landscape. In C. Wilson & P. Groth (Eds.), Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson (pp. 199–218). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Switzer, C., & Graham, B. (2009). "From thorn to thorn": commemorating the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland. Social & Cultural Geography, 10(2), 153–171.

Thomas, M. (2002). Out of Control: Emergent Cultural Landscapes and Political Change in Urban Vietnam. Urban Studies, 39(9), 1611.

Tolia-Kelly, D. (2004). Locating processes of identification: studying the precipitates of re-memory through artefacts in the British Asian home. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 29(3), 314–329.

Vogt, L. (2017, November 7). Lisa's In and Around Tokyo: IRUMA--Take a walk down Main Street America in Johnson Town. Retrieved May 5, 2018, from The Asahi Shimbun website: http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201711070001.html

Wagner-Pacifici, R., & Schwartz, B. (1991). The Vietnam Veterans Memorial: Commemorating a Difficult Past. American Journal of Sociology, 97(2), 376–420.

Yabe, N. (2015). 米軍基地のイメージを活かした住宅地―米軍ハウスが残る埼玉県入間市のジョンソンタウン―. 地理, 60(5), 76–81.

Yabe N. (2017). 埼玉県入間市のジョンソンタウンにおける過去の空中写真を用いた 3D 景観モデルの作成. 観光科学研究, 10, 93–97.

Zelinsky, W. (1967). Classical Town Names in the United States: The Historical Geography of an American Idea. Geographical Review, 57(4), 463–495.

APPENDIX: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Part 1 (Walking Interview)

- Please guide me this town as if I am not familiar with this place.
  - No need to introduce every single part of the town. Please show me what you think matters.

Part 2

- Self-introduction
- What made you interested in living in the town?
  - Which parts of the town and the *bei-gun* houses were you interested in?
  - Have you (not) achieved the ideals that you had when you just moved into the town?
- What do you (not) like now about the town?
- Can you please tell me about your house?
  - What benefits and disadvantages does living in a *bei-gun* house have?
- Do you have any thoughts on the history of the site of the town?
  - When you decided to move into the town, what did you think about the history?

Thesis and Dissertation Services