

The American Village in Okinawa — Redefining Security in a “Militourist” Landscape —

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I. Introduction

Thirty-three years after the official end of the U.S. military colonization of Okinawa, thirty-eight U.S. military facilities remain, occupying 13% of the main island. Okinawa only consists of 0.6% of Japan’s total land area, but it hosts 75 % of the total U.S. military facilities in Japan. Okinawa, as Chalmers Johnson in his national bestseller *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (2004) states, “is still essentially a military colony of the Pentagon’s, a huge safe house where Green Berets and the Defense Intelligence Agency, not to mention the air force and Marine Corps, can do things they would not dare do in the United States” (p.64). Memories of the Battle of Okinawa during World War II and the intensive U.S. militarization in Okinawa between 1945 and 1972 seem to have faded from the Okinawan people’s mind and, in turn, powerful and popular cultural images of “America” have replaced the Okinawan natural and social landscape.⁽¹⁾ Using Seaport Park in San Diego (a U.S. military town) as a model, the American Village was built in 1992 on the central part of the island, Chatan Town, 54% of which is used for the U.S. military facilities. Due to the combination of the U.S. militarization of Okinawa and the recent celebration of U.S. popular culture, this miniaturized simulacrum of *America*⁽²⁾ has been incorporated into Okinawan landscape to be enjoyed by the younger generation

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of Okinawans, tourists from mainland Japan,⁽³⁾ and U.S. GIs from nearby bases. Teresia Teaiwa's (1999) neologism "militourism" is useful in discussing the American Village as a colonial landscape. According to Teaiwa, militourism "is a phenomenon by which a military or paramilitary force ensures the smooth running of a tourist industry, and that same tourist industry masks the military force behind it" (p.251). This practice of militourism explains Chatan Town's strategic use of the U.S. military history on Okinawa and the description in the Prefectural tourist website of a militarized and fantasy-laden American paradise as a profitable commercial tourist site. In this essay, I will analyze the ways in which the American Village functions as an ideological justification of Okinawa's colonization by the U.S. and Japanese forces, exploiting Okinawan nature and Okinawan women's bodies and creating a fantasy of American GIs as a means to capitalize on militarism. I hope to make visible the interlocking system of militarism and tourism in Okinawa by critically employing my situated knowledge as an indigenous Okinawan woman. Finally this paper hopes to demonstrate the need of incorporating antimilitarist feminist praxis into the ideas of security reform in order to achieve Okinawan women's empowerment and the goal of true human security.

II. An Idealized America

The American Village's theme is based on an idealized *America*, and it entertains 8.3 million people annually. A tourist booklet *Mihama Town Resort American Village* (2003) states: "The objective for the American Village is to create a new Okinawan sightseeing area for Prefectural residents and tourists alike that is a distinctive town resort unlike any other in Okinawa" (p.13). The creation of the sense of separation and distinctiveness for the American Village eagerly fosters a cultural subordination of the rest of the Okinawan landscape. As the indigenous Hawai'ian native feminist scholar Haunani-Kay Trask puts it, the creation of such a tourist space obscures "a total system of power in which another culture, people and way of life penetrate, transform, and come to define the colonized society" to exploit the islanders' bodies, land and culture (Trask,

1999, p. 251).

In this transaction, Okinawa loses its agency and becomes the backdrop for cultural imperialism. As mayor Choichi Hentona tells us, the American Village's "pleasant...natural setting combines the fragrance of the sea and the attractiveness of the seashore, and the most beautiful sunsets in Japan can be enjoyed here. This [Okinawan] natural setting is perfectly harmonized with the American-style buildings" (*Mihama Town Resort American Village*, 2003, p.7). According to the statement, in the space of the American Village, signifiers of indigenous nature constitute only the background of the constructed American space. This incorporation of Okinawan nature for the government's commercial purposes commodifies Okinawan indigenous nature and culture.

To complete this picture, English names are given to most of the "American-style buildings" whose "guiding principle is to create an effect that gives the resort an American feel" (*Mihama Town Resort American Village*, 2003, p.13). This process of naming works to obliterate Okinawan indigenous culture.⁽⁴⁾ In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, Ashcroft and Tiffin (2004) explicitly define subjugation of the native tongue:

Language is a fundamental site of struggle for post-colonial discourse because the colonial process itself begins in language. The control over language by the imperial center-whether achieved by displacing native languages, by installing itself as a 'standard' against other variants which are constitute as 'impurities,' or by planting the language of empire in a new place-remains the most potent instrument of cultural control. (p. 283)

This naming of amusement facilities, thus, ensures an effective cultural control constituting hegemony over and colonization of the minds of Okinawans as well as the colonization of Okinawan nature. The "Americanized" landscape produces the subjugation of Okinawan nature-indigenous trees, plants, roofing tile, sugar cane fields, etc.-as a background of the landscape of "American-style buildings." When visitors and attentions are directed to the American buildings, they are

directed to associate culture (the foreground) with America and nature (the background) with Okinawa. Though the American Village occupies a relatively small space on the island, it has become one of the most popular spaces for the younger generation of Okinawans. In turn, the spectacle shapes their understanding of the indigenous natural and cultural environment and encourages unconscious consent to militarization and the colonizer's language.

This promotion of the American Village as a tourist site in a government sponsored website called *Bankoku Shinryokan* (2003) submerges the "small tropical island" behind the imagined landscape of America and makes U.S. militarism both historically and politically invisible:

The presence of the U.S. Military has had a great influence on Okinawa's culture. In the Mihama area of Chatan, you'll see first hand how this small tropical island developed a portion of its land into an American style village. Mihama has food, clothing, music, and entertainment that mostly resemble American taste. The design and architecture of the sidewalks and buildings will give you the feeling of being in America. If you get hungry, you can savor just about any type of American, Mexican, Chinese, French, and Korean food that you can think of. Grab a Grande size coffee at Starbucks and enjoy live outdoor entertainment by some of Okinawa's rising young performers. There's even a Dragon Palace that keeps the children entertained. It offers a 3-D virtual ride, tea cup ride, balloon corner, and a candy store that never ends! Other than the free parking, the best part of Mihama is the 150-foot Ferris Wheel that offers a view of the entire Mihama area. Ride it in the evening to enjoy a beautiful sunset or at night to enjoy the fluorescent lights.
(2003)

Here, tourism is sold as a celebration of the arrival of western modernization which camouflages the intersections of tourism and militarism. According to Douglas Kellner (2001), modernization is often used as a replacement term for cultural imperialism, which operates "as a cover to neutralize the horrors of colonialism and...neo-imperialism that serves to obscure the continuing exploitation of much of the world by a few superpowers and giant transnational

corporations, thus cloaking some of the more barbaric and destructive aspects of contemporary development.” This masking of militarism behind modernization and tourism not only creates a strategic sociopolitical perpetuation of U.S. militarization, but also creates a dangerously comfortable space for U.S. GIs to perform their racially privileged masculinity.

Also, without offering any critique of the unequal power relations established between Okinawa and the U.S. military bases stationed on the island, the Okinawan government problematically rationalizes the U.S. militarism as “a great influence” on Okinawan culture, silencing a critique of colonial history in order to promote the tourist economy. Enloe (2004) describes this process as a political and economical militarization by which “the roots of militarism are driven deep down into the soil of a society” and “the militarizing processes are deliberately being nurtured” (pp.219-220). The politically constructed and imagined Americanness of the site confirms the development of militarized culture in Okinawa. This ideological obscuring of the problems with the U.S. military bases leads younger generations of Okinawans to become part of this entertainment and cultural landscape.

This problematic ideal of America is expressed fully in a picture of night time in the American Village website called *Okinawa: Another Japan* (2005). In the picture, as the darkness erases the indigenous subtropical landscape of the ocean, sunset, and seashore, it is replaced by the glaring rainbow color neon of the Coca Cola Ferris wheel in the night sky, symbolizing and romanticizing American modernization. In the words accompanying the picture, the web site emphasizes that “the presence of Kadena Air Base” in town “has played a role in developing” the town’s society and culture. This naturalizes *American* militarism in Okinawa and Okinawa’s economic dependency on militarism and tourism, ensuring the smooth running of U.S. militarism and cultural imperialism that systematically operate to transform and redefine the militarized Okinawan society. As a result, young Okinawans in the space consume the images of a powerful America as an indispensable part of modernization of Okinawa while accepting the cultural, economic, and political vulnerability of Okinawa.

III. Gender and Race in a Militourist Context

The construction of the village is also gendered. By accepting and valuing the military bases as economic and cultural developers for the American Village, the town at the same time embraces the ideology of militarism and a patriarchal version of gender difference.⁽⁵⁾ According to Enloe (2004), the process of militarization is not “automatic,” but it is “a sociopolitical process” which rests on “entrenchment of ideas about ‘manly men’ and ‘real women’” (p.219). Further, she states that “militarism legitimizes masculinized men as protectors, as actors, as rational strategists, while it places feminized people in the role of the emotionally informed, physically weak, only parochially aware protected” (Enloe, 2004, p.154). We can see how the kind of tourism encouraged in Okinawa recasts militarism by privileging American masculinity and feminizing Okinawa and its people.

The U.S. military’s web site, *Okinawa Marine* (2002), portrays the American Village as a space which “offers [U.S. military] service members a taste of home” where they can still enjoy “exotic Japanese sushi, Thai, Korean and Chinese...shopping, spend[ing] a few bucks and play some games...to spend the occasional weekend.”⁽⁶⁾ *Stars and Stripes* (2001) describes the American Village as “surrounded by U.S. military bases on the north, east and south”; and states that “the complex draws many servicemembers.” Another website, describing “[a]nxiety in the mix as cultures mingle at Okinawa’s American Village,” illustrates the American Village as a “busy scene on Friday nights” filled with young “U.S. servicemembers with fresh military haircuts and baggy khaki trousers mingling with the young Japanese crowd,” emphasizing that for Okinawan women, the Village at night is “a date place” where male GIs and Okinawan women meet.

Enloe in *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (2000) analyzes the gendered tourism industry:

without ideas about masculinity and femininity-and the enforcement of both-in the societies of departure and the societies of destination, it would be impossible to

sustain the tourism industry and its political agenda in their current form. ...Men's capacity to control women's sense of their security and self-worth has been central to the evolution of tourism politics." (p.41)

Thus, this racialized and gendered night life in the American Village ironically privileges male GIs' masculinity and encourages Okinawan women to see male GIs as "romantic," "like movie stars," and "exciting," while Japanese men are not able to compete with those images (Keyso, 2000, p.xiv). Moreover, women think that dating GIs elevates women's social status, and makes women "ultra-independent" and "independent thinkers" who are capable of freeing themselves from "the [Japanese] social system" (Keyso, 2000, p.109). Consequently, these gendered and racialized understandings support the GIs' militarized notion of masculinity as well as the idea of the U.S. as more modern and, ironically, less patriarchal, and provide an ideological base and justification for the militarization of Okinawan space. Moreover, as Suzuyo Takazato, a founding member of Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence, points out, Okinawan women conflate GIs and "images of [American] movie heroes," which make them "dream of...the opportunity to court U.S. soldiers" (Takazato, 2000, p.263). The American Village for some Okinawan women has become a refuge which fulfills their desires to raise their social status and class, and where they can escape from the traditional Japanese patriarchal system, while unconsciously participating in their own exploitation. In this sense, militourism is an undermining ideology and part of a process of disguising political and cultural imperialism that directly, but most of the times unconsciously, influences Okinawan women's sexuality.

In the American Village, traditional Japanese gender roles seem to be less restrictive due to the absence of the Japanese and Okinawan cultural referents. In this context women are "freed" from the Japanese patriarchy and social gender norms. For instance, Maiko Sunabe, an Okinawan woman describes how "American guys" are less patriarchal than Japanese men:

"American guys are really different from Okinawan guys. I mean what I think cool

about the Americans is that they believe in the policy of Ladies First. That's why you'll see so many Okinawan girls dating American men and hardly ever the opposite: Western women with Okinawan guys. In fact, I couldn't even imagine seeing an American woman with an Okinawan; he just wouldn't treat her the way she was probably used to being treated. Also, Americans are quick to give you a hug, even if you're a stranger. I think that's a good thing." (Keyso, 2000, p.134)

However, once women are supposedly "freed" from the Japanese patriarchal system in the American Village, their desire becomes subjugated to exploitation. As Teaiwa (2001) affirms: "[T]his collaboration between militarism and tourism affects the complex process of displacement and social mobility for Islanders, affecting the physical, mental, and emotional health of island bodies" (p.252). Thus, the space of the American village negotiates with Okinawan women's social class, gender, and race relations, producing sexual exploitation and commodification by GIs as tourist capital makes profits from the situation. The imagined American popular landscape exploits the dream of freedom and supposedly provides an opportunity to experience that dream. The idealization of the American landscape prevents Okinawan women and tourists from questioning, challenging, and explaining the militarization of Okinawan women's sexualities and of Okinawan land.

Further, the image of Okinawan women who are enjoying access to the American style of commodities and entertainment in the American Village supports the systemic workings of militourism by masking gendered violence behind the notion of entertainment. Masahide Ota (2000), the former Okinawan governor and a tireless critic of the U.S. military bases, laments that the younger generation of Okinawan women who "[have] no immediacy" to the history of military violence and occupation "freely accept the bases" (p.148). Here, Ota critiques Okinawan women's incapability and lack of knowledge about militarization, rather than analyzing the sociopolitical process of naturalizing the militarization of the Okinawan landscape. Most of the time, the militarization process is so naturally mediated in the landscape of Okinawa through media that

people, even politicians or critics of militarism, easily dismiss the process and end up blaming and lamenting the women's behaviors. This shows the ways that history teaches younger Okinawans to interpret the neocolonization of the space as urbanization and development, of their culture, rather than exploitation and commodification.

IV. Militarized Violence toward Women in the American Village

While Okinawan women consume the positive image of America and romanticize the idea of dating GIs, GIs objectify and exploit the women's sexuality. This often results in sexual abuse and rape of Okinawan women. The research conducted by Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) in 2000 documents one hundred and twelve reported sexual assaults of women in Okinawa by U.S. servicemen between 1972 of Okinawa's reversion to Japan and 2000, only twelve of which received criminal punishments (OWAAMV, 2000). This figure excludes attempted sexual assaults. Further, according to the investigation ran by *Dayton Daily News* in Ohio, "since 1988, Navy and Marine Corps bases in Japan had held the highest number, 169, of courts-martial for sexual assaults. This was 66% more cases than the number two location, San Diego, with 102 cases, but more than twice the personnel" (Japan Policy Research Institute, 1996). The comments that followed in the article by an attorney from Florida who defended military personnel in Japan and a former Marine Captain who has served in Okinawa, point to the symbolic connections made between militarization and a version of naturalized violent masculinity: "Okinawa is one of the biggest staging areas for Marines in the early part of their careers.... That means you have a large population of 18-to 22 year-old kids there-many of them away from home for the first time, feeling their oats, trained to think they're hot stuff just because they're Marines"; "Okinawa is simply not a very good training facility and that the young Marines are bored and have too much time on their hands" (JPRI, 1996). The comments suggest that young, bored, and under-trained Marines are naturally apt to rape the local women.

The appallingly high rate of sexual assault by U.S. GIs against women in

Okinawa is a result of a complex U.S. military system that relies on a large population of younger males, a system that apparently does not offer sufficient psychological care nor social support for the young recruits, and clearly the faults of the system are obscured by the dismissal of the pattern with a comment such as “those are just a few bad apples.” Hence, militarization operates within a complex interdependency of elements in a systemic disguising process: presenting Okinawan women as sexually visible, making them not only targets, but also the ones to blame for their own assaults and the sexualized-militarization of their bodies even though they are the ones most impacted by sexual and racial violence; and promoting an approved militarized masculinity that allows officials to easily ignore the pattern of GIs sexual assaults against Okinawan women.

An article in *Time* titled “Sex and Race in Okinawa: U.S. Servicemen and Local Women Can Be A Volatile Mix, A Rape Allegation Against An American Casts Harsh Light on The Island’s Race Relations”(2001) describes an incident of rape in the American Village and shows all of these elements . In the article, the American Village is depicted as embedded in U.S. style capitalism: “[r] eminders of Uncle Sam abound-America Mart, America Hotel and Club America.”:

A two-story emporium called American Depot stands in the shadow of a giant Ferris wheel emblazoned with a Coca-Cola logo. Even at traditional *matsuri*, or summer festivals, children wave cotton candy, shirtless skateboarders do stunts on open walkways and women in shorts and bikini tops lick jewel-colored snow cones. Tourists and dream seekers from the Japanese mainland flock [there]. The biggest draws, especially for Japanese women, are the real live Americans. (Takeuchi, 2001, p. 39)

The carefully constructed suggestiveness in the narrative effectively evokes the provocative female bodies of the local women around the bases. In other words, the space of the American Village in the *Time* article represents “perfect” rest and recreation where the U.S. militarism builds an infrastructure and Asian women’s bodies become sexual commodities for male GIs. This ideal of R&R highlights

the dual process of U.S. militarization and commodification. This article illustrates the militarized situation of the American Village with a hypersexualized image of Asian female tourists from mainland Japan as “dream seekers” whose “biggest draws” are “the real live Americans” (Takeuchi, 2001, p39). The sexual objectification of women’s bodies—“in shorts and bikini tops lick[ing] jewel-colored snow cones”—combined with their supposed preference for “real live Americans” seems to suggest a space in which the rape of Okinawan women is justified. According to Lynn Lu (1997), such descriptions of Asian women’s bodies by the Western media derives from “the Western (male) popular imagination” which constructed “the exotic mysteries of [Asian women’s] sex” (p.17). However, a crucial aspect to be noticed here is that in the American Village the young generations of Okinawans are able to perform and dress like younger generations of Americans, but GIs racialize this performance as exotic and sexual. As Enloe (2004) points out, popular media “can become the basis for crafting patriarchal and militarized public policies” (p.228). This “public policy discourse,” she argues, “acknowledges a woman either as silently symbolic or silently victimized” and privileges masculinity (Enloe, 2004, p.229). Thus, the hypersexualization of Asian women’s bodies is a product of dynamic political and patriarchal military ideas which objectify women’s sexuality.

The women’s hypersexualized bodies are also racialized in the media. In an interview for the online version of *Time Magazine* (2001), an “U.S. Air Force guy” racially marks sexualized Okinawan women’s behaviors towards GIs while simultaneously emasculating Japanese male bodies:

[Okinawan women] come out to bars. They know we’re there. What do you think they’re looking for? I mean, come on, they know what can happen, they’ve heard the stories, too. I mean, they live in Okinawa, and they still keep coming, looking for us. So what does that tell you? So they come in, have a good time, and the guy says, so you want to come home with me, and they say, sure, because that sounds like fun and you know we Americans treat them a helluva lot better than the Japanese guys do, right? (2001)

This statement demonstrates an overtly and despicably normalized view of Okinawan women's bodies as dehumanized objects that are only capable of desiring sexual interactions with American male bodies. The dichotomy explicitly established in the rhetoric between "us" read American males or US servicemen and "them"-read Okinawan women and Japanese men-reflects the imperial and colonial legacies. As Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (2002) state in their work on "gender in a transnational world," Western colonialism "created a difference between those who were seen as 'barbaric' or 'uncivilized' and those who believed themselves to be 'civilized' and 'superior.' This difference was often expressed in racial, cultural, or national terms" (p.xix). Hegemonic American masculinity as represented by the normative militarized ideal degrades Japanese masculinity as well as eroticizing Okinawan women's sexuality. This statement also assumes the existence of a racialized masculine hierarchy between U.S. GIs and Japanese men. Christina S. Jarvis (2004) discusses a particular American masculinity as a cultural construct intensively developed during WWII, which is associated with the "emergence of American ideal manhood, gender roles, and national identity" within the period of the use of U.S. as a global superpower (p.5). Both Grewal and Kaplan and Jarvis's analyses confirms that the GI's statement symbolically embodies the legacy of the defeat of Japan in WWII, the idealization of the superiority of the U.S. in the modern world, and a raced and gendered hierarchy that is projected on the depiction of Okinawan women's bodies.

The hypersexualization and racialization of Okinawan women's bodies by U.S. media and GIs demonstrates the dynamics of socio-political processes that militarize Okinawan women's bodies and naturalize masculinized violence. As the *Times* (Takeuchi, 2001) article goes on, it focuses on an important example of these dynamics, demonstrating how the rape of an Okinawan girl by an American soldier, Sergeant Woodland, at 2am on June 29, 2001 in the American Village, constructs the simultaneously racialized, sexualized, and militarized space of the American Village:

On Thursday Night, June 28, the action in Okinawa is on the third floor of a building in a candy-colored open-air mall called the American Village. A pink-and-blue neon sign shows where everyone is going: 3F, a bar and restaurant with a Southeast Asian theme. A couple of hundred people are already there, drawn by \$3 cocktails and reggae and hip-hop tunes. It's so crowded that manager Jeff Short has abandoned his tiki hut office to help behind the bar. The crowd is familiar, mostly female Japanese partyers and U.S. servicemen. Many of the girls dress alike-stiletto heels or sneakers, low-slung capris and halter tops, a spray of body glitter. (Takeuchi, 2001, p.40)

This illustrates the stark racial dichotomy of “mostly female Japanese partyers and U.S servicemen” and sexualizes Okinawan woman’s bodies in the Village to an extreme, using the descriptions of “stiletto heels,” “low-slung capris and halter tops,” and “a spray of body glitter,” as if their bodies are naturally available for GIs.

Woodland’s attorney, Tsuyoshi Aragaki, commented that “American servicemen tend to hang out with and date Japanese ladies in *places like this*. I personally think that this was the background to this matter” (emphasis added, French, 2001, p.A3). Aragaki’s statement implies that “places like this” is a gendered and racialized space like the American Village and it is used interchangeably with a notion that Asian women in the village are assumed to be sexually promiscuous, and therefore rape could be expected. According to Woodland’s statement, the sexual intercourse was “consensual” (French, 2001, p.A3). Woodland’s statement also alludes to *places like this*, where one can expect sexual intercourse. The American Village is conveniently portrayed for the media to justify that Okinawan women’s bodies are available for the GIs, and for the GIs to prove their masculinity on the women’s sexualized bodies.

V. Redefining Security

Feminist political scientist, Yumiko Mikanagi (2004), argues that this specific rape case is ascribed to “gendered power hierarchies in society and

socially sanctioned masculinities based on violence against women” (p.98). In other words, the American Village is a spectacle in which violence against women is socially sanctioned, and where women paradoxically attain not only freedom from traditional Okinawan gender roles, but also are encouraged to choose forms of sexual expression that militarism relies on, exploits, and controls.

The space of the American Village is a symbol for the anxieties and illusions of attaining higher class status. Examining the U.S. occupation of Okinawa helps us understand a current form of imperialism that is mediated through gender and race hierarchies and relies upon commodification processes expressed in popular culture. The American Village exists as a powerful cultural construction that reshapes contemporary Okinawan women’s sexualities. The landscape of the American Village, for younger generations of Okinawans, is an escape from the history of Japanese colonialism in 1879, and the Battle of Okinawa during WWII when one fourth of the Okinawans were killed. It is a place where they fulfill their desire for a higher social class and cross racial lines by dating and marrying GIs. On the other hand, some GIs manipulate the space as a testing ground for their masculinity on Okinawan women. This indicates the perpetuation of colonial dominance in the American Village. In order to achieve demilitarization of the Okinawan natural and social landscape, and the exploitation of women’s sexuality, it is indispensable to analyze the dynamics of naturalizing and trivializing processes by using gender and race as a categories of analysis.

The examination of the American Village as militourist spectacle through a gender analysis allows us the possibility of redefining security. Employing a gender analysis, one is able to see that violence as response to insecurity is encouraged within the framework of militourism and the process of colonization it maintains. This study of the American Village as a militourist landscape demonstrates that women in Okinawa who are assumed to be in times of “peace” are exposed to militarized masculine violence and fear of violence every day. In this respect, the assumption that the military produces “security” becomes highly questionable. A report by INSTRAW 30: United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women offers an important gender

analysis on women in the peace time (2006):

There are many women who do not live in an environment of war, but who also experience situations of violence because they are women. Peace does not guarantee the absence of aggression. Violence against women is often hidden as a result of a culture of silence. For this reason, it is very difficult to obtain reliable statistics, since most of the attacks are not denounced due to shame, stigma and fear of vengeance. It is even common to blame women for the rape that they suffer and for causing dishonor to their families.

This statement stresses the various challenges to adequately conceptualizing peace without attention to the real conditions of women's lives. Moreover, this statement emphasizes the ways in which the patriarchal masculine violence sanctions the systemic militarized aggression against racialized women's bodies. An antimilitarist feminist praxis that foregrounds women's agency in the context of militourist conditions enables further discussion of the oppressive structures and consequences of capitalism and militourism that constrain the achievement of security and peace. This case study focusing on the American Village as a militourist landscape demonstrates that militarized culture of violence and patriarchal oppression have resulted in frequent sexual violence and is perpetuated by the system of militourism. There is a need to further integrate and develop a grounded antimilitarist feminist analysis to incorporate gender and a community-based vision of security into the body of security reform in order to transform militarized masculine violence and to encourage women's empowerment.

Notes

- (1) My understanding of landscape comes from Rebecca Solnit's (2001) definition as is not just "scenery," but "the spaces and systems we inhabit, a system our own lives depend upon" (p.7). Thus, I use landscape to indicate a space of direct political and cultural influence that

constitutes our ideology. My use of landscape also refers to “an ensemble of material and social practices and their symbolic representation. In a narrow sense, *landscape* represents the architecture of social class, gender, and race relations imposed by powerful institutions” (Zukin, 1991, p.16).

- (2) In this paper, I use italicized *America* or *American* to indicate a culturally constructed fantasized aspect. According to Enloe (2004), the loaded adjective *natural* has a significant effect of keeping people uncurious about somebody’s political purpose or political power structure.
- (3) Tourism is the most successful business in contemporary Okinawa next to the revenue generated from the U.S. military bases after the end of the formal U.S. military occupation in 1972. The index of Okinawan tourism for 2003 shows that 98% of 5,080,000 tourists in the year were from mainland Japan. The state’s financial dependency on tourism was 16.1% in 2001, next to the revenue outside the prefecture (56.1%), and followed by the Base revenues (8.0%) (*Tourism Survey by Okinawan Prefectural Government* 2004). Among Japanese tourists, 41.3% are in their twenties and thirties and 25% are under twenty. These statistics show that the Okinawan tourism economy is highly dependent on younger populations of Japanese and Okinawans. The American Village entertains about 8.3 million people annually, which is about seven times the population of Okinawa. 90% of the visitors are Okinawans. See *Mihama Town Resort American Village* (2004).
- (4) Here are a few examples: Mihama Sevenplex +1 (movie theater complex), Makeman Mihama Store (Do It Yourself Store), Beverly Palace (women’s apparel), American Depot (American fashion store), Seaside Square (amusement store), America Ya (American goods), Dragon Palace (3-D visual attraction), Carnival Park (shopping, amusement, and a Ferris Wheel), Gourmet-kan (Gourmet store), etc.
- (5) See Enloe (2004), Chapter 16: “Demilitarization-or More of the Same?” According to the article, militarism is a set of naturalized ideologies and a package of ideas. By embracing the ideology of militarism, a person, institution, or community is also accepting an ideology about how the world works, about what makes humans tick (p.219).
- (6) see <http://www.stripes.com/about/aboutstripes.html>. *Stars and Stripes* is a Department of Defense-authorized daily newspaper distributed overseas for the U.S. military community.

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The American Village in Okinawa
— **Redefining Security in a “Militourist” Landscape** —

〈 Summary 〉

Ayano Ginoza

Focusing on a tourist site called the “American Village,” this paper examines the socio-political interdependency of militarism and tourism in Okinawa by working from cultural theorist Teresia Teaiwa’s (1999) neologism “militourism,” “a phenomenon by which a military or paramilitary force ensures the smooth running of a tourist industry, and that same tourist industry masks the military force behind it” (p.252). Expanding on this concept, this paper discusses the workings of tourism and U.S. militarism in Okinawa as an interlocking system that supports a tourist economy and simultaneously disguises militarized masculine violence against the local people, environment, and culture in Okinawa. By using an antimilitarist feminist and cultural studies approach, this paper makes visible militarized violence against women in Okinawa. Modeled on Seaport Park in San Diego (a U.S. military town), the American Village was built in 1992 on the central part of Okinawa, Chatan Town, 54% of which is used for the U.S. military facilities. Due to the combination of the U.S. militarization of Okinawa and the recent celebration of U.S. popular culture, this miniaturized simulacrum of America has been incorporated into Okinawan landscape to be enjoyed by the younger generation of Okinawans, tourists from mainland Japan, and U.S. GIs from nearby bases. This paper argues that the American Village functions as an ideological justification of Okinawan colonization by the U.S. and Japanese forces, exploiting Okinawan nature and Okinawan women’s bodies and deploying a fantasy of American GIs as a means to capitalize on militarism. Finally this paper discusses a need to incorporate a grounded antimilitarist feminist praxis and a community-based vision of security

into the ideas of security reform in order to achieve Okinawan women's empowerment and the goal of true human security.