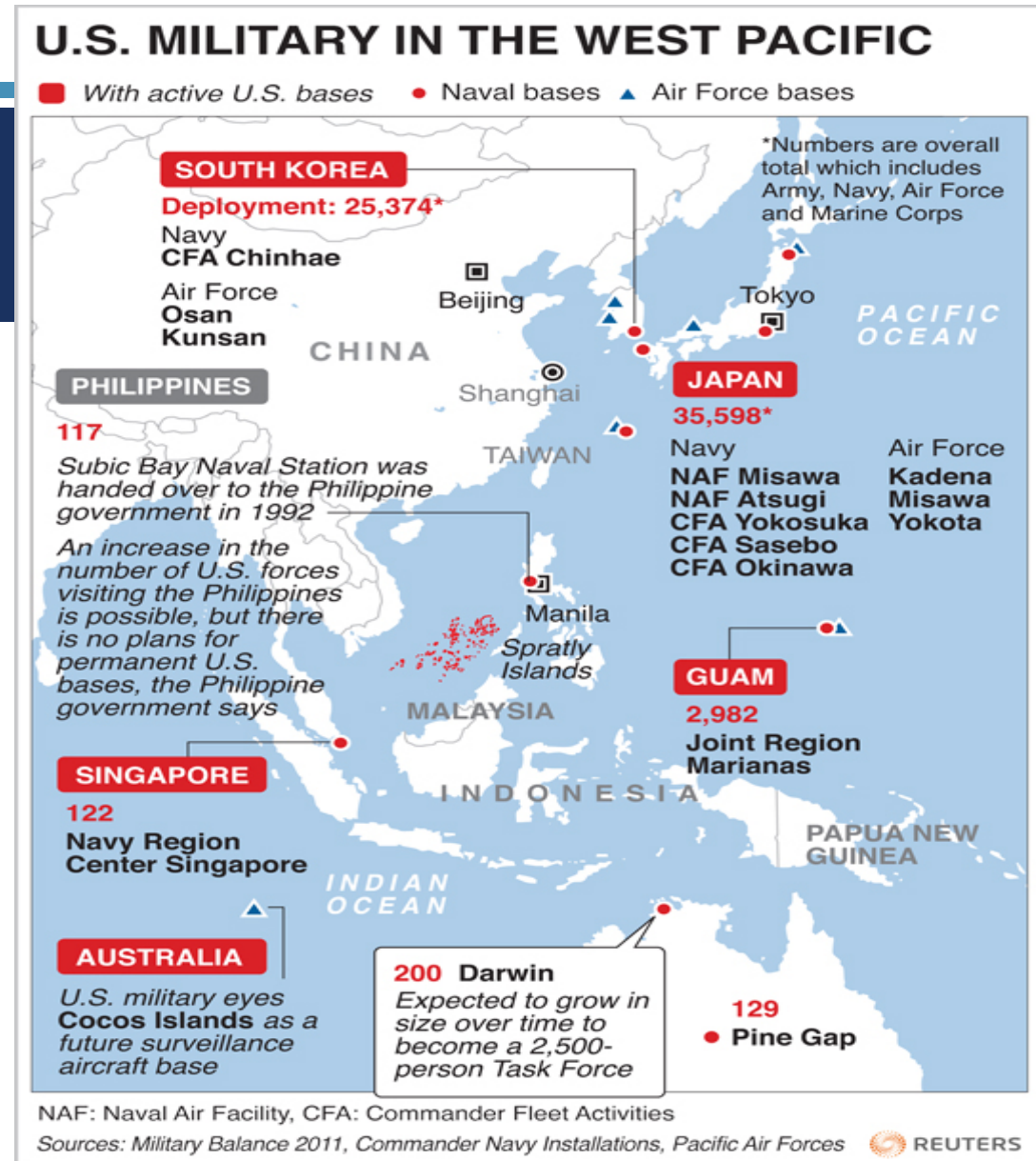

OLONGAPO AND OKINAWA

A CLOSER LOOK AT TWO BASE TOWNS

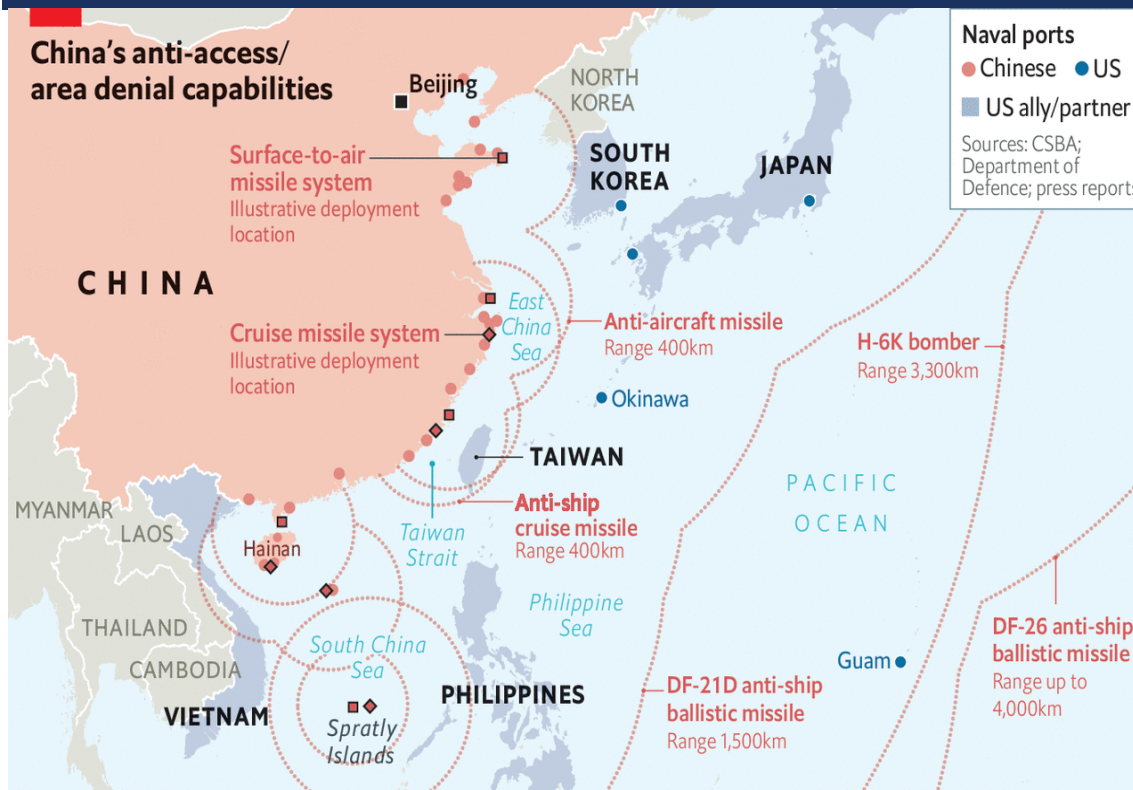
KARL GERRARD TIU SEE
OCTOBER 12, 2019

BACKGROUND

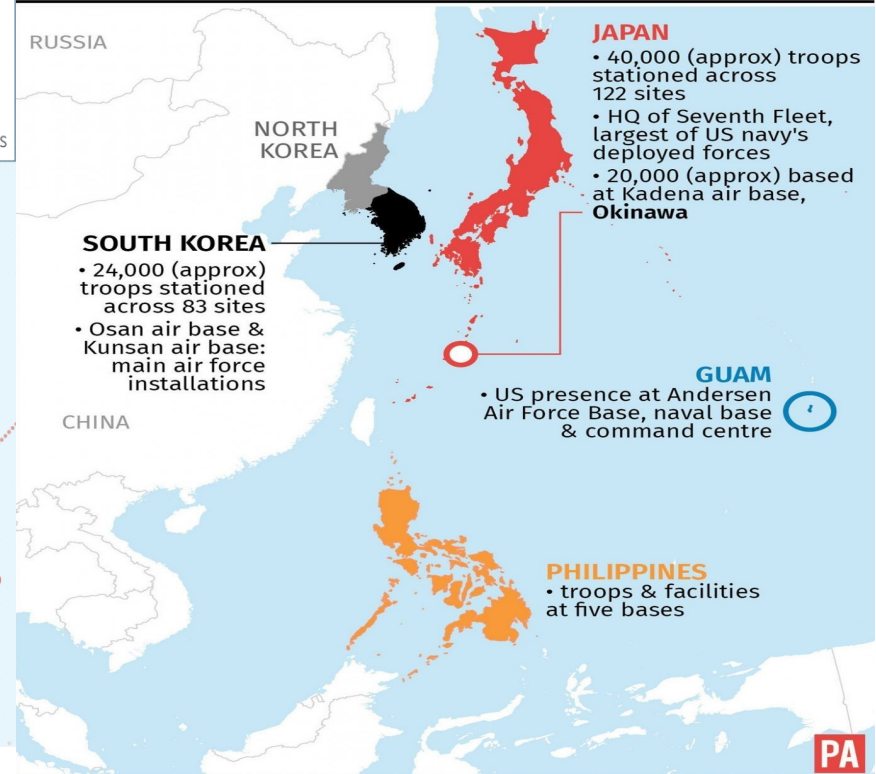
- Japan holds 17 out of the 49 US Bases in the Asia-Pacific. There are around 40000 US troops station in Japan.
- Reintroduction and increase of US military presence in the Philippines.
- “Pacific Pivot”: Moving 154,000 active US military personnel stationed to 49 major bases across 8 countries in the Asia-Pacific.
- Trump’s brinkmanship-like take on diplomacy means more troops posted in potential “hot zones”. These are to show the US’s unwillingness to back down.



The East Pacific Situation



US military presence in Far East



THE DIFFERING DEFENSE STORIES OF TWO ARCHIPELAGOES

JAPAN

- Japan has since 1945, continued to host US bases for “national security” despite the burden they cause on host communities.
- This alongside a gradual increase of Japan’s own military capability and international activity.
- Japan’s military bases remain important to the US in their increasingly mobile strategic plans. This to counter China’s rise and North Korea.
- US grand strategy (“Deep Engagement) aims to keep Japan dependent on the US (Lind, 2016). Japan still actively participates in US joint exercises.

THE PHILIPPINES

- Successive defense treaties with the US, from the 1997 Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) to the 2014 Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement, steadily reinvigorated US troop presence without the need for bases.
- The Philippines nationalized static US bases in 1992, ending with the secession of Subic Naval Base.
- The number of troops stationed on the islands fluctuates, but with 261 joint activities in 2018 and more in 2019, an increase is likely.

IN DETAIL: THIS STUDY'S TWO CASES

Japan: Okinawa

- Okinawa holds a disproportionate number of US bases compared to the main islands.
- Both the US and Japanese governments deliberately made the region economically dependent on these military bases.
- The host community in Okinawa is divided between those who support and those who fight against the bases.
- A vibrant civil society has sprung up dedicated to the effects of bases. These are not limited to the two camps above but also concern issues like prostitution.

The Philippines: Olongapo City

- Olongapo City suddenly lost its main economic base (Subic Naval Station) in 1992. This led to an economic slump.
- Olongapo City eventually re-branded itself as a manufacturing, tourism, and free port area. This maintained a foreign presence in the area. It also introduced new problems like sex tourism.
- The VFA and subsequent treaties reintroduced a new, mobile US military presence to the city.
- Like Okinawa, a vibrant civil society has sprung up catering to those affected by the bases. Most focus on livelihood training and curbing prostitution.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- Find out how an everyday reality with tangible, static US bases affects local people's opinion as compared to a mobile, intermittent US presence; and
- Explore some effects keeping or removing bases have on host locales from a human-based, non-strategy oriented perspective.



RESEARCH QUESTIONS



1. How did an everyday reality with US bases affect Okinawan public opinion?
2. Are Olongapo City's residents, by comparison, similarly affected by its intermittent, mobile US guests? (How did they view the bases period? Is there a possible romanticism of the bases period memory?)

METHODOLOGY

Primary Data

Gathered from Olongapo City and Okinawa.

1. Survey questionnaire: a 19-question public opinion questionnaire measuring public knowledge, reception, and memory of US forces (analyzed via SPSS).
2. Key informant interviews: with civil society/NGO representatives, government workers, and experts.

Secondary Data

1. Archival sources: Academic sources, articles, books, and previous study findings.
2. Perspectives from other theoretical lens (for theoretical discussion)
3. Document Analysis: Key policy, statistics, and other policy types deemed important.

A DIVIDED LITERATURE

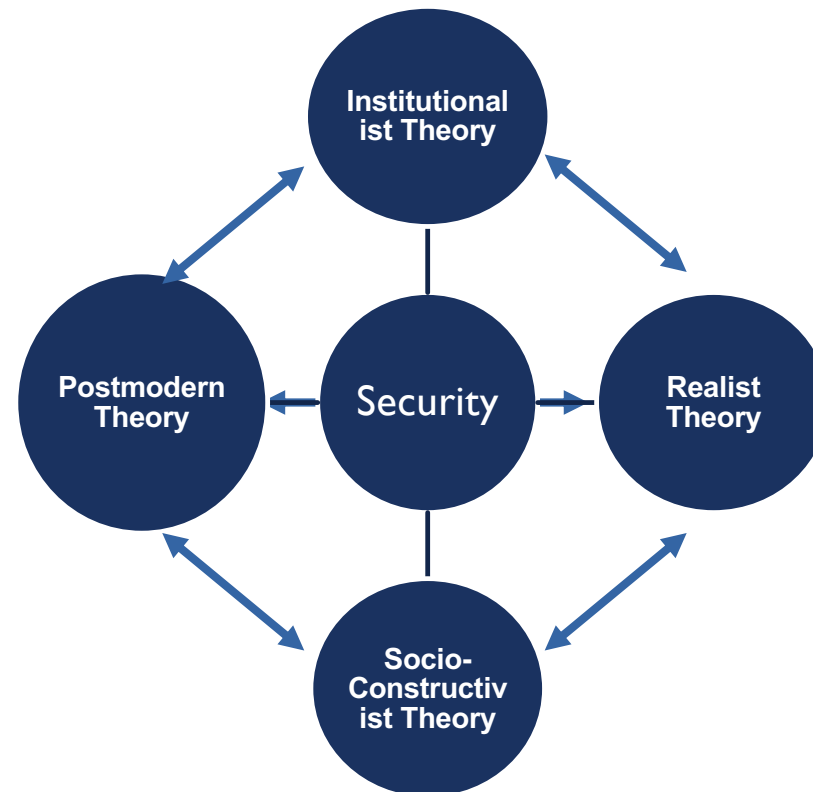
US Base Roles

- Some literature argue that US bases help more since they act as a “containment system” for domestic threats like failed states or regime issues. They also emphasize the roles US bases play in disaster relief and assisting local military. (Lachowski, 2007) (Gresh, 2015) (Samuels, 2011)
- Other literature, including ones on Okinawa and Subic, argue against bases. They emphasize themes like prostitution, economic dependence, and nationalism. (Lutz, 2009) (Moriteru, 2001).

Theoretical Divide

- Security literature is also divided by four main theoretical frameworks. This is discussed in the preceding slides.

THE THEORETICAL SPECTRUM (SIMPLIFIED)



THEORETICAL TRENDS IN SECURITY STUDIES

Realism	Institutionalism	Postmodern/Constructivism
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• State-based, strategic argument. US military bases are there due to either US grand strategy, an agreement between states, or both.• Primacy of the “Security Dilemma”, where increasing one state’s security means reducing another's. <p>(Katzenstein, 2011) (Waltz, 1979)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Institutions such as US bases, NGOs, government, or local groups structure the rules of a given situation.• These shape people in certain ways.• A focus on path dependence (Historical) and how widely valued arrangements are embraced (Sociological) <p>(Hall and Taylor, 1996) (Steinmo, 2008)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Destabilizing the idea of the sovereign, almighty state.• A conversation between the bases and host communities boiled down into two groups of people.• Key role of man as central actor and the perspectives these host communities have on US base removal or continuation. <p>(Derrida, 1981) (Foucault, 1977) (Ashley, 1989)</p>

THE CASE FOR AN ECLECTIC ARGUMENT

This project at first glance seems to lean too much into Postmodern/Political Sociological thought.

- The weakness of relying on solely this view is that everything can be seen as socially constructed, or as a deployment of human action. This makes it hard to put boundaries on the topic studied and in effect, the research project.
- Thus the need to adopt relevant concepts from other strands of thought such as:
- Realism: The choice to place military bases into where they are today came from strategy and balancing.
- Institutionalism: Host community choices are shaped and constrained by institutions like local government, NGOs, the visiting US military, and local/international businesses.

QUESTIONS, SCOPE, AND TIMELINE

Question Structure and Scope

- Survey questions are divided into four major underlying factors: Awareness, Livelihood, Outlook/Memory, and Everyday Impact. Questions are not arranged by theme and are scattered across the survey.
- The scope for this study will be limited to comparing the effects US bases had on two cases: Okinawa, Japan and Olongapo, Philippines.

Completed Fieldwork:

- Okinawa, February 2019: Preliminary Fieldwork
- Olongapo City, September-October 2019: Data Collection

Planned Fieldwork:

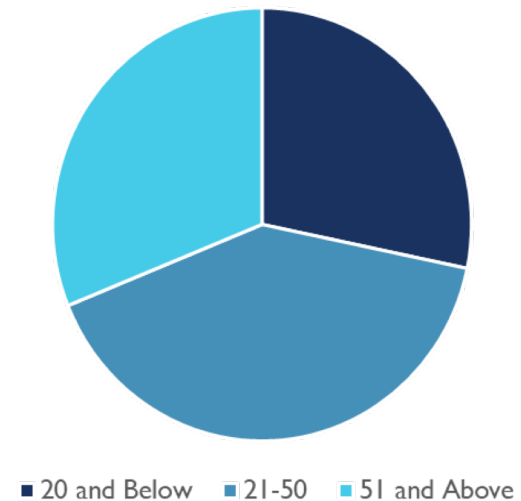
- Okinawa, Early 2020: Data Collection
- Olongapo City, 2020: Additional Data Collection (if needed).



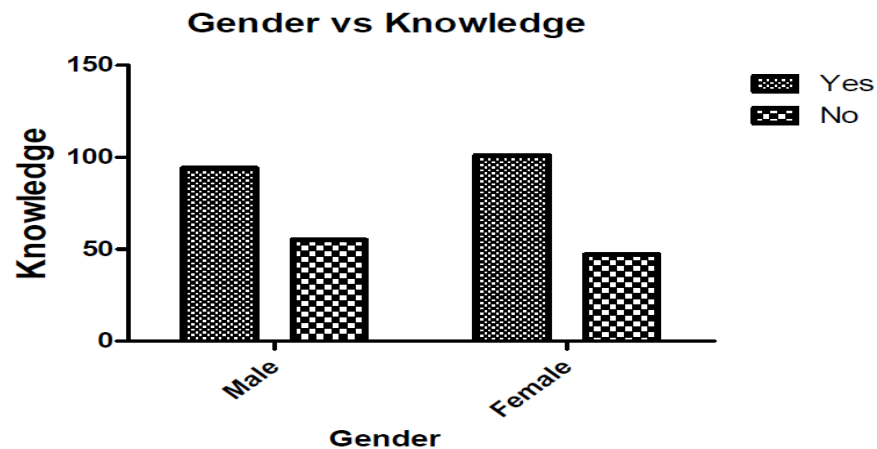
SEPTEMBER 2019 OLONGAPO FIELDWORK

- Philippine data collection was between September and October 2019 in Olongapo City.
- A 19 question survey on US troops was distributed to four barangays (small towns): Santa Rita, Gordon Heights, West Bajac Bajac, and Baretto.
- A total of 315 good responses was recorded.
- The survey results are supported by 21 key informant interviews with notable representatives from different age groups (roughly divided into three age groups as shown in the diagram).
- So far, results show majority support for US bases and their return.

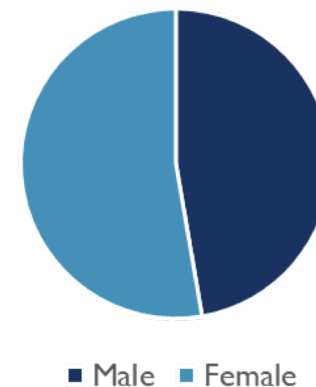
Respondent Age Group Distribution



SEPTEMBER 2019 OLONGAPO FIELDWORK



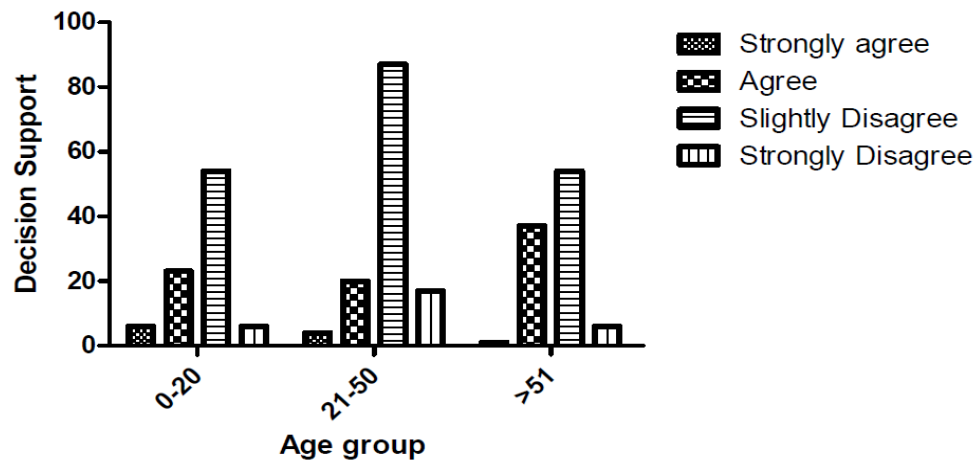
Respondent Gender Distribution



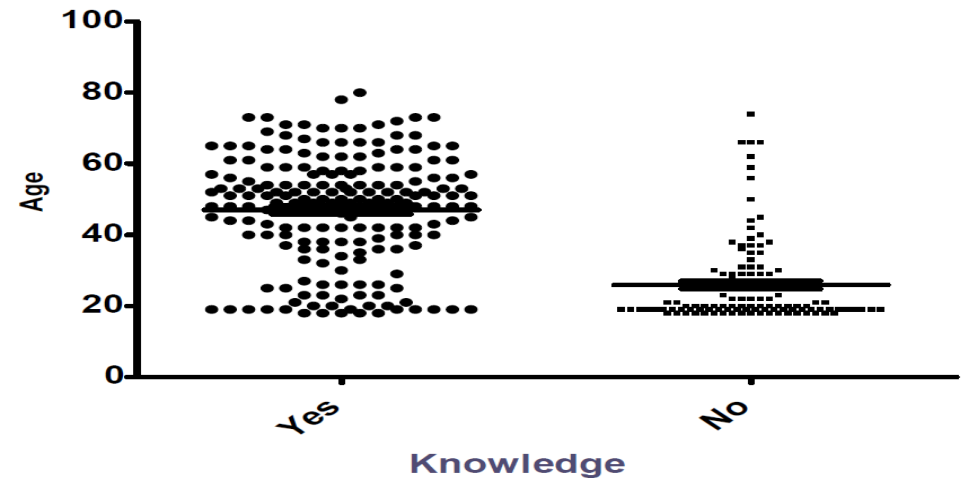
- Relatively good respondent gender balance with 149 Men and 166 Women.
- Twice as many (both men and women) were aware of the year Subic Naval Station closed (knowledge question) than not.

SEPTEMBER 2019 OLONGAPO FIELDWORK

Decision Support vs. Age group



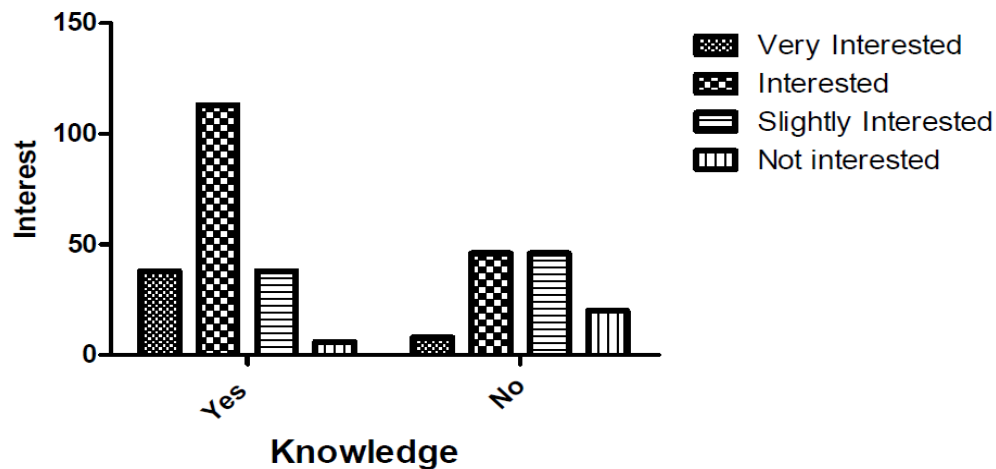
Age vs. Knowledge



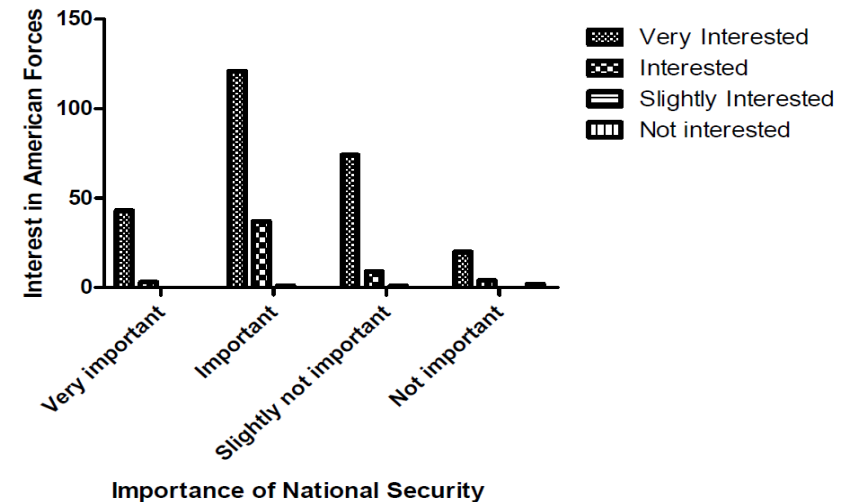
- Most respondents regardless of age group disagreed in some way with the Philippine government decision to remove US bases in the 1990s.
- The majority of respondents knew the year Subic Naval Station closed. More youth knew the date than expected.

SEPTEMBER 2019 OLONGAPO FIELDWORK

Knowledge vs. Interest



Interest in American forces vs. National Security Importance



- Most respondents showed some kind of interest in US forces regardless of whether or not they knew about the 1991 pull-out.
- Most people who were very interested in US troops found national security to be either important or very important.

FEBRUARY 2019

- Largely negative sentiment to US bases and their effects (across sectors). Some sectors like social and economic report mild good effects.

Henoko Base Site

- Henoko (northeast Okinawa) is planned as an extension of the existing Camp Shwabb. It aims to add two new runways and a dock for larger ships. Futenma base's main operations will also be moved to this site. Reclamation is underway although seabed topography may pose problems for the project's latter stages. Being in a more remote area, Henoko's effects are more environmental than social.

Respondents: Camped Protesters near Henoko Base site (various groups), Nago City Pamphlet.

February 2019 Referendum on the Bases (Results: majority anti-base)

- There is a strong campaign against the bases, especially leading up to the referendum. The opposition in the meantime remained silent. They rely on systemic pressure (education etc.) and local government information control. This strong anti-bases sentiment continues despite government statements of the referendum changing nothing. This is due to the disruptions in people's lives the bases cause.

Respondents: Kitaueda Gen (Anti-Base NGO and Professor) and Anti-Base campaign volunteers from the February Referendum

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS SUMMARY (OKINAWA)

FEBRUARY 2019)

	Economic	Social	Environment	Political	Education
Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US troops still bring some income. • Diversified commerce. • Base employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More cosmopolitan community. • Historical heritage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No good effects observed so far. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constant communication between local gov't, the public, and the bases. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More politicized atmosphere and politically active youth.
Negative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Base owned land is inefficient. • Vested interests and base landlords. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denial to residents of some parts of the island. • Potential dangers of returned 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noise pollution, chemicals, air, and water pollution. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government inaction over plebiscites, US pressure to keep bases. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Systemic pressure to avoid teaching base issues in class.

THANK YOU



OCTOBER 12, 2019