

**WHAT'S GOING ON BEHIND THOSE BLUE EYES?
THE PERCEPTION OF OKINAWA WOMEN BY US MILITARY PERSONNEL**

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ABSTRACT

How do the US military personnel stationed in Okinawa perceive Okinawa and Okinawan women? The vast majority of publications about the US soldiers in Okinawa are written from Okinawans' perspectives, portraying the soldiers as troublemakers who endanger local communities. Frequent cases of sexual assaults of Okinawan women by the military personnel are well known. However, the US soldiers' perspectives in media and other sources are left obscure and the majority of Okinawan women lack knowledge of the soldiers' views, putting themselves in dangerous situations that result in clashes between individuals that may escalate into conflict between countries. In order to obviate these causes, Okinawan women need to be educated about the soldiers' perspectives and their motivation for their behavior.

This research investigates the US soldiers' perceptions of Okinawa and Okinawan women at micro and macro levels. This study is being conducted with combinations of literary studies, critical analysis of colonialism, post-colonialism and gender dynamics with analyses of 42 interviews with the US service members conducted over the summer of 2010 and summer and winter of 2012. Through the interview analyses, it became clear that soldiers sexualize and feminize Okinawa and Okinawan women. They perceive Okinawa as a woman who needs their help to be protected from the masculine countries around the island. In addition, they view Okinawan women as tools that are sexually accessible and available to them.

This study provides an alternative perspective that will enhance the knowledge of Okinawan women and will acknowledge the importance of knowing others beforehand in order to prevent any conflict between the parties. In addition to benefiting Okinawan women, the larger community in Okinawa and the US military personnel will also understand the soldiers' views and their impulses behind their behavior. Furthermore, researchers and scholars looking at

gender and militarism will benefit from my work for it allows them to understand the perspective that the soldiers bring to the women and the place where they are stationed.

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Introduction

“Hi Sexy! Why are you so sexified? Is that your club clothes? [sic]” was how I was greeted by a Caucasian US soldier when I was working on a US military base before starting my master’s program. This has triggered me to continue my undergraduate research to master’s level. What further propelled me to continue my undergraduate studies are the ongoing unethical demeanors practiced by the US military enlisted soldiers (henceforth GI) in Okinawa. I find these inappropriate behaviors of these GIs very problematic and threatening to the local society and to the US-Japan security alliance in bigger picture. In addition to their actions, the deployment of a Marine aircraft, MV-22 Osprey, and possible deployment of Air Force Osprey CV-22 to Okinawa despite the endless protests and opposition by the local citizens made me think twice about US and Japan’s stance on Okinawa. Okinawans have been raising their voices for some decades about the large US military presence in Okinawa; yet their voice is not heard by either the US or Japan; rather, it just a noise to them, making Okinawans voiceless. These ongoing monologues make me question again, “can Okinawa speak and how does the US perceive Okinawa?”

My research started in Fall 2009, in response to my observation that there are limited materials for Okinawa and Okinawans to understand the US and their personnel. Though a number of publications regarding Okinawa’s perspective toward the US military and the US-Japan relation have been published throughout these past years, I have yet to encounter any material that analyzes US soldiers’ perspective on Okinawa (both from micro and macro level). Because of this, the majority of Okinawans lack knowledge of the US military and their personnel. When one lacks knowledge of a side, there is a chance of having misunderstandings and miscommunications. That being said, Okinawans’ lack of knowledge can confuse and

endanger them.

The main objective of this research is to acquire the voices of the GIs who are stationed in Okinawa and inform local communities and spread awareness and knowledge to local women who often lack knowledge about GIs. I want to understand *what* GIs see when they look at Okinawa and Okinawan women. I also want to understand *how* they see, that is, how their views are framed and expressed through metaphors of feminization and sexualization. If GIs were more aware of the condescending and belittling implications of the tropes through which their vision is filtered, they might learn to see and think differently about Okinawa and Okinawan women. Educating one side of the party can eliminate some dilemmas; however, it can still cause animosity between two parties. Because of the assumption that I have made, I believe it is crucial to educate not just the Okinawan side, but the US military side as well.

The significance of this research is that, by providing an alternative perspective for the local citizens, it will enhance the understanding of the US military and their personnel by the local Okinawans. Because locals lack knowledge of the US military and their personnel's view, there are tendencies for them to put themselves in dangerous situations. In addition, my research will acknowledge the importance of knowing others before hand in order to prevent any clashes between parties which could escalate into international incidents between countries. I believe this research will also benefit the US military and their personnel who are stationed in Okinawa and other US military hosting counties. By informing the US military and their personnel about their own peers' action and perception, it would acknowledge their past behavior and would influence their future decision making. Furthermore, this research can contribute to bringing solutions to the ongoing issues with US-Japan and Japan-Okinawa relations in broader perspective.

Method

Circumstances in Okinawa make conventional field research difficult, given the pressure on the US military personnel to maintain operations security (OPSEC). When I first conducted my undergraduate research, my initial method was snowball sampling, a method used when the targeted population is uncooperative, elusive, or when there is limited access to the population. The first contact will be asked to name or introduce the future contact who will be interviewed and will be asked for future contacts. The population will eventually grow as if one is rolling a snowball. However, due to the confidentiality issue, the method did not work. Instead, I ended up walking to a particular Starbucks near a US military base every other day after 8pm. It was always around this time when the GIs came out from their barracks. Starbucks became an essential destination when conducting interviews for it was the hub for the GIs. Every interview was more than an hour long. I interviewed two to three GIs every time for GIs had a buddy policy where they have to be accompanied by another GI when going off base when they were off duty. I was able to use the same route to gather my second batch of data during the summer of 2012. At the same time, since I was working on a US military base over the summer, I was able to use my initial methodology, the snowball sampling. Interestingly, when I went back to Okinawa during the winter of 2012, I was not able to gather data the way I did with my first two batches due to strict restriction of curfew and regulations. However, I was able to work through my network to restart my snowball sampling on my third batch (see Appendix 1 for interview questions). A total of 42 interviews of enlisted US soldiers were conducted for this research.¹

¹ The racial and ethnic breakdowns of the GIs are: 16 African Americans, 16 Caucasians, 7 Hispanics, and 3 Asians. The breakdowns of the branches are: 25 Marines, 8 Air Force, 6 Army, and 3 Navy. Throughout the interviews, I did not find any significant racial differences among the GIs. Although majority of my interviewees did not have “blue eyes,” the reason why I used the phrase “blue eyes” on my title is because during and post-World War II, Okinawans called the GIs “hijamee” which is an Okinawan word for “goat eye.” According to the

In addition to interviewing, I utilized participant observation as another way to gather data. I believe there are some data that can only be gathered through being exposed to the community. By being one of the local women as a target and not as a researcher, I am able to be in the moment where actions are taken which allows me to get exposed firsthand to numerous and unique data. Such observations include: informal interaction with GIs, visiting places where GIs would socially gather, personal experience and dialogue with GIs. Furthermore, having discussions with the local women who are having or had interaction with the GIs will be another way to collect data. Through this method, raw materials are gathered which makes this research unique. However, on the other hand, the risk of being an Okinawan woman researching the GIs perspective on Okinawan women is that I may not get honest reflections through the interviews. This is the reason why I interviewed local women's non-profit organization (NPO) supporting Okinawan women who experienced domestic violence by the US soldiers and local women who had interactions with the GIs in any way: to gather voices that have been filtered through the GIs.

To extend my research method, I incorporated critical discourse analysis to my data. Critical discourse analysis is a “discourse and text analysis that recognize[s] the role of language in structuring power relations in society.”² Wodak states that “[p]ower is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structure...[p]ower does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term.”³ In addition, Fairclough states that social

Okinawans, the GIs during the period had similar eye color (blue) just like the goat; hence called them “hijamee.” That said, I decided to translate the phrase and use the “blue eyes” for my title.

² Ruth Wodak, “What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments,” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, eds. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: SAGE Publications, 2001), 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 11.

agents (such as person, nation, ideologies, and culture) shape the semantics of the text.⁴ Through picking up the semantics, relationships between the social agent and the text are established which Fairclough defines as the “texturing of a semantic relation of ‘meronymy.’” He explains that “no dictionary would identify such a semantic relation between [the texts] – the relation is textured by the [social agent]...[t]he meaning does not have a pre-existing presence in [text], it is an effect of the relations that are set up between them.”⁵ Through utilizing this method, I am able to deconstruct the interviews and analyze the underlining meanings and concepts. Are there any patterns and nuances in the text? Are there any gendered phrases, words and metaphors used throughout the interview? Are there power relations between discourses? These are some of the questions I posed while analyzing the data. The metaphors used in my work should not be taken as facts, but as ways to think about the facts, for these metaphors have power to shape how we think.

Literature Review

US, Japan, and Okinawa Relations

Literatures regarding Okinawa, Japan and the US relations seem to be written in the same tone: sympathy towards Okinawa and animosity directed at the US. Regardless of who the author is, Okinawa is portrayed as a subjected entity that keeps raising its voices against the US military presence and its anger towards both Japanese and American government. The bulk of the literature is written from the historical perspective, emphasizing events and statistics.

⁴ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

On September 4th, 1995, a 12 year old girl was gang-raped by 3 US military personnel in northern Okinawa who “agreed that just for fun they would kidnap and rape an Okinawan woman, whom they would select at random.”⁶ The GIs rented a van and abducted the girl who was on her way home from a store. The GIs duct-taped her mouth and eyes, tied up her hands, beat her severely and gang raped her. Four days after the rape, the Okinawan police identified the three GIs. However, they did not turn themselves in nor did the US military force them to turn themselves in to the Okinawan police. Unfortunately, this is not the only crime that was committed by US soldiers. During Vietnam and Korean War, rapes, murders, and other heinous crimes were frequently occurring, victimizing and traumatizing the local Okinawans. From 1973 to 2011, there were total of 5747 crimes perpetrated by the GIs; such are: 568 heinous crimes (including rapes and murders), 1039 violent crime, 2872 larceny, and 66 crimes that dealt with prostitution.⁷

The US military and their soldiers (including the dependents) are protected by a legal treaty called *Japan-US Status of Forces Agreement* (SOFA). It is a mutual treaty between Japan and US which establishes “rights and privileges (and some responsibilities) of the U.S. military and its personnel in Japan’s territory on such matters as the use, administration, and return of facilities and areas, criminal and civil jurisdiction, taxes, customs procedures, divers’ licenses, and air and sea control, among others.”⁸ Article 17 of SOFA allows the US military, soldiers and their dependents the right of extraterritoriality. Chalmers Johnson describes extraterritoriality as

⁶ William W. Hunt, *Christian, Buddhist, and Confucian Protest against Military Bases in Okinawa: A Study of Seven Religious Leaders*. (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 91.

⁷ Okinawa Prefectural Government *Okinawa no Beigun oyobi Jieitai Kich i– Tōkei ShiryōShū (US military and Self-Defense Force in Okinawa – Statistical Sourcebook)* (March 2012), <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/chijiko/kichitai/documents/h24toukei-2-1.pdf> (accessed April 30, 2013), 108. Details on rape case from 1972 to 1995 can be found here in Japanese: <http://www.jttk.zaq.ne.jp/baags702/beiheiokinawahannzai.htm>; details in English can be found here: <http://factsanddetails.com/japan.php?itemid=1865&catid=22&subcatid=148>

⁸ Masamichi Inoue, *Okinawa and the U.S. Military: Identity Making in the Age of Globalization*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 33.

“one of the most offensive aspects of Western Imperialism in East Asia.”⁹ It is a legal treaty that was made through diplomatic negotiation that allows allied military (US military in this context) to be exempt from being turned in to the local police until the “Japanese law enforcement authorities file complaints based on clear suspicion.”¹⁰ Because Okinawans became very vociferous and engaged in mass rallies about this incident and the fact that the three GIs were still detained by the US military, the Okinawans proclamation reached mainland Japan and the commander of the American Forces in the Pacific, Admiral Richard C. Macke. His ignorant and infamous statement, “for the price they paid to rent the car, they could have had a girl,” aggravated the Okinawans even more. As the Japanese government started to partake in the issue, the US military handed the three GIs to the Japanese police department where they were convicted guilty.¹¹

As if the 1995 rape incident was like opening the Pandora’s Box, the incident triggered Okinawans’ anger toward the US military and Japan. The 1995 rape incident became the platform for the Okinawans to protest and demand the US and Japan to revise the SOFA and Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution as well as to reduce the US bases in Okinawa. To soothe the anger of the Okinawans, Japan and the US came up with *Special Action Committee on Okinawa* (SACO), a treaty that would reduce the bases in Okinawa to abate the burden of the Okinawans, hence reinforce and acknowledge the Japan-US alliance.¹² “However, most of the facilities identified in the final report had to meet the precondition of relocating to other facilities

⁹ Chalmers Johnson, ed, *Okinawa: Cold War Island*. (Cardiff, CA: Japan Policy Research Institute, 1999), 117.

¹⁰ Hunt, *Christian, Buddhist, and Confucian Protest against Military Bases in Okinawa*, 92.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹² “SACO Final Report,” *United States of America Department of State*, December 2, 1996, http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eap/japan/rpt-saco_final_961202.html (accessed January 20, 2013).

or areas within Okinawa,”¹³ therefore, relocating the US bases off the island is most unlikely to happen.

This is the current case with relocating the Marines Corp Air Station (MCAS) Futenma; Okinawans want the base to be relocated outside Okinawa, however, according to SACO, it is mostly going to be relocated within the island. At this moment, it is planned to be relocated in northern part of the island called Henoko. In addition to the deployment of the MV-22 to MCAS Futenma, the delaying process of the relocation of MCAS Futenma and the recent rape by two US military personnel¹⁴ have made it clear that Okinawans’ anger is yet to be alleviated.

The Cold War has ended which denotes ‘no communist threat,’ however, former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld states that the current threat is the “unknown, the uncertain, the unseen, and the unexpected.”¹⁵ The ongoing war, the War on Terror, has named Okinawa and Japan as the “Power Projection Hub” for its strategic location.¹⁶ Because Japan cannot have any arms due to their Constitution, the common view is that Japan is dependent on the US for its security. Although it is assumed by the majority that the Japanese Self Defense Force (SDF) is incompetent to fight a war, others argue that SDF is competent to fight some of its wars if engaged.¹⁷ [Japan has adequate tactic weapons (tanks, transport aircraft, fighter jets, and etc.) but lacks strategic weapons (intercontinental ballistic missile, nuclear weapons, medium to long range bombers, submarine-launched ballistic missile, and etc.). That said, Japan can stand alone, but may need to invite other country’s support regarding strategic weapons. From this

¹³ Takayoshi Egami, “Okinawan and Japanese Perspective on U.S. Military Bases and the G8,” in *New Direction in Global Political Governance: The G8 and International Order in the Twenty-first Century*, eds. John J. Kirton and Junichi Takase (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 99.

¹⁴ Travis J. Tritten and Chiyomi Sumida, “Sailors Sentenced for Gang-rape in Case that Sparked Curfew,” in *Stars and Stripes*, (March 1, 2013), <http://www.stripes.com/news/sailors-sentenced-for-gang-rape-in-case-that-sparked-curfew-1.210106> (accessed April, 5, 2013).

¹⁵ Donald H. Rumsfeld, “Transforming the Military,” *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 3 (2002): 23.

¹⁶ Inoue, *Okinawa and the U.S. Military*, 8.

¹⁷ My thanks to Dr. Petrice Flowers, Department of Political Science, University of Hawai’i, for clarifying this dispute.

perspective, it can be seen as if the US has Japan in the palm of their hand, Japan is in a difficult position to speak for Okinawans to the US and yet keep depending on its alliance with the US for security. This is one of the weaknesses Japan has when it comes to the US-Japan-Okinawa relations. Because of this, SOFA cannot be revised, as former Japanese Ministry of Defense Chief Etō Seijūrō states, “SOFA and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty are two sides of the same coin’... That is, Washington and Tokyo both feared that any substantial changes to SOFA would lead to the reversion of the framework of the Security Treaty itself, a framework that had made the stationing of the U.S. military in Okinawa possible in the first instance.”¹⁸

Linda Angst uses the trope of the body politics as a tool to explain Okinawa’s complicated situations with the US and Japan. She deconstructs the 1995 rape as a way to understand Okinawan politics as it “resonates over time as a symbol of both wartime and postwar Okinawa, and thus of Okinawa as a victim of both Japanese and United States hegemony.”¹⁹ One example she raises is that the 1995 rape was like Okinawa being raped by the US military. In addition, she states that the failure to protect the innocent girl was a metaphor of how Japan failed to protect Okinawa from the US.²⁰ Furthermore, Angst and other feminists argue that “Okinawa is the prostituted daughter of Japan. Japan used her daughter as a breakwater to keep the battlefields from spreading over the mainland until the end of World War II. After the war, she enjoyed economic prosperity by selling the daughter to the United States”²¹ as an exchange for her national security.²²

¹⁸ Ibid., 34.

¹⁹ Linda I. Angst, “The Sacrifice of a Schoolgirl: The 1995 Rape Case, Discourses of Power, and Women’s Lives in Okinawa,” in *Local Violence, Global Media: Feminist Analyses of Gendered Representations*, eds. Lisa M. Cuklanz and Sujata Moorti (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 144.

²⁰ Ibid., 144

²¹ Ibid., 143.

²² Sandra Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*. (New York: The New Press, 1992), 320.

The majority of the materials discuss the 1995 rape as a trigger of the Okinawans' animosity towards the US and the dubious relationship between the US and Japan. Although I agree with the above, there is an absence of women. Where are the women? Where are their voices? Whenever local women are raped by the US military personnel, "No Base, No Rape" placards are made by the protesters, yet Angst argues that throughout these years, women's security and rights issues are gradually diminishing. Is that always the case? Whenever incidents happen between the US military personnel and locals, they soon escalate to transnational problems discussing the US-Japan alliance and their agenda on the security treaty. Whose security are they trying to secure? It is obvious to detect the lack of Okinawa's voice when looking at Okinawan politics through the trope of body politics.

Military and Women

Catherine Lutz, Katherine Moon, and Cynthia Enloe have done intensive work on the relationship between military and women, especially with the US military.²³ In her work, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Sense of International Politics*, Enloe discusses women's roles in relations to the US military and their personnel as well as among themselves. Some were wives, supporters, mascots, peace activists, women soldiers and others were exotic dancers and prostitutes; they "learned to view each other as sexual or ideological rivals."²⁴ In another book, *Maneuvers: International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, she introduces the process and the concept of *militarization*:

²³ For further discussion, Sabine Fruhstuck, *Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory, and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2007) discusses about the women in Japanese Self Defense Force.

²⁴ Cynthia Enloe, *Banana, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2000), 91.

Militarization is a step-by-step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being on militaristic ideas. The more militarization transforms an individual or a society, the more that individual or society comes to imagine military needs and militaristic presumptions to be not only valuable but also normal.²⁵

The concept of militarization is always gendered; the concept will always be associated with femininity and masculinity. She utilizes this concept throughout the book and deconstructs what has been militarized and normalized in daily life.

Unlike Enloe, Catherine Lutz concentrates more on the presence of the military facilities and critiques its presence from the perspective of imperial studies. Her works are rather empirical; throughout her works²⁶, she argues that the US is an empire as she defines empire:

Whether or not it recognizes itself as such, a country can be called an empire when it projects substantial power with the aim of asserting and maintaining dominance over other regions...[Empires] have historically been associated with a growing gap between the wealth and welfare of the powerful center and the regions it dominates. Alongside and supporting these goals has often been elevated self-regard in the imperial power, or a sense of racial, cultural, or social superiority.²⁷

Though she does not incorporate any feminist theory, gender studies, colonial and imperial studies go hand in hand. She does not mention much about gender issues like Enloe does, however, she puts effort in bringing light to social movements against military bases.

In *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S. - Korea Relations*, Moon does a great job in elucidating the US military prostitution in Korea. She highlights the importance of the prostitutes and how they have contributed in the US-Korea relations. Her work can be applied to the Okinawa case as well. Asian countries hosting US military bases are oftentimes known as rest and recuperation (R&R) centers; in military parlance, R&R usually suggests a time of sexual

²⁵ Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 3.

²⁶ Such works include: *Empire is in the details* and *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against U.S. Military Posts*.

²⁷ Catherine Lutz, "US Bases and Empire: Global Perspective on the Asia Pacific," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 2009. <http://japanfocus.org/-Catherine-Lutz/3086> (accessed November 26, 2012).

pleasure for US military personnel. One thing that is different about her method compared to Lutz and Enloe is that she interviews the authorities in the US military.

Moon, Lutz, and Enloe have contributed a great deal to military studies; however, their method seems to be similar to others: textual analysis of history, journals, newspapers, pamphlets, and posters. Moon, on the other hand, as mentioned earlier, does interviews; however, her interviews are with the higher-ups. My method includes interviewing the US military personnel: those who have extensive and direct interaction with the locals. Moon, Lutz, and Enloe may have incorporated some voices, but they are always from the oppressed side (activist, the victim, and prostitutes). A major difference between their work and mine is that I bring in voices from the oppressor. Yes, it is important to know about the victims. However, just knowing one side does not solve or contribute to finding the solution to problems; therefore, my research challenges these scholars by bringing in the other perspective.

Methodology

The theories used in this work are interdisciplinary, including economics, gender, political geography, post-colonialism, subaltern studies, and postmodernism. Throughout this thesis, I question the binary and the marginal by weaving in two main theories: the concept of gaze and the notion of othering. However, the overarching framework I intend to emphasize in my research involves the concepts of feminization and sexualization.

Feminization is a metaphor used when people, objects, or activities are seen, taken, and compared to women or associated with women's characteristics. Such traits include: passive, soft, small, vulnerable, gullible, naïve, ignorant, irrational, inferior, mischievous, savage, easy, second-class citizen, dominated, opportunistic and so forth. Feminization occurs at the level of social and linguistic codes, associating people, places or things with typical or stereotypical traits

of females.

On the other hand, sexualization illustrates a body being erotically objectified by the male gaze.²⁸ The concept of gaze deals with analyzing the object that is presented. Through this analysis, the relationship between the gazed and the gazer is established which illustrates the unequal power relationship. This concept of gaze is carried over to feminist theory, analyzing how erotically and sexually female/passive are viewed and displayed by the male/active, projecting their gaze of fantasy, pleasure, and desire.

The first chapter discusses the political geography of Okinawa. In this section, I analyze Okinawa's geographic location from both macro and micro level through applying the concept of feminization and sexualization. I deconstruct the concept of strategic location to micro level and examine the politics behind the concept of rest and recuperation (R&R). In the second chapter, I utilized Edward Said's "Orientalism" as a way to examine the perceptions and introduce the concept of the male gaze and how it applies to the perception of the US soldiers. The third chapter brings out Gayatri Spivak's concept of "white men saving brown women from brown men," and analyzes the US military and their personnel's presence in Okinawa as a liberator and a protector from the brown men. The last chapter investigates the personnel's perception of local Okinawan women. Throughout my work, I argue the presence of condescending views of the East by the West and the masculine power of the West.

There are numerous sources of information on Okinawans' perspective on US military personnel compared to their perspective on Okinawans. There are ongoing protests against the

²⁸The concept of gaze deals with analyzing the object that is presented. Through this analysis, the relationship between the gazed and the gazer is established which illustrates the unequal power relationship. See Jacques Lacan's (1981) *Of the Gaze as Objet Petit a* from *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* and Michel Foucault's (1995) *Discipline and Punish* for further discussion. The concept of gaze is carried over to feminist theory analyzing how erotically and sexually female/passive are viewed and displayed by the male/active, projecting their gaze of fantasy, pleasure, and desire (Laura Mulvey, *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, 1975).

US military bases, especially on the northern part of the island where the relocation of a US military base is planned, as well as the ongoing protest against deployment of V-22 Osprey to US military bases in Okinawa and the recent uproar regarding the rape case caused by two Navy sailors. Furthermore, there are local feminist groups such as Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV) who publicize the incidents of rape and assault against local women. There are considerable amounts of information on Okinawans' view on the US military. My research addresses the major gap in our knowledge: how do the US military personnel look at Okinawans.²⁹

²⁹ Earlier version of this thesis was written as partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree with honors of Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in Fall 2010 titled *What's going on Behind Those Blue Eyes: The Perception of Okinawan Women by US Military Personnel in Okinawa*. Updated version of my undergraduate thesis will be published as a chapter by Cambridge Scholar Press titled "What's Going on Behind Those Blue Eyes? The Military Man and his Many (Mis)perceptions" in *Under Occupation: Resistance & Struggle in a Militarised Asia-Pacific* from page 63 - 79.